Cooperation Project on the Social Integration of Immigrants, Migration, and the Movement of Persons

Euro-Mediterranean Consortium for Applied Research on International Migration (CARIM)

Financed by the European Commission MEDA Programme – EuropeAid Cooperation Office (AidCo)

Integration Policies:
The View From Southern And Eastern Mediterranean Countries

The Case of Lebanon

---

1 Integration Policies: The View From Southern And Eastern Mediterranean Countries", Tunis 12-15 December 2005. The European Commission, the EuroMed, The Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies and the European University Institute, the Offices des Tunisiens à l’Etranger, the Tunisian Minister of Social Affairs and the Euro-Mediterranean Consortium for Applied Research on International Migration (CARIM) invited twenty high-level professionals and academics from the Middle East, North Africa and Turkey to participate in this session. Guita Hourani, Associate Director of LERC, was invited as an academic from Lebanon to present a discussion paper on Lebanon’s emigrant integration policy and to participate in this four-day intensive seminar. The session ended with recommendations which were presented to the European Commission. The presentations, including that of Hourani and the recommendations are posted on [http://www.carim.org/Publications/200512-CARIM-TunisSem.pdf].
Guita G. Hourani
Associate Director
Lebanese Emigration Research Center (LERC), Notre Dame University, Lebanon

Tunis, 12–16 December 2005
Integration Policies:
The View From Southern And Eastern Mediterranean Countries

The Case of Lebanon

Are There Emigration Integration Policies From The Lebanese Perspective?

While carrying out this cursory overview in response to the question whether or not Lebanon has an adequate emigration integration policy, I have realised that most of the existing literature on the subject deals with the issue of integration from the perspective of the receiving countries and that there is a great gap in, hence a great need for, serious contributions from the sending countries in order to augment the existing body of literature and the ongoing discourse worldwide.

I have also found that, indeed, Lebanon does not have any such policies or even discourse on the subject. What Lebanon does have however are ‘policies’ that:

a) allow Lebanese migrant outflow. (Lebanon does not have any restriction on individual mobility except for young man who have not done their military service);
b) encourage and facilitate the inflow of migrants’ remittances through formal and informal channels;
c) admit the free flow of capital and hard currency in and out of the country;
d) permit dual nationality;
e) do not permit migrants to contribute to social security and retirement plans;
f) do not facilitate repatriation of its own citizens; and
g) Do not permit Lebanese migrant citizens to vote in absentia.

Why Lebanon does not have an emigrant integration policy for its citizens abroad may be related to innumerable reasons, one of which might have to do with the fact that while its neighbouring
European countries in the 1980s were dealing with integration of migrants as one of their main concerns, Lebanon was succumbing to the wars that ravaged its lands and caused almost one million of its people to migrate, both internally and internationally. However, in my opinion these wars were not the most significant explanatory factor, although a valid one. There were other reasons why Lebanon did not consider having an emigration integration policy, the most important of which is that the Lebanese emigrants, being self reliant, have succeeded to a large extent in their own integration in the countries of destination without much help from their country of origin. It should be noted that given that very little if any has been done of the subject of Lebanese integration in general and on the recent failing of integration in Australia and Germany in particular, it is very difficult to draw conclusions though some suggestions are provided in the final note of this brief.

Measuring the Integration of the Lebanese in Their Host Societies

If integration is “the process by which immigrants become part of the social, cultural and institutional fabric of the receiving society,” the Lebanese migrants have, in many places and throughout their 120 years of migration history, became part of the fabric of their host societies. This process was not easy, however, because neither the migrants nor their host societies were well aware of each other’s value systems and neither were prepared for such close interaction. The most important goal of Lebanese immigrants is economic stability for - and the future of - their children; integration is considered the means, the instrument, the vehicle for achieving this goal, especially among first generation migrants. In Ecuador, “interviewees openly recalled the suffering they experienced as a result of social rejection. The only path they found was to turn inward, to work hard, and to prepare their children for the business they were founding and for their lives ahead as Ecuadoreans.”

Early Lebanese community attempts to integrate in North America “ran afoul of their eagerness to succeed in the United States; the requirements of success relegated tradition to second place... The participation of the early immigrants in American life was somewhat cursory; coupled with their prosperity, however, it was nevertheless sufficient to allow their children to enter the larger American society with relatively little


8 LERC is in the process of preparing a proposal to conduct a comparative research project on the integration or the lack of integration of Lebanese migrants in one major city in each of the following four countries: Australia, Canada, Sweden and Germany. This research aims at identifying criteria that allow the same nationals to integrate in one part of the world and not in another.


psychological stress.” This remains, to a larger extent, the strategy used by most of the recent and current Lebanese emigrants.

Using what has been developed in the field of measuring emigration integration by Alessandra Cancedda in her “Skilled Migrants Integration Assessment Model (SMIAM)”\(^{12}\), we could synthesise the following in regard to the integration of Lebanese in their countries of immigration:

**Quality of Employment:** “Attaining a working position that reflects the cognitive capital possessed, from the perspective of skills used, salary, social benefits, career prospects,”\(^{13}\) etc.

According to the most significant books and studies published on the Lebanese immigration, Lebanese emigrants value work; they work hard in all fields whether professional, entrepreneurial, or technical. Early Lebanese migrants worked in sales, commerce, agriculture, mining, and industry. However, it did not take them long (average 2-3 years) before they became self-employed. Their assets were their will and their hard work; their skills were their determination and inherent ability for bargaining. The current Lebanese migrants have different educational profiles, but they do retain similar cultural traits in terms of determination and willingness to work hard. The latter are skilled people, a large number hold executive or managerial positions; those who are qualified professionals (e.g. physicians, pharmacist, lawyers, architects, engineers) practice their professions. The quality of Lebanese human capital especially because of the long-standing traditions of education and knowledge of languages, among others, increases the employability of the Lebanese and places them in a high salary bracket.\(^{14}\)

**High Profile Entrepreneurship:** “Possibility of business-creation with features clearly indicating that it is insertion into skilled work and not a second best solution to ensure survival.”\(^{15}\)

Lebanese have by tradition and by attitude been drawn to be entrepreneurs even at the smallest scale possible. It could be that having one own business is ‘a second best solution to ensure survival’ but no literature is available on the subject to determine the extent of this survival, mechanism in the past or the present. Lebanese, be they residents or migrants, have being recognized for their entrepreneurialship. One finds Lebanese entrepreneurs, ranging from the high profile to the low profile, in almost every destination country. Research sources currently available provide the names of Lebanese entrepreneurs in very high profile sectors in almost every country where they have settled. The presence of Lebanese businesses is very visible in comparison to those of the native population. Lebanese immigrants are more prone to self-employment than other migrants. In 1991 in Quebec, “22% of working men of Lebanese origin

---

13 Cancedda, 2005, pp. 36, 41.
15 Cancedda, 2005, pp. 36, 41.
were self-employed, compared to 16% of all working immigrant men and 12% of working Canadian-born men.”

In France, Lebanese are perceived as “industrious and hard-working middle-class and lower-middle-class people… they see them as entrepreneurs who have learned to count on themselves… who do not expect social benefits from the French state.”

Because of their successes, Lebanese entrepreneurs must have been benefiting from what is available to them in their host countries in terms of programs and financial opportunities to achieve their entrepreneurial aspirations.

Cultural Consumption: “The spreading…of consumption patterns not dictated by immediate need but which can be considered typical of the educated middle classes and thus firstly technological and cultural consumption, which is a sign of a certain level of affluence.”

Very little has been done on the early migrants in terms of cultural consumption in their host countries. However, evidence from different studies and commemorative publications show that early Lebanese formed theatre groups and performed all kinds of performances including Shakespearean plays, etc. As for the more recent migration they are clearly more attuned to cultural consumption and are even patrons of such events especially in the US. According to Dr. Rose-Mary Suliman, Lebanese, even in the lowest ranks of the economic scale in Sydney, Australia, have the latest electronic devices, including CD players, computers, DVDs, etc. It is believed that migrants are not only patrons of cultural consumer products, but are also drivers of the introduction of such consumption, e.g. the first business cards, the first computer cameras, etc. are bought by migrants for communication purposes with their homelands and with the members of their families who stayed behind.

Access to High Level Training: “The possibility of continuing university studies or attending professional and language training by accessing a high level offer, which is consistent with the high degree of education possessed and prospects of integration in skilled employment.”

Lebanese with a high level of education use existing training opportunities; while those with a medium or low level of education use continuing education courses, licensing courses and language courses to improve their skills, especially in the field of real-estate, automobile accident experts, auditors, CPAs, hair dressers, aesthetics, plumbing, carpentry, etc.

---


19 Cancedda, 2005, pp. 36, 41.


21 “Children of Lebanese Migrants in Australia: Issues and Challenges,” lecture by Dr. Rosemary Suliman, Senior Lecturer at the University of Western Sydney in Bankstown, Lebanese Emigration Research Center of Notre Dame University, Lebanon, April 7, 2004.

22 Cancedda, 2005, pp. 37, 42.

Practice of the Culture of Origin and Transnational Dimension: “The possibility of keeping traits of one’s own national, cultural and religious identity and of having relations with one’s country of origin, as well as with colleagues, business partners, family members and friends residing in other countries.” ²⁴

Lebanese have kept close relations with Lebanon as a whole; i.e. with their families, villages and friends through the following: remittances; marriage and other religious ceremonies; philanthropic contributions; village development and improvements networks; building schools whether in their home or host countries; and by establishing newspapers, journals and magazines; clubs, associations, leagues and transnational unions; by building religious edifices and socio-cultural and medical centers, etc. ²⁵ They continue to have business networking through trade, commerce, banking, food production and franchising. They transmit their native culture and language to their children, although they stress the mastering of the language of their host countries. They organize and participate in cultural and ethnic events. They were instrumental in the introduction of satellite and cable TV channels that broadcast from Lebanon. They acquire and disseminate printed matters published in Lebanon and the Middle East in general. They build religious edifices for practicing their various religious creeds. They assist Lebanon and their families during calamities; they offer assistance to their kinship networks, whether by facilitating their travel, their education, and their access to jobs, especially upon arrival. Many Lebanese engineers, doctors, lawyers, etc. maintain memberships in their respective professional associations in Lebanon.

Leadership and Social Responsibility: “Having leadership functions within political organisations, local government bodies, associations, NGOs, trade unions, etc., not only as regards immigrant community representation, but also in decision-making concerning the overall population.” ²⁶

Lebanese become involved in the political and civil society life of their countries of immigration, and not only in matters concerning immigrants exclusively. Many Lebanese migrants, whether descendents or recent arrivals, serve in government, as well as in non-ethnic NGOs and voluntary organisations in the USA, Europe, Canada, Australia, Central and South America, etc. There are a significant number of Lebanese immigrants in political parties, as candidates for elections, leaders and members in entrepreneurial, NGOs, and professional organisations, etc. Eight percent of the current parliament in Brazil is formed of Brazilians of Lebanese descent. ²⁷ We find similar representations in the USA, Colombia, Canada, Australia, etc. ²⁸ The Lebanese communities abroad also have their own associations and leagues. ²⁹ Lebanese artists, writers, etc. have won many international and national awards. ³⁰

²⁴ Cancedda, 2005, pp. 37, 42.
²⁶ Cancedda, 2005, pp. 37, 43.
²⁸ For detailed information see [http://www.rootsweb.com/~lbnglw/whoiswho/cities/golden2.htm], Internet consulted January 6, 2006; and Toni Y. Daou, Wajh Lubnan Al Abiayad: Mu’jam Al Qarn Al ‘Ishreen (Lebanon’s White Face: Dictionary of the Twentieth Century), Arabic, Beirut Lebanon, n.p. n.d.
Public Respect: “Adequate recognition of skilled migrants’ presence, skills and potential by citizens as a whole and by political, economic and social actors, that is seen starting with representations, opinions, images, forms of public recognition, manifestations of respect and interest,” etc.

Lebanese, on the whole, are represented in qualified positions in the media, and are respected by their host people and government, although in certain host countries they were/are perceived as scoundrels who use the corrupt political system to gain wealth. However, recent Lebanese migrants in Australia, for example, are being labeled differently these days and their behavior has badly tarnished the Lebanese image, especially after the highly publicized gang rape case which involved several Lebanese boys. In Canada and Australia, recent Lebanese immigrants, especially from the Southern part of Lebanon, rely heavily on welfare and have the reputation of being involved in fraud and in certain circumstances terrorism, which was not the characteristic of early Lebanese migrants.

There has been a change in attitudes towards welfare between the earlier and the more recent Lebanese immigrants. The latter are more inclined to accept welfare and not to feel shame or dependency.

The majority of these immigrants are members of large families and lack language skills, have low rates of literacy in foreign languages and have skills mainly in agriculture and lack appropriate educational and employment experience; they also have socio-cultural problems due to the circumstances that influenced them for many years prior to their departure from Lebanon, i.e. the Arab-Israeli conflict, the wars in Lebanon, displacement and internal migration. The results of this have undermined the overall reputation of the community and led to negative stereotyping within the local, indigenous populations as well as the respective governments.

Skilled Immigrant’s Opinions Concerning the Receiving Society: “The set of judgements, expectations and representations that immigrants have of their receiving country, its institutions, bureaucracy, citizens and possibilities of integration.”

On the whole, Lebanese strongly believe that they do enjoy adequate economic advancement opportunities in the receiving countries. They speak positively about their lives and they show respect and appreciation for the opportunities given by these countries. For those who are naturalized, they show allegiance to their new respective countries of immigration and are proud

Libanais de Toulouse [http://www.libanvision.com/libanais-de-toulouse.htm], Libanais de Genève et de Suisse [http://www.libanvision.com/libanais-de-geneve.htm], etc.
Amin Maalouf, France, Prix Gancourt 1993; Milton Hatoum, Brazil, Prix Jabuti 2003; Alexandre Najjar, France, Lauréat du Prix de l’Asie 1996; Nada Awar Jarrar, UK, short listed Best First Book authors the Commonwealth Writers Prize 2004, etc.
Cancedda, 2005, pp. 37, 44.
Personal discussions with the Ambassador of Australia to Lebanon, several Australian academicians and Canadians of Lebanese descent, recent Lebanese migrants to Canada.
Cancedda, 2005, pp. 37, 44.
of belonging to them. Those who are migrating to Western countries have the tendency to remain for extended periods of time and to apply for citizenship. In the report on the Lebanese and Canadians of Lebanese descent in Quebec, only 11% qualified their experience as immigrants to Canada as being bad, 31% said it was OK, 28% as good and 25% as excellent.

Final Note

When asking whether the integration of the Lebanese migrants abroad has been easy, most migrants and experts would answer: not at all; for even in the countries of the Middle East, Lebanese had to abide by the local laws, adapt to the local culture, respect the local norms, tolerate discrimination and social neglect at the outset. This was also the case in Europe, in North America, in South America, in West Africa, in South Africa, in the Caribbean Islands, in Australia and New Zealand and recently in Russia, in Eastern Europe and in Central Asia. Their integration has not been contingent upon the receipt of permanent residency or citizenship, for they don’t enjoy such privileges in the Arab Gulf countries where some of them spend as many as 50 years working in societies where natives tend not to socialise much with foreigners. Their integration was a business need in some parts of the world and in others simply a natural process of becoming a ‘citoyen’ or a ‘citizen’ of adopting these countries as their own for the future of their families.

In Lebanon, it is widely accepted that all nations have the right and the prerogatives to determine whom, other than its own citizens, it admits into its borders and on what basis. Lebanese in general acknowledge that when they are residing abroad, they have to abide by the laws of the land and they have, when they are wronged, to use that existing laws to obtain justice. The collective Lebanese psyche also recognises the value of hard work when abroad. Because Lebanon is not a mono-cultural society, but rather a multi-cultural society with a mosaic of religious and ethnic groups, Lebanese are prone to be more at ease in dealing with people who are different. Lebanese are also normally exposed to different languages from a very young age. Seen historically, different peoples throughout history have interacted on Lebanese soil, hence their preparedness to more readily adapt to the environments of host countries when abroad.

However, some Lebanese migrants are facing difficulties in integrating in their countries of destination and although integration is as much the responsibility of the host country (government and people) as of the sending country, and the migrants themselves, sending countries, and in particular Lebanon are not playing an active role in preparing emigrants for what lies ahead. Bilateral policies to deal with migration problems have been entirely neglected. At times of crisis, e.g. affecting the Lebanese business community in West Africa or the refugees

40 “Lebanese immigrants do no seem to have a major problem with French language 73% speak it fluently and only 2% have a serious problem with it, … this is a major factor influencing employment integration of Lebanese immigrants.” Employment integration of Lebanese Immigrants and Canadian…, p. 11.
in Germany, or the riots in Australia, the Lebanese government is forced to use impromptu diplomatic channels to respond. Despite the integration success stories of most Lebanese migrants, certain Lebanese communities especially in Australia, Germany, and Canada are facing great difficulties in their integration process resulting in low performance in schools, unemployment, family stability, etc.\footnote{41 “Children of Lebanese Migrants in Australia: Issues and Challenges,” lecture by Dr. Rosemary Suliman,… Lebanese Emigration Research Center…, April 7, 2004}

Combined with integration policies and a better reception of immigrants in the receiving countries, Lebanon and other sending countries should develop their own emigration integration policies. Lebanon and other sending countries would profit from emulating countries such as the Philippines, which has made emigration a “top national export,” promoting temporary migration through regulated channels, preparing its emigrants through training and seminars on the rules and regulations abroad, as well as the customs, cultures and business culture of the destination countries. The Lebanese government and other sending governments should also develop a targeted repatriation policy for those returning from temporary migration or who are still returning after the end of the war with their families. These policies should also assist those who were not able to obtain permanent resident status or citizenship abroad in order to prevent them from becoming illegal or in order to assist them in finding a new migration destination. The Lebanese government and other sending governments should allow the participation of migrants in pension and health plans, especially those who are in countries where there are no or only limited possibilities for permanent resident status.

Lebanon is called upon to reinstate the Ministry of Emigrants,\footnote{42 The Ministry of Migrants lost its autonomy in 2000 and became The Directorate General of Migrants attached to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs now of Foreign Affairs and Migrants.} to allow Lebanese citizens living or working abroad to vote in absentia, and to treat its immigrants and migrant workers with reciprocity and according to those human rights conventions, which it has signed and ratified. Lebanon is also called on to ratify and sign the Convention of the Rights of Migrants and Their Families so its own migrants and its own immigrants could be better served.