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Migration and The Formation of Upper Class: The Druze
in Lebanon as a Case study

By

Rami Amin Abi Rafeh

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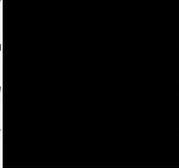
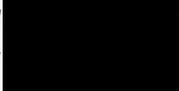
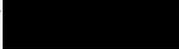


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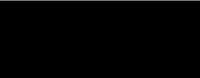


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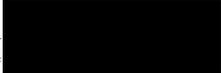
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Migration and The Formation of Upper Class: The Druze in Lebanon as a Case study

Rami Amin Abi Rafeh

ABSTRACT

The topic of emigration has always been a unique aspect of the Lebanese society and has been extensively covered by academics. However, no research has examined return migrants, in particular, the role of migration in their upward social mobility process. Therefore, this thesis was motivated by an objective to fill a gap in the Lebanese literature concerning return migrants and the role of migration in the formation of an upper class in Lebanon. This thesis aims to investigate how migration enabled some Druze families to join the Lebanese upper class after spending some years abroad. To achieve the research's objective, nineteen semi-structured qualitative interviews were conducted with return migrants who due to migration and working abroad are now part of the upper class. The analysis of the role of migration in the upward social mobility process of our informants is examined based on the capitals as defined by Bourdieu (1986). Finally, this research reveals that all of the interviewed informants utilized one or a combination of social, cultural, and/or economic capital to assist them in their upward social mobility journey.

Keywords: Migration, Lebanese Return Migrants, Druze, Bourdieu, Social Capital, Cultural Capital, Economic Capital, Upward Social Mobility, Upper Social Class.

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Chapter One

Introduction

Lebanon is the Arab country with the most extended history of emigration and its migrant communities around the world constitute the largest groups of Arab immigrants (Abdelhady p.5, 2011). From the mid-1850 on, people from the Middle East have been migrating in large numbers to South and North America, Africa, and Northern Europe. Most of these migrants came from Mount Lebanon, and till nowadays, the Lebanese continue to make up the largest group of migrants from the Middle East (Abdelhady p.5, 2011). Emigration has been a unique aspect of Lebanese society since the second half the 19th century (Abdelhady p.5, 2011). Several factors contributed to the spread of the Lebanese people over different parts of the continent (Abdelhady p.5, 2011). According to Abdelhady (2011), Mount Lebanon was populated by mixed groups of different religions and ethnic backgrounds, which migrated extensively. Among those who emigrated the majority were Maronites and to a lesser extent the Druze and Muslims.

The interest of this thesis is to examine return migration to Lebanon, not migration from Lebanon. More specifically, the purpose of this thesis is to investigate the role of migration, especially return migration, in upward social mobility and the formation of an upper class in Lebanon. This thesis investigates how migration enabled some Druze families to join the upper class after spending a substantial number of years working

abroad. Through interviews with these families who returned to Lebanon and are now part of the upper class, this research shows how migration was a decisive factor in their upward social mobility. Therefore, this research aims to answer the following question:

Research Question:

What is the role of migration and return migration in the formation of an upper class in Lebanon?

My thesis is split into an introduction followed by five chapters. The first chapter is the introduction. The second chapter covers the historical background of Lebanese migration with a focus on the lack of literature on return migration. The third chapter is the literature review, in this chapter I define social class, types and factors of upward social mobility, and return migration. The fourth chapter defines the research design and methodology. The fifth chapter presents significant findings of my study with an effort to account for the role of migration in upward social mobility and the formation of an upper class in Lebanon. The six and final chapter is the conclusion.

Chapter Two

Historical Background

The introduction identified my topic and research question. This chapter documents the history of Lebanese migration to demonstrate how widespread and immense this phenomenon is the case of the Lebanese society. In addition, an effort is made to show the gap in the Lebanese migration studies concerning return migrants.

1.1 Emigration from Lebanon: The First Wave

Tabar (2010) claims that Lebanon is considered to be a country of emigration and immigration as it witnessed four significant out-migration waves throughout its history. The first wave commenced before Lebanon was founded. Initially people migrated between 1840 and 1860 from what is now known Mount Lebanon due to the collapse of the *Muqata`aji* system (a political system characterized by centralized feudalism). Prior to this wave still, early emigrants mainly consisted of priests who were sent by the Maronite Catholic Church to study in Rome. However, the first wave that started roughly around 1840s, included not only people going to *Amrika* and to a lesser degree, Australia, but also a small number of Christians who went to Egypt and cities known as main hubs of trade, such as Marseille, Livorno, and Manchester. According to Tabar (2010), these movements formed the first wave of emigration from Mount Lebanon.

1.2 Emigration from Lebanon: The Second Wave

The second wave of emigration took place in the late 19th century due to the collapse of the silk industry that forced many Lebanese people to emigrate and seek better economic opportunities abroad (Tabar, 2010). The collapse was due to structural weaknesses that the silk industry could not withstand due to strong competition from China and Japan, and later, the introduction of artificial fabrics (Tabar, 2010). By the same token, Akram Khater (2001) perfectly describes the period following the collapse of the silk industry in Lebanon. As Khater explains:

At the end of the 1880s silk was no longer the golden crop it had been ten or twenty years before. ... Although some villagers did migrate seasonally to neighboring cities (like Aleppo and Bursa), these areas provided limited opportunities as they were experiencing their own economic crises. ...These drawbacks made a number of peasants look for other ways out of their dilemma—namely, how to make enough money quickly to guarantee their status as landowners and not slip back into the ranks of the landless laborers. About the only option that appeared on the economic horizons was emigration (Khater p.60, 2001).

Khater's (2001) quote not only details the collapse of the silk industry that led to migration but also highlights the link between migration and upward social mobility. The migration of Lebanese continued into the 20th century. By World War I, a third of the population of Mount Lebanon had emigrated (Tabar 2010). Mostly emigrants were

Christians who ended up in South and North America. Commenting on the emigration of Christians in the early 20th century, Tabar (2010) explains that early emigrants from Ottoman Syria migrated to a place called “*Amrika*” (i.e. America, slang used by Lebanese peasants); however, they found themselves in Canada, South America, West Africa, Australia, Europe, New Zealand because they were not allowed in the US, or because of bad management from shipping agents (Tabar, 2010). Tabar (2010) reports that the number of people who left Mount Lebanon per year between 1860 and 1900 ‘averaged 3,000 with a sharp rise to 15,000 per year between 1900 and 1914.’

1.3 Emigration from Lebanon The Third Wave

The period starting in 1945 and ending in April 1975 constituted a third wave of emigration from Lebanon due the boom in the oil industry in the Gulf countries, which increased their demand for Lebanese labor (Tabar, 2010). During the same period, the Lebanese economy was greatly affected by the outbreak of the 1967 war with Israel, and its ramifications on the political stability in the country. After the 1967 war with Israel, political tension and divisions amongst the Lebanese people became more severe. Also, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) usage of Lebanon as a military operations base against Israel pushed more Lebanese to migrate (Tabar, 2010). As Batrouney (as cited in Tabar 2010) reports, between 1945 and 1975 the majority emigrated to Australia:

The years 1947-61 saw a net gain of about 400 Lebanese immigrants a year followed by a net intake of about 800 a year during 1961-6. However, following the 1967 Arab-Israeli war and continuing conflict in Lebanon, the net intake jumped to 3,000 per year during 1966-71, which then declined a little to 2,200 a

year during 1971-6.

1.4 Emigration from Lebanon The Fourth Wave

The fourth wave was during the Lebanese Civil War (1975-1989). It is during this phase that the majority of our informants emigrated. Tabar (2010) reports that 990,000 people emigrated from Lebanon, accounting for 40% of the total population. In addition, these fourteen years of Lebanese Civil War caused the breakdown of the economy (Tabar, 2010). Many civilians 'lost their resources and became homeless without income or health, social, housing and educational services' (Tabar, 2010). By the year 1985, the rate of unemployment rose to 21% and the minimum monthly salary declined 'from US\$280 at the end of 1983 to US\$27 in 1987' (Tabar, 2010). In addition, during the Lebanese Civil war (1975-1989) several military conflicts happened that forced more Lebanese to emigrate. In 1982, a large scale Israeli invasion of Lebanon occurred, which was followed by partial withdrawal. In 1984-5, clashes between Palestinian commandoes and the Syrian army occurred. In 1986, fights erupted between Palestinian and Lebanese Shi'a. Between 1986 and 1989 additional inter- and intra- Lebanese communal clashes arose. All the previous military events, according Labaki (as cited in Tabar, 2010), 'brought the rate of emigration back to its 1975 level.' Having examined the four waves of emigration, I now present selected studies on return migration in Lebanon.

1.5 Return Migration

Although Khater (2001), Tabar (2009, 2010), Hourani & Shehadi (1993), and Khalaf (1987, 2002) extensively examined several aspects of emigration such as cultural,

political, socio-psychological, and economical, the aim of this thesis is to examine return migration and the role of migration in upward social mobility for those who returned. In others words, the purpose of this thesis is to explore the role of migration in the formation of an upper social class in Lebanon. More specifically, this thesis investigates how migration enabled some Druze families to join the upper class after spending a substantial number of years working abroad. Through interviews with these families who returned to Lebanon and are now part of the upper class, this research shows how migration was a decisive factor in their upward social mobility. Several scholars such as Stamm (2006), Khater (2001), Khalaf (1987), Labaki (2006) and Tabar (2010) examined return migration in Lebanon. However, none of them examined systematically the role of migration in the upward social of mobility of these returnees. Two important studies that stand out are those conducted by Khater (2001) and Labaki (2006).

Khater's (2001) and Khalaf's (1987) studies show how some Lebanese migrated to achieve wealth in a short time then returned home. Khater (2001) claims that a significant percentage of the Lebanese emigrant population kept an active link with Lebanon by sending remittances, maintaining contacts, and eventually by returning. As Khater (2001) explains: "At this point, it is important to explore the impact that pre-World War I Lebanese emigration had on the political and economic development of the country. In addition to the money coming in from remittances, and its significance on the local economy, it is estimated that a third of the migrants returned to Lebanon (Khater p.59, 2001)." By the same token, Khater (2001) claims that due to migration, return migrants, formed a middle social class that had an important role in Lebanon's economic development. As Khater (2001) reports: "these return migrants greatly contributed to the

formation of a middle class, which played a major role in the development of the tertiary sector (i.e. tourism, trading, and construction) and the building of the modern Lebanese state. As they returned, they brought with them the necessary economic and cultural capital used to spread middle class culture. A very dynamic – and mostly Christian – middle class was created, which became the driving force behind the creation of modern Lebanon in 1920 (Khater p.59, 2001).” By the same token, Khalaf (1987) confirms that people migrated from Lebanon, dreaming of achieving wealth in a short period, to return home and have a better life.

Equally important is Labaki’s (2006) United Nation report. Despite Labaki’s (2006) report not being a scholarly study, the report compiles important data on the role of the contribution of the Lebanese emigrants to the economic development of Lebanon. Labaki (2006) reports that the Lebanese abroad contributed to their country by sending remittances by stating: “The remittances they sent had a crucial role for the Lebanese economy and society reaching 40% of the national income in the early eighties. This role declined later with the decline of the economy of receiving countries, but remittances were equal to 10 to 15% of GDP, between 1990 and 2004.” Furthermore, Labaki (2006) claims that the Lebanese abroad financially contributed to social aspects of development in Lebanon, such as promoting education by funding several schools and universities, financially supporting hospitals, and providing water, electricity supply and other basic infrastructure to under equipped villages.

In addition to the financial role of the Lebanese migrants supporting the economic and social development on Lebanon, Labaki (2006) shows how upon their return to Lebanon a number of Lebanese return migrants were elected to Parliament. Labaki (2006) reports that: “since 1943, a number of emigrants or sons of emigrants returning home (20 persons) were elected to Parliament in several Lebanese regions.” In addition, Labaki (2006) claims that:” emigrants have played a preeminent role in providing financial support to populist and/or communal political parties in Lebanon. Political parties established branches in many countries of emigration. One of the functions of these branches is to collect funds for their organization in the home country.” A point that Labaki (2006) lightly examines—but nonetheless remains important to this thesis—is the role of migration in creating a social class in Lebanon by claiming that ‘politically passive returning emigrants’ returned to Lebanon forming a new elite. As Labaki (2006) lightly argues in one sentence concerning the formation of ‘a new elite’ in Lebanon: “In urban as well as in rural areas many returning migrants with some wealth, are gradually forming a new local elite, independent from traditional notables from whom they are no more clients and keeping their distances from populist parties and militias.” Labaki does not further elaborate on this point, however, in terms of my thesis Labaki’s claim is a solid starting point for examining the impact of migration in the formation of an upper class in Lebanon.

Unlike the previous scholars, Tabar (2010) and Stamm (2006) examined other aspects of return migration. Tabar (2010) claims that returnees from the first wave of emigration from Lebanon were priests who were sent by the Maronite Catholic Church to study in

Rome. When the priests returned they played an important role in the educational sector in Lebanon. As Tabar explains (2010) explains: “Churchmen who had left for Rome returned with knowledge acquired in Europe that played a critical role in building schools and educating the population. Furthermore, capital and remittances introduced by return migrants were utilized towards educating the migrants' children, which consequently their opportunity to find a job.” Whereby, Stamm’s (2006) study examines the role of social ties during the decision-making process of Post-war return migration and reintegration in Lebanon. While these studies are interesting they fall outside the scope of this study but might serve future one.

After presenting historical studies on Lebanese emigration, I have identified a gap in the literature concerning return migration. Therefore, this thesis is an attempt to fill the gap regarding the role of migration and return migration in the formation of an upper class in Lebanon by taking nineteen Druze return migrants as a case study. My research aims to investigate the role of migration in the formation of an upper class in Lebanon by building on Khater’s (2001) book in which he makes a convincing case for the strong impact of return migration on middle class formation. My research also builds on Labaki’s (2006) statement that ‘...many returning migrants with some wealth, are gradually forming a new local elite... .’ Although Labaki’s report is not scholarly this thesis considers it a solid starting point for examining the impact of migration in the formation of an upper class in Lebanon. The next chapter is a literature review which aims to define return migration, social class, social mobility, and factors of upward social mobility.

Chapter Three

Literature Review

Chapter one gave a brief description of migration in Lebanon and showed the need to focus more on return migration. This chapter presents core concepts which my thesis will build upon such as return migration, social class, social mobility, and factors of upward social mobility. Hence this chapter is split into four sections. The first part presents theories of return migration. The second section defines the notion of social class. The third part examines types social mobility with an effort made to show the gap in the literature concerning, the role of migration and return migration, in upward social mobility. The third part introduces factors of upward social mobility.

3.1 Theories of Return Migration

Return migrants are “persons returning to their country of citizenship after having been international migrants (whether short-term or long-term) in another country and who are intending to stay in their own country for at least a year.” (OECD, 2008). This definition holds four dimensions: 1) country of origin, 2) length of stay in the host country, 3) place of residence abroad and 4) length of stay in the home country after return (OECD, 2008). The neoclassical approach to return migration explains that migrants did not successfully maximize their expected return. In other words, in a neoclassical stance, return migration includes return migrants who calculated wrongly the costs of migration and who did not secure the benefits of higher earnings. As Cassarino (2004) explains:

“return occurs as a consequence of their failed experiences abroad or because their human capital was not rewarded as expected”. Whereby, the New Economics of Labor Migration views return migration as the rational outcome of a “calculated strategy”, which results from the achievement of definite target or goals (Cassarino, 2004). Moreover, the New Economics of Labor Migration views return migrants as the outcome of a successful story abroad. Therefore, this thesis adopts the New Economics of Labor because upon returning to Lebanon, our sample of interviewees met their financial goals through higher incomes and/or accumulation of saving (Cassarino, 2004).

3.2 Defining social class

Examining the role of migration in upward social mobility and the formation of the Druze upper class requires a general discussion of social class and social mobility. Erik Olin Wright (2002) argues that different uses of the word social class lead to various kinds of questions and therefore different types of concepts. This thesis adopts Wright's (1978) explanation of class as a gradational theory. Wright explains that gradational theory is based on a social class ladder, such as upper class, upper middle class, middle class, lower middle class, lower class, and underclass. Also, Wright (1978) explains further that the three primary social classes are forming a sort of triangle: the bourgeoisie, the proletariat and, most importantly between them, the petite bourgeoisie (Atkinson, 2015, p. 31). While the bourgeoisie own and control the means of production and the labor of others, the proletariats do not own or control the means of production or their labor (Atkinson, 2015, p. 31). The bourgeoisie or the self-employed, own means of production and control their labor but do not control the labor of others (Atkinson, 2015,

p. 31). Having said this, our sample of interviewees fit perfectly under the definition of the bourgeoisie, as they own and control the means of production and the labor of others. Therefore, for the purpose of this thesis, I will use the term *bourgeoisie* and *upper class* interchangeably to refer to the social class of my informants.

Having defined the notion of social class this thesis adopts, I now turn to defining the analytical framework, which I apply to examine the role of migration in my informants' upward social mobility. It is important to note that this thesis adopts social, cultural, and/or economic capital as defined by Bourdieu (1986), as factors to investigate the extent to which these capitals assisted our sample of informants in their upward social mobility process. Bourdieu's theory and interpretation of the different forms of capital is a useful analytical framework because it is based on the 'the fungibility of these forms of capitals' (Bourdieu, 1986; Portes, 1998; Radler, 2014). In other words, Bourdieu's social and/or cultural capitals are convertible to economic capital (Bourdieu, 1986). Therefore, based on Bourdieu's (1986) 'fungibility forms of capital' this thesis investigates the extent to which our informants utilized one or a combination of social, cultural, and/or economic capital to achieve upward social mobility and are now part of the upper class. The next section introduces the relationship between class and sect.

3.3 The relationship between class and sect

In addition to Lebanon being a country of emigration and immigration, its political system is "characterized by a sectarian power-sharing structure" that resulted from a long history of sectarian and communal power struggles (Tabar, 2010). In another study,

Traboulsi (2014) reports that Claude Dubar and Selim Nasr (1974) analyzed the relationship between class and sect in Lebanon and concluded that all social phenomena should be reduced to class struggle. This is how they put it in their own words: “It is imperative to recognize in the Lebanese social structure a two co-existing structures: a politico-sectarian structure, and a class structure composed of social locations and relationships that spring from a given economic system.” On this basis, Traboulsi (2014) concludes that examining sect and class formation is not a random act in the context of the Lebanese society. For him, “There can be no doubt that socioeconomic mobility in Lebanon manifests itself through sectarian representation, the structures of this representation and the balances of power within this representation.” In other words, selecting a religious community that has a significant political role in Lebanon, like the Druze community, to examine upward social mobility and the formation of upper class would certainly result in shedding light on the socio-economic roots of the political power of the Druze leaders in Lebanon. That being the case, it becomes significant to take the Druze (or any other sect that has a major role in the running of the state in Lebanon) as a case study to investigate not only upward social mobility within its ranks but also to examine the role of migration in this process.

Historically, the Druze community is the second community in Lebanon after the Maronite to take part in the mass migration that occurred in Mount Lebanon at the end of the 19th century (Khuri p. 86, 2004), and as a result, migration has left an indelible mark on its socio-economic and political transformation. As mentioned by Traboulsi (2014), the Druze only accounts for 5.5% of the Lebanese population according to a 2005 estimate by INED (Institute National des Etudes Demographiques – Paris). Yet the

political role of the Druze in Lebanon far outweighs its demographic size. This can partly be explained not only by the Druze role in the political history of Lebanon, but also by the transformation of its class structure which has been greatly affected by Druze return migration.

3.4 The relationship between economic power and sect

Traboulsi (2014) chooses the term oligarchy (i.e. rule by the minority) to portray the bourgeois class, which controls Lebanon's economics system. Traboulsi (2014) claims that the term oligarchy captures the "class's family nature" and "the high proportion of legal privileges and exemptions that it enjoys." Furthermore, the oligarchical families break down along sectarian lines (Traboulsi 2014). The oligarchy families comprises of 24 Christian families (9 Maronite, 7 Roman Catholic, 4 Orthodox and one family apiece for the Latin, Protestant and Armenian churches) and 6 Muslim families (4 Sunni families, one Shia family and one Druze) (Traboulsi 2014). Most importantly, a point that Traboulsi (2014) lightly examines—but nonetheless remains important to this thesis—is that one of the oligarchy's families source of wealth comes from "money from the diaspora in Africa, the Americas and oil-producing Arab states such as Iraq and Saudi Arabia." Traboulsi does not further elaborate on this point; however, in terms of my thesis Traboulsi's claim is a good starting point for examining the impact of migration in the formation of an upper class in Lebanon. The next section defines types of social mobility. Based on the above argument, studying the formation of upper class in any of the major sects in Lebanon would necessarily shed light on the economic basis of the political power exercised by the sect concerned.

3.5 Social Mobility

The literature highlights two different types of social mobility, which are personal, career changes, and geographical movements. However, despite this typology, the literature does not highlight the relationship between migration, return migration, and upward social mobility. Therefore, based on the interviews conducted, this thesis shows the crucial role of migration in upward social mobility and the formation of an upper class in Lebanon.

3.5.1 Vertical and Lateral Mobility

Vertical and lateral mobility are two other types of social mobility. To clarify, lateral mobility refers to geographical movements undertaken by individuals between different neighborhoods, towns, or regions (Giddens, 2013, p.511), whereas, vertical mobility refers to a person's or group's movement up or down a status hierarchy (Miller, 1960). Giddens claims that lateral mobility leads to vertical mobility. However, Giddens fails to include geographical movements across national borders in his definition of "lateral mobility". Therefore, this research examines how vertical mobility, more specifically, geographical movements across national borders can lead to upward vertical mobility.

3.5.2 Intergenerational and Intra-generational Mobility

This research examines social mobility based on inter-generational and intra-generational upward mobility. Intra-generational mobility refers to changes in social progression within the individual's lifetime (Nunn et al., 2007). This thesis qualitatively examines the career progression of our informants in the receiving country by comparing

the informant's career progression before migration to their career progression in the receiving country. However, inter-generational mobility refers to social class changes from one generation to the next (Galiani, 2008). This study qualitatively examines the role of migration in the upward social mobility of our informants when comparing our informant's career progression with respect to their parent's career change. The next part shows the gap in the literature concerning the role of return migration in the formation of an upper class in Lebanon.

3.5.3 Migration and Social Mobility

Serhan (2015) conducted similar research by taking the Lebanese Shia' who migrated from South Lebanon as a case study. In her research, Serhan (2015) interviewed forty-four migrants from the South of Lebanon who achieved a fortune abroad. Serhan (2015) concludes that due to migration, several individuals achieved upward social mobility and are part of the upper class. Furthermore, in her book, Serhan (2015) extensively documents in several chapters the remittances from the Lebanese Diaspora in Africa. However, unlike my thesis Serhan fails to account for return migration. In other words, Serhan (2015) does not allude to the fact that those she interviewed returned to Lebanon. To clarify, Serhan's argument (2015) does not refer to return migration as such. However, she clearly talks about the Shia migration to West African countries and its impact on the expansion of the size of the Shia middle and high bourgeois class. In other words, similar to my thesis, Serhan (2015) addresses the role of migration in the formation of an upper social class in Lebanon by taking the Shia community as a case study. Traboulsi (2016), on the other hand, makes a similar claim to that of Serhan (2015) when he stated that financial remittances from those who emigrated and worked

abroad is one of the main factors of upward social mobility in Lebanon. This claim, however, remains broad and does not receive further and detailed investigation by Traboulsi (2016). Therefore, my thesis builds on Serhan's (2015) and Traboulsi's (2016) work that migration leads to upward social mobility, and partly fills in the gap on the impact of migration on social class by showing the role of migration and return migration in the formation of Druze upper class in Lebanon. Furthermore, a biographical book titled "The Pioneers of Druze Emigration" in Arabic "الدرزي الإغتراب رواد" was published by a Lebanese magazine titled "Al Mal Wa Al 'Alam" - "والعالم المال" in 2013. This biographical book includes the life stories of fifty Druze migrants who achieved a fortune from working abroad, which covers a timeline between 1892 and 1989. The publication is not a comprehensive collection of data of all Druze personalities, but it represents a valuable source of information for my research, which documents migration as an essential factor in upward social mobility for fifty Druze families. The same could be said about the scholarly works of Serhan (2015) and Traboulsi (2016).

The following section discusses how this thesis adopts Bourdieu's (1986) different forms of capital as factors when analyzing upward social mobility. In other words, I shall explain how Bourdieu's (1986) social class theory is useful analytical framework for examining the extent to which social, cultural and/or economic capital, contributed to the upward social mobility of our informants.

3.6 Factors of Upward Social Mobility

Nunn et al. (2007) explain that social mobility is a complex and multi-layered concept. Examining the range of factors influencing social mobility shows some critical

arguments, but the complicated relationship between the different factors of social mobility means that it is impossible to conclude the relative importance of each separately. For this reason, factors of social mobility, such as social capital, cultural capital, and economic capital “work in overlapping ways and in different combinations for different individuals” (Nunn et al., 2007). Therefore, based on Nunn et al.’s (2007) argument this thesis examines the extent to which our informants utilized one or a combination of Bourdieu’s (1986) forms of capital, i.e., social, cultural, and/or economic capital to achieve upward social mobility.

According to Erel (2010), in migration studies, Bourdieu’s theory enables a thicker description as it engages with how social, cultural, and economic forms of capital interact. Erel (2010) claims that the person’s ‘position taking’ and ‘social trajectory’ arbitrate the utilization of Bourdieu’s capitals. While ‘position-taking’ refers to how migrants strategize to utilize their capital, ‘social trajectory’ is how migrants gain and valorize capital (Erel, 2010). For this reason, Erel (2010) argues that ‘position taking’ and ‘social trajectory’ are particularly relevant for analyzing migrants’ uses of capital. Given these points, this thesis investigates the extent to which Bourdieu’s (1986) forms of capital and/or migration acquired forms of capital assisted the upward social mobility process of each of the informants. The next section explains how this thesis make use of social capital as an upward social mobility factor.

3.6.1 Social Capital as an Upward Social Mobility Factor

Dominguez and Watkins (2003) claim that social capital acts as a facilitator to upward social mobility. However, examining social capital as a factor of upward social mobility requires us to introduce its origins and applications in modern sociology. Portes (1998) claims that according to Bourdieu (1986) social capital "... stands for the ability of actors to secure benefits by virtue of membership in social networks or other social structures." In other words, social capital is a resource, which is based on a sense of belonging to a group and serves as shared security and supplies a type of "credit-worthiness" (Thime, 2006). Equally, social capital lies at the core of people's relationships (Thime, 2006). To utilize and gain social capital, an individual must have a report to others, which makes these other individuals, the source of her/his advantage (Portes, 1998). Hence, the interest of this thesis is to examine how our informants utilized available social capital and/or gained new social capital through migration to migrate from Lebanon as a first step and to achieve upward social mobility in the receiving country as a second step.

Furthermore, according to Dominguez and Watkins (2003), social ties are composed of social support and social leverage. Social support is associated with "strong" ties, which is constructed of kin, neighbors, and intimate friends (Dominguez & Watkins, 2003). These ties provide people with powerful and emotional support as well as certain forms of necessary help like small loans, rides, or a place to stay in case of emergency (Dominguez & Watkins, 2003). On the other hand, social leverage promotes social mobility by helping individuals to "get ahead" and offers information, which can

promote upward social mobility and provide access to migration routes, employment, and education (Dominguez & Watkins, 2003). Equally, it is important to examine the kinship and the familial influence on one's migration decision (Haug, 2008). Haug (2008) reported several hypotheses, which show the influence of kinship, familial, and community ties on one's decision to migrate:

1. Information hypothesis. When relatives and friends are already living in different places, the propensity to migrate increases. In addition, migration to these places becomes more attractive because the living conditions (e.g. job opportunities) are known. The larger the distance between the place of origin and the place of destination, the less information circulates. The more social relations one has at the place of destination and, consequently, the more information channels these relationships provide, the more influential such information is on the decision to migrate. Social networks at the place of destination are a pull factor.
2. Facilitating hypothesis. Relatives and friends promote and channel migration to their own places of residence by facilitating adjustment to the new location, e.g. job search, material support, encouragement, provision of new social ties. Social networks at the place of destination are a pull factor.
3. Encouraging hypothesis. Families may encourage members of their family to migrate for work, e.g. as a strategy to secure the household income. Social networks at the place of residence are a push factor.

In addition to Haug's (2008) claim that kinship social networks are evident when considering its influence on one's migration decision. My thesis investigates Haug's (2008) explanation of chain migration. Haug (2008) claims that future migrants confront fewer obstacles because the earliest migrants dealt with the risks of migration. As Haug (2008) confirms: "Once these pioneers have dealt with the risks of migration, potential migrants confront lower hurdles: the transfer of social capital and other kinds of capital is now easier." Therefore, pioneer migrants and their successors supply information on work, opportunities, transportation and accommodations, which may result in a migration chain and eventually, help their kin and family to settle in the receiving country (Haug, 2008). As Haug (2008) explains: "The process of chain migration hinges on whether large numbers of migrants return to their country of origin or arrange for their family and kin to settle in the receiving country." Haug (2008) explains further that, the facilitating and the information hypothesis, as introduced above, could best describe the chain migration process. Therefore, my research investigates if sequences of migration within households have contributed to the chain migration processes. In addition, my study aims to qualitatively examine the extent to which our informants utilized their social capital and kinship networks to migrate from Lebanon as a first step and to achieve upward social mobility in the receiving country as a second step. In particular, this research seeks to examine the extent to which, available or acquired social capital through migration and kinship networks were of benefit in getting information regarding migration strategies, the choice of the destination, education, and employment in the receiving country (Haug 2008, Dominguez & Watkins

2003). The next section explains how this thesis makes use of culture capital as an upward social mobility factor.

3.6.2 Cultural Capital as an Upward Social Mobility Factor

Nunn et al. (2007) claim that cultural capital acts as a facilitator to social mobility; in a way, cultural capital is used to describe cultural goods, experience, and knowledge that show status in the social hierarchy. Furthermore, the relationship of cultural capital to upward social mobility is that cultural knowledge and experiences can facilitate access to social groups, and therefore makes it easier to find jobs or new projects (Nunn et al., 2007). However, examining cultural capital as a factor of upward social mobility requires us to introduce its three different states, which are embodied, objectified, and institutionalized (Bourdieu, 1986). The latter is of interest to this research. Bourdieu's (1986) institutionalized cultural capital includes formal education and informal education transmitted through the family, cultural groups, and political parties. Erel's (2010) study explores how cultural capital is utilized in a migration-specific field. Erel (2010) claims that: "migrants do not only unpack cultural capital from their rucksacks, instead they create new forms of cultural capital in the countries of residence." In other words, they do not only utilize cultural resources they brought with them, but they also develop 'in situ' to create quite distinguishable cultural dispositions (Erel, 2010). Therefore, based on Erel's (2010) claim this thesis investigates how our informants unpacked cultural capital from their rucksacks, and/or gained new forms of cultural capital in the receiving country to achieve upward social mobility.

By the same token, Nee & Sanders (2001) introduce the term of 'human-cultural' capital, which is "especially relevant with regard to immigrants." Nee & Sanders (2001) explain that both cultural and human capital refers to human competence that is acquired through informal and formal education. Moreover, while cultural capital emphasizes socialization within the family, human capital refers to an ability gained through workplace experience and formal education (Nee & Sanders, 2001). In fact, Nee & Sanders (2001) state that the human capital that migrants import with them and continue to accumulate in their new country can be utilized as an important resource, which opens up job opportunities.

Therefore, based on Erel's (2010) and Nee & Sanders' (2001) studies, this thesis investigates the extent to which brought with or newly acquired cultural capital and/or human-cultural capital assisted the upward social mobility of our informants. The next chapter explains the methodology used to conduct the qualitative interviews needed to explore the role of migration in upward social mobility and the formation of the bourgeoisie in Lebanon.

Chapter Four

Methodology

Chapter two outlined some of the previous work done on return migration, social class, social mobility, and factors of upward social mobility. This chapter defines the research design and interview structure used to conduct the qualitative interviews needed to explore the role of migration in upward social mobility and the formation of the upper class in Lebanon.

4.1 Research Design

Qualitative interviewing was used in my thesis, as it is often adapted in migration studies. As Gu (2013) explains, qualitative interviews seek to understand the migrants' life experiences in great density, coherence, and depth. Especially as migrants undergo several meaningful, psychological, and emotional experiences (Gu, 2013, p507). For this reason, conducting interviews is one of the most effective ways one can use to comprehend fellow humans; it is not only listening to what the interviewee has to say, but it is an active participation between the interviewer and the interviewee (Gu, 2013, p507). Qualitative interviews seek to empower respondents, by positioning them in the heart of their stories, therefore, giving them a voice (Gu, 2013, p507). In migration studies, interview-based research has gained increased importance. Examples include, Urban Villages (Gans, 1962), The Transnational Villages (2001), and Mexican New York (Smith, 2006), just to name but a few (Gu, 2013, p507).

Several migration scholars have relied on qualitative interviews not on quantitative methods to explore the in-depth information about the migrant's life experiences because qualitative methods can capture the subjective experience of the interviewees in ways empirical, quantitative methodologies, and empirical surveys cannot (Gu, 2013, p507). Though quantitative methods can be used to show the extent of migration and return migration have impacted on Lebanon, no official statistics on migration in Lebanon are available (Tabar, 2010). Hence, this thesis relies on qualitative interviews, not on quantitative methods to investigate the extent to which migration had a role in the upward social mobility of our informants.

4.2 Interviewing Participants

I interviewed only those who returned to Lebanon without taking into consideration from which country they returned. I restricted my sample to returnees who made a fortune in the diaspora, without taking into account, which year they migrated from Lebanon, to which country they migrated to, and an age bracket. Hence, snowballing technique was chosen because "it is suitable for research during which the population of interest is not fully visible and where accurately defining the population of interest is problematic" (Warner, 2012, p.386). I resorted to snowballing technique since no official statistics on migration in Lebanon is available (Tabar, 2010). Moreover, this sampling method is regularly used in studies with "hidden populations involved in sensitive issues, and in the study of human systems whereby factors with the most influence are not necessarily those whose exact characteristics are known" (Warner, 2012, p.386). This

method perfectly fits my thesis: to investigate the role of migration in upward social mobility and the formation of an upper class in Lebanon.

Initial participants were picked from a biographical book titled "The Druze Pioneer Migrants" in Arabic "الدرزي الإغتراب رواد" published by a Lebanese magazine called "Al Mal Wa Al 'Alam" in Arabic "والعالم المال" in 2013. This biographical book includes the life stories of fifty Druze migrants who achieved a fortune from working abroad, covering a timeline between 1892 and 1989. I contacted the owner of the magazine, who happens to be a close family friend. Through her, I was able to get the contact of ten individuals, whom she thought would accept to take part in my research. I approached each participant by first informing them of the person who gave me their contact. In addition, I explained to them that their identity would remain anonyms. Then each participant was asked if they knew of any other return migrants that would accept to be interviewed. I had initially planned to interview twenty people, as such a sample size would allow me to have enough material to investigate a collection of return experiences. Despite having the contact of twenty-six returnees, I was only able to interview thirteen of them. However, with the help of my supervisor, I was able to get access to six additional interviews, increasing the number to a total of nineteen interviews. My supervisor conducted three interviews. Also, two fellow researchers at the Lebanese American University conducted another three interviews, using the questionnaire I have developed.

I tried on several occasions and through several networks to get in touch with the remaining eleven contacts I had. However, it proved to be problematic. Six contacts

refrained for personal reasons, and three contacts said that they were traveling and not coming back anytime soon. Two contacts said that they would get back to me but never did and stopped answering my phone calls. All nineteen participants returned after the end of the Lebanese civil war, i.e., between 1990 and 2016. Gender was excluded as criteria because, sadly, I could not locate a Druze returnee woman who accumulated economic capital abroad and returned to Lebanon.

4.3 Interview Structure: In-depth Interviews

I conducted in-depth interviews over a three-month span during the period of March-till May 2017. All nineteen interviews were conducted face to face. On average, each interview lasted about thirty minutes. Informants were given the option to be interviewed in their workplace, their home, or a coffee shop. These places were chosen to make sure that participants pick the most suitable place for them to express themselves comfortably.

The interviews were all conducted in Arabic then translated into English. The audio recordings were translated verbatim, "regardless of how intelligible the transcript may be when it is read back" (Sutton & Austin, 2015). The interview analysis is based on Smith (1996) suggestion of a qualitative research method known as "interpretative phenomenological analysis" (Sutton & Austin, 2015). This analysis has two essential beliefs: first "that it is rooted in phenomenology, attempting to understand the meaning that individuals ascribe to their lived experiences" and second, "that the researcher must attempt to interpret this meaning in the context of the research" (Sutton & Austin, 2015).

It is also important to note that after conducting the first three interviews and due to the nature of the questions asked, I felt that the informants were narrating their own biography. For this reason, the analysis of the interviews will also follow Blair's (2016) claim that narrative research "involves studying the lives of individuals through the stories they tell."

4.4 The Interview Schedule

After transcribing the interviews, I started coding the interviews based on the 'initial coding' approach (Saldaña, 2013, p.100). According to Saldaña (2013) "initial coding" is breaking down qualitative interviews into discrete parts to closely examine them, and compare them for differences and similarities. In other words, the goal of 'initial coding' is "to remain open to all possible theoretical directions indicated by your readings of the data." This approach enables the researcher to reflect deeply on the nuances and contents of the interviews and take ownership of them (Saldaña, 2013, p.100). Furthermore, 'initial coding' is seen as a starting point to provide the researcher with analytic leads for further exploration and "to see the direction in which to take the study" (Saldaña, 2013, p.101). In addition, the coding process was based on Saldaña's (2013) advice to code by paying meticulous attention to the rich dynamics of data through line-by-line coding. Also, some codes were accompanied by questions marks and/or parentheses for analytics follow-up, or memo writing and recording (Saldaña, 2013, p.101). To sum up, coding makes it easier to identify similarities, differences, and issues that are revealed through the interviewee's narratives (Sutton & Austin, 2015). This process enabled me to understand the interviews from the participant's perspective (Sutton & Austin, 2015). It

is important to note that coding was completed using the Institute for Migration Studies' computer at the Lebanese American University, Beirut campus.

To secure direct comparability of the interviews all the informants were asked the same questions. The formulations of the questions asked were based on four major themes. First, the background section covered information such as location of interview, starting and ending time, place of birth, place of residence, gender, age, level of education, and marital status.

Second, the history of migration part was split into two sections. The first section examined prior-to-migration information, like whether the interviewee is a descendant of an immigrant, and investigated what was the informant's job before migration. If the interviewee answered with yes, then he/she was asked a set of questions to investigate their parent's migration history. In case the interviewee was a descendant of an immigrant, an inter-generational mobility comparison between the interviewee and his/her parents was made. The first section also examined when, why, and how the interviewee migrated from Lebanon and most importantly, this part questioned the role of social networks in facilitating the migration route (Garip, 2008). The second section examined during-migration-information, such as what was the first job in the receiving country. Most importantly, I analyzed to which extent social, economic, and/or cultural capital acquired before migrating and/or during migration was of benefit to find a job and/or start a business in receiving country. Also, the questionnaire inquired about the size of interviewee's business (e.g., number of employees).

In the third part, the interviewee was asked at which stage of the migration process he/she began to send remittances to Lebanon, how much money was sent, to whom, and for what purpose the money was sent. Also, this part inquired when did the investment at home start and if the interviewee had spent any money on any community-based projects in Lebanon. Finally, I asked if the interviewee if he/she considered migration as the primary factor in his/her upward social mobility.

The final part sought to know the current size of the informant's business and its monetary value. Also, this section investigated if the money earned abroad was used to set up a business upon returning to Lebanon and if it was used to support financially any political parties in Lebanon.

4.5 Ethical Considerations

The interviews were conducted after the Institutional Review Board of the Lebanese American University approval of the questionnaire and consent form. Each participant signed a consent form after communicating to them sufficient information about the research. In addition, I informed all participants that their answers will not be released to anyone. Also, in the results and discussion chapter, the identity of the informants was concealed by changing their names. Most importantly I communicated to the informant that the audio recordings and transcripts will be deleted after completion of the thesis. This followed Shaw's (2003) guidance concerning ethics in qualitative research and evaluation, by adopting an informed consent and respecting informant's confidentiality

and privacy (Shaw, 2003). The next chapter reports significant findings of my research with a focus to account for the role of migration in upward social mobility and the formation of the upper class.

Chapter Five

Results and Discussion

This chapter aims to present significant findings of my study with an effort to account for the role of migration and return migration in upward social mobility and the formation of the upper class in Lebanon. This chapter is split into five sections. The first section, presents why and when the informants left Lebanon. The second section shows the interviewees' ties to homeland. The third part, reveals why and when our informants returned to Lebanon. The fourth section examines which capital(s) (i.e., social, culture, and/or economic) our informants utilized to emigrate and eventually be part of the upper class. The fifth and final part presents our informants' response on the role of migration in their upward social mobility process.

5.1 Why and when they Left

My first question was when and why did the interviewees leave their country in the first place. The findings show that the majority, fifteen out of nineteen informants, emigrated prior or during the civil war (i.e., between 1970 and 1983). Furthermore, the majority emigrated upon finishing their school studies in Lebanon to Venezuela and Nigeria. The rest traveled to Kuwait, KSA, United Arab of Emirates, United States of America, Canada, and Liberia. Few reported that they left for reasons other than those related to

the unfavorable economic and political situation. Five were born in the diaspora, and two reported that they left to pursue studies abroad. Another two were visiting their sibling, and due to the start of the Lebanese civil war, they could not return. One reported that he left based on family advice. As Jad stated: “When my mom's cousin knew that my dad lost all of his money after his return from USA; he proposed to sponsor [myself] and my two siblings to work with him in Venezuela. We decided that my eldest brother should travel first, that was in 1951. In 1953 my middle brother emigrated. Then in 1958 I did, I was only 21.” Another informant had a compelling answer as to why he emigrated. As Houssam explained: “Once I realized that Lebanon with its current system, instead of dealing with people based on their qualifications, they look first at the person's religion, and automatically plan their future based on their religion and decide which education and job this person should get. I decided to leave Lebanon and to migrate to a non-Islamic country. So I applied for a Canadian and Australian visa, and I said to myself that I would travel to the country that grants me the approval first. And, it was Canada.” The next section shows how our informants maintained social and financial ties with Lebanon.

5.2 Ties to the Homeland

Before shedding light on reasons of return, it is essential to indicate that our interviewee's departures and eventual returns were not disconnected from each other but instead, were interconnected. All of the informants visited Lebanon at least once a year. The majority returned to get married; naturally, those who were working in the Gulf could afford to visit regularly than those who were living in Canada, Venezuela, the

African countries, or the USA. Another finding is while working abroad; all the returnees maintained social and financial ties with Lebanon. All of the nineteen informants confirmed that they sent financial remittances to their parents or family members. Also, the majority contributed financially to social organizations in Lebanon. For example, Khalil donated money to construct the family house in his town and sent financial help to people in need during the Lebanese Civil War. He stated: “I always helped my people. I donated money to construct the family house in Ras el Maten and to many social NGOs. I also donated money to people in need during the Lebanese civil war.” Also, a striking majority reported of buying real estate in Lebanon while abroad. For example, Ramzi sent money to his mother and invested in real estate while he was abroad. He stated at one point: “I sent a monthly income to my mother so she could manage the expenses of the household. I also invested in building a house over my family's land in Bcheftine. I also purchased a house in Hamra Wardieh, lands in Jamhour and Einab upon which I had constructed apartments for sale”.

5.3 Why and when they returned

First of all, we are dealing with a group of nineteen informants, the majority of whom returned between 1990 and 1995. Regarding their career, it is important to note that upon returning to Lebanon, all of the nineteen informants were managing or had established a business. Since all of our informants eventually managed their own business then they fit under Atkinson’s (2015) definition that, the bourgeoisie or the self-employed, own the means of production and control their labor but do not control the labor of others (Atkinson, 2015, p. 31). Seven out the nineteen informants reported that

they kicked off their career with being an employee then they established their business abroad. Seven reported that they started their own business upon arriving in the receiving country. Five reported that they emigrated to join their family business.

Overall, the results do not show any similarities or common patterns of return. In other words, periods and intervals of return differ significantly. However, the majority of our informants spent at least ten years abroad; only one emigrated for two years. As Riad reported: "I migrated to Saudi Arabia in 1979 stayed there till 1981-1982, during which I made countless connections, engaged in numerous profitable business deals and made considerable amounts of money." Five out of the nineteen informants reported that they are still between Lebanon and the receiving country, whereby the remaining fourteen returned to Lebanon. The reasons for their return differed from one person to the other. Four returned due to the unfavorable economic situation in the same receiving country they migrated to, which is Venezuela. Two returned due to a war erupting in the receiving country, which is Liberia. Another returned during the civil war to assist his people socially and financially, whereas his siblings kept running their lucrative family business abroad, as they do till nowadays. As Maher stated: "In 1982, during the civil war, I came to Lebanon for a visit; during my stay, I was elected the secretary-general of a humanitarian NGO. After being elected, I felt that I should stay in Lebanon and help my people. So since then I've been based in Lebanon, while my brothers managed our business abroad." Another informant returned due to a severe medical condition. Another one returned following his father's footsteps. As Haitham stated: "I still remember when my father sent me back to Lebanon on my 11th birthday to continue my

education. I did the same with my son when he turned eleven. However, I sold everything in Venezuela and returned with my family. I am glad that I took this decision because after my return to Lebanon the financial situation in Venezuela got bad.”

Two returned to Lebanon and established their own business after accumulating considerable gains and enough experience in KSA. As Riad informed us: “I was able to establish my own company shortly after returning in 1990. If it wasn't for migration, even if for a relatively brief period of time, I wouldn't have made the connections I made in Saudi Arabia (with whom I continued to work even upon returning). Also, I wouldn't have been able to gather sufficient capital nor to gain the necessary experience to venture into my own business. Similarly Ramzi stated: “The money I had made during five years (1990 to 1995) equaled to all the money I made during 15 years in Saudi. I also gained the required experience to establish and manage my own business in contracting. Upon returning to Lebanon for good in the year 2000, I established my contracting office.” Another returnee reported that he came back to take over and develop his father's business in Lebanon. As Hani stated:” I came back to Lebanon in 1992 to expand my father's business. My father and his partner owned a small contracting office. However, from the money I accumulated during my stay in the US, I was able to grow my father’s business from one single worker to 10. Also, I was able to buy the otherwise rented shops and render the business a sole proprietorship instead of a partnership.” Another returnee reported that despite managing and running a lucrative business, he returned to Lebanon due to being unjustifiably fired based on the Kafala system in the Gulf region.

Furthermore, it is important to note that an overwhelming majority of the interviewees admitted that they were continually dreaming of their return to Lebanon, which confirms Khalaf's (1987) claim that people migrate from Lebanon, dreaming of achieving wealth in a short period, to return home and have a better life. Khalaf's (1987) dreaming of return argument is entirely affirmed by three of the informants. Haitham explained that the Lebanese's only concern in the diaspora was to work in trade, as it was considered an easy business to start and close, whenever they saved enough money to return to Lebanon. He also added: "The Lebanese people, who went to Venezuela, only focused on trading and small business shops. They did not get into production and/or real estate because their only concern was to go back to Lebanon. They believed that it would be easy to sell the business they owned and return home. The Portuguese, Italians, and Spanish focused on more significant industries, whereas Lebanese focused on trading, mainly because they were eager to go back, and their goal was to make money in a short period then return to Lebanon". Similarly, Raed claimed that during his time in the USA, he became more attached to Lebanon and aimed to return to his homeland. As Raed stated: "During my stay in the US, I missed my country and the Lebanese traditions My goal was to return to Lebanon, to the mountain and my family, because you miss it there." Another informant, Jamal who owns a company in Qatar explained that he does not employ much Lebanese anymore, because the majority once they save enough money they return to Lebanon. As Jamal stated: "I employed 180 employees, 103 of them were Lebanese. However, the Lebanese used to quit fast and return to Lebanon once they save money. That's why now I only have 17 Lebanese in my company."

5.4 The Upward Social Mobility Journey

The upward social mobility journey section is split into two subsections. The first subsection investigates which capital or combination of capital(s) our informants utilized to migrate. The second subsection examines which capital or combination of capital(s) our informants utilized to eventually be part of the upper class.

5.4.1 The Role of Cultural, Social, and/or Economic Capital to Emigrate

This section builds on the first section of the chapter in which I discussed reasons for initial departures and eventual returns and having identified ties with the home in the interim. In this part I discuss how some of our interviewees utilized one or a combination of their social, cultural, and/or economic capital to emigrate. Based on the nineteen conducted interviews, the majority, i.e., sixteen out of the nineteen informants utilized social capital as the primary capital to emigrate, which confirms Dominguez & Watkins' (2003) claim that social capital helps individuals to “get ahead” by providing access to migration routes, employment opportunities, and education. From the sixteen informants who utilized social capital to emigrate, fourteen out of these sixteen informants utilized kinship social capital to emigrate, alongside either economic and/or cultural capital. Among these fourteen, seven utilized their father's social networks to emigrate, four utilized their brother's social networks to emigrate, and three utilized their uncle's social networks to emigrate. These findings supports Haug's (2008) claim concerning the significant influence of kinship and friendship ties on migration decision.

Furthermore, Haug (2008) presents three hypotheses, which explains the influence of kinship and friendship ties on the individual's migration decision and the process of chain migration. The three hypotheses, as defined in the literature review, are information hypothesis, facilitating hypothesis, and encouraging hypothesis. To position Dominguez & Watkins' (2003) and Haug's (2008) claim in context, I shall present, based on the findings, how our informants utilized social and kinship social capital to emigrate, in addition to either cultural and/or economic capital.

Each informant utilized kinship social capital alongside either cultural and/or economic capital to emigrate. For example, one of the informants reported that he was able to get a job in Saudi Arabia through his father's social network, i.e., facilitating hypothesis. As Ramzi stated: "I got the job in Saudi Arabia through my father's friend who used to work at the same company. Upon learning of the vacancy, he contacted my father immediately to urge me to apply." Another informant reported that he was able to travel Venezuela upon receiving an invitation letter from his uncle, i.e., the use of facilitating hypothesis. However, our informant paid for his ticket. A third informant utilized his brother's kinship social networks and inherited cultural capital from his brother to migrate, i.e., the use of information, facilitating, and encouraging hypothesis. Riad reported: "I migrated by the end of 1979. I was only 19 years old at the time; I inherited my skills and the technical profession from my older brother who was like a father to me. Gypsum design was what I breathed at home ... My brother landed a few contracting deals in Saudi Arabia through his contacts there ... And I migrated on behalf of his modest

business to work in Saudi Arabia.” A fourth informant was able to acquire an essential network through his summer job to migrate to Canada, i.e., the use of facilitating hypothesis. However, our informant paid for his ticket through a kinship network. As Houssam described: “When I worked at a barbershop during summer, one of our clients was the son of a politician. I asked him if he could assist me to migrate. Luckily, he gave me his dad's card and told me to show it to the Embassy when I take an appointment for a visa. As for the ticket, my dad's uncle paid for it.” A fifth informant migrated twice in a short period. For his first migration route, he utilized his culture capital to migrate, as he was a scholarship recipient. As for his second migration route, he utilized kinship social capital by traveling to the USA to work at his uncle’s fuel station. As Hani explained:” I first migrated in 1982 to Algeria as the recipient of a university scholarship there... In 1986, I visited the American embassy in Algeria and applied for a Visa. I moved afterward to California, since my uncle owned a fuel station there. I worked at his fuel station and stayed at his place until I legalized my status in the USA.” A sixth informant utilized economic capital, i.e., savings from owning a convenience store in Lebanon to travel to Venezuela and start a business there. Apart from the above cases, two were visiting their siblings, and due to the start of the Lebanese Civil War, could not return. One was born and raised abroad. After discussing how some of our informants utilized various forms of capitals to emigrate, I shall turn next to examine the extent to which social, culture, and/or economic capitals aided the upward social mobility of our informants.

5.4.2 The Role of Cultural, Social, and/or Economic Capital to achieve upward social mobility

Having determined which capital or combination of capitals our informants utilized to emigrate; I shall now investigate the extent to which social, cultural, and/or economic capitals assisted our informants to eventually join the upper class. The analytical framework of the interviewees' upward social mobility shall be based on Bourdieu's (1986) 'fungibility forms of capital'. In addition to Bourdieu's (1986) work, my thesis's analytical framework shall be based on the arguments of Nunn et al. (2007), Dominguez and Watkins (2003), and Erel (2010). Building on Bourdieu's work (1986), Nunn et al. (2007) explain that the complicated relationship between the different factors of social mobility makes it impossible to conclude the relative importance of each upward social mobility factor alone (Nunn et al., 2007). Therefore when analyzing the role of capitals in our informant's upward social mobility process, this thesis follows Nunn et al.'s (2007) claim that factors of social mobility, such as social, cultural, and economic capital "work in overlapping ways and in different combinations for different individuals." In other words, when analyzing the role of capitals in the upward social mobility of my informants, I shall show how they utilized different forms of capitals during their migration journey to eventually join the upper class. Furthermore, my analysis shall be based on Dominguez and Watkins claim (2003) that social ties promotes social mobility by helping individuals to "get ahead" and offers information, which can promote upward social mobility and provide access to migration routes, employment, and education (Dominguez & Watkins, 2003). Consequently, based on the

findings, I shall examine how our informants utilized available or migration-acquired social capital to eventually be part of the upper class. Similar to Dominguez and Watkins' (2003) claim concerning upward social mobility, Erel (2010) offers an explanation of how migrants could utilize their cultural capital to climb the social ladder. Erel (2010) explains: "migrants do not only unpack cultural capital from their rucksacks; instead, they create new forms of cultural capital in the countries of residence." In other words, they do not only utilize cultural resources they brought with them, but they also develop 'in situ' to create quite distinguishable cultural dispositions (Erel, 2010). Hence, in light of the results, I shall examine how our informants utilized available or migration-acquired cultural capital to achieve upward social mobility.

Based on the results, the majority of our informants had their first job in the receiving country, which means that their upward social mobility commenced when they migrated from Lebanon. It is important to note that, all of the informants ended up having their own business. Based on the interviews conducted, all of the interviewees primarily utilized social capital to either find a job or establish their business, whereby the majority, fourteen out of the nineteen informants utilized kinship social capital as their primary capital to start a business or find a job abroad. From the thirteen who utilized kinship social capital to start their career in the receiving country, each utilized a different type of kinship social capital. Therefore, examining our informant's upward social mobility journey is split according to the utilized form of kinship social capital. The first subsection covers how five informants primarily utilized kinship social capital to join their family's business abroad. The second one investigates how five informants

utilized their kinship social capital to finance their business abroad. The third subsection examines how our interviewees utilized their kinship social capital to find a job, get a project, or pursue their education in the receiving country.

5.4.2.1 Kinship capital: as a form to join the family business abroad

Five of the below informants utilized their kinship social capital to join their family's business abroad. Haitham migrated to Venezuela to take over his father's lucrative business due to his father's sudden heart attack. Hani utilized his uncle's presence in the United States of America to work in his fuel station. Khalil and Wael migrated to Venezuela to work with their brother, whereas Ayoub migrated to Liberia to work with his brother as well. Since the upward social mobility process of each informant differs; then each case is examined individually.

Haitham had to migrate to Venezuela to take over his father's lucrative business due to his father's sudden heart attack. His father migrated at a young age to Venezuela in the mid-1940s to seek a better life. As Haitham reported: "When my dad traveled to Nigeria, he only had money to pay for his ship ticket, he was only 17. It took him a month and a half to get to Venezuela. He once told me that many people died on the ship, and they used to throw them in the sea. When he arrived there, he suffered a lot." Upon arriving in Venezuela, Haitham's father worked as a peddler then opened his textile shop. As Haitham reported: "When my father arrived in Venezuela, he worked as a peddler. He had to carry household products on his back and knock on doors to sell them; then after 10-15 years, he opened a textile shop." However, after our informant completed his

undergraduate studies in Lebanon, his father had a heart attack. For this reason, Haitham had no other choice but to travel to Venezuela and manage his father's profitable business. As Haitham informed me: “Just after I graduated from USJ in business administration in 1973, my father had a heart attack. So I had to fly to Venezuela to manage the business. The business was doing great, and it was profitable. The best period was between 1973 till 1995. During the peak of our business, we had around 30-35 employees.” However, despite managing an already well-established business, Haitham was able to grow his father's venture. As Haitham stated: “I expanded my father’s business by opening four additional shops in well-known malls and strategic locations.”

In Haitham’s case, it was the father of our informant who due to migration was able to be part of the upper class. However, despite inheriting a well-established and lucrative business, Haitham was able to maintain his father’s upper social class by sustaining the business and even expanding the business he inherited by four additional shops.

Similar to Haitham, Hani utilized his kinship social capital to work in his uncle’s gas station in the USA. Hani experienced two interrelated migration journeys. The first was to pursue his graduate studies in Algeria. The second was to work at his uncle's fuel station in America. For the first migration experience, Hani utilized his culture capital to migrate, as he was a recipient of a university scholarship based on his excellent school grades. After completing his graduate studies abroad, Hani utilized his migration acquired cultural capital to apply for a US student visa to peruse higher education. However, upon arriving in the US, Hani seized the opportunity that his uncle lived in the

US to explore career options instead. Arriving in America in 1986, he utilized his kinship social capital to work at his uncle's fuel station. Hani's access to kinship social capital not only permitted him to have an income but also helped him legalize his status in the USA. As Hani stated: "I worked at my uncle's fuel station, until I legalized my status in the USA. Then when I received my employment authorization and my green card, I worked at a fair in Las Vegas." Hani's studying in Algeria and working in the USA enabled him to accumulate social, cultural, and economic capital, which allowed him upon his return to grow his father's small business back in Lebanon. As Hani explained: "I came back to Lebanon in 1990, having around USD 100,000 in my bank. Using this amount of money, I was able to grow my father's business from one single worker to ten. I was also capable to purchase the otherwise rented shops and render the business to sole proprietorship instead of a partnership. I have also bought other real estate to serve my business, such as a basement to preserve the tools."

When I asked Hani, how migration enabled him to grow his father's small business, he admitted that migration allowed him to accumulate sufficient economic and cultural capital that was critical to grow his father's business in Lebanon. As Hani confirmed: "First, I would not have been in a financial position to grow our business here to what it is today had it not been for migration. Also, I think that it was the skills, which I have acquired during migration that helped me the most in my new business. I was able to visit fairs in Beirut and converse with international renowned contractors and real estate owners in English to land deals and to supply them with construction tools. Also, my

graduate degree in Marketing had helped me as well to convince and bring in customers to grow this otherwise family owned business.”

Hani’s upward social mobility could be presented as intra-generational mobility. Before migrating Hani was still a student and due to migration Hani was able to accumulate substantial amount of money, i.e. economic capital amounting of USD 100,000 in 1992, and cultural capital, i.e. a graduate degree in marketing. Upon his return to Lebanon Hani utilized his migration accumulated economic and cultural capital to grow his father’s business, which allowed him to be part of the upper class.

Like Hani, upon finishing his school studies in Lebanon, Khalil migrated in 1968 to work with his brother in Venezuela, i.e., utilization of kinship social capital to start his career. Upon arriving in Venezuela, Khalil worked with his older brother in Maracaibo for about two years until he learned Spanish. Then Khalil worked as a sales representative by selling home appliances. However, our informant was not satisfied with his job, which pushed him to look for a new one. Through a Lebanese friend of his who lived in Venezuela, i.e., utilization of social capital, our informant had the opportunity to meet a textile plant owner in Caracas. As Khalil stated: “Once I arrived in Caracas, I stayed in Pension Lebanon owned by a Lebanese. I only had 400 dollars back then. After a few days in Caracas, I finally met with the textile plant owner, and he offered me a job as a sales representative. A few weeks on the job, I sold a big stock of textile and made a profit of USD 1,700 from my first deal. After a few months on the job due to my positive sales numbers I was appointed to be the sole sales representative in

eastern Venezuela.” Four years into his job, Khalil accumulated enough economic capital that allowed him to establish his first business and make a great profit out of it. As Khalil stated: “In 1976, I had in my bank account USD 6,000, which I decided to fully invest in buying a watch franchise. Back then I was managing around 20 employees. Luckily, I made a huge profit. However, Venezuela suffered a massive financial setback, during which the currency devaluated and a ban on import was set. So I had no other choice but to drop the watch business.”

Nevertheless, it wasn't until twenty-five years after Khalil established his first business that he closed his most significant business deal. As Khalil explained: “In 2001, I was appointed to be managing partner for a respectful sporting goods brand for six years. I accepted the offer with no hesitation and ended up making a big fortune out of it. Luckily once the contract ended, Venezuela was hit by another financial crisis, this time it was too much to handle so I decided that it would be best to return to Lebanon.”

Khalil's upward social mobility could be assessed based on his intra-generational mobility. His career progression is a clear example on how migration enabled his upward social mobility process. Before migrating to Venezuela, Khalil had just finished his school studies and due to his brother's presence in Venezuela, he was able to kick-start his career by working with him. Then from his second job as a sales representative with a textile company, Khalil was able to accumulate enough economic capital to establish his first business. Also, twenty-five years after establishing his business, Khalil

was appointed to be a managing partner for a major sporting firm, which enabled him to maintain his upper social class status.

Similar to Khalil, Ayoub resigned from Lebanon to work with his brother. Ayoub was a radiologist operator job in Lebanon and migrated in 1983 to work with his two brothers in Liberia. Ayoub's brother sponsored his visa and paid for the ticket. Upon arriving in Liberia, our informant worked in his brothers' furniture shop, i.e., utilization of kinship social capital to find a job in receiving country. Then they ventured together into opening a car-spare-parts business. However, when Ayoub and his brother accumulated enough economic capital, each established their own business. Our informant opened his own car-spare-parts business and managed around 12 employees; currently his son is running the business in Liberia. When I asked Ayoub if anyone assisted his brother to migrate. Ayoub explained: "Each family member fully sponsors either his cousin and/or a sibling. My brother's son in law sponsored his visa and paid for the ticket. Three years after, my brother sponsored my younger brother; then he sponsored myself, then we sponsored our fourth brother." I also asked our interviewee about his brother's career path. Ayoub stated: "When my brother first migrated to Liberia, he worked with his son in law in real estate. They are considered as big real estate players in Liberia. They own several garages and apartments for rent and/or sale."

Ayoub's upward social mobility could be assessed based on his intra-generational mobility. His career progression is a clear example on how migration enabled his and his brother's upward social mobility process. Before migrating Ayoub was an employee in

Lebanon and when he arrived to Liberia, our informant directly started working with his brother. After accumulating enough financial capital, he was able to establish his own business, which enabled him to join the upper class.

Wael's case holds a lot of similarities to Khalil's and Ayoub's as all migrated to join their brothers. However, Wael initially migrated only to visit his brother without any intention to stay; however, Wael was convinced by his brother to stay in Venezuela and work with him. Before migrating, Wael was a mid-career accountant in Lebanon. Upon arriving to Venezuela in 1970, Wael's brother was able to convince our informant of staying. As Wael stated: "When I migrated to Venezuela, I did not have any money, so my brother convinced me to stay in Venezuela by fully financing the opening of my business there. We decided to complement his clothing store by opening a retail store to sell shoes." Wael's utilization of kinship social capital granted him the access to economic capital to start his business. Wael's business evolved, and after accumulating economic capital, he was able to build a shoe factory and open two additional retail shops. As Wael stated: "My work developed and I eventually invested in building a shoe factory and opening two additional retail shops. At our peak business, I managed 25 employees."

Wael's upward social mobility could be assessed based on his intra-generational mobility. His career progression is a clear example on how migration and his utilization of kinship social capital enabled his upward social mobility process to be part of the upper class. Before migrating Wael was an employee in Lebanon, and when he arrived

to Venezuela with the financial help of his brother, our informant opened a shoe shop. After accumulating enough financial capital, he was able to expand his business by building a shoe factory and opening two additional shops. Currently Wael lives between Lebanon and Venezuela, where he is still managing his business. The next subsection examines how five informants utilized their kinship capital to finance their business abroad.

5.4.2.2 Kinship capital: as a form of access to economic capital

Five of the below informants utilized their kinship social capital to finance their business abroad and eventually be part of the upper class. Maher, Rachid, and Osmat are descendants of migrant families, a fact which means that these informants made use of their father's 'accumulated migration economic capital' to start their business abroad. Maher and Rachid utilized their father's presence in Nigeria to finance their business. Maher was born in Nigeria, whereby Rachid emigrated from Beirut to Nigeria to establish his own business. As for Osmat, he first emigrated to the US to pursue his undergraduate degree, then worked in Saudi Arabia for six years. However, he inherited economic capital from his migrant father to expand and renovate the real estate he inherited from his father in Lebanon. Similar to the previous cases, Fadi's and Raed's upward social mobility started with the financial help of a family member. In their cases, the uncle and grandfather financially assisted our informants not their father. Upon arriving to Venezuela, Fadi's uncle established for him a clothing shop. As for Raed, he utilized financial remittances sent from his migrant grandfather to finance his education in the USA, to establish his business in Liberia, and then to start another business upon

his return to Lebanon. It is important to note that the upward social mobility process of each informant differs; therefore, each case is analyzed separately.

Maher made use of his father's presence in Nigeria to start his business. Maher is a 3rd generation migrant, who was born in Nigeria. His grandfather migrated in 1906. After that, his father migrated at an in 1928 and established a pistachio trading company. According to Maher, his family was unable to make ends meet. As Maher stated: "We suffered a lot. The pistachio season was only for four months, and after that, there was nothing to do in the village where we lived." When Maher turned twenty in 1959, he took an amount of money from his father to establish a small-scale iron atelier under their house in Nigeria. In this example, our informant utilized kinship social capital to get access to money and start his own business, i.e., our informant received economic capital from his father to start a business. Having the money in hand, Maher came back to Lebanon to hire a Lebanese engineer, who was a Druze like him. In addition, during his visit to Lebanon, our informant purchased a welding machine, a bending machine, and a saw machine. Maher's initial business model was to assemble desks, and one year into their business they received a pleasant surprise. As Maher stated: "One day, without notice, the Nigerian minister of Education passed by our atelier and requested 3000 desks and 6000 chairs. Then after four months the minister of health requested beds for hospitals around Nigeria." After only three years of establishing his business, in 1962, through our informant's social networks with the Nigerian government, Maher was capable to receive from the government a fun to buy a land to build a massive factory. As Maher confirmed: "Through my connections with the Nigerian health and education

ministers, I was able to get funds from the Nigerian government to pay a land on which I built a huge factory with 500 employees. The number of employees increased to 1,000 in peak years. Most of them were Nigerians, but some of the engineers were from Lebanon and The United Kingdom.”

Twenty years into our informant’s venture and due to the competition in the field of producing beds and desks, Maher took the decision to focus on the production of steel pipes. Maher explained: “Due to high competition in the productions of desks and chairs, we took a decision to switch our manufacturing line to producing steel pipes.” Currently, the fourth migration generation, i.e., the son of our informant and his sibling, are currently managing their still lucrative steel pipe business.

Maher’s upper class position could be assessed based on his inter-generational and intra-generational mobility. When we compare our informant’s career mobility to his father’s, it is clear that our informant achieved much more than what his father achieved in Nigeria. The father of our informant was a seasonal pistachio seller, whereas our informant established his steel business. Accordingly, analyzing our informant’s intra-generational mobility shows that Maher started his business at the young age of twenty and was able to grow the business from 10 employees to 1,000 employees within three years.

Same as Maher, Rachid utilized his father’s presence in Nigeria to start his own business. Rachid was born in Lebanon but decided to quit his job as a purchasing

manager in 1975 and migrated to start his own business in Nigeria. Upon arriving in Nigeria, our informant utilized kinship social, i.e., from his father, to fund his first business in Nigeria. In this example, our informant received economic capital from his father to start a business.

Rachid's first venture wasn't profitable but despite not making much profit from his first business, our informant confirmed that he acquired new social networks, which were crucial for other business endeavors. As Rachid explained: "The profit was small, but the turnover was large. However, during the first year of managing my business, I was a member of nine clubs, and I say it out loud, social life and the love of people is the most important thing. Education is important, but without people, you do not achieve anything." Two years into living in Nigeria, our informant had the opportunity to invest in a company through a social network he acquired from the motor and flying club. As Rachid stated: "I knew about this business opportunity from my social connections, mainly from the motor and flying club." After some time of reflection, our interviewee ended up managing the company and eventually buying 50% of it, basing his decision on the social contacts he had with the government. As Rachid explained: "I changed the way the business worked, and I made the operation faster. The British were worried that the government would not pay, so that's why they sold the company. However, I had excellent connections with the government, so I utilized my social contacts to get the payments on time. Having the payments on time, I was able to pay the company's expenses. Moreover, from the profits I made, I was able to purchase 50% of the company." Midway through our informant's career, he was approached by a well-

established international firm to work as a consultant. During his job as a consultant, Rachid utilized his cultural capital, i.e., education (our informant studied mechanical engineering in Lebanon) to design a cheaper agriculture machine. As Rachid stated: “I realized that the farmers in Nigeria need a special machine which can produce milk and a certain type of dessert. So a French friend of mine and I designed a machine which costs much less than the British model. We offered the plan to the European Commission, and we won the tender, which granted us a commission of 2-3% on each equipment sold.”

Through another migration acquired social network, Rachid was able to get a consultancy job with a European agricultural firm. Our interviewee was assigned to be the assistant general manager. During his time as the assistant general manager, Rachid was able to sell 3,000 machines in three years, whereas the previous manager only sold 900 within three years.

However, our interviewee noticed through his experience with The World Bank and The European Commission that the new market players are the Indians and Chinese, which pushed Rachid to resign from The European Commission. One day, an Indian company approached Rachid to design for them a cheaper model of a lawn mower. As Rachid stated: “The Indians offered me a consultancy project to design a cheaper lawn mower. I designed a model, which could be sold for USD 250, whereas the British were selling it for USD 1,000. Luckily our tender to the Nigerian company was approved, and I received a commission of 10% on each equipment sold.” Rachid has not fully returned to Lebanon; he still works between Nigeria, London, and Lebanon. Rachid owns a

consultancy office in London. He is currently a consultant for Nokia in Lebanon, i.e., our informant was able to land this job in Lebanon due to his accumulated cultural capital in the field of antennas during his work abroad.

Rachid's upper class position could be assessed based on his inter-generational and intra-generational mobility. When we compare our informant's career mobility to his father's, it is obvious that our interviewee accomplished much more than what his father did in Nigeria. The father of our informant was an employee most of his career then eventually worked in his son's consultancy office. As for Rachid's inter-generational mobility, our informant was a purchasing manager in Lebanon and when he migrated he established his own business, worked as a consultant to several well-established international firms, and was appointed as assistant general manager at one point. Currently he's a senior consultant at Nokia Siemens in Lebanon and runs his own consultancy office.

Similar to Maher and Rachid, Osmat did not finance his business using his migrant father's economic capital but inherited his father's accumulated migration economic capital, which financed the expansion and the renovation of his father's real estate holdings in Lebanon. Our informant is a migrant descendant since his father migrated to Venezuela in 1914. Upon arriving in Venezuela, Osmat's father worked as a peddler selling textiles; he started with a small stock and within a year opened a textile shop. During his stay in Venezuela, the father of our informant accumulated economic capital, which he later invested in Lebanon by buying buildings and lands in prime locations.

As for our informant, he migrated During the Lebanese civil war, to complete his undergraduate studies in the US. It is important to note that Osmat's education in the US was funded from his father's 'migration accumulated economic capital'. Upon finishing his studies, Osmat got a job in Saudi Arabia via a Saudi friend he met during his university studies, i.e., utilization of social capital to find a job. After being an employee, our informant and his brother established a landscaping company with a Saudi national, which lasted for six years. During this period, Osmat was able to accumulate economic capital. Despite Osmat inheriting money and several real estates in prime locations around Lebanon from his migrant father, he was able using the economic capital he accumulated from his work in Saudi Arabia to buy additional real estates and renovate the buildings he inherited. It is important to point out that Osmat inherited several buildings and lands from his father, which were purchased from his father's accumulated migration economic capital. Currently, our informant and his three siblings are considered to be part of the upper class as they are landlords living off rental income from the real estates, which they inherited and bought.

Like the previous cases, Raed's upward social journey began with the help of a family member, in this case a grandfather. Raed is a third generation immigrant who was born in Liberia. His grandfather first migrated and established a textile business in Liberia then his father joined the family business. Raed utilized financial remittances sent from his migrant grandfather to finance his education in the USA, to establish his business in Liberia, and then to start another business his return to Lebanon.

Despite being a brigadier-general in the ISF, Raed's father retired and migrated to Liberia to join his father's business. As Raed explained: "My father retired from the ISF and migrated to Liberia to join his father's business. Later on, my two brothers joined him. I was the youngest, so I stayed in Lebanon to continue my school education, which was funded by the money my grandfather sent." From the financial remittances sent from his grandfather, Raed was able to complete his school studies in a private school in Lebanon, and he was capable of traveling to the US to peruse a degree in civil engineering in North Eastern University in Boston. Upon completing his undergraduate studies, Raed utilized his 'migration accumulated cultural capital' to get a job with a reputable company in KSA. After working for four years in KSA, he decided to move to Liberia and establish a construction company there. As Raed stated: "I decided to move to Liberia because work in KSA started to recede and my family business expanded in Liberia. When I moved to Liberia, my father had passed away, but my brother was still working there. We had two supermarkets at that time. Then we bought a mill to grind wheat into flour and this mill expanded a lot. It was the only mill in Liberia. My brother and my uncle were able to grow the business by opening a supermarket, which employed 100 employees. The supermarket was located in an area where companies extracted iron from the mountains. For this reason, I opened an engineering office in the same location as the supermarket, and I helped them with the supermarket and mill as well." However, one year into moving to Liberia, the war in Liberia erupted, which forced Raed to return to Lebanon. Upon his return to Lebanon in 1998, Raed established a company, which focused on trade and real estate. For the trade part, he sent

supermarket supplies to his brother in Liberia. As for the real-estate part, Raed collaborated with his migrant brother, to invest in real estate. As Raed explained: “I established a construction company with my brother. We mainly sold apartments. Now I have eight employees, as we downsized a lot now due to the situation.”

Raed’s case is an interesting one, as he did not achieve upward social mobility due to migration. In fact, our informant’s upper class position could be assessed based on the family business his migrant grandfather established in Liberia and which his brother expanded. From the family business in Liberia, our informant received financial remittance, which allowed him to continue his school studies in a private school in Lebanon and then pursue his graduate studies in the USA. Our informant received financial remittance from the same family business, that his brother was able to expand, to start his own real estate business upon his return to Lebanon. Currently our informant is still managing the real estate business.

Similar to the previous cases, Fadi’s upward social mobility started with the help of a kin, in this case an uncle. Fadi was a bank employee in Lebanon and decided to migrate in 1973 to Venezuela. Upon arriving there Fadi’s uncle established for him a clothing business. Three years later, after accumulating enough economic capital, our interviewee decided to shut down the clothing shop and partner up with his brother to open a restaurant in Venezuela. After managing the restaurant business for two years, our informant decided to establish a business on his own, which was an electronics shop in Venezuela. From the newly established business, Fadi was able to acquire social ties

with army representatives. The newly acquired social ties advanced over time to business and political ties. As Fadi stated: “The business relationship started by selling the army electronic equipment and advanced to a more significant level, which is to sell the army military uniforms. As for the political relationship, I was the right hand of Delta Amacuro’s governor for nine years.” During his stay in Venezuela, our informant invested in a number of real estate in Venezuela and Lebanon. Fadi still owns a lotto company in West Venezuela.

Fadi’s upper class position could be seen based on his intra-generational mobility. Before migrating Fadi was a bank employee in Lebanon, and due to migrating to Venezuela he became a businessman and a political significant person. Fadi currently works in real estate. The next subsection examines how three informants utilized their kinship social capital to find a job, get a project, or pursue their education abroad.

5.4.2.3 Kinship capital: in job opportunities abroad

Three informants utilized their kinship social capital to find a job, get a project, or pursue their education in the receiving country. Riad utilized his brother’s social networks to land a project in Saudi Arabia. As for Ramzi, he utilized his father’s connections to land a job in Saudi Arabia. Whereby, Jamal utilized his father’s social networks to study engineering in Saudi Arabia then took over his father’s business there.

Unlike the previous cases, Riad did not migrate to join his family’s business abroad or took an amount of money from his family to establish his business, but he inherited

distinct cultural capital and utilized his brother's social network to land a project in Saudi Arabia. Our informant started his gypsum career at young age in Lebanon by inheriting the necessary gypsum skills, i.e., cultural capital, from his older brother. As Riad explained: "When our father passed away, my eldest brother had to take care of his family and I had to leave school and work with him to ensure everybody in the family was living within the minimum standards of well being. We were not very comfortable." Riad was only nineteen years old when his brother sent him and two of their relatives to Saudi Arabia, i.e., utilization of kinship social capital, to work on a project. Despite a short migration history of two years, our informant confirmed that he made considerable gains from his contract in Saudi Arabia, which allowed him to establish his business in Lebanon. As Riad explained: "My brother landed a few contracting deals in Saudi Arabia through his contacts there. We stayed in Saudi Arabia for around three years, during which I made considerable gains for both my brother and myself. Then I built upon the gains I made in KSA to start my business in Lebanon. In 1990, I established my company with ten workers and three pick up trucks; now I have more than 30 workers and much greater means to endeavor into other business deals."

Riad's upward social mobility is an interesting case, as he inherited distinct cultural capital from his brother, i.e., the necessary gypsum skills, which alongside his brother's social networks, he later utilized to migrate and achieve upward social mobility. Riad's upper class position could be mainly assessed based on his intra-generational mobility. Despite a short migration history, his career progression is a clear example of how migration enabled his upward social mobility process and allowed him to join the upper

class. Before migrating, Riad used to work with his brother; however, after accumulating enough economic capital from his project in Saudi Arabia, Riad was able to establish his own business.

Similar to the previous informant, Ramzi utilized his kinship social networks to get a job in Saudi Arabia. Ramzi experienced three migration journeys within twenty years. Ramzi first migrated to the US in 1977 to pursue a degree in civil engineering. Our informant knew about the degree in the US through a friend of his, i.e., utilization of social capital. After completing his degree and acquiring cultural capital, our informant returned to Lebanon for a short stay. However, our informant was able to land a job in Saudi Arabia due to his father's social network and due cultural capital acquired from migration. As Ramzi stated: "Upon graduating from the US in 1980 with a degree in Engineering, I came back to a war-torn country with few opportunities to clinch to. Luckily, I was able to acquire the job through my father's friend. Upon learning of a vacancy in the company he worked at in Saudi Arabia, my father's friend contacted my father and urged him to ask me to apply." What is interesting in this case is that our informant was able to land a job by utilizing his father's networks, who was a farmer that/but possessed a substantial network of friends. Ramzi stated: "My father was a modest, hard-working farmer, not rich at all, but a man who paid considerable attention and care to the connections he made with others."

Ramzi's migration experience in Saudi Arabia lasted ten years during which he worked as a project engineer. However, the Dutch company shut down its business, leading him

to establish a modest business with a Saudi partner our informant met through some connections he made during his contracting work at the Dutch company. Nonetheless, in 1990, the end of Civil War in Lebanon pushed our informant to leave the partnership with his Saudi friend and return to Lebanon with his wife. Ramzi returned to Lebanon to teach at the public school in Baakline, a job that he considered to be secure following the shattering events of the war. He taught for two years only, and the same grievances resurfaced again, and he was convinced that he was not made to teach but to pursue other interests and ultimately to manage his own business. Under those circumstances, in 1992, our informant got in touch with his previous Saudi partner, who agreed to sponsor him again. They decided to resume their business together in Saudi with a modest number of workers (10-12 workers) and modest resources of construction materials. Eventually, three years into their venture, in the year 1995, the cement industry in Saudi Arabia boomed. As Ramzi explained: “We sent workers and construction materials to the area of Yonboh, making substantial profits. The money I made in the beginning 1995-1996 amounted to all the money I accumulated during 15 years in Saudi Arabia.” However, since money was not Ramzi’s most significant concern, he decided to return to Lebanon in the year 2000. Upon his return to Lebanon, our informant invested the money he accumulated from his migration journey (between 1-3million dollars) in establishing a contracting and real estate company.

Ramzi’s upper social class position could be demonstrated based on his intra-generational mobility. Ramzi experienced three migration journeys. Ramzi first migrated in 1977 to the US to study engineering, which equipped him with cultural capital. His

second migration journey was upon completing his studies in the US, during which Ramzi was able to land a job in Saudi Arabia through his father's social networks. In fact, his second migration trip was critical in his upward social mobility, as Ramzi established a contracting company with a Saudi national. However, his third migration journey to Saudi Arabia, between 1990-1995, was the most profitable, that made him a fortune and strengthened his upper class position.

Unlike the two previous informants Jamal did not utilize his kinship social capital to get a project or a job abroad but he utilized his father's social networks to study engineering in Saudi Arabia. Jamal is a descendant of a migrant family. Jamal's father emigrated to Saudi Arabia in 1974 to seek a better future abroad. Upon his arrival in KSA, Jamal's father established a contracting company in KSA but three years after his arrival our informant's father unexpectedly passed away.

Our informant experienced three migration journeys. The first one was to study engineering in KSA. He informed us that due to his father's social networks in KSA he was enrolled in a top university. This example shows that our informant utilized his father's social network to pursue his education abroad "In 1976, through my father's social networks, he was capable of enrolling me in a top university in Saudi Arabia, a university, which students could only be admitted through an agency. I was the only Lebanese student in that university." However, six months into his studies, Jamal's father passed away, so he had to quit his studies to take over his father's business. Our interviewee managed his late father's business for four years. During this experience, our

informant reported that he accumulated significant cultural capital through an internship and from managing the contracting company of his late father. As Jamal explained: “I used to intern with an engineering company to enhance my drawing skills during the summers. I also gained practical knowledge from managing my father's company.” In addition to gaining cultural capital from managing his father’s contracting company, our informant accumulated economic capital from his work in Saudi Arabia before his short return to Lebanon. As Jamal explained: “I used to work day and night. When I began working in 1976, there were few contractors in KSA, and this played a huge role. I succeeded from the first year and worked until 1980. In 1980, I moved back to Lebanon with an amount of L.L. 2,700,000 in my bank account.”

However, during his short stay in Lebanon, our informant lost all the money he accumulated from working in Saudi Arabia and therefore had to migrate again. As he explained: “I stayed in Lebanon for two years, during which I lost all of the money I collected from working abroad ... Therefore, I decided to migrate again to Saudi Arabia in 1985.” Despite our informant losing all the money he accumulated from his first migration experience, his second one in Saudi Arabia was to a great extent much more lucrative than his first one.

During his second migration endeavor, Jamal, and a close engineer friend of his, i.e., utilization of social capital, were able to win a contracting bid. It is important to note that our informant and the friend he won a contracting bid with are both from the same hometown, which proves again the crucial role of social capital in providing access to

employment (Dominguez & Watkins, 2003). Winning the contracting bid made our informant a fortune and covered of all his debts in Lebanon. Jamal stated: “A good Lebanese engineer friend of mine and I were selected by the Saudi government to work on a contracting project. And the profit I made from this contracting project enabled me to cover all of my debts in Lebanon.” Jamal kept on exploiting business opportunities in Saudi Arabia and in 1985, he was able to close a contracting deal worth 2 million dollars.

After accumulating enough economic and cultural capital, our informant decided to return to Lebanon in 1990 and stayed there till 2004. During his time in Lebanon, Jamal established a contracting company and through his newly established business, our informant was able to acquire social ties with Qataris. Jamal obtained social ties with members of the Qatari royal family when they visited his hometown during summer and asked for his service in building their summerhouse. Therefore, Jamal utilized his social ties with the Qataris to set up a contracting firm in Qatar. As Jamal stated: “I utilized the good relations I had with the members of the Qatari Royal family to establish a contracting company there. I moved to Qatar in 2004, and I currently own the largest excavation company in Qatar with the most modern machinery. I manage 180 employees.”

Jamal’s upward social mobility could be shown as intra-generational mobility. As mentioned, Jamal experienced three migration journeys, but it was not until his second migration that prompted his upward social mobility process. Jamal first migrated in 1976 to study engineer in KSA, but due to his father’s sudden death, he had to take over his

father's company. However, during his second trip to Saudi Arabia in 1985 Jamal concluded several business deals, which covered all of his debts in Lebanon and made him considerable profits. Then fourteen years later, through social capital he acquired from his contracting company in Lebanon with Qatari royal family members, he was able to migrate to Qatar and establish an excavation company. Jamal's third migration experience was decisive in enabling him to be part of the upper class, as his excavation company is the largest in Qatar with the most modern machinery and employs around 180 employees. The next section examines how one informant utilized his culture capital to eventually be part of the upper class.

5.4.2.4 The use of cultural capital to achieve upward social mobility

One of the nineteen informants primarily utilized cultural capital to achieve upward social mobility. Upon completing his engineering studies in 1959 in Beirut, Raafat received a fully funded scholarship to pursue a master's degree in Engineering in Paris. This master's degree equipped our informant with distinct engineering cultural capital, i.e., the know-how of using 'Prestressed Concrete.' In 1962, our interviewee returned to Lebanon and worked in his father's contracting company. During his time in Lebanon, he utilized his migration acquired cultural capital, i.e., the know-how of using 'Prestressed Concrete' to construct significant projects, such as Royal Garden hotel in Hamra, Bata's shoe factory, and Al-Saydeh Church in Hadath.

In 1973, our informant was able to land a job with Binladin group in Saudi Arabia through a friend of his, i.e., utilization to social capital, and based on his migration acquired knowledge the use of 'Prestressed Concrete.' Raafat's wife recalled how her late husband got the job with Bin-Laden group. As she stated: "His friend who worked in Binladin was able to secure an interview for my late husband with Binladin group in Saudi Arabia." According to our informant's wife, her husband started as an employee in Binladin group and then became a partner in the company. Our informant also co-started a sister company of Binladin in France, which constructed several residential projects.

Raafat's case is a peculiar one as his career progression is a clear example on how his migration accumulated cultural capital enabled his upward social mobility process. Through migration, i.e., graduate scholarship in Paris, our informant was equipped with distinct institutionalized engineering cultural capital, the use of 'Pre-stressed' concrete, which triggered his upward social mobility process. Upon his return to Lebanon, our informant utilized his migration accumulated institutionalized cultural capital to construct profitable construction projects in Lebanon, which enabled him to be part of the upper class. However, later in his career, Raafat was able to land a job with Binladin by utilizing his social capital, i.e., our informant knew a friend who worked in Binladin, and by utilizing his migration accumulated cultural capital. Working with Binladin, strengthened our informant's upper class position, as he came a partner in the company. Raafat's case perfectly backs Nunn et al.'s (2007) claim that cultural capital acts as a facilitator to social mobility. Also, our informant's case lends support to Nee & Sanders's (2001) argument that the human capital that migrants import with them and

continue to accumulate in their new country can be utilized as an important resource, which opens up job opportunities; this is true in Raafat's case as he primarily utilized his migration acquired capital to land a job with Binladin group. The next section investigates peculiar upward social mobility cases.

5.4.2.5 Distinct upward social mobility cases.

Each of the below five cases is distinct in its own manner. Unlike the previous cases, Bahjat's kinship social capital had an indirect but crucial role in his upward social mobility. Bahjat was visiting his sister in Kuwait when the Lebanese Civil War erupted, which forced him to stay there, start his career, and eventually be part of the upper class. Wissam's upward social mobility commenced upon his return to Lebanon after experiencing a failed migration experience. Due to the social and cultural capital he accumulated abroad, Wissam was able to co-establish a business upon his return to Lebanon, which enabled him to be part of the upper class.

As for Amin, he did not achieve upward social mobility due to migration but his father did. Amine's father's upward social mobility commenced in Lebanon and once he accumulated sufficient economic capital from his business in Lebanon, he invested in real estate in London and then migrated to London to manage his real estate office. As for Karim, his initial plan was to continue his education in Venezuela but upon arriving there he decided to work with a friend of his and ended up establishing his own company. As for Houssam, his upward social mobility commenced when he was able to

get loan through a Canadian client of his to purchase the hair dressing salon he worked at.

Bahjat's upward social mobility began in Kuwait after he wasn't able to fly back to Lebanon due to the start of the Lebanese Civil War. Bahjat visited his sister in Kuwait in 1974, and during his stay there, the Lebanese civil war started. Hence he could not fly back to Beirut. During his unexpected stay in Kuwait, Bahjat persisted in finding a job just to save money and pay for his return ticket to Beirut. As Bahjat stated: "I was looking for any job just to save money for my return ticket to Beirut. I was only 20 years old back then. I saved 300,000LBP then another 300,000 LBP; then another 300,000 LBP *informant starts to laugh*." Our interviewee was only 20 years old when he started his career; his first job was an entry-level one. Then he was appointed as manager and eventually he was able to buy the company. After accumulating social and economic capital, our informant established two companies, one in Italy and another in China. In China, our interviewee employed around 40 employees.

Bahjat's case is an interesting one for two reasons. First, unlike the previous cases, in which kinship social capital had a direct role in the upward social mobility of our informants, in Bahjat's case kinship social capital had an indirect but crucial role in his upward social mobility. Bahjat was visiting his sister in Kuwait when the Lebanese Civil War erupted. In other words, Bahjat did not voluntarily decide to migrate to work abroad. As mentioned, the Lebanese War erupted while he was visiting his sister, which forced him to stay there, start his career, and eventually be part of the upper class.

Amin is a descendant of a migrant family with a peculiar case because the upward social mobility of his father commenced in Lebanon. Amin's father migrated to London once he accumulated sufficient economic capital from his business in Lebanon. As Amin described: "My father was born in a farmer's family who inherited the olive picking profession from one generation to the other. However, the income from the olive picking business was distributed to eight families. Approximately 500 dollars per month was allocated for each family, which means it was not enough to lead a decent life. For this reason, despite my grandfather's refusal, my dad decided to leave his hometown to pursue his education at The American University of Beirut. Since my father left the family business behind, my grandfather refused to fund my father's education. This pushed my father to finance his education at AUB by tutoring and relying on scholarships."

Upon graduating from AUB in the late 1950s, Amin's father noticed that despite the boom in the tourism industry back then, there was only one travel agency in Lebanon. For this reason, the father of our informant decided to establish a travel agency with a friend of his. Within ten years, the travel agency expanded to cities where a lot of Lebanese migrated to, cities such as Sydney, New York, and London. Once Amin's father generated enough profit from his travel agency, he started to invest in the real estate market in London. As Amin explained: "In 1969, after saving enough money from his travel agency, my father invested in buying real estate in London. Since then he somehow became a migrant, but he was still based in Lebanon. My father used to travel

a lot to London, mainly because he had access to discounted tickets.” However, in 1984, Amin’s father immigrated to London as his portfolio of real estate in London expanded. As Amin stated: “After working between Lebanon and London for fifteen years, my father’s investments in the real estate sector in London increased and the real state industry there boomed, which pushed him to fully relocate and immigrate to London in 1984.”

When I asked my informant if someone assisted his father’s journey to London and in starting a business there, his answer was clear. As Amin explained: “No, no one did, but he was influenced and inspired by a person he knows, who spent around twenty years in London. My father traveled to London and opened a business office. Back then, it was super easy to start a business. One did not need 500 permits to open a business office and 200 papers to apply for a visa.” Moreover, from the travel agency profit and the investments made in London, Amin’s father, was able to buy some shares in a bank based in Lebanon and was appointed as chairperson. After a short period, Amin’s father was capable of getting a license to establish a bank in Lebanon, which he managed for around twenty years. Currently our informant is the bank's chairperson.

As mentioned our informant is not a migrant but his father is. Amin’s father was able to fund his own education, and upon graduating from the American University of Beirut, he and a friend of his established a travel agency in Lebanon. From the travel agency profits, he was able to invest in real estate in London. In fact, the real estate boom in London, significantly contributed to the upward social mobility of our father’s informant

and enabled him to be part of the upper class. Furthermore, the migration accumulated economic capital allowed the father of our informant to buy shares in a Lebanese bank and be appointed as the chairperson. In particular, his upper-class social position was further strengthened when our informant's father utilized his migration accumulated economic capital by establishing a bank in Lebanon. Our informant is currently managing the bank his father established and like his father he is considered to be part of the upper class.

Wissam's upward social mobility commenced upon his return to Lebanon after experiencing a failed migration experience in the Gulf region. Due to the social and cultural capital he accumulated abroad, Wissam was able to co-establish a business upon his return to Lebanon, which enabled him to be part of the upper class. Wissam migrated from Lebanon in 1972 leaving his sales Manager position at an office supplies company for a similar one in Saudi Arabia. Our informant remained in Saudi Arabia for two years, during which he was able to increase five times the company's sales numbers and accumulate considerable economic capital and social capital, i.e., connections with office suppliers around the world. After his experience in Saudi Arabia, our informant decided to move to The United Arab of Emirates and establish a business there. The reason for choosing the UAE to start his business is because his first cousin lived there, which backs Haug's (2008) argument that migration within households contribute to a chain migration processes. In other words, Wissam migrated to a country in which a family member is present, i.e., his first cousin.

Upon arriving in the UAE, Wissam's cousin introduced him to a local citizen with whom Wissam agreed to establish a fully Emirati office supplies company. The deal was clear, Wissam would invest the initial capital and in return for the local citizen acting as 'sponsor/kaafel' he would receive a percentage from the profits. As Wissam stated: "I wanted the company to be 100% local and Emarati, because I thought that it would be easier to carry out business with a 100% Emarati company. The deal was clear since I am investing the whole capital then I would be appointed General Manager, and in return, the local sponsor would receive a certain percentage from the profits made."

Wissam utilized all of his accumulated social networks from his two previous jobs in KSA and Lebanon to secure deals for the new company. As Wissam explained: "I utilized the social networks I accumulated from my two previous jobs to secure the best deals." Wissam established the company by employing four technicians and two salespersons, and was able to grow it to 120 employees. However, once the company started to be profitable, and due to a legal gap in the sponsorship/kafala system in the UAE back then, this permitted the local sponsor to take over the company and kick out Wassim after he had been managing it for fourteen years. Sadly this meant that our interview lost all the money he invested. As Wissam explained: "Not only I lost all of the money I invested, but I did not have any savings since I used to re-invest in the company 90% of its profit to make it grow faster. Also, I took a loan from Lebanon (USD 1,200,000) to grow the company. When I was kicked out, I was below 0." Also, Wissam confirmed that the goodwill of the company was around 2 million dollars, and it had a stock of around four million dollars. Despite Wissam being unfairly kicked out

from the company he established, Wissam did not give up and decided to start another business in Nigeria, but his efforts went to waste. As Wissam stated: “I stayed in Nigeria for four years but the situation was bad, I worked on several opportunities, but none of them picked up.” However, Wissam never lost hope and was determined to establish a business upon his return to Lebanon in 1996.

Utilizing the social and cultural capitals Wissam accumulated from working abroad, he was able to start a business with one of his friends to sell automotive archival system machines. As Wissam stated: “When I returned to Lebanon I established an automotive archival system company with one of my long-term friends. I was able to do so based on the social networks and experience, which I acquired from working abroad. As for the financial component, I did not invest any money, since my partner owns the business office. In addition, the first payment for any machine usually covers all of its purchase value.” In addition, Wissam informed me that the business he’s currently managing does not require any employees. He also informed me that the company he manages are the leader of the automotive system in Lebanon and have reputable clients. As Wissam stated: “We have around six employees. We are the leader of the automotive archival system in Lebanon, and our clients are Banque De Liban, Bank Audi, Al-Mawarid Bank, HSBC, Bank of Beirut, several hospitals, and several government entities.”

The reason why Wissam’s case is a peculiar one because our informant’s upward social mobility did not occur during his time abroad but happened after his return to Lebanon. Wissam was able to be part of the upper class upon his return to Lebanon because he

thoroughly utilized his migration accumulated cultural capital, i.e., experience from working and setting up a business abroad, and social capital, i.e., networks with suppliers to co-establish a business in Lebanon.

As for Karim, his initial plan was to continue his education in Venezuela but upon arriving there he decided to find a job and ended up establishing his own company. Karim is a migrant descendant who was born in Venezuela. His father migrated in 1940 to seek a better future. As Karim stated: “My father traveled in 1940 to Venezuela because job options in Lebanon were limited. He decided to go to Venezuela because his cousin lived there.” After accumulating sufficient economic capital, Karim’s father returned to Lebanon with his family in 1962. As Karim stated: “When my father saved enough money in Venezuela, he decided to return to his beloved country. Upon his return to Lebanon he was considered as a landlord because he bought several lands and buildings in prime location around Beirut and Choueifat.”

In 1973, Karim made use of his Venezuelan citizenship to continue his education there. However, when he arrived in Venezuela, instead of starting his university education, Karim felt eager to commence his career. Our informant utilized social capital, i.e., through a friend who lived there to find a job. As Karim stated: “Once I arrived to Venezuela in 1973, I felt that I was in the land of opportunities and I was ready to start my career. My first job was as a sales person in my friend’s furniture factory.” After seven years of working Karim believed that he accumulated sufficient economic capital and social networks Karim to start his furniture shop. As Karim explained: “After being

employed for seven years, I figured that I'm in the right position to start my own whole-sale furniture shop, because I had the amount to invest in opening a business; and that, I accumulated ample of social networks of both suppliers and clients to start and sustain my business. I started my venture with six employees and ended up with 200 employees. I had several retail shops and a furniture factory. I even expanded to another city in Venezuela." After twenty-four years in Venezuela, in 1997, Karim took the decision to return to Lebanon. Upon his return to Lebanon, Karim invested his migration accumulated economic capital in building a car service center and in investing in real estate. Karim is currently a political significant person and most of his income is from his real estate business.

The reason why Karim's case is a peculiar one because his main reason to immigrate was to continue his education in Venezuela; however, when he arrived there his plan changed and instead of continuing his education he started his career. As mentioned, Karim eventually started his own business, which made him a fortune and allowed him to join the upper class.

Houssam's upward social mobility commenced when he was able to get loan through a Canadian client of his to purchase the hair dressing salon he worked at. Houssam immigrated to Canada in 1973 upon finishing his school studies in Lebanon. During his first year abroad, Houssam stayed in a town called Saint Paul Alberta to learn English as a second language, an act that enhanced his cultural capital. However, staying in a small village eventually became infeasible, and thus, our informant decided to move to a

bigger city called Edmonton. Once Houssam arrived in Edmonton, he found a job opening at a barbershop, which hired him on the spot. It is important to note that Houssam had previously worked at a barbershop in Lebanon during one summer, an experience that facilitated him getting the job. One year into his career, our informant sensed that his employer was planning on selling the barbershop, and offered to buy the shop for himself. However, our informant did not have the required amount, so, on one occasion, he was recounting the story to one of his Australian clients who proposed to act as a loan guarantor. Having an Australian guarantor allowed our informant to obtain a loan and successfully purchase the barbershop. Purchasing the hair-saloon was decisive in Houssam's upward social mobility. Not only Houssam was able to grow the barbershop but also from the profits made, Houssam invested in real estate (the buying and selling of houses) and opened several restaurants. During his financial boom, Houssam sponsored his brother's arrival from Lebanon to work in one of his restaurants. Also, our informant sponsored seven families from his hometown so that they may be able to migrate to Australia, which lends support to Haug's (2008) argument that migration within households contributes to a chain migration processes; He did so by financially helping them establish businesses. As Houssam explained: "All what I did was is that treated the people I worked with as I would treat myself. I empowered them to think outside the box, and most importantly, made them partners, not just employees. I established the initial setup, I had the ideas, and they took care of operation."

However, Houssam's most significant business deal came later into his career, around the year 1999. In 1999, Houssam purchased a Canadian gym franchise. In what is

considered the peak of his business, our informant managed around 370 employees. In addition, he was effectively managing eleven gyms around Canada at the time. Four years after purchasing his gym franchise, in 2012, he sold the franchise for a considerable profit. However, Houssam still owns an immense gym in Canada, which spans over 8,000m² and consists of 6,000 members. In 2013, Houssam decided to open his first gym in Lebanon. Currently, he owns three gyms around Lebanon. The three gyms are fully managed by his two sons-in-law. Furthermore, he has around 60 employees working in Lebanon.

The reason why Houssam's case is a particularly intriguing one because Houssam's journey to be part of the upper class commenced when he was able to get loan through a Canadian client of his to purchase the hair dressing salon he worked at. The next section examines the our informants' response concerning migration being the main factor in their upward social mobility process

5.5 Informants' response on their social mobility process

When I asked my nineteen informants if they 'consider migration as the main factor in their upward social mobility journey, all of them answered yes. Furthermore, the majority accounted their hard work, honesty, education, and good reputation as important factors, which contributed to their upward social mobility process while abroad. Below I share some of my interviewees' responses concerning migration being the main factor in their upward social mobility journey.

In addition to migration, Riad mentioned hard work and honesty as factors that contributed to his upward social mobility. As Riad stated:” Before migrating, I was barely making ends meet. After migration, I accumulated the necessary capital and experience to establish my own company. Migration has had a positive influence over the course of my career, and it was definitely a cornerstone to my career in hindsight. But my social mobility came from the honest, impeccable work I strived to execute, my good reputation, the way I worked hard on myself to prosper and to grow.” By the same token, Rachid, stated migration, being humble, and education as factors that contributed to his upward social mobility. As Rachid explained: “Not only migration but also hard word, social life, being humble, and education helped my upward social mobility process. The most important thing is to continue your education, which helps you refresh your ideas and business plans.” In like manner, Jad revealed that migration and honesty were factors that contributed to his upward social mobility. As Jad stated: “Yes of course, I think each person should migrate, and the most important thing is to be honest and trustworthy and loyal, and eventually he/she will get to what they want. I started from nothing and due to migration I made a fortune.”

Similarly, Fadi described migration, trust, and honesty as factors that contributed to his upward social mobility. As Fadi stated: “Of course, migration is the main factor for my upward social mobility. But most importantly, I worked with honesty, trust, and my head is held high.” In the same way, Houssam considers migration and the way he treated people he worked with as factors that contributed to his upward social mobility. As

Houssam confirmed: “When it comes to migration, every young person, can achieve what I did and even more. I think that he/she should have the capacity to work on their business not necessarily in their business. All what I did, is that I treated the people I worked with as I treat myself. I empowered them to think outside the box, and most importantly made them partners not employees.” Different from the previous responses, Wissam’s response is a peculiar one because our informant did not achieve upward social during his time abroad but did so after his return to Lebanon. Wissam achieved upward social mobility when he returned to Lebanon because he thoroughly utilized his migration accumulated-cultural capital, i.e., experience from working and setting up a business abroad, and social capital, i.e., networks with suppliers to co-start an automotive archiving business in Lebanon. As Wissam stated: “When I returned to Lebanon, I established an automotive archival system company with one of my long-term friends. I got the job based on the social networks and experience, which I acquired from working abroad. As for the financial component, I did not invest any money since my partner owns the business office, and the first payment for any machine usually covers all of its purchase value.”

As initially suspected, all of the respondents confirmed that migration is the main factor in their upward social mobility journey. Another important finding is that all the informants primarily utilized social capital and specifically kinship social capital to migrate. Particularly, fifteen out of the nineteen informants utilized social capital as the primary capital to emigrate, which supports Haug’s (2008) claim that migration within households contribute to the chain migration processes. As previously mentioned, the majority of our informants, fifteen out of the nineteen informants, emigrated to a country

in which a family member is present. In particular, thirteen out of the nineteen participants primarily utilized kinship social capital to emigrate. Equally important is the crucial role of social capital with respect to social mobility. My findings showed that the majority of my informants primarily utilized social capital to initiate their upward social mobility. Eighteen out of the nineteen informants utilized social capital to either find a job or establish their business, whereby thirteen out of the nineteen informants utilized kinship social capital as their primary capital to start a business or find a job abroad. My findings back Dominguez and Watkins's (2003) claim that social capital provides access to migration routes, employment, and education. Equally important is that my findings also lend support to Dominguez and Watkins's (2003) argument that social capital offers social leverage, which promotes social mobility. However, the role of cultural capital was not decisive for my pool of nineteen informants, as only one informant primarily utilized cultural capital to be part of the upper class.

Chapter Six

Conclusion

The objective of my inquiry was to shed light on the role of migration in upward social mobility and the formation of a number of Druze upper class families in Lebanon. I aimed to show how migration was the main factor in my informants' upward social mobility journey. Like Nunn et al.'s claim (2000) I also aimed to show how factors of upward social mobility work in overlapping ways and in different combinations for different individuals. In other words, the results which emerged highlighted the complexity of my informants' migration experience and how each upward social mobility journey differed.

The results also provide ample of evidence in support of transnationalism studies on diaspora, as all nineteen informants maintained social and financial ties with their homeland. For example, all of the informants at least visited Lebanon once a year. The majority returned to get married; naturally, those who were working in the Gulf could afford to visit regularly than those who were living in Canada, Venezuela, the African countries, or the USA. In addition, all of the nineteen informants admitted to sending financial remittances to their parents or family members back in Lebanon. Also, the majority contributed financially to humanitarians NGOs in Lebanon and to distant

cousins in need. Also, a striking majority reported buying real estate in Lebanon while they were still in the receiving country.

When it comes to the informants return to Lebanon, overall the results do not show any similarities or common patterns. Periods and intervals of returns differ significantly. However, the majority of our informants spent at least ten years abroad; only one migrated for two years. Last, Despite of the limitations, mainly the lack of female participants in this study, this research remains significant for shedding light on the crucial role of migration and return migration in upward social mobility and the role of migration in the formation of nineteen Druze bourgeoisie/upper class families in Lebanon. It is important to note that this study only looked at return migrants who due to migration achieved upward social mobility and are now considered part of the upper class. My research does not tap into the return of those who are not part of the upper class. In other words, our sample is not a representative one, but it examined a selected number of Druze return migrants, who due to migration are now part of the upper class. Alongside Khater's (2001) work concerning the impact of migration and return migration on class formation, my findings could serve as a starting point for future research to further fill in the gap in the literature concerning return migration and the formation of an upper social class of other religious communities in Lebanon.

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Appendix A Institutional Review Board Approval



Institutional Review Board (IRB)

لجنة المراجعة

NOTICE OF IRB APPROVAL – EXEMPT STATUS

To: Mr. Rami Abi Rafeh
Advisor: Dr. Paul Tabar
Professor
School of Arts & Sciences

APPROVAL ISSUED: 4 April 2017
EXPIRATION DATE: NA
REVIEW TYPE: EXEMPT

Date: April 4, 2017

RE: IRB #: LAU.SAS.PT1.4/Apr/2017

Protocol Title: The Role of Migration in the Formation of the Druze Upper Class

Your application for the above referenced research project has been approved by the Lebanese American University, Institutional Review Board (LAU IRB). This research project qualifies as exempt under the following category:

B. Research involving the use of educational tests (cognitive, diagnostic, aptitude, achievement), survey procedures, interview procedures or observation of public behavior, unless:

(i) information obtained is recorded in such a manner that human subjects can be identified, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects; and

(ii) any disclosure of the human subjects' responses outside the research could reasonably place the subjects at risk of criminal or civil liability or be damaging to the subjects' financial standing, employability, or reputation.

This approval is limited to the activities described in the Protocol Exempt Application and all submitted documents listed on page 2 of this letter. **Enclosed with this letter are the stamped approved documents that must be used.**

APPROVAL CONDITIONS FOR ALL LAU APPROVED HUMAN RESEARCH PROTOCOLS - EXEMPT

LAU RESEARCH POLICIES: All individuals engaged in the research project must adhere to the approved protocol and all applicable LAU IRB Research Policies. **PARTICIPANTS** must **NOT** be involved in any research related activity prior to IRB approval date or after the expiration date.

EXEMPT CATEGORIES: Activities that are exempt from IRB review are not exempt from IRB ethical review and the necessity for ethical conduct.

MODIFICATIONS AND AMENDMENTS: Certain changes may change the review criteria and disqualify the research from exemption status; therefore, any proposed changes to the previously approved exempt study must be reviewed and approved by the IRB before implementation.

NOTIFICATION OF PROJECT COMPLETION: A notification of research project closure and a summary of findings must be sent to the IRB office upon completion. Study files must be retained for a period of 3 years from the date of notification of project completion.

IN THE EVENT OF NON-COMPLIANCE WITH ABOVE CONDITIONS, THE PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR SHOULD MEET WITH THE IRB ADMINISTRATORS IN ORDER TO RESOLVE SUCH CONDITIONS. IRB APPROVAL CANNOT BE GRANTED UNTIL NON-COMPLIANT ISSUES HAVE BEEN RESOLVED.

BEIRUT CAMPUS	BYBLOS CAMPUS	NEW YORK OFFICE
P.O. Box: 13-5053 Chouran Beirut 1102 2801 Lebanon	P.O. Box: 36 Byblos Lebanon	475 Riverside Drive Suite 1546 New York, NY 10115
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		www.lau.edu.lb



If you have any questions concerning this information, please contact the IRB office by email at irb@lau.edu.lb

The IRB operates in compliance with the national regulations pertaining to research under the Lebanese Minister of Public Health's Decision No.141 dated 27/1/2016 under LAU IRB Authorization reference 2016/3708, the international guidelines for Good Clinical Practice, the US Office of Human Research Protection (45CFR46) and the Food and Drug Administration (21CFR56). LAU IRB U.S. Identifier as an international institution: FWA00014723 and IRB Registration # IRB00006954 LAUIRB#1



Dr. Costantine Daher
Chair, Institutional Review Board



DOCUMENTS SUBMITTED:

LAU IRB Exempt Protocol Application	Received 15 March 2017, modified 31 March 2017
Introduction to survey	Received 31 March 2017. modified 4 April 2017
Questionnaire	Received 31 March 2017
NIH Training – Paul Tabar	Cert.# 186703 Dated (17 February 2009)
NIH Training – Rami Abi Rafeh	Cert.# 2061766 Dated (11 August 2016)



Appendix B Consent Form and Questionnaire

Consent to participate in a Survey/Questionnaire The Role of Migration in the Formation of the Druze Upper Class

I would like to invite you to participate in a research project. You are being asked to complete a short questionnaire/ survey. (I am a student at the Lebanese American University. I would appreciate it if you can complete the following questionnaire/ survey as part of my M.A. in Migration Studies). This questionnaire / survey aims to examine the role of migration in upward social mobility and it's role in the formation of the Druze Upper Class.

The information you provide will be used to enhance and improve the literature of the Lebanese migrants. Completing the survey will take 45 minutes of your time. The interview will be audio recorded and recordings will be destroyed after transcription of the responses.

By continuing with the questionnaire / survey, you agree with the following statements:

1. I have been given sufficient information about this research project.
2. I understand that my answers will not be released to anyone and my identity will remain anonymous. My name will not be written on the questionnaire nor be kept in any other records.
3. I understand that all responses I provide for this study will remain confidential. When the results of the study are reported, I will not be identified by name or any other information that could be used to infer my identity. Only researchers will have access to view any data collected during this research however data cannot be linked to me.
4. I understand that I may withdraw from this research any time I wish and that I have the right to skip any question I don't want to answer.
5. I understand that my refusal to participate will not result in any penalty or loss of benefits to which I otherwise am entitled to.
6. I have been informed that the research abides by all commonly acknowledged ethical codes and that the research project has been reviewed and approved by the Institutional Review Board at the Lebanese American University
7. I understand that if I have any additional questions, I can ask the research team listed below.
8. I have read and understood all statements on this form.
9. I voluntarily agree to take part in this research project by completing the following survey.

If you have any questions, you may contact:

Name (PI)	Phone number	Email address
Rami Abi Rafeh	03-586003	Ramiamin.abirafeh@gmail.com

If you have any questions about your rights as a participant in this study, or you want to talk to someone outside the research, please contact the:

IRB Office,
Lebanese American University
3rd Floor, Dorm A, Byblos Campus
Tel: 00 961 1 786456 ext. (2546)



A. Background

- Case number
- Date:
- City:
- Place of interview:
- Starting Time:
- Ending Time
- Place of birth:
- Sect:
- Place of residence:
- Sex:
- Age:
- Level of education:
- Marital status:
- Number of children:
- Telephone: If future contact is required to clarify certain aspects after the interview is completed

B. History of migration

1. Prior to migration

1. Are you a descendant of an immigrant (if yes, we should ask all the below questions about his father). Also, keep in mind to ask if the interviewee continued the business of set up by his migrant parents or/and developed new ones using the business set up by his parents.
2. When did you migrate from Lebanon?
3. Why did you migrate?
4. Did you do it completely unassisted or did anyone help you to emigrate? (keeping in mind to ask about social networks)
5. How often did you/he/she visit Lebanon?
6. What was your job before migrating?

2. During migration



7. What was your first job when you went abroad? How many different jobs have you had until you started your own business
8. Did you find work abroad unassisted or did anyone (friends/relatives) help you finding work?
9. How do you think your knowledge/education/work/experiences/skills acquired before migrating was of benefit to find a job abroad? (Keeping in mind to ask about whatever skill acquired before migration was used in the host country and whether this skill played a role in his social upward mobility/or he acquired a new cultural capital skill during his/her stay in the destination country)
10. How do you think your knowledge/education/work/experiences/skills acquired during migration was of benefit to find a job abroad? (Keeping in mind to ask about whatever skill acquired before migration was used in the host country and whether this skill played a role in his social upward mobility/or he acquired a new cultural capital skill during his/her stay in the destination country)
11. When did you start your own business? In which domain? Did existing or newly acquired social networks help you set up your business?
12. Do you own another business in a different domain?
13. Were you the sole owner? If not, what is the number of owners?
14. Was it a family business, if yes who helps you run the business (siblings/children/aunt-uncle)
15. What was the size of your/his/her business?
 1. 1 employee
 2. < 5 employees
 3. < 10 employees
 4. 10-50 employees
 5. 50 – 250 employees
 6. 250+ employees
16. Before returning to Lebanon, what was the approximate worth of your assets?
 - 1-3 USD Millions
 - 3-5 USD Millions
 - 5-8 USD Millions
 - 8-10 USD Millions



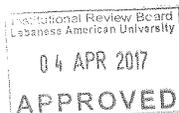
- Above 10 Millions

C. Remittances and upward social mobility during migration

17. At what stage during your stay abroad did you begin to send remittances?
18. To whom did you send the money?
19. For what purpose did you send the money? (E.G. Ask if remittances were also used to cover education fees of his kids who later used their cultural capital to achieve more upward mobility?)
20. Approximately, how much money was sent per month?
21. Have you done any type of investments in Lebanon, while you were abroad?
1. Real estate?
 2. Established another business?
 3. Buying government bonds?
22. When did investment at home start?
23. Did you spend money on any community-based projects in Lebanon?
1. Medical field in town
 2. Sports field in town
 3. Educational field in town
 4. Public spaces in town
 5. Supporting Political parties and /or political figures?
24. Do you consider migration as the main factor in your upward social mobility?
Why? Give us some concrete examples

D. After the return to Lebanon

25. When did you return to Lebanon?
26. Upon returning to Lebanon did you set up a new business? If yes (answer below), if no skip to question #33
27. In which domain? Do you own more than one business?



28. Do you still own a business overseas? (Explore in details asking about, which domain, what kind of investments, link between the business in Lebanon and abroad)
29. Do you own another business in a different domain?
30. Are you the only owner? If no, what is the number of owners? Is it a family business, if yes who helps you run the business (siblings/children/aunt-uncle)
31. What was the size of your/his/her business?
1. 1 employee
 2. < 5 employees
 3. < 10 employees
 4. 10-50 employees
 5. 50 – 250 employees
 6. 250+ employees
32. Did the money you have collected from working abroad help you setting up your business in Lebanon?
33. Approximately what is the total value of your wealth?
- 1-3 USD Millions
 - 3-5 USD Millions
 - 5-8 USD Millions
 - 8-10 USD Millions
 - Above 10 Millions
34. Are you a member of any business, charitable, philanthropic association?
35. Do you support financially any political party or political leader in Lebanon? If yes, which one or who?
36. Finally, would you like to add any comment that was not covered in our conversation and you think has some impact on your social upward mobility?

