SHIFTING NARRATIVES:

TOWARDS
ECONOMIC AND
POLITICAL
EMPOWERMENT
OF WOMEN

Phase 2

Importance of Women's Economic Empowerment and Current Legal and Policy Challenges Women Face in Lebanon





























Background and Context

There are 2 billion unpaid workers in the world with women making up 76% of them¹. They contribute three times more than men do in unpaid care work². This huge contribution from women takes away many opportunities for them to participate in the economy. This is true in the Arab World as well, where women shoulder most of the burdens of unpaid care work. In this region, women spend anywhere from 17 to 34 hours weekly on unpaid care work while men only spend a few hours³.

Although some care workers receive payment for their labor under the formal sector, the majority remain unpaid or grossly underpaid. This further exacerbates the gender disparity and contributes to the perpetuation of unpaid care work as a predominantly female responsibility⁴.

In Lebanon, women's participation in the labor force is dishearteningly low, barely reaching 28%⁵. This is largely due to the fact that women are shouldering around 94% of childcare responsibilities, hindering their ability to pursue economic opportunities and actively participate in the workforce. Recognizing these challenges, Dr. Inaya Ezzedine, the Chair of the Women and Children Parliamentary Committee, has recently proposed amendments to the Lebanese Labor Law, aiming to provide women with more flexible work arrangements⁶. Such changes would alleviate the burdens of unpaid care work and empower women to take an active role in the country's economic life.

Another pressing issue in the Arab World is the exploitation faced by migrant domestic workers, who are predominantly women. The Kafala system, which governs their work conditions, allows employers to sponsor these workers, leading to their vulnerability to underpaid care work and exploitation⁷. In Lebanon, migrant domestic workers who work in people's homes are excluded from the protection of the Lebanese Labor Code, as stated in article 7. This restrictive system ties their residency in the country to their sponsors or employers, leaving them at the mercy of their employers' whims and

¹ Action Aid. (2022). The care contradiction: The IMF, gender and austerity. ActionAid International. https://actionaid.org/publications/2022/care-contradiction-imf-gender-and-austerity.

UN Women. (2022). Women spend five times more on unpaid care work compared to men, Georgia's first time use survey finds. UN Women Georgia. https://georgia.unwomen.org/en/stories/news/2022/12/women-spend-five-times-more-on-unpaid-care-work-compared-to-men-georgias-first-time-use-survey-finds.

³ Assaad, R., Sieverding, M., Ramadan, R., & Hesham, M. (2020). *The Care Economy in the Arab states - UN women*. United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia.

https://www.unescwa.org/sites/default/files/event/materials/Care%20Economy%20in%20Arab%20States Maia%20Sievering UNWomen.pdf

⁴ Open Contracting Partnership and UN Women. (2021). *Empowering women through Public Procurement and enabling inclusive growth*. UN Women – Headquarters. https://www.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications/2021/11/empowering-women-through-public-procurement-and-enabling-inclusive-growth.

United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia. (2023). ESCWA and the Women and Children Parliamentary Committee launch a study on flexible work arrangements in Lebanon. United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia. https://www.unescwa.org/news/escwa-and-women-and-children-parliamentary-committee-launch-study-flexible-work-arrangements.

⁶ Ibid

Majzoub, A. (2022). Lebanon's Abusive Kafala (sponsorship) system. Human Rights Watch. https://www.hrw.org/news/2022/01/04/lebanons-abusive-kafala-sponsorship-system.















subjecting them to the risk of deportation or detention for any actions without their employers' permission⁸.

To address these pressing concerns and promote women's economic empowerment, the Embassies of Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Sweden in Lebanon, in collaboration with the Asfari Institute for Civil Society and Citizenship at the American University of Beirut and UN Women, organized a workshop on July 10th, 2023. The workshop focused on the importance of women's economic empowerment and shed light on the existing legal and policy challenges faced by women in Lebanon. This event comes at a critical time, given the worsening conditions of care workers and the care economy, exacerbated by the ongoing economic crisis and the proposed amendments to the Lebanese Labor Law by Dr. Inaya Ezzedine. The project, supported by the Nordic Council for Ministers, aims to empower women economically and politically in Lebanon.

The panelists at this event were Dr. Inaya Ezzedine, member of parliament and chair of the Parliamentary Committee, Ms. Gielan El Messiri, UN Women country representative, Ms. Teresa Pontillas, cofounder of the Informal Alliance for Migrant Workers, and Ms. Lina Abou Habib, director of the Asfari Institute. Each one of the panelists brought a different perspective to the conversation, with Dr. Ezzedine discussing the issue of unpaid care work from a legal perspective, her proposal to amend the law around it, and steps that can be taken to continue the conversation not just in academic settings, but also parliamentary settings. Moreover, Ms. El Messiri elaborated on the gender discrimination in the labor market, the gender stereotypes that influence the distribution of care work, and the need of investing in care work and creating fiscal space in the government for this investment. She also mentioned the importance of adopting the "5R Framework for Decent Care Work". More still, Ms. Pontillas highlighted the struggles that migrant workers face, which includes exploitation, abuse, racism, and lack of protection from institutions and the authority. The harms of the Kafala system and the need to abolish it and enforce protective measures to shield migrant domestic workers from harm were also discussed. Finally, Ms. Abou Habib talked about the struggles faced by the care work sector in light of the COVID-19 pandemic, the importance of decolonizing and localizing research that comes out on this topic while giving the people in care work a voice in said research, the need to join the Global Alliance for Care, and the necessity to discuss the issue of the Kafala system in parliamentary settings while taking protective measures in our own institutions to protect migrant domestic workers. This document serves as an outcome document from the aforementioned workshop. It presents the discussions that were held about the challenges and implications that women and migrant domestic workers face as a result of shouldering the burden of unpaid or underpaid care work. Additionally, it offers actionable recommendations and ways forward to ease the burden of unpaid care work which would allow these women to participate in the economy.

⁸ Ibid.















Challenges

The workshop addressed a range of challenges faced by women and migrant domestic workers on various fronts. These challenges manifest at the societal, cultural, class, and governmental levels. Though their nature may vary and impact individuals differently, they collectively impede women's full participation in the economy.

- Existing social and gender norms. Lebanon operates under a patriarchal system,
 where entrenched social and gender norms place traditional responsibilities
 squarely on women's shoulders. From a young age, many women are socialized to
 embrace the role of dedicated and nurturing mothers and caregivers.
 Consequently, they often face pressure to make sacrifices in their careers to
 prioritize care work.
- 2. **Gender pay gap and inequalities in job distribution.** There are differences between men and women's salaries, constituting the gender-pay gap In Lebanon, Lebanese men earn an average of 16% to 19% more than Lebanese women °. Additionally, a wage gap of 20.2% is found even between Lebanese women and men with university-level degrees or higher¹o. This systematically generates gender inequalities in labor force participation. Thus, women are systematically slotted into jobs that provide lower pay and remuneration. They are also overly represented in sectors with no or limited social protection, and differ from the formal and informal sectors. If women continue to face poorer labor market prospects than men, both in terms of income and possibility to enter certain sectors, they will be incentivized to allocate more time to unpaid domestic work while men will be incentivized to allocate more time to paid work. This will further the status quo of those social and gender norms that carries a part of the responsibility of the pay gap and inequality of labor market participation between genders.
- 3. **Exploitative Kafala system.** The Kafala system in Lebanon represents a deeply entrenched structure that governs the employment of migrant workers, particularly migrant domestic workers. Unfortunately, this system often leads to the exploitation, abusive labor practices, and inadequate legal protections for these workers¹¹. Migrant domestic workers commonly endure long working hours, wage withholding and confiscation of legal documents, as well as restrictions on their freedom of movement. Furthermore, they face emotional and physical abuse, among many other structural challenges that they face in their work environment.

⁹ Choukini, K. (2023, August 3). 5 key insights into the gender wage gap in Lebanon. The Borgen Project. https://borgenproject.org/5-key-insights-into-the-gender-wage-gap-in-lebanon/#:~:text=For%20instance%2C%20the%20wage%20gap,2021%20Lebanon%20Gender%20Analysis%20report.

¹¹ Majzoub, A. (2022). Lebanon's Abusive Kafala (sponsorship) system. Human Rights Watch. https://www.hrw.org/news/2022/01/04/lebanons-abusive-kafala-sponsorship-system.















- 4. **Article 7 of the Lebanese Labor Code** The current labor law in Lebanon is outdated and excludes migrant domestic workers who work in individuals' homes from its prerogatives¹². The current labor laws and systems that govern labor practices do not include informal workers and most of the people providing care work tend to be in the informal sector.
- 5. **Invisibility of care work.** Care work often goes unrecognized, undervalued, and underappreciated. It is often not considered as an economic activity or to be contributing to the economy. These services produced by households for their own consumption are often excluded for measurements of the GDP. This invisibility is at the core of the system of inequality, and is preventing us from addressing care as a sector and seeing the true effects of care on the economy and the extent of care being carried out.
- 6. Inaccessibility of care services. Care services are often inaccessible to a large portion of the population. This is primarily a result of the exorbitant fees associated with professional care for children or older individuals, including nursing homes, nurses, and daycares. Meanwhile, more affordable or publicly available care services often fall short in terms of quality compared to their private counterparts.
- 7. **Economic crisis.** Since 2019, Lebanon has been grappling with a complex crisis that has severely impacted its economy. This dire situation has had detrimental effects on the care economy, hindering the country's capacity to invest in it, establish social protection schemes, and create fiscal resources for its development. Consequently, there has been a notable absence of adequate fiscal space to invest in the care economy, and efforts to generate such space have been fruitless due to the prevalent undervaluation of care work, which is not perceived as a priority.

Inequalities in the Care Work Sector: Impact on Women and Migrant Domestic Workers

The challenges that individuals in the care work sector face impact them on the social level, the economic level, and the personal level. Additionally, these implications affect women more than they do men, since women are the ones performing the majority of care work¹³. The burdens of unpaid or underpaid care work often fall on women. Moreover, migrant domestic workers contribute greatly to the care work sector in Lebanon and thus they are vital in the discussion regarding the implications of inequalities in the care work sector on care workers.,

1. Burden of care work falling disproportionately on women and migrant domestic workers. Women and migrant domestic workers, who are also mainly women in

[.] https://labor.gov.lb/AllLegalText.aspx?type=9 - قانون العمل اللبناني

¹³ Action Aid. (2022). The care contradiction: The IMF, gender and austerity. ActionAid International. https://actionaid.org/publications/2022/care-contradiction-imf-gender-and-austerity.















Lebanon¹⁴, carry a disproportionate amount of the burden of care work and most of it is unpaid or underpaid. In fact, 99% of migrant domestic workers in Lebanon are women¹⁵. Thus, the implications of the challenges that care workers face in the care economy fall heavily on women and migrant domestic workers, which brings these two groups of people to the forefront of the discussion. This unequal distribution in care work can be attributed to the existing social norms and gender stereotypes that put the care responsibility on women more than men. gender stereotypes dictate that a man's role in the family is to be the breadwinner while a women's role is to take care of the home, the kids, and any other family member that requires care. It slots women into the role of care takers with little to no compensation for their work. As a result, women are not expected to participate in economic or political life especially if that gets in the way of fulfilling their duties as care takers, which would then brand them as bad wives, mothers, sisters, or daughters. The nature of care work evolves throughout one's life, and its distribution is influenced by the dynamics of family structure. Even if women are unmarried and without children, societal expectations still dictate that they must provide care for elderly family members and manage household responsibilities.

2. The exploitation and abuse of migrant domestic workers under the Kafala system. Lebanon hosts around 250,000 migrant domestic workers who are mostly women¹⁶. The huge number of migrant domestic workers who perform care work brings them to the forefront when discussing the care economy and the difficulties care laborers face. Moreover, the fact that most migrant domestic workers are women adds a level of gender-related challenges in addition to the class-related challenges¹⁷. This requires the investigation of these challenges from both a gender and class lens. Migrant domestic workers working in people's homes are excluded from the labor code in Lebanon¹⁸, and they operate under the Kafala system. The Kafala system perpetuates a deeply oppressive and exploitative environment for migrant domestic workers, granting their sponsors excessive control over their lives¹⁹. These workers often endure overwork, low wages, abuse, and even sexual harassment, and are treated as human commodities²⁰. Sponsors further restrict their freedoms by confiscating their passports and preventing them from leaving their place of work²¹. And even if they were able to leave the

Mehzer, Z., Nassif, G., & Domestic Workers in Lebanon: A gender perspective. Women migrant domestic workers in Lebanon: A gender perspective. https://www.ilo.org/beirut/publications/WCMS 803385/lang--en/index.htm.

¹⁴ Majzoub, A. (2022). Lebanon's Abusive Kafala (sponsorship) system. Human Rights Watch. https://www.hrw.org/news/2022/01/04/lebanons-abusive-kafala-sponsorship-system.

Mehzer, Z., Nassif, G., & Description (2021). Women Migrant Domestic Workers in Lebanon: A gender perspective. Women migrant domestic workers in Lebanon: A gender perspective. https://www.ilo.org/beirut/publications/WCMS 803385/lang--en/index.htm.

¹⁶ Ibid

^{. &}lt;u>https://labor.gov.lb/AllLegalText.aspx?type=9</u> - قانون العمل اللبناني 18

¹⁹ Majzoub, A. (2022). Lebanon's Abusive Kafala (sponsorship) system. Human Rights Watch. https://www.hrw.org/news/2022/01/04/lebanons-abusive-kafala-sponsorship-system.

Abdel Jawad, F. (2021). Lebanon crises increase suffering of migrant domestic workers. UN News. https://news.un.org/en/story/2021/12/1108332.

²¹ Majzoub, A. (2022). Lebanon's Abusive Kafala (sponsorship) system. Human Rights Watch. https://www.hrw.org/news/2022/01/04/lebanons-abusive-kafala-sponsorship-system.















house of their sponsors, often these workers have nowhere to go. The systemic flaws of the Kafala system enable these practices to persist, with sponsors rarely held accountable for their actions. Consequently, many migrant domestic workers are denied justice, even in cases of mistreatment and, tragically, some lose their lives on the job, with authorities sometimes dismissing such incidents as suicides without conducting proper investigations²².

3. Sacrificing labor market participation: The impact of inaccessible care services on women with low-income. Socioeconomic background plays a significant role in perpetuating the issue of unpaid care work. The high cost of most care work services renders them inaccessible to individuals from lower socioeconomic backgrounds, be it for childcare or elderly care. While some parents can afford private nannies or daycares, those with limited financial means are left with no choice but to depend on public services, which often lack in quality and are insufficient to meet the overwhelming demand. Consequently, this burden falls disproportionately on women, who are mainly expected to fulfill the necessary care work. This illustrates the intersectionality of class and gender, adding an additional layer of complexity to the issue.

Recommendations for the Empowerment of Care Workers: Insights from Our Workshop

1. Investment in care work. Care work, often overlooked and undervalued, leaves care workers vulnerable. To address this, both the government and private institutions should invest in the care economy, supporting care workers and boosting its significant contributions to society and the GDP. Making care work sustainable requires viewing expenditure on the sector as an investment, alleviating the burden of unpaid care work and transforming it into paid social care work²³. This should be taken into consideration, even prioritized, in any upcoming Economic Recovery Plan that will be undertaken by the Lebanese government in view of performing structural reform across all sectors of the economy in order to ensure sustainability and create job opportunities²⁴. Additionally, it is important to include migrant domestic care workers in any investment plan in the care work sector. Migrant domestic workers constitute a large portion of the care work sector and they contribute greatly to the care economy. They also face the same challenges other care workers face along with other obstacles that are unique to their experience as migrant domestic workers operating under the Kafala system²⁵. Thus, it is integral that they are taken into consideration when it comes to investing in and reforming the care work sector.

Abdel Jawad, F. (2021). Lebanon crises increase suffering of migrant domestic workers. UN News. https://news.un.org/en/story/2021/12/1108332.

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²⁵ Majzoub, A. (2022). *Lebanon's Abusive Kafala (sponsorship) system*. Human Rights Watch. https://www.hrw.org/news/2022/01/04/lebanons-abusive-kafala-sponsorship-system.















- 2. **Protective measures within the private sector** are vital to improve working conditions for care workers. Relying solely on policy enforcement is inadequate; instead, private institutions should take proactive steps to safeguard the well-being of care and migrant domestic workers, shielding them from abuse and exploitation. Implementing measures such as fair wages and benefits, proper working hours, access to healthcare, and safe living conditions are crucial components of this effort. Additionally, providing fairly compensated parental leave is essential to alleviate care burdens from women, promote the normalization of fathers taking parental leave, and grant parents increased flexibility in selecting caregivers. Another example is protecting care workers or migrant workers in the workplace from discrimination by enforcing punitive measures as a consequence of mistreatment.
- 3. **Amendments to the Lebanese Labor Code** are imperative to protect and empower care workers and women. Article 7's exclusion of migrant domestic workers who work in people's homes from the law's protections²⁷ must be rectified. Ensuring proper legal inclusion is essential to safeguarding care laborers from exploitation.
- 4. **Redistributing responsibilities in care work** is crucial to eliminate gender inequalities and encourage women's participation in the economy. Implementing legal and regulatory frameworks to distribute care work equitably among genders is vital, broadening conversations to address social norms influencing men's roles. Investing in care services that are of good quality, inexpensive, and accessible is essential in the redistribution of care work²⁸.
 - a. Flexible Work Arrangements such as remote work options or flexible hours, which would allow both men and women to balance their caregiving responsibilities more effectively. This could involve allowing parents to work from home when needed or adjusting work schedules to accommodate family needs.
 - b. **Subsidized Childcare:** Governments can implement policies that provide subsidized or affordable childcare services. This would help reduce the burden of care primarily falling on women and enable both parents to pursue their careers while ensuring quality care for their children.
 - c. **Progressive Parental Leave Policies** that encourage fathers to take an active role in caregiving.

Addati, L., Cattaneo, U., & Pozzan, E. (2022). Care at work: Investing in care leave and services for a more gender equal world of work. *International Labor Organization*. https://www.ilo.org/global/topics/care-economy/WCMS_838653/lang-en/index.htm

²⁷ مانون العمل اللبناني - https://labor.gov.lb/AllLegalText.aspx?type=9.

²⁸ UN Women. (2022). A toolkit on paid and unpaid care work: From 3Rs to 5rs. UN Women – Headquarters. https://www.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications/2022/07/a-toolkit-on-paid-and-unpaid-care-work.















- 5. Shifting the perspective around care labor is necessary. Care work in Lebanon is frequently viewed in less valuable labor that "unskilled" workers carry out²⁹. To improve the social standing of the industry and its laborers, this stance must be changed and the significance of care work must be highlighted. This can be accomplished through organizing campaigns, raising awareness, and changing how care providers are portrayed in the media. It's crucial to eliminate the stigma associated with caregiving, as well.
- 6. The 5 R's. Following the "5R Framework for Decent Care Work" is essential. This framework advocates recognizing, reducing, and redistributing unpaid care work, while rewarding and representing paid care work. Equal pay and social protection must be provided for existing jobs, while creating higher-quality, decent jobs in the care sector³⁰. Recognition of care work would come from including measures of both paid and unpaid care labor in national statistics and economic growth indicators³¹, for instance. Additionally, increasing access to infrastructure and technologies relevant to care work that are time-saving and labor-saving aids in reducing the care work to be done³². Moreover, shifting the social norms around care work and engaging men in care labor and investing in free universal childcare helps redistribute care work.33. More still, rewarding care workers can be done by securing decent employment for them, particularly those in the informal sector and providing informal laborers with social protection³⁴. Lastly, representing care workers can be done by formalizing the labor in the care economy and providing migrant care workers with equal treatment and opportunities³⁵. Resilience must be integrated into the 5R framework. Building resilient care systems is vital to address challenges such as the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic, which exposed the strain on Lebanon's care economy due to insufficient investment and resilience-building³⁶.
- 7. Professionalizing the care industry while maintaining accessibility to jobs in the field is a crucial step. The workers' social status rises as a result of formalizing this industry and giving them tools they need to obtain higher salaries³⁷. This can be accomplished by providing workers in the care industry with training that focuses on crucial skills, with certificate-granting programs, and with various opportunities to advance their abilities. This would aid in dispelling the notion that care labor is "unskilled" and only merits little to no compensation.

¹⁹ International Labor Organization. (2022). Joint Statement by the ILO and UN women on the occasion of the Global Day of Action for Care. Joint Statement by the ILO and UN Women on the occasion of the Global Day of Action for Care. https://www.ilo.org/beirut/media-centre/statements/WCMS_859382/langen/index.html

³⁰ UN Women. (2022). A toolkit on paid and unpaid care work: From 3Rs to 5rs. UN Women – Headquarters. https://www.unwomen.org/en/digitallibrary/publications/2022/07/a-toolkit-on-paid-and-unpaid-care-work.

^{32 &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>

^{33 &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>

^{34 &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>

^{35 &}lt;u>Ibid</u>

³⁷ International Labor Organization. (2022). Joint statement by the ILO and UN women on the occasion of the Global Day of Action for Care. Joint Statement by the ILO and UN Women on the occasion of the Global Day of Action for Care. https://www.ilo.org/beirut/media-centre/statements/WCMS_859382/lang--en/index.html















- 8. **Contextualizing research** is crucial, giving voice to care workers and migrant domestic workers who are directly affected. Decolonial research methods aim to shift the focus from Eurocentric contexts when conducting research outside of western, educated, industrialized, rich, and democratic (W.E.I.R.D) countries. This approach even challenges Eurocentric research approaches that often undercut the local experiences and knowledge of and marginalized groups³⁸. Research findings must translate into actionable outcomes to drive meaningful change³⁹. Empowering young feminist activists and scholars from the region to conduct research on care is essential to decolonize research and prioritize the voices of those affected by unpaid care work.
- 9. **Abolishing the Kafala system** is a pressing matter. Repeatedly raising this issue in parliamentary and official settings is vital to finding a solution and including migrant domestic workers within the prerogatives of the Lebanese Labor Code.
- 10. **Joining the Global Alliance for Care** is critical, as Lebanon and other countries can stand in solidarity with migrant domestic workers and collaborate with the alliance to protect the migrant domestic worker community in Lebanon. Strong coalitions must be established and maintained between all pertinent parties in order to implement transformative care policies⁴⁰.

Empowering Care Workers and Addressing Systemic Challenges

The workshop provided valuable insights into the pressing issues surrounding care work, shedding light on the inequalities and vulnerabilities faced by care workers, particularly women and migrant domestic workers. The data presented revealed the disproportionate burden borne by women in unpaid care work, hindering their economic participation and reinforcing gender disparities. Moreover, the exploitative nature of the Kafala system was highlighted, amplifying the need for urgent action to protect migrant domestic workers from abuse and exploitation⁴¹.

When discussing women's economic participation, it is crucial to emphasize their unpaid contributions to the economy. It is also important to acknowledge the different levels at which different individuals are disempowered due to the various challenges they face under the burden of unpaid care work. A significant challenge lies in the fact that women's and migrant domestic workers' labor is often exploited, benefiting others while leaving them financially and politically compromised. After conducting a dialogue around the care work economy in Lebanon, diverse viewpoints were brought to light. This shaped

³⁸ Keikelame, M. J., & Swartz, L. (2019). Decolonising research methodologies: Lessons from a qualitative research project, Cape Town, South Africa. Global Health Action, 12(1), 1561175. https://doi.org/10.1080/16549716.2018.1561175.

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⁴⁰ Addati, L., Cattaneo, U., Esquivel, V., & Samp; Valarino, I. (2018). Care work and care jobs for the future of Decent work. International Labor Organization. https://www.ilo.org/global/publications/books/WCMS_633135/lang--en/index.htm

⁴¹ Majzoub, A. (2022). *Lebanon's Abusive Kafala (sponsorship) system*. Human Rights Watch. https://www.hrw.org/news/2022/01/04/lebanons-abusive-kafala-sponsorship-system.















the opportunity to amplify the voices of diverse communities and formulate actionable recommendations for implementation. Initiating dialogues of this nature is a valuable approach to *shift the narratives* towards those who are involved and affected by unpaid care work and whose economic and political participation are being hindered. It provides the opportunity to visit and reassess the situation that is unfolding within a broader context.















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