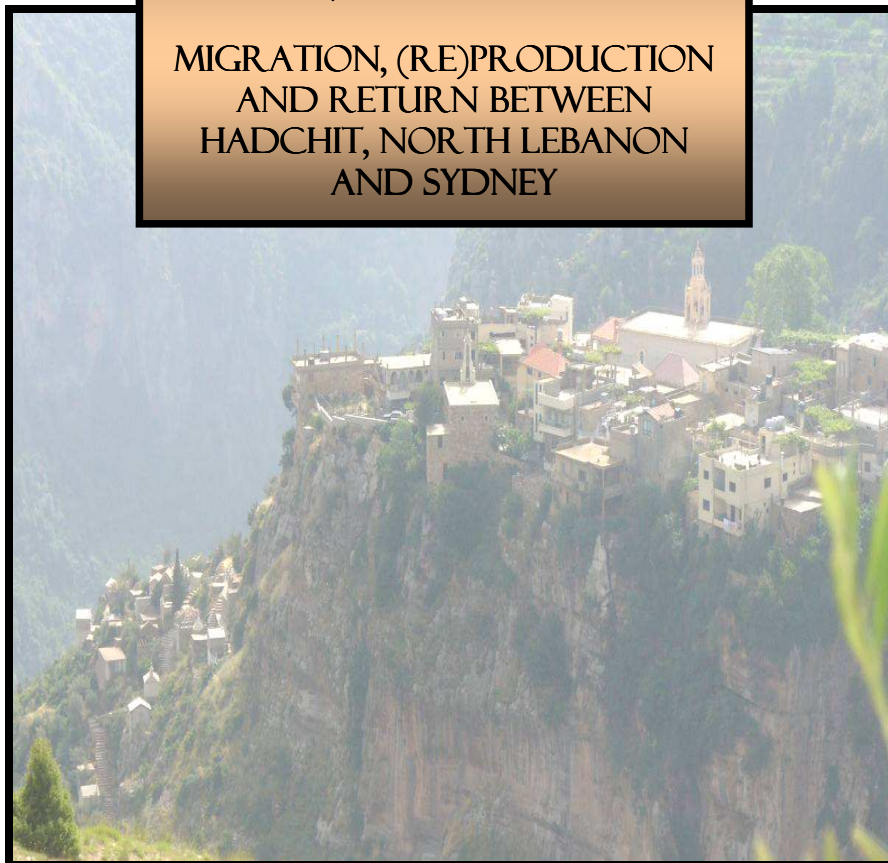




At My Mother's Table

MIGRATION, (RE)PRODUCTION
AND RETURN BETWEEN
HADCHIT, NORTH LEBANON
AND SYDNEY



Nelia Hyndman-Rizik
A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the
Australian National University
2009

This thesis¹ reflects my own original research

Nelia Hyndman-Rizik

School of Archaeology and Anthropology,

The Australian National University.

November 2009

¹ The pictures on the front cover are of the village of Hadchit and of Sayde, Our Lady, as depicted on the door of the Sayde El Shiffe (Our Lady of the Cliff) Church in Hadchit, taken by Nelia Hyndman-Rizik, 2007.

Acknowledgments

I dedicate this study to my matriline of Lebanese mothers, grandmothers and great-grandmothers and their rich traditions of matriarchy. I would like to thank the Rask/Rizk family for all of their support in undertaking this research project on migration from our ancestral village, Hadchit, in North Lebanon. In particular, I would like to thank my Uncles: Gene, Michael (now deceased) and Paul Rask (now deceased) for their interest in this project over the many years it has taken me on and off to complete it. It is with regret that my Uncle Paul, who was an insightful thinker, will never read this study. I remember with pride his commitment to the Arab American Anti-defamation League and the lively intellectual tradition he led in our family for many years. I thank Lee and Ray Rask and their families for all of their help and assistance with the American part of the research. In particular I thank my cousins Jenny, Linda and Sarah Rask and Gloria Raab. I also thank the Hadchitis in St. Louis, USA in particular Steve Baker and his family. I express my gratitude to Matt O'Dell, John Sarkis and Jeanine Rask-Ashford for the historical, archival and family tree research they have undertaken over the years, from which this research project has benefited greatly, as it has enabled me to make the linkages between the various arms of the Hadchiti diaspora.

In Australia there are many people who I am indebted to. In Sydney I thank my cousins Hanna and Habibe Rizk and their family, with a special thanks to Joe and Lamia Rizk for their long friendship and providing me with a great deal of insight into the social dynamics of the Sydney Hadchit community. The support of the *Jameye*, the Hadchit Committee, in Sydney was critical for the success of this study and I thank all of the committee members for their help and support. In particular I would like to thank George Loulach and his family, Tony Draybi and his family and Tony Chidiac and his family. I also thank Tony Khattar for his time. Elie Akouri, of the Cedars of Lebanon Folkloric Group, has been of great assistance. I also thank Dr. Youssef Taouk for checking my Arabic terms and I thank his family for all of their kind assistance in hosting me many times during the field work for this study. I thank Christine Eid for her assistance and The Australian Lebanese Historical Society for their support.

Tony Yacoub, President of the World Lebanese Cultural Union Australasia, was also helpful in providing contacts in the Lebanese community in Australia. I also thank the Lebanese Ambassador to Australia, Jean Daniel and his wife Mireille, for their support and assistance during the final phases of writing my thesis.

In Hadchit I thank Badwani, Lara, Jalili and Saba Rizk for hosting my visit in 2007. In addition I thank the Mayor of Hadchit, Nabil Draybi, for his support and assistance. I'd like to thank Tony Rizk for all the work he has done on the Rizk family history and for establishing the Hadchit village website without which this study would not have been possible. I also thank the rest of the Rizk clan in Hadchit for organizing the Rizk family reunion in the ancestral village in May 2007. I thank Guita Hourani from the Lebanese Emigration Research Centre for her support and interest in this research project.

I am indebted to my academic supervisors and advisors who participated at various stages throughout the 4 ½ years it took to complete this study. I thank Dr. Patrick Guinness, as Principal Supervisor and Chair of the Panel, for his encouragement and intellectual leadership in bringing the thesis to completion. I thank Professor Francesca Merlan and Dr. Greg Noble for their comments on the draft thesis and Dr. Ashley Carruthers and Professor Ghassan Hage for making a contribution to the development of the thesis. I thank my parents, Mary Rizk and Dr. David Hyndman, for their constant support. My mother entered the Hadchit Household Survey results into excel and my father proof read many drafts of this thesis. Last, but not least, I thank my husband, Kai Wallenius, who has always been my greatest supporter and our children; Oliver, Saami and Amani. I hope one day they might read this study and understand their roots better.

Abstract

In the era of globalisation, studies of migration focus on mobility, deterritorialised identities and diasporic forms of belonging across nation state boundaries. Indeed, uprootedness from the soil of home and place has resulted in a general condition of 'homelessness' in late modernity, referred to as the diasporic condition. The search for an 'absolute home' has become the Holy Grail for pilgrims in late modernity and forms the basis for this study, which explores the 'migrant's conundrum': does home move where the migrant moves, or is it forever tied to the primordialism of place, soil and kinship? Through an examination of the construction of homeliness amongst an immigrant community of 500 households from the village of Hadchit, North Lebanon, who reside in Western Sydney, Australia it will be shown how their strategies of home-building depend upon the capacity to imagine themselves as being united by kinship, a shared village of origins and as part of the broader communal Maronite identity (*Mwarne*), which now transcends nation state boundaries. Patrilineage (*bayt*), village (*day'aa*) and sect (*ta'eefa*) have historically defined Lebanese sectarian identities and now, as this study shows, are deployed as a strategy of home-building and community construction in diaspora. However, capitalist social relations of production in Sydney have transformed *bayt*, *day'aa* and *ta'eefa* amongst the second generation through the gendered renegotiation of the marriage contract from relations of descent to relations of consent. Thus, the Hadchitis now face a crisis of (re)production and attribute this to the Australian state being *hukum niswen*, ruled by women, an inversion of the gendered order of power in Lebanon. Through pilgrimages to the ancestral village émigrés seek a spiritual resolution to the contradictions of migration through the restoration of their connection to place, but find they cannot seamlessly belong in Hadchit. Meanwhile, multicultural crisis and a milieu of anti-Lebanese racism limit their claims to national belonging in Australia. This study finds that the contradictions of the migration process are unresolvable through physical mobility, because the feeling of 'home' is ultimately an affective and social construction that transcends place. The elusive quality that defines home and provides a sense of unconditional

belonging is, in fact, socially constructed by women, through their daily practices of care within the home and the most important woman for the construction of homeliness is the matriarch, *sit el bayt* – the power of the house. Thus, the place where the immigrant can be at home is metaphorically at their ‘mother’s table’. The shifting and gendered construction of home amongst the Hadchitis in Sydney has also led to a transformation of cultural identity amongst them. Through the process of migration, (re)production and return the Hadchitis have become Lebanese-Australians.

Table of Contents

<u>ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....</u>	<u>IV</u>
------------------------------------	------------------

<u>ABSTRACT.....</u>	<u>VI</u>
-----------------------------	------------------

LIST OF MAPS	X
LIST OF TABLES:	X
LIST OF FIGURES	X
LIST OF APPENDICES.....	XI

<i>THEN A PLOUGHMAN SAID "SPEAK TO US OF WORK" ...</i>	XVI
--	-----

<u>1. INTRODUCTION.....</u>	<u>1</u>
------------------------------------	-----------------

FROM PEASANT TO WAGE-LABOURER	1
MIGRATION AND THE SEARCH FOR HOME	6
THE RESEARCH PROBLEM	10
THE FIELDWORK	11
AN AUTO-ETHNOGRAPHIC ACCOUNT.....	13
THE INSIDER/OUTSIDER ANTHROPOLOGIST.....	25
THESIS OUTLINE	28

<u>2. LEBANESE EMIGRATION AND THE VILLAGE OF HADCHIT.....</u>	<u>31</u>
--	------------------

THE FORMATION OF LEBANON	31
THE RISE AND FALL OF THE MARONITES	33
FOUR WAVES OF LEBANESE EMIGRATION.....	39
LEBANESE SETTLEMENT IN AUSTRALIA	44
THE VILLAGE OF HADCHIT	49
MIGRATION FROM HADCHIT.....	53
UPROOTING: THE EXPERIENCE OF MIGRATING FROM HADCHIT TO SYDNEY	57
CONCLUSION	67

<u>3. CONSTRUCTING A SOCIAL VILLAGE IN SYDNEY.....</u>	<u>68</u>
---	------------------

A SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILE	69
CASE STUDY: BUILDING BUSINESS NETWORKS THROUGH WASTA.....	76
ESTABLISHING A SOCIAL VILLAGE	83
CASE STUDY: DISPLAYING MARKAZ AND NAJEH	89
THE MARONITES IN SYDNEY	97
CASE STUDY: LENT AND SPIRITUAL PURIFICATION.....	106
CONCLUSION: THE RECONSTRUCTION OF BAYT, DAY'AA AND TA'EEFA	111

4. BEING 'AT HOME' AND (RE)PRODUCING THE FAMILY.....115

THE GENDERED CONSTRUCTION OF HOMELINESS IN DOMESTIC SPACE.....	116
LIFE CYCLE RITUALS AND THE DESTABILISATION OF GENDER-ROLES.....	133
INFANCY.....	137
LATE CHILDHOOD AND ADOLESCENCE	139
EARLY ADULTHOOD	140
AGENCY AND CONTESTED MARRIAGE PRACTICES	142
COUSIN MARRIAGE AND CONSENT	147
CASE STUDY: ORS-A LEBANESE MARONITE WEDDING IN SYDNEY.....	149
CONCLUSION: THE TRANSFORMATION OF BAYT, DAY'AA AND TA'EEFA	155

5. GENDER INVERSIONS BETWEEN LEBANON AND AUSTRALIA.....158

MATRIARCHY VERSUS PATRIARCHY	158
AUSTRALIA: THE UPSIDE DOWN LAND.....	162
CHANGING GENDER RELATIONS BETWEEN SYDNEY AND HADCHIT	174
CONCLUSION	179

6. RETURN TO HADCHIT.....180

THE CONSTRUCTION OF PILGRIMAGES TO THE HOMELAND	181
LEBANON: THE LOST HOLY LAND.....	185
HADCHIT AS A SHRINE AND THE VIRTUAL RETURN TO IT	189
TRANSNATIONAL FLOWS BETWEEN SYDNEY AND HADCHIT	195
THE SECOND GENERATION	199
LIMINALITY AND AMBIVALENCE	209
CONCLUSION	212

7. BECOMING LEBANESE-AUSTRALIAN.....213

MIGRATION AND WHITENESS.....	213
THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE ARAB OTHER.....	216
CHRISTIAN VERSUS MUSLIM	218
LIVING WITH RACISM	221
LOST IN TRANSLATION	225
CONCLUSION: THE HYPHENATED IDENTITY	231

8. CONCLUSION: AT MY MOTHER'S TABLE.....236

GLOSSARY.....245

ARABIC TERMS.....246

BIBLIOGRAPHY.....269

MOVIES.....283

List of Maps

Map 1: Modern map of Lebanon. Source: www.unimaps.com , 2005.	xiii
Map 2: Map of the villages of the Qadisha Valley, North Lebanon. Source: Kepler-Lewis (1968:20).....	xiv
Map 3: Suburbs in Western Sydney where immigrants from Hadchit have settled.	xv

List of Tables:

Table 1: Selected Labour Force indicators of people aged 15 years and over November 2004	72
Table 2: Labour Force Status, Selected countries of birth.	74
Table 3: Binary opposition and inversion between Lebanon and Australia.	163

List of Figures

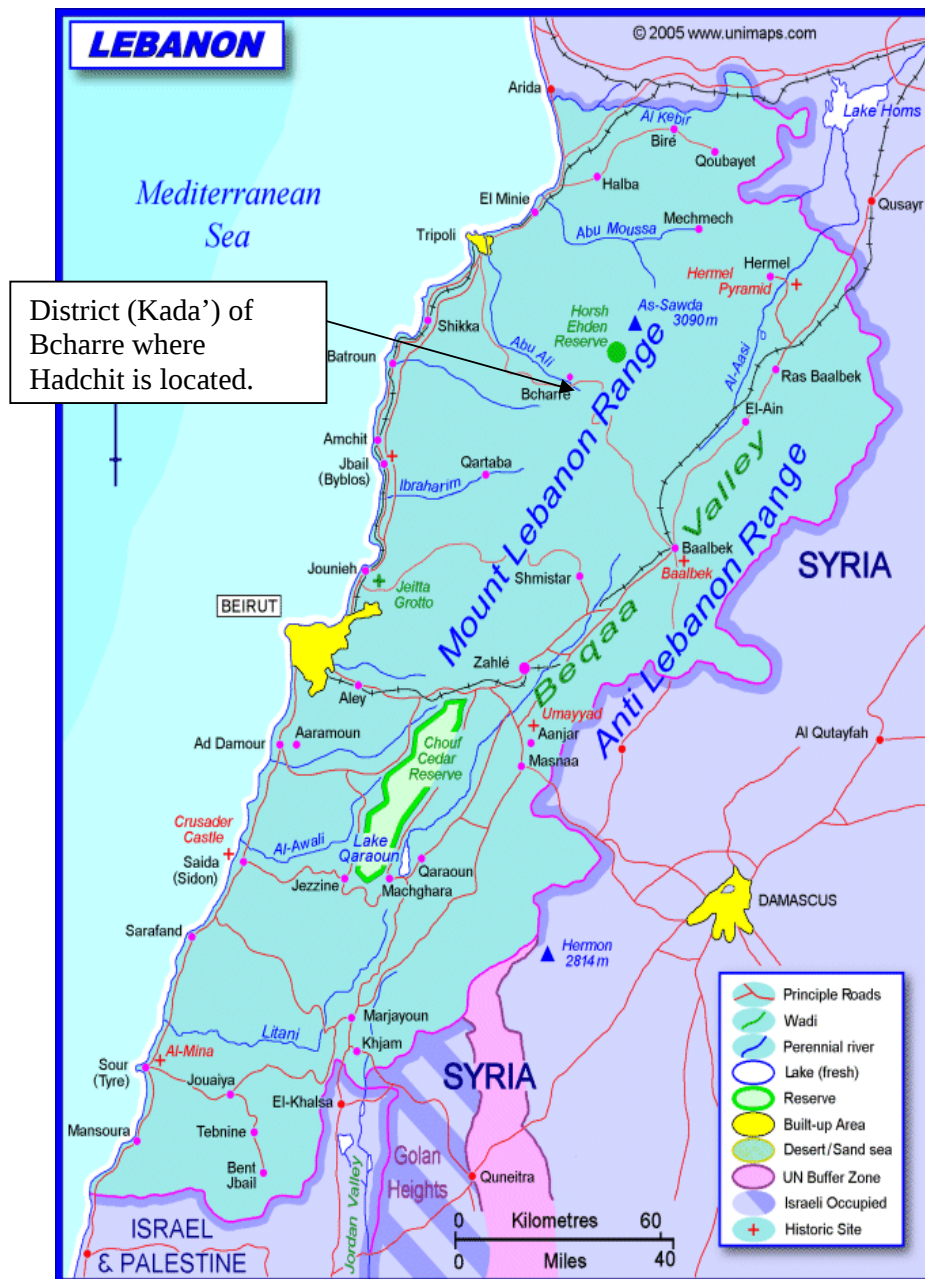
Figure 1: My great grandparents, Sharifee Karem Kairouz born in Bcharre and her husband Salah Rizk born in Hadchit, taken in Butte Montana with their children who were born in America.	13
Figure 2: The first view of Hadchit as I approached from Bcharre. Source Nelia Hyndman-Rizik, 2007.	15
Figure 3: Photos from top left in clockwise direction: St. Raymond, inside the St. Raymond's Church, the Rizk family reunion, author at centre, My Great-grandfather's house, a view of Hadchit across the valley. Source: Nelia Hyndman-Rizik, 2007.	17
Figure 4: Religious sites around Hadchit. Source: Nelia Hyndman-Rizik, 2007	18
Figure 5: Women's rituals as part of the funeral for an emigre' from Sydney. Source: Nelia Hyndman-Rizik, 2007.	20
Figure 6: Around Hadchit: St. Raymond's Square, Icons at Deir el Salib, Picture of St. Shamouni and the decapitated Goddess in front of St. Raymond's. Saydet Eschiffe. Source: Nelia Hyndman-Rizik, 2007.	23
Figure 7: Sacred topography, the view from the Shrine of Adissi Shamouni out into the Wadi Qadisha, below Hadchit. Pictures also of the interior of the Shrine to St. (Adissi) Shamouni, a pilgrims collection. Source: Nelia Hyndman-Rizik 2007.	24
Figure 8: Schisms in the Christian Church. Source: Baer (1964:85).	34
Figure 9: The Lebanese Diaspora: Source: http://www.iloubnan.info/	44
Figure 10: Wehby's Drapery in Braidwood operated for 90 years from the turn of the 20 th Century. Source: Nelia Hyndman-Rizik, 2006.	45
Figure 11: A farmer and his wife from the Rizk clan using the Hadchit plough and oxen, taken in Hadchit after WWII and sent to the Hadchiti immigrant community in Butte, Montana. Source: Matt O'Dell, 2000.	49
Figure 12: Year of arrival in Australia. Source: Hadchit Household Survey, 2006.	57
Figure 13: Picture of Hadchit, North Lebanon taken in the 1970's. Source: Antoine Chidiac. Hadchit on High.	61
Figure 14: The dominance of construction for male occupations in the Hadchit community. Source: Hadchit Household Survey, 2006.	70
Figure 15: Post-secondary qualifications for the Hadchit community. Source: Hadchit Household Survey, 2006	71
Figure 16: Labour force participation. Source: Hadchit Household Survey, 2006.	71
Figure 17: Language spoken at home. Source: Hadchit Household Survey, 2006.	75
Figure 18: The Hadchit telephone directory. Source: St. Raymond's Charities of Hadchit Committee, 2006.	85
Figure 19: The St. Raymond of Hadchit Community Hall in Granville. Source: Nelia Hyndman-Rizik, 2006.	87
Figure 20: The Dedication Plaque as you enter the St. Raymond's Hall. Source: Nelia Hyndman-Rizik, 2006.	88
Figure 21: Sacred sites in Hadchit, as depicted on the wall at the Saint Raymond of Hadchit Hall in Granville. Source: Nelia Hyndman-Rizik, 2007.	88
Figure 22: The famous Grand Westella, a Lebanese institution in Western Sydney. Source: Nelia Hyndman-Rizik, 2007.	91
Figure 23: St. Raymond's Day. Source: Nelia Hyndman-Rizik, 2005.	94

Figure 24: Dabki dancing accompanied by a Tabel drum at the Grand Westella. Source: Nelia Hyndman-Rizik, 2006.	96
Figure 25 : The assembly of Bishops under the Patriarch for the Pontifical mass at Parramatta Satudium during “Maronites 08”, July 2008. Source: Nelia Hyndman-Rizik, 2008.	98
Figure 26: Our Lady of Lebanon (<i>Saydet Lubnan</i>) at Harris Park. Source: Nelia Hyndman-Rizik, 2008.	100
Figure 27: A stained glass window in honour of St. Raymond at Our Lady of Lebanon, Harris Park. Source: Nelia Hyndman-Rizik, 2008.	101
Figure 28: The representation of the Maronite saints. From left to right St. Charbel, St. Nematallah and the boat that brought their relics to Australia and St. Rafqa and a biography of St. Charbel below. Source: www.maronite.org.au	104
Figure 29: Bishop Ad Abikaram leads the Palm Sunday procession at Our Lady of Lebanon Harris Park, Source: Nelia Hyndman-Rizik, 2008.	110
Figure 30: Good Friday lunch in the home of Hadchiti immigrants in Merrylands, served before attending mass at Our Lady of Lebanon, Harris Park. Source: Nelia Hyndman-Rizik, 2006.	110
Figure 31: The intersection between Bayt, Day'aa, Ta'eefa in national and transnational borders.	112
Figure 32: A Jrn, traditionally used for pounding Kibbi, brought from Hadchit by a Hadchiti family in Merrylands. Source: Nelia Hyndman-Rizik, 2006.	119
Figure 34: A selection of Lebanese dishes: Tabouleh, Sambusik and Kibbi. Source: Nelia Hyndman-Rizik, 2006.	126
Figure 35: The art of baking <i>Soj</i> in a back yard in Granville. First the dough is thrown in the air. Source: Nelia Hyndman-Rizik, 2006.	128
Figure 36: The dough is then placed on the hot <i>Soj</i> dome oven. Source: Nelia Hyndman-Rizik, 2006.	128
Figure 37: Shrine to Mary and the Maronite saints in a Hadchit immigrant household in Merrylands. Source: Nelia Hyndman-Rizik, 2006.	130
Figure 38: Common symbols worn along with saint's medals: The Maronite Cross and the Cedar of Lebanon. Source: Nelia Hyndman-Rizik, 2006	130
Figure 39: Cousin Marriage. Source: Hadchit Household Survey, 2006.	148
Figure 40: Lebanese Buffet served for the guests at this kitchen tea, held at the St. Raymond's Hall. Source: Nelia Hyndman-Rizik, 2007.	152
Figure 41: The Wedding reception at the Grand Westella. Source: Nelia Hyndman-Rizik, 2007.	153
Figure 42: The presentation of <i>Mezza</i> at the Grand Westella. Source: Nelia Hyndman-Rizik, 2007.	153
Figure 43: Map of the Holy sights in the Qadisha Valley. Source: Ministry of Tourism (Brochure 2002).	187
Figure 44: Internet traffic in 2005 to the Hadchit village website: Source: http://hadchit.8m.com/	190
Figure 45: The Movie “Hadchit: The Journey Home”. Source: The Eparchy of Our Lady of Lebanon, St. Louis, 2004.	192
Figure 46: St. Raymond as he is depicted in St. Raymond's Maronite Church in St. Louis, Missouri. Source: Nelia Hyndman-Rizik, 2006.	194
Figure 47: Contact with Hadchit. Source: Hadchit Household Survey, 2006.	198
Figure 48: Financial support to Hadchit. Source: Hadchit Household Survey, 2006.	199
Figure 49: Return visits in the last five years. Source: Hadchit Household Survey, 2006.	200
Figure 50: Purpose for Visiting Hadchit. Source: Hadchit Household Survey, 2006.	203
Figure 52: Argile smoking at the St. Raymond's Hall. Source: Nelia Hyndman-Rizik, 2006.	227
Figure 53: Cultural Identification. Source: Hadchit Household Survey, 2006.	232
Figure 54: Australian citizenship. Source: Hadchit Household Survey, 2006.	234

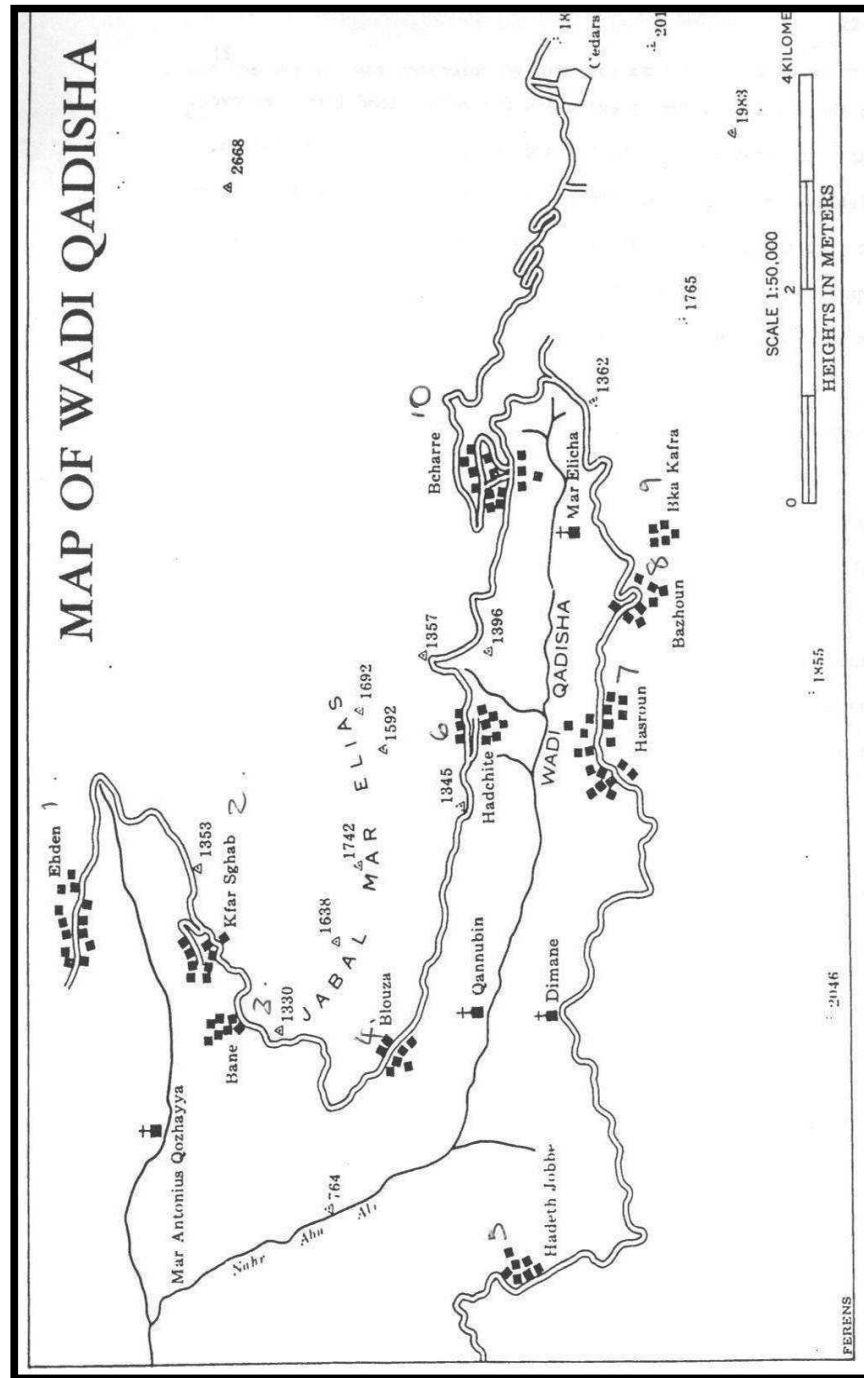
List of Appendices

Appendix 1: The Research Design	248
Appendix 2: The 12 Patrilineages (<i>Bayts</i>) and 82 sub-branches of Hadchit. Source: The St. Raymond's Charities of Hadchit, Sydney.....	253

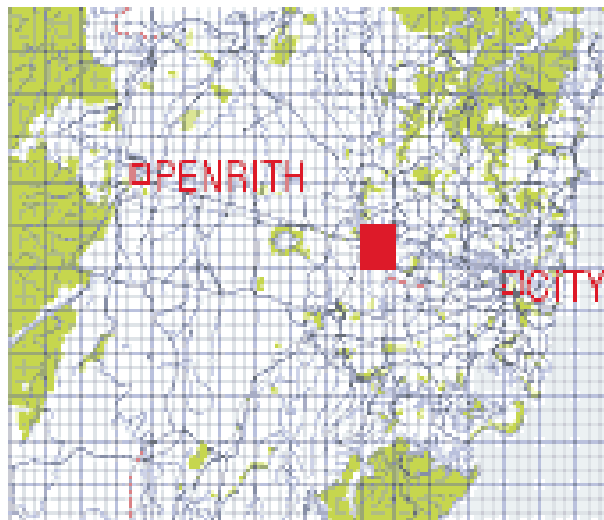
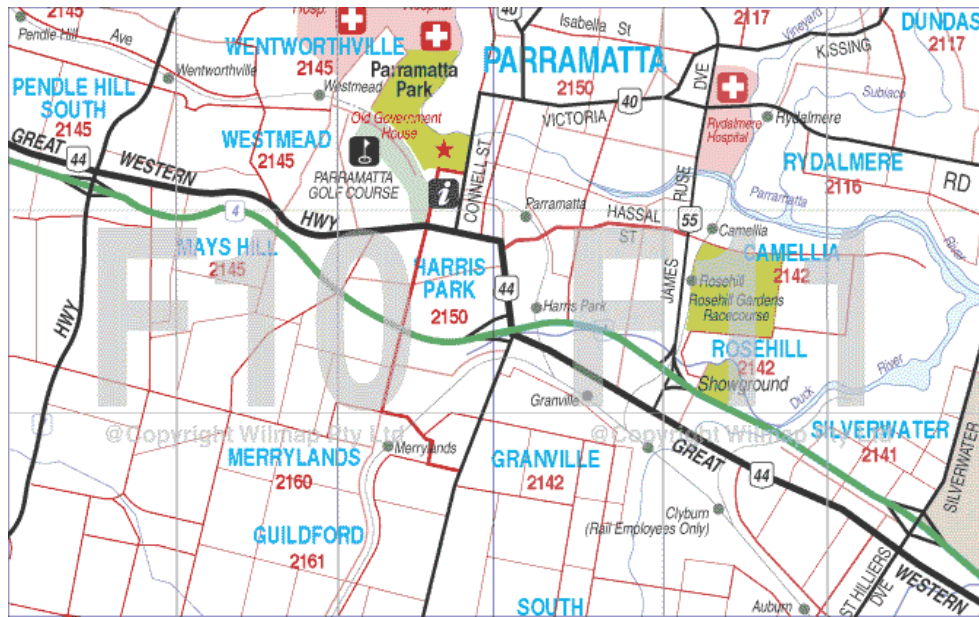
Appendix 3: The Rizk Transnational Family Tree. Source: Matt O'Dell and Jeanine Rask-Ashford, 2008.....	254
Appendix 4: The Hadchit Household Survey. Source: Hyndman-Rizik, 2006 (6 pages) ..	255
Appendix 5: Migration chain map for Rizk/Saba family from Hadchit to Sydney. Source: Nelia Hyndman-Rizik, 2006.	261
Appendix 6: Migration Chain map for the Zahouk/Khattar family from Hadchit. Source: Nelia Hyndman-Rizik, 2006.	262
Appendix 7: Report on unemployment and out-marriage rates in the Hadchit Community. Source: ANU Statistical Consulting Unit, 2008.	263
Appendix 8: List of publications from the thesis	268



Map 1: Modern map of Lebanon. Source: www.unimaps.com, 2005.



Map 2: Map of the villages of the Qadisha Valley, North Lebanon. Source: Kepler-Lewis (1968:20)



Map 3: Suburbs in Western Sydney where immigrants from Hadchit have settled.

Then a ploughman said “speak to us of work”...

Often have I heard you say,
as if speaking in sleep,
“He who works in marble, and finds the
shape of his own soul in the stone, is nobler
than he who ploughs the soil”.
“And he who seizes the rainbow to lay it on a
cloth in the likeness of man, is more than he
who makes the sandals for our feet”.
But I say, not in sleep, but in the
overwakefulness of the noontide, that the
wind speaks not more sweetly to the giant
oaks than to the least of all the blades of
grass;
And he alone is great who turns the voice of
the wind into a song made sweeter by his own
loving.
Work is love made visible.
And if you cannot work with love but only
with distaste, it is better that you should
leave your work and sit at the gate of the
temple and take alms of those who work with
joy.
For if you bake bread with indifference, you
bake a bitter bread that feeds but half man’s
hunger
And if you grudge the crushing of the grapes,
your grudge distils a poison in the wine
Excerpt from “*The Prophet*”
(Gibran, 2005 (1923): 33-34)