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Human Security of Palestinian Refugees in the Arab World**A palesztin menekültek humán biztonsági kérdései az arab világban****Absztrakt**

A cikk a palesztin menekültek problémáit vizsgálja komplex humán biztonsági megközelítésben. Jelenleg több mint 3 millió palesztin menekült él táborokban Jordániában, Szíriában és Libanonban. A szerző a menekültek helyzetét öt humán biztonsági dimenzióban vizsgálja: politikai biztonság, gazdasági biztonság, egészségügyi biztonság, személyi biztonság és közösségi biztonság. A tanulmány az elemzéshez az ENSZ Ügynökségek (UNCHR, UNEWA) és a menekültekkel foglalkozó kutatóintézetek (CEPR, UNRWA) hivatalos adatbázisait használja. A tanulmány következtetése az, hogy a palesztin menekültek helyzete a menekülttáborokban humán biztonsági szempontból nem megoldott, hiányzik a hatékony koordináció a nemzetközi közösség tagjai és a befogadó államok között. Fontos felismerés, hogy a humán biztonság öt tényezője összefügg egymással, bármelyik terület állapotváltozása közvetlenül kihat a többi biztonsági területre. Végül a tanulmány javaslatokkal zárul, amelyeket a palesztin szerző a nemzetközi közösségnek, a befogadó államoknak és az ENSZ szakosított intézményének (UNRWA) ajánl.

Abstract

The article discusses the Palestinian Refugees Issues from complex human security prospective. Currently more than 3 millions Palestinian Refugees live in the refugee camps in Jordan, Syria and Lebanon. The author analyses the Palestinian Refugees status in five dimensions: political security, economic security, health security, personal security and community security. The analysis is based on the database of UN Agencies (UNHCR, UNRWA) and international Think Tanks specialized on Refugee Aid (CEPR, ANERA). The study concludes that the Palestinian refugees are lacking the human security in the camps and missing the efficient and fully coordinated support of the International Community and the host nations. The five dimensions are interrelated, which means deterioration in one dimension causes deterioration in another. The articles is

ended with suggestions for the International Community, the host nations and the UN Relief and Works Agency.

INTRODUCTION

The Palestinian refugees case is one of the oldest and biggest cases that started in 1948 when the Israeli state was established. Palestinians had to leave their lands, on which the Israel state was established. Refugees mainly left to the West Bank, Gaza Strip, Jordan, Syria and Lebanon in which refugee camps were established. Another wave of refugees started in 1976 when the Israeli Authorities occupied the rest of Palestine. Refugees in Palestine refers to both who fled during the 1948 and the 1967. However, two different terms are often used to the returning back of Palestine; the first term is return, which refers to the return of 1948 Palestinian refugees to the now called Israel. The other is repatriation refers to those who shall be displaced within the future Palestinian state (Brynen & El-Rifai, 2007). This research focuses on the refugees who are residing in the refugee camps in Jordan, Syria and Lebanon, despite the fact that they fled in the 1948 or 1967.

The number of Palestinian Refugees is very high. According to Chatty & Hundt (2005); in 1949 there were 110,000 Palestinian refugees in Lebanon. In 2011, the number was 455,000 with 53% living in camps. Lebanon denies Palestinian Refugees civil rights. In Syria, there are more than 495,000 who are mostly socioeconomically disadvantaged, and a large number is being displaced after the Syrian crisis affecting the social cultures of those refugee camps. In Jordan the number exceeds two million refugees; the 1948 refugees in Jordan were granted Nationality, while the rest did not get it.

1. LITERATURE REVIEW

Host states have the primary responsibility to protect refugees for stateless persons. However, and especially during immigration fluxes, it is hard to reconcile humanitarian impulses. Hence, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNCHR) holds the responsibility for protecting refugees.

The UNCHR was established in 1950 by the United Nations General Assembly. Its main objective was to protect refugees and resolve their problems, rights, and well-being. The 1951 convention is the key legal document relating to the status of refugees that includes: defining who a refugee is, rights of refugees, and obligation of the host state. Article 1 defines refugees; however, this definition was limited to refugees before January 1951. This was modified in the 1967 protocol, which reached to a universal coverage of all refugees. According to the convention a refugee is any person who is not able or not willing to return to his country because he/she is persecuted. (UNHCR, 2010)

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The convention describes the rights of refugees and obligations of each state then it notifies the right of non-discrimination to race, religion, country of origin, or any discrimination of international human rights. It also stipulates non-penalization for illegal entry or stay. Moreover, it asserted that no one shall be expelled against his/her will to a place where the refugee feels threatened. Other basic rights are stipulated in the convention including access to courts, education, work, and travel documents. Finally, the convention illustrates the role of the UNHCR to work out the convention. (UNHCR, 2010)

Several studies discussed the status of refugees and the discrimination they might be facing. One of the major threats to human security faced by refugees is the denial of citizenship. In 2005, Sokoloff and Lewis ensured that by citizenship denial three factors will be affected, these include: protection, empowerment and *vulnerable groups*. As an effect a status of human insecurity will be formed, as they will lead to economic, social and political marginalization. On the other hand if allowed citizenship and integration within the host community this will lead to better livelihoods, wellbeing, and human security (Jacobsen, 2003). Jacobsen stressed on the fact that such integration helps accomplish social and economic independence. One of the main examples of citizenship denial is the Palestinian refugees, where the Arab States refused to accept the “permanence of the status quo ... have been left in limbo for some fifty years” (Shilbak, 1996)

Other threats were also mentioned in some studies. Weiner & Russell (2000) indicated that immigration causes changes in demographics change that affects the political conflict. This is due to the change in several factors and community structure shifts including age and gender composition, in addition to marriage and birth rates. Similarly, Teitelbaum (1995) depicted that ethnic conflicts are found in countries with “youth bulge”.

The Palestinian Refugees case is a unique one due to the different phases of immigration that took place; including the 1948, 1967, and then other displacements due to conflicts between the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) and the host countries which lead to being exiled for second and sometimes third times. What is also unique about their case is the assumption that keeping the Palestinian refugee case alive means maintaining the status of refugees unchanged. In order to keep the Palestinian issue in the call for change the Arab countries prevented the refugees full responsibility in accordance to the Arab League Protocol signed in Casablanca in 1965. The agreement denied them naturalization; while issuing them Refugee Travel Documents (Shilbak, 2014).

The Palestinian refugees are usually three types, the first category are under the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) support and with UNRWA documents, others are documented refugees in the countries they reside, and the last category are the non-ID Palestinian Refugees who are considered irregular migrants (especially in Syria and Lebanon) despite living here since decades. Palestinian Refugee camps usually provide support to all migrants living there; however, there are several informal and unofficial camps in Lebanon, which are not supported by

UNRWA (Elsayed, 2014). UNRWA was created to carry out the direct relief of refugees in collaboration with the host countries. It was created as a temporary agency; however, since the refugees case is still alive so is the UNRWA.

In general the living conditions of the Palestinian refugees are deteriorated. There is no proper infrastructure; in Lebanon for example, they are prohibited to bring in building materials into the camps. Hence, no maintenance is possible, and the houses are overcrowded. (Elsayed, 2014). Additionally, they face many restrictions on right to work, which is backed up by the law. Palestinian Refugees face unemployment, poverty and in most cases they are prevented from owning property in the countries they reside.

The non-ID Palestinian refugees are living the worst conditions. They are denied the right to health, education, work, mobility; which are all derived from the denial of the right of nationality. There are more than 3,000 Palestinian Refugees living as such in Lebanon (Petrigh, 2014 & Elsayed, 2014). These refugees cannot travel, cannot work. In fact they are not able to participate in the social or economic life.

2. RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

This research aims at identifying the extent of human security the Palestinian refugees¹ are living. Specifically, it aims at the following:

1. To assess the human security status² of the Palestinian refugees
2. To identify the extent to which the host state policies in regards of the Palestinian refugees are in compliance with the international law

3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The research was based on a desk review, where the following were analyzed:

1. Analysis of the security factors in regards of the Palestinian Refugee status in regards of the following dimensions:
 - a. Political security
 - b. Economic security
 - c. Health security
 - d. Personal security
 - e. Community security: education and housing
2. Analysis of the host country policies in regards of the refugees using the 1951 convention as a benchmark for comparison.

¹ Refugees in this research refers to any person defined as a refuge according to the Geneva convention who resides in the official and unofficial refugee camps in Syria Lebanon and Jordan

² *Human Security*: include the following essential dimensions illustrated in the 1994 Global Human Development Report Barry Buzan's dimensions of human security: political security, economic security, health security, personal security, and community security: education and housing

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4. RESULTS

4.1. HUMAN SECURITY FACTORS OF PALESTINIAN REFUGEES

There are about 3,021,943 refugees in the refugee camps distributed according to the following as of the end of January 2011.

Table (1): Palestinian Refugees Statistics in Syria, Jordan and Lebanon

Country	No of refugee camps	Total number of registered refugees	
		Number as of 2011	Number displaced from Syrian Refugee camps in 2014
Jordan	10	2,070,973	13,978
Lebanon	12	455,000	52,355
Syria	9	495,970	-----
Total	31	3,021,943	66,333

Source: www.unrwa.org

No recent statistics about the Palestinian refugees after the Syrian crisis, and very little writing discussed their well-being status and security.

The right of return has always been the main concern in the researches discussing the Palestinian refugees in Syria, Lebanon and Jordan.

Due to the lack of providing documents and citizenship, many have been experiencing various insecurities on a daily basis, starting from education and health, lack of mobility, socio-economic hardship. The following analysis ensures that the right to property and right to citizenship contradict the right to return enables the refugees to exercise their rights. The following is an analysis of Human security dimensions:

4.1.1 Political Security

Palestinian refugees are unsecured politically as a result of the deprived rights and the prevention of the exercising their civil rights as active citizens.

1. Lebanon

The Palestinian Refugees are offered an Identification card stating that the person is a Palestinian Refugee in Palestine. This ID has no expiry date; it is reissued in case of any social status change.

The discrimination is also apparent in treating refugees coming from Syria. Syrian refugees are given permission to stay for 3 months; whereas Palestinian refugees are not granted such permission. In the best cases they are granted a one-week stay valid for 15 days, if at

all possible. Previously an UNRWA legal advisor used to work at the borders to provide assistance to the Palestinian refugees. Currently, and as a result of the restricted control of their entry, this advisor is not working anymore. Hence, this exemplifies that Palestinian Refugees from Syria are not any more allowed in except in very special and specified cases, although no policies are written in this regard (Danish Immigration Service, 2014). Even those who are already in Lebanon trying to maintain regular status face so many restrictions in renewing the visa. According to the Danish Immigration service (2014) Palestinian refugees from Syria are not allowed in since May 2014. Refugees with illegal status face all sorts of insecurity economic, personal, and community security.

Detentions of illegal immigrants in Lebanon is located underground with no lights, these comprise men and women detainees. Its maximum capacity is 250; it now has 800 detainees. Detainees do not have access to lawyers, which violates the international law.

2. Syria

There are several categories of Palestinian refugees in Syria depending on the occasion of migration. These are according to the following:

1. 1948 refugees and these form the highest percentage of refugees in Syria (80%). With the development of the Law no 260 of the year 1956, Palestinian refugees were granted rights same as the Syrian nationals including the labor and military service except for one right which is participating as voters and candidates.
2. 1956 Refugees: these went to Syria after a massacre conducted by the Israeli forces. Those were also registered with the UNRWA and the refugee institution. The 1956 refugees were granted the same rights as category one. However, the labor is based on temporary contracts
3. 1967 refugees. These are called the displaced, though according to the international law these should be called refugees. Some registered with the UNRWA and were treated in accordance with those of category two. Other did not register and are treated in accordance to the documents they hold (Jordanian or Egyptian); hence, treated as a foreigner. And these do not serve in the military.
4. 1970 refugees: these were displaced after the deteriorated situation between Jordan and the PLO. The elders hold old Jordanian passports, whereas the younger don't hold any documents. Therefore, this category faces problems in participating in the labor market and receiving their education, thus affecting the insecurity of all dimensions.
5. 2006 Refugees: this was the last wave of Palestinian refugees to Syria, and these left Iraq after the Iraq invasion. These refugees reside on temporary basis waiting to be displaced to another geographic location. These were living the hardest conditions with no documents available for any, and their only source of support is the UNRWA.

3. Jordan

There are several waves of Palestinian refugees to Jordan that are categorized according to the following:

1. 1948 refugees: these were displaced during the 1948 war, these were granted Jordanian nationalities with all the rights of the Jordanian nationals
2. 1967 refugees: these were displaced during the 1967 war from the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The refugees who were displaced from the West Bank were granted citizenship; however, those from Gaza did not as they held Egyptian documents. These are treated according to the following:
 - a. Those with permanent residence in Jordan are granted all the rights those of nationals
 - b. Those with permanent residence in the West Bank are not considered nationals, though they hold a temporary Jordanian passport, and are considered as foreigners.
 - c. Those who were displaced from Gaza and permanently live in Jordan hold 2-year temporary passports, and are considered as foreigners.
3. 1990 refugees: those who returned back after the invasion of Kuwait. They are treated in accordance to the passport held during then.

However, even with those who hold a Jordanian passport there is a possibility of losing their citizenship in case they travel to the West Bank or get married to a person from the West Bank. Withdrawal of nationality is used even for many who did not live in the West Bank before the engagement in 1988 and even for those who were born and raised in Jordan. Thousands are currently stateless, due to this withdrawal process. This is usually done without any previous notice or in accordance to written policies. The loss of nationality affected those stateless people by losing their basic rights; including rights to education, social security, work, health, public life, family reunification, and the right to property.

Additionally, and most recently, Palestinian refugees from Syria are banned from entry to Jordan. In January 2013 Jordan declared non-admittance of Palestinian Refugees from Syria; hence, those refugees remain irregular. Palestinian refugees registered in Syria and even Palestinian with Jordanian passports were either deported or arrested, and in some cases separated from family members. (Human Rights Watch, 2014)

4.1.2 Economic Security

In general the economic status of the Palestinian refugees is fragile in the 3 countries of study, which down turns with security. The economic crisis they are living has an evident impact on the different developmental aspects. It affects the health status, educational, along with the other factors of development.

1. Lebanon

The economic situation in Lebanon is devastated according to ANERA reports (2012) 56% of Palestinian refugee workers are jobless, this means of that more than half of the labour market is unemployed and that a large percent is totally dependent on the UNRWA support through cash and assistance. Humanitarian aid is the first source of income. Moreover, two out of three live with less than \$6 per day. While 50% of those who work earns income that is less than the poverty rate (Danish Immigration Service, 2014). To make their life even worse, they are only allowed to work in the low level jobs including servants, construction, electricity, sanitation and agriculture etc. In these cases the refugees are receiving a third of the wage received by the nationals. (Danish Immigration Service, 2014)

All Palestinian refugees who work in the Lebanese market needs a permit, which is not an easy process. However it is worth to note that even the number of permits has decreased, it was 300 permits in 2003, and it was 66 in 2013 according to the Danish Immigration Service (2014).

Palestinian Refugees who were displaced from the Palestinian refugee camps in Syria after the Syrian conflict are even more deteriorated situation. According to American Near East Refugee Aid (ANERA, 2013), only 10% of working age persons are employed, and even those employed have a very low wag that range from \$100 - \$299 per month. Additionally, more than 90% of refugees lack an income. Moreover the competition on job have also risen and the wage has decreased by one half or even a third of the wage that was provided earlier (Danish Immigration Service, 2014)

2. Syria

In general, the labor force participation rate of Palestinian refugees in Syria was higher than that of Jordan and Lebanon, this is due to the undiscriminating policies of job access for Palestinian refugees. Many are self-employed with UNRWA's help.

However, after the Syrian conflict the refugees are now facing a deteriorated situation; they are unable to meet their daily food and other things they need. They are severely, affected by the situation in Syria.

3. Jordan

All Palestinian refugees who hold a Jordanian citizenship have access to employment in both the public and the private sector, however holders of temporary passports need work permit. Hence, those are secured as other Jordanian nationals are secured. However, those living in the camps live in deep poverty and deteriorated economic conditions.

Palestinian Refugees coming from Syria are facing the worst conditions. Majority of them live in poverty and receive some cash assistance through the UNRWA intervention though insufficient for basic needs. (UNRWA, 2014)

4.1.3 Health Security

The Palestinian Refugees are considered a vulnerable group that experience inequalities due to the lack of necessary infrastructure including health care infrastructure, health care personnel.

1. Lebanon

Palestinian Refugees only receive health services in some few clinics, while there is no access to the national health services in Lebanon and are not part of the social security system. Furthermore, not all medical services are provided in each camp, so people would have to travel to be able to receive the required services. However, even if the refugees need hospitals to receive certain medical services they cannot afford paying for this medication especially that most health care services in Lebanon are profit oriented and expensive. Many face malnutrition and mental health problems according to the ANERA reports (2012). Some NGOs like the Red Crescent are establishing clinics to help provide better services. And the PLO has established an office for covering health support. (Danish Immigration Service, 2014)

The situation is getting even worse with the Palestinian Refugees from Syria; where UNRWA reports (2014) indicate that 76% of those refugees have members with special needs, and 60% of them have members with chronic illness. These all are dependent on the existing refugees who are already facing deteriorated health conditions with no proper health services.

2. Syria

Even before the Syrian conflict the Palestinian refugees were facing bad health conditions with an infant mortality rate of 28.2. The camps had very limited health facilities; only. Refugees received health services from the UNRWA; however, with limited capacity.

Currently, after the Syrian conflict things have deteriorated, they are not able to receive the required health services as needed. However, UNRWA is trying to cope with the new conditions, where possible. They have expanded the coverage of hospitalizations in locations where refugees were displaced. They are providing their original services along with services to those affected by the conflict.

3. Jordan

Palestinians who hold the Jordanian citizenship have access to all health facilities as the nationals do. Only those with permanent passports are dealt with as foreigners.

However, the Palestinian refugees coming from Syria are facing health insecurity. Two out of three households include a member with chronic illness. Additionally, one out of four has a member with disability, and 80% needed medical services. But, with the lack of financial capacity and the limited resources provided by the UNRWA, these households will not receive the sufficient medication, though the UNRWA is providing health services for all refugees.

4.1.4 Personal Security

Discrimination and extremism is the main status that the Palestinian refugees are living in the refugee camps on different aspects. They live in open aggression with many physical violence and assaults. Additionally, they are living in conditions of avoidance and social exclusion.

1. Lebanon

In general the Palestinian refugees in Lebanon who lives in the camps are living in social cohesion, with a unified vision and solidarity. They all share the sense of belonging to the Palestinian community. However, due to the deteriorated political situation some disputes arise. There exists dispute over water sources that cause some social tension (UNRWA, 2014).

Sexual abuse of children is a concern at the workplace and even at home. However, protection intervention and referral systems are not available due to the legal status of the Palestinians refugees and the lack of awareness of the community and the working NGOs. Children are also in risk of consuming alcohol and drugs that deteriorates the situation even worse. (UNICEF, 2010)

After the Syrian conflict the situation even got worst. UNRWA (2014), revealed some statistics about violence; where 28% of sexual and gender-based violence survivors from the Palestinian Refugees coming from /Syria, 24% of these were cases of rape and sexual assaults. Moreover, other types of violence were also indicated, these include forced early marriage, which meant high percentage of school dropouts.

2. Syria

Personal security is highly affected in the refugee camps in Syria. Many are facing psychological and sexual violence (ANERA, 2012). Psychological, mental, and physical health is being affected by the traumatic events due to the bombing and explosions that are

affecting the refuge camps directly. As a result, 200, 000 Palestinian refugees were displaced and 1000 killed (Council for European Palestinian Relations, 2014).

3. Jordan

With the overcrowded neighborhood, and the deteriorated economic situation, violence is a natural result of such an environment.

4.1.5 Community Security: Education and Housing

The refugee camps are lacking proper housing policies; they are still living in the “temporary houses”, which were developed after the 1948. They have are living in very poor housing conditions.

1. Lebanon

Access to education is another major problem for the Palestinian Refugees from Lebanon, a problem that is interrelated with other problems including economic and social aspects. These refugees have access to the UNRWA schools; however, ANERA reports in 2012 indicate that half of the students leave their education before they finish. It indicated that only 0.1% hold a university level, 5.6% vocational, and 2.3% secondary. Not only that the refugees do not have access to public schools, but also UNRWA graduates have no chance of entering universities in Lebanon, unless they upgrade their skills. It is evident why school dropout is high, students know that their chance to get to the university level is rare if at all possible, and if they finish their university education it will not give them a chance to participate in the professional market.

Preschool is also not provided by the UNRWA, it is available only through the NGOs. Hence, half of the preschool aged children don't have access to these preschools. (ANERA, 2012)

Housing is another prevailing problem that the refugees are facing. According to the ANERA reports (2012) the refugees live in places with open channels of sewage with deteriorated water and sewage treatment system. Houses are overcrowded with an average of 10 to 15 members per family. Adding to that the restrictions imposed on renovations or entry of building materials, along with the prohibition of any expansion of the camp. Housing conditions are also of bad conditions; for instance they receive only 12 hours of electricity per day.

Overcrowded houses cause a problem that has even deteriorated after the Syrian conflict when 52,355 refugees moved to Lebanon, where 85% of them are vulnerable (ANERA, 2012). These families had no place to except for the Palestinian Refugee camps, which already crowded before the increase in numbers. These new comers are not

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documented and hence, are not able to move freely or even work. Hence the situation is getting worse.

2. Syria

Education is being affected for the lack of access to school due to the incursions and the bombing. Additionally, schools infrastructure has been affected. According to the UNRWA report (2014), more than 30 school buildings have been damaged and are inaccessible. Hence, UNRWA started to provide after-noon shifts along with education in temporary locations. The schooling system is providing counseling services to help provide psychological support to help mitigate the traumatic events the school children are facing.

In general, housing conditions are better than those in Lebanon, though still overcrowded. The average number of family members of the Palestinian refugees counts to 11 members, with 3 or more members in the room (Fafo, 2007). The housing conditions still face many problems. Many lack water pipelines, sewage network and ventilation process. However, even those devastated conditions did not remain as is, many places have been either demolished or attacked. Hence, UNRWA has provided schools as a temporary accommodation for those displaced. And these are more overcrowded with inadequate water, lack of sanitation facilities. This is a factor that severely threatens health security.

3. Jordan

Palestinian refugees who hold a Jordanian citizenship are granted all rights to education as those of nationals. However, those with temporary passports are dealt with as foreigners. Additionally, the UNRWA provides education for all refugees for the tenth grade; refugees can chose to go the UNRWA or even Jordanian public and private schools.

Houses in refugee camps are overcrowded and don't have the sufficient services. However, the situation even became worse after the Syrian conflict, where 10,000 are newly registered with the UNRWA. Palestinian refugees are living in overcrowded rented apartments and rely solely on UNRWA for income as they are irregular immigrants and not accepted by the Jordanian government. Additionally, they rely on the UNRWA for educational services, and for providing them a rehabilitated temporary shelter (UNRWA, 2014).

4.2 COMPLIANCE OF POLICIES WITH THE INTERNATIONAL LAW

Palestinian refugees are not covered by the 1951 convention due to the fact that they had a UN agency (UNRWA) dedicated to provide them services. However the researcher believes that despite of the agency who is supporting the services should be provided with no discrimination. Hence, the analysis below is based on the 1951 convention.

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The protection obligation of host states to refugees is declared clearly in the 1951 refugee convention. However, Palestinian refugees in the Arab countries are not receiving the protection articulated in the international law. Palestinian refugees are facing discrimination and lack of protection. However, this depends on the host country. The analysis hereby presents the compliance or lack of compliance of the internal policies of the counties under study with the international law.

4.2.1 Lebanon

In order to analyze the compliance of the national policies and practices with the international law, a comprehensive comparison has been made, especially that Lebanon is not a state party of the 1951 convention or to its 1967 protocol. Hence, refugees source of protection is the domestic law that does not guarantee them sufficient protection. The following table illustrates the international conventions and declarations related and the practice in reality:

Table (2): International law versus domestic law and real practice of Palestinian refugees status in Lebanon

International law	Domestic law	Real practice
Universal declaration of human rights” Everybody has the right to nationality” Convention of the rights of child: “Every child has the right to nationality”	Anyone who meets on of the following criteria: 1. “if the records of the 1921 census at the Mol and the records of emigration clearly indicate he/she or any direct paternal ancestral/ predecessors or next of kin to the fourth degree were present in Lebanon, as registered by the 1921 census 2. if he/she ... were naturalized as Lebanese citizens according to the law of naturalization” ³	Palestinian were not able to receive a citizenship despite the fact that they were living there since 1948
1961 convention on the reduction of statelessness: Article 1: “A state must not deprive any person or group of persons of their nationality on racial, ethnic, religious or political ground”		The state is depriving all refugees from a legal status

³ Source: http://eudo-citizenship.eu/docs/Translation_Draft%20Law%20_Lebanon.pdf

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International law	Domestic law	Real practice
1951 convention relating to the status of refugees, article 3: <i>non-discrimination</i>	Discrimination against gender: children of Lebanese mothers are residents rather than nationals Although the law	Discrimination against Palestinian refugees is apparent on all levels: education, labor, health, social security, etc.
1951 convention relating to the status of refugees, article 13: "The contracting states shall accord to a refugee ... in regards of the acquisition of movable and immovable property..."	Law number 11614 dated January 14, 1969: "prohibition of owing property for foreigner, except with a special permit provided by the Council of ministers" and now law no 296 dated April 3, 2001 that excludes only Palestinians	Palestinians are not allowed to own property with the justification of the guarantee of right to return and not displacing them permanently "Tawteen"
1951 convention relating to the status of refugees, article 17: "The contracting state ... as regards the right to <i>engage in wage earning employment</i> "	Decision 1/10 dated February 3 2010 "Palestinians born on the Lebanese land will be able to work in the handicrafts jobs, while the priority is given to the Lebanese"	Palestinian refugees are still prohibited from working in the professional market, and are receiving less wages when working in the handicrafts jobs.
1951 convention relating to the status of refugees, article 22 (1): the contracting state shall accord to refugees the same treatment as is accorded to nationals with respect to elementary <i>education</i>	The Palestinians have the right to attend Lebanese national schooling and higher education, however priority is given the nationals"	Palestinians have limited access to the national schools as most of them are private schools and they cannot afford that, and when they finish the UNRWA schools they can compete to get to the national universities.
1951 convention relating to the status of refugees, article 24 <i>social security</i>	Social security covers all employees with an exception of citizens of countries without reciprocal agreements with Lebanon and self employed	Since the law excludes those of countries without reciprocal agreements this means that Palestinians are excluded due to the fact that no

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International law	Domestic law	Real practice
1951 convention relating to the status of refugees, article 26: <i>Freedom of Movement</i>	Decision 487 dated September 22, 1995 “controls the movement of the Palestinians in and out of Lebanon”	relationship exists. So many restriction are imposed not only going in and out of the country but also some limitation to leave the refugee camp
1951 convention relating to the status of refugees, article 31 (1): “the contracting state shall not impose <i>penalties</i> ...”	NA	The is a risk of arrest, detention, and exploitation
1951 convention relating to the status of refugees, article: “no contracting state shall <i>expel</i> or return (refouler) a refugee in any manner whatsoever ...”	NA	There is a risk of expel and many cases has taken with the refugees coming from Syria
1951 convention relating to the status of refugees, article 34: “the contracting states shall as far as possible facilitate the assimilation and naturalization of refugees...”	NA	Refugees are left in the refugee camps with limited access to mobility and movement, which ensures lack of any naturalization with the community

4.2.2 Jordan

Jordan has signed the 1951 convention in regards of refugees. Hence, the comparison is between the international law and the real practice. Especially that most of these practices are not documented or regulated.

Table (3): International law versus real practice of Palestinian refugees status in Jordan

International law	Real practice
Universal declaration of human rights” Everybody has the right to nationality” Convention of the rights of child: “Every child has the right to nationality”	Nationality is granted to children with Jordanian father Nationality is not given to the Gaza people who have been living Jordan since 1967

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1961 convention on the reduction of statelessness: Article 1: "A state must not deprive any person or group of persons of their nationality on racial, ethnic, religious or political ground"	Jordan is in the process of withdrawing nationalities of some Jordanians despite the fact that they were born and raised in Jordan, where they become stateless
1951 convention relating to the status of refugees, article 3: <i>non-discrimination</i>	Discrimination in job offering, which is apparent in the public sector with those who are of Palestinian origins
1951 convention relating to the status of refugees, article 13: "The contracting states shall accord to a refugee ... in regards of the acquisition of movable and immovable <i>property...</i> "	No right to property for refugees
1951 convention relating to the status of refugees, article 17: "The contracting state ... as regards the right to <i>engage in wage earning employment</i> "	Only those with Jordanian nationality can be engaged in the labor force, otherwise it needs a special permit
1951 convention relating to the status of refugees, article 22 (1): the contracting state shall accord to refugees the same treatment as is accorded to nationals with respect to elementary <i>education</i>	Palestinian with Jordanian nationalities are able to receive the education. However, those with temporary passports will be dealt with as foreigners
1951 convention relating to the status of refugees, article 24 <i>social security</i>	Same as above
1951 convention relating to the status of refugees, article 26: <i>Freedom of Movement</i>	No restrictions on movement
1951 convention relating to the status of refugees, article 31 (1): "the contracting state shall not impose <i>penalties ...</i> "	Penalties are imposed that ranges from arresting to deploying
1951 convention relating to the status of refugees, article: "no contracting state shall <i>expel</i> or return (refouler) a refugee in any manner whatsoever ..."	Currently Jordan is expelling Palestinian refugees coming from Syria despite the war and the deteriorated situation
1951 convention relating to the status of refugees, article 34: "the contracting states shall as far as possible facilitate the assimilation and naturalization of refugees..."	No restrictions on naturalization

Although the restrictions the Palestinian refugees face are not apparent in the written policies, as everything is being considered case by case; however, Jordan is violating the international and discriminating against the Palestinian refugees. Discrimination is apparent in the education, social security, labor, and owning property. One of the major violations of the international law is the refoulment; where refugees are forced to get back to where they came from despite the risk that affects them.

4.2.2 Syria

Syria has signed the 1951 convention in regards of refugees. However, the comparison between international and domestic law has not been conducted due to the Syrian crisis that is affecting the Palestinian refugees and affecting the Syrian nationals.

5. CONCLUSION

The analysis focused on Palestinian refugees throughout the refugee camps in Jordan Syria and Lebanon, their deprivation of human needs through analyzing the different dimensions of human security. The analysis the violation of the international law and the human security of the refugees' status reveals the vital need to improve the protection of human rights and reach quality standard of living.

The Palestinian Refugees case should be treated as a *political issue*, moreover, it should be treated as human security one and should be addressed accordingly.

Discussion of the five dimensions of the human security reveals that the Palestinian refugees are lacking the five dimensions of human security. *Additionally, it is worthy to note that the five dimensions are interrelated, which means deterioration in one dimension causes deterioration in another.*

The most urgent issue that they are facing is lack of protection from the host countries, and the lack of Israel abiding to the UN resolution of the refugees right to return to their homeland. Moreover, they lack the protection provided in the 1951 convention and the UNHCR.

Hence the following is recommended:

1. Recommendations for the International community
 - a. Taking effective action to enforce the UN resolution of the right to return
 - b. Take immediate action to support UNRWA in providing the services they aim at
2. Host countries
 - a. Modify policies so as to comply with the international law
 - b. Accept the Palestinian refugees in the emergency situation they are living

3. UNRWA

- a. Establish a comprehensive registration system of all refugees and displaced Palestinians
- b. Establish a mechanism to cover a larger number of refugees in the host countries

All in all, the cause of the real problem should be resolved and the international community should play its role to ensure the right to return for the Palestinian refugees especially in the current devastated conditions.

Key Words: human security, Palestinian Refugees, refugee camps, living conditions, international law, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon

Kulcsszavak: humán biztonság, palesztin menekültek, menekülttábor, életfeltételek, nemzetközi jog, Jordánia, Szíria, Libanon

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