T.C.
ISTANBUL AYDIN UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF GRADUATE STUDIES

RIGHT OF REFUGEES BETWEEN LAWS, HUMAN SECURITY AND
STATE SECURITY: THE CASE OF SYRIAN REFUGEES

MASTER'S THESIS

Sajida MIKATI

Department of Political Science and International Relations

Political Science and International Relations Program

FEBRUARY/ 2021

T.C.
ISTANBUL AYDIN UNIVERSITY
INSTİTUTE OF GRADUATE STUDIES

RIGHT OF REFUGEES BETWEEN LAWS, HUMAN SECURITY AND STATE SECURITY: THE CASE OF SYRIAN REFUGEES

MASTER'S THESIS

Sajida MIKATI
(Y1712.110056)

Department of Political Science and International Relations

Political Science and International Relations Program

Thesis Advisor: Assoc.Prof. Dr. Filiz KATMAN

FEBRUARY/ 2021

ONAY FORMU

DECLARATION

I hereby declare with the respect that the study "Rıght Of Refugees Between Laws, Human Securıty And State Securıty: The Case Of Syrıan Refugees", which I submitted as a Master thesis, is written without any assistance in violation of scientific ethics and traditions in all the processes from the project phase to the conclusion of the thesis and that the works I have benefited are from those shown in the Bibliography. (…/…/2020)

Sajida Mikati

FOREWORD

I thank god for helping me in achieving this thesis. I thank my mother and my father for their endless support and trust that they put on me, I thank my sibling and friends for their love.

I dedicate this thesis for Syrian refugees who are suffering silently in the host states, and for all refugees that every one of us maybe would be one of them someday.

January 2020   Sajida MIKATI

HT OF REFUGEES BETWEEN LAWS, HUMAN SECURITY AND STATE SECURITY: THE CASE OF SYRIAN REFUGEES

ABSTRACT

Refugees are people who forced to leave their homeland due to persecutions and insecurity, Syrians are one of them. The sudden nexus of large scale of refugees in hosting states like Turkey, Lebanon, Jordan and Iraq has created challenges in protecting them, at the beginning of the influx receiving states didn't expect that they would stay for a long time and becoming protracted refugees which affect their existence as host states didn't prepare to manage this crisis. The situation of Syrian refugees in both Lebanon and Turkey in countries that are not considered Syrians as refugees but displaced people in the first and guests in the second, was ambiguous, in Lebanon the government has ignored their existence, no formal camps, no regulations in addition of violations that breach all the agreement that the country signed, even if Lebanon is not a party in the Geneva Convention 1951 there is couple of other international agreements that oblige the country to abide with international customs and some rights.

Turkey is a member of the convention and the protocol 1967, so it considered only Europeans as refugees, Syrians have stayed without regulations until 2014 when temporary protection was established which organize their existence, some violations have taken place that also infringes international agreement and customs of which Ankara is a member. The thesis highlights the right of refugees in international law and in the national law of both countries to conclude that even if a country is not a member of the Geneva Convention 1951 there are a range of other international agreement and customs that force it to provide and protect their basic rights, and in many cases countries are also breaching their laws.

The policy and the direction of government has a big impact in the existence and rights of refugees in the receiving states, moreover the state concerns and security have affect refugee rights, when politicians and leaders consider vulnerable

as a threat following with hate speeches it creates racism and increases tensions between both communities, so refugees fled aiming security but they discover that they are facing a different kind of insecurity in the receiving states.

Keywords: Refugee, Syria, Lebanon, Turkey, Right, Geneva Convention 1951, Protocol 1967, International Law, National Law, Human Security, State Security.

HUKUK, İNSAN GÜVENLİĞİ VE DEVLET GÜVENLİĞİ ÜÇGENİNDE MÜLTECİ HAKLARI: BİR VAKA ÇALIŞMASI OLARAK SURİYELİ MÜLTECİLER

ÖZET

Mülteciler karşılaştıkları zulüm ve artan güvenlik sorunları nedeniyle ülkelerini terk eden insanlardır, Suriyeliler de bu grupta yer alırlar. Türkiye, Lübnan, Ürdün ve Irak gibi yüksek ölçekte mülteci barındıran ülkeler zamanla güvenlik sağlama noktasında çeşitli engellerle karşılaştılar. İlk göç akımları sırasında mülteci kabul eden ülkeler, gelenlerin uzun süreli kalacağını hesap edemediler, dolayısıyla bu durumun geniş ölçekte yaratabileceği krizlere hazırsız yakalandılar. Öte yandan Türkiye ve Lübnan'ın Suriyeli mültecileri hukuki tanımla 'mülteci' olarak tanımayıp 'yerlerinden edilmiş topluluklar' ya da 'misafirler' olarak görmeleri duruma ayrı bir belirsizlik katmıştır. Lübnan'da hükümet tarafından varlıkları görmezden gelinen mülteciler, insani şartlarda kamp alanlarında kalmaktan, mülteci haklarını düzenleyen ve ülkelere sınır geçişleri konusunda çeşitli yükümlülükler getiren sözleşmelerden -Lübnan 1951 Cenevre Sözleşmesinin imzacısı olmamasına rağmen bir takım diğer uluslararası anlaşmaları onaylamıştır- doğan haklarını kullanmaktan menedildiler. Öte yandan, Cenevre Sözleşmesi taraflarından ve 1967 protokolü katılımcılarından olan Türkiye, sadece Avrupa üzerinden gelen grupları mülteci olarak kabul etmiş, dolayısıyla varlıklarının tanındığı, düzenlendiği ve geçici olarak koruma temin edildiği 2014 yılına kadar taraf olduğu uluslararası sözleşmelerde ihlal niteliğinde görülecek bir takım insan hakları ihlallerinin gerçekleşmesine mahal vermiştir.

Bu tez uluslararası hukukta ve her iki ülkenin ulusal hukukunda yer alan mülteci haklarını inceleyerek bazı ülkelerin nasıl 1951 Cenevre sözleşmesine üye olmasalar dahi parçası oldukları uluslararası anlaşmalardan ve genel teamüllerden doğan mülteci haklarını görmezden geldiklerini, hatta böylece kendi yasalarını nasıl ihlal ettiklerini ortaya koymaktadır. Hükümetlerin ortaya koydukları politikalar ve siyasi tutumları, göç alan ülkelerdeki mülteci politikalarını büyük ölçekte

etkilemekte; ülkenin karşılaştığı güvenlik sorunları ve siyasi anlaşmazlıklar, mültecileri güvenliklerini tehdit eden unsurlar olarak gören politikacıların ürettiği ırkçı ve nefret içeren söylemler, zamanla mülteciler ve yerli halk arasında gerginlik yaratmakta ve sonunda güven arayışı içerisinde bu ülkelere sığınan mültecilerin başka bir tür güvenlik sorunundan mağdur olmalarına sebebiyet vermektedir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Mülteci, Suriye, Lübnan, Türkiye, İnsan Hakları, 1951 Cenevre Sözleşmesi, 1967 Protokolü, Uluslararası Hukuk, Ulusal Hukuk, İnsan Güvenliği, Devlet Güvenliği

TABLE OF CONTENT

ABBREVIATIONS

AFAD   : Disaster and Emergency Management

DGMM   : Directorate General of Migration Management

İŞKUR   : Turkish Employment Agency

LCPR   : Lebanon Crisis Response Plan

LFIP   : Law for Foreigners and International Protection

MoLSS   : Ministry of Labour and Social Security

MONE   : Ministry of National Education

PDGMM   : Province Directorate General of Migration Management

PS   : Public School

TEC   : Temporary Education Centers

TP   : Temporary Protection Regulation

UN   : United Nations

UNHCR   : United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

LIST OF TABLES

I. INTRODUCTION

After the World War 2, the world had never witnessed a refugee crisis like the current one, by the end of 2017 we have 25.4 million refugees and 3.1 million asylum seekers. These people are suffering, they need basic rights and are putting a huge pressure on the hosting state and the international community in providing and protecting their rights. The international law of refugees, which is based on the Geneva conventions of 1951 and the additional protocol 1967, indicates the fundamental rights of refugees and their duties in the host states. Although the UN established the UNHCR in order to ensure the rights of refugees, despite these efforts to protect and save refugees, we are facing a refugee crisis.

The rights exist but it is a challenge to implement them also it differs from each country according to their policy and possibilities. Syrian refugees are the biggest humanitarian crisis, over 5.6 million people have fled Syria since 2011. Turkey hosts the largest number of registered Syrian refugees currently at 3.6 million. In Lebanon, life is a daily struggle for more than a million Syrian refugee, who have little or no financial resources. Around 70 per cent live below the poverty line and there are no formal refugee camps. Moreover, the concept of security has developed from military view to humanitarian concept as the world, after the cold war, has addressed the human rights as a Human security, refugees involved in this concept and in many times the state security of the host states violates refugees' rights which is a human security.

A. Field, Data Sources, And Location-Time

The thesis will study the situation of Syrian refugees from 2011 till 2019, in two countries Turkey and Lebanon using data from UNHCR, organization, scholars and news.

B. Method and Technique

To conduct this thesis, I used both Primary and Secondary sources: many treaties and conventions have been used in the research the Geneva Conventions 1951 and its protocol 1967, Universal declaration of Human Rights 1948, Convention against torture, International Humanitarian law.

Secondary sources: the data was collected by the UNHCR and other organizations to this process, report and publication by some scholars (Syrian barometer by Murat Erdogan) and universities like 101 Facts and figures on the Syrian refugee crisis by the AUB. Moreover, using newspaper and journalistic information in order to know the concern of Lebanon and the political speeches by the politicians toward the return of refugees.

In addition of an interview with the former minister of state for refugee affairs Mouin Merehbi, who's the first minister for the refugee affairs, he supports the Syrian revolution, the right of Refugees and he's against the returning of Syrian refugees (non-refoulement). Also, he is against the new minister of state for refugees because he is from Hezbollah party which fighting in Syria and he is also against the plan of the foreign minister and the Lebanese president to repatriate refugees.

In addition, the thesis was conduct through some observations in both Lebanon and Turkey by doing interviews with Syrians in the both countries and being in touch with them.

C. Objective And Main Questions:

The thesis highlights and addresses several questions:

- What are the rights of refugees and how it differs when the receiving state is not a party on the Geneva Conventions 1951? Do they have rights in these countries?

- How state policies have an impact on the rights of refugees?

- How can both human and state security concerns be addressed by countries that have large refugee populations?

I would like to explore these questions through an analysis of the Turkish and

Lebanese case.

Taking the Syrian refugees as a case of study in two important states Lebanon which has the largest number of refugees per capita in the world, and Turkey which has the largest number of refugees in the world, the first country hasn't signed the Geneva conventions 1951 and its protocol 1967 but the other one is a member. these affect the right of refugees, in addition there is a concern in the states about them which affect the refugee rights.

The thesis compares the rights of refugees based on the international law of refugees, the regulations and the situation of refugees in Turkey and Lebanon, by taking the Syrian refugees as a case of study. Lebanon has not signed the Geneva Conventions of 1951 and the 1967 Protocol and Lebanon remains the country hosting the largest number of refugees per Capita. Turkey, on the other hand, is a signatory of the 1951 Convention and the 1967 Protocol, although it maintains a geographical limitation. Turkey currently hosts the largest number of refugees. The thesis discusses the rights of refugees in Lebanon which are not applicable and hidden because of the inaction of the Lebanese government from the beginning of the crisis which declared that it takes distance of this crisis which reflect to the situation of refugees in Lebanon who are not organize by the state. Even the pretext that Lebanon is not a member in the Geneva Convention 1951 there are many conventions and treaties like the universal declaration 1948, convention against torture, convention of rights of children.

The topic employs the concept of human security and state security in the Syrian case by putting highlight on the concerns of the host state towards refugees and how it reflects in their right. For example, in Lebanon there is a concern about the big number of refugees and the president of Lebanon with the minister of foreign affairs are working on returning them to Syria by doing negotiations with Russia. Despite that Lebanon signed the Brussels conference which includes the prevention of the non-refoulement, and many of the Lebanese party want this return even if it is without the consent of the international society.

The thesis will be divided into four chapters, the first one is the situation of Syrian Refugees in Lebanon, I will start with the definition of refugees, the criteria and principles of the determination. I used the guideline established by the UNHCR, then I highlighted the policies and the rights toward them in many aspects such as

legal status, right of movement, work… say if they agree with the international law of refugees, national law and international agreements that Lebanon is part of them. The second chapter is the situation of Syrian Refugees in Turkey that addresses the development of their legal situations, education, labor and if it compatible with Turkish laws, regulations, international agreements and if it agrees with international laws. The third chapter is a comparison between the situation of refugees in both Lebanon and turkey as the situation of Syrian refugees in completely different.

The last chapter is refugees between human security and state security, the aim of this chapter is to highlight the concern of both host states and how that affect negatively the right and the protection of refugees.

II.   RIGTS OF SYRIAN REFUGEES IN LEBANON

A. Introduction

A refugee is someone who is unable or unwilling to return to their country of origin owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion, according to Geneva Convention of 1951. The 1951 Refugee Convention relating to the status of refugees was limited to refugees within Europe before January 1951, which means it had two scopes, spatial and temporal. These limitations did not last long due to the amendment of the convention by protocol 1967 that removed these two limitations making the provisions universal. Lebanon is not a state party neither to the Geneva Convention of 1951 nor the Protocol of 1967; as a result, for those who are under temporary protection, the rights of refugees are threatened with violations despite many agreements signed by the state, such as the universal declaration of human rights. In fact, Syrian refugees in Lebanon are not considered as refugees in the countries. Actually, in Lebanon they are displaced persons and they have not benefited completely from international law in these two countries.

B. Syrian Refugee Situation In Lebanon:

Since the start of the Syrian revolution on the 13th of March 2011, hundreds of people have run away to Lebanon, which shares its northern and western borders with Syria. By the end of 2011, UNHCR had registered 5,130 persons (UNHCR, 2012a), the number has increased each year with increasing violence in Syria. At the end of December 2012, the number was 128,314 refugees, 65,605 of them situated in the north and 50,137 in Bekaa and Beirut and 12,572 in the south (UNHCR, 2012b). On the 31st of December 2013, the number became 805,835 (UNHCR, 2013). After just one year, on the 31st of December 2014, the number escalated to reach 1,158,995 (UNHCR, 2014a), distributed throughout a number of Lebanese areas: 1,787 in Beirut 2.7%, the north 24% and Bekaa 35.3% (UNHCR, 2014b).

By the 6th of May 2015, UNHCR Lebanon temporarily suspended new registrations of Syrian refugees according to the instructions of the Government of Lebanon. On the 30th of September 2016, the number of the registered refugees was 1,017,433 (UNHCR, 2016).

In June 2017, Lebanon had 246,126 Syrians in informal settlements with 43,727 tents while one year earlier, in June 2016, the number was 218,587 (UNHCR, 2017).

In February 2019, the number of Syrian refugees became 1.5 million in addition to 208,800 Palestine refugees; it is worth mentioning that the number of vulnerable Lebanese people was 1 million (UNHCR, 2019). In fact, the Lebanese government estimated that the number of Syrian displaced persons was 1.5 million because it includes the number of persons who were not registered by the UNHCR (UNHCR, 2015-16).

The entrance of Syrian refugees to Lebanon has been welcomed by the Lebanese society that helped them through many local associations and organizations, many of them were hosted in Lebanese household due marriage and family ties between the two peoples (Syrians and Lebanese). Moreover, a survey was carried out by the University of Saint Joseph, in 2016 showed that 78% of Lebanese people have normal, good or very good relations with Syrians (Alsharabat et al, 2017), despite the fact that the Lebanese are suffering on many levels. Socially speaking, the number of vulnerable Lebanese is about 1 million with almost 300,000 Palestine refugees while politically speaking, and the situation is not stable and there are security threats. Meanwhile, on the economic level, the state faces many challenges with 0.2 GDP in 2018 (World Bank, 2019) and 0% of the rate of development in 2019 in addition to the general debt that reached 116720 billion Lira in April 2019, according to the Lebanese bank (Banque du Liban, 2019).

The situation of the Syrian refugees was not stable during these periods which witnessed several decisions from the Lebanese authorities. First, on the 15th of December 2014, the government decided to cooperate with the UN on the development of a Lebanon Crisis Response Plan (LCRP). Second, on the 25th of October 2014, the Lebanese government declared the prohibition of the Syrian refugees to cross the Lebanese borders in order to reduce the number of refugees that

was more than 1 million, which means the quarter of the Lebanese people. Third, on the 5th of January 2015, the Lebanese authorities imposed travel visa on Syrians for the first time in history (arabic.cnn.com, 2015) by issuing regulations that divided Syrians into seven categories and each one has specific procedures and conditions to earn the visa.

That was in brief the context of the Syrian refugees living in Lebanon and facing a lot of difficulties and challenges in a state that is not only not a party to the 1951 Convention and the 1967 Protocol, but also has a chaotic political situation due to instability and absence of any strategy designed to deal with this flux of Syrians fleeing their country starting from an open to close borders as a laissez-faire approach, and not ending with issuing on the state level tough regulations and violation acts which will be justified during the following chapters.

On the other side, international organizations have started to act with the government through bilateral agreements according to a staff member of an International NGO in Lebanon who described the situation in 2016 "the mandate of each actor is unclear. It is harder to set out policies once and for all and hold certain actors more responsible than others… Our mandate is itself 'informal' in a country which is not a signatory to the 1951 Refugee Convention of Geneva" (Boustani et al, 2016, pp.14).

1.   Lebanon between the international and national law:

"Lebanon is Arab in its identity and in its affiliation. It is a founding and active member of the League of Arab States and abides by its pacts and covenants. Lebanon is also a founding and active member of the United Nations Organization and abides by its covenants and by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The Government shall embody these principles in all fields and areas without exception" (Lebanese Constitution, 1990).

As the Lebanese Constitution supports the adherence to the United Nations agreements, this chapter will examine how Lebanon treats the Syrian refugees by highlighting the violations that they face according to both international and national law. The chapter examines the different rights of Syrian refugees in Lebanon, legal status, education, work, movement and traveling, and non-refoulement.

2. Legal Status:

Till the 5th of January 2015, Syrians were able to enter Lebanon without a visa, but to have a legal situation, a Syrian person had to get a residence permit and find a guarantor to guarantee them while staying in Lebanon. A guarantor could not be any Lebanese, he/she had to be an employer and Syrians refugees should affords paying the General Security 200 USD every year for every person above 15 they guarantee. These created two main problems for refugees, the first one is the high cost of the residence and the second one is the dilemma of finding a guarantor. This situation made refugees suffer from exploitation because the cost of this guarantee could go up to $1000as it is considered as a kind of trade for the guarantor (anapress.net, 2018), which made 74% of Syrian refugees to stay without residence permit and face the threat of detention and being sent back to Syria (hrw.org, 2019a) simply because they cannot afford the fees, especially that cannot70% of Syrian refugees live under the line of poverty.

Due to the increase number of Syrian refugees, the government decided to end its open door policy, stop the UNHCR to register any refugee and move into a visa policy that divided Syrians into categories who can enter Lebanon for a limited period like tourists and residents who can stay there. The categories are:

1. Tourist

    a. Working visit

    b. Owner of property

    c. Tenant property

2. Study

3. Travel through airport or sea ports

4. Displaced person for exceptional reason or registered refugees

5. Medical treatment

6. Visit foreign embassy

7. Enter under a prior undertaking of responsibility (general-security.gov.lb, n.d).

Each one of these categories demands some procedures and conditions.

In March 2017, the Lebanese General Security Directorate announced that it

will give residence permits for refugees who were registered by the UNHCR before 1-1-2015 and waiver them of any cost. This includes all the Syrian refugees who entered the country legally or illegally. It is worth mentioning that the number of refugees who were qualified to benefit from this is unknown (Frangieh, 2017).

Without residence permit, refugees cannot work; they face the danger of getting arrested, they cannot even register their marriage legally or their children if the two parents do not have residence permits, which resulted in a huge number of unregistered children that in turn, forced the authority to accept to register them if only one of the parents have it. After time, the authority abolished this condition. In addition, this year the refugee students, who don't have residence permit nor their parents do, cannot obtain their results of the official exams. In case of any violation of the residence regulations or a wish to travel, the refugee should go for reconciliation. The General Security Directorate clarified the reconciliation procedure as detailed in the table below:

Table 1. Reconciliation Procedure for Syrian Refugees in Lebanon

The Situation	Fees	Tackle
Legal entrance before 5-1-2015	Depends on the duration of the infraction	Fees payment, allow to depart
		Without fees payment, allow to depart with permanent entry ban
Legal entrance After 5-1-2015	In case of no fees payment	Allow to depart with one-year entry ban
	In case of fees payment	Pay fees, allow to depart and one-year entry ban
		Without paying fees, allow to depart with a permanent entry ban
Illegal entrance (stealthily)	Fees 600.000 L.L	Pay fees, allow to depart
		Without paying fees, allow to depart with a permanent entry ban
Syrians who have a residence permit according to a document from the UNHCR	No fees (free)	Allow to depart
Pledge of responsibility	Depends on the duration of the infraction	Pay fees, allow to depart
		Without paying, allow to depart with a permanent entry ban (general-security.gov.lb, 2019)

The Lebanese government does not accept to establish any tents formally. All the tents are informal and randomly distributed without the state coordination. Actually, local organizations took this responsibility, and till now the number of these tents is unknown and undeclared. In fact, the tents are located in private lands and the organizations rent these lands from their owners by formal contracts certified by the Moukhtar (the head of the neighborhood) and documented by the municipality. Moreover, there are private tents in which landlords made a concrete floor so refugees can rent them for $20-40 per month.

In fact, NGOs and local organizations work to provide refugees with basic needs (food, water, sewage system). Despite the fact that refugees pay for living in the tent, they pay electricity bills that are very expensive, and pay for garbage transportation (shrc.org, 2018).

On 15-4-2019, the Lebanese High Defense Council adopted a number of confidential resolutions concerning the Syrian refugees of which only two was known.

First was about demolishing concrete roofs housing the refugees in the camps. The 10th of June was the deadline and after it the army would destroy the tents. In reality, the Lebanese army had already demolished many tents in the camp of Jasmine in the area of Barr al-Bas (Bekaa) on 24/4/2019 without any prior warning. Second was the deporting Syrian citizens entering Lebanon without going through the official crossings (legal-agenda.com, 2019).

As a matter of fact, 7000 tents were affected by this resolution and 35,000 Syrians remained without houses (Zhairi, 2019) or roofs to protect them from the cold winter. Refugees used concrete roofs in colder villages to protect themselves from cold in winter and heat in summer. Unfortunately, several Syrians died in those tents due to sever circumstances as the weather is bad and they do not have proper houses. Also, the army obliged the refugees to destroy their homes to implement the resolutions. On the 1st of July 2019, the armed forces dismantled 20 shelters (hrw.org, 2019b). The poor refugees should live under plastic roofs and wall without any protection to abide by the law.

The decision was based on the Lebanese Construction Law NO. 646 (2014) following political speeches about the repatriation of refugees, which can be

considered as a measure to force refugees to return to their country, especially that this decision came suddenly after 9 years of the Syrian presence in Lebanon.

The last decision of the High Defense Council breaches the international law; first by demolishing the shelters of refugees and keeping people without houses. This is a gap in the Geneva Convention of 1951 that didn't mention anything about refugees tents, it only stated that refugees should respect the law of the host state. Additionally, in the article 21 of the convention, which is about the provision of housing, it states that the state should treat refugees as favourable as possible. In this situation, Lebanon applies the national law, the construction law, and refugees according to the convention should respect it, and here appears the dilemma because nothing in the convention addresses the concrete shelter or how the tents should be built, organized or managed. If we say that the core of the convention is to treat refugees as the state people, the resolution is fair because it is applied to all the Lebanese; however, every human being should have the right to have a house and this was stipulated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights article and the Geneva Convention of 1951 considering that refugees should be treated as the citizens who should have the basic rights.

Second, for the people who entered illegally and should depart to Syria, where they will face many threats varies from arresting, getting tortured and killed, these people entered stealthily due to the fact that they were unable to cross the Syrian boarders legally, especially men who were escaping compulsory conscription, detention and torture to death in security branches because of opposing the regime in Syria. Lebanese authorities had not taken any of these threats into consideration and allowed the General Security Directorate to issue those resolutions and put them in action arresting many Syrians and sending them to the boarders to face their destiny. This is a gross violation to many international conventions, one of them is the Geneva convention of 1951- article 31 that states "The Contracting States shall not impose penalties, on account of their illegal entry or presence, on refugees who, coming directly from a territory where their life or freedom was threatened in the sense of article 1, enter or are present in their territory without authorization, provided they present themselves without delay to the authorities and show good cause for their illegal entry or presence."

3.   Education:

In Lebanon the education is mandatory and free according to the article 49in the law number 686 issued on 16 March 1998 for children under 15 years old (ahdath.justice.gov.lb). On the bilateral level, Lebanon and Syria have an agreement allowing for mutual recognition of secondary and tertiary education certificates. Article 2 of the decree for equivalency dictates that "Certificates and degrees under the same types of studies and scientific level issued by authorities of another state are equivalent to similar certificates and degrees issued by Lebanese authorities, based on the principal of mutuality"; this agreement permits students to enter directly the university without any additional requirements (El-Ghali et al, 2017).

On the international level, Lebanon has signed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the convention on the right of the child in which article 28 supports the right of any child to learn and to have free and compulsory education in the primary level. Abiding by these provisions and in order to educate all refugee children, the public schools were opened for them with an establishment of a committee in collaboration with the ministry of social affairs to follow the situations of the Syrians refugees (Educational Newsletter, 2012). The situation has been like this until 2014 when the minister of MEHE declared the ban of registering foreign students in public schools due the disability of accommodation the decree has been amended to permit them to enter public schools with a condition to be 50% less than the Lebanese students (Saed, 2014).

To avoid like these decisions and to protect the right of children where all children have the right to education, a strategy has been established by the Lebanese government, i.e. Reaching All Children with Education (RACE) in collaboration with UN agencies in 2014, with fundamental elements:

- Spending $600 million over three years, rising from $177 million in 2014 to $231 million in 2017.

- Reaching an average of 413,000 Syrian refugees and vulnerable Lebanese children aged 3 to 18.

- Integrating investments in school infrastructure and education quality with an emphasis on developing the teacher workforce, monitoring learning outcomes

and school-based management.

- Expanding the second-shift system and increasing classroom availability through new constructions or renting (Watkins et al, 2014).

This strategy increased the number of refugees in the public schools with the opening of 1,000 schools in the first shift with the majority of Syrian refugees in 400 public schools, and the opening of 160 schools as a second shift (afternoon classes) and the vast majority of the students are Syrians. As a result, 218,000 non-Lebanese were in public schools in the 2017-2018 while the Lebanese were 265,000, and according to LCRP approximately 45 % of the students in the public schools are non-Lebanese (LCRP, 2019).

Palestinian refugees from Syria have enrolled in the UNRWA schools (which are specified for Palestinian refugees since they have come to Lebanon) by increasing class sizes and opening second shifts (Jalbout, 2015). In case the inability of UNRWA schools to accommodate more Palestinian children, the Lebanese public schools host them.

Despite this strategy 61% of Syrian refugees aged 15 to 24 were not employed, not in education, and not attending any training which means that the majority of Syrian refugees are out of school due to many reasons like the cost of transportations, and education materials and works (UNHCR, 2018).

This year the minister of education and higher education Akram Shehayeb has declared the permission for all children in Lebanon to enter public schools even the Palestinians children can register directly without waiting the registrations of the Lebanese students to end as the case in the previous years (mehe.gov.lb, 2019).

In conclusion, Lebanon tries to educate all refugees on its land with the help of the international donors for vulnerable people including the Lebanese to fund the budget which is increase with the shifting of more than 18000 Lebanese students from private to public schools this year due the economic crisis, and this put high pressure in the public education. Despite this, the ministry continues to provide the basic rights for children to learn but this work is not enough with the number of Syrian refugees who are not enrolled in schools which is unacceptable and treat their futures not only for them but for the society. Without education we will have an uneducated generation, the future generation of Syria.

4.   Freedom of Movement:

Syrian refugees who entered directly to Lebanon before the close of the borders in 2014 and the new restrictions of the state, the movement of refugees is not free and it differs from one city to another due to some municipalities' decisions that prohibited Syrian refugees from wandering at night. The legal situation of Syrian Refugees in Lebanon depends on having a legal residence permit from the general security. This permit allows the person to stay in Lebanon for one year with $200 fees and refugees have to sign a paper that prevents them working in Lebanon. This has been in act since 2015 for the Syrian refugees who were already in Lebanon, but for the new refugees who want to cross the borders, they cannot due to the decision to close the borders with some exception and procedures to enter as we explained. Before this date, the residence permit should be renewed by going to the border and doing a new entrance to Lebanon. This procedure prevented the majority of Syrian refugees who were threatened by their regime to have a legal situation because they might be arrested.

Syrian refugees should not work and pay $200 every year according to the residence permits, and even without this permit, a Syrian person cannot move freely in Lebanon and they are under pressure to be arrested if any army checkpoints stop them and in Lebanon there are a lot of these check points. For instance if you are in Tripoli in the north of Lebanon and you want to go to Minyeh which is 10 minute far by car, there is a fix checkpoint and sometimes some checkpoints appear suddenly and require the residence permit from the refugees. Residence permit and freedom of movement are related so we cannot move freely without residence permit and you will be all the time under the pressure of being arrested and you will lose your own security because in every time you decide to go outside, you put yourself under the pressure of arrest, this situation violates the universal declaration of 1948 which gives all persons the right of movement freely under article 13 that said, "Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each State." and Article 12 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

In addition, the Geneva Convention provides this right to refugees in its article 26: Each Contracting State shall accord to refugees lawfully in its territory the right to choose their place of residence to move freely within its territory, subject to any regulations applicable to aliens generally in the same circumstances.

The freedom of movement is a right for any person in the world if he is refugee or not he should move freely without any fear because he is a human.

Not only the residence is the cause of not being move freely but also at least 45 municipalities imposed curfews on Syrian refugees in 2014 (hrw.org, 2014a) by different form some municipalities putted banners banning Syrian refugees to wander at night in a specific hours only if there is any case of urgent health, the resolutions are implement by the police of the municipality.

The reasons of this curfew as the municipalities said is maintaining security in the city after some accident were made by Syrian people even if they are rare and in some case the investigation clarifies that the offender is a Lebanese (El Helou , 2014) but the problem that the eyes go back to Syrians as they are strangers in the region specially when it come in the small village and the problem is in the generalization if someone did a crime it doesn't mean that all Syrian are criminals, also the turmoil in the two villages Irsal and el Kaa ; second is saving the identity and the social system of the city (Euro-Med Monitor for Human Rights, 2017) a strong example is Bcharri which has used racist and anti-humanitarian words in its declaration to not only impose curfew from six o'clock at night but also prohibited the gathering of Syrians in the public square and prevent the residents to renew them house from 15-11-2017: " Because we are the owners of the land and the decision in Bcharri and because our land is not for sale and our homes are not for strangers except to good deeds and the love of our freedom and our will, no one can impose on us settlement solutions or places for emergency new people at the expense of our people" so they used the term of new emergency to describe the Syrians refugees and they see them as a persons who want to take their land and the due returned to crime took place in the Mazyara village when a Syrian killed a woman which created harsh reactions to Syrians not only in the border of this village because its municipality has given the Syrian to leave the village in 21 hours but also to another villages as Bcharri and here a collective punishment was occurred and this is the dangerous when the generalization happen, Syrian pay the price of small accident that can happen everywhere instead of punish the criminal a whole society is punished by facing restrictions in their basic rights; third a fear for a demographic changing, the Christians in Lebanon have a fear from this because the majority of Syrians are Muslim (they are not minority in Lebanon On the contrary the president of Lebanon

should be Maronite and the members of parliament are divided equally between Muslims and Christians but always there is a fear from refugees to change the demography of Lebanon to increase the number of Muslims which even in numbers the Lebanese Muslims are the majority according to book fact-world with 57,7% and 36.3% Christians (Fanack, 2019), and this has happened also for the Palestinians refugees and this is what the same municipality said: " And if the belief that this kind of crime will scare us to leave our land for another, and where the act of resistance is a daily act, especially when we see our society and our demography break down as a result of this systematic and planned displacement" (website.bcharri.net, 2017); third Syrian gatherings or problems with Lebanese people and some municipalities imposed as Precautionary measure to protect the inhabitance (El Helou , 2014).

The curfew by the municipalities is illegal, the municipalities' law does not explicitly stipulate in any of its articles the right of the municipal council or its president to impose a curfew, Lebanese laws only authorize the military authority to impose curfews on persons and vehicles under a resolution and under conditions set by the emergency law (Bibi, 2017).

In April 2013, Marwan Charbel, who was then the interior minister, said that there was no legal basis for the curfews, and that local municipalities did not have the right to infringe on the authority of the state-wide security forces – whatever the conditions – including imposing local curfews (hrw.org, 2014b).

5.   Non-Refoulement:

Non-refoulement is a foundation protection rights of refugees, it comes from the French words "refouler" that means to drive back or to repel. It first appears in 1933 in the Convention relating to the International Status of Refugees article 3. The concept was adopted by the general assembly of the UN in 1946 (Goodwin-Gill, 2014) and by the Geneva Convention of 1951 under article 33:

"1. No Contracting State shall expel or return *('refouler')* a refugee in any manner whatsoever to the frontiers of territories where his life or freedom would be threatened on account of his race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion.

2. The benefit of the present provision may not, however, be claimed by a refugee whom there are reasonable grounds for regarding as a danger to the security

of the country in which he is, or who, having been convicted by a final judgment of a particularly serious crime, constitutes a danger to the community of that country".

The idea of non-refoulement is to protect the refugees from any form of threat that can be face it, related to race, religion, nationality or political opinion would be tantamount to delivering him into the hands of his persecutors (Weis, n.d).

247 Syrians refugees had been deported by the Lebanese authorities to Syria only in 3 months between mid-May and 9 August 2019 according to Amnesty International, and this go back to the implementation of the higher defense council decision on 24 April 2019 to deport refugees who entered Lebanon illegally after this date(amnesty.org, 2019).

The policy of forced deportation has started in 2017, but on 26 April 2019 the Human Rights Watch announced that at least 16 refugees has been expelled to Syria after they arrived at the Beirut airport despite their fear to be arrested some of them had registered in the UNHCR and the majority of them were feared to face torture or persecution if they returned (hrw.org, 2019c).

The Lebanese General Security denied on 25 May 2019 the accusations about the force deportation of Syrians in the Rafik Hariri international airport and their signing on the voluntary return paper, he asserts in the statement his coordination and cooperation with all the relevant international organizations (general-security.gov.lb, 2019).

In addition, dissident soldiers from the Syrian army and some opposition members have been delivered to Assad regime despite knowing of their dangerous situation if they returned because definitely they will be arrested. Some of these names: Osman Taha abu Talal, Ahmad Khaled Khalaf and Khaled Zein el Din el Iter (stepagency-sy.net, 2019).

The deportation had been coordinated with the Syrian ambassador in Beirut, specifically to deliver Syrian oppositions (almodon.com, 2019), this policy threats the life of Syrian facing detention; torture and prosecution and it means that Lebanon is a part and responsible for any repression and persecution that might confront the Syrians who were turned over to the Syrian regime, infringing article 3 of the "international covenant against Torture and Other Forms of Mistreatment or Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Punishment" who is a member of this convention since 25-

10-2000, that confirms:

1. No State Party shall expel, return ("refoul") or extradite a person to another State where there are substantial grounds for believing that he would be in danger of being subjected to torture.

2. For the purpose of determining whether there are such grounds, the competent

authorities shall take into account all relevant considerations including, where applicable, the existence in the State concerned of a consistent pattern of gross, flagrant or mass violations of human rights".

ACHR has documented that Syrians had forced to sign papers that indicate their agreement to leave the Lebanese territories willingly (voluntary repatriation to Syria).

Lebanon is doing a flagrant violation to all national and international laws, non-refoulement is a mandatory principle in the international laws that all states should be respected even if they are not a member in the Geneva convention 1951.

In the national laws, Lebanon violated article 26 in the "law on foreigners" 1962: any foreigner who is the subject of prosecution or sentenced to a political offense by a non-Lebanese authority, or whose life or freedom is threatened for political reasons may be granted political asylum"; article 31 of this Law stipulates that "If a political refugee was to be deported [from Lebanon] he shouldn't be deported where his life or freedom are at risk".

In the international levels, in addition of the convention against torture Lebanon is a part in many other conventions that oblige the government to not send any person to a state in which he may face threat to his life and these conventions are: The International Convention on Civil and Political Rights in which Article 13 of the covenant stipulates that:

"An foreigner lawfully in the territory of a State Party to the present Covenant may be expelled therefrom only in pursuance of a decision reached in accordance with law and shall, except where compelling reasons of national security otherwise require, be allowed to submit the reasons against his expulsion and to have his case reviewed by, and be represented for the purpose before, the competent authority or a person or persons especially designated by the competent authority".

Moreover, The International Convention for the Protection of all Persons from Enforced Disappearance**:** signed by Lebanon in 06/02/2007, in article 16, stipulated that: No State Party shall expel, return ("refouler"), surrender or extradite a person to another State where there are substantial grounds for believing that he or she would be in danger of being subjected to enforced disappearance.

6. Labor Rights:

The Syrian labor in Lebanon not started at the beginning of the revolution but it took place for a many previous years to after 1990 that means after the Lebanese civil war. The number of labor was between 500-700 thousand Syrian labors (Darwish, 2016), in 2003 Syrian workers were 80% of the foreign workers in Lebanon (Balanche, 2007), and the employees worked specially in three aspects: building-agriculture-cleaning.

In 2005 the Ministry established the Department of Welfare of Syrian Workers, to:

- Implement the necessary procedures to implement laws and regulations related to the work of Syrian workers.

- Receive complaints and demands received from Syrian workers related to disputes and disputes with employers and refer them to the competent authorities for decision according to the provisions of the law.

- Register and study applications for work permits for Syrians in accordance with the laws and regulations in process and the special procedures adopted for Syrian workers.

- Coordinate with the competent departments in the Ministry in matters related to the exchange of information and the good application of laws and regulations.

- Coordinate with the joint labor offices on the Lebanese-Syrian border standards and exchanging information on the work of Syrian workers in Lebanon.

- Prepare statistical data on the Syrian labor force in Lebanon, and organize schedules of work permits that have been approved according to the approved

forms (Official Gazette, 2005, pp. 5160-5161).

With the beginning of the influx the labor market wasn't organize until 2014 (Bu Moussa, 2015) when the ministry of labor declare that Syrian refugees can work in 3 sector: building-agriculture and cleaning, but if any Lebanese institutions indicate its searching for a Lebanese labor for three months without finding any one, it can apply for the ministry to employ Syrian by submitting indices (legal-agenda.com, 2019). for the Palestinians Syrians refugees, the ministry of labor not give them any permission.

90% of the Syrian work without permission from the labor ministry the reason that if you have a resident and you are registered by the UNHCR it is prohibited to work only in daily works, 30% of them are without work and the average of the salary is 277$ less than the minimum average in Lebanon (ilo.org, 2014).

Some privileges of Syrian workers enjoyed due some agreements and conventions between the two states, they pay only 25% of the work permit fees, Exempting the employer from providing a bank guarantee valued at one million five hundred thousand Lebanese pounds as required by all other foreign workers and Exemption of the employer from the request of the initial and prior approval as required by all other foreign workers (lebanese-forces.com, 2019).

In each year the Ministry of Labor should announce the fields of work that they confined only to the Lebanese, on 15 February 2018, the ministry indicates the work and the job that are only specify for the Lebanese under the decision 1/29 with this decision Syrian can work only in building, agriculture and cleaning there are some exception if he lives in Lebanon since his birth, his mother Lebanese (before was prohibited), director in a foreign company registered in the ministry and if the state permit for the Lebanese to work in any of the category that the decision involve. It covers all the foreigners only the Palestinian who born in Lebanon and registered in the ministry of interior have an exception.

The Syrians in Lebanon don't have the right to work even as a waiter in the restaurant they should find a job in the three sector, they cannot enter to the work market only illegally and without permission and this explain why 90% of the refugees don't have the work permit because simply they cannot get it, they don't

have access to any work, the situation is complicated and there is ambiguity from the general security and some other decision, in addition if any refugee registered by the UNHCR he don't have the permission to work and this is drive the majority of Syrians to work illegally to provide their needs, what the organization offer is not enough.

In order to organize the work of labor and to protect the public money, the Ministry of Labor declares a decision to the Syrians who want to settle their situation and they apply before 31-12-2019 to pay for 2 previous years for the work permit but if he enter during this duration they calculates from the beginning of this date (Ministry of labor, 2019a).

In July 2019, the Ministry established a campaign combating the illegal employment of foreign workers, to limit the number of illegal worker by giving them deadline for one month to settle their situation, but it doesn't mean that the ministry will give for all of them work permit due the ministry regulation, after this respite the ministry has started to suppress the irregularities many market and institutions closed, the plan followed by media campaign with a title " no one can drive you like your country worker", the plan can considered as indirect step to force refugees for the returning.

The right of work that the universal declaration of human rights provided is inapplicable, any persons have the right to work to provide his basic needs in the general situation, so how in the war when a person leave his lands and state to secure he need more help in the new society to search for a job and have it because he should build his life from the zero, the majority of this persecuted persons come only with their clothes some of them with money and other without, they need house, electricity, water, health care….Syrian face closed barrier instead of declaring some exception to facilitate their daily life more decision restrict them, they are suffering for the basic need as a human not only as a refugee, the universal declaration precedes the law of refugees in the Geneva Convention of 1951, so even if the state isn't a member there is no excuse, Article 23 has stipulated that:

1. Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favorable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.

2. Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal

work.

3. Everyone who works has the right to just and favorable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection.

4. Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests.

In Lebanon, the employer prefers to employ Syrian worker in order to pay for him less than the Lebanese, because the refugee accept any work whatever the conditions are in order to have any earns, there is some exploitation to their circumstances the employee employ many Syrians instead for a Lebanese and with this manner he can gain a lot, Syrians work for more hours with less salary, and some institutions employ them to decrease their duties toward the employee and abandon from their rights to have health insurance and the yearly and weekly vacation (Ghossin, 2019), and after the ministry plan to limit the illegal worker even who work in day they need a work permit (Ministry of labor, 2019b).

No right of work in Lebanon, it restricted by many decisions and limits for Syrians they have only three fields there is no free choice and this drive them to work illegally which threat them to face punishment that it can be a force returning to Syria, now they are obligated to have the work permit or to return.

In the international level the right of refugees to work is maintained by article 24 of the Geneva Convention that demands for the state to treat refugees the same treatment of their nationals.

C. Conclusion

Syrian refugees in Lebanon are suffering from the basic rights as a human being, it is right that Lebanon is not a member in the Geneva Convention 1951 which means he didn't responsible to abide with its principles and rules but in the other side many other international agreements and conventions impose him to give any human the basic rights and abide with the international custom, even in the national level the constitution is very clear that the state respect the international conventions this is in the paper but the reality is so far from this.

In 2019 the number of Syrian who have returned due the severe conditions are between 50 and 99 thousand, it is not a voluntary return because they declare that the circumstances in Lebanon force them to return (hrw.org, 2019c) and not their believes that Syria is safe.

The racist speeches towards Syrians increase in Lebanon with the demanding to return them under the pretext that the country cannot accommodate with the number, some politicians and parties refer all the economic, infrastructure and security crisis to refugee, this views affect the rights of refugees and increased the restrictions on the Syrian refugees.

III. COMPARISON OF THE RIGHTS OF SYRIAN REFUGEES IN LEBANON AND TURKEY

A. Introduction

Chapter two and three studied the right of Syrian refugees in Lebanon ad Turkey and those chapters explained in each country the situation of Syrians in the side of their rights, also explaining and comparing the difference between the national and the international laws and how the state act towards the mass influx also highlighting the violations that Syrians face them.

In this chapter the aim is to figure out the difference in the Syrians' situation between Lebanon that hosts the largest number of Syrians in the world per capita, and Turkey the country that has the largest number in the whole world. The chapter tries to address the distinguish in the right of refugees in both countries.

B. Legal situation:

Syria shares its borders with both Lebanon and Turkey and this has led to a huge influx of asylum seekers forced to leave their houses, works and their motherland, and escaping from all kinds of persecutions to the nearest countries.

The two host states had the policy of open doors and Syrians even before the conflict could enter Lebanon and Turkey without visas, Beirut and Ankara didn't describe the Syrians as refugees but as displaced persons in Lebanon that is not a party to the Geneva Convention of 1951, and as a guests in Turkey which is a party in the Convention and its Protocol of 1967 but the keeping of the geographical scope to the European countries has prevented Syrians to enjoy the rights and the situation under this convention. Due to this policy the number increased and both governments deal with the Syrian crisis as a temporary situation and it will end in a short time like all the Arabs revolutions, no one estimated that the crisis will extend to this day, after several year and when it became clear that the situation would be stay for a long time and that will increase the number of refugees, the Lebanese government has decided

in 25 October 2014 to close the border and Turkey has took the same step in 2016, both countries impose visa for Syrian aiming to stop their entrance. Lebanon has introduced a regulation for Syrians who want to enter the country for specific issue and for days. No law in the country manage the existence of one million refugees and the state didn't take any steps to organize their Legal situation, which is different from Turkey that issued the Law of Foreigners and International Protection in 2013 that putted the Syrian guests under the temporary protection and all its regulations and provisions are codified in 2014 in the law of Temporary Protection.

Syrians refugees in Lebanon need a sponsor to have residence and each year they should pay 200$ but the refugees who are registered by UNHCR before 2015 don't need this requirements, these difficulties were not seen in Turkey as all Syrians refugee who enter legally or illegally can register to the PDGMM directly.

C. Camps:

Since the beginning of the influx, the Lebanese government has announced its self-displacing from the Syrian crisis and this expanded to the influx of the Syrians refugees in the country, the authorities keep watching the crisis without any management for the situation of the new refugees and it refused to build and establish formal camps due the lack of the political consensus and the rejection of several parties to create formal campus in order to not repeat the Palestinians experience. So the international and national organizations did the camps across Lebanon by rent some lands or some owners built tents and rent them to the refugees with a fees 20-40$, the state doesn't coordinate any camps and doesn't provide any kind of assistance as the organizations work to provide life basics and refugees pay the fees of electricity and garbage transportation.

In another side, Turkey has established formal camps by the Turkish disaster response agency AFAD which was responsible to deal with the influx, the agency built 26 camps in 10 provinces that accommodate almost 265, 000 of Syrians refugees, these camps provide all kinds of services from social to health and educational services. The camps were built with infrastructure to provide electricity and water, the social service include prayer rooms, religious courses, playgrounds, resting halls, internet halls, sport areas, hairdressers, security personnel, fire fighting vehicles, grocery stores, dishwashing units, and laundries. The educational services

cover preschool, primary school, middle school and high school in addition courses for adults و this service permit for 79, 000 Syrians refuges to study in the school, for training 62, 000 benefited from courses such as hairdressing, handicrafts, computer, language courses …., the health service include hospitals, mobile hospital, 617 medical personnel provide 11.7 treatment and 336 thousand operations and in some cases they bring patients to city hospitals. Moreover, the agency provides healthy drinkable water and shopping markets all these services are for free and the camps are against climate conditions and are safe in all weather. and to manage services and secure the camps there is police, janderma, logistic office, services group, registration service office.

Turkey did a worthy work in the camps that are like a small village more than a camps with all the services that are provided freely and permits a dignity life for the Syrians refugees, the situation of these camps can't be compared with the camps in Lebanon in all levels, first the state didn't deal with this crisis and NGO and local organization did what the state should do and they rent land or tents to provide it for Syrians refugees, minimum services are non-existent even when Syrians built concrete roofs to secure themselves for harsh weather the Lebanese authorities decide to destroy and prevent these roof only plastic cover can use which permit to the rain and snow to enter to the tents, second for health service there is some health center supported by many organizations but they are poor from materials and can provide only simple treatment and with fees it couldn't do operation and if anyone need treatment he should go outside the camps to any hospitals, for educational service there is no schools or training centers in the camps in some city like Irsal there is several Syrian school teach the curriculum of the National coalition of Syrian, third for food and oil for heating UNHCR provide cards for refugees to bring their needs but not all of them receive them due the lack of coordination (www.shrc.org, 31July 2019).

According to this view, Turkey is providing a dignity and humanitarian live for refugees in contrast of Lebanon as Syrians refugees live in inhumane conditions without secure and dignity life.

D. Education

With respect to education, the two countries have the mandatory education

for children in the primary school and both are members in the Convention on the Right of the Child, Since the influx the Lebanese schools opened their door to Syrians children. In Turkey the opening of the formal schools was delayed until 2014 and the government in collaboration with the Syrian community established TECs to provide education for the Syrians children the reason was the language barrier and their considering that the crisis would be for a period of time, in 2014 Lebanon announced that the number of children refugees should be 50% less than the Lebanese students, in the same year Turkey has opened the door of the formal school to Syrians children and in 2016 Ankara begun a policy of integration by closing TECs and enrolling all children in the formal schools. On the other hand, Lebanon didn't do any policy to close the schools that teach the curriculum of the national coalition for Syrians in informal schools or centers and the threat that this education is not recognized and the authority didn't organize any policy to solve this problem, in 2019 the Lebanese minister of education permit for all children to register in the public school without any restrictions, but the problem that in 2019 the minister prohibit to give Syrians refugees who don't have residence or they parent don't have it to get their certificate and this affect their education journey because they can't continue their education without a certificate.

Briefly, both Turkey and Lebanon offer the right of education to Syrians children, with some different that Ankara closed TEC and did an integration policy and the number of Syrians children who enroll in the public school in 2019 90% in the primary school while in Lebanon 68%, also the MEHE keep the un-formal school to teach Syrians children despite the no recognizing of the curriculum and this affect the future of these students in Irsal city 9 thousand children register in these school (www.dw.com. 9-2-2019).

E. Right of Movement:

As the previous chapter, number of Lebanese municipalities impose curfew to Syrian Refugees and the reason is to provide security in the city, and this not exist in Turkey, but in Turkey Syrians refugee after 2015 should stay in the province of the place of the registration Syrians can't move freely between the province only if he take a travel document that permit him to travel and it given for 15 days by the PDGMM of each province.

In Lebanon the right of movement is violated by several municipalities, in Turkey inside the province of Syrians Refugees that they were registered, they have the right to move freely without any restriction but between the province it needs permission for a period of time, which means that moving between provinces are restricted and this also infringes the provision of Geneva Convention, International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which the both countries are members.

F.   Right of non-refoulement

This compulsory principle in international law is abide it by Turkey in the law of foreigners and international protection and the law of the Temporary Protection, also the Lebanese law stipulate this principle, but in the application there is violation for the national and international law, Beirut start the policy of deportation in 2017 and it increases in 2019 by a decision from the authorities to deport the illegal Syrians who entered to Lebanon that caused the expel of 247 Syrians refugees after the decision, in Turkey there is no decision by the authorities to deport Syrians Refugees But in 2019 some cases was documented that deportation took place for a dozens of refugees the exact number was unknown and the government denied this accusations.

In conclusion, Lebanon depends on a decision and policy by the authorities to deport Syrians refugees despite its gross infringe to the national and international law and Turkey did violations as many documented report but it differs that is not depends on a decision and policy by the government, it seems as individual actions outside the law.

G. Labour Rights:

In Lebanon Syrians refugees have permission to work in 3 sectors building-cleaning-agriculture but this situation wasn't stable because it links with the decisions of the Ministry of Labour that determines the sectors in which foreigners can be work, 2019 was severe to Syrians Refugees because the decision of the ministry includes all the sectors generally even waiter and work being something elusive, it totally differs from Turkey that provides for them the same treatment and

rights as their citizens for refugees who are under the Temporary protection also Syrians refugees can apply to İŞKUR that help them to find a job.

Syrians refugees in Lebanon don't have the right to work in contrast Turkey treat them as their citizens.

H. Conclusion

The situation of Syrians refugees differs between the regulations of the host state, in Lebanon and Turkey the provisions of Geneva Convention 1951 is not apply which pushed Turkey authorities to establish several laws first law of foreigner and international protection and then the Law of Temporary Protection in order to regulate the influx and to determine the rights and duties of the refugees by putting the Syrians refugees under the temporary protection, in Lebanon there is no identifying for the Syrians refugees and no law organize them and manage them only some decisions from the authorities.

In Turkey the government work hard to improve the situation of Syrians refugees by laws and services which provide freely for Syrians in the camps and outside the camps, the state begun a policy of integration in the education sector and by naturalizing thousands of Syrians, while in Lebanon there is no attempt to improve the situation of Syrians refugees no laws no services and the camps are lack from the minimum humanitarian standards and the organizations try to provide the essential needs for refugees, even the state in 2019 strength the restrictions in work and deport hundreds in a policy to force them to return to Syria.

IV. REFUGEE BETWEEN HUMAN SECURITY AND STATE SECURITY

A. Introduction

After the cold war, the world has witnessed geographical changes and new states were established, with the emerging of new concepts under the umbrella of "globalization" (Huysman et al, 2009) following an increasing in the number of refugees worldwide due to changes in the nature and the strategy of conflicts from external tension into internal, in addition to the ethnic-religious conflicts inside the state against the local authority. These changes have pushed the United Nations to adopt a new paradigm with the concept of human security for "understanding global vulnerabilities of individuals that challenges the traditional notion of national security"

This chapter addresses the developing of the security concept, from state security to human security, from military concept to human rights concept which involves refugees, it also highlights the struggle between state security and human security and how the government and politician's policy toward refugee affect their rights in the receiving state and sometimes threatens their existence.

B. State Security:

For Sverre Lodgaard the objective of the national security is "to defend the territorial integrity of the state and the freedom of the state to determine its own form of government" (Lodgaard, 2004).The concept of security has taken a lot of attention in politics and somehow it is rare in politics due to its relation with the concept of sovereignty which means "*supreme authority within a territory*" that appeared with the concept of the state at the peace of Westphalia in 1648a, the treaty ends the phase of feudal regime to enter the concept of sovereign state (Farr, 2005). The national security was the fundamental study in the international relations to the political entities, and security means "the protection of the boundaries and integrity of the

state and its values against the dangers of a hostile international environment" (Tickner, 1994).

Stephen Waltz examined in his article "*The Renaissance of Security*" security as "the study of the threat use and the control of military forces", examining the conditions and ways of using forces and how it affects individuals, the society and the policy of the states in their acts and decisions towards wars. The threats that the national state and individuals could face are not just limited by military dangers, because the security was expanded to cover poverty and environment disasters, but for Waltz this expansion would demolish the core of the term security (Walt, 1991). This view has been criticized and answered in the article *"Renaissance in Security? Caveat Lector"* for Edward A. Kolodziej, who considered that the unmilitary threats and the demands of people can't be ignored (Kolodziej, 1992). The values of the international system shifted in mid-century to focus more on human values instead of state values, after this period and the World War 2, the establishment of the United Nations brought the birth of the international human rights and affirmed in its charter the international cooperation and the promotion of the human rights (UN, article 56), for Sibley Lecture in 1945 "The condition of human rights became a subject of international concern in principle" (Henkin, 1995). The term security has shifted with some scholars from national security to social security that bears a rethinking and a new way to understand security by putting concerns on the unmilitary threat instead of the military one. Ole Waever is one of those who see security with two waves "a duality of state security and societal security" (Doty, 1998). Security includes immigration that can cause concerns for states in two main aspects, first of all, the state can use immigration as a political tool against some groups known as minorities, the host state can force displacement which can cause instability in security by armed acts; in economy; it also threatens demography and identity (Doty, 1998). Scholars failed to give one definition for security and when someone defines it according to specific reasons, he opens a door for huge debates about why he took into considerations some reasons and he abolished other points.

Since the establishment of Westphalia, which created the term "state" that we know today, and the term security was linked to the state in the military sector, as the main concern of any political entity is to protect its territory and maintain the security on all its lands against any war or threat, for realists, the threat is always

military (Newman, 2009). To avoid any threat and to maintain the state security, each state should maximize its military production and weapons, which means a marathon for battle and the key word is ''power''. In a hierarchal system, states don't trust each other, they don't believe in the other's intentions, and to keep the state secure it should maximize its military capacities with no limits, which creates a security dilemma.

1. Realism:

For classical realist that occurred in 1940, power is the ultimate strife for states, this reason led each state to maximize its power. For scholars such as Hans Morgenthau and Reinhold Niebuhr, the state is like a human, the human nature has a desire to dominate which create conflicts and fight in a war to control in order to secure (Walt,1998). It is a human behavior that reflects in the act of the state as a self-seeking egoist. The understanding of state conflict came from the egotism, selfishness and greediness of the human nature that raise the will to power, from here we can perceive why states are in struggle.

Although, Morgenthau claims that politics is "a struggle for power" and selfishness is the cause of political struggles, and for him the drive to survive (security) and to dominate are the basics drives for the universal lust for power (Berenskoetter,2007).

For structural realism, the struggle to power is not due to the man nature and desire but it's due to the anarchical system and the absence of a central government which leads states to seek power and to use force. According to waltz, state is a "state of war", state must be secure and apply self-help principle, state should be ready at any time to use force because it cannot trust others intentions and in the absent of an international agent that can manage state conflicts, states should take all precautions and measures to survive and secure by having sufficient power (Schmidt, 2005).

In 1970, the economic concern started to take place in the international scene, the interaction between states in the economic sector highlighted the importance of economy and rose the power of the economy beside the military power. International political economy (IPE) added a new component and widening the concept of security (Hough, 2008).

2. Liberalism

For liberals, economic cooperation and interdependence between states prevent war because conflicts will negatively impact their economic interests and welfare; moreover the international institutions play a role in solving the selfishness behavior of a state and managing states relation through cooperation. This theory argues that peace is related to democracy as peace and security are available in the democratic states more than the authoritarian regimes (Walt, 1998).

Liberals can be divided into four main perspectives: first is the republican liberals who believed that democratic governments are more peaceful than other governments, second is the pluralist liberalism who claimed that social schism and misdistribution of social power can create international strife, third is the commercial liberalism who considered that economic interdependence can create peace and finally the regulatory liberalism who sees that international laws and institutions can create international accommodations (Moravcsik, 1992).

3. Constructivism

Critical theory of the "English school" that rose in the twentieth century criticizes both theories realism and liberalism; it agrees to add non-military issues as a threat for state in addition to the military concerns. According to 'securing freedom from unacknowledged constraints, relations of domination and conditions of distorted communication and understanding deny humans the capacity to make their future through full will and consciousness' (Devetak, 2005)

State for constructivism is a main subject in the theory () and its interests is built by a structural system which is sociological, based on social norms and social relationships, this system comprises three components: knowledge, material resources and practices.

First, values and norms conduct a state's behavior for instance and in term of "security dilemma" if a state didn't have significant and sufficient information about another state, it will have skeptical views on its tensions and distrust that affect state decision, so knowledge determine a situation of peace or conflict.

Second, the material resources such as weapons obtain its value for human practice.

Third, practice: without it there is nothing, without act nothing exists ().

Stephen Walt agrees that: "security studies seek cumulative knowledge about the role of military force" (Walt, 1991), for scholars "the world of threat and intentions" or the threat that a state can face is constructed from a range of culture, norms, ideology, history…, and this threat appears by the order of the decision-maker, and security constructed according to the threat response (Krause, 1998).

Copenhagen school differentiate state and society and claims that this difference is the key to understanding security studies. It should be taken into consideration two aspects in other manner "duality of security": constituted by national security knowing by sovereignty and social security by identity (Waever, 1993).

The cornerstone of social security is the link and the relation between identities and interests including the threat between them.

Security adopts divergent definitions in different societies and can even take different context in the same society in different time, for instance, the European identity and its response to the threat of immigration (Krause, 1998).

The last point is that security exists where a threat appears, it is used against a particular and identified threat and scholars use this concept in different scopes to identify certain kind of threat that have a menace on specific issue such as health security against diseases or human security for refugees and vulnerable.

Security is a wide range term; it is not limited to one meaning and cannot be reduced to one concept because it expands to cover such phenomena.

C. Human Security

The concept of human security appeared for the first time in the UNDP reports 1994, as a result of a revolution in the concept of security, and did not only concern the state security, war and weapons, but also freedom, development, and individual security. The report defines human security as" a child who did not die, a disease that did not spread, a job that was not cut, an ethnic tension that did not explode in violence, a dissident who was not silenced, it is not a concern with weapons but it is a concern with human life and dignity" (UNDP, 1994).

Human security concern on people all over the world, it is universal that build in two main components freedom from fear and freedom from want. Human security contains two main aspects a safety from such chronic threats as hunger, disease and repression, and the protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life.

In the political scene, human security appeared for the first time in May 1998, during a meeting between the Canadian foreign minister Lioyd Axworthy and his Norway counterpart Knut Vollebaek, where they have used the concept as a result to the 1990's development in human rights and international human rights. In addition, it has been considered as an umbrella for these values and for an international work and cooperation for several issues such as criminal court (Suhrke, 1999).

This establishment was called lysoen process and it was the catalyst for the work of the two states. Canada added the issue of "Human Security" on the agenda of the Security Council when it had one of the non-permanent members in February 1999, as an attempt to handle the dilemma of transgressions against civilians' in armed conflict. In the second meeting of Lysoen II Axworthy defined human security "in essence, human security means safety for people from both violent and non-violent threats. It is a condition or state of being characterized by freedom from pervasive threats to people's rights, their safety or even their lives", For him, the origin of the term returned to a decade ago, to the establishment of the Red Cross in 1860s that was the cornerstone for the security of people, this doctrine was formulated in 1940 with the UN Charter, Universal Declaration of Human Rights and Geneva Conventions. (Axworthy, 1999).

Moreover, Yoshiro Mori, the Japanese prime minister, announced at the UN Millennium Summit in 2000 that his country will adopt and support the idea of human security as "one pillar of Japan's foreign policy" calling for the creation of an international commission on human security aiming to strengthen the concept, following the presentation of the secretary-General Kofi Annan of a report in" freedom from fear, freedom from want" who focused on the needs to handle threats worldwide. In 2001 the commission was established in japan during a visit of Annan in the country.

The commission defined human security in its reports as" to protect the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedoms and human fulfillment.

Human security means protecting fundamental freedoms— freedoms that are the essence of life" (2009, the trust for human security)

The 2003 report call for human security as a response to handle conflict, to achieve prosperity and to face threats to human security, and in 21 century it is "a response to the threats of development reversed, to the threats of violence inflicted" the world is more interdependent and interlinked and institutions work in response to protect human (Commission on Human Security, 2003).

The report sees that the security debate has changed considerably from the 17th century, the date of the inauguration of state security, which considered a traditional approach for the role of state, who would control the rights and measures to save its citizens. "State power and state security would be established and expanded to sustain order and peace". A revolution in the concept took place in 21st century, where the challenges have been more complicated by covering more dimensions and witnessed a transformation from the state's security to the security of people; however the state became in many places the origin of people threats.

This swift returned to the changing in the kind of the threat from international and external threats to internal threats, from outside threats into internal one, from seeking power for border security into facing local crisis and turmoil, individuals and the interest of people their safety and protection, "humanity" became the central focus (Ginwala, 2003). Ginwala in the report said that human security doesn't replace state security because they're both dependent of each other, but what's changing is the concern from national security into individual needs and security, state security is important but it's not the guarantee for the citizens.

Meanwhile, human security complement state security in four aspects, first by keeping concern in the individual and the community rather than the state. Second, people's security not always include state security it expands to other kind of threats. Third, the spread of the range of actors is rising beyond the state alone. Forth, human security is not limited on protecting but on empowering people to safe themselves.

At the end, the concept of security has faced several developments and changings, it has expanded to include more aspects and concerns, from security of state to security of individuals, from security of conflict to security of political repression, from security of war to security of people from daily diseases, from

military priority to human rights aspects.

D. Human Security And Refugees:

The relation between Human rights and state sovereignty is complicated and ambiguous, as for human rights, their principals and rules are universal and beyond borders, while state security sees that it has absolute authority along its territory. moreover, many times, the tension between these two concepts occur in the host state in two manners, in one hand they should act towards refugees with the international customs and the basic human rights even if they are not a party in the Geneva Convention 1951, and in the other hand states have security concerns for many reasons such as border security, demographic changing, ideology.

The terms of the International human rights law, international humanitarian law, humanitarian intervention which appeared after the word war two have brought a changing in the term of state sovereignty which transformed from a complete to a "contingent sovereignty" as states adopt the norms and the customs of the international human rights (Betts, 2009).

As human security is a kind of societal security, which concerns the protection of people from such threat wherever its nature is, it is a "human centered and security oriented that focus on the human protection from fear, danger and threat" (Newman et al, 2003).

Human security is an umbrella for all kinds of protection against any threats that any individual could face, and as refugees are vulnerable and face several persecutions and threats, they are considered as a subject of the human security.

After the cold war, the number of refugees increased worldwide due to the changing in the nature and the strategy of conflicts from external tension into internal, in addition to the ethnic-religious conflicts inside the state against the local authority, these changes pushed the United Nations to adopt a new paradigm with the concept of human security for "understanding global vulnerabilities of individuals that challenges the traditional notion of national security". This transformation has brought a changing in the role of the UNHCR even before the 90th between 1980-1990, the number of refugees worldwide doubled from 5.5 million to 14.5 million, the powerful states especially in Europe want to deter refugees from crossing their

borders. Last but not least, the Security Council has adopted new elements in the term of security and they tried to keep refugees at host states where its near to their homeland.

Refugees are insecure, they left their homes, homeland, work, properties, memories, schools, universities under different harsh circumstances such as bombing, shelling, arresting, killing, famine and more others security treats and at the end they found themselves in a new land with new challenges of existence. Refugees are embodying the meaning of insecurity and actually they "are doubly insecure"; first they flee from the fear on their lives aiming to survive, second in their displacement they struggle to exist and to have stability in the host states. Sadako Ogata describes Refugees as people who suffer from a "tragic insecurity", which forces them to flee and when they became refugees they face "fragile security" (Ogata, 1999). For instance, host states affected the security of Syrian refugees by closing borders, repatriation, preventing them from work, persecuting, freedom of movement (Boulby et al, 2018).

As we mentioned, the two factors of human security are freedom from fear and freedom from want. Refugees are seeking security from fear and want at the same time to provide their needs, they flee from their homeland "freedom from fear" crossing international border seeking for protection and security, they are in need to an asylum to save them without facing any threat or any persecution which is "freedom from want" because the existence of refugees in a host state doesn't mean that they have protection and they fulfil they rights, so refugees need protection and empowerment which permit them to provide their necessities such as education, job… (Takizawa, 2011).

E. State concern:

Since the post-cold war, the world has witnessed an increase in the number of refugees, the act and the response of the host states towards the mass influx and its consequences have caused a crisis in the protection of these vulnerable. Many states are not members in the Geneva Conventions 1951 and do not abide by the international law customs, which leads to a conflict between rights and interest, the rights of refugees and the interest of the national-host state.

The regime of refugees has been shifted after the cold war with the changing of the fleeing reasons, after the World War I and II people fled due to ideological collapse, empires demise, and creation of new states. But in the post-cold war, vulnerable flee as a result of violence, torture and persecutions. Host states keep more concern on their rights instead of refugee human rights, concern on protecting their culture from the new intruders. (Mertus, 1998)

Since the 1980, security scholars have been interested in migration and refugee, some of them were concerned with the "identity security", the impact of the mass influx in the culture and ethnicity in the host society. Other group have implemented by the traditional school while the third group have developed the security studies to include refugees which is a new paradigm that have more concerns in human security instead of state security (Hammerstad, 2000)

The "national interests" of a state is divided into two dimensions: external which is international and internal which is national:

In terms of international and regional, the state interests could be considered as the relations between states and regional security. In the other hand, the domestic interests could be seen as economic and social impact, in addition of the state security. Host states concern increases during a mass influx especially in the economic side including the costs of refugee, employment also in the security side by militarized refugee camps. (Milner, 2000).

International Relations Scholars have realized the security impact of refugees in two manners, first in the link between refugees and transnational crime, terrorism since 11 Sep 2001, second the impacts of suddenly mass movement in developing countries. Researchers differ the impact of refugees in the host states between industrialized and developing one.

Reinhard Lorhman in his article Migrants, Refugees, and Insecurity, current threats to peace, has addressed the concerns of the receiving states towards refugees in the case of mass movement in their border, these concerns transformed to a threat and a security dilemma. For host states, the existence of a huge wave of people can create a social dilemma between both citizens and refugees, an ethnic and religious changing. In addition to an economic crisis especially for poor countries as they should fulfill the needs of refugees who put a lot of pressure on the infrastructure.

Moreover, refugees can bring their weapons -if they have one- to the host states by militarizing camps and transferring their political activities outside the borders of their state. While the receiving state became a base for their activities against their home countries, in this case the host state engages indirectly in the conflict that can create tensions between the two sides and can affect even the regional security and its relations with other states (Lorhman, 2000).

The nexus of a huge range of people and of a population has affected the security in three levels: national, regional, and international. The national security of a host state` that became the shelter of refugees and the ground that protect them of what they faced in their homeland, in the receiving state they have persecutors that they are in need and this can create` instability in the economic- social level, cultural religious values and political stability.

The receiving states face many challenges during a sudden and mass influx which creates an economic burden that may cause a backlash between both societies, a regional; ethnic; cultural conflict. Moreover, it can create a military tension when refugees expand their military activities against their home country in the land of the host state and they become "freedom fighters" who resist on the receiving states. (Loescher, 1992)

Indeed, refugees are not always considered as a threat to the host states, the religious and ethnic knit is a crucial element that brings both communities closer; when they share the same religion, ethnicity or language, in this case refugees don't feel like intruders as they will face generous hospitality and even sometimes support and assistances in the host community that see them as "one of us" a part of the society who need help as they fled from persecutions. But, in some states they are considered as an "out group" especially in the case of the multi-ethnic society, as they are seen as a threat for the state's balance.

Refugee movements and their impact on national and regional security has begun to take place in the international agendas after the cold war in 1990, as the number of asylum seekers raised and literally the concept of the threat has expanded from military concerns to include other elements related to human rights such as human, economic, food and health security. The collapse of the Soviet Union following the exodus of refugees has brought the attention of the international society as the conflict crossed the border to the receiving countries, for example the

civil war in Yugoslavia and the mass movement of refugees to Serbia has led to ethnic strife and massacre which caused not only a security threat on the national level, but also on the regional one.

At the end, the study of the state threats from refugees is limited, and it differs from a country to another, as the large-scale of refugees can be considered as a threat in one of the receiving countries, while in another country which has a smaller number of refugees is not considered a threat. In addition, the economic situation differs from one country to another, the situation of refugees in rich-developed receiving state is totally different than in a poor state for instance Syrian refugees in Europe are different from the ones in Lebanon or Jordan. Last but not least, the ethnic and religious factor as for host state sharing same ethnic or religious group would attenuate the tension between both sides and refugees will be more welcomed.

F. Lebanon:

During its modern history, Lebanon have faced two waves of refugees: Palestinians after 1948 and Syrians in 2011, who were not recognized as refugees but displaced people. Despite these two exoduses, the country is not a part in the Geneva conventions 1995 and it didn't recognize their situations in specific regulations in a bid to organize and identify of their existence, followed by a political crisis, security instability and concerns for a demographic and religious changing as the majority of the refugees are Muslims and the country is based on a sectarian regime.

When the exodus of Syrian refugees started, the Lebanese government decided not to manage the exodus and it didn't create formal campuses over the concern of a long-standing like what happened with the Palestinian refugees. The bear hold by NGOS' and charities, who take responsibilities to handle the current flux, the political unrest in the country and the concerns over religious threat and racism due to the 30 years of the Syrian regime occupation have affected the basic right of refugees. While concerns and racism have been dominated in the political life and government respond the situation of refugees is ambiguous and violated.

The government couldn't take its responsibility due to political complications and implications; it should be noticed that a Lebanese party "Hezbollah", who is a member in the government and have parliament members, has participated in the

Syrian wars backing the Syrian regime against its people and forcing people to flee their homeland in many occasions like ksair in the Lebanese-Syrian borders. So, we have a part from the Lebanese government who crossed the borders with his military troops without any official permission and entered directly in the Syrian war. In other hand, other future movement and its allies "14 movement" supported the Syrian revolution since the beginning; this vertical difference has created a sharp division in the country that developed to a military tension in Tripoli between beb-tabene, the supporters of the Syrian revolution, and jebel-muhsen, the supporters of Assad regime. The political speech has taken another ideological dimension by the president of "Hezbollah", who call on his supporters to fight for the religious shrines. This pushed to another high speech by many politicians and protests lead it by al-Asir and many other organizations and activists. The matter didn't stop at this limit, as the Lebanese information has detained Michel Sameha after a secret investigation that indicates his involving with Assad regime in planning of launching several attacks against some Lebanese personalities this unveiling led to the assassination of the Lebanese information president Wissam al Hasan. Assad regime had been accused of this attack and many others such as the attack in two mosques during Friday's prayers in Tripoli. Moreover, in the south, many blasts took places which were claimed by unknown Syrian armed group.

These politically and armed involving in the Syrian war and its implications in the internal political life accompanied by violent reactions have negatively affected the situation of Syrian refugees.

1.   Refugees Between State Concerns And Rights In Lebanon:

The concerns of the Lebanese states appeared by the daily political speech, as many political parties attacked the existence of refugees demanding their return to their country as Lebanon is unable to host them, the concerns are centered on social-economy, demographic changing.

2.   Social-Economy:

The relationship between Syria and Lebanon is rooted in history and politics. During the Lebanese civil war, Syrian army entered Lebanon and involved militarily and directly in the conflict, the war ended but the Syrian occupation in the country continued until 2005. In this period of time, Syrian regime controlled Lebanon

politically and economically by the policy of open borders that permitted for Syrian workers to find jobs in Lebanon especially in the fields of building and agriculture. Lebanese took advantage of that as it gave them access to cheap labors without having the right.

The exodus of Syrian refugees was welcomed at the beginning by hospitalities, a lot of families opened their houses to them and local associations worked on providing assistances and basic needs for them. However, politicians in their daily political speeches blamed all the local social, economic crisis on the new comers, putting the failure of the state on refugees however problems aged years before the coming of Syrians such as electricity, economic crisis, communication. Many studies addressed that Lebanese economy has got privileges of this situation.

In many cities the number of refugees exceeded the number of local people, they are marginalized and deprived from the government, the poverty and the economic problems have created a tension between the two communities as employers preferred the new cheap laborers who work without any rights in order to live, instead of Lebanese, who considered that they were taking their jobs.

Indeed, there are no formal camps in Lebanon for refugees and 80% of them are renting houses. Just in 2016, Syrians paid 378 million $ for this purpose and the real estate was a fundamental source for the Lebanese economy as the Syrian investments in 2016 reached 78,700,180$ (Yassin, 2018).

3.   Religious:

Lebanon is based on a sectarian regime that distribute powers between Muslims and Christians, the demographic changing is a nightmare for many religious groups as it can change the balance in the country in favor for another party, which will affect the identity of the country and the political system, especially that the majority of the refugees are Muslims and Sunnis.

This has pushed many politicians to sound the alarm of the refugees' existence as a threat for the Lebanese identity and also for the Christian existence not only in Lebanon but also in the region. The religious concern is a fundamental cause in not providing formal camps and basic rights in fear of becoming protracted refugees like Palestinian.

The Lebanese president Michel Aoun used refugees as cause of the economic and political crisis and a "convenient justification" for the government's failures, calling for their return. Hate speeches by politicians and decision makers have rose racism and xenophobia against Syrians (Lewis, 2020). Aoun has stressed the returning of refugees as he said on 14 June 2019 "They may gradually begin to return to safer areas, and that should happen before a political solution is reached" (aljumhuria, 2019). In addition, Gebran Basil, the head of the Maronite Christian Free Patriotic Movement and the former foreign minister, has used racist and hate speeches against Syrians, claiming that Lebanese are "above all", He tweeted on 6 Jun 2019 that "We have established the concept for our Lebanese belonging which is above any other belonging. We said that it was genetic and that is the only explanation for our similarity and distinction, for our ability to sustain and accommodate together, for our flexibility and strength, our ability to integrate and be integrated, and the refusal to be displaced and seeking refuge together" (El Helou, 2019).

Human Rights Watch in its report "Our Home are not Strangers" highlighted the mass evictions of Syrians in several Lebanese Municipalities, as more than 3660 have been expelled from 13 municipalities between 2016-2018, as it claimed that this eviction is based on national and religious discriminations, as the majority of municipalities are Christians and refugees said that they were expelled because they are Muslims as Syrians Christians didn't face their same fate (HRW, 2019). Patriarch Rai called for "refugees return without waiting for the international community, the country has been witnessing a political and security crisis, coupled with the crisis of the Syrian refugees and an economic crisis, stressing that this situation has become unbearable" (lbc group, 2017).

In an interview with the former minister of state for Refugees Affairs Mouin Merehbi, he said there are daily violations, and we just know small part of them and the majority are hidden. Unfortunately, refugees face a lot of abuse, and that the main concern of those who are demanding the return of Syrians refugees is the naturalization. I don't think there is such a threat, because what I witnessed during my visits to many Syrian camps that they want to return to their country as soon as possible and those who are against Syrian refugees' naturalization are the same people who accepted the naturalization of Palestinian Christians.

G. Turkey

1. Refugees Between State Concerns And Rights In Turkey:

Syrian refugees in turkey have been, for several political parties, a burden, national and identity threat in the country, and they have been using them as a "political instrument for criticizing the government's domestic and foreign policies" (Utku et al, 2017), which led to hate speeches and wave of racism that affected harshly the existence of Syrian refugees in the country.

2. Economic

Turkey and Syria before the revolution has boosted their trade, cancelled visa restrictions and improved their bilateral relations which reflected positively on the economy. Turkish exports reached 1.8 billion dollars in 2010 but it plunged with the beginning of the revolution as a result of the ongoing tensions (Koru et al, 2017), the exodus of Syrians and for Turkish people 70% of them see that Syrian refugees caused an economic burden in the country (Erdogan, 2014).

The impact of Syrian refugees in the Turkish economy can be seen in two-dimension opportunities and risks, as Turkish authorities has provided official camps and assistances for refugees, people claim that their taxes to the government is going to the newcomers which led to a tension between both of them, who also see that they are taking their jobs due to the cheap laborers that owners preferred them, home in Gaziantep and many provinces rose. Indeed, Syrian business owners and merchants have opened more accesses for Turkish products in the Middle East markets due to their relations. Also, the living expenses of Syrians and the cheap labor have impacts on the economy. Southeastern and western have become an attracted place for Syrian businessman (Nielsen, 2016), between 2011 and 2017, 5.797 companies have been reopened in Turkey with Syrian capitals that estimated around 1.9 billion Turkish Liras (koru et al, 2017). Syrians transferred both capitals and relations when they arrived to turkey (kaymaz, 2016).

3. Ethnic

The majority of Syrians are Arabs and Sunnis and the border cities in Turkey has different religious and ethnic groups, which pushed the government to warn from a national threat in these regions and take several steps as transferring large number

of refugees to interior provinces and secure their borders over a risk from a sectarian tension and a demographic change (Donelli, 2018). For instance, Hatay has the majority of Alawi who support Assad regime and as it shares border with Syria it has Syrians who are Sunni and against Assad regime which creates demographic concerns (Abd Al Aal, 2019).

Locals claim that they are "sons of the soil" over a fear from a balance changing in their areas and that their static situation is under threat due to flee from a large scale of people who the majority of them are sharing the same ethnic group. Forsberg see that when an ethnic conflict happened in a country it could push the same group in other country to engage (Getmansky et al, 2018). The republican people party (CHP), the opposition party in the country, has expressed it desires to return refugees to Syria, the leader of the party Kemal Kılçıdaroğlu said in 2015 "They would be more troublesome in the future, causing disorder and some becoming important actors of Turkey's underground scene", While the National Movement party MHP party has expressed his concerns over the "protection of territorial integrity, national unity more specifically with the Kurdish issue", adding that their long lasting will cause "new questions based on ethnic identities, collective rights and Hatay question" (koru et al, 2017).

These political groups don't reflect the government policy as president Recep Tayyip Erdogan has reiterated in many occasions that Syrian refugees are guests and siblings, as he said "We will not leave them in the hands of these people, our government is continuing in supporting them in provinces and it will keep feeding, watering and dressing them, because we want to be ansar helpers, so we will not leave migrants halfway and we will not abandon them" this speech came against the call of oppositions to return Syrians to their country and the call of municipal president of polo who announced that he will cut the assistances for Syrians after he won the election in 2019.

Turkish residents see that many areas became as rue in Syria, the identity have transformed and the culture has changed, in faith, a district in Istanbul, many streets are called mini sham "peace of Damascus" as a lot of Syrians have stayed and opened their markets, restaurants, shops, bringing their culture, foods, language and identity to the new place. They are speaking their language and the sign boards are in Arabic, so Turkish residents felt that their area changed they are hearing a new

language in the streets, seeing new words, smelling new kind of foods (Ibrahim et al, 2017).

The economic burdens, language barriers and social and cultural differences have led the Turkish to refuse Syrians from society as it reached 67% refused in 2019, following hate-racist speeches from politicians who blamed all the economic crisis, unemployment on Syrians, with rumors that they are living a welfare life and receiving aids from the government which caused tension between the two communities and rose the racism wave (scm, 2020).

The year of 2019 has shown an increase in the hate speeches and the refuse of Syrian refugees due to the currency collapse, economic crisis that had been used as a political tool in the municipalities elections to attack the government as after the winning of the CHP for Istanbul municipality, a hashtag has been launched against the existence of Syrians and called him to get out "SuriyelilerDefoluyor" which means Syrians go out (salame, 2019). This wave followed with many restrictions such as preventing the use of Arabic words in the sign as it should be 75% in the Turkish language (Daadouch, 2019). These speeches reflected on the ground by attacks on Syrian shops like what happened in Kucukcekmece in 29 June 2019 when groups burned and smashed shops, which forced security forces to use tear gas to disperse them (Abd Al Aal, 2019).

H. Conclusion

Syrians in both Lebanon and Turkey are victims of the struggle between their Human Rights and the host state concerns. In Lebanon, the government failed not only in managing the crisis and giving refugees their basic rights but also by violating it under pretext of state security, demographic changing and the policy of the previous governments and the head of the state towards Syrians that raised racism and attacks against them. In Turkey the policy of the president and his government has protected some rights for the guests over the hate speeches from the oppositions. Refugees' rights are affected by the policy of the receiving states and by the ruling elites.

V.   CONCLUSION

Syrian refugees were forced to flee their homeland seeking freedom of wear and freedom of want, seeking for security and safety to survive. The international laws indicated the rights of refugees under the Geneva Conventions 1951 and its protocol 1967, but the dilemma appeared when refugees fled to a receiving state which is not a party of the convention, as they faced ambiguity in treating them which affect definitely their rights as no regulations clarify and provide their rights. But it doesn't mean that the door of violations opened in the host states, as many other international agreements and customs address it. Rights of refugees differ from country to another according to its policy towards them, the situation in Lebanon is different than Turkey as government acts and policies are different. In Lebanon, the government ignored the large flux, closed borders, violated rights, raised hate speeches and called for their repatriation. Lebanon has not only infringed the international laws but also the national one and the international agreements, which comes as a result of state security and politicians concerns from a demographical changing and economic threats followed by racist and hate speeches that allow some hostility behaviors against refugees. In Turkey, the government welcomed Syrians as guests and built formal camps for them, but it didn't expect that they will stay for a long time and become protracted refugees which created problems that was remedied by the state in establishing the regulation of temporary protection in 2013 that organizes and clarifies the situation of Syrians by putting them under the concept of temporary protection. In addition, Ankara's government has adopted the policy of integration by granting nationalities for thousands, integrated students in public schools and facilitated the conditions of work in the Turkish market. Despite all these policies, some violations broke both national and international laws by deporting dozens of Syrians in 2019 but it was not considered as a systematic policy from the government.

Even the fact that both countries don't abide by the rules of the Geneva Conventions 1951 and don't consider Syrians as refugees, this doesn't mean that

their rights is violated as couple of international customs such as the concept of non-refoulement, international agreements that are signed by countries, and national laws providing such basic rights. But at the end, the applying of these rights depend on the governments of the receiving states in how they consider and treat the newcomers, how they act, which policy will they adopt, if they will cooperate with international organization or not, if they will consider them as a security threat and attack their human rights or not. So, in the country that it is not a member of the Geneva conventions or considered Europeans just a refugee, the right, the protection and the human security of refugees are under the mercy of the politicians and government policy. In the case of Syrian refugees in Lebanon and Turkey, the attack of some politicians' parties that considered them as threat has aggressively affected their protection and put their existence under the threat of repatriation. In Beirut the government has failed to adopt a clear policy to protect them following the rising of the hate speeches from the president of the state to citizens, while in Turkey the government has a clear policy toward Syrians as it reiterated its support to Syrians in each occasion when they face attack from some political parties, politicians and citizens. Also, the government is trying to integrate them in the society and avoiding the calling of opposition's parties to expel them to Syria. Receiving states should treat refugees as vulnerables who need protection and seek safety, human security should be a priority because there is no security without rights, attacking refugees and expelling them didn't solve the security threat, but on the contrary it led to high tensions in the society.

Protecting refugees and providing their rights is not the only responsibility of the receiving state especially in the case of exodus that lasts for a long time as it is also the responsibility of the international society in helping, supporting and cooperating with host states.

VI.   REFERENCES

BOOKS:

BERENSKOETTER, F. (2007). **Thinking about power**. *Power in world politics*, 1-22.

BOULBY, M., & CHRISTIE, K. (Eds.). (2018). **Migration, refugees and human security in the Mediterranean and MENA**. Springer.

DİNÇER, O. B., FEDERİCİ, V., FERRİS, E., KARACA, S., KİRİŞCİ, K., & ÇARMIKLI, E. Ö. (2013). **Turkey and Syrian refugees: The limits of hospitality**. International Strategic Research Organization (USAK).

ERDOĞAN, M. (2014). **Syrians in Turkey: Social acceptance and integration research**. *Migration and Politics Research Centre, Hacettepe University*.

EDWARDS, A. (2012). **Temporary protection, derogation and the 1951 Refugee Convention**. *Melb. J. Int'l L.*, *13*, 595.

GUY S. GOODWIN-GILL, 2014b June, **The International Law of Refugee Protection**, Oxford handbook online, p:5

HAMMERSTAD, A. (2000). **Whose security? UNHCR, refugee protection and state security after the Cold War**. *Security dialogue*, *31*(4), 391-403.

HOUGH, P. (2004). 6. **Understanding Global Security**, Routledge.

HUYSMANS, JEF AND SQUİRE, VICKI (2009). **Migration and Security**. In: Dunn Cavelty, Myriam and Mauer, Victor eds. Handbook of Security Studies. London, UK: Routledge.

KILIÇ BUĞRA KANAT, 2015, **Turkey's Syrian Refugees, Toward Integration**

KORU, S., & KADKOY, O. (2017). **The new Turks: How the influx of Syrians is changing Turkey.**

NOTE ON INTERNATIONAL PROTECTION 1994, UN Doc A/AC.96/830, [46]. Öner, N. A. Ş., & Genç, D. (2015). **Vulnerability leading to mobility: Syrians' exodus from Turkey.** *Migration Letters*, *12*(3), 251-262.

NEWMAN, E. (2009). **Failed states and international order: Constructing a post-Westphalian world**. *Contemporary security policy*, *30*(3), 421-443.

NEWMAN, E., & Van Selm, J. (2003). **Refugees and forced displacement.** *International Security, Human Vulnerability, and the State*, *UNU Press, Tokyo Japan*.

SHEPHERD, L. J. (2013). **Introduction: Critical approaches to security in contemporary global politics. In** *Critical approaches to security* (pp. 17-24). Routledge.

YASSIN, N. (2018) **101Facts & Figures.**

ARTICLES:

ALSHARABATİ, C., & NAMMOUR, J. (2015). **Survey on perceptions of Syrian refugees in Lebanon.** *The Political Science Institute, USJ*, *4*.

AMNESTY, (2019), **Sent to a War Zone Turkey's Illegal Deportations of Syrians Refugees**

BETTS, A. (2009). *Forced migration and global politics*. John Wiley & Sons.

BIEHL, K. S. (2015). **Governing through uncertainty: Experiences of being a refugee in Turkey as a country for temporary asylum**. *Social Analysis*, *59*(1), 57-75.

COMMISSION ON HUMAN SECURİTY. (2003). *Human security now*. United Nations Publications.

CONVENTİON ON THE RİGHT OF THE CHILD

DARWİSH SABR, 2016, **The State of male Syrian worker in Lebanon,** omran, issue 5/17

DEVETAK, R. (2005). **Critical theory.** *Theories of international relations*, *3*, 137-160.

DONELLİ, F. (2018). **Syrian refugees in Turkey: a security perspective.** *New England Journal of Public Policy*, *30*(2).

DOTY, R. L. (1998). **Immigration and the Politics of Security**. *Security studies*, *8*(2-3), 71-93.

EDUCATIONAL NEWSLETTER, THE CENTER FOR EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT, Aug-Sept 2012, V:21

EL-GHALI HANA ADDAM HANA, BERJAOUI ROULA AND DEKNIGHT JENNİFER, 2017, **Higher Education and Syrian Refugee Students the Case of Lebanon**, UNESCO Regional Bureau for Education in the Arab States- Beirut and the Issam Fares Institute for Public Policy and International Affairs, American University of Beirut

EURO-MED MONITOR FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, July 2017, **Curfew of Syrian Refugees in Some Lebanese Cities and Villages**

FABRICE BALANCHE, march 2007, **Les Travailleurs Syriens au Liban Ou La Complémentarité De Deux Systèmes D'oppression (Syrian Workers in Lebanon Or The Complementarity Of Two Systems Of Oppression**), lyon II university, Le Monde diplomatique – Editions Arabes.

FARR, J. (2005). **Point: The Westphalia legacy and the modern nation-state**. *International Social Science Review*, *80*(3/4), 156-159.

GENEVA CONVENTION 1951, Protocol 1967

GETMANSKY, A., SINMAZDEMIR, T., & ZEITZOFF, T. (2018). **Refugees, xenophobia, and domestic conflict: Evidence from a survey experiment in Turkey.** *Journal of Peace Research*, *55*(4), 491-507.

GIL LOESCHER (1992) **Introduction, The Adelphi Papers**, 32:268, 3-8

GINWALA NOSHIR, (2003), *Human security now,* United Nations Publications.

HENKIN, L. (1995). **Human rights and state sovereignty.** *Ga. J. Int'l & Comp. L.*, *25*, 31.

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANIZATION. (2018). **The ILO Response to Syrian Refugee Crisis**

JALBOUT MAYSA, April 2015, **Reaching all Children with Education in Lebanon Opportunities for Action**, Their world in collaboration with A world at School

KAYMAZ, T., & KADKOY, O. (2016, September). **Syrians in Turkey: The economics of integration.** In *Al Sharq Forum Expert Brief. More Information*.

KIRISCI KEMAL, (2019), **Syrian Refugees in Turkey need better access to Formal Job**

KOLODZIEJ, E. A. (1992). **Renaissance in security studies? Caveat lector!.** *International Studies Quarterly*, *36*(4), 421-438.

KRAUSE, K. (1998). **Critical Theory and Security Studies: The Research Programme of Critical Security Studies'**. *Cooperation and conflict*, *33*(3), 298-333.

LAW OF FOREIGNERS AND INTERNATIONAL PROTECTION 2013

LEBANESE CONSTRUCTION LAW no:646

LEBANESE CONSTITUTION, preamble

LIOYD AXWORTHY. (29 April 1999). **Human Security: Safety for people in a changing world**. Minister of foreign affairs. Ottawa, Canada

LODGAARD, S. (1995). **In Defense of International Peace and Security: New Missions for the United Nations.** In *Agenda for Change* (pp. 151-167). VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, Wiesbaden.

LOHRMANN, R. (2000). Migrants, *refugees and insecurity. Current threats to peace? International Migration*, *38*(4), 3-22.

MARTIN, S., SCHOENHOLTZ, A., & MEYERS, D. W. (1997). **Temporary protection: Towards a new regional and domestic framework**. *Geo. Immigr. LJ*, *12*, 543.

MARWA BOUSTANI, ESTELLA CARPI, HAYAT GEBARA AND YARA MOURAD, September 2016, pp.14, **Responding to The Syrian Crisis in Lebanon: Collaboration Between Aid Agencies And Local Governance Structures**, IIED Working Paper, IIED, London, page 14.

MERTUS, J. (1998). **The state and the post-Cold War refugee regime: new models, new questions**. *International Journal of Refugee Law*, *10*(3), 321-348.

MILNER, J. (2000). **Sharing the security burden: Towards the convergence of refugee protection and state security.**

MINISTRY OF FOREİGN AFFAİRS OF JAPAN. (2009). **The Trust Fund for Human Security for the "human centered" 21st Century**.

MINISTRY OF LABOR, 2019b July, **Plan to Combat the Illegal Employment Of Foreign Workers In Lebanon**

MINISTRY OF LABOR. 2019a, 12 July, decision 1/84

MORAVCSIK, A. (1992). **Liberalism and international relations theory** (pp. 7-9). Cambridge, MA: Center for International Affairs, Harvard University.

NIELSEN, S. Y. (2016). **Perceptions between Syrian refugees and their host community**. *Turkish Policy Quarterly*, *15*(3), 99-106.

SCHMIDT, B. C. (2005). **Competing realist conceptions of power.** *Millennium*, *33*(3), 523-549.

SUHRKE, A. (1999). **Human security and the interests of states.** *Security Dialogue*, *30*(3), 265-276.

TAKIZAWA, S. (2011). **Refugees and human security: A research note on the Japanese refugee policy.**

TICKNER, J. A. (1997). **You just don't understand: troubled engagements between feminists and IR theorists.** *International Studies Quarterly*, *41*(4), 611-632.

TEMPORARY PROTECTION REGULATION, 2014

Trtعربي. (2019). **أردوغان: شنواصل دعم السوريين على الرغم من توجهات المعارضة.**

UNDP, (1994), **Human Development Report**

UNDP. (1994). **Human Development Report**

CONVENTION ON THE RIGHT OF THE CHILD

UNITED NATIONS CHARTER

UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS 1948

UTKU, D. E., UNUTULMAZ, K. O., & SIRKECI, I. (Eds.). (2017). **Turkey's Syrians Today and Tomorrow**, Transnational Press London.

WÆVER, O. (1993). *Securitization and desecuritization* (p. 48). Copenhagen: Centre for Peace and Conflict Research.

WALT, S. M. (1991). **The renaissance of security studies**. *International studies quarterly*, *35*(2), 211-239.

WALTZ, K. N. (2000). **Structural realism after the Cold War.** *International security*, *25*(1), 5-41.

WEINER, M. (1992). **Security, stability, and international migration**. *International security*, *17*(3), 91-126

باران دينيز.(2019) **البعد القانوني لتدابير تركية المفاجئة ضد اللاجئين السوريين.** الجزيرة

الجمهورية (2019) **مقاومة الكراهية في لبنان**

دعدوش سارة.(2019). "بدهم يقتلوكم" تركيا لم تعد ملجأ أمن للسوريين. العرب

سلامة خالد.(2019). **القرارات التركية الجديدة بحق السوريين بداية نهاية شهر العسل.**المهاجر نيوز

عبد العال محمود جمال.(2019). **حملات الكراهية ضد السوريين في تركيا لماذا الان.** المستقبل للأبحاث و الدراسات المتقدمة.

العبد الله هادي.(2019). **عمليات ترحيل غير مسبوقة للسوريين في إحدى الولايات الحدودية بجنوب تركيا**. مدونة هادي العبد الله

اللجنة السورية لحقوق الإنسان, أوضاع اللاجئين السوريين في عرسال31 July 2018 ,

مجلس الدفاع الأعلى يورط لبنان في ترحيل اللاجئين السوريين: ممارسات مخالفة لحكم القضاء والقانون (2019)

هيومن رايتس واتش.(2019). **منازلنا ليست للغرباء**

يوسف محمد الشيخ.(2019). **صويلو: من غير الوارد ترحيل السوريين خارج تركيا**. وكالة الأناضول

INTERNET:

هيئة القانونيين السوريين توثق أسماء المتورطين بتسليم السوريين في لبنان للأسد. 29 June, 2019

https://stepagency-
sy.net/2019/06/29/%D9%87%D9%8A%D8%A6%D8%A9-
%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%82%D8%A7%D9%86%D9%88%D9%86
%D9%8A%D9%8A%D9%86-
%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B3%D9%88%D8%B1%D9%8A%D9%8
A%D9%86-%D8%AA%D9%88%D8%AB%D9%82-
%D8%A3%D8%B3%D9%85%D8%A7%D8%A1-%D8%A7/

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL, 2019 August 27, **Lebanon authority must immediately halt deportation of Syrians refugees**, Retrieved from https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2019/08/lebanon-authorities-must-immediately-halt-deportation-of-syrian-refugees/

BANQUE DU LIBAN. (2019), from https://www.bdl.gov.lb/publications.html

BIBI, S. (2017, October 6). " **ما خلفية قرارات حظر التجول الصادرة بحق السوريين في بلدات لبنانية؟**" Retrieved from
https://www.infomigrants.net/ar/post/5500/%D9%85%D8%A7-
%D8%AE%D9%84%D9%81%D9%8A%D8%A9-
%D9%82%D8%B1%D8%A7%D8%B1%D8%A7%D8%AA-
%D8%AD%D8%B8%D8%B1-
%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AA%D8%AC%D9%88%D9%84-
%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B5%D8%A7%D8%AF%D8%B1%D8%
A9-%D8%A8%D8%AD%D9%82-

%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B3%D9%88%D8%B1%D9%8A%D9%8A%D9%86-%D9%81%D9%8A-

%D8%A8%D9%84%D8%AF%D8%A7%D8%AA-

%D9%84%D8%A8%D9%86%D8%A7%D9%86%D9%8A%D8%A9

رغم القوانين الجديدة... العمالة السورية في لبنان لا تزال "غير BU MOUSSA REIN, 2015 May 1,
شرعية.'https://www.annahar.com/article/233559-

%D8%B1%D8%BA%D9%85-

%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%82%D9%88%D8%A7%D9%86%D9%8

A%D9%86-

%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AC%D8%AF%D9%8A%D8%AF%D8%

A9-

%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B9%D9%85%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A

9-

%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B3%D9%88%D8%B1%D9%8A%D8%A

9-%D9%81%D9%8A-

%D9%84%D8%A8%D9%86%D8%A7%D9%86-

%D9%84%D8%A7-%D8%B2%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AA-

%D8%BA%D9%8A%D8%B1-

%D8%B4%D8%B1%D8%B9%D9%8A%D8%A9

CNNبالعربية. (2016, April 13) لأول مرة.. لبنان يفرض رسمياً تأشيرة دخول على السوريين لتنظيم
تدفق اللاجئين-https://arabic.cnn.com/middleeast/2015/01/05/syria ,
lebanon-entry-visa

EL HELOU, M. (2014, February 9). قرارات منع التجوّل: حرب البلديات اللبنانية على الفقراء.
https://www.legal-agenda.com/article.php?id=948

EL HOURI WALID, (2019), **There is a Rotten Stench Coming from Lebanon,** ,
Retrieved from https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/north-africa-
west-asia/there-rotten-stench-coming-lebanon/

GOC IDARESI, https://en.goc.gov.tr/temporary-protection27

GOC IDARESI, http://www.un.org.tr/humanrights/en/ratification-status

GOC IDARESI, https://en.goc.gov.tr/irregular-migration35

FRANGIEH, GHIDA. (2017, February 13). **إعفاء فئة من اللاجئين السوريين من رسوم الإقامة:** **خطوة أولى لضمان الحماية القانونية**. Retrieved from https://legal-agenda.com/article.php?id=3463

HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH (2019). Turkey Forcibly Returning Syrians to Danger. Retrieved from https://www.hrw.org/news/2019/07/26/turkey-forcibly-returning-syrians-danger

HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH. (2014a). **Lebanon: At Least 45 Local Curfews Imposed on Syrian Refugees.** Retrieved from https://www.hrw.org/news/2014/10/03/lebanon-least-45-local-curfews-imposed-syrian-refugees

HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH. (2019b). **Lebanon: Syrian Refugee Shelters Demolished,** https://www.hrw.org/news/2019/07/05/lebanon-syrian-refugee-shelters-demolished

HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH. 2014b, 0ctober 3**. Lebanon: At least 45 Local Curfews Imposed on Syrian Refugees**, Retrieved from https://www.hrw.org/news/2014/10/03/lebanon-least-45-local-curfews-imposed-syrian-refugees

HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH. (2019). **Lebanon: Syrian Summarily Deported from Airport**, Retrieved from https://www.hrw.org/news/2019/05/24/lebanon-syrians-summarily-deported-airport

IBRAHIM ARWA, SHARMA SURAJ. (2017), **Istanbul Little Damascus; Refugees leave their mark on old city,** Middle East Eye, retrieved from https://www.middleeasteye.net/features/istanbuls-little-damascus-refugees-leave-their-mark-old-city

IÇDUYGU, A. (2015). Syrian refugees in Turkey. **The Long Road Ahead. Transatlantic Council on Migration**. *Transatlantic Council on Migration, Migration Policy Institute. Brussels. Available online at http://www. migration policy. org/research/syrian-refugees turkey-long-road-ahead, checked on*, *3*(8), 2016.

Retrieved. ‏الـعمالة الأجنبية: الوزارة تحب المكافحة لا التنظيم‏ 17. ILDA GHOSSIN. 2019 June from https://lebaneselw.com/index.php/2018-05-29-23-59-33/item/2372-2019-06-17-06-49-26

ILO. (2018**).** Promoting Decent Work for Syrians Under Temporary Protection and Turkish Citizens. Retrieved from https://www.ilo.org/ankara/projects/WCMS_710959/lang--en/index.htm

ILO. (2018). **Pathways to Decent Work for Syrians and Their Host Community Members in Turkey.** Retrieved from https://www.ilo.org/ankara/news/WCMS_654346/lang--en/index.htm

LEBANESE GENERAL SECURITY – news, 2019 May 25, Retrieved from http://www.general-security.gov.lb/ar/news/details/707

LEBANESE GENERAL SECURITY – posts, 2019, November 5, from http://www.general-security.gov.lb/ar/posts/36

LEBANESE GENERAL SECURITY - posts. (n.d). Retrieved from http://www.general-security.gov.lb/ar/posts/33

LEBANESE OFFICIAL GAZETTE, 27-10-2005, V: 48, page 5160/5161, Retrieved from http://legallaw.ul.edu.lb/LawArticles.aspx?LawTreeSectionID=214079&LawID=211840&language=ar

LEBANON'S ECONOMIC UPDATE - April 2019. (2019). Retrieved from https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/lebanon/publication/economic-update-april-2019

MINISTRY OF JUSTICE, Retrieved from http://ahdath.justice.gov.lb/law-nearby-education.htm

SADAKO OGATA, 19 May 1999, **human security "a refugee perspective**", Retrieved from https://www.unhcr.org/admin/hcspeeches/3ae68fc00/human-security-refugee-perspective-keynote-speech-mrs-sadako-ogata-united.html

VIOLATIONS DOCUMENTATIONS CENTER IN SYRIA. (2020)**. Violations and hate speeches toward Syrians in Turkey**. Retrieved from https://scm.bz/violations/hate-speech-racial-discriminations-turkey

ابو سليمان: لست من يعطي تسهيلات للعامل السوري بل القانون (6 June, 2019) . https://www.lebanese-forces.com/2019/06/06/camille-abou-sleiman-68/

تعرف على شروط تجديد الإقامة المؤقتة للسوريين في لبنان from ,2018 06 Jan , http://www.anapress.net/ar/articles/%D8%AA%D9%82%D8%A7% D8%B1%D9%8A%D8%B1- %D9%85%D9%83%D8%AA%D9%88%D8%A8%D8%A9- /156843371226557/%D8%AA%D8%B9%D8%B1%D9%81- %D8%B9%D9%84%D9%89- %D8%B4%D8%B1%D9%88%D8%B7- %D8%AA%D8%AC%D8%AF%D9%8A%D8%AF- %D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A5%D9%82%D8%A7%D9%85%D8%A 9- %D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D8%A4%D9%82%D8%AA%D8% A9- %D9%84%D9%84%D8%B3%D9%88%D8%B1%D9%8A%D9%8 A%D9%86-%D9%81%D9%8A- %D9%84%D8%A8%D9%86%D8%A7%D9%86/

التقرير العالمي 2019: لبنان-https://www.hrw.org/ar/world from ,17 January ,2019a report/2019/country-chapters/325424#31d8be

LEBANESE POPULATION - CHRONICLE. (2019, November 18). https://fanack.com/ar/lebanon/population/

اللاجئون السوريون في لبنان يواجهون شروط عملٍ قاس, (2014) https://www.ilo.org/beirut/media-centre/news/WCMS_240129/lang--ar/index.htm

المدن. (2019). **لبنان يرحل سوريين منشقين.. بالتنسيق مع السفارة السورية؟** . (https://www.almodon.com/arabworld/2019/6/20/%D9%84%D8%A 8%D9%86%D8%A7%D9%86-

%D9%8A%D8%B1%D8%AD%D9%84-

%D8%B3%D9%88%D8%B1%D9%8A%D9%86-

%D9%85%D9%86%D8%B4%D9%82%D9%8A%D9%86-

%D8%A8%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AA%D9%86%D8%B3%D9%

8A%D9%82-%D9%85%D8%B9-

%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B3%D9%81%D8%A7%D8%B1%D8%A

9-

%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B3%D9%88%D8%B1%D9%8A%D8%A

9

الموقع الرسمي لوزارة التربية والتعليم العالي (2019) . Retrieved from https://www.mehe.gov.lb/ar/Activities/News/Details?ItemId=1891

وزير العمل للمفكرة: **أحمي اليد العاملة اللبنانية، وأنجزت مقترح تعديل لقانون العمل** .2019 ,October 30 . Retrieved from https://www.legal-agenda.com/article.php?id=1443

CONFEDERATION OF PROGRESSIVE TRADE UNIONS OF TURKEY. (2018). **Syrian Workers in Turkey,** Retrieved from http://disk.org.tr/2018/06/syrian-workers-in-turkey/

DOCUMENT - LEBANON: INTER-AGENCY - MONTHLY STATİSTİCAL DASHBOARD - February 2019. (2019, February). Retrieved, from https://data2.unhcr.org/en/documents/details/68966

MUNICIPALITY OF BCHARRI OFFICIAL SİTE | الموقع الرسمي لبلدية بشري. (2017, October 1).

RESUME

Name: Sajida Mikati

Bachelor: Political Science and Public Administration at LU

Master 1: Political Science and Public Administration at LU

Master degree: Political Science and International Relations at IAU