



Review of Studies on the Employability of Palestinian Refugees in the Lebanese Labour Market

**ILO Regional Office for Arab States
&
Committee for the Employment of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon**

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Abbreviations and acronyms

AUB	American University of Beirut
CDS	City Development Strategy
CRI	Consultation and Research Institute
DPRA	Directorate-General for Political and Refugee Affairs in Lebanon
ESCWA	Economic and Social Council for Western Asia
FAFO	Norwegian Institute for Applied Research
FCEP	Follow-up Committee for Employment of Palestinian Refugees in Lebanon
IFPO	Institut Français du Proche Orient
ILO	International Labour Organization
IPS	Institute for Palestine Studies
NEO	National Employment Office
NSSF	National Social Security Fund
PHRO	Palestinian Human Rights Organization
PLO	Palestine Liberation Organisation
UNRWA	United Nations Relief and Works Agency

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Preface

A ministerial decree was issued in 2005 granting Palestinian refugees born in Lebanon the right to work in private sector jobs which previously were limited for Lebanese only. With the issuance of this memorandum, more than 70 jobs became open to Palestinian refugees.

Within this context, this paper provides a review of studies on the employment of Palestinians in the Lebanese labour market. The objective behind this literature survey is to present an overview of the employment situation for Palestinian refugees as captured in existing research, and to assess whether this information is sufficient to inform any new policy direction after the ministerial decree. The paper identifies some research gaps, indicating areas that require further examination, and for which verifiable data is necessary to inform and guide the Follow-up Committee for the Employment of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon (FCEP) which seeks to promote Palestinian employability in Lebanon.

The study shows that the majority of Palestinians work in the informal economy, predominantly in the agriculture, construction and trade sectors. Decent work conditions and job security are absent for the majority of these Palestinian workers, who are often employed without work permits, on temporary jobs, and without access to social security, leading to a significantly increasing proportion in vulnerable employment, and therefore poverty.

Labour force participation rates for the Lebanese population are very similar to those for the Palestinian refugee population. However, Palestinians face significantly higher unemployment rates than their Lebanese counterparts due to prevailing restrictive labour laws, which continue to curtail Palestinian employability in Lebanon. The latter include the inability of Palestinians under Lebanese labour law to form professional associations, take syndicated professional jobs, own and transfer property, or access social security, including when in the formal economy.

However, the overall picture of the Palestinian labour force in Lebanon remains incomplete due to several information gaps. Data on the exact number of Palestinian refugees residing in Lebanon, for instance, is still not available. The absence of reliable figures on Palestinian out-migration further leaves unanswered questions relating to the actual size of the Palestinian labour force in Lebanon. This in turn poses a challenge to the development of labour market policies seeking the inclusion of Palestinians.

The paper attempts to synthesize available research on Palestinian employability in Lebanon, looking at a wide range of issues impacting employability including Lebanese labour laws, labour market trends and employment indicators on Palestinian employment in Lebanon. The paper concludes by identifying further areas for research which need to be addressed to inform policy directions towards providing Palestinian refugees in Lebanon with access to decent work.

I. Introduction

I.1 Context and objectives

More than six decades have passed since 800,000 Palestinians fled partitioned Palestine in 1948 to seek refuge in neighboring Arab countries, including Lebanon that hosted over 100,000¹ of them. As of June 2008, it is estimated that there are 422,188 Palestinian refugees registered with UNRWA in Lebanon, 222,776 of whom continue to live in camps². The current status quo will continue to prevail in Lebanon until a fair and comprehensive solution to the refugee problem is reached in accordance with international law.

This paper sheds light on existing studies related to Palestinian refugees' employment in an attempt to identify key supply characteristics and explore demand opportunities and key sectoral gaps within the Lebanese labour market. It is hoped that the findings could subsequently be used to feed into means of improving Palestinian refugees' work opportunities in Lebanon.

I.2. Paper structure

This study begins with a brief presentation of the Palestinian demographic conditions in and outside official refugee camps in Lebanon in order to trace the dominant demographic trends that determine the characteristics of the associated labour market.

It then looks at the Legal developments within the Lebanese labour law, signaling changes in the Lebanese official position towards Palestinian refugee employment in Lebanon.

Following this, the paper analyses Palestinian labour market trends, including general characteristics of the labour market, educational attainment and employment, and Palestinian women's employment in the Lebanese labour market. The objective behind this analysis is to determine the sectors in which Palestinian refugee employment is concentrated.

The analysis of Palestinian labour supply is undertaken in the larger context of the Lebanese labour market, which is explored more in depth in the following section. This section also takes into account the Syrian labour position in the Lebanese labour market, since the Palestinian and Syrian populations occupy the same sectors of employment in Lebanon.

The final section identifies remaining research gaps within the literature on Palestinian employability in Lebanon, which will need to be addressed in order to guide policy in the next phase.

The annexes provide a comprehensive mapping of available studies related to Palestinian employability in Lebanon, as well as a regional distribution of refugees across geographic areas (annex 1), their categories (annex 2), and a run-down of UNRWA services available to them (annex 3).

¹ See UNRWA, Number of Registered Refugees, <http://www.un.org/unrwa/refugees/pdf/reg-ref.pdf>, accessed on 30-05-2008

² UNRWA total registered refugees per country and area as of 30 June 2008: <http://www.un.org/unrwa/publications/index.html>

II. Methodology

II.1 Research methodology

The Review of Studies on the Employability of Palestinian Refugees in the Lebanese Labour Market surveyed over 120 articles, reports and studies on Palestinian employment in Lebanon. These studies were secured from major research bodies including the Institut Français du Proche Orient (IFPO), the Economic and Social Council for Western Asia (ESCWA), the Institute for Palestine Studies (IPS), UNRWA and the American University of Beirut (AUB). Major newspapers surveyed include Annahar and Assafir. The most comprehensive and authoritative sources of information about Palestinian employment and labour in Lebanon were found at the Norwegian Institute for Applied Research/ Fafo that has been prolific in statistical and analytical research on Palestinians in Lebanon.

Research on Palestinian refugees in Lebanon can be divided into three main categories:

- a) The first group of studies tackles the living conditions of Palestinian refugees from a gender, regional, institutional and historical perspective.
- b) The second group of studies looks at the legal framework that determines the participation of Palestinians in the Lebanese labour market. This category of articles also studies the characteristics of the Palestinian labour market in Lebanon and in UNRWA's countries of operation.
- c) The third group of studies explores the dominant trends within the Lebanese labour market. The studies in this respect explore the gaps between supply and demand in the labour market, the characteristics of unemployment and its effect on migration.

This paper provides an overview of these studies looking at a) The socio-economic profile of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon (Section III); b) Palestinian participation in the Lebanese labour market, surveying the evolution of Lebanese labour laws in so far as they have impacted Palestinian employability and access to jobs (Section IV); c) The employment profile of Palestinian refugees including labour force participation and employment by sector, educational attainment and employment, and Palestinian women's employment (Section V); d) Key trends within the Lebanese labour market (Section VI).

II.3. Research challenges

This survey of studies has confirmed that data relating to Palestinian refugees in Lebanon is extensive, ranging from academic papers and surveys to newspaper articles and editorials. However, the majority of these studies fail to fill some major informational gaps about Palestinian employability in Lebanon, which underlie much of the existing research, as per below:

- Several articles rely on unverifiable qualitative data in analyzing the socioeconomic situation of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon. Interview respondents in such articles, mention unverifiable figures relating to the cost of living in some camps³. The recurrence of these figures among respondents, however, gives these figures questionable credibility that is important to verify in any study on the living conditions of Palestinians in Lebanon. Conflicting figures were also cited for easily quantifiable data such as the number of work permits granted in a certain year⁴. Different conclusions were consequently derived, depending on which data source was used.
- There is a dominant trend among newspaper articles and editorials pertaining to the Palestinian refugee question in Lebanon to cite different statistical figures without referencing sources.
- There are discrepancies in figures provided by different governmental, non-governmental and international agencies in charge of compiling statistical information on Palestinian refugees. The number of refugees in Lebanon provided by UNRWA, for instance, differs from that presented by other NGOs⁵. As will be shown later, this discrepancy in the reported numbers of Palestinian refugees affects the identification of the specific numbers and conditions of working and unemployed Palestinians in Lebanon.
- The estimated number of Palestinian refugees, whether by UNRWA or other agencies, does not factor in Palestinian out-migration, which has become an increasingly significant variable in measuring school enrolment and labour market participation. If out-migration rates are taken into account, they are provided as mere approximations and again vary according to the source cited.
- The available studies about the Lebanese labour market are comprehensive but relatively outdated. The last available figures on job supply of Lebanese labour are derived from the Consultation & Research Institutes' two studies entitled "The Gap Between Supply and Demand in the Lebanese Labour Market" (2002), and "Unemployment in Lebanon" (2003). These figures have not been updated since. With the escalating economic and political crises in Lebanon and the exponential increase in out-migration, these figures no longer adequately reflect the current realities of the Lebanese labour market.

³ Halabi, Zeina (2004) "Exclusion and identity in Lebanon's Palestinian refugee camps: a story of sustained conflict". *Environment and Urbanization*, (10) p. 39-48.

⁴ Young, Michael (1999) "Migrant Workers in Lebanon". Beirut: Lebanese NGO Forum, and Tabbarah, Riad (2000) *Employment and Unemployment in Lebanon*. Beirut: MADMA.

⁵ UNRWA Country Report 2006 and Palestinian Human Rights Organization (2005) "The legal land socio-economic situation of the non-identified Palestinian refugees in Lebanon". Beirut, Lebanon.

III. Palestinian refugees in Lebanon

III.1. Demographic categories

UNRWA figures indicate that the Palestinian refugee population totaled 415,500, or an estimated 10 percent of the population of Lebanon by March 31, 2008⁶. The majority of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon live in 12 camps administered by UNRWA, which house 220,177 refugees according to UNRWA's statistical bulletin. In addition, thousands live in so-called "gatherings", which are not under UNRWA's administration and generally suffer from worse living conditions than the official UNRWA camps (see Annex 1).

The Palestinian refugee population can be divided into three categories according to their registration status as follows:

The **first category** of refugees includes those who fled Palestine in 1948 and are registered with UNRWA and the Directorate General for Political and Refugee Affairs in Lebanon (DPRA). This category of refugees has the right to permanent residence.

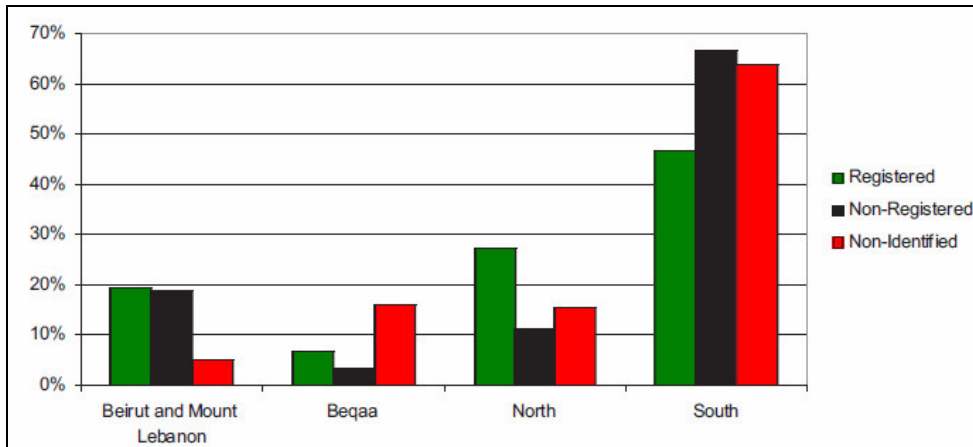
The **second category** includes 1948 refugees not registered with UNRWA, in addition to some of those who fled the war of 1967 between Israel and the Arab countries. All these are registered with the DPRA and have a laissez passer issued by the General Security. The 1948 refugees meet UNRWA's definition and are thus eligible for its services. The six-day war of 1967, however, generated a new wave of Palestinian refugees who could not be included in the original UNRWA definition. Thus, the UN General Assembly adopts a yearly resolution allowing the 1967 refugees to be included within the UNRWA mandate. This implies that the whole category has become entitled to services. Several NGOs believe that the figure varies between 30,000 and 35,000.

The **third category** includes those not registered with either UNRWA or DPRA and are called non-IDs. Some came to Lebanon with the PLO from Jordan, Gaza, the West Bank or Syria after 1967 and 1970, and did not leave with the PLO in 1982. They are registered with UNRWA in the areas of operations mentioned above. Most of them receive assistance on a case-by-case basis. The Danish Refugee Council estimated their number to be around 3,000⁷. The PLO, which is providing them with identification papers, recorded 2,400 individuals as of May 2008. The total figure is estimated to be close to 5,000 (See Annex 4 for more details).

⁶ UNRWA, Registration Statistical Bulletin, First Quarter 2008

⁷ European Commission Humanitarian Department (ECHO) and Danish Refugee Council, Survey Report on the situation of non-ID Palestinian refugees in Lebanon, March 2005

Figure 1: Distribution of refugees by registration status and geographical area



Source: Palestinian Human Rights Organization (2005). "The legal land socio-economic situation of the non-identified Palestinian refugees in Lebanon." Beirut, Lebanon

III.2. Refugees in numbers

As illustrated in the previous section, the total number of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon varies among different governmental, local, and international organisations. Based on UNRWA and NGO figures, the total number of Palestinian refugees would be estimated at around 450,000. This figure includes those who are registered with both UNRWA and DPRA, those registered with DPRA alone (non-UNRWA), and non-ID refugees (Annex 2).

Due to increased migration, it is difficult to determine the actual size of the resident Palestinian refugee population in Lebanon as opposed to the registered population. However, some unofficial sources on Palestinian studies estimate the resident population to vary between 210,000 and 230,000.

III.3. Migrating labour force

Out-migration is a widespread phenomenon affecting Lebanese youth across different confessions and social classes. This migration of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon is determined by different variables and considerably affects the understanding of the Palestinian labour force in Lebanon.

Migration phases

Palestinian migration is similar to Lebanese migration in both migration rates and destinations. Gulf economies represent the main destinations for both populations. The migration of Palestinian refugees from Lebanon can be divided into three phases. The first includes migration that was induced by deteriorating socioeconomic conditions in the 1960s and 1970s. The second phase of Palestinian migration from Lebanon coincided with the Lebanese civil war and intra-camp conflict between 1975 and 1990. In the third phase, Palestinian migration initially declined subsequent to the outbreak of the first Gulf War due to political and security conditions in destination countries. However it

subsequently picked up due to several factors, including exclusionist labour policies against Palestinians and the current Gulf boom.

Data on migration

Figures on Palestinian out-migration from Lebanon vary widely. Different national and international stakeholders advance conflicting numbers in the absence of dedicated studies on Palestinian migrants. Despite these variations, there is consensus that migration has had significant impact on the population pyramid where working-age people in general and working-age men in particular are lacking⁸. According to several estimates, more than a quarter of the Palestinians of Lebanon live abroad⁹. Others advance that a third of registered Palestinians have left Lebanon¹⁰. These two sources imply a resident population of about 300,000 to 330,000. Fafo's 2005 survey however confirms that close to half of the Palestinian refugees registered in Lebanon currently live abroad, where about 80% of the 4,000 households surveyed reported having close kin abroad. This brings the Palestinian resident population to about 225,000. The following table summarises different migration figures cited, and the net resident population resulting from each one.

Table 1: Migration rates and total residents

Source	Migration	Resulting number of Palestinian residents in Lebanon
1. Dorai, M.	More than 25%	About 330,000
2. Palestinian Human Rights Organization (PHRO)	33%	About 330,000
3. Fafo	50%	About 225,000

⁸ Tiltnes, Åge A. (2005) "Falling Behind: a brief on the living conditions of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon". Fafo-Report 2005-464. Norway: Fafo, p11.

⁹ Dorai, Mohammad Kamel (1993) "Palestinian Emigration from Lebanon to Northern Europe: Refugees, Networks, and Transnational Practices". *Refuge*. UK: Centre for Refugee Studies.

¹⁰ PHRO (1995) "The Palestinian refugee situations in Lebanon". Beirut: Palestinian Human Rights Organization.

IV. Palestinian refugees and the Lebanese labour laws

IV.1. Governing principles

Experts looking at the legal conditions of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon agree that two legislative principles lie at the heart of Palestinian marginalisation from the Lebanese labour market. The first is the Lebanese legislation's categorisation of Palestinian refugees as foreigners under the 1962 Lebanese Law pertaining to the regularisation of the situation of Foreigners in Lebanon. The law identifies a "foreigner" to mean any natural or juridical person who is not a Lebanese subject"¹¹. Six decades after the rise of the Palestinian refugee question in Lebanon, Lebanese legislation still has not included the Palestinian refugees under any legal category. Identified as foreigners, the legal status of Palestinian refugees is equal to that of any foreigner residing in Lebanon with no special attention given to their special refugee status.

The other legislative variable that limits the Palestinian access to the Lebanese labour market is latter's exclusion even from the category of "foreigner" by the legal condition of reciprocity, which stipulates that favours, benefits or penalties that are granted by one state to the citizens or legal entities of another, should be returned in kind. Accordingly, the Lebanese labour laws clearly states that foreigners are granted work permits only if their country of origin itself also grants Lebanese citizens work permits.

The dilemma that Palestinians face in Lebanon subsequently becomes two-fold. First, Palestinians are treated as foreigners, but since as foreigners they also fail to meet the reciprocity condition, Palestinians fall under a de facto category of "stateless foreigner." This category, referring to populations who do not belong to a recognized state, has not been addressed in Lebanese legislation¹².

IV.2. Historical development of Lebanese labour laws

The positioning of Palestinians within the Lebanese labour laws has been subject to three different stages.

1948-1964: The first phase of Palestinian refugee presence in Lebanese legislation was less problematic than in subsequent phases. In this first phase, Palestinians were only restricted from public sector employment and a few free professions. This may have been due to the widespread political support for the Palestinian cause in its early inception in the absence of a legislative framework that organizes foreign labour in Lebanon in general. Indeed, Lebanese labour law amendments organizing foreign labour in Lebanon appeared much later in 1964.

1964-1990: Decree No. 17561 of 1964 was the first decree to regulate work permits issued to foreigners working in Lebanon. Article 9 of the Decree states that the Minister

¹¹ Al-Natur, Suheil. (07-07-2005) "Munaqasha filastiniyya li qarar al haqq bil amal "(A Palestinian discussion of the "Right to Work" memorandum). Beirut: Annahar.

¹² Shatawi, Khalil (2-7-2005) "Al filastiniyuun wa haqq el 'amal" (Palestinians and the right to work). Beirut: Assafir.

of Labour and Social Affairs identifies in December of each year the jobs and professions that will be restricted to Lebanese citizens only. This process continued on an annual basis, until Minister Adnan Mrowe issued in 1982 decision number 289/1, which restricted most professions to Lebanese citizens. Despite the growing restrictions on Palestinian employment during that period, Palestinian labour did find outlets in the different national and international organisations that were active in Lebanon particularly during the war. The PLO institutions and UNRWA were also major employers of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon until the late 1980s.

1990-2005: Clause H of article 1 of the Taef Agreement clearly precludes the option of “naturalization,” in direct reference to the Palestinian refugee population residing in Lebanon. This fear of naturalisation quickly translated into legislation with the 2001 amendment to Law 11614 (1969) concerning ownership of real estate by foreigners. This revision institutionalized a new level of exclusion, introducing a clause forbidding “anyone who does not have citizenship in a recognised state” from owning property¹³. As a result and by virtue of article 9 of the 1964 Decree, Minister of Labour Assad Hardan issued Ministerial Decision 621/1. This afore-mentioned decree identified 72 professions restricted to Lebanese citizens but that can be extended to foreigners, subject to the reciprocity condition, which as seen earlier, prohibits Palestinians *de facto* from accessing the Lebanese labour market¹⁴. The decision clearly states that some foreigners might be exempted from the provisions of this decision if they satisfy one of the conditions enumerated in article 8 of Decree No. 17561. Thus the exception can be made to some foreigners by the Minister of Labour only on a case-by-case basis.

IV.3. Recent legislative amendments

In June 2005, Minister of Labour Trad Hamadeh issued ministerial memorandum 1/67, interpreted as a relative breakthrough in the Lebanese legislative position towards Palestinian employment in Lebanon. The memorandum states that Palestinians who are born on Lebanese territory and are officially registered within the the Lebanese Ministry of Interior are excluded from Article 1 of Decree No 1/79 dated June 2, 2005, that stipulates the restriction of certain professions to Lebanese citizens only. This memorandum was seen as a change in the official position of the Lebanese political standpoint towards Palestinian refugees. With the issuance of this memorandum, more than 70 jobs became open to Palestinians under two categories, one for employees and the other for employers, as illustrated in the table below.

¹³ Qanun tamuluk al-ajanab, text published by Assafir, 23 March, 2001.

¹⁴ Edminster, Steven (1999), “Trapped on all sides: the marginalization of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon”. Washington D.C.: Immigration and Refugee Services of America, U.S. Committee for Refugees and Shaaban, Hussein (1996) “Unemployment and its impact on Palestinian refugees in Lebanon”. Paper presented at the Palestinians in Lebanon Conference organised by the Center for Lebanese Studies and the Refugee Studies Program, Queen Elizabeth House. 27th-30th September. UK: Oxford.

Table 2: List of jobs allowed by the Ministry of Labour memorandum 1/67 of 2005

2005 Ministerial Memorandum	
Employees	Employers
All administrative and mercantile work of whatever nature, in particular the work of director general, director, personnel manager, treasurer, secretary, archivist, file clerk, computer, commercial officer, marketing officer, trade consultant, foreman, warehouse officer, seller, money exchange, jeweller, laboratory, pharmacy, electric mains, electronic works, paint works, glass [installation], mechanics and maintenance, doorkeeper, concierge, guard, driver, cook, waiter, barber, elementary, intermediate and secondary schoolteacher	All commercial work of whatever nature; banking, accounting, assessors, engineering work of whatever kind, contracts and trade in building, jewellery, manufacturing of shoes and apparel, all furniture work of whatever kind and the industries that rely on it, sweets industry, printing, publication and distribution, haircutting and styling, clothing press and cleaners, car repair (metal work, mechanical, glass attachment, upholstery, car electric works)

While many applauded this ministerial memorandum, several Palestinian jurists and activists took a more skeptical stance. The first critique directed against the decree addresses the legal nature of the memorandum. On the hierarchical level, ministerial memoranda lie on the lower legal stratum, where a ministerial memorandum is in fact inferior to a presidential decree, which itself is superseded by a parliament law. Parliament law alone supersedes all other decrees and ministerial memoranda. Therefore, because the Ministry of Labour's decision to lift the ban on some jobs has not been passed into law, the decision reflected in memorandum 1/67 can be revoked, amended or annulled by any another memorandum issued by a succeeding Minister of Labour.

The second critique refers to article 9 of the Lebanese Social Security law issued in 1963, which states that only foreigners who have work permits and whose countries practice the principle of reciprocity have the right to benefit from the National Social Security Fund (NSSF). As this critique points out, the majority of professions covered by the ministerial memorandum of 2005 are in fact jobs in which Palestinians were already working, albeit informally¹⁵. In legalising Palestinian work in these jobs, the memorandum in fact requires Palestinians to now pay income tax and subscribe to the NSSF in jobs in which they were already working, even though they remain unentitled to any of the fund's benefits.

The third important limitation of the ministerial memorandum is that it leaves unresolved the work of Palestinian refugees in several syndicated professions including medicine, architecture, law and pharmacy¹⁶. Since the 1950s, several professional syndicates issued internal laws that regulate their practices. These internal laws have in turn curtailed Palestinian participation on three grounds:

¹⁵ Shatawi, Khalil (2005) "Al filastiniyuun wa haqq el 'amal" (Palestinians and the right to work). Beirut: Assafir.

¹⁶ Al-Natur, Suheil. (07-07-2005) "Munaqasha filastiniyya li qarar al haqq bil amal" (Palestinian discussion of the "Right to Work" memorandum). Beirut: Annahar.

- a. Most professional syndicates require work permits to which Palestinians are not entitled by the amendments of the Lebanese labour law due to the reciprocity condition.
- b. Palestinians who are exceptionally granted work permits by presidential or ministerial decrees are still excluded from the services or benefits of the NSSF in syndicates where NSSF registration is binding such as the Order of Physicians, due to the Fund's application of the reciprocity condition.
- c. Membership fees of foreigners in some syndicates are exorbitant and exceed the economic capacity of most Palestinian professionals.

IV.4. Work in the informal economy

Despite the positive legislative changes, the number of work permits granted to Palestinians has been quite low, especially when compared to the number of permits granted to foreign workers, particularly those from East Asia. Since 1968, for instance, the number of work permits granted to Palestinians has been equal to that given to Filipino workers in 2004 alone. A closer look at work permit trends in fact reveals that the average number of work permits granted to Palestinian refugees has steadily declined over the years. For instance, while a total of 13,209 permits were issued to Palestinians between 1968 and 1979; only 2,343 permits were granted to Palestinians between 1992 and 2005.

Since 1979, in fact, the number of work permits granted to Palestinians decreased by 82% despite the growing number of the Palestinian working force and despite the legal requirement for a permit. More updated figures from the Ministry of Labour reveal that only 245 work permits were issued to Palestinians in 2004. Again in 2005, only 278 out of 109,379 work permits given to non-Lebanese were granted to Palestinians. These numbers represent only a small fraction of the actual number of Palestinians working in Lebanon.

The table below sheds light on the some of the disincentives that may lie at the heart of this decrease in work permits over the past four decades.

Table 3: Opportunities for Palestinian employment in the formal and informal sectors

	Wage Earners	Self-Employed
Formal economy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Work permits fees ▪ Income tax ▪ Registration fees without benefits from NSSF services 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Membership restrictions in major professional syndicates ▪ Income tax ▪ Registration fees without benefits from the NSSF services
Informal economy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Availability of employment within the NGO sector ▪ No income tax ▪ No work permits fees ▪ No NSSF registration fees 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Benefit from micro-credit and incubator services ▪ No income tax ▪ No work permits fees ▪ No NSSF registration fees

The end result of this is that the majority of Palestinian labour consequently remains in the informal economy¹⁷. This remains the case even when they are performing professional jobs in the formal economy due to the lack of work permits.

Palestinian work in the informal economy in Lebanon is particularly concentrated in the construction and agriculture sectors.. These two sectors employ on a daily and irregular basis, which opens them to workers without work permits, providing sizeable work opportunities for Palestinian refugees.

However, despite easier access, work in the informal economy often translates into lowers standards of working conditions in terms of hours of work, wages, social security and safety conditions, leading to a higher proportion of refugees in vulnerable employment.

IV.5. Social security

As with the right to work, Palestinians in Lebanese labour market are also excluded from access to social security since access to social security for foreigners in Lebanon is contingent upon the reciprocity principle. Even when Palestinians are working legally and paying social security contributions, they are not entitled to receive any benefits. This creates an added disincentive for many Palestinians to regularize their positions, for this means paying added taxes while lacking the entitlements to any benefits from the Lebanese social security system. This of course regenerates Palestinian informal employment conditions.

Article 9(4) of the Lebanese social security law states that “Foreign labourers working on Lebanese soil are not subject to the provisions of this law, and therefore not entitled to the benefits of any and all sections of Social Security, except if the country of their origin affords its Lebanese residents the same treatment as its own citizens with regard to Social Security¹⁸.”

IV. 6. Other legal impediments

In the Lebanese labour market, Palestinians face other legal restrictions, which reinforce their marginalization. In 2001, Parliament adopted an amendment to the law governing property rights, prohibiting the purchase of real estate by “any person not a citizen of a recognized state or... in the event such acquisition would contradict the constitutional principle relating to rejection or naturalization.” The amended law in addition to

¹⁷ The ILO identifies all economic activities not covered or insufficiently covered by formal work arrangements as part of the “informal economy”. This includes either operating outside the formal reaches of the law or simply not being covered in practice.

¹⁸ Social Security Law, article 9, paragraph 4. Quoted from *The Obligation of Host Countries to Refugees Under International Law: The Case of Lebanon* (by Wadie Said), in *Palestinian Refugees: The Right of Return*. Edited by Naseer Aruri, Pluto Press, London, 2001, p. 134.

preventing Palestinians from acquiring property, also prevents them from inheriting property or registering real estate which they were buying in installments.

Therefore despite the significant breakthrough presented in memorandum 1/67 of 2005, significant restrictions to Palestinian employability in Lebanon, including access to social security and the right to own and transfer property, continue to curtail Palestinian employability in Lebanon.

Indeed Article 5 of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, of which Lebanon is party (acceded in 1971), states that “In compliance with the fundamental obligations laid down in article 2 of this convention, State Parties undertake to prohibit and to eliminate racial discrimination in all its forms and to guarantee the right of everyone without distinction as to race, color, or national or ethnic origin to equality before the law, notably in the enjoyment of the following rights: ... (i) The rights to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favorable conditions of work, to protection against unemployment, to equal pay for equal work, to just and favorable remuneration; (iv) The right to public health, medical care, social security and social services.”

In light of the above, Amnesty International concludes that “In the case of Palestinians [in Lebanon], they are *de jure* discriminated against because of their national origin.” Amnesty further states, “By virtue of article 2(1)(c) of the Convention, the Lebanese government is under a clear obligation to change its national laws and regulations so that they do not discriminate against Palestinian refugees vis-à-vis other foreign nationals in relation to the right to work and the right to social security¹⁹.”

V. Key indicators for Palestinian refugee employment in Lebanon

V.1. General characteristics

Labour force participation

The labour force participation rate is a measure of the proportion of a country’s working-age population actively engaging in the labour market, either by working or looking for work. The participation rate provides an indication of the relative size of labour available to engage in the production of goods and services. The Palestinian working population is affected by the discrepancies in the estimation of the actual Palestinian residents in Lebanon that varies between registered/unregistered and resident/immigrated

¹⁹ Lebanon: Economic and Social Rights of Palestinian Refugees: Submission to the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. Amnesty International, AI Index: MDE 18/017/2003, 22 December 2003.

populations. In the absence of a reliable census, the number of working-age Palestinians residing in Lebanon is estimated at roughly 50,000²⁰.

A 2006 Fafo survey²¹ estimates a working age population of 69%, with a 37% participation rate in the Palestinian labour force²²; proportions that are similar to Lebanese participation rates at first glance. The Palestinian workforce is also similar to the Lebanese in being young and male-dominated. The striking differences between the Palestinian and Lebanese labour forces, however, appear upon closer examination of unemployment rates.

Table 4: Labour Force Participation

Total 450, 000		population
Working 69%		age population
Persons in the labour force 37%	Outside the labour force 63%	Below working age 31%

Source: Tiltnes, Åge A. (2007) "Characteristics of the Palestinian Labour Force in Lebanon". FCEP Workshop, Beirut.

Unemployment

According to the ILO definition, unemployment is defined as being without work of at least one hour in the previous week.²³ The unemployment rate refers to the proportion of the labour force that does not have a job and is actively looking for work.

In a recent Fafo study²⁴, most refugees rated unemployment as their single most important problem in Lebanon. The 2006 Fafo survey pointed to an unemployment rate of about 25% mostly affecting youth, with this figure reaching up to 45% for the 15-24 age group.

²⁰ Crisis Group Interview, Kamal Hamdan, Beirut 7 August 2008.

²¹ Fafo (2006), "Labour Force Survey of Palestinian Refugees in Lebanon"

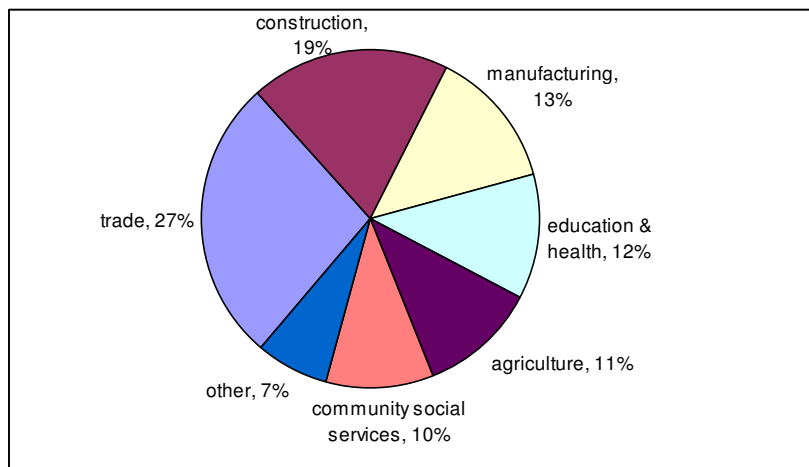
²³ This definition raises questions regarding the one-hour rule and the extent of its accurate measurement of unemployment. A second problematic aspect in this strict definition of unemployment is the category of people outside the labour force. Excluded from the unemployed population are those who are not actively looking for jobs because they are discouraged from finding work opportunities because they feel that no suitable work is available, that they do not have the proper qualifications or because they do not know where to look for work. For this reason, some surveys adopt a parallel 'relaxed' definition of unemployment that includes these discouraged workers in the ranks of the unemployed.

²⁴ Fafo (2005), "Falling Behind. A Brief on the Living Conditions of Palestinian Refugees in Lebanon". Tiltnes, Åge A. (ed.), Fafo-report 464.

Employment by sector

Palestinian refugee labour in Lebanon is concentrated in trade, agriculture, manufacturing and construction that provide jobs for 70% of the Palestinian refugee workforce. An additional 12% of Palestinian workers are employed in education and health. These two sectors are dominated by women (32% of women, as compared to only 8% of men). The figure below shows the distribution of Palestinian workers by sector of employment.

Figure 2: Palestinian workers by sector of employment



Source: Fafo (2005), "Falling Behind. A Brief on the Living Conditions of Palestinian Refugees in Lebanon". Tiltnes, Åge A. (ed.), Fafo-report 464.

Given the lack of access to employment opportunities in the public sector, about 80% of employed Palestinians work in private establishments. International and national non-governmental organizations (NGOs) employ an additional 13% of the adult working population. The remaining 7% work in family businesses or as domestic workers in private households.

Of the total labour force, 84% of men work in private companies compared to 66% of women who tend to be more involved in non-governmental organizations. INGOs and NGOs account for 24% of employment among women, in contrast to only 9% among men²⁵.

V.2. Educational attainment and employment

Education levels

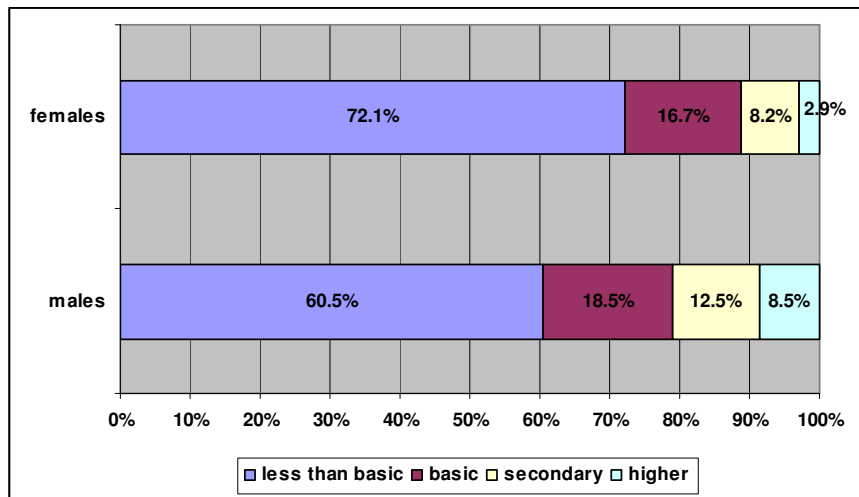
The education status of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon has improved over time, in line with regional trends. This progress is widely attributed to UNRWA's education

²⁵ Idem.

programmes²⁶. Despite this progress, educational achievements among refugees in Lebanon are much lower than among refugees elsewhere and lower than the Lebanese national educational rates²⁷. Among Palestinians over 10 years of age, 39% have not completed any education.

Differences in educational attainment between both populations become significantly apparent after the intermediate level. While 14% of Lebanese have completed secondary school and another 8% have higher education, for instance, Palestinians in Lebanon have corresponding figures of as low as 6% and 5% respectively²⁸. More than three quarters of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon aged between 15 and 64 have not completed their secondary education, while less than 8% hold higher-than-secondary degrees, as shown in the figure below²⁹.

Figure 3: Highest education completed by gender for the age group 15-64



Source: Fafo (2005), "Falling Behind. A Brief on the Living Conditions of Palestinian Refugees in Lebanon". Tiltnes, Åge A. (ed.), Fafo-report 464

Vocational Education and Training

Vocational education prepares students for a more rapid entry into a semi-skilled job market. Vocational training however is less popular across all UNRWA fields where fewer students are opting for the vocational track³⁰. The majority of those who complete

²⁶ Fafo (2005), "Falling Behind. A Brief on the Living Conditions of Palestinian Refugees in Lebanon". Tiltnes, Åge A. (ed.), Fafo-report 464

²⁷ Blome Jacobson, Laurie (2003) "Education and human capital" in. Finding Means, UNRWA's financial crisis and refugee living conditions: socio-economic situation of Palestinian refugees in Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, and the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Fafo-Report 415. Norway: Fafo.

²⁸ Bashour, Najla and Tyldum, Guri (2003). "Education". In Ugland, Ole Fr. (ed.) Difficult past, uncertain future: living conditions among Palestinian refugees in camps and gathering in Lebanon". Fafo-Report 409. Norway: Fafo.

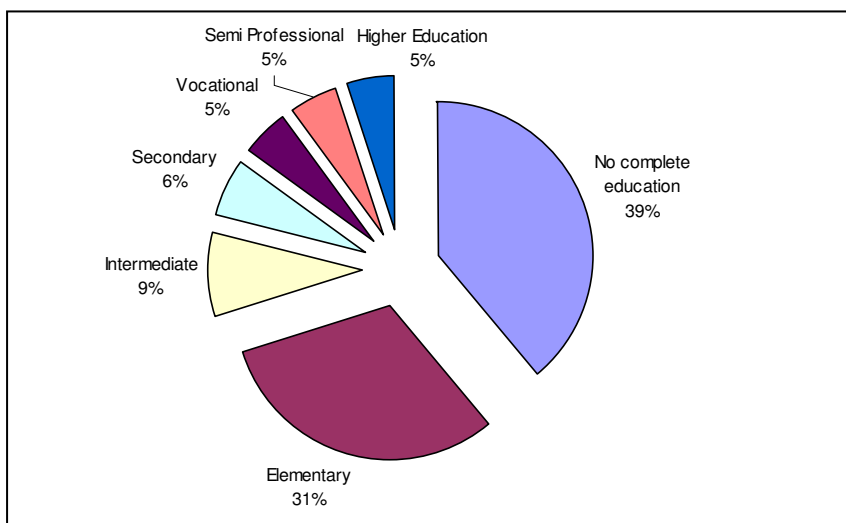
²⁹ Fafo (2005), "Falling Behind. A Brief on the Living Conditions of Palestinian Refugees in Lebanon". Tiltnes, Åge A. (ed.), Fafo-report 464

³⁰ Idem.

secondary school choose to pursue higher education instead due to the common perception that vocational education is less prestigious. The other leading reason behind the unpopularity of vocational training is due to the lack of formal accredited and degree-awarding vocational programmes and their low relevance to the labour market. This often leads to outdated programmes, negatively impacting the ability of students and graduates to subsequently establish contacts with potential employers.

The formal educational system has nonetheless provided vocational skills to an additional 10% of the Palestinian labour force³¹. The most popular sectors in vocational training for Palestinian refugees are business (24%), paramedics (23%) and education (12%), the latter two being more prevalent among Palestinian women. The following figure shows the distribution of vocational education by sector among Palestinian refugees.

Figure 4: Highest Completed Education among Palestinians



Source: Calculated from Tiltnes, Åge A. (2007) "Characteristics of the Palestinian Labour Force in Lebanon". FCEP Workshop. Beirut.

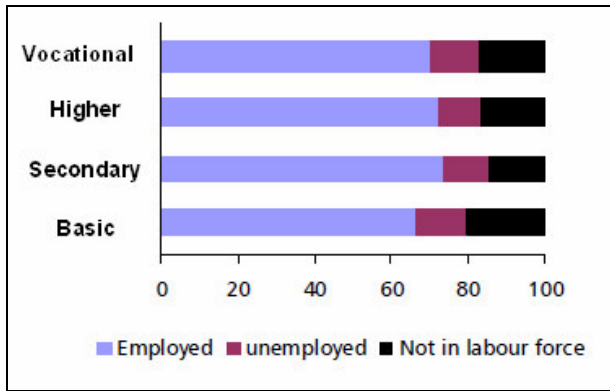
Employment by educational attainment

The conclusion from the review of studies on labour and employment among Palestinians in Lebanon is that higher educational levels among Palestinian refugees is not necessarily positively correlated with higher employment rates in Lebanon. Palestinian levels of unemployment are fairly similar across different educational levels with minimal advantage for refugees with secondary and higher education. This can be explained in part by the out-migration of young Palestinian men with higher education. However, out-migration alone cannot explain this phenomenon. Demand for Palestinian refugee labour is also likely to play an important role. Further research is needed to examine why pursuing higher education among Palestinian refugees does not

³¹ Idem.

necessarily create more job opportunities for them in Lebanon, tending to encourage out-migration instead.

Figure 5: Educational level in relation to employment in Lebanon



Source: Adapted from Blome Jacobson, Laurie (2003) "Education and human capital" in. Finding Means, UNRWA's financial crisis and refugee living conditions: socio-economic situation of Palestinian refugees in Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, and the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Fafo-Report 415. Norway: Fafo.

V.3. Palestinian women's employment in Lebanon

Attitudes towards women's employment

Some of the major determinants of women's low participation in the labour force in general, and in the Lebanese labour force in particular, include social constraints that determine women's mobility and the establishment of professional and social networks that are linked to increasing employment opportunities and options. As many as one out of two Palestinian men in Lebanon believes that women may not work outside the home while eight out of ten women approve of women working outside the home³². This figure is close to that registered among Lebanese women, whose economic activity rate is 20.3% according to CAS's "Household Living Conditions Survey" (2004). The study also found that all Palestinian women's movement outside their immediate neighbourhoods is quite restricted; women are often not allowed to move about even within their own neighbourhoods³³.

Female participation in the labour market

Overall participation rates of women in the workplace are quite low for both refugees and non-refugees in the region due to a range of social and economic variables, substantive analysis of which is beyond the scope of this study. According to the Fafo report, Palestinian women's participation does not exceed 20%³⁴ of the Palestinian labour force. Their non-participation in the Palestinian labour force is ascribed to familial obligations

³² Blome Jacobsen, Laurie (2004) "Educated Housewives: living conditions among Palestinian refugee women". Fafo-Report 435. Norway: FAFO, p.10

³³ Idem, p.12

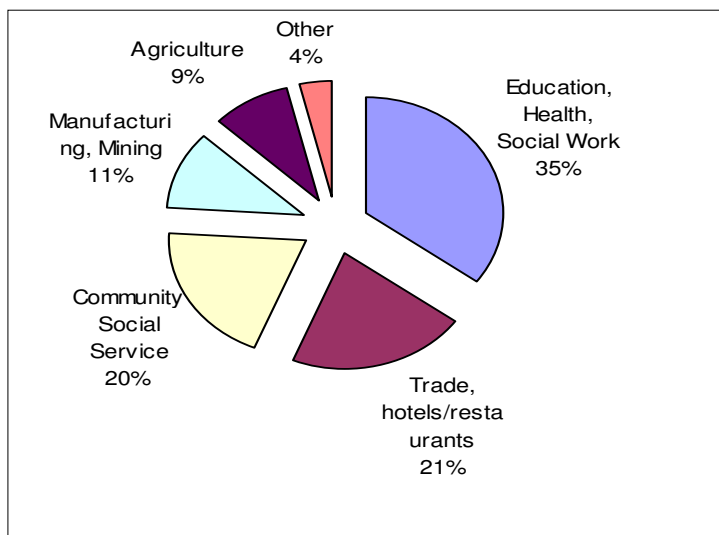
³⁴ Idem, p.22

(e.g. care giving) and social restrictions, while only 20% of Palestinian women attribute their unenmployment to a lack of job opportunities or to job restrictions³⁵.

Employment by sector among women

The main sectors of employment for Palestinian women are within the traditionally female social services. The education, health and social work sectors provide work for approximately 35% of active Palestinian women, while an additional 20% work in community services³⁶. The figure below shows the distribution of Palestinian working women by sector:

Figure 6: Distribution of Women by sectors of employment



Source: Adapted from Blome Jacobsen, Laurie (2004) "Educated Housewives: Living conditions among Palestinian refugee women". Fafo-Report 435. Norway: Fafo

The above graph illustrates that a sizeable proportion of Palestinian women generally work in sectors that do not typically require work permits, such as agriculture, or in categories of clerical and manufacturing jobs that have been regularised by the 2005 ministerial memorandum. Additionally, the majority of education and health-related professions are subsidised by local and international organisations, particularly UNRWA, which provide relatively good working conditions and job benefits.

³⁵ Idem, p.26

³⁶ Idem, p.29

Table 5: Summary of the key labour market statistics available for Palestinian refugees in Lebanon

Key Labour Market Trends		Palestinian Population
1.	Labour force participation rate	37%
1.a.	Female participation rate	20%
2.	Employment-to-population ratio	37%
3.	Status in employment	Wage and salaried workers Employers Own Account workers
4.	Employment by sector	Trade 27% Construction 19% Manufacturing 13% Education & health 12% Agriculture 11% Community social services 10% Other 7%
4.a.	Female employment by sector	Education, health, social work 35% Trade, hotels, restaurants 21% Community social service 20% Manufacturing, mining 11% Agriculture 9% Other 4 %
5.	Employment in the informal economy	Majority (exact percentage not available)
6.	Unemployment	25%
7.	Youth unemployment	45%
8.	Unemployment by educational attainment	Very little discrepancies in unemployment rates across different levels of educational attainment
9.	Educational attainment and illiteracy	39% uneducated 50% primary education 6% secondary school 5% higher education 10% vocational training

VI. The Lebanese labour market

This section analyses the Lebanese labour market in terms of the supply and demand. This is important in order to point to the fact that Palestinians are already integrated in the Lebanese labour market, albeit informally. This also indicates that Palestinians are already contributors to the Lebanese economy and are not competing for the same jobs as the Lebanese a case which is usually argued when approaching the topic of Palestinian employability in Lebanon..

VI.1. Labour market characteristics

Active population

In 2004, in collaboration with the Ministry of Social Affairs and UNDP, the Central Administration for Statistics (CAS) published a comprehensive study entitled the "Households Living Conditions", stating that there are 3.7 million citizens living in Lebanon. The working age population varied between 65% and 72% depending on whether the 15 years and above or the 15-64 age bracket was taken into account.

Table 6: Rates according to the 15+ working age population definition

Total population			3,755,034
Working age population		72%	
Persons in the labour force		Outside the labour force	28%
Employed	Unemployed		
92%	8%	56%	

Source: Central Administration for Statistics (2004) "Households Living Conditions". Beirut: CAS.

Table 7: Rates according to the 15-64 working age population definition (CAS measurement standards)

Total population			3,755,034
Working age population		65%	
Persons in the labour force		Outside the labour force	35%
Employed	Unemployed		
92%	8%	53%	

Source: Central Administration for Statistics (2004) "Households Living Conditions". Beirut: CAS.

Lebanese unemployment rates

The unemployment rate in Lebanon varies according to different adopted frameworks. Using the ILO definition (as adopted by CAS), the unemployment rate in Lebanon totaled around 8% of the total work force in 2004. Other studies that use different definitions and methodologies indicate higher rates of 11.5% in 2001³⁷, and 15% in 2000³⁸. Unemployment rates are likely to have increased since the last official estimates. Despite the different definitions and estimates, there is a dominant consensus that people most concerned with unemployment are new entrants to the labour market. Roughly a third of the youth between 15 and 35³⁹ are unemployed.

Employment in the informal economy

In Lebanon, as elsewhere in the region, the informal sector is of significant importance to the economy. Despite its estimated 34% contribution to the GNP⁴⁰, little by way of statistical information or analytical studies on the informal sector is publicly available. A recent EU report estimates that the sector provides employment and income to up to 460,000 people or almost 40% of the work force⁴¹. Some analysts refer to a process of 'labour informalisation' within the Lebanese economy in which the number of registered enterprises is in decline, while that of unregistered micro businesses is increasing. In 2000, only 70,000 of a total of 265,000 economic establishments were registered at the Chamber of Commerce while only 35,000 declared their revenues to the administration⁴².

VI.2. Foreign labour

Since the end of the Lebanese civil war in 1990, hundreds of thousands of foreign workers have entered the country in search of job opportunities. Most of these migrants come from countries where the cost of living is considerably lower, such as Egypt, Syria, Sudan, South Asian and South-east Asian countries. The post-war period also witnessed labour informalisation at the level of the construction and agriculture sectors characterized by a predominance of migrant labour.

There are no precise figures for the number of foreign migrant labourers in Lebanon, as official figures are published only for those having work permits, without taking into consideration migrants who enter the country illegally or stay after their work permit has expired. The analysis here will focus on Syrian labour in particular, due to the relevance of their jobs to the subject of this study on the one hand and due to their sizeable number in Lebanon on the other. In fact, the largest group of migrant labourers in

³⁷ Kasparian, Shoghig (2003) "L'entrée des jeunes Libanais dans la vie active et l'émigration". Preliminary results of a population and labour market survey, Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines. Beirut: Université Saint Joseph.

³⁸ Tabbarah, Riad. (2000) "Employment and Unemployment in Lebanon". Beirut: MADMA.

³⁹ Consultation and Research Institute (2003) "Unemployment in Lebanon". Beirut: CRI.

⁴⁰ Schneider, Friedrich (2002) "Size and measurement of the informal economy in 110 countries around the world". World Bank working paper. DC: World Bank, p. 8.

⁴¹ European Training Foundation "Lebanon: Country Report". Turin: Italy.

⁴² Hanafi, Sari (2007) "Employability of Palestinian Professionals in Lebanon". Fafo Institute for Applied Studies. Oslo: Norway.

Lebanon remains the Syrians, a reality born of geographical proximity and the economic differences between Lebanon and Syria⁴³. Estimates for the number of Syrian labourers in Lebanon vary wildly, fluctuating between 200,000 and one million⁴⁴. In 1992, the Council for Development and Reconstruction estimated that some 200,000 Syrians were working in Lebanon. According to estimates provided by the UNDP, in 1995 the figure had risen to some 450,000; to then drop to between 200,000 and 400,000 due to the recession in the construction sector⁴⁵. Indeed, in 1998 and 1999 only 744 and 530 Syrians respectively were issued with Lebanese work permits (as published by CAS), a figure that is notably low. This indicates that despite the institutionalisation of labour agreements with Syria, the informal hiring of thousands of low-cost Syrian workers grew, especially in the construction sector that witnessed an exponential post-war growth. According to several economic analyses, the Syrian labour force is mainly represented in construction, seasonal agriculture and municipal and sanitation jobs.

The political unrest in 2005 led to the exit of thousands of Syrians from the Lebanese labour market. The resulting job vacancies were unofficially estimated at about 250,000⁴⁶. Despite the current return of many Syrian workers to Lebanon, it is believed that the resulting gap is an opportunity for other foreign workers, and for Palestinian refugees in Lebanon.

VI.3. Labour demand

The nature of the informal economy in Lebanon adds to the complexity of defining the level of demand for jobs. All Lebanese governorates depend on trade and services as the main economic activities. Additionally, agriculture characterises North Lebanon, South Lebanon, Nabatieh and Bekaa regions.

In Lebanon, micro and small enterprises dominate the market, where enterprises with less than 10 employees constitute more than 97% of total establishments⁴⁷. The following table illustrates the sectoral and regional distribution of establishments in Lebanon. It further highlights the share that trade and services constitute in the total number of small businesses.

⁴³ Young, Michael (1999) "Migrant Workers in Lebanon". Beirut: Lebanese NGO Forum.
<http://www.lnf.org.lb/migrationnetwork/mig2.html>

⁴⁴ Idem

⁴⁵ Consultation and Research Institute (CRI), Al-Diyar, 2 February, 1998

⁴⁶ With the absence of studies, the estimated numbers of vacant jobs are between 200,000 and 300,000 although the Lebanese labour market is witnessing the return of many Syrians despite the ongoing local hostilities.

⁴⁷ CRI (2006) "Micro and Small Enterprises in Lebanon". Economic Research Forum. Research Report Series No.:0417.

Table 8: Distribution of establishments by sectors and region

	Beirut	Mt. Lebanon	Bekaa	North	South & Nabatieh	%
Manufacturing	4.70%	8.60%	12.60%	7.50%	9.20%	8.50%
Construction	1.30%	0.70%	0.00%	0.40%	2.20%	0.80%
Trade	77.50%	71.00%	70.60%	77.20%	71.80%	73.30%
Hotels and Restaurants	4.70%	3.90%	5.20%	5.10%	2.40%	4.20%
Other services	11.80%	15.80%	11.60%	9.70%	14.40%	13.10%
%	13.00%	34.60%	14.30%	22.60%	15.50%	100

Source: CRI (2006) "Micro and Small Enterprises in Lebanon". Economic Research Forum. Research Report Series No.:0417.

VI.4. Labour demand in different geographic areas

While agriculture employs 11% of the Palestinian workforce, the manufacturing and services sectors, mostly represented in urban areas employ an additional 40% of the Palestinian workforce. Although a sizeable proportion of Palestinians work in the service sectors provided by NGOs and political organisations within the camps, many are either self-employed or are wage-earners outside the camps. Additionally, although Beirut is the home for some 20% of refugees, South and North Lebanon host more than 70% of refugees. The following section surveys the work situation of Palestinian refugees in Sour, Saida and Tripoli, as illustrated in the City Development Strategy (CDS), a study commissioned by the Lebanese Ministry of Interior and Municipalities.

Sour

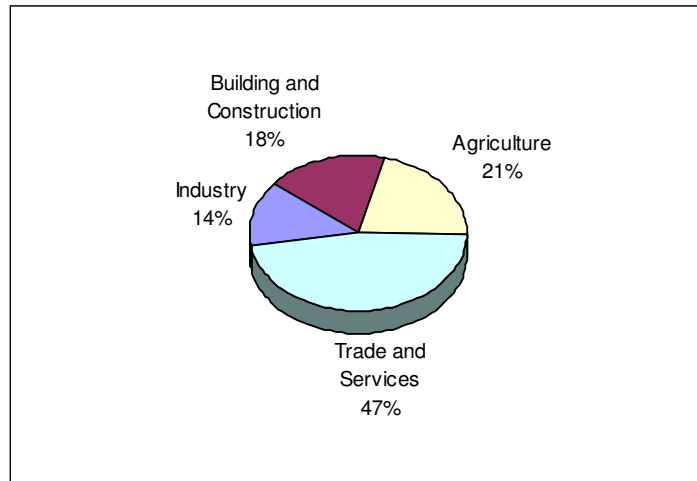
Sour hosts the three Palestinian refugee camps of Rashidiye, Al-Bass, and Burj El-Shemali, in addition to ten other Palestinian refugee gatherings.

Open to the sea and flanked by fertile lands, Sour's economic structure is determined by archaeological tourism, agriculture and relevant industries, as well as sea-related commercial activities including fishing, port activities, boat industry etc. In addition, Sour has witnessed a rapid urbanisation that transformed the city's density reflecting an active real estate and construction sector. The commercial activity in the old city core (food, meat, clothing, jewellery, etc.) seems to cater for the immediate surrounding urban area of Sour. Sour's enterprises are mostly small with 91.2% of establishments of the district of Sour employing less than 5 workers (national average is 87.4%).

Sour's hinterland, characterised by its rich natural resources (water, plains, reserves) and its network of small towns and villages, is key to its development. Indeed, Sour is the heart of agricultural exchanges as it lies in the middle of a highly fertile plain intensely cultivated with olive trees, citrus and banana orchards. Only minor industrial activities exist. These are mostly located in the old town, and include leather, lightweight metal works and woodwork. The fish market services the city as well as a larger hinterland. Some farming activities are also present, as well as a number of beehives. The majority of establishments in Sour are dedicated to services and trade (44.1%), while 12.7% relate to the sector of car mechanics, 6.3% to agriculture and 5.3% to hotels

and restaurants. The active population of the district of Sour reaches 26.8% (national average is 31.6%) and it is shown in the following graph:

Figure 7: Workforce distribution in Sour



Saida

Saida is the home of the two Palestinian camps of Ain El Helwe and Mieh w Mieh, as well as four Palestinian refugee gatherings.

The city has gradually turned its focus away from the small-scaled port, towards the commercial centres in the new eastern part of the city. Today, Saida's economic strengths lie in providing health and banking services, and in representing the centre for educational and administrative resources for itself and the South. Retail constitutes 50% of all businesses in Saida in 1996, while auto dealership accounts for 18%⁴⁸.

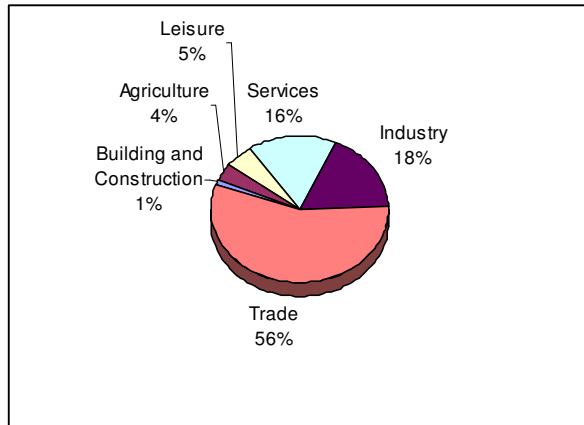
The main problems of Saida are economic. The city does not offer significant job opportunities, which fuels its dependency on the capital. Saida's economy is dependant and influenced by its geographical and institutional position between the capital and South Lebanon. It is very much influenced by the capital's economy and its citizens rely on greater Beirut's job opportunities. The economic composition of Saida varies between different sectors, from agriculture and small industries, to services and tourism. But the main established assets are the health and educational sectors while the territorial endowments such as the urban heritage remain very important but underdeveloped potentials.

⁴⁸ This is the most recent data available to the study.

Tripoli

Tripoli and its surroundings host the Palestinian refugee camps of -Beddawi and Nahr el-Bared, and one Palestinian refugee gathering.

Figure 8: Workforce distribution in Tripoli



Economically, the city's existing banking and trade infrastructure caters to both the city and its immediate hinterland. At the same time, its industrial structure reflects national trends in that it is composed mainly of small-scale industries particularly for the production of specific handmade crafts (soap, furniture, etc.) where 90% of existing enterprises in the district of Tripoli have less than 5 employees. However, while the level of investment in the city is growing, it represents a significantly small portion of national investment. The principal agricultural products in the city are olives and citrus products mainly in the areas of Zeytoun and Beddawi. In less than 40 years however, Tripoli's agricultural zone has been shrinking in favour of construction and thus has experienced serious recession.

VII. Conclusions and recommendations

Based on the previous review, this section identifies research gaps which are important to clarify the situation of Palestinian employment in Lebanon. Such information will guide Lebanese policy makers, international actors and the FCEP in ensuring that the next steps taken to improve Palestinian employability are based on a concrete analysis of the facts. Indeed, as seen in section four, legislative changes have not been enough and Palestinians will still face hurdles in finding employment in the formal labour market. It is a given that the Lebanese authorities would prefer legal formal economy employment for Palestinians rather than maintaining the status quo of a two parallel economies: one formal for the Lebanese and another informal for the Palestinians.

VII.1. Overall research gaps

➤ Socio-economic data on Palestinian refugees in Lebanon

Any study on the employability of Palestinians in Lebanon should count on reliable sources of information relating to the size of the Palestinian population in Lebanon. It is therefore of great importance to know the exact number of refugees, not only those registered with UNRWA, but also those residing in Lebanon. The previous section has shown that an estimated 45,000 Palestinian refugees are not included in UNRWA records and are therefore not integrated in estimates on labour force participation, economic activity, and unemployment rates. Reliable information gathered on a systematic basis and according to international definitions is therefore necessary.

➤ Key Labour Market Information

In terms of key labour market information, significant areas need further research in order to capture the full picture of Palestinian employment in Lebanon. These include the exact percentage of Palestinian labor in the informal economy, information on status in employment (wage and salaries workers versus employers and own-account workers), labour productivity and unit labour costs, long term unemployment, underemployment, hours of work, hourly compensation costs, inactivity rate, employment elasticities manufacturing wage trends, occupational wage and earning indices, as well as information on poverty, working poverty and income distribution. This information needs to be updated regularly in order to identify trends in the labour market. Furthermore the statistical methodology through which this information is compiled needs to be consistent and in accordance with the methodology used by CAS in order to allow for cross-comparison between the Lebanese and Palestinian populations in terms of key labour market information.

➤ **Qualitative research on the Palestinian labour force in Lebanon**

In addition to the above mentioned quantitative research, more research needs to be conducted to survey the skills of Palestinian refugees in the context of Lebanese labour market needs. More qualitative data is also needed on current working conditions for Palestinian refugees, coping mechanisms, and social safety nets. While analysis has revealed lower hourly wages for Palestinian refugees across the board for both categories with basic and higher education as compared with Lebanese citizens, the extent of wage discrimination is still unknown. Further research is needed to examine why pursuing higher education among Palestinian refugees does not necessarily create more job opportunities for them in Lebanon and tends to encourage out-migration instead.

➤ **Social Protection**

This study shows that legislative changes which allow Palestinians to work are not enough to actually ensure that Palestinians work in the formal economy and have access to social protection mechanisms. This leaves many Palestinian workers vulnerable and without pensions and old age and injury protection.

In general the existing system of social protection in Lebanon faces however many challenges. As an example, the coverage is generally limited to workers in formal employment, leaving significant segments of the population without social security coverage. Old-age pensions paid seem to have regressive effects and do not provide effective protection from poverty for the majority of the elderly population. Based on this it does not seem that integrating Palestinian workers in the existing Lebanese Social security system is a viable option in the near future. Nevertheless, there must be other schemes which can be developed through establishing, as an example, a system of basic universal pensions for old age, invalidity and survivorship that in effect supports entire families only for Palestinian workers who would like to contribute. For this, research on how to best to achieve this is much needed.

➤ **Studying Palestinian Immigration**

It is clear from this study that the exact number of Palestinian refugees residing in Lebanon is not available. The absence of extensive studies about Palestinian out-migration leaves unanswered questions relating to the actual size of the Palestinian labour force, which in turns poses a serious challenge to the development of labour policies promoting Palestinian participation in the Lebanese labour force.

➤ **Child labour**

While there are no estimates for Palestinian child labour in Lebanon, UNICEF's annual global report *State of the Children 2009* states that 7% of all children between 5 and 14 years work in Lebanon. Child labour is defined as paid or unpaid work and includes "activities that are mentally, physically, socially, or morally dangerous and harmful to children⁴⁹". It is usually limited to boys and girls up to the minimum age for employment, which is 14 years in Lebanon. The proportion of working children 10 to 14 years has been found to be highest in North Lebanon. As a signatory to

⁴⁹ N. Haspels., M. Jankanish: *Action against Child Labour* (Geneva, ILO, 2000) p. 4.

International Labour Convention 138 on Minimum Age and Convention 182 on the Worst Forms of Child Labour, and as per the 1996 Labor Code it is illegal to employ a child under the age of 15 in industrial enterprises that are harmful or detrimental to their health, or to hire youth below the age of 16 in dangerous environments that threaten their life, health or morals.

The issue of Palestinian child labour should be examined further in order to determine the number and working conditions of Palestinian children working in Lebanon.

➤ **Foreign labour**

Despite the presence of many other foreign workers in Lebanon, the section on foreign labour in Lebanon focused on Syrians as they work in similar sectors of employment. Hence, knowing the size, composition and occupational distribution of the current and post-2005 Syrian labour force is believed to be of relevance to studies on Palestinian workers in Lebanon. It should be noted however that if Palestinians are to fill these jobs, wages must be reviewed to be commensurate with the cost of living in Lebanon.

VII.2. Research gaps by geographical area

Further research also needs to be conducted on specific geographical areas in relation to Palestinian employment.

- South Lebanon: In South Lebanon, equal research attention should be given to all sectors including trade, construction, manufacturing and agriculture due to their predominance in the market. The south is particularly important, as it is inhabited by more than half of the Palestinian population in Lebanon.
- North: In the North, trade seems to dominate the labour market, where 15% of Palestinians reside. The construction sector in North Lebanon is also of high priority as it is expected to grow with reconstruction of the Nahr el-Bared camp. Medium priority may be given to agriculture and manufacturing as they are not as dominant in the region. Bekaa: In the Bekaa, trade, agriculture and manufacturing (notably the agro-food industry) are of high research priority as they provide sizeable employment opportunities. The Bekaa hosts about 10% of Palestinians in Lebanon.
- Beirut and the suburbs: The two dominant sectors for Palestinian employment in Beirut and its suburbs, in which about one-fifth of Palestinians reside, are trade and construction. Manufacturing in Beirut and its suburbs has medium priority followed by agriculture, which is associated with the lowest demand for labour.

VII.3. Research priority by sector

Further research is required for each of the main sectors in which Palestinians are employed, as outlined in the sections below.

Trade

Trade is predominant across all geographical areas, and is particularly important as it provides employment for more than 27% of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon.

Construction

The contribution of the construction sector to the Palestinian labour market, on the other hand, is already estimated at 20%, and is likely to increase if the vacancies left by Syrian labour are to be filled by Palestinian refugees.

The demand for construction in Beirut and its suburbs proliferated in the aftermath of the 2006 war, when entire neighbourhoods in the southern suburbs of Beirut were destroyed. The reconstruction plans undertaken by the Lebanese government and Hezbollah's institutions have led to the creation of hundreds of job opportunities for Palestinians in the Chatila, Mar Elias and Burj al Barajaneh camps and the gatherings surrounding them. Similarly, construction is particularly important for Palestinians in and around the camps of Nahr el-Bared and Beddawi, especially following the destruction of the Nahr el-Bared camp and the reconstruction plans the Lebanese government has adopted.

South Lebanon is also witnessing the growth of the construction sector that was impeded by years of Israeli occupation that ended in 2000. The camps of Ain el Helwe and Mieh w Mieh in Saida, as well as el Bass and Burj el Shemali and the gatherings surrounding them will undoubtedly benefit from the reconstruction boom.

Manufacturing

As shown earlier, manufacturing provides employment for 13% of Palestinians in Lebanon. Agro-industry, which represents a sizeable portion of manufacturing, is of particular interest to Palestinians, as it is located in areas with high Palestinian presence such as in South Lebanon (especially in or around the cities of Saida and Sour). Agro-industry is equally present, albeit shyly, in the suburbs of Beirut, with a high Palestinian presence in Burj el Barajaneh. Despite the lower numbers of Palestinian refugees in the Bekaa, the major agro-industrial plants of Zahleh and its surroundings may provide employment for up to 10% of Palestinians in Lebanon.

Agriculture

Despite its weak contribution to the Lebanese labour market, agriculture provides employment to 11% of Palestinians in Lebanon, a rate that is likely to increase after a good part of the Syrian labour left Lebanon. Agriculture in the Bekaa may provide employment not only for residents of the Wavel camp but also for Palestinians residing in the eight gatherings extending from the North of Baalbek to the south of the valley. Similarly, the camps in or around the southern cities of Sour and Saida are active in agriculture, particularly citrus production.

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Annex 1: Distribution of Palestinians in the 12 refugee camps and 27 gatherings in Lebanon



Source: Palestinian Human Rights Organization (2005). *The legal land socio-economic situation of the non-identified Palestinian refugees in Lebanon*. Beirut, Lebanon

Annex 2: Categories of Palestinian Refugees in Lebanon

	POPULATION	REGISTERED BY	RECEIVE ASSISTANCE FROM	NOTES
Registered Refugees	415,500 ⁵⁰	UNRWA and DPRA	UNRWA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Comprise approximately 10% of the Lebanese population ▪ According to UNRWA 220,177 refugees live throughout the 12 registered refugee camps
Non-registered Refugees	30,000-35,000	DPRA	UNRWA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Do not fit UNRWA's definition of Palestinian refugees ▪ Are registered only with DPRA ▪ Receive UNRWA assistance: 1948 refugees fit into UNRWA's definition and 1967 refugees as per UNGA yearly resolution
Non-ID refugees	3,000-5,000	N/A	UNRWA, on case-by-case basis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Some are registered with UNRWA in other areas of operations ▪ Do not possess valid documents acknowledging their legal existence ▪ PLO is providing them with identification papers ▪ Receive UNRWA assistance on a case by case basis ▪ Do not receive assistance from the Lebanese government
Total	about 450,000			

⁵⁰ UNRWA, Registration Statistical Bulletin, First Quarter 2008)

Annex 3: UNRWA Services for Palestinians in Lebanon

	RSS		HEALTH		EDUCATION		
	Relief Services	Social Services	Primary Health Care	Contractual Out/In Patient	School Education	Vocational Training Center	University Scholarship
1. Registered Refugees with UNRWA							
a) Registered in Lebanon:							
- Registered refugees	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
- Other Registered persons (Including MNRs & Family Members)	√	√	√	√	√	X ¹	X ¹
b) Registered in other Fields:							
- Registered with DPRA in Lebanon	√	√	√	√	√	√	X
- Not registered with DPRA/L with ID/Passport	√	√	√	√ ²	√	√	X
2. Non-Registered Refugees (NR)							
a) Refugees registered with DPRA/L and not registered with UNRWA	√ ³	√	√	√	√	X	X
3. Non-ID Palestinians							
a) Palestinians not registered with UNRWA nor DPRA without ID and their children	X	X	X ⁴	X	√ ⁵	X	X

√ = Yes, X = No

Footnotes:

- 1) Services are provided according to Education announcements and ETIs.
- 2) Hospitalization and other contractual Services require primary approval from the original Field of Registration.
- 3) On exceptional basis and upon the approval of DUAL.
- 4) Only vaccination is provided to children of this category.(Inside Health Centre only)
- 5) School Education requires primary approval from DUAL as per ETI.

Annex 4: Mapping of Available Studies

Source		Description
Lebanese economy		
1	European Training Foundation. <i>Lebanon: country report</i> . Torino: Italy.	Looks into the current Lebanese economy with emphasis on unemployment.
2	Consultation and Research Institute (2003). <i>Unemployment in Lebanon. Beirut: CRI</i> .	A statistical study on the market in Lebanon.
3	Consultation and Research Institute (2006) <i>Micro and small enterprises in Lebanon</i> . Economic Research Forum. Research Report Series No.:0417.	Analyses the structure and composition of enterprises.
4	Makdisi, Samir (2004) <i>The lessons of Lebanon: the economics of war and development</i> . UK: Tauris.	Analyses the post-war Lebanese economic policies.
5	Nahhas C. (2000), "L'économie libanaise et ses déséquilibres", in B. Rougier, E. Picard (ed.), <i>Le Liban dix ans après la guerre, Maghreb-Machrek</i> , 169: 55-69.	Assesses post-war Lebanese economic conditions.
Lebanese labour market		
6	Amnesty International (2003) <i>Lebanon: Economic and Social Rights Of Palestinian Refugees</i> .	Looks into legal and political discrimination in Lebanon.
7	Chalcraft, John. (2006) <i>Syrian migrant workers in Lebanon: the limits of transnational integration, communitarian solidarity, and popular agency</i> . Working paper series. Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies at the European University Institute.	The study traces the history of Syrian migrant workers in Lebanon.
8	Tiltnes, Å. A and S. Hanafi (2008) <i>The Employability of Palestinian Professionals in Lebanon: Constraints and Transgression</i> . Knowledge, Work and Society. Vol 5, no 1. Paris: Harmattan.	Describes circumstances faced by Palestinian professionals in the Lebanese labour market, including their skills, working conditions and legal status.
9	International Labour Organization (2006) <i>An ILO post conflict decent work programme for Lebanon</i> . Beirut: ILO.	Assess the impact of the recent conflict on the Lebanese labour market.
10	Issa, Najib (1996) <i>The Labour Market and Labour Policy in Lebanon</i> . Beirut: LCPS	Discusses the Lebanese labour market and policy.
11	Kasparian, Choghig (2004) <i>L'entrée des Jeunes Libanais dans la vie active et l'emigration</i> . Beirut: USJ.	Survey on employment and immigration of young Lebanese.
12	Young, Michael (1999) <i>Migrant Workers in Lebanon</i> . Beirut: NGO Forum.	Discusses the legal situation of migrant workers in Lebanon.
Palestinian socioeconomic conditions		
13	Abbas, Mohammad. (1996). <i>Housing and living conditions of Palestinian Refugees in Lebanon</i> . The Palestinians in Lebanon Center for Lebanese Studies and the Refugee Studies Programme; Queen Elizabeth House Refugee. Studies Programme: 27p.	Explores the living conditions of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon with emphasis on housing.

14	Al-Najjar, M., Badran, R., & Wassim, A. (2005). The Palestinian Refugees Situations in Lebanon. <i>Advocacy Practicum</i> . 1-28.	Advocacy paper on the Palestinian in Lebanon.
15	Dorai, Mohammad Kamel (1999) <i>Les Palestiniens du Sud-Liban: Economie et Migration</i> . Beirut: IFPO.	Discusses economic hardship refugees from South Lebanon.
16	Khalidi, Mouhammad Ali (2001). <i>Palestinian refugees in Lebanon</i> . Beirut, Lebanon, Institute for Palestine Studies.	Brief description of Palestinian re
17	Khawaja, M. and B. J. Laurie (2003) "Familial relations and labour market outcomes: the Palestinian refugees in Lebanon" <i>Social Science Research</i> . 32 579–602	Analyses intra-family support Lebanon, using detailed household camps and Palestinian communit
18	Are, Knudsen (2003) <i>Islamism in the Diaspora: Palestinian refugees in Lebanon</i> . CMI: Norway.	The paper outlines the sources refugees in Lebanon.
19	Othman, A. A. (2000). <i>Palestinian Refugees in Lebanon: political and social effects of the Oslo accord</i> . Badil (n.26): 5p.	Examines the consequences of livelihood of Palestinians in Leban
20	Palestinian Human Rights Organization (1995) <i>The Palestinian refugee situations in Lebanon</i> . Beirut: Palestinian Human Rights Organization.	An advocacy paper discussing issues that Palestinians refugees
21	Refugee Studies Programme, Oxford University and Centre for Lebanese Studies. 1995. <i>Palestinians in Lebanon</i> . Oxford, Great Britain: Centre for Lebanese Studies. Keywords: General Study, Lebanon.	Report from the Core-Group Lebanon Project held in Oxford fr
22	Sayegh, Rosemary (1995) "Palestinians in Lebanon: Harsh Present, Uncertain Future". <i>Journal of Palestine Studies</i> , Vol. 25, No. 1. pp. 37-53.	Discusses the socioeconomic situ
23	Suleiman, Jaber (1997) "Palestinians in Lebanon and the role of non-governmental organisations". <i>Journal of Refugee Studies</i> 10:397-410.	Analyses the role of non-governm Palestinians in Lebanon.
24	Suleiman, Jaber (1996) <i>Marginalised Community: The Case of Palestinian Refugees in Lebanon</i> . UK: University of Sussex.	Discusses the legal impediments integration of Palestinians in Leba
25	Weighill, Marie-Louise (1997), "Palestinians in Lebanon: The Politics of Assistance", pp.294-313 in: <i>Journal of Refugee Studies, volume 10, no 3: Special issue: Palestinians in Lebanon</i> . Oxford: Oxford University Press.	Looks into the role of regional support development projects in c
26	UNRWA (2003) Business Sector Survey: in Palestinian Camps. Beirut: UNRWA.	Analyses the market in each business sectors, through ga businesses available in the twel over Lebanon.
Palestinian legal situation in Lebanon		
27	Aano Reme, Maria (1997) <i>The Frozen Case: Civil Rights of the Palestinian Refugees in Lebanon</i> . Norway: University of Bergen.	Discusses the political and le Lebanon.
28	Aasheim, Petter (2000) <i>The Palestinian refugees and the right to work in Lebanon</i> . Lund: Thesis, Faculty of Law, University of Lund.	A thesis looking into legal discrimin of Palestinians in Lebanon.

29	Al-Natur, Suheil (1997) <i>The Legal Status of Palestinians in Lebanon</i> . Journal of Refugee Studies Vol. 10. No. 3 1997.	Discusses the legal status of Palest
30	Al-Natur, Suheil (2005), "Lebanon's Palestinians: the Right to Work", <i>Group 194</i> , issue 16. Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies.	Palestinians' right to work in Leba legislation.
31	Akram, S. (2002) "Palestinian Refugees and Their Legal Status: Rights, Politics, and Implications for a Just Solution". <i>Journal of Palestine Studies</i>	Analyses legal discrimination a Lebanon.
32	Amnesty International (2003) <i>Lebanon: Economic and social rights of Palestinian refugees (Submission to the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination)</i> . Amnesty International, MDE.	Discusses social and eco Palestinians in Lebanon.
33	Amnesty International (2007) <i>Lebanon, Exiled and Suffering</i> . Amnesty International, MDE.	Assesses the socioeconomic sit Lebanon.
34	Coalition of Palestinian Forces (Arabic). February 1995. <i>Memorandum on the Pressing Needs of the Palestinians in Lebanon</i> . Ma'lumat: 74-77. Beirut, Lebanon: Arab Information Centre.	Text of Memorandum submitted Rafiq Al-Hariri on 21 February 19
35	Consultation and Research Institute (2009). <i>Socio-Economic Assessment in Nahr El-Bared Surrounding Areas</i> .	Presents the results of a field sur Nations Development Program International Labour Organization pre and post conflict livelihood c located in six municipalities surro
36	Consultation and Research Institute (2009). <i>Socio-Economic Assessment in Nahr El-Bared and Beddawi Camps</i> .	Presents the results of a field sur Nations Relief and Work Ag (UNRWA) to provide an assessr livelihood conditions of a 1,817 P Bared and Beddawi.
37	International Crisis Group (2009) <i>Nurturing Instability: Lebanon's Palestinian Refugee Camps</i> , Middle East Report no. 84.	Surveys the Palestinian political of Lebanese-Palestinian relation factional conflict and growing inst
38	Knudsen, Ari (2007) <i>The Law the lives the loss of Palestinian refugees</i> . Norway: CMI	Analyses the legal and econo Lebanon.
39	Said, Wadie (2001) "The obligations of host countries to refugees under international law: the case of Lebanon", pp. 123-151 in: Aruri, Naseer (ed.): <i>Palestinian refugees, the right to return</i> . London: Pluto Press.	Critiques Lebanon's breaching conventions towards Palestinian r
40	Zureik, Elia (2000) <i>Palestinian Refugees: An Annotated Bibliography Based on Arabic, English and Hebrew Source 1995-1999</i> . Canada: IDRC.	Trilingual annotated bibliograph emphasis on the right of return.
41	El Khazen, Farid (1997) "Permanent settlement of Palestinians in Lebanon: A recipe for conflict". <i>Journal of Refugee Studies</i> 10:275- 293.	The question of Palestinians' righ in Lebanon.
42	Haddad, Simon (2000), "The Palestinian predicament in Lebanon", in: <i>Middle East Quarterly</i> , volume 7, no. 3. Located in Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies.	Discusses the relationships betw different Lebanese communities.
43	Halabi, Zeina (2004) "Exclusion and identity in Lebanon's Palestinian refugee camps: A story of sustained conflict". <i>Environment and Urbanization</i> 16:39-48.	In-depth interviews with Palesti emphasis on in-camp violence.

44	Salam, Nawaf (1994) <i>Between Repatriation and Resettlement: Palestinian Refugees in Lebanon. Journal of Palestine Studies, Vol. 24, No. 1. pp. 18-27.</i>	Discusses the right of return of Pa
Fafo Studies		
45	Laurie, B. J. (ed.) <i>Finding Means, UNRWA's Financial Crisis and Refugee Living Conditions: socio-economic Situation of Palestinian Refugees in Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, and the West Bank and Gaza Strip</i> , Norway: FAFO.	Edited volume that compares the across Jordan, Lebanon, Syria and
46	FAFO (2005) <i>Palestinian Refugees "information for policy"</i> . Norway: FAFO.	Three volume study followed by Fafo's 2003 "Exile and Suffering"
47	Tiltnes, Å. A. (2005) <i>Falling Behind: A Brief on the Living Conditions of Palestinian Refugees in Lebanon</i> . Norway: Fafo.	Summarises the survey the living conditions of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon in camps and gathering
48	Tiltnes, Å. A. (2007) <i>A Socio-economic Profile of the Nahr El-Bared and Beddawi Refugee Camps of Lebanon</i> . Norway: FAFO.	Refers to the 2004 Fafo results to the living conditions of camps following the camp war of
49	Ugland, O. F. (Ed.) (2002) <i>Difficult Past, Uncertain Future: Living Conditions Among Palestinian Refugees in Camps and Gathering in Lebanon</i> . Norway: FAFO.	Surveys the living conditions of P