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**JORDAN**

**UNRWA Protection and  
Services in Jordan**

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## General Overview

The client is a Palestinian national born in Jordan to Palestinian refugee parents. In 2016, he sought asylum in Greece, but his application was rejected. He subsequently returned to Jordan but was refused entry. Upon returning to Greece a second time, his asylum application was again rejected, and he is currently in Greece.

The United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (hereinafter “UNRWA”) is the United Nations agency providing protection and assistance to Palestine Refugees in Jordan. The agency was created by UN Resolution in December 1949 and began activities in May 1950. In Jordan UNRWA operates in 10 refugee camps providing services, including health care. The camps are administered and managed by the Jordanian authorities.

The criteria for registration with UNRWA are clear and apply only to those whose place of residence was Palestine between 1 June 1946 and 15 May 1948 and who lost their homes and livelihoods as a result of the 1948 Arab Israeli war, as well as to the male children of those who meet the above definition<sup>1</sup>. There are **only two ways to lose UNRWA registration**: firstly, **when the registered person dies**, and secondly, **if the original registration is found to be false or duplicated**. If an individual is removed from the UNRWA register for what they believe to be a mistake, they can request an investigation. If the investigation establishes that the removal was a mistake, their UNRWA registration can be restored<sup>2</sup>.

UNRWA’s mandate in Jordan is conducted under continuous consent of Jordanian authorities which means that, while the registration of Palestinian refugees can only be granted by UNRWA, it is **Jordan and not UNRWA that controls the legal status** in the host state, including the **right of entry** and residence<sup>3</sup>. A large number of Palestine refugees have received Jordanian citizenship.

When an individual registered with UNRWA receives **continuous protection** meaning if they leave an area of UNRWA’s operations they are *ipso facto* covered by the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees (hereinafter “the 1951 Geneva Convention”), upon return to UNRWA’s area of operations, 1951 Convention protection ceases<sup>4</sup>.

Protection and assistance including healthcare services are provided to non-Palestinian refugees in Jordan through UNHCR, while UNRWA provide protection and healthcare services to Palestinian refugees in the country. Access to services depends on various aspects of Palestinian refugee status, registered refugees are not the only ones to receive services, and Palestinian refugees with Jordanian citizenship receive additional services through the Jordanian government<sup>5</sup>.

Partly due to budgetary constraints, there are **few reports of independent evaluation of UNRWA's services**. Some reports show that despite limited resources, UNRWA is providing services in line with its mandate, but **many testimonies from people using UNRWA services** as well as from **UNRWA staff indicate that the quality of services is deteriorating**<sup>6</sup>. Furthermore, annual reports from the UNRWA medical department show a **decline in medical consultations of**

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<sup>1</sup> ‘Consolidated eligibility and registration instructions’ (UNRWA 2009), p. 3. Available [here](#).

<sup>2</sup> *Idem* pp. 16–17.

<sup>3</sup> International Journal of Refugee Law, UNRWA’s Protection Mandate: Closing the ‘Protection Gap’, 2018, p. 451. Available [here](#).

<sup>4</sup> Lance Bartholomeusz, ‘The mandate of UNRWA at sixty’, (2009) Refugee survey quarterly 461. Available [here](#).

<sup>5</sup> International Journal of Refugee Law, UNRWA’s Protection Mandate: Closing the ‘Protection Gap’, 2018, p. 451. Available [here](#).

<sup>6</sup> United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) Res (2015) UN Doc A/RES/70/85), Available [here](#). See also ‘Health Department Annual Report 2012’ (UNRWA 2013) Available [here](#).

**over 30% over 5 years**<sup>7</sup> despite an increase of registered UNRWA refugees, which, coupled with the **budget crisis** and **increased pressure on UNRWA services due to the Syrian conflict**, may indicate a real or perceived deterioration in services.

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<sup>7</sup> ‘The Annual Report of the Department of Health 2011’ (UNRWA 2012) Available [here](#). See also ‘Health Department Annual Report 2012’ (UNRWA 2013) Available [here](#) ; ‘Health Department Annual Report 2013’ (UNRWA 2014) Available [here](#) ; ‘Health Department Annual Report 2014’ (UNRWA 2015) Available [here](#) ; ‘Health Department Annual Report 2015’ (UNRWA 2016) Available [here](#), ; ‘Health Department Annual Report 2016’ (UNRWA 2017) Available [here](#).

## 1. Is leaving Jordan for so long a reason to be excluded from protection?

The UNRWA is a subsidiary agency created by the United Nations General Assembly for the protection and promotion of the rights of Palestinian refugees (1.1). Descendants of male Palestinian refugees may acquire the latter status. However, their names may be removed from the agency's registration system in specific cases (1.2). The cooperation with host states remains crucial to UNRWA's mandate, as their consent is required for UNRWA missions (1.3).

### 1.1. UNRWA in general, its missions and challenges

Source: Encyclopaedia Britannica, United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, 2020. Available [here](#).

“United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA), subsidiary agency created by the United Nations (UN) General Assembly in 1949 to provide relief, health, and education services for Palestinians who lost both their homes and means of livelihood during the Arab-Israeli wars following the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948 [...] UNRWA's member states include Belgium, Egypt, France, Japan, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, Turkey, the United Kingdom, the United States, and several Arab states of the Persian Gulf region; the Palestinian Authority has observer status”.

Source: UNRWA, *The United Nations and Palestinian Refugees*, 2007, p. 2-5. Available [here](#).

“UNRWA was mandated to carry out ‘relief and works programmes’ in support of Palestine refugees, that is, refugees from the territory that had been under the British Mandate for Palestine, **regardless of nationality**”.

“UNRWA was established by **United Nations General Assembly resolution 302 (IV) of 8 December 1949**. The Agency began operations in May 1950 and was originally expected to be short-lived. In the absence of a comprehensive solution to the Palestine refugee problem, however, the General Assembly has repeatedly renewed UNRWA's mandate [...]. Today, the Agency provides education, health care, social services, shelter, micro-credit loans and emergency aid to Palestine refugees in its **five fields of operations**: Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, the Gaza Strip, and the West Bank, including East Jerusalem”.

Source: United Nations, the question of Palestine, *What protection means for UNRWA in concept and practice – UNRWA consultant's report*, 2008. Available [here](#).

“4.2 The challenges with regard to international protection for Palestine refugees **include those common to protection for any refugees**, for example: access to safety and services; identification and legal status; family reunion; detention without due process; constraints on or denial of freedom of movement; denial of fundamental rights; and the lack of law-and order and functioning civilian authority in camps, and presence of armed elements in some. The degree to which such challenges are faced varies markedly between the fields”.

Source: UNRWA, *frequently asked questions – UNRWA Operations*, Available [here](#).

“In addition, the Agency is a strong advocate for the protection and promotion of the rights of Palestine refugees **until a just solution is found**. This involves advocacy with duty bearers to uphold their obligations towards Palestine refugees in all UNRWA fields of operations, including those living in the occupied Palestinian territory and under blockade in the Gaza Strip, those facing discrimination and denial of rights that severely affect their living standards in Lebanon, and those experiencing acute vulnerability in Jordan, in particular certain categories of Palestine refugees

who suffer from exclusion. UNRWA has also advocated for the protection of Palestine refugees impacted by the Syria conflict”.

## **1.2. Criteria for admission and removal from UNRWA's Registration System**

Source: ‘Consolidated eligibility and registration instructions’ (UNRWA 2009), p. 3 ; pp 16-17, Available [here](#).

“1. Persons who meet UNRWA’s Palestine Refugee criteria

These are persons whose normal **place of residence was Palestine during the period 1 June 1946 to 15 May 1948**, and **who lost both home and means of livelihood** as a result of the 1948 conflict. Palestine Refugees, and **descendants of Palestine refugee males**, including legally adopted children, are eligible to register for UNRWA services. The Agency accepts new applications from persons who wish to be registered as Palestine Refugees. Once they are registered with UNRWA, persons in this category are referred to as Registered Refugees or as Registered Palestine Refugees”.

“The names of registered **persons may be removed from UNRWA’s Registration System** in the following circumstances:

1. Upon the **death of a Registered Person**, on the strength of [...]
2. Names of persons or families **who have been falsely registered** or **whose registration has been duplicated** shall be removed from the Registration System on the strength of:
  - Verifiable information given by an UNRWA Staff Member in writing.
  - A voluntary declaration by a member of the Family concerned.
  - Information given by any other person, subject to confirmation by the registration staff.
  - A comparison between UNRWA and governmental records revealing an obvious duplication”.

“Persons whose names have been removed from the UNRWA Registration System may be **re-registered with the approval of the Chief, Field Relief and Social Services Programme if s/he is convinced that the removal was made in error**. Such persons must apply in person and an investigation should be carried out by registration staff to verify the case for reinstatement”.

Source: Lance Bartholomeusz, ‘The mandate of UNRWA at sixty’, (2009) Refugee survey quarterly. Available [here](#).

“The criteria for registration as a Palestine refugee are set out in the Agency’s Consolidated Eligibility and Registration Instructions, the latest version of which was issued in October 2009: Persons who meet UNRWA’s Palestine Refugee criteria. These are persons whose normal place of residence was Palestine during the period 1 June 1946 to 15 May 1948, and who lost both home and means of livelihood as a result of the 1948 conflict. Palestine Refugees, and descendants of Palestine refugee males, including legally adopted children, are eligible to register for UNRWA services. The Agency accepts new applications from persons who wish to be registered as Palestine Refugees”.

Source: UNRWA, *The United Nations and Palestinian Refugees*, 2007, p. 2-5. Available [here](#).

“**Anyone whose normal place of residence was in Mandate Palestine during the period from 1 June 1946 to 15 May 1948 and who lost both home and means of livelihood as a result of the 1948 Arab-Israeli war qualifies as a Palestine refugee**, as defined by UNRWA, and is eligible

for UNRWA registration. Hence the reference to Palestine refugees, not Palestinian refugees, in UNRWA's name and official documents. The descendants of the original Palestine refugees are also eligible for registration, but only refugees living in one of UNRWA's five fields of operations receive Agency services".

### **1.3. The cooperation with host states in the context of UNRWA's mandate**

Host State's consent is crucial for UNRWA to intervene and they are the only ones who can control the legal status of Palestinian refugees within their territory (1.3.1). Nevertheless, host states have an obligation to respect international human rights law (1.3.2).

#### **1.3.1. The importance of host state consent**

Source: *The United Nations and Palestinian Refugees*, p. 3, available [here](#).

"For the past 55 years, UNRWA and UNHCR have been cooperating, each within its mandate, and **in close coordination with the host states**, to support and protect Palestinian refugees".

Source: Lance Bartholomeusz, 'The mandate of UNRWA at sixty', (2009) *Refugee survey quarterly*, p. 461, available [here](#).

"Unlike UN missions or agencies established under a Chapter VII decision of the Security Council, **UNRWA relies on the host governments' continued consent**, which is regularly expressed [...]. UNRWA also responds to requests from individuals (or their authorized representatives) outside the Agency's fields of operation to verify their registration as Palestine refugees".

Source: UNRWA, *UNRWA letter to UNHCR describing the UNRWA mandate and services*, 22 September 2021, available [here](#).

"The **host state or authorities** – not UNRWA – **will control the legal status of Palestine refugees within state borders**, including their **right to lawfully enter or reside** within the relevant area and authority to access public services and other entitlements [...]. **Registration with UNRWA does not place an obligation on the host state or authorities** to provide government services to Palestine refugees, or legal status through which they may access the above-mentioned rights. UNRWA is not mandated to pronounce on whether an individual is a national of any country and does not operate as a civil registry office".

Source: *International Journal of Refugee Law*, UNRWA's Protection Mandate: Closing the 'Protection Gap', 2018, p. 451, available [here](#).

"In reality, the protection situation of Palestinian refugees, and the level to which they are in a position to fully enjoy their rights, **varies across UNRWA's five areas of operation because of factors specific to each context**. In Jordan, for example, the majority of the 2.2 million Palestinian refugees have been granted citizenship and enjoy many (although not all) of the same rights as Jordanians".

#### **1.3.2. The need for host states to respect international human rights law**

Source: 'UNRWA's Protection Mandate: Closing the 'Protection Gap'' (2018) 30 *International Journal of Refugee Law* pp. 452-455, available [here](#).

"Furthermore, States' legal obligations with respect to the protection of refugees within their



territory do not originate solely from international refugee law. Indeed, **there are important provisions within international human rights law (IHRL), which are particularly relevant to the protection of Palestinian refugees.** The scope of IHRL is broader than that of the Refugee Convention and its obligations are universal, applying to individuals regardless of their nationality and domicile in a particular State”.

“In particular, States are required to respect, protect, and fulfill the human rights of all persons within their territory or jurisdiction, including refugees, in accordance with the rights set out in each treaty”.

“In sum, while Palestinian refugees within UNRWAs areas of operation may not enjoy the protection of the Refugee Convention, they have been accorded a legal status by host States which has provided a degree of protection. **These States also have legal obligations under IHRL with respect to Palestinian refugees**”.

## 2. Is it possible to receive new protection from UNRWA after being excluded?

Conditions excluding Palestinian refugees from the protection of UNRWA and Article 1§D(2) of the 1951 Geneva Convention<sup>8</sup> are framed in such a way that Palestinians outside the UNRWA area of operation do not lose their refugee status (2.1). Thus, a Palestinian refugee is *ipso facto* protected by the UNHCR if he or she is outside UNRWA's area and no longer benefit from its assistance (2.2). UNRWA's protection recovers upon return from the territory covered by the UNRWA – including Jordan – (2.3).

### 2.1. Palestinian refugees enjoy continued protection of their status

Protection of Article 1§D of the 1951 Geneva Convention must be assessed in the light of the effective termination of UNRWA's protection (2.1.1). However, the European Court of Justice considers that a Palestinian who has refugee status with UNRWA cannot obtain refugee status in the EU while receiving effective protection or assistance from this UN agency (2.1.2).

#### 2.1.1. **Protection of Article 1§D of the 1951 Geneva Convention must be assessed in the light of the effective termination of UNRWA protection**

Source: *Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees* (adopted 28 July 1951, entered into force 22 April 1954) 189 UNTS 137 (Refugee Convention) art 1 para. D, available [here](#).

“D. This Convention shall **not apply to persons** who are at present **receiving from organs or agencies of the United Nations other than the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees protection or assistance.**

When **such protection or assistance has ceased** for any reason, without the position of such persons being definitively settled in accordance with the relevant resolutions adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations, **these persons shall *ipso facto* be entitled to the benefits of this Convention.**”

Source: UNHCR ‘Guidelines on International Protection No. 13: Applicability of Article 1D of the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees to Palestinian Refugees’ (Geneva 2017) 3–4., available [here](#).

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<sup>8</sup> Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (adopted 28 July 1951, entered into force 22 April 1954) 189 UNTS 137 (Refugee Convention) art 1 para. D. Available [here](#).

“In interpreting Article 1D, it is appropriate to have regard to its object and purpose and its context, including through recourse to the *travaux préparatoires* of the 1951 Convention and to other contemporaneous international instruments intended to address the questions of protection and institutional responsibility for Palestinian refugees. A **broad interpretation** is warranted, based on the intention of the parties as expressed in the ordinary meaning of the terms of the treaty, considered in context and in the light of its object and purpose. By applying such, it is clear that Article 1D of the 1951 Convention has two related purposes which guide its interpretation and application. The first purpose is to ensure **that Palestinian refugees continue** to be recognized as a **specific class**, and that they **continue to receive protection** and associated **rights**, until their position has been definitively settled in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly. This purpose is also reflected in the discussions regarding the drafting of the Statute of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, in which it was emphasized that **Palestinian refugees should continue to be granted special status**. It was also recognized as essential that the **continuity of protection be ensured for Palestinians** as a *sui generis* class of refugees under the 1951 Convention.”

“The *travaux préparatoires* of paragraph 7(c) of the UNHCR Statute and article 1D of the 1951 Convention confirm the agreement of participating States that Palestine refugees were in need of international protection, and that there was **no intention to exclude them from the regime of international protection**. What was important was **continuity of protection**; the non-applicability of the 1951 Convention was intended to be temporary and contingent, postponing or deferring the incorporation of Palestine refugees until certain preconditions were satisfied.”

“12. “**Exclusion**” from protection under the 1951 Convention pursuant to Article 1D(1) does not mean that persons within the scope of this provision are not to be considered refugees. Quite the contrary, the express intention of the drafters was to provide a separate regime for an entire class of persons already receiving specific benefits from UN organs or agencies. Thus, **Article 1D is clearly intended to cover all Palestinian refugees “falling under the mandate of UNRWA, regardless of when, or whether, they are actually registered with that agency, or actually receiving assistance.”** To interpret Article 1D(1) as an exclusion clause in that sense would be incorrect, as it would ignore the character of Article 1D as a “contingent inclusion clause.” It would also be inconsistent with the object and purpose of the 1951 Convention and, in particular, with **the aim of Article 1D** itself, which is to **ensure continuity of protection** for a class of persons who are already recognised as refugees by the international community.”

“[w]hile UNHCR’s mandate is global ... UNRWA has **competence** in five geographical areas or ‘fields’ of operation: **Jordan**, Lebanon, the Syrian Arab Republic, the West Bank (including East Jerusalem) and Gaza. Taken together, these territories **constitute UNRWA’s areas of operation**, in which it provides protection or assistance to a population of over five million Palestinian refugees.”

Source: P. Albanese, Lex Takkenberg, *Palestinian Refugees in International Law* (Oxford University Press 2021) 115–117. Available [here](#).

“Accordingly, Article 1D (2) can only be triggered when Palestinian refugees are outside UNRWA’s areas of operations. However, this does not mean that application of Article 1D is exclusively dependent on whether the refugee is outside the agency’s area of operations. For Palestinian refugees to fall within the scope of Article 1D(2), the function of the special arrangements set up under Article 1D for Palestinian refugees needs to be considered. Such arrangements revolve around two words: **protection and assistance**. Both terms appear twice in the provision and should be **read disjunctively**. Crucially, these terms are the trigger to the exclusion or inclusion under Article 1D (1) and (2) respectively.

“In Article 1D (1) the term protection or assistance qualifies the organs originally responsible for Palestinian refugees, whose mission triggers the exclusion from the benefits of the 1951 Convention. In turn, **cessation of protection or assistance under Article 1D (2) triggers the inclusion under the 1951 Convention and UNHCR’s competence**. The UNHCR Guidelines take the position that the two parts of Article 1D ‘are to be read jointly and operate sequentially,’ which means that **if someone falls within the personal scope of Article 1D (1) discussed previously, he or she will benefit from the protection of the 1951 Convention in case the protection or assistance envisaged at Article 1D – nowadays UNRWA’s only – has ceased for any reason**. Hence, there is a **general presumption** that Palestinian refugees under Article 1D (1) receive protection or assistance – as they are eligible for it – whenever they find themselves in one of UNRWA’s areas of operation.”

### 2.1.2. European Union Law regarding the cease of protection by UNRWA

Source : Court of Justice of the European Union, ‘A Palestinian who has refugee status from UNRWA cannot obtain refugee status in the EU while receiving effective protection or assistance from that UN agency’ (2018, Case C-585/16 Serin Alheto v Zamestnik-predsedatel na Darzhavna agentsia za bezhantsite), Press Release No 112/18, available [here](#)

“the Court recalls that, **when a Palestinian [...] is registered with the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) [...], that Palestinian may not obtain asylum in the EU** for as long as he or she is a beneficiary of effective protection or assistance from that UN agency. That **individual may obtain asylum in the EU only if he or she are in a position in which his or her personal safety is at serious risk, has unsuccessfully sought assistance from UNRWA and has been driven to leave the UNRWA area of operations owing to circumstances beyond his or her control.**”

“When, as in the present case, **a person of Palestinian origin registered with UNRWA leaves his or her residence in the Gaza Strip for Jordan and stays for a short time in that country before travelling to an EU Member State where he or she lodges an application for international protection, both the administrative or quasi-judicial body** designated by that Member State to examine such an application and the court or tribunal hearing an appeal against the decision adopted by that body must, inter alia, **examine whether that person enjoyed effective protection or assistance from UNRWA in Jordan. If that is the case, that person may not obtain asylum in the EU. Nor may that person obtain subsidiary protection in the EU if it has not been established that his or her personal safety is at serious risk in the territory of his or her place of residence (in the present case, the Gaza Strip) or, otherwise, if Jordan is prepared to readmit that individual to its territory and grant him or her the right to stay in dignified living conditions for as long as necessary in view of the risks in the Gaza Strip.**”

Source: Case C-364/11 *El Kott and Others v Bevándorlási és Állampolgársági Hivatal* [2012] 11 2 11–12, available [here](#).

“62. As regards the examination, in an individual case, of the circumstances giving rise to the departure from the UNRWA area of operations, **the national authorities must take account of the objective of Article 1D of the Geneva Convention**, to which Article 12(1)(a) of Directive 2004/83 refers, [...]

63. In the light of that objective, **a Palestinian refugee must be regarded as having been forced to leave UNRWA’s area of operations if his personal safety is at serious risk** and if it is impossible for that agency to guarantee that his living conditions in that area will be commensurate with the mission entrusted to that agency.

[...] 64. It should be added that, where the **competent authorities of the Member State** in which the **application for asylum has been made** seek to **determine whether**, for reasons beyond his control and independent of his volition, **it was in point of fact no longer possible for the person concerned to benefit from the assistance of which he had availed himself before leaving the UNRWA area of operations, those authorities must carry out an assessment, on an individual basis, of all the relevant factors**, in which Article 4(3) of Directive 2004/83 may be applicable by analogy.”

Source: ‘Palestine refugees and protection in international law: A speech by Guy S. Goodwin-Gill’ (Andrew & Renata Kaldor Centre for International Refugee Law), available [here](#)

“In the El Kott case, when the Court was also asked first to clarify whether, in EU terms, the ‘benefit of the Directive’ meant recognition as a refugee or, for example, the grant of refugee status or subsidiary protection at the choice of the Member State. Second, the Court was asked to clarify the meaning of ‘cessation of protection or assistance’.

[...] On the first point, the Court was adamant: refugee status was called for – article 12 was based on the Convention and *ipso facto* meant ‘as of right’. On the second point, Advocate General Sharpston was no less clear in emphasising, as she had done also in Bolbol, **that the reason why the refugee was no longer receiving protection or assistance was crucial, requiring a distinction between those ‘who remove themselves voluntarily from the UNRWA zone and thereby from UNRWA’s assistance and those who find that external events beyond their control have meant that UNRWA ceases to continue to provide assistance to them’.**”

“The Court agreed, **rejecting the argument that simple residence outside UNRWA’s area of operations was enough, or that UNRWA itself would have to come to an end.** Instead, and in-between, the Court held that **protection or assistance to an ‘eligible’ Palestinian refugee would need to have ceased for a reason beyond the control and independently of the volition of the individual concerned, for example, when he or she was forced to leave UNRWA’s area of operations because their personal safety was at risk.**”

## **2.2. Return to the UNRWA area of operation and cease of the protection afforded by the 1951 Convention : a limitation of duplicating UNHCR and UNRWA mandates**

Source: UN High Commissioner for Refugees, *UNHCR Revised Statement on Article 1D of the 1951 Convention in relation to Bolbol v. Bevándorlási és Állampolgársági Hivatal pending before the Court of Justice of the European Union*, October 2009, available [here](#)

“**If such a refugee returns to UNRWA’s area of operations, he or she remains entitled to the benefits of the 1951 Convention until such return takes place. Upon return**, he or she no longer falls within paragraph 2 of Article 1D but falls instead within paragraph 1 of that Article, meaning that **he or she loses his or her entitlement to the benefits of the 1951 Convention** even though he or she continues to retain his or her refugee character. However, this is not the case if a “displaced person” who is not a “Palestine refugee” returns to the Palestinian territory occupied by Israel since 1967, since in that eventuality he or she would lose his or her refugee character and not fall within the scope of Article 1D at all.”

Source: UNHCR ‘Guidelines on International Protection No. 13: Applicability of Article 1D of the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees to Palestinian Refugees’, *op. cit* 7–8.

“In the same vein, interpreting Article 1D in a way that would not cover those Palestinian refugees who are eligible for UNRWA’s protection or assistance would lead to the **duplication of mandates** in respect of the same refugee population between UNHCR and UNRWA inside UNRWA’s areas

of operation. In UNHCR's view, this same interpretation also guides the interpretation of the provision outside UNRWA's areas of operation. Thus, the provision ought to be interpreted in a way that reflects the complementary mandates of the two agencies, both within and outside UNRWA's areas of operation."

**"Thus, in moving from inside to outside the UNRWA area of operations and then back again, the person concerned moves back and forth between paragraphs 1 and 2 of Article 1D, irrespective of the reasons for leaving or returning to the UNRWA area."**

Source: AD (Palestine), [2015] NZIPT 800693-695, New Zealand: Immigration and Protection Tribunal, 23 December 2015, para 159, available [here](#).

"An interpretation of the personal scope of Article 1D drawing on the continuing eligibility of Palestinian refugees as a class receiving protection and assistance from UN agencies other than UNHCR best coheres with the object and purpose of Article 1D. The Article aims, fundamentally, to ensure continued protection of Palestinians as persons whose refugee character had already been established. This interpretation also coheres with the intention of the drafters to avoid overlapping agency competence for the protection of Palestinian refugees. Unless Article 1D is interpreted to include those eligible under the UNRWA's guidelines as tacitly approved by the UN General Assembly, this could lead, at least in countries inside UNRWA's field of operation, to the very duplication of mandates the drafters were keen to avoid."

### **3. Has the situation for Palestinians in Jordan under UNRWA protection deteriorated? Emphasis on access to health**

To assess the situation and possible deterioration of services provided by UNRWA for Palestinian refugees in Jordan, there will be an examination of services provided by UNRWA (3.1), the impact of the Syrian crisis in Jordan (3.2), the funding crisis faced by UNRWA (3.3), the data provided of annual number of medical consultations, annual medical expenditures and hospital referrals in 2011-2016 due to the relevance of this time period on the case (3.4) and refugee testimony of experience accessing and using UNRWA health services and refugee access to health in Jordan (3.5).

#### **3.1. UNRWA Services, Health Structure in Jordan and access**

UNRWA provides development and humanitarian assistance in the following sectors: education, health, protection, relief and social services, microfinance, infrastructure, and camp improvement as well as emergency response.

UNRWA provides services in refugee camps in Jordan, UNRWA services are run directly by UNRWA, but refugee camps where the agency works are managed by Jordanian authorities (3.1.1). It is difficult to fully ascertain the quality of services provided by UNRWA due to the limited external reports available, but the reports that are available generally state that UNRWA is providing sufficient quality services aligned with its mandate (3.1.2). The quality of services available to Palestine refugees differs a great deal based on status (3.1.3).

##### **3.1.1. General overview of services**

Source: 'Where we work' (United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East), available [here](#)

Source: ‘What we do’ (United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East), available [here](#)

As of February 2023, there are 2,307,011 registered Palestinian refugees living in Jordan, there are 10 Palestine refugee camps, which house approximately 18% of the over 2 million Palestine refugees. While these camps are managed by Jordanian authorities, UNRWA provides primary health services throughout these 10 camps via 25 primary health centers.

### 3.1.2. Evaluation of UNRWA services

Source: Kjersti G. Berg et al, ‘UNRWA, Funding Crisis and the Way Forward,’(Chr. Michelsen Institute, 13 December 2022), available [here](#)

“External evaluations have **generally provided an overall positive assessment of UNRWA**, pointing to the Agency’s **ability to deliver services** in accordance with its mandate **despite formidable resource constraints** and external shocks, and at comparatively low cost. Although evaluations have concluded that UNRWA’s achievements in its various program areas have been efficient and strong and comparable to that of other providers, they also present challenges and suggest ways forward. However, **too few evaluations have been implemented**. There is a **perception of falling quality of UNRWA services both amongst Palestinian refugees and UNRWA staff**, but **UNRWA lacks the tools for monitoring and assessing service quality adequately**. More assessments would enhance the strategic thinking of UNRWA and its partners (e.g., donors and host countries) and the quality of its programs (MOPAN 2019; Mowjee 2021; UNRWA n.d.).”

“The **context** under which Palestinian refugees live and UNRWA operates have changed several times due to local, regional, and global shocks and events. **How such factors actually impact the lives of Palestinian refugees and UNRWA’s operations is not well understood**. Despite improved data collection efforts by UNRWA in the past decade or more, **solid information and insight about discrepancies between the services and living conditions in the various fields is lacking**.”

Source: Halsey Kayla, Alarood Salameh et al. ‘An exploration of politicized healthcare access for Syrian and Palestinian refugees in Jordan: a question of equity’ (2022) 18 International Journal of Migration, Health and Social Care. pp. 58, available [here](#).

“The reliance on UNRWA health services across generations overextends UNRWA’s resource capacity and therefore reduces the quality and availability of its services.”

### 3.1.3. Differential Treatment

Access to services in Jordan for Palestine refugees depends on various aspects of status, particularly refugees who hold Jordanian citizenships.

Source: Kjersti G. Berg et al, ‘UNRWA, Funding Crisis and the Way Forward,’ *op. cit.*

“**In Jordan, approximately one-third of all Jordanian nationals are UNRWA-registered refugees** (Albanese & Takkenberg 2020: 198-207).”

“The definition excluded some people who lost their home or livelihood, but not both, in 1948. Many persons, and their descendants, who did not fit the criteria of the 1950s definition have thus never been included as officially registered Palestine refugees. Some such groups were defined as “Jerusalem poor”, “Gaza poor”, “frontier villagers” and “Kafalah children”. **They may nonetheless access UNRWA schools and health centres** (UNRWA, confidential paper, no title, n.d.). The **evolution of the operational definition** has led to the **inclusion of more individuals**. Descendants in the male line were added to the definition due to their continued statelessness (Albanese & Takkenberg 2021: 90-105). **Until 2006, Palestinian refugee women (and their children) married to non-refugees could not register as “Palestine refugees”, but UNRWA subsequently extended its services to this “MNR category”**. Yet today the registration of the MNR varies across fields due to **budgetary considerations** (UNRWA, confidential paper, no title, n.d.).

UNRWA also operates with a related, but lesser known category, the “**Non-registered Eligible Persons**”, which consists of persons who do not meet (or cannot prove that they meet) the operational definition but may be eligible for certain assistance or services. This category includes non-registered persons displaced due to the 1967 war and subsequent hostilities (e.g., Lebanon 1982), and the **provision of services to this group was endorsed by the UNGA**. This category also includes **non-registered persons who exceptionally receive UNRWA assistance** and services under the Emergency Programmes, non-registered persons who request and qualify for the Microfinance services, **individuals who are not Palestine refugees but live in camps where services are provided to the community as a whole**, and family members of UNRWA staff who are not registered refugees. Furthermore, it covers a limited number of students in UNRWA schools, often in arrangements with host authorities, and persons accessing UNRWA health services. Those displaced in 1967 have never been registered with UNRWA, and UNRWA is unable to report on exactly how many of them access services or to verify their status (UNRWA, confidential paper, no title, no year).”

Source: Soh Changrok, You Yoonjeong et al. ‘Once Resolved, Stay Resolved? The Refuse Policy of Jordan toward Palestinian Refugees’ (2016) 23 Journal of International and Area Studies, pp. 1-16, available [here](#)

“Researchers do not seem to have paid sufficient attention to the treatment of asylum seekers or de facto refugees who are not granted with their Jordanian citizenship yet. In fact, **Jordan has not taken reasonable effort on local integration among refugees and asylum seekers**. Rather, it has pursued contradictory policies for Palestinians in the West Bank area, and went so far as to deprive the West Bank residents Jordanian citizenship, not to mention that the Jordan government citizenship in 1970.”

Source: Halsey Kayla, Alarood Salameh et al., ‘An exploration of politicized healthcare access for Syrian and Palestinian refugees in Jordan: a question of equity’, *op. cit.* pp. 51-65

“A **key difference in the Palestinian refugees’ health care access** is determined by their **citizenship and government entitlements** which are **entirely different for Palestinians** who came to Jordan directly from the West Bank or Palestine and Palestinians who came to Jordan from the Gaza strip either in 1948 or 1967 wars.”

Source: ‘Health in Jordan’ (United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East), available [here](#)

“Based on criteria including their place of origin and year of arrival, most of the over 2 million Palestine refugees in Jordan have been granted citizenship, and have the same access to health care as other Jordanian citizens. However, **UNRWA beneficiaries who are not Jordanian citizens, such as those who emigrated from the Gaza Strip in 1967, face restrictions on their access to health care, leaving them extremely vulnerable.**

In Jordan, our clinics serve more than 1.1 million people, nearly 56 per cent of the registered Palestine refugees in the country. In our 24 health care facilities, we provide over 1.9 million general consultations each year, and over 67,000 dental screenings. We also support nearly 70,000 patients with non-communicable diseases (NCDs), generally diabetes or hypertension.”

Source: ‘Stateless Again: Palestinian-Origin Jordanians Deprived of their Nationality’ (Human Rights Watch, 2010), available [here](#)

“**More than half of the 6.3 million population of Jordan is of Palestinian origin** that is, from areas west of the River Jordan, including the West Bank, today's Israel, and Gaza. **With the exception of persons from Gaza, the vast majority of those persons of Palestinian origin have Jordanian citizenship.** However, since 1988, and especially over the past few years, the **Jordanian government has been arbitrarily and without notice withdrawing Jordanian nationality from its citizens of Palestinian** origin, making them stateless. For many of them this means they are again stateless Palestinians as they were before 1950.”

“So far, **Jordan has withdrawn its nationality from thousands of its citizens of Palestinian origin-over 2,700 between 2004 and 2008 alone.** It has done so, in the individual cases Human Rights Watch identified, in an **arbitrary manner and in violation of Jordan's nationality law of 1954.** Under that law Palestinian residents of the West Bank in 1949 or thereafter received full Jordanian nationality following Jordan's incorporation of the West Bank in April 1950.”

### **3.2. Syrian Crisis**

In March 2011 conflict broke out in Syria as Syrians began to protest against the regime of Bashar Al-Assad. Refugees fled from Syria into Jordan including tens of thousands of Palestine refugees. This increase of refugees both Syrian and Palestine put pressure on Jordan’s already stretched infrastructure and services including UNRWA’s service.

Source: ‘Syria Regional Refugee Response: Jordan’ (United National High Commissioner on Refugees), available [here](#)

According to UNHCR statistics on January 19 2012 2,886 Syrian refugees were registered in Jordan, one year later on 27 January 2013 the number increased to 76, 274 and the following year on January 29<sup>th</sup> 2014 the number jumped to 593, 186 Syrian refugees registered with UNHCR in Jordan. As of 28 February 2023, UNHCR recorded 661, 854 Syrian refugees in Jordan.

Source: Alexandra Francis, ‘Jordan’s Refugee Crisis’ (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace 2015), available [here](#)



“Syrian refugees have **stressed economic and resource infrastructure in Jordan**, which was **already suffering from structural issues** before the refugee crisis.”

“As massive population growth stresses host-community capacities, Syrian refugees have cast a light on some of Jordan’s greatest contemporary challenges. A plethora of reports point to the Syrian refugee impact on **Jordan’s depleted resources**, increased job competition, **overburdened infrastructure, and strained social services, like healthcare and education**. Notably, the challenges highlighted by the refugees all have deep roots in Jordan’s social, economic, and political fabrics. Indeed, the Syrian refugee population has merely exacerbated preexisting endemic challenges that could be harbingers of future instability.”

“Though Syrians have stressed host communities, Jordan was already facing substantial challenges to its resource, economic, and social sectors before the influx. In the lead-up to the Arab uprisings, Jordan struggled with massive water scarcity, climbing youth unemployment, rural marginalization, and development deficits in sectors like healthcare and education. Syrians triggered a rapid increase in public frustration about these issues.”

Source: ‘Health Department Annual Report 2012’ (UNRWA 2013), available [here](#)

“This relatively sudden increase in demand for health services is **adversely impacting efficiency**, burdening human resources, and **exacerbating consumption of life-saving medicines** and other supplies.”

Source: ‘Health Department Annual Report 2014’ (UNRWA 2015), available [here](#)

“Throughout the year, Lebanon and Jordan continued to absorb the bulk of the burden of the conflict’s refugees, where resources in camps and health centres are already **stretched beyond capacity**.”

Source: ‘Health Department Annual Report 2015’ (UNRWA 2016), available [here](#)

“UNRWA continues its uphill battle in 2015; mental health and psychosocial needs, always a concern in a protracted crisis, have become more pronounced as a result of the active conflicts in Syria and Gaza and their spillover into Lebanon and Jordan.”

### **3.3. Funding Crisis**

UNRWA has been facing a funding crisis for many years, it is mentioned in Health Department reports from 2011-2016. This crisis reached new level in 2018 when its biggest donor, the United States, drastically cut funding.

Source: Kjersti G. Berg et al, ‘UNRWA, Funding Crisis and the Way Forward,’ *op. cit.*

“External evaluations have **generally provided an overall positive assessment of UNRWA**, pointing to the Agency’s ability to **deliver services** in accordance with its mandate **despite formidable resource constraints** and external shocks, and at comparatively low cost. Although

evaluations have concluded that UNRWA's achievements in its various program areas have been efficient and strong and comparable to that of other providers, they also present challenges and suggest ways forward. However, **too few evaluations have been implemented**. There is a **perception of falling quality of UNRWA services both amongst Palestinian refugees and UNRWA staff**, but UNRWA **lacks the tools for monitoring** and assessing service quality adequately. More assessments would enhance the strategic thinking of UNRWA and its partners (e.g., donors and host countries) and the quality of its programs (MOPAN 2019; Mowjee 2021; UNRWA n.d.).”

Source: UN News, ‘US funding cuts for UN Palestine refugee agency put vital education, health programmes at risk’ (UNRWA, 17 January 2018), available [here](#)

“Pierre Krähenbühl, the Commissioner-General of the UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA), said that **US government announced a contribution of \$60 million for the UN agency, down from \$350 million total contribution** by the country in 2017. The reduction has endangered the agency's programmes across the region, he added.”

“At stake is the access of 525,000 boys and girls in 700 UNRWA schools, and their future. At stake is the dignity and human security of millions of Palestine refugees [and] access of refugees to primary health care, including prenatal care and other life-saving services,” added Mr. Krähenbühl in the statement.”

“He further noted that the reduced contribution “also **impacts regional security** at a time when the Middle East faces multiple risks and threats, notably that of further radicalization.”

Source: Karen DeYoung and Ruth Eglash. ‘Trump administration to end U.S. funding to U.N. program for Palestinian refugees’ (Washington Post, August 30, 2018), available [here](#)

“The Trump administration has decided to cancel all U.S. funding of the United Nations aid program for Palestinian refugees, part of its determination to put its money where its policy is as it seeks a recalculation of U.S. foreign aid spending and prepares its own Israeli-Palestinian peace plan.

In an announcement to be made within the next several weeks, the administration plans to voice its disapproval of the way the U.N. Relief and Works Agency, or UNRWA, spends the funds and to **call for a sharp reduction in the number of Palestinians recognized as refugees**, dropping it from more than 5 million, including descendants, to fewer than a tenth of that number, or those still alive from when the agency was created seven decades ago, according to officials familiar with the decision.

Any such reduction would effectively eliminate, for most Palestinians, the “right of return” to land contested with Israel. More immediately, many regional foreign policy and security experts, including in Israel, say that slashing UNRWA's budget, amid a call to “de-register” refugees, would worsen an already disastrous humanitarian situation, especially in Gaza, and sharply increase the level of violence.”

Source: UNRWA, ‘Unites States announces restoration of U.S. \$150 million to support Palestine refugees’ 7 April 2021, available [here](#)

“The **United States** announced today that it is **contributing US \$150 million** to the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA), **restoring its role as a decades-long friend and supporter** of the UN agency that provides life-saving human development and humanitarian aid assistance to Palestine refugees across the Middle East. **The restoration of funds comes after recent years of severe financial crisis for UNRWA.**”

Source: United Nations General Assembly, ‘Operations of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East’, A/RES/70/85, 15 December 2015, available [here](#)

“Deeply concerned about the **extremely critical financial situation** of the Agency, caused in part by the **structural underfunding** of the Agency, as well as its rising expenditures resulting from the **deterioration of the socioeconomic and humanitarian conditions** and the conflicts and rising instability in the region and their **significant negative impact on the provision of necessary Agency services to the Palestine refugees**, including its emergency, recovery, reconstruction and development programmes in all fields of operation,”

Source: UNRWA, ‘Health Department Annual Report 2012’, 1 January 2013, available [here](#)

“Thus the increasing **health needs have far outpaced much needed increase in funding**. In 2012, the UNRWA Health Department thus got jeopardized by the funding deficit in scaling up and modernizing its services to meet the changing and an increasing demand for services, a fundamental mismatch that can potentially seriously jeopardize our ability to sustain newly introduced, innovative and novel approaches, namely FHT and E-health, to meet the health challenges of 21st century.”

Source: UNRWA, ‘Health Department Annual Report 2014’, 11 May 2015, available [here](#)

“These challenges exist in the face of the grim reality that our **financial resources are never sufficient**, and in fact are shrinking every year.”

Source: UNRWA, ‘Health Department Annual Report 2015’, 24 May 2016, available [here](#)

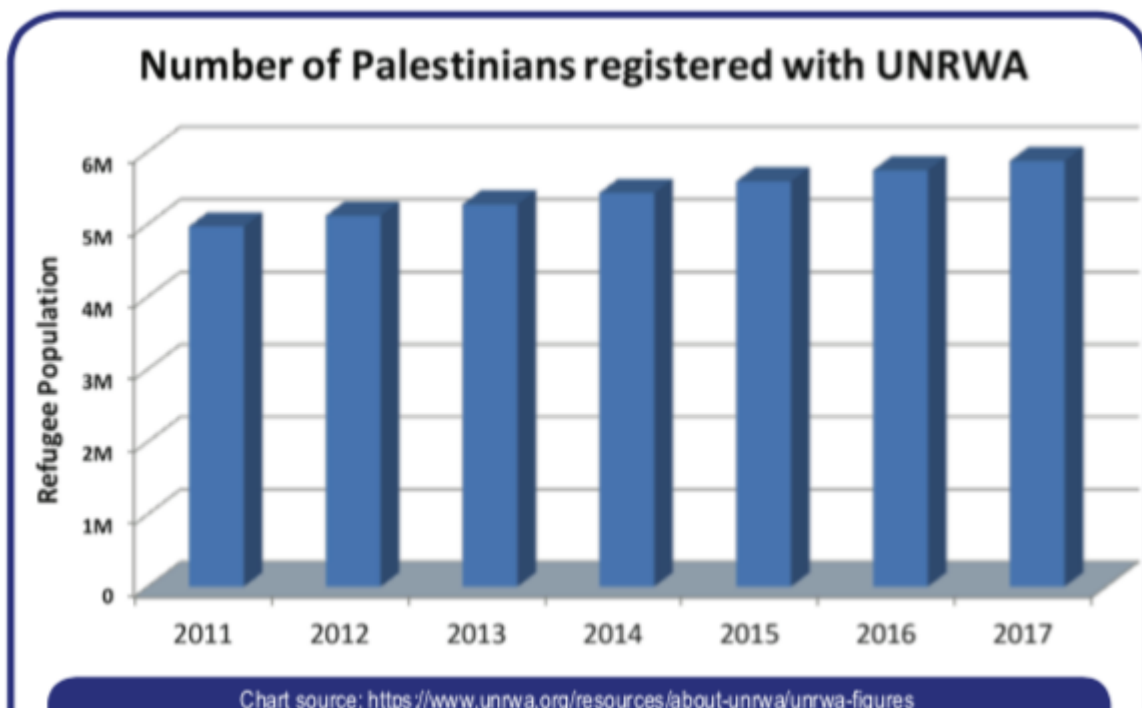
“2015 continued to be a difficult year. The instability and conflicts in the region, in addition to UNRWA’s **budget constraints, have affected UNRWA’s work in all the Fields.**”

### **3.4. Data pertaining to UNRWA health services 2011-2016**

From 2011-2016 medical consultations conducted at UNRWA clinics in Jordan decreased each year and more than 30% from 2011-2016, despite an increase in population seeking services.

#### **3.4.1. Increase in Population of Registered with UNRWA**

Source: Alice Ramsay and Amaya Al-Orzza, ‘Understanding the political Underpinnings of UNRWA’s chronic Funding Crisis’ (BADIL Resource Center for Palestinian Residency and Refugee Rights, June 2018), available [here](#)



### 3.4.2. Data for UNRWA medical consultations 2011-2016

Sources: ‘The Annual Report of the Department of Health 2011’ (UNRWA 2012) Available [here](#),  
‘Health Department Annual Report 2012’ (UNRWA 2013) Available [here](#)  
‘Health Department Annual Report 2013’ (UNRWA 2014) Available [here](#)  
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‘Health Department Annual Report 2015’ (UNRWA 2016) Available [here](#)  
‘Health Department Annual Report 2016’ (UNRWA 2017) Available [here](#)

<b>Medical Consultations in UNRWA Health Facilities in Jordan 2011-2016</b>	
<b>Year</b>	<b>Medical Consultations</b>
2011	2,306,878
2012	1,943,057
2013	1,765,335
2014	1,721,440
2015	1,598,989
2016	1,552,936

**The explanation each year for the decrease in the UNRWA reports is identical:**

Source: ‘Health Department Annual Report 2012’ (UNRWA 2013), available [here](#)

“In Jordan, Lebanon and West Bank, this decrease could be attributed to implementing the appointment system, e-health system and FHT approach in some health centres.”

Source: ‘Health Department Annual Report 2013’ (UNRWA 2014), available [here](#)

“In Jordan, Gaza and West Bank this decrease could be attributed to implementing the appointment system, e-health system and FHT approach in some health centres.”

Source: ‘Health Department Annual Report 2014’ (UNRWA 2015), available [here](#)

“In Jordan, Gaza and West Bank, the utilization of out-patient services decreased. This decrease could be attributed to implementing the appointment system, e-Health system and FHT approach in some health centres.”

Source: ‘Health Department Annual Report 2015’ (UNRWA 2016), available [here](#)

“In Jordan, Lebanon and Gaza, the utilization of outpatient services decreased. This decrease could be attributed to implementing the appointment system, e-health system and the FHT approach in some health centres.”

Source: ‘Health Department Annual Report 2016’ (UNRWA 2017), available [here](#)

“Utilization of outpatient services Agency-wide decreased by 7.0 % in 2016 compared to 2015, with a total of approximately 8.6 million medical consultations. Of these consultations, 144,906 were specialist consultations. This decrease in utilization was observed in all Fields, and could be attributed to the implementation of the appointment system, e-health system and the FHT approach in most health centres.”

To explain why an appointment booking system, and a family health team (FHT), which is a more holistic rather than vertical approach, would drastically reduce the number of consultations for a growing population:

Source: ‘Health Department Annual Report 2015’ (UNRWA 2016), available [here](#)

“The introduction of the **FHT approach has begun to help reduce the workload**, mainly through the shifting of some preventive tasks from medical officers to nurses, such as authority to approve monthly refills of medicines for controlled NCD patients, and through the introduction of an appointment system to better manage demand. In addition, the individualized care provided through this approach may have helped to reduce irrational health care seeking behaviour.”

### **3.4.3. Data for UNRWA expenditures on medical supplies and medicines 2011-2016**

Sources:

‘The Annual Report of the Department of Health 2011’ (UNRWA 2012), available [here](#)

‘Health Department Annual Report 2012’ (UNRWA 2013), available [here](#)

‘Health Department Annual Report 2013’ (UNRWA 2014), available [here](#)

‘Health Department Annual Report 2014’ (UNRWA 2015), available [here](#)

‘Health Department Annual Report 2015’ (UNRWA 2016), available [here](#)

‘Health Department Annual Report 2016’ (UNRWA 2017), available [here](#)

<b>Medical Expenditures in UNRWA Health Facilities in Jordan 2011-2016</b>			
<b>Year</b>	<b>Expenditure (US\$) for medical supplies per medical consultations</b>	<b>Expenditure (US\$) for medical supplies per served refugee</b>	<b>The total expenditure on medicines (US\$)</b>
2011	2.2	4.5	19.4 million
2012	2.5	4.1	21.54 million
2013	2.33	3.43	22.25 million
2014	2.46	3.48	21.63 million
2015	2.1	3.05	17.7 million
2016	2.3	3.46	17.75 million

#### 3.4.4. Data for UNRWA hospital referrals 2011-2016

<b>Hospital Referrals from UNRWA Health Facilities in Jordan 2011-2016</b>	
<b>Year</b>	<b>Patients who received assistance for outsourced hospital services</b>
2011	16,069
2012	14, 481
2013	12,908
2014	21, 902
2015	14, 652
2016	11, 904

#### **Highest cause of death among UNRWA Refugee Population from NCDs:**

Source: ‘Health Department Annual Report 2015’ (UNRWA 2016), available [here](#)

“At present, it is estimated that about 70 to 80% of refugee deaths are caused by non-communicable diseases. In its hospitalization sub-programme, UNRWA will accord the highest priority to those refugees with life-threatening illnesses requiring lifesaving/life-supporting medical care, but who lack the necessary financial assets or insurance coverage to attain such treatment.”

#### **3.5. Refugees’ testimonies**

Another possible explanation for the decrease of consultations could be a perceived or real deterioration in the quality of UNRWA medical services and barriers for accessing them.

##### **3.5.1. Testimony of overcrowding, wait times and lack of services in UNRWA clinics:**

Source: Halsey Kayla, Alarood Salameh et al. ‘An exploration of politicized healthcare access for Syrian and Palestinian refugees in Jordan: a question of equity’ (2022) Vol. 18 no.1, International Journal of Migration, Health and Social Care. pp. 51-65

“When asked about UNRWA health services, most Palestinian refugees from Gaza mentioned overcrowding, long waiting times and lack of basic services as their main concerns apart from financial issues discussed later in this article”:

*“They **don’t even have some of the primary care services**, for example they can’t perform injury suturing in the UNRWA clinics. They can only do primary things like dental caring and teeth removal. The clinics are small with few tests available. You have to go to a private hospital and you have to pay for further services and tests. Palestinian refugee from Gaza; Jerash Camp”*

**“Palestinian refugees from the West Bank (Palestine) similarly expressed concerns over long wait times and overcrowding at UNRWA clinics:”**

*“The most important problems are the **long waiting time, crowded clinics**, and the short time spent with the doctors explaining the health issue. That’s why we prefer the private sector as we have more time to express the symptoms. Palestinian refugee from the West Bank; Al Wehdet camp, Amman”*

**“Some of the ex-Gazan refugees reported that they were not able to afford or access the necessary medical treatment for chronic illnesses, serious diseases or emergencies for their relatives, which resulted in permanent disability or even death:”**

*“My relative died of cancer as we **couldn’t obtain treatment in the appropriate time** and we could not afford long term treatment costs. Palestinian refugee from Gaza; Jerash camp”*

*“After my father was injured in a fire accident, **we could not get the care he needed fast enough and he later died from his injuries**. Palestinian refugee from Gaza; Jerash camp”*

### **3.5.2. Testimony regarding medications**

Source: Halsey Kayla, Alarood Salameh et al. ‘An exploration of politicized healthcare access for Syrian and Palestinian refugees in Jordan: a question of equity’ (2022) Vol. 18 no.1, International Journal of Migration, Health and Social Care. pp. 51-65

“While Syrian and Palestinian refugees both mentioned “rude” or “bad communication” among health-care staff, they also expressed frustration and disappointment with inadequate administration and availability of medications at UNRWA and UNHCR health clinics:”

*“Sometimes there is **no medicine available in the clinic** and we had to wait months to get it. Palestinian refugee from Gaza; Jerash camp”*

*“I prefer to go to the Ministry of Health public hospitals; because they have more services, like labs and more medications. Palestinian refugee from the West Bank; Amman”*



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## **2. NGOs, Think Tanks**

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