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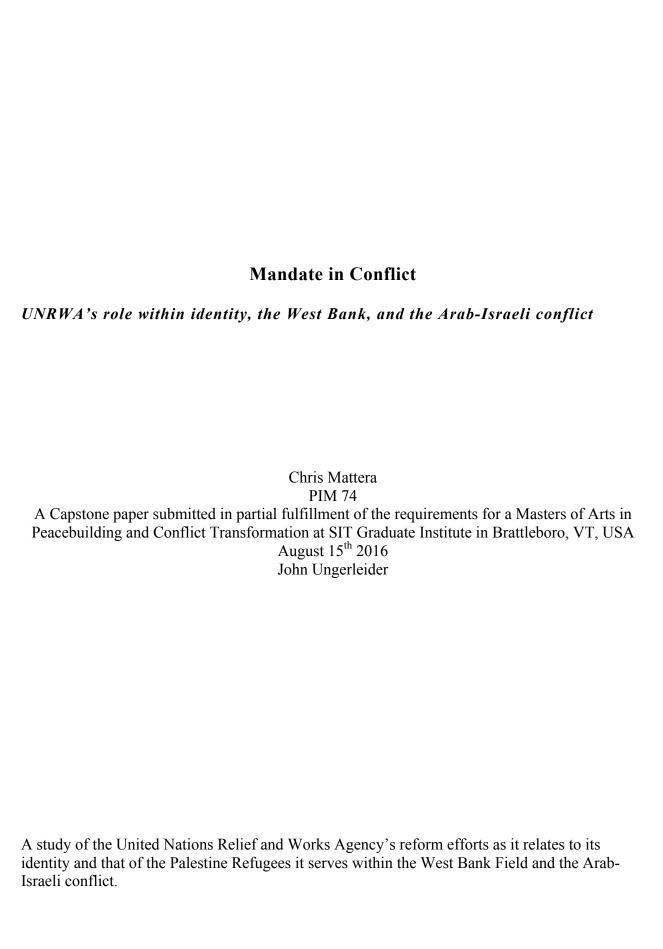
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Terms and Acronyms

CAO Chief Area Officer (UNRWA manager of one of the three areas of the West Bank

Field)

CBO Community-based organization

CSC Camp Services Committee

CSO Camp Service Office (UNRWA administrator of a Camp, reports to CAO)

e-Health Electronic medical information system (UNRWA)

ERCD External Relations and Communications Department (UNRWA)

FHT Family Health Team (UNRWA)

HCC Healthy Camp Committee

HCI Healthy Camp Initiative (UNRWA)

HRCRT Human Rights, Conflict Resolution and Tolerance

IDP Internally displaced person

ISF Israeli Security Forces

MTS Medium Term Strategy (UNRWA)

Nakba The Disaster: a memorial day of sorts held by Palestinians referencing the day

when some 700,000 Palestine Refugees initially took flight from their homes in

1948

NCD Non-communicable disease

NGO Non-governmental organization

NRC Norwegian Refugee Council

oPt occupied Palestinian territory

PCBS Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics

PRM (US Department of State Bureau of) Population, Refugees, and Migration

PSO Programme Support Office (UNRWA)

RSSP Relief and Social Services Programme (UNRWA)

SEFSec Socio-Economic and Food Security

SIT School for International Training

SSNP Social Safety Net Programme (UNRWA)

TVET Technical and Vocational Education and Training (UNRWA)

UNGA United Nations General Assembly

UNHCR United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

UNOCHA United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs

UNRPR United Nations Relief for Palestine Refugees (Precursor to UNRWA)

UNRWA United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East

WBF West Bank Field (UNRWA)

WBFO West Bank Field Office (UNRWA)

Abstract

Created over 67 years ago, the United Nations Relief and Works Agency has stood the test of time, but perhaps not in the best of ways. It is one of the largest UN agencies, boasting an annual budget that typically exceeds 1.3 Billion US\$ and a staff of over 30,000, but it is not a commonly known entity. UNRWA's mandate is dedicated to one refugee populace from one ongoing conflict: to carry out direct relief and works programmes for Palestine Refugees, and by default their descendants, fleeing from the 1948 Arab-Israeli conflict (Appendix C). With decades of failed peace attempts, and the agency's mandate continually renewed by the UN General Assembly, UNRWA has continued to serve this population as they have gone from tented refugee camps to urban slums. This agency, built as a humanitarian project, has now become a pseudo-government, with a staff of teachers and doctors. Unlike a government, and contrary to the liberal ideals of the UN, there is little in way of consent or mandate from the population.

The research question: how does UNRWA's structure, culture, and mandate shape its behavior within the reality of its practices with Palestine Refugees, within the context of the Arab-Israeli conflict, and within its attempts to reconcile its identity conflict through participatory reforms. This began with a study of UNRWA's needs, capacities, and preferences for participatory practices, in agency planning and actions with refugees. Through the use of a Case Study, observations, and interviews, this research intended to appraise the viability of participatory action through the perspectives of several departments representing the strategic level, the programme management level, and the field level of UNRWA's West Bank Field Office.

The research found that there was a solid consensus amongst all interviewed that participatory reforms were essential to the agency's success, but responsibility for this reform process was not clear. Participatory reforms were seen as a means to reconcile some issues of governance but also to reduce future financial and service burdens on the agency. However, the strategic level interviewees expressed concerns on the long-term existence of UNRWA; refugees are quite dependent on UNRWA for basic services yet there is no exit strategy down the road. Since UNRWA's international mandate is apparently tied to the resolution of the conflict, the concern is that UNRWA will reach a point of unsustainability before the conflict approaches a resolution. In part, UNRWA is a tool used by both major conflicting groups. Using analysis from literary sources, this paper argues that UNRWA is as much a victim as well as a support structure in the larger conflict – trapped within decade's worth of constructed identities and norms tied to Palestine Refugees – and that the entire model is unsustainable. On a macro scale, UNRWA is caught in a paradox of development best practices, do-no-harm humanitarian norms, and its international mandate culminating in an ill-fated and inseparable track between itself, the conflict, and the Palestine Refugees.

Introduction

Overview of UNRWA

The United Nations Relief and Works Agency was an iteration of the UN system's first attempt at intervention in a major conflict. UN General Assembly resolution 302 (IV) of 8 December 1949 mandated the purpose-build agency to carry out direct relief and works programmes for Palestine refugees, and their descendants, fleeing from the 1948 conflict (Appendix C). With its mandate consistently renewed by the UN General Assembly, for just over 65 years UNRWA has provided food, education, healthcare, and other social services to over 5 million registered Palestine Refugees spread across five fields, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Gaza, and the West Bank. (UNRWA Refugees, 2016) While its mission has not changed much, the way UNRWA fulfills its mandate has.

The tented UNRWA camps from the early decades of its existence have gone. In the West Bank Field, camps which were once well outside city boundaries in the 1950's, are now squarely amidst them as these cites have grown. The majority of the West Bank Field's 19 camps make up a part or all of the urban slums in cities like Ramallah, Nablus, Hebron, and even Jerusalem. Even camps far removed from cities are overcrowded and densely populated, as territorial boundaries are strictly enforced and those typically living inside the camps cannot afford to move out. While this transition from campsite to slums took place, UNRWA evolved in stride to match the service needs of these communities. Very few places in the world have dedicated and marked UN schools and hospitals, physical brick and mortar structures owned and operated by the agency and protected with international standards of UN neutrality. In the West Bank Field alone there are 43 healthcenters and 96 schools, serving a registered population of 970,633 individuals. Equally rare are the tens of thousands of national-staff teachers, healthcare professionals, and social workers who work directly for the agency and must adhere to the UN's standards and non-partisan codes of ethics.

Through this process of growth, UNRWA's services have become institutionalized in these communities, with an unknown proportion of the Palestine Refugee population becoming dependent on their dedicated schools, health centers, and relief programs. In the West Bank, municipalities from both sides of the conflict have, in many cases, designed city services to exclude or bypass refugee camps. Rather than providing stopgap measures for a displaced and transient populace, the Agency has become a permanent fixture in the region and a reminder of the unsolved conflict. These gaps exist in the West Bank from the precarious nature of the ISF occupation and the Oslo Accords, which divide governance and security responsibilities. In West Bank cities where refugee camps exist, there is often active neglect from Israeli and Palestinian authorities that – under normal conditions – would be the parties responsible for maintaining services in these districts. This not to suggest that camps are completely isolated, they are by their very existence tied into the cities or municipalities they reside in, it is more than few institutions step up to take responsibility for this people, except for UNRWA.

The stagnated state of the greater conflict's peace process has recently forced some in the Agency to address the nature of its role. Over the past few years UNRWA's West Bank Field has taken on projects such as sewage and water network reconstruction in addition to owning UN marked trash compactors and staffing sanitation personnel to provide some form of city services to its camps. This expectation from host governments that UNRWA can manage as a surrogate is ultimately unrealistic though. There is no UNRWA police for enforcement, nor are there any regulations imposed beyond those services that UNRWA controls. Furthermore, the agency faces financial constraints that have forced austerity, most recently in August of last year where they faced a 100 million dollar shortfall (Al Jazeera. 2015) that would have closed all UNRWA schools for the start of the academic year if it not for a last minute funding drive. The Agency is primarily beholden to their donors – mainly major global and regional powers like the United States, the EU, and Saudi Arabia – and thus must balance donor expectations and funding with the needs of a growing refugee population. Yet despite best intentions, there is also a severely limited structure for Palestine Refugees to have a voice within UNRWA. It seems then that the agency faces an existential crisis of identity: it is structured like a mix between a development and humanitarian NGO, providing municipal style services for a population that is underserved, and yet it is funded and mandated by foreign powers and the UNGA with their separate regulation and agendas. Moreover, its identity is tied to that of the Palestine Refugee, having only the duty to serve this population's needs.

Participatory Action within UNRWA

From 2006 to 2010, an agency-wide restructuring took place, pushing reforms towards strategic planning and protection of its services and partner communities. In addition to strategic planning, the agency attempted to restructure the means by which refugee communities would interact with the agency. However, UNRWA struggled to implement early attempts at participatory action reforms, which would have been the mainstay of its service planning and execution. Due to a variety of factors, participation mainstreaming was not achieved. Primary issues included: them segregating the participatory planning team from the other core service programs (Education, RSSP, and Health) and, specifically in the West Bank Field, a lack of balance between community priorities, UNRWA's policies, donor obligations, and practical security or resource concerns during design and implementation phases of projects. After the 2008 global financial crisis, funding from donor countries became limited, thus agency priorities demanded a move away from this participatory team in order to support core programming.

Participatory action in the West Bank Field suffered, in a large extent, due to problematic institutional size and structure for this style of reform within the WBFO and ineffective two-way communication between stakeholders of the process. UNRWA's ability to communicate with the people it serves is critical to the fulfillment of its mandate. Without access to effectively communicated information, refugees can find themselves without the tools to access the services they qualify for, struggling to meet application requirements, and feeling frustrated with UNRWA itself. This in turn limits the Agency's ability to receive feedback, build trust, and

create programmes and programming that responds to the needs of Palestine Refugees. Furthermore, when communication only flows one way, from the Agency to the refugee, the latter is not able to fulfill their potential as a partner and remains disempowered. These dynamics – plus the already structured disparity of the poorest or geographically restricted refugees dependent on UNRWA for basic services – creates a drastic power imbalance between the served and the service provider. This puts UNRWA in a precarious situation, against development best practices.

In WBF refugee communities, representation and communication practices with UNRWA are fragmented and are not universally accessible to refugees. Given the complexity of UNRWAs institutional structure, this is understandable considering how the average refugee does not have a dedicated method of communicating with Field Office staff or Programme management. Thus refugees will use any means available to field their questions or complaints, especially if they do not have a regular forum to do so. But the problem of representation is not exclusively within UNRWAs control. Mainstay refugee representative institutions, like the WBF's Camp Service Committees may not completely represent the population's needs and can be mired in political dealings. These are elected councils, primarily comprised of elderly men affiliated with host government political parties, who are suppose to take interest in coordinating services with UNRWA. However, as of late many CSCs have been at odds with the Agency, as austerity has taken place and perspectives over UNRWA's role in the conflict raise questions of its mandate commitments and loyalties.

Communication between field programmes and coordinating information received from UNRWA's two external stakeholder groups, refugees and donors, inhibits a participatory structure from taking root. The programmes are themselves caught in between several strategic forces – from ERCD to the HQ Programmes to the Field Front Offices – reinforcing the complexity of reform implementation. Coordination on day-to-day operations between the strategic offices, the programmes, and the field services presents its own set of challenges; major changes to operations or projects could compound on these to disastrous affect.

These themes, the lack of comprehensive avenues of communication, deficiency in quality information sharing, the absence or true representation, and the non-ownership of UNRWA service provision amongst refugees creates a setting of distance and distrust between Agency and refugee. This conflicts with the strategic principles implemented by UNRWA less than a decade ago; the right to access services and information as well as participate in meaningful decision processes forms two of the Agency's seven Protection principles (UNRWA Protection Principles, 2012) and are entrenched in Strategic Objective 1 of UNRWA's Medium Term Strategy (UNRWA MTS, 2015) and are clearly outlined in the Agency's Protection policy. When these rights are denied both parties suffer from a greater divide of miscommunication and mistrust.

Overview of Practicum

In light of the 2008 financial crisis, UNRWA began making strategic plans for the agency in 2009. By 2010, the West Bank Field Office's Programme Support Office was formed to help coordinate UNRWA programming in accordance with the Agency's new strategic plan. In 2014, the West Bank Field Office's PSO instituted the Long-Term Internship Programme to allow Masters Candidates a practicum for their capstone research, during a yearlong internship to work within PSO. Unlike a standard UNRWA internship, the long-term intern has time to better understand the operational environment of the West Bank Field and can support larger initiatives. In addition to a year of work experience within the UN system, the intern takes this position with the expectation to complete their practicum research project, which can either directly or indirectly benefit the agency. Beginning in 2014 as a pilot, the programme has already been considered a success and will be expanding within the next two years.

Design

Approach

While the methods, tools, and procedures of this research project remained mostly consistent as planned, the intent of the research evolved the issues under discussion. What began as an appraisal of the WBFO's ability to implement participatory reforms led to an analysis regarding governance. As interviews progressed, it was clear to the researcher that there were deeper issues beyond the reforms UNRWA was pursuing. In one interview with a strategic level staff member, it was noted that there were difficulties improving basic housing an infrastructure in camps because UNRWA had no means to implement or enforce housing policies. This brought forward a discussion on governance and political theory: what defines UNRWA's position for refugees, are they more government welfare or aid provider? To address this question, the research was adapted to inquire more from interviewees and observations. The project continued to appraise the ability of the WBFO's participatory reform process, however – for the purposes of this capstone – the data obtained was used to explore how UNRWA's identity as a humanitarian agency supposedly playing a role reserved for governments plays into the stagnated setting the conflict is in.

The Introduction briefly highlighted the dynamics between UNRWA and its stakeholders from a tangible sense, the delivery of services and relationships. There are of course more intangible relations to discuss. UNRWA's mandate to provide for the Palestine Refugees is a unique commitment – a dedicated agency for a single population – no other UN agency provides a similar level service. It is no wonder that after more that 60 years of time together that the Palestine Refugee identity is tied with the UNRWA identity.

The analysis of this paper examines UNRWA from the perspectives of what is generally accepted as humanitarian organizations and government agency practices in order to reflect on the Agency's efforts to remain relevant and reform, as there is no end to their mandate in sight.

In doing so, there are implications for the Palestine Refugee identity, particularly to their status as "refugees" and their split relationships between UNRWA and their "host governments". Furthermore, both are linked in their existence, would there be Palestine Refugees to this day without UNRWA? Would UNRWA exist without Palestine Refugees? In an attempt to analysis these questions, this capstone will use the observations, interviews, and literary research to give contrasting opinions with the hopes of prompting a dialogue on these topics.

Research Questions

In an attempt to evaluate the condition of UNRWA's institutional capacity to address its accessibility and existential conflicts, a research question was devised to encompass the breadth of the topic:

How does UNRWA's structure, culture, and mandate shape its behavior within its practices, within the context of the Arab-Israeli conflict, and within its attempts to partially reconcile its identity conflict through participatory reforms.

During the case study of the Healthy Camp Initiative, sub-questions were developed for the interviews that were designed to prompt frank discussions on the WBF's capacity for reform and lead into discussions on UNRWA's identity and role.

- 1. What are the lessons learned and best practices from the Healthy Camp Initiative?
 - a. How has the HCI been designed to be participatory?
 - b. Does the reality reflect the design?
 - c. What have been some challenges for the initiative? (Organizationally, environmentally, culturally, and practically)
 - d. What are the metrics to self-appraise the Initiative's success?
 - e. What are lessons learned from the Initiative thus far?
 - f. Incorporating the above, what are some best practices to be applied to other UNRWA activities of similar scope?
- 2. How does participation in UNRWA compare to participatory action principles?
 - a. Is participatory action important for UNRWA? If so, why?
 - b. What is the goal of participatory projects/reforms within UNRWA?
 - c. What has UNRWA participation looked like?
 - d. Is the HCI an evolution or reiteration of UNRWA participatory action?
 - e. How does the HCI's components compare on a participatory ladder model?
- 3. How feasible is a truly participatory environment between UNRWA and refugees?
 - a. How does UNRWA's size, scope, and capacity help or hurt a participatory style?
 - b. Is a participatory style desirable for both parties?
 - c. How does UNRWAs current role, and possibly its historical identity, impact a transition to a partnership role?
 - d. What limits has UNRWA reached in the WBF in its capacity to serve and fulfill its mandate?

During interviews, the researcher did not stay strict to these questions – allowing instead for discussion to proceed naturally – for depth on particular issues. This resulted in better insight

into the agency's previous reform attempts and impressions from staff members on the direction the agency is heading, at least as it pertains to the West Bank Field.

Methods and Tools

The research process consisted of several core components, primarily executed by way of a case study of UNRWA's Healthy Camp Initiative:

- Tiered interviews with UNRWA staff involved in participatory action reforms within the
 agency and/or the HCI project. Some staff may cross these tiers with their duties, likely
 programmatic staff, but this will provide much more benefit than hindrance, as they can
 comment on the interlinks.
 - Strategic Management level staff members who have overseen the transition to mainstreaming participation as an UNRWA strategic objective, giving insight into the agency level structural decision making process and implementation planning.
 - Programmatic Staff who have implemented or adapted the participatory strategic policy (or independently applied the core of the principles of the policy)
 - Field Implementation staff or community partners who have direct and consistent contact with refugees on the HCI project and beyond; they can give perspective on the reality of the relationships and structures built through the HCI and participatory mainstreaming.
- Observations of UNRWA's procedures, activities, and interactions or messaging between UNRWA and refugees (HCI camp teams working with community partners and other meetings centered on HCI or UNRWA project planning and implementation. Additionally observing managers engaging staff or community members and staff engaging each-other or community members on research relevant topics or structure, participation, communication, and strategy).
- A theme relevant literature review to provide expert reflection on the same challenges UNRWA faces within participatory action, governance, and its identity. This includes articles from authors with insider experience and opposing opinions of UNRWA.

The interviews were rather cyclical, in attempt to develop and respond to new questions discovered in conversations with those from different tiers.

The HCI case study attempted to produce qualitative data on the progress and challenges of a participatory action projects in UNRWA's WBFO and the Agency's HQ. Since the HCI is implemented in two of the WBFs camps, the case study was mainly based in Shu'fat and Aida camps. The HCI is unique as a case study on this topic, as it not only embodies a participatory approach, but also contains cross-programmatic elements and heavily donor influenced and involved.

As an initial estimate, the research was to have 8 to 10 interviews to help produce the HCI case study. The end result was 13 individuals interviewed, 9 of whom were direct contributors to the

case study project (the HCI) while the remaining 4 were interviewed on broader issues of participatory reforms and responsibilities of UNRWA (Table 2).

Table 1: Stakeholders Identified for Research

Stakeholder Group	Research Objective	Research Method
UNRWA Staff	 Identify historical context of participatory reforms within UNRWA Inform questions for interviews with CBOs and Refugee participants Understand the desirability, feasibility, challenges and opportunities of participatory action reforms within UNRWA at a strategic, programmatic, and field level Understanding of roles within HCI Thoughts on HCI project in reflection of the above 	 Interviews/Analysis Observations (during interactions with refugees)
Refugee participants	 Understanding of roles within HCI How they communicate best with UNRWA on HCI How they send feedback to UNRWA on HCI Governing structure of HCI Model ideal relationship with UNRWA Thoughts on HCI project in reflection of the above 	 Interviews/Analysis Observations (during interactions with UNRWA staff)
Community Based Organizations	 Understanding of roles within HCI How they communicate best with UNRWA on HCI How they send feedback to UNRWA on HCI Governing structure of HCI Model ideal relationship 	 Interviews/Analysis Observations (during interactions with UNRWA staff)

- with UNRWA
- Thoughts on HCI project in reflection of the above

Table 2: Interview Subjects by Association with HCI

	Directly Involved in HCI	Not Involved in HCI	Total
Strategic	2	1	3
Programmatic	1	3	4
Field	6	0	6
Total	9	4	13

Table 3: Interview Subjects by Gender

	Male	Female	Total
Strategic	2	1	3
Programmatic	0	4	4
Field	5	1	6
Total	7	6	13

Table 4: Interview Subjects by National/International Status

	National	International	Total
Strategic	1	2	3
Programmatic	2	2	4
Field	6	0	6
Total	9	4	13

Overview of the Case Study

The Healthy Camp Initiative

UNRWA's West Bank Field Office operates many large projects on a simultaneous basis, but few are as cross-sector as the Healthy Camp Initiative. Originally an unfunded initiative which began in late 2013, the Healthy Camp Initiative was modeled after the WHO's Healthy City Initiative. The focus was to empower Community Based Organizations from a vulnerable refugee camp within the WBF to collaborate with UNRWA and amongst themselves in order to achieve community goals regarding the Social Determinants of Health. These Determinates cover a range of issues, but are mostly founded in poverty and environmental sanitation: for example unemployment, food security, education are all key pillars of Social Determinates of Health. The WBFO Health Programme chose Shu'fat Camp as their pilot location, due to its uniquely underserved population with challenging security issues. Without providing funding for community projects, the initiative began by simply networking and connecting with CBOs and community leaders. Over the next few years the CBOs – along with HCI team members –

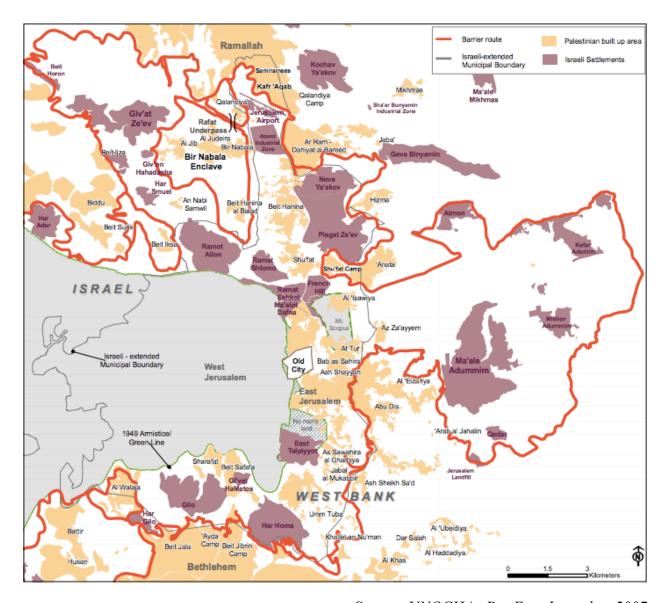
developed the Healthy Camp Committee in Shu'fat to coordinate CBO resources and activities. As a continued result from this, the HCC executed several projects that cleaned up areas of Shu'fat Camp and provided opportunities for the community to fund raise on its own behalf.

With this initial success, and a relatively cooperative environment established, the WBFO sought donor funding to continue the initiative. In July of 2015, and with a grant from PRM, the HCI was given funding for a structured two-year timeline, with deliverables on capacity building, needs assessments, and community activities addressing the Social Determinates of Health. The Front Office of the WBFO decided to include Aida Camp into the HCI; unlike Shu'fat, Aida Camp had no HCI involvement or structure before starting into the PRM funded two-year timeline. As part of the agreement with PRM, by the summer of 2016 UNRWA would carry out an assessment of Best Practices and Lessons learned on the initiative thus far and present their findings.

Shu'fat and Aida

Shu'fat and Aida (Ayda) camps are densely populated urban areas within the boundaries of Jerusalem and Bethlehem, respectively. They are both considered "Front Line Camps" by the WBFO, camps which face critical protection issues and have special needs based on conflict related incidents or outcomes. (Figure 1)

Figure 1: East Jerusalem



Source: UNOCHA oPt - East Jerusalem 2007

Technically within the boundaries of the Jerusalem municipality unilaterally declared by Israel, Shu'fat camp is in the midst of a densely populated urban area that has been cut off from the rest of the city by the Israeli West Bank Barrier (a 20 foot concrete wall with security towers). The Barrier creates many issues for the residents of Shu'fat: there are no security forces or police present to maintain law and order, apart from ISF raids. Jerusalem municipal services mostly neglect the area, causing trash and sewage issues; the security checkpoint that controls the flow of traffic out of the Shu'fat area prevents ease of access to education, medical facilities, and employment. The result is an often-dangerous environment, with high unemployment and high crime, isolated from service or support. Just beyond the barriers one can find settlements – illegal under International Law – well maintained and serviced by the Jerusalem municipality. To exemplify the point: the Israeli settlement of Pisgat Ze'ev, north of the Barrier, appears to be well designed and well serviced by the Jerusalem municipality, the same municipality Shu'fat is

under (Figures 1 and 2). While there is more than just the refugee camp within the cordoned off area (Figure 2), there is little distinction of this on the ground as the entire area is considered a crowded urban slum. From an areal view, one can identify the boundaries of the actual Shu'fat camp by the density of the buildings, as they are closer together to maximize housing space for the Palestine Refugees. UNRWA has tried to provide basic water, sewage, and garbage removal services in addition to its schools and health centers. Yet because there is are additional neighborhoods within the Barrier with Shu'fat camp, these other residents often take advantage of UNRWA services, since they are not otherwise provided for by the Jerusalem municipality; thus it is increasingly difficult for UNRWA to gauge consumption and needs.

Figure 2: Shu'fat Camp Satellite View

Shu'fat

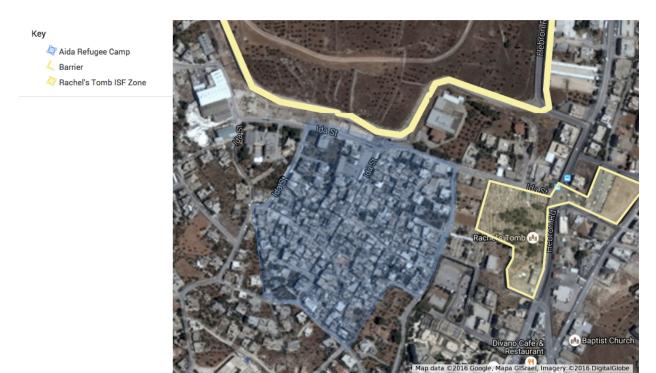


Aida has its own share of challenges; the Barrier runs across the northern border of the camp, which has stifled not only the commercial ambitions of the residents but also the expansion of Bethlehem. Densely packed with buildings, Aida residents have little reprieve from their claustrophobic urban camp. The barrier presents a flash point for Palestinian and ISF clashes, which results in a hazardous environment for those living in the camp. Tear gas shot by the ISF during clashes and raids filter into residences due to the claustrophobic nature of the camp, producing no safe space for the non-rioters. UNRWA's Aida Boys School – built in the 1950s – sits across the road from the ISF Barrier, thus making the safety of the students a constant protection issue. Law enforcement is also problematic, while a majority of the camp falls under

the jurisdiction of the Palestinian Authority in Bethlehem, the proximity of an ISF outpost at Rachel's Tomb makes regular patrols impossible. (Figure 3)

Figure 3: Aida Camp Satellite View

Aida



Limitations

Time forced this research to remain as a preliminary evaluation on the very vast topic of participation and UNRWA's future. It was adapted to produce a review of best practices and lessons learned upon reviewing the HCI in order to begin cross-programmatic collaboration on the issues facing the agency.

Some observation opportunities were restricted due to political sensitivities, highlighting that this is not a relaxed environment to conduct work in nor are all parties readily cooperative. UNRWA WBFO went to great lengths to provide this researcher access to key personnel, though there might not have been as much follow up as what would have been desired due to tight schedules and given the limited time this research had remaining with UNRWA.

The use of those interviewed as a sample group of feelings present in UNRWA creates obvious issues, as the sample cannot guarantee total representation of other staff members or the agency's official stance.

Ethics

Given the tenuous security environment in the West Bank Field, the researcher made every effort to ensure that research activities complied with UNRWAs security policies as to avoid unnecessary risk to participants.

All research participants were well informed about the parameters and conditions of the research, and asked to give their written consent before participating. The research will not include specific names of individuals or their titles, in order to provide freedom of expression on this topic. Participants had the option to withdraw their consent to participate at any time. Strictly confidential documents and/or internal communications will not be quoted or cited. Should information arise during the research that indicates a participant is at risk of psychological or physical harm, they would have been offered referral to appropriate services.

Support

Support from UNRWA was essential to this research. Access to management, officer level, and ground staff was acquired thanks to the deliberate effort of members of the WBFO-PSO, with the approval of the Front Office.

Translation and transportation was also crucial to the success of this project, in addition to transportation and office supplies. Access to reports, data, and policies of UNRWA provided valuable information on the projections this study makes. Finally, invitation to observe UNRWA staff and refugee dialogues (in large or small group settings) provided valuable insight into current practices, beyond what is referenced in interviews.

Deliverables

As an outcome of this project, the researcher will use the data collected from the case study of the Healthy Camp Initiative to inform both this capstone project and produce a set of lessons and best practices to provide to UNRWA for their use in appraising the status of the HCI. This set of lessons and best practices will be developed separate from the capstone paper and include information pertinent for the appraisal of the HCI but may not be relevant to this capstone's theme, and thus distinct.

Findings

Case Study

Overview

As it was noted in Design, interviewees were solicited with the condition of anonymity. Quotes used from interviewees will be identified by their tier – strategic, programmatic, or field – rather than their name or organizational title. Interviewees were asked about their experience with UNRWA, their thoughts on participatory reform within UNRWA, how the HCI applies these concepts, and finally how this initiative and reforms in general support UNRWA's mission.

Lessons and Practices from the HCI

There was a significant amount of consensus within the pool of interviewees. Many of the lessons discussed were not specifically associated with the HCI. Instead they are underlying issues between UNRWA and WBF refugee communities that, due to the participatory approach of the HCI, were uncovered as issues to take note of on a field or agency wide level. Indeed the themes identified – Communication, Trust, and Engagement – are not mutually exclusive from one another. One programmatic interviewee distilled these concepts as an overarching theme of Dignity: something that can be easily neglected or sacrificed in an intensive bureaucratic process. Institutional structure, another core theme, is the possible source of these issues.

The HCI experienced some set backs due to a hard power approach to engaging communities, something that highlighted a behavior pattern with prior attempts at participatory reform. Interviewed Field personnel noted that in Aida Camp – when compliance from partnering CBOs was not forthcoming – WBFO's management responded in a way that was "heavy-handed", threatening to end future cooperation with the CBO. This caused a significant rift with the trust built by the HCI team in the community, fracturing the CBOs into two opposing sides for a brief period of time. Thankfully, due to the effective engagement from the HCI team and UNRWA programme leadership, the issues has been resolved. A field level HCI staff in Aida noted that this incident was the excuse the Camp Service Committee needed to push their own agenda, taking the dissent of one CBO and adding their claims as part of the conditions for resolving the issue. In other words, UNRWA's response to this incident gave an excuse for dissent and forced the HCI team to manage multiple grievances at once in a climate of non-cooperation. As a result, the threat could not be executed without significant damage to the HCI, its activities, and the progress UNRWA had made in the community as a whole.

The two camps involved in the HCI, Shu'fat and Aida, began the initiative in completely different ways. Shu'fat was under the HCI model for at least two years before the PRM funded project started, while Aida was included at the outset of the funded project only one year ago. A strategic level staff member noted that Aida was included because "...we knew it would be a challenge." (strategic level interviewee). The differences between the two camps progress can be boiled down to a simple lesson, noted by the HCI Field and Programme staff: in Shu'fat they had established a repertoire and working relationships with the Healthy Camp Committee well before any funding, and even had some accomplishments to note. On the other hand in Aida they had no such foundation; with funding in play, the interactions and relationship building between the UNRWA staff and Aida Camp CBOs became more complicated.

The HCI is designed to give a lot of control to the community; by bringing in funding before relationships were established it became a difficult balance of meeting the appropriate needs highlighted by the CBOs and avoiding the political maneuvers of those who saw opportunity with this cash infusion. One field staff who has been working closely with the Aida Camp Services Committee noted that their desire for more infrastructure funding was mostly political, a chance to exhibit a show of importance and activity to the community. The staff member also

raised concerns that the Camp Services Committee would not actually use any additional funding for actual infrastructure projects. Yet their cooperation is essential, and therefore it complicates the work of the HCI team, requiring them to play more politics than expected. In Shu'fat, relationships were built separate from any ambition of funding sources. Using their own resources and networks, Shu'fat CBOs and HCI Committee would need to support their own projects or find their own funding, with UNRWA in support. Field staff noted this was a simpler relationship to build than Aida and one that is far easier to work with, despite other challenges. Some noted that the ease in which Shu'fat's HCI programme versus the difficulty in Aida could have been impacted by UNRWA history with these two camps. While certainly a possibility, what is clear is that the approaches in Aida particular were seen, in hindsight by the HCI team, as a set back for improving the relationships. With that said, the best practice formed was that with trust established and needs assessed beforehand, there is a greater chance for consensus on community priorities when funding does come through.

Part of building and maintaining trust during the formation of the HCI was setting standards that both the CBOs and UNRWA staff committed to. This included basic logistics, such as being prompt and regular with meetings, but also formation of norms and standards that both parties (UNRWA and the CBOs) would agree and adhere to. Without those guarantees progress would stagnate. While UNRWA applies these concepts consistently with MOUs in other projects, it's rare to have them applied to many different partnering specialist organizations from one community at once. Moreover, since the aim of the HCI is to be participatory, the consistency is critical for CBOs in the Healthy Camp Committee to feel in control about their own decisions, calculating our response based on our commitments and agreed norms.

Agreed upon by all UNRWA staff interviewed, the Agency conflicts itself in its roles that reflect a surrogate government. West Bank refugees rely on UNRWA services but its mandate is not derived from this same population, there is an inherent power imbalance to the relationship. Palestine Refugees, dependent on UNRWA's service and institutions, have little recourse in how the agency behaves. Particularly through this period of austerity, the WBFO has encountered still protest from refugees who have little control over the changes. While UNRWA's mandate has been generally unchanged, even the smallest of steps to reduce services for cost savings have cast doubt amongst community partners about the agency's intentions and direction, breading misinformation and mistrust.

As noted earlier, there are intrinsic connections within the themes, trust can be swiftly broken through ineffective or infrequent communication; restoring trust through effective communication takes time and appropriate engagement. Some staff complained that follow-through on commitments, requiring prompt action and cooperation from the Front Office and Support Departments, was one area where trust-building was vulnerable. An example noted by a strategic level individual was one of Memos of Agreement between UNRWA and CBOs for the HCI projects. While these were successfully negotiated, the processing on UNRWA's end of

producing the actual certified MOU documents has been extremely delayed, which has caused doubt on the commitment to fester amongst the community partners.

At the same time, the interviewees acknowledge that the Agency faces a difficult reality of its financial and structural limitations. As an alternative approach to building trust without overextending Agency recourse, one strategic level individual proposed a strategy of active listening as their best tool in liaising with refugees. In practice, this researcher observed instances where refugees were more interested in their problems being heard by an active listener than they were concerned with promises of immediate and specific commitments. In truth, an affirmation of the validity of their concerns, and a commitment on the part of UNRWA to address them, can go a long way towards improving standing between the community and the agency. In the context of the HCI, success has been driven through actions like this, neutralizing the inherent power imbalance between UNRWA representative and refugee. The key step from this however is follow-through, less the initial trust built falls apart due to neglect. In that stead, the agency will have to reconcile its own bias, interpreting its own needs as needs of the refugees, with that of effectively representing the refugee population through participatory action.

The HCI has also had the benefit of direct intervention from key managers within UNRWA, according to those interviewed. The Field actors noted that support from the Front Office and Health Programme Chief for West Bank significantly impacted their work, particularly when it came to building credibility with partners. On the other hand, these same Field personnel noted that this is not a common trend within UNRWA, and in fact they had doubts that support from the level of the DUO, D/DUO(P) or other Programme Chiefs would result in actual commitments to engage and meet with HCI partners. This appeared to take place under the previous administration but fell through during the interim, even as decisions came down that affected their work (i.e. the Aida incident with UNRWA's heavy handed response).

While Field personnel did not expect management to attend all meetings, they indicated examples where the presence of the manager gave them a lot more capital with the community partners and encouraged engagement. To this end, management should balance their own schedule to include field time whenever possible, particularly in projects where participation is a factor. Recalling back to Communication and Trust, often the presence of an active listener, and one at an upper level of management, can give a weight to the needs of the community and build desire for them to work with UNRWA. In addition to this, meeting with community members on their own terms is a useful tip to diffuse the power imbalance. Managers should seek opportunities to attend community meetings that are already scheduled to take place and do not seek to celebrate the arrival of this manager.

On UNRWA and the WBFO

Power Dynamics

As noted above, the power dynamics are inherently flawed; UNRWA will naturally have an overarching position of power over refugee communities due to the dependency the population has for its services. Further analysis will indicate however that wielding this power UNRWA has is often a lot more complicated than its appearance. With that in mind, several interviewees noted that UNRWA's status, as the de facto government service provider, does not mean the agency wields the same authority as one.

To address the power imbalance, information must be considered like a basic commodity. In scarcity it can cause tension and disruption. While changes in programming or services might be unavoidable, if UNRWA is constantly and equitably engaged with communities, the agency could find more room for understanding when these changes occur. As a recent case-in-point, UNRWA HQ informed other UN Agencies about the 2015 financial trouble the agency faced before UNRWA's own staff let alone the refugees, this produced unnecessary tension and an impression of mixed priorities

The agency behaves in a political method, guarded and often risk adverse. Its concern for preserving its integrity is not uncommon amongst other large organizations, just unusual given its neutral and humanitarian nature. Through this culture of risk aversion, Field and Programmatic staff noted that the upper management of UNRWA has made decisions that they felt had greater weight on organizational preservation than a refugee centered approach. Part of this issue is the lack of resources; management must prioritize to continue operations.

However, this researcher noticed a subtle behavior; some interviewees and other personnel occasionally justified the austerity and organizational self-preservation by stating that UNRWA's interests are in the best interests of Palestine Refugees, therefore the Agency must do everything in its power to remain functional under all conditions. The lack of systemic participatory practices would suggest that this is unfounded in fact, and more of an assumption based on the intrinsic link between the two groups.

Consensus

At least from those engaged in interviews, there seemed to be a great deal of agreement. The belief of the researcher is that this can be accounted for a similarity in perspectives on the Agency's status, likely a result of these individuals working closely together. Through the consensus on the issues, a series of proposals could be made for guiding reform efforts. They can be distilled down to these summarized points:

• The participatory lessons of the HCI should be institutionalized as the new norms for the WBF

• Doing so would require staff to be trained, empowered, and held accountable to these standards as roles are delegated out from the Field Office

- Donors should be educated in the cost saving potential, forewarned on the time it takes
 to create these participatory relationships, and overall included in direct contact with
 communities to allow for donor-refugee partnerships to occur
- The field can take the lead in developing their strategy for these participatory reforms, since limited direction is coming from HQ in the foreseeable future

The New Norms

Going forward, several interviewees expressed how the participatory nature of this initiative should be the new standard for all agency interactions with refugee communities. Refugee communities in and outside of camps have grown their own resources and community capacity, to not leverage these partners in an equitable manner would be a failure on the agency's part in furthering the dignity and care of these communities. Moreover, the initiative has brought together staff with similar views on the matter of participation, thus successfully applying these practices into an UNRWA project. These assets are limited however, an effort needs to be made to institutionalize their best practices of communication, trust and relationship building, and a new perspective on UNRWA's power dynamics in order to sustain these types of projects on a larger scale. In other words, relying on these individuals to carry through these reforms is not a sustainable way forward, policy approaches should be discussed, at least at the field level, on ways to apply these practices wholesale.

Delegation

If the new norms of participatory components were enacted, the burden of work that would be placed on field leadership, such as Front Office roles, would be enormous. Since relationships with an agency such as UNRWA require communities to be put at ease that their agreements will not be rejected or neglected by higher-ups they do not interact with, it is critical that they have meeting with people in positions of authority or direct access to it (as was done with the HCI). It was mentioned by a few interviewees that more delegation would need to take place for an effective transition to this type of reform; particularly, using the position of Chief Area Officer and Camp Service Officers to have a more dynamic role in the participatory process. Yet interviewees also casted their doubts; concerns were voiced that some CSOs would be unsuited to take on these types of responsibilities, in the same spirit of cooperation and equity. Therefore, delegation of this responsibility should be paired with deliverables that not simply dictate what participatory action is taken, but how it is taken: is it done so in a respectful manner, do they have the trust of the community. For greater participation, it might even be effective to ask the community their thoughts on the performance of their CSO or CAO, where relevant. This is not to say that all CSOs were cast in a negative light: Aida's CSO for example was praised by several interviewees, independent of any direct question to that affect, on his performance under the Healthy Camp Initiative.

Donor Involvement

Donors have historically been managed through ERCD, but this initiative has highlighted that communities have the capacity to seek out and advocate for their own funding. In the interest of developing better donor/community relationships, it should be examined how ERCD can facilitate this type of activities. As an example, ERCD can act more as a matchmaker, receiving funding requests from communities (through UNRWA channels) and matching them to appropriate donors or funds. This gives a sense of project ownership for the community while establishing dialogue between donors and the communities. This would only be possible for smaller amount and would not be an overhaul of ERCD activities, merely a means for UNRWA to be a facilitator and partner for communities seeking funding rather than an arbiter.

With the agency under financial strains, it is also beneficial to show that participatory reforms can not only cost less to implement but can save money over the long term, as several interviewees attest. Shu'fat's initial success with the HCI had little funding or support from UNRWA or other donors; they cleaned up street corners and organized events solely on their own accord. If UNRWA becomes more of a network and a partner than an implementer it can find other resources and actors willing to support similar initiatives to its own. In cost savings, UNRWA can find local partners willing to take on tasks that it cannot and can give credibility to its planning with needs assessments that reflect community priorities. Done right, this can help UNRWA focus on larger items such as health and education services while still taking an active role in fulfilling the needs of the refugee communities. UNRWA is no longer the sole provider for Palestine Refugees in the modern context; but bringing donors to the forefront of its participatory process, using community resources under and UNRWA network, and using needs assessments to prioritize funding can help make the agency more participatory, transparent, and cost effective.

HQ and the Field

Finally, most of the Strategic, Programme, and Field level personnel decried the lack of strategic guidance from HQ on participatory reform initiatives. The Department of Planning is currently developing guidelines to encourage these types of practices in the fields, while Protection at HQ has participation with in the top 5 of its principle activities. Yet these are light steps into deep issue and ultimately Field personnel stated they felt unguided when developing policies on participation without a clear strategic framework under or to support them. Since the field cannot control the process of HQ, it could be an opportunity for the West Bank Field to develop an example of good participatory policy for the agency to model. This would require a managerial level strategy, to be developed and vetted, where participatory activities could be integrated over time into the operations of the field.

Analysis

Overview

The case study demonstrated some of WBF's challenges in modernizing the Agency to produce more equitable partnerships with its refugee communities. However, this has thus far been discussed on a program planning and operational level. But it is important to explore the base struggles that dog the agency. The analysis takes a look at UNRWA's past, its trajectory to this point and what limitations directed its actions, in order to find out how it has reached this point. This moment is a critical period in UNRWA's history, not only does it have the weight of its growing population to serve, but also increased financial and political pressures that must be balanced. Furthermore, the Agency is linked in to the constructed identity of the Palestine Refugee and to the conflict as a whole. Examining these links can help UNRWA navigate the politics and prepare, hopefully, for the day it is relieved of duty.

Identity

What defines us, groups us, and in many cases divides us is a complex combination of social and organizational characteristics. Typically when one thinks of identity, it is commonly derived in part by a series of geographical, racial, religious, or political affiliations. The identity of an institution is in many ways is more direct, formed from governing documentation and its actions. In the same way, it is more inflexible; in institution does not have the luxury of accommodating a plethora of identities. UNRWA, as an international humanitarian entity working as a government, is highly unusual. Moreover, the conflict it finds its work in is steeped in identities, both old and new. The Palestine Refugees, with their own cultural icons of the keys from their homes, the train back to their villages, and The Nakba, is a relatively new identity, but one that UNRWA is bound to. In a sense, can there be an UNRWA without the Palestine Refugees? Can there be Palestine Refugees without UNRWA? If peace does come, won't this identity need to be responsibly dismantled for it to be considered a just peace? The challenge for UNRWA is not just a matter of diffusing its services to reduce dependency and promote sustainability – without compromising its commitment to the Right of Return – but to interact with the culture of the Palestine Refugee responsibly as to not over commit nor make it an obstacle to the peace process.

UNRWA as a Humanitarian and Development Agency

Starting with tangibles, the history of UNRWA can construct an idea of what models best fit its current identity. Under its initial response to the Arab-Israel conflict, the newly formed UN General Assembly commissioned the United Nations Relief for Palestine Refugees – along with the International Committee of the Red Cross and other NGOs – to provide direct relief for some 700,000 Palestine Refugees fleeing the conflict. However it was short lived. A report from UNRPR detailed the severity of the crisis, noting that – due to limited resources – aid from the UN and the NGO coalition could not continue past the Fall of 1949. (Takkenberg, 2009) It was

clear that relief for these refugees would not come from providing food and shelter assistance, a new project would be required to spur integration, development, and improved livelihoods.

In the hopes of drawing lessons from the Great Depression era of public works, the UN commissioned an Economic Survey Mission led by the President of the Tennessee Valley Authority, Gordon Clapp. The mission was to evaluate the potential of water works projects in the Jordan Valley, using lessons from the United State's efforts to tackle mid-western drought. The assessment produced by the mission was very optimistic, claiming the strong potential for public works projects and the possibility of improved regional economics from such projects. (Takkenberg, 2009) On the recommendations of the report, the UN General Assembly in a vote of 48-0-6 formed the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East. The six abstentions were from communist countries and South Africa, but Israel had voted in favor. To commence its operations, UNRWA inherited the registration lists and camp locations from the UNRPR and ICRC and began its operations on 1 May 1950.

In his historical review of UNRWA's participatory actions from its founding to the present day, Terry Rempel claims that a participatory policy was adopted immediately by the Agency; his examples given included UNRWA hiring local workers to distribute food or enter into an Agency run trade programme. However, by the standards set through the NRC's Degrees of Participation and his own definition that "[T]he fundamental measure of participation is the degree of control or power exercised by individuals and peoples in determining the course of their own development" (Rempel, 2009), these types of activities cannot justly be considered participatory. It is perhaps true that the intention of UNRWA was for it to be a participatory actor through its model of community centered public works; but by 1956 – when the Suez Crisis broke out – little had been accomplished in this regard. Noted poetically by Benjamin N. Schiff:

[i]n retrospect, it took a dollop of optimism, or nai vete', to believe that the refugee problem could be solved with these ambitious water schemes. All the ingredients to thwart the plans were present: the states of the region were mutually suspicious; the effort required allocation of a scarce resource over which participating countries were prepared to fight; the client population did not want to be moved, except back to their homes; and the time schedule for success, set by U.S. enthusiasm, was very short. In a pattern later repeated across the Third World, an economic development plan devised by western experts evaporated when exposed to the dry winds of local, economic, political and cultural realities. (Schiff, 1995)

Since that point, UNRWA shifted its focus to providing the services that were not accessible to refugees in a method that maximized efficiency for the Agency. For the most part, UNRWA has been a driving force for human development in the region. Lex Takkenberg, current Chief of UNRWA's Ethics Office, notes in his 2010 article from the *Refugee Survey Quarterly*:

Some 1.42 million pupils graduated from UNRWA's basic nine-year education cycle...Literacy rates among Palestine refugees compare well with regional and global levels and enrolment statistics have revealed gender equity since the 1960s. At present, the Agency operates approximately 690 schools in Jordan, Lebanon, the Syrian Arab Republic, the Gaza Strip, and the West Bank, with an enrolment of nearly 500,000 children... Approximately two-thirds of the registered refugees (approximately 3 million persons) obtain health services from 137 primary health-care centres. (Takkenberg, 2009)

These services have had good effect on the population, normalizing their lives and provide a decent standard of living beyond – what some would argue – what is typical for refugee in other zones. Poverty rates amongst Palestine Refugees in the West Bank are on par with non-refugees. (Tables 5 & 6)

Table 5: West Bank Percent of Deeply Poor Individuals Pre and Post Assistance in 2010

	Pre-assistance	Post-assistance	Change
Refugees	11%	7%	-34%
Inside Camps	21%	15%	-30%
Outside Camps	27%	17%	-35%
Non-refugees	11%	9%	-15%

Source: PCBS, Database of Consumption and Expenditure Survey 2011

Table 6: West Bank Percent of Relatively Poor Individuals Pre and Post Assistance in 2010

	Pre-assistance	Post-assistance	Change
Refugees	20%	16%	-22%
Inside Camps	35%	26%	-26%
Outside Camps	40%	32%	-20%
Non-refugees	21%	19%	-6%

Source: PCBS, Database of Consumption and Expenditure Survey 2011

But this is not to say that Palestine Refugees are not vulnerable in other areas. Food security is of great concern; refugee homes are more likely to be food insecure despite UNRWA assistance programmes. (Table 7)

Table 7: West Bank Percent of Extremely and Moderately Food Insecure Individuals 2014

	Post-assistance
Refugees	22%
Inside Camps	30%
Outside Camps	20%
Non-refugees	14%

Source: SEFSec 2014

While this data should elicit concern, it is not indicative a humanitarian crisis in the West Bank Field. In the same way that inner cities across the world have limited access to basic nutritional food sources, so too do the refugees (particularly in densely urban camps) struggle to find

affordable nutritious food in their community. This speaks more to an issue of development or urban rehabilitation rather than a humanitarian crisis. As Sari Hanafi put it, "a humanitarian organization like UNRWA has historically understood its role as a temporary relief provider to a temporary group of victims, carefully avoiding taking on a wider governing role" (Ḥanafi S., Hilal, L., & Takkenberg, A. et al, 2014).

However the WBF is only one of five fields where UNRWA operates, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria and Gaza the other four. It is safe to say that due to the current crisis in Syria and the repercussions from the 2014 ISF operation in Gaza that humanitarian needs are still under UNRWA's purview. Even the WBF takes humanitarian and Emergency action on incidents that occur with demolitions of refugee and Bedouin dwellings or natural disasters strike. But while just over 30% of its expenses are applied towards emergency appeal, a majority of UNRWA's funds – the programme and project budgets – are dedicated to these standard faire public services (Table 8).

Table 8: Summary of Agency Financials by Fund Source for 2015 – Unaudited (in Millions US\$)

	Revenue	Expense
Programme Budget	639.1	766.7
Restricted Funds	16.1	18.5
Microfinance	9.6	9.2
Emergency appeals	418.3	418.8
Projects	180.3	171.1
Inter-Fund elimination	(50.6)	(50.5)
Total	1,212.7	1,333.8

Source: UNRWA Annual Operations Report 2015

Furthermore, UNRWA's focus is on programmes that improve and develop the livelihoods of the refugees it serves. It offers a robust microfinance programme that provides business loans and hosts frequent training initiatives including its tertiary technical training schools through TVET. Part of the WBF's Healthy Camp Initiative was to target the Social Determinate of Health to address the issue in basic and community building way. This type of systemic approach, combined with its participatory nature of needs assessments and community management of projects, is a far cry from a traditional humanitarian operation. Indeed at their most generous these are development efforts, intended to build community capacity and economic growth.

UNRWA as a Government Entity

In embarking on this version of identity analysis, it is important to clarify what the researcher accepts as basic tenants of government and political theory. *First*, it is globally accepted that public services are the responsibility of governments. What defines a service can vary by country, but the common practice is that basic health care, education, and municipal works are under the category of public services. Even in matters of privatization, typically a governing authority manages the public interest. *Second*, in democratic societies, a populace gives mandate to a government through elections; in contrast an authoritarian government will devise its own

mandate. In democratic systems, there is certainly a large range of effectiveness, but this of course can be tied to the health of the democratic system in that country as a whole; those countries where populations or civil society institutions have weakened effects on influencing the direction of their government clearly live in a weaken democracy. *Finally*, a government has the ability to govern; in better terms the ability to enforce laws and policies it upholds. In truth though laws are only as powerful as their enforcement. One of the major issues facing International Humanitarian Law is its enforcement mechanism, as it its greatly dependent on states self-policing or policing each other.

On the first count, UNRWA certainly passes the grade; their education and health services – combined with work that take on for water and sewage networks for West Bank Camps – represents a clear precedent of the agency providing municipal services. UNRWA health services are networked and accessible across the field. With reforms such as e-Health and the Family Health Team, the WBF offers refugees comprehensive medical care no matter if they move to another city or have complex medical issues that require advanced services.

The second count becomes less clear: their mandate is defined through international paths and there is simply no means of high-level engagement between UNRWA leadership and refugee consensus and concerns. Indeed Palestine Refugees are quite fragmented as a population; each having a completely different experience from one another in each of the five fields, despite falling under one internationally recognized status. As an example, Palestine Refugees in Jordan are typically granted Jordanian citizenship, while in Lebanon they are restricted to their camps. Yet it is because these different experiences and needs exist that it makes it vital for fields to develop methods of feedback and interaction that place refugees at the center of decision making and programme building. Since participation is a hallmark of the strategic vision laid out by UNRWA HQ, it is essential that action towards this direction takes place. As it happens, this can be an opportunity for the West Bank Field to become a standard-bearer for the agency, through producing concrete examples of programme behaviors, like the HCI, and mainstream participation across the field. While their mandate will continue to have a foundation in international authority, building additional support of an ad hoc mandate from the Palestine Refugees gives the agency greater access to resources and sustains their mission through decentralization.

Finally on the third count UNRWA, at least in the WBF, has limited capacity to enforce control over the Palestine Refugee population. Indeed it has limited ability to enforce control over its own facilities. WBF schools, health centers, and vehicles are often subject to ISF incursions with little rebuke. The Agency works with the ISF to coordinate its operations and maintain continuity of services, but ground forces can be ill prepared and uninformed leading them to take actions that violate UNRWA's neutrality. Outside of the conflict, UNRWA has not been able to organize its West Bank camps as they have expanded haphazardly due to severe population density. Housing is often built outside of any ordinance or approval process. UNRWA built housing units, which were designed for a maximum of two floors, can have several more added on top of

them by residents with growing families. There is simply no means for UNRWA to A: manage these constructions and B: rebuke individuals who violate UNRWA policy by building past structural limits. In this area, UNRWA has no recourse. In the WBF, the host governments consider the camps outside of their managerial bounds and because UNRWA has no enforcement mechanism, camp residents live in municipal gaps.

The "Phantom Sovereign"

While the researcher has experienced only the West Bank Field of UNRWA, through conversations and secondary research of the agency as a whole it is abundantly clear that UNRWA operates more as a governmental body with humanitarian and a development duties and elements. Like any government, they seek to provide relief when there is disaster and development where they see stagnations, but this does not absolve their current behavior of service provider. Taking the points in this section into account, it is the opinion of this researcher that UNRWA does represent a pseudo government entity, as Sari Hanafi would put it a "Phantom Sovereign".

Many actors are playing a role in the governance of the Palestinian refugee camps...our concern is not the power that stems from the exercise of sovereignty but rather the effects of power that a governmental technology generates. While UNRWA was not intended to, nor does it pretend to, govern the camps, it is ascribed the status of a sovereign by many camp dwellers. (Ḥanafi S., Hilal, L., & Takkenberg, A. et al, 2014)

It is important to note the stress under which this "Phantom Sovereign" exists and how little control over the conflicts in the region it has. This researcher has seen first-hand damage caused to UNRWA facilities due to ISF incursions; superficial compared to the occupation of UNRWA's Yarmouk camp in Syria by ISIL forces (Smith, 2015) or the shelter UNRWA provided for over 140,000 civilians fleeing the violence from the 2014 strike against Gaza. (Badawi, 2014)

UNRWA is a government entity built and maintained because no governing solution effectively exists for this population as a whole, with no party seeking to take responsibility. This in turn makes the Agency itself hostage to the conflict it was forged from. As more generations are steeped in this identity of Palestine Refugee, the needs become less tangible and more intangible. UNRWA is still a neutral humanitarian agency is in direct conflict with a population whose identity demands advocacy to their political strife, beyond their humanitarian strife. While UNRWA has been a steadfast advocate for protection issues and maintenance of human rights, it cannot advocate for a specific political solution or impose a method of solution upon the Palestine Refugee population. This prompts the question, does it have an opportunity to relieve itself from these conflicts?

Mandate and the Conflict

The Tangible Crisis

In appraising UNRWA's mandate 60 years on, Lance Bartholomeusz the now Director of Legal Affairs for the Agency, noted that the mandate has not been as uniformed as it appears. Bartholomeusz accounted that all of the specific programming within UNRWA, from Education, Health, camp infrastructure improvements, microfinance etc., had in effect been approved as the tenure of the agency progressed by the General Assembly through consistent approval of UNRWA's budget. Bartholomeusz argues that this is sufficient for UNRWA to consider its current behaviors sanctioned and supported by the international community. Moreover, this approval would extend to validate its pseudo-government behaviors by the international community, but not necessarily the Palestine Refugees. It is ironic then that a democratically minded body such as the United Nations has placed a mandate upon an agency that has a dependent population but has not reconciled the undemocratic nature of the agency itself. Again without a recourse or voice, "...quite understandably, Palestinian refugees' ire at gaps in UNRWA's services is generally expressed via protests against the agency, rather than against the failure to reach a political solution that would resolve their displacement." (Roth, 2015) This speaks to an already present and manifesting conflict amongst the tangible factors.

Currently the Agency supports some 5 million Palestine Refugees with its services. Its mandate is without a conclusion, beholden to provide these services until a peaceful and just solution to the conflict is produced. (Bartholomeusz, 2009) In the summer of 2015, the Agency faced a 100 million US\$ shortfall which would have kept UNRWA schools closed if not for a last minute funding drive. (Al Jazeera, 2015) This was not a fluke in the UNRWA budget; the budget had been running a deficit for roughly four years before it reached its breaking point. While UNRWA has taken austerity measures to manage future crisis, it will not resolve the overarching issue: UNRWA's model is unsustainable. While the refugee population continues to grow, international aid would have to grow with it. It is an escalating 0-sum game, which only will find true resolution with the end of the conflict and an answer to the Palestine Refugee issue.

The Intangible Crisis

Yet it is the refugees issue itself that presents a key sticking point for this peace process, with the Right of Return highly controversial. This right is based off of basic principles of humanitarian and refugee practice, affording individuals the right to return to their homeland if they so choose. However the Palestine Refugee situation lasting over sixty years complicates the matter. In some fields – Jordan for example – Palestine Refugees are both registered with UNRWA and citizens of Jordan, permitting them access therein to the benefits of Jordanian citizenship plus the services of UNRWA. In this case they carry duel and conflicting identities, "refugee citizen", in flight but integrated. This has led to the assertion from some scholars that the identity of Palestine Refugee is more a political tool that prolongs the conflict. Quoted at a conference on discussing UNRWA, Asaf Romirowsky of the Pro-Israeli *Scholars for Peace in the Middle East* made this statement:

'The Nakba mentality is ingrained within them [the refugees],' Romirowsky said. 'Until that is changed, they will be doing much of the same,' meaning that they will continue to elect to be dependent on UNRWA. (Shwayder, 2014)

This challenge to the refugee identity is a common theme from UNRWA's critics. Unlike UNHCR, UNRWA's definition on who gains the status of refugee is by comparison quite generous, and even allows for generational inheritance of the status for descendants of male refugees. (UNRWA Refugees, 2016) While many live outside of the camps, they are not considered settled.

The General Assembly allowed an option to resettle refugees where they stand in UNGA Resolution 194 (III) Paragraph 11 of 1948, which predates but influences UNRWA's founding mandate none the less. It stated:

...refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbours should be permitted to do so at the earliest practicable date, and that compensation should be paid for the property of those choosing not to return and for loss of or damage to property which, under principles of international law or in equity, should be made good by the Governments or authorities responsible... (Appendix C)

Despite this, reintegration and resettlement appears to been taken off the table from an early stage, in part due to refugee identity and in part by Arab states who sought to kept the refugee matter unsettled through reintegration. This was highlighted in a 1957 Annual Report of the Director of UNRWA:

The great mass of the refugees continues to believe that a grave injustice has been done to them and to express a desire to return to their homeland. In particular, they request the implementation of paragraph 11 of General Assembly resolution 194 (III) of 11 December 1948 concerning repatriation and compensation. It is not possible to estimate how many refugees would in fact accept an opportunity to be repatriated if that repatriation were to mean something different from returning to their old homes. Nevertheless, in spite of the fact that many are establishing themselves in new lives, the refugees collectively remain opposed to certain types of self-support projects which they consider would mean permanent resettlement and the abandonment of hope of repatriation. They are, in general, supported in this stand by the Arab host Governments. On the other hand, the Government of Israel has taken no affirmative action in the matter of repatriation and compensation. It remains the Director's opinion that, unless the refugees are given the choice between repatriation and compensation provided for in resolution 194 (III), or unless some other solution acceptable to all parties is found, it would be unrealistic for the General Assembly to believe that decisive progress can be accomplished by UNRWA towards the "reintegration of the refugees into the economic

life of the Near East, either by repatriation or resettlement" in line with General Assembly resolution 393 (V) of 2 December 1950. (UNRWA Report, 1957)

A similar thought was affirmed in the 1962 Annual Report:

The frustrated attempts of UNRWA during its initial years in sponsoring work projects to settle refugees and the virtually fruitless outcome of past broader efforts, under other auspices, to negotiate a settlement of the Palestine problem, strongly suggest that these undertakings have failed because they have been unacceptable to the people (refugee and non-refugee) indigenous to the region and to the Governments which represent them. It is the considered opinion of the Commissioner-General that these feelings of the Arab people run as deep today as at any time in the past, and therefore that, at least for as long as there is no substantial progress towards the implementation of paragraph 11 of General Assembly resolution 194 (III), UNRWA should not again attempt works projects designed to settle the refugees. From this experience one should not conclude that economic development is not wanted by the people of the region. On the contrary, it is wanted and at an accelerated rate but not in the context of refugee resettlement. (UNRWA Report, 1962)

The reality of the modern Palestine Refugee speaks volumes though. These people are participants in the economies they live in and around, not isolated even if they live in the camps. Despite UNRWA, there are still services that require refugees to engage in the local economy, from purchasing food, to utilities, to cell phones. Despite this de facto integration, their identity and status stress that this condition is temporary. In some respects, it is slightly religious, a promise of a better life once peace and a homecoming reign. Similar to UNRWA, the Palestine Refugee identity depends on a resolution to the conflict to fix its core complaint.

An yet UNRWA cannot seem to truly lockstep with this population; Palestine Refugees find themselves at odds with UNRWA as well. While the Agency is a steadfast advocate for Palestine Refugees and other IDPs from the conflict (in the case of the West Bank, Bedouin communities, those cut off from services by the ISF Barrier, and registered persons from the 1967 conflict), it still is obligated to neutrality as a UN agency, and cannot over extend its efforts to fulfill every demand of the population it serves. In UNRWA's WBF schools, children are taught under the Palestinian Authority's national curriculum, however UNRWA addresses the conflict from outside a PA nationalist perspective. It instead teaches students a curriculum called Human Right, Conflict Resolution and Tolerance in order to give an internationalist approach. This could be where a disconnect occurs: dependent on UNRWA for government style services, Palestine Refugees may have a greater expectation of commitment to their cause from UNRWA than what it can actually deliver. This can be seen through the fears exhibited by Palestine Refugees and their community leaders whenever a reform or change is made.

UNRWA offices in the WBF have found themselves under frequent protest following austerity actions and programme redesign over the past twelve months. In truth some of these redesigns were meant to ease service provision and promote dignity, for example transferring the SSNP food support from physical distributions to an equitable cash stipend. Yet, because programme information is frequently ineffectively communicated and due to a lack of overall trust between the Agency and the population, refugee leaders protest and disrupt field operations because they fear any change as a step towards UNRWA's withdrawal (Interview, Programmatic). This fear is not unfounded; refugees have legitimate security and protection concerns that leave them vulnerable. Following the destruction of Jenin Camp by the ISF, the Agency undertook reconstruction efforts with a community-based approach (The 'Urban Redesign'', 2012). One issue occurred pertaining to how the Agency rebuilt the roads through the camp:

...several years later, (the road construction) still generated anger and frustration...Most of the refugees I interviewed described the roads as exposing them to greater insecurity, violence, and night raids by Israeli jeeps. In the words of an (Emergency Committee) member: "Before the Israeli jeeps and tanks could not enter the camp. Now they have built the camp in such a way . . . that night incursions occur regularly. The jeeps enter very easily and can make their way throughout the camp". Even those who supported the plan and were generally happy with the result continued to have misgivings about security (The "Urban Redesign", 2012)

The Agency constructed large roads to ease the mobility of emergency vehicles and promote better urban conditions for the community, best practices in urban design and planning, but despite these intentions, the community seemed to receive this as the Agency exposing them to ISF raids. This returns the discussion to the issue of governance, for UNRWA cannot truly demarcate its population with adequate territorial protections and policies. This again is not truly a failing on the agency's part, rather an example of the conflict of sovereign versus phantom sovereign, a disconnect from the political needs of the population UNRWA serves.

If a solution occurs but this refugee identity is not addressed – through reparations or other means – peace may not last. In an ironic twist, the same motivation that might drive an illegal Israeli settler – the zeal of ones cultural identity to the land – could become the very same drive that manifests in the Palestine Refugee populace. Individuals, generations and generations removed from any experience on the land of their ancestors might one day seek reclamation or consider themselves a diaspora. In some ways it could become a cycle, albeit one of destruction and imbalance.

With the reasonable expectation that peace for the Arab-Israeli conflict is not forthcoming, what must occur – through a participatory lens if possible – is an evaluation of UNRWA's mandate projected 5, 10, or 15 years from now. Can the same level of care be provided given the harsh realities of finances and population growth? If so, where do the solutions to these stressors come from? If not, then what is the way forward?

The Counterpoints

From the other perspective of the conflict, nationalist Israeli's would see UNRWA dismissed altogether or replaced with UNHCR. They take a very surface approach to the argument; "[the] organization whose raison d'être is fraudulent and whose self-preservation hinges on making sure the problem entrusted to it is never solved." (The Jerusalem Post, 2015) But this line of thought could be applied to any humanitarian endeavor; is it not also true of the WHO and cancer researchers fighting for a cure? Or UNICEF fighting to end child poverty? This line of logic from the nationalist voices within Israel would rather scapegoat UNRWA than recognize that UNRWA's existence is largely dependent on the resolution of the conflict, and the reconciliation of all of its baggage.

However, within academia over the past few years there has been more discussion on the validity of UNRWA and its mission that dive deeper into the issues. There are scholars, Palestinians and former UNRWA employees amongst them, who argue that UNRWA's existence prolongs the conflict through perpetuating – in effect – the identity of refugees who they argue are akin to recipients of welfare rather than refugees. James G. Lindsay, a former senior lawyer at UNRWA, begins his critique by noting that the rhetoric of transferring responsibility from UNRWA to UNHCR is nonsensical. He notes that this is under an assumption that a change of guard would depoliticize the Palestine Refugee issue or remove the identity all together. He says though:

What the critics are really asking for is a General Assembly decision to change its overarching mandate from preserving Palestinian refugees' well-being and refugee status to actively encouraging, if not forcing, resettlement and an end to refugee status—regardless of which agency is entrusted with this mandate. As noted earlier, there is no majority support in the General Assembly for such a change; in fact, an overwhelming majority opposes it. (Lindsay, 2009)

Despite the Agency not fully following through on UNGA Resolution 194 (III) paragraph 11, it appears integration is already occurring; "According to UNRWA, more than two-thirds of the registered refugees have moved out of refugee camps and into the general population of the countries or areas in which they live." (Lindsay, 2012) If accurate, this would reinforce the observations that camps are more like urban slums, sheltering the most impoverished rather than a majority of this population. But more to Lindsay's point, it highlights the issue of refugee status as an assumed condition of need, debating construct of the identity:

For instance, a man who fled in 1948 from what is now Israel and was registered as a refugee (first generation refugee) could have had a male child with a non-refugee; that child (a second generation refugee) could have himself grown up and had a male child with a non-refugee and then that male child (a third generation refugee) could have had a male child (a fourth generation refugee) with a non-refugee. Although such a fourth generation refugee would have only one-eighth "refugee blood" and even though he, his

parents, and his grandparents may have never set foot in what is now Israel, for UNRWA they all remain refugees entitled to repatriation to their "homes" there. (Lindsay, 2012)

On the other side of the argument, there is perhaps more sympathy for UNRWA but a similar conclusion about the role of the UNGA when it comes to solving this problem. These supporters have argued that an outright dismissal of UNRWA or the relief support it provides – regardless of its flaws on the governmental service side – ignores the premise of its existence; it persists because nothing has been solved and violence continues. These advocates support the theme that UNRWA, and in affect the Palestine Refugees, can only be resolved through a resolution to the conflict as a whole, acknowledging the unsustainable condition of the Agency:

UNRWA cannot hope to protect and provide for Palestinian refugees indefinitely. It does not, as the [Political] Right frequently argues, bear sole responsibility for prolonging the Palestinian refugee crisis. On the contrary: it is the ongoing lack of a political solution — a process in which UNRWA's mandate does not allow it to participate — that has dragged the agency, and by extension the Palestinians reliant upon it, into this quagmire. (Roth, 2015)

In a pragmatic sense however, any repatriation would be impossible at this point in time. The Israel envoy to the UN, Ron Prosor, made their dissent clear: "The right of return...would 'flood Israel with millions of refugees, and drown the Jewish state by sheer numbers." (Shwayder, 2014) If a scenario where all registered Palestine Refugees were given right of return, the population of Israel would increase by 62% and make the Jewish population a minority group; this is apart from any economic impacts that reparations would make. There is undeniably some who would seek this type of solution, those more interested in scoring peace over Israel than a just peace for all parties, but it is hardly a possible or sustainable goal. To resolve the Palestine Refugee identity, they must be given agency to govern, either through a state they already reside in,

The Politics

UNRWA cannot escape its role from the conflict anymore than the governments who are placed in the center of it. With the continuation of its mandate from the General Assembly, there is a glimmer of a victim. Humanitarian organizations are not designed to develop into political tools, though they are subject to the games of the nation-states around them. For a humanitarian agency to be so central to a conflict however is unprecedented; to leave its burden unresolved for decades is, in the opinion of this researcher, the fault of the international community. They are not without sin, but they have existed in good faith to their mission. Humanitarian assistance is by design supposed to be temporary; arguing UNRWA's continued existence on humanitarian grounds 65 years later begs the question if UNRWA is capable of success, and if so what is the measure of that success? The counterpoints to UNRWA aside, is its continued existence not a version of international governance in procrastination? Or perhaps that claim unfair due to the dire condition of the peace process.

But as noted in the previous section, while the Agency's activities are approved by the General Assembly (Bartholomeusz, 2009) this is not a sign of stability; this is instead a sign of resignation to the issue, a procrastination measure on the part of the international community due to the lack of political willpower to resolve the core conflict.

Reforms

This paper has explored the depths of UNRWA's actions and identity, but really this article is a document about its future. There is little doubt, based on the observations and statistical evidence that UNRWA is on an unsustainable path. Particularly in the West Bank, where the Israeli Occupation will hit its 50th year in 2017, UNRWA has held the line of services for a population with little recourse otherwise. But clearly this is not sustainable; the Agency's recent round of austerity measures will not stem them for long as the refugee population grows. To fulfill its mandate, ironically UNRWA will have to let go of some control. Evidence from the case study and from the attitudes of those interviewed suggests that the most viable path forward for UNRWA is to seriously implement participatory reforms. While participation is upheld already as a tenant of their MTS and Protection principles, this study bears clearly that the WBF has thus far seen little action in this direction at an HQ or multi-field level.

In times of crisis the agency must make decisions to ensure service continuation in an expedient manner, however this is currently done without refugee inclusion. Yet there is good reason for this, time is typically a factor and there is no means to collect feedback from the communities on every crisis or strategic decision. But this exemplifies the issue with UNRWA's structure, in times of austerity or crisis the agency should not have to consult the refugee communities on their current needs and priorities because it should already have that information on hand. In researching participation practices, it was noted that UNRWA conducts low-level activities, not higher than information transfer (Appendix A) by way of consultations or focus groups after a project or initiative takes place. As a case example, the Healthy Camp Initiative has made an effort to work on needs assessments for communities before project design even occurs, this can and has enabled higher-level participatory activities throughout the HCI. By partnering with NGOs and Universities to do the actual needs assessment works, UNRWA removes its own biases from the results. The focus now should be on how does UNRWA institutionalize this data in a way that will inform strategic decision makers without tampering with the raw results. UNRWA statistics on refugees are well documented, published, and disseminated throughout the agency; it is vital to look into how needs and priority assessments of various communities can be summarized and disseminated in this same fashion. Certainly the HCI is a small example of this practice, but it can be a model to expand UNRWA's methods

Conclusion

For the International Community

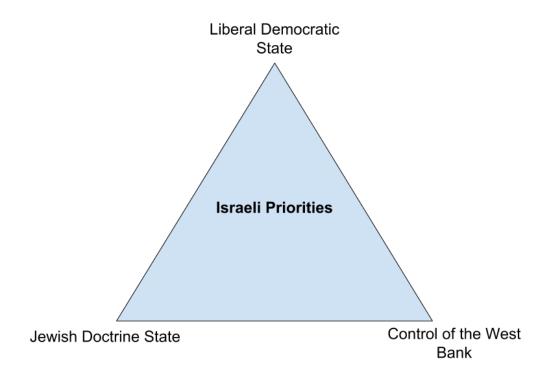
Most of the authors cited in this work agree that to some extent that UNRWA is beyond its depth, and this is has little recourse due to its mandate. There was also a sense of apathy that the UNGA and the International Community will not make any moves to resolve these issues. There is no doubt this is true, but it also is irresponsible then to focus on a component that is powerless to its directive. UNRWA deserves critique but not for the state of the conflict, in that it has been used as a scapegoat by some. And while it is a clear symbol of this procrastinator approach to the conflict, it alone does not have the capacity to diffuse the crisis. UNRWA can only delay, persist, until a point where unsustainability catches up with it.

In the present though, if it is accepted that the International Community is responsible for refugees, then identity of the Palestine Refugee presents a challenge to a true peace process. This researcher is concerned that even if the conflict were resolved but the right of return not fulfilled, would the identity still persist? Would these people not still feel beholden to their symbols of Keys or the train home? Or would a new sense of identity supersede this, one of a new State of Palestine, should that resolution occur. For many, they will still remain stigmatized, representing poorest amongst the communities they live in and dependent on free or subsidized services. Overall it is clear that at this point there can be no political solution without a social and communal solution. For the politics will not resolve how to acclimatize the mass migration of refugees to a new homeland should it be found or remove the stigma that comes with Palestine Refugee amongst their peers.

For the Conflict

It would be unproductive to leave the conflict resolution process unmentioned, however this paper did not engage the topic of the conflict in its entirety. An assessment at this point would be incomplete, such an evaluation would require a more comprehensive study rather than a focus on one faction, UNRWA and Palestine Refugees. That said the issues discussed in this paper are inextricably linked to the conflict. As it stands, presently the Right of Return – as steeped in international law as it is – has a smaller and smaller chance of becoming a reality, as the Palestine Refugees registered with UNRWA grow in numbers. There is however still opportunity for resettlement in the West Bank, should the almost 50-year occupation and Israeli Settlement construction ends. To this end, one fascinating discussion with a strategic level staff member of the WBFO led to this diagram:

Figure 5: Modeling Israeli Policy Priorities



This model accepts that Israel is the dominate power in the West Bank and can implement its will without much rebuke. As an example, the occupation, seizure of land, demolitions, and settlement construction have gone on for several decades now without international action beyond some auditory rebukes. Currently there is little interest to give up control of the West Bank, despite the Oslo Accord's roadmap. However there appears – at least in rhetoric – to be a deep interest in keeping Israel a home for the Jewish people and a Liberal Democracy. As Figure 5 indicates, there is a gulf that separates these policies, and realistically only two can be implemented to full effect. If Israel controls the West Bank but gives credence and preferential treatment to Israeli citizens and Jewish settlers, then they create a second-class citizen status for West Bank ID holders – including Palestine Refugees – and thus diminish their status as a true democratic state. On the other hand, ending the occupation and control of the West Bank could balance the model. Finally, control of the West Bank and maintaining a liberal democratic status would require equal treatment for all, a One-state solution.

This model simplifies matters based on the power-over and control Israel has in the conflict at this time. Israel has time and time again demonstrated its military efficiency; this combined with US support places the state of Israel in the driver's seat of the conflict. The model also does not

account for the numerous issues towards a peace process, such as rights to holy sites, Gaza, and the settlements already in place (should Israel pull out of the West Bank). But it is a starting point given the current situation and the dominant position of Israel. In clarifying which two policies it desires, responses and preparations can be made regarding a two-state or one-state solution. Until that time, there is little ambition from either side to do anything more, content in the knowledge that UNRWA will take care of those victim to this almost 70 year long process.

For UNRWA

Without an end to its mandate in sight, UNRWA must prepare for the eventuality that the needs of those they serve will surpass their capacity. It was therefore recommended in the case study report for UNRWA on HCI Best Practices and Lessons Learned that the WBF can take this void as an opportunity to become a model for the agency and role out more systematic participatory reforms, based on the HCI if desirable. How it occurs is ultimately dependent on current field resources and politics, however this type of reform will be of vital importance to build a sustainable future for UNRWA's services while it waits for a resolution to the conflict. Through participatory reforms UNRWA could act more like a coordinator rather than a provider, an essential shift for diminishing dependence and deinstitutionalizing itself in these communities.

While certain programmes and facilities could still be managed by UNRWA, enabling community action in the form of equitable elections and control would decentralize service responsibility and give greater agency to CBO actors to solve their community's needs. Sari Hanafi came to a similar conclusion, comparing UNHCR's reforms made in the 1990s to foster community participation, suggesting that UNRWA could even organize elections to foster more appropriate camp governance. While Hanafi cautions that UNHCR's approach was a top-down mechanism, there is an encouraging lesson to take away from this practice. (Hanafi, Hilal, Takkenberg, 2014)

Through the networks of the Healthy Camp Committees, CBOs have fund raises, planned, and implemented solutions to those problems, with UNRWA as a partner rather than sole implementer. These roles are traditionally in UNRWA wheelhouse, however the HCI provides a proof of concept that these responsibilities can be – in effect – decentralized. By promoting community empowerment, UNRWA has the ability to reduce its responsibilities while still maintaining its mandate through a more support role approach, acting as a networker and facilitator. Through proper identification of positive community partners leading to a subsequent decentralization of power UNRWA can build trustful partnerships with the refugees it serves and secures for itself a modern and equitable method of fulfilling its mandate.

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Appendix A

Table 9: NRC's Degrees of Participation

Degree of Participation	Definition
Ownership	The community controls decision-making
Interactive	The community is wholly involved in the decision-making with other actors
Functional	The community fulfills only a particular role with limited decision-making power (for example, forming a water committee which is then supervised by an NGO staff member)
Material Motivation	The community receives goods or cash in return for a service or role
Consultation	The community is asked for their opinion on what they would like to see, but their opinion has limited sway in decision-making
Information Transfer	Information is gathered from the community, but they are not involved in the resulting discussions which inform decisions
Passive	The community is informed of decisions and actions, but have no say in either the process or the result

Appendix B

Table 10: UNRWA Expenditure Statistics by Field 2015

Table 1	o: ONKWA Expenatiur	e Statistics by Fiela 2015
		Expenditure
GFO	Programme Budget	297,817,562
	Projects	110,986,676
	Emergency Appeal	218,283,798
	Total	627,088,036
JFO	Programme Budget	139,444,412
	Projects	13,945,168
	Emergency Appeal	9,817,677
	Total	163,207,256
0	Programme Budget	101,455,038
	Projects	36,356,200
LFO	Emergency Appeal	44,580,396
	Total	182,391,635
	Programme Budget	35,916,921
SFO	Projects	16,317,116
	Emergency Appeal	136,669,538
	Total	188,903,575
	Programme Budget	133,971,302
FC	Projects	18,520,635
WBFO	Emergency Appeal	24,879,572
	Total	177,371,510
	Programme Budget	58,079,765
\circ	Projects	7,013,957
НО	Emergency Appeal	1,176,189
	Total	66,269,910
Agency	Programme Budget	766,685,000
	Projects	203,139,752
	Emergency Appeal	435,407,169.9
	Total	1,405,231,922
		~

Source: UNRWA Annual Operations Report 2015

Table 11: UNRWA Population and Camps by Field 2015

	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	• •
GFO	Number of Camps	8
	Registered Refugees	1,311,920
	Other Registered Persons*	76,748
	Average Family Size	4.3
JFO	Number of Camps	10
	Registered Refugees	2,144,233
	Other Registered Persons*	103,535
	Average Family Size	4.5
LFO	Number of Camps	12
	Registered Refugees	458,369
	Other Registered Persons*	46,007
	Average Family Size	3.8
	Number of Camps	9
SFO	Registered Refugees	560,000
SI	Other Registered Persons*	70,035
	Average Family Size	3.6
WBFO	Number of Camps	19
	Registered Refugees	792,081
	Other Registered Persons*	178,552
	Average Family Size	4.0
Agency	Number of Camps	58
	Registered Refugees*	5,266,603
	Other Registered Persons	474,877
	Average Family Size	4.0

Source: UNRWA Annual Operations Report 2015

^{*} Other registered persons refers to those who, at the time of original registration, did not satisfy all of UNRWA's Palestine Refugee criteria, but who were determined to have suffered significant loss and/or hardship for reasons related to the 1948 conflict in Palestine; they also include persons who belong to the families of other registered persons.

Appendix C

UNGA Resolution 194 (III)

11 December 1948

The General Assembly,

Having considered further the situation in Palestine,

1. Expresses its deep appreciation of the progress achieved through the good offices of the late United Nations Mediator in promoting a peaceful adjustment of the future situation of Palestine, for which cause he sacrificed his life; and Extends its thanks to the Acting Mediator and his staff for their continued efforts and devotion to duty in Palestine;

- 2. Establishes a Conciliation Commission consisting of three States Members of the United Nations which shall have the following functions:
 - a. To assume, insofar as it considers necessary in existing circumstances, the functions given to the United Nations Mediator on Palestine by resolution 186 (S-2) of the General Assembly of 14 May 1948;
 - b. To carry out the specific functions and directives given to it by the present resolution and such additional functions and directives as may be given to it by the General Assembly or by the Security Council;
 - c. To undertake, upon the request of the Security Council, any of the functions now assigned to the United Nations Mediator on Palestine or to the United Nations Truce Commission by resolutions of the Security Council; upon such request to the Conciliation Commission by the Security Council with respect to all the remaining functions of the United Nations Mediator on Palestine under Security Council resolutions, the office of the Mediator shall be terminated;
- 3. Decides that a Committee of the Assembly, consisting of China, France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom and the United States of America, shall present, before the end of the first part of the present session of the General Assembly, for the approval of the Assembly, a proposal concerning the names of the three States which will constitute the Conciliation Commission;
- 4. Requests the Commission to begin its functions at once, with a view to the establishment of contact between the parties themselves and the Commission at the earliest possible date;
- 5. Calls upon the Governments and authorities concerned to extend the scope of the negotiations provided for in the Security Council's resolution of 16 November 1948 and to seek agreement by negotiations conducted either with the Conciliation Commission or directly with a view to the final settlement of all questions outstanding between them;
- 6. Instructs the Conciliation Commission to take steps to assist the Government and authorities concerned to achieve a final settlement of all questions outstanding between them;

7. Resolves that the Holy Places—including Nazareth—religious buildings and sites in Palestine should be protected and free access to them assured, in accordance with existing rights and historical practice that arrangements to this end should be under effective United Nations supervision; that the United Nations Conciliation Commission, in presenting to the fourth regular session of the General Assembly its detailed proposal for a permanent international regime for the territory of Jerusalem, should include recommendations concerning the Holy Places in that territory; that with regard to the Holy Places in the rest of Palestine the Commission should call upon the political authorities of the areas concerned to give appropriate formal guarantees as to the protection of the Holy Places and access to them; and that these undertakings should be presented to the General Assembly for approval;

- 8. Resolves that, in view of its association with three world religions, the Jerusalem area, including the present municipality of Jerusalem plus the surrounding villages and towns, the most Eastern of which shall be Abu Dis; the most Southern, Bethlehem; the most Western, Ein Karim (including also the built-up area of Motsa); and the most Northern, Shu'fat, should be accorded special and separate treatment from the rest of Palestine and should be placed under effective United Nations control; Requests the Security Council to take further steps to ensure the demilitarization of Jerusalem at the earliest possible date; Instructs the Conciliation Commission to present to the fourth regular session of the General Assembly detailed proposals for a permanent international regime for the Jerusalem area which will provide for the maximum local autonomy for distinctive groups consistent with the special international status of the Jerusalem area; The Conciliation Commission is authorized to appoint a United Nations representative who shall cooperate with the local authorities with respect to the interim administration of the Jerusalem area:
- 9. Resolves that, pending agreement on more detailed arrangements among the Governments and authorities concerned, the freest possible access to Jerusalem by road, rail or air should be accorded to all inhabitants of Palestine; Instructs the Conciliation Commission to report immediately to the Security Council, for appropriate action by that organ, any attempt by any party to impede such access;
- 10. Instructs the Conciliation Commission to seek arrangements among the Governments and authorities concerned which will facilitate the economic development of the area, including arrangements for access to ports and airfields and the use of transportation and communication facilities;
- 11. Resolves that the refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbours should be permitted to do so at the earliest practicable date, and that compensation should be paid for the property of those choosing not to return and for loss of or damage to property which, under principles of international law or in equity, should be made good by the Governments or authorities responsible; Instructs the Conciliation

Commission to facilitate the repatriation, resettlement and economic and social rehabilitation of the refugees and the payment of compensation, and to maintain close relations with the Director of the United Nations Relief for Palestine Refugees and, through him, with the appropriate organs and agencies of the United Nations;

- 12. Authorizes the Conciliation Commission to appoint such subsidiary bodies and to employ such technical experts, acting under its authority, as it may find necessary for the effective discharge of its functions and responsibilities under the present resolution; The Conciliation Commission will have its official headquarters at Jerusalem. The authorities responsible for maintaining order in Jerusalem will be responsible for taking all measures necessary to ensure the security of the Commission. The Secretary-General will provide a limited number of guards for the protection of the staff and premises of the Commission;
- 13. Instructs the Conciliation Commission to render progress reports periodically to the Secretary-General for transmission to the Security Council and to the Members of the United Nations;
- 14. Calls upon all Governments and authorities concerned to cooperate with the Conciliation Commission and to take all possible steps to assist in the implementation of the present resolution;
- 15. Requests the Secretary-General to provide the necessary staff and facilities and to make appropriate arrangements to provide the necessary funds required in carrying out the terms of the present resolution.

UNGA Resolution 302 (IV)

8 December 1949

The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolutions 212 (III) 2/ of 19 November 1948 and 194 (III) 3/ of 11 December 1948, affirming in particular the provisions of paragraph 11 of the latter resolutions,

Having examined with appreciation the first interim report 4/ of the United Nations Economic Survey Mission for the Middle East and the report 5/ of the Secretary-General on assistance to Palestine refugees,

- 1. Expresses its appreciation to the Governments which have generously responded to the appeal embodied in its resolution 212 (III), and to the appeal of the Secretary-General, to contribute in kind or in funds to the alleviation of the conditions of starvation and distress among the Palestine refugees;
- 2. Expresses also its gratitude to the International Committee of the Red Cross, to the League of Red Cross Societies and to the American Friends Service Committee for the contribution they have made to this humanitarian cause by discharging, in the face of great difficulties, the responsibility they voluntarily assumed for the distribution of relief supplies and the general care of the refugees; and welcomes the assurance they have

- given the Secretary-General that they will continue their co-operation with the United Nations until the end of March 1950 on a mutually acceptable basis;
- 3. Commends the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund for the important contribution which it has made towards the United Nations programme of assistance; and commends those specialized agencies which have rendered assistance in their respective fields, in particular the World Health Organization, the United nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and the International Refugee Organization;
- 4. Expresses its thanks to the numerous religious, charitable and humanitarian organizations which have materially assisted in bringing relief to Palestine refugees;
- 5. Recognizes that, without prejudice to the provisions of paragraph 11 of General Assembly resolution 194 (III) of 11 December 1948, continued assistance for the relief of the Palestine refugees is necessary to prevent conditions of starvation and distress among them and to further conditions of peace and stability, and that constructive measures should be undertaken at an early date with a view to the termination of international assistance for relief;
- 6. Considers that, subject to the provisions of paragraph 9(d) of the present resolution, the equivalent of approximately \$33,700,000 will be required for direct relief and works programmes for the period 1 January to 31 December 1950 of which the equivalent of \$20,200,000 is required for direct relief and \$13,500,000 for works programmes; that the equivalent of approximately \$21,200,000 will be required for works programmes from 1 January to 30 June 1951, all inclusive of administrative expenses; and that direct relief should be terminated not later than 31 December 1950 unless otherwise determined by the General Assembly at its fifth regular session;
- 7. Establishes the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East:
 - a. To carry out in collaboration with local governments the direct relief and works programmes as recommended by the Economic Survey Mission;
 - b. To consult with the interested Near Eastern Governments concerning measures to be taken by them preparatory to the time when international assistance for relief and works projects is no longer available;
- 8. Establishes an Advisory Commission consisting of representatives of France, Turkey, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America, with power to add not more than three additional members from contributing Governments, to advise and assist the Director of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East in the execution of the programme; the Director and the Advisory Commission shall consult with each near Eastern Government concerned in the selection, planning and execution of projects;

9. Requests the Secretary-General to appoint the Director of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East in consultation with the Governments represented on the Advisory Commission;

- a. The Director shall be the chief executive officer of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East responsible to the General Assembly for the operation of the programme;
- b. The Director shall select and appoint his staff in accordance with general arrangements made in agreement with the Secretary-General, including such of the staff rules and regulations of the United Nations as the Director and the Secretary-General shall agree are applicable, and to the extent possible utilize the facilities and assistance of the Secretary-General;
- c. The Director shall, in consultation with the Secretary-General and the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions, establish financial regulations for the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East;
- d. Subject to the financial regulations established pursuant to clause (c) of the present paragraph, the Director, in consultation with the Advisory Commission, shall apportion available funds between direct relief and works projects in their discretion, in the event that the estimates in paragraph 6 require revision;
- 10. Requests the Director to convene the Advisory Commission at the earliest practicable date for the purpose of developing plans for the organization and administration of the programme, and of adopting rules of procedure;
- 11. Continues the United Nations Relief for Palestine Refugees as established under General Assembly resolution 212 (III) until 1 April 1950, or until such date thereafter as the transfer referred to in paragraph 12 is affected, and requests the Secretary-General in consultation with the operating agencies to continue the endeavour to reduce the numbers of rations by progressive stages in the light of the findings and recommendations of the Economic Survey Mission;
- 12. Instructs the Secretary-General to transfer to the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East the assets and liabilities of the United Nations Relief for Palestine Refugees by 1 April 1950, or at such date as may be agreed by him and the Director of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East;
- 13. Urges all Members of the United Nations and non-members to make voluntary contributions in funds or in kind to ensure that the amount of supplies and funds required is obtained for each period of the programme as set out in paragraph 6; contributions in funds may be made in currencies other than the United States dollar in so far as the programme can be carried out in such currencies;
- 14. Authorizes the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions, to advance funds deemed to be available for

- this purpose and not exceeding \$5,000,000 from the Working Capital Fund to finance operations pursuant to the present resolution, such sum to be repaid not later than 31 December 1950 from the voluntary governmental contributions requested under paragraph 13 above;
- 15. Authorizes the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions, to negotiate with the International Refugee Organization for an interest-free loan in an amount not to exceed the equivalent of \$2,800,000 to finance the programme subject to mutually satisfactory conditions for repayment;
- 16. Authorizes the Secretary-General to continue the Special Fund established under General Assembly resolution 212 (III) and to make withdrawals therefrom for the operation of the United Nations Relief for Palestine Refugees and, uponä the request of the Director, for the operations of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East;
- 17. Calls upon the Governments concerned to accord to the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East the privileges, immunities, exemptions and facilities which have been granted to the United Nations Relief for Palestine Refugees, together with all other privileges, immunities, exemptions and facilities necessary for the fulfilment of its functions;
- 18. Urges the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund, the International Refugee Organization, the World Health Organization, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, the Food and Agriculture Organization and other appropriate agencies and private groups and organizations, in consultation with the Director of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, to furnish assistance within the framework of the programme;
- 19. Requests the Director of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East:
 - a. To appoint a representative to attend the meeting of the Technical Assistance Board as observer so that the technical assistance activities of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East may be coordinated with the technical assistance programmes of the United Nations and specialized agencies referred to in Economic and Social Council resolution 222 (IX) A 6/ of 15 August 1949;
 - b. To place at the disposal of the Technical Assistance Board full information concerning any technical assistance work which may be done by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, in order that it may be included in the reports submitted by the Technical Assistance Board to the Technical Assistance committee of the Economic and Social Council;

20. Directs the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East to consult with the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine in the best interests of their respective tasks, with particular reference to paragraph 11 of General Assembly resolution 194 (III) of 11 December 1948;

- 21. Requests the Director to submit to the General Assembly of the United Nations an annual report on the work of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, including an audit of funds, and invites him to submit to the Secretary-General such other reports as the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East may wish to bring to the attention of Members of the United Nations, or its appropriate organs;
- 22. Instructs the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine to transmit the final report of the Economic Survey Mission, with such comments as it may wish to make, to the Secretary-General for transmission to the Members of the United Nations and to the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East.