

Arab American University
Faculty of Graduate Studies
Department of Social Sciences



Master Program in Conflict Resolution and Development

**The Role of UNRWA in Fostering the Implications of
Human Security Among Residents of Refugee Camps in the
West Bank**

(Al Amari Camp and Askar Camp as Two Case Studies)

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201812596

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**This Thesis Was Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of
the Requirements for the Master Degree in
Conflict Resolution and Development**

Palestine, February/2025

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Thesis Approval




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Declaration

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, this thesis is substantially my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the Arab American University or any other institution.

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Dedication

To my mother, who taught me patience and perseverance,

And my father, who is my support and sustenance.

To my dear sisters and cherished brother,

Bonds that prevail like no other.

To my beloved husband, my trustworthy companion,

Who stood by me through trial and deviation.

The hand that is always there to steer the way,

And help me reach dreams beyond my imagination,

To my children, my lasting

legacy, My continuation for

eternity.

To every captive and every soul in pain,

And those who were bravely martyred for freedom.

Maram Khalid Ata Rayyan

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I also extend my special thanks to my colleagues and friends who have shared this journey with me and have been a never-ending source of inspiration and encouragement. Finally, I extend my sincere thanks to everyone who has extended a helping hand, even with a word or advice. May God reward you all well on my behalf.

Maram Khalid Ata Rayyan

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Abstract

This thesis investigates and studies the role of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) in fostering the implications of Human Security among Palestinian refugees residing in the West Bank's Al Amari and Askar camps. The study applies theoretical perspectives on Human Security and international relations to real-life scenarios, analyzing the impact of UNRWA's reduced services on various dimensions of Human Security, including economic, health, educational, food, personal, community, and environmental security.

Through a comprehensive thematic analysis of interviews with camp residents, the research reveals significant increases in human insecurity resulting from the reduction in UNRWA services. Economic hardships, inadequate healthcare, compromised educational opportunities, food insecurity, and threats to personal safety emerged as widespread issues affecting the well-being of the refugees.

The findings highlight and demonstrate the interconnected and integrated nature of human security aspects and dimensions, and highlight the necessity of a holistic and wider approach to address these challenges. The study also demonstrates the importance of international cooperation, policy reform, and sustainable aid programs in enhancing the refugee populations' overall security and well-being. By integrating theoretical frameworks with empirical data, this thesis provides valuable understanding of the practical implications of service reductions and suggests targeted interventions to improve Human Security in refugee contexts.

Keywords: Refugee, Human Security, Unrwa, Refugee Camps, Human Right.

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Chapter One: Background & Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Since the Palestinian Nakba of 1948, which resulted in the mass displacement of hundreds of thousands of Palestinians from their homeland, the Palestinian people have endured difficulties across Mandate government and reached its peak with the Zionist various levels - social, political, economic, and psychological. This event marked the birth of the Palestinian refugee problem. This dilemma that continued since the 1917 Balfour Declaration¹, which aimed to establish a national home for the Jewish people, allegedly to provide them refuge from the persecution and violence they were subjected to in European countries. Various and genuine efforts were taken to fulfill this promise, starting with establishing of the Zionist movement, which held several conferences to establish and state its objectives and then carry out concrete measures toward achieving its vision.

The Zionist movement's activities continued with the support of the British occupation of the land of Palestine in 1948, which meant materializing and fulfilling their long-standing hopes and aspirations.

The Zionists committed numerous massacres, employing an ethnic cleansing policy and deploying a terror policy to intimidate the Palestinians and forcibly expel them from their land². There were many massacres whose brutality is still entrenched in the Palestinian memory, such as Deir Yassin and Tantura³, which the Israeli side considered as a duty upon themselves and a justification for the establishment of their state on Palestinian territories. As a result of these actions, thousands of Palestinians were compelled to leave their lands, seeking refuge from the horrors of the Israeli massacres. While some sought refuge in the West Bank, others fled to neighboring countries such as Jordan, Syria, Egypt, and Lebanon.

Several Palestinians, dubbed 'Israeli Arabs'³ remained on their land and still reside there. The United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) was established to contain and address the refugee problem and promptly

¹ Schneer, J. (2011). *The Balfour Declaration: the origins of the Arab-Israeli conflict*. A&C Black.

² Pappé, I. (2006). The 1948 ethnic cleansing of Palestine. *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 36(1), 6-20. ³Ibid.

³ Koren, H. (2002). The Arab citizens of the State of Israel: The Arab media perspective. *Israel Affairs*, 9(1-2), 212-226.

initiated interventions. In its initial steps, UNRWA provided tents for the displaced refugees and subsequently commenced constructing residential units to replace the tents. Moreover, UNRWA built schools and health centers, providing support in the education and health sectors it has also provided cash and in-kind assistance to the refugees⁴.

In 1967, Israel launched a war on Syria, Egypt, and Jordan, resulting in the Israeli occupation of the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, and the city of Jerusalem. Israel, during this war, deployed the same policy of ethnic cleansing, which compelled several Palestinians to flee to the neighboring countries, marking their second forced migration. These events and actions led to The First Intifada that erupted in 1987, characterized by Palestinian popular resistance. This Intifada claimed the lives of numerous and led to the imprisonment of many individuals. The First Intifada lasted for 6 years and concluded with the signing of the Oslo Accords in 1993 with the intention of the Palestinian Authority assuming governance. However, tensions persisted, leading to the outbreak of The Second

Intifada or Al-Aqsa Intifada in 2000; the straw that broke the camel's back was when former

Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon entered the courtyard of Al-Aqsa Mosque on September 28th. The Second Intifada was characterized by violent reactions, with Israel employing excessive force and weaponry against Palestinian resistance. The second intifada has also resulted in a significant number of martyrs and injuries, in addition to prisoners in Israeli prisons being subjected to lengthy sentences, with some spanning hundreds of years.

The Israeli actions against the Palestinian people persist to this day, often contradicting international agreements and laws aimed at erasing the aftermaths of the Palestinian cause. Palestinian refugees continue to reside in the Palestinian camps that were established in 1948 and the years after, but their living conditions have not witnessed significant change. The quality of life in the camps remains inferior compared to the surrounding cities. In addition to its military actions against Palestinians, such as arrests, killings, displacements, and ethnic cleansing, Israel also employs political efforts to undermine Palestinian identity and absolve the refugee issue. Furthermore, ongoing debates exist regarding the origins of certain elements of Palestinian cultural heritage,

⁴ Abreek-Zubiedat, F. (2015). The Palestinian refugee camps: The promise of 'ruin' and 'loss'. *Rethinking History*, 19(1), 06-11.

such as traditional foods and embroidery⁵. While Israel incorporates these elements into its national identity, Palestinians view them as integral parts of their own culture.

In recent times, Israel, with the support of the United States, has intensified efforts to tackle and eliminate the refugee issue. This agenda was evident in the "Deal of the Century," which stipulated that only those displaced from their lands in 1948 would be considered refugees, while their descendants would not be given refugee status. Therefore, the refugee issue would effectively end with the passing of the generation of Palestinian refugees who were directly forcibly displaced⁷.

Israel, with US support⁸, has carried out various attempts to dismantle and deactivate UNRWA through a clear and explicit reduction of the support provided to the agency, thereby weakening the support made available to the Palestinian refugees.

1.2 Study Objectives

In light of this context, this study aims to shed light on the challenges faced by Palestinian refugees in the Palestinian refugee camps. This study focuses on a selected sample from Askar Refugee Camp in Nablus Governorate and Al Amari Refugee Camp in Ramallah Governorate. The study aims to achieve the following objectives:

1. Highlight the concept of Human Security.
2. Gain a close look into the living, health, and social conditions experienced by residents of refugee camps.
3. Shed light on the most prominent services currently provided by UNRWA and those provided before the reduction in services.
4. Examine the extent to which this reduction has impacted the conditions of Palestinian refugees.

1.3 Importance of the Study

The importance of the study lies in several key aspects:

1. The Palestinian citizens' need to experience human security, given their living under the shadow of occupation. Security and peace at individual, social, and global levels

⁵ Sheety, R. (2015). Stealing Palestine: A study of historical and cultural theft. *Middle East Eye*.

⁷GÜMÜŞ, A. The US Foreign Policy Towards the Middle East in the Trump Period and the "Deal of the Century". *New Trends in Social, Humanities and Administrative Sciences*, 31. ⁸ IBID.

are among the human beings' fundamental objectives and basic rights. When this right is threatened with extinction, life loses its value and meaning.

2. The necessity of raising awareness about the importance of striving to provide human security by providing information and data on the concept of human security, its characteristics and dimensions, the human security human rights interplay, and the distinction of human security from other security concepts such as the concept of national security. Providing this information aims to address the ambiguity surrounding the concept and raise awareness about human security-related issues.

1.4 The Study Problem

UNRWA has been and still is the primary supporter of Palestinian refugees. Since the Palestinian Nakba in 1948, it began providing humanitarian aid to Palestinian refugees. Initially, UNRWA built tents for the refugees after the Nakba, and later, it built primitive housing and houses. Moreover, the agency provided material and food aid, as well as services in the education and health sectors. However, the reduction in the services provided to these refugees and the adverse effects of such reduction on the refugees impacted the realization of the elements of human security. This thesis aims to study the impact of reducing the services provided by UNRWA on the realization of the elements of human security among the residents of Palestinian refugee camps to uncover the details of the challenges faced.

1.5 The Study Questions

To achieve the objectives of the study and gather further information, the research attempts to answer the following questions:

1. What services did UNRWA previously provide in the health, education, and food sectors?
2. To what extent has the reduction in services provided by UNRWA occurred?
3. What are the most significant problems faced by residents of refugee camps?
4. Are there camp residents seeking alternative places of residence?
5. What is the relation between the concept of human security and the human security elements present in the Refugee Camps?

1.6 Research Hypothesis

Hypotheses

1. Main Hypothesis

Reduction in UNRWA services significantly increases human insecurity among Palestinian refugees.

2. Supporting Hypotheses

Economic Security: The reduction in UNRWA services worsens and impairs economic security among Palestinian refugees in Al Amari and Askar camps.

Health Security: Limited access to healthcare services due to reduced UNRWA support leads to greater health insecurity among residents of refugee camps.

Educational Security: The reduction in educational resources and support from UNRWA negatively impacts the educational attainment and future opportunities of Palestinian refugee children.

1.7 Research Methodology

The Methodology of this research is an organized process of collecting, analyzing, and interpreting data to attain final results and conclusions that can be academically and politically useful. The methodology that employs experiment and field examination is essential to the research's success, especially at the time that poor methodologies have hindered many research projects. Therefore, whenever research is published in a scientific journal, the researchers thoroughly describe their methodology; otherwise, other scholars would not be able to assess the quality of the work. ^[1]

This study relies on qualitative methodology, where the researcher will collect two types of data:

- Secondary resources were collected from reports, books, journals, websites, documents from workshops, official statements, the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics, and conventions.
- Primary resources gathered from focus groups and interviews were surveyed by compiling a list of questions and key points related to the thesis.

1.8 Research Tools

A random sample will be selected from Al-Amari camp in Ramallah governorate and Askar camp in Nablus governorate, with 15 interviews conducted in each camp. Additionally, interviews will be conducted with the popular and organizational committees in each camp, and with the directors of UNRWA offices in both camps, youth and women's organizations, academicians, civil society representatives, and political and civil activists.

1.9 Study Limitations and Biases

1.9.1 Potential Limitations

This research focuses on Palestinian refugee camps, especially in Nablus and Ramallah Governorates. Therefore, the findings of this research may not be fully generalizable and applicable to other refugee camps with different socio-economic conditions and are under different geopolitical contexts. Moreover, the paper's reliance on qualitative research methods, mainly interviews and focus groups, presents limitations, where while these methods explore the selected interviewees' experiences and points of view, they might be less effective in terms of quantifying these ideas, perceptions, and views across the wider refugee communities that receive the UNRWA's services.

Difficulties likely to be encountered in conducting this research include the refusal of some camp residents to cooperate and be interviewed or expressing their reluctance to answer specific questions explicitly. Moreover, some UNRWA office directors in the camps may hesitate to engage with the researcher. A competitive relationship between the popular/organizational committee of the camp and the UNRWA office directors in some camps might lead to contradictory information.

This research also faces limitations concerning the accuracy and sensitivity of economic peace, where first, the interpretation of this concept may differ among people, and there are different standpoints on what economic peace is. Some would define the concept as a branch of economics that analyzes the design of political, economic, and cultural institutions and their policies and actions to prevent, mitigate, or resolve violent conflicts

within and between societies.⁶ While for others, especially in Palestine under Israeli occupation, economic peace can be perceived as a form of submission or surrender to the other party, potentially contradicting and challenging the Palestinian cause.

It is critical to acknowledge that the reality of the situation reveals a significant connection and linkage between the Palestinian and Israeli economies, represented by the Palestinian economic dependency on the Israeli side following the Oslo Accord and the Protocol on Economic Relations, also called the Paris Protocol.

1.9.2 Potential Biases

Research in conflict-affected areas such as Palestinian refugee camps is subject to several biases, such as researcher bias, selection bias, and response bias. Researcher bias may happen as interpretations of data are influenced by personal beliefs or experiences. Selection bias might stem from the non-random selection of participants who are accessible and willing to participate, which may not truly represent the whole community. Response bias is also a risk, as participants may provide answers they perceive as expected or socially acceptable rather than their true beliefs, particularly on sensitive issues such as political and security matters.

1.9.3 Mitigation Strategies

To mitigate these biases and ensure that the research findings are of high reliability and validity, several mitigation strategies have been used:

1. **Triangulation of Data Sources:** To counter the limitations of qualitative data and provide a wider and more holistic understanding of the issues, this study employs triangulation by using different data sources, which include direct interviews, focus groups, and secondary sources such as UNRWA reports and academic publications. This method helps in validating the data obtained by cross-verifying said data from multiple sources.
2. **Enhanced Sampling:** To address selection, bias the research, uses intended and thought sampling to include a wide range of participants from different backgrounds

⁶ Jurgen Brauer, J. Paul Dunne Peace Economies: A Macroeconomic Primer for Violence-Afflicted States (USIP Academy Guides) September 1, 2012.155.

and roles within the refugee community, such as residents, UNRWA officials, and local leaders, with an aim to gather diverse perspectives.

3. Reflexivity: The researcher will maintain ongoing reflexivity, reflecting on her own biases, assumptions, and influences that might affect the research process.
4. Ensuring Anonymity and Confidentiality: To minimize response bias the researcher, ensures that all participant responses are kept anonymous and confidential. This encourages the participants to express their views more openly and honestly without fear of repercussions.

1.10. Literature Review

1.10.1 Human Security in the Age of Globalization - Dr. Faris Muhammad Al-Amarat

The book discusses the evolution of the concept of human security, which emerged in the post -Cold War era and brought about a fundamental shift in the development of the security concept based on changing the defining actions to this concept. This shift happened with the international system shift from a bipolar to a unipolar system, leading to a change in the nature of threats and conflicts, which started to take the form of internal conflicts.

The author attributes the emergence of the concept of human security to the second half of the 1990s as a result of the post-Cold War alterations, in addition to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1945, which focused on the rules to protect human rights and thus achieve human security.

Several committees, including the Club of Rome Organization, the Independent Commission for International Developmental Issues, and the Independent Commission for Disarmament and Security Issues, focused on the suffering of individuals worldwide from poverty, pollution, and unemployment, and the importance of achieving individual security.

The United Nations does not have a single definition of Human Security; rather, it is a broad concept outlined in various UN documents and resolutions. To the UN, Human Security extends beyond the absence of violence and conflict to include human rights, good governance, access to education and health, ensuring the security of each individual, achieving economic growth, and preventing the outbreak of conflicts.

Mahbub ul Haq's definition states that human security preserves the values individuals enjoy in terms of well-being, national independence, and the experiencing security in one's homes, work, and interests, protecting them from threats in all forms, such as drugs, diseases, poverty, and terrorism. Human security is achieved through comprehensive development in all sectors, justice, individual participation, and the absence of wars (Al-Badayneh, 2010).

An essential element in various studies on human security is the latter's seven dimensions: economic, food, health, environmental, personal, social, and political security. The economic dimension focuses on taking measures to protect the national economy from the dangers of economic globalization, as instability negatively affects human security. Food security is the freedom from hunger and entails food and health. Health security aims to guarantee a minimum level of protection and prevention from diseases and a healthy lifestyle.

Environmental security protects individuals from the destruction of nature in the short and long term. Personal security aims to protect individuals from physical violence inflicted by the state, external forces, or violent persons. Social security involves protecting individuals from losing traditional relationships and values from sectarian and ethnic violence. Political security ensures the protection of fundamental human rights.

The book also highlights threats to human security, which are classified into two categories:

external threats, including illicit trade in weapons, human trafficking, and international terrorism, which branches out into money laundering and drugs; and internal threats, including economic deterioration, hunger, in addition to the spread of epidemics and diseases, and violence.

1.10.2 Human Security: Concept and Application in the Arab and International Realities - Khadija Arafa Muhammad Amin

The book addresses the development of the concept of security in the post-Cold War period with the emergence of a new set of security concepts. This aims to deepen the traditional concept of security, which is based on military security in addition to environmental, economic, societal, and human security. It also talks about the roots of human security that emerged after the Cold War in the context of trying to integrate the

human dimension into security studies by taking the individual as the basic unit of analysis for any security policies, focusing on some aspects of the concept.

Among the definitions that focused on violence as a core for the concept of human security is Keith Krause's perspective. This perspective views human security as freedom from fear rather than freedom from want¹⁰. Andrew Mack's definition emphasize that human security tracks the primary sources of threat to the security of individuals from conflicts⁷ within the state rather than conflicts between states. Meanwhile, Ramesh Tanker's, focused on the economic dimension of the concept (human security refers to the quality of life of individuals in societies, or anything that reduces the quality of life of individuals, such as geographical pressures or limited access to resources, is considered a threat to the security of individuals). These definitions focus on the individual being the basic unit of analysis and the main focus, and that the sources of threats to the security of individuals are diverse. The definitions also focus on the relation between national security and human security. Therefore, there is a close connection between the target group of the study, the Palestinian refugees, and the multiple threats these refugees are exposed to, which span different economic, political, environmental, and societal dimensions.

One crucial aspect highlighted is the interrelation between human security and a set of concepts, most notably human rights, human development, international humanitarian intervention, and national security. The concept of human security is complementary to the concept of human rights. For example, countries suffering from armed conflicts prioritize the political dimension of human security and freedom from fear by exerting efforts to protect individuals from the repercussions of wars and conflicts. Furthermore, there is a relation between the concept of development and human security, which entails the liberation of individuals from all that threatens their security, freedom and dignity. Therefore, the concept of rights aligns with the concept of human development, which is defined as the process of expanding the choices available to individuals by enhancing human functions and capabilities, in particular, the three fundamental human capabilities, leading a long and healthy life, acquiring knowledge, and obtaining the resources necessary for a decent standard of living.

This thesis highlights the role of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA) in terms of the services it provides to refugees in the

⁷ امين -خديجة -المفهوم والتطبيق في الواقع العربي والدولي.

education and health sector, as well as housing and food services. It also sheds light on the impact of these services on achieving the elements of human security for refugees, and the consequences of reducing these services on disrupting the elements of human security for the study population.

It was necessary to address the seven dimensions, which are key topics in the book, with the primary reference being the Human Development Report for 2009. Based on this report, the seven dimensions are:

1. Environmental considerations, including environmental challenges that threaten Arab human security.
2. The relationship between the state and citizens in terms of citizens' acceptance of their state and the level of control exercised by the state over individuals.
3. Volatile growth, high unemployment, and persistent poverty.
4. Hunger, malnutrition, and food insecurity.
5. Challenges facing the health sector.
6. Military intervention, as experienced by some Arab countries such as Palestine, threatens human security.

Looking at the previous seven dimensions, which are the dimensions that were highlighted in this thesis and which are the most prominent points that Palestinian refugees suffer from. The beginning of this suffering was with the Zionist occupation of their lands, their displacement from it, and their forced living in conditions that lack the most important components of human security, where they live under a hateful occupation that deprives them of the element of personal security, not to mention housing units that lack health conditions and in an environment that causes them chronic diseases, as well as the spread of unemployment and its accompanying problems.

Upon examining the seven dimensions highlighted in this study, it becomes clear that Palestinian refugees face significant challenges across multiple areas of their lives. The origins of their dilemma can be traced back to the Zionist occupation of their lands, which led to their forced displacement. Under the oppressive conditions of the occupation, these refugees are denied the fundamental right to personal safety and security. Moreover, they are forced to live in housing units that fail to meet even the minimal health and sanitation requirements, creating an environment of illnesses and unemployment.

Regarding the applications of the concept of human security, the Japanese vision focused on the developmental dimension in all its economic, social, and political dimensions. by providing financial contributions to development projects aimed at helping individuals.

The Canadian vision focused on the political dimension of protecting individuals during armed conflicts and wars without focusing on the social and economic dimensions of the concept.

This thesis entails a section that discusses these two experiences.

1.10.3. Human Security as a Basic Guarantee for State Security - A. Murad Latali¹¹

This book begins with Arnold Wolfers' definition of security: "Security, in terms of its purpose, measures the absence of threats to acquired basic principles, and objectively, it measures the absence of fear so that these basic values are not subject to attack."

The concept of state security or national security from the end of World War II until the end of the twentieth century was based on threats of external military nature due to the repercussions of World War II, the conflict between the Eastern and Western blocs, and the Cold War, in addition to the liberation of many countries from colonialism, which created⁸ an urgent need to develop military capabilities in addition to security agencies at the expense of other sectors, which gave rise to the citizens' feeling that the state is working against them. For example, the attempts to address the problem of terrorism through issuing laws that restrict human rights and freedoms and, in some cases, forming illegal militias that work alongside security agencies led to tightening the noose on citizen security and the absence of internal security.

Furthermore, when governing regimes attempt to establish absolute security through the excessive application of measures aimed at enforcing order and the rule of law, thereby imposing additional constraints on individual freedoms, the threat of a popular uprising or coup against the government becomes increasingly likely.

One key aspect to consider is that focusing on state security often leads to a disproportionate military expenditures compared to the country's gross domestic product. Subsequently, this inappropriate allocation of resources reduces the potential benefits of directing resources toward the country's development sectors.

The author points out the urgent need to shift the focus from state security to human security. This shift is required in light of the expansion of security threats' scope and the emergence of new challenges. Moreover, the widening array of security actors has further complicated the scene, as the state is no longer the sole actor responsible for

⁸ لطالي. مراد. الأمن الأنساني ضمننة اساسية لمن الدولة

maintaining security. The disintegration of the Soviet Union, the emergence of globalization, and the consequent changes in the individual's life serve as an example of this shift.

The emergence of international terrorism, the increase in ethnic conflicts, poverty, and the arms trade have made it inevitable to focus on the security of the individual to the security of the state.

1.10.4 Forced Displacement and Human Security: The Inevitable Adapting - Prof. Adnan Yassin Mustafa¹²

The content of this study is the Iraqi situation and the forced displacement that accompanied it, as the impact of this displacement on Iraqis in the countries in which they sought refuge. The study touched on many social, economic, and political aspects of this group and included delving into the deep aspects of the age groups of the migrants, in addition to classifying the impact of this migration on the groups according to gender. This study focuses on the Iraqi situation and the forced displacement that ensued, as well as the implications of this displacement on Iraqis in the countries they sought refuge. The study delves into numerous social, economic, and political aspects of this group, including an indepth analysis of the age demographics of the migrants and the categorization of the impact of migration on groups based on gender.

It is necessary to address this study and project its findings on the Palestinian reality. Starting with defining migration as an old human practice of relocating from a less secure to a safer location. Several factors drive migration, including natural disasters such as earthquakes or floods, economic factors such as unemployment, the spread of poverty and famines, political factors such as political persecution or internal coups, and military reasons and armed conflicts. The latter was the motive behind the migration of Palestinians from their country in 1948, which turned them into refugees in refugee camps in the West Bank or diaspora countries.

Many consequences have resulted from this forced migration, including the marginalization and exclusion of refugees in the receiving societies. The Palestinians have endured and suffered greatly in this regard, as they were met with rejection and exclusion after their migration, which made them resort to family solidarity to compensate.

The policies adopted by the host countries played a key role in either marginalizing or integrating the refugees. In the case of Palestinians, particularly in Lebanon, the government implemented measures that reinforced the isolation of Palestinian refugees through the imposition of restrictions on education, employment, property ownership, and marriage.

Examining the most pressing challenges facing refugees, drawing from this book's findings, and reflecting on the Palestinian context, poverty appears as one of the key issues Palestinians encounters. The effects of poverty include a lack of economic resources and the high cost of minimal necessities such as food, drink and shelter. Furthermore, poverty impacts health status, showing in conditions such as anemia and malnutrition, coupled with difficulty in accessing medical treatment.

A breakdown of the age demographics and the influence of migration shows that children, particularly, bear the direct outcomes of poverty from a health perspective. Malnutrition leads to anemia and other health issues, and weakens their chances of proper education. School dropout and child labour emerged as a means to secure basic needs, which sometimes exposed these children to psychological and physical abuse at the hands of employers. Examining children's integration and interaction in the surrounding society, it is clear, based on the experiences of Palestinian migrants, who suffered from isolation as a result of the inferior perception of them in many of the receiving societies, that the environment with which the Palestinian child interacts is the camp environment. This environment lacks the most basic facilities and services for children, such as parks and recreational places, owing to the economic situation as well as the cramped housing and adjacent houses in refugee camps.

As for the impact of migration on women, the occurrence of prostitution was noted, for instance, in the Syrian and Iraqi cases. In the Palestinian context, Palestinian women entered the labor market, engaging in cleaning services or the food industry from their homes, which subjected them to exploitation, represented by long working hours in exchange for a meager wage, as well as being regarded with inferiority and being given derogatory labels. When examining the elements of human security based on this study and applying them to the Palestinian case, it is apparent that this group has been deprived of the human security elements since seeking refuge. Despite the presence of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA), the services UNRWA provides remain within relief services only. There needs to be a focus on the long-term development aspect to lift the refugees out of the conditions they have endured

since the Nakba. With the emergence of the politically motivated reduction of UNRWA services aimed at settling and resolving the refugee issue, the challenges faced by Palestinian refugees are intensifying. Therefore, several steps should be taken to revive the refugee issue and arrive at solutions that enable them to live in dignity until they return to their home. The first of these steps is to safeguard the existence of UNRWA as a living testament to the Palestinian Nakba, and to secure sufficient funds to assist UNRWA in resuming the provision of the necessary support to these refugees.

Chapter Two: The Theoretical Framework of the Concept of Human Security

2.1 Introduction

Human Security, a concept that plays a significant role in reshaping the discourse and practices in international relations and humanitarian practice, moves beyond and transcends traditional ideas of security to include and prioritize the protection and empowerment of individuals. This thesis explores and sheds light on the role of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) in promoting and enhancing Human Security among residents of refugee camps in the West Bank specifically focusing on Al Amari and Askar Camps as case studies.

Human Security has gained significant attention in post-Cold War academic and policymaking circles and arenas. This chapter aims to dive into the concept of Human Security as well as to track and follow its evolution by exploring its various definitions and examining the theoretical frameworks that form our understanding of this concept, in addition to contrasting its pre- and post-Cold War developments, and discuss the applicability of both broad and narrow definitions and how they relate to the actual practical needs and challenges within the refugee camps.

Kofi Annan's definition: "Human Security is a child who did not die, a disease that did not spread, a job that was not cut, an ethnic tension that did not explode in violence, a dissident who was not silenced. Human Security is not a concern with weapons—it is a concern with human life and dignity." This definition emphasizes that Human Security is more than the lack of conflict and includes the preservation of human dignity and enhancement of various aspects of the human life.

This wider perspective on Human Security is key to understanding the integral aspects of life in refugee camps, as the conventional measures and mechanisms of Human Security are usually not enough to address the various challenges that the residents of refugee camps face¹³.

The role of UNRWA, which is tasked and responsible for providing support and relief to Palestinian refugees, is critical and of high value under the lens of Human Security. This chapter lays the foundation to assess how UNRWA works, aligns, and considers the various principles of Human Security, focusing on the immediate and long-term challenges and threats to the refugees' various security elements. By doing so, this

research investigates how UNRWA takes and incorporates the elements of Human Security into its strategies and work, which would assist in understanding how humanitarian intervention in refugee areas could be improved.

2.2 The Evolution of Security Concepts

2.2.1 Historical Context

Security is one of the most important components of human life. A dignified human life cannot be achieved without sufficient security, wherein persons feel reassured about themselves, their families, and their livelihood. However, ensuring Human Security is not an easy task, as the spread of diseases and epidemics due to open borders poses a significant challenge, as does the acts of many countries that show that countries are leaning toward reducing their obligations towards their employees about social guarantees as a result of economic openness and the pressures imposed by global competition. Moreover⁹, the ease of knowledge transfer and the unequal blending of cultures in a society, which is often marked by the transfer of knowledge from rich countries to developing countries, poses, in many cases, a threat to local values and culture¹⁰.

Accordingly, researchers have intentionally focused on the threats to Human Security and its sources, acknowledging the various transformations and changes in the international and security environment in the post-Cold War period, and the necessity of addressing and understanding the new concepts that resulted from these transformations. Primarily, in the 1920s, the view of security was seen as an alternative to "war"; this view formed due to the involvement of civilian experts in what was previously a military domain, which led to the foundation of International Security Studies¹⁵.

National Security was the primary focus during the World Wars and the Cold War periods, emphasizing the protection the states from external threats. However, the end of the Cold War has witnessed and seen a change and expansion to the security discourse

⁹ Alexandru, Lucinescu. (2022). Human Security as a theoretical framework indispensable for analyzing the response to covid-19 pandemic. doi: 10.53477/2971-8813-22-11

¹⁰ Reardon, B. A., & Hans, A. (Eds.). (2018). *The gender imperative: Human Security vs state security*. Taylor & Francis.

to include economic, environmental, food, and personal security, which reflects a broader understanding of threats to the states and their residents¹⁶.

The evolution of the security concepts can also be seen in national contexts, such as countries that have changed their political thought and foreign policy to consider the developing security needs.

These new concepts pertain to and focus on the security of the individual and the challenges they endure worldwide, such as poverty, pollution, diseases, and the lack of attention to job security and the labor market¹¹. Therefore, the importance of this chapter lies in clarifying the concept of Human Security, as well as the factors that influence its emergence and development, its components, characteristics, dimensions, and the relationship of this concept to other concepts as well as the work of UNRWA, in order to have an understanding of the meaning of this concept, and the extent to which this concept can be used in the future¹².

2.3 International Relation Theories and the Concept of Security

Several scholars and researchers have historically focused on the individuals within the theoretical aspect of security. Immanuel Kant's inspiring work "Perpetual Peace" (1795) has influenced the theoretical foundations of democratic peace theory, which states that democratic states are less likely to engage in war with one another. Kant's logic in the aforementioned theory is based on: democratic-republican representation, ideological commitment to human rights, and transnational ties¹³.

Human Security represents a shift and development from the conventional state-centered and military-focused security concepts and models to an approach that prioritizes individuals. This change aligns with John Burton's earlier work in the seventies, highlighting and emphasizing the need to address the root causes of conflict by meeting human needs, which indicates calling for a model based on individual well-being and justice¹⁴.

¹¹ Annarosa, Gallo. (2023). The Concept of Security: Brief Genealogy of an Ambiguous Symbol. doi: 10.1007/17280_2023_5

¹² Mikhail, S., Topchiev. (2023). Theoretical Approaches to the Study of Security in Social Research. *Filosofskaâ mysl'*, doi: 10.25136/2409-8728.2023.3.39160

¹³ Natalia, Beruashvili. (2022). Democratic Peace Theory and Its Role in Practice on the Way of Providing

¹⁴ International Security and Cooperation. doi: 10.4018/978-1-6684-4543-3.ch004 Amedeo, Sciarra. (2023). Human Security. doi: 10.4324/9781003247821-18

We will discuss the most important theoretical approaches to security studies that attempted to explain and encompass the new implications of Human Security, as demonstrated below.

2.3.1 Liberal Theory

Liberal theorists like Estrin Aaron and Richard Ullman, in their works in 1977 and 1983, respectively, expanded on this topic by redefining security to include all non-military threats, such as social and economic issues, thereby criticizing the realist focus on military power as a means to achieve security¹⁵. Realism theory¹⁶.

Human Security, similar to all traditional approaches to security, stemmed from challenging the assumptions of the new orthodox realism of international security. Supporters of Human Security challenged the security doctrine of the new realism because of its preoccupation with materialism and its reverence for the centralization of the state and the priority of military force to ensure Human Security. The most significant security threats arise from internal conflicts, like disease, hunger, and environmental pollution. Some argue that the greatest threat may result from the state itself and not from external enemies or threats. Nevertheless, the state remains the leading actor in providing security. Realism, in its criticism of the Human Security approach, believes that burdening the security agenda with problems and issues such as hunger and poverty may negatively affect the analytical ability of Human Security ideas, which leads to diluting and weakening the field of security studies. Realism, with its focus on statism, survival, and self-help, suggests that states have their security and power within an international system that lacks order and often view refugees as potential threats to national security and stability¹⁷.

Therefore, proponents of Human Security rarely meet and agree with realism when it comes to security studies.

¹⁵ Dir, A. (2014). The impact of environmental threats on Human Security in Africa: A case study of the Horn 19 of Africa (Master's thesis). University Mohamed Khider

¹⁶ Biskra. (pp. 55-56). Azeroual Youcef, Human Security²⁰

¹⁷ Tonghui, Sun. (2023). Main International Relations Theories. doi: 10.1007/978-3-031-34163-2_2

2.3.2 Constructivism Theory

Constructivism highlights the role of conceptual factors, such as norms, identity, and social constructions, in shaping and influencing the state's behaviours and security policies ^{[1] [2]}. This approach suggests that the meanings and practices of security, including those related to refugees, are socially built, based on social and individual perceptions, and are subject to change²². Constructivists argue that states' responses and actions towards refugees are driven and influenced by historical myths, cultural narratives, and the identities they construct, Raymond, Kwun, Sun, Lau. (2023). Operationalizing Human Security: What Role for the Responsibility to ¹⁸

which can either worsen or address refugee security issues. These responses and actions depend on the dominant social norms and political discourses.

The constructivist theory's interpretation of the concept of Human Security is intertwined and linked to understanding social structures and the role of human perception and views, which plays a role in shaping the knowledge and actions taken.

The emergence of the concept of Human Security reflects the impact of values and standards security studies. Human Security n attempts to reinterpret the roots of insecurity, underdevelopment, and poverty. These topics have also been addressed by constructivism itself.

Human Security, as a concept, reflects the use of new language and symbols inspired by social reality, which aligns closely with constructivist theories in international relations. Constructivism believes that national interests and identities are ever-changing and continuously develop through mutual interactions and social constructs.

The incorporation and integration of Human Security into international law and state practices, such as in areas and fields of human rights, refugee protection, and peacebuilding, shows how it aligns with constructivist principles, where these practices develop and evolve by realizing the shared human weaknesses and recognizing that there is a need for cooperative action.²³

Thus, constructivism and Human Security share common denominators in their reinterpretation of traditional security models, emphasizein that human well-being

¹⁸ Protect?. International Studies, doi: 10.1177/00208817231154054

and the importance of evolving social constructs are key and central to shaping national and international priorities¹⁹.

Therefore, while realism tends to view refugees through a lens of threats and control, liberalism promotes their protection and integration, and constructivism underscores the fluid and socially constructed nature of security practices related to refugees.

2.4 The Evolvement of the Concept of Human Security

The change in the concept of Human Security will be discussed through two stages or phases:

the first is before the Cold War, and the second is after the Cold War, to identify the developments that have occurred in the concept.

2.4.1. The Concept of Human Security Before the Cold War

Although it was not termed as such, the concept of Human Security was first noted in 1948, Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which focuses on establishing specific rules to protect dignity and ensure people enjoy equality as a basis for freedom, justice, and peace. Its preamble states, "Whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world," It also stated: "Whereas the peoples of the United Nations have in the Charter reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and the equal rights of men and women and have determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom."²⁰

This early focus on human rights laid the foundations for later discussions on human security, shifting the focus from state-centric to individual-centric security models. Blatz's vision in the mid-20th century showed the distinction and variance between state security and individual security, suggesting that a secure state does not necessarily mean or equate to secure individuals, However, his ideas and perspectives on this matter did not gain significant attention due to the ongoing Cold War centring and prioritizing state

¹⁹ Asaka, J. O. (2022). Human Security. In Human Security and Sustainable Development in East Africa (1st ed., pp. 14). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003221081>

²⁰ <https://www.un.org/en/about-us/universal-declaration-of-human-rights>

security over individual well-being²¹. In 1977, the Independent Commission on International Developmental Issues was formed, headed by Willy Brandt, which was known as the "Brandt Commission." The commission proposed the establishment of a committee of political and economic experts concerned with formulating a set of proposals that would achieve global agreement and understanding, in addition to proposing recommendations and strategies that change the negotiation processes between the North and the South in order to address issues and problems such as hunger, economic disparity, and safe energy, all of which are central to Human Security. Two reports were produced: the first is North-South: A program for Survival, A Report of the Independent Commission on International Development Issues, which raised and discussed the problems facing humanity that are not limited to the traditional issues associated with peace and war but transcend to more serious and imminent issues of hunger and economic disparity. The second is the book titled Common Crisis North South: Cooperation for World Recovery, which attempted to shed light on the requirements and conditions necessary for achieving Human Security by addressing key issues such as achieving food and agricultural security, providing safe energy, and reforming the international aid system.

To conclude, the concept of Human Security discussed before the end of the Cold War had limited attempts to study humanitarian problems or issues, but they did not seek to expand on the concept of security. Human Security was not discussed in the context of its relationship to the concept of national security or how one complements the other.

2.4.2. The Change in the Concept of Human Security Post the Cold War

The end of the Cold War marked a significant change in the concept of security due to the developing international landscape and the reassessment of the foundational assumptions in international relations. Traditionally, security was primarily focused on the state, such as on military threats and the protection of national interests. However, the post-Cold War era witnessed a development and deepening of the concept, incorporating non-military dimensions and recognizing the role of various players and

²¹ Raymond, Kwun, Sun, Lau. (2023). Operationalizing Human Security: What Role for the Responsibility to Protect?. *International Studies*, doi: 10.1177/00208817231154054

actors other than nation-states, such as international organizations and non-governmental entities.²²

This period also witnessed new security models including economic, environmental, and societal issues. The traditional paradigm, which focused on and emphasized state and military, was challenged by non-traditional threats like climate change, demographic shifts, and global health crises, which meant that there is a need for a more holistic approach to security²³.

The Cold War's end did not eliminate or end the security concerns but transformed them. The post-Cold War security discourse and discussions have become more inclusive and diverse addressing the diverse and changing nature of threats in the world²⁴.

Despite these efforts, the concept of human security did not fully emerge and rise until the post-Cold War era, particularly with the 1994 UNDP Human Development Report, which redefined security to include economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community, and political dimensions, focusing on the individual rather than the state.²⁵

2.5 Factors that Contributed to Changing and Developing the Concept of Security and the Emergence of the Concept of Human Security

Three main factors contributed to the emergence and rise of the concept of Human Security. The first is the transformations in the security environment in the post-Cold War period, the second is globalization and the consequent challenges, and the third is the absence of a legal framework²⁶.

2.5.1. First: Transformations in the Security Environment in the Post-Cold War Era

The end of the Cold War drove some researchers to divert their attention toward individual security issues and the sources of threats due to the transformations in the security environment from a bipolar system to a unipolar system. There was a shift in the issues and problems faced by states within the larger international community,

²² عرفة. خديجة : تحولت مفهوم الأمن .. الإنسان أولاً . القاهرة: جامعة القاهرة - كلية الاقتصاد والعلوم السياسية.

²³ شنين، محمد المهدي: تحولت مفهوم الأمن الإنساني. مرجع سابق

²⁴ Murat, Şengöz. (2022). An Examination of The National Security Paradigms Within The

²⁵ International Relations Discipline as On and Post-Cold War. Mecmua Uluslararası Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi, doi: 10.32579/mecmua.1116126

²⁶ نصري، سميره : الأمن الإنساني . الجزائر . 27 فبراير. 2009 الساعة 17:29.

where states could no longer tackle these issues on their own, such as environmental problems, refugees, and others.

2.5.2 Second: Globalization

Globalization, like any other contemporary phenomenon in the international arena, while offering many benefits such as technological advancement, economic growth, and increased connections, also presents significant challenges, particularly for developing countries, as it seems that the countries benefiting from globalization the most are developed countries by using globalization to pressure developing countries to open their markets in a way that serves the goals of developed countries, their aspirations and political and economic orientations²⁷.

The World Bank clarified in one of its reports related to the degree of measuring the integration of developing countries' economies into global markets and the extent of their success in integrating into the globalization process that the number of developing countries reaches 93 countries, of which 12 are developing countries, or 16%, that were able to integrate to a high degree into the global economy, as they are considered high-income and can achieve significant benefits from globalization.

The World Bank's report shows that only 16% of developing countries have successfully integrated into the global economy, achieving great benefits; 37% of developing countries have reached a medium position in integrating into global markets and can achieve intermediate benefits. In comparison, 47% have not achieved significant integration, which means that they face potential losses and require assistance from industrialized nations to integrate into the global economy and deal with the new world order's data, rules, and conditions³¹. This disparity and differences show the uneven distribution of globalization's benefits, often favouring developed countries that leverage their economic and political power to pressure developing nations into opening their markets.

Furthermore, globalization is not only an economic process but also relates and connects with other dimensions such as cultural, social, political, security, and economic implications, where, for instance, it poses serious threats to Human Security, as outlined

²⁷ Benson, G. H. (2023). Globalization, the two-edged sword phenomenon—Reflections of its impact on global peace and security. *Journal of Law, Policy and Globalization*, 130, 17. doi: 10.7176/jlpg/130-03

in the Human Development Report of 1999, which identified seven main risks: financial instability, job insecurity, health insecurity, environmental insecurity, and political insecurity. These risks affect individuals in developed and developing countries, highlighting globalization's complex and often adverse impacts on human well-being. Moreover, globalization has led to increased cultural integration and diversity, but it has also resulted in cultural erosion and the marginalization of local traditions and values, which has worsened and deepened social inequalities²⁸.

The report emphasized and highlighted the opportunities for human progress in all fields as offered by globalization due to the rapid transfer of knowledge and modern technology and the freedom of movement of goods and services. On the other hand, it poses significant risks to Human Security in the twenty-first century, and these risks will afflict individuals in both developed and developing countries²⁹.

2.5.3. Third: The Absence of Legal

Many international agreements have been issued since the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, establishing a set of controls and provisions related to the obligations of the signatory states towards individuals. Despite the states signing the treaties and agreements, many of these states do not meet the stipulated obligations, except in a manner consistent with their political interests without regarding the humanitarian considerations. This has led to a disparity between the existing agreements and legal rules that constitute international humanitarian law, and the extent to which states adhere to their stipulated commitments. All of this means that the existence of a legal rule or framework does not necessarily mean adherence to it.³³

One of the agreements that would assist in clarifying the disparity between the legal framework and rules and the adherence to said framework is the 1951 United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, in Article 32, which prohibits any of the state parties to the agreement from expelling any refugee or asylum seeker present on its territory except for reasons related to national security or public order. If something happens that violates national security or public order, then "The Contracting States shall allow such a refugee a reasonable period within which to seek legal admission into

²⁸ الحارازي، شبيب عبد الله: العولمة (8). صحيفة 26 سبتمبر
<http://www.26sep.net/newsweekarticle.php?lng=arabic&sid=40809>.
³¹ برنامج الأمم المتحدة الإنمائي. تقرير التنمية البشرية لعام 1999 أ: " لعولمة ذات الوجه الإنساني .."
http://hdr.undp.org/en/media/hdr_1999_en_overview.pdf

another country. The Contracting States reserve the right to apply during that period such internal measures as they may deem necessary.³⁰ " Article 33 also stipulated the prohibition of expulsion or return, stating, " No Contracting State shall expel or return ("refouled") a refugee in any manner whatsoever to the frontiers of territories where his life or freedom would be threatened on account of his race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion." ³¹

However, the actual practices of states do not conform to what is stated in the agreements. Where states usually expel or refuse to receive asylum seekers and return them to their home countries, even though the principle of prohibiting the expulsion or return of any refugee or asylum seeker is one of the basic rules of international humanitarian law. For example, European governments deliberately expel refugees and immigrants, where the number of immigrants they expelled from their territories in 2009 exceeds 1,570 individuals, who were deported on 31 flights coordinated by the European Union's external border agency (Frontex). Over the past four and a half years, this agency has escalated its activities in expelling immigrants whose asylum applications are rejected by European governments. The Frontex agency also assisted the Italian authorities in expelling about 75 immigrants to Libya after they were intercepted in its waters, without allowing them the opportunity to exercise their right to seek asylum.³⁵

The absence of legal frameworks led to the rise of the concept of Human Security in the postCold War period, which extended beyond the focus on legal frameworks as a basis for dealing with the issues and challenges posed due to individuals' lack or absence of security.

2.6 Theoretical Perspectives on Human Security

Human security represents a shift in how security is conceptualized and applied, emphasizing the protection and empowerment of individuals instead of just focusing on state security. This section sheds light on the varying theoretical perspectives that constitute Human Security, where each perspective offers and presents insights, ideas,

³⁰ بهار، رياض هاني : "الترايط بين الأمن الوطني والأمن الإنساني". السبت 13-8-2011 .
http://www.alalemya.com/itjahathurra/writers/Riyadh_Hani_Bahar/New%20folder/Interdependence%20between%20national%20security%20and%20human%20security.html

³¹ مكتبة حقوق الإنسان . التفاقية الخاصة بوضع اللاجئين . جامعة منيسوتا
<http://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/arab/b082.html> .

and strategies for addressing the complex threats and issues that individuals face, including those living in refugee camps. This section discusses broad definitions of human security, including the expansive, holistic definitions of general threats and protection measures. Then, this section presents narrow definitions of human security that concentrate on and study specific aspects of Human³²

Security, such as economic, political, or cultural security, and then explores how these definitions relate to the role of UNRWA in addressing targeted issues within refugee contexts. United Nations approach to human security addresses how the UN's adoption of Human Security influenced global security discussions and policy-making, particularly within its agencies like UNRWA. This part analyses how the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) has integrated Human Security into its initiatives, shaping responses to refugee crises.

The other two topics discussed in this section are the Canadian approach to human security, where the researcher explores and discusses how Canada's integration and inclusion of human security into its foreign policy and international aid frameworks explains how nations can support human security abroad, including support for refugees through organizations like UNRWA. The other topic is the application of theoretical perspectives to refugee contexts; building on the theoretical foundations discussed earlier, this part specifically links and connects these theories to the practical challenges faced by refugees, focusing on how these perspectives and theories inform and improve UNRWA's policies and interventions in camps such as Al Amari and Askar in the West Bank.

Upon examining many studies that explored the concept of Human Security, the researcher identifies a consensus among the authors in addressing the concepts and confronting the challenges facing the human being as the focus shifts from the state to the individual. However, analyzing those definitions reveals a divergence and variance, with some narrowly presenting the concept, while others in a comprehensive sense that entails all aspects of individual security and dignity. On this basis, the concepts will be presented by categorizing them into two categories. The first category addresses the definitions that provide a comprehensive definition of the concept of Human Security, while the second group addresses the definitions that focus on specific aspects of the concept of Human Security.

³² الثاني كانون 27. شبكة الواح 2010. <http://alwah.net/FreePost.asp?ID=256>.

2.6.1. First: Comprehensive and Broad Definitions of Human Security

Broad definitions of human security entail incorporating what is beyond the conventional concepts of state security into a comprehensive set of protections that relate to safeguarding and protecting the dignity and well-being of individuals. These definitions include a variety of threats—from economic instability to environmental disasters—which highlights and shows how different security aspects are interconnected in ensuring a life free from fear and want. This holistic and wide approach emphasizes the necessity of holistic and broad interventions that address the challenges faced by individuals in both stable and specifically conflict-affected regions, such as refugee camps. Human Security, through this lens of comprehensive definitions, is seen not just as the absence of conflict but as the presence of fair and just conditions that assist in achieving sustainable development and ensure human well-being.

Human Security

The concept of Human Security marked a changing point in security studies, where it transitioned and shifted the focus from the security of the state, borders, and land to the security of those who live within the state, within its borders, and on its land. Human security represents a shift to the security of individuals, which that is considered the basic unit of security, whose importance cannot be minimized. This complex, comprehensive concept has various interpretations, as Human Security comprises two concepts. Understanding Human Security requires deconstructing and reading the two concepts to gain a deeper and broader understanding. Before diving into the definition of human security, it is essential to address the definition of security as the central umbrella concept.

The Concept of Security

Security is "the absolute requirement of humanity, and to achieve it, political, economic, social and legal tools are harnessed, to consolidate it in the depths of societies."³³

³⁶ العوضي، عبد الله : الأمن الدولي "أمن إنساني". جريدة الأتحاد . السويدت 8 مايو 2010 . م
<http://www.alithad.com/paper.php?name=News&file=print&sid=74667>

The Strategic Encyclopedia described security as "Someone that does not feel threatened by a particular danger, or believes they have the means to counter it should the danger materialize."³⁴

Barry Buzan's definition of security, is one of the most recent and widely circulated definitions of security. He defines it as "A Comprehensive Security Analysis. "Security is taken to be about the pursuit of freedom from threat and the ability of states and societies to maintain their independent identity and functional integrity against forces of change, which they see as hostile."³⁵

Security has a dual concept; it is not only a means of freedom from danger but also a means of forcing it and making it limited, and security can be relative and cannot be absolute.

The Commission on Human Security, which was established in 2001, defined Human Security as "Human Security, in its broadest sense, embraces far more than the absence of violent conflict. safety from such chronic threats as hunger, disease, and repression, and protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily lives, whether in homes, jobs, or communities." ³⁶

Marlies Glasius and Mary Kaldor defined the idea of Human Security as an attempt to understand the nature of changes in security issues. It is based on the idea that the security of Alkire, S. (2003). A conceptual framework for Human Security (Working Paper No. 2). Centre for Research on³⁷ Inequality, Human Security, and Ethnicity, CRISE, Queen Elizabeth House, University of Oxford,³⁸.

an individual, group, or nation lies in the decisions of others, and these policies and institutions must find new mechanisms to protect individuals and groups.³⁹

In an article entitled "Human Security in Iraq," Kamel Allawi defines it as "protecting vital freedoms, safeguarding people from critical and pervasive conditions and dangers, and fostering their strengths and aspirations. It also encompasses creating of political, economic, intellectual, military, cultural, and environmental systems that provide people with the foundations for survival, dignity, and livelihood. Achieving Human Security is

³⁴ إشراف: دي مونبريال، نيري، و كلين، جان، مساعده جانسن، سايبين ، ترجمه : مقلد، علي: "الموسوعة الإستراتيجية . بيروت: المؤسسة الجامعية للدراسات والنشر والتوزيع ط. 1. 2011. ص.2.

³⁵ حسين، خليل : مفهوم الأمن في القانون الدولي العام . لبنان : موقع خاص للدراسات والأبحاث الإستراتيجية

³⁶ 16/1/2009م، http://drkhalilhussein.blogspot.com/2009/01/blog-post_16.html

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³⁹ Galsius, Marlies, and Kaldor, Mary, " Individuals First: A Human Security Strategy for The European Union". 2005. pp.66-67. <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/id/ipg/02693.pdf>

not solely the responsibility of states but also involves non-governmental actors in a manner that extends beyond protecting them to enabling them to protect themselves. This is where the role of civil society organizations in protecting individuals and society becomes crucial."⁴⁰

Muhammad Chenine defined security as the protection of human beings from fear, entailing oppression, violence, and marginalization, and need, including deprivation and lack of social empowerment. He viewed it as an effort to create a dynamic that integrates the human being into development and political priorities rather than solely focusing on the stability of the political system.⁴¹

The definitions presented offer broad and general interpretations of the concept, and the definition of Human Security includes everything that threatens the security of individuals. This generic and comprehensive approach risks weakening the meaning and significance of the concept.

2.6.2. Second: Narrowed and Aspect-specific Definitions of Human Security While

examining the specific definitions, this research finds that some have focused on defining the sources of human security in the economic dimension, while others have focused on addressing the concept of security through the lens of violence and its absence. Moreover, some definitions emphasize the cultural dimension or the available capabilities.

Thakur Ramesh's definition prioritizes the economic aspect, where he defines human security as "the quality of life of individuals in societies, and anything that reduces the quality of life of individuals, such as geographical pressures or limited access to resources, which is considered a threat to the security of individuals. By contrast, anything that can improve the quality of life, achieve economic growth, and provide income for resources is considered an improvement in the quality of life."⁴²

Keith Krause's definition of human security, emphasizing "freedom from fear" over "freedom from want," shows the critical debate within the field of security studies, where

⁴⁰ علاوي، كامل: "الأمن الإنساني في العراق نظره تحليليه". الأربعاء. 24 / 6/2009 م.

<http://www.baghdadtimes.net/Arabic/?sid=47606>.

⁴¹ شنين، محمد المهدي: تحولت مفهوم الأمن الإنساني. 10 يوليو 2011 م.

http://bohothe.blogspot.com/2011/07/blog-post_8892.html

⁴² Kim, W., & Hyun, I. T. (2000). Toward a new concept of security: Human Security in world politics. William T Tow, Thakur, Ramesh Chandra, and Hyun, In-Taek. Asia's emerging regional order reconciling traditional and Human Security. Tokyo.

Krause suggests that a broad vision of human security that incorporates and takes various issues without a necessary connection is merely a shopping list, where it dilutes and loses its usability for policymakers and analysts by transforming it into a comprehensive term for "bad things that can happen."⁴³ This perspective can be seen that it contradicts the United Nations'

1994 Human Development Report, which integrates human security with human development, categorizing it into seven areas which are safety, economy, food, health, environment, personal, community, and political security⁴⁵. On the other hand, if we keep human security focused on 'freedom from fear' –from the threat or use of violence – we can link it to an effective and coherent practical and intellectual agenda.⁴⁴

Another perspective on the human concept highlights the cultural aspect, which is distinct from freedom from fear or want. Al-Hassan bin Talal represents this, stating: "Human Security entails safeguarding human dignity and prioritizing the satisfaction of an individual's spiritual and emotional needs, followed by their material requirements. These needs manifest themselves and find expression within the comprehensive development framework, where the human, cultural, social, economic, and political dimensions intersect and meet."⁴⁵

Some researchers have focused on defining of the concept of human security in the context of linking it to the available capabilities, on the basis that the idea is not the sources of threat to the security of individuals but the extent to which there are appropriate capabilities and capacities to confront those sources of threat.

It is noted from those human security definitions that the individual is the basic unit of analysis. There is also consensus on the extreme importance of the concept in light of the transformations that the contemporary world is witnessing. The sources of threat to individuals' security are wildly diverse, which makes it impossible to limit the discussion of the concept to the theoretical perspective. A degree of discrepancy is evident from those definitions, which reflects the complex nature of the concept. Therefore, defining the concept on the basis that it incorporates all that threatens the security of individuals

⁴³ Matt, McDonald. (2020). Human Security and the politics of security. doi: 10.4324/9781003118398-6⁴⁴
Rasheed, Mohamed, Kutty. (2016). Human Security Concept: A New Paradigm in Human Development. doi:

⁴⁴ 10.11113/SH.V8N1-2.835 Krause, Keith, "The key To A Powerful Agenda, if Properly Dlimited"; Security Dialogue, Vol.35, No.3, Sep.2004, pp.367-377. <http://sdi.sagepub.com/content/35/3/367.full.pdf+html>.

⁴⁷⁴⁵ بن طلال ، الحسن " : في الأمن الإنساني " ع . 42379 . السنة . 126 الأهرام : قضايا وأراء . الثلاثاء 17 ديسمبر 2002 . <http://www.ahram.org.eg/archive/2002/12/17/OPIN2.HTM> .

hinders the process of transforming the concept into procedural policies. Therefore, while defining Human Security as "a person's feeling of reassurance about their property and themselves" captures and considers individual-based security, it may oversimplify and dilute the concept's broader dimensions and the various threats it aims to tackle. A more comprehensive definition would consider the various aspects and capabilities required to ensure individuals' security in the contemporary world, reflecting the complex and interconnected nature of the threats they face.

2.7 Approaches that Contributed to Proposing the Concept of Human Security

The idea of Human Security was proposed mainly through two approaches. The first is represented by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) viewpoint, and the second is represented by the Canadian approach to security.

2.7.1 First: The United Nations Approach

The economist Mahbub ul Haq played a key and prominent role in proposing the idea of human security through the UNDP's 1994 report titled "New Imperatives of Human Security". This report answered the question of "security for whom?", by raising a new perspective beyond the traditional, as his question is not about the state but rather concerns the individuals and people. Mahbub ul Haq's approach clarified the difference between state security and people's security. People's security is not only the protection of borders or the armament of the state but also health protection and the security of people's needs. Since then, the United Nations Development Program has been addressing the issue of security in most of its annual reports and sometimes devotes an entire section to it. This approach called for expanding the concept of Human Security through achieving equality and development, including peace, rapprochement between the North and the South based on justice, and developing the role of civil and global society.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ نصري، سميره: "الأمن الإنساني". مرجع سابق.

2.7.2. Second: The Canadian Approach to Security

The Canadian approach to security is based on peacebuilding efforts represented by Foreign Minister Lloyd Axworthy in the 1996 Canadian Peacebuilding Initiative, which focused on the political dimension of security. This approach aims at achieving various needs, such as protecting individuals from the surrounding fear and threats to their rights, security and lives; protecting innocent people and civilians who are trapped in war zones; ending and prohibiting the use of weapons that contribute to increasing the brutality and lethality of conflicts; and the ability to protect human beings from the control of violence that accompanies organized crime and terrorism.⁴⁷

The Canadian approach suggests that individuals or people are the center of its focus, in addition to economic empowerment, an acceptable quality of life, and ensuring fundamental human rights.⁴⁸

Accordingly, the Canadian approach emphasizes that the objective of peacebuilding processes is to achieve Human Security by respecting the rights of individuals and preventing future conflicts.

2.8 Human Security Components, Characteristics, and Challenges

2.8.1. Characteristics of Human Security

The concept of Human Security entails several characteristics:

- Human Security is comprehensive and universal; it is a human right everywhere.
- The components of Human Security are integrated, each dependent on the other.
- Human Security can be achieved through early prevention, which is easier than subsequent intervention.
- Human Security is people-centered and relates to the quality of people's lives everywhere.

⁴⁷ بهو، روان فضائل : التسامح كأحد سبل تحقيق الأمن الإنساني في الدول العربية . التنمية البشرية وآثارها على التنمية المستدامة. بحوث وأوراق عمل المؤتمر العربي السادس للإدارة البيئية. مصر . 2007 . م ص27

⁴⁸ 1 Prezelj , Iztok, "Challenges In Conceptualizing and Providing Human Security", Human Security Journal, Issue2, p.6.

2.8.2. Components of Human Security

Human Security, as termed and conceptualized in the 1994 UNDP Human Development Report, has two main components: freedom from fear and freedom from want, each addressing different dimensions of human well-being and security. In developed countries, freedom from fear is predominant, where people are concerned with security threats such as crime, drug wars, the spread of acquired immunodeficiency, deterioration of soil level, and other related issues⁴⁹. These issues reflect a broader understanding of human security that entails personal, health, and environmental security, which highlights the need for protection from violence and instability.

On the other hand, in developing countries, the emphasis is on freedom from want, which involves addressing fundamental needs such as food security, health security, and economic security. In these countries, the threats are more immediate and observed, including hunger, disease, poverty, and lack of shelter, and these threats affect a significant portion of the global population, with over a billion people living on less than one dollar a day.⁵⁰

2.8.3. Dimensions of Human Security

The 1994 Human Development Report proposed seven dimensions of Human Security: economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security, and political security.

First: Economic Security

Attention to economic affairs has increased, especially in light of the economic openness among countries after the end of the Cold War and the decline of bipolar polarization - military and political - which increased the requirements and needs of individuals in these countries as economic issues have become one of the most issues that constitute an axis of conflict, and the suffering of individuals exacerbate as a result of not achieving their economic security.

⁴⁹ برنامج الأمم المتحدة الإنمائي. تقرير التنمية البشرية لعام: 1994 "أبعاد جديدة للأمن الإنساني." ⁵² العبود، نضال : مفهوم الأمن الإنساني . مجلة: الحوار المتمدن . المحور : حقوق الإنسان، ع. 1576 2006-6-9.

⁵⁰ لأسرج، حسين عبد المطلب : الأمن الاقتصادي للإنسان العربي الواقع والأفاق . المملكة المتحدة : مركز الشرق العربي للدراسات الحضارية والإستراتيجية. الأربعاء. 201

The United Nations has tried to bdefine economic security through the following definition comprehensively: "It means that one has the material means that enable him to live a stable and fulfilling life, and for many, economic security is represented in having enough money to satisfy their basic needs and education." ⁵¹

Some see economic security as necessarily seeking to secure adequate income and work for individuals for a decent life wherever they reside. ⁵²

Second: Food Security

Food security means "that all people at all times have physical and economic access to basic food." ⁵³

The hunger crisis represents one of the main threats to regimes in many countries, especially developing countries. The issue of food security is not limited to the mere availability of food in society. In developing countries, per capita food production increased by an average of 18% during the 1980s, and there is enough food to provide every person globally with about 2,500 calories per day, which is 200 calories more than the minimum required. Instead, it goes beyond that to the poor distribution of food, the availability of purchasing power for individuals, and the ability to access it and its quality. There are large numbers in the world who suffer from hunger.

The exacerbation of the global hunger crisis is due to several reasons, including population growth, the pressure it puts on the environment, the waste of its resources, and the lack of fair distribution.

Third: Health Security

Health security means "securing the basic and necessary health conditions for protection from diseases and epidemics." ⁵⁴

Health security also means "the availability of health services at reasonable prices accessible to all, and the ability of individuals to obtain that service, whether through the health insurance system or protecting them from preventable diseases," especially since

⁵⁵ بيرو سيناد كليز : " السكان والأمن". المجله الدوليہ للعلوم الإجتماعيہ. اليونسكو. ع. 141 سبتمبر. 1994. ص.
⁵⁶ إنطاكي، أكرم ، " الأمن الإنساني وتدايعياته"، مرجع سابق.

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the main causes of death in developing countries are infectious and parasitic diseases, which kill 17 million people.⁵⁷⁵⁵

Fourth: Environmental Security

Environmental security is seen as a pivotal issue at the global level, whether in terms of resource scarcity or waste and environmental degradation in general. Environmental security means "the necessity of protecting the environment in which humans live from the aggressions practiced on it by them and by states."⁵⁶

Environmental security has emerged as a critical framework since its introduction in the 1990s by leading global powers. While no singular international treaty explicitly defines environmental security, the concept synthesizes various principles derived from numerous international agreements and high-level conferences, notably the 1992 Rio Earth Summit and the 1997 Kyoto Protocol. These principles are rooted in the pressing environmental crises of our time, including desertification, population surges, and escalated greenhouse gas emissions from industrialized nations.

Environmental security is fundamentally about safeguarding the integrity of the global ecosystem and its constituent elements. It can be articulated as a series of proactive measures that prevent adverse ecological outcomes, including pollution, habitat degradation, or the destruction of biodiversity. Such negative consequences can precipitate local, regional, or global scales ecological imbalances, undermining environmental security in these contexts. Furthermore, environmental security is inherently context-dependent, encapsulating a dynamic interplay between various spatial and temporal dimensions. This framework draws attention to addressing environmental threats through a multifaceted approach that recognizes immediate and long-term implications for ecological stability across diverse geographical and temporal landscapes.

Environmental security revolves around the dynamic state of the human environment, particularly in mitigating environmental degradation triggered by military operations, territorial conflicts, and biological threats. These factors compromise the integrity of ecosystems and exacerbate social unrest and conflict. Environmental security encompasses various strategies states and individuals employ to foster prosperity and social advancement and safeguard citizens from environmental risks.

⁵⁵ برنامج الأمم المتحدة الإنمائي. تقرير التنمية البشرية لعام: 1994 أبعاد جديدة للأمن الإنساني. مرجع سابق. ص.2.
⁵⁶ أنطاكي، أكرم: "الأمن الإنساني وتداعياته". مرجع سابق

This involves protecting of the environmental context—its resources and ecosystems—and proactive measures to prevent further degradation. This requires halting the generation of environmental harm, minimizing existing damage, and ensuring sustainable investment in natural resources.

Achieving robust environmental security necessitates a comprehensive understanding of environmental issues and their implications for resources. It demands an in-depth grasp of environmental science, including the interrelationships among various ecological components and processes. Establishing environmental awareness is crucial for catalyzing behavioral changes and adopting best practices regarding natural resource management.

Consequently, environmental security critically hinges on maintaining equilibrium among ecosystems, climate systems, and natural cycles, ensuring that ecological integrity and human welfare are upheld in the face of evolving threats.

According to the AC/UNU Millennium Project (the Millennium Council, associated with the American Council of the United Nations University), environmental security is s "the preservation of a society's physical environment to meet its needs without depleting its natural resources." The NATO Science Program provides a broader definition:

"Environmental security is the protection of the natural environment and the vital interests of citizens, society, and the state from internal and external influences, processes, and negative trends that threaten human health, biodiversity, the sustainable functioning of ecosystems, and the survival of humanity." In the context of national security, environmental security holds particular significance for Russia.

The primary objectives of environmental security include:

1. Adapting to change while fostering diversity to enhance resilience.
2. Ensuring public safety from environmental hazards from natural or human activities stemming from ignorance, accidents, mismanagement, or malfunctions.
3. Addressing the scarcity of natural resources.
4. Maintaining a healthy environment.
5. Combating environmental degradation.
6. Preventing social unrest and conflict to promote social stability.
7. Preventing or rectifying environmental damage caused by military actions while deterring military aggression that leads to environmental degradation, scarcity, or destruction. Environmental security encompasses several categories: environmental, food, water, educational, health, economic, and societal. Each of these categories

tackles various life threatening issues that impact humanity and all living organisms and resources.

There are several strategies to achieve environmental security, which include

1. Establishing Environmental Protection Regulations and Laws as countries must create regulations that harmonize development with environmental resources, ensuring that interactions with these resources do not compromise their integrity and contribute to sustainable development.
2. Implementing Deterrent Penalties by enforcing penalties for violations related to resource encroachment is a fundamental mechanism for safeguarding environmental security.
3. Conducting Environmental Feasibility Studies that play a vital role in ensuring that development projects comply with environmental protection standards, particularly for outputs that generate waste, such as industrial and agricultural by-products, and solid and gaseous emissions.
4. Adopting Modern Technologies for Environmental Early Warning Systems: Advanced information systems are essential for providing early warnings about environmental risks before they manifest. These systems are installed at industrial and agricultural waste outlets and rely on established safe limits for suspended compounds, temperatures, and pollutants. In regulatory breaches, they offer timely alerts regarding the location and nature of the hazard, facilitating prompt responses. Examples of these systems include those for monitoring water and air quality

Protecting the Coastal and Desert Environment

It is crucial to safeguard coastal and desert environments from the threats posed by petroleum pollution. This includes risks associated with oil spills, tanker accidents, and ballast water discharge from oil tankers into marine waters and ports. Fifth: Personal Security Personal security means protecting human beings from exposure to harm and physical violence. Hence, personal security is considered the most important dimension of security for humans, as it relates directly to their safety. It aims to achieve protection from forms of violence and protect the individual in the face of repressive practices by authoritarian societies and the persecution they impose against groups due to racial discrimination. Article 1, paragraph 3 of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights states: "To promote respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all people and to encourage this without discrimination based on race, color, religion or gender."⁵⁷

Sixth: Community Security

Community security means the individual's sense of belonging to the group and society, whether a family, a local community, an organization, or a racial or ethnic group, that can provide its members with a cultural identity and values that reassure them. This group provides practical support to them. However, this does not prevent the existence of an attack or threat to this group as a whole, and thus a threat to the individuals belonging to them.⁵⁸

Seventh: Political Security

Within the framework of Human Security, the topic of "respect for human rights" is raised.

The reason for this is that the issue of political, social, and cultural human rights has become one of the issues raised at the global level, not only in developed countries but also in developing countries. However, it manifests more in the criticisms directed at many regimes in developing countries for not giving these regimes sufficient attention to human rights in their practices and policies, or educating citizens about them through various institutions. These practices have come to threaten their reputation and

⁵⁷ نصري، سميره، الأمن الإنساني. مرجع سابق.

⁵⁸ برنامج الأمم المتحدة الإنمائي. تقرير التنمية البشرية لعام: 1994 "أبعاد جديدة للأمن الإنساني". مرجع سابق. ص30

international standing, and these violations are exploited as a justification for not providing aid to some countries or refusing to include them in international or regional organizations, as a kind of exclusion, punishment, or disapproval of their actions.⁶¹

2.9 Concepts Relating to Human Security

The formulation of concepts within the international arena is a regulated process that is greatly influenced by global forces, where these forces shape concepts to reflect their interests, often resulting in explicit and hidden dimensions. Therefore, developing nations sometimes find themselves going through a conceptual framework crafted by Western countries and tailored to serve and support Western interests. This unidirectional framework makes these concepts difficult to challenge or reject entirely.

In this discussion, the researcher examines the relationship between human security and several related concepts, including national security, human rights, human development, international humanitarian intervention, peacekeeping, global security, collective security, and cooperative security. This section aims to highlight the connections and show the variances and similarities between human security and these related concepts, which would contribute to enhance our understanding of how they unite and diverge within the broader security discourse⁵⁹.

2.9.1. Human Security and its Relationship to National Security

National security is defined as "the set of concepts and procedures adopted by the state (the nation) to safeguard a state's sovereignty over its lands, sea, and air from any external threat, as well as protect its interests locally and abroad while ensuring the safety and well-being of its citizens." This concept has evolved to include a wide range of capabilities of a state that cover both external and internal threats.⁶⁰

The scholars' discourse and discussions around Human Security highlight and introduce a shift from this traditional concept focus. They have four main perspectives on the concept's relationship with national security, which are:

⁵⁹ عدوي، محمد : " مفهوم الأمن الإنساني وعلاقته بمنظومة حقوق الإنسان ودراسة في المفاهيم والعلاقات المتبادلة." ⁶⁰ مهدي، سحر: بحوث ودراسات في مفهوم الأمن القومي . جريدة الاتحاد.

1. Shift or Alternative to National Security: Some scholars, like Thomas Kuhn in his book "The Structure of Scientific Revolutions" and George McLean, argue and propose that Human Security represents a shift of the focus from state security to individual security. They emphasize that protecting individuals does not necessarily stem from safeguarding the state but from directly addressing the individuals' wellbeing and quality of life. Human Security means protection from non-structural violence associated with several considerations not related to regional integration, such as environmental scarcity or mass migration.⁶¹
2. Complementary Relationship: Others, including Paul Heinbecker and Ghada Moussa, view Human Security as complementary to national security, where they say that the presence of a secure state enhances and contributes to individual security and vice versa, suggesting that both concepts are necessary but not sufficient each on its own for ensuring overall security.⁶² It is worth mentioning that national security is a sufficient condition for Human Security, and that excessive strength or weakness of the state negatively affects Human Security.⁶³
3. Conflict Between Concepts: Figures like Amartya Sen highlight a potential conflict between Human Security and national security. Sen argues that the state's focus on its own security might compromise the security of its residents, especially when state actions prioritize and focus on the state integrity and power over human security and well-being.⁶⁴
4. Prerequisite for National Security: Others believe that achieving Human Security is fundamental to achieving national security. Proponents like Woosung Kim Ahn and Tak Hyun argue that national security cannot be effectively achieved while failing to meet and achieve the basic needs of individuals. They emphasize that Human Security entails protecting individuals from several threats, such as environmental disasters and social issues, which are not traditionally covered by national security measures.⁶⁵ It is a misconception to think of Human Security as something that would replace national security. The attacks of September 11, 2001, show that national security is

⁶¹ Maclean, George, "The changing Concept of Human Security: Coordinating Nation and Multilateral Responses ", United Nations and Canada, (1999-2000).

⁶² موسى، غادة: مخاطر غياب الأمن الإنساني على البيئة والتنمية المستدامة. ص1

⁶³ Heinbecker, Paul, "Peace Theme: Human Security", <http://www.cpsindia.org/peacetheme.htm>

⁶⁴ Sen, Amartya, "Developments, Rights and Human Security ," Human Security Now, The Final Report of The Commission on Human Security ,op.cit,p8

⁶⁵ Kim, Woosang and in –Tak Hyun, "Towards a New Concept of Security: Human Security in: World Politics, ⁶⁷ Asia's Emerging Regional Order: Reconciling Traditional and Human, op.cit, P.39

still key in international relations and security. National security focuses on protecting the state from military threats coming from outside. In contrast, human security looks at the safety of individuals and deals with threats from inside the state, like internal conflicts, and from outside such as, environmental pollution and weapon spread that the state cannot handle on its own. This means that Human Security needs the efforts of the state, and international groups, NGOs, and local communities to handle and tackle these problems.

2.9.2. Human Security and its Relationship to Human Rights

Human rights is a complex and comprehensive concept of an integrated system with intertwined and intersecting implications, representing an agreed-upon concept as a fundamental value. Human rights are intended to be "universal legal guarantees that protect individuals and groups from actions that interfere with fundamental freedoms and human dignity. International Human rights law obliges governments to carry out certain obligations and prohibits them from carrying certain acts." The most important characteristics of human rights are that they are internationally guaranteed, legally protected, focus on human dignity, protect individuals and groups, are binding on states and actors within them, cannot be waived or removed, and are equal, interconnected, and universal.⁶⁶

Recently, human rights have been linked with Human Security, adding a new dimension to traditional security concepts by focusing on the individual's safety and well-being. This connection introduces a network of relationships where human security and human rights intersect, although they are not identical. Human rights entail a broad set of political, economic, and social rights for all. On the other hand, human security arranges and sometimes prioritizes these rights, focusing on immediate threats to individuals like fear and want. The relationship between the two involves both overlaps and distinct differences where Human Security may seem to complement or extend the protections offered by human rights based on the specific needs and threats facing individuals.⁶⁹

There are a set of differences between the two concepts. Human rights are mainly based on defining a large set of political, economic, and social rights that must be available to individuals. In contrast, human security contributes to creating an arrangement or

⁶⁶ البكوشر، الطيب: "الترايط بين الأمن الإنساني وحقوق الإنسان -aibr.www://http iadh.org/docs/revue/pdf/revue10ok/164-172.pdf

prioritization of that wide range of human rights by elevating the status of some rights, such as the priority of freedom from fear over freedom from want or vice versa, according to the agendas of states.

In addition to that, human security goes a step further than human rights about fact that the concept of human rights takes the form of legal claims represented in the necessity of having legal legislation capable of imposing specific obligations towards specific rights such as child rights agreements, women, refugees, and other legal agreements, whether they are of a global or regional nature. However, human security goes beyond that to focus on institutional reform. It focuses on how to reform existing institutions concerned with achieving the security of individuals or establishing new institutions that are capable of this matter, especially in light of the ineffectiveness of legal rules in terms of states not complying with their implementation.⁶⁷

Amartya Sen suggests that Human Security needs political recognition, as it is still developing and could benefit from being put within the established concept of human rights, where Sen sees that this approach might enhance its acceptance and implementation⁶⁸. Despite the differences, human security and human rights complement each other in several ways: Human security focuses on the individual and societal level rather than the state; it addresses threats that are not necessarily seen as threats to state security; its actors include a broader range of participants beyond those traditionally involved in state security; and it empowers individuals to protect themselves, not just offering protection.⁶⁹

To conclude, there is a substantial proportionality between the concept of human rights and the concept of human security because respect for human rights grants us a sense of security. Thus, Human Security is achieved as a result of the application and adherence to human rights. In return, if human rights are reduced, it leads to the absence or lack of security, so the two concepts complement each other.

However, the researcher disagrees with the perception that views the concept of human security as compensation for the concept of human rights because the characteristics of the concept of human rights have been well-established and clarified and cannot be replaced by a concept still in the process of formation.

⁶⁷ الحسين، جهاد : عندما يصبح مفهوم الأمن الإنساني بديلا عن حقوق الإنسان . . 12-2010-21e.www://http jousour.net/ar/node/7189

⁶⁸ Sen, Amartya, , "Developments, Rights and Human Security ," Human Security now, The final report of the commission on Human Security ,op.cit,p8-9

⁶⁹ علاوي،كمال: الأمن الإنساني في العراق نظره تحليليه 2010

2.9.3. Human Security and its Relationship to Human Development

Human development means "the process of expanding the choices available to individuals by expanding human functions and capabilities, and the three basic human capabilities: for individuals to live long and healthy lives, to acquire knowledge, and to obtain the resources necessary for a decent standard of living."⁷⁰

At first glance, the concept of human development does not differ from the concept of human security, as the concept of human security includes aspects for the advancement of human security that are similar to the dimensions of achieving human development. However, in reality, the two concepts differ. At the time that the; concept of human security has developed through the literature of human development and its indicators, the concept of human development is comprehensive. If we take poverty, for example, as one of the main concerns of both human development and Human Security, it shows that they relate and interconnect, but human development is considered a more comprehensive and broader concept than the concept of human security.⁷¹

This requires analysis of the relationship between the two concepts in terms of areas of similarity and difference. Both concepts converge in seeking to achieve the liberation of individuals from want. However, human security differs from the human development in terms of vision, goals, priorities, strategies, and implementation methods. The differences between them can be highlighted as follows:

1. The Vision: The concept of human development is concerned with expanding the range of choices available to individuals, while the concept of Human Security is concerned with the ability and freedom of individuals to choose between those alternatives in a safe environment.
2. The Objective: Human development aims to tackle all obstacles that limit human life or hinder its prosperity. At the same time, human security goes beyond that to search for ways to minimize those risks in the future by focusing on empowering individuals to enable them to deal with and overcome those risks.

⁷³ تقرير التنمية البشرية لعام 2010 . م الثروة الحقيقية للأمم: مسارات إلى التنمية البشرية. برنامج الأمم المتحدة الإنمائي .
⁷³ عدوي، محمد، مفهوم الأمن الإنساني وعلاقته بمنظومة حقوق الإنسان ودراسة في المفاهيم والعلاقات المتبادلة . " مرجع سابق. ص 8-7
http://hdr.undp.org/en/media/HDR_2010_AR_Chapter1_reprint.pdf ص 12

3. Priorities: Human development prioritizes growth and equality, while human security focuses on creating a safe environment that allows and enables individuals to cope with regional and global changes without compromising their security.
4. The Strategy: The strategy for human development involves providing basic needs to improve living standards, while the strategy of the concept of Human Security is represented in institutional reform, i.e., ways of reforming existing institutions or even establishing new institutions capable of preserving the human dignity of all individuals.
5. Implementation methods: Human development seeks to achieve growth and distribute its benefits equally among people, while Human Security deliberately addresses conditions that threaten survival and human dignity and works to mitigate these threats.

The concept of human security and the concept of human development complement each other because the concept of human development is concerned with expanding people's choices, and human security is concerned with enabling people to exercise these choices safely and freely. In addition to that, making any progress in one of the two fields enhances the chances of making progress in the other field, but failure in either field increases the severity of failure in the other field.⁷²

2.10. Threats to Human Security

Threats to Economic Security include several aspects:

1. Income: The Human Development Report stated: "Economic security requires a guaranteed basic income, usually from productive and rewarding work, or a public sector-funded safety net as a last resort. However, only three-quarters of the world's population may currently be economically secure in this sense."⁷³ "The lack of adequate income to meet human requirements and needs is one of the main issues, especially in light of the continuous inflation and the technologies applied in the world, and market mechanisms that worsen these matters, and devour any increase in wages.

⁷⁵ برنامج الأمم المتحدة الإنمائي. تقرير التنمية البشرية لعام: 1994 "أبعاد جديدة للأمن الإنساني. مرجع سابق، ص23

⁷³ برنامج الأمم المتحدة الإنمائي. تقرير التنمية البشرية لعام: 1994 " أبعاد جديدة للأمن الإنساني. مرجع سابق، ص.25

2. Unemployment and job instability: Many of the world's population suffer from unemployment, where many, especially new entrants to the job market, face unemployment or engage in temporary or unstable employment with no long-term guarantees, leading to social and political unrest.⁷⁴
3. Poverty: As one of the main global issues, poverty has evolved, where it is no longer limited to income inadequacy but has extended to include a broader concept of 'human poverty' which entails the lack of essential capabilities and life value and metrics of income.

Traditionally, income poverty was measured by the amount of goods and services available to a person, known as "the true per capita consumption expenditure." However, the definition has expanded to encompass 'human poverty', which is measured by income and other aspects, such as education, health, and fundamental freedoms.

Today, poverty also means feeling weak and easily impacted by external factors such as weather change, diseases, crime, ethnic conflicts, etc. It also includes internal factors such as a lack of means to overcome problems without suffering losses. The second dimension of modern poverty is the inability to participate in decision-making, extending to weak political participation.⁷⁵

4. Housing problem: The housing problem is not limited to the existence or absence of housing but extends to the level of the house's suitability for human life and whether the health and environmental standards are met. Environmental threats usually accumulate over time; these threats have worsened due to human neglect of preserving the environment for both their health and future sustainability. Some environmental threats are persistent, continuing, and long-lasting. Environmental security threats encompass issues such as land degradation, deforestation, and the rise in greenhouse gas emissions, which disrupt and exacerbate global climate conditions. A significant threat is the increase of Earth's temperature by two degrees Celsius since the Industrial Revolution, affecting all nations.

Threats to Personal Security: The 1994 Human Development Report outlined the forms of threats that affect humans regardless of economic status. These include physical

⁷⁴ عدوي، محمد : مفهوم الأمن الإنساني وعلاقته بمنظومة حقوق الإنسان ودراسة في المفاهيم والعلاقات المتبادلة . مرجع سابق.

ص.11

⁷⁶ امن الإنسان: الأمن الاقتصادي " الفقر والعدالة والحريّة،
<http://www.ye1.org/vb/showthread.php?t=585123>"

torture by the state, war, ethnic tensions, street crime, violence against women and children, and selfharm like suicide and drug use.

Threats to Community Security: Community security is threatened by conflicts over resources and deep-seated prejudices or extremist views, which lead to ethnic or national conflicts. Hence, these conflicts happen within one state or across states. Such instability is widespread, affecting numerous countries and weakening social bonds, which can potentially lead to additional national security issues.

Chapter Three: Case Studies and Application of Theories.

3.1 Asylum and Refugees Historical Background.

3.1.1. Asylum and Refugee Seeking

Since the beginning of time, humanity has been exposed to all forms of persecution and discrimination, whether based on gender, race, or religion. This led to the rise of various forms of conflicts that escalated and formed a greater threat to the lives and rights of those exposed to conflicts who fled to other places ridding themselves off all these dangers. Throughout history, people have fled persecution and discrimination based on gender, race, or religion, which led to conflicts and threats to their safety. This action of fleeing for safety is known as Asylum. Initially viewed as a regional issue, significant global changes have transformed it into a matter of international concern, leading to the establishment of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees on December 14, 1950. This body, along with other international agreements, focuses on addressing the needs and guaranteeing the rights of these asylum seekers and refugees.

International law has come to consider the issue of refugees as one of its areas of interest, as the latter are people whose rights have been violated and have been exposed to serious threats. International law, therefore, states the rights of the refugee and the obligations of the countries towards refugee.

Cambridge Dictionary defines Asylum as “protection or safety, especially that given by a government to people who have been forced to leave their own countries for their safety or because of war”⁷⁶(Cambridge University Press, n.d.) Refugees, as defined by the United

Nations are “persons who are outside their country of origin for reasons of feared persecution, conflict, generalized violence, or other circumstances that have seriously disturbed public order and, as a result, require international protection”⁷⁷ (UNHCR, n.d.). individuals fleeing dangers that are not directly attributed to or considered a state action were initially not fully recognized. This unrecognition has changed with the expansion of International Humanitarian Law, which recognized non-state actors as participants

⁷⁶ <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/asylum>

⁷⁷ <https://refugeesmigrants.un.org/definitions>

and players in conflicts. The Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, also known as the 1951 Refugee Convention or Geneva Convention of 1951, states that for individuals to be considered refugees, it is insufficient for them to just fall under state persecution; instead, they must also be formally recognized as refugees by a state (United Nations General Assembly, 1951). A significant number of individuals who were de facto refugees during World War II did not receive official recognition as such by any state.

3.1.2. Historical and Religious Perspectives on Asylum⁷⁸

The practice of seeking asylum is ancient dating back to early humans seeking shelter from dangers in caves. In historical times, places and civilizations like ancient Greece provided asylum in temples even for criminals, and similar practices were seen in Rome. It is worth noting that religious traditions have also supported asylum; for example, Christianity offered refuge in churches from the 4th century, and in Islam, non-Muslims were given security to live in Islamic states. The concept of asylum has been fundamental and integral to various cultures and religions, and it has evolved over centuries to include legal protections for those fleeing harm.

3.1.3. Modern Asylum Cases

In recent history, many Russians sought asylum in Europe after the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, with Czechoslovakia hosting a large number, issuing them a special "Nansen Passport." The Palestinian situation following the 1948 Nakba saw many Palestinians take refuge in areas now serviced by UNRWA. Similarly, post-2003 Iraq saw significant migration due to conflict, with many seeking asylums in neighbouring countries. The Syrian civil war has also led to massive refugee flows into countries like Turkey and Jordan, where Syrians face challenging and harsh conditions.⁷⁹

One of the most prominent and longest cases of asylum was the Palestinian case, which was a result of the Balfour Declaration and the geopolitical shifts that aimed to establish a national home for the Jews in Palestine. In 1948, the Palestinian Nakba took place,

⁷⁸ <http://www.al-forqan.net/articles/2993.html>

⁷⁹ Ching-An, Chang. (2022). A Different Way of Thinking About Refugees: Relocation and Settlement of Expatriate Syrian Business People. *Social Inclusion*, doi: 10.17645/si.v10i4.5649

during which Zionist gangs committed hundreds of massacres against the Palestinians, especially against women and children. These massacres were committed to spreading terror and forcing the Palestinians to leave their lands. The Palestinians took refuge in many cities in the West Bank and resided in tents established by UNRWA, which later built housing units for these refugees to reside in, which was called the camp. The Palestinians still reside in these camps to this day, and these camps are still subjected to a fierce campaign and a policy of ethnic cleansing by the Israeli army.⁸⁰

The Palestinian asylum-seeking experience was not limited to the Nakba only but extended to 1967, dubbed the second Palestinian Nakba or Naksa, which was the result of the defeat of the armies of Jordan, Egypt, and Syria facing the Israeli army, which resulted in the occupation of the West Bank, Gaza Strip, and Jerusalem. Therefore, a large number of Palestinians were expelled or sought refuge in neighbouring countries, especially Jordan, and this migration was the second in the history of the Palestinian people.⁸⁴

Asylum can be sought for various reasons, which often stem from threats to personal safety, basic human rights violations, or significant hardships and difficulties faced within one's homeland. These are some key causes and types of asylums:

Causes of Asylum⁸¹

- **Political Conflicts:** Individuals may seek asylum to escape and avoid the dangers arising from political instability, threats, or conflicts within their country.
- **Ethnic Differences:** Ethnic tensions and conflicts can force or drive individuals to flee to safer regions where their ethnic group is not targeted.
- **Political Opinions or Affiliations:** Holding political beliefs or affiliations that are opposed by the governing powers or authorities can put individuals at risk, leading them to seek asylum.
- **Economic Reasons:** Economic hardships and difficulties such as joblessness or famine can drive people to seek better living conditions in other countries.
- **Sexual Orientation:** Individuals facing persecution in their home countries due to their sexual orientation would seek refuge in more tolerant countries.

⁸⁰ Irfan, A. (2023). *Refuge and resistance: Palestinians and the international refugee system*. Columbia University Press. ⁸⁴Ibid.

⁸¹ Osmani, N., Nimani, P., & Maluku, A. (2023). The right of asylum viewed from the constitutional and international viewpoints. *Hong Kong Journal of Social Sciences*, 60. <https://doi.org/10.55463/hkjss.issn.10213619.60.87> ⁸⁶Ibid.

Types of Asylums⁸⁶

- Political Asylum: Often sought by high-profile individuals like political leaders, army rebels, or activists who face threats due to their political actions or beliefs.
- Humanitarian Asylum: That is granted to those individuals escaping wars, ethnic or racial conflicts, or environmental disasters that have made their living conditions difficult.
- Economic Asylum: Individuals who look for seek better job opportunities or escape severe economic conditions like famine.
- Religious Asylum: granted to those individuals who are persecuted for their religious beliefs or practices in their home countries.

3.2 Refugee Definitions

The 1951 Refugee Convention defines a refugee as someone who is outside their country of nationality due to a well-founded fear of persecution based on race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion and who cannot or does not wish to seek protection from their home country.⁸⁷

3.2.1. Who are the Palestinian Refugees?⁸⁸

Palestinian refugees, as defined by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA), are those who resided in Palestine between June 1946 and May 1948 and lost their homes and livelihoods due to the 1948 war.

3.2.2. The United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA)⁸⁹

UNRWA operates with the understanding that a ‘camp’ refers specifically to land allocated by host governments to accommodate Palestinian refugees, along with the necessary facilities to fulfil their essential needs. Notably, regions not officially designated as camps do not qualify under this classification. Nevertheless, UNRWA maintains educational institutions, health clinics, and distribution centres in areas heavily populated by Palestinian refugees, such as the Yarmouk neighbourhood near Damascus, Syria, thus extending its services beyond traditional camps.

UNRWA, established in 1949, aims to provide welfare, safety, and human development for Palestinian refugees in Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, the West Bank, and the Gaza Strip, with a focus on education, health, relief, and social services. Based on the developments of the political situation of Palestinian refugees in 1967, the Agency's charter was revised to include the new waves of the Palestinian refugees. The Agency is temporary, and its duration is extended every three years.⁸²

UNRWA operates and provides its services primarily in five regions in the Near East: Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, the West Bank (including East Jerusalem), and the Gaza Strip. Its core mission, authorized by the UN General Assembly in 1982, is to provide protection and support services to Palestinian refugees, thereby enhancing the welfare and development of refugees within these regions. It is worth mentioning that UNRWA's role is specifically nonpolitical, focusing mainly on delivering education, health, relief, and social services without engaging in conflict resolution or political negotiations. The organisation remains committed to service provision until a definitive resolution of the refugee issue is achieved.

3.2.3. UNRWA's Scope of Work and Beneficiary Groups

Geographical Coverage: Jordan, Lebanon, The Syrian Arab Republic, the West Bank (including East Jerusalem), and the Gaza Strip.

Primary Objectives: To provide education, health, relief, and social services aimed at welfare and development.

Beneficiaries

- Registered Palestine Refugees: Individuals who meet UNRWA's Palestine Refugee Criteria.
- Other Registered Persons: Registered individuals who do not meet the refugee criteria.
- Non-registered Eligible Persons: Those eligible for UNRWA services but not registered Service Access
- Global Access: Services available throughout the operational countries.

⁸² I.M., Almashi., M.M., Almashi. (2023). Evolution of the definition of the term "refugee". Analitično porivnáln'ne pravoznavstvo, doi: 10.24144/2788-6018.2023.02.10 ⁸⁸ <https://www.unrwa.org> International Conference 2021

- Targeted Access: Services directed explicitly at those identified through poverty targeting.

Palestinian refugee camps are distributed and spread across several regions, each reflecting the persistent and continuous state of displacement experienced by Palestinians. In the West Bank, camps include Ain al-Sultan, Aqabat Jaber, Deir Ammar, Dheisheh, Al-Amari, Al Fara'a, Al-Fawwar, Al-Jalazun, Qalandia, Aida, Al Arroub, Askar, Balata, Tulkarm, Beit Jibrin, Al-Ain, Nour Shams, Jenin, Shuafat, Bir Zeit, Ein Arik, Qaddoura, and Camp Silwad.

The Gaza Strip hosts Al-shate, Al-Bureij, Deir al-Balah, Jabalia, Khan Younis, Maghazi, Nuseirat, and Rafah camps.

In Jordan, refugee camps include Zarqa, Al Hussein, New Amman (Al-Wihdat), Souf, Baqa'a, Al-Hosn, Irbid, Jerash, Marka, Talbieh, Madaba, Hittin, Sokhna, Al-Nasr, and additional sites. Lebanon's camps are Ain El Hilweh, Al Buss, Wavell, Burj El Barajneh, Shatila, Nahr al-Bared, Mar Elias, Mieh Mieh, Beddawi, North Tower, Dbayeh, Rashidieh, and the destroyed camps of Jisr al-Basha, Nabatiyeh, and Tal al-Zaatar.

In Syria, the camps include Yarmouk, Sbeineh, Neirab, Jaramana, Homs, Khan Eshieh, Daraa, Hama, Khan Dunoun, Ramdan, Daraa (emergency), QabrEssit, and Husseiniya. Each camp has evolved into a unique community facing challenges, and the broader geopolitical context, as well as the individual histories of displacement specific to each camp, drive that evolution. As of the end of 2024, the total estimated Palestinian population worldwide stands at approximately 14.9 million, as indicated by revised figures from the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics. This population is bifurcated, with roughly half residing outside historical Palestine. Within the State of Palestine, the population is estimated at around 5.5 million, comprising approximately 2.8 million males and 2.7 million females, including about 1.8 million individuals located within the 1948 territories.

Furthermore, estimates suggest that the Palestinian Diaspora encompasses roughly 7.6 million individuals, with a significant concentration of around 6.4 million residing across various Arab countries.

The core of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict is closely tied to addressing the Palestinian refugee issue and honouring their right of return. However, it is also crucial to consider the civil rights of Palestinian refugees residing in Arab countries. It is important to acknowledge that many of the Western countries and Israel bear legal, political, and moral responsibility for the emergence of the refugee crisis, as well as for the failure to

implement Resolution 194 regarding the right of return, which Israel has consistently denied. Furthermore, relevant United Nations resolutions reinforce this issue. The right of return is enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted on December 10, 1948. Notably, the second paragraph of Article 13 states: "Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own country, and to return to his country." Since 1948, the international community has reaffirmed Resolution 194 over 135 times, with Israel being the sole opposition, and later, the United States also opposed it following the Oslo Accords. It is essential to note that the legal return of a refugee can only happen if they return to their homes and land from which they were expelled in 1948. The establishment of a Palestinian state does not negate the right of return, as this right is fundamental to self-determination. The United Nations has emphasised that in its resolutions from 1969 and 1974. This the right of return should not be treated as a negotiable element.

Not all host countries have provided refugees with the legal rights under international and regional resolutions. In refugee-hosting countries, there are no specific regulations governing the relationship with Palestinians residing within their borders, except Syria. In Jordan, the government granted Palestinians citizenship, along with full civil and political rights, including the right to vote. Nevertheless, the Jordanian government has not permitted Palestinians to hold both Jordanian and Palestinian citizenship concurrently.

However, the Casablanca Agreement, signed on September 11, 1965, explicitly states that "*Palestinians in Arab countries where they reside should be treated on par with citizens of those countries regarding their residence and travel, and that employment opportunities should be facilitated for them, while they retain their Palestinian citizenship.*" These stipulations were reaffirmed by the Conference of Arab Interior Ministers in 1982.

Furthermore, the Cairo Agreement, signed on November 3, 1969, between the Lebanese state and the Palestine Liberation Organization under the aegis of the League of Arab States, outlined the granting of rights to work and travel for Palestinians residing in Lebanon. However, no legislation was enacted to implement this agreement. Instead, the Lebanese parliament, led by Hussein al-Husseini, unilaterally abolished the agreement on May 22, 1987.

The socio-political framework in Lebanon, has historically marginalized Palestinian refugees, denying them significant political and civil rights beyond the fundamental right

of residence. This lack of recognition has resulted in the exclusion of Palestinian refugees from over 70 professions, leading to a staggering unemployment rate of approximately 48%. Consequently, this has instigated a substantial wave of emigration over the past two decades.

To contextualize, the number of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon surged from around 85,000 in 1948 to approximately 400,000 today, as per UNRWA statistics. Meanwhile, about 140,000 Palestinians remained in the occupied territories during that period, with their current population estimated at 1.3 million. The Palestinians in Lebanon face multiple forms of marginalization—economic, institutional, and spatial—characterized mainly by their confinement to designated refugee camps.

Moreover, the status of Palestinians in Lebanon renders them akin to foreign nationals, albeit a distinct category of foreigners. The property law enacted in 2001 allows foreign nationals to acquire real estate; however, Palestinians are systematically excluded from this privilege based on the rationale that they lack a recognized state for reciprocal agreements.

Compounding these challenges is the absence of legal identity for over 3,500 refugees who lack official identification documents. Additionally, the political elite often conflate the improvement of civil rights and living conditions with the broader issue of resettlement, treating such negotiations as a form of coercive leverage. The subordination of the General Directorate of Political Affairs and Refugees to the Ministry of Interior further underscores that the Palestinian plight in Lebanon is predominantly framed as a security concern rather than a humanitarian or political one.

In the case of Syria, the government has provided civil rights but has limited political rights and ownership. As a result, Palestinians were not granted Syrian citizenship. Law No. 260, enacted on July 10, 1956, serves as the legal framework for the status of Palestinian refugees in Syria. Although this law consists of three articles, it effectively reduces to a single article: "Palestinians residing in the territory of the Syrian Arab Republic shall be considered Syrians by origin in all matters outlined in the applicable laws and regulations, including rights related to employment, work, trade, and military service while retaining their original nationality." Consequently, Palestinians have the right to join various Syrian unions, such as those for doctors, lawyers, engineers, and contractors. In Syria, Palestinians carry a card labelled "Temporary Residence card for Palestinians."

3.3. Case Studies

3.3.1. Al Amari camp

The Red Cross established Al-Amari camp in 1949 within the borders of Al-Bireh municipality, providing tents for refugees who came from the cities of Lod, Jaffa, and Ramleh, in addition to those who sought refuge from the villages of Beit Dajan, Deir Tarif, Abu Shush, Nana, SadounJanzeh, and Beit Nabala. Similar to the other camps in the West Bank, the camp was established on a plot of land leased by UNRWA from the Jordanian government.

UNRWA took charge of the camp in 1950 and worked on building housing units with cement roofs. By 1957, UNRWA had completed the replacement of all tents with concrete houses and accommodations, where families with no more than five people obtained a one-room residence, and larger families received a two-room residence.

Today, the camp covers an area of 0.93 square kilometers, with most dwellings being less than half a meter apart, which contributes to the weak and harsh ventilation conditions within the camp. The camp is fully connected to the municipal water and electricity networks.

UNRWA institutions operating in the camp

- Two schools—the girls' primary school operates with a double-shift system
- One food distribution center.
- One UNRWA health center
- One physiotherapy unit.
- One community rehabilitation center.
- One children's center
- One women's program center

Programs and services delivered and operating in the camp

- Education
- Relief and Social Services
- Social Safety Net
- Microcredit
- Health Program
- Money for Work Program
- Emergency Food and Cash Assistance Program

Main Issues and Challenges

- High unemployment
- Lack of empty land plots
- Overcrowded schools
- Bad ventilation
- Unemployment Rates in Palestine
- The Gaza Strip is experiencing a significant rise in unemployment, projected to exceed 80% in 2024. Overall, Palestine grapples with high unemployment rates and regional disparities. By 2024, the unemployment rate in Palestine reached 51%, with the West Bank at 35% and the Gaza Strip at 80%. This marks an increase from approximately 31% in 2023 (18% in the West Bank and 53% in the Gaza Strip). Additionally, the labour force participation rate in Palestine declined to 40% in 2024, down from 44% in 2023. In the Gaza Strip, this rate fell to 36% from 40% the previous year, while the West Bank saw a decrease to 43% from 47%.
- Poverty and Living Standards
- Prior to the recent Israeli aggression in the Gaza Strip, poverty rates were already exceeding 63%, with the poverty line in Palestine estimated at around 2,717 Israeli shekels (NIS) and the extreme poverty line at about 2,170 Israeli shekels (NIS). Following the ongoing conflict, the situation has deteriorated beyond mere poverty, leading to various levels of famine and food insecurity. Total consumption has fallen by 24%, with approximately 13% decline in the West Bank and 80% in the Gaza Strip. This downturn has had a direct negative impact on individuals' living standards across Palestine, resulting in widespread food insecurity among residents, particularly in the Gaza Strip.
- Unprecedented Price Increase
- The ongoing Israeli occupation and aggression against the Gaza Strip has resulted in a severe shortage of goods entering the area, profoundly impacting the broader situation in Palestine and the surrounding region. As a consequence, prices in the Gaza Strip have surged by over 227%. Meanwhile, consumer prices in the West Bank have increased by approximately 3%. This situation has led to a significant decline in the purchasing power of Palestinian consumers in 2024, with a staggering 70% decrease in the Gaza Strip and a 3% decrease in the West Bank.
- Prospects for the Palestinian Economy in 2025: A Modest Recovery Amid Structural Challenges and External Pressures

- The Palestine Monetary Authority and the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics have published two reports detailing economic forecasts for 2025, accessible on their respective websites. These reports outline projections for the most significant key indicators of the Palestinian economy based on a set of factors and assumptions outlined in the baseline scenario. These assumptions are expected to influence key indicators across various sectors, including the real sector, the financial sector, and the external sector.
- The assumptions underlying the economic forecasts for 2025 suggest that the current political and security conditions are likely to persist without any significant changes. Under this scenario, the Palestinian economy is expected to continue facing severe restrictions on trade and border crossings, with the Gaza Strip experiencing a neartotal halt in economic activity due to extensive destruction caused by Israeli aggression. Additionally, there will be significant disruptions to the movement of Palestinian workers into Israel.
- This scenario also anticipates a continued deterioration in the Palestinian government's financial situation, driven by Israeli seizures of clearance revenues and a decline in domestic revenues resulting from reduced economic activity and downturns in the business cycle. In terms of international grants and aid, these will remain at their current low levels. Additionally, ongoing developments in the Red Sea and Bab al-Mandab Strait are expected to affect shipping and maritime insurance costs, thereby negatively impacting trade.
- As a result, this scenario forecasts a modest economic growth of between 1.0% and 2% in 2025, following a severe contraction of approximately 28% in 2024—one of the most significant economic declines in Palestinian history. Although this anticipated growth is positive, it does not indicate a significant improvement in economic performance, as it is essentially the result of a comparison against a year marked by an unprecedented downturn across various sectors. The components of GDP expected to contribute most significantly to this projected growth include private consumer spending and the value added from key economic activities. This growth is anticipated to coincide with a decrease in unemployment rates, which are expected to fall to 49.2% from 51.2% in 2024.
- Given that the Palestinian economy operates within a climate of considerable risk and uncertainty, these forecasts are accompanied by an analysis of potential risks under both optimistic and pessimistic scenarios. Should these scenarios materialize, they are

likely to have varying positive or negative implications for economic performance in the near term.

3.3.2. Askar camp

Askar Camp is divided into two parts: The first is called the "Old Askar Camp," which was established by the International Relief Agency in 1952. The second part is called "the new Askar camp," and it is about 900 meters away from the Old Camp to the east, and was established by the International Relief Agency in 1964.

Askar Camp (the old and the new) is located in northeast of Nablus, on the road leading to Wadi Al-Badhan and the Jordan Valley, approximately 5 km from the city center. The camp is bounded to the north by a popular residential area, to the east by the village of Azmut, and to the west by the village of Askar al-Balad; to the south are the Balata camp and the Rujib plain.

The area of the camp is about 209 dunums, of which 110 dunums are the area of the old Askar Camp, while the area of the new Askar Camp is 99 dunums.

The population of The Old Askar Camp is 7,265 people, meanwhile the population of The New Askar Camp is 5,298 people, according to the estimates of the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics for mid-2023.

The origins of the refugees in Askar camps trace back to 36 cities and villages, namely: Jaffa, Lod, Samil, Abu Kishk, Beit Dajan, Yazur, Kafr Saba, Al-Khairiya, Beersheba, Haifa, AlTira, Al-Jamasin Al-Sharqiya, Al-Jamasin Al-Gharbia, Kafr Barra, Umm Khaled, Sarafand Al-Kharraf, and Sarfand. Al-Ammar, Fajjah, Sheikh Munis, Al-Bassa, Coleh, Salamah, Al- Saria, and Al-Majdal

Main Challenges and Issues According to UNRWA, the camp faces the following challenges:

- High population density,
- Unemployment, as the unemployment rate in the camp, is 28 percent,
- The division of jurisdiction between the control of the Palestinian Authority and the joint control of the Palestinian Authority and Israel,
- Overcrowded schools

3.4. The Challenges to Human Security in Palestinian Refugee Camps are as follows

1. Poverty: This is a complex phenomenon of multidimensional deprivation linked to various factors. Work in the Palestinian Authority areas is linked to the minimum wage of 1,880 NIS, which does not meet the minimum living standards, in contrast to those who work inside the Green Line. Since the residents of the camps are also affected by poverty and the absence of social security that guarantees a dignified life, many camp workers prefer to work inside the Green Line as it is a source of income that guarantees a better and more modest life compared to working in the Palestinian areas. However, this requires obtaining permits. In many cases, these permits are rejected, so many Palestinians find themselves with no option other than crossing the green line through smuggling routes in the apartheid wall, with the risks of imprisonment, or death. Getting a permit through permit brokers is another option that Palestinians who intend to work inside the Green Line find themselves forced to go through. The unemployment in the camps weighs heavily on the families and makes the youth vulnerable to many problems and issues, including adopting violent behaviour. Poverty and unemployment manifest in the standard of living. However, their manifestation in the health and psychological aspects is also grave, where depression, anxiety, insecurity, and social challenges cast a shadow on the families residing in the camp, especially women and youth. Young people are forced to follow a violent path that is marked by societal hostility, where they escape and avoid these challenges by engaging in drug and narcotic consumption and anti-social behaviour. Unemployment threatens social, political, health, and educational stability and causes damage to the lives of camp residents. For example, at the health level, the reduction in health services provided by UNRWA, will exacerbate the hardships of camp residents. This also applies to education, where it increases the percentage of unmarried individuals of both sexes due to unemployment and poverty.

The lack of a guaranteed income for this group of people, as they depend on daily wage income sources, which are considered unstable according to the aforementioned Human Development Report, which requires a fixed income to achieve economic security, in addition to low wages and the spread of unemployment due to the absence of job opportunities. This has driven many refugees to work inside the green line, either after obtaining the necessary permits or without said permits, which exposes them to the danger of being pursued and arrested by the Israeli police⁹⁰. They also

resort to working in a field⁸³ completely different from their field of study, such as working in security companies or services for wages less than the minimum wage. They also rely on working in unstable seasonal work fields such as construction sites and olive picking.

The widespread issue of poverty makes it hard for camp residents to get basic goods because of high prices and low incomes. Many families struggle to meet their basic needs and often turn to charities and aid for financial support. Additionally, some women start small home businesses, like making and selling pickles and sweets, to earn money.⁹¹

Economic security is vital for human security and supports the development of health, food, and education. While food security depends on economic stability, ensuring people can get enough food and live healthy lives free from disease.

2. Crime: The negative stereotype of camp residents in the Palestinian collective mind is that the camp is a place that harbour criminals and where crime levels are high after it used to be a place where revolutions and resistance work start. This appeared after the Second Intifada, which affected the social forces in the camp. Crime affects the social life of individuals as well as the psychological and social aspects of the camp residents. Stigmatizing the camp residents as criminals after they were at the forefront of the Palestinian struggle and revolutionary work casts a shadow on the social situation and increases spinsterness and the migration from the camp⁸⁴.
3. Crime has become more associated with the camps, altering their image from places of revolution to areas known for criminal activity. This shift, especially noticeable after Second Intifada, has significantly impacted the social dynamics within the camps. Camp residents face discrimination and are often seen as inferior by people from nearby cities, which impacts their community ties. Issues such as crime, the stigma from criminal activities, and Israeli military actions, which include invasions, infrastructure damage, and violence, have created a challenging environment. These conditions prompt some people to consider leaving the camps, while others remain

⁸³ مقابلة شخصية، 18، تشرين الأول، 2022، مخيم عسكر
⁸⁴ برنامج الأمم المتحدة الإنمائي . تقرير التن مية البشرية لعام: 1994 "أبعاد جديدة للأمن الإنساني". بيروت : مركز دراسات الوحدة العربية،، 1994 ص22 مقابلة شخصية، 25، تشرين الأول، 2022، مخيم المعري⁹¹ مقابلة شخصية، 25، تشرين الأول، 2022، مخيم المعري⁹² برنامج الأمم المتحدة الإنمائي . تقرير التن مية البشرية لعام: 1994 "أبعاد جديدة للأمن الإنساني". بيروت : مركز دراسات الوحدة العربية، . 1994، ص22

because they cannot afford to relocate due to their economic situation. One of the most prominent threats is related to community security and the conflicts associated with it, represented in the discrimination and inferior view that refugees face from the residents of the surrounding cities, who accuse them of selling their lands and being inferior to them⁹³, which in turn affects their attachment to their lands. Some young people in the camp faced the problem of their marriage being rejected by families of girls living outside the camp because of their residence in the camp, which made a significant number of them leave the camp to live in the suburbs or cities adjacent to these camps. We also find that many young people have resorted to buying residential units outside the camp despite the financial burdens incurred, where youth are compelled to work several jobs to secure the price of the apartment outside the camp.⁹⁴ Also, the Israeli forces' invasions of the camps, the destruction of the infrastructure, and the arrest and killing of the residents of Palestinian cities and camps repeatedly cast a shadow on the camp. Some considered leaving the camp, while others endured all the measures were unable to leave due to the economic situation.

3. Education is highly valued among Palestinians, who have higher educational attainment statistics compared to neighbouring countries. However, educational services in the camps were challenged due to UNRWA budget cuts. There are 97 UNRWA schools in the West Bank and 228 in Gaza, providing education up to the ninth grade, after which students transition and move to government schools. Despite⁸⁵ the presence of vocational institutes and a university college in Ramallah, the reduction in UNRWA's support which previously included free school supplies, clothes, and food has increased the economic burdens on the families in the camps and worsened the quality of education due to overcrowded classrooms, which in turn affects academic achievement. UNRWA contributed to promoting the concept of human security and addressing its threats by supporting the education sector, where it built free primary schools for both males and females.

4. Health Services: Health security is a vital and key aspect of human security, providing an environment free from disease and accessible healthcare. Health services in UNRWA were affected by the policy of rationing services. In the West Bank, the only UNRWA hospital in Qalqilya, reduced primary healthcare clinics that provide maternal and childcare support and services, as well as services to patients with

⁸⁵ مقابلة شخصية، 28، تشرين الأول، 2022، مخيم عسكر (مقابلة شخصية ، 21، تشرين الأول، 2022، مخيم عسكر)

chronic diseases. This reduction affected the quality of the provided medical care and caused several patients to struggle and face difficulties fulfilling their healthcare needs. These cutbacks have significantly affected and reduced the availability of services for chronic diseases and reproductive health as well as the provision of medicines, by UNRWA. This is after the reduction in services provided by UNRWA, which has been worsened by the difficulty of finding alternatives from other sources due to the high cost. This has led the refugees to seek expensive alternatives outside UNRWA facilities. This situation is heightened and worsened during strikes when essential medications become even more limited, which highlights the ongoing and constant health challenges that Palestinian refugees face.⁸⁶

UNRWA implemented significant reforms to its health program starting in 2009, resulting in the launch of an electronic health system in 2015. This system improved care, registration, documentation, vaccination processes, and the management of communicable, noncommunicable, and chronic diseases. It is worth noting that these enhancements were designed to increase the sustainability of healthcare services. Nevertheless, the quality of services, the number of patients, and the workload on health sector staff in UNRWA facilities all impact the lives of refugees in the camps. To address mental health issues, UNRWA has introduced psychological support and rehabilitation services in its health centres in various camps and schools to help improve and address the psychological distress of those with special needs.

5. Social Services: UNRWA provides extensive social relief services in the camps, but after the cutbacks, these services were limited to the most vulnerable including the most marginalized groups, women without a breadwinner, people with disabilities, and elderly. This reduction affected the segment that receives the service in the absence of social security which guarantees a dignified living to these people. For example, to cope with and live in this situation, women often undertake home-based work or small projects, which are frequently funded by institutions affiliated with UNRWA or others to support their families' basic needs and healthcare.
6. Adequate Housing: The living conditions in the camps are challenging, where residents often live in cramped and overcrowded homes that lack adequate ventilation, sunlight, and privacy, which has led to health issues such as asthma and chest allergies among children. Environmental threats such as pollution from nearby workshops,

⁸⁶ مقابلة شخصية، 18، تشرين الأول، 2022، مخيم عسكر

exacerbate these conditions. Residents' open businesses, including aluminium and car repair workshops near their homes to avoid high rental costs outside the camps. Moreover, some expressed through the interviews that they feel

like they reside in the same house with the neighbours due to the adjacency of the buildings so they can hear each other's voices and conversations.⁸⁷

Here, environmental threats, represented by pollution, can also be observed, which result from the establishment of industrial workshops, such as aluminium and car repair workshops, near the housing units, causing air and noise pollution. The camp residents' resort to this due to the high rent of real estate designated for such works outside the camp.⁸⁸

7. Sense of Security: Security and stability are fundamental elements of human wellbeing and essential for basic needs. The repeated and frequent incursions by the Israeli Occupation Forces 'IOF' of the camp, the camps' association with crime, and the disturbances, visual and audio, caused by street-level commercial activities as a result of avoiding high-cost renting outside the camp impact the quality of life. Noise pollution resulting from frequent gunfire and commercial activities, while also being under the constant threat of the camp being subject to violence or incursions, results in a sense of fear and vulnerability among the residents. The presence and spread of the weapon-carrying individuals and drug dealers who use the camp as a haven from police or security worsens the situation, which leads and drives the residents of the camps to have feelings of anxiety, depression, and sadness. The absence of personal security, the lack of accountability and the ongoing threats from the occupation take away the sense of personal security, which drives some residents to leave the camps.

The Israeli Campaign to Dismantle UNRWA and Eliminate the Palestinian Refugee Issue The ongoing Israeli campaign, backed by the United States, to dismantle UNRWA and end its role is not new. This campaign has coexisted with the existence of UNRWA at various levels throughout its history. Israel's denial of the right of return of Palestinian refugees and internally displaced persons and its efforts to erase this right from the agenda of international institutions constitute the core and ultimate goal of this campaign. Over more than seven decades, the Israeli assault on UNRWA has escalated. Its tools have diversified, ranging from criticizing UNRWA on the basis that it seeks to perpetuate

⁸⁷ مقابلة شخصية، 25، تشرين الأول، 2022، مخيم المعري
⁸⁸ مقابلة شخصية، 18، تشرين الأول، 2022، مخيم عسكر

the Palestinian refugee issue rather than end it, accusing UNRWA of incitement against Israel and employing members of

Palestinian resistance groups, to targeting UNRWA's headquarters and employees and mobilizing its allies to suspend its funding in early 2024.

This campaign is a fundamental pillar of the Israeli colonial and apartheid regime. It has harnessed a range of tools and elements to demonize UNRWA and delegitimize it, which resulted in a financial and political crisis threatening UNRWA's existence. These tools represent an alternative to a UN resolution to suspend UNRWA, reflecting the realization that it is challenging to dismantle UNRWA through a General Assembly resolution as long as final solutions to the refugee issue remain unaddressed. The following two points summarize these tools:

1- Financial strangulation: Reducing contributions to UNRWA's budget and restricting expenditures. In cooperation with its allies, Israel exploited the structural flaw in UNRWA's funding mechanism to pressure it and impose a financial blockade, drying up UNRWA's budget, hindering it, and ultimately ending its role. This strategy enables complicit states to pressure UNRWA to change, restrict, and disrupt its missions in a manner that serves the Israeli colonial project. The political and financial pressure exerted on UNRWA by Israel's allies, specifically the United States, has been a prominent tool for reducing its core budget. This reduction has led to the cancellation of many essential programs and services in exchange for specific programs designed to address emergencies. Besides, increased politically conditional contributions have imposed budgetary restrictions on UNRWA. States allied with Israel have begun to condition their donations to UNRWA with specific requirements for budget allocation. These conditions usually undermine the core issue of the Palestinian refugees and serve Israeli objectives far from the fundamentals of humanitarian work

2- As a result of the worsening financial crisis, UNRWA's Advisory Commission held an emergency meeting of donor countries in 2018 following the US administration's decision to halve its contribution. Instead of addressing the roots of the crisis, several donor countries exerted political pressure to impose a series of administrative and service cuts that impacted the core of UNRWA's work, including employment, education, and health sectors (Badil, 2018a). In the same year, as a result of these pressures, UNRWA issued a decision to dismiss 1,000 of its employees as part of the

reduction policy the Agency has been pursuing since the escalation of the Israeli campaign in the early 1990s.

The donor countries' conditions were not limited to cuts and program cancellations but extended to imposing changes on UNRWA's Palestinian curricula and security measures for UNRWA's staff and beneficiaries. This came in addition to the political conditions imposed by the European Union on civil society organizations and UNRWA; at the end of 2019 (Palestinian National Campaign to Reject Conditional Funding, 2019), the United States also imposed (2022) security measures and screening procedures on UNRWA – in the Framework of Cooperation Agreement (2021) – based on US anti-terrorism regulations. Section 301(c) of the 1961 Foreign Assistance Act, which is the base for US contributions to the UNRWA budget, stipulates that US contributions to UNRWA may only be made on the condition that UNRWA takes all feasible measures to ensure that no part of the US contribution is used to assist any refugee who has received or is receiving military training as a member of the so-called Palestine Liberation Army, or any other guerrilla type organization or who has engaged in any act of terrorism.

These conditions do not only label Palestinian political parties and Palestinian resistance factions as terrorist organizations. It also changes UNRWA's work from a humanitarian services agency to a security agency that vets all beneficiaries and excludes anyone with ties to resistance factions designated as terrorists from receiving its services. The so-called Memorandum of Understanding also requires UNRWA to monitor the social media accounts of its employees and their published posts and statements, submit periodic reports to the United States and relevant countries on individual's ineligible for services and assistance, meaning those accused of terrorism, and communicate with host countries, including Israel, to share information on individuals accused of terrorism. (The Palestinian Information Centre (Gaza Strip).

The political conditions include, among other provisions, imposing changes to the 2020 educational curricula (BADIL in UNRWA schools), aiming to exterminate the Palestinian identity and rights from it and isolate the curricula from the Palestinian political context. Accordingly, UNRWA distributed an educational guide to its staff members in schools, instructing them not to address any content that highlights the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, such as the right to return and self-determination (US Department of State, 2023). Imposing these political conditions on UNRWA not only constitutes a violation of its mandate to provide services to refugees

based on humanitarian need, regardless of their political affiliations but also goes beyond that in an attempt to create a new consciousness among Palestinians that accepts the colonial regime, "Israel," and rejects resistance to it, in exchange for receiving minimal rights. Changing curricula serves the Israeli goal of creating a "good Palestinian." It negates the right of return by stripping the children and grandchildren of refugees and displaced persons of their refugee status.

2- Replacing UNRWA by transferring its responsibilities to other entities and/or shifting the burden onto Arab countries. In addition to the policy of financial strangulation, Israel is promoting UNRWA's inability and ineffectiveness to fulfil its responsibilities, delegitimizing and demonizing it and accusing it of being complicit with Hamas and other "terrorist factions" (UNRWA, 2024b). This is to encourage the transfer of its mandate to other international institutions (UNRWA, 2014b) or to call for its replacement by host countries. Israel is exploiting the dissatisfaction of Palestinian refugees with the level of UNRWA services as a justification to conclude UNRWA's inability to meet their needs without actually addressing the political context that led to the decline in its services and its cancellation Available Mechanisms and Ways to Protect UNRWA

UNRWA's financial crises and the ongoing Israeli political assault against it are not just random attacks stemming from isolated political events; it is an Israeli strategy. At a time when the international community is unable to fulfil its duty to preserve and protect UNRWA, this requires doubled and integrated national efforts at both the official and popular levels, both locally and internationally, to address the root causes of the problem and go beyond ad hoc solutions and reactive rhetoric. It is worth noting that the parties concerned have addressed the effects and consequences of UNRWA's financial and political crisis without examining its underlying drivers the its historical context, encompassing its political, legal, and administrative dimensions. This has contributed to its complexity and facilitated the targeting of the agency and its employees during the ongoing war in the Gaza Strip.

In this context, and to develop a strategic plan to protect UNRWA, it is necessary to start from specific principles and foundations that constitute a unified, agreed-upon reference stemming from the roots of the issue that led to the establishment of UNRWA in the first place. These determinants and principles could be summarized in two main points: First, the international community is responsible for the emergence and continuation of the Palestinian refugee issue by providing political cover for the Zionist gangs to displace

the Palestinians and continue to deny their rights for more than 76 years. It is also responsible for depriving the Palestinians of their rights to redress for the harm they suffered (return, property restitution, and compensation). Second, the United Nations is the body responsible for providing international protection to Palestinian refugees until it can implement General Assembly Resolution 194 of 1948. This responsibility cannot be transferred to any other party. Starting from these determinants, the refugee issue needs to be understood with consideration of its natural political and legal context as a collective refugee issue before it becomes a humanitarian crisis. It cannot be bypassed or addressed through a mechanism that overlooks the political and historical context. The continued suffering of the refugees, which has lasted for more than seven decades, and the inability of the international community to implement its resolutions due to the complicity of some countries allied with Israel. Accordingly, the protection mechanism of UNRWA must be based on defending the physical presence and legal-political role of UNRWA, not only the humanitarian and relief services it provides. Given that the attack on UNRWA is a primarily political issue, the most significant responsibility for confronting this campaign falls on political forces, especially the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), with support from local and international civil society and the Palestinian popular base. The central role the PLO can play in addressing the roots of the UNRWA crisis is to put the Palestinian refugee issue at the top of its agenda after it had been postponed until reaching final solutions. The Israeli attack on UNRWA has accompanied the agency since its early years. Still, it escalated significantly after the signing of the Oslo Accords, and Israeli demands for UNRWA's dismantlement became more pronounced. Many UNRWA donor countries have now justified their declining support for the agency by claiming their support for the Palestinian Authority in an apparent attempt to transfer responsibility for Palestinian refugees to the PA. The absence of a unified Palestinian strategy necessary to challenge both international inaction and complicity is, in turn, reflected in the retreat of countries and international bodies from fulfilling their responsibilities. The fragmentation of Palestinian civil society institutions and the dispersion of their priorities according to donor agendas, including the handling of grants that target national action, such as those aimed at replacing UNRWA, are among the problems that contribute to weakening the presence of the Palestinian refugee issue, their rights, and relevant institutions. Accordingly, the PLO must prioritize this issue effectively, not just verbally, but by submitting draft resolutions to the UN General Assembly, supported by an international awareness and advocacy

campaign based on the above principles. These resolutions need to include an explicit approach to addressing the structural problems within UNRWA and its mandate, enabling it to confront the Israeli onslaught, including:

Expanding UNRWA's Personal, Legal, and Geographical Mandate

In other words, the definition of a Palestinian refugee and displaced person should be expanded based on the concept of forced displacement, not only those in need of humanitarian assistance. UNRWA's operational definition was acceptable at its inception, given the presence and effectiveness of the United Nations Conciliation Commission (UNCC), which was tasked with implementing Resolution 194. However, with the absence of the UNCC and the continued forced displacement and suffering of refugees, it has become necessary to revisit the definition of refugee using a rights-based approach.

In addition, the resolution should expand UNRWA's legal and geographical mandate to provide physical and legal protection to Palestinian refugees, regardless of their location worldwide, rather than limiting its mandate to UNRWA's five areas of operation. Given the inaction of the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine and the failure of the Commission to fulfil its responsibilities towards Palestinian refugees, it is necessary to expand UNRWA's powers in the area of advocacy.

93 File, issue: The Israeli Occupation and UNRWA: Reality and Prospects for Refugee Human Rights in the Face of States' Negligence and Discrimination Against Palestinians. This is because UNRWA is the most efficient and appropriate agency to perform a functional role in protecting Palestinian refugees. Furthermore, by its functional nature, it can best play the fundamental, politically impartial role in implementing paragraph 11 of Resolution 194.

Establishing a Special UN Fund to Finance UNRWA

Freeing UNRWA from the political interference of influential and supporting states and ensuring an adequate, secure, and sustainable budget necessarily requires liberating it from the mechanism of voluntary contributions and bilateral agreements between UNRWA and donor states (UNRWA, 2024). This fund would be a sub-fund of the United Nations, with state contributions divided into two parts: a mandatory contribution to cover the costs of UNRWA's core programs and a voluntary contribution to cover the costs of emergencies and additional humanitarian interventions. Regarding UNRWA's core budget, basic services and programs must be part of state contributions to the UN

Fund, considering the increasing numbers of refugees and their growing needs and avoiding reliance on voluntary donations that could be used to achieve political interests. Mandatory or voluntary contributions should not be made through bilateral relationships between UNRWA and donor states. The bilateral contracting mechanism allows states to interfere politically in UNRWA's affairs and will enable them to impose conditions that distort the Agency's approach. UNRWA is deprived of its mandated functional role, and its neutrality is undermined. Establishing such a fund would align the relationship between UNRWA and the United Nations as an organization, freeing the former from the interference of states and their political agendas and returning responsibility to the international body responsible for partition, the creation of the Palestinian refugee issue, and the prolonged failure to resolve it. UNRWA should adopt international standards, not Israeli or colonial standards, for managing its operations and services.

Regarding the Israeli attack on UNRWA, UNRWA is required to expose this campaign and address it within its political and historical context and not to be drawn into justifying its mandate in the face of repeated Israeli accusations. What Israel is imposing on UNRWA— such as changing the curriculum, vetting and auditing procedures, etc.— does not fall within UNRWA's mandate and would only increase its burdens. UNRWA is not required to align its mandate with the interests of, or conform to, the concepts and standards of the colonial West regarding terrorism, human rights, peace, and their respective visions of solutions. UNRWA's primary reference should be the UN General Assembly and its mandate, not to serve Israeli political objectives or conform to the standards of donor countries, especially the United States, the European Union, the United Kingdom, and Canada.

Protecting UNRWA, including its mandate, premises, and staff

As an institution established by the international community, that community needs to fulfil its obligations to protect UNRWA and its staff, including Palestinian employees, while facilitating its operations, just as it does for all other UN bodies, in accordance with international law. This foundation necessitates that the United Nations intervene effectively and decisively to address Israeli measures and legislation that target UNRWA. In this context, it is vital to emphasize that the General Assembly possesses the capacity and authority to review Israel's membership in the United Nations based on its commitment to the UN Charter, international agreements, and relevant UN resolutions, particularly Resolution 194 of 1948.

Confronting UNRWA Replacement Projects on the Ground

At the level of Palestinian civil society, organizations and popular committees within refugee camps must actively oppose foreign projects and programs funded by governments complicit with Israel. These initiatives, particularly in the West Bank, aim to provide services similar to or identical to those offered by UNRWA, ultimately seeking to marginalize and replace the agency.

This trend of substituting UNRWA with cheaper intermediary institutions has become a consistent strategy financed by the same international bodies that withhold funding from UNRWA. Replacing UNRWA with inexpensive international institutions under the auspices of the United Nations presents a strategic risk due to the uncertain future of these institutions. Political forces, the PLO, and popular committees must resolutely reject the allure of lowcost institutions and reaffirm the vital role of UNRWA.

Moreover, it is crucial to highlight Israeli efforts aimed at excluding UNRWA from its humanitarian aid distribution and service provision in the Gaza Strip by fostering alternative international and local entities. Upholding UNRWA's central function serves as a protective barrier against the weaponization of aid intended to create an authority loyal to Israel and its allies in the Gaza Strip.

In conclusion, UNRWA's experience over the past seventy years underscores that reform must focus on addressing root causes rather than merely the consequences and outcomes of the problem. It is noteworthy that international and Arab attempts to tackle the implications of UNRWA's crises have often exacerbated the situation rather than resolving it. As a result, the development of a national rights program by the PLO to safeguard UNRWA, informed by and enhancing the mechanisms mentioned above, has become an urgent necessity, particularly in light of Israel's ongoing campaign against the Palestinian people wherever they reside.

Risks Associated with UNRWA's Anticipated Actions

1. A significant number of surplus teachers may face unemployment, as their contracts could be terminated.
2. The suspension of emergency programs for Palestinian Syrians, including ongoing emergency assistance such as shelter and food allowances, could adversely impact the education program that relies on these emergency funds.
3. Development projects within the camps, including home construction, renovation, and infrastructure improvements, relying on external funding sources beyond the

general budget. These initiatives are also likely to be affected by the new directives from the UNRWA Commissioner-General.

4. The health and relief sectors, which are supported by UNRWA's general budget and contractual programs that are already underfunded, may struggle further under the austerity measures.
5. The education program for Palestinian Syrian students (PRS), which is financed through emergency plans and international appeals, faces the risk of cancellation or significant reduction.
6. The emergency plan for the Nahr al-Bared camp and its associated projects are tied to contracts between UNRWA and donors, thus posing a real risk to the completion of reconstruction phases and the alleviation of ongoing suffering there.
7. Educational support programs funded by UNICEF and university scholarship programs provided by the European Union, based on agreements with UNRWA, may also be subject to budget cuts.

The United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) has undertaken significant measures to address the repercussions of the United States' cessation of funding. In response to this critical funding cut, UNRWA launched a global fundraising initiative titled "Dignity is Priceless" on January 22, 2018, shortly after the U.S. announcement on January 16, 2018. The campaign aimed to secure \$500 million to alleviate the financial strain resulting from the reduction of U.S. contributions and to sustain UNRWA's essential operations in support of Palestinian refugees.

Former UNRWA Commissioner-General Pierre Krähenbühl underscored the urgency and importance of this campaign, emphasizing UNRWA's unwavering commitment to the Palestinian refugee community. In a message conveyed to students at an UNRWA school in the Gaza Strip, Krähenbühl asserted, "We are working to launch this campaign because UNRWA stands with you as a witness to your historic ordeal." He reassured the attendees of the continuity of educational services and healthcare, stating, "UNRWA's mandate is not for sale and has been extended by one hundred and sixty-seven countries." The campaign was designed to highlight the critical role of UNRWA in providing humanitarian support to millions of Palestinian refugees. It specifically aimed to maintain services for over 525,000 students across 700 schools, offer free medical care to 5.3 million refugees through 150 health facilities, and provide cash and financial aid to 1.7 million of the most vulnerable refugees. By reinforcing its humanitarian mission,

UNRWA sought to motivate potential donors to contribute toward preserving the dignity, human security, and political future of Palestinian refugees, thereby promoting regional stability amidst escalating tensions in the area.

In a significant address to the Ministerial Council Meeting No. (150) of the League of Arab States on September 11, 2018, former UNRWA Commissioner-General Pierre Krähenbühl addressed the pressing financial difficulties faced by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA). This meeting, convened by Jordan in response to the US government's unilateral decision to cease its funding for UNRWA, underscored the critical need for continued support from Arab nations to sustain the agency's operations, which are vital for Palestinian refugees. Krähenbühl highlighted the detrimental implications of the funding cut and urged Arab states to step up their support, emphasizing that the stability and well-being of millions of Palestinian refugees are at stake. His remarks included expressions of gratitude for the remarkable contributions made by several Arab countries. Notably, he acknowledged the exceptional donations of fifty million dollars from Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, and Qatar, as well as the long-standing support from Kuwait. Krähenbühl's message served not only as a call to action for enhanced Arab solidarity but also as a reminder of the historical role of these nations in backing UNRWA's crucial humanitarian mission. The US decision to discontinue funding UNRWA will not affect the agency's commitment to providing services to Palestinian refugees and fulfilling its designated responsibilities. Accompanying this announcement from the US was renewed rhetoric suggesting that UNRWA is intent on perpetuating the status of refugees. However, it is crucial to recognize that eliminating the existence of 5.3 million Palestinian refugees will not resolve the region's challenges. Despite numerous attempts to undermine the individual and collective experiences of Palestinian refugees, the undeniable truth remains that they are entitled to rights under international law.

It is evident that while UNRWA acknowledges the political motivations behind the US's funding withdrawal, it also emphasizes that its continued operation is linked to finding a political solution for the Palestinian refugee situation. By contributing a significant portion of UNRWA's funding shortfall, oil-rich Arab countries inadvertently strengthen the US's stance on this matter. The United Nations has consistently recognized its responsibilities regarding the Palestinian refugee issue and the inclination to "Arabize" UNRWA, a notion that Arab leaders have historically rejected. They have maintained

that it is essential for the international community to uphold its responsibilities concerning the Palestinian refugee issue, which remains a critical factor in its emergence. New York K Donors Conference 2018 On September 27, 2018, during the seventy-third annual session of the United Nations General Assembly in New York City, an international conference was convened to bolster support for the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA). The meeting featured foreign ministers from Jordan, Turkey, Japan, and Germany, alongside the High Representative of the European Union and the EU's Vice-President. A total of 34 UN member states participated, along with representatives from various international and regional organizations, all aimed at mobilizing both financial and political backing for UNRWA. The urgency of the meeting was underscored by the UNRWA Commissioner-General's declaration that the agency required \$186 million⁹⁸ to sustain its services. Following discussions, financial commitments totalling \$122 million were secured from several nations and entities, including Kuwait, Germany, Norway, Belgium, Ireland, and the European Union.

On the political front, attendees reaffirmed the fundamental rights of Palestinian refugees under international law. They expressed a commitment from the international community to provide robust political support to UNRWA and its mandates, thereby ensuring the continuity of its essential services to refugees.

- Addressing the International Community for Support

On January 29, 2019, former UNRWA Commissioner-General Pierre Krähenbühl addressed the international community at the UN headquarters in Geneva, calling for \$1.2 billion in funding to maintain UNRWA's operations for Palestinian refugees. He lamented the severe ramifications of the United States' decision to withdraw \$300 million in contributions the previous year, characterizing it as a catalyst for an unparalleled financial crisis and an existential challenge for the agency.

Krähenbühl urged international donors to provide financial aid, emphasizing the pivotal humanitarian and political roles of UNRWA. He pointed out that the agency is vital for maintaining political stability among Palestinian refugees by providing essential services and responding rapidly to regional security crises, particularly in the absence of a viable political resolution to their plight.

The conference aimed to underscore the pressing financial needs of UNRWA while reaffirming its humanitarian mission in the face of an increasingly complex geopolitical landscape.

1. Uganda Media Agency, “UNRWA Commissioner-General: The Agency needs \$186 million to continue its services.”⁸⁹
2. Official website of UNRWA, “Ministerial meeting on UNRWA achieves a donation of \$122 million⁹⁹.”
3. Official website of UNRWA, “UNRWA launches distress calls and a program budget of \$1.2 billion⁹⁰ .

⁸⁹ website <http://bit.ly/361PvTr>

⁹⁰ website <http://bit.ly/2sCS27T>⁹⁹

Chapter Four: Analysis of Interview Content and

4.1. Introduction

This chapter aims to bridge the gap between the theoretical frameworks discussed in Chapter Two and the real-world experiences of refugees as presented in our case studies from Chapter Three and the Interviews conducted with several refugees. The research focuses on understanding the role of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) and its impact on the lives of refugees in the Al Amari and Askar Camps, based on detailed analyses of interviews conducted with refugees from said camps.

Initially, we will revisit the main objectives and research questions that have guided our study, highlighting how these objectives align with the broader issues faced by the refugee communities. This will pave the way for a deeper exploration of how theoretical concepts of human security are demonstrated and lived out in the everyday lives of these individuals.

Throughout this chapter, we will:

- Analyse the content of interviews to identify key themes related to the challenges and needs of refugees.
- Apply the theoretical perspectives previously discussed to these real-life contexts, illustrating the practical relevance of academic theories.
- Discuss the specific role that UNRWA plays in addressing these challenges, focusing on both the successes and areas where improvements are needed.
- Evaluate the implications of our findings for the broader goals of human security and the effectiveness of international aid.

The researcher aims, by the end of this chapter, to provide a comprehensive and broader understanding of the conditions in the refugee camps and recognize how the interventions can be better designed and carried out to meet the various and integrated needs of these communities.

4.2. Revisiting Research Objectives, Questions, and Methodology

The objectives of the study focused on examining the services previously provided by UNRWA in the health, education, and food sectors, assessing the reduction in these services, and identifying the significant problems and challenges that camp residents

face. Additionally, the study explored alternative service providers and investigated potential relocation options for camp residents. In Chapter 4, these objectives are addressed through the analysis of data collected from interviews with various stakeholders, highlighting the current status of services in the camps and the challenges residents face.

Main Objectives

1. Highlight the Concept of Human Security: Investigating how the reductions in services impact the fundamental human security of the camp residents.
2. Examine Living Conditions: Focus on the living, health, and social conditions of the refugees and how these have been affected by changes in UNRWA's service delivery.
3. Assess Service Changes and Impacts: Detail the transition in the services provided by UNRWA, particularly examining the shifts from more comprehensive support to reduced and targeted assistance, as well as the consequences of these changes.
4. Explore Alternatives and Solutions: Consider potential alternative supports or enhancements to UNRWA's programs that could mitigate any adverse impacts observed from service reductions.

The ideas and perceptions gathered from the data analysis in this chapter directly address the research questions that were raised, providing a deeper understanding of the human security implications within the refugee camps.

Methodology Recap

- **Data Collection:** The research methodology employed in this study involved collecting data through interviews with Palestinian academic, political, and professional figures, as well as residents of Al Amari Camp and Askar Camp. These interviews provided valuable insights into the human security implications within refugee camps.
- **Sampling Strategy:** A purposive sampling strategy was utilized to select participants who could offer diverse perspectives and experiences related to the research topic. This approach ensured that a comprehensive understanding of the issues at hand was achieved within the study's limited scope.
- **Data Analysis:** The data collected from interviews and other sources was analyzed using thematic analysis techniques. By identifying recurring themes and patterns in the dataset, the research was able to derive meaningful conclusions and insights regarding the role of UNRWA in fostering human security among refugee camp residents.

- **Ethical Considerations:** Throughout the research process, ethical considerations were paramount, with particular attention paid to obtaining informed consent, maintaining confidentiality, and respecting the participants' views and experiences. This ensured that the research was conducted responsibly and ethically, upholding the integrity of the study.

4.3. Interview Analysis

4.3.1. Introduction to Raw Findings

This section presents the raw findings derived from extensive interviews conducted by the researcher with residents of the Al Amari and Askar Camps, as well as the Deputy Director of the PLO Department of Refugee Affairs. The data presented in this section comprise direct responses from individuals who have shared their day-to-day experiences and the numerous challenges they face while living in refugee camps. These responses represent the unfiltered voices of camp residents and provide an invaluable understanding of their lives, struggles, and the community relations within the camps. The findings are presented in their original form to preserve the authenticity of the participants' voices. This approach ensures that the analysis remains grounded in the actual experiences and perceptions of those most affected by the issues discussed in this study. Each theme developed in this section is directly supported by quotes and narratives from the interviews, highlighting specific aspects of the refugee experience that relate to our study's objectives and theoretical frameworks.

The researcher aims, to provide a structured and comprehensive overview of the central and key issues identified through the interviews, by organizing the data under thematic subheadings. This enables us to explore each theme while staying connected and aligned with the broader research questions.

4.3.2. Thematic Presentation of Raw Findings

In this section, we explore the thematic presentation of findings derived from detailed interviews conducted within the Al Amari and Askar Camps. While the findings are organized under specific thematic subheadings for clarity and coherence purposes, they are substantiated and confirmed by direct quotations from the interviews to preserve the

authenticity of the participants' voices. This ensures that each theme is presented and illustrated through the experiences and perspectives of the camp residents.

The main themes that were identified from the interviews were:

1. Housing and Infrastructure Challenges⁹¹

Residents of Askar and Amari camps face significant housing and infrastructure challenges that highly impact their daily lives and health; where poor housing conditions are widespread, with many homes lacking proper ventilation and sunlight, which leads to respiratory problems and issues such as asthma among children. Moreover, overcrowding and the close proximity of buildings deprive residents of privacy, making everyday activities stressful, as conversations and noises from neighbouring homes are easily heard.. High humidity levels and poor ventilation contribute to the worsening of residents' health and the structural integrity of their homes. It is worth mentioning that these cramped and harsh living conditions also hinder emergency services, where it is difficult to move patients in ambulances through the narrow streets.

The quotes from the interviews highlight and confirm these issues. N.G., a widow living in a 65 m² house, mentioned that the high humidity levels and lack of ventilation in her house have worsened and led to the deterioration of her children's health. She also pointed out the lack of privacy due to overcrowded housing and proximity to neighbours, making private conversations nearly impossible. Similarly, S.Z., a resident of Askar camp with six children, highlighted the overcrowded and noisy living conditions, which make it difficult for his diabetic wife to get the proper rest and healthcare she needs. A.M., living with his family in the camp, pointed out the difficulty in moving his son, who has autism, to a special care centre due to the narrow and overcrowded streets. H.H., another resident, noted the minimal healthcare services available in the camp's UNRWA clinic, which barely meet their basic health needs.

Moreover, M.T., a university student living in the middle of the camp, described how the noise from neighbours' conversations could be heard clearly inside their home, indicating a severe lack of privacy. A.KH. spoke about the severe overcrowding in their home, which houses seven family members in a small space, resulting in constant noise and a lack of privacy. L.O., a retired teacher, expressed her frustration with the poor ventilation and health conditions in the camp, noting that these adversely impact her elderly mother's mental and physical health. Moreover, K.S., a senior woman, pointed out the high levels

⁹¹ مقابلات شخصية، تشرين الاول، 2022، مخيم الامعري ومخيم عسكر

of noise and the impact on personal security due to the cramped living conditions and frequent disturbances in the camp.

2. Educational Access and Quality

The residents of Askar and Amari camps also face significant challenges in terms of educational access and quality, which severely impacts the opportunities for children in these camps. Overcrowding in classrooms is a primary issue, as many classes exceed forty students, making it difficult for teachers to provide individualized attention to all students and maintain an effective learning environment. UNRWA schools, to manage a large number of students, have adopted a dual-shift system, where students attend school in either the morning or the evening. This system, while necessary, compromises the quality of education due to shortened educational hours and increased strain on school resources. Moreover, financial barriers prevent many families from sending their children to private schools, which are often seen as a better alternative to the overcrowded and under-resourced UNRWA schools. Several residents provided detailed accounts of these educational challenges during the interviews. N.G., a widow living in Askar camp, discussed the overcrowded classrooms in UNRWA schools, where the number of students per class often exceeds forty. She mentioned that the quality of education has declined significantly due to the lack of individual attention from teachers and the insufficient resources available to students. She also pointed out that UNRWA has reduced its educational services, such as providing stationery and other school supplies, which has placed an additional financial burden on parents who now have to purchase these items themselves.

S.Z., a father of six, also highlighted the overcrowding in classrooms and the damaging impact of teacher strikes on students' academic performance, where he noted that the dualshift system, while necessary to accommodate all students, results in shorter instructional periods and less effective learning. S.Z., on the other hand, expressed concern about his children's education and mentioned that although he wishes to enrol them in private schools, his financial situation does not allow it.

A.KH., who lives with his extended family in the camp, described similar issues with overcrowded classrooms and the dual-shift system. He mentioned that his sister, despite graduating with honours in Business Administration, has struggled to find employment, which highlights the limited opportunities available even to educated individuals. L.O., a retired teacher, emphasized the overcrowding and inadequate resources in schools, which have made it difficult for students to receive a quality education.

A.M., another resident, pointed out that his eldest child attends an UNRWA institute in Ramallah, where the educational conditions are slightly better but still affected by the overcrowding and resource limitations other UNRWA schools face. He mentioned that the high costs of private education are unaffordable for most of the camp residents, which leaves many children with no choice but to attend the under-resourced UNRWA schools. T.A., living in Askar camp, noted that the families are reluctant to let their children live in the camp due to the poor educational environment, where he highlighted that his son's fiancée refused to move into the camp, preferring a better educational and living environment outside.

M.T., a university student, emphasized the overcrowded classrooms and their negative impact on his ability to study. He mentioned that the noise from the surrounding environment, combined with the overcrowded and under-resourced schools, made it difficult for him to focus on his studies.

These accounts and discussions highlight the severe educational challenges that children in Askar and Amari camps face, where overcrowded classrooms, the dual-shift system, and financial barriers to private education limit their educational opportunities, affecting their academic performance and prospects. The reduction in services provided by UNRWA further worsens these issues, adding financial and emotional burdens on families who are already struggling with the difficult living conditions in the camps.

3. Economic and Employment Concerns

The residents of Askar and Amari camps also face significant economic and employment challenges that impact their livelihoods and quality of life. A major issue is the scarcity and lack of job opportunities, especially for university graduates, which leads to a mismatch between education and employment indicating that the job market cannot further absorb these graduates. Many young people in the camps find themselves working in jobs that are unrelated to their field of study, often in the informal job sector, jobs such as street vending and small workshops. This reliance on the informal sector, despite providing some income, does not offer the stability or benefits of formal employment and often exposes individuals to additional risks and uncertainties.

Several residents provided detailed descriptions of these economic and employment challenges during interviews. N.G., a widow living in Askar camp, mentioned the high unemployment rates among young people and the limited job opportunities available, which force many to work in low-paying and unstable jobs. She said: "My sons, despite

having completed their education, struggle to find suitable employment, leading to financial strain on the family."

S.Z., a father of six, highlighted the reliance on informal sector jobs such as street vending to make ends meet. He detailed: "We rely on informal sector jobs such as selling vegetables to meet our needs. These jobs are insecure and do not provide sufficient income to support a large family."

A.KH. described the difficulties faced by his sister, a university graduate in Business Administration, who has been unable to find employment in her field. This mismatch between education and available job opportunities is a common issue in the camps, where many young people end up working in jobs that do not employ their skills or qualifications: "My sister, who graduated with honours in Business Administration, has been unable to find a job in her field. This mismatch between education and available job opportunities is a common issue in the camps."

L.O., a retired teacher, said: "The lack of job opportunities forces many young people to seek work in the informal sector, where they face harsh working conditions and low pay." A.M., another resident, highlighted the economic and employment concerns, saying: "My eldest son works in a small workshop within the camp, earning a meagre income that barely covers our basic needs. We face challenges in finding stable employment and rely on informal jobs that offer little job security."

T.A., living in Askar camp, noted the reluctance of employers to hire residents: "Employers are reluctant to hire residents from the camps due to perceived biases and stigmas, further limiting our employment opportunities."

M.T., a university student, expressed his frustration with the limited job prospects after graduation, noting that many of his peers have resorted to informal work due to the lack of formal employment opportunities. He emphasized the employment challenges, saying: "After graduation, many of my peers have resorted to informal work due to the lack of formal employment opportunities. We need more job creation initiatives and support for young graduates to find suitable employment."

H.H., another resident, pointed out the high-risk economic and employment challenges, stating: "Many young people in the camp are forced to work in the 1948 lands, often illegally, to earn a living, which exposes them to the risk of arrest and exploitation."

These accounts and details highlight the harsh economic and employment challenges faced by residents of Askar and Amari camps, where the scarcity of job opportunities,

the mismatch between education and employment, and the reliance on informal sector jobs limit and hinder their economic stability and prospects for a better future.

4. Health Services and Accessibility

The residents of Askar and Amari camps face another wave of significant challenges in the domain of health services and accessibility. Over the years, there have been substantial reductions in the health services provided by UNRWA, leading to severe consequences for the camp residents. These reductions in services have affected the ability of residents to access care for chronic diseases and surgical procedures, which has significantly impacted the refugees' overall health security.

From the interviews, it is evident that the reductions in health services have been a critical issue, as many residents mentioned that UNRWA's health services are now limited to treating chronic diseases such as diabetes and hypertension, and even these services are inconsistent. There is also a notable lack of laboratory facilities and essential medications, which were previously more readily available, as well as a drastic reduction in coverage for surgical procedures, now limited to exceptional cases for those holding a social affairs card. This has created a significant obstacle for many of the residents who require surgical interventions but cannot afford the high costs of private healthcare.

N.G., a widow living in Askar camp, highlighted the reductions in the health sector services.

saying: "The health sector services have been reduced to treating chronic diseases and reproductive health, with a noticeable lack of necessary medications at times."

S.Z., a father of six, emphasized the high costs of private laboratory tests as a result of reductions: "My wife suffers from diabetes and hypertension, and we often have to go to private laboratories for tests, which are very expensive."

L.O., a retired teacher, noted the severe consequences of the shortages of medicines, saying: "During the strikes of UNRWA workers, there is a severe shortage of medicines, and we are forced to buy them at high prices."

H.H., another resident, expressed concerns about health services, stating: "The health services at the UNRWA clinic barely meet our basic needs. We are constantly worried about the availability of essential health services."

A.M. pointed out the unavailability of specialized care: "My child with autism requires specialized care, which is not available in the camp, resulting in high expenses for private treatment."

K.S., a senior woman, expressed worries about long-term health prospects, saying: "The reduction in health services and the lack of adequate healthcare facilities have significantly affected our health security. I worry about our long-term health prospects." These statements highlight the severe and challenging situation that the residents of Askar and Amari camps face in accessing adequate health services. The reductions in services provided by UNRWA, particularly in treating chronic diseases and covering surgical procedures, have significantly impacted the health security of camp residents, as the lack of essential medications and laboratory facilities further exacerbates these issues.

5. Personal Security and Safety Issues

The residents of Askar and Amari camps face several personal security and safety issues that hinder and impact their daily lives and overall sense of well-being, where crime, drug use and promotion, and security issues related to Israeli military actions were significant concerns to them. These factors collectively contribute to an environment of instability and fear that affects the personal security of camp residents.

It is clear from the interviews that crime and drug use are rampant in the camps, where the promotion and use of drugs have become a means for some individuals to escape their harsh reality while others engage in illegal activities to make money. This situation poses a threat to the personal security of all residents, especially the younger population, who are more vulnerable to these influences. Moreover, the presence of unlicensed weapons and the frequent occurrence of family disputes that escalate into violence add to the insecurity.

N.G., a widow in Askar camp, mentioned the pervasive drug use and unlicensed weapons leading to violent altercations: "The presence of drugs and unlicensed weapons in the camp is a major concern. These elements often lead to violent disputes and pose a threat to our safety."

S.Z., a father of six, highlighted the dangers posed by frequent Israeli military incursions, noting: "The Israeli military incursions are a significant threat. They often result in arrests, injuries, and even deaths, leaving us in a constant state of fear."

L.O., a retired teacher, expressed frustration with high crime rates and the presence of drug dealers, saying: "The high crime rates and the presence of drug dealers have made the camp environment unsafe. We live in constant fear for our safety, especially for our women and children."

H.H., another resident, noted the psychological impact of continuous military actions and the presence of armed groups, stating: "The continuous military actions and the presence of armed groups have a severe psychological impact on us. The constant threat of violence affects our mental health and well-being."

A.M. highlighted the impact of crime and drug use on the younger generation: "The younger generation is particularly affected by crime and drug use. Many young people are drawn into these activities due to the lack of opportunities and the pervasive presence of drugs." K.S., a senior woman, expressed concern about violent altercations from family disputes, saying: "Frequent violent altercations resulting from family disputes are a major concern. The presence of unlicensed weapons makes these disputes even more dangerous."

These statements highlight the severe personal security and safety issues in Askar and Amari camps. The impact of these factors on the mental health and well-being of the residents is significant, emphasizing the urgent need for measures to improve personal security and safety in the camps.

6. Impact of Service Reduction by UNRWA

The reduction in services provided by UNRWA, with direct and indirect consequences for food security, healthcare, and education, has had a dramatic impact on the residents of Askar and Amari camps. These reductions have had a profound impact on overall human security, exacerbating the already challenging living conditions in the camps.

It is evident from the interviews that the reduction in UNRWA services has had a severe impact on the residents, with UNRWA's reduction in food aid leading to increased food insecurity among camp residents. Previously, UNRWA provided families with basic foodstuffs regularly, which alleviated their financial burden. However, this service has been scaled back, which left many families struggling to afford necessities.

N.G., a widow in Askar camp, emphasized the increased financial burden due to reduced food aid from UNRWA: "The reduction in food aid from UNRWA has placed a significant financial burden on us. We now struggle to afford necessities."

In healthcare, UNRWA has limited services for treating chronic diseases and basic reproductive health care, leaving many residents without access to necessary medications and treatments. Surgical procedure coverage is now restricted to special cases, creating barriers for those who cannot afford private healthcare.

S.Z., a father of six, highlighted difficulties in accessing medications and the high costs of private healthcare: "The reduction in health services by UNRWA means we often cannot access necessary medications, and private healthcare is too expensive for us."

In education, UNRWA has reduced the availability of essential school supplies and limited facility maintenance. Overcrowding and the dual-shift system have compromised the quality of education, with financial barriers further limiting access to private education.

L.O., a retired teacher, expressed concern over the lack of school supplies and overcrowded classrooms: "The reduction in educational services by UNRWA has led to a lack of school supplies and overcrowded classrooms, severely affecting the quality of education."

A.M. pointed out the increased financial burden for school supplies: "With UNRWA reducing its services, we now have to buy school supplies ourselves, which is a significant financial burden."

The reduction in services has significantly impacted overall human security in the camps, exacerbating food insecurity, limiting access to healthcare, and reducing educational opportunities. These challenges affect both immediate well-being and long-term prospects. K.S., a senior woman, highlighted the deteriorated living conditions due to reduced food, healthcare, and education services: "The reduction in UNRWA services has severely affected our living conditions. We struggle with food insecurity, lack of healthcare, and inadequate education services."

Previously, UNRWA provided comprehensive health services, including surgical operations and laboratory tests, but these have been significantly reduced. The lack of basic healthcare supplies and high private medical costs have put massive pressure on residents, impacting their health security and quality of life.

These statements highlight the severe impact of the reduction in services provided by UNRWA on the residents of Askar and Amari camps. The challenges in securing food, accessing healthcare, and obtaining quality education have significantly influenced overall human security, making it difficult for residents to meet their basic needs and improve their quality of life.

7. Role and Efficiency of UNRWA

The role and efficiency of UNRWA in providing services to the residents of Askar and Amari camps have been a central topic of discussion among camp residents. Over the years, the effectiveness of UNRWA's operations has weakened, mainly due to funding

cuts and political pressures. This reduced role has had a significant negative impact on the welfare of camp residents, affecting their access to essential services and overall quality of life.

It is clear from the interviews that many residents believe UNRWA's current operations are inadequate in meeting their needs. The reduction in services across various sectors—healthcare, education, and food security—has led to a decline in living standards and increased hardship for the residents. There is a consensus that UNRWA's inability to maintain its previous level of service provision has worsened the already difficult living conditions in the camps.

N.G., a widow in Askar camp, criticized the effectiveness of UNRWA, stating: "UNRWA's services have been significantly reduced. What they provide now is just a fraction of what we used to receive."

S.Z., a father of six, highlighted the impact of UNRWA's reduced role on his family's welfare: "The reduction in UNRWA's services has made it hard for my children to get proper healthcare and education."

L.O., a retired teacher, expressed frustration with the ineffectiveness of UNRWA's operations, noting: "UNRWA's inefficiency is evident in the deteriorating conditions of our schools and health facilities. They do not maintain or support them as they used to."

A.M., another resident, noted the significant impact on his family's food security due to cutbacks in food aid: "With UNRWA reducing its food aid services, we now have to spend more on food, which is a significant financial burden."

K.S., a senior woman, highlighted the overall decline in the quality of services provided by UNRWA: "The quality of services provided by UNRWA has declined significantly. They can no longer meet our basic needs, which has severely affected our welfare."

Additional points from the interviews also highlight the reduction in UNRWA services in the health sector. Previously, UNRWA provided comprehensive health services, including coverage for surgical operations and necessary laboratory tests, but these services have been scaled back significantly.

H.H. emphasized the ineffectiveness and reduced scope of UNRWA's services, noting: "Many critical services are no longer available from UNRWA, forcing us to seek expensive private healthcare."

M.T., a university student, highlighted the ineffectiveness in educational services, stating: "The reduction in UNRWA's educational services has resulted in overcrowded classrooms and a lack of learning materials, severely affecting the quality of education."

These accounts and statements from the interviews highlight the significant impact of UNRWA's reduced role on the welfare of camp residents. The cutbacks in essential services such as healthcare, education, and food security have led to increased hardship and deteriorating living conditions. The general sentiment among residents is that UNRWA's current operations are insufficient to meet their needs, highlighting the urgent need for improved efficiency and increased support to ensure the welfare of the camp populations.

4.4 Application of Theoretical Perspectives to Refugee Contexts and Interview Analysis

The analysis of refugee contexts through the lens of theoretical frameworks provides a comprehensive and broader understanding of the various challenges that the displaced populations face. In Chapter 2, we explored various theoretical perspectives on Human Security and international relations, highlighting their relevance to the lived experiences of refugees. This section aims to apply these theoretical perspectives to the data collected from interviews with residents of Askar and Amari camps, as well as the analysis of that data. By doing so, i.e., connecting theoretical concepts to real-life examples, we can demonstrate how these frameworks are visible in practical scenarios and address the critical issues identified in the thematic analysis. This approach enhances our theoretical understanding and also stresses the importance of targeted interventions to improve the overall well-being and security of refugees.

Concept of Human Security: The Human Security framework shifts the focus from state-centered security to individual-centered security, emphasizing the protection of individuals from critical and pervasive threats. This concept encompasses various dimensions, including economic, health, educational, food, personal, community, and environmental security. It aims to ensure that individuals are free from fear and want and that they can live with dignity. **Example from Interviews:** The interviews conducted with residents of Askar and Amari camps demonstrate the broad and key impact of human security concerns. For instance, N.G., a widow in Askar camp, highlighted the prevalent impact of reduced food aid, healthcare, and educational services on her family's overall well-being.

International Relations and Human Security Approaches: The Human Security framework is also informed and reinforced by international relations theories that

emphasize the connection and close relation between global security and individual well-being. This approach underscores the significance of international cooperation and the crucial role of international organizations like UNRWA in addressing human security challenges.

Example from Interviews: The reduction in UNRWA services, as mentioned by the interviewees, underscores the critical role that international organizations play in ensuring human security. L.O., a retired teacher, expressed frustration with the ineffectiveness of UNRWA's operations, pointing out: "UNRWA's ineffectiveness is evident in the deteriorating conditions of our schools and health facilities. They do not maintain or support them as they used to."

Economic Security: Economic security is a crucial aspect of Human Security, highlighting the importance of stable income and employment opportunities. The interviews revealed significant economic hardships faced by the residents of Askar and Amari camps. For instance, N.G. emphasized the increased financial burden due to reduced food aid from

UNRWA, illustrating the impact of economic insecurity: "The reduction in food aid from UNRWA has placed a significant financial burden on us. We now struggle to afford necessities."

Health Security: Accessible healthcare services for individuals is a key aspect of health security. The reduction in UNRWA's health services has severely impacted the residents' ability to manage chronic diseases and access necessary treatments. H.H. emphasized the ineffectiveness and reduced scope of UNRWA's services: "Many critical services are no longer available from UNRWA, forcing us to seek expensive private healthcare."

Educational Security: Educational security stresses the right to quality education as a fundamental aspect of Human Security. The reduction in educational services by UNRWA has led to overcrowded classrooms and inadequate learning materials, affecting the quality of education. M.T., a university student, highlighted these issues: "The reduction in UNRWA's educational services has resulted in overcrowded classrooms and a lack of learning materials, severely affecting the quality of education."

Food Security: Food security is essential for Human Security, ensuring consistent and reliable access to food. The interviews revealed that reduced food aid from UNRWA has led to increased food insecurity among camp residents. N.G. provided an example of this issue: "The reduction in food aid from UNRWA has placed a significant financial burden on us. We now struggle to afford necessities."

Personal and Community Security: Personal and community security are vital for creating a safe and stable environment. The interviews revealed high crime rates, drug use, and the constant threat of military incursions, which significantly affect personal security. S.Z. highlighted the dangers posed by frequent Israeli military incursions: "The Israeli military incursions are a significant threat. They often result in arrests, injuries, and even deaths, leaving us in a constant state of fear."

Environmental Security: Environmental security emphasizes the importance of a healthy living environment for overall well-being. Poor housing conditions and inadequate infrastructure in the camps have a detrimental effect on the health and well-being of residents. K.S., a senior woman, expressed her concern: "The reduction in health services and the lack of adequate healthcare facilities have significantly affected our health security. I worry about our long-term health prospects."

4.5 Implications for Human Security

In this section, we will examine the broader implications of our thematic analysis findings and their theoretical applications to Human Security. This discussion, emphasizing practical implications and policy suggestions for international aid, aims to provide actionable recommendations that can enhance the well-being and security of refugees in Askar and Amari camps as well as similar contexts.

Broader Implications for Human Security

The analysis of the interview data and the application of theoretical frameworks reveal several critical outcomes for Human Security. These outcomes and implications underscore the integrated nature of various security aspects and dimensions, emphasizing the need for a holistic and comprehensive approach to policy and international aid.

Economic Security

- **Findings:** The scarcity and lack of job opportunities, as well as the reliance on informal sector jobs, shows the economic vulnerability of camp residents.
- **Implications:** Policies should focus on creating stable and sustainable employment opportunities within and around refugee camps, where international aid programs need to support vocational training and small business development to enhance economic self-sufficiency.

Health Security

- Findings: The reduced access to healthcare services and medications has a large significant impact on the health security of residents.
- Implications: Reinforcing healthcare infrastructure and ensuring a consistent supply of essential medications are essential. Therefore, international aid should prioritize and focus on health programs that address chronic diseases and provide comprehensive healthcare services, including mental health support.

Educational Security

- Findings: The overcrowded classrooms, inadequate learning materials, and reduced provision of study supplies, as well as the high cost of private education, hinder educational opportunities for children in the camps.
- Implications: Investing in educational infrastructure and resources is crucial to addressing this challenge. Policies should prioritize and incorporate account smaller class sizes and improved learning materials, and international aid can play a crucial role in funding educational programs and offering scholarships for higher education.

Personal and Community Security

- Findings: The prevalent high crime rates, drug use, and the threat of military incursions create a pervasive and constant sense of insecurity.
- Implications: Enhancing personal and community security requires integrated efforts to reduce crime, combat drug use, and protect residents from external threats. Policies should include community policing, youth engagement programs, and protective measures against military actions. Moreover, international aid can support peacebuilding initiatives and provide resources for community development.

Environmental Security

- Findings: Poor housing conditions and inadequate infrastructure have a negative impact on residents' health and well-being.
- Implications: Improving the living conditions through better housing and infrastructure is required. Intervention policies should prioritize upgrading camp facilities and ensuring access to clean water, sanitation, and adequate ventilation. International aid can help fund these infrastructure projects and promote environmental sustainability.

Practical Implications for Policy and International Aid

The findings from this analysis provide several practical implications and outputs for policymakers and international aid organizations. By addressing the various aspects of Human Security, these stakeholders can implement more effective and sustainable interventions.

1. Integrated Policy Approach

Develop comprehensive policies that address the interrelated aspects of human security, supporting and promoting collaboration among government agencies, international organizations, and local communities to create cohesive and inclusive policies.

2. Targeted Aid Programs

Design aid programs that are responsive to the specific needs identified in the thematic analysis and prioritize funding for healthcare, education, food security, and infrastructure projects.

3. Capacity Building

Invest in capacity-building initiatives that empower refugees and local communities providing training and resources to enhance local governance, healthcare, education, and economic development.

4. Sustainable Solutions

Focus on long-term sustainability in aid programs, ensuring that interventions lead to lasting improvements in Human Security and promote self-reliance among refugees through vocational training, entrepreneurship, and sustainable livelihood programs.

Chapter Five: Conclusion and Recommendations

5.1. Conclusion

The findings from this study highlight the extreme impact of reduced UNRWA services on the Human Security of Palestinian refugees in the Askar and Amari camps. The research highlights the integrated nature of Human Security dimensions—economic, health, educational, food, personal, community, and environmental security. The study, by integrating theoretical perspectives with empirical data from interviews, demonstrates the real-world implications of service reductions on the well-being and security of refugees. The analysis revealed significant economic hardships and challenges due to unemployment and reduced food aid, inadequate healthcare services exacerbating chronic health issues compromised educational opportunities due to overcrowded classrooms, and a dominant sense of insecurity from high crime rates and military incursions. These findings underscore the need for a comprehensive and integrated approach in addressing the diverse needs of refugees.

The theoretical frameworks explored in Chapter 2, including human security models and international relations theories, provide a solid basis and foundation for understanding these challenges. The practical applications of these theories in the refugee context demonstrate the urgent need for international cooperation, policy reform, and sustainable aid programs to enhance the overall security and well-being of refugee populations.

5.2. Recommendations

Palestinians face several internal and external challenges, such as the Israeli occupation and the political division, and its continuation constitutes a complete threat to human security. Therefore, among the most important recommendations for advancing human security in the occupied Palestinian territories are:

*It is critical to develop a comprehensive Arab agreement that governs the status and rights of refugees in Arab states, aligning with international refugee law, rights for stateless individuals, and regulations concerning internally displaced persons alongside broader human rights statutes. This agreement should facilitate the formation of an Arab institution endowed with oversight and executive authority comparable to that of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

*A cohesive legal framework regulating the status of Palestinian refugees across Arab nations is imperative, replacing ad hoc ministerial instructions, decisions, and decrees. This framework should include the establishment of a supervisory body with extensive powers to oversee implementation.

*It is essential to guarantee the civil, social, and economic rights of Palestinian refugees. This must be executed in a manner that preserves their human dignity while respecting their national identity, upholding their right of return, and refraining from any resettlement initiatives that may compromise these rights.

*It is necessary to disentangle political variables from the entitlements of Palestinian refugees, ensuring their access to civil, social, and economic rights remains unaffected by shifting political positions.

*Ratification of relevant international and regional agreements that pertain to refugees, stateless individuals, and internally displaced persons should be prioritized to enhance legal protections and frameworks.

*An Arab strategy should be articulated to advocate at the international level for the revitalization of the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine. This strategy could also involve transferring its responsibilities to the United Nations Relief and Works

Agency (UNRWA) or directly entrusting comprehensive protection functions to the UNHCR, particularly within the operational areas of UNRWA.

*Working at the international and Arab levels in order to preserve the existence of UNRWA as a primary witness to the Nakba and a basic supporter of refugees, and also a significant factor in achieving human security.

8. Considering anyone who calls for the cancellation of UNRWA (individuals, institutions, or states) as being in defiance of international law and thus requiring action by the Human Rights Council, the UN Security Council, the International Courts, institutions, and international organizations to take the necessary measures against these entities.

*Inviting the United Nations General Assembly to identify a fixed budget for UNRWA, and also calls on all institutions and international organizations to issue positions calling for identifying a fixed and responsive budget for UNRWA from the United Nations to prevent the exploitation of the agency politically, and to preserve the dignity of Palestinian refugees and international peace and security.

*Calling on the host countries of Palestinian refugees to work on supporting the continuation of UNRWA's mandate and to work on identifying an appropriate responsive budget for it because any defect in the agency's work will negatively affect these countries in terms of security, society, and politics.

*Preparing policies and programs in the future Palestinian plans from the perspective of human security, since investing in human security in the Palestinian territories will ensure that Palestinians contribute to economic, political, and social life, which enhances efforts to build institutions, build the state, and transition to a new era of human security for all Palestinian citizens, especially refugees.

*Demanding the Palestinian National Authority to invite the international community to work seriously to end the Israeli occupation of the occupied Palestinian territories in order to achieve political and personal security.

*Providing the appropriate legal environment for achieving economic and social development by approving and activating the Social Security Law, adopting the Unemployment Protection Law, apply the Minimum Wage legislation, and developing and activating a Consumer Protection Law to protect the vulnerable and those with limited income.

*The necessity of involving civil society and political parties in achieving economic and food security through national economic and social programs that aim to combat unemployment and poverty and improve social services for the public, especially the vulnerable and marginalized.

*The necessity for the Palestinian National Authority to develop a medium and longterm development plan to combat poverty and unemployment and to allocate sufficient budgets for that, which contributes to achieving economic and food security.

*The Palestinian National Authority must achieve justice in the distribution of services in a way that ensures the achievement of health and environmental security for all citizens without discrimination by activating the comprehensive health insurance system for all citizens and trying to address the gap resulting from the partial absence of UNRWA and also ensuring the presence of an alternative to it due to the difficulty of obtaining its services.

* Working with institutions concerned with supporting Palestinian refugees and Palestinian refugee camps to rehabilitate the basic facilities in the camps and the infrastructure in the Palestinian camps and also contribute to solving the problems

suffered by the refugees, such as establishing public facilities for children and community activities.

*Working on the Palestinian narrative, especially that of Palestinian refugees and the repressive practices of the occupation and the events that took place during the Nakba until this day, in order to commemorate the suffering of the Palestinian people and also to demonstrate how false the Israeli narrative is.

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دور الأونروا في تعزيز الأمن الإنساني لدى سكان مخيمات اللاجئين في الضفة الغربية (مخيم الأمعري ومخيم عسكر كحالتين دراسيتين)

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ملخص

تدرسُ وتنتظرُ هذه الأطروحة في دور وكالة الأمم المتحدة لإغاثة وتشغيل اللاجئين الفلسطينيين في الشرق الأدنى (الأونروا) في تعزيز تداعيات الأمن البشري بين اللاجئين الفلسطينيين المقيمين في مخيمي الأمعري وعسكر في الضفة الغربية. تعكس وتوظف الدراسة الجهات النظرية حول الأمن البشري والعلاقات الدولية على السيناريوهات الواقعية، مُحلِّلة تأثير تقليص خدمات الأونروا على مختلف أبعاد الأمن البشري، بما في ذلك الأمن الاقتصادي والصحي والتعليمي والغذائي والشخصي والمجتمعي والبيئي.

يكشفُ البحثُ هذا، من خلال تحليل موضوعي شامل للمقابلات مع سكان المخيمات، عن زيادات كبيرة في انعدام الأمن البشري نتيجة لتقليص خدمات الأونروا، حيث برزت المصاعب الاقتصادية ونقص الرعاية الصحية وتراجع الفرص التعليمية وانعدام الأمن الغذائي والتهديدات للأمن الشخصي كقضايا واسعة الانتشار تؤثر على رفاة اللاجئين.

تس لطف النتائج الضوء وتوضح الطبيعة المترابطة والمتكاملة لأبعاد الأمن البشري، وتظهر الحاجة إلى نهج شامل وواسع لمعالجة هذه التحديات. كما تظهر الدراسة أهمية التعاون الدولي وإصلاح السياسات وبرامج المساعدات المُستدامة في تعزيز الأمن والرفاه العام للسكان اللاجئين. توفر هذه

الأطروحة، من خلال دمج الأطر النظرية مع البيانات التجريبية، فهما واسعا وقي اما لتداعيات
لتقليص الخدمات وتقترح تدخلات مستهدفة لتحسين الأمن البشري في سياقات اللاجئين.
الكلمات المفتاحية: الأمن الإنساني، اللاجئين، مخيمات اللاجئين، حقوق الانسان، الاونروا.