

Chapter *Two*



POPULATION SIZE, DISTRIBUTION AND CHARACTERISTICS

Preface

By the end of 2008, at least 7.1 million (67 percent) of 10.6 million Palestinians worldwide were forcibly displaced persons. Among them are at least 6.6 million Palestinian refugees and 427,000 internally displaced persons (IDPs). Palestinians are one of the largest displaced populations in the world today, constituting half of all refugees worldwide.

Palestinian refugees fall into three general categories: the largest group (5.7 million) is composed of 1948 refugees, among them, 4.7 million UNRWA registered refugees. 1967 refugees (955,247) form the second major group. The third category is comprised of an unknown number of Palestinians who are neither 1948 nor 1967 refugees but who have also been displaced outside the area of historical Palestine (Israel and the OPT) and are likely to be refugees.

There are two main categories of Palestinian IDPs. The first (335,000) is composed of Palestinians who have been internally displaced inside Israel since 1948. The second (129,000) is composed of Palestinians who have been internally displaced in the OPT since 1967. Among the second category are approximately 37,000 Palestinian refugees who have suffered multiple displacement in the OPT.

There is no single authoritative source for the global Palestinian refugee and IDP population. Estimates of the current size of Palestinian refugee and IDP populations are based on available data which is uneven and shifting, primarily due to the absence of a comprehensive registration system, frequent forced displacement, and the lack of a uniform definition of a Palestinian refugee.

The majority of the Palestinian refugee and IDP population is distributed throughout the Middle East, primarily in Arab countries that border Israel and the occupied Palestinian Territory (OPT). Most Palestinian refugees (approximately 81 percent) live outside the 58 UNRWA-serviced camps.

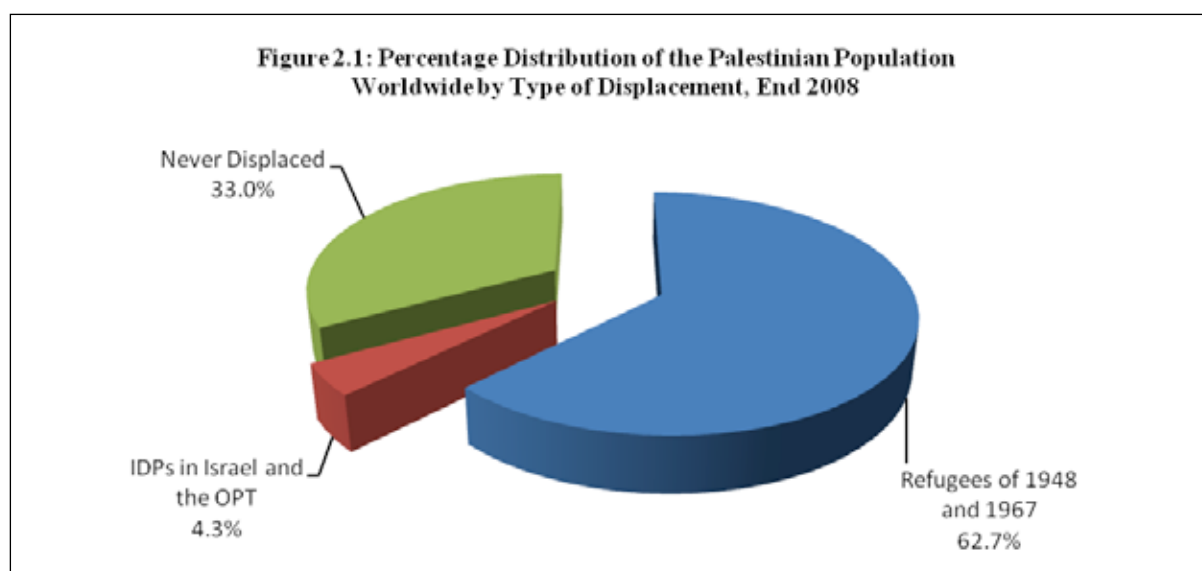
No data is available on the demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of Palestinian refugee populations outside UNRWA's area of operation, and little reliable data is available on the characteristics of internally displaced Palestinians in Israel and the OPT. Available data suggests that differences between the Palestinian refugee populations and the local non-refugee populations are negligible in most Arab host states, with Lebanon constituting the only major exception.

Demographic and socio-economic indicators, such as labor force indicators, poverty, housing, education and health, reflect the vulnerability of Palestinian refugees during six decades of displacement, especially in Lebanon and the OPT.

2.1 The Current Scope of Palestinian Displacement

The Palestinian refugee and IDP population described here comprises the total estimated number of Palestinians and their descendants who have been forcibly displaced from their homes and properties located in former Palestine (now divided into Israel and the OPT) and do not have access to voluntary durable solutions and reparation, including return to their homes of origin and property restitution. Estimates are for the end of 2008, unless stated otherwise. Information about the methodology applied is included in Appendix 2.1 at the end of this chapter.

By the end of 2008, at least 7.1 million (67 percent) of the entire, worldwide Palestinian population of 10.6 million¹ were forcibly displaced persons. Among them were at least 6.6 million Palestinian refugees and approximately 427,000 IDPs.



The largest group of displaced Palestinians is made up of those who were forced to leave their homes and country in 1948 (the *Nakba*) and their descendants. These total approximately 5.7 million, a figure that includes the 4.7 million Palestinian refugees who are registered with and assisted by the UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA) (often referred to as “registered refugees” or “Palestine refugees”), and a further one million refugees who were also displaced in 1948, but are not eligible or did not register for assistance with UNRWA.

The second major group of displaced Palestinians is comprised of those displaced for the first time from their homes and country in the context of the 1967 war and their descendants. 1967 Palestinian refugees number approximately 955,247 persons.

Internally displaced Palestinians can be divided into two groups. The first is composed of persons displaced in the area that became the state of Israel in 1948. This group includes those who were displaced in the 1948 Nakba, (approximately 335,000 persons) as well as those subsequently displaced by the state of Israel. No authoritative data exists for this second category. (See *Appendix 1.1 and 2.1*) The second group (approximately 129,000 persons) is composed of Palestinians internally displaced in the OPT since 1967 as a result of Israel’s occupation, apartheid and colonization of the area. This figure includes Palestinian refugees who suffered subsequent secondary forced displacement inside the OPT, and whose numbers are estimated to be 37,000 persons at the end of 2008.

Table 2.1: Palestinian Refugees and IDPs by Group

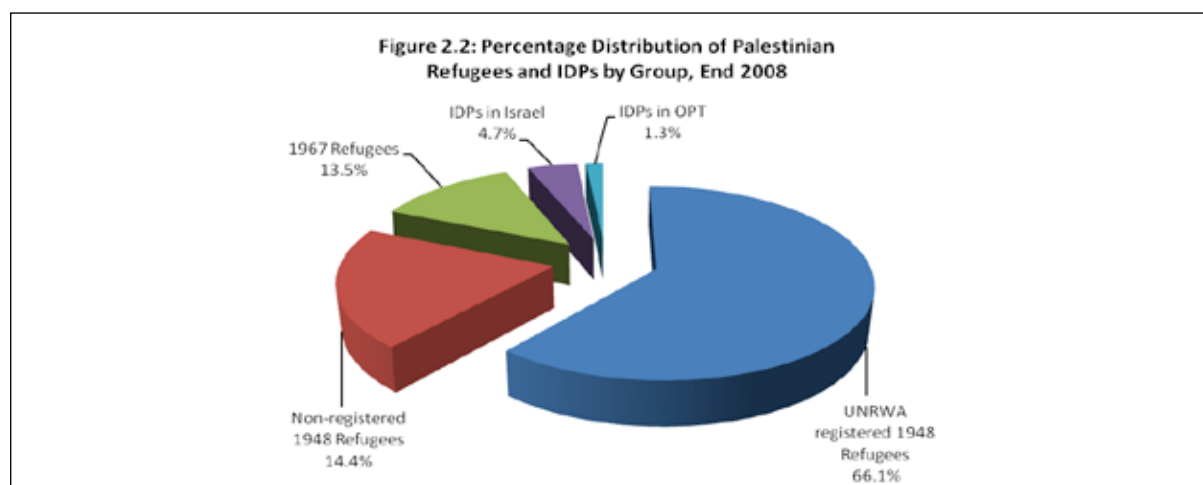
Year	UNRWA registered 1948 Refugees	Non-registered 1948 Refugees	1967 Refugees	IDPs in Israel since 1948	IDPs in the OPT since 1967**
1950	914,221*	304,740	–	47,610	–
1955	905,986	301,995	–	56,546	–
1960	1,120,889	373,630	–	67,159	–
1965	1,280,823	426,941	–	79,763	–
1970	1,425,219	475,073	266,092	94,734	16,240
1975	1,632,707	544,236	316,034	112,514	23,901
1980	1,844,318	614,773	375,349	133,631	31,920
1985	2,093,545	697,848	445,797	158,712	41,041
1990	2,422,514	840,838	529,467	188,500	49,889
1995	3,172,641	1,057,547	628,841	223,879	59,444
2000	3,737,494	827,022	743,257	264,613	72,758
2001	3,874,738	857,564	765,555	272,551	74,900
2002	3,973,360	878,050	788,521	280,728	77,064
2003	4,082,300	897,255	812,177	289,150	79,540
2004	4,186,711	916,700	836,542	297,824	81,800
2005	4,283,892	935,641	861,639	306,759	98,673
2006	4,396,209	957,963	887,488	315,962	102,798
2007	4,510,510	975,190	914,112	325,441	111,803
2008	4,671,811	1,014,741	955,247	335,204	128,708

* Excluding the 45,800 persons (1948) in Israel who received relief from UNRWA until June 1952.

** Including 37,000 persons (2008) who are internally displaced refugees – i.e. refugees displaced at least twice.

The figures above reflect estimates according to the best available sources and population growth projections. Figures are therefore indicative rather than conclusive. For more details about these estimates, see Appendix 2.1 at the end of this chapter.

Not included in this estimate is an unknown number² of additionally displaced Palestinians who are not 1948 or 1967 refugees, but who have also been displaced outside the area of historical Palestine (Israel and the OPT) and are also likely to qualify as refugees under international law. The majority of the latter have likely been forcibly displaced from the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip since 1967 as a result of the policies and practices of Israel's regime combining occupation, apartheid and colonization. They now reside abroad and are unable or unwilling to return to the OPT or Israel owing to a well-founded fear of persecution.



To avoid double counting, the percentages of IDPs in the OPT excludes internally displaced refugees (37,000 persons).

2.1.1 Data Sources

There is no single authoritative source for the global Palestinian refugee and IDP population. Available data on the size of the Palestinian refugee and IDP populations is uneven and shifting, primarily due to the absence of a comprehensive registration system, frequent forced displacement, and the lack of a uniform definition of a Palestinian refugee.³ Internal displacement is also difficult to track because ceasefire lines have changed frequently and there is no internationally recognized border between Israel and the OPT.

The United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) has registered 1948 refugees since 1950 and records cover 75 percent of this group of refugees.⁴ UNRWA registration data is not statistically valid however, as reporting is voluntary. UNRWA has never carried out a comprehensive census of all Palestinian refugees under its mandate.

UNRWA administers registration of Palestinian refugees as part of its relief and social services program.⁵ The eligibility and registration program keeps the historical refugee records maintained to determine eligibility and registration for UNRWA services. Registration cards are continually updated, mainly with information regarding births, marriages and deaths. By the end of 2008, approximately 42 percent (1,951,603) of UNRWA-registered refugees were registered in Jordan, 23 percent (1,073,303) in the occupied Gaza Strip, 16 percent (762,820) in the occupied West Bank, 10 percent (461,897) in Syria, and 9 percent (422,188) in Lebanon.⁶



Dheisha refugee camp, Bethlehem, 2008 (© Anne Paq / BADIL)

In general, UNRWA registration records do not include:

1. Refugees displaced in 1948, who:
 - a. failed to meet UNRWA's definition of "Palestine Refugee";
 - b. were outside the areas of UNRWA operation (and have not filed for registration under UNRWA's 1993 revised eligibility criteria);
 - c. were dropped from the records owing to financial constraints limiting the number of relief recipients;
 - d. are descendants of refugee mothers and non-refugee fathers;
 - e. had an independent income or property (and have not filed for registration under UNRWA's 1993 revised eligibility criteria);
 - f. improved their economic situation to the extent that they no longer met eligibility criteria (prior to the 1993 revision of eligibility criteria);
 - g. refused to register for reasons of pride.
2. Palestinians displaced for the first time in 1967;
3. Palestinians who are not 1948 or 1967 refugees, and are unable (due to revocation of residency, deportation, etc.) or unwilling (owing to a well-founded fear of persecution) to return to the OPT;
4. IDPs in Israel and the OPT.

In 1952, the state of Israel took responsibility for the task of assisting those Palestinians displaced in its territory. UNRWA transferred its IDP registration files to the government of Israel in June 1952 and has not updated them since.⁷ In 1982, the UN General Assembly instructed the Secretary-General, in co-operation with the Commissioner General of UNRWA, to issue identification cards to all 1948 Palestine refugees and their descendants, irrespective of whether

or not they received rations and services from the Agency, as well as to all 1967 refugees and their descendants.⁸ The initiative failed, however, due to lack of co-operation among host states concerning information on previously non-registered refugees.

Until 1993, refugees wishing to register with UNRWA had to meet requirements of need and initial flight in 1948 into a country where UNRWA operated. Revision of UNRWA's eligibility and registration criteria in 1993 eliminated these two requirements, which led to the registration of some previously undocumented Palestinian refugees.

In 2006, UNRWA issued new consolidated eligibility and registration instructions. These extend services to the children of registered refugee women married to non-refugees. In 2006, 90,446 such children were enrolled in this new category, mainly in response to the humanitarian crisis in the OPT. They are, however, not registered as refugees in UNRWA's registration records.⁹

The Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) maintains records of and statistics on Palestinian refugees who fall within the mandate of the Office, are outside UNRWA's area of operations, and are eligible for protection. (*See Chapter Three*) Registration with UNRWA and UNHCR are not mutually exclusive; i.e., Palestinian refugees outside UNRWA's area of operations may be registered with both. Data reported by UNHCR country offices generally reflects the view of the host country, and their statistics are provisional and subject to change.

In general, UNHCR has registered only a very minor portion of the Palestinian refugee population whose number has been almost equal in size to 70 percent of the worldwide total number of UNHCR documented refugees and persons in refugee-like situations in 2007 and 2008. Only 342,681 Palestinian refugees were registered with UNHCR as a population of concern at the end of 2008. At the end of 2007, the number was 343,680. The majority resided in Saudi Arabia (240,025), Egypt (70,174), Iraq (12,302) and Kuwait (6,000).¹⁰

Table 2.2: Refugees, asylum-seekers, IDPs, returnees (refugees and IDPs), stateless persons, and others of concern to UNHCR, 1998-2008

End of year	Refugees ¹	Asylum-seekers	Returned refugees	IDPs protected/assisted ²	Returned IDPs	Stateless persons ³	Others of concern ³	Total
1998	11,480,900	977,800	1,016,400	5,063,900	207,200	..	1,378,500	20,124,700
1999	11,687,200	1,027,400	1,599,100	3,968,600	1,048,400	..	1,491,100	20,821,800
2000	12,129,600	1,087,500	767,500	5,998,500	369,100	..	1,653,900	22,006,100
2001	12,116,800	1,072,700	462,400	5,096,500	241,000	..	1,039,500	20,028,900
2002	10,594,100	1,093,500	2,426,000	4,646,600	1,179,000	..	953,300	20,892,500
2003	9,592,800	997,600	1,094,900	4,181,700	237,800	..	905,300	17,010,100
2004	9,574,800	885,200	1,434,400	5,426,500	146,500	1,455,900	597,000	19,520,300
2005	8,662,000	802,100	1,105,600	6,616,800	519,400	2,383,700	960,400	21,050,000
2006	9,877,700	743,900	733,700	12,794,300	1,864,200	5,806,000	1,045,500	32,865,300
2007	11,391,000	740,100	730,600	13,740,200	2,070,100	2,937,300	68,700	31,678,000
2008	10,478,600	827,300	603,800	14,405,400	1,361,400	6,572,200	166,900	34,415,600

Source: 2007 *Global Trends: Refugees, Asylum-seekers, Returnees, Internally Displaced and Stateless Persons*, UNHCR 2008; 2008 *Global Trends: Refugees, Asylum-seekers, Returnees, Internally Displaced and Stateless Persons*, UNHCR, 16 June 2009.

¹ Since 2007, people in refugee-like situations are included in the refugee estimates. 2007 figures are therefore not fully comparable with previous years.

² Since 2007, people in IDP-like situations are included in the IDP estimates. 2007 IDP figures are therefore not fully comparable with previous years.

³ Stateless persons were included in the category "others of concern" until 2003.

UNHCR data regarding Palestinian refugees refers to their country of origin as the “occupied Palestinian territory.” This classification may not reflect the actual place of origin, and hence it is not possible to identify how many Palestinian refugees of concern to the UNHCR are 1948 refugees, 1967 refugees, or Palestinians displaced from former Palestine after 1967. Palestinian IDPs in Israel and the OPT are not included in the UNHCR data regarding IDPs worldwide.

Census data and population growth projections

represent an additional source of estimates of the Palestinian refugee and IDP populations. The Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics (PCBS) has conducted two population censuses in 1997 and 2007 which include refugees as a category, as well as questions regarding ongoing forced displacement. PCBS however, only has access to the Palestinian population in the OPT. The Israel Central Bureau of Statistics publishes little statistical data about Israel’s Palestinians citizens and does not keep separate records on internally displaced Palestinians.¹¹ Few host countries carry out a regular census of their resident refugee population, and some do not include Palestinian refugees as a category of refugees. Some countries, such as Jordan, include Palestinians as a census category, but this data is not publicly available. In North America and Europe, Palestinian asylum-seekers are often included in a general category of “stateless” persons, or classified according to their place of birth, or the host country that issued their travel documents.



Shatilla camp, Lebanon 2008 (© Courtesy of Aidoun - Lebanon)

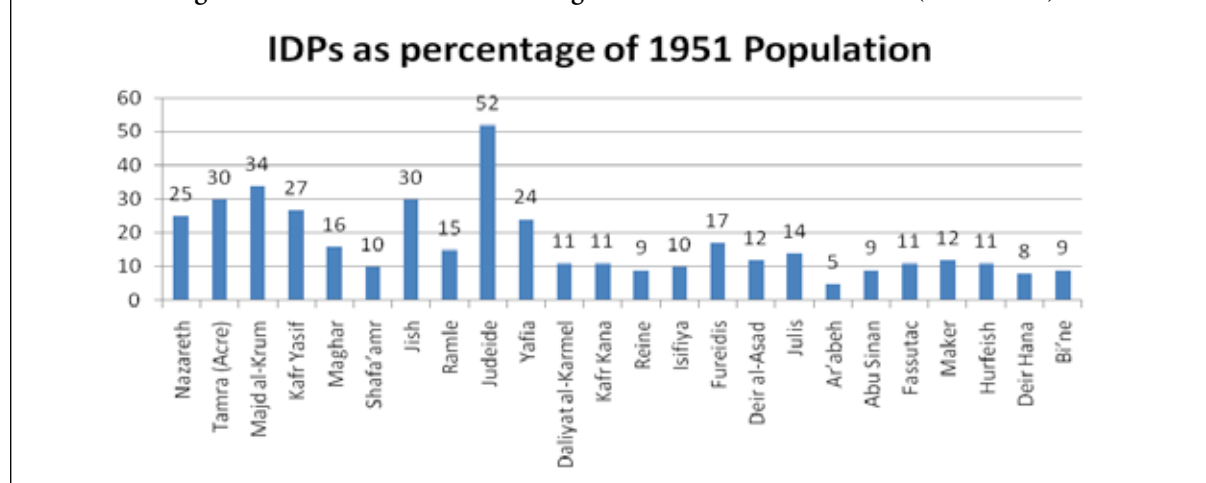
2.2 Distribution

During the major waves of displacement in the 20th century, Palestinian refugees tended to remain as close as possible to their homes and villages of origin, based on the assumption that they would return once armed conflict ceased. In 1948, an estimated 65 percent of the Palestinian refugees remained in areas of Palestine not under Israeli control – i.e., the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, which comprised 22 percent of the territory of Mandate Palestine. In the West Bank, the Palestinian population swelled from 460,000 to 740,000 due to the mass influx of refugees at that time.

The impact of mass influx into the areas of the former Gaza District that became known as the Gaza Strip was even more dramatic. The population nearly quadrupled. The remaining 35 percent of the Palestinian refugee population found refuge in neighboring states, including Jordan, Lebanon, Syria and Egypt. An unknown number of Palestinian Arab citizens were abroad at the time of the 1948 *Nakba* in Palestine, and were unable to return to their places of origin inside Israel following the cessation of hostilities; they became refugees *sur place*.

The majority of Palestinian IDPs in Israel were displaced in 1948 in the north and the center of the country (85.5 percent of the total Palestinian population of the north at the time, 75.1 percent of the center’s population). A smaller number were displaced between 1949 and 1967 (7.1 percent of the population in the north and 18.1 percent in the center). These IDPs found refuge in some 47 Palestinian Arab villages that remained within the state of Israel after the 1948 war.¹² Palestinians in the south of the country were mainly displaced after 1967 (77.2 percent).¹³

Figure 2.3: Localities in Israel Hosting 100 or more Palestinian IDPs (1948–1950)



Source: Kamen, Charles, "After the Catastrophe I: The Arabs in Israel, 1948–51", *Middle East Studies* 23, no.4, October 1987.

Most Palestinian IDPs in Israel are currently concentrated in the northern (Galilee) region of the country, including Palestinian cities such as Nazareth and Shafa'amr, and in cities with a mixed Jewish-Arab population, such as Haifa and Akka (Acre). IDPs are also located in the south (Naqab). The actual distribution of IDPs inside Israel is difficult to determine due to the lack of a registration system and frequent relocation (three to four times on average per family).

The majority of Palestinians displaced from the OPT during the 1967 war found refuge in neighboring states. Most (95 percent) were displaced to Jordan, with smaller numbers displaced to Syria, Egypt and Lebanon.¹⁴ The areas of the West Bank closest to Jordan suffered the highest population loss, while in the central highlands most Palestinians sought temporary refuge in nearby fields and villages, and were able to return to their homes after the war.¹⁵ In addition, it is estimated that some 60,000 Palestinians were abroad at the time of the war and were unable to return to the OPT.¹⁶

The distribution of Palestinians displaced from and within the OPT since 1967, including those displaced for the first time, is difficult to determine given the lack of a registration system and frequent displacement over four decades of military occupation.

Changes in the pattern of distribution of Palestinian refugees across host countries during six decades of forced exile are primarily the result of armed conflicts after 1948 and 1967, during which Palestinian refugees were again expelled or forced to flee host countries in search of safety. Changes in political regimes and discriminatory policies in host countries, the relationship between the PLO and host country authorities, and economic push-and-pull factors have also influenced patterns of forced displacement and distribution of the Palestinian refugee population since 1948. (*See Chapter One*)

The 1967 war and subsequent Israeli occupation led to a significant decrease in the number of refugees residing in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and to a dramatic increase in the refugee population in Jordan after 1967. Over time, the number of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon has decreased due to internal conflict, conflict between the PLO and Israel in Lebanon, and legal and political obstacles that have militated against Palestinian refugees' temporary asylum in Lebanon. During the 1980s, many Palestinian refugees fled Lebanon to Germany, the Netherlands and Scandinavia.

Higher numbers of Palestinian refugees in the Gulf from the 1950s onward reflect patterns of economic migration, while a dramatic decrease in the number of refugees in Kuwait occurred as a result of the 1991 Gulf War. Many Palestinians migrated or were expelled from Gulf States, eventually finding shelter in Canada, Scandinavia, the United States, or other countries in the Arab world. Currently, many of the Palestinian refugees experiencing persecution in Iraq are fleeing to Syria, Jordan and other countries, with some reported as far as India and Thailand.

Figure 2.4: Estimates of Palestinian Refugees and IDPs Worldwide, 2008



Today, Palestinian refugees are living in forced exile in many parts of the world. Despite the changes in the pattern of distribution of Palestinian refugees over the last 60 years, the majority of refugees still live within 100 km of the borders of Israel and the 1967 OPT, where their homes of origin are located. In Syria, for example, 70 percent of the registered 1948 refugees are from the Galilee. The number is slightly higher in Lebanon, where 72 percent of the registered 1948 refugees are from the Galilee.

Similarly, a large majority of the refugees in the occupied Gaza Strip originate from the adjacent areas of the former Gaza District. The majority of the refugees from the former Jerusalem District are at present either in the occupied West Bank or in Jordan. The proportion of Palestinian refugees (6 percent) within the total combined population of host states in the region has remained stable since the first wave of massive displacement in 1948.¹⁷

Table 2.3: Distribution of 1948 Registered Refugees, by District of Origin and Field

District of Origin	Host Countries/ Territories					
	Jordan	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Lebanon	Syria	Total (all fields)
Jerusalem	20.0	33.0	0.2	0.5	0.7	13.5
Gaza	17.0	7.0	66.0	0.1	0.4	22.5
Lydda	40.0	30.0	33.0	8.5	7.3	30.0
Samaria	4.0	12.0	0.2	0.1	0.1	3.5
Haifa	10.0	16.0	0.5	18.8	22.0	11.0
Galilee	9.0	2.0	0.1	72.0	69.5	18.5

Source: UNRWA, 2000. The six regions of the British Mandate period were Jerusalem (Jerusalem, Ramallah, Hebron, Bethlehem); Gaza (Gaza, Khan Yunis, Majdal, Isdud, Beersheba); Lydd (Jaffa, Ramle, Lod, Rechovot); Samaria (Tulkarem, Nablus, Jenin, Natanya); Haifa (Haifa, Hadera, Shafa' Amr); Galilee (Nazareth, Beisan, Tiberias, Acre, Safad).

Despite the passing of more than 60 years in exile, the village unit has tended to remain intact to some degree, even after mass displacement. In other words, the majority of the residents of a particular village tended to be displaced to the same host country, and often to the same area within the host country. According to data for Palestinian refugees registered with UNRWA, 72 percent of all 1948 displaced Palestinian villages found refuge in one area, with only 20 percent fleeing to two areas. Only eight percent are distributed between more than two areas.¹⁸ Distribution according to village of origin is evident in the structure of Palestinian refugee camps, which are divided into quarters based on the village unit. In Syria, for example, al-Yarmouk camp is divided into quarters based on the refugee villages of origin of al-Tira, Luby, Balad ash-Sheik, and 'Ayn Ghazal.

The same phenomenon is also evident in those Palestinian villages inside Israel that provided refuge for internally displaced Palestinians in 1948. In many villages, neighborhoods are named for the origin of the displaced persons who reside in them. The Palestinian village of 'Arrabeh, for example, includes the neighborhood of the Mi'aris (i.e., displaced persons originating from the village of Mi'ar). Likewise, displaced persons from al-Birwa who took shelter in the village of al-Judeideh live in the Birwani neighborhood.

2.2.1 Refugees in Camps¹⁹

According to UNRWA records, 1,373,732 Palestinian refugees were registered in UNRWA's 58 official refugee camps throughout the OPT, Jordan, Lebanon and Syria by the end of 2008. Registered refugees in camps comprise 29.4 percent of the total UNRWA registered refugee population and 20.7 percent of the total Palestinian refugee population. In addition, hundreds of thousands of Palestinian refugees reside in one of at least 17 unofficial camps in the OPT, Jordan, Lebanon and Syria. The majority of Palestinian refugees registered in camps are 1948 refugees, including their descendants.

A smaller number of refugees displaced for the first time in 1967 also reside in refugee camps, primarily in Jordan and Syria. A small but growing number of poor non-refugees, including Palestinians and other Arabs, also reside in refugee camps.

Table 2.4: UNRWA-registered refugees, including refugees in camps

Year	Total Registered Refugees	Registered Refugees in Camps	% Registered Refugees in Camps
1953	870,158	300,785	34.6
1955	912,425	351,532	38.5
1960	1,136,487	409,223	36.0
1965	1,300,117	508,042	39.1
1970	1,445,022	500,985	34.7
1975	1,652,436	551,643	33.4
1980	1,863,162	613,149	32.9
1985	2,119,862	805,482	38.0
1990	2,466,516	697,709	28.3
1995	3,246,044	1,007,375	31.0
2000	3,806,055	1,227,954	32.3
2003	4,082,300	1,301,689	32.0
2004	4,186,711	1,226,213	29.0
2005	4,283,892	1,265,987	30.0
2006	4,396,209	1,321,525	29.7
2007	4,504,169	1,337,388	29.7
2008	4,671,811	1,373,732	29.4

Source: UNRWA. Figures as of 30 June each year except 2008 for end of year.

Not all Palestinian refugees registered with UNRWA living in camps physically reside in an official refugee camp. Several factors explain why Palestinian refugees have remained in or maintained ties with the camps after more than six decades of exile:

- family and village support structure in the camp;
- lack of resources to rent or buy alternative accommodation outside the camp;
- lack of living space outside the camp due to overcrowding;
- legal, political and social obstacles that force refugees to remain in the camp;
- issues concerning physical safety;
- The refugee camp as a symbol of the temporary nature of exile and the demand to exercise the right of return.

The largest camp population resides in the occupied Gaza Strip (495,006 or 46% of UNRWA registered refugees in Gaza, end of 2008), comprising about 36 percent of all camp-registered refugees. In the occupied West Bank, there are fewer refugees in camps (193,370, end of 2008). Approximately 38 percent of all UNRWA registered refugees in the OPT reside in camps.

The second-highest number of camp refugees is found in Jordan (338,000 end 2008). However, Jordan is also the host country with the lowest percentage of refugees in camps: only 17.3 percent of the UNRWA registered Palestinian refugees in Jordan reside in camps. This reflects the status afforded to most Palestinian refugees in Jordan as Jordanian citizens.

Lebanon and Syria are the host countries with the largest portion of camp refugees. In Lebanon, approximately 53 percent (222,776, end of 2008) live in official camps. The high percentage of camp refugees in Lebanon is directly related to the restrictions placed on freedom of movement by the Lebanese government, the lack of resources for alternative housing outside of the camps, and concerns about physical safety. In Syria, where approximately 59.3 percent are camp refugees, more Palestinian refugees live in unofficial camps (147,147) than in official camps (125,009), because some unofficial camps, in particular Yarmouk, are located close to the capital Damascus and offer good services.



'We remain like the olive tree', mural, Azzeh Refugee camp, 2009 (© BADIL)

Table 2.5: Population of Palestinian Refugees in Camps (official and unofficial), mid-2008

Host Country	Camp (local name)	Population	Year established
Gaza Strip^a			
<i>Official camps</i>	Jabalia	107,146	1948
	Beach (Shati)	81,591	1948
	Nuseirat	61,785	1948
	Bureij	31,018	1948
	Deir al-Balah	20,653	1948
	Maghazi	23,730	1948
	Khan Younis	67,567	1948
	Rafah	98,660	1948
Sub-total		492,299	
West Bank^b			
<i>Official camps</i>	Aqabat Jaber	6,488	1948
	Ein al-Sultan	1,943	1948
	Shu'fat ^c	11,066	1965
	Am'ari	10,606	1949
	Kalandia	11,088	1949
	Deir Ammar	2,391	1949
	Jalazone	11,281	1949
	Fawwar	8,171	1949
	Al 'Arroub	10,513	1950
	Dheisha	13,017	1949
	Aida	4,797	1950
	Beit Jibrin (Al 'Azzeh)	2,101	1950
	Al Far'a	7,644	1949
	Camp No. 1	6,811	1950
	Askar	16,030	1950
	Balata	23,480	1950
	Tulkarem	18,465	1950
	Nur Shams	9,250	1952
	Jenin	16,266	1953
	M'ascar ^d	Evacuated	1948–1955/1956
Sub-total		191,408	
<i>Unofficial camps^e</i>	Silwad	388	1971/72
	Abu Shukheidim	NA	1948
	Qaddoura	1,226	1948
	Birzeit (As-Saqaeif)	NA	1948
Sub-total		1,614	

WB & GS: Total		685,321	
Jordan			
<i>Official camps</i>	Amman New Camp (Wihdat)	51,169	1955
	Talbieh	6,766	1968
	Irbid	25,145	1950–1951
	Husn ('Azmi al-Mufti)	22,050	1968
	Souf	20,003	1967
	Jerash (Gaza)	23,786	1968
	Jabal al-Husseini	29,552	1952
	Baq'a ^f	93,129	1968
	Zarqa	18,467	1949
	Marka (Hittin) ^f	45,240	1968
Sub-total		335,307	
<i>Unofficial camps</i> ^g	Madaba	6,967	1956
	Sakhna	6,017	1969
	Al-Hassan	11,401	1967
Sub-total		24,385	
Jordan : Total		359,692	
Lebanon			
<i>Official camps</i>	Mar Elias	618	1952
	Burj al-Barajneh	15,960	1948
	Dikwaneh (Destroyed in the 1970's) ^h	9,398	..
	Dbayeh	4,041	1956
	Shatilla	8,563	1949
	Ein al-Hilweh	47,206	1948–1949
	al-Nabatieh (Destroyed in the 1970's) ^h	7,434	1956
	Mieh Miech	4,646	1954
	Al-Buss	9,752	1948
	Rashidieh	27,217	1948
	Burj al-Shamali	19,577	1948
	Nahr al-Bared	32,726	1950
	Bedawi	16,402	1955
	Wavell (al-Jalil)	7,823	1948
	Jisr al-Basha (Destroyed in the 1970's)	–	1952
	Gouraud ⁱ		1948 evacuated 1975
Sub-total		220,809	
<i>Unofficial camps</i> ^j	Al-Ma'ashouq	4,239	–
	Shabiha	5,939	–
	Al-Qasmia	3,239	–

	Kufr Bada (Abu al-U'sod)	1,000	–
	Al-U'rash (Adlon)	1,781	–
	Shhim	2,433	–
Sub-total		18,631	
Lebanon: Total		239,440	
Syria			
<i>Official camps</i>	Khan Eshieh	18,116	1949
	Khan Danoun	9,479	1949
	Sbeineh	20,243	1958
	Qabr Essit (As-Sayyida Zeinab)	21,415	1968–1967
	Jaramana	3,673	1949
	Dera'a	5,175	1950–1951
	Dera'a Emergency	4,633	1967
	Homs	14,006	1949
	Hama	8,078	1949–1950
	Neirab	18,828	
Sub-total		123,646	
<i>Unofficial camps^k</i>	Ein el-Tal (Hindrat)	5,169	1962
	Al-Yarmouk	134,391	1956–1957
	Ramadani	1,194	1956
	Lattakia	7,587	
Sub-total		148,341	
Syria: Total		271,987	
Grand Total		1,556,440	

Sources: UNRWA website: camp populations. Ali Sha'aban, Hussein, *Palestinian Refugees in Lebanon – From Hosting Through Discrimination*. [Arabic]. Jerusalem: PASSIA, 2002.

- a. During the 1970s, the Israeli military administration destroyed thousands of refugee shelters in the occupied Gaza Strip under security pretexts. Large refugee camps were targeted in particular. Refugees were forcibly resettled in other areas of the occupied Gaza Strip, with a smaller number transferred to the occupied West Bank. In the occupied Gaza Strip, several housing projects were established for these refugees. Some of these projects today are referred to as camps. These include the Canada project (1972), the Shuqairi project (1973), the Brazil project (1973), the Sheikh Radwan project (1974), and the al-Amal project (1979).
- b. There are more than 4,220 ex-Gaza refugees distributed throughout West Bank camps.
- c. An additional 4,000 Palestinians are estimated by UNRWA to be living in the camp as a result of Israel's policy of residency revocation in Jerusalem.
- d. The camp was closed because of unsanitary living conditions, and residents were relocated to Shu'fat refugee camp.
- e. Estimated figures based on 2007 PCBS census at annual growth rate of 3 percent, NA refers to not available.
- f. As of 31 December 2003, over 15,000 persons were 1967 refugees.
- g. Population figures for unofficial camps in Jordan are for 2000, including annual population growth of 3 percent from 2000 to 2008. In 2000, the population of Madaba was 5,500; Sakhna, 4,750; and al-Hassan, 9,000.
- h. Dikwaneh and Nabatieh were completely destroyed in the 1970s, but refugees who were in these camps maintain their registration numbers with these centers until such time as UNRWA's new Refugee Registration Information System (RRIS) is developed.
- i. The camp was evacuated and residents moved to Rashidieh camp.
- j. Population figures for unofficial camps in Lebanon are for 2001, updated based on 3 percent annual growth until 2008. In 2001, the population of al-Ma'ashouq was 3,447; Shabiha, 4,829; al-Qasmia, 2,634; Kufr Bada (Abu al-U'sod), 813; al-U'rash (Adlon), 1,448; and Shhim, 1,978.
- k. The statistics for the unofficial camps in Syria are for 2002, including annual population growth of 3 percent until 2008. The 2002 population of Ein el-Tal was 4,329; al-Yarmouk, 112,550; Ramadani, 1,000; and Lattakia 6,354.

Map 2.1: Palestinian Refugee Communities: Official, Unofficial, Closed, Destroyed, Camps and Housing Projects



2.2.2 Refugees Outside of Camps

Most Palestinian refugees (approximately 81 percent) live outside UNRWA's 58 camps. These refugees reside in and around cities and towns in the host countries, often in areas adjacent to refugee camps.²⁰ Many West Bank villages and towns host a significant refugee population. There are approximately 100 localities in the occupied West Bank in which 1948 refugees comprise more than 50 percent of the total population.

Between 1997 and 2007, the proportion of refugees living in the West Bank showed a significant change in certain governorates. For instance, the percentage of refugees in Jerusalem decreased from 40.8 percent to 31.4 percent; the refugee population increased in Qalqilya from 39.9 percent to 47 percent, and in Jenin from 28.8 percent to 32.8 percent.

Table 2.6: Percentage of Refugee Population in the OPT by Governorate, 2007

Governorate	% of Refugees	
	1997a	2007b
Gaza	52.0	57.5
Deir al-Balah	85.5	88.6
North Gaza	70.9	71.0
Rafah	70.9	85.9
Khan Younis	56.9	63.3
Hebron	17.4	17.9
Tubas	15.8	15.7
Jericho	49.7	51.3
Jerusalem	40.8	31.4
Ramallah	28.1	29.3
Jenin	28.8	32.8
Tulkarem	31.5	33.6
Nablus	25.4	26.3
Bethlehem	28.0	28.4
Qalqilya	39.9	47.0
Salfit	7.7	8.3

Sources: a. PCBS, 1998. *Population, Housing and Establishment Census 1997*.

b. for the Gaza Strip: PCBS, 2006. "Survey of the Impact of the Israeli Unilateral Measures on the Social, Economic and Environmental Conditions of the Palestinian Households"; for the West Bank: PCBS, 2008. *Population, Housing and Establishment Census 2007*.

In Lebanon, UNRWA reported that 47 percent of the Palestinian refugee population was registered outside of camps. Other sources report that between one third and 40 percent of the Palestinian refugee population resides in gatherings, cities and villages, and other non-camp localities.²¹ A gathering is defined as a community of 25 or more Palestinian households living together. In Syria, almost 40 percent of Palestinian refugees live in urban centers, with a small number living in rural areas.

2.3 Characteristics of the Refugee and IDP Population

Demographic and socio-economic indicators reflect the vulnerability of internally displaced Palestinians and refugees during six decades of displacement. Lack of personal security and socio-economic wellbeing and stability are the result of Israel's policies and practices of occupation, apartheid and colonization and a series of armed conflicts in the region,²² in particular where refugee-hood is compounded with statelessness, ineffective protection and insufficient assistance.²³

Due to lack of registration and documentation, no statistical data is available on the demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of Palestinian refugee populations outside UNRWA's area of operation, and little reliable data is available on the characteristics of internally displaced Palestinians in Israel and the OPT. Such data is available almost exclusively for the population of UNRWA registered 1948 refugees, who constitute 66 percent of all displaced Palestinians.

2.3.1 Demographic Indicators

Differences between the Palestinian refugee populations and the local non-refugee populations are negligible in most Arab host states, with Lebanon constituting the only major exception.²⁴



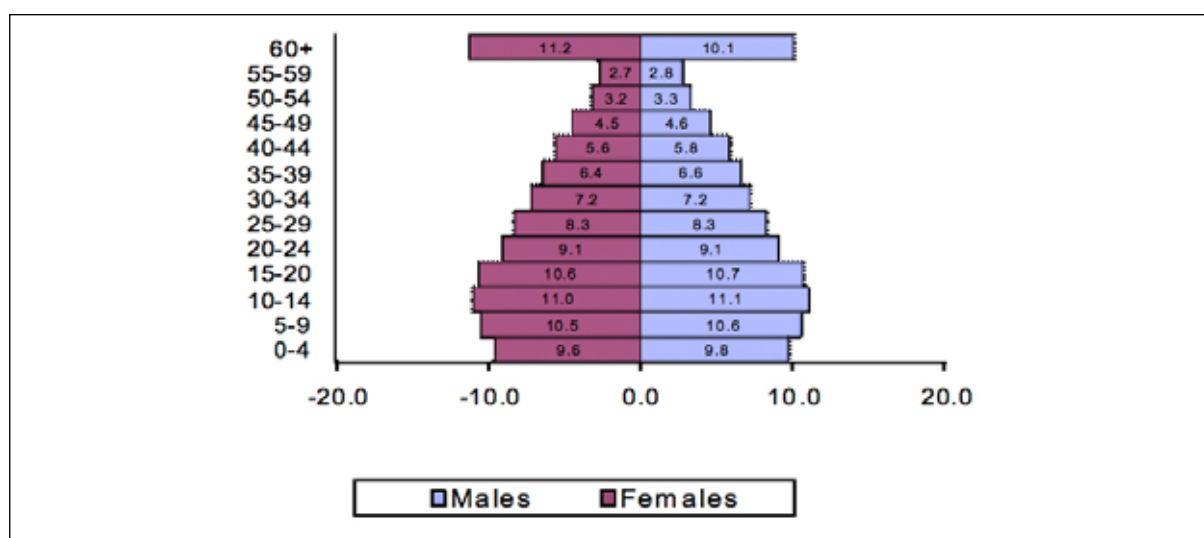
Palestinian children from the Jordan Valley
(© Anne Paq / BADIL)

The Palestinian refugee population is young. Approximately 31 percent of all registered refugees are below the age of fifteen. 38 percent are less than 18 years old. The occupied Gaza Strip has the youngest refugee population: 46.4 percent are less than 18 years old and 13.7 percent are aged 0-4 years. The percentage of young Palestinian refugees is lowest in Lebanon, where those under 18 make up 28.5 percent of the registered refugee population, while 6.4 percent are aged 0-4 years. The large share of children and youth gives rise to high dependency ratios, a large burden on the refugee labor force, and a strong need for health and education services.²⁵

Refugees have a high fertility rate (calculated as the average number of children per woman), but there has been a consistent decline in the fertility rate among Palestinian refugees, in particular in the occupied West Bank (from 6.17 in 1983-1994 to 4.2 in 2006), Jordan (from 6.2 in 1983-1986 to 4.6 in 2000), Lebanon (from 4.49 in 1991 to 2.3 in 2006) and Syria (from 3.8 in 2000 to 2.4 in 2006). In the occupied Gaza Strip, the fertility rate increased between 1983 and 1994 (from 7.15 to 7.69), followed by a slow decrease from 2000 onwards.²⁶ Declining fertility rates are the result of later marriage, more female enrollment in higher education, increased use of contraceptives, and a slight rise in the participation rate of women in the labor force.

No data is available about the age structure and other demographic indicators of Palestinian IDPs. However, as differences between refugee and non-refugee populations in major Arab host states are negligible, the age structure and fertility rate of Palestinian IDPs are likely to be similar to the general Palestinian population in Israel and in the OPT.²⁷

Figure 2.5: Population Pyramid, UNRWA Registered Palestinian Refugees, 2008



Source: UNRWA website, accessed 20 March 2009

The mortality rate of the Palestinian population in the OPT is relatively low similar to that in Western countries in the early 1960s.²⁸ Infant and child mortality rates of the refugee population have declined over the past six decades. Infant mortality rates among refugees, for example, declined from around 200 per 1,000 births in 1950, to around 24 per 1,000 births in the OPT in 2006, and eight per 1,000 births in Israel in 2003.²⁹ Mortality rates of refugee infants and children under five have remained highest in the Gaza Strip, Lebanon and Syria.

In the OPT, infant and child mortality rates were slightly higher among refugees (27.5 and 32.3 per 1000 respectively) than among the general Palestinian population (24.2 and 28.3 per 1000 respectively) in the period of 1999 – 2003.

Table 2.7: Infant and Child Mortality Rates for Palestinian Refugees (per 1,000 births)

Country	Infant Mortality	Child Mortality
Jordan (2004)	22.5	25.1
Lebanon (2006)	26.0	31.0
Gaza Strip (2004)	31.2	37.3
West Bank (2004)	20.1	22.5
Syria (2006)	25.0	30.0
Israel (Palestinians)*	6.9	0.7

Sources: "Statistical Abstract of Palestine 9", Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics, 2008, p. 51; "Demographic and health survey database 2004", Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics, 2004.

* Based on Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, 2009. "Statistical Abstract of Israel 2008 No. 59."

The Palestinian refugee and IDP population has a high, albeit declining, growth rate. This is similar to the Palestinian population as a whole, which has roughly doubled every twenty years. The average annual growth rate of the UNRWA-registered refugee population for the period 1955 – 2008 is 3.3 percent according to the agency's records, while according to the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics, the average annual growth rate of the entire Palestinian population was 3.5 percent for 1949 – 1999, and 3 percent for 2000 – 2008.

2.3.2 Labor Force Indicators

Levels of labor force participation and unemployment rates³⁰ indicate the level of economic wellbeing of populations. High rates of labor force participation and low unemployment are indicators of a healthy economy that provides a good quality of life for the population. Low levels of participation in the labor force and high unemployment are related to low income levels, high poverty rates and unhealthy living conditions.

In early 2009, shortly after the end of Israel's military assault on the Gaza Strip, Palestinian refugee households ranked their top-10 needs and concerns: economic security (86%); employment (60%; 66% men and 54% women); personal safety and security (59%); family (45%; 49% women and 41% men); politics (43%); education (39%; 43% women and 36% men); health (35%; 60% in the 55+ age group); marriage (10%; 13% men and 7% women); emigration (10%; 14% men and 6% women); and, recreation (5%).

Source: FAFO and UNFPA, 2009. "Life in the Gaza Strip Six Weeks after the Armed Conflict of 27 December 2008 – 17 January 2009"; "Evidence from a Household Sample Survey."

Less than half of the total Palestinian refugee and IDP labor force in major hosting countries including Israel and the OPT, is economically active. In 2008, labor force participation was highest among refugees in Syria (49.3%) and lowest in the occupied Gaza Strip (37.5 percent).

Table 2.8: Refugee and IDP – Labor Force Participation

Country	Total Labor Force Participation %	Participation by women %
Jordan a	41.9	12.9
Lebanon a	42.2	16.8
Syria a	49.3	18.0
Israel b	42.6	18.9
West Bank c	42.4	16.6
Gaza Strip c	37.5	13.4

Sources:

a. The data for Jordan and Syria is from 2000; data for Lebanon is from 1999. See "Statistical Abstract of Palestine 9", Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics, 2008.

b. This number reflects the labor force of the entire Palestinian population in Israel, including IDPs. See: "Palestinians in Israel: Socio-Economic Survey 2007", prepared by Ahmad El Sheikh Muhammad, The Galilee Society, Rizak, 2008, p. 22.

c. "Labor Force Survey Database 2008", PCBS, 2009.

Labour force participation among refugee women is very low compared to refugee men. Participation generally increases with higher education, especially among women. Research published in 2003 shows that young refugee women aged 15 to 24 in Lebanon and Jordan identified family duties (44 percent and 43 percent respectively) and study (30 percent and 41 percent respectively) as the most important reasons for economic inactivity; among older women, family duties were given as the single most important reason (varying between 66 percent and 86 percent among women over 25 years old). Academic study was given as the most significant reason for economic inactivity among young men (15–24 years old), while discouragement was the most commonly cited reason by young adult men (25 - 45 years old). Older men cited health reasons and retirement as the principal reasons for economic inactivity.³¹

Table 2.9: Unemployment Rates (%) for Palestinian Refugees and IDPs aged 15+ by gender and country

Country	Jordan		Lebanon		Syria	Israel	West Bank		Gaza Strip	
Gender	camp	non- camp	camp	non- camp	all	all	refugees	non-refugees	refugees	non-refugees
Males	11	16	16	16	13.2	9.1	20.5	19.0	38.3	43.5
Females	13	30	18	22	15.5	13.5	17.0	16.5	43.1	41.9

Sources: Labor Force Survey Database 2008, PCBS, 2009; *Palestinians in Israel: Socio-Economic Survey 2007*, Galilee Society, Rizak, 2008.

Unemployment rates among the Palestinian refugee population range between 11 percent and 43.1 percent, with the highest rates found in the occupied Gaza Strip. In 2008, the unemployment rate among refugees in the Gaza Strip was 38.3 percent for males and 43.1 percent for females, compared with 20.5 percent for males in the West Bank and 17 percent for females. High unemployment rates among refugees are problematic, in particular because refugees usually have little alternative sources of income. In the OPT, moreover, high unemployment among refugees has a negative impact on the wellbeing of the entire population, as refugees constitute a significant portion of the total population (45 percent) of the OPT (32 percent in WB and 68 percent in GS).

No disaggregate data is available about the socio-economic characteristics of Palestinian IDPs in Israel and the OPT. For IDPs in Israel, data pertaining to the general Palestinian population serves as an indicator: the unemployment rate among the total Palestinian labor force in Israel is 10.1 percent (13.5 percent for females and 9.1 percent for males).³²

2.3.3 Poverty and Food Insecurity

Annual per capita income among Palestinian refugees in Lebanon, Syria, Jordan and the OPT ranges from US \$450 to US \$600. Household incomes are higher among refugees in the OPT than elsewhere, and lowest among refugees in Syria.³³ According to UNRWA estimates at the end of 2007, approximately 12 percent of refugee households in Lebanon suffer deep poverty compared with 3 percent in Jordan and 7 percent in Syria.³⁴

In the OPT, the per capita income declined by 40 percent between 1999 and 2007,³⁵ and impoverishment of the Palestinian population continues. By 2007, approximately 30.3 percent of Palestinian households had consumption levels below the poverty line although they were receiving assistance.³⁶ 57.2 percent of households had a level of income that indicates poverty, whereas 46.3 percent of households had income levels that indicate deep poverty (34 percent in the West Bank and 69.9 percent in Gaza Strip).

Food aid has become increasingly significant as food sources from agricultural areas in the occupied West Bank (Qalqilya, Tulkarem, and the Jordan Valley) and the Gaza Strip have been affected by Israel's indiscriminate and excessive use of force during military operations and the policy of closure and segregation. From 2000 to 2007, for example, Israel destroyed 2,851 dunums of land, 13,147 dunums of vegetables and 14,076 dunums of Palestinian field crops.³⁷ Over the course of the past five years, Israel destroyed 455 wells, 37,929 dunums of irrigation network, 1,000 km of main pipelines, 1.9



UNRWA food distribution center, Gaza (© UNRWA)

km of irrigation pools, 930 agricultural stores and 1,862 of animal barns and stables. In the same period 1.6 million Palestinian trees were uprooted, further jeopardizing Palestinian food production. In early 2007, food insecurity and vulnerability were about 40 percent and 12 percent respectively among refugees in the OPT.³⁸ The refugee population living in camps had the least food security, which also indicates that food insecurity was highest in the Gaza Strip.

In the OPT, households in refugee camps suffer from the highest rates of poverty as measured according to consumption patterns. Approximately 39 percent of camp households are poor compared with 29.5 percent of urban and rural households. Application of a poverty index also showed that the situation is worse for refugee

households (33.3%) as compared with non-refugee households (29.1 percent).³⁹ This can be explained by the higher unemployment rates, the high dependency ratio and the big size of refugee camp households when compared with urban and rural households. Another explanation is provided by the higher poverty level in the Gaza Strip where the majority of the population is composed of refugees and camp populations.

In early 2009, 63 percent of Palestinian households interviewed in the Gaza Strip stated that their economic situation had deteriorated as a result of Israel's most recent military operation.⁴⁰ 60 percent of Palestinian households were in need of assistance and 25 percent were in need of psycho-social support. The most pressing needs identified by these households were cash assistance (39 percent), cooking gas (20 percent), house repair (16 percent), and food (12 percent).⁴¹

In Israel, all 76 Palestinian local authorities are ranked in the lower half of the national socio-economic development scale, with 85 percent of the localities placed in the lowest three deciles.⁴² 53 percent of Palestinian families in Israel live below the poverty line, as do 400,000 out of 775,000 Arab children.⁴³ The most vulnerable group were Palestinian Bedouin, most of whom are IDPs living in localities that are not recognized by the Israeli authorities. Approximately 80 percent of this group⁴⁴ lives below the poverty line.



Palestinian Bedouin children in the Naqab (© Anne Paq / BADIL)

2.3.4 Housing

Sub-standard housing is an indicator of lack of development. It is also linked to poor health and has a disproportionately severe impact on women and other caregivers, children, handicapped people, and the elderly.⁴⁵ Overall, housing conditions for Palestinian refugees are best in Syria and Jordan, followed by the OPT and Lebanon. However, within these geographical areas, housing conditions differ widely.

Housing problems tend to be more pronounced in camps. Nevertheless, as a result of international assistance, refugee camps often have better infrastructure than areas outside camps. While the area of refugee camps has generally remained the same over the last 60 years, their population has more than quadrupled. In areas where

construction is permitted, this has led to vertical expansion of the camps. In some areas, including Lebanon, the government has prohibited construction in the camps.

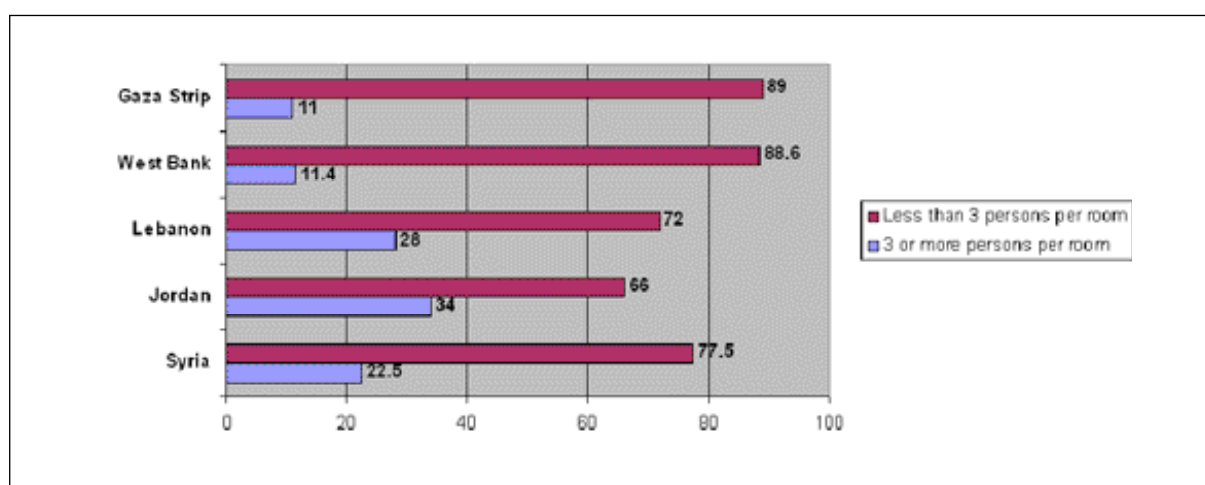
According to findings from 2004, Palestinian refugee homes comprise an average of three rooms. Average housing capacity is lowest in Lebanon and Syria.⁴⁶ The primary infrastructural problem facing all refugee households is access to safe and secure supplies of drinking water, in particular in Syria, Jordan and Lebanon.⁴⁷

By 2007, the average number of rooms in a Palestinian housing unit in Israel was 4.3 and the housing density was 1.13 persons per room. Palestinian households in Israel, including IDP households, suffer from a shortage of land designated for development. Some 19 percent of Palestinian households have suffered from land confiscation between 1947 and 2007, while 10.8 percent of households have had their homes demolished or confiscated by the Israeli government during the same period. 58.4 percent of the households stated that they would need at least one new housing unit in the next ten years, and 34.1 percent said they would need at least two. This, while 66.8 percent of these households said they were unable to build the needed housing unit/s.⁴⁸



Make-shift electricity system, Ein el Hilwe refugee camp, Lebanon
(© Courtesy of al Najda Association)

Figure 2.6: Percentage of Overcrowded Households, 2007



Sources: Jacobsen, Laurie Blome, "Community Development of Palestinian refugee camps: Analytical support to Jordan's preparations for the June 2004 Geneva Conference on the humanitarian need of Palestinian refugees," *The Material and Social Infrastructure, and Environmental Conditions of Refugee Camps and Gatherings in Lebanon, Jordan and Syria*, FAFO Institute for Applied International Studies, Oslo, 2004, Table 1. Data for the West Bank and Gaza Strip represents the entire population for 2007: *Statistical Abstract of Palestine 9*, PCBS, 2008.

The international standard for overcrowding is three or more persons per room. Overcrowding is related to lack of resources with which to expand existing shelters or build new ones, planning and building restrictions, and household size. Overcrowding is most severe in Palestinian refugee camps in Jordan, where one in three households

experiences overcrowding. In the OPT, Syria and Lebanon, overcrowding is slightly less of a problem. There are no significant differences in crowding between non-refugee households and refugee households outside camps in Jordan and in the OPT. Refugee households outside camps in Lebanon, however, are more overcrowded than households of Lebanese nationals.

2.3.5 Education

Education is highly valued in the face of the protracted nature of the Palestinian refugee crisis. It is seen both as offering an opportunity for a better life and as a means of reaffirming identity. A study commissioned by UNRWA on adolescents' knowledge of and attitudes towards family, reproductive health issues and lifestyle practices, showed that 76 percent of respondents aspired to higher education.⁴⁹ Most refugees benefit from elementary and preparatory education provided by UNRWA schools, while others study in host country public schools. Few study in private schools. Access to secondary and higher education is restricted in some host countries. Financial constraints prevent other refugees from continuing education. (See Chapter Four)



Refugee shelter, Wihdat camp, Amman Jordan 2008
(© Anne Paq / BADIL)

Education-related problems for refugees differ among host countries, and include inadequate education among young men in camps in Jordan, a significant number of young adults in Syria who lack basic education, and high levels of illiteracy overall.⁵⁰

During the civil war and the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in the 1980s, some refugee children lost more than a year of schooling. In the OPT, refugee children lost between 35 percent and 50 percent of class time during the first *Intifada*. The second *Intifada* has also negatively affected access to education and the quality of education provided in the OPT.⁵¹ Israeli military and Jewish settler activity in the OPT has had a negative effect on the capacity of students to concentrate, participate in class, and meet amongst themselves for study purposes.⁵² During 2006, a decline was observed in test scores in schools and school attendance in the OPT.⁵³

Table 2.10: Enrollment Levels (%) of Palestinian Refugees and IDPs in Lebanon, Jordan, Syria, Israel and OPT

Age Group	Lebanon 2006*		Jordan 2000		Syria 2006		Israel 2007**		OPT 2006***	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
7-9	98.6	98.9	100	100	96.6	97.9	41.3	41.1	79	83
10-14	92.0	94.1	93	94	94.2	95.0				
15-18	58.0	68.7	60	51	55.5	66.8				
19-24	-	-	12	14	19.6	21.6				

* Data for the age group 15-18 represents those aged 15-17 years.

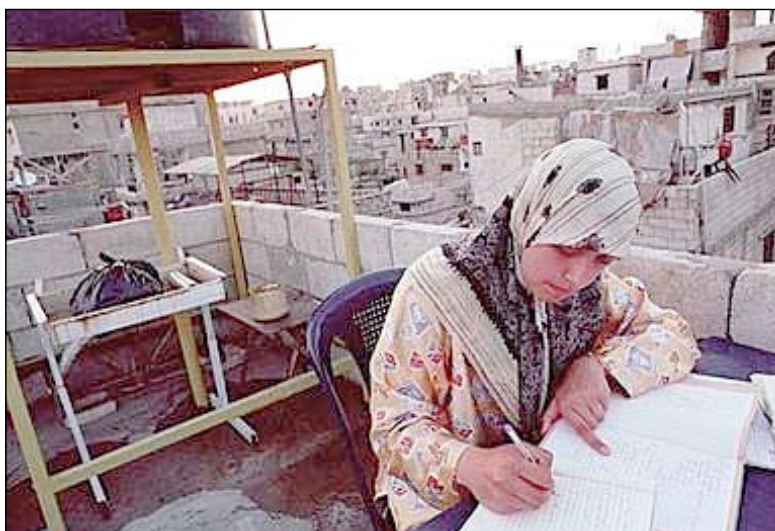
** Data represents the age group 5 years and over, among all Palestinians in Israel.

*** Data represents the age group 6-24 years, among all Palestinians in the OPT.

Sources: *On the Margins: Migration and Living Conditions Among Palestinian Refugees in Camps in Jordan*, FAFO Institute for Applied Social Science, 2000; *MICS III Survey of Palestinians in Syria and Lebanon*, PCBS, UNICEF and GAPAR, Damascus, 2006; *Palestinians in Israel: Socio-Economic Survey 2007*, Galilee Society and Rizak, 2008, p. 190; *Family Health Survey 2006*, PCBS, 2007.

Enrollment rates among Palestinian refugee and IDP children are high in all areas/host countries at the elementary and preparatory stages, whereas the rates decline at the secondary and higher education stages.

Nearly all refugee children are enrolled at the elementary stage, and no statistical differences exist between male and female enrolment at the elementary and preparatory stages. Female enrolment is higher than male enrolment in secondary and higher education (with the exception of Jordan). In Lebanon, fewer Palestinian refugees are enrolled in secondary and higher education than elsewhere.



Student studying in Shatilla refugee camp, Lebanon
(© Courtesy of Aidoun - Lebanon)

Table 2.11: Illiteracy (%) among Palestinians aged 15+ by Age Group and Country

Age Group	Lebanon 2006		Jordan 2000		Syria 2006		Israel		OPT	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
15–19	11.1	7.3	5	2	7.2	5.9	0.2	0.2	0.8	0.8
20–24	14.1	8.1	6	4	9.3	8.2	0.3	0.5	0.9	1.2
25–29	17.9	13.0	6	5	8.9	9.4	0.0	0.7	1.0	1.4
30–34	21.6	17.4	4	6	8.6	11.1	0.6	0.7	1.0	3.5
35–39	24.5	22.8	4	12	9.1	13.7	0.3	2.8	9.8	36.4
40–44	22.2	29.9	8	30	13.2	19.3	0.5	3.9		
45–49	18.8	32.5	11	49	10.7	23.1	1.8	8.3		
50–54	19.4	49.8	12	63	11.2	36.2	2.9	15.0		
55–59	28.9	71.6	18	82	14.6	49.1				
60–64	31.7	82.2	38	89	23.6	60.7	22.7	52.2		
65–69	47.7	92.4	50	98	30.8	79.9				
70–74	55.6	91.3	52	99	43.2	88.8				
75+	67.6	96.3	67	100	58.4	91.9				

Sources: *On the Margins: Migration and Living Conditions Among Palestinian Refugees in Camps in Jordan*, FAFO Institute for Applied Social Science, 2000; *MICS III Survey of Palestinians in Syria and Lebanon*, PCBS, UNICEF and GAPAR, Damascus, 2006; *Palestinians in Israel: Socio-Economic Survey 2007*, Galilee Society and Rizak, 2008., p. 189; *Statistical Abstract of Palestine 9*, PCBS, 2008.

The average illiteracy rate among Palestinians aged 15 years and over was 25.5 percent in Lebanon (2006), 17.6 percent in the refugee camps in Jordan (2000), 16.5 percent in Syria (2006); 5.7 percent in the OPT (2007) and 4.9 percent among Palestinians in Israel.⁵⁴

Illiteracy rates have been declining in all countries and areas. Among young age groups, the illiteracy rate has remained the highest in Lebanon. In the OPT and in Israel, more Palestinian women than men are illiterate, a phenomena which exists in younger age groups as well. However there is more illiteracy in Arab host states among young men than women.

2.3.6 Health

The health status of Palestinian refugees is in transition from a developing to a developed stage. The health of women and children has improved dramatically over the course of the last five decades. The best reported health outcomes are in the OPT, Jordan and Syria.

Armed conflict, ineffective protection, and insufficient assistance leave refugees in Lebanon the most vulnerable to health problems. Between 30,000 and 40,000 Palestinians were killed in the 1970s and 1980s during the civil war and Israeli invasions in Lebanon. In the OPT, public health is at risk due to policies and practices of the Israeli occupation. At least 39,000 Palestinians have been injured and 6,322 killed in the current *Intifada* since 29 September 2000.⁵⁵ By 2006, around 42 percent of households affected by the Wall in the occupied West Bank were separated from health services (hospitals and medical centers). Impeded access to medical care was particularly acute in the closed zones between the Wall and the Green Line, where 79 percent of families are separated from health centers and hospitals.⁵⁶



Children line up for school at the al Baqa'a refugee camp, Jordan (© UNRWA)

66 percent of chronically ill persons in the occupied Gaza Strip were in need of medical care during Israel's 2008/9 military operation "Cast Lead." Of those, 53 percent received adequate health care, 27 percent received inadequate care, and 20 percent did not receive any health care. 30 percent of those who did not receive care, did not do so because it was too dangerous to try to reach health facilities and hospitals.

Source: FAFO and UNFPA, 2009. "Life in the Gaza Strip Six Weeks after the Armed Conflict of 27 December 2008 – 17 January 2009; Evidence from a Household Sample Survey."

2.3.6.1 Women's and Children's Health

In general, Palestinian refugee women, including those in camps, have good health indicators. Nearly all refugee women visit health centers during pregnancy, and most of them receive qualified birth assistance. (*See Chapter Four*)

By 2000, there were no significant differences between maternal health care and delivery assistance available to women inside or outside camps.⁵⁷ Prenatal care was generally higher among refugees than host country nationals, except in Lebanon, where nationals are more likely to have assistance with deliveries than Palestinian refugees. Maternal mortality rates were highest in Lebanon and lowest in Syria.

Miscarriages in Gaza during Israel's 2008/9 Military Assault

A report by UNFPA indicated that miscarriages increased by 40 percent during Israel's war on Gaza. The report also pointed to an increase in caesarean sections at the al Shifa Hospital, Gaza, during the war, standing at 32 percent in December 2008 and 29 percent in January 2009 of total deliveries during these months. According to the Palestinian Family Health Survey of 2006, the average rate of caesarean sections in normal situations was 15 percent. The report also pointed out an increase in the number of births in January 2009 registering an increase of 1000 births - 5000 births in January 2009 compared to 4000 monthly births per month before the war. The increase in births is largely as a result of the increase in premature births.

Low birth weight is not a significant problem among refugees. (The international standard for low birth weight is less than 2,500 grams.) There are no significant differences in birth weights between camp and non-camp refugee children. In Jordan and Lebanon, low birth weight is more frequent among host country nationals than among refugees.

Standard vaccination programs are well implemented, although rates are lower among Palestinian refugees in Syria and Lebanon than for host country nationals.⁵⁸

Infant mortality rates are also low despite a stagnation of the infant mortality rate in the OPT.⁵⁹ Palestinian refugees in Syria have particularly low infant mortality rates, while these rates are highest in Lebanon. Infant mortality rates are higher among host country nationals than Palestinian refugees in Syria and Jordan.

Childhood malnutrition has not been a significant problem, although increasing levels of child malnutrition in the OPT give grounds for concern: 10 percent of Palestinian children there were malnourished in 2006, with children in the occupied Gaza Strip particularly affected.⁶⁰ In 2005, signs were reported of a resurgence of anemia, affecting 55 percent and 34 percent of children under the age of three in the occupied Gaza Strip and West Bank respectively, as well as micronutrient deficiencies, with 22 percent of children under the age of five suffering from Vitamin A deficiency.⁶¹ Acute malnutrition presents more of a problem in camps in Lebanon and Syria than in Jordan.

Rates of chronic illness in camps are higher among refugee boys than refugee girls, and higher than for refugee children outside camps. Palestinian refugee children in Lebanon have the highest rates of chronic illness and disability.

Table 2.12: Selected Child Health Indicators among Palestinian Refugees

	Infant Mortality Rate(per 1,000 live births)		% Low birth Weight (infants)	% 12–23 months Fully vaccinated
	Male	Female		
West Bank Camp	29.5	21.9	9	82
West Bank Non-camp				73
Gaza Strip Camp	32.9	23.4		
Gaza Strip Non-camp				
Jordan Camp	26.6	23.2	6	82
Jordan Non-camp			8	83
Lebanon Camp and Non-camp	26	23.3	7	75
Syria Camp and Non-camp	24	21.5	8	73

Source: *Finding Means: UNRWA's Financial Situation and the Living Conditions of Palestinian Refugees, Summary Report, FAFO: Institute for Applied Social Science, 2000. Figures for Lebanon and Syria include camps and "gatherings" (defined as a community outside a camp with 25 or more households). Data for low birth weight for the OPT is for births in the last year prior to the survey; the data on Jordan is for the most recent births, while data for Lebanon and Syria is for births during the five years preceding the survey. Infant mortality rates for Syria and Lebanon are from 2006; PCBS*

Appendix 2.1

Notes regarding estimates of Palestinian displacement, including Table 2.1

Comparison with earlier estimates

In the 2006-2007 Survey, Badil estimated that 7.4 million Palestinians were forcibly displaced persons by mid-2007, including 7 million refugees and 450,000 IDPs. Badil's updated estimate for the end of 2008 is 7.1 million displaced Palestinians, including 6.6 million refugees and 427,000 IDPs. The 2008 estimates were calculated based on the methodology adopted previously, as well as the findings of the population census conducted in the OPT in 2007 by the PCBS. (*See below*)

1948 UNRWA-registered refugees

UNRWA reported 4.7 million registered refugees as of 31 December 2008. UNRWA figures are based on data voluntarily supplied by registered refugees. UNRWA registration statistics do not claim to be and should not be taken as statistically valid demographic data. This information is collected by UNRWA for its own internal management purposes, and to facilitate certification of refugee eligibility to receive education, health, and relief and social services. New information on births, marriages, deaths, and change in place of residence is recorded only when a refugee requests the updating of the family registration card issued by the Agency. UNRWA does not carry out a census, house-to-house survey, or any other means of verifying place of residence. Refugees will normally report births, deaths, and marriages when they seek a service from the Agency. Births, for instance, are reported if the family makes use of UNRWA maternity and child health services, or when the child reaches school age if admission is sought to an UNRWA school, or even later if neither of these services is needed. Deaths tend to remain under-reported. While families are encouraged to have a separate registration card for each nuclear family (parents and children), this is not obligatory. Family size information may therefore include a mix of nuclear and extended families, in some cases including as many as four generations.

1948 non-registered refugees

The number of persons in this group is calculated as being one third of the total registered refugee population based on the assumption that "UNRWA registered refugees represent approximately three-quarters of Palestinian refugees worldwide." See *Annual Growth rate of registered Palestine refugees and female percentage, 1953-2000*: <http://www.un.org/unrwa/publications/index.html>. This assumption was applied to the calculation for the three regions: Syria, Lebanon and Jordan. As for the OPT, the results of the 1997 and 2007 PCBS censuses revealed that non-registered 1948 refugees represent 1.6 percent of the total population in the OPT (accessed 5 February 2009). Thus the total number of 1948 non-registered refugees at the end of 2008 is 1,014,741.

Estimates of the 1948 Palestinian refugee population

The total number of 1948 refugees is calculated by combining UNRWA-registered refugees and non-registered refugees as described above; it amounts to 5,686,552 at the end of 2008.

Alternative estimates: Based on *The Palestinian Nakba 1948: The Register of Depopulated Localities in Palestine*, London: The Palestinian Return Center, 1998; this source assumes an average annual growth rate of 3.5 percent for the Palestinian refugee population based on British demographic data from 1947. Accordingly, the total number of estimated 1948 refugees at the end of 2008 is 6,723,439. If an adjusted annual growth of 3 percent is applied from 2000 onwards – giving proper consideration to the decline of the fertility rate and the annual

growth rate - the total number of 1948 refugees (registered and non-registered) amounts to 6,467,947 by the end of 2008.

1967 Palestinian refugees

Figures are derived from *The Report of the Secretary-General under General Assembly Resolution 2252 (EX-V) and Security Council Resolution 237 (1967)*, UN Doc. A/6797, 15 September 1967 and the average annual growth rate of the Palestinian population (3.5 percent for 1967-1999 and 3.0 percent for 2000-2008).

This figure includes only persons who were externally displaced for the first time in 1967. It does not include internally displaced persons and 1948 refugees displaced for a second time in 1967. See also Takkenberg, Lex, *The Status of Palestinian Refugees in International Law*, Oxford: Clarendon Press Oxford, 1998, p. 17; approximately 193,500 Palestinian refugees were displaced for a second time, while 240,000 non-refugees were displaced for the first time, bringing the total to over 430,000 persons displaced in 1967. The figure also excludes those refugees who returned under a limited repatriation program between August and September 1967. The figure does not account for Palestinians who were abroad at the time of the 1967 war and unable to return, refugees reunified with family inside the OPT, or those refugees who returned after 1994 under the agreements of the Oslo peace process.

Palestinian IDPs in Israel since 1948

According to Hillel Cohen, the author of a study on displaced Palestinians in Israel, and as stated by the National Committee for the Rights of the Internally Displaced in Israel: “[O]f the estimated 150,000 Palestinians who remained in Israel proper when the last armistice agreement was signed in 1949, some 46,000 were internally displaced, as per UNRWA’s 1950 registry record.” Data for 2008 was calculated on the basis of an estimated average annual growth rate of the Palestinian population inside Israel of 3.5 percent for the period 1949-1999, and 3.0 percent for 2000-2008.

No reliable data exist on internal displacement of Palestinians in Israel after 1948 as a consequence of internal population transfer, land confiscation, house demolition and similar policies and practice. Their number has been conservatively estimated at 75,000 persons. See *Internally Displaced Palestinians, International Protection, and Durable Solutions*, BADIL Information & Discussion Brief No. 9 (November 2002).

Palestinian IDPs in the OPT since 1967

The estimate (128,708) includes:

- a) Persons internally displaced from destroyed Palestinian villages in the OPT during the 1967 war (10,000 persons). This figure is adjusted on the basis of the average annual growth rate (3.5 percent until 2005, and 3.0 percent for the years 2006-2008);
- b) persons (13,000 individuals: 2,000 households with an average of 6.5 persons) whose shelters were totally destroyed during Israel’s war on the Gaza Strip at the end of 2008 (see OCHA report on Gaza crisis, 30 March 2009:
http://www.ochaopt.org/gazacrisis/admin/output/files/ocha_opt_gaza_humanitarian_situation_report_2009_03_30_english.pdf).
- c) the average number of Palestinians displaced by house demolition (1,037) each year between 1967 and 2008 (see BADIL: *Survey of Palestinian Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons 2006-2007*). This number is not adjusted according to the average annual population growth, because it is not known how many IDPs have been able to return to their homes;
- d) persons displaced as a result of harassment by Jewish settlers in the OPT: at least 1,014 Palestinian housing units in the center of Hebron that have been vacated by their occupants in 2007, considering average household of

6.1 person and growth rate of 3.0 percent: B'tselem/The Association for Civil Rights in Israel, Report, *Ghost Town*, May 2007.

- e) persons displaced as a result of revocation of residency rights in Jerusalem: the total number of ID cards confiscated since 1967 amounts to 8,269 (see PCBS, 2008: *Jerusalem Statistical Yearbook*, no.10, p. 358). This number does not include the children (under the age of 16 years) of persons whose resident status was revoked (other sources estimate that 80,000 persons have been affected by the revocation of Jerusalem ID cards since 1967), and it does not account for ID cards that may have been reinstated due to the lack of information. Also not included are 4,577 Jerusalem residents who had their ID cards confiscated in 2008, preliminary statistics on which were only published in the last weeks of 2009. Nir Hasson, "Israel Stripped Thousands of Jerusalem Arabs of Residency in 2008", *Haaretz*, 2 December 2009;
- f) 14,364 persons who were displaced by the Wall as of July 2005 (see PCBS, 2008: *Jerusalem Statistical Yearbook* no. 10, p. 366), with the population growth (3.0 percent) added for 2006-2008.

Note: Estimate includes 1948 Palestinian refugees who have subsequently undergone internal displacement in the OPT. Their number is estimated to be 37,000 persons at the end of 2008 (categories b – f), based on PCBS data which shows that 1948 refugees constitute 40 percent of the total Palestinian population in the OPT. If displaced refugees are deducted, the estimate of Palestinian IDPs in the OPT at the end of 2008 amounts to 91,708.

Persons who are neither 1948 nor 1967 Refugees and who are externally displaced

No statistical estimate is possible of the current size of this group, because not enough precise data is available. For illustrative examples and case studies, see *Chapter One, Appendix 1.1, Occupation, Apartheid, Colonization (1967 – 2009)*.

Endnotes

- 1 PCBS, 2009. Revised estimate based on the final results of Population, Housing and Establishment Census 2007. Ramallah-Palestine. Also see Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics, 2009. Press release on the 61st Anniversary of Nakba. Ramallah-Palestine ([www.pcbs.gov.ps:press releases](http://www.pcbs.gov.ps:press%20releases))
- 2 For relevant studies, findings and references, see Appendix 2.1.
- 3 The definition of a Palestinian refugee used here (*see Glossary*) is based on the 1951 UN Conciliation Commission for Palestine draft definition. See *Addendum to Definition of a "Refugee"*, para. 11 of *General Assembly Resolution of 11 December 1948* (prepared by the Legal Advisor), UN Doc. W/61/Add.1, 29 May 1951. UNRWA has a working definition of 1948 Palestinian refugees that serves to determine eligibility for assistance: "[Palestine refugee] shall mean any person whose normal place of residence was Palestine during the period 1 June 1946 to 15 May 1948 and who lost both home and means of livelihood as a result of the 1948 conflict." *Consolidated Registration Instructions (CRI)*, 1 January 1993, para. 2.13. Some 82,000 persons were removed from the registration record in 1950 and 1951. See Takkenberg, Lex, *The Status of Palestinian Refugees in International Law*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998, p. 70.
- 4 See Annual Growth rate of registered Palestine refugees and female percentage, 1953–2000: <http://www.un.org/unrwa/publications/index.html>
- 5 Original registration was carried out by the International Committee of the Red Cross, the League of Red Crescent Societies and (in the Gaza Strip) by the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC). During 1950–51, UNRWA carried out a census in all areas of operations, excluding the Gaza Strip, where it relied on AFSC records. UNRWA registration includes an individual registration number, a family registration number, and a family code that links the computerized demographic data in the family registration number sheet with the non-computerized data in the family files. The latter includes birth, marriage, and death certificates and a limited number of property deeds. For more information, see *Reinterpreting the Historical Record: The Uses of Palestinian Refugee Archives for Social Science Research and Policy Analysis*, Tamari, Salim and Zureik, Elia (eds.). Jerusalem: Institute for Jerusalem Studies, 2001.
- 6 Public Information Office, UNRWA Headquarters, Gaza: <http://www.un.org/unrwa/publications/pdf/uif-dec08.pdf> (visited 27 March, 2009).
- 7 *Annual Report of the Director of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East*, 1 July 1951–30 June 1952. UN GAOR, 7th Sess., Supp. 13 (A/2171), 30 June, 1952, para. 8. Initial registration files for these internally displaced Palestinians include six boxes consisting of 11,304 family cards and 5,155 correction cards. Each card contains details such as names, age, sex, occupation, past addresses and the "distribution center" to which the family was attached. UNRWA refers to these files as "dead" files. Tamari, Salim and Zureik, Elia (eds.) op. cit. (2001), p. 45. UNRWA records show that about 45,800 persons receiving relief in Israel were the responsibility of UNRWA until June 1952. See <http://www.un.org/unrwa/publications/index.html>
- 8 UNGA Resolution 37/120 (I), 16 December, 1982. *Report of the Secretary-General*, 12 September, 1983, UN Doc. A/38/382.
- 9 The children of refugee women and non-refugee fathers have remained ineligible for registration with UNRWA. This, although the Agency is aware of this discrimination and has promised since 2004 to revise this policy, "with a view to enabling descendants of female refugees married to non-refugees to register with UNRWA." UNRWA stated that the Agency "is of the opinion that the continued application of its registration rules is unfair and unfounded, as the status of refugees should not be based on such considerations, and discrimination between males married to non-refugees vs. females married to non-refugees is unjustified.... The Agency estimates that this could potentially benefit approximately 340,000 persons, but expects that a significantly lower number will actually wish to register. Of those who will register, not all will be interested in availing themselves of the Agency's services. As a result, the quantitative impact of this modification in the registration rules on the Agency's operations is considered to be manageable." *Report of the Commissioner-General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East*, 1 July 2003–30 June, 2004. UN GAOR, Sixtieth Session, Supp. 13 (A/59/13), 2005 para. 67, p. 19.
- 10 2007 *Global Trends: Refugees, Asylum-seekers, Returnees, Internally Displaced and Stateless Persons*, UNHCR 2008; 2008 *Global Trends: Refugees, Asylum-seekers, Returnees, Internally Displaced and Stateless Persons*, UNHCR, 10 June, 2009.
- 11 Israel last carried out a census of the IDP population in 1949, in order to plan for internal transfer of Palestinians who remained after the 1948 war. According to this census, which did not cover all areas, there were 7,005 IDPs from 56 villages of origin residing in 26 different Palestinian villages in the Galilee. Central Zionist Archive, A-206/246. Census documents are archived in the Yosef Weitz file, 296/246 and 206/246. Cited in Cohen, Hillel, *The Present Absentees: Palestinian Refugees in Israel Since 1948* [Hebrew]. Jerusalem: Van Leer Institute, 2000.
- 12 Kamen, Charles S., "After the Catastrophe I: The Arabs in Israel, 1948–51," *Middle Eastern Studies*, 23, no.4 (October 1987) Table 11: Distribution of localities which continued to exist in northern Israel, by the number of refugees who entered them, p. 473.
- 13 "Palestinians in Israel: Socio-Economic Survey, 2004", prepared by Ahmad El-Sheikh Muhammad, Shefa-Amr: The Galilee Society, Rizak and Mada al-Carmel, July 2005, p. 78.
- 14 Report of the Secretary General under General Assembly Resolution 2252 (ES-V) and *Security Council Resolution 237 (1967)*, UN Doc. A/6797, 15 September 1967.
- 15 For more details, see Wilson Harris, William, *Taking Root: Israeli Settlement in the West Bank, the Golan and the Gaza-Sinai, 1967–1980*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, 1980.
- 16 Amro, Tayseer, "Displaced Persons: Categories and Numbers Used by the Palestinian Delegation [to the Quadripartite Committee] (not including spouses and descendants)." *Article 74*, 14, Jerusalem: BADIL/Alternative Information Center for Palestinian Residency and Refugee Rights, 1995, Table 5: Palestinian Estimates of Displaced Persons and Refugees During the 1967 War.
- 17 Figure derived from population estimates in the area cited in *Final Report of the UN Economic Survey Mission for the Middle East*, "Part I, The Final Report and Appendices", p. 1. Population figures for Jordan, Lebanon, Syria and Iraq are from the Jordan Data Profile, Lebanon Data Profile, Syrian Arab Republic Data Profile, and Iraq Data Profile, *World Development Indicators Database*, World Bank, July 2001.
- 18 Abu Sitta, Salman, *From Refugees to Citizens at Home: The End of the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict*. London: The Palestinian Return Centre, 2001, p. 23.
- 19 A camp, according to UNRWA's working definition, is a plot of land placed at the disposal of the Agency by a host government for accommodating Palestine refugees, and for setting up facilities to cater to their needs. The plots of land on which camps were originally set

- up either belong to the state, or, in most cases, are leased from local landowners by the host government. This means that the refugees in camps do not “own” the land on which their shelters stand, but have the right to “use” the land for a residence.
- 20 See: *Report of the Commissioner-General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East*, 1 July 2004–30 June 2005. UN GAOR, Sixtieth Session, Supp. 13 (A/60/13), 2005 para. 114, p. 27.
 - 21 Ali Sha'aban, Hussein, *Palestinian Refugees in Lebanon from Hosting through Discrimination* [Arabic]. Jerusalem: PASSIA, 2002. See also: Ugland, Ole (ed.), *Difficult Past, Uncertain Future: Living Conditions Among Palestinian Refugees in Camps and Gatherings in Lebanon*, FAFO Institute for Applied Social Science, Oslo, 2003; and, Sari Hanafi and Åge A. Tiltne, *The Employability of Palestinian Professionals in Lebanon: Constraints and Transgression*.
 - 22 See *Chapter One*, 1.3 Forced Displacement in Host Countries, for examples of armed conflicts that have impacted Palestinian refugees in Arab host countries.
 - 23 For a discussion of statelessness and “protection gaps” which impact the situation of Palestinian refugees and IDPs, see *Chapter Three*.
 - 24 See: Jacobsen, Laurie Blome, *Finding Means: UNRWA's Financial Crisis and Refugee Living Conditions. Volume I: Socio-economic Situation of Palestinian Refugees in Jordan, Lebanon, Syria and the West Bank and Gaza Strip*. Oslo: FAFO, Institute for Applied Social Science, 2003, p. 20.
 - 25 <http://www.un.org/unrwa/publications/index.html> (accessed 20 March 2009)
 - 26 Calculations based on: *Statistical Abstract of Palestine* 8, PCBS, 2007; pp. 56, 61 and 66. Also: Demographic Survey, PCBS, 1995; and: *Palestinian Family Survey*, PCBS, 2006.
 - 27 Inside Israel, 39.7% of the Palestinian population is under the age of 15. See Table 2.1.3: Percentage Distribution of Palestinians in Israel by Age Groups and Sex (2007), *Statistical Abstract of Palestine* 9, PCBS, 2008, p. 176. In the OPT, 44.1% of the Palestinian population is under the age of 15. See Table 3.2.4: Projected Population in the Palestinian Territory in the End Year by Age Groups and Sex (2007), *Statistical Abstract of Palestine* 9, PCBS, 2008, p. 251.
 - 28 Dalen, Kristen and Jon Pedersen, *The Future Size of the Palestinian Population of the West Bank and Gaza Strip*, FAFO Report 433, 2004, p. 7.
 - 29 *Infant Mortality Rate in the occupied Palestinian territory*, *Child Basic Indicators*, UNICEF Website, 2005. Statistics for Palestinian-Arab population in Israel were obtained from “The Arab Population of Israel 2003”, *Statistilite* 50, Israel Central Bureau of Statistics.
 - 30 The labor force participation rate is defined as the proportion of employed and working persons above the age of 15 to the total population of that age. Employed persons include everyone who has worked for at least one hour within a set reference period for pay in cash or in kind, as well as those temporarily absent from a job they perform on a regular basis. The unemployment range is defined as the proportion of unemployed persons among the total labor force. Unemployed persons include everyone who did not work in the set reference period, not even for one hour, although they were available for work and actively sought work during that period.
 - 31 Jacobsen, op. cit. (2003), p. 114–15.
 - 32 *Palestinians in Israel: Socio-Economic Survey 2007*, The Galilee Society and Rizak, 2008, p. 162.
 - 33 Gross National Income and cost of living in Syria, however, is also lower. The situation is very different in Lebanon, where GNI and cost of living are much higher; see: Jacobsen, Laurie Blome, *Finding Means: UNRWA's Financial Crisis and Refugee Living Conditions*, p. 148. Cost of living in the OPT is comparable to Israel and higher than in most Arab host countries.
 - 34 *Statistical Abstract of Palestine* 9, PCBS, 2008, p. 121
 - 35 The fiscal crisis of the Palestinian Authority resulted in severe income losses for about a quarter of its work force and their dependents – about 25% of the OPT population. UN OCHA, *A Year of Decline: The Financial and Institutional Status of the Palestinian Authority*, OCHA Special Focus, Jerusalem, April 2007.
 - 36 *Prolonged Crisis in the occupied Palestinian Territory: Socio-Economic Developments in 2007*, UNRWA, 2008. In 2007, the standards for poverty and deep poverty in the OPT for an average household of 6 persons (two adults and four children) were defined as NIS 2,362 (USD 572) and NIS 1,886 (USD 457) in monthly expenditures respectively (at average NIS/USD exchange rate of 4.1).
 - 37 “Food Security in Palestine” *Palestine Monitor*, 5 May, 2009
 - 38 *Comprehensive Food Security and Vulnerability Analysis (CFSVA)*: West Bank and Gaza Strip, UN Food and Agriculture Organization and UN World Food Program, January 2007, p. vi.
 - 39 Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics, 2008: Press release on refugee demography on World Refugee Day.
 - 40 Life in the Gaza Strip six weeks after the armed conflict 27 December 2008–17 January 2009. Evidence from a household sample survey, FAFO and UNFPA, 2009.
 - 41 *Inside Gaza: Attitudes and perceptions of Gaza Strip residents in the aftermath of the Israeli military operations*, UNDP, 2009
 - 42 “The Human Rights Status of the Palestinian Arab Minority, Citizens of Israel” October 2008, Mossawa Center, p.20.
 - 43 “Two-thirds of Arab children in Israel live in poverty”, Mossawa Center, 30 January, 2007.
 - 44 “Ethnicity and social status determines poverty rates” (www.arabic.people.com.cn, accessed 10 April, 2009)
 - 45 Jacobsen, Laurie Blome, *Finding Means: UNRWA's Financial Crisis and Refugee Living Conditions*, p. 58.
 - 46 These figures exclude kitchens, bathrooms, hallways and verandas. Non-camp figures for Lebanon and Syria only include refugee “gatherings” (defined as a community outside a camp with 25 or more households). Jacobsen, Laurie Blome, op. cit. (2003), p. 64.
 - 47 “Access to adequate sanitation and water resources is lacking in Syria compared to many other countries in the region. UNDP estimates (2001) report that some 10% do not have access to proper sanitation (compared to 1% in Jordan and Lebanon) and 20% do not have access to ‘improved’ water resources (compared to 4% in Jordan and none in Lebanon).” Jacobsen, Laurie Blome, “Community Development of Palestinian Refugee Camps: Analytical support to Jordan's preparations for the June 2004 Geneva Conference on the humanitarian need of Palestinian refugees”, *The Material and Social Infrastructure, and Environmental Conditions of Refugee Camps and Gatherings in Lebanon, Jordan and Syria*, FAFO Institute for Applied International Studies, Oslo, 2004, p. 4 of report on Syria and Table 5.
 - 48 *Palestinians in Israel: Socio-Economic Survey 2007*, The Galilee Society and Rizak, 2008, p. 111-132.
 - 49 *Report of the Commissioner-General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East*, 1 July 2004–30 June 2005. UN GAOR, Sixtieth Session, Supp. 13 (A/60/13), 2005 para. 82, p. 20.
 - 50 Jacobsen, Laurie Blome, op. cit. (2003), p. 80.
 - 51 UNICEF Humanitarian Action, Donor Update, 8 December, 2005, p. 3.
 - 52 “Education under Occupation: Disruptions to Palestinian Education Stemming from Israeli Military and Settler Activity, 1 September,

- 2003–30 June, 2005,” Trend Analysis, Palestinian Monitoring Group, Ramallah, 30 October 2005, p. 3.
- 53 *A Year of Decline: The Financial and Institutional Status of the Palestinian Authority*, OCHA Special Focus, Jerusalem, April 2007.
- 54 *Ibid.*
- 55 For statistics based on a variety of official and NGO sources, see for example: <http://www.ifamericansknew.org/> (accessed 13 May, 2009). See also *Chapter One, 1.2.1 Excessive and Indiscriminate Use of Force; Deportation; Detention and Torture*
- 56 *Impact of the Expansion and Annexation Wall on the Socioeconomic Conditions of Palestinian Households in the Localities in which the Wall Passes Through in the West Bank* (August 2005), Press Conference on the Survey Results, Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics, Ramallah, February 2006, p. 7.
- 57 “Finding Means: UNRWA’s Financial Situation and the Living Conditions of Palestinian Refugees, Summary Report”, FAFO: Institute for Applied Social Science, 2000. Figures for Lebanon and Syria include camps and “gatherings” (defined as a community outside a camp with 25 or more households).
- 58 Some 80% of refugee children in camps receive their full range of vaccinations at 12 through 23 months in the OPT and Jordan. These figures are 70% for Syria and 75% for Lebanon. Jacobsen, Laurie Blome, op. cit. (2003), p. 10.
- 59 Infant mortality rates among registered refugees have dropped from 180 deaths per 1,000 live births in the 1960s, to 32–35 per 1,000 in the 1990s. This is well ahead of the World Health Organization (WHO) target for developing countries of 50 per 1,000 by the year 2000. “The stagnation of infant mortality rate [in the OPT] is due mainly to slow progress or worsening of neonatal mortality rates.” UNICEF Humanitarian Action, *Donor Update*, 8 December, 2005, p. 2.
- 60 *Occupied Palestinian Territory*, Selected Statistics, UNICEF, Jerusalem, updated 21 July 2006.
- 61 *Report of the Commissioner-General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East*, 1 July, 2004–30 June, 2005. UN GAOR, Sixtieth Session, Supp. 13 (A/60/13), 2005 para. 68, p. 17.

