

Luxury Alongside Poverty in the Palestinian Authority

Researchers: Yael Kaplan, Ryan Hartney, and Andrew Felsenthal

In communities throughout the Palestinian Authority in the West Bank, a surprising degree of luxury exists alongside the poverty. This study includes “A Photo Album of Palestinian Luxury in the West Bank,” offering a more complete picture of living standards there. The truth is that alongside the slums of the old refugee camps, which the Palestinian government has done little to rehabilitate, a parallel Palestinian society is emerging.

Contents

Introduction.....	2
Palestinian Refugees	5
The Other Side of the West Bank Palestinian Story	6
Palestinian Quality of Life in the West Bank – Indicators	7
Foreign Aid	7
Poverty	7
Life Expectancy	7
Infant Mortality.....	7
Literacy.....	7
Education	8
Water Resources	8
Palestinian Employment in Israel.....	9
Happiness.....	9
A Photo Album of Palestinian Luxury in the West Bank.....	10
Completing the Picture of Palestinian Life in the West Bank	10
The West Bank: Cities and Towns Featured in the Photos	11
Ramallah	11
Nablus	30
Bethlehem.....	36
Hebron	40
Jenin	48
Tubas.....	49
Tulkarem	51
Kalkilya	53
Turmus Ayya	54
Rawabi.....	59
Mazraa ash-Sharqiya.....	60
Birzeit	63
Jericho	64
Kharas.....	65

Introduction

When we think of the Palestinian areas of the West Bank, we think of refugee camps like these.



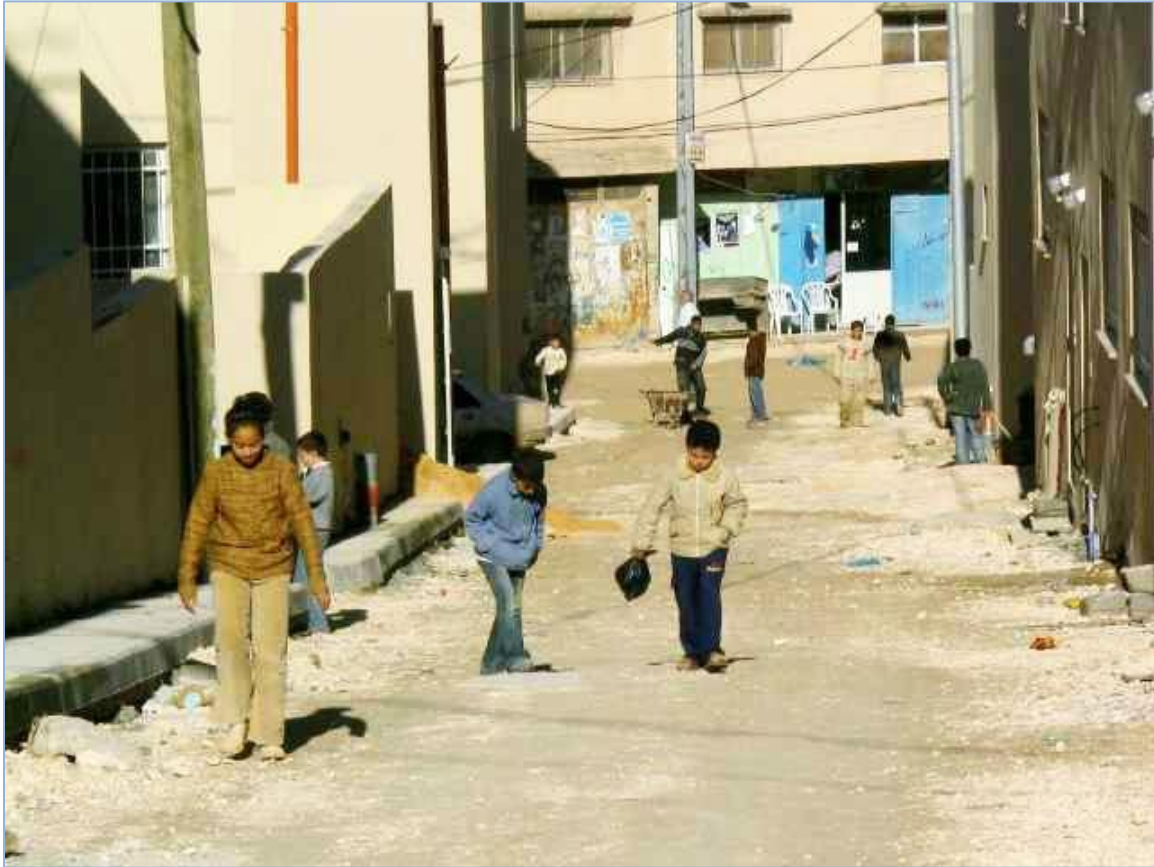
Balata refugee camp near Nablus¹



Balata refugee camp near Nablus²



Beit Jibrin refugee camp in Bethlehem³



Jenin refugee camp⁴



Deheishe refugee camp in Bethlehem⁵

Palestinian Refugees

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) defines a refugee as someone who, “owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality, and is unable to, or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country.”⁶

The UN Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) defines Palestinians as “persons whose normal place of residence was Palestine during the period 1 June 1946 to 15 May 1948, and who lost both home and means of livelihood as a result of the 1948 conflict.” The descendants of male Palestinian refugees, including adopted children, are also eligible for registration. When the Agency began operations in 1950, it was responding to the needs of about 750,000 Palestine refugees. Today, some 5 million Palestine refugees are eligible for UNRWA services.⁷

This unorthodox UNRWA definition of “refugee” eternalizes the Palestinian refugee problem. Sixty-three years is time enough for three, perhaps four, generations. Imagine the grandchildren or great-grandchildren of Jewish refugees who came to the U.S. after the Holocaust referring to themselves as refugees.⁸

Moreover, given the UN definition of a refugee is someone “outside the country of his nationality,” how can there be refugees living within the Palestinian Authority?

As of July 1, 2014, 762,288 refugees were said to be living in 19 camps spread out in the West Bank.⁹ Over the past 67 years the UN and the U.S. have poured billions into the camps to upgrade living conditions. What Palestinian advocates like to call “camp shelters” are typically 4-5 story concrete apartment buildings with electricity, kitchens, satellite television and municipal garbage collection. According to the UN, 99.8% of camp shelters are “connected to water networks” and 87% are “connected to sewerage networks.”¹⁰

The Economist reported that by 2013 almost 70 percent of West Bank Palestinian refugees lived outside the refugee camps.¹¹ However, the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) seeks to maintain the camps and opposes and prevents refugee resettlement. As the PLO slogan goes, A Palestinian refugee never moves out of his camp except to return home (i.e., to Israel).¹²

Unlike all other refugees in previous centuries who were absorbed in their countries of residence, the issue of Palestinian refugees remains on the world agenda due to a political decision by the Arab states to keep them as “refugees.”

After the 1948 war, Jordan and Egypt could have absorbed the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza, which they controlled as part of their own countries. Yet the political motivations of the Arabs for keeping the Palestinian refugee issue alive are clear. Both Arab governments and the Arab League opposed granting citizenship to Palestinian refugees in their countries because it would undermine the use of the right of return to

eliminate the Jewish state. The end result was that the Palestinian refugees became political pawns.¹³

This fact was stated succinctly by the former head of UNRWA, Ralph Galloway: “The Arab states do not want to solve the refugee problem. They want to keep it as an open sore, as an affront to the UN, and as a weapon against Israel. Arab leaders do not give a damn whether Arab refugees live or die.”¹⁴

Moreover, calling these people refugees makes no sense. Few if any live in tent camps or temporary residences. Most own their homes and live in areas of towns that can be classified as working class neighborhoods. Rather than refugees, they are simply the recipients of assistance, mainly for education and health.¹⁵

The Other Side of the West Bank Palestinian Story

There is more to this story, a side often overlooked. In communities throughout the Palestinian Authority in the West Bank, a surprising degree of luxury exists alongside the poverty. After receiving billions of dollars in Western aid over many decades, major improvements are visible in the standard of living in the West Bank, as seen in newly-constructed buildings, late-model cars, and luxury items.

This study offers an often overlooked window into life in the Palestinian Authority. The empirical data, together with the photographic evidence sourced here, provide a more complete picture of living standards in the West Bank. The truth is that alongside the slums of the old refugee camps, which the Palestinian government has done little to rehabilitate, a parallel Palestinian society is emerging.

Marwan Asmar, a Jordan-based journalist with a PhD in political science from Leeds University in the UK, described this phenomenon upon returning to the West Bank after 30 years:

There has been a total transformation since I was last in Howara in the West Bank in 1985. One can see a buzz of activity at the shops, restaurants, offices and cafes. This wasn't the sleepy village I saw long ago. Buildings, villas, mosques and rest areas have been constructed everywhere. There is even a swimming pool.

*This was certainly not the picture I had in mind. This was not the picture the media presents – of Palestinians surviving on daily wages of \$2 as pointed out by the World Bank, of high unemployment and pockets of poverty. The people I spoke to here said many worked as laborers in Israel and were paid high daily wages. This is how they could build their houses, they told me.*¹⁶

As speculation continues about renewing the Israeli-Palestinian peace process, it is important to understand how the quality of life in the West Bank has improved and how a new Palestinian society is emerging – one that requires a changed perception of the reality of Palestinian life.

While the Arab world is in the throes of a major melt-down – with widespread violence and destruction in Syria and Iraq, together with serious instability in Lebanon and Egypt – daily life for Arabs in the West Bank offers a stark contrast to those scenes of violence and decline.

Palestinian Quality of Life in the West Bank – Indicators

Foreign Aid

Since the establishment of Palestinian self-rule in the West Bank and Gaza in the mid-1990s, the U.S. government has committed approximately \$5 billion in bilateral assistance to the Palestinians, who are among the world's largest per capita recipients of international foreign aid.¹⁷ Overall, Palestinians receive approximately \$2 billion in aid each year.¹⁸ Palestinian economic analysts estimate that the PA has received a total of \$25 billion in financial aid during the past two decades.¹⁹

Poverty

The CIA World Factbook reported the poverty rate in the West Bank as 18% in 2011,²⁰ in contrast to Israel's poverty rate in 2012 of 21%.²¹

Life Expectancy

In 2015, life expectancy in the West Bank was 76 years.²² This was notably higher than the life expectancy in Arab states of 71 years (in 2012), and the average life expectancy around the world of 70 years.²³

Infant Mortality

In 2015, the infant mortality rate in the West Bank and Gaza was 13 per 1,000 live births,²⁴ compared with 27 per 1,000 live births in the Arab states in 2013 and 36.58 per 1,000 live births in the world in 2014.²⁵

Literacy

In 2015 the literacy rate for people aged 15 and above in the West Bank and Gaza was 96.5%.²⁶

Education

In 2011, when Palestinians were asked “Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the education system?” 63.5% answered “satisfied”, a higher percentage than the U.S. (62.8), Netherlands (60.3), Sweden (61.6) or Japan (54.6).²⁷ The overall percentage in Arab states was 50.0%.²⁸

Water Resources²⁹

Palestinians insist that they suffer from water shortages due to Israeli policies. However, data shows that Israel has fulfilled all of its obligations according to the signed water agreements with the PA. The development of water supply systems for Palestinian communities has been carried out on an extensive scale, much larger than that called for in the Israeli-Palestinian Interim Agreement.

From 1967-1995 (prior to the signing of the Interim Agreement), the total amount of water supplied to the Palestinians in Judea and Samaria increased from 66 to 120 million cubic meters per year. This additional water was mainly used for domestic consumption. During this period, the number of towns and villages connected to running water through modern supply systems increased from four to 309 communities. In March 2010, 641 of 708 Palestinian communities, which include more than 96 percent of the Palestinian population, were found to be connected to a running water network. Water supply networks for an additional 16 villages (encompassing an additional 2.5 percent of the population) were under construction.

Palestinians claim that the water consumption of the average Israeli is four times greater than that of the average Palestinian. However, this claim is not factually supported. In 1967, there was indeed a large gap in the per capita consumption of water between Israelis and Palestinians due to the ancient water supply systems that existed in the West Bank under British and then Jordanian rule, which needed upgrading. This gap, however, was reduced during the Israeli administration period and the difference is now negligible. The per capita consumption of natural, fresh water in Israel is 150 m³/c/y and in the PA 140 m³/c/y.

In Jordan and Syria, most towns and villages are still not connected to running water. In Amman and Damascus, water distribution takes place only once or twice each week. According to the PA, roughly 33.6 percent of their water leaks from internal pipelines, compared with 11 percent in Israel. Moreover, the Palestinians have violated their part of the water agreements by refusing to build sewage treatment plants (despite available international financing). Thus, raw sewage discharged from Palestinian communities flows freely in many streams in the West Bank.

Palestinian Employment in Israel³⁰

In 2014, Al-Hayat Al-Jadida, the official newspaper of the Palestinian Authority, published an article lauding Israeli employers for their treatment of Palestinian workers in Israel. The article stated, “Whenever Palestinian workers have the opportunity to work for Israeli employers, they are quick to quit their jobs with their Palestinian employers – for reasons having to do with salaries and other rights....The salaries of workers employed by Palestinians amount to less than half the salaries of those who work for Israeli employers.”

“The [Israeli] work conditions are very good, and include transportation, medical insurance and pensions. These things do not exist with Palestinian employers.... Muhammad Al-Hinnawi, a construction worker, says: ‘I receive a daily salary of 70 shekels, without pension, and I have no other choice.’ By contrast, Thaer Al-Louzi, who used to work for an Israeli concrete factory, notes: ‘I received a salary of 140 shekels a day. Now, after I was injured, I receive a salary through the insurance.’”

According to Bassem Eid, founder of the Palestinian Human Rights Monitoring Group, 92,000 Arabs from the West Bank work in Israel each day.³¹

Happiness

According to the 2012 Happy Planet Index – a survey conducted by the New Economics Forum to measure happiness around the world – the Palestinian Authority was the third happiest Arab country and the 30th happiest in the world, making the PA happier than many developed countries like the U.S., UK, Sweden, Australia and Canada.

1. Algeria – 52.2
2. Jordan – 51.7
3. Palestinian Authority – 51.2
4. Iraq – 49.2
5. Tunisia – 48.3
6. Morocco – 47.9
7. Syria – 47.1
8. Saudi Arabia – 46.0
9. Yemen – 43.0
10. Lebanon – 42.9
11. Libya – 40.8
12. Egypt – 39.6
13. Sudan – 37.6
14. Djibouti – 37.2
15. Comoros – 36.5
16. Mauritania – 32.3
17. UAE – 31.8
18. Kuwait – 27.1
19. Bahrain – 26.6
20. Qatar – 25.2³²

A Photo Album of Palestinian Luxury in the West Bank

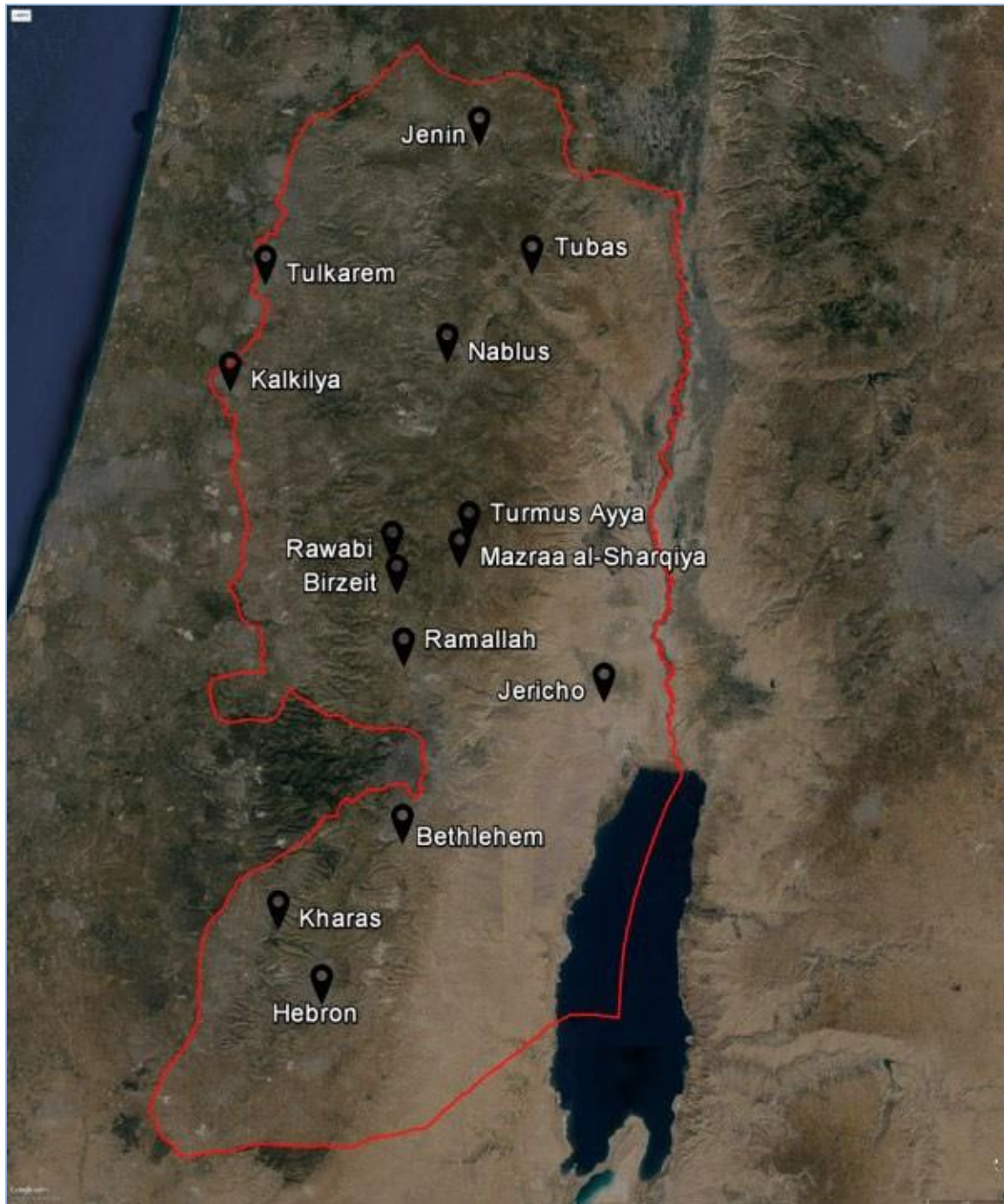
Completing the Picture of Palestinian Life in the West Bank³³

Ramallah's landscape is undergoing a transformation. Multi-story villas fronted by ornamental porticos and columns are rising on Ramallah's hilltops along with glass and marble office buildings. There are newly paved roads. Mövenpick Hotels & Resorts opened Ramallah's first five-star hotel. The 172-room, \$40 million hotel boasts a head chef imported from Florence, a pastry chef from Paris, and a lobby bedecked in marble and Italian suede.

Across the West Bank, similar scenes are unfolding. Building cranes pierce the sky. Outside Nablus, new car dealerships sell everything from BMWs to Hyundais. In Ramallah, the Mercedes dealership does a brisk business selling luxury-class sports cars and sport-utility vehicles to wealthy Palestinians with sticker prices ranging from \$100,000 to \$200,000. The Hirbawi Home Center opened just outside Jenin. The five-story shopping mall cost \$5 million. Fireworks marked the opening. On the fifth floor in-demand electric gadgets may be found: enormous TV screens, vacuum cleaners, espresso machines. The prices are not much cheaper than in Israel, perhaps except for the furniture. One can find china plates, crystal, and classical furniture. The chain's CEO, Ziad Turabi, says, "We believe we can make a very handsome profit. Many people in the... territories have money but they have nowhere to spend it if they're after quality. We offer them the best quality there is."

This may not sound like the familiar description of the West Bank – the impoverished Palestinian village or the overcrowded refugee camp, a population sustaining itself on international aid. But it turns out that quite a few Palestinians consider a plasma screen, a surround sound stereo and comfortable chairs to be fairly essential items.

The West Bank: Cities and Towns Featured in the Photos



The West Bank

Ramallah

“In Ramallah it is difficult to get a table in a good restaurant. There are new apartment buildings, banks, brokerage firms, luxury car dealerships and health clubs.”³⁴



The Palestine Trade Tower in Ramallah is claimed to be the tallest building in the Palestinian Authority.³⁵



Bank of Palestine in Ramallah³⁶



Padico House in Ramallah³⁷



ASAL Technologies building in Ramallah³⁸



Palestine Red Crescent Building in Ramallah³⁹



Jawwal cell phone company in el-Bireh, next to Ramallah⁴⁰



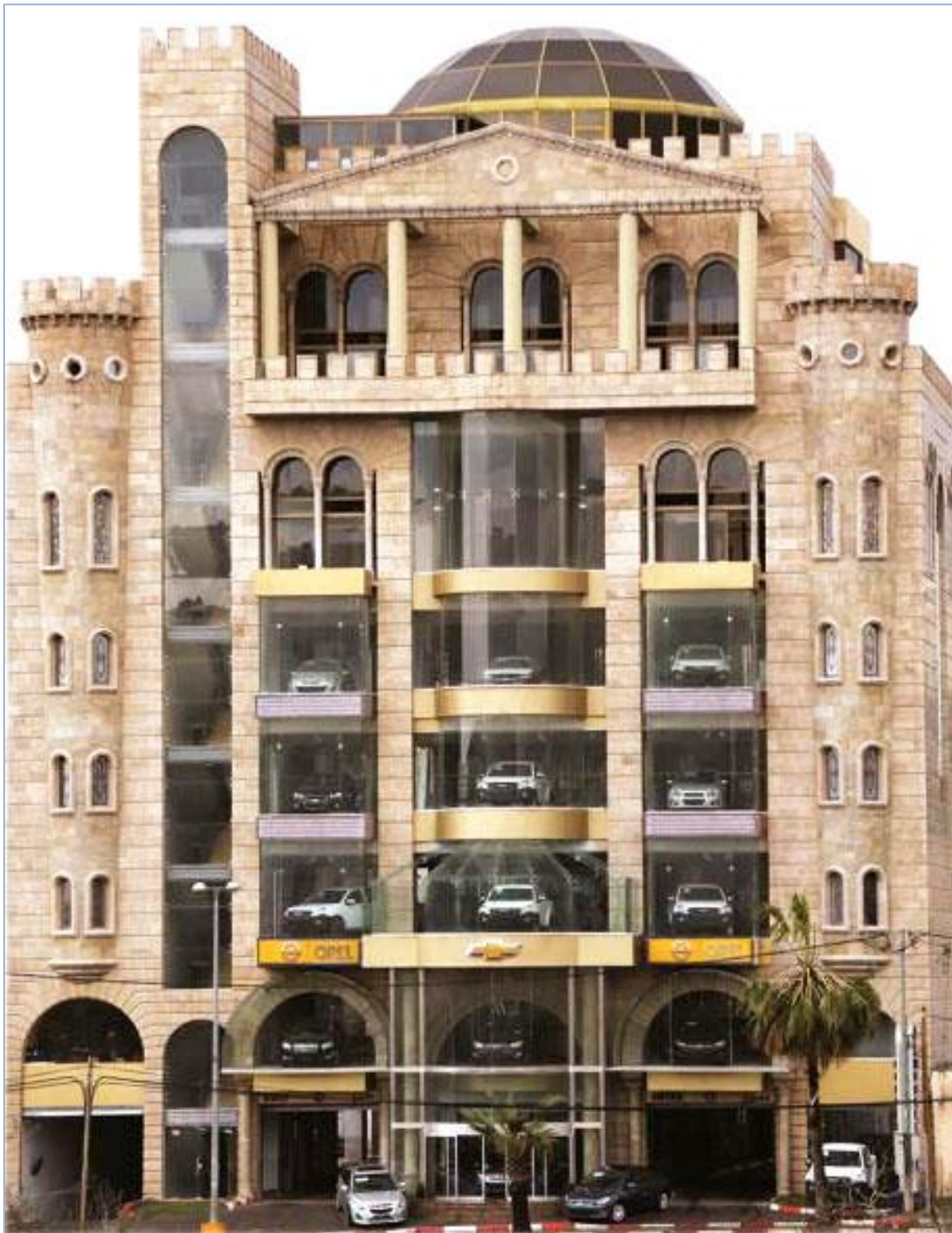
Ramallah tower⁴¹



Bank of Palestine⁴²



Plaza Mall in Al Bireh just north of Ramallah⁴³



Kerish Motor Mall in Beitunia, 3 km. west of Ramallah⁴⁴



The house of Yusuf al-Kifayah in Beitunia⁴⁵



Arab Mansion in Ramallah⁴⁶



Ramallah⁴⁷



The Khalil Sakakini Cultural Center in Ramallah⁴⁸



The Dubai building in Ramallah's upscale Al-Masyoun neighborhood⁴⁹



A villa in Ramallah⁵⁰



Ethiad, a new district of Ramallah⁵¹



Movenpick Hotel in Ramallah⁵²



Movenpick Hotel in Ramallah⁵³



An event hall in the Movenpick Hotel in Ramallah⁵⁴



Movenpick Hotel in Ramallah⁵⁵



Grand Park Hotel, Ramallah⁵⁶



The Caesar Hotel, Ramallah⁵⁷



Sky Land Park in Ramallah⁵⁸



The Palestinian President's Headquarters at Al Muqata'a in Ramallah⁵⁹



Al Muqata'a – Palestinian Authority Headquarters⁶⁰

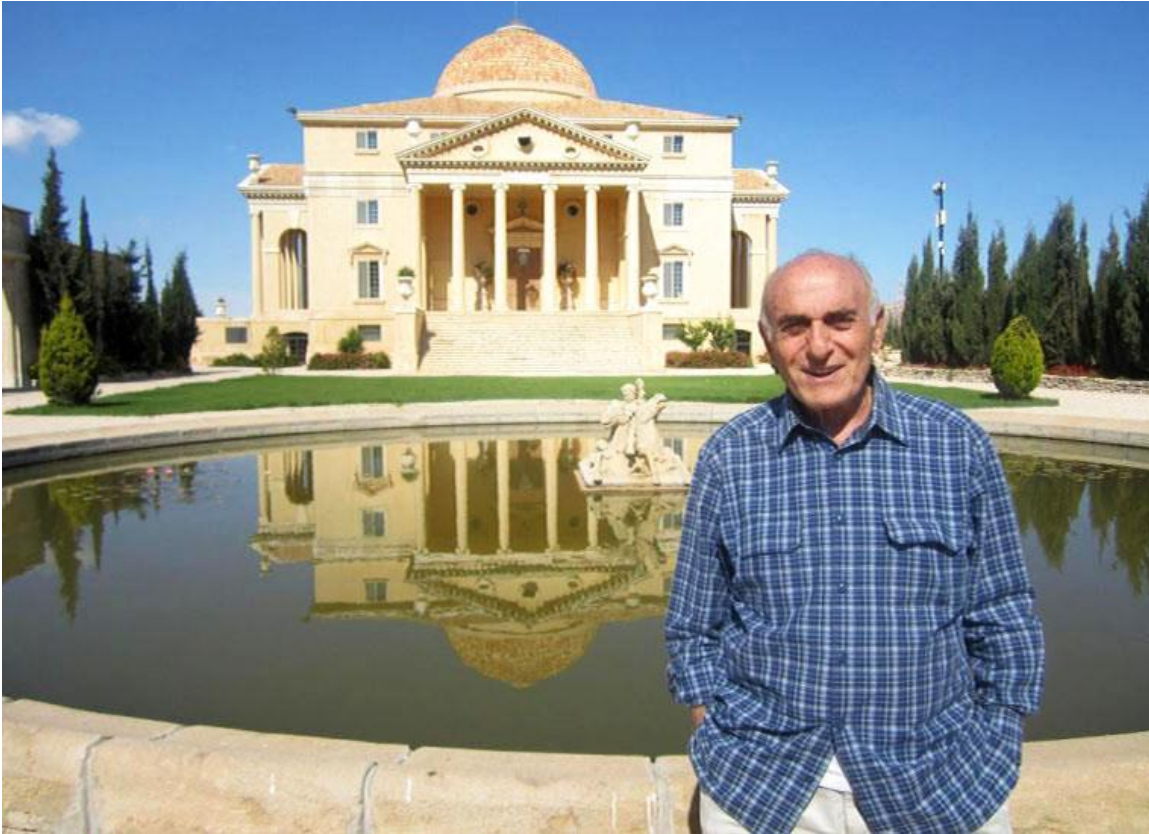


Yasser Arafat's mausoleum in Ramallah⁶¹

Nablus

The West Bank's largest city, Nablus, is bursting with energy, life and signs of prosperity. Bashir al-Shakah, director of Nablus's gleaming Cinema City, where four of the latest

Hollywood hits were playing, said most movies were sold out. In downtown Nablus the shops and restaurants were full. There were plenty of expensive cars on the streets. Indeed, there were considerably more BMWs and Mercedes than in downtown Jerusalem or Tel Aviv.⁶²



Mansion of Munib Al Masri's in Nablus⁶³



An-Najah National University Hospital in Nablus⁶⁴



The Tuqan Building in Nablus⁶⁵



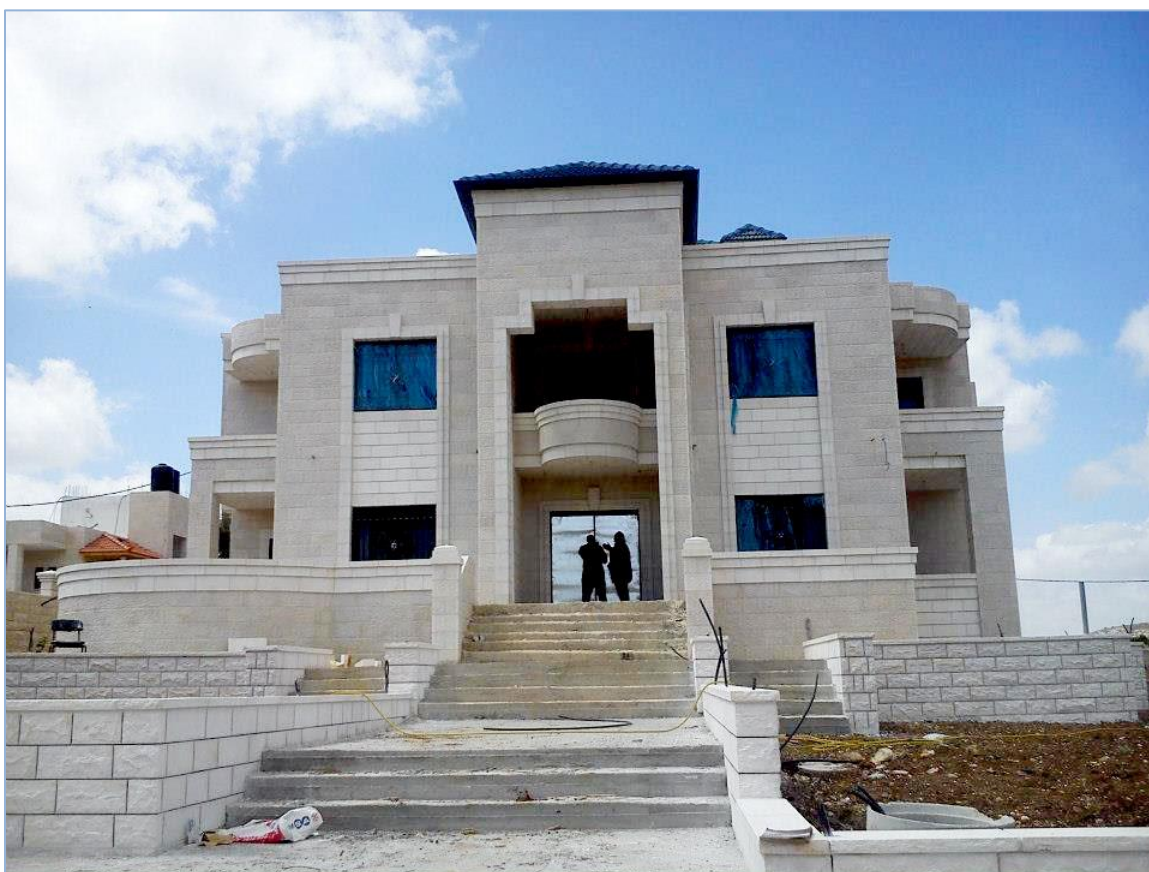
The Nablus Mall⁶⁶



Nablus Mall⁶⁷



Wasef Al-Haj Ahmed Amer Company Building in Nablus⁶⁸



Marwan Jomaa's villa in Nablus⁶⁹

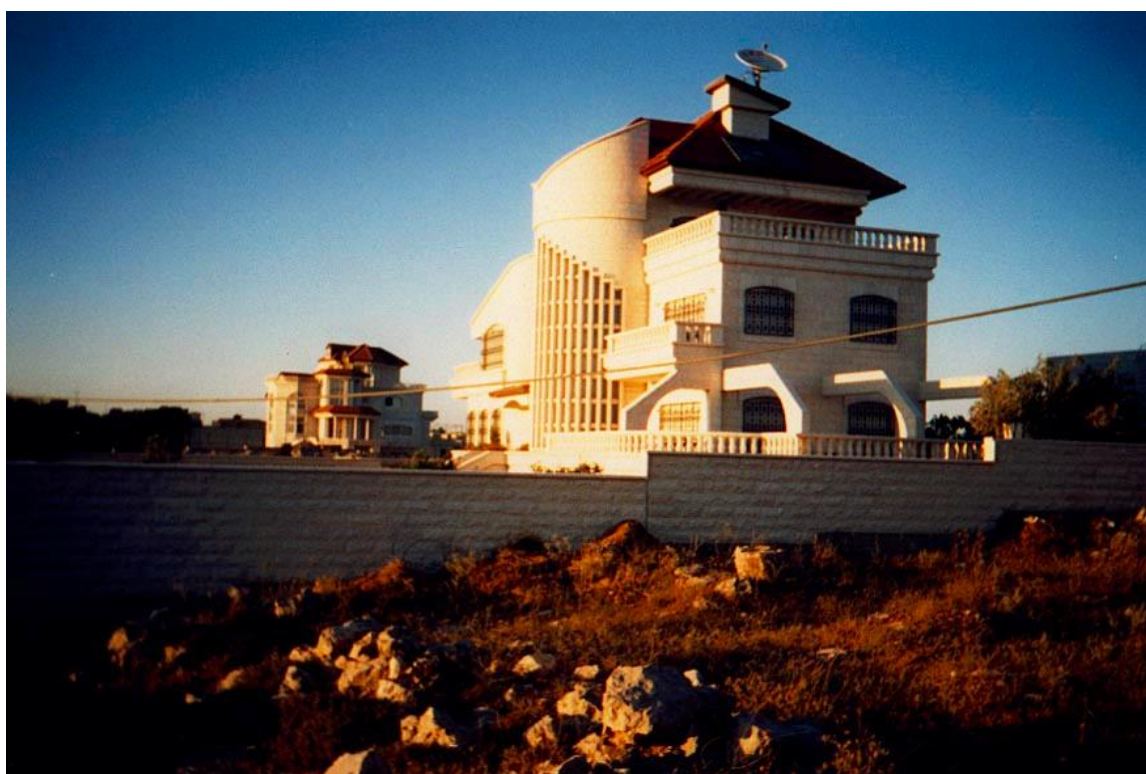


Khalid Abaza's villa in Nablus⁷⁰

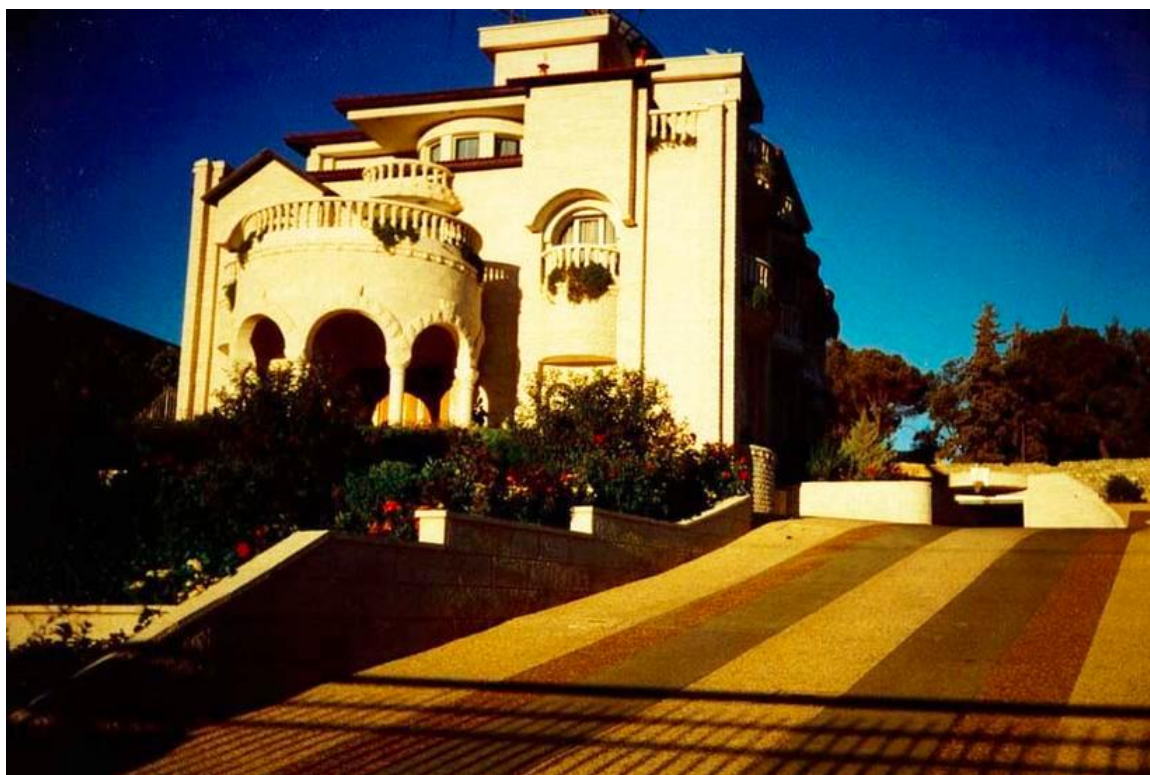


Al Aker Kindergarten in Nablus⁷¹

Bethlehem



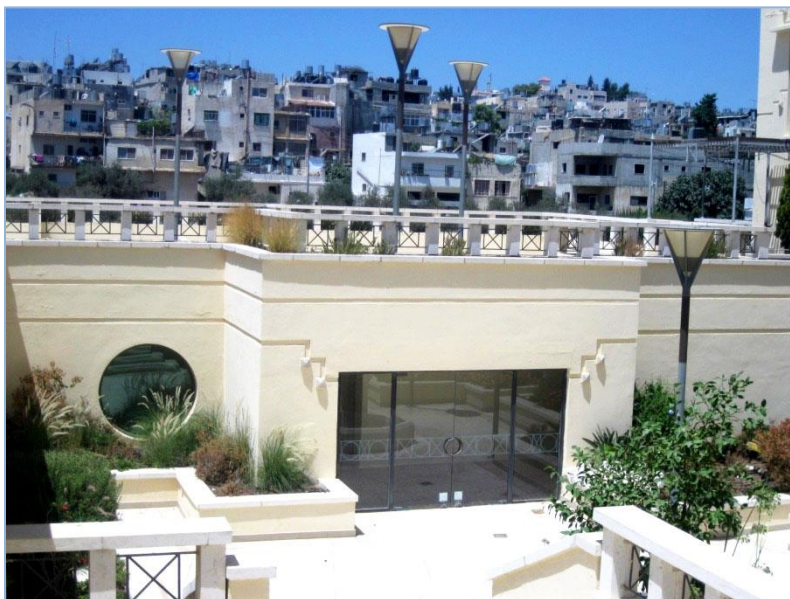
Villa in Beit Jala, in the Bethlehem Governorate⁷²



Villa in Beit Jala, in the Bethlehem Governorate⁷³



Villa in Beit Jala, in the Bethlehem Governorate⁷⁴



The balcony of the Jacir Palace Hotel overlooking the Deheishe Refugee Camp near Bethlehem⁷⁵



The Jacir Palace Hotel in Bethlehem⁷⁶



The Jacir Palace Hotel in Bethlehem⁷⁷



Grand Park Hotel in Bethlehem⁷⁸



St. Vincent Guest House in Bethlehem⁷⁹



The Bethlehem Museum⁸⁰

Hebron

“The shops and restaurants were full in Hebron. Villas comparable in size to those on the Cote d’Azur or Bel Air had sprung up on the hills around the city.”⁸¹



Hebron⁸²



Bank of Palestine in Hebron⁸³



Hebron Plaza Shopping Center⁸⁴



The City Center complex in Hebron⁸⁵



Manara Square in Hebron⁸⁶



Hussain Ben Ali Stadium, Hebron⁸⁷



Near Sakha Square in Hebron⁸⁸



Hebron University entrance⁸⁹



Hebron covered in snow on December 13, 2013⁹⁰



Hebron, March 2015⁹¹



Hebron, March 2015⁹²



Sa'ir Municipality, north of Hebron⁹³

Jenin



The Arab American University of Jenin⁹⁴



Ibrahim Haddad's Villa in Jenin⁹⁵

Tubas



House of Muhannad Al-Hadiri in Tubas⁹⁶



The Maslmani villa in Tubas⁹⁷

Tulkarem

The Tayeh Building in Tulkarem⁹⁸Villa Thabet Omar in Tulkarem⁹⁹



Iyad Qasem Villa in Tulkarem¹⁰⁰



Palestine Technical University in Tulkarem¹⁰¹

Kalkilya

The Mecca project in Kalkilya¹⁰²

Turmus Ayya



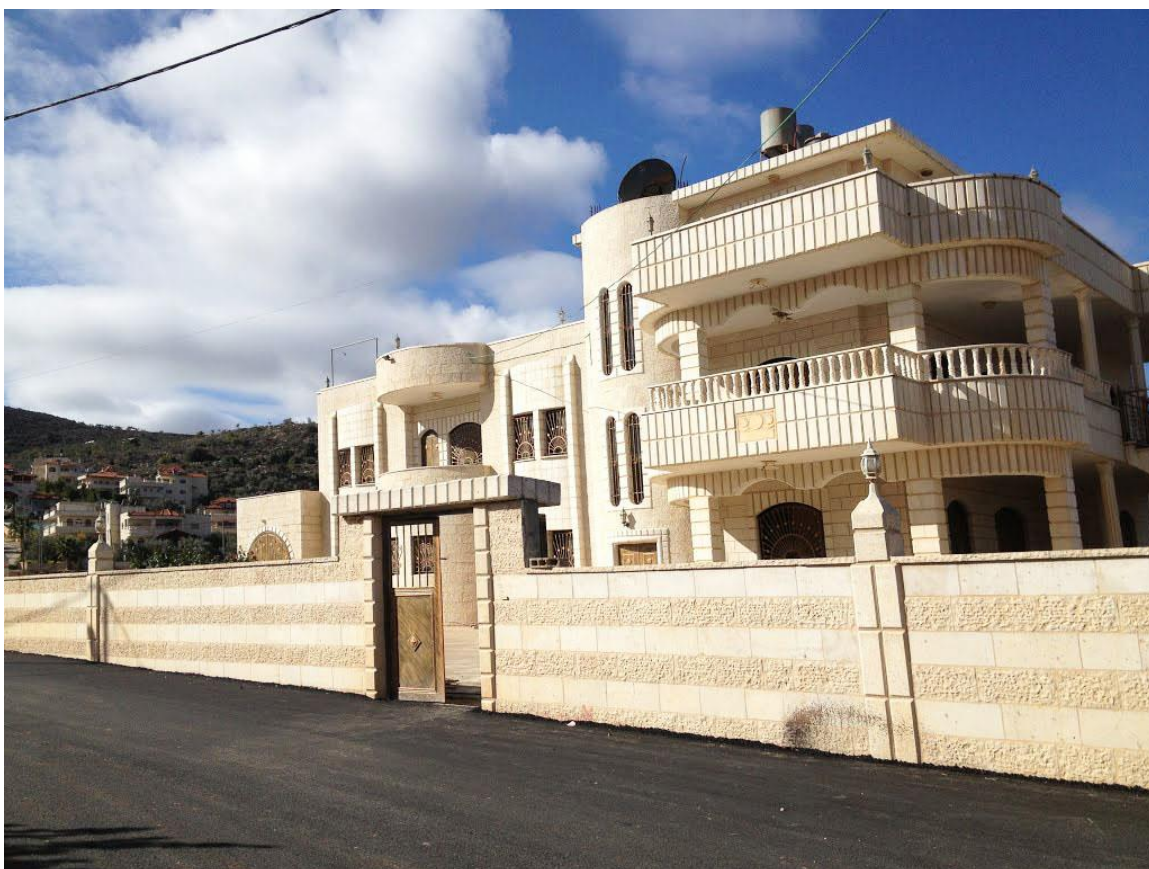
Turmus Ayya¹⁰³



Turmus Ayya¹⁰⁴



Ahmed Kassem in front of his villa of in the West Bank village of Turmus Aya¹⁰⁵



Home of Taiseer Alkam in Turmus Aya¹⁰⁶



Turmus Ayya¹⁰⁷



Turmus Ayya¹⁰⁸



Turmus Ayya¹⁰⁹

Turmus Ayya¹¹⁰Turmus Ayya¹¹¹

Rawabi



The new Palestinian city of Rawabi¹¹²



The new city of Rawabi¹¹³

Mazraa ash-Sharqiya



Mazraa ash-Sharqiya¹¹⁴



Mazraa ash-Sharqiya Villa¹¹⁵



Marzaa ash-Sharqiya villa¹¹⁶



Mazraa ash-Sharqiya villa¹¹⁷



Mazraa ash-Sharqiya (under construction)¹¹⁸



Mazraa ash-Sharqiya¹¹⁹



Mazraa ash-Sharqiya Sports Complex¹²⁰

Birzeit



Birzeit University¹²¹

Jericho

Bab ash-Shams resort near Jericho¹²²Jericho Village resort¹²³

Kharas



House of Palestinian businessman Mohamed Abdel-Hadi¹²⁴



Kharas¹²⁵

Kharas¹²⁶Kharas¹²⁷

* * *

Notes

- ¹ Khaled Abu Toameh, "PA Arrests Residents of West Bank's Balata Refugee Camp, Sparking Unrest in Area," *Jerusalem Post*, April 13, 2015, <http://www.jpost.com/Arab-Israeli-Conflict/Gunmen-from-the-Balata-refugee-camp-396946>
- ² Annainthemiddleeast.com, "Balata Refugee Camp," http://annainthemiddleeast.com/photos/refugee_camps/balata/134/
- ³ DennisFox.Net, "Dennis Fox's Israel/Palestine Photos," December 29, 2004, http://photo.dennisfox.net/galleries/2005/israelpalestine/refugeecamps/pages/page_2.html
- ⁴ DennisFox.Net, "Dennis Fox's Israel/Palestine Photos," January 8, 2005, http://photo.dennisfox.net/galleries/2005/israelpalestine/refugeecamps/pages/page_19.html
- ⁵ Ruben's Blog, "Be Seeing You!" August 14, 2010, <https://rubenopreis.wordpress.com/>
- ⁶ UNHCR, "Refugees: Flowing Across Borders," <http://www.unhcr.org/pages/49c3646c125.html>
- ⁷ UNRWA, "Palestine Refugees," <http://www.unrwa.org/palestine-refugees>
- ⁸ Peter Wilson, "The Myth of the Palestinian 'Refugee Camps'," *American Thinker*, May 24, 2011, http://www.americanthinker.com/articles/2011/05/the_myth_of_the_palestinian_re.html
- ⁹ UNRWA, "Where We Work," July 1, 2014, <http://www.unrwa.org/where-we-work/west-bank>
- ¹⁰ Wilson, "The Myth of the Palestinian 'Refugee Camps'."
- ¹¹ "A New Type of Settlement," *The Economist*, October 12, 2013, <http://www.economist.com/news/middle-east-and-africa/21587846-some-palestinians-want-their-people-abandon-refugee-camps-without-demanding>
- ¹² Alex Safian, "Why Palestinians Still Live in Refugee Camps," *Committee for Accuracy in Middle East Reporting in America*, http://www.camera.org/index.asp?x_context=18&x_article=960
- ¹³ Sidney Zabłudoff, "The Palestinian Refugee Issue: Rhetoric vs. Reality," *Jewish Political Studies Review*, v. 20, no. 1-2 (Spring 2008), <http://jcpa.org/article/the-palestinian-refugee-issue-rhetoric-vs-reality/>
- ¹⁴ Terence Prittie, "Middle East Refugees," in Michael Curtis et al., eds., *The Palestinians: People History, Politics* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Books, 1975), p. 71.
- ¹⁵ Zabłudoff, "The Palestinian Refugee Issue."
- ¹⁶ Marwan Asmar, "A Trip into the Heart of Palestine," *Gulf News* (Dubai), June 17, 2015, <http://gulfnews.com/culture/people/a-trip-into-the-heart-of-palestine-1.1536536>.
- ¹⁷ Jim Zanotti, "U.S. Foreign Aid to the Palestinians," Congressional Research Service, July 3, 2014, <https://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/RS22967.pdf>.
- ¹⁸ Global Humanitarian Assistance, "Global Humanitarian Assistance Report 2015," June 2015, http://www.globalhumanitarianassistance.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/GHA-Report-2015-Interactive_Online.pdf p – 141
- ¹⁹ Khaled Abu Toameh, "What Are Palestinians Doing with U.S. Money?," *Gatestone Institute*, August 19, 2015, <http://www.gatestoneinstitute.org/6353/palestinians-us-aid>
- ²⁰ CIA, "The World Factbook: West Bank," Central Intelligence Agency, August 6, 2015, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/resources/the-world-factbook/geos/we.html>
- ²¹ CIA, "The World Factbook: Israel," Central Intelligence Agency, August 10, 2015, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/resources/the-world-factbook/geos/is.html>

- ²² CIA, "The World Factbook: West Bank," Central Intelligence Agency, August 6, 2015, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/resources/the-world-factbook/geos/we.html>
- ²³ UNDP, "Human Development Report 2013," UNDP, 2013, http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/reports/14/hdr2013_en_complete.pdf p – 25
- ²⁴ CIA, "The World Factbook: West Bank," Central Intelligence Agency, August 6, 2015, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/resources/the-world-factbook/geos/we.html>
- ²⁵ CIA, "The World Factbook: World," Central Intelligence Agency, August 6, 2015, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/resources/the-world-factbook/geos/xx.html> The World Bank, "Arab World," Word Bank Group, Date Unknown, <http://data.worldbank.org/region/ARB>
- ²⁶ CIA, "The World Factbook: West Bank," Central Intelligence Agency, August 6, 2015, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/resources/the-world-factbook/geos/we.html>
- ²⁷ UNDP, "Human Development Report 2013," UNDP, 2013, http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/reports/14/hdr2013_en_complete.pdf p – 171
- ²⁸ UNDP, "Human Development Report 2013," UNDP, 2013, http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/reports/14/hdr2013_en_complete.pdf p – 40
- ²⁹ Haim Gvirtzman, "The Israeli-Palestinian Water Conflict: An Israeli Perspective," Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies, Bar-Ilan University, January 2012, <http://www.biu.ac.il/SOC/besa/MSPS94.pdf>. The writer is a professor of hydrology at the Institute of Earth Sciences, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and a member of the Israel Water Authority Council.
- ³⁰ Itamar Marcus and Nan Jacques Zilberdik. "Official PA Daily Lauds Israel's Treatment of Palestinian Workers – PMW Bulletins," *www.palwatch.org*. Palestinian Media Watch, September 23, 2014. http://palwatch.org/main.aspx?fi=157&doc_id=12696, See also "Palestinian Workers Treated Better in Israel," *I24news.tv*. September 24, 2014 <http://www.i24news.tv/en/news/international/middle-east/44941-140924-palestinian-workers-treated-better-in-israel>
- ³¹ "Palestinian Human Rights Campaigner Excoriates Palestinian Leadership," *J-Wire*, August 27, 2015, <http://www.jwire.com.au/palestinian-human-rights-campaigner-excoriates-palestinian-leadership/>
- ³² Happy Planet Index, "The Data," Happy Planet Index, 2012, <http://www.happyplanetindex.org/data/>
- ³³ Stacy Perman, "A National Economy – Without the Nation, *Time*, October 11, 2010, www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,2022572-1,00.html; "How Palestinians Really Live." *San Francisco Sentinel*. December 20, 2010, <http://www.sanfranciscosentinel.com/?p=99842>; Avi Issacharoff, "Luxury Palestinian Mall Signals Transformation of 'Terror Capital'," *Ha'aretz*, June 21, 2009, <http://www.haaretz.com/beta/luxury-palestinian-mall-signals-transformation-of-terror-capital-1.278478>; Tom Gross Mideast Media Analysis, "When we talked about 'Starvation' we Meant Plasma TVs and Café Latte," October 19, 2010, <http://www.tomgrossmedia.com/mideastdispatches/archives/001144.html>
- ³⁴ Tom Gross, "Building Peace without Obama's Interference," *Wall Street Journal Europe*, December 2, 2009, <http://www.wsj.com/articles/SB10001424052748704107104574571491401847518>
- ³⁵ Booking.Com, "فندق فلسطين بلارا" April 1, 2014, <http://www.booking.com/hotel/ps/palestine-plaza.ar.html>

- ³⁶ IsraelArabConflict, "Snapshots from 'Poor' Palestine," February 14, 2014, <http://hthor.blogspot.co.il/2014/02/thanks-for-your-valuable-contribution.html>
- ³⁷ Panoramio, <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/83365135>
- ³⁸ Panoramio, <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/87638784>
- ³⁹ Panoramio, <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/21842336>
- ⁴⁰ Palestine Cellular Communications Co.,Ltd "Jawwal," <http://www.pita.ps/content/palestine-cellular-communications-coltd-%E2%80%9Cjawwal%E2%80%9D>
- ⁴¹ Panoramio, <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/52173672>
- ⁴² Facebook, "Kay Wilson," July 11, <https://www.facebook.com/kishkushkay/posts/10153041292793927>
- ⁴³ Pam Olson, "Fast Times in Palestine," <http://www.pamolson.org/photos.htm>
- ⁴⁴ Wikimapia, "Kerish Motor Mall (Beitunia)," <http://wikimapia.org/30485223/Kerish-Motor-Mall>
- ⁴⁵ Wikimapia, "Beitunia Recent Photos," <http://beitunia.wikimapia.org/en/photos/>
- ⁴⁶ Panoramio, "Big Mansion in Ramallah," <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/5874415>
- ⁴⁷ Elder of Zion, "Documenting the Differences Between Opulent Ramallah and a Squalid UNRWA Camp," July 13, 2015, http://elderofzion.blogspot.co.il/2015/07/documenting-differences-between-opulent.html?utm_medium=twitter&utm_source=twitterfeed#.VaOw5_IVikp
- ⁴⁸ Facebook, "Khalil Sakakini Cultural Center," June 5, 2014, <https://www.facebook.com/pages/Khalil-Sakakini-Cultural-Center/378848385477392?sk=info>
- ⁴⁹ Nabali Fares, "مشروع دبي", <http://nabalifares.ps/index.php/2014-09-28-20-53-27/2014-10-01-19-38-08/item/231-2014-10-01-19-57-29.html>
- ⁵⁰ 4321 Property, "Villa Ramalah," <http://www.4321property.com/palestine/ad694731/> (Accessed on August 23, 2015)
- ⁵¹ Julien Goldstein Photographer, "Ramallah," <http://www.juliengoldstein.com/portfolio/stories/ramallah/>
- ⁵² Flickr, "Movenpick Hotel Ramallah," July 11, 2012, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/audunbakkeandersen/7627684540>
- ⁵³ Booking.Com "فندق موفنبيك رام الله" March 3, 2011, <http://www.booking.com/hotel/ps/moevenpick-ramallah.html>
- ⁵⁴ Movenpick Hotels & Resorts, "Movenpick Hotel Ramallah," <http://www.moevenpick-hotels.com/ar/middle-east/palestine/ramallah/hotel-ramallah/meetings/>
- ⁵⁵ Yamsafer, "Movenpick Hotel Ramallah," <https://www.yamsafer.me/en/Palestine/Ramallah/hotel/m%C3%B6venpick-hotel-ramallah/#/>
- ⁵⁶ Grand Park Hotel, "Wedding," <http://www.grandpark.com/etemplate.php?id=44&menu=124>
- ⁵⁷ Panoramio, <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/52173506>
- ⁵⁸ Facebook, "Sky Land Park," August 25, <https://www.facebook.com/skyland.p/photos/pb.1581401882138533.-2207520000.1441094547.1645352909076763/?type=3&theater>
- ⁵⁹ PEC DAR, "The Presidential Office in Ramallah," <http://www.pecdar.ps/etemplate.php?id=832>

- ⁶⁰ The Times of Israel, "Abbas Announces Broad Probe into Palestinian NGOs," December 8, 2014, <http://www.timesofisrael.com/abbas-announces-broad-probe-into-palestinian-ngos/>
- ⁶¹ Around the World in 80 Clicks, "Arafat Mausoleum," May 2008, <http://www.traveladventures.org/continents/asia/arafat-mausoleum.html>
- ⁶² Tom Gross, "Building Peace without Obama's Interference," *Wall Street Journal Europe*, December 2, 2009, <http://www.wsj.com/articles/SB10001424052748704107104574571491401847518>
- ⁶³ Arizona Jewish Post, "From his West Bank Italian Villa Palestinian Billionaire Munib al-Masri Calls for Peace," November 13, 2012, <http://azjewishpost.com/2012/from-his-west-bank-italian-villa-palestinian-billionaire-munib-al-masri-calls-for-peace/>.
- ⁶⁴ An-Najah National University Hospital, "Services," <http://hospital.najah.edu/en/services/>
- ⁶⁵ Facebook, "Arabex-Arab Experts For Engineering & Consultations," January 26, 2013, <https://www.facebook.com/377223399037285/photos/a.396695480423410.90547.377223399037285/399474210145537/?type=3&theater>
- ⁶⁶ Bntpal.com, "جولة في مدينتي نابلس/ دمشق الصغرى", February 21, 2014, <http://www.bntpal.com/vb/t41233/>
- ⁶⁷ Tom Gross Mideast Media Analysis, "When We Talked About 'Starvation' we Meant Plasma TVs and Café Latte," October 19, 2010, <http://www.tomgrossmedia.com/mideastdispatches/archives/001144.html>
- ⁶⁸ Facebook, "Arabex-Arab Experts For Engineering & Consultations," November 9, 2013, <https://www.facebook.com/377223399037285/photos/a.396695480423410.90547.377223399037285/536666319759658/?type=3&theater>
- ⁶⁹ Facebook, "Arabex-Arab Experts For Engineering & Consultations," April 14, 2013, <https://www.facebook.com/377223399037285/photos/a.396695480423410.90547.377223399037285/436887549737536/?type=3&theater>
- ⁷⁰ Facebook, "Arabex-Arab Experts For Engineering & Consultations," January 21, 2013, <https://www.facebook.com/377223399037285/photos/pb.377223399037285.-2207520000.1438852010./396698443756447/?type=3&theater>
- ⁷¹ Facebook, "Arabex-Arab Experts For Engineering & Consultations," January 21, 2013, <https://www.facebook.com/377223399037285/photos/a.396695480423410.90547.377223399037285/396698433756448/?type=3&theater>
- ⁷² Great Mirror, "Notes on the Geography of the West Bank: Bethlehem 2: the New City: Photo 5," <http://www.greatmirror.com/index.cfm?countryid=450&chapterid=454&picid=5&picturesize=masters>
- ⁷³ Great Mirror, "Notes on the Geography of the West Bank: Bethlehem 2: the New City: Photo 4," <http://www.greatmirror.com/index.cfm?countryid=450&chapterid=454&picid=4&picturesize=big>
- ⁷⁴ Great Mirror, "Notes on the Geography of the West Bank: Bethlehem 2: the New City: Photo 6," <http://www.greatmirror.com/index.cfm?countryid=450&chapterid=454&picid=6&picturesize=masters>
- ⁷⁵ Rhonda Spivak, "First Hand Account: A Balcony With a View: Five Star Luxury Overlooks Deheishe Palestinian Refugee Camp: It's Time for UNRWA Reform," *WinnipegJewishReview.com*, June 16, 2011, http://www.winnipegjewishreview.com/article_detail.cfm?id=1277

- ⁷⁶ Booking.Com, “فندق قصر جاسر” April 4, 2011, http://www.booking.com/hotel/ps/jacir-palace-intercontinental-bethlehem.ar.html?aid=357009;label=gog235jc-region-XX-ps-westNbank-unspec-il-com-L%3Aar-O%3Aunk-B%3Aunk-N%3Ayes-S%3Abo-U%3Aasalo;sid=b32f5b8d043d26fb66912dccf1861c31;dcid=4;dist=0;sb_price_type=total;srfid=6110f186763e3b277f58d6bce3b8cd00153a6094X12;type=total;ucfs=1&
- ⁷⁷ Booking.Com, “فندق قصر جاسر” April 4, 2011, http://www.booking.com/hotel/ps/jacir-palace-intercontinental-bethlehem.ar.html?aid=357009;label=gog235jc-region-XX-ps-westNbank-unspec-il-com-L%3Aar-O%3Aunk-B%3Aunk-N%3Ayes-S%3Abo-U%3Aasalo;sid=b32f5b8d043d26fb66912dccf1861c31;dcid=4;dist=0;sb_price_type=total;srfid=6110f186763e3b277f58d6bce3b8cd00153a6094X12;type=total;ucfs=1&
- ⁷⁸ Booking.Com, “Grand Park Hotel Bethlehem,” October 9, 2013, http://www.booking.com/hotel/ps/grand-park-bethlehem.ar.html?aid=357009;label=gog235jc-region-XX-ps-westNbank-unspec-il-com-L%3Aar-O%3Aunk-B%3Aunk-N%3Ayes-S%3Abo-U%3Aasalo;sid=b32f5b8d043d26fb66912dccf1861c31;dcid=1;dist=0;sb_price_type=total;srfid=6110f186763e3b277f58d6bce3b8cd00153a6094X29;type=total;ucfs=1&
- ⁷⁹ St. Vincent Guest House-Bethlehem, “Guest House,” <http://saintvincentguesthouse.com/en/>
- ⁸⁰ Palestinian Heritage Foundation, “Events,” <http://www.palestineheritage.org/index.htm>
- ⁸¹ Tom Gross, “Building Peace without Obama’s Interference,” *Wall Street Journal Europe*, December 2, 2009, <http://www.wsj.com/articles/SB10001424052748704107104574571491401847518>
- ⁸² Hayah.cc, “صور جديدة لمدينة الخليل وندعوكم لزيارتها قريباً,” <http://www.hayah.cc/forum/t11961.html>
- ⁸³ <http://osaily.com/banks.htm>
- ⁸⁴ Travelzad, “No Name” March 3, 2010, <http://travelzad.net/index.php?action=viewfile&id=151885>
- ⁸⁵ Osaily Trading Contracting Co, “Hebron City Center/Hebron,” <http://www.osaily.com/centers.htm>
- ⁸⁶ Hayah.cc, “صور جديدة لمدينة الخليل وندعوكم لزيارتها قريباً,” <http://www.hayah.cc/forum/t11961.html>
- ⁸⁷ Travelzad, “No Name,” March 3, 2010, <http://travelzad.net/index.php?action=viewfile&id=151891>
- ⁸⁸ Moon158, “صورة مدينتي مدينة الخليل في فلسطين,” September 20, 2010, <http://moon158.yoo7.com/t8567-topic>
- ⁸⁹ Panoramio, “Hebron University Entrance,” March 22, 2011, <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/49838492>
- ⁹⁰ John Davison, “Spectre of Settlers’ Return Looms over West Bank Neighbourhood,” *Your Middle East*, January 1, 2014, http://www.yourmiddleeast.com/news/spectre-of-settlers-return-looms-over-west-bank-neighbourhood_20528
- ⁹¹ Judy Lash Balint, Hebron, March 2015
- ⁹² Judy Lash Balint, Hebron, March 2015
- ⁹³ Alqudstalk.com, “صورة بلدية سعين / محافظة الخليل” September 25, 2009, <http://www.alqudstalk.com/forum/showthread.php?t=3147>
- ⁹⁴ The Arab American University of Jenin, “Faculty of Administrative and Financial Sciences,” <http://www.aauj.edu/?q=node/3>
- ⁹⁵ Flickr, “Ibrahim Haddad’s Villa,” February 24, 2011, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/dlisbona/5515306255>

- ⁹⁶ Panoramio, <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/60218177>
- ⁹⁷ Facebook, "Arabex-Arab Experts For Engineering & Consultations," <https://www.facebook.com/377223399037285/photos/pb.377223399037285.-2207520000.1438850207.410809035678721/?type=3&theater>
- ⁹⁸ Slideshare, "Villa Iyad Qasem, Tulkarm, Palestine", December 18, 2011, <http://www.slideshare.net/jihadawad/buildings-by-jihad-awad>
- ⁹⁹ World Architecture Community, "Villa Thabet Omar," July 19, 2009, <http://www.worldarchitecture.org/architecture-projects/enhm/villa-thabet-omar-building-page.html>
- ¹⁰⁰ Slideshare, "Villa Iyad Qasem, Tulkarm, Palestine", December 18, 2011, <http://www.slideshare.net/jihadawad/buildings-by-jihad-awad>
- ¹⁰¹ Facebook, "Arabex-Arab Experts For Engineering & Consultations," <https://www.facebook.com/377223399037285/photos/a.396695480423410.90547.377223399037285/413359498757008/?type=3&theater>
- ¹⁰² Nabali Fares, "مشروع مكة", <http://nabalifares.ps/index.php/2014-09-28-20-53-27/2014-10-01-19-38-08/item/233-2014-10-01-19-58-35.html>
- ¹⁰³ Wikimapia, "Nice Butefel Villa," <http://wikimapia.org/3986674/nice-butefel-villa>
- ¹⁰⁴ A privately owned house in Turmusayya Wikimapia, "ترمسعيا الصور", <http://turmusayya.wikimapia.org/photos/>
- ¹⁰⁵ The National, "For Palestinian Americans, Home Brings Little Freedom," Hugh Naylor, March 31, 2013, <http://www.thenational.ae/news/world/middle-east/for-palestinian-americans-home-brings-little-freedom>
- ¹⁰⁶ Panoramio, <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/90913790>
- ¹⁰⁷ Mohammad Abu Obeid, "صباحكم هدوء قرية ترمسعيا قضاء رام الله إحدى أجمل قرى فلسطين", Twitter, <https://twitter.com/mobeid/status/585687304402034688>
- ¹⁰⁸ One of Turmus Ayya's sprawling villas. The National, "For Palestinian Americans, Home Brings Little Freedom," Hugh Naylor, March 31, 2013, <http://www.thenational.ae/news/world/middle-east/for-palestinian-americans-home-brings-little-freedom#full>
- ¹⁰⁹ Wikimapia Cityguide, "Turmus Ayya," <http://turmusayya.wikimapia.org/en>
- ¹¹⁰ Wikimapia, "مدرسة ذكور ترمسعيا والارض التابعة", <http://wikimapia.org/4826131/%D9%85%D8%AF%D8%B1%D8%B3%D8%A9-%D8%B0%D9%83%D9%88%D8%B1-%D8%AA%D8%B1%D9%85%D8%B3%D8%B9%D9%8A%D8%A7-%D9%88%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A7%D8%B1%D8%B6-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AA%D8%A7%D8%A8%D8%B9%D8%A9-%D9%84%D9%87%D8%A7>
- ¹¹¹ Wikimapia, "Nice Butefel Villa," <http://wikimapia.org/3986674/nice-butefel-villa>
- ¹¹² Israel Advocacy Movement, "Do Palestinians Have the Lowest Standard of Living in the World?" <http://www.israeladvocacy.net/knowledge/exposing-lies-of-israeli-discrimination/do-palestinians-have-the-lowest-standard-of-living-in-the-world/>
- ¹¹³ About 20 minutes from the Palestinian economic hub of Ramallah, the new city of Rawabi is sprouting.- Judith Sudilovsky, "On the Hills of the West Bank, Building the Good Life for Palestinians," Franciscan Monastery of the Holy Land in America, <http://www.myfranciscan.org/on-the-hills-of-the-west-bank-building-the-good-life-for-palestinians/>

- ¹¹⁴ Hossam Ezzedine, "Palatial Homes Cost Palestinians Dearly," The Daily Star, November 9, 2012, <http://www.dailystar.com.lb/Culture/Lifestyle/2012/Nov-09/194428-palatial-homes-cost-palestinians-dearly.ashx>
- ¹¹⁵ Panoramio, "Home Sweat Home," February 26, 2010, <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/32609287>
- ¹¹⁶ Martin Patience, "West Bank's Own Slice of America," BBC News, July 30, 2007, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/6913724.stm
- ¹¹⁷ BBC Arabic, "بناء المنازل الفخمة في 'ميامي الضفة الغربية'", November 16, 2012, http://www.bbc.com/arabic/multimedia/2012/11/121116_westbank_houses.shtml
- ¹¹⁸ A luxury mansion under construction in the village of Mazraa ash-Sharqiya near the West Bank city of Ramallah. Palestinians who have spent years working overseas are returning home to villages like Mazraa ash-Sharqiya and rewarding themselves with their ideal luxury home.- Hossam Ezzedine, "Luxurious Homes Pop Up in the West Bank," Your Middle East, November 11, 2012, http://www.yourmiddleeast.com/features/luxurious-homes-pop-up-in-the-west-bank_10855
- ¹¹⁹ Hossam Ezzedine, "Luxurious Homes Pop Up in the West Bank," Your Middle East, November 11, 2012, http://www.yourmiddleeast.com/features/luxurious-homes-pop-up-in-the-west-bank_10855
- ¹²⁰ Al-Ayam, "الليلة..حفل افتتاح المجمع الرياضي لنادي المزرعة الشرقية," August 1, 2015, http://www.al-ayyam.ps/ar_page.php?id=fa0a3d9y262185945Yfa0a3d9
- ¹²¹ Dunia Beam, "Jami'at Birzeit," http://www.duniabeam.eu/?page_id=778
- ¹²² Booking.com, "منتجع باب الشمس" November 3, 2013, http://www.booking.com/hotel/ps/bab-al-shams-resort.ar.html?aid=357009;label=gog235jc-region-XX-ps-westNbank-unspec-il-com-L%3Aar-O%3Aunk-B%3Aunk-N%3Ayes-S%3Abo-U%3Aasalo;sid=b32f5b8d043d26fb66912dccf1861c31;dcid=1;dist=0;sb_price_type=total;srfid=6110f186763e3b277f58d6bce3b8cd00153a6094X41;type=total;ucfs=1&#map_closed
- ¹²³ Booking.com, "منتجع قرية اريحا السياحية", July 25, 2013, http://www.booking.com/hotel/ps/jericho-resort-village.ar.html?aid=357009;label=gog235jc-region-XX-ps-westNbank-unspec-il-com-L%3Aar-O%3Aunk-B%3Aunk-N%3Ayes-S%3Abo-U%3Aasalo;sid=b32f5b8d043d26fb66912dccf1861c31;dcid=1;dist=0;sb_price_type=total;srfid=6110f186763e3b277f58d6bce3b8cd00153a6094X33;type=total;ucfs=1&
- ¹²⁴ <http://www.abrrar.net/vb/images/imgcache/2013/02/2185.jpg>
- ¹²⁵ Welcome to the house of Palestinian businessman Mohamed Abdel-Hadi, located on a hillside near Hebron in the town of Kharas. Photos are from the Alrawwya blog. The home is located on over 30 dunams of land. According to the blog Mohamed Abdel-Hadi made his fortune in the construction industry, and helped oversee the design and the construction. Pro-Israel Bay Bloggers, "Palestine's Winchester Mystery House," February 15, 2014, <http://proisraelbaybloggers.blogspot.co.il/2014/02/palestines-winchester-mystery-house.html>
- ¹²⁶ <http://proisraelbaybloggers.blogspot.co.il/2014/02/palestines-winchester-mystery-house.html>
- ¹²⁷ <http://proisraelbaybloggers.blogspot.co.il/2014/02/palestines-winchester-mystery-house.html>.