



كلية الدراسات العليا Faculty of Graduate Studies

برنامج الدكتوراه في العلوم الاجتماعية Ph.D. Program in the Social Sciences

THE EXPANSION OF NABLUS CITY BOUNDARIES: SOCIO – ECONOMIC

IMPACTS OF LAND ANNEXATION

توسيع حدود مدينة نابلس: الآثار الاجتماعية – الاقتصادية لضم الأراضي

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This dissertation was submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Social Sciences from the Faculty of Graduate

Studies at Birzeit University, Palestine.

THE EXPANSION OF NABLUS CITY BOUNDARIES: SOCIO – ECONOMIC IMPACTS
OF LAND ANNEXATION

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DECLARATION

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university.

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DEDICATION

IN MEMORY OF MY MOTHER AND FATHER WHO DID NOT COMPLETE THE JOURNEY WITH ME. FOR MY HUSBAND SAID, FOR MY CHILDREN NOOR, RASHEED AND BODUR. FOR MY SISTERS AND BROTHERS. FOR MY SUPERVISOR DR. KAMAL ABDULFATTAH WHO SUPPORTED ME THROUGH IT ALL.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I couldn't have completed this dissertation or the other Ph. D degree requirements without the emotional support of my beloved family and dissertation committee. I will always remain very grateful to my wonderful mother who sadly didn't live to see this work done, for her ambition to see this moment. No one would have been happier and prouder today than my mother and father – may their souls rest in peace. I am so thankful to my amazing husband Said who supported me to continue the road. It is difficult to find words that adequately express how I appreciate his support.

I am especially grateful to my adviser Dr. Kamal Abdulfattah and the doctoral committee Dr. Ahmad Hammad, Dr. Manal Bishawi and Professor Nils Anfinset for their valuable advices and comments. An extended and special thanks to the “The Norwegian Programme for Capacity Development in Higher Education and Research for Development” (NORHED) for the generous financial support. Thanks to the Geography Department for its continuous support financially and morally. Thanks to the research participants who were always ready to give me some of their time. I thank Nablus Municipality, with all its departments and employees, Nablus Municipality Public Library staff, the Land Authority in Nablus, the Ministry of Local Government, and all the villages councils that were included in this study for their cooperation in providing support and information to me, and to the editor Jeeda Fuqaha. Thanks also to the Faculty of Graduate Studies at Birzeit University.

ABBREVIATIONS

N.M.P.L.A.	Nablus Municipality Public Library Archive
N.M.A.	Nablus Municipality Archive
N.M.B.	Nablus Municipality Boundaries
JD	Jordanian Dinar
L.O.B.C	Local Organization and Building Committee
M.C.	Municipal Council
M.L.G.	Ministry of Local Government
H.O.C.	Higher Organization Council
N.M.C.M.M.	Nablus Municipal Council Meetings Minutes
P.A.	Palestinian Authority
N.M.	Nablus Municipality
Ac.F.	Acquisition Files
U.S.	United States
A.C.	Archive Section
P.L.O.	Palestine Liberation Organization

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Abstract

This study examined the expansion of Nablus Municipality Boundaries (N.M.B.) and the socio-economic impacts of land annexation. The study found that N.M.B. expanded through land annexation four times from 15 villages since 1960–2016. The study also, concluded that land annexation had socio-economic impacts, like the change of land-use of the annexed villages, different types of taxes, and fees imposed, many types of services provided in the annexed villages. The perception of annexed villages' residents towards their land changed, different types of objections associated the process of land annexation. Nablus Municipality (N.M.) used some procedures in the annexed villages deepened the separation instead of the integration between annexed villages' residents, and Nablus city's residents. The research method included reviewing relevant theoretical work historical, and contemporary resources about Nablus expansion through land annexation, and its socio-economic impacts, using historical and descriptive, comparative, and qualitative analytical methodologies, through reviewing Nablus Municipality Public Library Archives (N.M.P.L.A.), and Nablus Municipality Archive (N.M.A.), conducting field visits, and interviews. This study will be a cornerstone for any future studies on expansion by land annexation, and its results will be utilized by public and private institutions correlated to this process.

Key words: Land Annexation, Powers, Elite, Laws, Socio-Economic Impacts

الملخص

تناولت هذه الدراسة توسع حدود بلدية نابلس والآثار الاجتماعية - الاقتصادية لضم الأراضي. ووجدت الدراسة أن بلدية نابلس توسعت عن طريق ضم الأراضي أربع مرات من 15 قرية منذ 1960-2016. كما خلصت الدراسة إلى أن ضم الأراضي كان له آثار اجتماعية - اقتصادية، مثل تغير استخدام أراضي القرى المضمومة ، فرض أنواع مختلفة من الضرائب والرسوم، قُدمت أنواع عديدة من الخدمات في القرى المضمومة. تغير نظرة سكان القرى المضمومة إلى أراضيهم، ورافق عملية ضم الأراضي أنواع مختلفة من الاعتراضات. كما استخدمت بلدية نابلس بعض الإجراءات في القرى المضمومة لتعميق الفصل بدلاً من الدمج بين سكان القرى المضمومة وسكان مدينة نابلس. تضمنت الدراسة مراجعة العمل النظري ذي الصلة، المصادر التاريخية والمعاصرة حول توسع نابلس من خلال ضم الأراضي وآثارها الاجتماعية - الاقتصادية. تم استخدام المنهج التاريخي الوصفي، المقارن والتحليلي، من خلال مراجعة أرشيفات مكتبة نابلس العامة وبلدية نابلس، عمل زيارات ميدانية، ومقابلات. تعتبر هذه الدراسة حجر الأساس لأية دراسات مستقبلية حول التوسع عن طريق ضم الأراضي، ونتائجها سيتم استخدامها من قبل المؤسسات العامة والخاصة التي لها علاقة بالضم والياتة.

الكلمات المفتاحية: ضم الأراضي، القوى، النخبة، القوانين، الآثار الاجتماعية - الاقتصادية.

I CHAPTER 1

1.1. Introduction & Historical Background

The expansion of cities boundaries occurred all over the world. Some cities expanded within its own land boundary, but many of these cities had to achieve land annexation from the surrounding cities, towns, or villages through its boundaries` expansion. In general, most of the expansion of cities boundaries was accompanied by land annexation. Therefore, many researchers define annexation as “the addition of land to municipal boundaries. Commonly, it involves annexing all or part of the land of a local area” (Wang 2012, 1). “Annexation is the legal process by which municipalities expanded its geographic boundaries” (Thebo 2012, 1), “and a process of bringing land from one jurisdiction to another by petition or resolution” (State of Michigan n. d., 1). A large land annexation process may permanently change a city from a small place to a major city, even a small annexation may have dramatic implications. Cities were motivated to annex undeveloped land that has growth potential because the city is then able to implement its own land–use plan in the area. By bringing an area within the city, undeveloped areas can be planned according to city desires for streets, building construction, and other facilities (Edwards 2008, 120, 122). The debates of municipal boundaries are generally unfathomable, and of little attraction to anyone. However, modifications to these boundaries are often with highly controversies and

emotions because these boundary changes can have straight wallet impacts on individuals, especially through taxes, and (Nacker 2005) anthropogenic history.

The opinions towards land annexation are ranging from proponents to opponents, the people who criticized the process argue that land annexation didn't occur to fulfill natural and legitimate growth needs, but rather it is sought to provide a greater tax base allowing a city to decrease its tax rate (Wyatt 1991), while the proponents of land annexation speak of the significance of annexation as a way to provide fringe areas with much needed municipal services such as sewers, water and garbage disposal (Essner 1981) schools or other services. Land annexation from surrounding areas is one of the oldest and most common methods of adjusting municipal boundaries (Coe 1983) in the United States of America and started since 1800 (Bromley and Smith 1973).

Many literatures found about annexation in the American academic field, and it is rare to find an American state or city without the experience of land annexation through the process of its boundaries' expansion, such as Detroit, Chicago, Los Angeles, Phoenix and Philadelphia (Bromley and Smith 1973), and many other cities. Scholars like Shammari, Al Rawashdeh and others, who worked on Arab countries rarely mentioned in their studies the socio-economic impacts of land annexation. They mentioned the concept of cities' expansion without mentioning if this expansion happened within the boundary of the city's land or by land annexation from surrounding cities or villages. There is scarcity of research on boundary expansion by land annexation in the studies done on Arab, and Middle

East cities. Only, a paper found about Amman city, where the authors mentioned the word annexation without even explaining its meaning. Although, Nablus city as an Arabian Middle Eastern city has gained a lot of considerable attention from studies on its expansion, but there wasn't any study raised the issue of expansion by land annexation from the surrounding villages. These studies mentioned that some villages were within N.M.B., and nothing pointed to the total or partial land annexation land from these villages. Moreover, there wasn't a study about the impacts of land annexation on residents, despite, the fact that since the sixties of the twentieth century N.M. has practiced land annexation, which caused socio-economic impacts on residents.

Nablus city has a special location in the centre of Palestine, and was established on a long valley that lies between mountains of Jerzim (south), and 'Eibal (north). It is considered as a commercial and industrial centre in the north of the West Bank (Nablus Municipality 2011). Today, Nablus city expanded four times, all of them by land annexation from surrounding villages. The first and second times were during the Jordanian period in 1963, 1964, where N.M made a voluntary, and involuntary total annexation of land and residents for five villages. The third time was during the Israeli occupation period, on 6/2/1987, through this expansion, N.M did involuntary partial annexation of vacant land from ten villages. The fourth time was after the onset of the Palestinian Authority (P.A.), a voluntary partial annexation of vacant land from Sarra village on 3/9/2000, and parts of this village's land were also annexed in 1987. A failed attempt of involuntary partial

annexation of lands of three villages was stopped by the objection of the villages' councils on 5/8/1996.

From the preliminary study of the economic situation of all the villages that their lands were totally or partially annexed to N.M.B., their economy was dependent on agriculture, and livestock. Furthermore, nearly all the annexed villages had schools, adequate water resources, roads, and mosques even before the land annexation process started as could be seen in Chapter three "The Study Area". This research will study the expansion of N.M.B., and the socio-economic impacts of land annexation on the annexed villages' residents, during the Jordanian, the Israeli occupation, and P.A. periods. N.M. started to annex land from surrounding villages since 1960s, and individuals who are familiar with Nablus master plans can notice that N.M.B., expanded several times, by total or partial land annexation from surrounding villages. In other words, N.M. did land annexation several times to expand its boundaries, and this annexation had socio-economic impacts that will be investigated.

The concept of this study derives from the idea that cities all over the world expand its boundaries, which may or may not contain land annexation from the surrounding localities; either cities, towns, and villages. From this point, any boundary expansion could have its socio-economic impacts on the residents. Nablus city as other cities in the world, expanded its boundaries many times, and all the expansions were accompanied by land annexation. Expansion by land annexation was a common process adopted by N.M. since 1960s till this day. In

addition, land annexation is the essential process that N.M. exercised to expand its boundaries, and it has been the most important method for changing N.M.B. Land annexation is so far, the primary tool of municipal boundary adjustment in most of the expansion of boundary done by N.M. It has played a central role in the growth of N.M. for over fifty years. Additionally, annexation is one of the oldest and the most common methods of municipal boundary change (Edwards, 2008, 119) that used by N.M., while none of the West Bank cities has adopted this process as early as Nablus city did.

1.2. Research Problem

In this context, although, N.M.B. expanded for several times with the extensive use of land annexation, laws, and elite role tools to achieve such expansions, there was no awareness by the local residents of the socio-economic impacts of land annexation, and there was no interest in studying these impacts by local researchers. Moreover, it is rare to find any research mentioning the subject of land annexation and its socio-economic impacts in Nablus, the researches only mentioned the expansion of Nablus city to the east and west. It is seldom to find any argument or description of this process. Even though, the process of land annexation from surrounding villages to N.M.B. (master plan) has been started since over fifty years. Also, N.M. represented by the mayor, and the council members continue to propose more land annexation for its master plan until nowadays. Although, land annexation has socio-economic impact in various

stages, but it hasn't been studied or tackled. Regionally, the concept of land annexation wasn't mentioned in the work of researchers, mainly the Arab researchers concentrated on the concept of urban expansion without mentioning if this expansion included land annexation from surrounding localities or not, except one paper. This paper was about the annexation done by Greater Amman Municipality and it didn't examine the concept of land annexation directly, but through the text and between the lines.

In addition, N.M., represented by its mayors, and its Municipal Council (M.C.) at different times was, and still is proposing lands annexation from the surrounding villages to its master plan without giving enough consideration for the socio-economic impacts of the land annexation process on villages' residents. Finally, maybe land annexation made Nablus city unique in this regard that it was starting annexing land from surrounding villages in an early stage in comparison with other cities in the West Bank. Therefore, land annexation done by N.M. created socio-economic impacts on annexed villages' residents and these impacts may be different from one period to another, and from one village to another depending on the types of annexation whether total or partial annexation. These impacts are of importance in place, and time to be studied. But, it is important to know that socio-economic impacts of land annexation in Nablus will not be as in any Middle East city or American state, because the conditions that Palestine passes in general and Nablus city in particular, have their specificities, where the presence of the Israeli occupation that led to the classification of lands to A, B, and

C, According to Oslo Accords, there isn't control over land or boundaries from the Palestinians side, and the spread of Israeli settlement all over the West Bank,etc., and these conditions aren't present in American states or in most Middle East countries, which gives this research a privacy.

1.3. Study Importance

This research is important because it will focus on Nablus city expansion and the tools used by N.M. to succeed this expansion like different types of land annexation, laws and elite role, and it will study the socio-economic impacts of land annexation that accompanied the expansion process from 1960s–2016, because N.M. used different type of land annexation in the periods of rules. It is rare to find similar study at the local or regional level, with the presence of many studies in the US academic field, but incomplete, and not comprehensive studies because, each study reveals one impact of the land annexation. On the other hand, this study will be a multidisciplinary study of Nablus city's expansion, and the socio-economic impacts of land annexation, and will cover part of the shortfall on more than one level, and about more than one impact. The study will focus on the annexed villages' residents by covering different periods of rule. Where, land annexation types, laws, and elite role which used in Nablus expansion, and the socio-economic impacts of land annexation process haven't been investigated by regional or local researchers in the academic field, and this study intends to shed light on some details of this process. Moreover, the study will fulfill a significant

gap in the literature by examining the socio-economic impacts of land annexation, which few pieces of literature could be found regarding it at the local or regional level, and few on the international level except in the American Studies. Hence, the study is hoped to add something new to the existing literature on several levels. Finally, this study will clarify the types of annexation used, and its socio-economic impacts, which may help the decision makers in taking the appropriate type of the annexation land, the trends of expansion, and may mitigate the negative impacts that may result from this process. Practically, this study will direct a future attention to the concept of land annexation and its socio-economic impacts, and the municipalities that practiced land annexation will benefit from the findings of this study in their future expansion in order to decrease the negative impacts of land annexation.

1.4. Study Objectives

This study mainly seeks to uncover the expansion of Nablus city, and the socio-economic impacts of land annexation on annexed villages' residents. This research will study Nablus boundaries' expansion by land annexation from surrounding villages. This research will study the types of land annexation, laws, and the elite role in the process from 1960s to 2016. Essentially, the socio-economic impacts of land annexation will be also studied like the change in land-uses, the taxes and fees imposed on villages' residents, the types of services provided to annexed villages. Moreover, the changed view towards the land, the

reactions of annexed villages` residents towards land annexation process. Besides, if land annexation deepens integration or separation, all will be focused on.

1.5. Study Questions

The main questions of the research are:

1. What are the different tools Nablus Municipality used in expanding city`s boundaries in different periods?
2. What are the socio-economic impacts of land annexation on annexed villages` residents from 1960s- 2016?

The research sub-questions are:

- 2.1. What are the previous and current land-uses of annexed villages?
- 2.2. What are the different taxes and fees imposed on the annexed villages` residents?
- 2.3. What are the types and quality of the services provided to the villages annexed?
- 2.4. Has the land annexation led to a change in the land perception from a food source to a commodity?
- 2.5. What are the reactions of the councils` and the residents` villages annexed?
- 2.6. Did land annexation integrate or separate the annexed villages` residents with Nablus city`s residents?

1.6. Methodology & Research Tools

More than one methodological approach used to answer the research questions. First, is the historical and descriptive approach which used to describe and explain the process of land annexation, and its socio-economic impacts on the annexed villages` residents, by studying past events and describing them based on analysis and interpretation of documents and historical events, and studying and describing the phenomena. This studied from a historical perspective, in terms of temporally following up the official correspondences and records. In addition, the historical development of the annexation process described also from these correspondences. The second approach is, the comparative approach, used to compare the situation of villages annexed before and after land annexation, and compare the socio-economic impacts of land annexation on these villages. The third approach is the qualitative analytical, which used to analyze the whole information obtained from different resources.

Practically, the historical and descriptive approach implemented through referring to the formal correspondence related to the annexation process, that found in the Nablus Municipal Council Meetings Minutes (N.M.C.M.M.) since the Jordanian period until the P.A. period tracked and analyzed. Other formal correspondences obtained from Nablus Municipality Public Library (N.M.P.L.A.), Nablus Municipality Archives (N.M.A.) in different departments, Land Department Archive, Ministry of Local Government Archive, and a few from the annexed villages` councils` archives. The comparative approach used mainly to make a

comparison between the west and east annexed villages to N.M.B., before and after land annexation process.

Research Tools:

The research combines several tools including a review of historical and contemporary textual material, interviews and field visits. Review of textual: reviewed the relevant theoretical literary work, review historical resources from different archives, N.M.C.M.M., different maps, the approved master plan 2013. The material reviewed includes scholarly writings, and different types of official correspondences done by different stakeholders related to the expansion process, and the socio-economic impacts of land annexation, that found in different archives like; N.M.P.L.A., N.M.A., M.L.G. archive, Land Department Archive, and the annexed villages` archives. This review helps to understand the process of Nablus expansion by land annexation, and its socio-economic impacts. The information obtained from the different archives, first, N.M.A, provided the researcher with the different master plans of Nablus in different periods, the studies related to the urban expansion of Nablus city, AutoCAD maps for public utilities and schools from Planning Department. Part of this information was obtained by E-mail and the main part by recording the needed documents with a mobile camera. Archive Section supplied the most important two main files, contained nearly all the correspondences related to land annexation during the Jordanian, the Israeli occupation, and the P.A. periods, the N.M.C.M.M. in different periods. In addition,

this section had all the files of land acquisition decisions in different periods related to the villages annexed, and the purpose of each land acquisition. Another department was the Collection Department which had information about the types of taxes and fees imposed on annexed land, and Budget Unit, provided the researcher with the amount of some taxes in different years in Israeli, and P.A. periods.

Secondly, N.M.P.L.A., is another archive the researcher used for obtaining information related to the research. Most of the socio-economic questions' answers in the Jordanian period were obtained from N.M.P.L.A. The two previous archives gave a clear vision about the expansion of Nablus city and the socio-economic impacts of land annexation, by giving the required data for answering the research questions. Additionally, these archives showed who suggested the land annexation, which will prove if the land annexation was constantly proposed by the elite not by the residents and the different laws used in the expansion. Most of the data required for answering the questions of research were obtained from these two important archives. In addition, all the N.M.C.M.M. had been reviewed from the Jordanian period to the P.A. period to obtain the information about the expansion, the land acquisition, the land selling, the objection of people on taxes. Also, about the deduction of land (where any municipality by law can deduct from any land inside its boundary for public services, with a deduction rate that doesn't exceed 30%) (Jordanian Official Gazette 1966), uprooting the trees and the inquiries of the residents of the villages annexed in

general. In the N.M.C.M.M., one can find different decisions of the M.C. that were taken to expand the city boundaries. Two full months of work spent to explore the information from N.M.P.L.A., and another two months spent in Nablus Municipality's different departments to obtain the information needed in this research. The first stage of exploring the archives began by filming the available files and documents that contain information about the Jordanian, the Israeli occupation and the P.A. periods. The information about the Jordanian period was mainly found in N.M.P.L.A., while information about the Israeli and the P.A. periods was found in N.M.A. The second stage of research was to screen out, and structure the obtained information (categorization by subject and period), then the information was transferred to the computer. After that, the referencing and documenting the data into the research according to the different periods. The third stage was managing the information, and making a discussion to connect this information with the hypotheses, literature review and theoretical framework.

Other archives used like Kafr Qallil and Rujeib villages' councils, and M.L.G. which provided information mainly about the objection Kafr Qallil village against land annexation to N.M.B. Land Authority archives were also used, and several visits were conducted for this institution to obtain information about the process of land selling in annexed villages. This has been done mainly by choosing a selective basin to give an insight on the extent of selling process in annexed villages through the name/s of the buyer/s. It wasn't allowed to photocopy the files related to land selling from the Land Authority in Nablus city,

but the employee provided the data about the basin number, the parcels owners` family`s name by oral transmission. Different types of maps were used. Some of them were obtained from the Road and Traffic Department, others from the Planning Department in N.M. Some maps were also obtained from Birzeit University for the year 1967. The British Mandate maps for the year 1936 period were obtained from the Ministry of Finance and Planning. The types of maps obtained were raster images and AutoCAD files. Eventually, all these maps were standardized into one type of file, which is the ArcMap files, which helped in analyzing the information of these maps easily. Auxiliary maps, aerial photographs and the 2013 approved master plan for Nablus city were also an important source of spatial data. These maps gave a clear data about the previous and current land use, the different services provided, the land acquisition, the spread and concentration of services in the annexed villages. Also, it gave an idea about the direction of N.M.B. expansion, and the villages annexed in different periods. Geographical Information System (GIS) used to reflect all available information from numbers, images to readable maps on previous and current land-uses, services, land annexation at different periods and taxable areas. GIS helped in analyzing the information of the different maps. For example, the area of agricultural lands that changed to other uses as well as its impact on the agricultural lands of the villages and its lands annexed, the distribution of services...etc. All images, and maps obtained from different resources converted to Arc Map- ArcGIS program.

Concerning the individual interviews; first, many interviews conducted with the residents, mukhtars, and head of councils of the totally or partially annexed villages to N.M.B. in 1963, 1964, 1986, and 2001. Secondly, interviews with heads of villages councils that stopped annexing their lands in 1996. Thirdly, interviews with heads of villages councils their lands were proposed to be partially annexed in 2016. Additionally, other interviews were done with the retired N.M. engineer and N.M. draftsman.

Interviews were executed either in the offices of the interviewees or at their houses. A tape-recorder was used to record the interviews, after getting the interviewees' prior permission. Nearly all the persons agreed to record the interview without any objection. At least one person was interviewed from the villages annexed totally or partially to N.M.B. or were proposed to be annexed in the future. These interviews aimed to reveal the socio-economic impacts of land annexation, through specific and direct questions related to the research questions, which are the previous and current land-use, the types of taxes imposed on annexed land and if they sell their land. In addition to the reactions of the annexed residents on land annexation. Also, the types of services provided, if land annexation contributes to integrate or separate the residents of the annexed villages and the Nablus city's residents, and finally the role of the elite in the land annexation process.

Field visits were also an important research tool; many visits were done between 2015–2019 to nearly all villages that annexed to N.M.B. such as Balata,

`Askar, Rafidiya, `Iraq et Tayih, Zawata, Beit Wazan `Azmut, Rujeib, `Asira esh Shamaliya, and Nablus city, to observe the different services provided in these villages and the current land use approved in Nablus master plan 2013. These visits enriched the knowledge about the available data about the different and the level of services provided to the annexed villages, about the types of land-use in different villages. These visits were important because they were confirming or denying the information obtained from the interviewees and the approved master plan 2013.

The research questions were answered through obtaining the related information from the archives of N.M.P.L.A, the various archives of N.M. departments, in addition to interviews which are considered one of the important and main tools in the research. In all the questions the historical, descriptive, and analytical approaches were used, while question 2.1, and 2.3. the comparative approach used in addition to the other approaches. The first question was answered by following the formal correspondence on the subject according to its historical sequence from 1960s to 2016 (historical and descriptive approach used), and the tools that used to achieve this were by referring to N.M.C.M.M. in the Jordanian, Israeli and the P.A. periods, checking N.M.A. in the different municipal departments such as the Planning Department, the Files Department, and using the Official Gazette, to obtain decisions about the expansion of Nablus city which published in it, and the laws related to. Also, N.M.P.L.A used, and the different maps of expansion stages converted to ArcMap. Then the analytical method was

used to analyze all the information about Nablus expansion by land annexation and link it with the literature review and the theoretical framework.

The second question which had six sub questions answered as follows. Question 2.1. about previous and current land uses in annexed villages, was answered through different tools like diverse types of maps, many interviews with annexed villages` residents, and Addabbagh Encyclopedia. The previous land use in annexed villages obtained from Russia map for the year 1967, was taken from Birzeit University, as image, digitized and converted to GIS as ArcMap to be analyzed easily. The current land uses attained from the approved Nablus Master Plan 2013, the schools and the public services, and the roads gained from different departments in N.M. These maps were AutoCAD converted to ArcMap, to be analyzed to obtain different areas for land uses easily. The analytical approach was used to analyze the different land uses in different periods, used ArcMap, AutoCAD other software to analyze the maps, and the comparative approach used in order to compare the land use before and after land annexation, and west and east villages land uses.

Question 2.2. about the different taxes, and fees imposed on annexed residents, was answered by obtaining information from the official correspondences found in N.M.A., and in N.M.P.L.A. following the historical sequence, information from Collection Department and from the different interviews. Question 2.3. about the types of services before and after annexation, was answered through using different maps from different municipality`s departments, Addabbagh Encyclopedia,

N.M.A, N.M.P.L.A., the interviews, and the comparative approach used in order to compare service provided in annexed villages before and after land annexation, and the services provided in the east and west annexed villages. Question 2.4. about the change of perception of land due to land annexation, was answered through obtaining information from N.M.A., N.M.P.L.A., Land Department Archives, and the interviews, following the historical sequences to know when land sale started in annexed villages. Question 2.5. about reactions of the annexed villages` residents towards land annexation and its socio-economic impacts, was answered through using N.M.P.L.A., and N.M.A., and N.M.C.M.M., to see the different objections submitted by citizens to N.M. Too, M.L.G, Rujeib and Kafr Qallil villages` archives, and the interviews used. Question 2.6. about the integration or separation between villages` resident annexed and Nablus city`s residents caused by land annexation, was answered from N.M.P.L.A., N.M.A., N.M.C.M.M., and from the interviews conducted.

Why Nablus city and its villages were chosen as a case study?

Nablus city is considered one of the first and oldest Palestinian cities in West Bank which practiced land annexation from the surrounding villages. The talk about annexing Balata and Rafidiya villages began before the sixties of the twentieth century. On one hand, N.M. is a pioneer in this matter, on the other hand, the area of annexed land is also large compared to other municipalities experiences. Third, the land annexation wasn't one-time process, it is a repeated and continuous process, as N.M. started in 1960s land annexation and still trying until now to

annex new land. Moreover, the issue of annexing lands to N.M.B. was amazing for me as a researcher because, I didn't know that any city can expand its boundaries through annexing lands from the surrounding villages, except when N.M. master plan was presented to the Higher Organizing Council (H.O.C.) in 2013 – at that time I was a member in it – I saw the names of some basins from 'Asira esh Shamaliya –my town– within Nablus plan, and it was an incentive for me when I enrolled in the Ph.D. program to do my research about how N.M. annex part of my town's land. Besides, Nablus city can be considered as a study case representing some cities in the West Bank that did land annexation in some aspects. Also, some of the results of this study can be used to other cities in terms of some socio-economic impacts, by taking the difference in time, place and context of land annexation process.

Constraints of the study. First, N.M.P.L.A and N.M.A. are among and huge archives that contain staggering information, and diving in them was causing the researcher some loss and dispersion, and these archives weren't arranged in a way that allows the researcher to work easily, which took a long time from the researcher to obtain the required information. Second, concerning the interviews, it wasn't easy to conduct them, because the interviewees were lived in fifteen villages related to the land annexation, these villages separated from each other and in different directions, and this can be seen through Map (1), and many of these interviews were conducted in the interviewees homes and this was causing

some embarrassment to the researcher, as a woman, where the husband or the son was accompanied her in these interviews.

Third, the researcher faced the problem of Nablus city's residents' view towards villages' residents in general and towards the researcher as she is from a village in particular, which caused in some situations reservations in giving information. Fourth, there was a great sensitivity of the villages' residents annexed partially or totally to Nablus city boundaries, as the land annexation issue raises their consternation, and they accused the municipality of exploiting them, and in some cases, they scream while talking. Fifth, the researcher faced the abstention of a person to give any information related to annexing the lands of his village and didn't give even the names of other people from his village to do an interview with the researcher, because –according to his view that– providing this information may harm him as a person working in one of the governmental departments.

Regarding the moral statement of the research, the researcher signed a form for Birzeit University, pledging to keep the information obtained, not transmitting it, and to present herself to the interviewees, give a clear idea about the research, and not to mention their names if they don't agree to do this, and all of them agree to put their names in the research. The researcher had an official letter directed and signed by the Doctoral Program – Birzeit University, containing the name of the researcher and the title of the research, to present it to every person or institution had information or to be interviewed. All the information is saved on the researcher's device; which no one else can use. All the interviewees

were asked if they had a reservation about mentioning their names in the research, and all of them agreed.

1.7. Study Area and Study Justifications

Study Area

The study area will be the boundaries of the approved master plan of Nablus city in 2013, and the proposed villages to be annexed in 2016, which consists of Nablus city, the five villages annexed totally to N.M.B., in 1963, 1964 which are Balata, 'Askar, and 'Iraq et Tayih located to the east of Nablus city as well as Rafidiya and Al Juneid are located to the west of Nablus city. In addition, to ten villages partially annexed to N.M.B., in 1987, which are Zawata, 'Asira esh Shamaliya, Beit Wazan, Kafr Qallil, Rujeib, 'Azmut, Sarra, Deir el Hatab, Beit Furik, and 'Awarta. The villages failed to be annexed in 1996 such as Beit Iba village. Also, the proposed villages to be annexed to Nablus city boundaries in 2016 like; Tell, Burin and 'Iraq Burin villages, Map (1).

Study Justifications

This research contributes to understand the expansion of N.M.B., and the socio-economic impacts of land annexation on annexed villages' residents. Nablus city is considered as an administrative-economic center of the north part of the West Bank, with an important geographical location in the center of Palestine. It was the first city in West Bank which started land annexation in an early time.

Nevertheless, the socio-economic impacts of land annexation proposed in this research weren't challenged in this context by scholars. The previous international researches concentrated mainly on one socio-economic impact of land annexation, while this research will deal with many socio-economic impacts of land annexation which affected the annexed villages' residents. Briefly, this research will reconcile the expansion of N.M.B. in different periods, with different tools used, and many socio-economic impacts in one study, within a different circumstance, context and environment.

Besides, Nablus city is considered one of the oldest, the largest, and the capital city in the northern West Bank. Its expansion has been achieved through various governments and regimes beginning with the Jordanian period in 1960s, the Israeli occupation, and the P.A. All its boundaries' expansion were accompanied by land annexation from the surrounding villages. A process like this had socio-economic impacts on residents. As a result, an experience like the capital of the north "Nablus city" is very important to be studied and documented. Though, the importance of this experience where Nablus city is unique in this experience, but it hasn't been studied by any of the researchers. Land annexation experience is also important because, this process has been achieved in different types. One type was the total land annexation with population. Another type was the partial annexation of vacant land without population. Each one may have its own impact, which may be different from the other. Taking into account that, Nablus city has its administrative, economic, and social characteristics with rich

experience in the tool of land annexation, which made it important to be documented and utilized. It will be a fault if land annexation, and its socio-economic impacts weren't to be studied and analyzed, especially that annexation was repeated several times, because there isn't any previous study on annexation, and its impacts. Moreover, it is a continuous process that happened before over fifty years and still, where there is a future suggestion for expanding N.M.B. in 2016. Therefore, it is important to study such a continuous repeated process and explore the land annexation types and its impacts. Maybe, the ability of N.M. to repeat land annexation several times is related to the power theory possessed by the municipality. This power can be found everywhere, including all relations, where it always exists (Foucault 1985, 62, 11–12) in the institutions that related to land annexation and support N.M. in its expansion.

1.8. Study Overview

This study will include 6 chapters. Chapter one will contain the introduction & historical background, research problem, study importance, study objectives, study questions, the methodology & research tools, study area and the study justification. Chapter two encloses hypotheses, literature review, and theoretical framework. Chapter three covers the study area which is Nablus city, the total annexed villages: Balata, 'Askar, 'Iraq et Tayih, Rafidiya, Al Juneid. The partial annexed villages: 'Azmut, Deir el Hatab, Beit Furik, Rujeib, 'Awarta, Beit Wazan, Kafr Qallil, Sarra, Zawata, 'Asira esh Shamaliya. The failed annexed villages: Beit

Iba, and the proposed villages to be annexed: Burin, 'Iraq Burin, and Tell. Chapter four about the expansion of Nablus city boundaries in different periods, the Jordanian, the Israeli occupation and the P.A., and the tools used to help in its expansion like the different types of land annexation, laws and elite role. Chapter five deals with the socio-economic impacts of land annexation in different periods, like; previous and current land-use, taxes, fees licenses and land deduction imposed on annexed land, previous and current types of services provided in annexed land. Also, it deals with the change in land perception, the reactions of councils and residents annexed. Additionally, whether land annexation strengthens separation or integration between villages` residents and Nablus city`s residents. Chapter six reveals the key conclusions of the research, and the future researches.

II CHAPTER 2

2.1. Study Hypotheses

In the research there are two main hypotheses. The first hypothesis is that N.M. used some tools helped in the expansion of its municipal boundaries which are the diverse types of land annexation, the different laws related to the expansion boundaries, as well as the presence of elite that had a role in the land annexation process. For example, N.M. used total land annexation only in the Jordanian period to expand its boundaries. This is to annex more residents who were considered new consumers for municipal services (water, electricity, telecommunication, etc.). On the other hand, N.M. in the Israeli occupation period made a partial land annexation of vacant land to offer more land for different vital projects. In the P.A. period, N.M. also used the tool of partial land annexation of vacant land to expand its municipality boundaries in an attempt to achieve the concept of Greater Nablus Municipality.

Many laws used by N.M. through its expansion boundaries in order to support its position legally. The expansion of Nablus boundaries by annexing land from surrounding villages were advised by the elite persons or by the professional persons (planners and engineers) in N.M. and other institutions related to this process. It is likely that some social forces or elites in the city and the villages` annexed played a role in each stage of the city expansion and influenced the process of land annexation, and maybe there were relations that connects these

elites with influential people in villages whom their land annexed, as there could be a common interests of certain groups that could affect the process. Additionally, there may be many types of powers related to power theory used through this process by different partners in land annexation. Perhaps, the annexed villages' residents may haven't an effective role in the land annexation process and most residents know nothing about this process and its impact.

The second hypothesis is that land annexation had socio-economic impacts which may vary over the various stages of N.M.B. expansion. This hypothesis has six sub hypotheses, for instance, a: there are changes in land-use from agricultural to other different uses as a result of annexing villages' lands to N.M.B. The changes in land-uses led to a decrease in agricultural lands in annexed villages, through proposing a new land-uses in these villages in early times compared to other villages. b: A financial burden put on the annexed residents, by imposing many different taxes and fees on them, for the benefit of N.M. which increases its financial base. Besides, c: various types of services provided in the annexed villages, where land annexation process affects the nature, quality and quantity of services provided in the annexed villages, such as education, health and other services. d: A change occurred in the perception of land from residents' villages side, because annexed land to N.M.B., changed its the land-use from agricultural to other urban uses which increasing its price, which may encourage the land sell. e: There are reactions from villages' councils and residents towards land annexation. Possibly, the annexed villages' residents, the mukhtars and

villages' councils had different reactions towards land annexation. Some villages' councils and residents have agreed to annex their lands and asked N.M. officially to annex their village. However, other villages councils have refused to annex their land. More than one type of reactions could be found, some before land annexation, others after land annexation, some reactions on land annexation itself and others on its socio-economic impacts. Finally, if the land annexation made integration or separation between the annexed villages' residents from one side and Nablus city's residents from the other side, through the different procedures used by N.M towards annexed residents.

2.2. Literature Review

This chapter reviews literature that sets out urban expansion and socio-economic impacts of land annexation to cities. The literature review has been divided into two parts. The first; addressed the expansion of cities through using the tools of different types of land annexation, the laws and the elite role. The second part dealt with the socio-economic impacts of expansion by land annexation. The first section: Some studies pointed to Nablus expansion to the west towards Rafidiya village, and it surpassed the expansion in the eastern direction where the industrial area in 'Askar village ('Imran 2008; Salah 2006). Other mentioned that during the Jordanian period, N.M.B., were expanded to include 'Askar, Balata Al Juneid and Rafidiya villages, and during the Israeli occupation period, other areas were added to the city (Hijab 2001, 67). A study

was an indirect call for annexing new lands to N.M.B from the surrounding villages, through proposing the idea of the Greater Nablus project and preparing a "strategic development plan for the city of Nablus" as a basis for the development planning process of the city (Hamuz 2008). A study about Greater Amman Municipality expansion in 2008, has resulted in annexing a few neighboring municipalities, i.e. Naour, Sahab, Al-Jiza, Muwaqqer, Marj Al-Hamam, Ohud, Husban and Um Al-Basateen. Therefore, the size of Greater Amman Municipality gained approximately 62.2% more of its area before the expansion (Saad and Amr 2015).

Many world cities in general expanded through land annexation and at different periods, and specially in U.S. where, in American academic studies, there is much debate about expansion by land annexation, which played a particularly important role in U.S. municipal boundaries growth. For the last five decades, it accounted that 98% of the growth in municipal boundary occurred between 1950 and 1970 done by land annexation (Gaines and McGregor 2002). Rusk (1998) states that the most 50 U.S. cities expanded its municipal boundaries by land annexation were between 1960 and 1990. Most cities in U.S. have annexed several times, majority of the large annexations have been completed by the older cities in the South and West, and very little annexation took place in the North-east younger cities in U.S. (Bromley and Smith 1973). London City-Canada, expanded by annexation many times, in 1885, it expanded to eastward by annexing a village of East London, in 1890, it annexed from Westminster Township a residential neighborhood known as London South, in 1898 London annexed

West (Petersville) to the city, in 1912 the neighborhoods of Ealing, Potterberg, Knollwood Park and Chelsea Green were annexed. In 1954, the Township of Westminster requested the City to annex its lands known as Chelsea Heights to receive the essential services, in 1958 and 1959, when additional land was annexed to the south from Westminster, and in 1961 when the Ontario Municipal Board approved the annexation of 24,300 hectares (60,000 acres) of land from the various municipalities surrounding the City. It was the largest London had undertaken, and comfortably provided the City with land for residential and industrial expansion over a twenty-year planning horizon. There were minor adjustments to the boundary in 1967, 1971, 1977, and 1988, but most were comparably small (Curtis 1992, 13–18).

Through reviewing the literature, it was found that there are different types of land annexation used in expansion cities and many laws related to. First; annexation by landowner petition: a petition for annexation signed by more than 50% of the land owners who own more than 50% of the land (Dahl, Beery and LLP 2015, 2). Voluntary annexations are initiated by the petition of the landowners requesting that their land be annexed into a municipality (Tyson 2012). Voluntary annexation is a statutory procedure whereby all of the property owners must consent in order for the city to annex the property (Yurko 1996). Second: the references to annexations in the statute are often in the plural, such as "annexation of one or more parcels. But also, the statute permits a single annexation petition, by a private landowner to support an annexation including multiple parcels

consisting exclusively of "public streets and alleys" (Dahl, Beery and LLP 2015, 8). Third, the provisions in some states in America allow municipalities to do involuntary annexation which gave the municipalities to do a unilaterally expansion for their boundaries. Affected landowners often have little or no right to dissent as long as the annexing body complies with the strict geographical and developmental criteria and procedures set forth in the statutory requirements. The states that allow involuntary annexation include Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Nebraska, Tennessee, and Texas. Involuntary annexation was only afforded to municipalities with more than 5000 residents (Tyson 2012, 10).

Involuntary annexation, in particular, a governing body wishing to annex property may pass an ordinance to annex the property. However, this ordinance can't become effective until such time as a majority of the electors in the area to be annexed vote for the annexation. This vote must occur in a referendum that must be held within thirty days following the approval date of the annexation ordinance. Fourth, annexation by contract. Besides the types of annexation already mentioned, one should always keep in mind the possibility that a proposed annexation may meet the requirement to be annexed by interlocal agreement. Annexation by interlocal agreement has occurred in several instances in Orange County, Florida (Yurko 1996). Annexation in Ohio falls into two land annexation types: annexation of all or part of a municipal area to another municipal area, an annexation by petition of landowners (Essner 1981). Most American states make the involuntary annexation by laws like "Involuntary Annexation Laws of North

Carolina” (Tyson 2012, 54). The procedures for involuntary annexation also are spelled out in section 171.0413 of the Florida Statutes (Yurko 1996). Others arguing that involuntary annexation policy is necessary for all municipal government (Reynolds 1992). Involuntary Annexation for territory containing 60 acres or less may be annexed by force, without consent of property owners (Diamon and Tappendor 2012, 13). Texas cities practice involuntary annexation on a regular basis. Property owners are regularly annexed without their consent (Fields and Quintero 2015, 3). In the Missouri state the Statutory Framework for land annexation depend on" The Sawyer Act". Erstwhile to the Sawyer Act, a city had almost unlimited power to extend its boundaries. The Act weaken a municipality's ability to extend its boundaries by giving the judiciary power to review annexations, and the passage of the Act marked the legislature's first attempt to impose stricter annexation requirements on municipalities wishing to annex new land (Goldberg 1985, 189–190).

The classic typology of state annexation statutes was developed by Sengstock in 1960, it has become a standard method for categorizing annexation law. Under the typology, annexation laws are classified into one of five categories:

1. Legislative Determination: The state legislature deliberates each annexation proposal.
2. Popular Determination: Annexation decisions are made by local residents through referendum or petition.
- Municipal Determination: Municipal boundaries are expanded through the unilateral action of the local unit of government.
4. Judicial Determination: The state’s judiciary decides whether or not

an annexation should occur. 5. Quasi-Legislative or Administrative Determination: An independent and nonjudicial commission decides whether or not an annexation should occur. Although, the widely used the Sengstock typology has been criticized for being overly broad and unable to capture the complexity of annexation, because most state statutes allow for more than one approach (Edwards 2008, 124–125). In Illinois state the law gives it a Voluntary Annexation by Petition or Ordinance, and Involuntary Annexation of Surrounded or Nearly Surrounded Territory. Although, Illinois municipalities are given the absolute right to determine whether or not to annex land to the municipality, but most Illinois annexations are voluntary and based upon a petition signed by all of the owners (Diamond and Tappendor 2012, 6–13). The Voluntary Annexation mentioned in Section 171.044 of the Florida Statutes allows a city to annex property if unanimous consent of the owners of that property occurs (Yurko 1996).

The history of Texas points to voluntary general law annexation via petition which is, to this day, the primary means of annexation for general law (also known as statutory) cities in Texas. Home rule cities have had the ability to involuntarily annex since the passage of the Home Rule Amendment to the Texas Constitution in 1912. A series of abuses, particularly by the city of Houston, led to some limited reforms of involuntary annexation over the years. This includes the Municipal Annexation Act of 1963 that created the Extraterritorial Jurisdiction, and further reforms passed in the late 1990s after Houston's controversial annexation of Kingwood (Fields and Quintero 2015, 3). Annexation in Florida is governed

primarily by chapter 171 of the Florida Statutes. Voluntary Annexation. Section 171.044 of the Florida Statutes allows a city to annex property if unanimous consent of the owners of that property occurs. Involuntary Annexation. The procedures for involuntary annexation are spelled out in section 171.0413 of the Florida Statutes. Annexation by Contract. mentioned in section 171.046 was added to the Florida Statutes, Annexation by Special Law. Subsection 171.044(4) of the Florida Statutes (Yurko 1996, 700–1). On one hand, the author pointed out that the involuntary system of annexation made North Carolina a model of the nation. On the other hand, Mississippi municipal laws didn't contain a policy of annexing and integrating land into land-use planning, which made land annexation a failure to the boundaries of its municipalities (Tyson 2012).

Other literature reviewed dealt with the role of the prevailing governing system, and the elite, in urban expansion. A study on the Greater Khartoum region refers to socio-economic and political factors affecting the urban land-use in the Greater Khartoum region. The author indicates it through tracking the structural plans and the directed plans, which were prepared by the urban planning system and showed that residential use is the dominant urban land-use of the actual uses (agricultural, industrial, services, recreational). The study concluded that planning policies are primarily subjected to the nature of the state, the prevailing system of government, its interests and policies towards the land and how to invest in it. It protects these trends by enacting legal legislation. The researcher noted that the enactment of land legislation (planning and possession) has been linked to the

nature of the state and the system of governance, its policies, directions towards different land uses and investments. Also, it has been linked to the interests of the social forces in developmental programs and whether these social forces create mechanisms to involve the people in the planning process or not. Although, it is the target but they didn't involve the people because the interests of the people conflict with the interests of the ruling and influential powers. Important questions asked like, what authorities or social forces control the employment of urban land-use? What is the nature of these forces? Who is planning Khartoum? What is the goal? For the benefit of whom the planning is done (Ahmed 2010).

A study found that the dominant political elites who have little or no urban planning background control and dictate urban planning activities resulting in chaotic scenes and urban blight across Ghanaian cities. The analyses reinforced that the existing urban planning processes and outcomes in Ghana and most African countries aren't shaped by professional practice and don't reflect the aspirations of the community but instead, they reflect the aspirations of the political elite (Cobbinah and Darkwah 2016). Los Angeles is probably a particularly unusual case, however, for the city has been able to use its monopoly power over the metropolitan area water supply to force annexation on outlying areas (Bromley and Smith 1973). Urban policy in India has largely been driven by elite interests, the urban planning and economic development are intended for the elite society of experts, planners, intelligentsia, middle classes and private investors. Master plans and large urban infrastructure projects were administered through elite governance

arrangements (Basu 2019). Beirut's southern suburbs, appear as an apex in contesting urban infrastructure projects for the elites. Cairo's the highest residential density of all Middle Eastern cities, suffer from traffic congestion. Massive road infrastructure interventions seek to improve conditions and increase transit speeds, but also reflect a clear intention of government bodies and elites to escape the most popular districts, considered overcrowded, polluted and archaic, and currently making new urban development in the desert accessible to the most affluent (Deboulet 2010, 149). Another study examined how local authority structures influenced planning and decision-making policies in urban redevelopment projects in Istanbul. The study revealed that the involvement and impact of stakeholders on the redevelopment of areas in Istanbul were framed in the existing national legislative and political framework. Also, they searched for financial profit for actors from both the public and private sectors. Stakeholders' participation also tends to ignore or weaken community participation and marginalize less powerful actors. The local redevelopment agenda is largely framed on the state agenda. Community involvement hasn't been sufficient in these projects and lack of laws that encourage or require formal participation and government capacity-building programs has also impeded community involvement (Waite 2016).

Most government officials interviewed considered themselves a servant for residents by providing them with legitimate and developed housing despite their resistance. At the same time, some residents didn't see the situation in this way and openly expressed mistrust in the government. The study revealed that the

complaints of the people were dependent on their lack of knowledge of the general techniques and laws for redevelopment. Moreover, the lack of confidence in their fellow members of society and the government and the lack of awareness of the conditions of such projects. The people in the redevelopment projects in Istanbul city mentioned, that they weren't aware of the consequences of these projects and weren't informed by the institutional government (Waite 2016). The boundary expansion of a community by annexation will tend to increase the power of existing governments (in this case the municipality) and their departments in California municipal governments (Mehay 1981, 54). According to Zdunić (2017) in his statement about the role of the political elite in Croatia. Despite the majority vote against the golf resort project in the Council of the City of Dubrovnik in Croatia, the referendum wasn't successful because political elites intervened. A research on Metropolitan Sydney's strategy, added that community participation is fundamental to fair and representative decision-making in the practice of contemporary urban planning. It is often said that the voices of the voiceless (e.g. the poor and minorities) are crucial in plans to succeed in achieving equity, efficiency and sustainability. However, the participation of poor and disadvantaged groups in planning processes is difficult to achieve, especially when programs exist in strong political and bureaucratic structures. In these cases, community inputs and decision-making are often ignored through an elite culture of political and bureaucratic control because there is no empowerment or scope for community groups especially those disadvantaged to influence the plan (Mahjabeen, Shrestha,

and Dee 2009). Other researchers argue that political motivation drives annexation (Austin 1999).

The second section is on the socio-economic impacts of urban expansion in general and the socio-economic impacts of land annexation in particular. A study indicates that the urban expansion of the Arab cities was at the expense of the agricultural land and towards the main streets as was the expansion of Amman, Irbid and Madaba. Where it was found that this expansion was directed near and toward the main roads, but at the same time was at the expense of fertile agricultural areas and led to the decrease of green areas (Saleh and Al Rawashdeh 2007). A study on urban expansion and extension of major urban settlements was made in Diyala Governorate (Ba'quba, Al Khalis and Meqdadiyya) in Iraq, indicates that the random expansion of these urban centers was at the expense of large areas of orchards and green belts that surrounded these centers and turned them into lands for residential or commercial use. The expansion and extension of the urban areas along with the main street axes, and secondary roads are from the main urban cores in the province. This expansion was at the expense of land left for future urban expansion or prohibitions for high voltage electric lines or public roads or recreational areas (Shammari 2006).

A study about the impact of urban expansion on agricultural land in China, found that urban expansion is associated with a decline in agricultural land-use intensity and a drop in the area of cultivated land per capita. It discovered that both the urban change of agricultural land and GDP in the industrial segment are

deleteriously connected with agricultural land–use intensity. Moreover, it noticed that the expansion towards agricultural lands will continue, which will put pressure on the natural land resources of the country (Jianga, Dengb, and Seto 2013). A study regarding the impacts of urban expansion on local communities in Malaysia explored that the expansion of built–up areas has put pressure on lands and has produced a noteworthy loss of agricultural lands, which influenced the livelihood of farming communities at peri–urban areas. Furthermore, agriculture land size decreased and has become unprofitable that obliged farmers to sell their lands to have quick earnings (Samat et al. 2014). Another research conducted on the urban expansion and loss of agricultural land in an Indian city using GIS techniques, found that a rapid changeover of agricultural areas to non–agricultural and a significant increase in the residential area to accommodate the rapidly growing population of the city, but with no much services and recreational facilities uses taken place. This was because an urban expansion of the city (both built–up and non–built–up) has destroyed fertile agricultural land which can't be recovered. The study area was losing its agrarian characteristics, where nearly 1,683 hectares of fertile agricultural land between 1988 and 1998 has been lost (Fazal 2000).

Other studies dealt with the financial impact of land annexation. A study discussed the growth aspirations of medium size central cities that were affected by the systems of their mandate annexation, found that mid–size central cities need annexation systems to address social inequality and maximize economic competitiveness. Land annexation in Tennessee State indicated that annexation is

necessary not only when the majority of the population and landlords presented a petition for annexing their land, but also when it appears that the prosperity of the municipality will be physically underdeveloped (Tyson 2012). Another study examined whether land annexation affects municipal funds in North Carolina over a decade, to predict better how changes in the law of annexation may affect cities in the state. A positive relationship found between the annexation initiated by the municipality and the achievement of financial gains, and that annexation done by the municipalities may drive financial gains to them, that is because of the changes in the annexation law. Today it is difficult to annex because annexation must be approved by the population of the proposed area, despite that the new laws governing the annexation process may limit the ability of cities of North Carolina to increase revenue. This means that the annexation process has a positive economic effect on the cities that annexed lands from the surrounding areas. The study showed a positive relationship between the annexation and the increase in the municipal revenues per capita (Mallon 2013). Another research about the relationship between annexation and competition for tax revenues. Through the discussion of land annexation arguments and tracing the date of annexation in the Phoenix metropolitan area, it shows that tax revenue has been a major driver of annexation, particularly since 1970 in Phoenix. The study found that the chances of land annexation became more limited therefore the competition for tax revenues became fierce and creates dilemmas for municipalities in the Phoenix area (Heim 2012).

A study pointed to the financial implications of the annexation that will provide more revenue to the city from the property tax base. Moreover, sharing the cost of the new services by a larger population leading to a financial surplus in the city. At the same time, the cities are earning lands while villages are losing their lands. Urban researchers have also raised the question of whether annexation accelerates urban expansion or it is a viable mechanism for controlling urban expansion and these researchers disagreed in this matter. Some of them agreed that annexation hastens urban expansion and others considered it a regular method. Whereas Edwards found that annexation reduces the high population density in areas that annexed (Edwards 2008). A study focused on economic and political factors that encouraged the annexation decision in large U.S. cities. It stated that annexation has five consequences; annexation enlarges the tax base, requires installation costs, raises the city population by increasing congestion, shifts the location of the decisive voters and alters the proportion of minorities (Austin 1999). Whereas another research found that land annexation enriches the capacity of the city to tax residents' private and public advantages (Gonzalez and Mehay 1987), additional research indicates that one of the annexation impacts is the new types of taxes imposed on the residents. Texas was that it increases the population average by 41.5% (Cho 1969). Land annexation supplies new lands to the municipality taken from various land-uses, where each land-use has its own tax. Land-use relates specifically to the different types of utilities for which land is used. For instance, the residential, commercial, public and even vacant land, each

of which mirrors different taxation types and demands different requirements and costs for public services. For illustration, retail land-use contributes to sales tax intensively, but requires much lower costs in services compared to residential lands (Wassmer 2002, 88); On the other hand, public land-uses such as parks and public school require greater service costs while providing very little to local profits (Wang 2012, 9). Another study was about the annexation of several neighboring municipalities (such as Na`or, Sahab, Giza, Al Muwaqqar, Marj Al-Hamam and others) to the plans of Greater Amman City in 1986 and 2008. However, this annexation didn't succeed in all these municipalities because Greater Amman used different policies towards each municipality, which created a crisis, paid attention to areas with low population density and didn't pay the same attention to the high population density areas, and didn't provide services in a balanced and effective manner to some of these municipalities. As a result, some of these municipalities asked to be separated from the Greater Amman Municipality in 2008 for the fear of becoming a marginal part of Amman such as Al Muwaqqar municipality. Where Al Muwaqqar managed to separate from Greater Amman in 2011 and succeeded in becoming independent once again (Saad and Amr 2015). So, the bias in providing services to annexed areas was the main reason of separation, but it didn't mention what type of services were provided to these areas.

There is more than one study pointing out the shortage of the services provided to the villages annexed to Nablus city, such as the villages of Beit Iba, Zawata, Beit Wazan (in the west) Rujeib, and 'Azmut (in the east). The studies

point toward the lack of planning as there is no comprehensive or regional or national plan, which led to a severe shortage of basic services in various fields such as education and health services, and produced to the establishment of industrial projects at the expense of the agricultural land. For instance, the proposed project of craft complex on 'Azmut plains which is considered the residents' breathing space (Khalil 2005; Alawneh 2004). Another, mentioned that of the problem faced Nablus city is that the services are concentrated in the western part of the city (Hotary 2017, 57). Western part, means the west villages annexed to N.M.B. The social benefits of annexation are the key to economic, social, and demographic health where public schools are better, poverty is less concentrated (Edwards 2008). The author realized that annexation raises the number of public-school students and accordingly educational payments increased. These costs reduce the fiscal status of the city (Austin 1999). Another study was about the effect of land annexation on housing values and land supply in Oregon cities, indicated that the existence of a voter-approved annexation policy in a city has a significant negative effect on the amount of vacant land available for residential development. In addition, it has a significant positive effect on market housing values, but no direct significant effect on the number of parcels developed. Not to mention that the voter-approved annexation policies don't directly affect the development of new housing units, although there may be an indirect effect (Hovekamp, McGowan, and Sherrard 2015).

Land annexation in Wisconsin state in U.S. had increased the number of households in Wisconsin by an annual average of 31,798 from 2000 to 2003. Moreover, accommodating population growth with a density of 1,047.55 persons per square mile. New investment went off for the provision of services such as sewer, water and transportation within five years, the annual average value of new construction had been \$8,280,441,660. On the other hand, annexation created jobs and income that could be seen in the capital expenditure through the new construction in Wisconsin. This created a range of 2.8 jobs/million \$ of output and 1.8 construction-related jobs are created in addition to each construction job. These numbers are similar to the national averages used by the National Association of Home Builders (NAHB) "The construction of 1,000 single-family homes generates: 2,448 jobs in construction and construction-related industries, approximately 79.4\$ million in wages and over 42.5 \$ million in federal state and local tax revenues and fees (Nacker 2005, 8-9). Moreover, land annexation created a value-added to accommodate population growth, if the increase in Wisconsin's population every year uses only the land annexed. This would produce a population density of 1,047 persons/square miles, which is slightly lower than the average for all cities at 1,505.7 persons/square miles (Nacker 2005, 6). On one hand, Thebo found that annexation that was done by South Carolina municipality doesn't have an impact on the population growth and the population capture (Thebo 2012). While, Cho mentioned that one of the land annexations impacts in the central cities in Texas was that it increased the population average by 41.5%

(Cho 1969). The procedure of annexation permitted San Antonio's city government to seize a growing regional population and a tax base that would have then been lost to neighboring municipalities. As well, the practice of annexation accelerated the tendency to move the expansion of population and investment away from the center. As a result, heavy decentralization resulted in the scattering of the industrial and the residential programs away from the city center and towards the suburban periphery. Finally, annexation deepened tensions between the classes and across racial lines (Caine, Gonzalez, and Walter 2017). In City of Akron in Ohio state where recent attempts to annex large sections of neighboring townships have met with strong resistance from residents, an enmity created by this issue led to impossible cooperation between the city and the townships, an ineffective government and an inefficient use of resources. In order to solve resolve this conflict, the groups have involved in prolonged legal battles which test recent statutory changes in the law of annexation in Ohio and weighty developments in the legal arsenal of annexation enemies (Essner 1981).

In 1988 The Township of Westminster The Township Council, seeking a defense mechanism to block London City's annexation attempts, and the boundary negotiation process wasn't successful in resolving this dispute and demonstrated the Act's inability to deal with boundary adjustments, some Province in Canada waiting for boundary dispute resolution (i.e., Windsor, Chatham, Kingston, and South Simcoe), the problem has been emerging for a number of years, they have urban development occurring beyond the urban boundary, and the municipalities

which are the target of annexation are unlikely to concede any or all of their land due to the financial implications of losing the urban tax base (Curtis 1992, 23, 52). An important study mentioned that one of the municipalities that were annexed to Amman city objected and succeeded to separate from the Greater Amman Municipality because of the bias in services provision (Saad and Amr 2015). A study reviews the annexation battles in Mississippi, Tennessee and North Carolina to observe the diversity of annexation systems that help or hinder central cities in their expansion (Tyson 2012). Some states of North America had a long-term series of "boundary wars" involving litigation, preventive annexation. For example, a major government conflict happened between Phoenix and Scottsdale, where the two cities ended up in protracted court battles after attempting to annex the same land (Heim 2012, 10). Residents' acceptance or refusal of the annexation is also vital for the success or failure of the process and consequently affects the purpose of such a process. In some cases, the population of the villages to be annexed refuses annexation when the local or village councils provide different services to the population and develop the local community. In this case, the annexation option became more distant and less attractive to them (Bromley and Smith 1973).

Another factor for refusal of annexation is that annexation is often seen as a process that benefits the city, which has annexed land at the expense of the villages that their lands have been annexed, for the city seeks to strengthen its tax base (Edwards 2008). Maybe, the provision of water, electricity and waste services was one of the main reasons for the villages' residents surrounding Nablus to

accept the idea of annexing their lands to the city in 1963, and 1964. Some studies showed that municipalities may seek land annexation to use it as a strategy for economic development. Whereas the goal may be to acquire land for new projects as part of a comprehensive urban development strategy. Hence, annexation could promote coordinating land-use planning and provides opportunities for services that may not otherwise be available to the population in these areas (Edwards 2008).

This happened in the case of N.M where land annexation enabled the municipality to acquire large land to implement many commercial, residential projects. In a broader sense, annexation could also be a solution to prevent the division of urban areas into innumerable local government units. Therefore, it is an important tool in the strategic toolkit that was developed by the master plan to control urban expansion. Urban researchers said that annexation is an important tool for the municipality to maintain and strengthen its economic base. Land annexation led to achieving commercial and industrial development, which generate new revenues to allow the city to keep up with the cost of rising expenditures (Edwards 2008). Others argue that annexation is a tool for an orderly growth of the region (Reynolds 1992). Municipal leaderships practice annexation as part of a longstanding expansion policy to direct urban expansion. The gains of annexation include contiguity, land management, environmental safety, economic benefits, increasing the tax base, and upgrading economic growth. For estates owners, annexation may present the chance to receive services or a higher level of service,

which isn't currently accessible by the county. Others may believe that the new services will be imbalanced with the expanded tax burdens and this may lead the people to resist land annexation proposal (Georgia House 2015). Others mentioned that cities and villages annex extra land area to deal basically with the requirements of population increase. This is because residents need more homes, more business investments, more jobs and more facilities (Nacker 2005).

First, the studied reviewed about Nablus city expansion, didn't mention the concept of expansion by land annexation, the laws used or the elite role in this process never. Although this repeated process started since 1960s until now. Local studies pass on the topic very superficially. Second, studies reviewed about the expansion of the regional and international cities (except U.S cities), also didn't indicate whether this expansion was within the boundaries of these cities or by land annexation and at the expense of surrounding villages or cities. Third: it is rare to find local or regional studies about socio-economic impacts of land annexation, the positive or negative consequences of this process. Although there are two studies about the Greater Nablus and the Greater Amman which means more and more land annexation, but none of the researchers were concerned about the impacts of the previous land annexation. Fourth: the previous literature reviewed about the socio-economic impacts of land annexation, –mainly in the U.S context– dealt with one impact like the deterioration of agricultural land, the high proportion of municipal revenues from lands annexed to cities, without mentioning the burden on the population as a result of these revenues, the provision of services, and the lack

of services for some villages annexed without reference to the nature, the quality, and the distribution of services. Some studies mentioned the objection on land annexation by the municipalities, reasons for accepting or refusing annexation, without any mentioning to the objections of annexed residents. Moreover, rarely to find studies about the change of the residents' view towards the land annexed or if land annexation integrates or separate the annexed residents with residents` of municipality annexed them. Briefly, each study dealt with one effect of land annexation but this research will reconcile these factors in one study. Moreover, this research will deal with city expansion by the tools of land annexation, laws used and elite role for the first time at the local, regional and international level. In addition to that, the socio-economic impacts of land annexation weren`t tackled by any Palestinian, or regional scholars, and the previous studies in U.S. concentrated mainly on the socio-economic impact affected the municipalities. While this research will deal with the socio-economic impacts of land annexation that affect the annexed villages` residents, not only the municipality. Regionally, and internationally, this research will fill a gap in the literature that was surveyed, that is the socio-economic impacts of land annexation that affected the residents that their lands were annexed, which such literature is rarely found. This research will address the impacts of land annexation in different circumstances, places and environments other than those reviewed in previous studies, by concentrating mainly on the residents, not municipalities. In addition, the previous studies dealt with the socio-economic impacts of land annexation superficially and not in a

comprehensive and deep manner. Whereas the current study will reconcile these impacts intensely.

It is important to notice that, through the previous studies, especially studies about the land annexation, that the majority of these studies are about the American states, which made the comparisons of these studies with this study a hard job for the researcher, because of the different circumstances of these studies from what is happening in Nablus city, and due to the big differences between Nablus city and any American state. The big difference in the political, social and economic situation, but the lack of researches at the local and regional level (Middle East) forced the researcher to make these comparisons. Even though, the expansion of Greater Amman was through the land annexation from many surrounding municipalities, but there weren't any studies done presented deeply and clearly, the impacts of expansion by land annexation and the ways and methods used to implement this expansion, and the paper done on Greater Amman expansion in 2008 touched the subject of land annexation in a superficial way.

2.3. Theoretical Framework

This chapter reviews literature that sets out the theoretical context for the research and helps establish the theoretical framework for the subsequent discussions. The reviewed works cover the concept of power and elite theory. In order to understand the expansion of the city and the socio-economic impacts of

land annexation, it was referred to the classic and contemporary definitions and the concept of power, by Foucault, Weber, Dahl, Forestel, Lapintie, Irazabal and others. As well as to the elite theory, which is considered one of the theories of urban politics and power relations. Using Foucault concept of power and other different types of powers and elite theory present some challenges to the study, because they originate from a context different from this study. So, it wasn't easy to apply the different types of powers on the land annexation and its socio-economic impacts on the villages' residents annexed to N.M.B. For this purpose, there was a use of specific definitions of the concept of power and elite that serve the research in a clear, direct and somewhat smooth manner. Although, Nablus city was characterized by the existence of an influential elite throughout its various stages of the expansion, which could be related to the influence made on the surrounding villages of Nablus city. In the last fifty years, Nablus expanded several times, and this wouldn't have been possible without the presence of the different types of power or elite influence and their interests. So, below the different concepts of power related with the elite role, – nothing goes without power–, and used by elite.

Foucault talked about the authority as a connection of powers and this power isn't at all a single power but linked to other powers, Authority wasn't a supreme structure or abstract but it comes from the bottom. There is no comprehensive and prior bilateral conflict between masters and controlled people. Therefore, the resonance of this conflict is reflected from top to bottom and on

groups that are increasingly narrow until they reach a deep point in the social body. It should be assumed that the multiple power relationships, that are formed and working in the \production systems, families, narrow groups and institutions, borne the divisions that apply to the whole social body. These divisions formed the backbone that penetrates and interrelates the local conflicts and as a reaction, they naturally redistribute, organize, annex, unite, link and collect these conflicts. The major forms of oppression are results of hegemony, which is always supported by the intensity of such confrontations and conflicts and that power is everywhere, including all relations (Foucault 1985, 62). When one speaks about "power", people immediately think of a political structure, a government and a dominant social class. This isn't at all what I think when I talk about "power relations". What I mean is that in human relations whatever the case is, whether it is a matter of verbal communication or the question of love relationships or institutional or economic relations – power always exists (Foucault 1985, 11–12).

Foucault helps us to understand that power is omnipresent and that there are various different types of power on different levels, unlike the old perception that power is a bad, evil and dominatory force, or something in the hands of "The Prince", as presented by the classic work of Machiavelli (Coetzee 2005, 15). Foucault sees power as omni-present in almost all spheres of society various forms and levels of power and power relations are specifically present and active in public and political institutions such as local governments, and these institutions became an/the arena for power games (Coetzee 2005, 1). Foucault also linked

power with the flow of knowledge and communication. Unlike Habermas who believes that power can be 'bracketed' in consensus seeking process, Foucault believes that power can't be 'bracketed' in view of the fact that it is everywhere and that it comes from everywhere. Foucault argues that power only exists when exercised by some on others – it isn't simply a relationship between partners but a way (the communicative action) in which some act on others. It's the type of behavior between individuals and groups that create power – through communication and communicative action (Coetzee 2005, 12).

The classic definition of power described by Weber is "the possibility that an actor in a social relationship is in a position to carry out his will despite resistance." A decade later, Dahl presented another definition of power asserting that power is the ability to influence other behavior – urging a person to "do something he will not do otherwise" (Waite 2016, 19). There may be active people involved in land annexation to N.M.B. such as mayors, engineers or others who have their power and influence on this process. Coetzee (2005) used the concept of power in his study regarding "Reading power relations in the transformation from urban planning in the municipalities of the Greater Pretoria region to South Africa", where he referred to a combination of powers that influenced the process. Forestet and Hoch mentioned other types of power, professional powers; which relate to authority such as planners– to influence developments, processes, action, decisions and society. Planners' information and plans are a powerful source of authority and can be used to influence groups. The availability of information provides planners an advantage

to know where and how things can be found and how things are done and so on. The authority of the neighborhood and the community is a communal authority, which is a kind of authority created through democratic rights, the "voice" of individuals, groups and social expression (Coetzee 2005, 14). Flyvbjerg and Allmendinger, mentioned the power of politicians, the chief executive in the planning process, the way the roles of planners are marginalized, the rational power of planners, and how planners exercise their knowledge/professional authority to impose their ideas on the design and planning of proposed development (Coetzee 2005, 18). The "best argument power" through providing a strong presentation of an idea to convince others by a strong argument that what they are proposing is the best, which match in line with Habermas vision (Coetzee 2005, 72). Some researchers like Rich and Ward highlight the power of community leaders manifested through representation in community forums (Coetzee 2005, 9). Lapintie mentioned that the power of effective communicative work, which can be used to solve traditional planning problems and dominance. For example, communication actions can help actors to express reactions against some procedures or institutions of the authority through local protests (Coetzee 2005, 17).

Waite (2016) in his study used a combination of two approaches to understanding power. Foucault's idea that power encompasses all relationships and the traditional notion that power is merely a coercive, and therefore a negative process. Waite referred to other concepts of power for Irazabal who distinguish

different meanings and uses of power like, “preemptive/ preventive power” means prevent things from happening, preventing the others from decision–making, power is the ability to make things happen, “power to”, power to make others do things “power over”. Klemanski mentioned the “dominant power” which means defeating the other party, “bargaining power” which to persuade the others of your point of view, the rationality of power or rationality and authority and the power of knowledge (Waite 2016, 22–23). Francis Bacon’s commands that knowledge is power, and adds that ‘power is knowledge” (Waite 2016, 31). Another power, which is the absolute power: a power “you can’t dispute”, which is based on legal powers (Waite 2016, 162).

Theories of urban politics assume that efficient authority in city politics needs alliance construction between city representatives and wealthy societal actors (Rast 2007). Regarding elite theory, which is one of the theories of urban politics (Bayumi 2004, 13), where the concept of elite theory is based on the notion that every society holds a ruling minority, a group that controls and disputes the most important power sources (López 2013). This theory sees power as an essential element in the decision–making process, arguing that the control of fateful resources is in the hands of a very few. The elite theory was used to explain that the distinction between individuals or groups is based on their property, wealth, status and leadership. It controls society by handing over the elite to leadership positions (Ngwabi 2009). The elite theory often refers to the fact that the elites operate through alliances and these alliances are dominated by business interests

and rely on national political forces to provide an impact at the local level (Zdunić 2017). Moska pointed out that the elite are a ruling minority that plays key roles and monopolizes power, resources, and society. Moska believes that the reason for the minority's superiority over the majority is due to the small number and organization of minority and the disorganization of majority. Pareto sees the elite as "the minority group that is distinguished from the rest of society and can hold political positions in the society because society in general can't govern itself democratically, so there must be a class of society" (Bayumi 2004, 13).

Burton argue, that elites are persons occupying the top of powerful organizations and movements, thus capable of affecting political outcomes. Elites in societies aren't a homogeneous group, nor share the same amount of power. According to the definition of elite, their power comes from different sources, meaning that there are different types of elites emerging from different organizations and movements. The notion of political class, defines elites as a class of political rulers as political elites, in business sector business elites, in the media sector media elites, military elite, and in the state system state administrative elites (López 2013) and elite families or upper-class families (Farrell 1993, 5). The theory of political opportunity which is for Doug McAdam, one of the pioneers in the perception of this theory, which referred to the exclusion strategies of political elites and the role of allies within them, to exclude the social movements such as the initiative of the right movement in Croatia city in defense of the right of citizens (Zdunić 2017). Others, defines the elite as a group of individuals whose

decisions play an important role in shaping the life, choices, and futures of the masses of the people. The elite are relevant to urban change and regeneration, for the benefit of a few powerful people and stakeholders with little or no participation from the poor (Ngwabi 2009).

Moreover, some concepts might need to be clarified in this research. The concepts are urban or city expansion, land annexation, the socio-economic impact, land acquisition, and the master plan. The first one is the city expansion or urban expansion boundaries. It is important to note that there are two types of cities' boundaries expansion. The first is when the city expands its boundaries within its own land that is located within its authority, and this implies expansion without land annexation. The second is, when the city expands at the expense of the land of the surrounding villages, or towns, which means that expansion is accompanied by land annexation. In this research the expansion through land annexation will be studied. When cities expand, they need to transfer lands for urban use to secure adequate lands to accommodate their growing populations and their needs. To run into this goal, cities need to determine public action that attains enough lands for this purpose. As we are knowledgeable about that, population increase in cities in general and can't be directed by policy efficiently. But the transformation of land from rural to urban use may be much handled and motivated by policy (Angel et al. 2016, 4). In the case of Nablus city, the action was to annex more and more lands from surrounding villages.

So, it is important to mention that in this research, the concept of city expansion is related strongly to the concept of land annexation. A study defined urban expansion as it “refers to the extension of urban landscapes to the surrounding areas mainly, peri-urban area resulting in the loss of agricultural lands and natural beauty” (Njiru 2016, xiv). Whereas other researchers define city expansion as it means “the land used for human activities increases over time”, and as a means “adding new urban areas at the margin, that is, at the present boundary of the city”. In addition, “expansion means that the land covered by basic road network and almost entirely used for human activities gradually increases” (Mohajeri, Gudmundsson, and Louis 2015, 475–478). Urban expansion is the process of generating the built environment to outfit urban inhabitants and their activities (Bren d’Amour et al. 2016).

Urban expansion is defined by Longyu as “it is a phenomenon of urban space increase” (Shi et al. 2009). Some researchers pointed to the idea that urban expansion is strong-minded by the interface of three broad types of phenomena. The types are the physical limitations of geography and environment, the demand for land by the families and companies who reside in the city and the policy controls that rule out land-use and spatial interactions in the city (Angel et al. 2005, 76). The socio-economic impacts of urban expansion are an important consequence of such a phenomenon. Impacts are potential changes caused – directly or indirectly, in whole or in part, for better or for worse– by industrial development activities (Mackenzie Valley Environmental Impact Review Board

2007, 6). The impact has also consequences of an action at the local level. Socio-economic impact implies the economic and social consequences of an action at the local level (CSR Innolabs 2013, 6). As in the case of this research which is about the expansion of Nablus city boundaries, that was accompanied by total and partial land annexation and had socio-economic impacts on residents and this process may have a continuous effect.

In order to define the concept of land annexation that used in this research, it is necessary to refer to some of the authors who defined it in their studies. Nacker (2005) pointed out that the concept of land annexation is the most common form of boulder changes. A process that is often controversial and little known about its effects on economic development. Annexation is the process that transfers land from towns and villages to cities that have demanded the annexation of land. All annexations are land transfers from villages to cities (Nacker 2005). Annexation is the process by which municipalities incorporate new lands both before and after development and there is a central fact of annexation today that means additional revenue for the municipality that wishes to annex (Dahl, Beery, and LLP 2015). Annexation is the main method used by municipalities to expand their boundaries (Goldberg 1985). In the simplest terms, annexation is the addition of land to municipalities (Yurko 1996, 1).” Annexation is the process of bringing land from one jurisdiction to another by petition or resolution” (State of Michigan n. d, 1). The city of San Antonio defines annexation as “...the process by

which cities extend municipal services, voting privileges, full regulatory authority and taxing authority to new territory” (Caine, Gonzalez, and Walter 2017, 1).

Annexation is the process through which a city or town can assume jurisdiction over unincorporated land adjacent to its boundaries. By annexing land, the city acquires the right to exercise all the political and governmental powers authorized by law for property and population in the territories that have been annexed (League of Arizona Cities and Towns 2010). Annexation is the process by which the city increases the amount of land available within its boundaries by adding unincorporated land adjacent to its jurisdiction (Hovekamp, McGowen, and Sherrard 2015). Annexation is primarily a legal process whereby some land is taken from an unincorporated local unit (usually a county) and added to a localized unit (usually a municipality). The annexation process by which the municipality provides its services, systems and privileges in voting and the authority to impose taxes on a new territory (Wang 2012). “Annexation is the legal process by which municipalities expand their geographic boundaries” (Thebo 2012, 1). Annexation is a procedure that cities used to expand their boundaries and outspread municipal services into developing areas (Thebo 2012). Additionally, WICHITA explained the concept of annexation as “Annexation is the process by which a city adds land to its jurisdiction, in order to extend its services, laws, voting privileges and better meet the needs of those residents living in the annexed area” (WICHITA 2007, 1). “Annexation is a way for fixturing the city boundary to the area that has become a city or is becoming a city, or that somebody thinks should or might become a city,

or that needs to be controlled in order to protect the city" (American Society of Planning Officials 1958, 1). Curtis (1992, 1) pointed out that the words "boundary adjustment" as used in Ontario (one of the 13 provinces and territories of Canada) are easily a euphemism for the word "annexation", which is often a controversial process whereby a municipality expands its boundaries to gain jurisdiction over lands from surrounding jurisdictions". N.M did a heavy land acquisition by annexing lands of villages to municipal boundaries, because of that it is important to clarify the meaning of land acquisition. "Land acquisition is a process of acquiring private/public land and providing for the public benefits" (Ghimire, Tuladhar, and Raj 2017). "Land acquisition involves the compulsory taking of land often against the will of the landowners" (Alias and Daud 2006). The land acquisition laws also provide that a deprived landowner shall receive compensation for the loss of their acquired land. Moreover, there is a difference between land annexation and land acquisition regarding land ownership. Land annexation didn't mean that the landowners whom their land was annexed to the municipal boundaries lose their land ownership. On the contrary, the land acquisition means that landowners lose their land ownership by force and will be compensated with an amount of money according to the estimation of the land valuation committee. Besides, land annexation from any village means that its village council loses its administrative, legal, and planning authority over annexed lands and this authority is transformed to the municipality that annexed this land to its boundaries.

Finally, it is important to mention the meaning of “Master Plan” because all the lands annexed to N.M.B were added to this plan, which was approved by the M.L.G. represented by the Supreme Organization Council. The expansion of Nablus boundaries means the expansion of its master plan. The master plan is considered as a regulatory document and a basic legal means to guide the development processes that are taking place in localities (cities/villages). Also, it includes the private and public land-uses and identifies the locations and extensions of public projects within a long period of time (15–20 years). It is based on comprehensive studies of land-uses, various activities and development processes that are taking place recently. It also directs future trends for population growth, business, and other activities (Ministry of Local Government 2010). The master plan is the future perception of the distribution of land, population, economic activities, roads, and facilities of the city or the urban locality (Ministry of Municipal and Rural Affairs 2005). The previous definitions as a whole may apply to the land annexation carried out by N.M. The expansion of the boundaries was through the annexation of new lands from surrounding villages. This is because the city of Nablus in the expansion process of its boundaries made annexation of new lands from the villages surrounding the city. This annexation led to socio-economic impacts on residents of these villages and led to the approval of the master plan for N.M. in 2013.

III CHAPTER 3

3.1. Introduction

The study area of this research will be the boundaries of the approved master plan of N.M.B. in 2013. In addition to the proposed expansion of 2016. It contains Nablus city lands and the lands of nineteen surrounding villages. Five of them were totally annexed during the Jordanian period, which are Balata, 'Askar, 'Iraq et Tayih, Rafidiya, Al Juneid. Another ten villages were partially annexed to N.M.B. during the Israeli occupation period in 1986, which are 'Azmut, Deir el Hatab, Beit Furik, Rujeib, 'Awarta, Beit Wazan, Kafr Qallil, Sarra, Zawata, and 'Asira esh Shamaliya. Moreover, Beit Iba village which was proposed to be annexed –except its old town– in 1996, partially with Beit Wazan and Sarra villages, but its village`s council and residents succeeded in stopping the annexation. Additionally, Tell, 'Iraq Burin and Burin villages will be studied which were proposed to be annexed to N.M.B. in 2016, Map (1).

3.2. Nablus City

Nablus is characterized by a beautiful location located between the mountains of `Ebal and Jerzim, which gave it a unique location among the cities of the West. Nablus is located in a fertile area and different roads passed through it; Jerusalem road links it to the south–north axis of Palestine. In addition, it is linked to the Mediterranean Sea through Tulkarm city. Furthermore, Damya Road Bridge

links it to the Jordan Valley (al Ghor) and East Jordan (Addabbagh 1988, 185). The mountains of Nablus are interspersed by some plains including Burin plain that is extending from 8–9 miles from the northeast to the southwest along the Jerzim mountain base, and Moreover, 'Askar village`s plain (Addabbagh 1988, p. 28). Nablus city is divided into two parts; the old town, known for its alleys, markets and adjacent buildings. The modern town, where the buildings were built in a modern style. The earthquake of 1927 had a large impact on the population of Nablus that are outside the Old City and their houses are in the east and west of Nablus (Addabbagh 1988, 183–185). In 1945 Nablus population was 23,250 people, and in 1961 the population pointed reached 45,773 people (Addabbagh 1988, 209). This population was before implementing the total land annexation, of five villages in 1963 and 1964.

Like other Palestinian cities, Nablus city was ruled by Ottoman rule until 1918, the British mandate until 1948, the Jordanian ruled it until 1967, the Israeli occupation until 1994 and finally the P.A. since 1994 until this day. In 1944, Nablus city had nine governmental schools for boys and four schools for girls, a national school called Al Najah College and two private schools one for boys and one for girls (Addabbagh 1988, 215–218). In 1962/1963, Nablus had 24 governmental schools, 12 schools for boys and 12 schools for girls. In 1966/1967, the number of schools in the city increased to 29, 14 for boys and 15 for girls. In addition, to sixteen private schools in Nablus supervised by associations, individuals, and communities (Addabbagh 1988, 220–221). Nablus city area in

1945 was 8365 dunum (Addabbagh 1988, 183). In 1968, after the total land annexation for five villages N.M. area reached 17,500 dunums, its population was 65,000 people, 35 public schools, 18 for girls, and 17 for boys, and 18 private schools. Nablus city also had health facilities including the National Hospital, the Evangelical Hospital, a government outpatient clinic, the Women's Union Clinic, a nursery clinic, and a pediatric clinic (N.M.P.L.A. Archive no.2/16. File no. 1/68. 1968). In 1986, N.M. annexed partial vacant lands from ten villages, and in 2001, another partial annexation done from one village, and in 2016 it proposed an expansion by partial land annexation from seven villages around.

In 2011, Nablus was considered as the central commercial hub and business incubator. It accommodates A Najah National University; the largest Palestinian university and a branch of Al-Quds Open University, and other educational institutions and community colleges such as Al Rawda Community College, Hisham Hijawi Technical College, 'Andaleeb Al 'Amad Nursing College and the new campus of An-Najah National University. Moreover, Nablus city hosts 7 hospitals; Rafidiya and National public hospitals, Al-Ittihad, Saint Luke's hospitals that are run by charitable societies, Nablus 'Arab Specialized hospital and A Najah National University Hospital, owned by the private sector (Nablus municipality 2011, 33–36). N.M.B. expanded four times by land annexation from fifteen villages surrounded it where the annexation started from 1960s.

The five villages annexed totally to N.M.B. will be described in the bellow paragraphs.

3.3. Balata Village

Balata is a small village located one mile to the east of Nablus, Map (1). Its land area was 3000 dunums, 350 dunums were planted with fruit trees such as almonds, figs, olives grapes, cereals, cotton and vegetables which were considered the most important income resource for the village. Besides, sheep breeding and the sale of dairy products to Nablus city. In 1945, its population was estimated 770 people, and in 1961 the population was 2,292 people. In 1944, during the British Mandate, there was one public school. In 1966–1967, during the Jordanian period, there were two schools in Balata, a preparatory school for boys and a primary one for girls. Moreover, three UNRWA schools, two for boys and one for girls, and the village had an old mosque (Addabbagh 1988, 275–277). Balata village had many springs were used for their daily needs. The village's residents were relied on land production because a plentiful water was found from springs flowing throughout the year, used for the irrigated agriculture. It was famous for planting onions and carrots, wheat, barley, corn, lentils, beans, chickpeas, fig-trees, olives, almonds.... etc. In addition to agriculture, the village relied heavily on livestock farming, and it continued to produce large quantities of crops until a large part of the village's land was transferred to a refugee camp in 1951, called Balata refugee camp (Dweikat 1996, 30–31).

In 1956, the factory of vegetable oil established by private investments, and in 1957 Balata village sent a formal letter signed by Mukhtar and Balata residents asked N.M. to annex their village (annexation by petition). In 1963, and 1964

Balata village annexed totally to N.M.B. which led to the starting process of changing the land-use of the fertile agricultural plain land to other uses such as industrial use, where in 1965, N.M. built the vegetable market, and the slaughterhouse built in 1987. Thus, the village lost more than 60% of its fertile agricultural land, this led to a gradual reduction in herds of livestock to a few pastures. When the population lost their employment opportunities in agriculture and livestock, they went to other resources of income like education as an alternative means of earning money and creating jobs (Dweikat 1996, 32). Nowadays, Balata is considered a neighborhood of Nablus with no agricultural land remained, it was converted to industrial area, and five schools constructed on Balata land, three of them served Balata refugee camps.

3.4. 'Askar Village

'Askar village is 3 km east of Nablus, Map (1). Before the 1960s the area of the village was 3715 dunums, with about 300 dunums planted with almonds, figs, olives, grapes and others, it was raising sheep and sell its products to Nablus city. The village residents drink from a spring known as 'Askar spring. It had a mosque and in the British mandate there wasn't a school and 'Askar students used to go to Balata neighboring village's school. In 1966–1967 during the Jordanian period, there was a school for girls, whereas boys went to Balata school and the UNRWA school in 'Askar, and UNRWA established tow schools for refugees, one for girls and the other for boys. 'Askar had a plain located to the east of the which

had many olive trees (Addabbagh 1988, 282–284). After al Nakba 1948, two refugee camps were located over 'Askar land and they were named the new and the old 'Askar camps. In 1963 'Askar had been annexed totally to N.M.B., and in the same year, N.M. acquired 360 dunums for the east Popular Housing Project, and acquired land for the vegetable market. More than 15 schools constructed over its land for the benefit of the old and new 'Askar camps, the residents of the popular housing and 'Askar people. A big change occurred to the land-use imposed by N.M. after the annexation of 'Askar village. For example; 478 dunums of fertile 'Askar plain were announced as an industrial zone since the 1960s which represents 12% of the total area of 'Askar. There were no formal correspondences found pointed that 'Askar village asked for annexing its village to N.M.B., which means that it was annexed by involuntary total annexation.

3.5. 'Iraq et Tayih Village

'Iraq et Tayih, is a small village located on Balata land village, to the northeast of Nablus city (Map 1), in 1961 its population was 201 (Addabbagh 1988, 282). In 1963, N.M. annexed it to its boundaries by involuntary total annexation. Until the 1980s there was no mosque in the village, then Jodeh family in 'Iraq et Tayih donated a piece of land for a mosque and raised money to build it. The village's residents were relying on agriculture, livestock and raising sheep (Dweikat 2014, 23). In 2000, girls' school was built for the benefit of 'Iraq et Tayih and 'Askar, and donated by people from abroad (interview with 'Abdallah 2019).

3.6. Rafidiya Village

Rafidiya is located one mile to the west of Nablus, Map (1), with a land area of 2004 dunums, which was planted with grain, cotton, vegetables and about 500 dunums planted with olive trees. Moreover, about 700 dunums were planted with fruit trees such as almonds, apricots, figs and others. The people of Rafidiya were interested in raising sheep and domestic birds. There were about 1400 sheep and nearly 100 cows and lots of chickens and pigeons. The residents sold milk and eggs to Nablus city. In 1961, its population was 923 people. The village's residents drinks from springs lie in the east of the village. It had a mosque, and three churches, and after 1948 al Nakba, there were three schools, one governmental girls' school and two private schools (Addabbagh 1988, 336–337). Rafidiya mukhtar with village's committee sent a letter to N.M. to annex their village in 1959 (annexation by petition). In 1963, and 1964 it was totally annexed to N.M.B. In 1963, N.M acquired 120 dunums for the west Popular Housing Project which represents 6% of the total area of Rafidiya. Nowadays it is considered one of the most prestigious neighborhoods in N.M., inhabited by rich people, and 14 schools constructed on its land.

3.7. Al Juneid Village

Al Juneid is located to the west of Nablus, about 6 km away (Map 1), with a total area of 284 dunums. Its residents were growing olive trees and vineyards, almonds and figs. In 1961, it had a population of 156. There was no school or

mosque in Al Juneid village until 1967 (Addabbagh 1988, 338). In 1964, it was annexed totally to N.M.B., by involuntary total annexation.

The ten villages that involuntarily partially annexed to N.M.B. in 1986 will be mentioned in the below paragraphs.

3.8. 'Azmut Village

'Azmut is located 5 km away on the eastern side of Nablus, Map (1). The land area of 'Azmut is 10,748 dunums. It was planted with grain, few trees, olive trees, figs, and grapes. The population was raising a few sheep to take benefit from its milk and cheese. In 1961 its population was 615 people. The main source of water for the village was rain. There was no school in this village before 1948, where the students were going to the nearby school of Deir el Hatab. After al Nakba, two elementary schools were established one for boys, and another for girls and the village had a mosque (Addabbagh 1988, 284–285). In 1964, N.M. acquired more than 200 dunums from the fertile plain of 'Azmut land for a cemetery that hasn't been used for this purpose until this day. In 1986, N.M did an involuntary partial land annexation of 1140 dunums from 'Azmut land which was a fertile plain that represented 11% of the total area of the village but with no services provided in this area from the municipality. The municipality proposed a new land-use that was totally different from agricultural use, which encouraged many landowners to sell their land instead of farming it because the prices of land had risen.

3.9. Deir el Hatab Village

Deir el Hatab is located to the east of Nablus city, 6 km away. Its total land area is 11,532 dunums, Map (1). Its population planted grains, vegetables, and olive trees were planted on 566 dunums, and 270 dunums planted with figs, grapes, and almonds. In 1942, Deir el Hatab village had about 1,000 sheep and 300 cows, the villagers benefited from the milk and butter. In 1961 it had a population of 481. The village had two springs for the residents' use. Until 1966–67 during the Jordanian period, it had a mosque, and one preparatory school shared between Deir el Hatab and Salim villages and an elementary girls' school (Addabbagh 1988, 285–286). In 1986 over 350 dunums were involuntary partially annexed to N.M.B. from the fertile plain which formed 3% from Deir el Hatab total area. No services were provided in the annexed land, and the approved land-use by the municipality will far away from agricultural use. In addition, another 160 dunums of its land were proposed to be annexed to N.M.B. in 2016, and no services provided in annexed land because it classified as area C in the Oslo Accords.

3.10. Beit Furik Village

Beit Furik is located in the southeast of Nablus, 9 km away. Its total area is 36,663 dunums Map (1). It was planted with grains, cotton, few vegetables, and had about 2000 dunums planted with olive trees. Also, 700 dunums of the village were planted with fruit trees; figs, almonds and others. The village's residents were

interested in raising cattle; there were 500 heads of cattle and 1000 sheep in the village where they benefited from their cheese and butter. In 1961, its population was 1997 inhabitants. The village was depended on rainwater for drinking. Before Al Nakba there was a boy's school and after it a girls' school was established in the village, with two mosques (Addabbagh 1988, 292–293). In 1986, over 340 dunums that represent 0.93% of the total area of the village were involuntary partially annexed to N.M. Until this day the annexed land hasn't been serviced by N.M. because it is classified as area C in the Oslo Accords.

3.11. Rujeib Village

Rujeib is located in the southeast of Nablus, 4 km away. Its total area is 7,038 dunums, Map (1). It was planted with grains, beans and few vegetables. There were nearly 327 dunums planted with olive trees and about 200 dunums planted with figs, grapes, and almonds. Some of the residents depended on raising sheep and selling milk and cheese to Nablus city. In 1961, the village's residents were 628 residents. The village was depended on the rainwater as well as from a spring in Kafr Qallil village. After al Nakba, two schools were established one for boys and one for girls. Moreover, the village had a mosque (Addabbagh 1988, 294–295). In 1986, over 2,000 dunums from the fertile plain was involuntary partially annexed to N.M.B. which formed 28% from the total area. Over 300 dunums which form 15% of the total annexed land and 4% of the total area of the annexed land were classified as an industrial zone. Two schools built on the

annexed land. In 2006, Rujeib village`s council sent an objection letter to M.L.G. against annexing their land to N.M.B., but no response arrived from the ministry side.

3.12. 'Awarta Village

'Awarta is located to the southeast of Nablus, about 8 km away. It (including the neighboring village of Udala) has a total area of 16,106 dunums, Map (1), planted with grain, cotton, few vegetables and 4,450 dunums were planted with olive trees. 'Awarta is considered the fifth village of Nablus governorate in planting olive trees. In addition, 1,331 dunums were planted with figs, almonds, grapes, and other trees. Before 1944, 'Awarta was famous for making "Bshut"¹, white robes and rugs. In 1961, its population was 2,069, and drinking from a spring with sufficient amount of water for drinking needs. Until 1967, there was a middle school for boys and girls and the village had a mosque (Addabbagh 1988, 295–299). It was one of the ten villages that was partially annexed to N.M.B. in 1986, where more than 200 dunums were involuntary partially annexed, which formed 1.3% from the total area of the village, and one school built in annexed land.

¹ A cloth that is made of colored wool.

3.13. Beit Wazan Village

Beit Wazan is located in the northwest of Nablus city, in the east of Beit Iba village, Map (1). Its total area is 3,711 dunums, nearly 580 dunums were planted with olive trees and about 300 dunums were planted with grapes, almonds, figs and others. The financial situation of the people of this village was good where they were known to be hard workers, some of them were engaged in the trade of cattle with a good profit. In 1961, its population was 372. There were two springs of water covered the residents' needs. The village had a mosque and no school was found in the village until the 1960s, the students were sent to the nearby schools of Beit Iba and Rafidiya villages (Addabbagh 1988, 339–340). Beit Wazan was one of the villages that N.M. tried to annex more than one time. In 1986, N.M. succeeded in annexing partially and involuntary over 2,120 dunums which formed over 57% from the total land. In 1996, the municipality failed to annex the rest of the land of the village as a result of the absolute rejection from the residents and council of Beit Wazan. Four schools, tow universities and a cultural center built on its annexed land.

3.14. Kafr Qallil Village

Kafr Qallil is located at the foothill of the eastern Jerzim Mountain, 4 km away from the city of Nablus Map (1). Its area was 4,732 dunums. It was planted with grain, cotton and vegetables, 54 dunums planted with olive trees and more than 600 dunums planted with almonds, grapes, figs and others. The village's

residents were raised cattle to benefit from their milk. In 1961, its population reached 749 people. Before 1948, there was no school in it, and after the Nakba, two primary schools were established in the village, one for boys and the one for girls. It had several springs used for residents' needs (Addabbagh 1988, 343–344). In 1986, N.M annexed over 1,030 dunums of land which formed 22% from the total area of the village. In 1986, Mukhtar village sent a letter to Israeli military ruler to annex the village's to N.M.B. (annexation by petition). Two schools built on annexed land. Moreover, more than 150 dunums were proposed to be annexed by N.M.B. in 2016. Many objection letters on annexing village's land sent by Kafr Qallil village's residents and council to M.L.G. since 1997 until 2015 without any response from the ministry.

3.15. Sarra Village

Sarra is located in the south–west of the city of Nablus, 11 km away Map (1). The total area of the village was 5,928 dunums, 586 dunums planted with olive trees and 380 dunums planted with fruit trees such as almonds, figs and others. In 1961, its population was 767 people. The village's residents drank water from the collected rain water. Before 1948, there was no school in the village. Therefore, its residents were sending their children to the school of Tell village. After al Nakba, two primary schools for boys and girls were established. Moreover, the village had a mosque (Addabbagh 1988, 353). Until this day, Sarra is the only village that N.M. succeeded twice in annexing parts of its land. The first in 1986,

over 400 dunums were partially involuntary annexed, which formed 7% from the total area, the second was in 2001, N.M. succeeded in annexing another 420 dunums from Sarra land by petition, and that formed another 8% of the area. As a result, the total land annexed formed 15% of the whole area. But the 2001 land partial annexation done according to a formal request (a petition) from Sarra village`s council and the owners of the land annexed.

3.16. Zawata Village

Zawata is located in the north-west of the city of Nablus, 6 km away Map (1). It has a total area of 3,558 dunums, cultivated with grains, cotton, a few vegetables, over 400 dunums were planted with olive trees, 600 dunums were planted with almonds, grapes, figs and other fruit trees, and 13 dunums planted with citrus. The financial situation of Zawata people was good for their hard work and for the abundance of water that enabled them to use their land well. In 1961, its population was 466 people. Before 1948, there was no school in the village where the students went to the nearby schools of Rafidiya and Beit Iba. After al Nakba, a mixed elementary school was established. Moreover, the village had a mosque (Addabbagh 1988, 390–391). In 1986, N.M. annexed involuntary 530 dunums from Zawata land which formed 15% from the total area and the municipality didn't provide any services in this area because it is classified area C.

3.17. 'Asira esh Shamaliya Village

'Asira esh Shamaliya is considered one of the largest villages in Nablus governorate, located north of Nablus city, separated by Mount 'Ebal, just 6 km away, Map (1). Its total area was 30,496 dunums. The village's residents were depended on olive plantations where about 4,020 dunums were planted with olive trees, which led the village to be the seventh village in planting olive trees in Nablus district. They planted wheat, barley, lentils, carrots, beans, sesame, corn, and vegetables, and planted fruit trees, where about 1500 dunums were planted with almonds, grapes, figs, apricots, and apples. The residents also raise domestic animals; in 1943 there were about 1,500 sheep and 500 cows. The residents benefited from selling dairy products to Nablus city. There were quite a few people in the village working in Haifa, on the roads and in the archeological excavations. The residents drank from the rainwater harvesting which they collected in private wells. In 1961, the population of the village was 3,232 people. Before 1948, there were two schools in the village, one for boys and one for girls, and after 1967 the boys' school became a secondary school and the girls' school became a preparatory school. Moreover, the village has two mosques (Addabbagh 1988, 425–429). In 1986, N.M. annexed involuntary 1,600 dunums which formed 5% from the total village's area. In addition, it is one of the villages that was proposed in 2016 to be annexed partially to N.M.B. Nearly 8,000 dunums were proposed to be annexed to which formed 28% of its remaining total area, and no services provided in the annexed land.

3.18. Beit Iba Village

Beit Iba is located in the west of Nablus city, 7 km away Map (1). Its total area is 5,063 dunums. It has 764 dunums planted with olive trees and 950 dunums planted with almonds, figs, and grapes. In 1961, its population was 1,069. It had two springs used for inhabitants needs. After 1948, there were two schools, secondary school for boys and a primary school for girls, and one mosque (Addabbagh 1988, 341). In 1980s village's council refused a request from N.M. to acquire land from Beit Iba to build treatment plant on their land and courted the municipality. In 1996, N.M. tried to annex involuntary all its land except the old village, but this attempt was strongly rejected by the people and council of the village.

The villages proposed to be annexed in 2016 for the first time to N.M.B. will be illustrated in the paragraphs below.

3.19. Burin Village

Burin is located in the south of Nablus city, 10 km away Map (1). The total area of its land – including the village of `Iraq Burin – is 19,096 dunums. There were about 313 dunums planted with olive trees and about 700 dunums planted with almonds, figs, grapes, and others. There were about 2,000 sheep in the village, benefiting the residents from through selling their dairy in Nablus city. The most important source of livelihood for the villagers was the work of their sons abroad. Many of them worked as laborers in the railways and in the Petroleum

Company, including those who worked in the Palestinian Police Department and in the east of Jordan. In 1961, its population was 2,068, including the population of 'Iraq Burin village. Many springs in it supply its residents with water. Before 1948, there was a primary school for boys which became a secondary one after al Nakba, and a preparatory school for girls was established at that time, and it had a mosque (Addabbagh 1988, 347–348). In 2016, N.M. proposed to annex over 2,400 dunums from its land, which formed 13% of its total area classified A, B of Oslo Acord, Map (10).

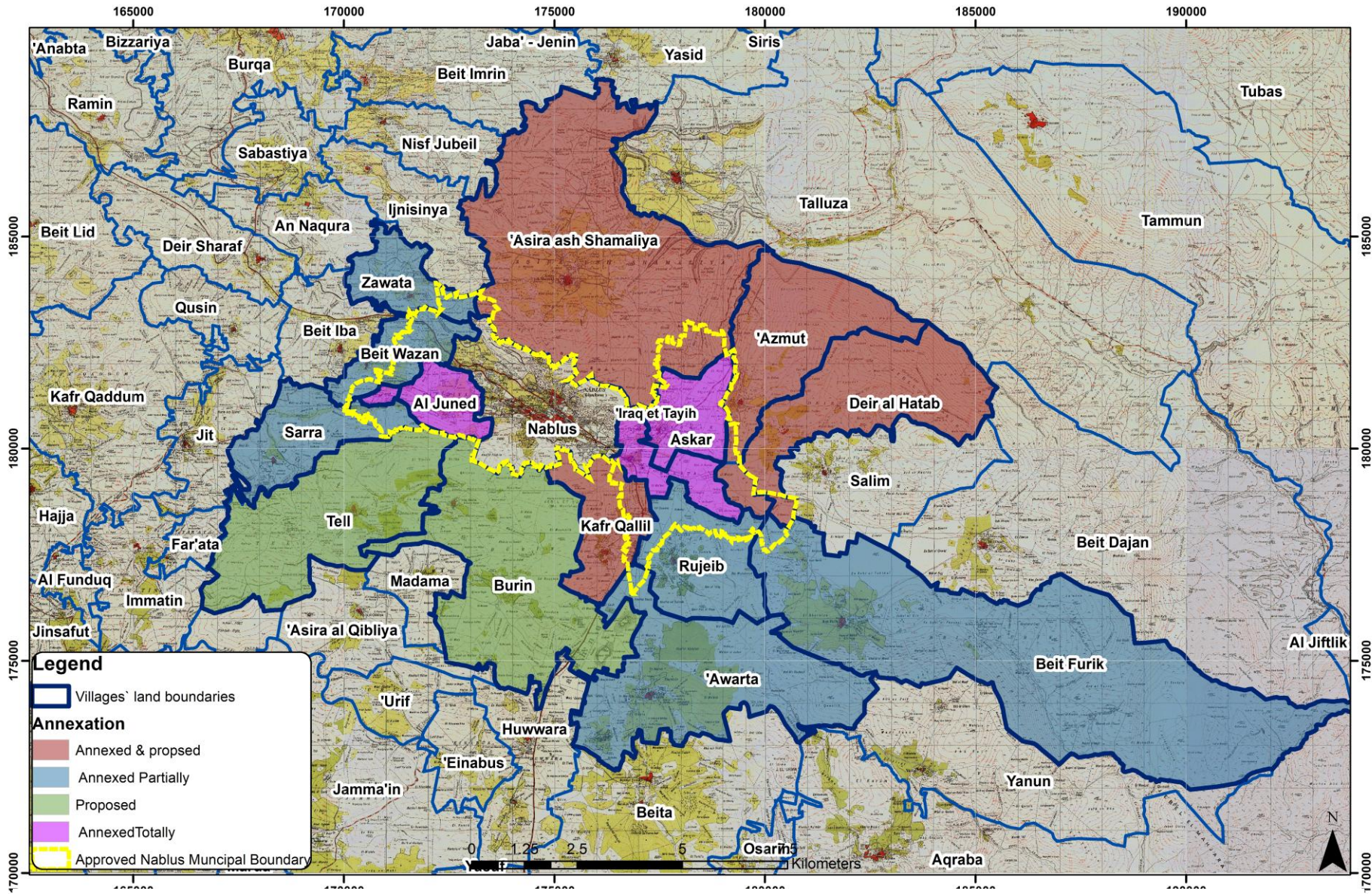
3.20. 'Iraq Burin Village

'Iraq Burin is located to the north–west of Burin village, 8 km away from Nablus city, Map (1). In 1961, its population was 212 people. After 1948 a mixed school was established (Addabbagh 1988, 350). All of its lands were proposed to be annexed to N.M.B. in 2016.

3.21. Tell Village

Tell is located in the southwest of Nablus city, 14 km away, Map (1). The total area of the village is 13,776 dunums. It was planted with grain, cotton, some vegetables, about 950 dunums planted with olive trees and 950 dunums planted with fruit trees, fig, almonds, grapes and others. The villages` residents raised domestic birds, sheep and cows. There were 160 cows and 600 sheep, and the residents benefited from selling the milk in Nablus city. In 1961, its population was

1,539. It had twelve springs used by residents for drink. Before 1948, there was a primary school. After al Nakba, it became a preparatory school and a primary school for girls was established. It had a mosque (Addabbagh 1988, 350–352). In 2016, nearly 6,000 dunums were proposed to be annexed to N.M.B. which formed 44% of the village's total area, Map (10).



Map (1): The study area, Nablus city, the 15 villages annexed, and proposed to be annexed to N.M.B. Source: N.M., and the Ministry of Planning, 2019, modified by the researcher.

IV CHAPTER 4

4.1. Introduction

This chapter will discuss the expansion of N.M.B. in all different periods of times, and the different tools N.M. used to help in expansion its boundaries, like the different types of land annexation, laws and elite intervention. These tools will be explained by reviewing the most important official correspondence that found in N.M.P.L.A., N.M.A. archives. Nablus city boundaries expanded in two ways. The first, when Nablus city expanded only within and inside its boundary land. The second, when Nablus city expanded its boundaries outside its land boundary at the expense of the surrounding villages' lands by land annexation. In the stages of its expansion from the 1960s until 2016, N.M. has endeavored to expand its municipality boundaries by land annexation from the surrounding villages.

4.2. Nablus Expansion and the Land Annexation Types in the Jordanian Period 1960–1967.

In the Jordanian period, N.M.B. expanded tow times in 1963, and 1964 respectively, by a total annexation of land and population of five villages which are: Balata, 'Askar, 'Iraq et Tayih, to the east of Nablus city Rafidiya, and Al Juneid to the west of the city. During this period N.M. expanded through using more than one type of land annexation:

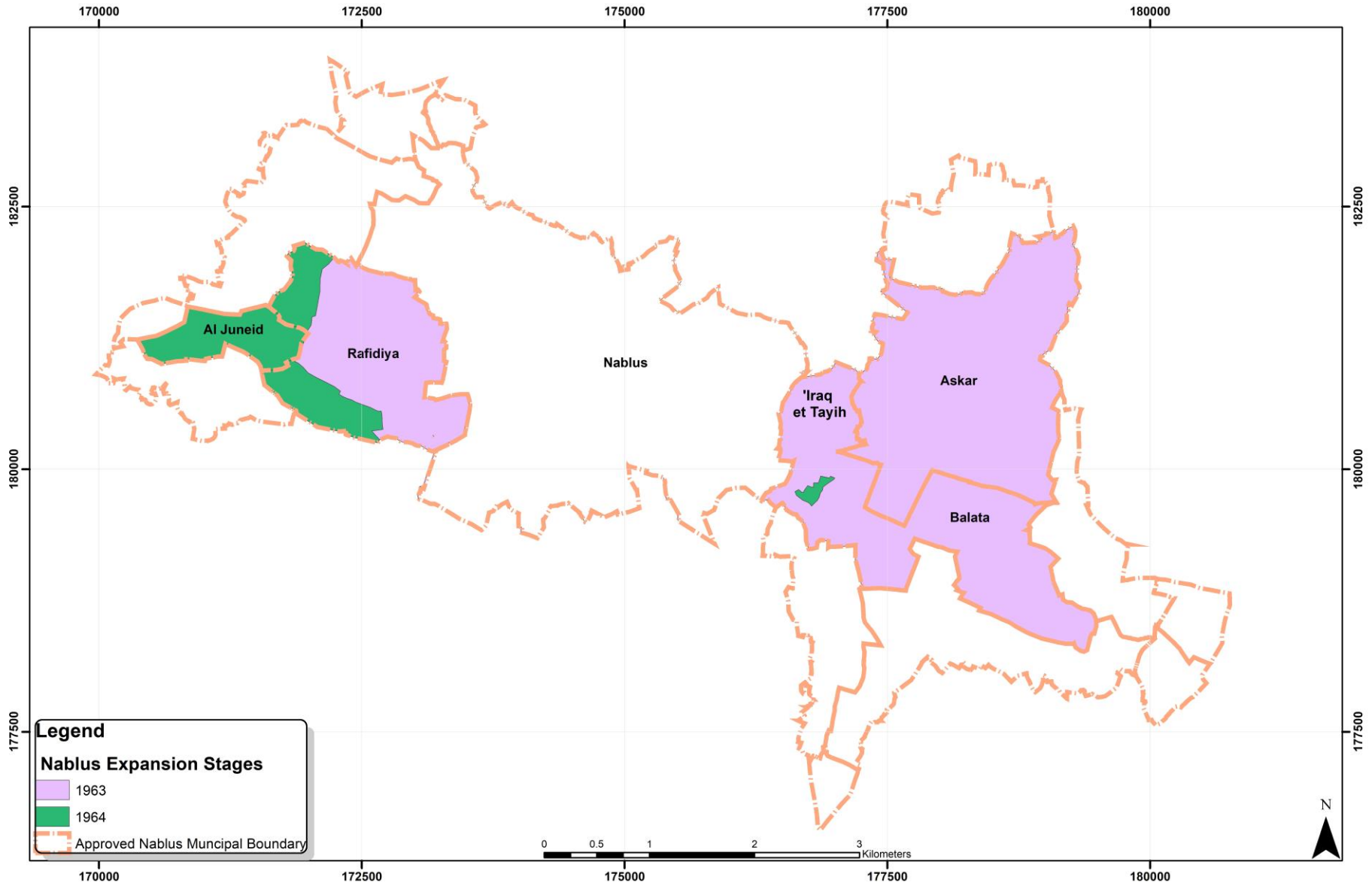
a. Voluntary total land annexation (Yurko 1996): N.M. used it to annex Balata, 'Askar and Rafidiya villages to N.M.B. (N.M.A. Archive no. 3/22. File no. 22. 1956), and to ensure this annexation, Nablus mayor on 24/5/1956, asked Nablus Governor to take action for the referendum of the residents of Balata, 'Askar and Rafidiya on the subject of annexing their lands, and after obtaining their opinion, the M.C. will decide again regarding this matter (N.M.A. Archive no. 3/22. File no. 23. 1956), (Appendix 1, Image 1). So, in 1963 the Minister of the Interior for Municipal and Rural Affairs approved the decision of expanding N.M.B. by annexing the total basins 1–16 of 'Askar village, the total basins 1–13 of Balata village, the total basins 1–8, and part of basin 9 of Rafidiya village (Jordanian Official Gazette 1963, 480), and in 11/5/1964, N.M.B. expanded by annexing the total basins 9,10,11 of Rafidiya, and basin 14 which is known as Jedr Balata el Balad (Jordanian Official Gazette 1964, 1152), Map (2). The previous two official announcements elucidated that the total land and population of these villages were practically annexed to N.M.B. in the 1963 and 1964.

b. Involuntary or unilateral total annexation (Tyson 2012): N.M. used it when annexed Al Juneid and 'Iraq et Tayih villages without taking their opinions and without any formal requests sent by them for annexation, where Al Juneid and 'Iraq et Tayih didn't also be mentioned in the official correspondence between the various official institutions regarding the annexation of the lands of Balata, 'Askar and Rafidiya villages, or in the announcement of annexation in the Official Gazette. Although they are well known by the local residents and are located on different

maps that were obtained from different resources. In addition to that, it is well known that basin 11 is owned by Al Juneid village, which wasn't mentioned in the expansion advertisement. While 'Iraq et Tayih village is located on Balata villages land. Additionally, the two villages mentioned in population statistics that documented in different censuses and mentioned in Addabagh (1988, 282, 338).

c. Annexation by petition (Dahl, Beery, and LLP 2015): it was used by Balata and Rafidiya villages where they submitted a request to N.M. to annex their villages. On 12/18/1957, Balata village's residents signed a letter to N.M. Committee's head requesting to expand N.M.B. in order to annex their village (N.M.A. Archive no.3/22. File no. 25. 1957) (Appendix 1, Image 2), and on 18/2/1959, Mukhtar and committee of Rafidiya sent a letter to N.M. Committee's head asking to annex their village to N.M.B. (N.M.A. Archive no.3/22. File no. 44. 1959), (Appendix 1, Image 3).

d. Involuntary or unilateral partial annexation (Essner 1981) from one or more villages: it was used by Nablus mayor to expand N.M. area by annexing the adjacent part of Kafr Qallil and Burin villages (N.M.A. Archive. no. 3/22. File no. 61. 15/4/1961), and by considering basins 1-5, and 8-12 of Kafr Qallil as an area belonging to N.M.B. (N.M.A. Archive. no.3/22. File no .94. 12/11/1966).



Map (2): The five villages that were totally annexed to N.M.B. in 1963 and 1964. Source: N.M., 2019, modified by the researcher.

4.3. Nablus Expansion and the Land Annexation Types in the Israeli Occupation Period 1967–1994

N.M. continued the process of expanding its boundaries area, by land annexation tool in this period, and there are a lot of correspondence submitted by N.M. to achieve this goal. During the Israeli Occupation period, N.M. expanded its boundaries through partial land annexation for vacant land (without population) from ten villages surrounding the city from the four directions, Map (3), and this expansion considered the third time of boundaries expansion. Also, N.M. tried to expand its municipal area by: involuntary parcels annexation, involuntary partial annexation from one village or more, and annexation by petition.

a. Involuntary parcels annexation (Dahl, Beery, and LLP 2015), from one village or more: N.M. implemented it by annexing many parcels from basin or more basins from one village or more villages that benefited from detailed projects² implemented by it. For example; N.M. engineer sent a letter enclosed with a list of parcels numbers benefited from project no. 9/72, parcels (1–79, 81–84, 126–211), basin 1, in Rujeib village, and he requested maps of basin 3, to identify the number of parcels that are located within the project to be annexed to N.M.B. (N.M.A. Archive no. 3/22. File no. 101,102. 1972), and Nablus mayor sent a letter to the municipal engineer to inform him about the annexation of all the parcels benefited from the project no. 9/72 in basin 1 in Rujeib and basins 10 and

² The detailed projects are opening streets, canceling streets, re-dividing parcels of land or changing the land-use of parcels

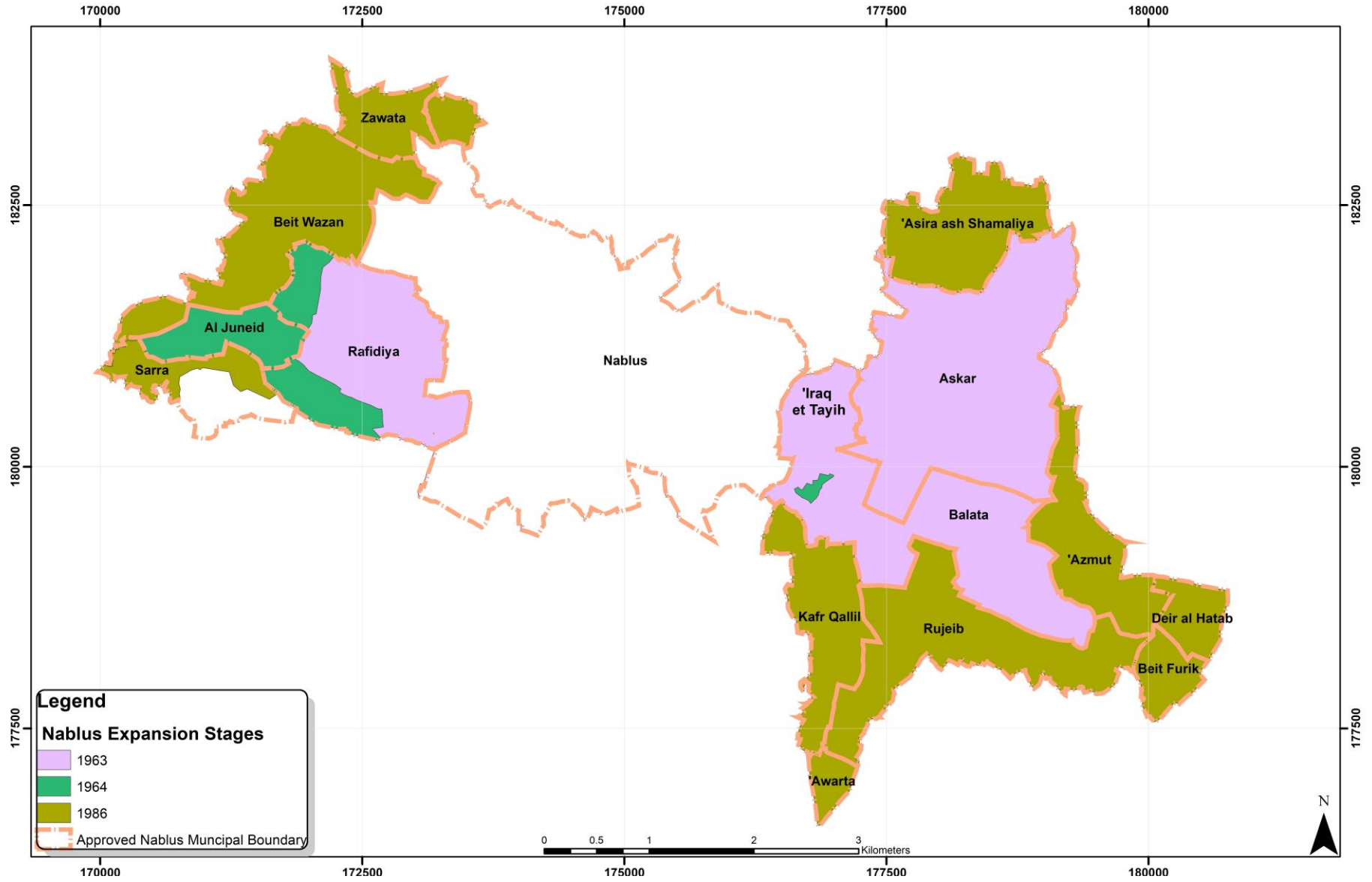
11 in Kafr Qallil villages to N.M.B. (N.M.P.L.A. Archive no. 29/74. File no. 1363. 1974), (Appendix 1, image 4). According to the mentioned previously, N.M. did the involuntary parcels annexation for any parcel that benefited from any detailed project done by the municipality.

b. Involuntary partial annexation from one village or more: on 21/7/1973, N.M. decided to approve the annexation of basin 1 of Rujeib to N.M.B. (N.M.A. Archive no. 3/22. File no. 117. 1973), and on 19/9/1973, N.M. tried to annex basins 1, 9,10,11 and 14 of Kafr Qallil land to N.M. organization area (N.M.A. Archive no. 3/22. File no. 111. 1973. While, on 6/2/1973, Nablus mayor asked about the maps of several villages surrounding the city which are 'Asira esh Shamaliya, Beit Wazan, Zawata, Burin and 'Iraq Burin, 'Azmut, Rujeib, Sarra, and Tell to expand N.M.B. (N.M.A. Archive no. 3/22. File no.104. 1973). Moreover, on 7/2/1987, N.M. published in Al Quds Newspaper an advertisement for the expansion of N.M.B. by partial land annexation of ten villages (N.M.A. Archive no. 3/22. File no. 4. 1987), (Table 1, Map 3).

Table (1): The villages' names, and basins no., which annexed to N.M.B. in 1987.

Village name	Basin no.
Zawata	1
'Asira esh Shamaliya	28,33,35,39,40,
Beit Wazan	1,2,3,4,7,8,9,14
Kafr Qallil	1,4,6,9,10,11,12
Rujeib	1,2,3,4
'Azmut	13, 12
Sarra	1,2
Deir el Hatab	13
Beit Furik	1,2
'Awarta	Part of its land

c. Land annexation by petition: it was used by Kafr Qallil village council's head who sent a letter to the Administration Chief of Nablus District, asking for annexing the village to N.M.B, and that they persuaded Nablus mayor and council members to annex their village (N.M.A. Archive no. 3/22. File no. 10. 10/9/1986), (Appendix 1, Image 5).



Map (3): The ten villages that were partially annexed to N.M.B. in 1986. Source: N.M., 2019, modified by the researcher.

4.4. Nablus Expansion and the Land Annexation Types in the Palestinian Authority Period 1994–2016

N.M. didn't give up the issue of expansion by land annexation, where it began a new round of land annexation to the municipality boundaries, a lot of official correspondences regarding the expansion of N.M.B. during this period have been done, and the most important correspondence will be presented in this section. After the emergence of the P.A. in 1994, N.M. began the completion of the expansion procedures of Nablus boundaries, which started in 1987. Also, it started to prepare for a new expansion by involuntary partial land annexation, involuntary partial annexation of area classified A, annexation by petition, involuntary parcels annexation from several villages, annexation for the Greater Nablus Municipality, and future involuntary partial annexation of area classified A and B. In 1996, did the fourth failed attempt of expansion by land annexation from three villages. Moreover, in 2001 the fifth partial land annexation was done from Sarra village. Interestingly, N.M. didn't stop the process of proposing new land annexation to its boundaries from the surrounding villages, as it proposed expansion for the year 2016 by annexing lands from seven villages.

a. Involuntary partial annexation from several villages or one village proposed: the ambition of N.M is to expand its municipal boundaries to exceed the boundaries of the thirteen villages around it, where the head of Nablus Municipal

Committee³ sent a letter to the Ambassador of the State of Palestine – Jordan, to ask for maps of thirteen villages located in Nablus Governorate (Table 2, Map 4) (N.M.A. Archive no. 3/22. File no. 6. 1996), where the maps of these villages' basins will help N.M. to decide the best direction of its expansion, and the suitable land to be annexed to the municipal boundaries in the future.

Table (2): The thirteen villages' names and basins needed to be studied to expand N.M.B. in 1996.

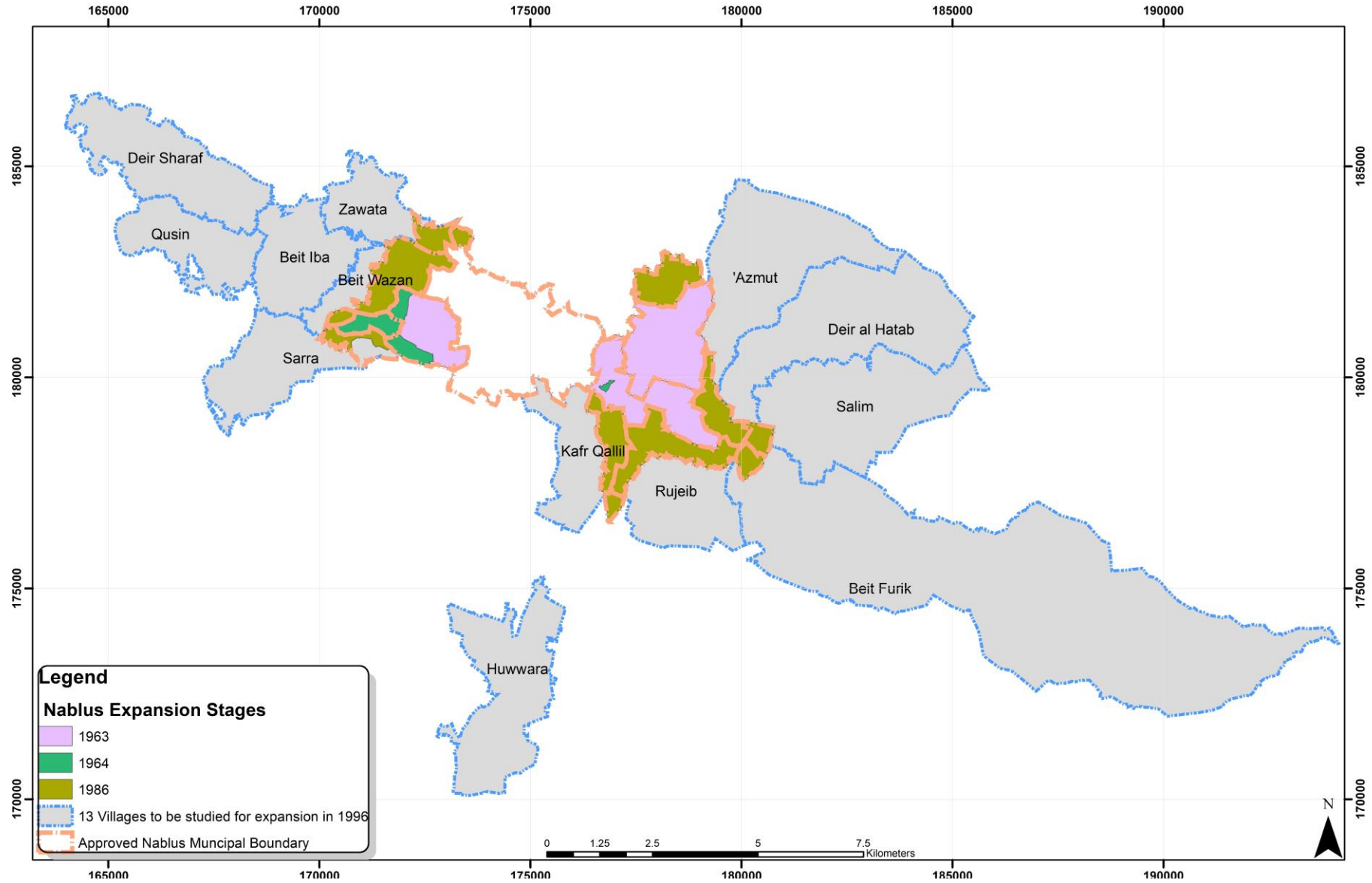
Village name	Basin no.
Kafr Qallil	1-12
Salim	1-15
Beit Iba	1-15
Rujeib	1-7
Huwwara	1-28
Sarra	1-11
Deir el Hatab	1-13
Beit Wazan	1-16
Qusin	1-8
Beit Furik	1-49
Deir Sharaf	1-16
Zawata	1-8
'Azmut	1-13

³ Nablus Municipal Committee: It was formed in 1994 after the entry of the Palestinian Authority by Yasser Arafat, the President of the Palestinian Authority, as a substitute for the Municipal Council. This is because it was not possible to hold elections for the Municipal Council in the first period of the Palestinian Authority. Hence, Ghassan Al-Shak'a was appointed as the head of the committee, which started performing its duties in July 1994 until 2004

Then, on 5/8/1996, an involuntary partial annexation of three villages, were announced in Al-Quds newspaper, according to the request of N.M. mayor, and the approval of H.O.C. on the expansion of N.M.B. by annexing partially Beit Wazan, Beit Iba, and Sarra villages, (N.M.A. Archive no. 3/22. File no. 15. 1996), (Table 3, Map 5). Another announcement published by N.M. in Al Nahar Newspaper no. 3375, on 26/8/1996, concerning the annexation of the previous three villages (N.M.A. Archive no. 3/22. File no. 21. 1996).

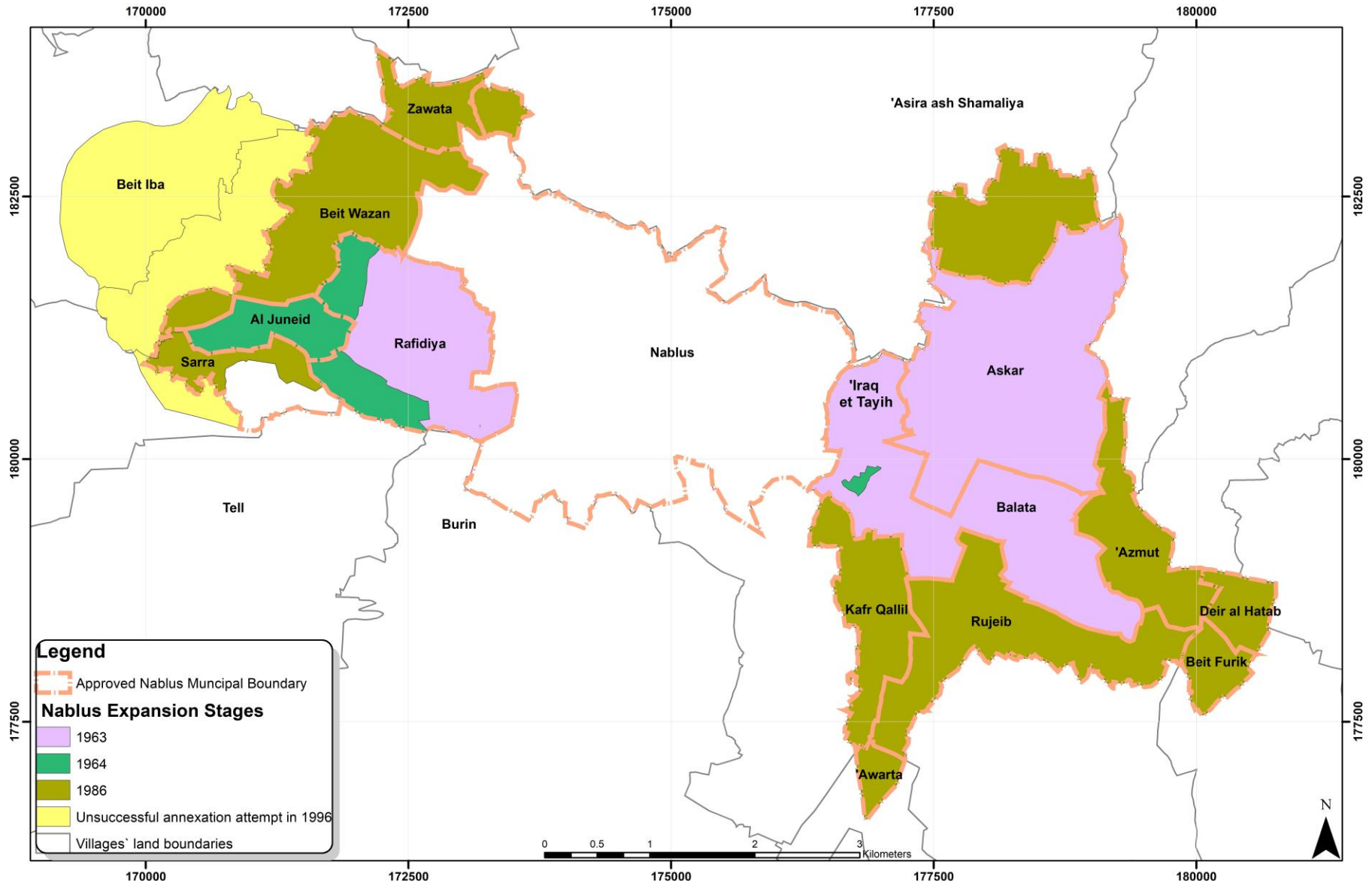
Table (3): The three villages' names, and basins published in Al Quds Newspaper to be annexed to N.M.B. in 1996.

Village name	Basin no.
Beit Wazan	5,6,10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16
Beit Iba	1,4,5,6,7,8,9,10,12,13,14,15
Sarra	1,2



Map (4): The Thirteen villages that N.M. examined to formulate a proposal to annex them partially in 1996. Source: N.M., and the Ministry of Planning, 2019, modified by researcher.

Additionally, Nablus mayor ('Adly Y'eesh) tried to do a partial annexation from one village, where in April 2008, he sent a letter to the head and members of Burin village`s council about the municipality study expanding its boundaries towards Burin basins adjacent to N.M.B. (basins no.: 15, 19, 20, 21, 22), and the municipality wants to control the construction process there to avoid any problems in the future, and asked Burin village council to cooperate with the municipality to help in the idea of annexing land from the village and to present the idea to the village council and Burin people (N.M.A. Archive no. 3/22. File no. 11. 2008). Concerning this letter, no reply letter was found from Burin village council to indicate if they accepted or refused the idea of annexing land from Burin, but from the interview with the head of Burin village`s council appeared that there was no cooperation or communication from N.M. with the village council concerning this expansion (interview with Qadus 2019).

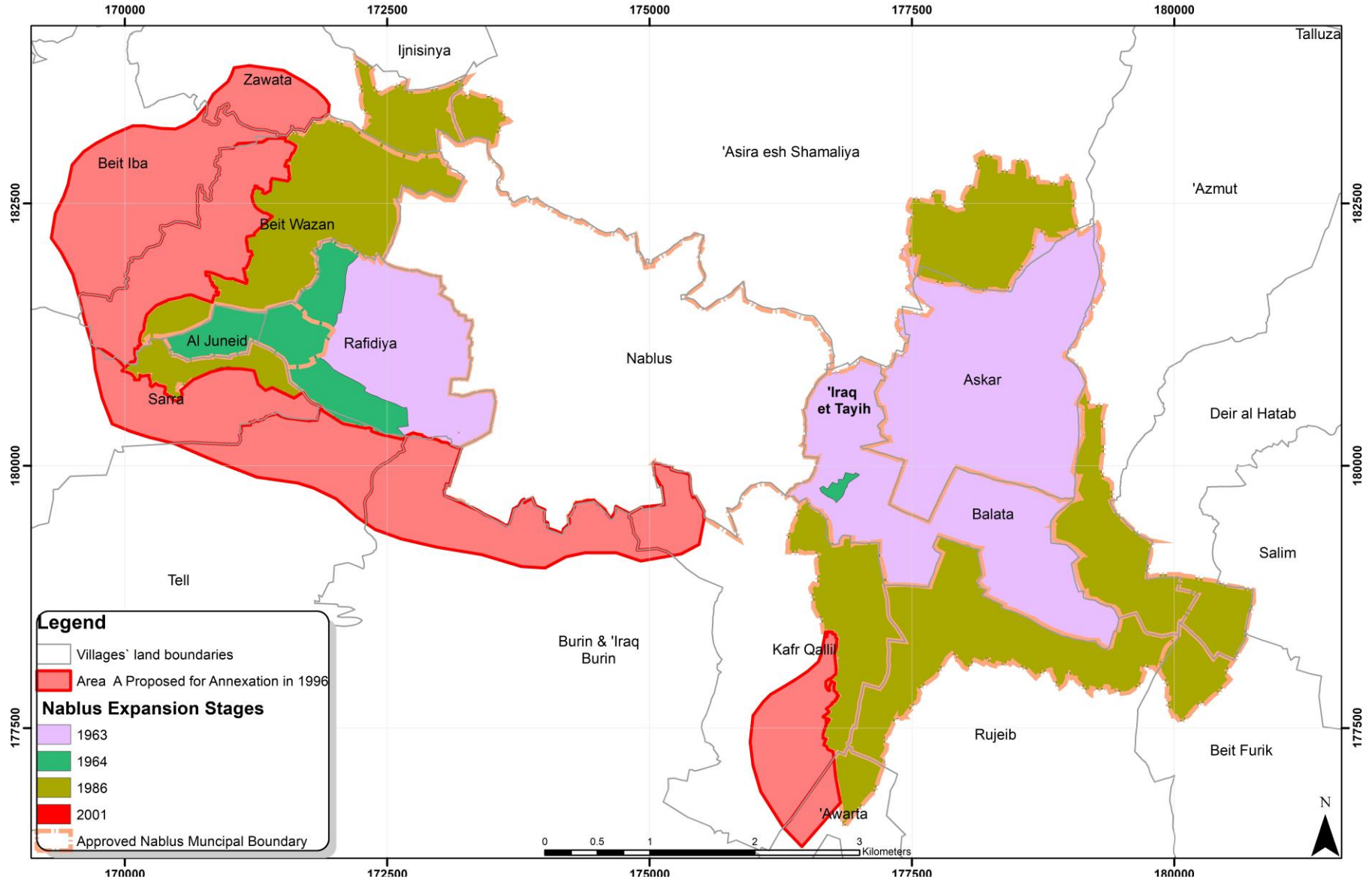


Map (5): The Failed proposed annexation from Beit Iba, Beit Wazan, and Sarra villages in 1996. Source: N.M., 2019, modified by researcher.

b. Involuntary partial annexation of area A: it was used by N.M. when it tried another attempt to expand its boundaries through annexing the whole area A in Oslo Accords, from nine villages surrounding the city, (Table 4, Map 6).

Table (4): The villages' names, basins no. located in area A, which were proposed to be annexed to N.M.B. in 1996.

Village name	Basin no.
Zawata	2,6,7,8
Beit Wazan	5,6,10,11,12,13,15,16
Beit Iba	1,4,5,6,7,9,10, 12,13,14,15
Sarra	1,2
Kafr Qallil	3,4,6,7
Tell	Part of the village's natural land
Burin	Part of the village's natural land
'Iraq Burin	Part of the village's natural land
'Awarta	Part of the village's natural land



Map (6): Area A in Oslo Accords that N.M. proposed to annex in 1996 from nine villages to its municipal boundaries. Source:

N.M., 2019, modified by researcher.

c. Involuntary parcels annexation: in this period N.M. tried involuntary parcels annexation from many basins located in eight surrounding villages profited from the proposed detailed projects. For example, on 11/4/1999 Nablus mayor sent a letter to the M.L.G. to inform him that the M.C. decided to expand the municipality boundaries through annexing the whole parcels which benefit from the proposed streets approved in the detailed projects (Table 5, Map 7). The L.O.B.C. took the decision of annexing these parcels in the session no. 25/99 dated 4/4/1999, then the decision was sent to Nablus mayor who approved it, then, it was sent to the M.L.G. to approve (N.M.A. Planning Department. Archive no. 3/22. File no. 3/4/4032. 1999).

Table (5): The annexed parcels which benefited from the detailed projects in 1999 from eight villages.

Village name	Basin no.	Parcels no.
Beit Wazan	5	146
	6	1-7, 13-15
	10	All
	13	29, 89-92, 94-97, 25-29, 33, 35-38, 72-73
	15	1-8, 10-12, 15, 16, 18, 21-23
	16	14, 19-20
'Asira esh Shamaliya	28	35-37, 241
	35	3

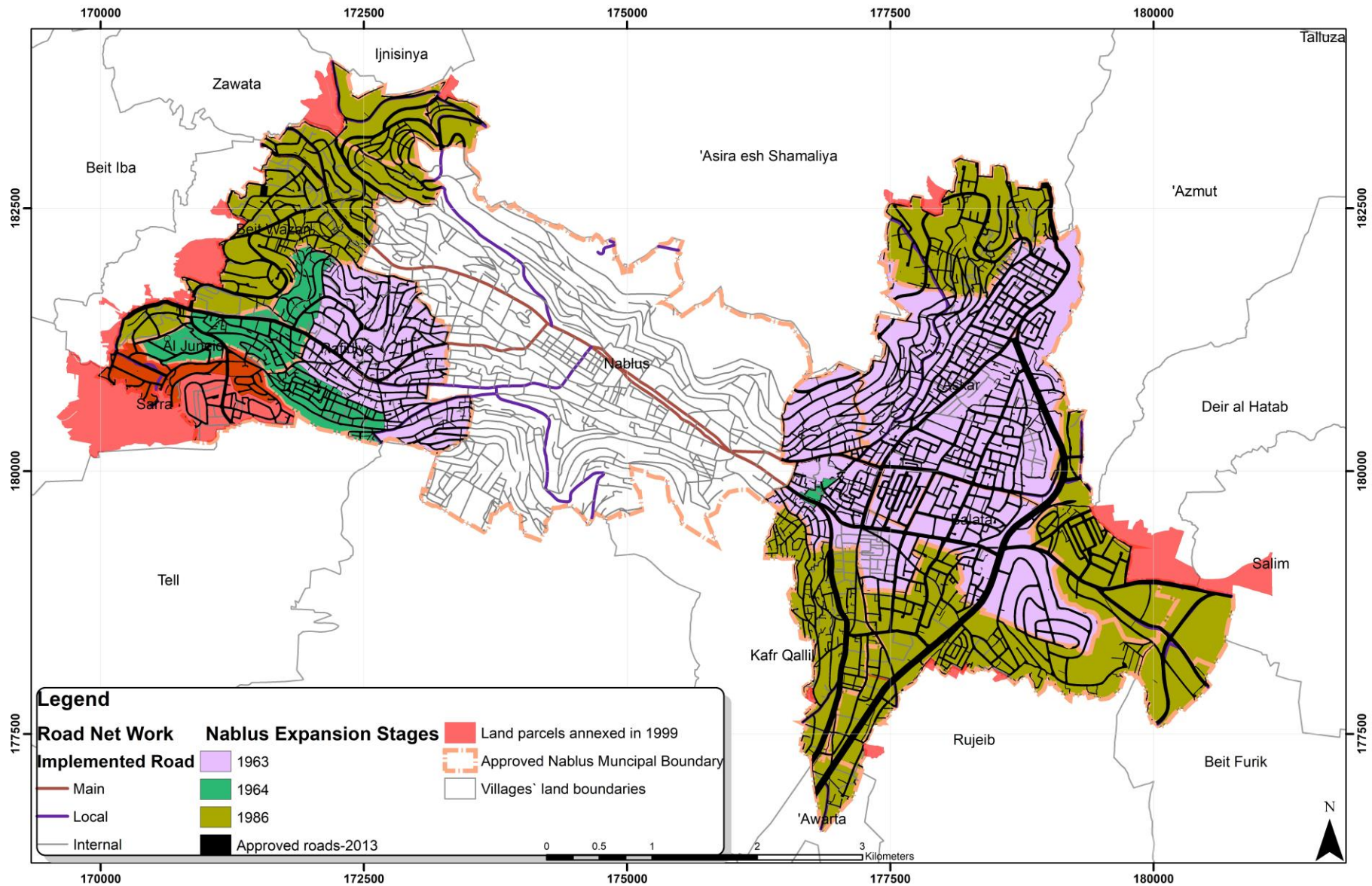
Table (5): (contd)

Village name	Basin no.	Parcels no.
	32	33, 35,36
Zawata	2	1-2, 67, 70-75
Sarra	1,2	All
Deir el Hatab	12	225-231,233,237-240, 242-244, 241
	13	12-30
Salim	15	66
Rujeib	3	162,163,216,238,245
	7	106,107
	4	13/181
Kafr Qallil	4	56,43-45,

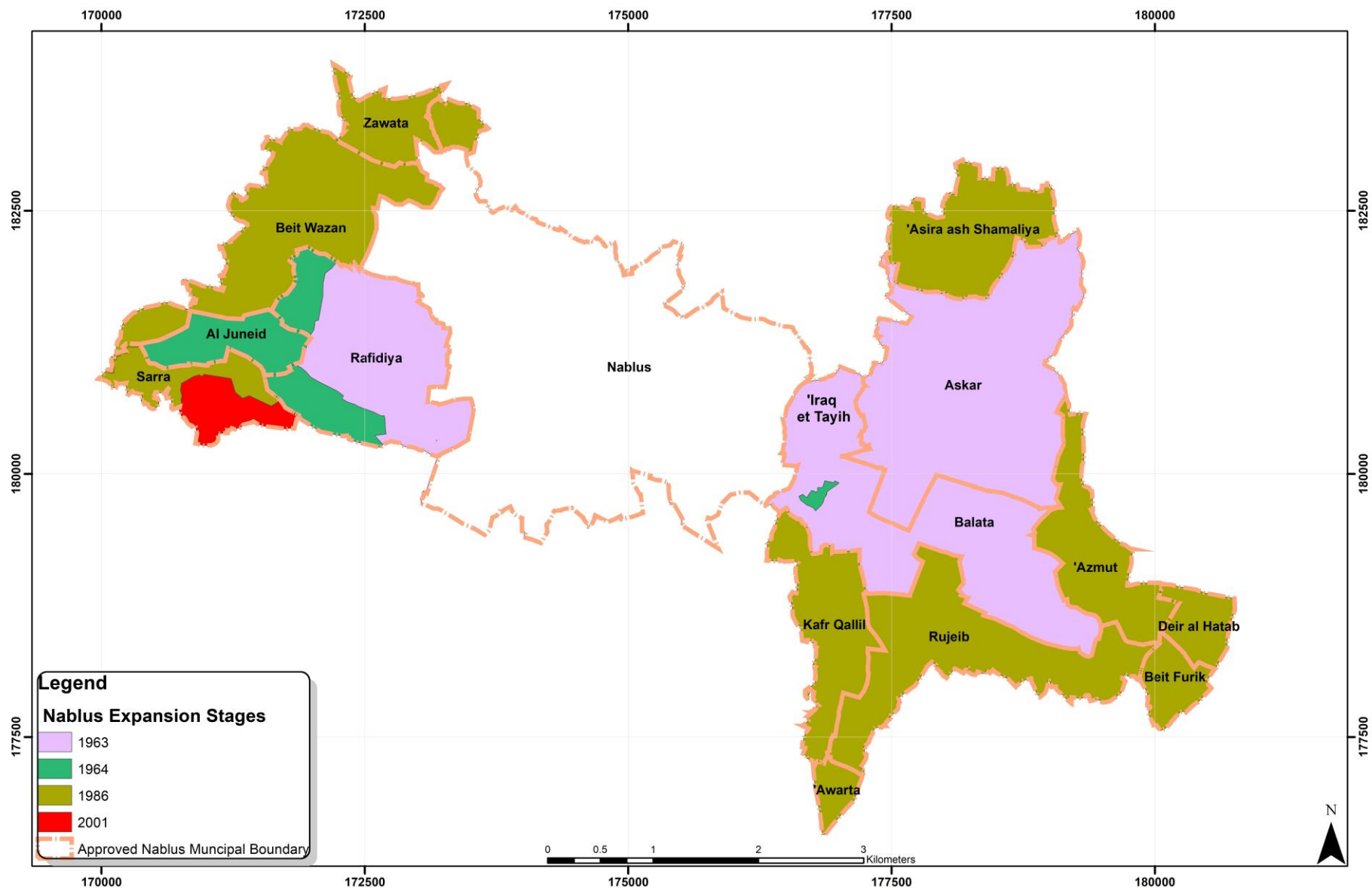
d. Annexation by petition: in April, 1998, a petition submitted by Sarra village's council and the owners of the land located in basin 1, to M.L.G. with an attached paper with the names and signatures of the landowners, to annex this basin to N.M.B., and they are strongly supported the council's decision to expand the municipal boundaries towards Sarra to improve the land and prevent the Israeli's occupation confiscation (N.M.A. Archive no. 3/22. 1998), (Appendix 1, image 6). Hence, on 28/3/1998, L.O.B.C. head sent a letter to the M.L.G. to take the legal procedures to annex basin 1 in Sarra according to the request of Sarra village's council and the landowners (N.M.A. Archive no. 3/22. File no. 3/4/4325.

1998) and on 3/9/2000, M.L.G. issued a decision for annexing basin 1 in Sarra village (N.M.A. Archive no. 3/22. File no. 567. 2000), Map (8). This is the fourth time N.M. succeeded to expand its municipal boundaries.

e. Land annexation to form the Greater Nablus Municipality: It is important to notice that the concept of greater N.M. was proposed for the first time by the municipality engineer on 24/11/1996, when Beit Wazan and Beit Iba villages refused to be annexed to N.M.B. He sent a letter to Nablus mayor encouraging the formation of Greater Nablus Municipality, not to give the opportunity to some villages councils to abort this decision, because this will control the expansion of Nablus city in the future. Moreover, not to accept Beit Iba and Beit Wazan objections against annexation, and a decision should be made by the M.L.G. to establish the Greater Nablus which its boundaries reached Tulkarm and beyond Za'tara Because, N.M. provides these villages with necessary services like, universities, schools, hospitals, clinics, official departments, cultural centers, libraries and business center. Therefore, these villages must be annexed to municipality boundaries, and Nablus city must be a solid and unbreakable core in taking a decision testified by history to create the Greater Nablus Municipality (N.M.A. Archive no. 3/22. File no. 13006. 1996).



Map (7): The parcels that benefited from the detailed projects and were annexed to N.M.B. in 1999. Source: N.M., 2019, modified by researcher.

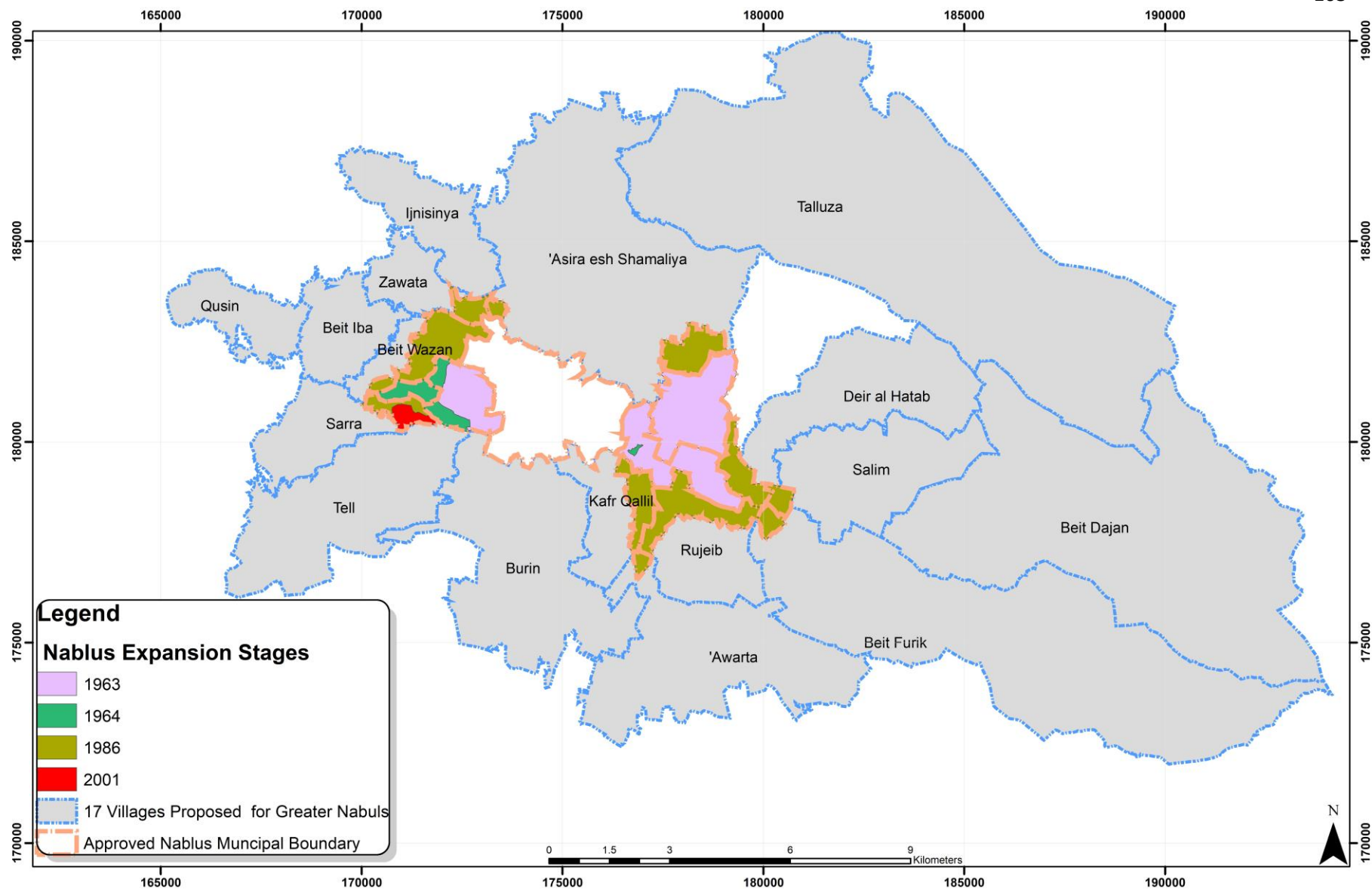


Map (8): The partially annexation from Sarra village to N.M.B. in 2001. Source: N.M., 2019, modified by researcher.

Then, on 3/3/2007, Nablus Mayor sent a letter to the Director of the Survey Department in the Land Authority to provide the municipality with the basins of some villages surrounding the city and outside the municipal boundaries needed to study the formation of the Greater Nablus Municipality project (N.M.A. Archive no. 3/22. File no. 10. 2007), (Table 6, Map 9).

Table (6): The proposed villages to form the Greater Nablus Municipality in 2007.

Villages' names		
Beit Wazan	'Iraq Burin	Salim
Zawata	'Asira esh Shamaliya	Dir el Hatab
Tell	Talluza	Beit Dajan
Sarra	Rujeib	'Awarta
Qusin	Beit Furik	Kafr Qallil
Beit Iba	Ijnisinya	



Map (9): The 17 proposed villages to form the Greater Nablus Municipality in 2007. Source: N.M., and the Ministry of Planning 2019, modified by researcher.

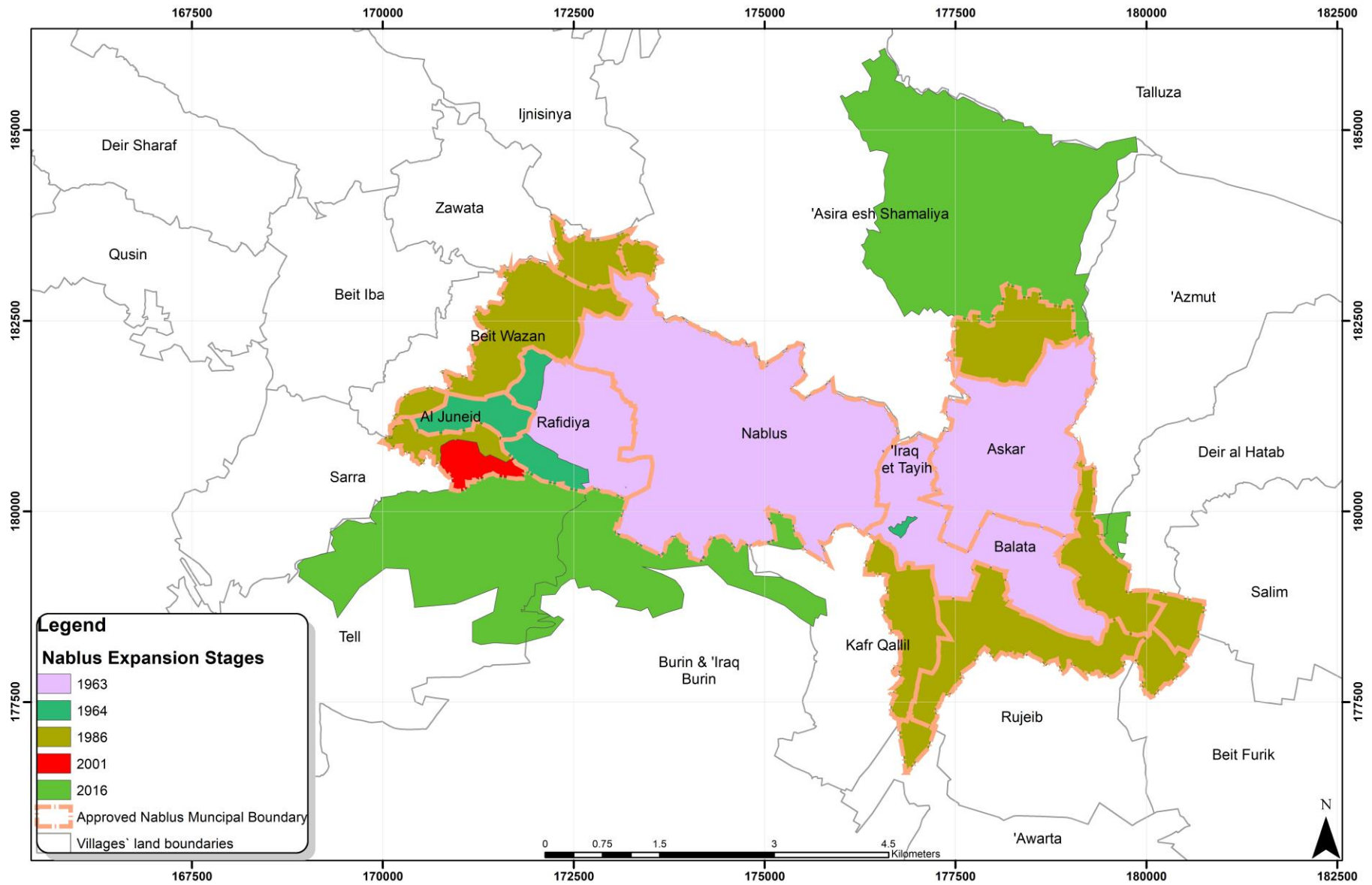
f. Future involuntary partial annexation of area classified A and B: N.M. continued in the same way; expanding its municipal boundaries through proposing involuntary partial land annexation from the surrounding without any coordination or consultation with the villages' residents and councils. On 3/4/2013, a meeting was held in the presence of a consultant engineer, the municipal engineer, the planning engineer and a representative of the M.L.G. in Nablus to study the preliminary studies of annexing lands, prepared by the Planning Department about the expansion of N.M.B. to meet the needs of the population for the coming 15 years, from the southwestern towards 'Iraq Burin, Tell and Sarra villages, approximately 10 km², from the northwest towards Zawata, Ijnisinya, Beit Umrin and 'Asira esh Shamaliya villages, and from the northeast towards 'Asira esh Shamaliya, basins 35, 38 and 39, and these lands are classified A according to Oslo Accords (N.M.A. Archive no. 3/22. File no. 16. 2013). On 4/2/2015, the Director-General of Local Government in Nablus Governorate sent a letter to the Deputy Assistant for Engineering Affairs at the M.L.G., to make aerial photography to the proposal of Nablus city's expansion towards Kafr Qallil, 'Asira esh Shamaliya, Deir el Hatab, Tell, 'Iraq Burin and Sarra villages with a total new area of 21,000 dunums, added to 29,000 dunums the approved area of Nablus city master plan 2013, so the area of photography is 50,000 dunums (N.M.A. Archive no. 3/22. File no. 18. 2015). On 9/2/2016, the head of the Administrative Committee of N.M. (Sameeh Tubieleh) sent a letter to M.L.G. (Husein al `Araj) about the expansion of N.M.B. by annexing lands from seven villages (N.M.A. Archive no. 3/22. File no. 20.

2016), (Table 7, Map 10), based on Article (4), paragraph (3); of the Local Authorities Law no. (1), for the year 1997.

Table (7): The villages' names, and basins, that were proposed to be annexed to N.M.B. in 2016.

Village name	Partial of Basin no.	Total Basin no.
'Asira esh Shamaliya	The rest of 33*, 35*, 39*, 38, 31, 26, 19, 18, 16, 14.	32, 25, 24, 23, 17, 15,
Kafr Qallil	3	
Deir el Hatab	12	
'Azmut	12	
Tell	Parts of natural basins	
Burin	Parts of some basins	
'Iraq Burin	Parts of some basins	

*Basins no. 33, 35 and 39 were partially annexed to N.M.B. in 1986.



Map (10): The seven villages which were proposed to annex to N.M.B. partially in 2016. Source: N.M., 2019, modified by researcher.

4.5. The Laws Used in Expanding Nablus Municipality Boundaries in the Different Periods:

N.M. tried to use the relevant laws for any step it took in expanding its municipal and organization boundaries, in collecting taxes and fees, in acquiring land from annexed villages. So, N.M. as all municipalities tried to use all the available laws which supports its position. In the Jordanian period in 1960s, N.M. depended on the provisions of Article (6) of the Municipalities Law No. (29), year 1955, to expand its boundaries (N.M.A. Archive no. 3/22. File no. 60. 1961). In 1987, in the Israeli Occupation period, according to the powers of the M.C., in Article No. (6) of the Municipalities Law No. (29) of 1955, it was decided to expand N.M.B. (N.M.A. Archive no. 3/22. File no. 167. 1987). In 1996, Nablus mayor sent a letter to M.L.G., to inform him that N.M. Committee decided to expand N.M.B., by annexing area A according to Oslo Accords, in accordance with the powers vested in Article (6), of the Municipalities Law no. (29), (N.M.A. Archive no. 3/22. File no. 14. 1996). In all periods, and until 1997, the Municipalities Law no. (29), Article (6) used in expanding N.M.B.

The articles in Law no. (29), year 1955 related to municipalities expansion. Article (6-1) states: Subject to the provisions of Paragraph (5), of this Article, a municipality called (Greater Amman Municipality) established, which includes the capital municipality, the municipalities and other neighboring villages, and its boundaries and area of authority include the capital municipal areas, and the other municipalities and villages that it includes. Article (6-5) states: Article 6-5: The

Ministers Council, upon the recommendation of the Prime Minister, decides a proceeding date for (Greater Amman Municipality) functions and authorities, specifies in its decision the municipalities and villages that it deems to be annexed to, and the procedures to be followed in order to do so. The Ministers Council may decide at any time the annexation of new municipalities and villages to the (Greater Amman Municipality), or amend the boundaries of the municipality area by annexing areas to it, as the public interest required. Creating and Eliminating Municipalities: Article (5-1): If the majority of a town`s residents wish to create a municipality in their town, or to annex the existing municipality to another municipality, a group of them submits a petition to the governor, who must send it with his notes to the minister. Article (5-5-A): Subject to the provisions of Article (6), Paragraph (5) of this law, the Council of Ministers shall issue a decision, based on the recommendation of the Minister, and the recommendation of the Governor, to expand, narrow or amend the boundaries of any town, village council, or Include any municipalities or village councils, or population groups or parts of it, adjacent to it, to each other, and to form a municipality for that within the meaning of the laws in force, or separate any of them or part of them in any established formation, and the minister may determine the updated municipality area based on the recommendation of the Director of the Central Cities and Villages Regulatory Department, and the decision is communicated to the Minister of Finance and published for reading in the Official Gazette (Jordanian Official Gazette 1955, 403).

Moreover, on 30/12/1986 a decision was issued by the representative of the Israeli Defense Army and by the acting Commanding Officer for Internal Affairs, regarding the expansion of N.M.B. This decision is called "Decision on the Expansion of Nablus Municipality Area, no. 5747-1986", which enter into execution on the date of its publication (N.M.A. Archive no. 3/22. File no. 160. 1986). This decision was signed by the mayor of N.M. and approved by the acting Commanding Officer for Internal Affairs, which considered at that time as a law.

After 1997, M.L.G., and N.M. used Article (4), Paragraph (3), of the Palestinian Local Authorities Law no. (1), 1997, to expand N.M.B. boundaries by annexing basin 1 of Sarra village (N.M.B. archive. no. 3/22. File no. 567. 2000), and for the proposed expansion of 2016 by partial annexation from seven villages (N.M.B. archive. no. 3/22. File no.20. 2016). Palestinian Local Authorities Law No. (1) of 1997, Article (4), Article (4): Establishing and canceling local bodies: paragraph (2) states: In a manner that doesn't conflict with the provisions of this law, or the public interest, the decision of the creation, cancellation, annexation or separation of any local authority, or population groups, or parts of it, or the formation of a local authority for it, issued by Ministers Council based on the recommendation of the minister (Minister of Local Government). Article (4) paragraph (3) states: The boundaries of the local authority's area shall be expanded or changed upon the recommendation of the council (Local Authority Council) and by a decision from the minister (Official Gazette 1997, 20). N.M. used tow laws to expand its municipal organization boundaries, one in the

Jordanian period, and the other in Israeli Occupation and P.A. period. In 1961, N.M. based on Article (8) of the Law of Organizing Cities, Villages and Buildings No. 31, year 1955, in order to expand its organization area towards Kafr Qallil Burin villages (N.M.A. Archive no. 3/22. File no. 61. 1961). Article (8): Organization areas: states: "Ministers Councils may –at the request of any District Committee– issue an order declaring any area located in that district as an organization area. The order shall be published in the Official Gazette. If the area includes a municipal area or a section of a municipal area, local council or section of a local council area, the matter shall also be presented in the municipality or local council department. The order shall be put into practice after seven days from the date of its publication in the Official Gazette (Jordanian Official Gazette 1966, 7). Also, in 1975, N.M. depended on Article (13) paragraph (A), Law No. (79) of 1966, of Organization of Cities, Villages and Buildings, to expand its organization area towards two villages (N.M.A. archive no. 3/22. File no. 115. 1975).

Organizations areas: the article (13), paragraph (A): states that: The Minister may –on the recommendation of the H.O.C. and the recommendation of the Director of Organization Department of Central Cities and Villages– order any area as an organization area, this order shall be published in the Official Gazette and handed in District Organization Committee's office. If the area includes a municipal area, a section of a municipal area, a local council area or a section of a local council area this order shall also be declared in the municipality or the local

council. In addition, it shall be put into practice after fifteen days from the date of its publication in the Official Gazette (Jordanian Official Gazette 1966, 9).

In P.A. period, N.M. first; used Law of Organization of Cities, Villages, and Buildings No. (79), 1966, Article (34), paragraph (3), to complete the expansion that done in 1987, and in 1996, when N.M. declared on 30/10/ 1994, the land that had been annexed to the municipal boundaries since 30/12/1986 will be under regulation and restriction of construction for six months until the completion of the organizational project of that area, (N.M.A. archive no. 3/22. File no. 187. 1994). Also, on 26/8/1996, an announcement issued by N.M. that the expansion of N.M.B that declared in 14/7/1996, is under organization, and it prohibited any construction on it for six months until the completion of the organizational plan (N.M.A. archive no. 3/22. File no. 19. 1996). Article (34), paragraph (3): states that: It is required that any organization of land or any construction of a building in area declared as an organization area but doesn't have an urban plan for it to be subjected to a temporal control. The local committee has the right-with the approval of the District Committee- to decide (to give) not to prevent any license for a period not exceeding one year in the declared area. During this time, the responsible organizing authorities should prepare the urban plan for it (Jordanian Official Gazette 1966, 20). N.M. used Law no. (79) of Organization of Cities, Villages and Buildings, 1966, Article (54), paragraph (2),(3) to take the public and private organization and improvement returns, which paid by the residents to the municipality, as a result, of the land improvements that happened when the land

was annexed to the municipal boundaries (N.M.PL.A. archive no. 1359. File no. 48/1/72. 1972), and Article (55), paragraph (2), It prohibits anyone from obtaining a license if he doesn't pay taxes (N.M.B. archive no. 3/22. File no. 189. 1994). Article (54), paragraph (2), states that: the returns on improvement are collected on the basis of the difference between the present value of the land and its previous value before the improvement. Article (54), paragraph (3), stated that: the profits of improvement shall be paid on the land at a rate of 20% of the difference between the previous and current price or 10% according to the location of the land. Whereas, Article (55), paragraph (2), stated that: No license may be issued for the construction on any land, nor shall any license be issued on the ground unless all the public and private organization and improvement revenues are taken (Jordanian Official Gazette 1996, 29).

Additionally, N.M. relied on the Acquisition Law no. (2), 1953, in order to acquire lands from the annexed villages. Article (3) Paragraph (1) states: "The municipal or local council shall publish a declaration in the Official Gazette for a period of fifteen days, in which it will announce its intention to submit to the Ministers Council a request to acquire land described in this announcement, and that its project is for the public benefit (Jordanian Official Gazette 1960, 59),

4.6. The Elite Role in Expanding Nablus Municipality Boundaries in the Different Periods

The process of expanding N.M.B. by land annexation was affected by the political and social, administrative, families, military and media elite, who have central role in the annexation process. These influential people starting from the president of the P.A. Yasser 'Arafat, the different Ministers of Local Government, Nablus District Governor, Nablus mayors, municipality engineers, Mukhtars villages, and village councils' heads. In the Jordanian period, Nablus Governor as an administrative elite (Lopez 2013) represent the government, proposed land annexation since 1956, when suggested to annex Balata, 'Askar and Rafidiya villages to N.M.B. (N.M.A. Archive no. 3/22. File no. 22. 1956), while Mukhtar and village`s committee, as an elite representative Rafidiya village`s residents asked for annexing the village to N.M.B. (N.M.A. Archive no. 3/22. File no. 44. 1959).

In the Israeli period, the head and members of Kafr Qallil village council as an elite also, sent a request for annexing the village to Israeli's Administrative Governor in Nablus District as a military elite (N.M.A. Archive no. 3/22. File no. 10. 1986). Also, Nablus mayor as an administrative and social (Al Masry family) elite proposed Nablus expansion, in a special meeting held on 30/12/1986, with the M.C. to study the plans of the new expansion of N.M.B., and decided to approve the city expansion from the surrounding land (N.M.C.M.M. 1986). N.M. Council in its session concerning the expansion of N.M.B. didn't mention the

direction of the expansion or the names of villages that will be annexed to N.M.B. or any indication that the villagers' opinion will be taken, the only thing the council mentioned and stated was: lands surrounding the city. In the P.A. period, more than one attempt of land annexation done by N.M. without any coordination or consultation with the councils and residents` of villages proposed to be annexed. Nablus mayor as a political (Palestine Liberation Organization (P.L.O.) member) and social (Al Shak`a family) elite proposed it. First, on 13/5/1996, N.M. Committee`s head⁴ (Ghassan Shak`a) sent a letter to M.L.G. (Saeb 'Erekat), about the Committee`s decision to expand N.M.B., by annexing area A according to Oslo Accords (Table 4, Map 5), asked the minister to approve the expansion (N.M.A. Archive no. 3/22. File no. 8. 1996), by annexing partially area A, from nine villages without the knowledge of these villages. Second, on 21/8/1996, Nablus mayor announced in Al Nahar newspaper about partial land annexation of three villages (N.M.A. Archive no. 3/22. File no. 21. 1996), without any coordination or notification to villages councils (interview with Turabi, and Abu `Eisheh 2017). "N.M. didn't present the subject to Beit Iba village, did the annexation without taking the opinion or consultation of anyone. All the village`s basins –except the old village basin– were announced in the newspaper to be

⁴ Nablus Municipal Committee: It was formed in 1994 after the entry of the Palestinian Authority by Yasser Arafat, the President of the Palestinian Authority, as a substitute for the Municipal Council. This is because it was not possible to hold elections for the Municipal Council in the first period of the Palestinian Authority. Hence, Ghassan Al-Shak`a was appointed as the head of the committee, which started performing its duties in July 1994 until 2004

annexed to N.M.B., and after contacting the M.L.G. they replied that they didn't know about this annexation" (Interview with Shaker 2017).

Third, not only N.M. announced land annexation of the villages of Beit Iba, Beit Wazan and Sarra, without prior warning or coordination with these villages, but also, on 10/9/1996, a letter sent to Beit Wazan Mukhtar and the village's projects committee, to stop construction, in proposed annexed land, because N.M. approved a decision to annex these basins and declared it as part of N.M.B., and the announcement of annexation published in al Nahar newspaper, considering these basins under organization work for six months, and no construction should be done in these areas until it is organized (N.M.A. Archive no. 3/22. File no. 23. 10/9/96). After Beit Wazan and Beit Iba villages refused land annexation to N.M.B., a meeting was held on 23/11/1996, between N.M., M.L.G., and the Director-General of the Planning Department, to discuss the expansion of N.M.B., towards the two villages, the objection letter of Beit Wazan on annexing their lands to N.M.B., and the responsibility of the municipality mayor to convince Beit Wazan, and Beit Iba residents to accept the annexation, even if they bring them together with President 'Arafat (N.M.A. Archive no. 3/22. File no. 25. 1996), as an attempt to force the two villages' councils to accept annexation. All these consultations, only done between N.M. and M.L.G. to solve the problem without the presence of the related villages.

Fourth, after one year from the objection of the two villages, on 14/7/1997, the municipality engineer sent a handwritten letter to Nablus Mayor, that the

expansion of N.M.B., was discussed in the presence of the M.L.G. (Saeb 'Ereqat) and the H.O.C., and the M.L.G formed a committee to study the status of the municipality and the villages' objections, and he encouraged Nablus mayor to continue the process of expanding N.M.B. through annexing all area A in the Oslo Accords to the west of Nablus city (N.M.A. Archive no. 3/22. File no. 8400. 1997). This area belongs to Zawata, Beit Wazan, and Beit Iba villages, despite that a decision was issued to freeze this expansion, but N.M. was insisting to annex these lands. Although, until 2001, the procedures of expanding Nablus boundaries in 1987 weren't completed due to a legal defect, which was a failure to publish the decision of expansion in the Official Gazette, but all the administrative state (López 2013) elites in the Ministry of Local Government, Minister of Justice (N.M.A. Archive no. 3/22. File no. 7. 2001), N.M. mayor, with P.A. Presidents (N.M.A. Archive no. 3/22. File no. 1/61/3923. 2001), Director General of Local Government in Nablus with the Minister of Local Government (N.M.A. Archive no. 3/22. File no. 1/1. 2001) and N.M. mayor with Director General of Local Government in Nablus (N.M.A. Archive no. 3/22. File no. 4. 2001), and the Director of the Land Registration Department in Nablus (N.M.A. Archive no. 3/22. File no. 3. 2001) all of them tried to help N.M. in different ways to make the expansion of 1987 legal, and in 2001 the announcement of expansion published in the Official Gazette, according to Article (6), the Municipal Law of 1955 (N.M.A. Archive no. 3/22. File no. 1/1. 2001). (Appendix 1, Image 7).

Accordingly, M.L.G. made the procedures and published an announcement about the expansion of Nablus in the Official Gazette in November 2001, in order to help N.M. to get rid of the legal problem (N.M.A. Archive no. 3/22. File no. 9. 2001). In the same context, since 1997 Kafr Qallil village`s council was fighting against annexing the village`s land, sending many objection letters to several ministers of M.L.G. (M.L.G. Resolution no. 97. 1997), a letter signed from Kafr Qallil residents to the Minister of Local Government, and an open letter sent to President Yasser 'Arafat (M.L.G.A. Resolution no. 8. 1998), (Appendix 1, Image 8), and until this day no replies send to Kafr Qallil village council regarding the several objections submitted, why?

On the contrary, in 2001 a land annexation by petition submitted by influential people who bought the land in Sarra village (N.M.A. Archive no. 3/22. 1998), was accepted and annexation done easily without any obstacles, because part of landowners was ministers and influential members in different institutions. Moreover, the proposed land annexation of 2016, no correspondences found related to this subject between N.M. and the villages proposed to be annexed (interview with Qadus, Ishtayeh 2019), and villages` resident and councils know nothing about any project that the municipality wants to implement in the annexed land, they know about it from the newspaper, or when the municipality starts to implement it (interview with Sayel, and Abu `Eisheh 2017). Also, the political elite role affected the delay of master plan ratification as mentioned by Al Hanbali "After the entry of the P.A., the master plan of N.M. was approved temporarily in 1996

by the H.O.C, supposedly allowed only for one year by law, during this year the master plan must be submitted for the final approval, but the plan remained unapproved until 2013. This isn't carelessness, but the issue of ratification was guaranteed by the fact that Ghassan Shak'a (Nablus mayor) was and still a member of P.L.O. and other committees (interview with Al Hanbali 2017). Not only the elite have role in land annexation, and master plan, but also they have a great role in the distribution of land units of the two Popular Housing Projects, the eastern one in 'Askar, and the western one in Rafidiya, where a citizen from At Tamimi family mentioned that many land units in the eastern project have been given to wealthy people, traders and senior employees, who have luxurious homes. For illustration, a rich citizen from Karsu' family registered four land units under his name and his sons' names, who got the land and will sell it when prices increase, (Appendix 1, Image 9), and similarly, tow councils members from 'Abdul Hadi and Shaheen families asked the municipality to reconsider the illegal and infringement distribution of 44 units in the western project, and to distribute the land units to people who deserve them, supposedly people with low-income and meet the project conditions (N.M.P.L.A. Archive no. 844. File no. 1/28. 1977), (Appendix 1, Image 10).

Hence, the influential people inside and outside the municipality influenced the distribution of these projects in a way or another. This could be clear from the different objections of the people regarding the way of the distribution for both projects. These people are considered from the elite in Nablus city as "business

elites” (López 2013, 3). State administrative elites, and media elites (López, 2013, 3), were involved in a problem happened between Beit Wazan village and N.M. “Three ministers and tow famous announcers started to talk about the problem on the radio” (interview with Abu `Eisheh 2017). Business elites (López, 2013, 3) has a role in directing the land use, and services providing in annexed villages (interview with Dweikat 2019; Turabi 2017; Helayel 2016).

4.7. Discussion

Since 1960s to 2001, N.M.B. expanded four times during 41 years from 15 surrounding villages, through different types of land annexation, with a fifth failed attempt in 1996, and a sixth proposed one in 2016, not approved yet. Nablus city owned 8,807 dunums; it annexed nearly 20,000 dunums to its boundaries. It continued the process of proposing annexing land for the year 2016 from seven villages surrounding it, with a total area to be annexed 15,000 dunums (Maps 8, 10, Table 8).

Table (8): The villages' names, the year, the area in dunum that were annexed and proposed to annex to N.M.B. from 1960–2016.

Village name	Year	Area	Area	Area proposed– to annex in 2016
'Askar	1963	3,897	9,931	
Balata & 'Iraq et Tayih	1963	2,951		
Rafidiya	1963	1,760		
Rafidiya	1964	962		
Al Juneid	1964	321		
Balata	1964	40		
'Asira esh Shamaliya	1986	1,511	9,979	7,761
Zawata	1986	549		
Kafr Qallil	1986	1,148		152
'Azmut	1986	1,126		32
Deir el Hatab	1986	379		136
Rujeib	1986	2,087		
Beit Wazan	1986	2,178		
Sarra	1986	440		
'Awarta	1986	199		
Beit Furik	1986	362		
Sarra	2001	410	401	
Tell				4,596
Burin & 'Iraq Burin				2,436
Total Land Annexed		20,311		
Nablus Area		8,781		
Approved Master Plan 2013 Area		29,092		
Total land proposed to annex				15,113
Approved and proposed				50,000
% approved/proposed				52%

Table (8) shows that the largest area of land annexed from the villages surrounding Nablus city was during the period of the Israeli occupation (9,979

dunums). This may be because the decision of expansion by annexation was issued by the Israeli military ruler which may be considered as both a military elite (López 2013), and an absolute power (Waite 2016, 162) the villages' resident can't defeat it. However, N.M. until 2001, gained approximately 70% more of its area before the expansion, more than Amman Greater Municipality which gained 62% of its area before expansion (Saad and Amer 2015). Also, N.M. in its proposal for expansion of 2016 was more ambitious, because it proposed to annex 15,000 dunums which will form 52% of the approved area in the master plan 2013, (29,000 dunums), more than any previous expansion phase it proposed (Table 8, Map 10). N.M. in its expansion in the P.A. period, tried to annex lands classified A or B according to Oslo Accords, and outside the boundaries of the approved master plans of the villages. What does it mean that N.M. proposed to annex area A, and B from neighboring villages to N.M.B.? Such proposal would deprive these villages of their future expansion, because the rest of their lands are located in area C, according to Oslo Accords, which pointed that N.M. used the "preemptive/preventive power" to prevent things from happening (Waite 2016, 22).

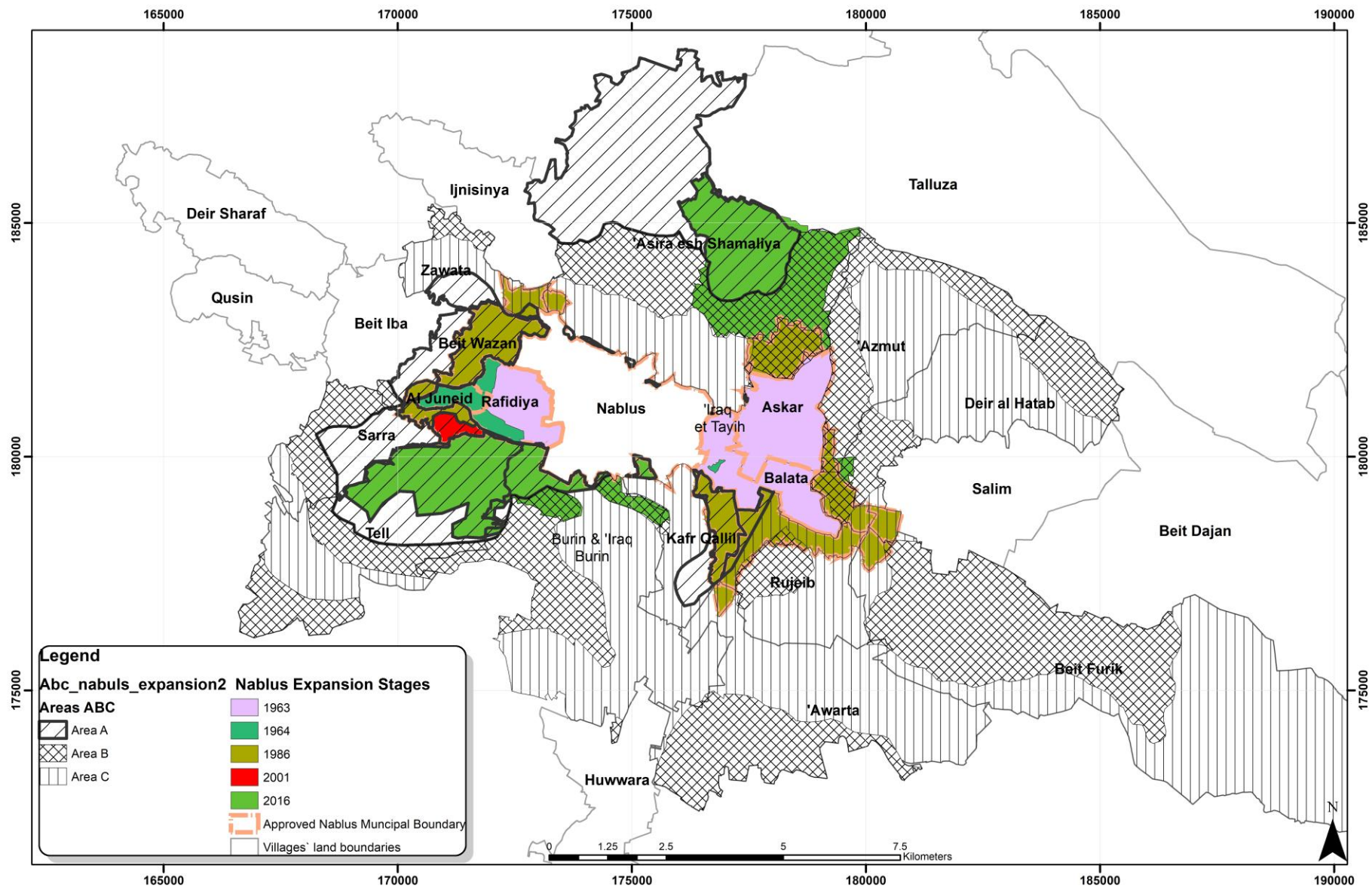
For example, Kafr Qallil village lost 58% of its total area A, which was annexed in 1986 to N.M.B., and will lose another 18.5% of area A, and 50% from area B which were proposed to be annexed to N.M.B. in 2016 (Map 11, Table 9), so, it will be so difficult for it to do a master plan in the future. The land annexation made by N.M. practically confirmed that cities are getting land while villages are losing their lands and it accelerates urban expansion, and reduces the high

population density in annexed land (Edwards 2008) where all the annexed villages' lands have a continuous construction movement, "9000 dunums of 'Azmut land is classified as C, the plain that was annexed to N.N.B. in 1986, was the only area available for 'Azmut to expand, the area of the village is limited now" (interview with Sawalha 2019).

Table (9): The area and percentage of lands classified A, B in villages proposed to be annexed to N.M.B. in 2016.

Village	1986		2016		Total A	Total B	% A annexed	% B annexed
	A	B	A	B				
Kafr Qallil	1,148		152	65	1970	132	66%	50%
'Asira		1,228	3,884	3,754	15,081	9,625	26%	52%
'Azmut		1,126		32		5,350		22%
Deir el Hatab		12		144		4,265		3.7%
Burin			1,257	1,046	1,391	5,877	90%	18%
Tell			4,596		6,630		69%	
Total	1,148	2,366	9,889	4,897				

Source: Ministry of Finance and Planning, 2018.



Map (11): Area A, B, and C for the seven villages that were proposed to be partially annexed to N.M.B. in 2016. Source: N.M., and the Ministry of Planning, 2019, modified by researcher.

Map (2) indicates that; the expansion in the Jordanian period was to the west and the east direction, while in the Israeli period the direction of expansion was to the four directions, east, west, north and south, Map (3). While the direction of N.M. in the proposed expansion is to the north and south villages, Map (10). This confirms that N.M. wasn't restricted to expand in a specific direction, but it follows any direction with vacant land classified A or B according to Oslo Accords, as London City-Canada which expanded by land annexation in east, west and south direction where the land available (Curtis 1992). It is obvious that N.M. used some tools which helped in expanding its boundaries in different periods. The first tool is, the different types of land annexation. Table (10), showed that during all the periods N.M. used the involuntary partial land annexation from several villages or one village. Most American states make the involuntary annexation (Tyson 2012, 54), and Ohio state made partial annexation of a municipal area to another municipal area (Essner 1981). Land annexation by petition used in all the periods, done by Rafidiya, Balata, Kafr Qallil, and Sarra villages, which sent a petition to be annexed to N.M.B., like many American states' cities in Illinois, Texas, and Florida did land annexation by petition (Diamond and Tappendor 2012; Fields and Quintero 2015; Tyson 2012). Only in the Jordanian period, N.M. did the voluntary and involuntary total land annexation where it annexed lands and residents. In the Israeli, and P.A. periods N.M. did involuntary parcels annexation, where specific parcels that benefit from the detailed projects proposed by the municipality. While in P.A. period, because of Oslo Accords land classification, N.M. used the

involuntary partial annexation of area A and B., where construction is allowed in it, but in area C prohibited to be used by the Israelis Occupation. Knowing that; most of the villages` lands proposed to be annexed to N.M.B. in 2016, are A and B, which threaten the natural future expansion of these villages, because the rest of its lands are classified as C, in which expansion is prohibited by the Israeli occupation (Map11, Table 9).

Additionally, in P.A. period appeared the involuntary partial land annexation from 17 villages to create Greater Nablus Municipality, and depending on proposing "Greater Nablus" two times in 1996 and 2007 by N.M., besides Hamuz did a research about the important of the project, its contribution of in overcoming the problems facing Nablus city (Hamuz 2008). Nevertheless, in the two times that N.M. proposed "Greater Nablus" didn`t consult and cooperate with villages related to the project either before or after proposing, or a study to show if the previous land annexation had been positive or negative impacts.

Table (10): The different types of land annexation used by N.M. to expand its boundaries in the different periods.

Period	Land annexation type
Jordanian	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> . Voluntary total land annexation . Involuntary total land annexation . Land annexation by petition . Involuntary partial land annexation
Israeli occupation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> . Involuntary parcels annexation . Involuntary partial annexation from one village or more . Land annexation by petition
Palestinian Authority	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> . Involuntary partial annexation from several villages or one village . Involuntary partial annexation of area A . Involuntary parcels annexation . Annexation by petition . Involuntary annexation for the Greater Nablus Municipality . Future involuntary partial annexation of area classified A and B

Another tool helped in the expansion of N.M.B., was the use of different laws. For example; Law No. (29) for the year 1955 used in Jordanian, and Israeli periods, in P.A. period, specifically after 1997, the municipality depended on the Local Authorities Law No. (1) for the year 1997. Both of them support the expansion by involuntary total and partial annexation without taking the opinions of

the villages, or the municipalities to be annexed. In fact, the 1997 Law made absolute expansion powers for the approval of the Minister of Local Government at the request of the Local Authority. So, when the N.M. requested partial annexation of the surrounding villages, M.L.G. agreed, because N.M. has power and influence, while the objections of Kafr Qallil villages and its request to separate from N.M. were met with silence, from many Local Government ministers, although, the decision of annexation or separation is in the hands of the minister. None of the tow laws have any kind of details about the different types of land annexation. Rather, these laws are general, loose, and didn't have any articles about solving the problems resulted of annexation between the municipality did annexation and villages, or municipalities annexed.

Finally; the totally annexed villages lost the administrative, legal and planning control over all their lands for the benefit of N.M., but the partial annexed villages lost part of these, only on the annexed part. Additionally, N.M. was and continued to expand its boundaries by annexing lands from surrounding villages using what is called the absolute power which is "a power you cannot dispute, which is based on legal power" (Waite 2016, 162), if any person objected to the decision of expansion, the argument will be based on the law. Palestinian law relating to the expansion of city boundaries general, doesn't contain any details and doesn't mention whether the expansion is within the boundaries of municipal lands or outside at the expense of other villages or municipalities clearly, or how to deal with each case of land annexation. Therefore, N.M. as any other

municipalities used the law that gives it the right to expand and annex land from neighboring villages, without taking the villages' opinions into consideration. So, it is clear that the involuntary land annexation with its different images control the scene of Nablus expansion process. Additionally, there is no article in the law of cities' expansion explicitly refers to any reservations or prohibitions against expansion towards agricultural lands, which contributed greatly to the loss of many agricultural lands and plains during the expansion of cities. While it is noticed that U.S. states has for each type of land annexation a law with detailed mechanisms how to apply it, and according to the type of land to be annexed (Yurko 1996; Dahl, Beer, and LLP 2015; Goldberg 1985). Moreover, each state in U.S. has its own annexation law that governs the whole process of expansion by land annexation, could be as a reference in conflict case happen between related parties, as the developed Sengstock typology 1960 (Edward 2008). Furthermore, the involuntary land annexation affordable to municipalities with more than 5000 residents like Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Nebraska, Tennessee, and Texas states (Tyson 2012, 10), or it is reasonable for municipalities containing 60 acres or less (Diamond and Tappendor 2012).

The third tools used by N.M. to succeed the expansion of its boundaries, was the influence and role of the elite. All N.M. expansion by land annexation, were requested by influential people side. In the Jordanian period, Nablus District Governor as "state administrative elites" (López 2013, 3) suggested the total land annexation. In the Israeli occupation period land annexation proposed by municipal

engineer as “professional power” (Coetzee 2005, 14), Nablus mayor from Al Masry family as “elite families or upper–class families” (Farrell 1993, 5), and the decision of expansion was approved by Israeli military ruler as “military elite” (López 2013, 3). Although, the number of villages that have been partially annexed to N.M.B. in 1986 were ten villages, but the municipality didn’t mention these villages in its meetings regarding the expansion, only discussed the issue of expanding the municipal boundaries from the surrounding lands. While, in the Jordanian period, all the meetings and correspondence of the municipality’s expansion mentioned the villages’ names that the municipality wants to annex. Maybe, the reason for the consultation in the Jordanian period was that Nablus mayor during this time wasn’t from Nablus city (Dr. Ahmad es Srrury), or in that period the rejection of annexation of these villages could be taken into account.

While during the Israeli occupation period, Nablus mayor was from Al Masry family (elite families), and the rejection of the villages couldn’t be taken into account, because the decision of expanding N.M.B. was approved by the Israeli military and the people can’t reject a decision signed by the Israeli military ruler “military elite” at that time. This represents a power that can’t be opposed or resisted which called “power to” to make others do things (Wait 2016, 22) without informing them or taking their opinions. Not mentioning the name of villages annexed in 1987 by N.M, give an impression that N.M. can do what it wants without any consideration to the villagers’ opinions, who can do nothing against annexing their land. In the Israeli occupation and the P.A. periods villages

residents' roles and opinions marginalized where no consultation done with them considered as an exclusion of citizens right (Zdunic 2017). In P.A. period, all the proposal for Nablus expansion, done by Nablus mayors as "political elite" (Cobbinah and Darkwah 2016) and "families elite" (Farrell 1993, 5), (Shak`a, Tubieleh, and Ya`eesh), and as "state administrative elite" (López 2013, 3), what connect all elite is the "power relations" whatever the human relations, institutional or economic relations, power always exists (Foucault 1985, 11–12).

Business elites (López 2013, 3) signed a letter by the influential people (ministers, doctors and engineers) who owned the land annexed to N.M.B, from Sarra village with an alliance with Sarra village council as "state administrative elite" asked for partial annexation from the village, which confirmed the elite theory, which refers to the fact that elites operate through alliances and these alliances are dominated by business interests and rely on national political forces to provide an impact at the local level (Ngwabi 2009). While, for over 10 years of written objections from Kafr Qallil village's council, and residents against annexing their lands to N.M.B., no response was sent from N.M. and the M.L.G. which ensures the role of the political, state administrative elites. Despite, the majority is against the annexation, but the political elite intervention succeeded in keeping Kafr Qallil land within N.M.B. For example, what happened in Croatia where the political elites excluded the social movements against the golf resort project (Zdunic 2017). Although, the failed experience of land annexation in 1996, and was canceled by the villages' councils of Beit Wazan and Beit Iba, it didn't enhance N.M. to respect

the opinions of the villages' residents or even to discuss the issue with the villages councils, which insured that elite as a group of individuals (N.M.) whose decisions play an important role in shaping the life, choices and futures of the masses of the people, but without looking to what the masses of people (residents of villages annexed) want, because the elites consider themselves a superior minority (N.M.) and that they are relevant to the urban chain for the benefit of few powerful people (Ngwabi 2009) with no participation from the villages' residents. Despite the rejection of Kafr Qallil village for its land annexation happened in 1987, but N.M. insists on proposing to annex lands from this village in 2016. How can this be explained without the existence of different powers and the elites' role that can implement and support this annexation, despite the villages' refusal? This can be confirmed because, there was no correspondence from N.M. or M.L.G. or the Local Government Directorate in Nablus to the villages' councils about annexing villages' land in 2016, (interviews with Sayel 2017; Qadus 2019) which directed that N.M. imposed itself by power and this power is everywhere including the relations with influential parties (Foucault 1985, 62). N.M. consulted with all the respective departments inside the municipality and the M.L.G. ignoring the villages' residents and councils throughout the whole process of land annexation, and deprived the villages' residents from attaining in the process of expanding, which insure Mosko definition about the elite as a minor ruler, plays key roles and monopolizes power, resources and society (Bayumi 2004, 13). Also the professional, rational powers exercised by planners and engineers knowledge in

the land annexation process, where on 25/11/1996 the planning engineer sent letter to Nablus mayor stressing the fateful decision of boundary expansion for Nablus, encouraging the mayor to annex lands from surrounding villages to form Greater Nablus Municipality for a comfortable living life for Nablus people, and to prevent villages surrounding Nablus from growing up , asking the mayor not to respond to Beit Iba, and Beit Wazan rejection to annex villages' land to N.M., and pushing the mayor to issue an explicit decision by the M.L.G. to set up the Greater Nablus (N.M.A. Archive no. 3/22. File no. 13006. 1996), here the professional power in the municipality directed Nablus mayor while in contrast, the neighborhood and community power (Coetzee 2005, 14, 18) practiced by Beit Iba to stop village`s land annexation to N.M.B.

Why land annexation of 2001 was done in a hurry for the benefit of some influential people while Kafr Qallil village objections against its land annexation since 1997 not respond for until 2018, and the annexation of 2016 proposed without any type of coordination with villages, while the legal procedures of the expansion of Nablus in 1987, wasn't complete until 2001, with a full support from M.L.G. to make it legal. What is this called? As Burton argue, elites are persons occupying the top of powerful organizations and movements, thus capable of affecting political outcomes both substantially and regularly, with a high coordination among state administrative elites (López 2013) between N.M. and the M.L.G institutions. Nablus mayor (Ghassan Shak'a) was exploiting his political elite power as a member of the P.L.O. to impose his opinion on the villages annexed or

villages he wants to annex, as in Ghana and in most African countries, which weren't shaped by professional practice and don't reflect the aspirations of the community, but instead the political elites (Cobbinah and Darkwah 2016), and in delaying Nablus master plan approval since 1996–2013, and still valid and functional, because of the power possessed by Ghassan Shak'a as a political, and family elite power which confirmed the questions asked by an author about the nature of forces plan, control and benefit from planning Greater Khartoum region (Ahmad 2010).

The annexed villages' residents to N.M.B. weren't familiar with the laws or the impacts of land annexation (interview with Helayel 2016), lack of knowledge power (Coetzee 2005, 12), weren't the owners of money and capital to invest (interview with Dweikat 2019), and they weren't "business elite" (López 2013). Not only, the influential people in N.M. have a role in land annexation process, but also had a role in directing various projects, and services in annexed villages, such as the tow Popular Housing Projects, the commercial, and the industrial projects. Elite was directing the distribution of housing projects in Rafidiya, and 'Askar villages which confirmed the theory of urban politics, which assumes that efficient authority in city politics needs alliance construction between city representatives and the wealthy societal actors (Rast 2007), where some municipal members made alliances with wealthy people from Nablus city, to help them to have many land parcels in these projects. Several owners of large capital or influential people bought the lands of industrial area in east villages before land annexation done in

1963 to benefit from prices increase (interview with Dweikat 2019), in land annexation of 2001, the services were provided or projects were announced in the area, after some investors bought the land, then the prices rose, and huge financial profits returned to them (interview with Turabi 2017), some of these investors were influential in the local communities or in political affiliation or they were wealthy, which confirmed that the elite is relevant to urban changes and regeneration for the benefit of a few powerful people, stakeholders, with little or no participation from the poor (Ngwabi 2009). Some services provided in the annexed land for special people who lived or bought land in the area, as "If Sameeh Tubieleh- Nablus mayor lives in any place, then immediately, tomorrow a street will be paved for him" (interview with Sa'adeh 2017), which approved the elite theory, which explains that the distinction between individuals or groups is based on their property, wealth, power, status and leadership ability (Ngwabi 2009). The announcements in the newspapers, the meetings with the M.L.G., the correspondences with the institutions related to the expansion of Nablus city, for the success of any new expansion, and for solving the legal problems of the 1987 expansion, for accepting the request of Sarra village and the landowners to annex to N.M.B., and at the same time the rejection of the several objections of Kafr Qallil village's residents, and council submitted to Ministers of Local Government against annexing to N.M.B. It is all just, emphasis on the role of the elite of all kinds in the success of the expansion of Nablus city.

Finally, “The fascination of boundaries lies in their ambivalent role of dividing and connecting at the same time. They mark the transition between different modes of existence. They transmit and control exchange between villages and the city. They are the playground for discovery and success. They are the result of never-ending competition, and show the structure on many scales” (Richter and Peitgen 1985, 571–572). This is what happened with N.M. through the expansion of its municipal boundaries as if the magic of expansion by land annexation can’t break or move away from N.M. Finally, Rusk in “Cities without Suburbs” argued that cities must be elastic in order to grow. An elastic city had vacant land to develop and the political and legal tools to annex new land (Rusk 1995, 10). Nablus city’s mayors, officials and staff clearly shared this view, where Nablus could be considered as an elastic city that always grows, but it hadn’t vacant land, it grows by annexing the vacant land from surrounding villages, and land annexation didn’t succeed without the effective role of the elite and the different types of powers used by them.

V CHAPTER 5

5.1. Introduction

The Land annexation isn't an insignificant event, but it is an ongoing process with different impacts that influenced the annexed villages' residents, where the inhabitants are still bearing these impacts until this day. The thoughts of mukhtars and villages' residents, who asked annexation to N.M.B., or object the annexation, didn't surpass the concept of providing them with different services like, extending electricity, water and opening new roads. Maybe, they couldn't imagine that the process of annexing their lands had other impacts. Perchance, N.M. didn't explain to the residents, mukhtars and councils of the annexed villages these impacts. Possibly, the municipality and Mukhtars only discussed the benefits of annexation without explaining the other negative effects of annexation, which could affect the whole lives of the villages' residents, like anything in the world had two sides that hold pros and cons. This chapter will discuss the socio-economic impacts of land annexation such as, the previous and current land-use of annexed villages, the types of taxes and fees imposed on annexed villages' residents. Moreover, the services provided in annexed villages, the residents' perception toward land from agricultural land to a commodity, the reactions of annexed villages' residents towards land annexation process and its impacts. Finally, an important impact about whether land annexation increased the separation or the integration between annexed villages' residents and Nablus city's residents.

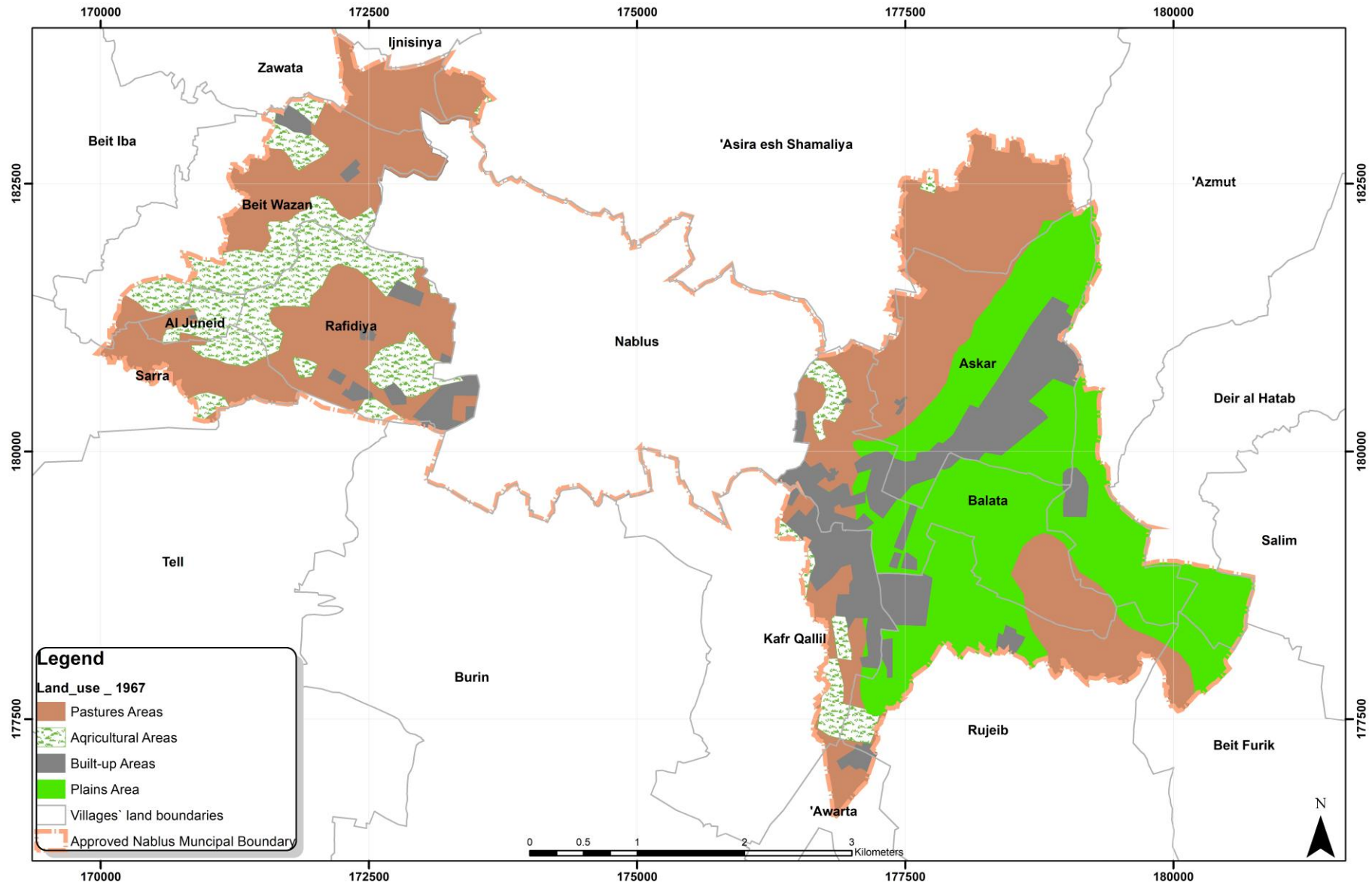
5.2. The Previous and the Current Land–Use in the Annexed villages.

5.2.1. The Previous Land–Use

The information about the previous land uses obtained from the maps and the interviews. Since the 1960s until this day, the land–uses of villages annexed to N.M.B. is changing. The previous land–uses of the land annexed to N.M.B. was obtained from the Russian maps for the year 1967, and from the interviews with different residents of annexed villages. Through these resources of information, it could be noticed that the main previous land–uses of the annexed villages were four types, which are: built–up area, agricultural lands, plains and pastures. The total area of agricultural land was 3,000 dunums most of it (2,200 dunums) is located in the west annexed villages, while the fertile plains were 6,000 dunums, all of them in the east annexed villages to N.M.B. Furthermore, the built–up area was 2,350 dunums, and the pastures area was 9,000 dunums (Table 11). The plains were concentrated only in the eastern villages of Nablus city, like 'Askar, Balata, Rujeib, 'Azmut, Deir el Hatab and Beit Furik. While, the western villages were vacant of plains and were rich in pastures and agricultural land. It could be noticed that; the built–up areas in the eastern villages, somehow dominated the scene more than the west because of the existence of the refugee camps of Balata and 'Askar since 1958, Map (12).

Table (11): The previous land-uses in the annexed villages in 1967

Land use type	Area –dunum	% land use/total
Plains	6,000	29%
Agricultural land	3,000	15%
Built-up	2,350	12%
Pastures	9,000	44%
Total	20,350	100%



Map (12): The previous land – uses of the west and east annexed villages in 1967. Source: N. M., and Birzeit University, 2019, modified by researcher.

The previous land-uses from the Interviews. Through the interviews, it was noticed that some villages were planting olive trees, "Al-Juneid's livelihood was from the olive trees and there is nothing left of these trees" (interview with Al Juneidi 2019). "Sarrah land was agricultural rainfed land planted with olive trees" (interview with Turabi 2017). "Most of the land annexed from Zawata was planted with olives" (interview with `Elewi 2019). Some villages were planting olive and vegetables, and legumes, "Kafr Qallil people was planting olives and wheat, barley, almonds and figs trees in annexed lands" (interview with Sayel 2017). "Mostly Beit Furik annexed land was agricultural areas planted with wheat, grain, beans and some olive trees" (interview with Hanani 2019). "In Rafidiya there were orchards, people were cultivated zucchini, tomatoes, cucumbers, fruit trees" (interview with Sa`adeh 2017). "Rafidiya was cultivated with all kinds of vegetables, eggplant, beans, potatoes, cauliflower, pomegranate and figs trees" (interview with Abu es Su`ud 2019). "Rafidiya was dependent on agriculture and grazing. Most of the plantations were olive except for some" (interview with Hassuneh 2019). "Beit Wazan annexed land was agricultural planted with olives, grapes, and vegetables" (interview with Abu `Eisheh 2017).

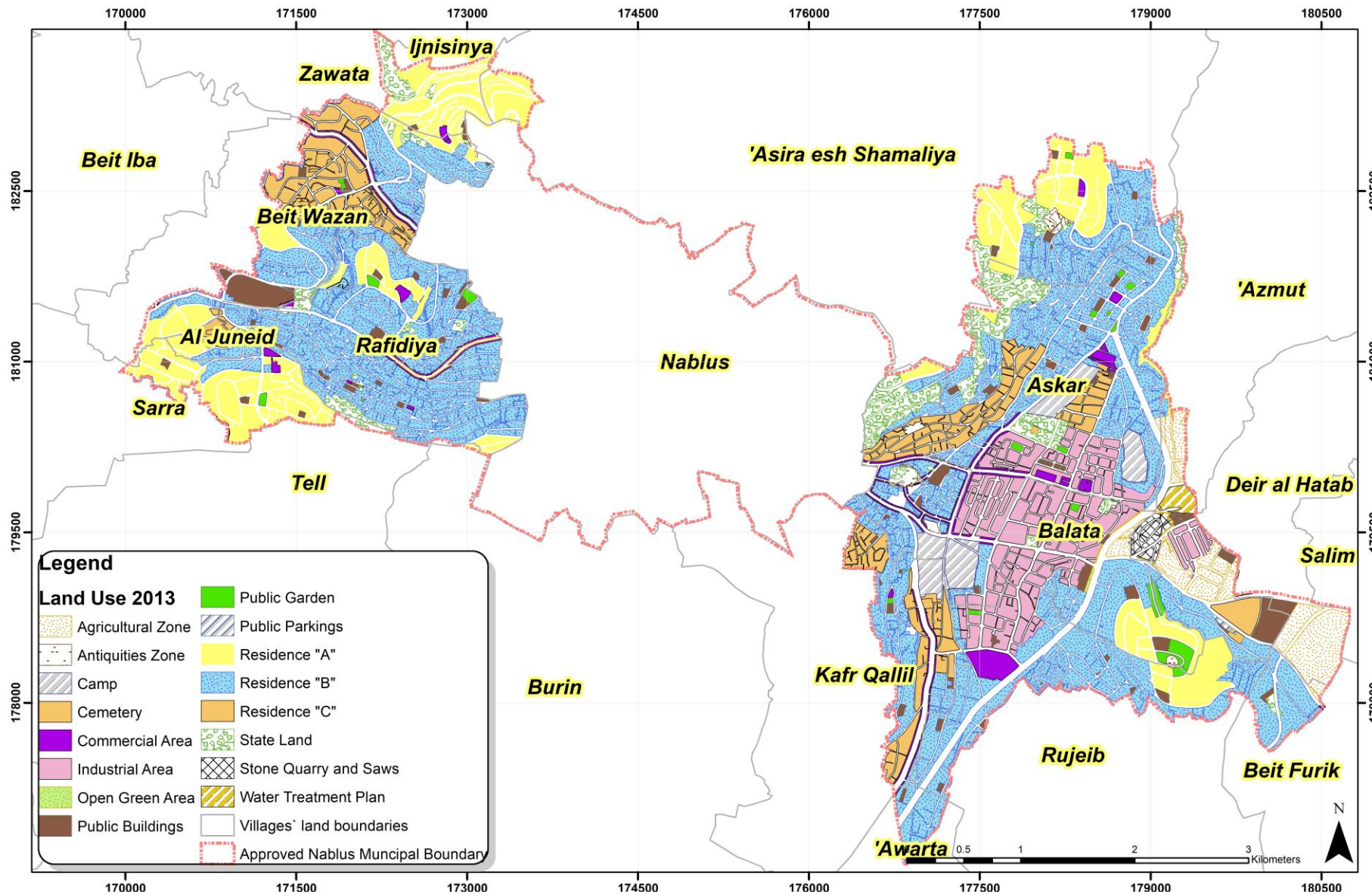
Other villages were planting vegetables and legumes. "In Balata, the land was planting wheat, barley ... etc." (interview with Salman 2019). "Deir el Hatab land was planting wheat and grains" (interview with Husein 2019)." Rujeib plain was planted with grains like wheat, barley, and winter cultivation (interview with Dweikat 2019). "Sahl 'Azmut was planted with wheat, barley and vegetables"

(interview with `Amer 2019). “Asira esh Shamaliya lands that were annexed were agricultural lands and pastures, planted with wheat and barley for the winter agriculture (interview with Jawabreh 2019). Moreover, the villages that were totally or partially annexed to N.M.B. were considered as agricultural land in the first place as reported by al Addabbagh (1988, 275–430), mentioned in Chapter 3 “The Study Area”, and this was confirmed through the maps, the interviews with the villages` residents, and through the field visits which showed the remains evidence of agricultural land and plains. For example, Rafidiya village was planted with 500 dunums of olive trees and 700 dunums of fruit trees from the total area of the village that forms 2004 dunums (Addabbagh 1988, 336–337). This means that the proportion of cultivated land was 60% of the total area, and the rest were pastures, but all that nearly disappeared. All the villages that annexed totally or partially their land–use was classified as a built–up area, agricultural land, plains and pastures.

5.2.2. The Current Land–Use in the Annexed Villages

The current land uses obtained mainly from the different types of maps, and the interviews. It is noticed from the approved master plan 2013 of N.M, that through time, nearly all the agricultural land, pastures and plains that annexed to N.M.B. changed to other uses, and normally the built–up area increased, as the population increased. It is observed that in the annexed villages totally or partially, in different historical periods, the dominant land–uses are residence A, B, C, and industrial use. In addition to other uses such as stone quarry, water treatment

plant, antiquities zone, camps, cemetery, commercial area, open space area, public garden, public parking, state land and public buildings. A look to (Map 13, Tables 12, 13), it reveals that the residence B, C, industrial area and camps are the main land-uses in the east annexed villages, while the dominant land-uses in the western annexed villages are residential A, B, and C (N.M. approved master plan 2013). It is worth noting, the eastern annexed land which was a highly valuable plain, had been shifted to an industrial area, treatment plant, quarries, craft complex, slaughterhouse and landfill (Map 14, Table 12). While in the west annexed land, where was the agricultural land, it is now inhabited by the wealthy people and the dominant uses are the commercial ones with high-rise buildings (interview with Hassuneh 2019). The fertile plains (6,000 dunums) which constituted 29% of the total annexed land to N.M.B. (20,350 dunums) disappeared, and the agricultural (3,000 dunums) area which formed 15% of the total annexed land also, disappeared (Map 15, Table 12).



Map (13): The current land-use in the annexed villages in approved master plan 2013. Source: N.M., 2019, modified by researcher.

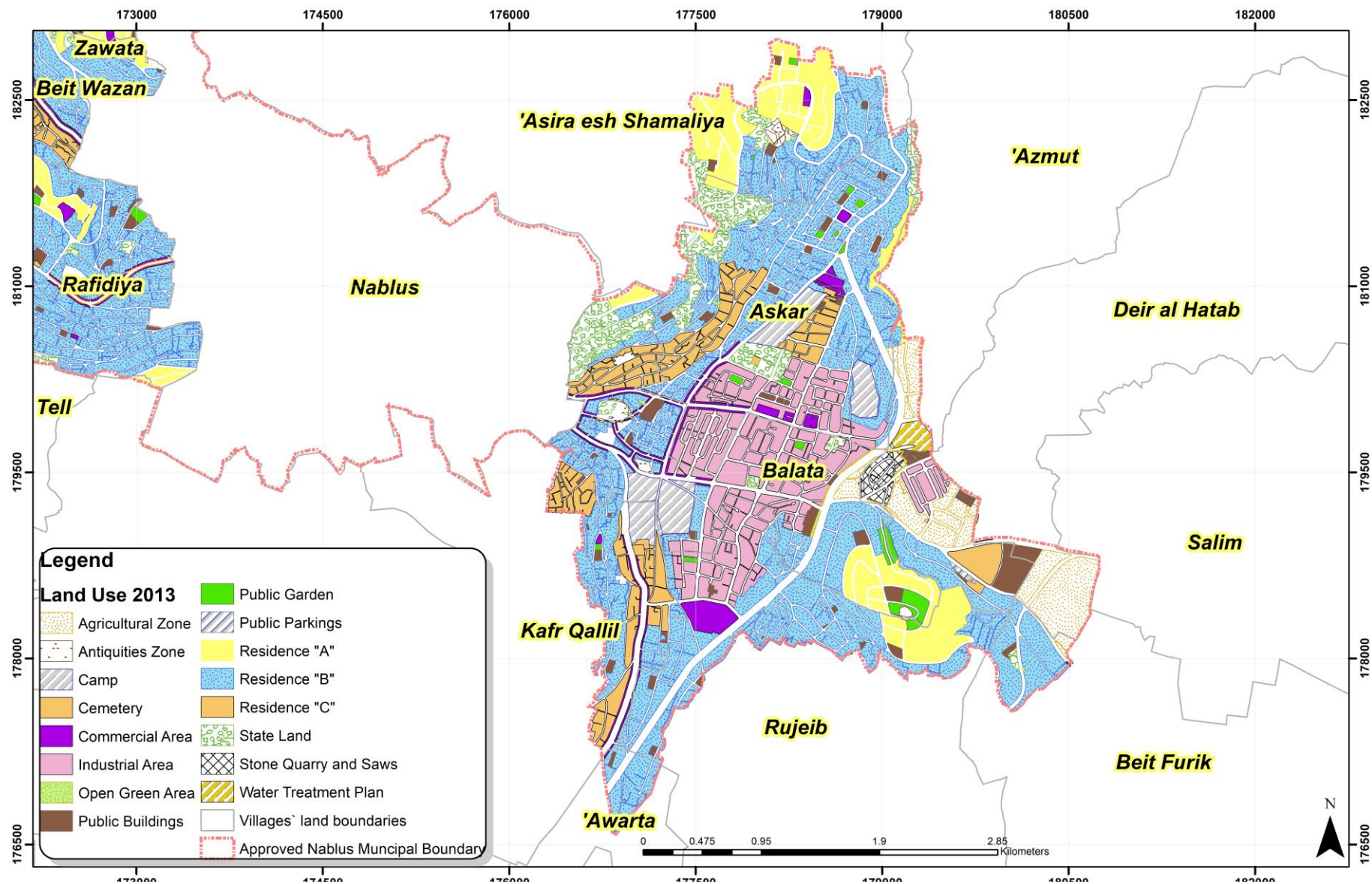
Table (12): The current land-use in the eastern annexed villages as approved in Nablus master plan in 2013.

Village name	Residential use	Industrial use	Camps	Agricultural use	Cemetery	Quarry	Water treatment	Commercial use	Public building	State land
Àskar	1600	480	193					90	56	346
Balata	942	560	163					64	81	
Àsira	900								18	60
Àzmut	200	71		270	200	75	60		99	
Rujeib	1144	325						84	26	
Kafr Qallil	700		67					40	58	
Àwarta	154								4	
Beit Furik	270									
Deir el Hatab				300						

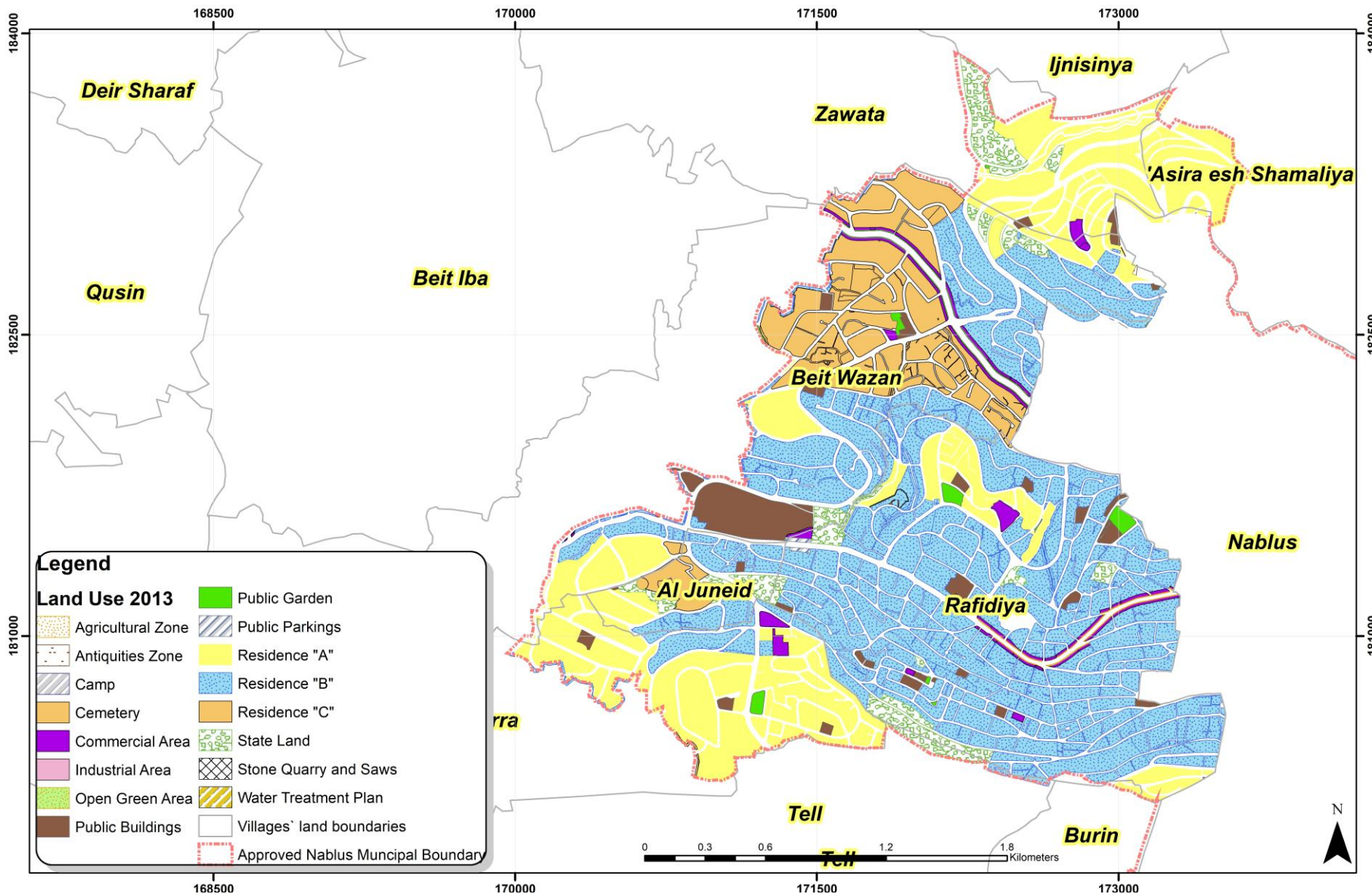
So, it could be noticed from Table (12), that 'Azmut, Balata and 'Askar villages are the most villages that contain variation in land-uses types such as, treatment plant, cemetery, craft area, industry and quarry. As a result, the plains of Rujeib, Balata and 'Askar villages almost disappeared, where all the plains used for the industrial area. 'Azmut plain was proposed as a treatment plant, stone quarry and craft area. Many of these land-uses are found on the approved master plan with no real land-use application on the ground. For example, the eastern cemetery that has been proposed since the 1960s, where the municipality acquired the land for it, until now the land is empty, and no one can plant it because it is owned by the municipality. The land of the treatment plant has a similar situation, where it has been acquired, but without implementation, and no cultivation is allowed there. In the end, all the fertile plains in the eastern region totally disappeared, Map (14). In the western annexed villages, the current land-use is mainly for residential, commercial, and public buildings (Table 13, Map 15), which confirmed what was reported by the interviewees from the eastern villages that; the western region has friendly environmental uses, not like the eastern region where the undesirable uses are there such as the treatment plant, the industrial area, camps and others. Moreover, in the western region the universities are located like, An Najah University and the governmental and private hospitals, like Rafidiya and Al Àrabi hospitals.

Table (13): The current land-use in the western annexed villages as approved in the Nablus master plan in 2013.

Village name	Residential	Commercial	Public building	State land
Rafidiya	1853	45	58	108
Al Juneid	239		3	52
Beit Wazan	1500	38	140	38
Sarra	700	14	13	
Zawata	300	9	10	83
Àsira esh Shamaliya	148			



Map (14): The current land-uses in the eastern annexed villages in the approved master plan 2013. Source: N.M., 2019, modified by researcher.



Map (15): The current land – uses in the west annexed villages in the approved master plan 2013, source: N. M., 2019, modified by researcher.

The current land use from interviews. The interviewees pointed to a diverse change of land uses in some villages, and to limit change in others, and to no change in land use in others. First; some east annexed villages had diverse of current land uses like Balata, Rujeib, `Azmut, and `Askar villages. "Industrial zone and vegetable market were constructed on the best and most fertile land in Balata" (interview with Salman 2019). "Rujeib lands were transformed from agricultural to industrial zone, most of them used for factories, warehouses, stores, commercial – industrial uses" (interview with Al Asmar 2019). "In the eastern area, the municipality put the treatment plant, industrial area, slaughterhouse, craft complex, incinerator and the landfill, where it was considered the landfill of the area, it is the place where the excess is thrown away" (interview with Dweikat 2019). "Sahl 'Azmut proposed for treatment plant, a handicraft area" (interview with `Amer 2019), and a proposed cemetery since 1962" (interview with `Abdallah 2017). "Askar annexed land contained vegetable market, the slaughterhouse, 200 or 500 dunums as an industrial zone, the Thursday market (Halal market), the old incinerator, the vegetable oil factory since 1956" (interview with Helayel 2016), "and about 300 dunums for a Popular Housing Project (interview with Saleh 2019).

Some west villages dominated by residence and education uses, like, Beit Wazan, Rafidiya, Al Juneid, Sarra villages. "Pastures of Beit Wazan were used for Al Namsawy housing project, and the new campus of An Najah University, located on our land" (interview with Abu 'Eisheh 2017). "All the olive trees in Al Juneid have been removed through the construction of buildings and housing projects"

(interview with Al Juneidi 2019). "Rafidiya, the capital of Nablus, is one of the most prestigious neighborhoods" (interview with Sa'adeh 2017). "All the lands in Rafidiya became residential compounds, like the western Popular Housing Project" (interview with Abu es Su'ud, 2019). "All Sarra annexed land are residential areas such as, the engineers housing project is located in basin 1, houses and villas were constructed, including the engineers housing and associations of Al Najah University (Al 'Ameriya) housing" (interview with Turabi 2017). "Kafr Qallil annexed land constructed with buildings" (interview with Sayel 2017).

Other villages in east and west, had no change to its land use as, the annexed land classified C in Oslo Accords. "It was and still an agricultural land because it is an area C according to the Oslo, and also the presence of the Israeli barrier at the entrance of Beit Furik village prevented the development of the land that was annexed" (interview with Hanani 2019). "The farmers don't plant it, and it is prohibited from the occupation, because it is classified as area C, people can't reach it, unless they made coordination with the Israelis to plow or plant it, and if any security event happened people lose the crop. No one is able to plant, there is the Elon Moreh settlement, and the settlers burn the crop" (interview with Husein 2019). "Zawata annexed land remained as agricultural land, because most of these lands were classified C according to Oslo" (interview with `Eleiwi 2019). The opinions of the interviewees varied regarding the benefits of the annexed villages from the current uses, some emphasized the existence of benefits, and the majority denied. "Some people benefited from the existence of An Najah university, where

they built buildings and rent it to the university students” (interview with Al Juneidi 2019). “About 60–70%, of the the oil and sulfur factories employees were from Balata and 'Askar” (interview with Salman 2029). “Some of the current uses have had a positive impact on some villages. For example, the presence of An Najah University in the western region of Nablus had a positive impact on the people of Rafidiya, Al Juneid and Beit Wazan. Four people from Rafidiya built buildings for investment because three or four people from Rafidiya own over 20 dunums. The university served residents in Rafidiya more than the municipality” (interview with Sa`adeh 2017). “The existence of the university had an impact on Rafidiya, all the urban development in Nablus was heading to the west” (interview with Hassuneh 2019). “Rafidiya developed and advanced, because it is the only entrance to Nablus city without refugee camps, considered a recreational area for the Nablus residents who came to walk in” (interview with Abu es Su'ud, 2019). “However, laborers from Rujeib have worked in these factories, for example, Harbawi factory nearly had 100 laborers from Rujeib” (interview with Al Asmar 2019)

Some interviewees talked about the negatives of annexation. “Al Juneid people became a minority in the presence of the university, Al 'Ameriya housing and other housing projects. No workers found from Al Juneid in An–Najah University or in N.M.” (interview with Al Juneidi 2019). “We didn't buy or rent places in the vegetable market in `Askar because this is a commercial job and we are farmers, we have no possibilities, and we have no potentials, so we worked there as porters” (interview with Mustafa 2019). “Beit Wazan residents have limited

benefits from the existence of An Najah university; no laborers or security men members were taken from Beit Wazan, and the village privacy affected because of the university existence” (interview with Abu`Eisheh 2017). “Askar residents weren't able to invest in their land, because when the price rose the farmer had two choices, either to sell his land or leave it as it is with a big worry to pay high taxes for it, we have no money to invest in the industrial zone actually, the factories aren't for us. Who invested there? Surely, not Balata or 'Askar residents. We are all laborers there, go to the factories and see who is there? The laborers are from Balata and 'Askar” (interview with `Abdallah 2019). “No factories owned by Rujeib residents in the industrial zone in annexed land” (interview with Al Asmar 2019). “The negative impacts of annexation are more than the positive ones, because of the recklessness that happened with the agricultural land of 10,000–15,000 dunums. If modern agricultural methods was used, it will be food basket of Nablus Governorate. Unfortunately, all this land was lost and converted to an industrial area although, there is adjacent hills and mountains which could be very suitable to establish an industrial zone. N.M. hadn't long vision at that time” (interview with Dweikat 2019).

In fact, what was stated in the previous interviews is compatible with the approved 2013 master plan, and field visits and with what on the ground in terms of the existing of the industrial zone, the treatment plant, craft area and the slaughterhouse, located in the eastern villages of Balata, 'Askar, Rujeib and 'Azmut plain.

5.2.3. The Factors Contributing to Land–Use Change.

Through the research it was found that; there are more than one factor participated in changing the land–use of the annexed villages. These factors are: the land acquisition decisions and the purchasing lands, the municipal announcement for new land–use, the different proposed and declared projects by different associations, and the continuous uprooting of trees since the 1960s until this day.

5.2.3.1. The Land Acquisition in the Different Periods

It is important to know the difference between land annexation, and land acquisition, which mentioned in Chapter 2, section 2.3.” Theoretical Framework”. The land–uses of annexed villages changed in a dramatic way through the land acquisition and land purchasing in the different periods. The land acquisition made by N.M. for different public land–uses which are totally new for the local residents of annexed villages, benefit mainly the residents of Nablus city. N.M. relied on the Acquisition Law no. (2), 1953 (Jordanian Official Gazette 1960, 59), to acquire land for public projects from annexed villages. Acquired lands, were for establishing vegetable market, housing projects, cemeteries, roads, incinerators, quarries, slaughterhouse and other uses and services. N.M. and some investors started the process of acquiring and purchasing land from annexed villages early even before annexing the lands, which means that the operation of the land–use change started early. For example, “the vegetable oil company bought nearly 40

dunums in 'Askar plain before 1955 to build a factory oil" (interview with Helayel 2016). Moreover, it could be noticed from (Maps 16, 17, Tables 14, 15, 16) that N.M. made a massive land acquisition from the villages annexed totally, or partially during the Jordanian and P.A. periods. There are 17 acquisition decisions done mainly during the Jordanian period (Table 14). 'Askar, Rafidiya, and 'Azmut villages are considered the most villages from which N.M. acquired land (Maps 16, 17, Tables 14, 16).

Table (14): The acquisition decisions issued by N.M. during the Jordanian period.

Village Name	Basin	Parcel	Area-dunum	Date	Newspaper	Purpose
Balata	13	17	12.986	17/1/1959	Official Gazette.no. 1411.	Incinerator
'Azmut	13	151-173	217.519	3/10/1962		Cemetery
Deir el Hatab	13					
Al Juneid	11	20- 22	29.288	15/6/1965	Official Gazette no.1848	Military hospital
Beit Wazan	9	1 ,23 -22 ,20 -16				
	8	50				
'Askar	5	17	155.675	25/12/1966	Official Gazette no. 1972	Quarries
Balata			2	28/4/1964		Vegetable market
'Askar	12	2	20.859	10/5/1965	Official Gazette on .1839	Vegetable market
		3	5	16/9/1965	Official Gazette no. 1874	
		3	2.705	22/12/65		
		4	6.912			
		26	2.036	10/05/1965		
		26,4,1/3	11.653	10/2/1966,	Official Gazette No. 1900.	

Table (14): (contd)

Village Name	Basin	Parcel	Area-dunum	Date	Newspaper	Purpose
'Askar	1	1-5	360	10/8/1964	Official Gazette no. 1781	Eastern housing project
	2	3-9,13				
	3	23, 25- 50				
	4	17-19, 28-65, 67,				
Rafidiya	10	70-82, 84-87, 89-	100	25/1/1965	Official Gazette no. 1819.	Western housing project
		93,96-104, 35, 111	10.899	11/3/1967	Official gazette no. 1991	
		107-110	8	18/1/1967		
Balata	6	35	3.222	29/07/1964	Official Gazette no. 1750.	Street
			1.308	25/7/1965	Official Gazette no. 1861.	
Rafidiya	8	59- 61, 63, 79- 81	10.513	10/2/1966	Official Gazette no. 1900.	Schools

Source: N.M.A. Section Files. Land Ac.F. 2018.

In the Israeli occupation period, the acquired land wasn't as dense as, it was in the Jordanian and P.A. periods (Tables 14, 15, 16). The purposes of land acquisition were for continuing the popular housing projects that started in the Jordanian period, for pumping stations, expanding streets, schools, water tanks, treatment plants, and slaughterhouse, and only eight acquisition decisions issued, Table (15).

Table (15): The acquisition decisions in the Israelis occupation period.

Village	Basin	Parcel	Area dunum	Date	News paper	Purpose
Rafidiya	10	88	6.192	11/3/1973		Western Housing Project,
Rafidiya	10	128	0.358	10/11/ 1973		Street
'Askar	11	17	0.856	10/11/1973		Secondary substation
'Azmut	12	135-138, 142-143, 149-150, 182-192, 230, 232	59	21/6/1981	Al-Quds newspaper, page 2.	Treatment plant
Balata	12	2	25	4/6/1986		Slaughterhouse and cattle market
Rafidiya	10	48-51		11/8/1986		Schools
Rafidiya	10	88	6.192	22/2/1972		Garden
'Askar	11	17		24/10/1972		Bathan electricity

Source: N.M.A. Section Files. Land Ac.F. 2018.

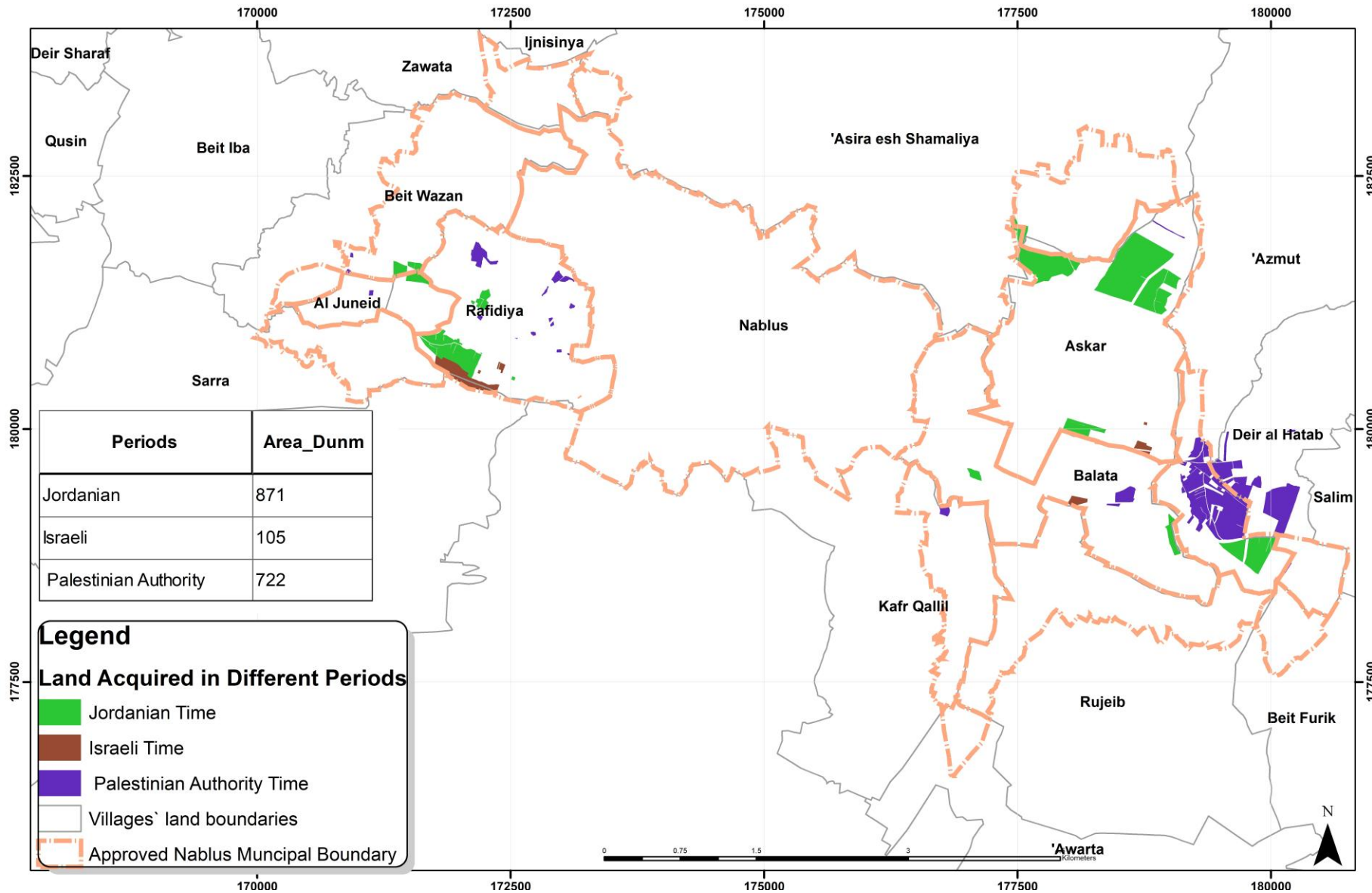
After the entry of P.A. in 1994, the process of land acquisition returned back strongly with different purposes for the acquisition, ranged from opening streets, craft complex, for A Najah National University, treatment plant, schools, parking, hospitality palace and water reservoir, nineteen acquisition decisions issued Table (16).

Table (16): The acquisition decisions in P.A. period.

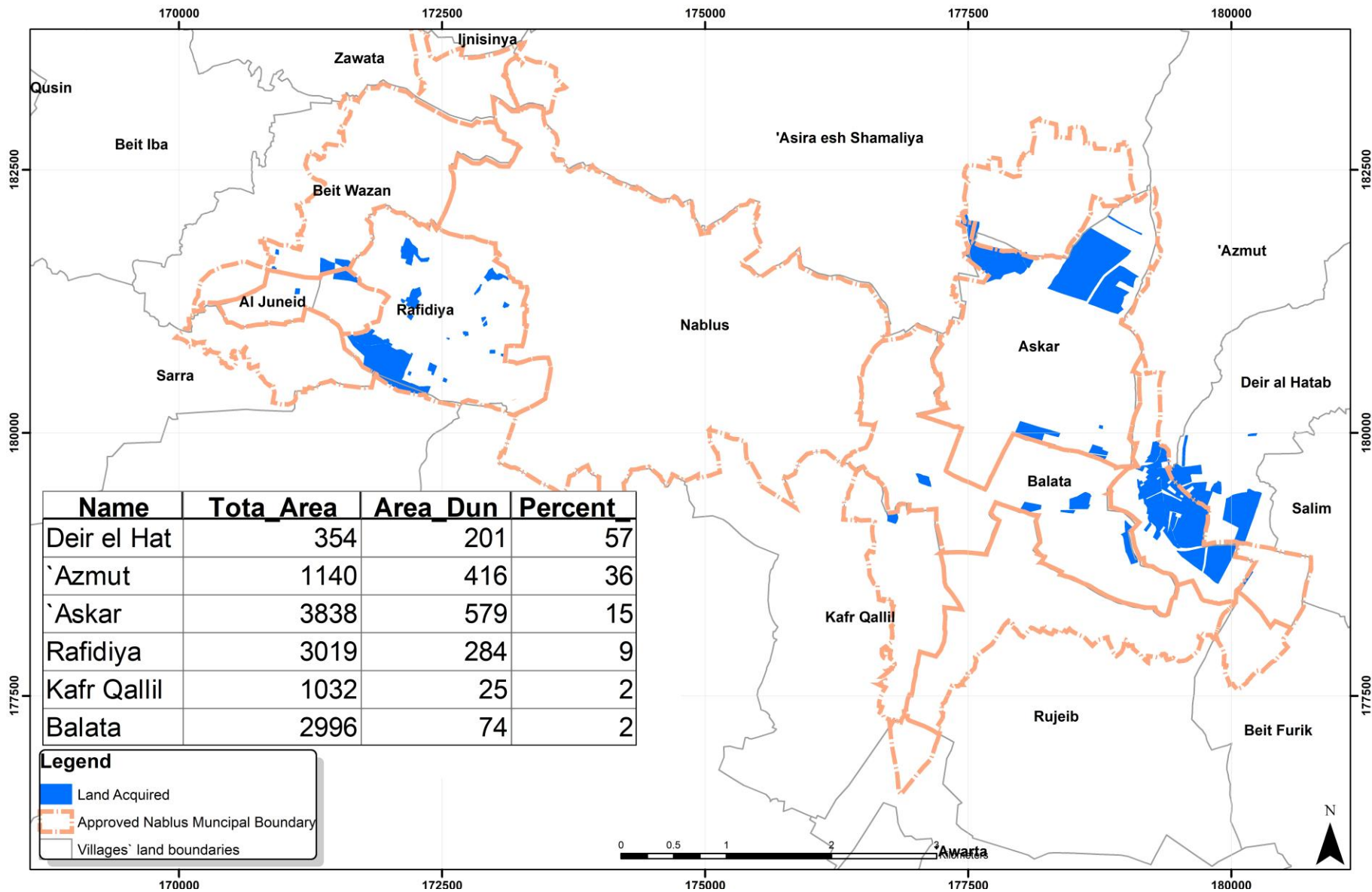
Village	Basin	Parcel	Area- dunum	Date	Newspaper	Purpose
'Askar	1	18	3.481	9/10/1996		Street
'Askar	12	1		6/4/1996		Craft complex
Deir el Hatab	13	28, 29, 59	14.481	14/9/1996	Official Gazette no. 19	Craft complex
Beit Wazan	9	2	1.250	3/11/1996	Official Gazette no. 19	An-Najah National University
Rafidiya	9	99 111	2.346 9.846	3/11/1996	Official Gazette no. 19	A hall
'Azmut	12	135-152,182-192, 230, 231	72	2/7/1996		Treatment plant
Beit Wazan	9	11		29/12/1998		
Rafidiya	1 9	5 116	7.935 4.540	10/1997	Official Gazette no. 19	Streets and schools
Rafidiya	7 1	106 14		14/6/1997 12/10/1997		Public services
Rafidiya	3 2	5, 15, 16 55, 75	2.73 2.234	25/11/1997	Al Quds Newspaper page 18	Parking lots

Table (16): (contd).

Village	Basin	Parcel	Area-dunum	Date	Newspaper	Purpose
Rafidiya	8	107,108		24/5/1998	Al-Hayat newspaper No. 995	Hospitality palace
Kafr Qallil	2	1		29/9/1999		Reservoir
Al Juneid	11	53	3.597	02/03/2000	Al Hayat Newspaper no. 1602	Reservoir
'Azmut	13	1-10,12,37-38,43-44,46-51,53-62,64,66-68,74-78,80-88,90-107, 111-112,115,117-121,123,126-131, 133-150, 212	281	19/1/ 2000		Craft complex
Kafr Qallil	9	58		6/10/2003		School
'Azmut Deir el Hatab	13 12	1-7,33,38-39,41-64,66-68, 74-77,79-81,83-107, 111,112,114-115,119-122, 124-128,144-146,233, 234,237-240, 242, 244, 230, 193, 229, 307,308,131		11/2/2013		Craft complex
Balata	11 12	60 17		11/2/2013		Truck parking
Rafidiya	1	97		13/3/2014		Parking, squares



Map (16): The area of acquired land by N.M. in the Jordanian, Israeli, and P.A. periods. Source: N.M., 2019, modified by researcher.



Map (17): The most villages from which N.M. acquired land. Source: N.M., 2019, modified by researcher.

5.2.3.2. The Municipal Announcement for New Land–Use

Another factor contributed to land–use changes, was the new uses announced by N.M. For example, the municipality announced the industrial zone in the eastern villages since 1960s over Balata, 'Askar and Rujeib villages' plains (N.M.B.L.A. Archive no. 18/66. File no. 41/1/64. 1964), with nearly a total area 1,365 dunums, from 'Askar 480 dunums formed 12% of its total area, from Balata 560 dunums formed 19% of the total area (2,991 dunums) and 325 dunums in Rujeib which formed 16% of the total annexed area (2,087 dunums), Table (12). N.M announced two big Popular Housing Projects, one in the east on 'Askar fertile plain with over 350 dunums, which formed 9% of the total area of the village (3,897 dunums). The other one, is 130 dunums in the west, on Rafidiya village's land which formed 4.3% of the total area of the village (2,996 dunums) which was classified as pastures (Map 18). Finally, the approved master plan of 2013, damaged 6,000 dunums that were fertile plains and a further 3,000 dunums of the agricultural land, Maps (12, 13).

5.2.3.3. Residential and Educational Associations Projects

Another cause played a partial role in changing the land–use of the annexed villages' land was the implementation of housing projects by some associations, even before the land was annexed to N.M.B. Many private and governmental associations, and unions purchased land in annexed villages, and built housing and educational projects, like, syndicate of pharmacists, doctors,

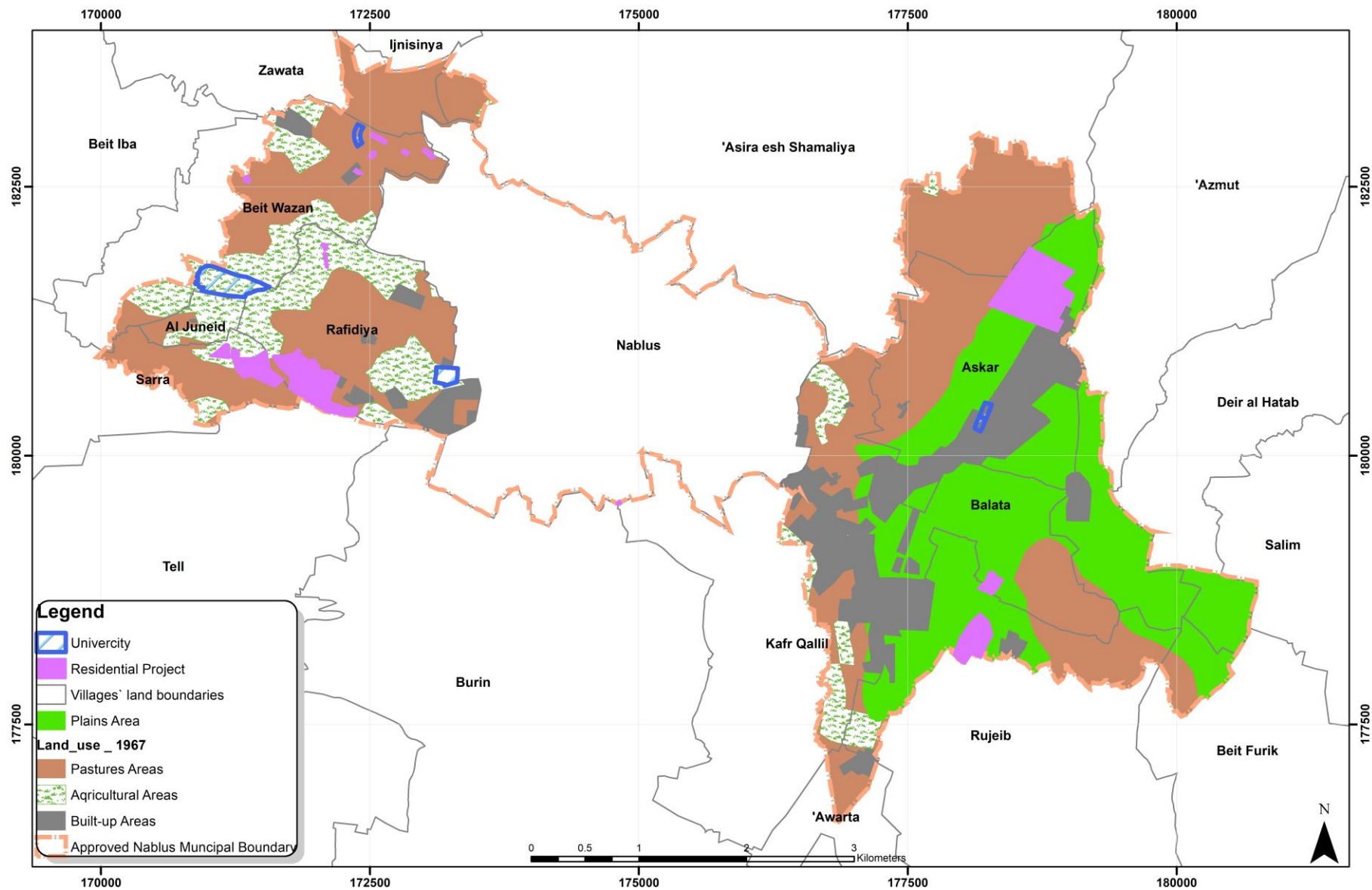
engineers, government employees, employees of A Najah University and Ministry of Housing, Map (18). In 1979, the Government Employees of Housing Association requested to modify the streets network of the project, which is located in basin 3 in Rujeib village (N.M.B.L.A. Archive no. 3/4/79. File no. 3/4/5793. 1979), on a fertile plain converted to new type of land-use. Another project is Al-'Amriya Housing project built on basin 1 of Sarra village, was established by the administrative board of Al-'Amriya Housing for the staff of A Najah National University (Abu Obaid 2013, 80). Moreover, the location of the new campus of An Najah university also participated in land-use change, which is located over the best agricultural land in Beit Wazan village, with an area more than 120 dunums, the land was bought since the 1970s, also, the campus of al Quds Open University is located over Beit Wazan pastures (Map 18).

5.2.3.4. The Continuous Uprooting of Trees

Uprooting fruit trees from the annexed villages to N.M.B., while opening the streets or implementing different projects shared in changing the land-use in these villages, and decreasing the number of trees planted since 1960s until this day. The trees uprooting could be noticed through, the many requests submitted by the annexed villages` residents to the M.C. asking for compensation instead of uprooting different types of trees. Below some examples of the compensation requests submitted by annexed villages` residents to N.M.B. M.C. agreed to compensate residents from Rafidiya village for trees that were cut off during the

expansion of Rafidiya Street (N.M.C.M.M. 1965), also five requests were submitted by residents from Rafidiya and Balata to compensate them for trees that were cut off from their lands (N.M.B.L.A. Archive no. 27, 24–33. File no. 8/65. 1965), municipality formed a committee for the compensation for the owners of trees cut in basin 7 in Rafidiya to open street (N.M.B.L.A. Archive no. 3/2/1350. File no. 5/1/71. 1971). Moreover, the supervisor of works in N.M prepared a table showing the type and number of trees that will be compensated instead of uprooting trees during the expanding of a street in Balata village in basins 3 and 2, where more than 30 trees of figs, olives and almonds were cut off (N.M.P.L.A. Archive no. 3/2/136. File no. 5/1/72. 1972), the municipal committee approved the value of compensation for trees cut from parcel 74, basin 15 in 'Askar for 440 JD (N.M.C.M.M. 1997). M.C decided to compensate a citizen from 'Askar village for cutting off trees in basin 14, for 330 JD, and a citizen from Beit Wazan village for cutting off trees in basin 7. M.C reviewed the report of a special committee of evaluating the value of trees that will be cut off in basin 11 in Beit Wazan by 1320 JD. (N.M.C.M.M. 1999). The principle of compensation for the cutting off trees reinforced the idea that the value of lands and trees are materialized for an amount of money and not as a source of livelihood; maybe if it was lost, it will not be compensated easily, so the resident lost his land, and trees and the compensation money gone with wind. Additionally, there wasn't an initiative to compensate for the cutting of trees by the municipality or even by the annexed villages' residents themselves, maybe because the trees don't represent the main and strategic

producer of food as they used to in earlier times. Therefore, no one bothered to make an action plan to compensate these trees neither the villages' residents nor the municipality.



Map (18): The previous land – use of the different educational and housing projects in annexed villages. Source: N. M., and Birzeit University, 2019, modified by researcher.

5.2.4. Discussion

The land-use of the totally, or partially annexed villages has changed completely from agricultural use to other uses like residential, and industrial ...etc. Before annexation the dependence of annexed villages` residents were on agriculture, as mentioned in Chapter 3 "The Study Area", section (5.2.1), and Map (12). Over 6,000 dunums of agricultural plains, and 3,000 dunums of agricultural land were destroyed in the annexed villages, and the cultivation in these lands has almost vanished, which destroyed the agricultural sector completely in these villages. Nablus approved master plan, had decreased the plains, and agricultural land from 9,000 dunums to 600 dunums, and the deterioration in the fertile agricultural happened in Jordan, Iraq, China, Malaysia, and India cities, as a result of the cities expansion (Saleh and Al Rawashdeh 2007; Shammari 2006; Jiang, Dengb, and Seto 2013; Samat 2014; Fazal 2000). The west annexed villages, dominated by residential commercial use, while the east annexed villages dominated by industrial, camps in addition to residential uses. For example; the industrial area in the approved master plan of Nablus 2013 that is nearly 1300 dunums forms 6.5% from the total annexed area (20,311 dunums), from 'Askar 480 dunums formed 12% of its total area, from Balata 560 dunums in formed 19% of its total area (2,991 dunums), and from Rujeib 325 dunums formed 16% of its total annexed area (2,087 dunums), Table (11). Some annexed land, remained as agricultural land because, first; these lands classified as C in Oslo Accords, and were close to the Israeli settlements such as lands that annexed from Deir el Hatab,

Beit Furik and Zawata villages. Second, some land-uses proposed on the master plan, but didn't implement like "public gardens", Maps (13,14,15), maybe because such parks and gardens require greater service costs from the municipality while provide very little to local profits (Wang 2012, 9).

The current land-uses primarily benefited Nablus residents, who are industrialists and merchants, but the benefit of the villages' residents from the new land-uses was limited. For example, the owners of the factories aren't from the annexed villages' residents, because they didn't have the money to invest in the industry, haven't experience –as they were farmers– in the industrial sector (interview with Al Asmar 2019). Moreover, the total population for the five villages that were totally annexed in 1963–64, didn't exceed 4,200 people in 1961, while the population of Nablus city for the same year was 45,773 people. This means that the total population of the villages forms nearly 9.2% of the total population of Nablus city. Consequently, villages' residents annexed didn't need the new land-uses as the residents of Nablus need. On one hand, land annexation increased the number of households and housing projects (Nacker 2005), and has a significant positive effect on market housing values (Hovekamp, McGowan, and Sherrard 2015), as land annexation to N.M.B. also has a positive impact on market housing, because many housing projects were implemented in the annexed land (Map 18). The practice of land annexation by N.M. was similar to annexation– in one way or another– in San Antonio which accelerated the tendency to move away expansion of population and investment from the center.

As a result, heavy decentralization resulted in the scattering of the industrial and residential programs away from the city center and towards the suburban periphery (Caine, Gonzalez, and Walter 2017).

On the other hand, Nablus residents, who invested in the industrial sector or in the housing sector, because of the availability of money. For example, in the eastern popular housing project, none of the residents of Balata or 'Askar were employed in this housing project because the villages' residents are originally farmers, and weren't skilled laborers in construction works. They were farmers, who were professionals in agriculture and weren't traders or investors or owners of capital as Nablus city's residents. Therefore, land annexation changed the land-use and didn't create new jobs for annexed villages' residents. On the contrary, a review done on 28 counties in the U.S. showed that land annexation created a range of 2.8 jobs/million\$ of output and 1.8 construction-related jobs, in addition to each construction job and these numbers are similar to the national averages used by the National Association of Home Builders (NAHB). "The construction of 1,000 single-family homes generates 2,448 jobs in construction and construction-related industries, approximately 79.4\$ million in wages and more than 42.5\$ million in federal state and local tax revenues and fees (Nacker 2005, 9). Unfortunately, this didn't happen to the annexed villages' residents, the annexation didn't create new job opportunities for them, because they weren't the owners of professional tasks such as construction, paint, tiles, and other

occupations that housing projects needed, because as previously said, they were farmers and their main profession is agriculture.

Announcing new type of land use, encouraged people to stop cultivation the fertile plain of these villages in early time. For example, vegetable oil factories, vegetable market, the slaughterhouse and the incinerator which located on Balata land, encouraged many residents to leave the work in agriculture, and animal husbandry, and work in the oil company, the Sulphur factory and other factories (Dweikat 2014, 32). Therefore, N.M succeeded to apply a power in the annexed villages which means "power is the ability to influence other behavior – urging a person to do something he will not do otherwise" (Wait 2016, 19). This is what happened to the villages' residents through the change of land-use by N.M, which influenced directly or indirectly their income sources and directed them to other income sources. Therefore, the municipality succeeded in imposing a new, and different reality in annexed villages.

Additionally, some of the current land uses had a positive impact on some villages (interviews with Sa`adeh 2017; Al Juneidi, Salman, Abu es Su`ud, and Al Amar 2019), other villages had negative impact from the new land uses (interviews with Abu `Eisheh 2017; Mustafa, and Dweikat 2019).

N.M issued over 40 land acquisition decisions since the 1960s until 2014, with a total area of 1698 dunums, 871 dunums during the Jordanian period, with highest percentage of land acquisition 51% of the total acquired land, more than 60% of this land was plains, and 722 dunums during the P.A. period which

represented 42.5% from the total acquired land, and about 90% of it was plains also (Maps 16, 17, Table 17), and the lowest was in the Israeli occupation period. Maybe, because the Palestinians had no absolute control over the land, and land acquisition decisions should be approved by the Israeli occupation rulers who didn't care about the existence of services for the Palestinian in general. Whereas during the Jordanian and the P.A. periods, there was partial control on the land which enabled them to acquire land and who signs the acquisition decisions Palestinians. The most villages in which land acquired were Rafidiya in the west, 'Askar (totally annexed), Deir el Hatab, and 'Azmut (partially annexed) in the east (Map 17, Table 17), because most of the eastern villages consist of fertile plains, with flat topography (easy terrain), which don't need a lot of effort to prepare the infrastructure of the projects, while the western villages contain slopes classified as pastures and agricultural lands. Only seven villages from fifteen, N.M. acquired lands in (Tables 14, 15, 16). The acquired land (1,698 dunums) constitutes 8.4% of the total annexed land to N.M.B. (20,311 dunums). In Deir el Hatab 77% of the land annexed was acquired and all were in the plains. In 'Askar village 15% of the annexed land was acquired, and 73% of the acquired land was plains and 27% pastures. In 'Azmut village 37% of the annexed land was acquired, and all of it was plains. In Rafidiya village, 9.5% of the annexed land was acquired, nearly all the land acquired was pastures (Table 17, Map 19). In the Jordanian, and in the P.A. periods, N.M. acquired 1,260 dunums in the fertile plains, which represent 74% from the total acquired land (1,698 dunums), and represent 21%

of the total area of plains (6,000 dunums) inside N.M.B. A lot of land acquired from the villages totally annexed to N.M.B., used for constructing large projects in comparison to villages partially annexed, with the size and kind of projects. Land annexation was a strategy for economic development, through acquiring land for new projects, led to achieving commercial and industrial development (Edwards 2008), which reinforce that land annexation enabled N.M. to acquire large land for commercial, residential and industrial projects.

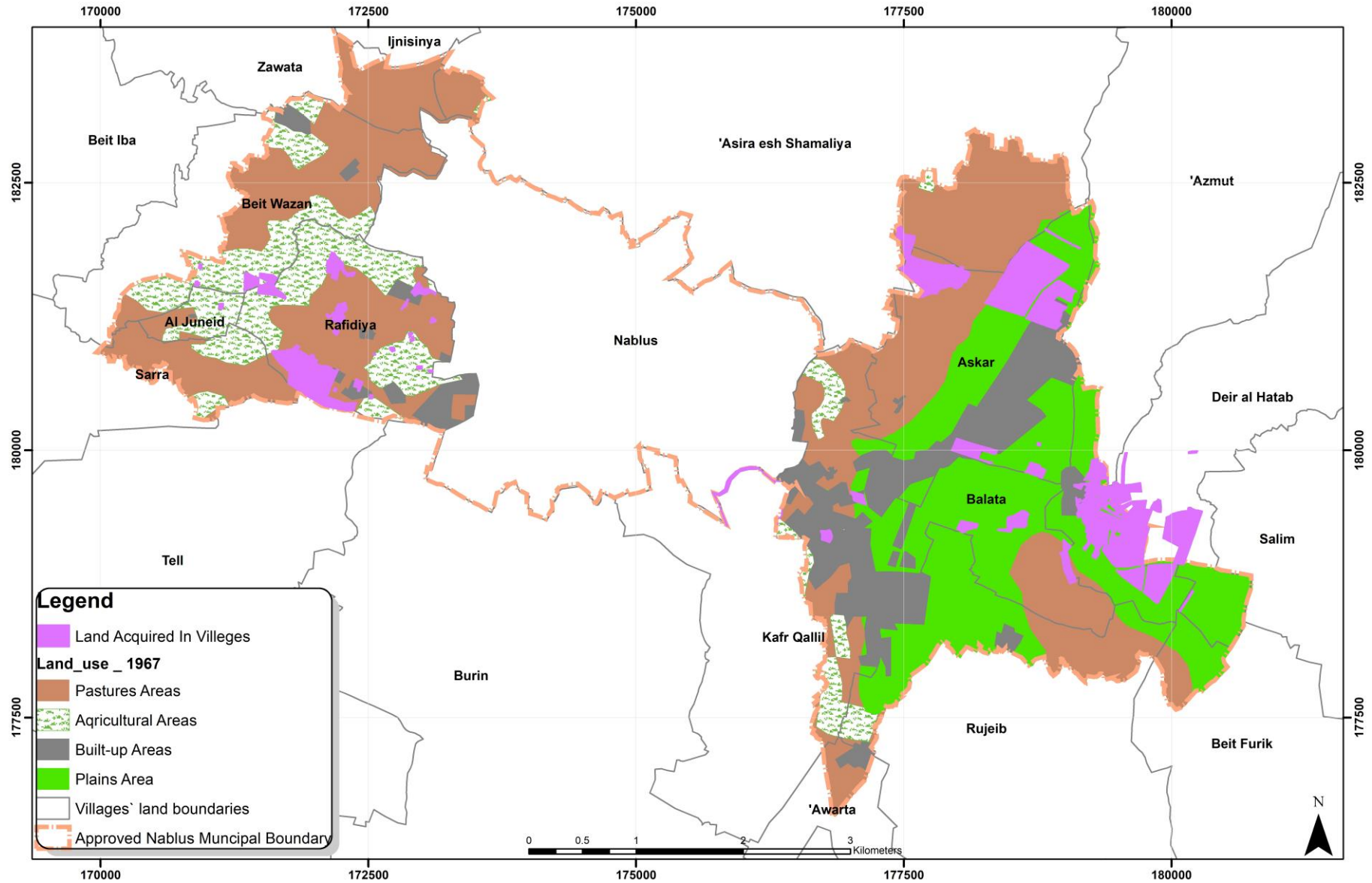
Using the Acquisition Law no. (2) of 1953, is considered a power that you can't dispute, because it is based on legal powers (Waite 2016, 162), and this power led to another power which is the "urging power" which incites a person to do something he will not do otherwise" (Waite 2016, 19) for the reason that acquiring land by N.M. urged some of the annexed villages' residents to sell their land, or to leave land cultivation. The land use of villages annexed totally had been changed faster and stronger than villages annexed partially, because these villages had direct boundaries with Nablus city such as; Rafidiya, 'Askar, and Balata villages, while Deir el Hatab, 'Asira esh Shamaliya and Beit Furik villages are far from the city boundaries. For example, over 350 dunums were acquired for the popular housing projects, and over 150 dunums were announced by the municipality as an industrial area, in a fertile plain (Sahl 'Askar) in 1960s, which means that all the owners of these lands lost their lands, which harmed their main income source, and they didn't benefit from these projects, because they didn't need them.

In summary, a big land-use changes occurred in annexed land especially in the agricultural land, and fertile plains have been completely eliminated the lifestyle of the annexed villages, devoid of reliance on agriculture or livestock breeding, annexed villages` residents lost their lands, the source of income, the stock of land for them, for the future generations, and the villages` residents haven`t agricultural land reserves to compensate the lost ones. Also, N.M had no roles, and no intention to protect, and preserve the agricultural land, because many housing, and industrial projects constructed on fertile plains during the Jordanian period in 1960s, as well as repeated in the P.A. period after 1994, without giving any attention to the importance of these agricultural lands.

Lastly, the change in land-use is a natural situation in many cities and villages in the West Bank due to the demand for land. The changes in land-uses in annexed villages occurred early as compared to other villages in Nablus governorate. This can be mainly credited to the process of total annexation to N.M.B. in the 1960s, and due to the proximity of its boundaries to Nablus city. There is a significant loss in the fertile agricultural land, which should be preserved, and took into account in the future expansion of N.M.B. by planners, and influential persons who propose this expansion.

Table (17): The previous land-uses of the acquired land in seven villages annexed to N.M.B.

Village name	Annexed land/dunum	Acquired land/dunum	Acquire/annexed %	Acquired/total acquired %	Acquired Plains%	Acquired Agricultural land%	Acquired Pastures %
'Askar	3897	579	15%	34%	73%		27%
'Azmut	1126	416	37%	25%	100%	–	–
Rafidiya	2996	285	9.5%	17%	–	–	100%
Deir el Hatab	379	291	77%	17%	100%		
Balata	2991	74	2.5%	4.4%	100%	–	–
Beit Wazan	2178	28	1.3%	1.6%	–	100%	–
Kafr Qallil	1148	25	2.2%	1.5%		100%	
Total	14,715	1,698	11.5%				



Map (19): The previous land-use of the acquired land in the annexed villages. Source: Birzeit University, N.M., 2019, modified by researcher.

5.3. The Taxes, Fees, Licenses and Land Deductions Imposed on Residents` Villages Annexed.

5.3.1. Introduction

The villages councils, mukhtars and residents have no idea about the impacts of land annexation. The only thing they knew and was happy about was that land annexation means water and electricity services that will become available to their villages; making their life easier. They have no idea that one of the main impacts of land annexation to N.M.B. was the taxes and fees that will be imposed on them by the functional laws and regulations applied within the municipal boundaries. Through N.M.P.L.A, and N.M.A a lot of correspondences found regarding the taxes and fees.

5.3.2. The Taxes, Fees Licences and Land Deduction in the Different Periods.

In the Jordanian period, there are many correspondences revealed some taxes and fees that are imposed on residents annexed to N.M.B., and the importance of these fees in increasing municipal revenues. A letter was sent from Nablus District Governor to Nablus mayor to encourage land annexation of Balata, 'Askar and Rafidiya villages, to increase the revenues of the municipality especially, as N.M. is on the verge of vital projects such as electricity and water project, and the city needs consumers more than the current ones (N.M.A. Archive no. 3/22. File no. 22. 1956). Some of revenues mentioned in the correspondences like the

sewer's fees and property tax (N.M.B.L.A. Archive no. 27/26. File no. 8/62. 1962), the vegetable and grocery licenses (N.M.A. Ac.F. Archive no. 24/5/1965. File no. 3543. 1965), and the land and building tax (N.M.A. Archive no. 3/22. File no. 92. 1966), the revenues of the land organization which its prices increased based on article 54, paragraph 2, of the Provisional Law no. 79 of 1966 (N.M.C.M.M. 1966). Moreover, the imposition of the organization and improvement of revenues on the land annexed to N.M.B. (N.M.B.L.A. Archive no 27, 24-33. File no. 8/66. 1966). N.M. formed committees to estimate the organization revenues, for Balata, 'Askar and Rafidiya villages in order to implement the Regulation Law of 1966, for the revenues of improvement and organization on these villages after annexation (N.M.B.L.A. Archive no. 810. File no. 48/1/71. 1967).

The taxes and fees that were mentioned in the previous correspondences of the municipality and the meetings can neither be subjected nor measured by the residents' opinions, because they are imposed by laws and regulations like Knowledge Tax Regulation No. (1),1956, the Regulation of Plates and Advertisements from the Local Authorities Law No. (1), 1997.... etc. Any correspondences or meetings relating to these taxes, and fees are only for informing people about the fees inside the municipal boundaries. However, it is noted that during the Jordanian period, the Mukhtars of annexed villages were part of the land estimation committees of evaluation of their lands (N.M.P.L.A. Archive

no. 810. File no. 48/1/71. 1971), but this isn't happen in the Israeli and P.A. periods.

Table (18): The amount of revenues gained from some taxes, fees, and licences in Jordanian time.

Item	Year 1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967
Building and Land Tax	14,399	14,957	15,592	17,121	20,149	26,118	54,277	29,094
Crafts and industries license	4,319	3,615	3,695	3,819	4,113	4,228	5,960	3,813
Plates and advertisement license	417	454	499	505	536	555	721	405
Building licenses	1,787	1,362	2,289	2,886	2,986	4,495	4,343	1,491

In the Israeli occupation period, there are some examples of taxes and fees mentioned in the correspondences such as the property tax (N.M.B.L.A. Archive no. 27/39. File no. 8/1970. 1970), the opening and paving street fees, (N.M.B.L.A. Archive no. 3/2/1350. File no. 5/1/71. 1971), the public and private organization and improvement returns (Jordanian Official Gazette 1996, 29), the education tax and waste tax (N.M.A. Archive no. 3/22. File no. 158. 1987), the

building and land taxes (N.M.A. Archive no. 3/22. File no. 164. 1987), the land estimation by law after the lands annexed (N.M.A. Archive no. 3/22. File no. 169. 1987), and the public and private organization and improvement returns, which paid by the landowners to N.M., as a result, of the land improvements that happened when the land annexed to N.M.B. as mentioned in Article (54), paragraphs (2,3), and Article 55, paragraph (2), Towns, Villages, and Buildings Organization Law No. 79, 1966 (N.M.P.L.A. Archive no. 1359. File no. 48/1/72. 1972). In the Israeli period, there wasn't any kind of involvement of the annexed villages' councils in the land evaluation operations, but rather a military decision issued to make a land estimation (N.M.A. archive no.3/22. File no. 161, 164. 1987) and the municipality in its turn also didn't involve them.

Table (19): The amount of revenues gained from some taxes, fees, and licences in Israeli period.

Item	1968	1979	1982	1984	1985
Building and Land Tax	269,600	7,321,172	8,443,653	133,273,842	322,508,365
Crafts and industries license	37,540	592,936	462,836	5,584,764	240,197,700
Plates and advertisement license	3,630	140,594	321,594	531,118	47,211,605
Building licenses	5,190	1,050,822	269,977	6,899,622	187,255,214

Source: N.M.A. Budget Unit. 18/6/2020. The amounts are in Shekels.

In the P.A. period, also some taxes and fees found in the correspondences like, the cost of constructing a sewage line (N.M.C.M.M. 1996), additional 2 JD/m², on land prices as an organizational return (N.M.C.M.M. 1998), a pay of 1.5 JD/m² as special organization revenues, the costs of paving the street, and the pay of 8 JD/m² as a legal interest (N.M.C.M.M. 1999). The legal interest imposed by Nablus mayor which added a new financial benefit, illegally imposed by Ghassan Shak`a, during his municipal presidency 1994–2004, and its amount could be equal to the price of one meter in the same basin (interview with `Abdallah 2017) and it was found in N.M.C.M.M. N.M. Committee`s head mentioned that: It isn`t permissible to transfer or register any property in any government registry unless the owner shows that he has paid all the public and private organization revenues, based on Article (55) of the Cities and Villages Regulation Law no. 79, 1966 (N.M.A. Archive no. 3/22. File no. 189. 1994).

Table (20): The amount of revenues gained from some taxes, fees, and licences in P.A. period

Item	1998	2000	2005	2010	2015	2018
Building and Land Tax	635,639	1,154,223	1,031,478	2,229,314	–	124,865
Crafts and industries license	188,363	244,650	196,777	191,104	263,164	249,395
Plates and advertisement license	55,569	110,030	89,439	179,859	235,801	266,871
Building licenses	1,288,145	1,376,889	790,225	798,686	1,389,642	1,697,720
Total	2,167,716	2,885,792	2,107,919	3,398,963	1,888,607	2,338,851
Yearly Total revenue	2,632,675	3,269,527	2,741,185	10,241,853	26,365,391	26,131,698
Total/ yearly	82.3%	88.3%	77%	33.2%	7%	9%

Source: N.M.A. Budget Unit. 18/6/2020. The amounts are in JD.

5.3.3. The Taxes, Fees, Licences and Land Deduction from Interviews

An interviewee mentioned the importance of taxes and fees for N.M. which imposed on villages annexed “N.M. is a non-profit organization; its boundaries expansion benefits it by collecting more fees from the new building licenses and the taxes imposed on the new lands” (interview with Sharaf 2017). Other interviewees mentioned the different types of taxes, and fees imposed. “We pay 1.5 JD/m², as organization returns, the construction fees for roads and pavement before the pavement, waste tax, education tax, the contribution fees for sidewalks, and sewage line fees reach 2,000 JD/land, the contribution of electricity, sometimes the person is forced to buy an electric transformer because the electricity is weak, and the municipality conduct 30% of each land its area is over 4–5 dunums” (Interview with Sa`adeh 2017). “We pay to N.M. property tax, professional licenses, crafts and industries tax, fees on banners and signs equals 10 JD/m², they even sell us the air” (interview with Abu es Su`ud 2019). “Balata people pay solid waste tax, the educational tax, and the sewage tax; there is nothing, but taxes, everything is taxed” (interview with `Abdallah 2017). “We pay to the electricity line, for street opening, and to the waterline. N.M. takes 33% from each land even without compensation” (interview with A Juneidi 2019). “Kafr Qallil residents pay the fees of buildings license, the land taxes, the property tax, and the education tax” (interview with Sayel 2017). “We pay organization revenue, education and knowledge, sewerage, road construction up to 30% of the costs we pay” (interview with Salman 2019).

Many interviewees pointed to the burden these taxes pose. "Taxes, this is the problem, which we are facing, maybe there are 32 types of taxes" (interview with Salman 2019). "Many of the houses in Rujeib plain, licensed by N.M have been charged with the sewage fees while there isn't sewage network in the area, fees are taken in advance. I found two thousand (2000) JD taxes on the land, I have no money, the taxes are expensive" (interview with Al Asmar 2019). "Rujeib residents suffered from taxes, the person is surprised that there are two or four thousand JD on one dunum, he can't do anything except to pay, because he needs the acquittance" (interview with Dweikat 2019). "Deir el Hatab annexed land is area C, farmers can't reach it only with coordination with the Israeli side, so why to pay taxes on it" (interview with Husein 2019). "Taxes has become an additional burden on the residents of 'Asira esh Shamaliya" (interview with Jawabreh 2019). "Jerusalem Street was funded by Thailand, but N.M forced the landowners from Kafr Qallil to pay a certain amount of money for opening the street" (interview with Sayel 2017). "The annexation was practically the registration of money on people, in fact, people pay taxes and they are poor" (interview with Al Juneidi 2019). "Beit Furik residents were forced to pay the property tax, which was a large amount of money almost four thousand JD on a land of an area of 2 dunums, while the land not rented nor used for anything. In N.M.B., the tax property is high, but in Beit Furik it isn't like that" (interview with Hanani 2019). Knowing that Nablus and Beit Furik are both municipalities. "In Sarra annexed land, the owners of the land suffered a lot from the land deduction, and the improvement tax which was

demanded by N.M.” (interview with Turabi 2017). “Even if there is a grant for opening a street, the annexed villages` residents pay the same fees for N.M.” (interview with Abu `Eisheh 2017). Many other interviewees pointed for paying taxes without services in return. “In N.M.B., the person pays tax on the vacant land 1.5 JD/m² annually, pay taxes without providing services. Even the streets are paved at the expense of the citizen, and the municipality calculates the tax according to the façade of land, as a cost of paving the street” (interview with Abu `Eisheh 2017). “Currently, some villages have realized the impacts of land annexation, and have refused to be annexed to the municipal boundaries such as Beit Iba, Sarra, and Beit Wazan, they rejected the taxes. In addition, they refused annexing their land because the municipality deducted 30–33% from any land of 5 dunums or more according to the law” (interview with Hassuneh 2019). “Any deductions return to the benefits of the municipality, taxes return back to N.M., because it controls the land, the decision to pave and open streets or projects is made by the municipality, and the law allows the municipality to take the maximum limit of 30%, we feel that we are a guest on our land” (interview with Turabi 2017). “In 'Azmut, we pay land tax, but we aren't the beneficiaries of any municipal services, the municipality didn't provide us with anything. N.M. for more than 20 years seized, and acquired land but it didn't provide any services” (interview with Sawalha 2019).

5.3.4. Discussion

The subject of taxes represented in the correspondences, because it signifies an important financial resource for N.M. In the Jordanian period, taxes were the main reason to make land annexation, as mentioned by Nablus District Governor that annexing 'Askar, Balata, and Rafidiya villages will increase the municipal revenues, and committees were established to evaluate the lands that annexed, and proposed to be annexed, and the finance department was asked to start taxing and defining the taxes imposed on annexed land to N.M.B. During the Israelite period, there was a keenness to assess the annexed land immediately after the annexation to impose the taxes, and N.M. coordinated with the Israeli Officer, the Lands, and Finance Department to do so. During the P.A. period N.M. mayor was able to impose on the residents a legal interest as a tax, which has no legal reference.

It is found that there are many taxes, and fees imposed on the annexed villages` residents. For example, buildings, and lands tax, professional licenses, crafts, industries fee, plates, and advertisement license, vegetables and fruits` carts fees, solid waste fees, water subscription fees, and electricity subscription fees, fees of water lines, sewage networks, opening roads and pavements, parking fees, returns of public, and private organization, building license fees, wastewater connection fees, and land improvement fees (N.M.A. 2019). In addition, 30% from any land N.M. can deduct without compensating the owner (Organization Law of Towns, Villages, and Buildings, No. (79) 1966, 19), and if the land area was 5

dunums or more, 30% of its area is deducted for the municipality as public utilities (N.M.A. 2019). Additionally, each landowner should pay 10% of the value of land estimation annually, as mentioned by the Property Tax Department in Nablus (Property Tax Department 2019). N.M. annexed 20,311 dunums, 75% of this area taxed by law with different types of taxes and fees yearly. Maybe, the taxes benefit N.M. more than the villages' residents annexed, because taxes formed a financial base, which can't be neglected by N.M., Tables (18,19, 20), the fees, taxes, and land deductions gained from the residents are practically distributed to all the residents of N.M., and these taxes, and fees will have a different effect if each village spent its taxes, and fees only on the its residents, which are less than Nablus residents. Therefore, these taxes and fees would have a more obvious effect on the services, and better for the villages' residents. For instance, in 1960, the total residents' villages annexed totally were 5,000 inhabitants, while Nablus city were 50,000. This small number of the villages' residents have few needs compared to Nablus residents.

Another example, Balata village pay for the Building and Land Tax was about 33,553 JD in 1986–1987, it was 62,015 JD in 1995, and in 2014 it reached 296,000 JD (Dweikat 2014, 27). In fact, this is only one tax from many taxes levied, which could give a rough estimate of the total taxes, and fees imposed only Balata residents. This amount of money from different taxes, and fees didn't benefit the villages' people at the first level, and it was used by the municipality on services or other utilities for all municipality's residents, which maybe not fit with

the villages` residents` aim or need. These taxes will be divided on the whole residents of N.M. with insignificant influence, while in the case that this amount of money divided only on Balata village`s residents, the situation will be better, and more influential on them. "If Beit Wazan Council, has a budget of one million shekels, and N.M. has a million shekels, Beit Wazan will divide it on 2,500 village`s residents, while N.M. will divide it on 250,000 N.M. residents, which means that the share of the individual in Beit Wazan is approximately 10 times of the share of a citizen in N.M." (interview with Abu 'Eisheh 2017).

So, taxes are very important for N.M. or any municipality that tried land annexation where there was a positive relationship between the annexation initiated by the municipality, and the achievement of financial gains (Mallon 2013), and tax revenue has been a major driver of annexation (Heim 2012). Different land-use as residential, commercial, public, and even vacant land, each one mirrors different taxation types (Wassmer 2002, 88). Annexation permitted the city which annexed land to seize tax base, which would have been lost to neighboring (Caine, Gonzalez, and Walter 2017). Edward (2008) added that annexation is often seen as a process that benefits the city, which has annexed land at the expense of the villages their land annexed, as the city seeks to strengthen its tax base. From the interviews, it was noticed that taxes, and fees were one of the most significant land annexation impacts formed a burden, and suffering on annexed residents. A lot of interviewees, emphasized that the annexed residents didn`t know about the fees and taxes imposed on them, as a result of being annexed to N.M.B., in other

words, the annexed villages' residents have lost power that relates to the flow of knowledge (Coetzee 2005, 12). Moreover, the information about taxes that is possessed by planners or decision-makers is considered a type of professional power (Coetzee 2005, 14), that was used in a way to influence villages' mukhtars and residents to agree on annexation, as happened in Istanbul project where the lack of knowledge, and information on the action of the redevelopment, and lack of laws was the basic rule that let the project to go on (Waite 2016), and the same thing happened in the annexation of lands from surrounding villages, nearly all the residents of these villages had lack of knowledge in laws, and the impacts of annexation.

While, in 1996 Bet Iba, Beit Wazan and Sarra villages, refused to be annexed according to the information flowed to them from the previous experience of other villages annexed in 1963 and 1986. Therefore, the flow of information is a power that enables the villages' residents to make the right decision (Coetzee 2005, 12) and refused annexation. As Foucault argues that; power not only disposed of agents (municipality and ministry) but also through the so-called "instruments of power" such as buildings, documents, tools, etc. Power must be understood as a "multiplicity of force relations" that is "produced from one moment to the next in all points and all relations" (Coetzee 2005, 13), one instrument is flow or lack of information. Moreover, some villages refused to be annexed to N.M.B., because they believe that the villages' residents have the right for these taxes, from N.M. Other interviewees pointed that; the money of taxes benefited at

the first level Nablus residents, because the villages' residents were few, and their presence is confined to the vicinity of the old centre of the villages, confirmed by the maps, and the field visits. Many pointed to the paying of taxes without having services in return, and even the existing services didn't rise to a satisfactory level, as Bromley and Smith (1973) mentioned that: in some cases, the villages' population refused to be annexed in case that the local or village councils provide different services to the population, and develop the local community, so the annexation option became more distant, and less attractive to them. N.M. used the different applicable laws, and regulations as an "absolute power" (Waite 2016, 162) to impose the different taxes and fees. Nevertheless, N.M. mayor imposed a tax on residents by using his dominant power, which means defeating the other party (Waite 2016) as Ghassan Shak'a, imposed a legal interest with no legal reference. Also, as a result of annexation, various taxes and fees imposed automatically on annexed land accordance with the functional regulations, and laws within the boundaries of municipalities. For example, the land tax imposed, even if the resident leaves the land without any investment or if it is vacant. Also, wastewater, opening and paving road fees, are imposed on vacant land, and the land deduction could reach 30% of the total area of land.

Tables (18, 19, 20) show some taxes, fees revenues in different periods, which present two main points. The first is the increase in these taxes over time as a result, of the increase in the population. The second, how much these taxes participated in the financial income of the municipality, which may constitute a

significant income for the municipality. For instance, the total amount of crafts, industrial license plates, advertisement licenses, and building licenses form 9% of the total revenue for 2018 and 7% for 2015. Where the ratio of the sum of the four taxes/the total annual revenues increased significantly, which means that this tax constitutes high income for the municipality, and the “Building and Land Tax “forms a large amount of share from the yearly total revenue of N.M., Table (20). Without doubt, the taxes and fees constitute a meaningful income for municipalities. Moreover, maybe N.M. expanded its boundaries through land annexation in order to increase the land, which by default increase the revenues of taxes and fees imposed, (Map 8, Table 8). In summary, cities that support annexation used several arguments for the expansion of city boundaries. Normally, the quoted considerations include the aspiration to upsurge the municipal tax base, to reduce the cost of municipal services by utilizing returns, to rule the development of areas on the urban peripheral, and to change the characteristics of the city population. Additional drives, such as growth for growth’s sake have also represented important parts in the annexation arguments (Austin 1999).

5.4. The Types of Services Provided in the Annexed Villages

This section will focus on the previous and the provided services in the annexed villages like schools, water, schools, roads, electricity, university etc. This information will be taken from the different maps, archives like N.M.P.L.A., N.M.A., and the interviews.

5.4.1. The Previous Services in the Annexed Villages

Before the beginning of the land annexation process, Nablus city had 14 schools, 7 for boys and 7 for girls (N.M.B.L.A. Archive no. 16/19. File no. 77. 1954). It had hospitals, a university, health center and other services located over its land. Moreover, the villages annexed totally to N.M.B. like 'Askar Balata and Rafidiya also had schools, mosques and roads except Al Juneid and 'Iraq et Tayih villages which had no schools and mosques. Also, nearly, all the villages that were annexed partially to N.M.B. in 1986, had one or two schools (N.M.B.L.A. Archive no. 2/17. File no. 1/1970. 1970). All the totally or partially annexed villages had schools since the 1960s, and other services, like spring, mosque, and a cemetery, Table (21), Chapter 3 “The Study Area”, and had internal and external roads that connected them with Nablus city, Map (1).

Table (21): The previous services in the annexed villages before land annexation.

Village name	School	Water	Mosque	Church	Cemetery
'Askar	1	Spring	1		1
Balata	1	Spring	1		1
'Iraq et Tayih					
Rafidiya	3	Spring	1	3	2
Al Juneid		Spring			1
Rujeib	2	Rain	1		1
Kafr Qallil	2	Spring			1

Table (21): (contd)

Village name	School	Water	Mosque	Church	Cemetery
'Awarata	1	Spring	1		
Beit Furik	2	Rain	2		1
Deir el Hatab	2	Spring	1		1
Beit Wazan	1	Spring	1		1
Sarra	2	Rain	1		1
Zawata	1	Spring	1		1
'Asira Shamaliya	3	Private wells	2		1
'Azmut	2	Rain	1		1

5.4.2. The Provided Services in Annexed Villages

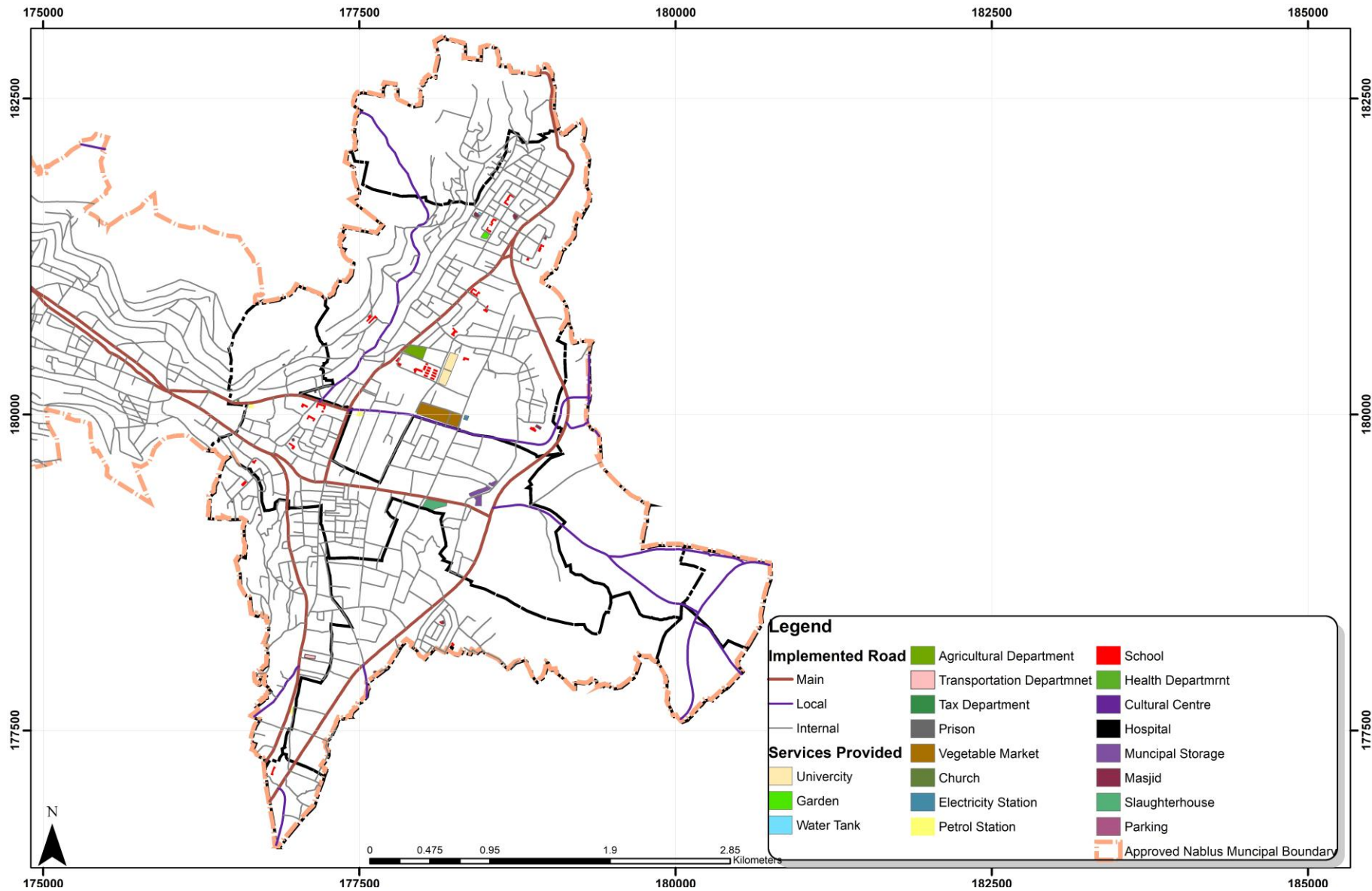
In 1970, after the total land annexation of the five villages, Nablus city had 18 boys' public schools, including Rafidiya primary school and Balata preparatory school, and 20 girls' public schools including Balata primary, 'Askar primary school and Rafidiya primary school, and 18 private schools (N.M.B.L.A. Archive no. 2/17. File no. 1/1970. 1970). In 2016, there were 114 schools within N.M.B., 71 schools located on its own land, and 43 schools located on the totally and partially annexed villages since 1960s–2016, which are distributed to annexed villages as shown in Table (22). The types of services which are provided in the annexed villages vary in types and locations. For example, many streets were opened,

water, electricity, and sewage services were provided to the most annexed villages. In addition to the construction of universities such as A Najah and Al-Quds Open University in Beit Wazan village. Also, Hijjawi College in 'Askar. Two hospitals were constructed in Rafidiya, the governmental Hospital and al Arabi Specialist Hospital. Many power stations were built, water tanks constructed, gas stations and a slaughterhouse in Balata. In addition to, two health clinics were provided, one in Rafidiya and the other in Balata, and many mosques were constructed in the annexed land, (Maps 20, 21, Table 22), (N.M.A. 2016), Moreover, section 5.2.3.1. which is related to land acquisition shows that many lands acquired for establishing schools, a slaughterhouse, landfills, treatment plants, opening streets, and other services.

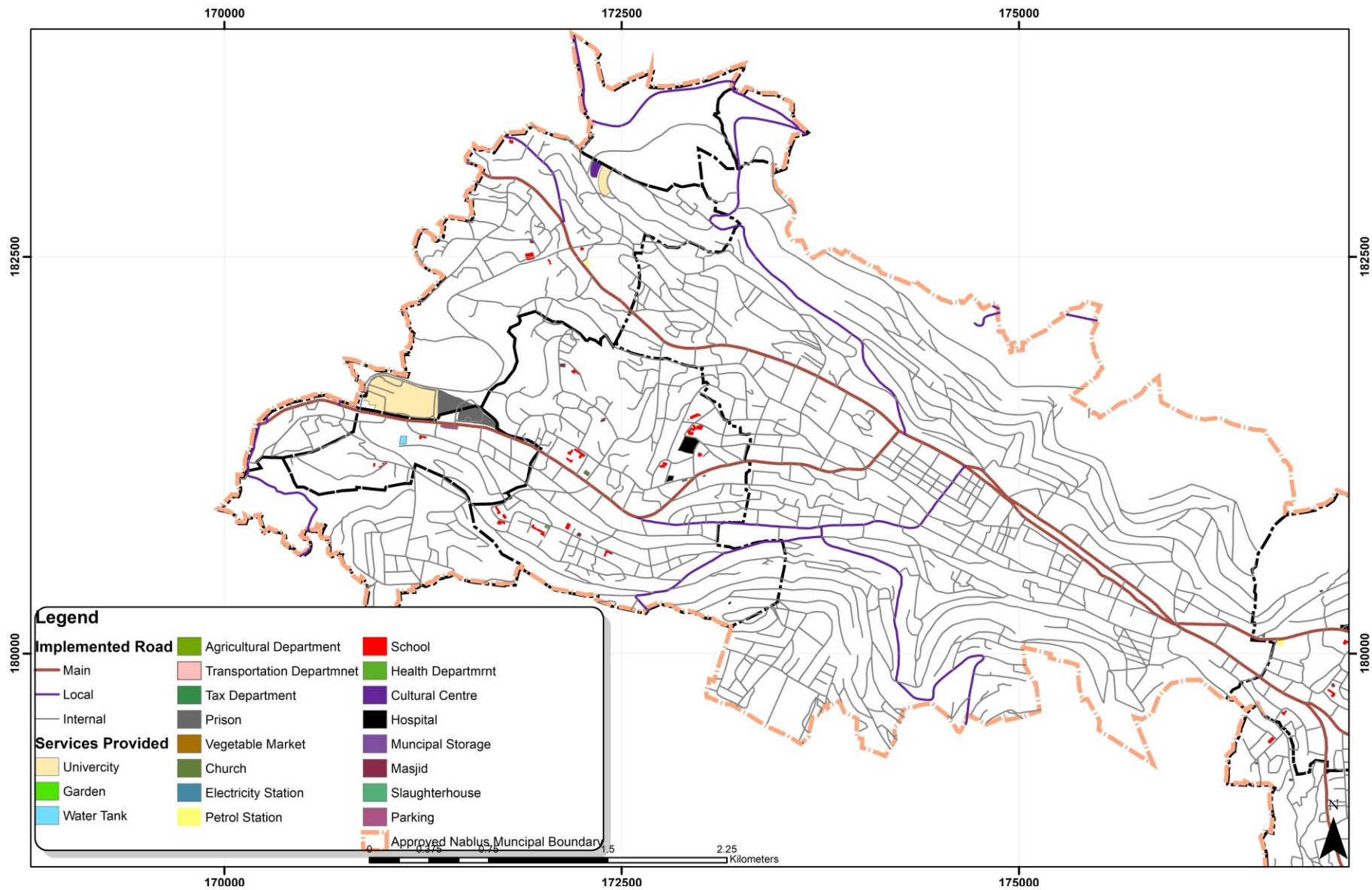
Table (22): The provided services in annexed villages after land annexation.

Village name	School	Mosque	Garden	Church	Water tank	Petrol station	University	Vegetable market	Slaughter	Cultural centre	Clinic	Hospital
'Askar	*14	6	2		1		1	1				
Balata	**5	3				1			1		1	
'Iraq et Tayih		1										
Rujeib	2	2										
Kafr Qallil	2	2				1						
'Awarta	1											
Deir el Hatab												
Rafidiya	14	2	2	3	1						1	2
Al Juneid	2	1			1							
Beit Wazan	4	1				1	2			1		

*Eight UNRWA schools. **Three UNRWA schools.



Map (20): The services provided in east villages. Source: N.M., 2019, modified by researcher.



Map (21): The services provided in the west villages. Source: N.M, 2019, modified by researcher.

5.4.3. Interviewees' Opinions about the Provided Services in Annexed Villages.

Many interviewees mentioned the delay and the shortage of services provided to annexed villages. "In Al Juneid from 1962–1972, there was no paved street, no school, no mosque, no water and no electricity. Although, we contributed to the costs of the electricity line, of opening streets and the waterline. The municipality didn't offer anything to the nucleus of the old town until 2000" (interview with Al Juneidi 2019). "We in the eastern area have weak services. No streets, and no sidewalks. The water isn't available for several weeks, and there isn't even street lighting at night" (interview with Salman 2019). "A citizen built a house in Beit Furik annexed land, spent many years asking N.M. to provide him with services with no response, then Beit Furik municipality provided him, but after he brought a written letter from N.M. mayor" (interview with Saeed 2019). "Beit Wazan village's council provided water for part of basin 14, which was annexed to N.M., because N.M. didn't supply it" (interview with Abu `Eisheh 2017). "Al Juneid hasn't sewer lines, they are still using cesspits. Every year, I pay 2000–3000 JD for the property tax and the sewer line, which t I don't have" (interview with Sa`adeh 2017). "Rafidiya hasn't a garden for the children, and no parking lots, even the acquired land for parking, used as dumping waste" (interview with Abu es Su`ud 2019). "The services like, electricity, lighting, infrastructure and sanitation didn't reach the required level" (interview with Al Asmar 2019). "In Rujeib annexed land the services don't cover the entire area which annexed to the municipality,

and it claims that the networks aren't available there, because it needs millions of dollars to connect the area with the electricity network, or water or sanitation" (interview with Al Asmar 2019). "Askar was suffering until the 1980s from the lack of a primary school, and the main street was paved after 1995, which connects 2000 houses" (interview with Helayel 2016). "In Sarra annexed land, N.M. didn't provide any service no street, nor a wall, nor a water pipe. Although, we pay taxes, some people paid 15,000 shekels, as a contribution to get electricity through the North Electricity Company" (interview with Turabi 2017). "N.M. is careless towards the residents of the eastern area in general, and towards 'Azmut in particular, because it acquired 'Azmut land, in return, no services were provided to 'Azmut residents, no streets nor pave or even an agricultural street" (interview with `Amer 2019). "No schools built specially for 'Askar, our sons were studying in Balata, before 7-8 years ago, a school built for 'Askar and 'Iraq et Tayih, but after 'Askar residents demonstrated against the Directorate of Education. In 'Askar el-Balad (the town center), N.M. paved the streets only before 2-3 years" (interview with Mustafa 2019). "Services are very poor; there isn't a sewer at the entrance of 'Askar, and in the vegetable market street in the industrial area, cesspits are used. We pay taxes, sewer fees and everything, but we aren't connected to the sewer network" (interview with Yunis 2019). "Asira annexed land didn't have an integrated infrastructure of roads, water network, electricity, the residents opened the roads and connect electricity at their expense. N.M. is careless towards the land and people it annexed. We feel that annexation is merely geographical

expansion with very limited services” (interview with Jawabreh 2019). “Since 1986 no school, or streets or health clinic provided to Kafr Qallil. The built school was for Nablus residents, and Kafr Qallil students didn’t enrolled in, because it is far away from us” (interview with Sayel 2017).

Other interviewees pointed that; many projects supported by donors but N.M. didn’t cooperate with annexed villages’ residents to benefit from. “Although N.M. got a paid sewer line project from Europeans to Rafidiya; it implemented it after 10 years, and it collected its costs from us” (interview with Sa`adeh 2017). “Additionally, a French grant came for Rafidiya sewer, but the municipality asked each resident to pay 800–900 JD for sewer line cost” (interview with Abu es Su`ud 2019). “N.M. didn’t contribute in building schools, all the projects were supported from abroad, and the land for schools deducted from Balata lands. In 2003, a clinic built in Balata named “Ibn Rashid”, because it supported by him, and the land on donated by a citizen” (interview with Salman 2019). “We were in urgently need for a support to build a school, (Adly Y’eesh) Nablus mayor was a member of our committee for building school in Beit Wazan, but he didn’t help to bring donors, although, the schools’ land had been deducted from our lands” (interview with Abu `Eisheh 2017).

Some interviewees stated the lack of service in annexed villages due to C classification of land. “No services were provided in Beit Furik annexed land from N.M. at all, not even the opening of a street. It is C land” (interview with Hanani 2019). “No services were provided, and no progress has been made in the land”

(interview with Husein 2019). “Zawata annexed land to N.M. hasn’t been provided with services because it is C” (interview with `Eleiwi 2019). Other interviewees mentioned the provided services in the annexed villages. “N.M. provided water, and electricity, collection waste to all Rafidiya houses, opened few streets at the expense of the citizens, good services provided to Rafidiya in the last 20 years, and after the establishment of the university the housing project, streets were opened” (interview with Sa`adeh 2017). “After 1994, the water and sewage project became a reality. A mixed school was built with a donation from Al Juneid people on a common land” (interview with Al Juneidi 2019). “Currently, all the services in the cities are in Rafidiya, water, electricity, telephones and streets, but everything is provided for something in return (taxes)” (interview with Hassuneh 2019). “A large number of streets opened in Rujeib annexed land to N.M., generally the lands benefited from the streets. One school was established in Rujeib plain, but the students from Rujeib are few. Although, the sewage network isn’t complete and didn’t cover the area, but we benefited from it” (interview with Al Asmar 2019). “After 1965, N.M. began to provide some water services and electricity partially to `Askar. After the 1980s, three schools built on 'Askar land, a health clinic was serving Balata, 'Askar and 'Iraq et Tayih, but the clinic in 'Asira village is better than it” (interview with Helayel 2016). “Annexed villages benefited from N.M., because it provided them with services such as water since the 1970s, the municipality constructed tanks and wells to villages, such as Beit Furik” (interview with Al Hanbali 2017). “N.M. provided services, but not for free since it

is a pre-paid service. We paid for services on land that wasn't serviced, we paid for the sewers and the streets, the municipality doesn't provide us with anything without payment. Nothing is for free" (interview with Mustafa 2019). "A paid service provided like water, electricity, waste and sewer provided in Kafr Qallil annexed land, any private company can provide these services" (interview with Sayel 2017). Some interviewees compared services provided in the various annexed villages "We pay taxes, as west annexed villages, but there is a difference between the east and west, the area where Nablus mayor (Sameeh Tubieleh) lives is a well-serviced area. We are second-class citizens" (interview with Helayel 2016). "The residents of the eastern areas are middle class, while the residents of the western area specifically in Rafidiya are rich and wealthy. They built villas or apartments for them and their families. They don't make a cesspit, but rather pay half of the sewer costs to the municipality to implement it for them. Also, the streets, they pay 50% of the street costs. But in return, there is no person in the eastern area offers to pay to N.M. part of the sewer cost or the streets, and the sewage in the eastern area was implemented without charging the people there. Because if they are asked to contribute to the services, they don't accept. By law, if the person pays half the costs of the required services, the municipality must provide the service to the citizen" (interview with Al Hanbali 2017). "The western area is always the best. Rafidiya is 3 km away from Balata, its dunum of land is worth about 2 million JD. However, in Balata, the highest land price could reach 150,000 JD, because of the absence of services, parks and gardens" (interview with Salman 2019). "Although

'Asira, Beita, 'Awarta, Beit Furik and Beit Umrin villages don't pay taxes as we do, but they have better services like streets, electricity and pharmacy than 'Askar" (interview with Helayel 2016).

5.4.5. Discussion

The villages, that were totally or partially annexed or refused annexation or were proposed to be annexed to N.M.B had schools, mosques, and enough water resources before annexation. All of them had main, and minor roads that connected them with each other and with Nablus city (Map 1, Table 21). From (Maps 22, 23, Table 22), there were 15 villages annexed to N.M.B., ten of them provided by different types of service with many roads opened in, while five annexed villages weren't provided by service except some roads opened at the expense of the people, who have buildings in these areas. Some services proposed in Nablus master plan 2013 weren't implemented, such as the cemetery and the craft complex in 'Azmut village, and the most proposed gardens. The emphasis on the deficiency, drought and the severe shortage of basic services in various fields in the annexed villages indicated in (Khalil 2005; Alawneh 2004; Hotary 2017) studies.

The interviewees, showed their dissatisfaction about the quality, and the level of services provided to them, because N.M. used the power of best argument with a strong presentation of an idea to convince (Coetzee 2005, 72), the annexed villages' residents in 1986, that annexing their villages is best and will transfer the

annexed villages to a qualitative future change towards improvement, but this thing didn't happen, and because, at that time the village people were simple it was easy to be convinced by N.M (interview with Abu `Eisheh 2017), but in 1996 some villages refused to be annexed to N.M. since they don't need such services from the municipality and can by themselves provide it, and because these villages got information and a flow of knowledge (Coetzee 2005, 12) from the annexed villages in the 1960s and 1980s about the lack of services provided by N.M. after annexation. Many services took many years to be implement, by N.M., where in 'Askar village that was annexed in 1963, and until the beginning of the 1980s, no school built until the residents made a strike in front of N.M. and told the mayor that the municipality annexed the land without taking into consideration the needs of the villages' residents (interview with Helayel 2016), Similarly; in 2000 'Askar and 'Iraq et Tayih made a demonstration demanding for the construction of a school for them and in 2003 (interview with `Abdallah 2019). The residents of these two villages used the power of the neighbourhood and the community force in a democratic way (Coetzee 2005, 14) to obtain their rights. In some villages annexed partially to N.M. since 1987, N.M. couldn't provide services to the residents who build and live there, because it didn't complete the water and electricity network, so, the nearby village councils or municipalities offered these services to them without collecting fees, like Beit Furik, Rujeib, and Beit Wazan villages (interviews with Hanani, and Al Asmar 2019; Abu `Eisheh 2017).

In the totally annexed villages, the level, and types of services differ from one village to another, because of the financial level of the residents who lived in each village. For example, the levels, and types of services in Rafidiya – from the west annexed villages– are better than the services in 'Askar– from the east annexed villages– because rich people live in the west and can pay, while the middle and poor people live in the east can't pay (interview with Al Hanbali 2017), which confirms that large urban infrastructure projects were administered through elite governance arrangement (Basu 2019), and reflects a clear intention of government bodies and elites to escape the most popular areas to the most affluent (Deboulet 2010, 149). Also, the bias in providing services made al Muwaqqar municipality in Jordan to separate from the Greater 'Amman Municipality (Saad and Amr 2015). As a result, people from the western area can pay a contribution to services, so services are provided for them, but people from the eastern area can't pay a contribution, so services will be delayed and take a long time to be provided. Maps, field visits, and the interviews emphasized that the level and the quality of services in the eastern villages are less than the western villages (Maps 20,21),

It may appear that the first beneficiary of the provided services in annexed villages was Nablus people, where these lands represented a solution for them and they were given the opportunity to receive good services on annexed villages, because, first, villages' population constituted a small proportion compared to Nablus city's population previously, and now. Second, all land annexed in 1986

and 2001 were vacant lands far away from the core center of the villages, if the municipality provided services in these areas, the people of the villages rarely benefited from it for the transportation will be expensive. For example, the schools located on Beit Wazan, and Kafr Qallil land, it was difficult for villages' residents to send their children since it isn't safe and was financially expensive (interview with Abu `Eisheh, and Sayel 2017), which confirmed that the land annexation raises the number of public schools, and accordingly educational payments increased (Austin 1999).

Although, many of the interviewees mentioned that services that were provided to annexed villages weren't supported or funded by N.M., but from an external donor or from the villages' residents, and the services' land deducts from their land, but N.M. didn't help them in providing these services. For example, building a mosque in Al Juneid was donated, and financed by residents in 1980s. In 2003, Balata donated a land to establish a health clinic funded by the Gulf States, because all the eastern villages until 2003 had no health clinics. Beit Wazan, in 2015, was in emergence need for a funder for building a girl's school, N.M. mayor know that and met with many donors but he didn't tell them about the village's need (interviews with Al Juneidi, and Salman 2019; Abu `Eisheh 2017).

Land annexation to N.M.B. increased the number of public schools within the city boundaries by acquiring more lands for building schools, which decreases the density of students per class for the city's population, and improves the level of school education, which chimes with what Wang said that, many types of services

provided in annexed land, the increased of public schools which requires greater service costs, while providing very little to local profits (Wang 2012, 9). Finally, all these things didn't diminish the importance of providing different types of services in the annexed land, regardless of who is or was funding the services. However, in the end there are many services provided and many residents benefited from these services. This emphasizes that annexation has social benefits regarding health, education, and housing (Edward 2008).

5.5. The Change of Residents' Perception Towards Land from a Food Resource to a Commodity.

The land annexation process participated heavily in changing the concept of land from a food source to a commodity, which appears through the contracts for selling lands from annexed villages' residents to Nablus residents. What confirms the change of perception towards land or not, first, some examples of formal inquiries took, which were presented by the landowners to N.M., second, samples for several basins of some villages annexed to N.M.B. were taken from the Land Department Records in Nablus, these inquiries and samples showed the family name of the landowners. Thirdly, through the different interviews that were made with the villages' residents annexed to N.M.B.

5.5.1. The Land Sale in Official Correspondences and Land Department Records – Nablus.

After viewing the inquiries and records, it is clear that villages' residents annexed started to sell their lands in early time to Nablus city's residents. The different documents found in N.M.P.L.A. and N.M.A. confirmed this. A lot of requests from Nablus residents were found regarding lands they owned in the annexed villages annexed, because it is forbidden for any person to ask about any land unless he is the owner. Below we can see some examples of land purchasing in villages annexed totally like Balata, 'Askar, and Rafidiya and villages annexed partially for instance `Asira esh Shamaliya, and Beit Wazan.

Table (23), shows some examples of purchasing land in Balata village. A citizen from Kan'an owned parcels in basin 4 (N.M.B.L.A. Archive no. 29/62. File no. 6148. 1962), parcel in basin 11, owned by a person from Kamal family (N.M.B.L.A. Archive no. 1271. File no. 81/64. 1964). Citizens from Al Juhary family owned parcel in basin 3, and from Herzallah family owned parcel in basin 4 (N.M.B.L.A. Archive no. 91/64. File no. 91/64-1724, 91/64-1688. 1964). Citizens from Al Masry family owned parcel in basin 12, from Shaheen family asked about parcel in basin 11, and from Al Tammam family asked about parcel in basin 9 (N.M.B.L.A. Archive no. 29/64. File no. 29/64-9831, 29/64-6379. 1964). A citizen from Al 'Abweh family owned parcel in basin 4 (N.M.A. Archive no. 3/22. File no. 89. 1965), a citizen from Jabir family had a parcel in basin 11 (N.M.B.L.A. Archive no. 48/1/66. File no. 11656. 1966), a compensate for

residents from Al Masry family for a parcel in basin 4 (N.M.B.L.A. Archive no. 3/2/135. File no. 5/1/71. 1970). Citizens from Ya'eesh family owned parcel in basin 12, from Al Khalily family asked about parcel in basin 9, Al Seify family asked about parcel in basin 13, and Fatum family inquired about parcel in basin 9 (N.M.B.L.A. Archive no. 29/71. File no. 1456. 1971). A citizen from Al Nabulsi family had parcels in basin 16 (N.M.B.L.A. Archive no. 1621. File no. 41/1/72. 1972), two parcels in basin 7 owned by Tuqan and Hashim families (N.M.A. Ac.F. Archive no. (3) 1/61/3/86. File no. 81/76-7981. 1977), citizens from Al Shahid family asked about a parcel in basin 4, and Tuqan family owned a parcel in basin 11 (N.M.B.L.A. Archive no. 1363. File no. 29/74. 1974).

Nablusis families like, Abu Zant, Al Masry, owned parcels in basin 9. Families like, Karsu`, Al `Alul `Abd el Haq, Al Hammamy, Abu Shamt, Estetiya, 'Alul, owned parcels in basin 10. (N.M.B.L.A. Archive no. 1584. File no. 29/75. 1975). Moreover, in basin 11 in Balata village over 70 parcels were owned by Nablus people. For example, the families of Abu Zant, Maqbul, Skak'a, Hammamy, Ya'eesh, Sal'us, Al Aghbar, 'Ashur, Kan'an, Tammam, Khufash, Nimr, Hawwash, Salhab, Tubeileh, Hijjawi, Bakeer and others (Land Department Records – Nablus, 2019).

Table (23): Some parcels owned by Nabulsi families in Balata village

Village name	Basin	Parcel	Date	Family bought
Balata	4	60,61	1962	Kan'an
	11	46	1964	Kamal
	3	46		Al Juhary
	4	1		Herzallah
	12	3		Al Masry
	11	60		Shaheen
	9	6		Tammam
	4	94	1965	'Abweh
	11	11	1966	Jabir
	4	66	1970	Al Masry
	12	15	1971	Ya'eesh
	9	79		Al Khalily
	13	6		Al Seify
	9	5		Fatum
	16	5	1972	Nabulsi
	7	93,94	1974	Tuqan, Hashim
	4	112		Al Shahid
	11	26		Tuqan
	9	23	1975	Abu Zant
		20,21,22		Al Masry
	10	30,32		Àbd el Haq
		33		Hammamy,
		34		Karsu'
		39		Abu Shamt
		43		Estetiya
		44		Al 'Alul
	11	3		'Ashur
		4		Ya'eesh
		6		J'ara
		7		Khufash, Ya'eesh
	11		Ya'eesh, 'Alul	
	13,72		Kan'an, Hindy	
12			Àwadeh, B'ara	

Table (24), shows some examples of purchasing land in 'Askar village. Nabulsi family owned land in basin 1 and 4 (N.M.C.M.M. 1965), families like Tuqan, 'Asi, Sha'ar, Najjar, Shak'a, and others owned lands in basin 14 (N.M.B.L.A. Archive no. 1470. File no. 29/69. 1969). A person from Nabulsi family owned land in basin 12 (N.M.B.L.A. Archive no. 31/160. File no. 57/1/71. 1965), citizens from Yunis family owned in basin 15, from Nabulsi family owned in basin 13, 'Abd el Haq family owned in basin 10 and Abu Sir family has in basin 7 (N.M.B.L.A. Archive no. 1356. File no. 29/71. 1971). Citizens from Kan'an family has land in basin 6, from Hasiba family has in basin 7, and from Kan'an, Yunis, Khufash, Sal'us, Al Hamamy families owned lands in basin 16 (N.M.B.L.A. Archive no. 1363. File no. 29/74. 1974). Resident from Al Aghbar family owned a parcel in basin 16, and from Sakhla family had a parcel in basin 7 (N.M.B.L.A. Archive no. 1584. File no. 29/75. 1975). Residents from Shak'a and Nabulsi families owned in basin 9, from Fatyer family had a parcel in basin 16 (N.M.C.M.M. 1996), a citizen of Shatara family had land in basin 10 (N.M.C.M.M. 13/7/1999). Additionally, in basin 10 more than 20 parcels owned to Sayih, Ya'eesh, 'Ashur, Habash, and others families (Land Department Records – Nablus 2019).

Table (24): Some parcels owned by Nabulsi families in Àskar.

Village name	Basin	Parcel	Date	The names of the families
Àskar	1	3	1965	Nabulsi
	4	54,64		
	14	13,14,60,24,16,18,19	1969	Tuqan, Àsi, Sha`ar, Najar,
	15	3,21	1961	Shak`a
	12	2	1971	Yunis
	13	16		Nabulsi
	10	43		
	7	38		Àbd el Haq
	6	5	1974	Abu Sir
	7	55		Kan`an
	16			Hasiba
	16	6	1975	Kan`an, Yunis, Khufash,
	7	64		Sal`us, Al Hamamy
	16	58	1996	Al Aghbar
	9	16	1996	Sakhleh
	10	49	1999	Fatayer
			Shak`a, Nabulsi, Shatara	

Table (25), shows some examples of purchasing land in Rafidiya, Beit Wazan, and 'Asira esh Shamaliya. A citizen from Shafy family owned in basin 10 (N.M.B.L.A. Archive no. 3/2/132. File no. 5/66. 1966), a citizen from Ya'eesh

family owned in basin 8 (N.M.A. Ac.F. Archive no.12/5/66. File no. 5/1/4939. 1969). Citizens from Abu Ghazaleh family owned in basin 1, and from Ya'eesh family had lands in basin 10 (N.M.P.L.A. Archive no. 1356. File no. 29/71. 1971), A citizen from Sha'bilu family asked about a parcel in basin 4 (N.M.P.L.A. Archive no. 1363. File no. 29/74. 1974). Qarman family owned in basin 5, Al 'Alul family had a parcel in basin 3, and Ya'eesh family has in basin 8 (N.M.P.L.A. Archive no. 34/112. 1977. File no. 1/12. 1977) in Rafidiya. Also, it is found that basins no. 1–9 in Rafidiya, owned by Ya'eesh, 'Arafat, Skak'a, Maqbul, Al Adham, Abu Salha, Ebsis and other families (Land Department Records – Nablus 2019).

Table (25), also has some examples of selling lands in Beit Wazan and 'Asira esh Shamaliya villages. citizens from 'Abd el Haq family has land in basin 4, from 'Afuli family has in basin 3, from Qatuni and 'Abd el Haq families have lands in basin 8 (N.M.C.M.M. 1999) in Beit Wazan. In addition, over 80 parcels in basin 1, in Beit Wazan are owned by Nablus families such as, Hudhud, B'ara, Jabir, Khayat, Abu Salha, 'Anabtawi, Qanadilu, Makkawi, al Sakhil, Shamut, al Saddir, Shakhshir, Shunnar, 'Aqqad, Masry, Jamus, Hanbali, Hennawi, Herzallah, Samaru, and others (Land Department Records – Nablus 2019). In 'Asira esh Shamaliya village, citizens from Al Khayat, Al Habash, Tuffaha and Jardana families have parcel in basin 29 (N.M.A. Ac.F. Archive no. (4) 5/3/70. File no. 10/80–h. 1980). Hajj Hamad and Sal'us families owned parcels in basin 40 (N.M.C.M.M. 1999). Over 40 parcels in basin 40 in 'Asira esh Shamaliya village owned by Sal'us,

'Ashur, Kukhun, Masry, 'Abd el Haq, Shashtari, 'Arandi, Hasiba, Madmuj and other families (Land Department Records – Nablus 2019).

Table (25): Some parcels owned by Nabulsi families purchased in Rafidiya, Beit Wazan, and 'Asira esh Shamaliya

Village name	Basin	Parcel	Date	The names of the families
Rafidiya	10	35	1966	Shafy
	8	79	1969	Ya'eesh
	1	8	1971	Abu Ghazaleh
	10	11,12	1971	Ya'eesh
	4	5/1	1974	Sha'bilu
	5	82-86	1977	Qaraman
	2	41		'Alul
	8	78,87,85		Ya'eesh
Beit Wazan	3	211	1999	'Afuri
	4	190		'Abd el Haq
	8	44		Qatuni
	8	14		'Abd el Haq
'Asira	29	14	1979	Al Khayat, Al Habash, Tuffaha,
	40	90	1999	Jardannah
	40	12/10	1999	Hajj Hamad Sal'us

5.5.2. Interviewees' Opinions about Land Sale (Commoditization)

Many interviewees in totally, partially and proposed annexed villages indicated several reasons led them to sell their lands, and others indicated that land located in area C didn't sold. "Nowadays, Al Juneid people don't have lands, the adults died and their children sold their land because the prices of the land increased sharply. Many people in Al Juneid sold their land" (interview with Al Juneidi 2019). "A large number of Balata people sold their lands; maybe two-thirds, to do small businesses, or to buy apartments outside Balata" (interview with Salman 2019). "Askar people sold lands to live, or to move to another place, or to buy a flat in the city center. When the land's price increased, the farmer had two choices either to sell the land or to keep it and pay high taxes. None of 'Askar residents invested the money in a project because, they aren't traders; they are farmers who have nothing, no capital, but land" (interview with 'Abdallah 2019). "Nothing is left to 'Askar people, because they don't have work, inherited the land sell it to eat" (interview with Mustafa 2019).

"Rafidiya people sold about 85% of their land. Part of the residents sold their land and migrated, while others stayed in the country. Some used the money for education, for marriage, for special and personal needs. Few of them sold and invested, because most of residents' haven't big areas of land to sell or make large capital for investment" (interviews with Sa'adeh 2017; Abu es Su'ud and Hassuneh 2019). "Rafidiya people sold land for 80, 100 or 120 thousand JD/dunum, now it reached 2 and 3 million JD after 10 years, but Rafidiya people

didn't benefit from the high price" (interview with Abu es Su`ud 2019). "Beit Wazan annexed land was sold, at least 60–70% of it, as a result of poverty, education, marriage or for enjoyment, but few of them invested the money in constructing buildings or trade. Land prices rose from 15,000 JD/dunum, to more than 150,000 JD/ dunum within 12 years, and land located on the main street not less than one million. There was little awareness and no one made public awareness, the owners of the land are simple and many of them aren't educated" (interview with Abu `Eisheh 2017). "A large part of Rujeib people sold their lands whether to persons or factories and companies" (interview with Al Asmar 2019). "Rujeib people sold land when prices increased, to build, or to buy a piece of land in another area, or for marriage others looking forward to higher prices," (interview with Dweikat 2019). "In Sarra village, about 70–80% of basin 1 was owned by El Qira (from Rafidiya village), and maybe 40% of basin 2 was sold" (interview with Turabi 2017). "Azmut people sold their lands, maybe the percentage of people who sold is more than who kept their lands" (interview with `Amer 2019). "All Basin 40 in 'Asira was sold, after prices increased, but this was at the expense of the geography of 'Asira as its lands became smaller" (interview with Jawabreh 2019). "More than 40% of Kafr Qallil land is sold" (interview with Sayel 2017). "Tell People sold to Mahmoud el 'Aqqad, nearly 846 dunums in basins 1 and 2" (interview with Ishtayeh 2019). "Basin 20 in Burin village reached 100–120 thousand JD/dunum, the streets opened after the investor Al Shunnar who bought land with a price of 2,000–3,000 JD/dunum" (interview with Qadus 2019). "Nearly

70% of Beit Furik annexed land was owned by al Khammash family from Nablus. Few people sold, because these lands are classified C” (interview with Hanani 2019). “Part of the land was sold and part of it is located in area C area, so the value of land hasn’t increased (interview with `Elewi 2019).

5.5.3. Discussion

Tables (23, 24, and 25), in addition to the interviewees confirmed that annexed villages` residents (totally or partially annexed) started to sell their land early to Nablus residents, and that they were accepted the concept of selling their lands, and considering it as a commodity, without pressure from anyone, but of their own free will. It is important to know that there are two types of land sales found. The first is a compulsory sale that occurred through the land acquisition made by N.M. for various purposes, it is an absolute acquisition in the annexed villages, and the owners can’t defeat it, because land acquisition done by law (Section 5.2.3.1). The second way is an optional sale, which is used by annexed villages` residents at the will of the owner without being forced. But, the change in land–use of annexed villages was the main reason for rising land prices, this change from agricultural land to commercial, industrial, and residential use, inspired villages` people to sell their land, because the prices of the land changed depending on the classification of lands, as mentioned in a letter from the head of the L.O.B.C. to the Chairman of the Regional Organization and Building Committee of Nablus, asked to change the land–use of parcels in basin 3 in

Rafidiya lands from residential A, to residential B due to the high prices of land allocated for construction, and the inability of the working class to buy these lands (N.M.P.L.A. Archive no. 29/63. File no. 1678. 1963). “The increased prices of lands encouraged residents to sell their land. For example, the price of one dunum in Rafidiya village in 1965 was 90–100 JD, and in 2016 a land located on the main street reached more than \$10 million” (Zaheida 2017). Moreover, N.M. has promoted the idea of commoditizing the land by proposing the newest land – uses no longer related to agricultural. Which participated in changing the perception of annexed villages` residents towards land. Many interviewees mentioned that they sell their land for different purposes, like to pay their daily living needs, or to buy an apartment, or for educating, or for marriage, or because of the high taxes. Some the interviewees emphasized that in some villages the percentage of land sales reached 80% of the total land annexed, and nearly all villages annexed to N.M.B sell part of their lands. This highlighted the fact that the perception of villages' residents toward the land, switched early, dramatically, and big. While it was rare to find investors from these villages, who had an impact on investment or trade as a result of the sale of land.

Only, very few of villages` residents invested money in constructing a building or two to rent. In other words, geographically the people of these villages lost their lands, and economically were unable to invest money in projects, because they were originally farmers with no experience in the trade or they didn't have enough capital to make investments. In Rafidiya village, the situation was

somehow different, because many residents (mainly the Christian residents) were encouraged to sell their land, and left the country to live abroad. Few residents are still living in the village as confirmed by one of its residents "Its original residents migrated, few of them stayed, and they sold their land. Now, Rafidiya residents are strangers. The Christians who lived there are no longer the majority of the population" (Hanna 2014). All the previous inquiries, records, and interviews led to the main idea that villages' residents started to think early about their lands as a commodity, and not as a source of production and sustainable income, which emphasizes that the villages' residents weren't thinking of their land as a strategic resource, but as a momentary source of money, as a commodity, because the number of cases took as examples reached more than 250 cases either in Tables (23, 24, and 25) or in the Land Department Records, where only part of five villages out of 15 villages were taken as an example. Additionally, villages' residents started to sell their lands as early as before 1970s, which indicated that villages' people have their own responsibility of neglecting the land, and deteriorating its value as a sustainable resource. It is true that the largest role of the commoditization of land annexed was on N.M., but none of the villages' landowners were force to sell his land, which put a great responsibility of land commoditization on the farmers in forfeiting their lands for one reason or another.

Maybe, in annexed villages, the high proportion of households with insufficient employment that have lands worth high prices were convinced to sell their lands, and most of people spent their compensation money in ways which

didn't generate continuous income. Most of the landowners sold their land when the price of the land increased sharply, and most of the new owners (buyers) are from Nablus city. Lastly, the perception of villages' residents towards the land has become a commodity that can be sold and bought easily, and the old perception of land as a source of livelihood had disappeared for ever, and where the sale wasn't enforced, the villagers were responsible for the loss of land.

5.6. The Reactions of the Councils and the Villages' Residents Annexed.

This section will deal with the different reactions of annexed villages' residents and councils towards land annexation and its socio-economic impacts. There is more than one type of reactions considered as objections on land annexation, land acquisition, taxes, and land uses will be illustrated in the following pages. The information of this section gained from N.M.A., N.M.P.L.A., Rujeib, and Kafr Qallil villages' archives, N.M.C.M.M., Ministry of Local Government archive, and the interviews.

5.6.1. The Objections Types

5.6.1.1. Objection on the Land Annexation

A citizen from Rujeib village objected to Nablus mayor against annexing his land to N.M.B. in 1987, and the mayor replied that his request can't be considered, because the process of expanding the municipality boundaries has completed all its legal procedures (N.M.A. Archive no. 3/22. Files no. 1238, 155.

1987). Too, Rujeib village council sent an objection letter in 2006, to the Director-General of M.L.G.-Nablus, about the illegality of annexing Rujeib land, and the council will prosecute the municipality legally to ensure the control of the village council on all the lands of the village, because the village`s council provides services to citizens in annexed land, and N.M. take the taxes (Rujeib village`s council files 2006). Until this day, neither the municipality nor the director of M.L.G. responded to the village`s council, which indicates that they know that there is nothing in the hands of Rujeib village council.

Another objection from Beit Iba village council on annexing some villages` basins to N.M.B. sent to M.L.G. to cancel the decision of annexing village`s lands. As a result, municipality decided to cancel all the services provided to the village (N.M.C.M.M. 1996). Besides, a technical committee formed to study the objections of the villages` councils of Beit Iba and Beit Wazan on the decision of annexing their land to N.M.B., without any coordination with these villages (N.M.A. Archive no. 3/22. File no. 28. 1996). Kafr Qallil village`s residents submitted more than one objection on the illegality of annexing the village`s land to N.M.B. in 1987. A signed objection by Kafr Qallil village`s council and residents in annexed land for refusing the annexation to N.M.B. and to keep all the lands of the village under the administration of the village`s council (Ministry of Local Government 1997), (Appendix 1, Image 11). Then, Kafr Qallil village`s council sent an open letter to (Abu 'Ammar), the Palestinian president, (Appendix 1, Image 8) published in Al-Quds newspaper objected on annexing their land to N.M.B. because no

services provided to them. Another objection sent in 2000, to M.L.G. from the village's council reminded the minister about his oral promise that no decision will be taken against the will of the people, rather, with their consent (Ministry of Local Government 1998). In 2013, and 2015, Kafr Qallil village council sent objections letters M.L.G to cancel the unjust decision of annexing the village to N.M.B. in 1986, because municipality forced the citizens to license and pay the property tax, deducted many lands for services but it provided nothing for the village (Kafr Qallil village's council files 2013, 2015). On 4/1/2015, the General-Director of Local Government -Nablus sent a letter to the M.L.G. regarding the problem between N.M. and Kafr Qallil village, that several complaints submitted about the illegality of land annexation of Kafr Qallil to N.M.B., and no services provided, and he recommended forming a committee to consider the objections submitted by Kafr Qallil, because there is a strong rejection from village's people to deal with N.M. (Kafr Qallil village's council files 2015). Until the date of doing the interview with Kafr Qallil village council's head on 16/5/2017, the council didn't receive the committee's report, and nothing changed or done with the problem between N.M. and Kafr Qallil village.

In 1995, a citizen from Kafr Qallil submitted a case to the court that his property was outside N.M.B., and the court decision was issued stating that: this property is outside N.M.B., according to the testimony of N.M. Planning Engineer, and the absence of a certified decision stating that this land has entered the municipality's boundaries (Ministry of Local Government 1997). Moreover, another

citizen from Kafr Qallil village filed an appeal to the Court of Cassation– Ramallah that his buildings are out of N.M.B. so, it can't evict its tenants but the claim was rejected, because the measures of the municipality boundaries expansion have completed its legal procedures (N.M.A. Archive no. 3/22. File no. 14. 2008).

5.6.1.2. Objection on the Land Acquisition

Some objections on the land acquisition decisions, others on the compensations. The Patriarch of the Holy City of Jerusalem– Orthodox, objected on acquiring part of Bir Ya'qub monastery in Balata village, the father of the monastery and other people attacked N.M. laborers, and the policemen attended and a complaint was introduced to the commander of Balata police station (N.M.A. Ac.F. Archive no. 5/10/65. 1965). Some residents filed a lawsuit against the municipality, because it acquired their land in Deir el Hatab village (N.M.P.L.A. Archive no. 31/210. File no. 57/15/64. 1964). Deir Sharaf village's council objected against N.M. for acquiring land, because the village is outside the area of jurisdiction of N.M., and that the acquirement is illegal, and against the Acquisition Law (N.M.A. Ac.F. Archive no. 5/2/1970. 1970), Also, Beit Iba village council objected on acquiring land for a sewage treatment project, because Beit Iba village is out of N.M.B., the project can't be established without the approval of Beit Iba village council, the project located next to village's residents' houses, and the village people need this land for housing (N.M.A. Ac.F. Archive no. 1/61/1/1981. 1981).

Many owners of lands acquired in 'Askar, Rafidiya and Balata villages refused to take the land compensation money estimated by the municipality, and filed a lawsuit made in Nablus District Court to re-estimate the land prices by court (N.M.P.L.A. Archive no. 31/109. File no. 57/5/67. 1967), a court case to estimate the fair compensation for land acquired in 'Askar village for a popular housing project (N.M.P.L.A. Archive no. 8/67. File no. 27/34. 1967), and a lawsuit for the estimation of fair compensation in front of all courts of different degrees to re-estimate land prices in Rafidiya and 'Askar villages (N.M.C.M.M. 1967).

5.6.1.3. Objection on the Taxes

The objection of Rafidiya residents on property tax (N.M.P.L.A. Archive no. 27/39. File no. 8/1970. 1970), and Al Juneid village's Mukhtar objection against the Buildings and Lands Tax imposed on the village's residents (N.M.A. Archive no. 3/22. File no. 92. 1966). This letter had two meanings, either the Mukhtar of Al Juneid village had no idea about annexing basin 11 to N.M.B. in 1964, which belongs to his village, or he had no knowledge about the impacts of land annexation to N.M.B. and what type of taxes should be paid. This is the only letter found from the Mukhtar of Al Juneid village.

5.6.1.4. Objection on the New Land-Use

Some reactions of the villages' residents annexed on the land-uses were direct and indirect, in the sense that the citizens exercised what they believe to be

their right in using these lands from their point view, not from the municipality's point view. Residents from Deir el Hatab village, objected on the acquirement of fertile lands for cemetery through grazing their sheep in (N.M.P.L.A. Archive no. 1384. File no. 31/72. 1972). Another three citizens from Nablus, Balata and Salim cultivated the acquired cemetery land without legal justification, and the municipality decided to destroy the crops, by spraying the land with chemicals to prevent its cultivation and to take the legal action against them (N.M.A. Ac.F. Archive no. 5/5/64. 1994). Here we see indirect and veiled objections from the villages' residents on the new use of the fertile agricultural lands as a cemetery and the municipality's position was that cultivating this land is a violation of the law. A direct objection done by Beit Furik village on the location of the municipality's incinerator, which was very close to the village and harmed the residents but the M.C. didn't respond to them, then they formed an "Environment Protection Organization" to object, and some residents attacked the work staff of N.M. and burned a car (N.M.A. Ac.F. Archive no. 5/3/61. File no. h/93. 1961). Also, the vegetable traders in Nablus city made a vegetable market in Huwwara village, and refused to rent in the new vegetable market in 'Askar plain, because the rent fees there were high. Although, N.M. filed a case in the High Court of Justice against them to force them to rent in the new vegetable market, but they refused until they succeeded in reducing the rents fees of the new vegetable market (N.M.P.L.A. Archive no. 31/160. File no. 57/1/71. 1971). A citizen from 'Iraq et Tayih objected on

proposing his land, in Balata village for a school (N.M.P.L.A. Archive no. 29/75. File no. 1584. 1975).

5.6.2. Interviewees' Opinions on the Land Annexation and its Socio-Economic Impacts.

Some interviewees talked about the advantages of land annexation. “Rafidiya grew, developed and land prices have risen after it annexed to N.M.B. But all the villages adjacent to the city refused the annexation, because they didn’t have the right services from the municipality” (interview with Sa’adeh 2017). “Maybe without annexation Rafidiya to N.M. it wouldn’t have developed as it is these days” (interview with Abu es Su’ud 2019). “Some people considered annexation beneficial as it improved land prices” (interview with Dweikat 2019). “Why villages’ residents object against Nablus expansion towards them.

For example; the presence of the university in Beit Wazan village made a jump in land price significantly, a dunum of land on the main street has reached at least 2 million JD, without the university each dunum could reach 50–60 thousand not more. No sane rejects to annexation only who has special interests refuses it, the municipality provides services and roads, and the surrounding areas benefited from these services (interview with Al Hanbali 2017). “Geographically, Balata has become a neighborhood of Nablus” (interview with Salman 2019). Others mentioned the disadvantages of land annexation as a forced process, and the people's unaware. “Al Juneid annexation smashed the image of N.M., and its self-

interests deprived it from expanding towards the surrounding villages, because when it tried to annex Beit Wazan and Beit Iba villages in 1996, both villages' councils rejected, because of the past and bad experiences of Al Juneid village in land annexation" (interview with Al Juneidi 2019). "if Balata stayed as a village that would be better for us. I advise any village not to annex to N.M.B., because they wouldn't be able to pay taxes imposed on them" (interview with Salman 2019). "Today Beit Wazan regretted its annexation to N.M.B, they were promised in 1985 to move Beit Wazan to qualitative leap forward, but the reality is that it was an annexation of interests, not more. In fact, annexation is nothing more than greed, the big devouring the small, no one in Beit Wazan is with the annexation; we have paid an expensive price for annexation, and the village wouldn't accept annexation if were known that N.M. taxed the olive tree" (interview with Abu `Eisheh 2017). "N.M. expanded by annexing part of Deir el Hatab plain, about 350 dunums. This plain is 8 km away from Nablus city with no services provided, and no prospective services even after 20 years. What is the purpose of annexation? Only intransigence" (interview with Husein 2019). "The expansion of Nablus to the east and west is a predetermined issue. Annexation happened not because we want or don't want, we were forced to accept it" (interview with Al Asmar 2019). "'Askar residents' opinion wasn't taken in annexation; a decision took in the Jordanian government period. The people didn't feel a great change with annexation. If a joint council was formed from Balata and 'Askar villages better than annexation to Nablus. People didn't object on land annexation because they were believed that

N.M. was an authority, part of the state apparatus and what it says a law, and no one can object” (interview with Helayel 2016). “N.M. in 1963 annexed our lands without informing us, or telling or consulting us. 'Askar people were harmed by the annexation, people lost the land, there is no gain from annexing our lands” (interview with Mustafa 2019). “Land annexation proposed in 1996 for Beit Iba, Beit Wazan and Sarra villages wasn't known to any of the villages' councils. N.M. tried to annex, them without any coordination, these villages just knew about annexation through the advertisement in the newspaper” (interview with Shaker 2017). “Land annexation which was made in 1986 for Kafr Qallil village illegal. We don't want annexation. The annexation process is unsuccessful, against the law and we don't acknowledge it” (interview with Sayel 16/5/2017).

“People weren't aware of the results of the annexation, and the burdens that would fall on them. If people knew, half of them would have objected, the unfamiliarity of the people of what the municipality is doing was the main reason for not objecting annexation” (interview with Al Asmar 2019). “Sarrah People here are simple, they haven't idea about the impacts of annexation. Sarrah village didn't get benefits from the annexation. There wasn't awareness about annexation” (interview with Turabi 2017). “Azmut people was unaware of the impacts of annexation or what will happen to his land. If the citizen knew the disadvantages and problems of annexation, he wouldn't have agreed on annexation” (interview with Àmer 2019).

Some interviewees mentioned the impacts of land annexation. “People thought that the subject of annexation is only water and electricity and they were

happy, but it wasn't explained to them that if they opened a shop, or if streets opened, they should pay" (interview with Abu es Su'ud 2019). "Currently, some villages have realized that annexation has several impacts and they refused to be annexed to N.M.B. such as Beit Iba, and Beit Wazan. They refused because of the taxes and the land deduction. The annexation led Rafidiya people to lose their property, and in the future, they may lose their identity too" (interview with Hassuneh 2019). "The annexation was practically a registration of money upon people" (interview with Al Juneidi 2019). "Annexation targeted excellent agricultural land and destroyed the fertile plains" (interview with Dweikat 2019). "Annexation isn't a privilege, it was a loss of land and affected the land stock of Zawata" (interview with `Eleiwi 2019). "Azmut fertile plains disappeared, the plain land was the only area available for village's expansion, now it was annexed to N.M.B., and the village area now is limited, because nearly 9,000 dunums from 'Azmut land area C" (interview with Àmer 2019). "We haven't benefited from annexation, we lost, they have acquired our land and taxed us" (interview with Saleh 2019).

5.6.3. Discussion

The reactions of the annexed villages' residents varied from one village to another, some villages objected to land annexation, others objected against the socio-economic impacts of land annexation, like land acquisition, and compensation, taxes, and land-use, and some villages had no reactions. Four villages from 15 villages annexed to N.M.B objected against land annexation, two

villages –Beit Wazan, and Beit Iba– succeeded in cancelling land annexation, and the other two –Rujeib, Kafr Qallil– failed to stop it. Kafr Qallil village refused to be annexed to N.M.B., because its annexation didn't achieve the ambitions of residents as it didn't reflect the aspirations of the community, but the political elites (Cobbinah and Darkwah 2016), where N.M. deprived the village from its future expansion, because it annexed the vital land of the village. Although, Kafr Qallil submitted many objections on land annexation to all institutions related to the expansion process since 1996. But no responses reached Kafr Qallil until this day, and the conflict with N.M. didn't solved, while Sarra village council and the landowners of the annexed land sent a letter to M.L.G. to ask for annexing their land, and the M.L.G. approved on annexation without any hesitation. Why did this happen? Maybe, as Foucault stated that power is omnipresent, and there are various different types of power on different level, present and active in public and political institutions such as local governments (Coetzee 2005, 15, 1) helped N.M.C. in proceeding land annexation process. Or Kafr Qallil village neither has nor is related to the power of the elite, but most of the owners of the annexed land of Sarra was considered influential persons in the society, which emphasized the existence of the elite theory (Rast 2007; Bayumi 2004; Ngwabi 2009). Although, all institutions neglect Kafr Qallil several objections, but there was and still is, a strong rejection of land annexation by Kafr Qallil village's council to N.M.B, which nearly looks like the long-term series of "boundary wars "between Phoenix and Scottsdale, where the two cities ended up in protracted court battles after

attempting to annex the same land (Heim 2012, 10). Kafr Qallil village case meets Weber's definition power which is "the possibility that an actor in a social position to carry out his will despite resistance (Waite 2016, 19) of N.M. The objections of Rujeib, and Kafr Qallil councils weren't taken into account by the M.L.G. or N.M. Although, Kafr Qallil village tried to use the best argument power through a strong presentation of an idea to convince others (Coetzee 2005, 72) about the negative impacts of annexing their lands through the different objections it presented to M.L.G. But N.M. used the dominant power to defeat the other party (Waite 2016), which is Kafr Qallil village's council by providing M.L.G. with the costs of water, electricity and other services that were provided in Kafr Qallil annexed lands though the last years. Consequently, the municipality took a hidden right to keep these lands within N.M.B.

While, Beit Wazan, and Beit Iba villages' council have succeeded in thwarting their land annexation to N.M.B., because they used, the community power, and the effective communicative work to express reactions against some procedures of the authority (Coetzee 2005, 17) enabled them to cancel this annexation. Furthermore, Beit Iba used the neighborhood, and community power created through democratic rights, and also by using the voice of individuals group and social expression (Coetzee 2005, 14), when the head of Beit Iba village's council held a general meeting for the village's residents, and offered them the annexation, and common rejection came out of everyone in the village (interview with Shaker 2019), and land annexation option became more distant, and less

attractive to them, because local village councils provide different services to the population, and develop the local community (Bromley and Smith 1973) as mentioned by Beit Wazan, Beit Iba, and Sarra villages' councils' heads.

Part of the residents' objections against land acquisition didn't succeed, because the land acquired were inside N.M.B., and by law which is considered an "absolute power": a power that can't dispute (Waite 2016, 162), N.M. had the right in acquiring. But, in Deir Sharaf, and Beit Iba villages, N.M. failed in acquiring lands, because both of the villages are outside N.M.B., and its organization area and by law N.M. can't acquire lands outside its municipal boundaries. Moreover, both Deir Sharaf, and Beit Iba villages' councils had a knowledge power (Waite 2016, 51) about the acquisition law that enabled them to cancel these decisions of acquirement. Also, the objections on the land-uses, part succeeded to change the existing land use by using the effective communicative work power, to solve traditional planning problems and dominance through local protests, and the neighborhood and community power (Coetzee 2005, 14,17) like Beit Furik village succeeded in changing municipality incinerator location. While some Nablusis traders using preemptive/preventive power (Waite 2016, 22) to prevent N.M. from imposing high fees in the new vegetables market in `Askar by establishing a market for them in Hiwwara village. Moreover, there is an indirect objection used some annexed villages residents to cultivate their acquired land without the knowledge of N.M. as they used to cultivate it before the acquisition, which confirmed that power in almost all spheres of society with various forms, and

levels, as Foucault, at the same time power is bad, and domatory force in “the Prince hand” as Machiavelli (Coetzee 2005, 15)

From the interviews it is noticed that most villages annexed totally or partially to N.M.B didn't know about annexation until after taxes and fees were imposed, and these villages have no participation in the process. Interviews revealed a consensus that the villages didn't benefit from land annexation except for the high increase in land prices, which led them to sell and lose the land as an ecological resource for agriculture forever, and the biggest beneficiary of this annexation is N.M., while these villages regret the annexation to N.M.B. seeing it only as a matter of taxes, and financial benefits to the municipality. Some mentioned the benefits of land annexation on villages annexed others pointed to the negatives, and the factors of reusing or accepting land annexation (Edward 2008; Bromley and Smith 1973; Reynolds 1992; Georgia House 2015; Nacker 2005). The residents of the villages had no knowledge, and conscious about land annexation, and its socio-economic impacts, and some objections made by them, on the process, and its impacts accepted others objections refused depend on the type, and level of powers used by villages annexed to N.M.

Lastly, N.M. needs to make a successful land annexation in order to lessen the objections of annexed villages, through making a participatory planning, a cooperation with annexed villages in master plan, and land uses, and by implementing some projects benefit directly the annexed villages` residents.

Successful annexation: is one which provides a benefit for both parties, i.e. N.M. and the annexed villages.

5.7. Do the Land Annexation Integrate or Separate the Annexed Villages` Residents and Nablus City`s Residents?

This section will be about the different procedures used by N.M. towards the annexed villages` residents which enhanced separation instead the integration between the villages` residents Nablus city`s residents. The procedures obtained from N.M.P.L.A, N.M.A., and the interviews.

5.7.1. Nablus Municipality Procedures Towards the Separation in the Different Periods.

Firstly, 'Askar and Rafidiya villages` residents deprived from taking lands in the tow Popular Housing Projects acquired and established over the villages` lands. A citizen from 'Askar village sent a petition to the Prime Minister about the acquisition of his land for the Popular Housing Project declared by N.M. for low-income people, he is a poor person with no financial ability to buy another land, want a piece of land in this project, and N.M. refused his request. Another citizen asked for a piece of land in `Askar project, and Nablus mayor responded this project was specially founded for Nablus residents, and no possibility for accepting his request (N.M.P.L.A. Archive no. 895. File no. 127/66. 1966), (Appendix 1, Image 12, 13). "The western housing project was unjust project because the

municipality acquired Rafidiya land for the low-income people, it distributed it to their acquaintances. Rafidiya residents at that time weren't only low-income people, but also non-income, and the municipality prevented them from participating in the project" (interview with Abu es Su`ud 2019).

Secondly, N.M. prohibited by force 'Askar, and Balata villages` residents from cultivating their fertile plains after announced it as industrial zone, through witting to Nablus police station the residents` names to take legal punishment against them, because they violated the Organization Law no. (79), 1966, and the regulation of the master plan of Nablus city, which defined this area as an industrial zone not as an agricultural area (N.M.P.L.A. Archive no. 1339. File no. 41/1. 1966), (Appendix 1, Image 14). Besides, N.M. sent a letter to Nablus police`s head to reveal on the acquired school land in Rafidiya, to make sure it wasn't cultivated by any one, because Mukhtar Rafidiya asked N.M. to rent this land to cultivate it, and the municipality refused the request (N.M.A. Ac.F. Archive no. 12/5/66. File no. 173. 1966). (Appendix 1, Image 15). Also, Nablus mayor sent a letter to Nablus police officer to inform him about the names of the people from Deir el Hatab who had grazed their sheep in the acquired eastern cemetery land, destroyed number of planted trees, and to take the legal procedures against them (Appendix 1, Image 16). Too, Nablus mayor sent a letter to the Israeli military commander in Nablus district, about the invasion of large numbers of cows and sheep belonging to `Iraq et Tayih, Askar and Balata villages` residents to the main streets and public places. Despite the municipal police, the city police, and the

regular courts pursued these people, but they were not deterred, which harms the city and all the streets—planted with trees that the municipality suffered a lot to grow them, and he asked the commander to assist in issuing the necessary order to prevent at all the entry of these cows and sheep to N.M.B. Another letter directed to N.M. engineer about people from Balata and the 'Iraq et Tayih villages grazing their cattle within the city boundaries, which caused serious damage to gardens and ornamental trees located in the main streets, and legal action should be taken against them (N.M.P.L.A. archive no. 1384. File no. 31/72. 1972), (Appendix 1, Image 17), and until 1994 the villages' residents tried to cultivate the cemetery land, despite the notifications sent by the municipality (N.M.A. Ac.F. Archive no. 5/5/64. 1994). And more, some residents from Nablus city live in the eastern Popular Housing Project (constructed on `Askar acquired land in 1963) complained to Nablus mayor about the presence of shepherds with their sheep in the municipal boundary which harmed the residents, and asked municipal mayor to send the police to deport them (N.M.P.L.A. Archive no. 861. File no. 1/28/78. 1978), (Appendix 1, images 18).

Thirdly, N.M. didn't consult or coordinate with the villages' councils and residents on annexing their land to N.M.B., neither earlier nor later in the three different periods. In the Jordanian period N.M. didn't coordinate with two villages out of five annexed (interview with Al Juneidi 2019). In land annexation of 1986 also, N.M. didn't consult with nine villages out of ten partially annexed. "People did not object, because they didn't know about annexation, weren't conscious in 1986,

we knew about the annexation after 1995” (interview with Husein 2019). “When Rujeib village council knew about land annexation, asked N.M. to give us the related papers of annexation, the municipal legal adviser refused to give anything” (interview with `Abdallah 2017). “When N.M. did the master plan, it didn’t tell us or give us a copy, we knew about land annexation from, the newspaper advertisements, the residents’ reviews to N.M., and through letters sent to the land owners by N.M. No consultation did, neither with the village’s council nor with the citizens; the subject had been a secret” (interview with Dweikat 2019). Too, the land annexation of 1996 advertised in the newspaper by Nablus mayor (Ghassan Shak’a) who tried to annex part of Beit Iba, and Beit Wazan land without any type of respect for their opinions or coordination with both villages, which made both village councils to resist land annexation and managed to cancel it (interview with Abu `Eisheh 2017). “N.M. carried out the annexation without taking anyone's opinion or consultation. We knew about it through the announcement in the local newspapers. Beit Iba people, who read the newspapers reported me that there was an annexation for all Beit Iba basins except the old town” (interview with Shaker 2017). “Annexation of Sarra land was announced in the newspaper, there was no consultation with the village council or Sarra people. The annexation land planned according to the vision of N.M. planners, not as the owners’ vision. N.M. logos about cooperation with the periphery are just slogans actually (interview with Turabi 2017). Moreover, although, the problem between Kafr Qallil council and N.M. regarding annexing the village's land since 1986 not solved until now, but

N.M. proposed to annex lands from Kafr Qallil for the expansion of 2016, without any type of coordination, and all the village proposed to annex partially in 2016, N.M didn't correspond them (interview with Jawabreh, Qadus, and Ishtayeh 2019; Sayel 2017). What is more; the land use of Nablus master plan proposed and approved without any coordination with the villages annexed totally or partially to N.M.B. "N.M. didn't inform us about the master plan or the land-uses in Beit Furik annexed land, we knew about it from the announcement in the newspaper in 2001" (interview with Hanani 2019), "N.M., thinks that the residents of villages are beggars and have nothing. In a sense that there is a low-class view, which could be overt or hidden by the municipality but it exists. N.M. did the planning of shared streets with Beit Wazan without any coordination with the village's council, even by telephone, and no copy from the master plan sent to the village's council" (interview with Abu `Eisheh 2017). "N.M. allocated certain land uses in some villages annexed without any kind of coordination with the counsels and residents of the villages, in 1995, Nablus Mayor (Ghassan Shak'a) donated 50 dunums from Al Juneid common land for Yasser 'Arafat palace without their knowledge, village's residents made protest tents, and made strong quarrels with the laborers of the municipality, and Al Juneid people filed a case in the court against the municipality and so far, there hasn't been a judgment" (interview with Al Juneidi 2019). Additionally, the land-use in Nablus master plan was a reflection of the social level of the residents. Where, the commercial and residential use was harmonized with the rich west villages' class. While land-use in the east villages –industrial zone,

landfill, treatment plant, craft complex and the solid waste incinerator– was somehow reflecting injustice to the middle and the poor class live there (interview with Dweikat 2019).

Fourthly, the level and type of services delivered in the west and east annexed villages had an impact on deepening the gap between the east and west villages, as the level of infrastructure and services in the west were much better than the east. “People live in the west are wealthy pay for services, eastern people from middle and poor class refused to pay” (interview with Al Hanbali 2017). “Eastern villages mainly used by N.M. for the garbage, solid waste dumps, no hospital or health center east annexed villages feel that they are second–class citizens compared to the west annexed villages” (interviews with Helayel 2016, and Dweikat 2019). “Rafidiya 3 km far from Balata, the dunum price reached 2 million JD, while in Balata, the most expensive dunum reach about 150,000 JD, because the west provided with infrastructure and services” (interview with Salman 2019). “N.M. is unfair with the residents, especially with the eastern villages` residents. For decades N.M. has acquired our land, and it provided no services” (interview with `Amer 2019). “Askar people in 1980s wrote to Nablus mayor that, the policy of N.M. is similar to the policy of the Israeli Prime Minister Begin, annexing the land and forgetting the residents, collecting taxes and no services for the residents. The west annexed villages had paved roads, pavements and tiles in places where there are no houses. But in 'Askar, no sidewalks or pavements, the industrial zone, the camps, the incinerator, and the slaughterhouse. The eastern annexed villages

are marginalized, the Popular Housing Project in the west, like Europe, the streets are neat, cleaned and paved, in comparison with the eastern one. All the people living there are of a high level and influence decision-making. I hope N.M.C. will deal with all parts of N.M. equally in the future, and paying more attention to the marginalized areas” (interview with Helayel 2016). “Rafidiya, like Paris compared to 'Askar, we pay taxes like them” (interview with `Abdallah 2019). “The western villages always have better services than the east” (interview with Salman 2019).

Fifthly, since 1964, when Rafidiya, Balata 'Askar, `Iraq et Tayih, and Al Juneid villages annexed totally to N.M.B. didn't have a representative in N.M.C. (Nablus Municipality 1972, 22). N.M.C. didn't know the east residents' villages unless there were elections, they met them, promised to provide needs until having their voices, and after the elections, none of promises fulfilling, these villages are deprived of representation in N.M.C. almost all the time, their voices didn't approach N.M.C., no one support or care about us and there is no response (interviews with Salman, Hassuneh 2019; Sa`adeh 2017, and Helayel 2016).

5.7.2. Discussion

N.M. procedures towards annexed (totally or partially) villages' residents reinforced the separation between them, and Nablus city's residents whether N.M. intended to do so or not. These procedures confirmed the feeling of villages' residents that, N.M. wanted only vacant land. Where, N.M. prevented annexed residents to participate in the two big Popular Housing Projects implemented on

acquired land from Rafidiya, and `Askar villages, which means that it ignored or weaken community participation, and marginalize the low powerful actors (Waite 2016, iii), and development programs linked to social forces interests, whether these forces want to involve the people or not, and they didn't involve people because their interests conflict with influential powers interests (Ahmad 2010), besides, the local authority influenced urban development projects (Waite 2016), which made annexed villages residents felt that they aren't similar in duties, and rights with Nablus residents.

The annexed villages` residents tried several times to practice their own economic live since 1966–1994, through cultivating, and grazing sheep in their land, which converted from fertile agricultural land, and pastures to other new land uses not related, or serve them. N.M. failed after 31 years to create suitable land use for annexed villages` residents, to practice their economic activities freely, and it didn't provide a suitable circumstance to integrate them to be part of N.M. On the contrary, it treated them by force to change their lifestyle –as farmers grazing the sheep, and cultivating land– by calling the police, and applying the laws of the municipality, which villages` residents weren't familiar with, assumed that changing the way of villages residents` life came immediately after announcing villages annexation to N.M.B., and they must adhere to the applicable laws without any real awareness or involving them in the land annexation process, by using a power to make things happen, and to make others do things (Waite 2016 22–23). Maybe, N.M. can't understand that the familiarity with city`s style life will take time,

where the prohibition of cultivating, and grazing by N.M. started after two years (1966) from annexing totally the villages (1964). As, if the municipality is planning in empty lands, or that the population at a button click will change their life automatically, and quickly without taking any effort, forgetting that ploughing, planting, and grazing were their entire life, and it needs a great awareness effort to make a successful change. On one level N.M. stressed on protecting the street-side ornamental trees, forgetting the hundreds of fruitful trees, and agricultural crops uprooted from annexed villages, through implementing various projects, and the prevention of the annexed residents from cultivating, and livestock breeding. On the other level, N.M. gave Nablus residents the priority in imposing the nature of life they want in 1978, on the annexed residents who live there before 100 years, and the right to criminalize the annexed residents' normal life, and asked municipality to punish them for practicing agriculture, and grazing in their lands, which may be enhanced that annexation deepened tensions between the classes and across racial lines (Caine, Gonzalez, and Walter 2017). The different incidents of cultivating grazing in annexed land showed that the annexed residents weren't qualified or ready to be integrated into the city's life, because there was no awareness, and preparation for the villages' residents before or after the land annexation process.

Another procedure deepened the separation was the non-consultation with the annexed villages' councils and residents to N.M.B. Not only, N.M. didn't coordinate with villages in the previous periods using the dominant power (Waite

2016, 22) to impose annexation, and the politicians' power (Coetzee 2005, 18), of mayors as a member in the P.L.O., or as elite families (Farrell 1993, 5) by declaring villages annexation in local newspaper without their knowledge. But also, it proposed land annexation for 2016 from seven villages without any coordination, or sending official correspondence to the villages' councils. Although, there are still ongoing problems between N.M., and Kafr Qallil regarding the first land annexation done in 1986, but N.M. insisted to propose Kafr Qallil as one of the villages to be annexed in 2016, What could we call this? and from where N.M. got this power? Maybe, due to the presence of influential people in the M.C. who were and are able to impose this expansion, by their political, social and administration influence (Lopez 2013) whether the villages councils are satisfied or not.

Furthermore, not only N.M. didn't inform the annexed villages residents and councils about annexing their land but also, they weren't been informed about the implementation of projects on their land. Where N.M. started to implement the proposed palace of Yasser Arafat using the rational power of planners to exercise their knowledge (Coetzee 2005, 18) in choosing a site in Al Juneid village, without their familiarity. In addition, to the non-involvement the villages' councils in the master plans, which supported the idea of separation, and ensured that the elite ignored the role of the community groups to influence the plan (Mahajeen, Shrestha, Dee, 2009), and the urban redevelopment projects revealed that the complaints of the population were dependent on their lack of knowledge of the

general techniques (Waite 2016, iii), where the annexed villages residents have no idea about the projects and procedures of N.M. in their annexed lands. The incoordination regarding the annexation or the land-uses, gave the impression that N.M. didn't give any importance to the opinion of the councils, and residents of the villages or as if they aren't present at all, or these lands are vacant, which deepened the separation, and the mistrust between these villages and N.M., and insured the exclude of defense of the right of citizens (Zdunic 2017). Another type of procedure used to deep the separation between the west, and east annexed village was the level, and types of services provided, and the obvious ignorance and bias in providing services between them. N.M. didn't provide the eastern villages with services vis-a-vis the taxes paid, while it provided services with a high level in the western villages. In some cases, N.M. didn't help in building a primary school for some east villages, only after 20 years of ignorance, and after they protested. The bias in the provision of services was the reason for the separation of Al-Muwaqqar municipality from Greater Amman in 2011 (Saad and Amr 2015). Moreover, commercial and residential land-use in the west was compatible with the wealthy class that lived there, where industrial, landfill, treatment plants land use in the east harmonious with the middle poor residents, which confirmed that most government officials consider that they have served residents by providing them with legitimate and developed service. At the same time, some residents didn't see things in this way (Waite 2016, iii).

Since, the Jordanian time until now, the annexed villages' residents were deprived of having a representative in N.M.C., whether the M.C. was elected or appointed and this denied them from transfer their needs or their point view. Where N.M. may be considered itself as an elite who knows the benefits of the annexed villages' residents more than them, and the elite as a group of individuals whose decisions play an important role in shaping the life choices and futures of the mass of people (Ngwabi 2009), can't govern themselves, so there must be a class govern them (Bayumi 2004, 13) and the decision of the N.M.C influenced the whole life of the annexed villages residents without caring about their needs. On one hand, N.M. measures deepened the separation between the villages' residents annexed and Nablus residents, and on the other hand; deepened the separation between the east and west villages' residents regarding the bias in providing services. Maybe, N.M. failed to treat the annexed residents as Nablus residents, failed to change annexed residents' lifestyle peaceful, it tried to do so by force. It was obvious that; no policies used to invest in annexed people as farmers through developing in the agricultural sector. It might be true that the socio-economic impacts of land annexation could be supportive, and positive if the municipality explained, clarified, and involved the villages' people, and not imposed it by force or in a hidden way. Absolutely, the change of lifestyle will take time, but it was necessary for the municipality to understand the nature of the work of the villages' residents and allow them to participate in the master plan uses, and in the allocation of different services, where two thirds of its area from their land, in order

to decrease the bias towards villages residents to overflow that annexation deepened tensions up and down the class band (Caine, Gonzalez, and Walter 2017).

IV. CHAPTER 6

6.1. The Main Results

Since 1960s to 2001, N.M.B. expanded four times during 41 years from 15 surrounding villages, through different types of land annexation, with a fifth failed attempt in 1996, and a sixth proposed one in 2016 not approved yet. Nablus city owned 8,807 dunums; it annexed 20,000 dunums to its boundaries. It continued the process of proposing annexing land for the year 2016 from seven villages surrounding Nablus city with a total area to be annexed 15,000 dunums. N.M. used some tools to expand its boundaries, the first, is the different types of land annexation. During all the periods N.M. used the Involuntary partial land annexation from several villages or one village, and the land annexation by petition. Only in Jordanian period, N.M. did the voluntary and involuntary total land annexation, where it annexed lands and residents. In Israeli and P.A. periods, N.M. did involuntary parcels annexation which benefit from the detailed projects. In P.A. period appeared the involuntary partial annexation of area A and B., according to Oslo Accords, because construction is allowed in it, but in area C prohibited to be used by the Israelis occupation. Knowing that most of the villages' lands proposed (A and B) to be annexed to N.M.B. threaten the natural future expansion of these villages. Also, in P.A. period appeared the involuntary partial land annexation from 17 villages to create Greater Nablus municipality. The villages that were totally annexed lost the legal, administrative, planning, and

economical control on annexed land. While villages which were partially annexed, still have control over the non annexed land, it can plan it, and collect the taxes. Another tool helped in the expansion of N.M.B., was the different laws used. For example; Law No. (29) for the year 1955 was used in Jordanian, Israeli and P.A. periods. After 1997, N.M. used Local Authorities Law No. (1) for the year 1997. Both the laws supported the expansion by total and partial involuntary land annexation, but the 1997 Law made the absolute expansion powers by the approval of the Minister of Local Government at the request of the Local Authority. Simply, there is one Palestinian law relating to the expansion of city boundaries, general, doesn't contain any details and doesn't mention whether the expansion is within the boundaries of municipal lands or outside at the expense of other villages or municipalities clearly, or how to deal with each case of land annexation. It doesn't harmonize with the different types of land annexation and the disputes that may result from annexation. While U.S. states laws have for each type of land annexation a law with detailed mechanisms how to apply it. Moreover, each state in U.S. has its own annexation law that governs the whole process of expansion by land annexation, could be as a reference if a conflict case happens between related parties,

The third tools used by N.M. to succeed the expansion of its boundaries, was the influence and role of the elite. All Nablus city expansion stages by land annexation were requested by influential people side. In Jordanian period Nablus District Governor as "state administrative elites" (López 2013, 3) suggested the

total land annexation. In Israeli occupation period land annexation proposed by municipal engineer as “professional power” (Coetzee 2005, 14), Nablus mayor from Al Masry family as “elite families or upper–class families” (Farrell 1993, 5), and the decision of expansion was approved by Israeli military ruler as “military elite” (López 2013, 3). In P.A. period, all the proposal for Nablus expansion, done by Nablus mayors as “political elite” (Cobbinah and Darkwah 2016) and “families elite” (Farrell 1993, 5), (Shak`a, Tubieleh, and Ya`eesh), and as “state administrative elite” (López 2013, 3). What connects all elite is the “power relations” whatever the human relations, institutional or economic relations, power always exists (Foucault 1985, 11–12). Also, Business elites (López 2013, 3) influenced land annexation in 2001. Not only, the influential people in N.M. have a role in land annexation process but also, had a role in directing various projects and services in annexed villages, such as the tow Popular Housing Projects, the commercial and the industrial projects. Elite was directing the distribution of housing projects in Rafidiya and 'Askar villages

It has been found through the research that; land annexation process had socio–economic impacts on annexed villages` residents, like the change in land–use from agriculture land and pastures to residential, commercial, and industrial uses...etc, new types of taxes imposed on annexed villages residents, many types of services provided in annexed villages, a change in land perception occurred accelerated the commercialization of land, many reactions found against land annexation process and its socio–economic impacts, and land annexation led

to deepen separation between annexed villages' residents and Nablus city's residents. It was found that the main previous land-uses were agricultural land, plains, pastures, and built-up areas. While the current land uses dominated by the residential areas, A, B, and C (Ahmad 2010), industrial zone, the camps, craft complex, treatment plant, commercial areas...etc. The agricultural land was 3,000 dunums, consists of 10.7% of the total area of the approved master plan 2013, the plains were 6,000 dunum consist of 21 %, and the pastures were consisting of 33%, all these areas nearly disappeared by converting them to other new land-uses. There were four factors contributed in changing previous land-uses of annexed villages dramatically such as, land acquisition and purchasing, new land-uses announced by N.M, the implemented residential and educational projects by different associations, and the continuous uprooting of trees.

It was clear that; more than fifteen types of taxes and fees licenses, in addition to, land deductions were imposed on the lands of annexed villages' residents by the different laws and regulations applicable in the municipal boundaries. For example, building and land tax, professional licenses tax, crafts industries tax, plates and advertisement license, vegetables, and fruits' carts fees...etc. Taxes issues are considered one of the main reasons that led N.M to annex lands from surrounding villages, which helps in sustaining a good economic base for the municipality. For example, the Building and Land Tax constituted 37.6% of the total revenues of N.M in 2005, and 21.8% in 2010 (Table 21). The main complaint of the interviewees was that they had no idea about these types of

taxes, until the municipality started asking them to pay, they thought that land annexation means good water, and electricity services, and free from financial burdens. The taxes could be a strong reason and motivation, encouraged municipalities to expand their boundaries, as that boundary modification is a sign of a move of facility provisions, tax base, and regulatory authority (Thebo, 2012), while, annexed villages lost it, and N.M. gained. Related to the types and levels of previous and current services provided in the annexed villages, it was seen that all villages that were totally or partially annexed to N.M.B. had the basic services that any village needs before the annexation, like, school, mosque, water, cemetery, and roads. However, after annexation, different types and levels of services were provided to these villages, more schools, universities, hospitals, housing projects, a lot of roads opened, slaughterhouses, landfills, mosques.... etc. But, the western annexed villages were provided by services of quality and quantity better than the eastern annexed villages.

Many interviewees complained from the level and types of services provided by N.M., because many of services far away from the centre of the villages, these services are provided mainly for Nablus residents, and don't meet their real needs. Moreover, these services were implemented over the rich agricultural land and plains, which destroyed the good land stock of annexed villages. It appeared that there was a bias in providing services between the western and eastern villages, and many partial annexed villages weren't provided with services such as Sarra, `Asira esh Shamaliya, while Deir el Hatab, and Beit

Furik annexed lands are area C. It is noted that the perception of annexed villages' residents towards their land changed early from a major source of livelihood to a commodity, easily bought and sold. The process of selling land in annexed villages started early in the 1960s. There are two types of selling lands; the compulsory sale, which is related to the acquired land, where the owners have no choice to refuse the land selling by law to N.M. The other type is optional, which is done between the annexed villages' residents and Nablus residents or institutions. The change of perception towards land, was discovered through the official inquiries of the residents which were submitted to the municipality in different times, and through the examples of basins that were taken from the Land Department in Nablus, which showed the Nabulsi's family names on the inquiries. In some annexed villages the percentage of land sold reached 100% or 85% as in Sarra and Kafr Qallil villages, as interviewees mentioned, which pointed to the big responsibility of villages' residents in accelerating the loss of the agricultural lands.

Regarding, the reactions of annexed villages resident and councils, there are different types of objections found. Some villages objected against the land annexation, like; Beit Iba, Beit Wazan, Rujeib and Kafr Qallil villages. Others objected against the socio-economic impacts of land annexation, like, objection against land acquisition and its compensation such as Beit Iba, `Askar, and Rafidiya villages, objections against the taxes, such as Rafidiya and Al Juneid, against land-uses such as Beit Furik and Al Juneid. Whereas, some villages had no reactions like, `Asira esh Shamaliya and Zawata. Some villages' objections

succeeded in changing the municipality decisions, such as Beit Iba and Beit Wazan, where their residents and villages' councils cancelled the proposed land annexation in 1996. Also, Al Juneid residents cancelled the implementation of President Yasser 'Arafat palace on their land, while other villages failed in its objection like Kafr Qallil village.

N.M. procedures towards the annexed villages' residents deepened the separation instead of integration with Nablus city's residents. For example; N.M. prevented annexed residents from participating in Popular Housing Projects, prevented them from cultivating their agricultural lands and plains, because the municipality proposed it for industrial use, prevented them from grazing cattle as pastures acquired for other uses. Additionally, the consultation about land annexation and land-use in master plan –earlier and later– with annexed villages reached the zero limits. In most cases N.M. announced unilateral land annexation without any coordination or informing the annexed villages. Also, the bias in providing services in west and east villages annexed deepened the separation between the two areas. For example, the land-uses of the east alienated people from living there, because of the existence of slaughterhouses, industrial areas, landfills, camps, and proposed treatment plant. On the other hand, commercial and residential uses were only found in the western area.

In conclusion, the main claim in this study is that the process of expanding N.M.B., which went jointly with different types of land annexation from many surrounding villages, could only succeed by the presence of influential social

people (elite) in Nablus city and the surrounding villages. These people who have their own interests and their influences on this process, and for the success and the continuity of such process there were a need of different types of powers through its going, which were mentioned in Chapter 2 “Theoretical Framework”, and the research approved it through the various sources that were used.

Finally, the research questions were answered through the various tools that were used to extract information from the different archives of the different institutions, interviews, and field visits. It was found that N.M. used more than one tool to succeed in expanding its boundaries, and that the land annexation had socio-economic impacts on annexed villages` residents part of them positive others negative ones, but the most important thing that may mitigate these negative impacts is the participation of people in their various villages in the process of annexing lands and making a referendum for them, as was done in the Jordanian period, in order to take the responsibility for their decision, as well as developing laws or regulations controlling the annexation process, an evaluation study to calculate the extent of the positive and negative impact that may affect the land and the population from land annexation. Where this study can help because, it may be considered the first of its kind and the cornerstone for studying the expansion of Palestinian cities through land annexation, which prepare for other future studies related to. The results of this study can be applied to some Palestinian cities that have experience in annexing lands, but with some

reservations due to the difference in time, place and the area of lands that were annexed.

N.M. in a needs for new land, so it should try to make a successful land annexation in order to lessen the objections of annexed villages, through making a participatory planning, a cooperation with annexed villages in master plan and land uses, and by implementing some projects benefit directly the annexed villages` residents, wher the successful annexation might be the one which could provides a mutual benefit for both parties, i.e. Nablus Municipality and the annexed villages.

6.2. The Future Research & Recommendations

The Future Research

This study is considered the first of its kind at the Palestinian local level, and it can also be at the Arab regional level in the Middle East region, but whatever it is, it is limited in scope and will not be comprehensive for all the subjects related to land annexation to major municipalities boundaries, so a number of integral studies are needed, which complements and clarifies the image more and in other Palestinian cities. For example, there is a need to do a comparative study for land annexation process in Ramallah, Tulkarm, and other cities, or villages if any, detailed studies for each of the socio-economic impacts of the land annexation on the eastern annexed villages, and the western ones separately. There is also an urgent need to conduct a study on the reasons and motives that drive the cities to make land annexation from the surrounding villages or localities,

a study for the emotions, feeling and identity role in land annexation process. Another very important study that needed to complete the picture of this study is the socio-economic impacts of land annexation on Nablus city's residents, in order to see the two sides of the coin. An urgent need to conduct a legal study to amend the law on expanding cities by land annexation to accommodate the existing situations on the ground and to solve the problems that exist between cities and villages that annexed their lands, with details to each type of land annexation.

Recommendations

For the success of the future land annexation process, and to minimize its negative impacts N.M. can make:

1. An opening dialogue with the villages which N.M would like to annex, and holding a referendum for the people of the villages, as happened in the Jordanian era.
2. Involving local councils and villages' residents annexed in the master plan and its land uses.
3. An agreement to allocate part of the taxes to the village councils that will be partially annexed.
4. Helping in implementing some services or projects that directly serve annexed villages' residents.
5. Determining the priorities of N.M., the municipalities, and the local councils to be annexed, by holding discussion sessions to reach a shared vision achieves

the mutual benefit for both parties through participatory planning tool to reach the comprehensive planning stage.

6. Involving the Ministry of Agriculture and the Environment Authority in the process to reduce the negative impacts on agricultural lands and residents.

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567. Ministry of Local Government decision.

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2001.

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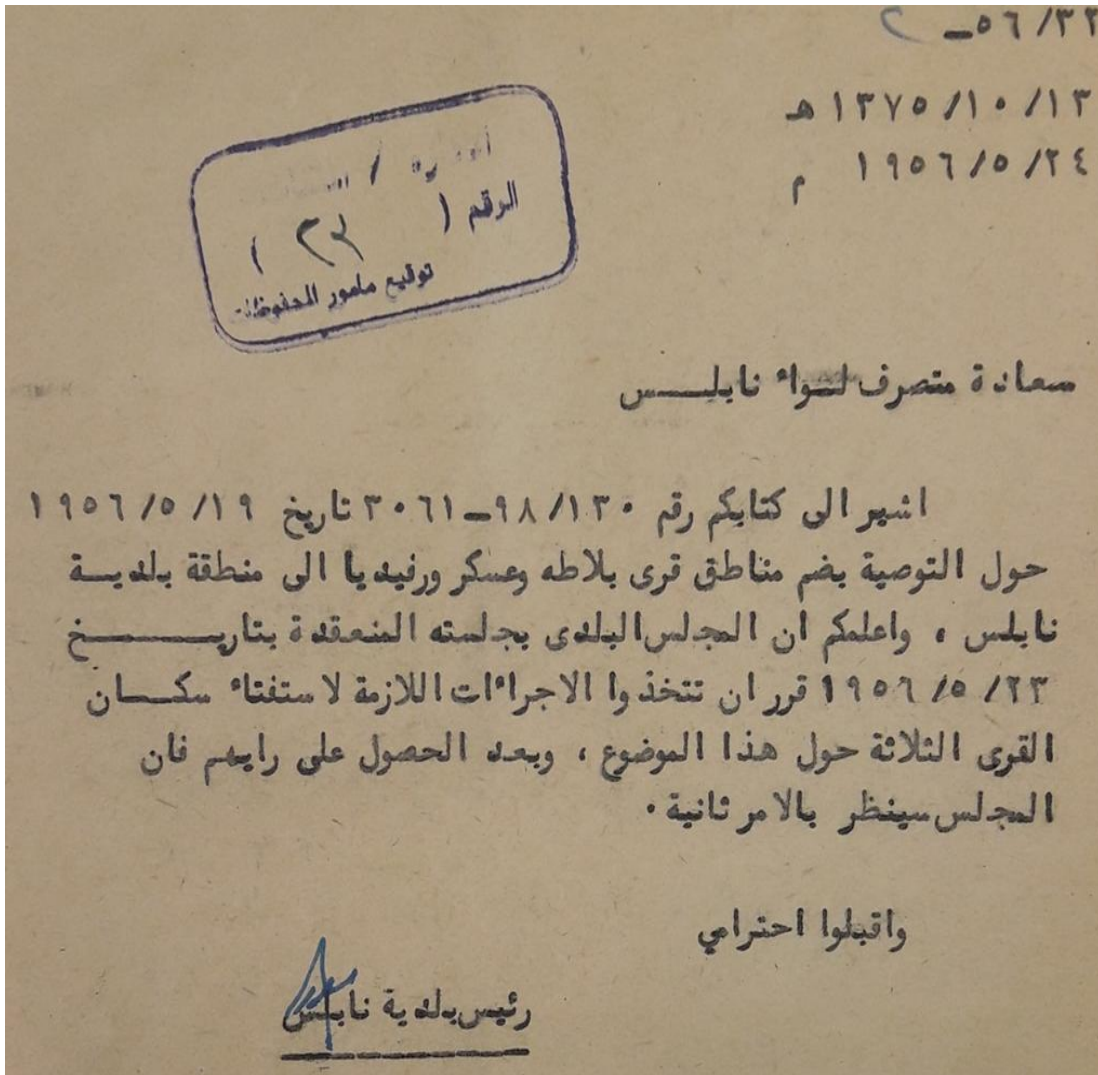
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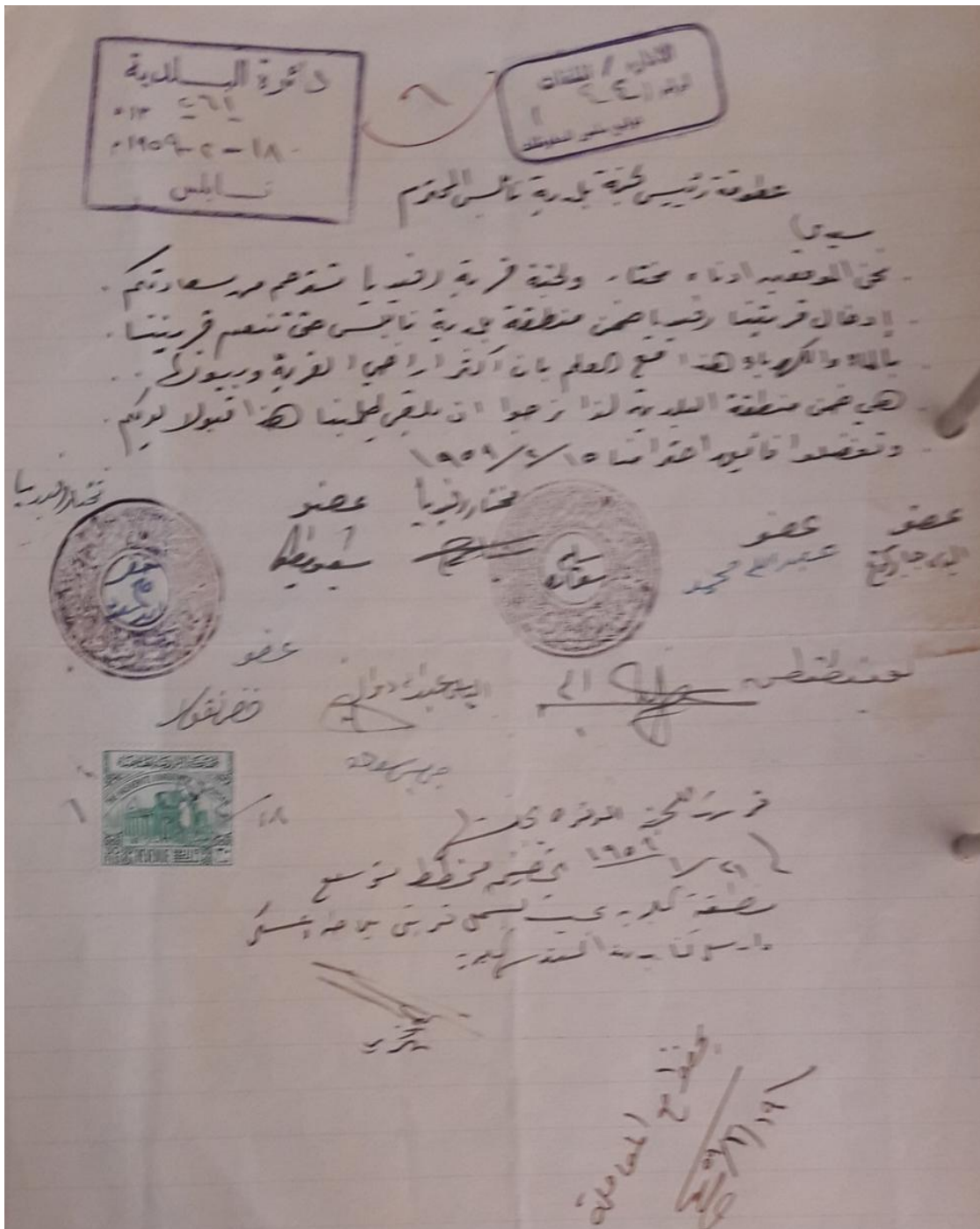
APPENDIX 1: LIST OF IMAGES.

IMAGE (1): The Correspondence of Nablus mayor to Nablus Governor to make residents' referendum to annex Balata, 'Askar and Rafidiya villages.



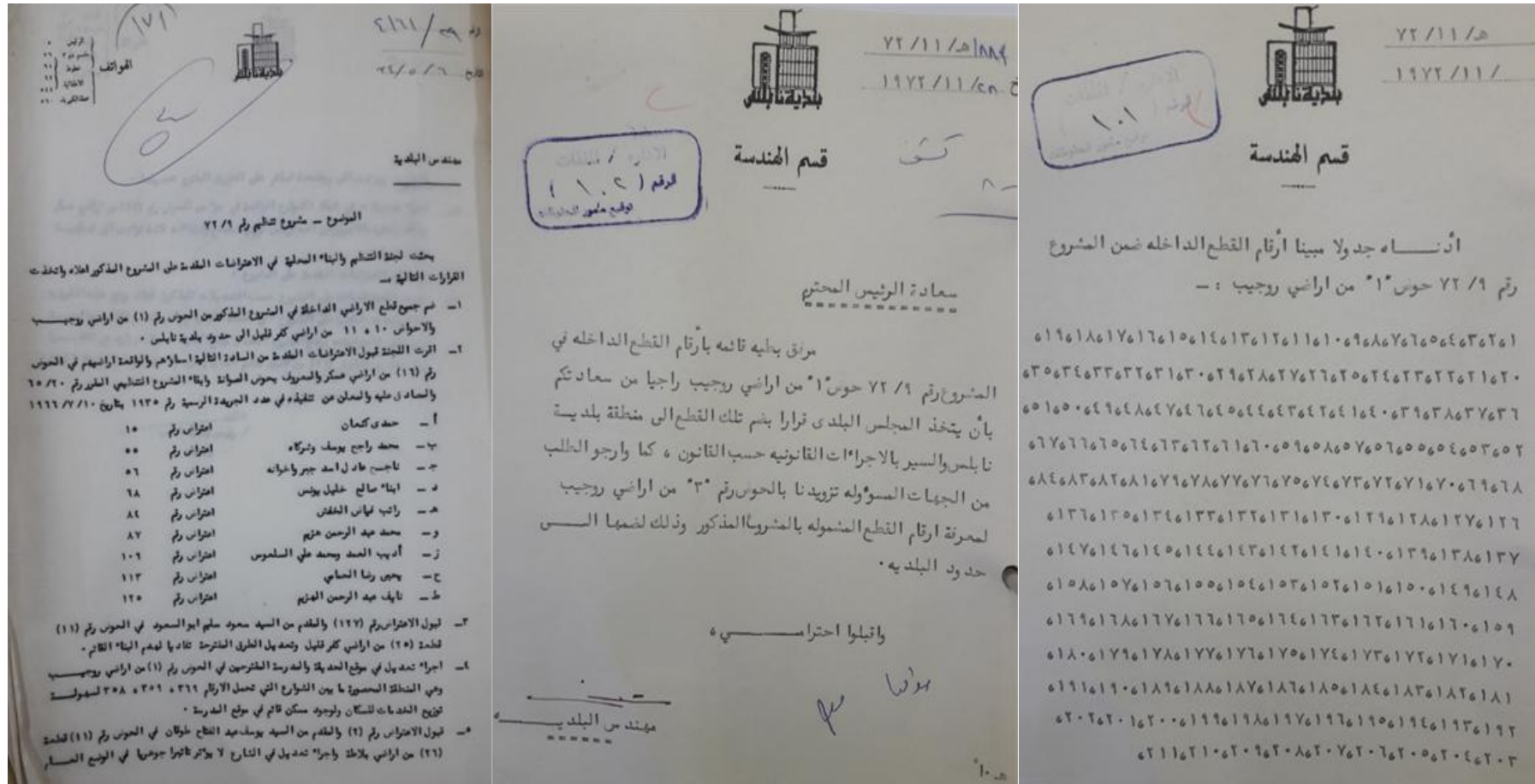
Source: N.M.F. A.F. Subject: N.M.B., and its expansion. Archive no. 3/22. File no. 23. 1956).

IMAGE (3): The correspondence of Mukhtar Rafidiya and committee's village for annexing their village to N.M.B.



Source: N.M.A. A.S. Subject: N.M.B., and its expansion. Archive no. 3/22. File no. 44. 1959.

IMAGE (4): An example for parcels annexation which benefited from detailed project no. 9/72 Rujeib village.



Source: N.M.P.L.A. N.M.A. subject: Administration Intelligence organization. Archive no. 29/74.1974. File no. 1363. 6/5/1974. Organization

Project no. 9/72.

IMAGE (5): The correspondence of Kafr Qallil village council's head to the Administration Chief for annexing their village to N.M.B.

Kafr Qallil

سعادة الخالد البلدي مولانا بلو الحمد

الموضوع :- ضم قريننا لفرقايل للبلدية نالسي

أعلم سعادتكم باننا اجتمعنا مع رئيسي اعضاء المجلس البلدي بنالسي
 وبعد الجاهله اقتضاهم بضمنا للبلدية وذلك بعد موافقتكم على الضم
 هذا مع العلم باننا تنفيذ من هذا الضم لمرم سنوي لقرية منة محسنات
 للتربية واهلها من مجاري للتربية ومعمل سدوع منتمه والى انفسه هذا
 مع العلم باننا نافذ الكهرباء من البلدي من سنة ١٩٦٥ والى انفسه
 لغير من التربية لذلك نرجوا من سعادتكم الموافقة لضمنا للبلدية بنالسي
 وتكون لكم من الشاكرين

وتفضلوا بتقبل خاتمة الاحترام

الأدارة / المنفذ
 الرقم (١٠)
 توقيع مسؤول المخططات

رئيسي مجلس كفر قليل القرية
 سليمان صايل سليمان
 ١٩٦٧/٩/١٠

خاتمة :- لضمنا الصبارة للشؤون الداخلية / الشؤون عبد المجلس القرية الاحترام
 لرئيسي بلدية نالسي الاحترام

Source: N.M.F. A.S. Subject: N.M.B., and its expansion. Archive no. 3/22. File no. 10. 1986.

IMAGE (6): A petition signed by Sarra village`s council and the landowners to M.L.G. to annex basin 1, to N.M.B.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

حضرة السيد : معالي وزير الحكم المحلي المحترم .

تحية البناء والدولة وبعد :

الموضوع : ضم بقية حوض (1) قطعة (1) من اراضي صره (المخفية) الى بلدية نابلس
وتصديق مخطط الافراز الملحق بنفس القطعة لغايات السكن .

نحن الموقعون على الملحق المرفق مجلس قروي صره واصحاب الاراضي الواقعة في حوض (1) من اراضي صره (المخفية) نطلب من حضرتكم التأكيد على قرار مجلس التنظيم الاعلى رقم (20) الصادر بتاريخ (1996/7/14) القاضي بضم هذه الاراضي الى حدود بلدية نابلس ، وقد فوجئنا بتعميد هذا القرار بجلسة مجلس التنظيم الاعلى رقم (6) بتاريخ (1996/11/30) بسبب اعتراض مجلس قروي بيت ايبا على ضم اراضيهم لاسباب خاصة بهم .

اننا ومن منطلق تحرير الارض والانسان ندعم بقوة قراركم القاضي بتوسيع حدود البلدية خاصة وان الجهة الغربية من المدينة هي الامتداد الطبيعي والجغرافي لهذا التوسع لتزدهر بالحياة والعمران وتكون الثغر الباسم للمدينة بدل كونها خالية جرداء عرضة للمصادرة والانتهاك من قبل الاحتلال الاسرائيلي الزائل بأذن الله .

هذا بالإضافة الى تصديق مخطط الافراز الذي تم الشراء بناء عليه وذلك للحاجة الماسة لاصحاب هذه الاراضي والواقعة اصلاً ضمن منطقة (أ) ، للبناء والتوسع العمراني الاقنى نظراً لغلاء وشح الاراضي داخل حدود البلدية .

لا يسعنا هنا الا ان نثمن عالياً القرار الحكيم لراعي المسيرة الرئيس ابو عمار حفظه الله القاضي بتخفيض رسوم الطابو لتشجيع المواطنين للمحافظة على الارض وحمايتها خاصة في هذه الظروف الصعبة والتي لا بد ان تتجلى بأذنه تعالى ليكتمل تحرير تراب دولتنا الفلسطينية وتكون القدس عاصمة لها ودرة عذما .

(وقل اعلموا فسيري الله علمكم ورسوله والمؤمنون)

"صدق الله العظيم"

نسخة : بلدية نابلس .

نسخة : امين سر مجلس التنظيم الاعلى .

ملحق صورة توافيق .

ملحق صورة قرار الضم .

ملحق صورة خارطة الحوض .

صوره عن افراز القطعة المذكورة اعلاه .

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

صورة عن توافيق مجلس قروي صره واصحاب الاراضي المطالبين بضم بقية حوض (1) من اراضي صره (المخفية) الى حدود بلدية نابلس .

الرقم	الاسم	رقم الهوية	التوقيع
1	محمد زكي الزاهر	98261779	[Signature]
2	محمد عيسى الزاهر	977405509	[Signature]
3	طالب كبر شريف عاتق	966060596	[Signature]
4	محمد علي حياوي	95050767	[Signature]
5	محمد عبد الكريم شمرتم	99760530	[Signature]
6	محمد عبد الصالح	9810300	[Signature]
7	محمد عادل عبد الهادي	9707073	[Signature]
8	محمد محمد عبد الرحمن	997770147	[Signature]
9	محمد عبد الوهاب	98164850	[Signature]
10	محمد عبد الوهاب	977711242	[Signature]
11	محمد عبد الوهاب	977711242	[Signature]
12	محمد عبد الوهاب	977711242	[Signature]
13	محمد عبد الوهاب	977711242	[Signature]
14	محمد عبد الوهاب	977711242	[Signature]
15	محمد عبد الوهاب	977711242	[Signature]
16	محمد عبد الوهاب	977711242	[Signature]
17	محمد عبد الوهاب	977711242	[Signature]
18	محمد عبد الوهاب	977711242	[Signature]
19	محمد عبد الوهاب	977711242	[Signature]
20	محمد عبد الوهاب	977711242	[Signature]

Source: N.N.A. A.S. Subject: N.M.B., and its expansion. Archive no. 3/22.

IMAGE (7): A letter clarifies the legal problem facing N.M. in the expansion of 12/30/1986, sent to M.L.G. in 2001.

Palestinian National Authority
Ministry of Local Government

سلطة الوطنية الفلسطينية
وزارة الحكم المحلي

Date: ٢٠٠١/٤/٩ التاريخ: No. ١/١ رقم:

الاخذ. صائب عريقات حفظه الله
وزير الحكم المحلي
تحية البناء والدولة،،

الموضوع / مشكلة قانونية خاصة بتوسعة حدود بلدية نابلس
بتاريخ 1986/12/30

أود أن أعلمكم بأن بلدية نابلس تواجه مشكلة قانونية خاصة بتوسعة حدود البلدية والتي صادق عليها ضابط الداخلية التابع لسلطات الاحتلال بتاريخ 1986/12/30 . ولم يقم بنشر قرار المصادقة في حينه حسبما هو منصوص عليه في المادة السادسة من قانون البلديات لعام 1955 . وبسبب إستحالة نشر مصادقة ضابط الداخلية في هذه الايام ، ونتيجة للحوارات المكثفة التي أجريناها مع السيد رئيس البلدية والاخوة المعنيين فيها ، فقد توصلنا الى أنه : أصبح من الضرورة بمكان ، ولمساعدة البلدية بإخراجها من هذه المشكلة ان يتم نشر الاعلان المقترح والمرفق مع هذا الكتاب لمعاليتكم راجياً إجراءتكم لدى ديوان الفتوى والتشريع لنشره في جريدة الوقائع الفلسطينية .

ومعاً وسواً نحو القدس

خليل عاشور
مدير عام الحكم المحلي
محافظة نابلس

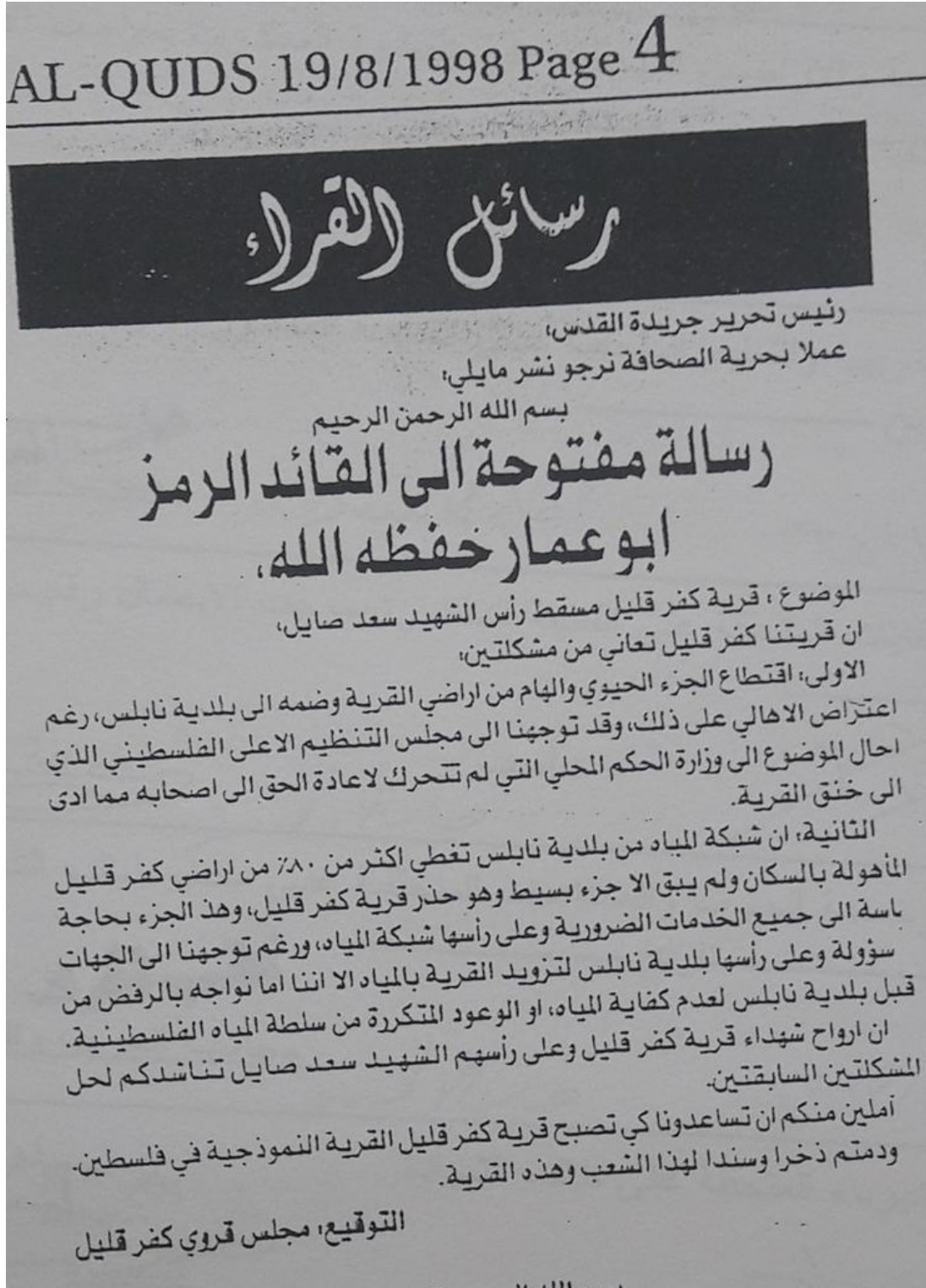
السلطة الوطنية الفلسطينية
وزارة الحكم المحلي
دائرة الحكم المحلي في محافظة نابلس

نسخة / الملف العام

Gaza-Tel. 07-2829184/2822478/2820272 - Fax 07-2867509/2866844 - تلفون ٢٨٢٠٢٧٢ / ٢٨٢٢٤٧٨ / ٢٨٢٩١٨٤ - فاكس ٢٨٦٧٥٠٩ / ٢٨٦٧٥٠٩ - ٧
Jericho - Tel. 02-2321065/2321261/2322619 - Fax 02-2321245 - تلفون ٢٣٢٢٦١٩ / ٢٣٢٢٦١١ / ٢٣٢١٠٦٥ - فاكس ٢٣٢١٢٤٥ - ٢
Ramallah - Tel. 02-2958994/2958993/2958992/2958991 - Fax 02-2986610 - تلفون ٢٩٥٨٩٩٢ / ٢٩٥٨٩٩٣ / ٢٩٥٨٩٩٤ - فاكس ٢٩٨٦٦١٠ - ٢

Source: N.M.A. A.S. N.M.B. and its expansion. 2001. Archive no. 3/22. File no.

IMAGE (8): An open letter from Kafr Qallil village council to President Yasir 'Arafat published in Al Quds newspaper.



Source: M.L.G. H.O.C. File Name: Kafr Qallil Objection on Nablus Master Plan.

Resolution number: 8. Session: 1/98).

IMAGE (9): An objection letter from a resident to N.M. mayor and members on the way of distributing the land of the eastern Popular Housing Project and the level of services provided.

حضرات السادة سيدي واعضاء المجلس البلدي نيابتي المحترمة
المستعجل : عدل سيدي السني - المكنة الرئيسية موقع
خطرت على ابي انا كتب مرة اخرى لادلتك نظر المجلس الموقر المشروع الى انك لم تجيب على الرضوخ بعد انه كتبت
وت هددت في التفتريون الاسرائيليين آراء وتصريحات بعضه أعضاء المجلس بله الدعوه وبطيه موظفين
البلديه في برنامج « ائمة المكنة » وكان ذلك عن وجه التحديد بتاريخ ١٩٧٧/٤/٥ في حال لم يتم التفتريون
وسيزيد المناسبه اذ ان المجلس بما كتبه في استغاثتي المودع في ١٩٧٦/٤/٢٩ واخذ انه اجبت
الآن بعضه الداء الجديده التي تنقله بالمشروع القائم .
ان الذي تقصوا في حينه وحللا عن قطع مكنة سببه يمكنه ان يبيع في اربع قرى :
قرية رقصه الى جبالته الى مكنة اوس اليه ، توكل في الله وباشركم بالبناء والمال وكنه واليهذه الدخر
باشتر بالبناء ولم يكمل وتنتظر قرى اخرى .
قرية محتاج الى السكنه ولله الامكانيات رأس وشاهد احوال الذين كانوا وكيف تفصونه في الازمان
وكيف يعيشون في ظلام لعدم قيام البلدي بأبي سي محامدون ، كنه الفرقة الرئيسي والفرعي
وانارة المنطقه فاجمهم عمه البناء وتنتظر القريه له للسجانه وتغاضي .
وقريبه ثالث دخله محدود جداً وكان تصور كما قيل له عند قيام المشروع انه البلدي هو التي
ستقوم بالبناء وستتم وحدته جاهزة لكنك ورفض الشئ عن ان لا ستم ارسنوم . هذا القرى
لا يستطيع ان يبيع بأبى حال ولدانه سيدي ليني ومعهقه حلال كما ذكرت ان يبيع وحدته وتنتظر بيتاً
ضيقاً في البلد ورفضه وكنه يعيش .
قرية اربع لانظية عند الشروط التي منه اجلا اقيم المشروع وهم من الضرباء والتمار والموظفون الديار
مملكون دوراً فخمة وسقيين وعلتهم كما هي همي تخيلوا انه يبيع بأثمان باحفظ وغير سبيل المثال اذكر
السيد « ابو حليل كرسوع » سجل عداسه اعلل كما اولاده اربع وحدان سكنه وغيره وامثال كثيرين .
اكتفت الآن بما تقصم والتمس من المجلس البلدي دراسة النقاط الآتية :
ان يطلب المجلس بله من الرهلات ضرورة المباشرة ببناء وحدتهم هنلا ستة اشهر وستة والاديعاد
النظر في امرا متلكسهم هذه الوحدات . (ثانياً) نفع الخط الزمر فرضه المجلس بله وايضا استقال الرهلات
سه مائتاً الى اربعة الى اربعة هود منه دور الدخل المحدود تباع باسعار عقوله شرط ان يبيعوا
البناء ضمنه المدة المذكورة آنفاً . (ثالثاً) انه تقوم البلدي بشعه الطرقة الرئيسي والفرعي وان ترضع
قرى « تار ابي حليل » عن ان تعيد وترضع فيها بعد وبالقدرتج . « رابعاً » ان ترضع قسم
الكهرباء « لميه » عن كل عامود قائم في المنطقه وهذا طبق ليط ولوجتاج الى مجهود كبير ولا تظن
شياً كثيراً حتى يعرف الاثن ان ايه رضع قسم اثناء النقل في الدبل المظلم الموجه . « خامساً » حتى
لوتفضل أعضاء المجلس بزيارة المنطقه ليردوا بعينهم مقدار الحيف الواقع والضره الذي على الرضوخ في
معد السام . واقبلوا فائده الضرام . ١٩٧٧/٤/٢٨ عدل سيدي السني

Source: N.M.P.LA. N.M.A. Subject: popular housing. File no: 1/28. 1977.

IMAGE (10): An open objection letter from a council's member to N.M.C. about the illegal distribution to 44 beneficiaries from the west Popular Housing Project and the violation of the principle for which land acquired for.

جاء مفتوح الي /
السيد الرئيس المحترم
الزملاء المحترمين

لقد سؤلت كثيرا حول توزيع قطع المساكن الشعبية في المخفية وفي المساكن الشعبية الشرقية من كيفية توزيعها بالطرق الغير قانونية والمخالفة للمبدأ الذي استمكتت من اجله تلك الاراضي بتوزيعها بالعدل والقانون على من يخولهم القانون ذلك . والتمسك بالقرار الذي اتخذه المجلس بالغاء التوزيع الا بالعدل والقانون على المستحقين وخصوصا عندما اطلعوا على اسماء المنتفعين الذين وزعت عليهم هذه القطع والاتي اسماءهم :

١- عدلي شكرى دعاس	٢- حسني اسعد قراده	٣- محمد عزبي الزربا
٤- سمح فشي العكر	٥- دلال درويش الحجى	٦- ابراهيم عبد الحق
٧- خالد مصطفى حامد	٨- خالد الفوله	٩- مصطفى بدوى العالول
١٠- فايز عاهد عرفات	١١- فريال زكي هواش	١٢- رياض فارس مصطفى
١٣- عبد الرحمن كنانه	١٤- عباس عادل قادري	١٥- صلاح محمد العالم
١٦- بدر استيتيه	١٧- نزار واصف العبرى	١٨- منذر واصف العبرى
١٩- خوله احمد جاموسى	٢٠- محمد علي حسن جعاره	٢١- يوسف رضا
٢٢- امين عبد السلام	٢٣- تحسين الفارسى	٢٤- عباس ابو شطا
٢٥- محمد علي سليم	٢٦- سعد الدين الصدر	٢٧- الشيخ احمد الحنبلي
٢٨- يحيى عوده	٢٩- وائل ابو غزاله	٣٠- اسمهان درويش الحجى
٣١- عبد الله الصدر	٣٢- يوسف درويش الحجى	٣٣- طاهر النابلسي
٣٤- فاطمه عفونه	٣٥- محمد زكي اصلان	٣٦- عدنان الدهملي
٣٧- حربي عرفات	٣٨- نائل استيتيه	٣٩- هاني عرفات
٤٠- سليمان طهيله	٤١- عبد العظيم شاهين	٤٢- سليم كعكاسي
٤٣- حمدى القصص	٤٤- محمد نور الدين تفاعه	٤٥- محمد نوري العبد
٤٤- طاهر العبدلي وسيله شكوي	٤٥- محمد نوري العبد	

عضو المجلس البلدى بنابلس
الحاج روجي شاهين

نابلس في ١٩٧٥/٣/٤

جاءت تابه موقع حفصه قطع الارض كالتالي
لشركه منتم ككتابها ١٤٥٥ هـ لا يزال قد كالتالي
مرفق اللجنة التي شكلها مجلس نوابه رقم (٢)
تاريخ ١٩٧٥/١١/١٨

رئيس بلدية نابلس
٧٥/٤/١٠

IMAGE (12): A petition request from a citizen of 'Askar village to Prime Minister about N.M. refusal to give him a unit in eastern Popular Housing Project.

دولة رئيس الوزراء الافخيم
بواسطة عطوفة محافظ نابلس المحترم

المستدعي - عبد الرحيم صالح خليل من قرية عسكر .
الموضوع - طلب استرحام .
سيدي

بما ان بلدية نابلس قامت باقطاع جزء من اراضي قرية عسكر بموجب القرار الوزاري الصادر في الجريدة الرسمية رقم ١٧٨١ بتاريخ ١٠ / ٨ / ١٩٦٤ وذلك لبناء المساكن الشعبية لذوي الدخل المحدود ، وانني املك دونما ونصف من هذه الارض رقم القطعة ١ من الحوض ١ من اراضي عسكر ، وحيث انني شخص فقير الحال ، وليس لدى مقدرة لشراء بدلا منها وممن تنطبق عليهم اصحاب الدخل المحدود ، طلبت من بلدية نابلس بان اكون صاحب نمرة لاقامة مسكن باستحقاقي في هذه الارض ، فرفض طلبتي بذلك .

وانني اعرض لدولتكم هذه القضية راجيا منكم التكرم بانصافي لان الارض التي تخصصنا في قرية عسكر اصبحت بها مخيمي عسكر وبلاطه وشركة الزيوت النباتيه وايضا انشأت البلدية مثل مقبه في اراضينا وبهذا اصبح امامنا المجال ضيق جدا لاقامة وحدة سكنيه باقطاع هذه الارض لانشاء المساكن الشعبية .

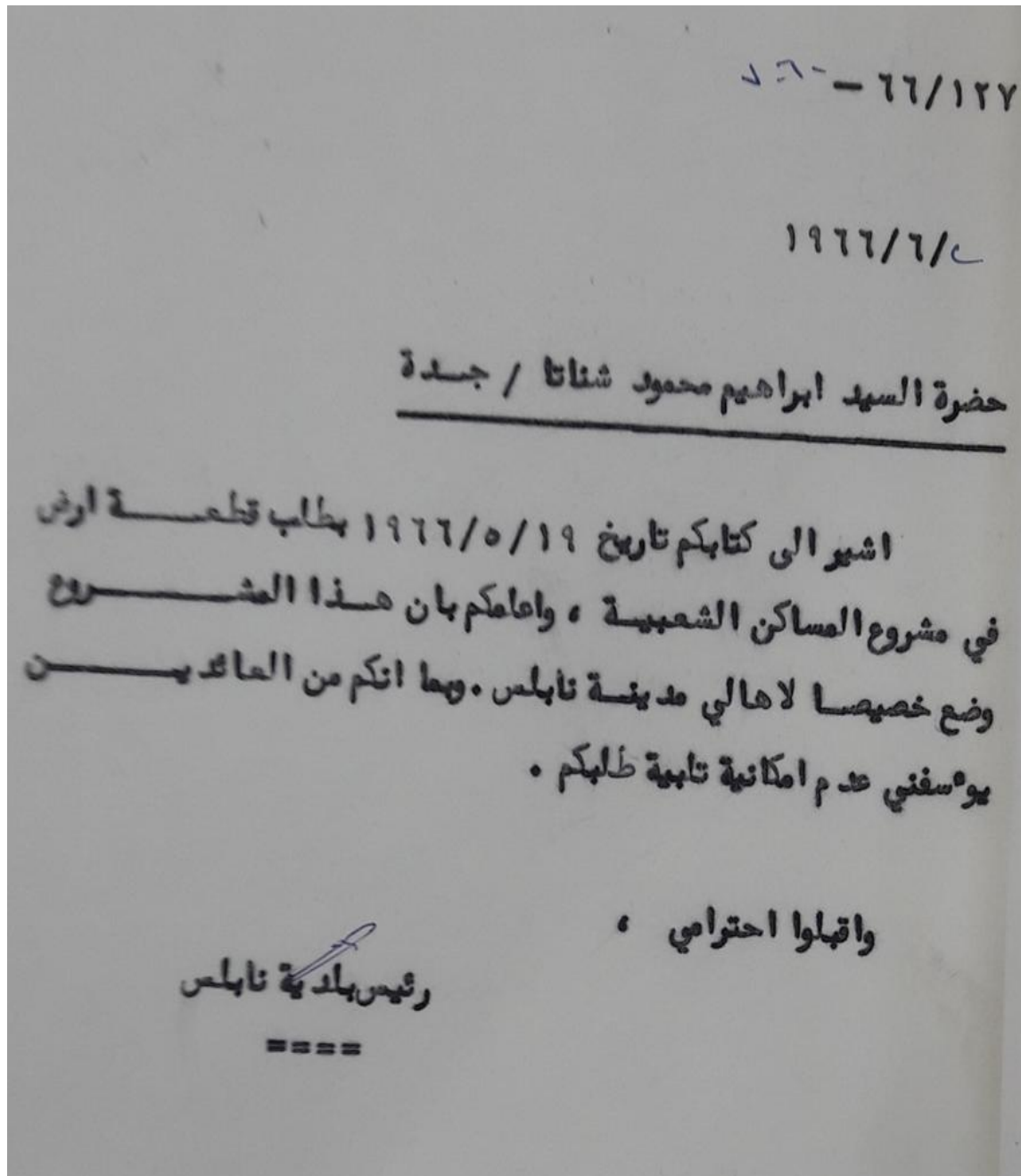
وانني اقدم طلبتي هذا اسوة باخواني الموظفين الذين نالوا نصيبهم منها مع العلم انهم يملكون مئات الدونمات في قراهم وانني مالك وصاحب حق بذلك .

ولي وطيد الامل من دولتكم الرشيدة باصدار الامر وانصافي مع اخواني .

المستدعي
عبد الرحيم صالح خليل

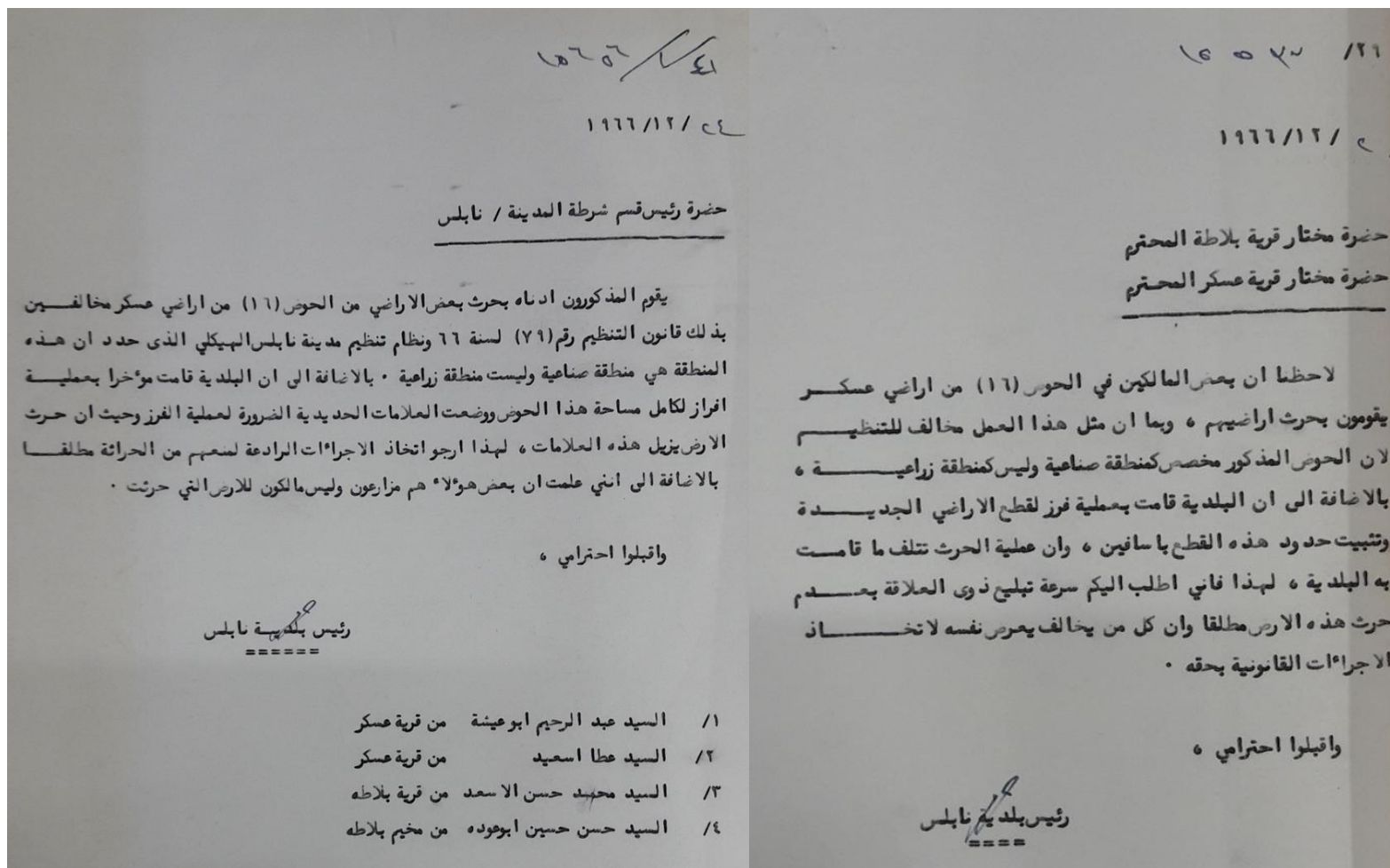
تحريرا في ١٩٦٦ / ٩ / ٥

IMAGE (13): A rejection letter from N.M. mayor to a citizen asked to have unit in the eastern Popular Housing Project because he isn't from Nablus city's residents.



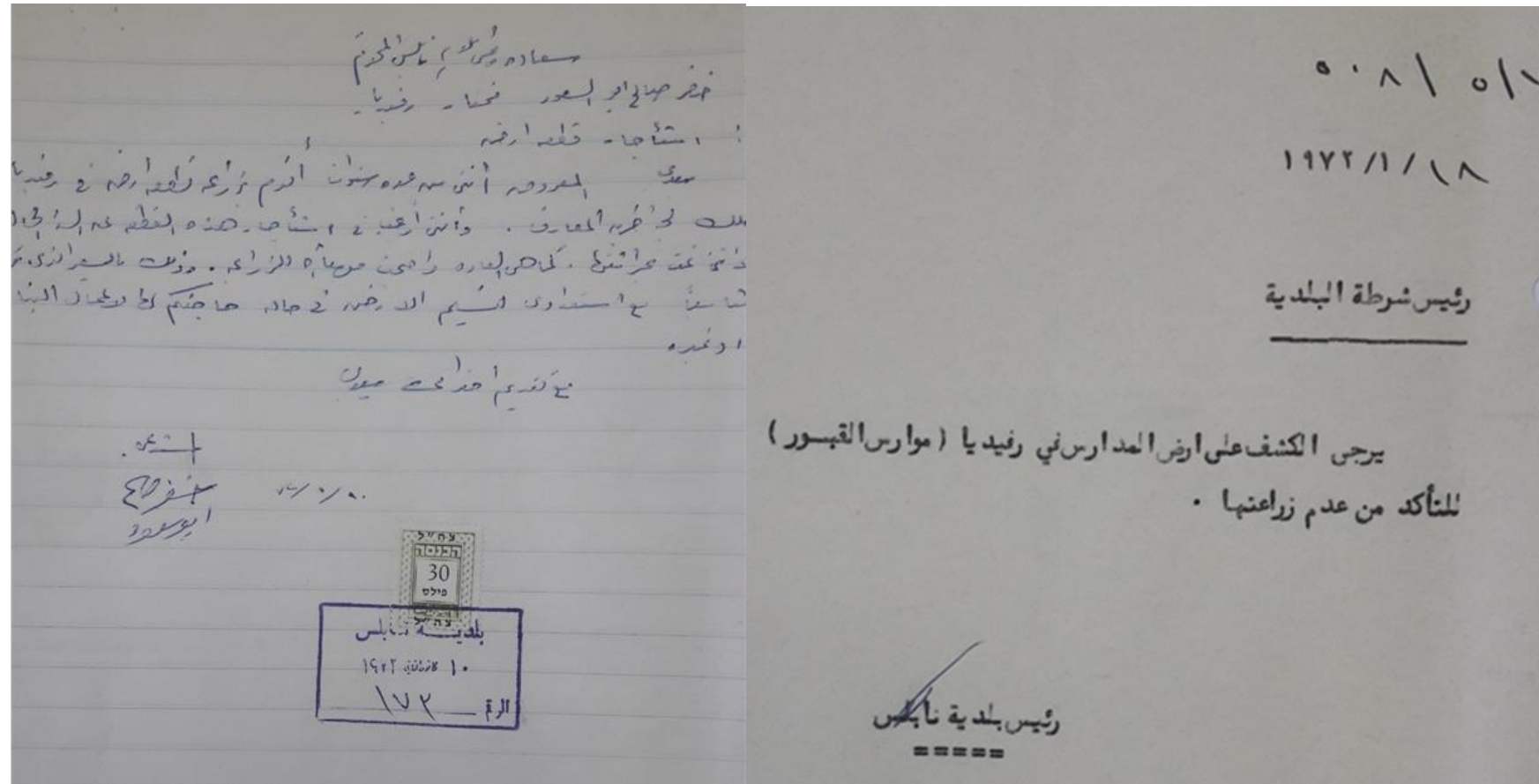
Source: N.M.P.L.A. N.M.A. Subject: Housing project. File number .127 / 66. 1966.

IMAGE (14): letters from Nablus mayor to Head of Nablus Police, and to Balata and `Askar villages` Mukhtars to prevent residents from 'Askar and Balata villages from ploughing their lands absolutely.



Source: N.M.P.L.A. N.M.A. The subject: Industrial Area. File No. 41/1. 1966.

IMAGE (15): A Letter from the Mukhtar of Rafidiya to Nablus mayor to ask him for renting a land to cultivate it, and the request of N.M. mayor to the city police to make sure that the land isn't cultivated



Source: N.M.A. A.S. Ac.F. File Name: Acquisition land in Rafidiya for schools. File no: 12/5/66. 1966.

IMAGE (16): A letter from Nablus mayor to Nablus city's police officer to take legal procedures against residents from Deir el Hatab village for grazing their sheep in the cemetery acquired land.

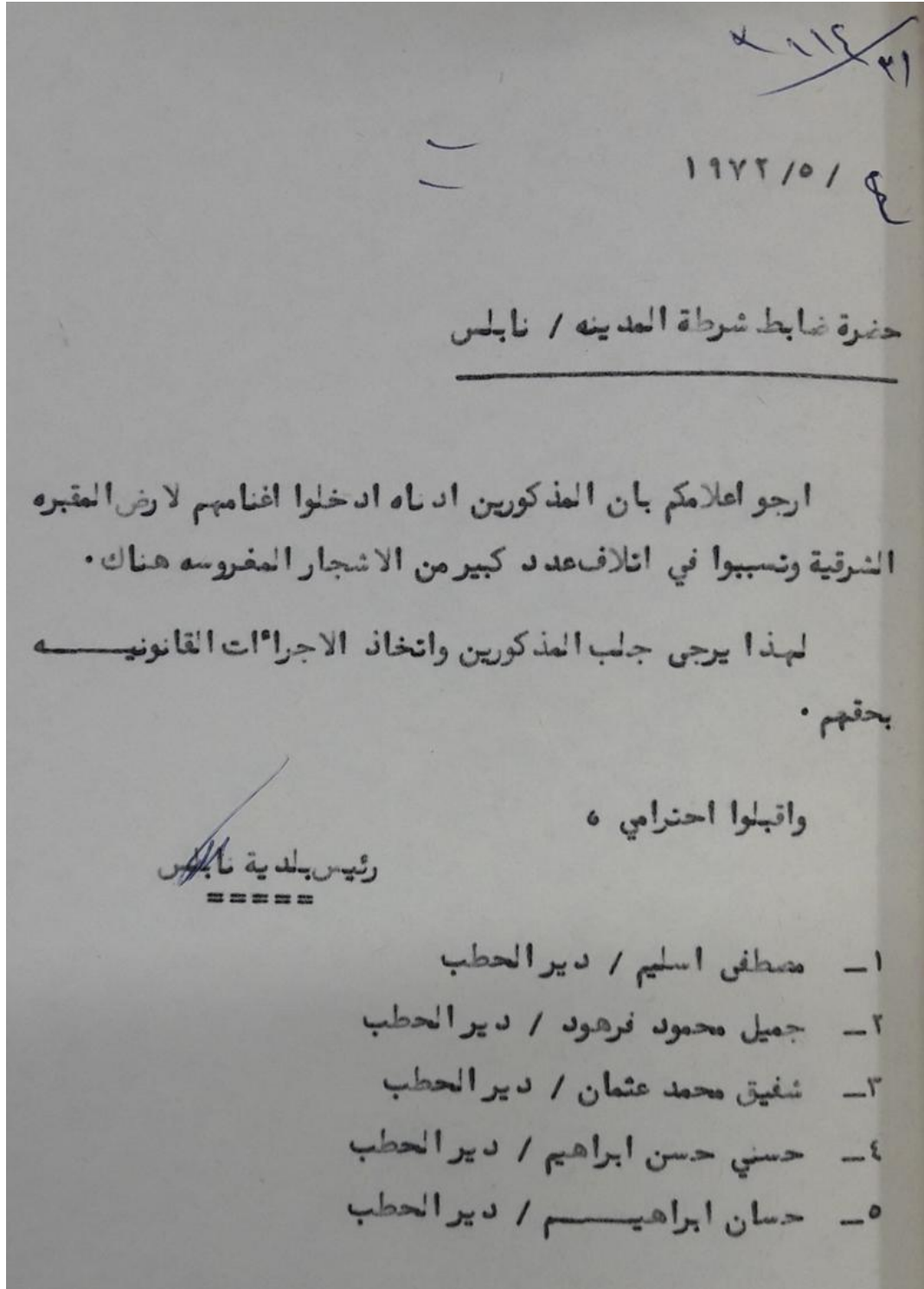
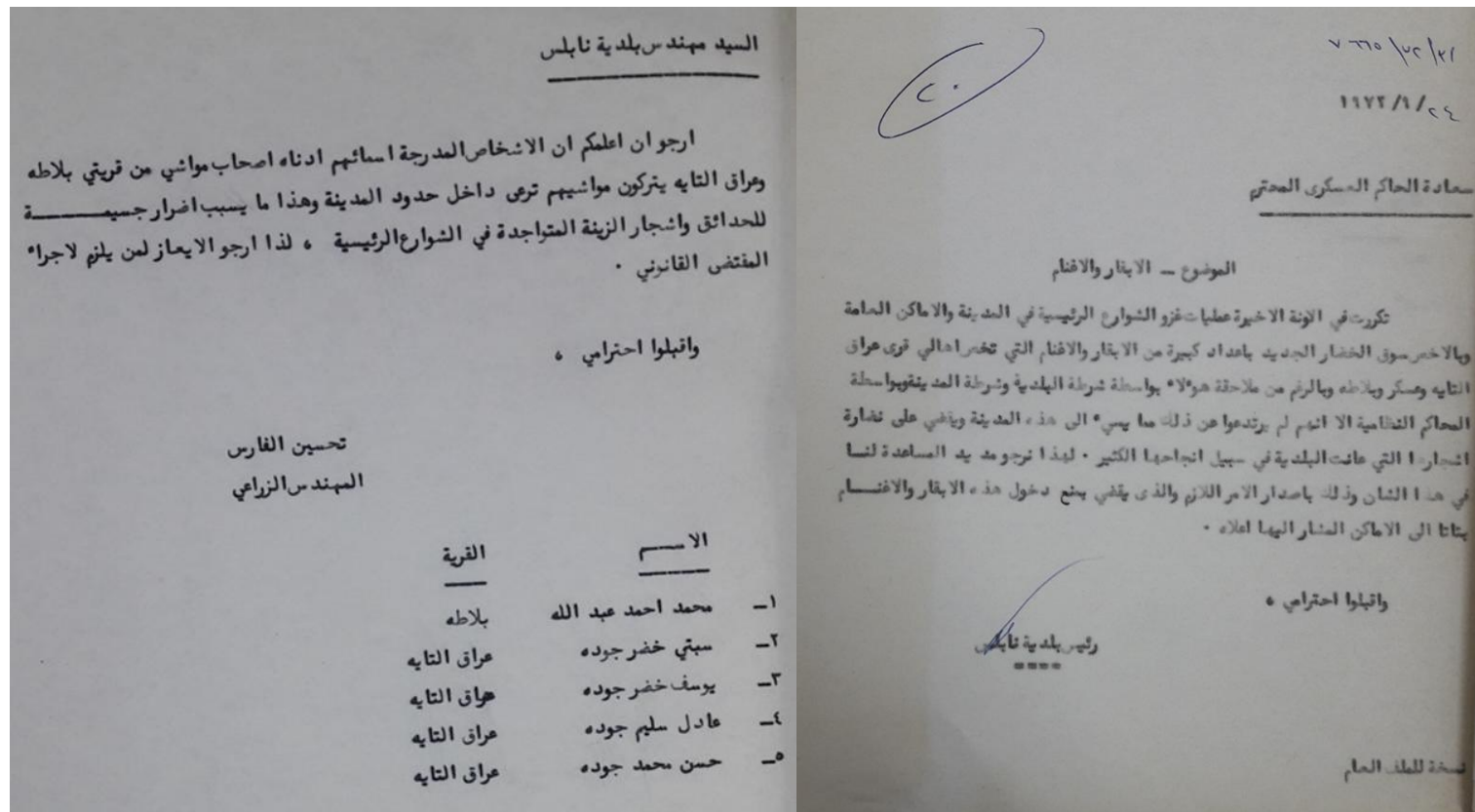


IMAGE (17): A letter from Nablus mayor to Israeli Military Commander to prevent residents from 'Iraq et Tayih, 'Askar and Balata villages from grazing sheep in the city and public places. A letter from the agricultural engineer to the municipal engineer to take legal procedures against residents from Balata and 'Iraq et Tayih villages who grazed their sheep inside city boundaries.



Source: N.M.P.L.A. N.M.A. The subject: Gardens. Archive no. 1384. File number: 31/72. 1972.

IMAGE (18): A letter from residents of Nablus city to the mayor to prevent grazing sheep in the eastern popular housing land and to take the needed procedures.

(٤) معاليه رئيس البلدية
 أ. الخليل موضوع التماس
 بعد استصدار أمر من محكمة طرابلس
 بهذا الشأن وقرار المحكمة بعدم
 القبول : كان منطقة المسكن الشعبية الشرقية
 ياتي في منطقة المسكن الشعبية الشرقية قطعة كبيرة ٧١١/٥
 من المنطقة من مناطق الخليل والجنوب بقصد الرعي ويتواجدت في
 أراضي البلدية لمدة طويلة
 انه وجود هذه القطعة يؤذي سكان المنطقة للاسباب
 التالية :
 انه وجودها يشكل مشكلة صحية وانتشار الذباب والحشرات
 يتوهم بالكثير من جناية السكان الا ان الذي يؤذي ان وتخرج شجرة باب
 السكان وبني اصحاب هذه المنطقة
 يتوهم بسرقة المياه من بئير التي يقوم اصحابها في الكساد في
 تلك المنطقة من غياب اصحابها ان تبنت هذه البئير عليه بالمياه وتصبح
 قارية .
 لذلك نرجو اتخاذ الاجراءات اللازمة بالاعتماد لتسليم البلدية
 بانه تطلب منهم ومن من المنطقة لانه هذه الارض مازالت للبلدية وهي
 صالحة لاجرة ليركفان على حصوله .

وتفضلوا يتروا فانه معذرا
 السيد
 رئيس البلدية
 لادخار الاطراف المعنية بالمشكلة
 لخدمة اسباب الكون
 نائب رئيس بلدية نابلس
 ١٩٧٨

١ -	عبدالمجيد طرقات
٢ -	عبدالمجيد بلبيس
٣ -	عبدالمجيد بلبيس
٤ -	عبدالمجيد بلبيس
٥ -	عبدالمجيد بلبيس
٦ -	عبدالمجيد بلبيس
٧ -	عبدالمجيد بلبيس
٨ -	عبدالمجيد بلبيس
٩ -	عبدالمجيد بلبيس
١٠ -	عبدالمجيد بلبيس

١٩٥٤
 ١٩٥٤

Source: N.M.P.L.A. N.M.A. The Subject: Public housing. File Number: 1/28/78. 1978.