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Urban Transformations in the West Bank of Palestine, Drivers and Consequences: a case of Ramallah Area

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Thèse de Doctorat

MUHSEN Mohammad

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Les Transformations Urbaines en Cisjordanie 'Palestine' Facteurs explicatifs et conséquences : Le cas de La Région de Ramallah

JURY

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Dedication

I would like To Dedicate This Thesis
To My Country the Blessing Palestine.
My Family

Acknowledgement.

I would like first of all, to express my sincere gratitude and great appreciation for Professors Christian Pihet and Mustafa El Hanani for their wise, invaluable advice and supervision to achieve this thesis.

In addition, I am very grateful to the Department of Geography staff at Birzeit University-Palestine, particularly to Professor Ahmad Abu Hammad, for his advice, guidance and financial support to achieve this thesis.

I would like also to express my greatest thanks to my parents, to my family members, for sharing the burden of this research and utmost support while I was going through some tough times pursuing my study. In addition, to all my friends who has supported me.

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Abstract.

In the past two decades, Ramallah area have witnessed profound urban transformation, with increasing the percentage of urbanization. The advent of the PA in 1993 and the uneven political development amongst the Palestinian cities leads to the internal migration to the new urban area. This study is an attempt to understand and represent the process of transformation in recent Ramallah area during 1997 and 2015.

The process of transformation has been studied in particular case (Israeli Occupation) so as to understand its interrelation with the sensitive geopolitical situation on one hand, and the most urban and socio-economic transformation that accompanied this process on the other hand.

The study has been done to investigate the main objectives and to prove/ disprove the hypothesis of the study. To achieve this, the study analyzed the demographic changes by looking at the internal migration in two level, the impulsion and consequences. The study has then spatiotemporally analyzed the urban shifts during 1997 and 2015.

The study found that the advent of PA has accelerated the process of urbanization in Ramallah area due to the urban-urban and rural-urban internal migration, in fact; this process has been shown to be higher in Ramallah area than into other Palestinian cities.

Moreover, the finding emphasis on the urban expansion changes and trends, associated with the influence of the geopolitical factor as an important driver for the Palestinian urban and rural expansion.

A chronological analysis of the urban expansion characteristics of the study area had carried out, according to aerial photos analysis, at the same time has been combined with a number of urban models. The modelling has revealed that the urban expansions in Ramallah area has increased and lead to a distinctive urban pattern.

The study concluded that both the expansion demographically and spatially during 1997 and 2015 is an important period during which urbanization in Ramallah area significantly. The increasing population of Ramallah area has been resulted from the internal migration, and consequently led to an expansion of the built-up area, and the creation of new suburban areas that meet the requirement to become urban area as new rural-urban cities.

In sum, this study has provided a distinctive case for the theme of urban and socio-economic transformation under the case of political crisis into different domains and levels.

Le résumé.

Introduction.

Cette étude présente des éléments de compréhension du processus de transformation de la zone de Ramallah en Palestine après 1993, suite aux accords d'Oslo. L'introduction souligne l'énoncé du problème, les principaux objectifs de l'étude et l'importance de la méthodologie

L'avènement de l'Autorité palestinienne en 1993 suite au accord d'Oslo a conduit a une forte inégalité de développement entre les différentes villes palestiniennes et la région de Ramallah (qui comprend les localités de Ramallah, Al birih et Betuniya) - ce qui a mené a des flux migratoires internes vers cette nouvelle zone urbaine. Durant les deux dernières décennies, les localités de cette zone ont connu une profonde transformation urbaine liée à l'augmentation de l'urbanisation.

Cette étude tente de comprendre et de représenter le processus des transformations urbaines de la nouvelle zone moderne de Ramallah entre les années 1997 et 2015 sur le plan urbanistique et socio-économique, en tenant compte de la situation géopolitique, et en particulier l'occupation israélienne.

La région de Ramallah connaît un taux d'urbanisation supérieur de 60 % à la moyenne nationale et internationale, et une densité de population de plus de 600 habitants/km² (à comparer avec la moyenne nationale qui est de 480 habitants/km²). Le nombre d'unités de logements construits entre 1997 et 2007 a été de 5916, ce qui représente un taux largement supérieur aux autres villes. Cette inégalité de répartition de la population pose de grandes difficultés à l'Autorité Palestinienne en terme de service public, par exemple les domaines de l'eau, l'électricité, ou encore le réseau d'eaux usées.

Selon le bureau palestinien de la statistique, la répartition en 2012 de la population palestinienne était la suivante :

53,5 % en zone urbaine.

30,3 % en zone rurale.

16,2 % en camp de réfugiés.

La région de Ramallah se positionne comme la plus séduisante pour attirer les candidats palestiniens à l'émigration interne, les conditions socioéconomiques s'y étant améliorées depuis 1993 avec l'établissement de l'Autorité Palestinienne dans la région.

Les statistiques sur l'ensemble de la Cisjordanie indiquent que 25.5% des migrants choisissent la région de Ramallah depuis 1993, alors que les régions à Hébron et de Bethléem étaient les plus attractives avant 1993.

Les années 90 ont connu de fortes vagues de déplacement interne vers la région de Ramallah, pour rechercher de meilleures conditions de vie et améliorer les revenus, selon les données de 2009 du Bureau Palestinien des Statistique on peut distinguer ici deux grandes périodes :

1-La première (1990-1993) correspond au temps précédent l'arrivée de l'Autorité Palestinienne avec une immigration de 19,3 %.

2-La deuxième (1994-1997) après l'arrivée de l'Autorité Palestinienne, a vu cette immigration passée à 37,8%.

Les données de 2010 indiquent que la répartition des migrants selon leur provenance est la suivante 55,2 % des migrants internes sont issu des zones urbaines, 23,6 % des zones rurales et 21,2 % des camps de réfugiés.

Ces données révèlent de plus que 33 % des migrants sont généralement jeunes étant entendu qu'avec une moyenne d'âge qui ne dépasse pas 30 ans. Il y a une forte corrélation entre cette tranche d'âge et le niveau d'éducation, cela signifie que la majorité des migrants de moins de 30 ans ont un niveau élevé d'éducation, ce qu'il leur permet de prétendre à un meilleur emploi dans la région de Ramallah.

Le travail proposé ici s'intéresse aux changements que la Cisjordanie a subits depuis 1993, Notre champ d'étude concerne premièrement l'impact du facteur géopolitique dans la modification de l'urbanisme de la région de Ramallah, deuxièmes les conséquences socio-économiques de ce changement, et pour finir, le nouveau paysage urbain qui domaine cette région. L'étude est divisée en deux parties, contenant chacune trois chapitres.

La méthodologie utilisée pour répondre a nos différentes problématiques est basée sur les éléments suivante :

*Un travail sur le terrain avec des questionnaires.

*L'analyse de données statistique de différentes institutions.

*Le traitement d'images aériennes entre les années de 1997 et 2015.

*Des références bibliographiques.

Ce travail a duré quatre années et a été réalisé grâce à la collaboration entre l'université d'Angers en France et l'université de Birzeit en Palestine.

Partie 1-L'évolution Histoire de la Palestine 1918-1993

Cette première partie donne une brève description de l'évolution chronologique du peuple palestinien et des enjeux socio-économiques urbains, ainsi qu'une analyse en profondeur de la zone d'étude avec un focus sur le rôle de l'occupation israélienne qui a contribué à la démarcation de la zone palestinienne.

1-1 historique du paysage urbain de la Palestine

Le paysage urbain et socio-économique de la Palestine entre 1918 et 1993 a connu trois changements, chacune de ces étapes ayant leurs caractéristiques et spécificités.

1-Le mandat Britannique 1918-1948

Cette période commence après la chute de l'empire ottoman et la prise du pouvoir par la Grande Bretagne. Elle se caractérise par l'importance accordée par les Britanniques (sur les plans urbain et socio-économique) aux villes de Jaffa, Haïfa et plus encore Ramallah à la ville de Jérusalem. Les autres villes Palestiniennes jouaient alors un rôle comme secondaire.

2- La gouvernance Jordanienne 1948-1967

La fin du mandat Britannique en 1948 a donné naissance à une nouvelle division de la Palestine en trois zones :

‘Etat d'Israël’ qui domine 76% du territoire avec comme principales villes Haïfa et Jaffa

Les 24% du territoire qui restent concernent la Cisjordanie, Jérusalem est demeurant principal pôle économique et urbain.

La bande de Gaza qui passe sous l'autorité égyptienne.

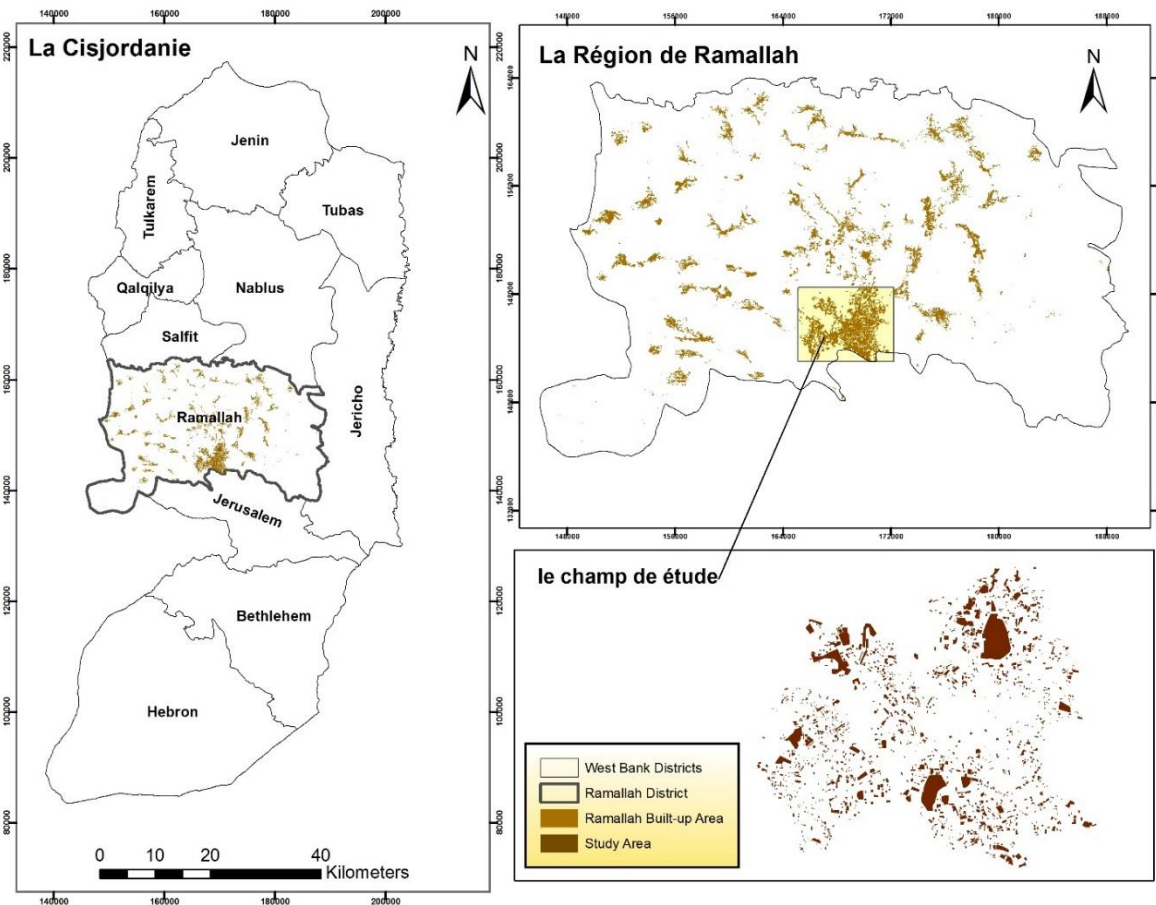
3- Le paysage politique palestinien 1967-1993.

Le paysage géopolitique durant cette période change avec la domination d'Israël sur l'ensemble du territoire palestinien. Cette situation a conduit à un changement radical de la Cisjordanie et de la bande de Gaza sur le plan urbain et socio-économique. Ce nouveau paysage a été dirigé et conduit par l'occupation israélienne. La Cisjordanie se situe au centre de l'ancienne Palestine avec une superficie 5655km² et une population de 3 millions d'habitants. Elle est composée de onze agglomérations urbaines, comme la montre la carte ci-dessous, et des 121 colonies Israéliennes et plus de 500 mille colons.

2.1. Description de la région de Ramallah :

La région de Ramallah se trouve au milieu de la Cisjordanie avec 881 km² et une population 350,000 habitants. Elle représente 12% de la population de la Cisjordanie elle a comme ville principale Ramallah, Al Bireh et Betuniya . Ces trois villes seront le champ de notre étude.

La Cisjordanie et La région de Ramallah.



3.1. Les changements profonds dans le paysage palestinien (urbain et socio-économique)

A. Le paysage politique palestinien à partir 1993 :

Les accords d'Oslo en 1993 ont bouleversé le paysage politique de la Palestine avec l'arrivée de l'Organisation pour la Libération de la Palestine au pouvoir et le début du processus de paix. Le coté palestinien a décidé de prendre la région de Ramallah comme pole décisionnelle économique et politique. Cette décision a conduit les institutions gouvernementales à prendre la région de Ramallah comme siège et a consacré de forts investissements public et privé, offrant de nouvelles perspectives au développement de la ville.

B. Le nouveau découpage politique après l'accord Oslo

Selon les accords d'Oslo, la Cisjordanie est découpé en trois zones géopolitiques

Zone A : Elle est sous le contrôle de l'OLP à 100% et comprend 11 villes palestiniennes.

Zone B ; sous un contrôle mixte Israélo Palestinien (50%/50%)

Zone C : sous contrôle israélien à 100%.

Zone	Administration	Superficies eu 100%
A	Palestinienne	17%
B	Palestinienne	26%
C	Israélienne	61%

Ce découpage a conduit un développement inégal des différentes villes palestiniennes et à la concentration de la population Palestinienne dans les zone A et B.

Partie 2. Le processus des transformations après 1993.

La deuxième partie de cette étude analyse les facteurs qui ont affecté le processus de migration interne et la croissance urbaine. L'étude tente ensuite d'enquêter sur les principaux changements intervenus dans le modèle urbain à travers différents modèles.

Cette partie sera consacrée à l'analyse des données, et partagée en trois chapitres

Le premier chapitre analyse les causes et conséquence de l'immigration interne dans la région de Ramallah.

Le deuxième chapitre expose la transformation urbaine de la région de Ramallah sur une période de 17ans à partir de photos aériennes prises entre 1997-2015.

Le troisième chapitre présente la spécificité du paysage urbain de la région de Ramallah à partir de l'analyse de différents modèles urbains.

1.2-Analyse du contexte lié aux conséquences de l'immigration interne en Palestine.

Une enquête sur le terrain partant sur plus des 500 questionnaires a été réalisée. Quinze entretiens directs avec les ministères et les mairies de la région de Ramallah ont également complété l'analyse.

La distribution des questionnaires a été choisie selon des échantillons bien précis, la région de Ramallah ayant découpé en dix zones, la méthode dite 'Snowball random sampling technique' a été retenue : pour chaque zone, cette méthode consiste à distribuer 50 questionnaires, l'échantillon a été choisie au hasard.

L'analyse des questionnaires a été réalisée avec le logiciel SPSS.

L'analyse des questionnaires et de l'entretien met eu évidence une augmentation de l'urbanisme causée par l'immigration interne durant les vingt dernières années. En ce qui concerne la densité de population elle est 980 habitants/donum, ce qui est très élevé si on le compare aux autres régions palestiniennes autour de 480 habitants au km².

La raison principale de cette forte augmentation est d'abord politique avec l'arrivé de l'Autorité Palestinienne après les accords d'Oslo, mais aussi économique, avec l'implantation de plusieurs entreprises publiques et privées, tous cela conduisant à des changements socioéconomiques.

2.2- La transformation urbaine de la région de Ramallah.

Une analyse de sept photos aériennes des années 1997-2000-2004-2007-2010-2012-2015 en plus de la carte de 1943, a été utilisée pour suivre l'évolution de la surface urbaine dans un espace-

temps (built-up area). Cette méthode pose première image de 1997 comme référence, puis suit l'évolution sur chaque période jusqu'à 2015 comme le montre le tableau suivant.

Après analyse des images on constate une évolution de 52 % de la superficie : entre 1997 et 2015 elle est passée de 7250 donum à 11000 donum soit une augmentation de 3750 donum. Cette augmentation a eu des répercussions sur les espaces verts avec une diminution 27%.

La chose la plus importante durant cette période est la création de nouvelles villes à la campagne, ces villes ont été construites sur des zones agricoles sur une superficie 3000 donum.

3.2- le nouveau paysage urbain.

A partir des sept photos aériennes prises entre 1997 et 2015, plusieurs modèles urbains ont été réalisés pour comprendre les changements urbains durant une période spatiotemporelle. Le nouveau visage urbain de Ramallah est caractérisé par un développement anarchique 'urbain sprawl pattern'. La zone nord-ouest est celle qui a été le plus touchée par ces nouvelles constructions, car le plus facile d'y obtenir permis de construire, en comparaison des autres zones contrôlées par les autorités israéliennes.

Discussion.

L'étude a permis de constater que la zone de Ramallah a été témoin au cours des deux dernières décennies, d'un processus de transformation urbaine ; elle coïncide avec des transformations en termes sociaux, économiques et politiques. En outre, l'avènement de l'Autorité palestinienne dans les années 1990 à Ramallah est un point important pour les Palestiniens du point de vue de leur territoire, avec également des répercussions néfastes sur le modèle urbain et sur le paysage.

Cette thèse révèle un mécanisme de « *leapfrog* », une accélération dans le processus de croissance urbaine et l'expansion territoriale, pour faire face à ces changements et à l'émergence de demandes urbaines en raison de la migration interne.

L'étude démontre aussi l'impact des accords d'Oslo sur les plans démographique et socioéconomique. Les accords d'Oslo ont en effet conduit à une augmentation de la population de la région de Ramallah, qui est passée de 55380 en 1997 à 180000 en 2015 une progression 125% en 18 ans. Cette augmentation est due à une immigration interne après le processus de paix engagé entre l'Autorité Palestinienne et le gouvernement israélien, ce qui prouve que les accords ont eu

des conséquences sur la situation démographique. L'immigration interne a eu des impacts sur les traditions, les coutumes, le niveau d'éducation et la diversité culturelle. L'amélioration de l'activité économique avec de nouvelles créations d'entreprises publiques et privées ce qui a créé de nouveaux emplois, a aussi entraîné une mutation de la région de Ramallah est devenue le centre de la vie économique et politique de la Palestine 'elle est surnommé la capital provisoire de la Palestine' le taux d'urbanisation entre 1997 et 2015, a augmenté de 33%, le taux actuel d'urbanisation est 64%, et l'augmentation de la superficie construite de 52%.

La densité de population est passée à 900 habitant / km² alors qu'elle ne dépassait pas 500 habitant/km² en 1997. La région de Ramallah a pris à nouveau visage urbain : avant 1997 le modèle urbain était horizontal, le modèle est devenu vertical après les accords d'Oslo, et de nouvelles villes font ont fait apparition sur la partie nord-est de la région.

Cette transformation Cette transformation a conduit à l'apparition de nouveaux problèmes : Une forte augmentation des besoins de la population en matière d'hôpitaux, d'éducation, d'électricité avec saturation des services publics. Une augmentation du chômage chez les jeunes surtout chez les diplômés. Une augmentation du prix du marché immobilier, les prix ont été multipliés par trois.

Le changement du visage urbain durant la période d'urbanisation L'augmentation de la demande de logements par les nouveau arrivants dans la région de Ramallah, a conduit un changement du visage urbain avec une accélération des constructions souvent accompagné d'un non-respect des normes de construction et du paysage urbain d'avant, entraînant une urbanisation anarchique

Les perspectives de la région L'analyse des données démographiques et urbaines montre que le nombre d'habitant en 2025 atteindra les (128.450 habitant) ce qui demandera superficie 2300 donum pour la réalisation de nouvelles constructions.

Conclusion.

Le cas de la région de Ramallah est un excellent exemple pour comprendre les changements urbains et socio-économiques sous l'occupation israélienne et le rôle des accords d'Oslo après 1993 dans l'élaboration de ce nouveau modèle. La région de Ramallah a connu durant les vingt dernières années de profonds changements sur tous les aspects économique, sociaux et politique C'est dans

ce contexte que cette étude a été menée, alors le but de comprendre les raisons de cette transformation du visage urbain et son impact socioéconomique. L'arrivée de l'Autorité Palestinienne dans la région de Ramallah a donné à celle-ci l'occasion de devenir attractive pour les palestiniennes par rapport aux autres régions palestiniennes. La région de Ramallah a réussi à être le centre de décision pour des raisons politiques.

Acronyms.

WB: West Bank.

PA: Palestinian Authority.

PCBS: Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistic.

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Introduction.

The distribution of Palestinian population by type of community in 2012 is divided into 53.5% urban, 30.3% rural and 16.2% refugee camp (PCBS, 2012). At the same time, the urbanisation rate of Ramallah area reached about 60 %, which is much higher than the national and international average, with a population density that is more than the national average 456 inhabitant/ km², reaching more than 600 inhabitant/ km². The number of housing unit that has been constructed between 1997 and 2007 is about 5916 units, exceeding that of other cities too. This situation has added a great pressure on the available services and infrastructure.

During the nineties, migration to Ramallah area was characterized by individual internal migration that driven by the hope for a better chance to get job and increasing the income. According to the survey of PCBS in 2009 about immigrants in Ramallah, it revealed that 37.8% of the migrants had immigrated after the advent of PA during the period 1994 and 1997, 19.3% between 1990 and 1993. The data also indicated that 55.2% of the migrants moved to urban communities, while 23.6% moved to rural communities and 21.2% to camps.

The 2010 statistics revealed that migrants are usually young, 33 % less than 30 years old (PCBS, 2009), this is correlated with the education level of immigrants have where the majority are well educated and are active labour force or economically active. Therefore, roughly they migrate from their original living places to find better opportunity for jobs.

Ramallah area is being considered as the most attractive place for the Palestinian immigrants among other districts of the WB. This preference is due to its political and socio-economic situation after 1993. Statistics indicated that 25.5% of internal migration moved towards Ramallah area, while Hebron and Bethlehem cities in the south of the WB is less attractive than the center and north of the WB according to Palestinian census 1997. Population density of Ramallah area was the lowest density in the WB area in 1961, about 2.8 inhabitant/ km², whilst, if compare with Jerusalem, it was 9.2 inhabitant/ km², and increase to 11.9 inhabitant/ km² after 1967 as compared to Jerusalem that reached 7.4 inhabitant/ km².

In the 2007 census, Ramallah area was still the main attractive center for internal migrants in the WB, it is worth noting that the net immigration to Ramallah district equal to 13.500 person and comprised about 5.1% from population of the governorate 2007. In addition to Ramallah district, there are another two districts that are attractive for the internal migrants but to a lesser extent to

Ramallah, these are Bethlehem and Qalqilya that have the second and third rank respectively with regard to internal migrants. Jericho and Jerusalem cities are both characterized a “Negative Net Immigration”, which indicates that these cities are the least attractive cities for internal migration, especially after 1993.

The growing importance of Ramallah area is first and foremost associated with the unique geographical situation; Ramallah is located mid of Palestine and it is adjacent to Jerusalem, it also plays an economic role by the remittances which are transferred by its expatriates in diaspora. Such transfers left its imprint on the economic situation, since the municipality have addressed these remittances at the beginning to develop the infrastructure and flourish the city in fifths of 20th century. At later stage, it had invested in commercial activities. More likely, in cadastral or real estate sector since 1995.

Ramallah area, is not only comprising the interim political and economic city of the WB, but also with the largest concentration of international and local educational and cultural institutions, encouraging Palestinian from diverse economic, social and cultural background spurred people to 'depopulate' their urban or rural origin toward Ramallah area as a favourite migration destination. High percentage of internal migration towards Ramallah area might be indicator for the divergence or gap of the developmental amongst the WB cities, which encourage Palestinian to think of displacing their residency to Ramallah area. In contrast, there is no plan or policy yet for a better management of the newcomers into the city.

Simultaneously, the peripheries areas of Ramallah area are mostly resided by migrants since 1948, like Um-Alshrayte area; nowadays uncontrolled population growth had led to create alternatives to cope with this increasing, like newly urban areas like Al-Jinan and Al-Ghadeer around Ramallah that have all public services and infrastructures, and in which neither rich nor poor are residing, comprising a model of the new urban-rural life style of the countryside.

As a result, migrants had come from all over the WB districts because Ramallah area had become after 1993 the main destination for other cities due to its attractiveness. . This large immigration had resulted in a short-period population expansion that increase the population of the district from 550380 in 1997, according to PCBS 19997, to 180.000 inhabitant live in Ramallah area according to the municipalities' statistics in 2015. This high population increase was largely due to the advent of the PA in the mid of 1990s, which has reshaped the urban and socio-economic texture of the

city by considering Ramallah as the interim political capital. For that, Ramallah area has become the first destination of migrants from all over the WB districts for several reasons such as: its mid location in the WB; its vicinity to the main road axis; its proximity to Jerusalem, the multiple and diverse job opportunities that were being offered by the PA after 1993; and finally, better access to services and social, educational and cultural facilities, which enables open level of liberty that had characterized the city.

The selection of Ramallah as a case study for this Ph.D. thesis was governed by the following principles: Firstly, the city represented a distinctive case that represents high and rapid urbanization rate of more than 60%, with a population growth that is connected to this internal migration since many decades; secondly, the sensitive geopolitical situation of the area in term of Oslo accord geopolitical divisions (Area A, B, and C), and how Jerusalem city supplanted by Ramallah area since the onset of the PA, and in accordance to the holistic perspective and implemented plan by the Israeli policy, aiming at the separation of the Palestinian communities around Jerusalem from its vital capital, and at the same time put more focus on Ramallah area to the extent that ; Ramallah area has become the interim Capital of the Palestinian Statehood; thirdly, since the 1990s insufficient attention and studies has been conducted to discuss the implications of internal migration and its current and future problems that affects Ramallah ; fourthly, the ease with which one can conduct the field work without any risks, especially with regard to security and political situation in the Palestinian territories.

According to a comparative analysis between aerial photos of 1997 and 2015 in addition to the British map of land use 1943, the result has revealed large changes that took place in Ramallah area. The changes and diversion of Ramallah was from agricultural and agrarian society, to a newly urbanized area, which is evident from comparison of current and old aerial photos.

The primary aerial photos analysis that has been done to identify the changes that has happened during the last 18 years. Since 1943 shortly and particularly 1997, agricultural land decreased to thee favor of intensive urbanization, which was resulted from increasing demand on housing by the new immigrants to the new liberal area.

The Analysis has also shown an overall increase in developed urban area versus agricultural land use and high density of buildings around the center core. Moreover, the recent population growth has associated with new urban areas that expanded into the surrounding and suburban areas.

In addition to the suburban expansion that constructed on agricultural land in Ramallah area, a number of other rural-urban cities has been constructed in the periphery of the study area such as Surda, Abu Qush in the northwestern direction, where the east part is restricted by the Israeli colonies. This large urban expansion and transformation from rural has also its effect on the landscape of Ramallah area and the surrounding villages, where the scenery had changed from green natural to urban cemented blocks of landscape.

Furthermore, a number of studies by Ibrahim Abu-Lughod Institute for International Studies (2013); Leinwand (2001); Duraidi (2009); Lisa (2008); Khamaisi (2006); Roy (2004) Coon (2001); Hilal (1977) had addressed the issue of the Palestinians population and demographic development since 1967 up today, with strong trend of large socio-economic and urban transformation consequences.

The distribution and urban development of the Palestinian cities and landscape, Since the beginning of Palestinian Israeli peace process in 1991, has distinctively overshadowed Ramallah area with its effects, resulting with changes and transformation from a regional to a national and international focal city, as result of the aforementioned reasons and consequences that are associated with the geopolitical factors and the pace of economic development, creating Ramallah as the de facto of the capital of the Palestinian statehood.

Problem Statement.

Many refugees had come from the occupied Palestinian territories to live in Ramallah area after 1948 and 1967 war, but the political situation was stand still without any changes until the onset of the PA. The most important changes occurred after the formation of the PA according to Oslo Accord in 1993. As result, urban, and socio-economic transformation have occurred since the beginning of 1993 (Roy, 2001). Furthermore, demographic changes that occurred in the WB cities, especially in Jericho city and was connected with the beginning of the PA establishment as a result of the agreement of Gaza and Jericho First, but after 1995 Jericho has been supplanted with Ramallah area.

There is consensus among scholars like (Taraki, 2010; Harker, 2010; Khamaisi, 2006) that Jerusalem the political, cultural, religious center and the capital city of Palestine has been

supplanted by Ramallah area, the new headquarter of the PA. For that reason and since 1995, Ramallah has become more socially diversified than it was at the onset of PA (Taraki, 2008).

Central and unique geographical location of Ramallah area into the WB, its closeness to Jerusalem, just 16 km, were among the strong reasons for choosing Ramallah to be administrative and political center for the PA in the mid of 1990s (Hacker, 2010), coincide with the increasing rate of population, all returnees back to live in Ramallah area, and immigration has begun from the rest of the cities of the WB, coupled with a dramatic increase in the number of residential dwellings that have been built; all of these changes have confronted unduly with the available land .

The arrival of the PA has had important consequences on the physical apparent of Ramallah area (Taraki,2010), agglomeration of governmental centers and buildings, roads and NGOs, in addition to the new stereotype of life that has met wide socio-economic and cultural transformation, and this demographic-related changes have also been accompanied with urban fabrique and landscape change.

Ramallah area unlike other WB cities have soared in population's boom accompanied with significant pressure on services, job opportunities and accommodations, unduly, as result of internal migration from all over the WB cities.

However, the rate of the urban development peaked after 1993, with high level of urbanization of more than 65% as compared with worldwide rate of 50%, Pertinently because Ramallah area are the most attractive cities to internal migration among other WB cities according to the census of 1997 and 2007 (PCBS, 2009). Thus, the study area have faced influx of internal migration coupled with socio-economic rate of transformation and high rate of urbanization.

More shocking, the total number of population raised from 45989 in 1997 to 65662 inhabitants in 2007 according to the PCBS statistic; whilst the increase is more if based on the statistic of the municipalities with about 180.000 inhabitant in 2015. More noticeably, net immigration is equal to 7451 inhabitant with about 3.5% from total Pop in 1997, while the rate increase to about 13500 inhabitant, about 5.1% from total Pop in 2007 (PCBS, 2009), such high rate of population growth was mainly due to the rural-urban and urban-urban

migration from north and south districts of the WB to the more urbanized area (Ramallah area).

In addition, a significant increase in urbanization was reported after signing Oslo accord, which occurred in the geopolitical area A where the PA has control over both civil and security matters (Noubani, 2010). This expansion is evident in Ramallah area, which is apparent through high density and sprawl of building that has been taken vertical type of expansion in a form of high sky buildings, and as a consequent, it had caused a decrease in the green area and an increase the administrative centralization, without any legislative restrictions.

As a result of such urban sprawl, the green area has decreased to 18%, and most of the remaining area (Kittaneh, 2009) was used to satisfy the needs of the increasing number of population (PCBS, 2011), concomitant with such sprawl, increasing urbanized area in all direction in random and condensed manner is also evident.

Due to the Israeli policy after the second Intifada (Second Palestinian Uprising), many restrictions and obstacles had been imposed by Israeli occupation, such as the cities military invasions in 2002, the closures, curfews and the checkpoints that imposed tough restrictions on movement between the WB cities. Moreover, this issue had been coupled with Israeli decisions in 2002 to start building the Separation Wall that has a major role in spatial fragmentation of Palestinian cities and villages, which looks like insular barrier.

Furthermore, confiscated agricultural land is more than 10% of total of the WB that is equal to 5655 km². In addition, preventing the Palestinians workers to get into the Israeli labor market, had led to a dramatic increase in poverty, in this regard, about 10% of Palestinian labor force lost their position (Ministry of economic and industry, 2004). Such restrictions on labor force were evident all over the WB generally, whereas in the cities adjacent to armistice line like Jenin particularly, Tulkarem and Qalqilya north of the WB, and Hebron and Bethlehem in the south.

However, affected people by the Israeli measures has moved to search Jobs in other places especially in the new cosmopolitan cities, as well as in Ramallah area where there are opportunities and places for jobs with more services.

This study is designed to get better broader perspective and understanding of the process of urbanization and urban transformation due to the internal migration after 1993. Through investigating the main causes and consequences. Further, shaping the complex topology of the WB under Israeli occupation.

Research Questions.

To investigate and analyse the study problem and achieve objectives of the study, the following questions are developed:

- What is the role of geopolitical factors in reshaping the urban and socio-economic de facto of Ramallah area since 1993?
- What are the main socio-economic and landscape sequences of this transformation process?
- What are the major spatiotemporal trend and characteristic of urban expansion in Ramallah area during 1997 and 2015?

Research Hypothesis.

Three principal hypothesis guided the study:

- Demographic and socio-economic profile of Ramallah area has been affected directly since 1993.
- Geopolitics is a critical factor that mediate how other factors have driven Ramallah area transformation process.
- The urban pattern of Ramallah area has changed after 1993, associated with socio-economic transformation.

Research Objectives.

- To investigate the main factors of Geopolitics, socio-economy and environmental factors that prompted Palestinians immigration to Ramallah area.
- To Investigate the role of Oslo accord as a geopolitical factor that had affected the urbanization rate in Ramallah area.

- To investigate the main consequences (urban and socio-economic) due to the transformation process.
- To investigate the probability to create a model for the quo situation and scenarios for the near future.

Research Methodology.

A mixed methods approach had used in the study to obtain relevant data, and to provide cross-validation of data, as follow:

First: Data Collection.

- Historical documents from archived data, relevant Palestinian ministries and institutions that explore the situation in Ramallah area since the past up-today, such as; documents, old statistics, maps and aerial and digital photos, aiming at getting a historical background.
- Qualitative Method, The process of research involves open-ended question (Interviews Question) that will be collected from participants like, official formers (decision makers), scholars, landowners and contractor, immigrants who are related to the study objectives.
- Quantitative methods, it often involves developing research hypothesis and testing through examination of relationship among different variables. The study had used this method in the model analysis and creation by questionnaire.
- Mixed-methods research is an approach to inquiry that combines both qualitative and quantitative forms to strengthen the study.

Second: Data Analysis.

- **The concurrent procedure used** both types of method at the same time and converges or merges quantitative and qualitative data. The purpose is to produce a holistic analysis of the research topic. The researcher collects both forms of data simultaneously and then integrates the collected data in the interpretation of the overall results. The Statistical

Package for Social Science (SPSS) was used as the main tool for analysis of quantitative data.

- **Geographical Information System** has been used to analyze aerial photos, to detect the actual physical and urban changes that have occurred over the time, likewise in exact span of time, and then had obtained data about the past and quo situation through spatial analysis process, and finally to produce maps for the present urban pattern of Ramallah area.
- **Numerical model** are becoming increasingly common in human research, modelling techniques permit complexity among variables to be e-actively managed (Rob and Nicholas, 2000). Through affordable data, the study had built a model for the process of urban transformation according to multi-agents, for current situation and for future scenarios as simulation.

The study-adopted number of aerial photos to compute the urban area that had increased during 1997 and 2015, by digitizing the increasing areas, included the main urban surface that has been classified for residential use only. The rest asphalted and concrete areas have been excluded.

It is worth noting that the term “green area” that has been used for the land classification, which included agricultural land, forest and arable land.

The term of Ramallah area includes the three main cities of Ramallah district (Ramallah, Al-Bireh and Betunya) as a case study.

The uncultivated or Vacant land, include the land that not cultivated such as bare land.

The Study Limitation.

As any study in the field of science have a number of problems and limitation that are being encountered during the process of data collection, writing and analysis data and the fieldwork on one hand. On the other hand, the financial problem, since arrived France there was not enough financial resources due to the low monthly salary of the French scholarship, which affected negatively to achieve the study in suitable time.

Exceptionally, the fund for the fieldwork that has been provided by the geography department at Birzeit University.

Other challenges that have been faced are related to the limited and small amount of quantitative and qualitative data on Ramallah area, especially within the urban context and the complex geopolitical situation. In addition, to the scarcity of practical studies on this topic, further the contradiction of statistics between the municipalities and other official Palestinian institutes, which increased the time of work particularly for the urban surface area.

Research Outline.

The study contains the introduction, which introduce the research problem, objectives etc., and two parts each part have three chapter. Part one included the first chapter as a general historical-geographical description of the Palestinian urban, socio-economic situation. While, in the second chapter an in-depth analysis about the Ramallah area chronological urban development. Chapter three gives an overview of the geopolitical situation of the West Bank regarding the Israeli occupation and Oslo accord and their implications for the urban and socio-economic situation of the Palestinian landscape.

The second part included another three chapter, chapter one analyzed and examined the main result of the quantitative and qualitative analysis about the characteristics of the internal migration in Ramallah area. While, the second chapter analyzed the aerial photos of Ramallah area to detect the main changes during 1997 and 2015. Chapter three, presents the results of the spatiotemporal landscape changes and the urban expansion pattern of Ramallah area, then described the urban pattern and the near-future probability of Ramallah area urban growth.

Finally, the findings, the conclusions and the recommendations, particularly targeting the decision makers.

The first Part

Chronological Development of the Palestinian Case.

Chapter One

Palestine in Chronological Context

Chapter Two

Study Area General Description

Chapter Three

Geopolitics and Transformations Response: Ramallah Area.

Chapter One: Palestine in Chronological Context.

Introduction.

This chapter aims to present a brief visual depiction of some of the major issues and characteristics surrounding the general situation and the process of urbanization in Palestine over many decades ago. Moreover, it sheds light on the most important phases as chronological transformation in the Palestinian scene. Whereas, a number of variables affected the process, such as the British Mandate, temporal Jordanian Rule and followed by the Israeli occupation since then up-today.

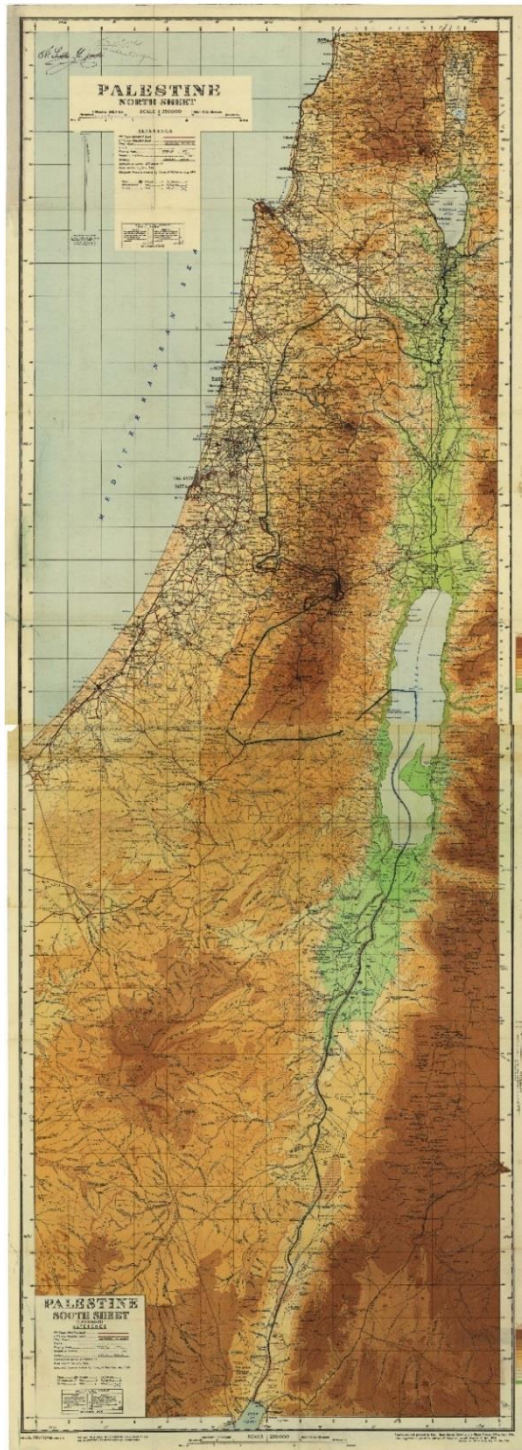
Number of the oldest cities in the Palestinian territory, like Jerusalem, Nablus, Bethlehem and Hebron, played a prosperous role whereas other cities existed with limited importunacy.

By the end of the 18th century, the Palestinians lived in villages were estimated at about 268.242 inhabitant; and who lived in cities or urban areas estimated to make up about 90.000 inhabitant in 1860 (Scholch, 1985). After 1917, a distinctive feature of transformation occurred when the Grand Britain gave the right for who doesn't have it (Balfour Declaration: for the establishment of "a national home for the Jewish people" in Palestine) that had stipulate for statehood for Zionists in Palestine.

Then it was followed by the British Mandate over Palestinian land according to Sykes-Picot Anglo-Franco secret agreement. Since then the spread of urbanization has remarkably taken another form, as it will be discussed later. Therefore, within such a short period the urban fabrication began to change relatively with the number of population. The proportion of the urban population slowly began to grow due to the new political administration in the country, indeed; urban plans were achieved by the authority of mandate depending on the Ottoman plan. In addition, at that time, the policy of mandatory facilitated the process of 'stolen' or purchasing large areas from absente Arab landowner and even the Palestinian who were living in their land thereafter displaced.

The Palestinian territory as one of the developing countries and as an occupied one differs markedly of urbanization rate due to the geopolitical situation and the Israeli occupation that replaced the British Mandate after its withdrawal from Palestine mid May 1948 . For example, the network of roads was west-east and north-south before 1948, but after this date, it was deployed to serve the policy and aims of the Israeli occupation in WB and Gaza strip (Coon, 1990).

Map (1): Palestine Survey Map 1944



Compiled, drawn and printed by Survey of Palestine 1944

The Land management and urban planning strongly were affected historically by the events and administrative apparatus that ruled Palestine more particularly after the British Mandate who adopted the urban plan of the Ottoman period with a number of modifications which designed and demarcated the border and the urban policies to serve their objectives. Then, the Temporal Jordanian Rule, which was ended by the Israeli occupation plans, followed it.

For that, the planning system according to Coon 1990 had a significant effect on the pattern of development when Israel controlled the entire of the WB in 1967, through expropriation and confiscation of land to construct colonies, road network and military bases. In the contrary, it prohibited the Palestinians from using their land or building over 60% of total area of the WB, especially in the towns and villages. Moreover, it left the area in a deplorable condition.

1. The Chronological Development of Palestine.

The regime has influenced the structure and system of urban process and the law that drawn up the urban planning on the de facto. In the history context of Palestine, three distinctive periods had identified the situation:

The British Mandate 1918-1948.

Jordanian Rule 1948-1967.

Israeli Administration 1967-1993.

1.1. The British Mandate: 1918-1948.

After the advent of the formal British Mandate on 29 September 1923 in Palestine which was done with General Allenby after fourth centuries of the Ottoman-Turk Empire, series of changes have occurred as well as political and socio-economic which affected the urban fabrication. The initial intervention or change was that the Palestinian notables began to come towards Jerusalem instead of Damascus as a new political pole and begun to build the governmental apparatus there (Joel, 1980).

Otherwise, farming was still the main profession in Palestine depending on sufficient local security as well as agrarian society, particularly in the central Palestinian mountain region where the majority of it was classified as villages, but after 1919 farmers were forced to pay the taxes in cash (Kamal, 2015), and at the same time they tried to create self-agrarian society.

1.1.1. The three Primate cities of the Palestinian Urban Core.

During the era of the British Mandate, the urbanization process took the direction from east (Bethlehem, Nablus, Hebron) to west (Western coast), as a movement for the Palestinian peasants to urban areas out controlled the old elites as notables who controlled the socio-economic life of villages in some cases as heritage of social class of the Ottoman Empire. Those families, like Al-Hussaini and Al-Nashashebi, lived in in Jerusalem and Abed-Alhadi family in Nablus (Ayad, 2004). However, the urbanization process as other parts of the world was along in public work sector accused the internal migration, through east-west; towards Jaffa, Haifa where there were no ties or links for Palestinian notables.

The internal migration or the transition to the urban areas as Jaffa and Haifa cities produced shifting in the percentage of population. The cities were growing rapidly as well as, Haifa grew at 87% between 1922 and 1931 and Jaffa at 63%, and they continued to grow until the 1940s. This growth was in term of urban expansion and urbanized society, for example, more than 11,000 workers lived in huts (Nadan, 2006).

In 1922, statistics revealed and indicated that there was a decline in the dominance of Jerusalem. It was containing over 38% of the total population like other largest cities (Jaffa, Haifa), but by 1944, the percentage declined to 32%, Contrarily, Haifa grew by 87% and Jaffa 63% in the same period. That supported the assumption of centrality of these two cities in this era more than Jerusalem as economic cities (Khamaisa, 1997).

Table (1): Estimated Rural and Urban Population of Palestine.

Year	Rural	Urban	Total	Percent of Jews
1922	531.515	285.523	817.038	11.4 %
1931	648.530	387291	1.035.821	16.8
1944	872.089	825.880	1.697.969	32.6

(Nadan, 2006)

According to table .1, the majority of the Palestinian population were residing in rural areas that estimated about 11.4% of Jews in 1922, and then by 1944, the number of urban population increased to 825.880 due to the Zionists immigration towards Palestine who resided in the urban area and nearest rural area.

By 1931, the number of Zionists in Palestine increased to 174.610 some of 17% of the total population; while it was about 84.000 before this year some of 11% of total population and by the end of 1947, the number of Zionists increased to be 246% ((Rowley, 1977) within 12% of total population live in urban area (Frank and Ernest, 1945).

Map.2, gives a glimpse of the urban situation of Palestine at that time through population density, whereas the most three important cities were Jaffa, Haifa and Jerusalem that topping and promote the Palestinian urban scene.

However, it is important to take in consideration that the increasing had happened since then up to today resulted to the Zionist immigration towards Palestine from worldwide, to prove that between 1989-1993 about 470.000 Zionist (Gil, 1993) and 1993-2000 about one million Zionist had immigrated to Palestine after the collapse of Soviet Union and so on. This policy embodied the doctrine of Zionists in the context of demography conflict.

In addition, from table.2, could be notice that the number of Jerusalem population district estimated in the era of British Mandate. The statistics below comprises the population of Ramallah and Al-Bireh, because in that time the two cities fit within Jerusalem district. In addition, the number includes the three religious sectarian; Muslims, Christian and Palestinian Jewish.

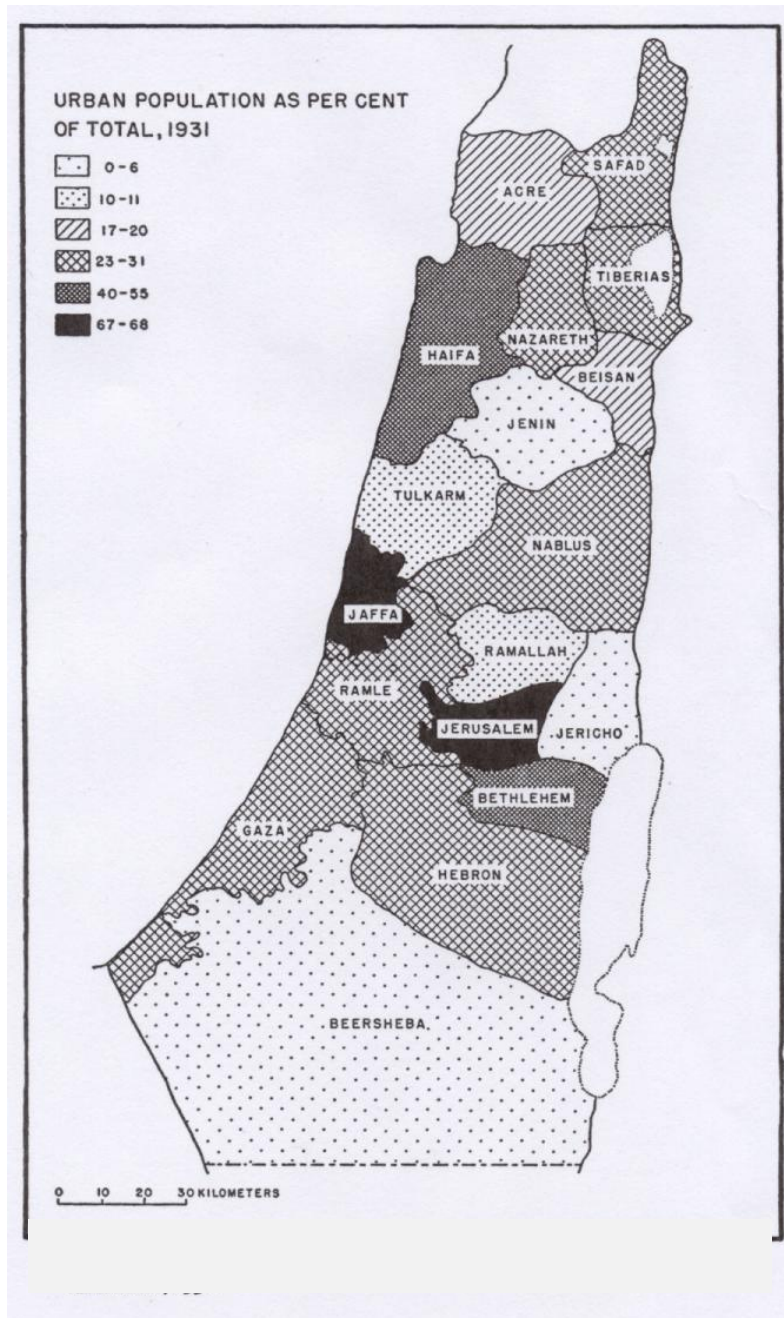
Table (2): Estimated Population of Three Palestinian Cities.

Cities/Population	Ramallah	Al-Bireh	Jerusalem-Area
1922	3014	1479	147809
1931	4286	2292	198931
1945	5080	2640	395230
1961	14759	14510	344270

(Dabagh, 1991).

According to table.2, Ramallah could be defined as rural area, so it might be classified as a village. While, Jerusalem according to the number of its residents was integrated as a city and it was a major economic and political center. Further, it has been the major city in the urban hierarchy of the region since then up today regardless of its religious status. After the official mandate of Palestine at the end of 1922, Jerusalem acquired more socio-economic and political identity when it became the main center for the government of mandate and centralized most of administrative apparatus in the city (Tamari, 2002).

Map (2): The Population density of Palestine in 1931.



Office of Population Research, Princeton University.

Due to the increase in population and the economic growth, particularly among refugees, commercial centers began to emerge outside the Old City walls. At one point, the Old City was the center of economic, housing and administrative life in Jerusalem. However, the Old City has become a part or a quarter of the many quarters in the New Jerusalem, which started to grow as a

residential and administrative city. Attempts were made to renovate some of the important sites in it, such as Damascus Gate and the Citadel, and the new city formed an economic administrative center for foreign communities in Particular (khamaisi, 1997).

However, the mandate classified Palestine into six regions known as districts and sub-district, which were administered by the office of the British High Commissioner for Palestine, as shown in table, 3.

Table (3): Regional Classification of Palestine Mandate.

District	Sub-District				
Haifa	Haifa				
Galilee	Acre	Beisan	Nazzareth	Safad	Tiberias
Lydda	Jaffa		Ramle		
Samaria	Jenin		Nablus		Tulkarm
Jerusalem	Hebron		Jerusalem		Ramallah
Gaza	Beersheba			Gaza	

According to the data abstracted from regional classification map.

Moreover, the growing importance of Jerusalem under the changing socio-economic and political forces constituted a typical example for primary and centralized city of Palestine that time (Roger, 1982).

This study shows like the above quotation for the same Palestinian urban planning expert Rassem Khamaisi, but for Ramallah city not for Jerusalem, which represents the aim of this chapter. It gives a brief description for the situation of Palestine during the era of the British Mandate in which the most important city was Jerusalem, additionally, as the most importance religious place for Muslims, moreover, for the Christianity and Judaism. Then it was followed by Jaffa and Haifa as same as those two cities saved their status since then up- toady, contrary for Jerusalem that supplanted by Ramallah.

The urban regulations seen in Jerusalem when the Military governor of Jerusalem imposed new plan as a law that was written in Arabic, English, French and Hebrew, declaring that “No person shall demolish, erect, alter, or repair the structure of any building in the city of Jerusalem or its

environ within a radius of 2500 meters from Damascus gate (Bab-al-Amud) until he has obtained a written permit from military governor”, Moreover, the materials of construction had defined also. As highlighted, the British Mandate also drawn a number of regional plans for Palestine including the West Bank nowadays to meet needs and condition of that time as a statutory tool to issue legal permit for building:

(S15): The Samaria regional plan covers the northern part of the West Bank.

(RJ5): The Jerusalem regional, which cover the rest part of the West Bank.

(R1): Regional plan for Gaza Strip (Home, 2003).

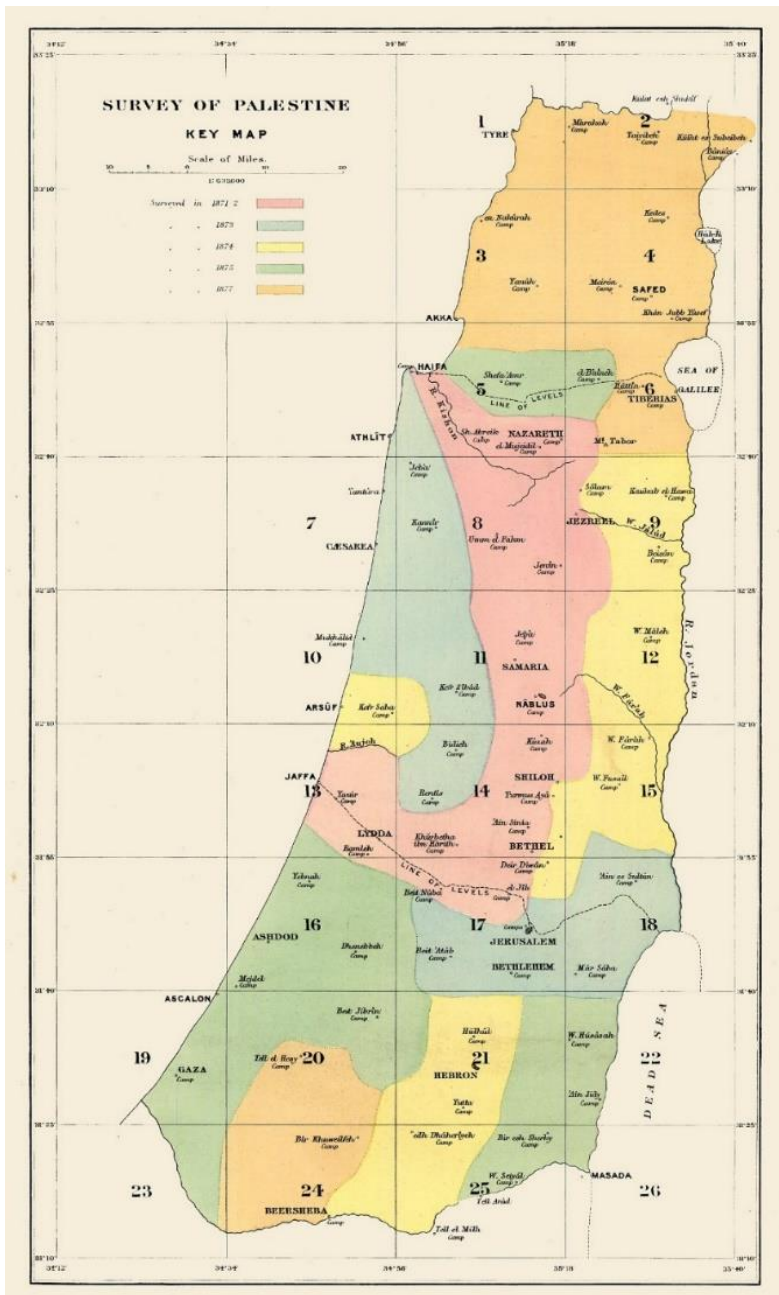
The three zones are identified as, Agriculture, Development and Nature reserves, Judean Desert in the RJ5 identified as natural reserve along the Jordan Valley and ‘State domain’, but in reality the main reason to issue those regional plan to limit the Palestinian urban growth, then to provide more lands for future Israeli urban expansion in the count of Palestinians lands as the picture nowadays (Coon, 1990).

As mentioned previously, British urban plans that is considered as city planning ordinance either regional or local tiers had still after the advent of the Jordanian Rule. Then it was followed by Israeli occupation who used these plans and ordinance to impose and justify the policy of land confiscation under the pretext of development or security area.

To conclude: The British Mandatory period paid more attention to modify or add a number of new urban regulations to reform urban situation and morphology of Palestine after ending the era of Ottoman Empire, particularly in Jerusalem and Jaffa cities and for the Palestinian towns of Jerusalem, Jaffa, Haifa, Nablus, Bir Al-Sabe’ and Gaza (Abedlhamid, 2006). Since the Ottoman administrative left Palestine without any future urban plans (Tamari, 2002 and Coon, 1990), at the same time to serve the aims of Israeli occupation in the later stage.

In the main last brief description, there is no mention for the city of Ramallah area, not even here but when the study made the bibliography. It was existed but not as nowadays just as agrarian society like other cities in the central Palestinian mountains. It was classified as a region contains 58 villages and two cities The number of Ramallah population did not exceed more than 5000 inhabitant (Dabagh, 1991) comparing with population of Jerusalem and Jaffa. The following photos between 1900 and 1945 proved this assumption.

Map (3): Regional Classification of Palestine 1872-1948.



Palestine Remember web site.

Photo 1: Ramallah Area Historical Photos between 1900 and 1945. According to the American Colony and Eric Matson Collection Volume 1.

Ramallah city Landscape 1945



Daily Life Pattern



Al-Bireh old city



Ramallah old city



Ramallah Landscape 1945



Harvest Season



2.1.1. Socio-Economic Life style.

The policy of the British Mandate could be described toughly and sharply towards the Palestinian merchant peasants. Meanwhile; lenient policy with the Zionists who came as immigrants to Palestine insofar to Balfour declaration or inspired by the Zionist dream (Nadan, 2006) under aegis of the British Mandate. Whereas, there was harmful to the Palestinians, ignorance of the native residences without paying any attention to the right of properties or equality and the right to an adequate standard of living such as; urban development, water resources, economic agricultural development etc., Conversely, giving the Zionist the access to construct the newborn state as they claim since then to today (home, 2003).

However, the mechanism of the above policy for taking control of Palestine land and illegal colonies construction was by pilfering the land of peasants in most cases (Al-Kialy, 1968). Indeed, they were built by the governmental approval with various supports such as the Jewish Agency for land purchase or land expropriation (Ayad, 2004). Ostensibly, in the light of its political nature, on the one hand, they froze construction of colonies; on the other hand, they endorsed or gave the Zionists the incentives to violate Palestinians land as a bias policy.

Most directly, the mandate took the policy of dismantling the Palestinian socio-economic texture, according to Nadan. 2006. The majority of the Palestinians were peasants (Fallahin) as a rural economy in the same it was the period of socio-economic transition, when a large number of peasants moved from rural areas to urban centers, like Ramallah to Jaffa that time, as a socio-economic mobility.

The crux of the situation that time was the (Tanzimat) application or notable Palestinian as aforementioned, which caused serious changes in urban social structure, such as Abdul Hadi Family from Nblus was one governor of Haifa but at the same time they had another controlling on Arraba on Jenin nowadays (Seikaly, 1995). Another example was Al-Hussyni family in Jerusalem who had controlled some parts of the rural areas of Jerusalem and Jericho. Since then up- today, Al-hussyni family have a number of lands in Rural area of Ramallah like (Ein Sinya) and in Jericho city, and the same for Abdul Hadi in Nablus.

As number of studies mentioned the system of Tanzimat which was affected by the end of Ottoman Empire and coming the British Mandate. New class was brought to the society as foreigner and Palestinian merchants as a reflection for the modernization process that accompanied by the

mandate policy and newborn of social class (Atran, 1989). At the same time, the notables stayed depending on the rural areas, but their strangulation practices forced number of peasants to immigrate to the most urbanized cities like, Jaffa, Haifa and Jerusalem (Ayad, 2004).

As aforementioned, there were seven district comprised sixteen cities, as well as, there was differentiation among those cities according to number of factors; geographical and political, but since the era of Ottoman empire there were three important cities 'Jerusalem, Jaffa and Beersheba' as a transect north-south (Tamari, 2002). At the end of 1917, physical, socio-economic, and demographic transformation addressed on Jerusalem that change the urban fabrication by the advent of British Mandate which encouraged the continued growth of Jerusalem both spatially and in term of infrastructure (Davis, 2002)

However, the de facto of urban areas at the end of 1940, it is apparent that; Jaffa, Jerusalem and Haifa were subdivision of modern development and the most populated cities. For example, the population density increased from 434 to 972 person/km² in Jaffa 1940 (Frank and Ernest, 1945). The new administration of the 'British Occupation' on one hand brought more importance and opportunities for Jerusalem.

Nevertheless, on other hand these new merits took them into competition with other Palestinians cities. Jerusalem became the headquarter and the civil administration center (Henry, 1980). In addition, Jerusalem acquired a new political position beside its religious position (Davis, 2002), coinciding with new urban areas and services to cater the demand of new immigrant either Palestinian or Zionists who come to live in the city whether rented or owned a home (Henry, 1980).

According to the British Mandate about the economic condition report 1931, Jerusalem witnessed a leap on building process outside the old walled city; around 1.836.740 Palestinian Pounds (£) were invested in the this process, if compared with Haifa about 193,000 £, and Jaffa 79.000 £ the two major cities more to Jerusalem in the era of Ottoman Empire. This number gives indices that the unduly transition or urban transformation process in the city and new social class and mobility (Davis, 2002).

New Neighboring area outside the wall of old the city expanded and was constructed like, Al-Talbiya, Al-Baq'a, Al Qatamon, Sheikh Jarrah and Wadi al-Joz quarters, to cater or absorbed the additional population growth of the city. As well as, the number rose from 62.000 to 164.000

between 1922 and 1947, about 165% average of increasing, which 192% by Jews and 132% by Arab during the same period. This increasing was accompanied by an increasing in the number of houses from 21.403 to 40.000 homes between 1931 and 1947 including 5.853 homes in the old city (Ben Arie, 1990 and Mustafa, 1997). However, this increasing could refer to the immigrants, foreigners and new comers (Zionists).

As the quarters or suburbs grew with a significant surge in the number of population, resultantly, markets and shops were needed to cater the demand of products and services centers. Therefore, a number of shops opened .

Merchants and tradespeople brought their products from villages around the city to sell them. This economic process was accompanied with social mobility in the society by selecting immigrants from middle class people to immigrate and live in Jerusalem city (Davis, 2002). This reflected the cosmopolitan nature of inhabitants with a varied socio-economic life and services.

Table (4): Number of Schools in Jerusalem City (public and private) and students by gender in 1945.

Type of School	No of School	Boys	Girls	Total
Governmental Arab	11	1900	1861	3761
Private Muslim	7	1101	280	1381
Private Christian	38	4311	3553	7864

Office of Education for December 1945 (al-'Arif, 1992)

From table.4, it could be deduced that the level of education in Jerusalem city was high if compared with Ramallah city during the same period. There were only three public schools for male/female containing 1249 students, and six private school containing 903 students (Al-Dabagh, 1991/ Vol 8/2). This supported the important of Jerusalem city in that period more than Ramallah city in the same period.

2. 1. Jordanian Rule of the West Bank: 1948-1967.

The United Kingdom relinquished its mandate over Palestine and disengaged its forces on 14 May 1948. On the same day, the Zionist proclaimed the establishment of the state of 'Israel'. Immediately, the next disengagement was followed by Arab-Israeli war, when regular Arabic troops entered Palestine to assist their Palestinian brothers. Fighting continued, but on 15 July 1948, the Security Council decided to stop it and declared the ceasefire between Israelis and Arab.

By that time, Israel controlled the majority of the Palestinian land and the western part of Jerusalem to consist 76% of the total area of Palestine. After the meeting of Jericho in December 1949, while the WB and east Jerusalem were incorporated into the jurisdiction of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan for 19 years, while Gaza strip into the Egyptian jurisdiction in 1950.

Since then, a new era of political administration had begun in the WB of Palestine under the Jordanian administrative, after uprooting more than 780,000 Palestinians from their land and becoming Refugees outside the armistice line (Green Line), while 32.000 intern Palestine within the armistice line (Sharabi et al, 1992) living in tents provide by the UN that time as photo.2, showing.

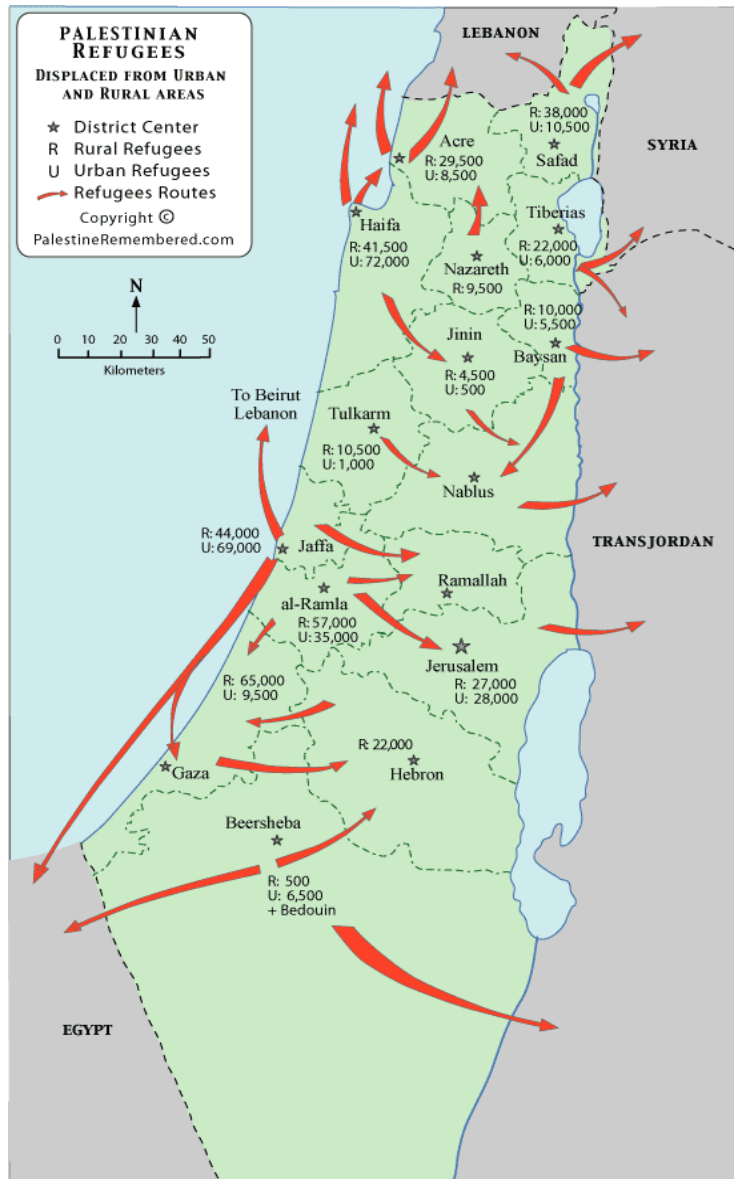
Photo (2): Palestinian Refugees Camp after the Nakba of 1948.



Palestine Remember web site.

Through Map. 4, it is clear that the direction of the Palestinian refugees in figures due to the Al-Nakbah war as well as the direction related to the geographical situation that accompanied with the adjacent country. Hence, the majority of the refugees directed to Jordan then to Syria and Lebanon respectively, each one to the adjacent Arab countries since then up today waiting the dream of returning, since the Israeli had refused and violated the UN Security council resolution (194) n accordance with the right of return.

Map (4): Distribution of the Palestinian Refugee 1948.



Palestine Remember web site.

1.2.1. Geopolitical Situation and Consequences.

By end the war of 1948, Palestine was divided into three parts; 77, 9% of total area within the 1949 Armistice line (Israel), 20.7% the West Bank within Jordanian Authority and 1.4% Gaza strip within Egyptian Authority (Palestinian Geographic Center Map). Jerusalem was divided as Eastern part under Jordanian control including the old city, while Israeli held the western part.

The counterfactual was the capital remained in Amman while East Jerusalem was kept as a city for its own residents. The 'second capital' included the old city and the religious sites with 70.000 inhabitant and the municipal area, which was 38 and 6.5 km² respectively (Coon, 2001).

The centralization of the government apparatus was in Amman, according to Hilal, 1977, Abu Lughod 197, Mishal 1977, Plascov, 1981, and other scholars that the Hashemite favored the East Bank over the WB.

Despite of the modest growth of natural increase among the Palestinians between 1952-1975 which affected and changed the classification of some areas from rural to urban area, the percentage of urban population decreased from 48% in 1952 to 44% in 1975 (Allan, 1983). Therefore, the percentage of urbanization in this era was still lower 'the movement from the rural to urban areas in the WB'.

Actually, the population of urban cities of the WB increased by 45%, while 111% in the rural village as a result of the increasing number of villages that time from 264 to 400 (Coon, 1992) due to the new urban planning by the Jordanian administration.

The history of Jerusalem has been never considered as a capital for any power conquered the city; even Islamic rule of the city had taken it as a capital (Wertheim, 1998). Under the Jordanian rule, also; Jerusalem was capital of the governorate of Jerusalem villages, and all the governmental institution settled in Amman not in Jerusalem even the status of the city.

2.2.1. Transition of the Demographic Profile.

As a consequence of the war 1948, over 780.000 Palestinian became like refuges as distributed as the table.5, down shown. During the uprooting process that was launched by Zionist militias forces rounded up overtly large number of Palestinians. The statistics estimated about 40,000 were killed, and about 50 massacres carried out against the Palestinians between 1948 and 1949(Abed-eldaem, 1998). Moreover, all the properties the Palestinians left at their villages and homes after the

expulsion were settled by Zionists and become as their properties after the Israeli Parliament was issued (Law of Absentees) in 1950.

Table (5): Palestinian Refugees Distribution.

Destination	Number
Gaza	280.00
West Bank	190.000
Lebanon, Syria	256.000
Total	726.000

(Badil, 2014).

In addition, about 150.000 (Beinin and Hajjar, 2014) of Palestinians remained in number of cities and villages of historical Palestine like Jaffa; Haifa and Nazaerth etc. (Palestine of 1948). They were oppressed to obtain the Israeli citizenship (Courbage, 2005) but in reality, they remained as a marginal group among the Israeli society. At the same time, the overall population of the WB and Gaza strip between 1948-1967 according to the Jordanian census about 985.294 distributed on cities, town and new urban form the “Camp”.

However, the decreasing number of population due to the forced migration or exodus led to decrease in population annual rate. It was about 26/1000 which is modest if it is compared with the rate of near east that 35 or 40/1000. Moreover, decreasing in the natural increased by 28% due to the increasing of net emigration which entitled with decline in fertility from 7.85 in 1967 to 6.72 in 1983 (Courbage, 2005). Most of emigrants moved to the Gulf States after the oil boom that following 1973 war. However, had peaked the price of oil and open the doors for more labor market, followed with a large part of emigrants as human resources whom developed economically and socially in the host countries.

However, statistics revealed that after the Nakba, between 1952 and 1967, around 22.480 Palestinian migrated from the WB. It was estimated at 81% (Ennab, 1994) migrants to the Arabian Peninsula because of the better infrastructure and employment opportunities that offered for the qualified Palestinians. It was one of the principal Palestinian needs and an incentive to improve and enhance their socio-economic situation after the two fatal wars.

Nevertheless, at the abroad scale their remittances from the revenues of work had contributed to increase the percentage of education and enhancing family situation on one hand, but unfortunately, the process of emigration could be described as brain drain because it depleted the Palestinian scholars on the other hand.

3.1. The Palestinian Scene: 1967-1993.

The Palestinian geopolitical de facto changed at the second half of 1960s aftermath of 7th June 1967, when the Jordanian Rule withdrew from Palestine, and the land was divided into three territories; Israeli territory (State of Israel) 200980 km² and occupied territory including West Bank and Gaza Strip make up about 6020 km² under Israeli full control.

The status quo played the major role in the urban transformation process of Palestine that affected urban space due to falling all Palestinian land under the Israeli occupation, and some of 400.000 Palestinians were forced to flee again, from what was left of historical Palestine. Whereas about one million Palestinians remained in the WB, Gaza and Jerusalem east (Badil, 2004). The vast majority fled to Jordan as well as the nearest and bordered to Palestine in the eastward entails with transformed Jordanian demographic structure; at such time, Palestinians represented over half of the Jordanian population, while the links between the WB and the East Bank still until the King Hussein decided to break it in 1988.

Furthermore, a number of camps was began to sprout up meanwhile they are considered the main changes introduced, adding the Israeli colonies. Interestingly, they are depicted as ‘Cells of Cancer’ inequality and differentiation in the WB land today.

The history of first urban plan in Palestine was set up by the British Mandate in 1922, which was conducted for cities only. In 1936, it was modified to include the regional level as the main statutory planning system or law to construct the planning system, whereas it still until 1955; after that new law issued called (Law 31/1955) that managed the urban planning process in the WB (Abdul-Hamied, 2005 and Khamaisi, 1997).

In the period of Jordanian Rule, a number of municipalities were introduced according to the new municipal laws; like Al-Bireh, Dora and Beit Sahour etc. One of the most fault of planning of this era in the WB was the short-term planning perspective rather than long-term perspective, which did not take into account the future necessity of Palestinian needs for urban expansion that

associated with a very rapid rate of population increasing after 1987. As the table.6, showing about 53.5% of the WB area classified as closed area, which prohibited for the Palestinian to used neither for urban purpose nor agricultural.

Table (6): Land use of the West Bank 1983.

Land use	Total Area/%	Palestinian	Israeli
Built up Area	7.3	8.1	6.6
Roads	2.5	-	-
Industry	0.3	-	0.7
Agriculture	25.1	39.9	4.7
Rangeland	31.8	50.0	6.7
Closed Area	20.9	-	53.5
Natural Reservation	6.2	-	15.8
Reserved	5.9	2.0	12.0
Total Percentage %	100	58.1	39.1

(Banvesti, 1987). Total land area 5050 km², (The sign – no data).

Therefore, the controlled urban expansion in the WB is facing many challenges as consequent to the Jordanian planning (Law No.79 of 1966) which was remained as the same plan of British Mandate (Coon, 1990) that putting the Palestinian expansion in bottle neck.

Official Statistics present some of data addressed the trends of construction in the towns and cities of the WB. It is important to take into account the difficulty of obtaining those data due to most of the construction process in the WB were carried out without building permission. According to Coon 1995, the number of construction in the cities were too folds more than in the towns or villages. In 1987, it was about 442 km² (Municipal) against 278 km² (Rural) of construction area. It is worth to ask why?

It is easy to answer the question, since the Israeli occupation at such a time; as noted from the fieldwork, interviews and a number of studies carried out around this question.

The Israeli policy depends on two levels; encouraging to develop cities or urban areas at the expense of agricultural lands rather than the rural areas firstly, then by preventing and stagnating issue building permissions for Palestinian in the rural areas, which ends up with development of urban areas, which has become segregation by colonies and bypass roads from the rural areas.

Doing so, by land confiscation under the pretext of unused land when all Palestinians going to live in urban areas as well as lifting their lands.

Obviously, it is clear that the Israeli occupation policy and strategy are concerned with taking over as much of rural and valuable land as possible to effect the Palestinian urban fabrication.

New system of administrative and military applications with new institutions began to be applied in the occupation land, although the Israeli government tried to strengthen its power at the broadest scale by taking some decision to expropriate the land like land tenure system in the light of its colonialism enterprise, violated and blatant breaching of international law (B'Tselem, 2010).

In addition, there is new formation of a new bureaucracy and extension of military and civil bureaucracy to control and impose the central power in the new occupied land. Other acts have also been taken.

1.3.1. Socio-economic Situation.

General speaking, the social life in the WB after 1967 was determined by the economic situation of Palestine, which was affected by the result of 1967 and 1973 wars between Israeli and Jordan, then Syria and Egypt respectively.

Palestinian people in the WB are classified into different socio-economic classes, such as Urbanites, rural and refugees who live in camps were estimated about 430.000 refugees in 1990 (Sharabi et al, 1993). However, the social status of Palestinian varied according to the clan (Hamulah) firstly, then to the place of resident.

In general, aftermath of 1948 and 1967 the Palestinian class as socio-economic status became without limitation, which means the social class obstacles have been melted (Benvensti, 1987 and abu Kamish, 1991).

Unfortunately, most of the Palestinian investors who invested in the WB after 1948 war conveyed their project to Jordan according the last union between the WB and east banks, beside of the adjacent geographical border and most of Palestinians lived in Jordan. Further, those investors have Jordanian citizenship. In some cases, a number of investors invested in other part of the world particularly in Arab countries, like Zuher Ajaj. He is an investor from Beit Iksa village near Jerusalem who emigrated and invested in Dubai.

It is apparent that the policy of Israel after the first days of occupying the WB and Gaza Strip aimed to curtailment and turn those areas into full-fledged colonies (Hilal, 1977) as an enclave to hegemony the de facto of the WB, to be dependent on the Israeli in the fields of life either political or economic. Indeed, the great extent living conditions since then up today reflect socio-economic and political circumstances.

Exiting Israeli colonies in the occupied territories could have varieties of political and economic effects on the Palestinians inclination to migrate. An increased of Israeli presence in the WB and Gaza Strip has created political conflict and uncertainty regarding the status of this region and may result in the acceleration of Palestinian migration on the one hand. The same phenomenon may result in an increased desire to remain in the territories, on the other hand. Despite of the negative impact on the Palestinians, the increased Israeli activity in the occupied territories also provide greater employment opportunities for the Palestinians.

Thereby that diminished migratory desires. Monetary donations from various states and international bodies have also helped to improve local conditions and reduced the number of Palestinians migrants. It is also conformed to the political purposes of the Arab donors, who prefer to encourage Palestinians to develop economically within the occupied territories than to settle permanently in the Gulf States, despite of, statistics reveals that a sharp increasing of emigration towards Gulf state estimated about 500,000 Palestinian the majority in Kuwait 278.800 Palestinian in the end of 1979 (PLO, 1981), but without granted the citizenship.

It seems likely that a major factor had the influence at the end of 1990. After the expulsion of Palestinians from Kuwait as result of Yasir Arafat's attitude to support Saddam Hussein (Former President of Iraq) to invade Kuwait. As a result, more than 250.000 Palestinians were forced to leave Kuwait, accompanied with losing the major income and the remittances which were considered as well as second source in the WB which was estimated 270 million dollar \$, 70% from Kuwait and 20% Saudi Arabia (Kukali, 1991).

After Israeli occupation of the WB in 1967, the relationships between Palestinian labors and Israeli employer or companies might be implemented the theory of dual labor market that developed by Piore (1979) that there are two types of organization in the economy. There were both skilled and unskilled labor, so; the skilled labor here the Israeli labor who refuse to take up due to like status and the unskilled the Palestinian labor in the eye of Israeli.

At the same time, the Palestinian labor suffer from discrimination in labor rights, who have to emerge in Israeli labor force under their hard condition. In addition, the Palestinian population was excluded politically and geographically from the account of “Israel State” by all the levels. It was stay as a back yard. Furthermore, they are easily to be replaced by other labor stranger from Asia or former Soviet Union when there is a necessity (Gil, 1993).

The regulation of free movement that were imposed by Israeli occupation authority between 1967 and 1993 before Oslo Accord for the Palestinian who hold the green card, does not seem to be a problem for the daily mobility at all parts of Palestine even inside the heart of ‘Israeli cities’ like Tel Aviv without work permit which is a precondition for any kind of mobilization like nowadays. Therefore, this encouraged the Palestinians to work with Israeli contractors under the Israeli labor law in most of cases with the social benefits, from either the WB or Gaza strip. Table.7, showing number of Palestinian before 1987 at the Israeli side.

Table (7): Number of Palestinian Employees Working in ‘Israel’ by Selected Economic Branches (in 1000).

Year	Agricultur	Industry	Construction	Others	Total
1980	10.1	15.6	35.1	12.4	73.2
1985	13.8	15.7	41.4	15.2	86.1
1988	16.3	16.5	52.1	19.0	104.3*
1990	12.4	11.1	62.7	17.5	103.7

(Banvesti, 1987).

The main purpose of this table description is to investigate the contribution of Palestinian industry and agriculture as the main two economic indicators or growth rate of Palestinian economy for the period after 1967, as explained briefly below:

Palestine heavily depend on agriculture. It is the most important economic sector since a long time, even after 1948 and 1967 where most of Palestinian went to work in the Israeli economy.

Before 1967, Agriculture was the main economic activity that comprised about 38% of all employment and 23% of GDP, while the industry 31.3% of employment and 11.4% GDP (Ennab, 1994) that hint the majority of Palestinian society agrarian.

It is worth noting that since 1967, the Israeli policy has tried as much as possible and deliberately to engage the Palestinian economic sector under their umbrella, thus; statistics was taken from

(Kahan, 1983 and Frisch 1983) reveal that the agriculture had comprised 35.1% towards GDP in 1970 and 35% in 1980, In effect, it was the main source of gainful employment 40% of total labor force engaged with sector in 1970 (Coon, 1995), but decreased to reach about 30% in 1980 and 17% in 1987. On other hand, this sector contributed about 25% before 1967 under Jordanian Rule. Resultantly, the perpetration process of agriculture in the WB highly depend on own efforts and better traditional farming methods entails more yield of major crops had achieved the ensued by increasing the benefits versus the cost of planted.

Furthermore, development of agriculture is considered important despite of the superiority and obstacles, which were imposed by Israeli to destroy the Palestinian agriculture system, but it was help for the growth of other sectors and providing food for consumer and raw material for nutrition industries. In addition, it is a self-sufficiency for Palestinian peasants, particularly the olive oil which is considered the ‘brain box or cornerstone’ of the Palestinian agriculture domestic economy. According to FAO 2013 report, the contribution of olive oil in the Palestinian economic is about 2% from the total cumulative of agriculture rate and about 100.000 Palestinian household depend on it (FAO, 2013).

Between 1970 and 1979, due to the intended incentives that offered by Israeli the percentage of farmer in the WB from the labor force dropped from 40% to less than 30% (Metzger, 1983).

As a general description, the acceleration wheel of production entails increasing the individual income increased from 666 \$ in 1974 up to 930 \$ in 1975, compared with 133\$ in 1966 (Gil, 1993).

2.3.1. The Palestinian and the Industry.

The sector of Palestinian industry has suffered for years of weakness, and inconsistency in the government policy either Jordanian or Israeli after 1967, the years aftermath 1948 has contributed in the neglect of industry sector. Major industry products under the Jordanian rule invested in East Bank.

However, the high rapid income growth as aforementioned had not parallel with the industry sector, conversely; the cumulative industry production has decreased. It comprised about 9% of GDP in 1968, but decreased to 8.2% and 6.5% in 1975 and 1985 respectively (Hilal, 1977). Generally, the economy of the WB is not producer. Number of employers are estimated about 15.000 in 1970, as the table.8, below shows.

Table (8): Distribution labour force in the West Bank 1970.

Field	Percentage
Olive presses	22
Waving	18
Quarries	18
Nutrition factory	10
Metal factory	4-6
Carpentry and Smithery	14

(Banvensti, 1987)

As aforementioned in table.8, can be deduced that the proportion of labor force which engaged in industry sector not even 15.000 employer of total population, which means in the same time that the shortage in quantity as number of factory and the quality as the last table has shown most of factory primary. The geographical distribution of labor force was 23% Nablus, 20% Hebron, 18% Ramallah, 16% Bethlehem and Jericho and 10% in Jenin. In addition about 20% of labor were forced lift working with Israelis after breaking out the first Intifada in 1987.

To assimilate the reason of maim industrial situation, referred to the centralization of industry in the East Bank under the Jordanian Rule, and the economic policy that was imposed against Palestinian economy in general after 1967, had heading to further and rapid development on one hand, but an economic decline in the industrial sector on other hand.

According to Hilal, 1977, Coon 19995 and Banvensti, 1987 and other scholars, agreed with the above view that appraisal of the economic situation, in attempting to assess the importance role as the main drivers in this issue.

Education and health facilities were in the WB access under the control of Israeli, while the curriculums were Jordanian in the WB and Egyptian in Gaza strip. However, the access and right of education was not equal for both Palestinian and Israeli at all level. For example; many times the Israeli closed schools and universities for three months and more to apply their ideological and intellectual policy to be able control the Palestinians thinking and level of education when could not be control by force (Hamad, 1981).

The political rights, of the WB and Gaza strip, the Palestinian could not vote in elections or articulate their local or municipal council in most cases, not allowed to establish political

organization or parties within the WB area. The Palestinian Liberation Movement abroad and its followers or secret offices in the WB seem they played a significant role in the political life of Palestinian, particularly in the time of first Intifada that breakout on 7 December 1987.

To conclude: could be classify the socio-economic situation in this period, statics shows that over 70% of Palestinian live in rural areas as well as where their major occupation is agriculture as agrarian society without neither planed budget nor short-term fund by donors. That is to say, that the agriculture and soil tillage the major activities as consolidated society, even number of rural population lived in conurbation and others emigrated to Gulf States that time. Meanwhile, the industry sector experienced neglect since the Jordanian rule between 1949-1967.

This led to diminution and hold-up the development of industry, ensued by high level of unemployment amongst the university graduate, skilled and technicians. Further, wide spread income inequality that hampered the growth and development of this country.

The geopolitical and socio-economic situation of the WB experienced massive transformation between 1967 and 1993 such as, wage labor, market economy, education and health sector all of those associated with Israeli occupation policy regulation (Khawaja and Randall, 2006).

Summary.

This chapter provides a brief range of the chronological history of Palestine through three stages; British Mandate, Jordanian Rule and the Israeli occupation. To understand the chronological geographical history process of Palestine, through representing the most joints of each political period particularly under shed of the existence of Israeli occupation and its strategies to manipulate the geopolitical situation.

As mentioned previously, the effect of short-term plan had affected adversely the urban Palestinian development. Besides, the policy of the Israeli occupation after 1967 through land seizure and the restriction on land use wright. Hence, giving the Israeli the pretext to prohibit the expansion such as construct new building, roads and any infrastructure without a legal permission and approval to set up any project. Moreover, as those plans, justify the policy of restricted the expansion and development of Palestinians communities, and give specific interpretation that suit the colonial aims.

Chapter Two

Study Area General Description

Photo (3): Al-Manara Square 1952.



Ramallah Municipality.

INTRODUCTION.

After 1948 war (Al Nakba) that carried out by Israeli militias against the Palestinians; since then, the de facto has been changed and the area has been classified into three geopolitical regions accuse of the war: the West Bank and east Jerusalem that ruled by Jordanian government; Gaza strip by Egyptian. That comprises at 22% from the total area of Palestine, and the rest of the land (at 78%) by the Israeli occupation (Pergola, 2003); Indeed, more than 700,000 Palestinians were uprooted or expelled from their own land and more catastrophic sequences are still affecting the Palestinians until nowadays (Falah, 1996).

Then, aftermath of the 1967 war between Arab-countries and Israelis, the geopolitical situation was pulled down completely (Saleh, 2005). Since Israel won the war, all the Palestinian area has become under the Israeli control as occupied territories in accordance with the withdrawal of Jordanian and Egyptian administration from West Bank and Gaza strip respectively.

Then, three separated geographical areas were characterized geopolitics de facto of Palestine; including the WB and Gaza strip known as Palestinian territory; east Jerusalem and the rest part of historical Palestine under the name of 'Israel State'.

Interestingly, This chapter sheds light on the de facto of occupied WB within geopolitics; demographic and socio-economic context that waving the status quo of the urban and socio-economic life through several periods since 1948 up today, taking into consideration the period between 1993-2015 after the advent of the PA according to Oslo Accord between Israeli government and Palestinian Liberation Movement in 1993. In depth, Ramallah area is carried out basing on qualitative and quantitative analysis as a case study; and investigating the role of the internal migration and how it affects the urban transformation and natural landscape.

1. A General Description of Palestine Geography.

1.1. Palestine on the Map.

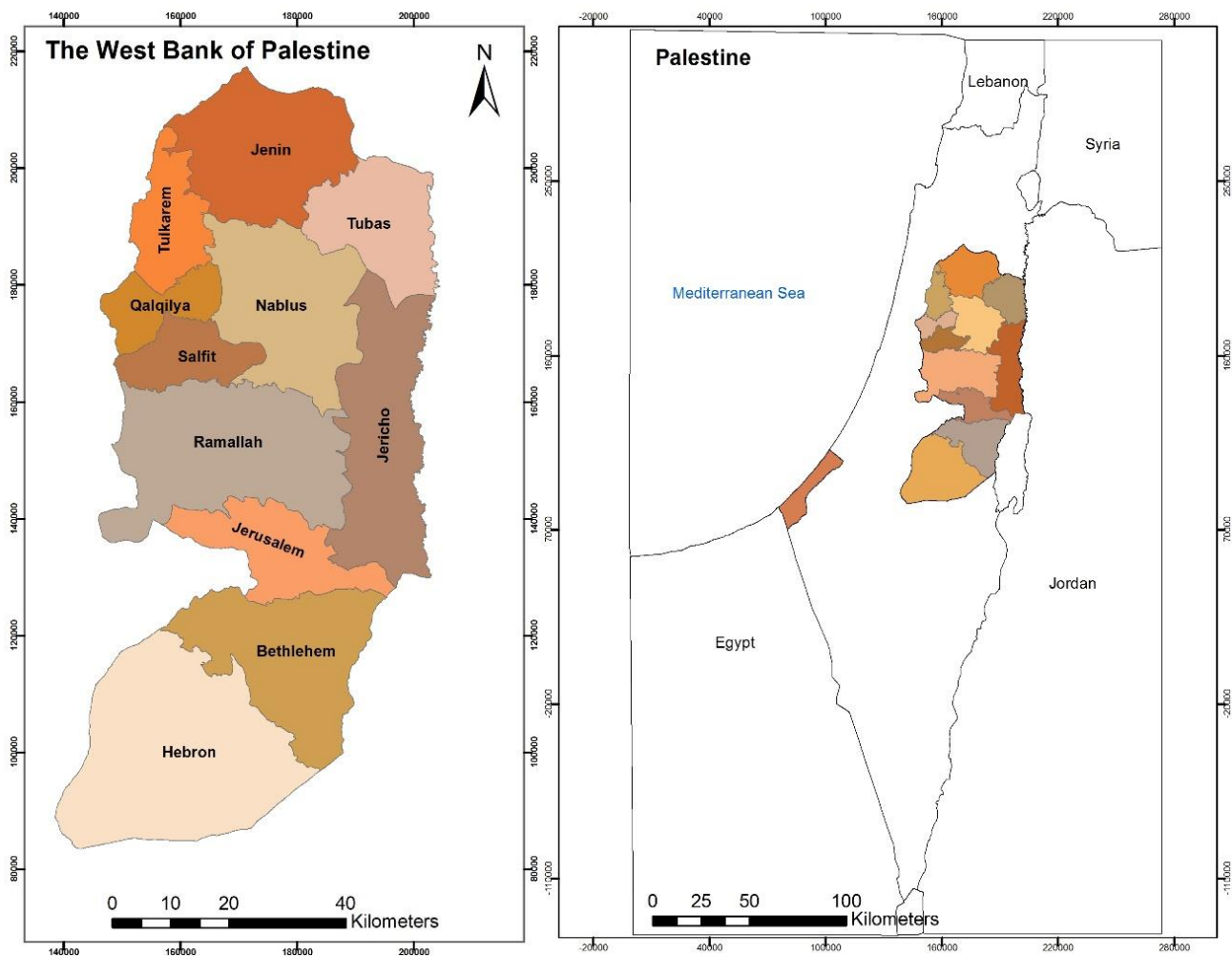
Historically, Palestine is known as longitudinal state form north-south 420 km, located southwestern of Asia at the eastern end of Mediterranean Sea. It is bounded by five neighbours; It shares Syria and Lebanon with northern border, south southwest red sea and Egypt, to the east lies Jordan, while the Mediterranean sea in the west parallel to the coastal plain. As a total area is about 27.000

km², as it is a spot land in the world map and one political unit region. Palestinians comprise the majority of population about 90% (Abu lughod, 1971, Coon, 1995).

As the British forces as a mandate authority since 1920 withdrew in May 1948, the 1948 war was carried out by Israeli against Palestinian (Al Nakbah). As a result of war, the geographic de facto of Palestine had been fragmented into three geopolitical regions as aforementioned. Indeed, more than 800.000 Palestinians were displaced and expelled from their own land and more catastrophic sequences are still affecting the Palestinian even these moments.

2.1. Sitting of the West Bank.

Map (5): The West Bank of Palestine.



Though it is a small area about 5655 km², it derives its name from its location on the west bank of Jordan river in Jordan rift valley which is under the Israeli occupation; It is located in the east (35.15) longitude and north (32.00) latitude as the map.5, shows.

The WB which is consisting of eleven cities, 335 localities and 19 refugees camps, with population density estimated at about 456 inhabitant/ km² (PCBS, 2013). Indeed, there are 121 Israeli colonies populated with 600.000 settlers including east Jerusalem (Btselm, 2010).

The area is characterized by varied topographic aspects taking the mountainous form like camel hump from Jenin city in the north to Hebron city in the south. Despite of the limited surface area of the WB, the elevation descends from 400m beneath sea level to 800m above the sea level.

The highest elevation is about 1016 meters above sea level (Tel-Alasur), a mountain in Ramallah governorate, and the lowest is about 400 meters beneath sea level, (Jordan valley). As a complex natural landscape, it is one of the significant area that is being characterized with four topographic-ecologic regions as the map.6, shows.

1- Semi-coastal region: Mediterranean climate, adjacent to armistice line.

2- Central Palestinian Mountain region: Mediterranean climate within western slope towards Mediterranean Sea, and eastern slope towards the Jordan valley with arid climate. Most of the Palestinian communities centralize in this region.

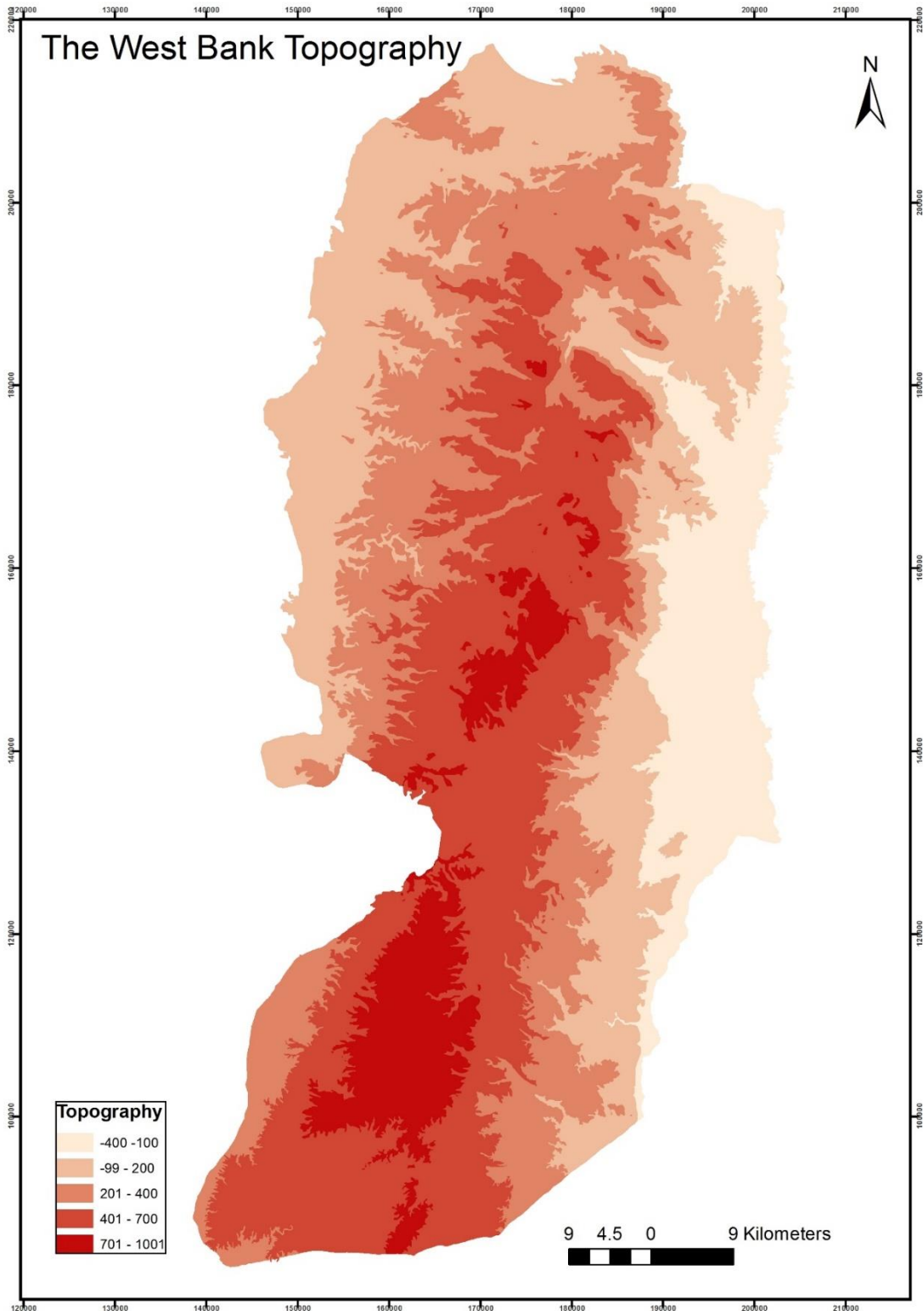
3- Eastern slopes region: characterized by semi-arid climate and semi-humid climate in sub-parts of the area, and elevation drops from 1000 meters to 200 meters above sea level.

4- Jordan valley region: adjacent to Jordanian frontier; arid and semi-arid region within low annual rainfall average 100-200 mm accompany with high annual temperature average.

Consequently, it is one of most richness regions in terms of environmental and biological diversity, whether with fauna or flora. It is a home to more than 2000 species of plants.

However, the heterogeneity of natural landscape creates multi biophysical variability that includes, climate, soil and heterogenic land use, which reflects multi socio-economic activities ranging from agrarian society to service society within the limited area of 5655 km². The main sources of water are mainly from rainfall that is stored in around water aquifers.

Map (6): The Topography of the West Bank.



According to Oslo Accord, the WB, as will discuss in the next chapter, has been classified into three geopolitical zones:

First zone: A including the Palestinian urban fabric and falls under full PA (civilians and security control) this area constitutes about 17 % from the total area of the WB.

Second Zone: B, which has Shared control between Palestinian and Israeli's; civilian control for Palestinian while Israel manages security matter. That comprises around 24 % from the total area of the WB,

Third zone: C, which full Israeli civilian and security control. It comprises around 59 % from the total area of West Bank.

Despite of the above mentioned classification, Israel has the right to enter any area under the Palestinian control like what happened in 2002 when the Israeli forces invaded all the Palestinian cities in area A under the name of (Operation Defensive Shield). Moreover, Israeli forces can enter each area any moment.

The climate of the WB is mainly Mediterranean and is characterized by warm and dry summer, wet and rainy in winter. The annual temperature is about 18 degrees and the mean annual precipitation is about 600mm. Rain drops from north to south and west to east. In contrast to rainfall, temperatures decrease from south to north and from east to west as the north-western part of the west bank is situated at higher altitudes than the part in the south-east. For that, the climate there is cooler and more humid with less temperature.

Due to topographic diversity that coupled with climate heterogeneity, different types of soil in the area exist, like terra Rosa or the mountain soil, rendzina and arid like lithsoil, which found the basic for diverse land use practices.

1.2.1. Demographic Aspects of the West Bank.

According to Palestinian Central Bureau Statistics, the number of Palestinians in the WB was about 2,719,112 inhabitant in 2007 census. Whereas, refugees comprise approximately one-quarter of the total population. Arabic is the official language, but English is widely used and spoken as a second language.

The WB covers an area about 5688 km², and holds a population approximately 4,88 inhabitant, 50.8% male, against 49.2% female (PCBS, 2017), The average natural growth rate is about

4%. Whereas, it is about 6 %, in the census of 1997 with diminish the rate inasmuch inter alia affected to diminish as well as level of education, age of marriage or the consequences of second Intifada played major role in the structure of Palestinian population either by killing, expulsion or emigration as result of Israeli practices against Palestinian definitely in Gaza strip.

The fertility in 2016 is 3.6 birth, but if compared with 2007 census it was 4.4 birth, with decreasing in rate due to the number of factors such as, increasing the education rate amongst the Palestinian society for both sex, which related with socio-economic mobility.

Around 600,000 Israeli settlers live in the WB, including east Jerusalem (PCBS, 2016) The settlers comprise about 15% of total population of the WB, in contravention of international humanitarian law (Rempel, 2003).

The average density of the Palestinian Population in the WB is 456 inhabitant/ km² (PCBS, 2011) it differs among Palestinian cities. Where it is high in Ramallah and Hebron and with very high intensity in the camps. It is moderate in rural area and some others cities like Salfit and Tubas.

The literacy rate of the WB is about 5.4%, which is one of the lowest rates in the Arab countries according to the report of the league of Arab states 2014.

According to 2007 census, the WB had 629.253 households, and the average household size is 5.8 individuals. The number of nuclear families is about 505,285, about 80.5% of all Palestinian households against 73.3% in 1997 census, about 7%. Inter-censal.

The percentage of employment force in the age group of more than 15 years is about 47%, 73% for male against 19% female. While, the rate of unemployment is about 18%, about 143,000 inhabitant, 15% for male against 27% female (PCBS, 2015).

The WB has a Mediterranean climate of the region, which indicates hot summer and cold winter. It is rainy and stormy from November to March, and sunny and drought from June to September. The annual rainfall is approximately 600mm on the costal and mountain areas or as appeal western slope, while it is 200mm on eastern slope that overlooking on the Jordan valley region.

The annual mean temperature is about 22 degrees in summer, while it is 12 degrees in winter. The hottest area of the WB is Jordan rift valley region of about 20% humidity rate. Generally, it is about 60% more in the coastal area.

3.1. Ramallah District: Physical and Human landscape.

Ramallah district lies in the middle of the WB, north to Jerusalem and south to Nablus, connected by route 60, the main traffic artery in the WB. The district surrounded by Jerusalem district south, Nablus northeast, Salfit north-west and Jericho in the east. Further, colonies and some of outposts surround it. Accordingly, to Oslo Accord, the district is defined at three geopolitical areas A, B, C. The population of Ramallah district is about 357.968 (PCBS, 2016), 12% of the total population of the WB as the table.9, shows. The majority of the community is Muslim. While, there are five communities classified as Christian. Traditionally, Ramallah economy has been largely agrarian, cultivating olive groves, vineyard, fruit trees, barley and vegetables particularly in the western ward, whereas the eastern ward lie on the rain-shadow region.

Table (9): Population Number of Ramallah District.

Year	Ramallah area			% of West Bank	West Bank
	Male	Female	Total		
1997	102.945	102.503	205.448	11.4	1.787.562
2007	138.818	137.163	275.981	11.8	2.323.469
2016			357.968	12	2.935.368

(PCBS, 2016)

The district population is distributed by type of locality in urban, rural and refugee camps. The urban population constitutes 52% of the total population while those in rural areas and refugee camps were 42% and 6% respectively.

Moreover, the district is divided into three main cities (Ramallah, Al-Bireh and Betuniya), 70 town and villages and five camps. The estimated number of population is about 275.981 inhabitant according to 2007 census and 357.968-inhabitant in 2016 projection. About 32% of the total district population reside in Ramallah area (Houdalieh and Sauders, 2009).

As mentioned above in table.9, the population of the district increased by 7.4% between 2007 and 2016, indicating an annual average growth rate at 3.5%, but if it is compared with the percentage

of net immigration in district, the result indicates that this percentage refers to high current of immigration towards the district after 1995 as will be discussed later.

According to the aerial photo of 2015, the total area of cultivated land in the district is estimated to be around 500 km², about 60% of the total area. Most of those lands planted with olive trees, and the rest area is divers in the type of crops that belongs to the Mediterranean climate.

The majority land of the district is classified as rain-fed cultivated land if compared to Irrigated land. Meanwhile, since 1967 the area has declined due to the land confiscation to build colonies or the Separation Wall that had stolen about 15% of the total area of the WB (Colonization and Wall Resistance Commission, 2015).

Generally, the most source of water in the WB from underground water, which consists of the three aquifers; the Eastern aquifer basin, the Western aquifer basin and Northwestern basin, in addition to a number of springs and wades.

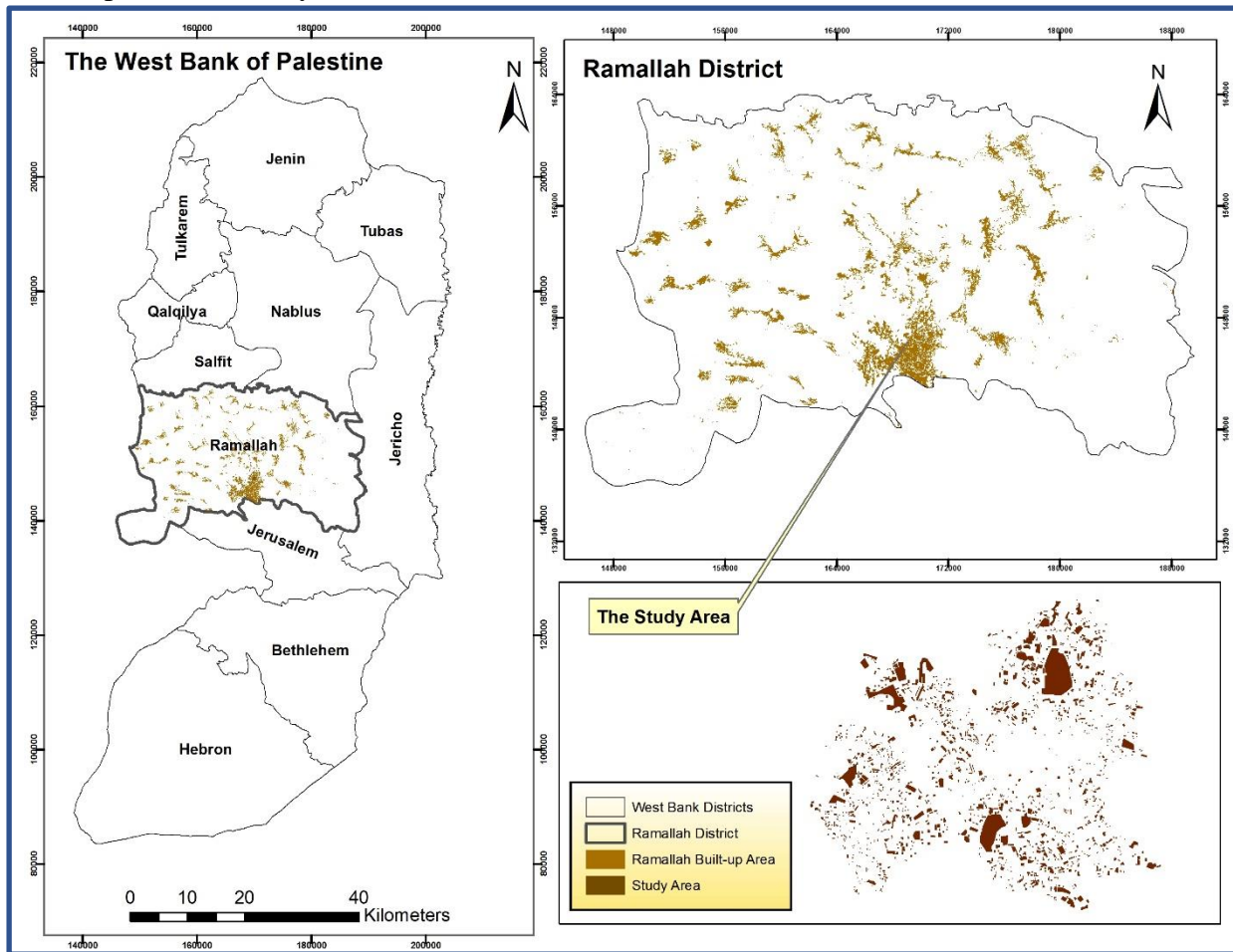
1.3.1. Ramallah Area of the West Bank.

Ramallah area mountainous landscape cities are located in the east (168.68m) longitude and north (145.80m) latitude map.7. Ramallah covers an area of 14706 donum, Al-Bierh is 22045 donum and Betuniya is 24.000 donum having about 180.000 inhabitant (Ramallah, Al- Bireh and Betuniya municipality, 2015). The changing number of population inter-censal 1997- 2007 is at 3.5%. The pivotal reason for this increasing is the internal net immigration.

This study took place in Ramallah area, which is situated in central Palestinian mountain mid of Palestine highland region approximately 850 meter above sea level, 16 km north to Jerusalem, which covers an area of 15 %. Ramallah and Al-Bireh district is 850 km², forming the meeting point between south-north and representing an important trading link whether in the past or early days of the WB. Specific microclimate that courage all Palestinians to settle there in the summer season.

The three cities are well-known as the cities of emigration, most of their citizenries are currently residing in the North and South America, while the history of their emigration began in the 20th century (Shaheen, 1992), to enhance their economic situation which was a period of recession during the end of Ottoman ruling in which trade and industrial activity were reduced.

Map (7): The Study Area Location of Palestine.



The emigration has increased significantly since the 1940s resulted to a crucial reflects for the social-economic transformation that was a part of the process of transformation of population structure, which has arose through major change after 1948 math.

Over the time the two cities as the rest cities of the WB were affected by geopolitics situation that represented by Israeli occupation after the 1948 (Al-Nakba) and 1967 (Al-Naksa) wars. Since the Six Days war on the 5th June 1967, (Kasses, 1971) Israel occupied the old city of Jerusalem, the West Bank, and the Golan Heights.

Since the end of 1967 war, Ramallah area has grown to be the largest squatting city for urban newcomers that migrated during the last 20 years. Also, there is increasing in the built-up area and number of population as immigrants from all parts of the WB that influx towards new liberal and economic city since 1990s, within a fairly limited area whether the surface area and, small and

condensed area at the centre (Abu Hammad and Sharkas, 2008) for urban expansion or natural resources, even in fifteen minutes you can commute between city centre and practically any point in the outer circle.

The city center can be reached within a maximum of one hour from any town or village around the city. Despite of high rate of urban growth, the surface area of those cities is small if compared with other cities.

Indeed 1993, after the onset of PA which thus makes Ramallah an Ideal residence area for Palestinians, coincidence with up normal urban expansion like rabid growth mode in limited pace of time about only 18 years. That had led to change the morphology and landscape of the city coincides with the process of modernization.

1.1.3.1. DEMOGRAPHY OF RAMALLAH AREA.

While the population significantly increased during the entire fifty years between 1950 and 2015, the 1950's and 1967 witnessed the most notable increase. During those decades, the population of the two cities tripled in number from 9250 in 1945 to 31485 inhabitant in 1961. This increase coincides with the return of PA in 1993 as well as the emerging trend of internal immigration because of centralized of Palestinian governmental institutions and the private sector in the area. Whereas, the number of population became 103335 in 2015 (PBCS, 2015) and more if compared with the number of the municipalities of the three cities that estimated 180.000 inhabitant.

A review to the results of the Palestinian Central Bureau Statistics first census had conducted 1997, and the second census in 2007 after ten years had noticed rapid change in the increase of population. Census shown in 1997 the population was estimated about 45989 inhabitant, while the number rose to 65662 inhabitant in 2007. Thus, the population growth rate is about 4.2%. Noting that the area of the city is limited and could not be expanded regardless to the Israeli policy by controlling the land in some parts. In term of geographic area, Ramallah area is the second largest city in the district and the fourth in the WB cities. Since 1993, in general, it has become more integrated with multi Palestinian areas population; also, it has the highest rate of foreigners among the WB cities. Internal migration to the city exceeded by 7451 immigrants in 1997. This number has been increased, if compared with 2007 census, about 13000.500 immigrants at 5.1% from the total population (Duraiddi, 2009). The influence of the immigrants is strongly visible in the land use that

transform green areas to urbanised areas, because of the suburbanisation process that took place since the beginning of 1990s. After this period, growing city has been competing for space to construct and expand to cater the demand for houses, as well as the effect of this process having a negative result on the services.

Through analysing the population of the study area and its growth, overtime is important to notice the origin of population. The majority of population growth has resulted from in-migration. Between 1993 and 2015, the number of population added to the city was higher than before 1993; this increase derives from several factors:

- Centralization of the PA institution is in the city, which encourages Palestinian to migrate.
- As employment opportunities in the city had increased, commuting remains a viable option.
- Increasing the development and continuing expansion of suburbanization has offered new residential area, despite of the high prices to buy an apartment.

In 2007, Ramallah continued to be the 2^{sd} rank of the WB, with a population density (average population per km² of land) estimated at two times greater than the average national population density 456 inhabitant/ km² (PBCS, 2013). Ramallah area is one of the only three cities of the WB that have population densities greater than 600 inhabitant/ km².

Ramallah area is suffering of high density of population. The major employment centres directly affect the performance of the transportation system and daily life movements particularly on morning rush hour.

Population growth is associated with rate of natural increase and the high net immigration rate in the city. Definitely after 1993 when influx of immigrants fluxed to new liberal area, due to the existence of the PA as a headquarter, activities and investments which attract Palestinian immigrants to work in, further the stability of security situation.

2.1.3.1. Ramallah Climate.

The description of the climate condition depends on analysis of historical climate data to describe the last and recent climate of any region on the earth obtained either by recorded data or by meteorological maps. As well as, Palestinian territory in general is characterized by four diverse climate with transitional spatial variation this is caused by the diverse of topography as mentioned before.

The location of Ramallah in the heart of the central Palestinian mountains and western slope facing the Mediterranean Sea leads to westerlies of the climate characteristics. Ramallah area is known as a summertime region, resultantly, the combine of topographic and climatic conditions, which are reflected in an incredible microclimate. The climate can be summarized as follows:

Annual average of precipitation of 600mm reflects the effects of western aspect towards Mediterranean Sea during the winter months that begin precipitation in October to the beginning of April sometimes. Whereas, the greater rainfall duration between December and February, when west southwest winds that saturated with moisture comes from Mediterranean Sea.

Temperature is generally moderate, with mean annual temperature about 17.1 C (PCBS, 2008) while maximum annual temperature is 21.4 C. Whereas, decreasing in winter as minimum annual temperature is 13.1C ,but in general it stays the most average in summer if compared with other cities of west , which mean Ramallah has like microclimate give it a merit or distinctive value.

The annual relative humidity in Ramallah city is derived from the average of governorate in general about 60% in winter between January and February. Whereas in summer about 40%, causing the sea breeze that comes from the coastal plain softens the weather, moreover, in spring that interacts with evapotranspiration.

3.1.3.1. Topography.

As mentioned before, the WB has a great variation in topography and altitude, the main region central Palestinian mountain where most of Palestinian communes concentrate. Ramallah area is situated in these topographic section of the WB as a part of Jerusalem and Hebron plateau that mainly formed from calcite rocks.

The mean elevation of Ramallah is approximately 800m above sea level, on the water divide near (Al-Hamra Palace) that separates the watershed that drain water into westward towards coastal plain consisting western slopes which are characterized by gentle slopes and elevation range between 250-500m above sea level (Arij, 1996). Those stream system that drain eastward to Jordan valley are affected more by mechanical erosion due to semi sub-humid of area, while westward are affected by chemical erosion leads generally to difference natural landscape, with dropped of elevation in both sides.

Ramallah is intersected at several points by wades and springs like Ein Misbah and Ein Munjid.

4.1.3.1. Land use.

Since the beginning history of Ramallah area as the aerial photo reveals, the agriculture was the most important activity in the area. The northern part was dominated by forestry due to the topography and humid climate, until the 1950s. During that period, the agriculture stabled, but after a few years, there was a negative relationship or divergence, between surface area (urban encroachment) and agriculture land. It decreased to meet the growing needs of houses after 1948. The same pace continued after 1967 war, but the main leap was in 1990s after the advent of Palestinian authority. Might be say, land use change was shaped by the political history of Ramallah city and the WB in general at the end of 20th century.

5.1.3.1. Environmental Issues.

Intensive urbanization in Ramallah area has seriously affected the environment of the city, such as; the deforestation. If we back many decades to the past of Ramallah area when it was covered with the green cover as a forest and agricultural land, we can notice that the landscape of the area has been eliminated and changed as result of urban and population growth. Briefly, inadequate of water supplies, pollution and shortage quantity, industrial distribution between urban area, random dumping sties and air pollution in part due to a prevalence of vehicles that produce high level of emissions, all together affected on Ramallah area environment.

2.3.1. Ramallah Area Chronological Transformation.

“Ramallah has changed and transformed from district city to national core” (Khamaisi, 2006).

It is possible to evaluate urbanization mechanism in Ramallah area gradually and slowly between 1945 and 1993, according to Central Place Theory Walter Christaller in 1933 (Al-Hydari, 2011). That could be called the hierarchy of the urbanization centres; hamlet, village, town and eventually city (modern-day Ramallah).

Before 1948, Ramallah area remained as a village with number of population not exceeded more than 7372 inhabitant, but after 1993 relentlessly; commencement population growth stage and urban evolution as endogenous growth on changes in city size, numbers and human capital level (Black and Henderson, 1999), as an unprecedented case of this rapid urbanization.

Point-out, to review the history of the area through three phases:

The phase between 1945 and 1967.

The phase between 1967 and 1993.

The phase after 1993 and 2015.

1.2.3.1. Ramallah Area between 1945 and 1967.

A new phase began at the start of challenges in 1948. There was large scale of internal migration as the largest episode of uprooting of Palestinian in modern history from their cities and villages by Israel militants. According to available estimation, more than 800.000 Palestinians were expelled from their home to take up residence across other places either inside or outside Palestine, the estimate of Palestinians who died in the (communal violence).

Internal migration towards Ramallah area occurred sporadically in 1948 and the second in 1967 war. Roughly, it had a vein of effects on the urban and socio-economic situation and the norm of life.

Moreover, it showed the first group that settled in Ramallah city in the 16th century that refers to Al-Hdaaden family as indigenous group. It should be taken into account they were not the first group, as well as historical era showed the city had settled by roman before (Mustafa, 2008).

In this study, focusing will be addressed on the period after 1993, but coinciding with a brief summary for the historical development. Number of studies documented that Ramallah area built-up area and surface area were slow and natural, with limited growth related to limited economic activity and population number and exchanges.

The majority of Ramallians who concentrated in the downtown city as knowing nowadays (Ramallah al-Tahta) same for the Al-Bireh and Betuniya, the main source of income for them was by agriculture activity, with limited number of trade markets which organised by Ramallah municipality that established in 1908 during the Ottoman administration period (Shaheen, 1992 and Nirouz, 2004).

Aerial photos referring to 1918 and 1945 show a general overview for the city, built up area covered about 800 dunums 1944, with population density at around 10 inhabitant/dunum (Hammad and Sharkas, 2008).

The prevailing style of housing was based on the tradition and behaviours of families in approximate dwellings as other Palestinian cities and villages, when the extended families the most

popular prevailing social norm was existed (Jyris, 1999), According to Younes et al.(1991). In the past the families lived close to each other's cause of closed relatives, limited services that concentrated in the centre of the city or for security, connected by narrow passages.

Generally, the period of 1948 witnessed a dramatic change that took place in all Palestine. As well as, Ramallah area received the Palestinian newcomers whom fled from Israeli militants that forced them to left their cities and villages of historical Palestine whom known nowadays-Palestinian refugees.

A new phase has begun, due to the previous reason, increasing number of population in the city from 9250 inhabitant in 1945 to 31485 inhabitant in 1961, just in a few years after 1948 math. Then, the physical appearance and the social structure of the city changed ensued a rapid demographic and economic development. Urban expansion during 1948-1967 was greater than before 1948 because of the massive number of refugees who came to the city during those years as the aerial photos revealed. During this period, urban growth accelerated alongside the demand for houses for newcomers and for new commercial services (Zagarneh, 2009).

There is a consensus among Palestinian planners and researchers like whom mentioned in the introduction and (Abedlhamid, 2006) that there is a meso-level of urban planning since the British Mandate passing to the Jordanian Rule, even nowadays the same plan are still. Therefore, the main characteristic of Ramallah urban growth was un-clear planning, subjecting to the political situation dominated by who ruled the Palestine in general. According to what have been mentioned above, the main feature of Ramallah area urban growth or planning were.

In this period, the noticeable acceleration in urban growth and population left a negative impact on the agricultural land and landscape, which had affected dramatically on the urban fabric and socio-economic life (kittaneh, 2009). The pressure and the necessity dire for the shelter led to an intensive and randomly urban expansion from the centre to the margin; moreover, it led to disappearance or diminish of cultural landscape of that period (Mustafa, 2007).

Identifying three core processes of social changes, westernization, modernization and secularization (Kamesh, 1991).

Similarly, socio-economic changes happened when residents of Ramallah area left their agricultural land and emigrated towards USA, due to the remittances that transferred which lead to

transformed the norm of life; Agriculture to commercial. Then, land abounded had planted by new immigrant's aftermath war of 1948 (Michelle, 2015).

At the end of 1948, many of writers describe Ramallah area that time as, arable land cultivated by vineyard and figs that were the main economic sources in the city as the British land use map of 1943 has revealed, a green village included limited numbers of super market with restaurants and hotels, moreover mentioned names of street that have been existing like al-hisbah and al-Irsal (Tartter, 2015).

Aftermath of 1948 war, the situation had been changed completely in Ramallah area, at the beginning of deportation in actual fact like a cohort, Alkhateb one of Ramallah resident described the scene "the situation was great and miserable, because of the immigrants never thinking that will happen for them, like homeless or they were jostle to get food or a shelter to sleep till they back to their home as they think". In the contrary, it has become self-perpetuating phenomenon up to now.

The development of urban planning was randomly; even the Jordanian authority, they remained the process of planning as it left by the British Mandate authority in the WB, no noticeable development in the field of planning and construction (abedl-hamid, 2006). Probably, there was lurk beneath this policy. The most important thing was the huge number of immigrants who fled towards Ramallah area regarding the limited building and places to live, or it is worth noting, the priority was to develop the East Bank of Jordan River rather than the WB.

There is a consensus among researchers have addressed about these issue like Jamil hilal (1977) in his study "Class transformation of the West Bank and Gaza" that mentioned there was a discrimination policy against the WB, while the priority for the East Bank. At later stage of 1948, urban development in the study area grew faster than before because of massive emigration or exodus of Palestinians which spurred to build new buildings and create new form of urban shape (The camp) like Al-Amari and Al-Jlazoun, to accommodate with newcomers, but it lacked of even the most basic of amenities and services.

The second major wave of immigrants arrived after (Six Day War) sixth of June 1967.

Ramallah area has been undergoing or in dynamic change progress through the time, and one of the most factor influenced and accelerated this transformation is migration movement Karakuzulu et al. (2014). The circumstances of Ramallah area have changed during the expulsion era of Palestinian between 1948 and 1967. After this era, urban and socio-economic transformation occurred that affected the norm of life. However, social life, economic and culture of the newcomers had brought with them as their own culture that practised in the origin before expelled. The Ramallah area represent an example of cultured-mixed before, restructuring or recreating new society mixing between culture of the descendants of its own and newcomers reflects new social-economical life style and changed the pattern of urbanisation or landscape indeed (Shaheen, 1982). Adding the remittances as a second resource of this process. At the same time, the soil tillage was the main activity and income source.

Education facilities and quality were fair in the city. Catholic Church built the first school in 1857, and then the friend's school in 1869 for girls ensued in 1901 for boys to cope with an increasing of pupils who lived in the city (Ghanite, 2015).

After 1948, most of the Palestinian became a lumpenproletariat depending upon UNRWA rations; also, cultural life was deeply affected like other Palestinian cities (Michael, 2010). Interestingly, one of most result of newcomers was the change of ethnic structure of the city. Since the Ramallites immigrated to USA, the Christian group transmitted from majority to minority verse-versa, the majority had become Muslims regards to all newcomers were Muslims.

2.2.3.1. Ramallah Area 1967-1993.

Generally, 1948 war has brought a number of changes on the Palestinian society, and so on; the 1967 war completed the role. Concisely Ramallah area have their portion from those causes and effects like 1948, as the following:

1- Decreasing in the number of population from 32781 to 25171 resultant to 1967 war, which is associated with economic recession. Therefore, mass of evacuation of Ramallah area residents occurred to USA and Gulf countries, according to Hilal. (1977), about 375,000 Palestinian between 1950 and 1967 left the WB; due to the Jordanian discrimination policy against the WB economy as disarray.

2- Before 1967, Agriculture was the main economic activity and absorbed many displaced persons, whom forced to flee after 1967 war, about 38% of all employment and 23% GDP, while; the industry sector about 31.3% of employment and 11.4% GDP in the WB (Ennab, 1994). Those indicators can be applied on Ramallah area according to Hammad and Sharkas,(2008). After the war and for few years, agriculture remained the main economic activity in the city. The number of peasants increased at about 75% between 1967 and 1972 in the agriculture field, but after that the situation changed when the Israeli labor market open its doors for Palestinian labors of the WB. The number decreased from 23,000 to 13,500 labor in 1969 (Hilal, 1977).

3- Israeli Colonies annexed the peripheral area followed by imposing limitations on the Palestinian urban expansion, as well as a whole policy of Israeli occupation for land seizure, expropriations in pretext or under cloak of (Public Need) to prevent expansion of Palestinians communities (Sharabi et al, (1992). At later stage, affected adversely on the urban expansion of the study area as will discussed next chapter.

Since then; according to Coon and Glasgow (1990), Israel carried out and spurred to achieve this objective by number of ordinances or plans such as 1/82 to confiscated land to construct new colonies. However, it has proposed that 12-15 colonies should be established per annum. Moreover, there was the “Road Plan T/M/A/3” to link all the parts of the WB with Israeli area as network road system, and thereby to integrate the economy of the WB to be related to the Israel economy completely.

4- The process of education grew rapidly. High proportion of graduate in the population was limited to male more female that time, for secondary and higher education, since the first batch of Birzeit University that is located in Ramallah in 1977, which is contributing high quality of human capital in the study area.

Appearing the two industrial area in the south of Betuniya and north of Al-Bireh city that time as aerial photos show. New activities opened new job opportunities for the newcomers, even sometimes the ownership referred to newcomers, who had a artisanship before fled.

5- Augmentation of living standards of the city have resulted in the presence of several education, trade, cultural and urban services, like universities, professional college, banks, civil society institutions, cafes, theatre...etc. (Taraki, 2015).

To summarize, despite of a high demographic development, because of internal migration of the refugees, relatively there are medium birth rate and low death rate. The study area lost just about its own population, who emigrate to America or Gulf states. It is still not comparable with other Palestinian had been done. It changed from agriculture-based economy to a more diversified economy like industrial and services sector.

3.2.3.1. Modern-Day Ramallah Area 1993-2015.

The wheel growth of Ramallah area in the end of 20th century and in the beginning of 21th century was salient and underwent a massive period of growth in only twenty years to cater population demands in the term pace of economic and geopolitics situation. The advent of the PA is considered the main driving reason for the period urban development due to Oslo Accord in 1993 and Repatriation of Palestinians, accompanied with returning number of returners who were exiled. That has played pivotal role in development and the urban surface of Ramallah area, the main core centre amongst the other cities of the WB.

After 1993, Gaza and Jericho first, Ramallah area was the only choice for the new born and enlargement of the PA apparatuses, including all ministries, which opened up its labour market immediately to bring newcomers whose characteristics have been relatively whether white or blue collars; or both, from all the WB districts even from Gaza strip, but the priority since then for returners that including within Oslo accord.

Thus, the economic and spatial transformation has begun. Thee economy has grown rapidly and urbanization has increased. Moreover, the inflows of foreign aids and remittances have had unprecedented rate as well as they played a pivotal role in economics of the study area and urbanization as a boom in the construction sector.

Urbanisation rate of Ramallah area had increased from 37.3% in 1950 to 71.6% in 2005 (Abu sada, 2009) and 32% of the total governorate population reside in Ramallah area. Despite of its limited area, Ramallah area is one of the most important urbanized and political cities today of the WB as well as at national level and having the first highest rate of internal migration, it is the most urbanized city geographically, economically centralized the WB (MAS, 2008).

Statistics 2007 reveals that about 5000 Palestinians between 1993 and 2007 who emigrated from Gaza strip towards the WB are living in Ramallah district, which means in the main cities, whereas their ages between “25-54” intervals.

It worth noting that the employment opportunities after 1990s and high the facilities of living have encouraged Palestinians to emigrate more than over the past two decades. The study area has reserved mass numbers of immigrants from multi-cities of the WB (Harker, 2014) having accounted about 13000.500 immigrants from 1997 to 2007 as aforementioned. Despite of these great growth of urbanization rate and economic prosperous, more likely, socio-economic disparity amongst the residents of the city become more apparent.

Nowadays, the centralization is a reality in the study area inasmuch as the demographic transformation has affected the urban and socio-economic situation. Therefore, the study area rose as one of the most important cities of the WB in light of its political nature. It grew faster than the other cities at even faster rate in the future. If it remains at the same pace of growing, the necessity for resources will increase and become a dire need.

During the period between 1993 and 2015 could be called (boom years). Ramallah area had faced rapid suburb expansion in the northwest direction more than other directions. Further, the population of Ramallah area has soared due to the urban-urban and rural-urban internal migration toward new (liberal city) as (Benjamin, 2011) described it in his book “Ramallah Dream”. Therefore, the rapid pace of semi-infrastructural and development related to institutional developmental activities have brought in a group of immigrants workers to the study area.

An example in Amman city according to Botter et al, (2009), resultantly to accelerated urban growth has been seen extensive urban encroachment on the frequently steeper mid-slope location, become easily observed the same vein in Ramallah area such as urban expansion at Al-Tira and Al-Masayf area in the westward of the study area.

In fact; Ramallah area has one of the highest migrants ratio of the WB (Duraidi, 2009) Ramallah population has reached more than 80,000, Al-Bireh 80.000 and Betuniya 32.000 inhabitant according to the (municipalities, 2015) with an increase at about 6.5% of since the census that held in 1997 (Duraidi, 2009).

Ramallah area situation allure currently, mysteriously attractive or fascinate Palestinians who live in others places to migrate towards this unique place, moreover; portrayed explicitly as economic

area. As well as, spurred petit bourgeoisie at near stage since 2003, to migrate also to foster their projects in the city as result of security rather than other cities firstly, the ghost of Ramallah area and juxtaposition to Jerusalem secondly.

Rapid urbanisation growth has brought noticeable benefits since 1993, to land trader and for the real estate sector, which could be one of the major reasons has accelerated the pace of urban development process. As well as profitable and rapid income at limited, time. In contrast, new urban problem has begun to emerge (Enaia, 2015).

It is worth noting that, three drivers of which make Ramallah area distinct and demonstrate why it is unique nowadays as well as will discuss here. For one, while new, it is the location on which the city near to Jerusalem and link-point between north and south of the WB.

Second, the population of city since the eve characterized by numerous waves of movement and dynamic, more than any other cities this reason has shaped the city's identity. Third, related to the last two reasons; it is associated with rapid urban expansion in record time about twenty years.

Moreover, it has become adjacent by juxtaposition of a new suburb like (dormitory cities). Interestingly, it is function as the economic and political (interim) capital for upcoming Palestinian statehood, combined with population came from diverse Palestinian localities, according to Ababsa (2011) like "Place of maximisation of social interaction" as a description for Amman city, since the history of the area characterized with social interaction.

Thousands of Palestinians rural residents have emigrated searching for better jobs, like other places on the world as Mubark, 2008 mentioned in his study about Iraq and other studies discussed the issue of internal migration. So on, increasing the pressure on residents and urban employment lead to unemployment. Therefore, this rapid and demographic change has left tension unresolved in the social, economic and at urbanism spheres, at Large scale adversely affected on the context of urban transformation.

Indeed, augmentation of urbanization poses new challenges to the municipality in the city, have to deal with them; like urban encroachment, access the services, water supplies and pollution (Judieh, 2015).The status quo Ramallah area have imposed new socio-economic situation due to the transformation process that has taken place since many decades, but the most transform after 1993 was in accordance with advent of the PA.

Ramallah area could be considered as an interesting case model of how urban transformation has taken place in the city in record time. However, the picture of Ramallah area depicts some new-class area; resided by wealthy socio-economic group either around city center or in suburb of the city like Al-Ithad suburb as a quintessential American-style, as well as new model of urbanization and so-called 'production of space' and 'cultural production' represented by "outskirts".

Further afield, the de facto of Ramallah area land nowadays is characterized with the higher land price amongst of the WB cities, if not in the Levant countries, 1000m² of land for construction in the city centre about 12 million dollar.

Currently, a number of reports, reveals that Ramallah area is facing challenges of such as high level housing price, social-economic problem particularly the Banks credits, and social cohesion that linkages with the surge of urbanisation wheel since the mid of 1990s.

Even the rapid pace of urban growth in the study area has attracted the attention of geographers, urban planners and scholars in order to understand the transformation characteristics of the development process in this rapidly changing landscape.

Summary.

Ramallah Governorate has the highest percentage of population growth and the second highest percentage of built-up area growth with values of 89.1% and 77.3% respectively (Arij, 2004) of the Palestinian territory. Therefore, this reveals the fact that Ramallah Governorate is the administrative centre for the Palestinian National Authority where many ministries and national and international organizations are located and manifest investments are taking place.

However, internal migration has been an integral part of Ramallah area history; depending on somewhat unstable political situation, at least until the end of 1967. However, after, Oslo Accord in 1993 which is considered the milestone in the Palestinian urban transformation that works alongside with the demographic line in the main Palestinian cities of the WB like Ramallah area due to the internal immigration in unorderly manner that caused further strain on the services, Quarts of immigrants towards Ramallah area.

Moreover, the society transformed from Soil Tillage to a consumption society and white workers in public sector waiting the salary at the end of month from donors: Opposition between tradition and modernity, along with this process green area transformed into white area! Cladding and

elevation of stones represents the leaping of construction in building sector at the expense of agricultural land, which led to maim the green landscape which were characterize the city not like at such a time. The investment in Ramallah area without installation has affected the urbanization percentage. Since; daily movement or mobility in Ramallah, about 220,000 persons (Duraidi, 2009). It is important to point out that the neo-liberal model has enormous impacts on the country society, economy and political system.

At the end, 'Who visits Ramallah for the first time, thinks that it isn't under occupation' (Anani, 2011). It appears like neoliberal cities no restrictions. The status quo in the city reflects that Palestinians live descent life without occupation or political and economic obstacles Actually, Ramallah area have become as a visual symbol for the Palestinians society as well as number of groups wanted to representing this perspective like viable city.

Chapter three

Geopolitics and Transformations Response: Ramallah Area

Photo (4): Beit El Colony.



Palestinian Information center. 2015

Introduction.

The case of Palestine for this study of the WB and particularly Ramallah area, which provides the best image for understanding the process of urbanization accused to the advent of the PA in one side, and the role of Israeli occupation on the other side.

The Beginning of 1990s period “The Oslo accord between Israeli’s and Palestinian Liberation Movement represented by Yasir Arafat in 1993, giving the inspiration for Palestinian State adjoining to the Occupation State after the declaration of 15 November 1988 in Algeria at the 19th session of the Palestine National Council, which since then at such a time it at a standstill the ‘statehood’, where Jerusalem is still a microcosm of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (AFSC, 2004).

By the middle years of the 20th century, the struggle between Palestinian and Israeli became a spotlight and the most controversial political interests in the Middle East after the Gulf war. The Palestinian liberation movement was weakening politically and financially, and the Israeli power was strengthening their control on all Palestinian areas.

The closure of 1991 that imposed by Shamer, Israeli prime minister, after Gulf War, and followed with another closure on March 1993 by Yitzhak Rabin as well as the checkpoints that circled the Jerusalem and others adjacent cities to the armistice line, which nowadays the main or core checkpoints of the Separation Wall from the north to south of the WB altogether have adversely affected the mobility of the Palestinians.

The status quo regardless to aforementioned, the checkpoints have demarcated the economic relationship between Israelis and Palestinians after Oslo Accord. Moreover, the movement of Palestinian labors who live in the WB and as sequence as for this situation denied crossing the checkpoints without a permission that are getting from the Israeli side particularly after the erupted of the second Intifada (Uprising) on 29 September of 2000.

Despite the facts remains, they are based in the Palestinian case. This section attempts to shed light on Palestinian situation after Oslo undertaking number of indicators as a comparative quantitative analysis. The effect of Israeli occupation and the advent of the PA on the geopolitical, socio-economic and urbanization rate. Then as it will be seen in, the next part the consequences of this urban transformation on the Palestinian society.

There is a number of factors, which have influenced in the track of the WB journey after Oslo Accord: The First, is the number of Palestinian immigrants and (Returners) whom the Israeli occupation allowed them to back to the WB. Then, it was followed by defining Ramallah city as the pre-capital for the PA and the second intifada that related with construction of the Separation Wall and continuation the process of colonies expansion. Unfortunately, after Oslo accord even one colony did not dismantled.

1. The Creep of Israeli Colonies as a model to access the Palestinian urban situation.

“The Settlement of the Land of Israel is the essence of Zionism, without Settlement, we will not fulfill Zionism. It’s that simple” **Yitzhak Shamir, Maariv newspaper, 02/21/1997.**

The life of Palestinians in the WB after 1990s could be described to be worse than before this period, In this sense, it is possible to see the distinction from the geopolitical situation (Increasing percentage of colonies; associated with a number of settlers, the Separation Wall and land confiscation, in addition to the creating of new urban morphology that transformed the WB map.

Furthermore, about 600.000 Israeli settlers are now living in the WB (PCBS, 2015) as the table.10, shows, with annual average growth rate at 5.3% and consume approximately six times the water used by Palestinian (OCHA, 2012). One hundred and forty-one (141) colonies and about hundred outposts, which control 42% of the land area of the WB, and the rest in twelve neighborhoods that Israeli established on land has been annexed to the Jerusalem municipality (B’tselm, 2010).

Many settlers live in the WB for ideological or religious reasons (Al-Noubani, 2010) as their right in the land of ‘Judea and Samaria’ the biblical name of the WB.

It is apparent that there is a deliberate plan or tenet as a holistic perspective to drive the settlers living in the WB by economic and services motivations offered by the Israeli government such as since 1967 up today. The ration of settlers condensed in the colonies, is totally augment like Ariel, Ma’ale Adumim and Goush Atsyon the main three-colony pole in the WB. More noticeable, the colonies are the most important issue after occupation of the WB in 1967 in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

According to Areili et al, 2009, Israeli colonies are the result of political, social and religious conception of Israeli government to capture the WB and Gaza strip. This strategy has been begun with Yigal Allon plan that was presented shortly after the war 1967, and it was aim to annex approximately 40% of the WB land to create colonies along the Jordan Valley and in the heart of WB meaning here Jerusalem, further includes as few of Palestinians as possible.

In accordance to Allon plan that was nourished after 1977 when the Likud party took the authority and under the concept of Israeli security doctrine. It was through maps analysis and statistics a strategic zone that was carried out on the eastern borders of Jordan River by constructing a number of colonies along the Jordan Valley. That was followed with other zone in the eastern slopes of the WB mountains from Nablus in the north to Jerusalem then Hebron in the south to give the Israeli army the power to impose the security in the WB and its border with Jordan in the East Bank of Jordan river as a buffer zone.

Table (10): Number of Colonies and Settlers against Number of Palestinian in the WB 2015

Governorate	No. Colonies	No. Settlers	No. Palestinians	% of Settlers of
Jenin	5	2.851	315.094	0.9
Tubas	7	2.036	65.787	3.1
Tulkarm	3	2.993	183.684	1.6
Nablus	12	17.706	385.145	4.6
Qaliqilya	7	37.006	112.187	33.0
Salfit	13	39.488	71.503	55.2
Ramallah /Al-bierh	20	123.194	353.039	34.9
Jericho/Al-Aghwar	17	6.286	52.858	11.9
Jerusalem	26	292.555	422.821	69.2
Bethlehem	13	75.320	218.958	34.4
Hebron	18	17.856	717.851	2.5
Total	141	617.291	2.898.927	21.3

PCBS. 2016

As shown in the table.10, about 141 colonies were built and which control 2400 km², 42% of total area of the WB land without official authorization and against the Fourth Geneva Convention (B'tselm, 2010).

Noticeably that Jerusalem has the high proportion of Israeli about 393.004 residents followed by Ramallah 100.501 and Bethlehem in the heart of the WB which gives an indicator as much as near to Jerusalem the number of colonies increasing to besiege the city under the Israeli perception. 'Jerusalem is a Capital for Israeli State' that was consisted with the speech in 1/06/2016 of the Israeli Prime Minister, Benjamin Netanyahu repeats it on the Keenest (Parliament) session "Jerusalem was ours and will remain ours".

The Jordan Valley that located in the eastern part of the WB and in area C comprises about 30% total area of the WB, only 6% of the land available for Palestinian (Oxfam, 2012). The valley has faced more land confiscation as new plans to build more Israeli colonies by continuing destroying the livelihood of Palestinian living in the area.

2. Facts of Colonies.

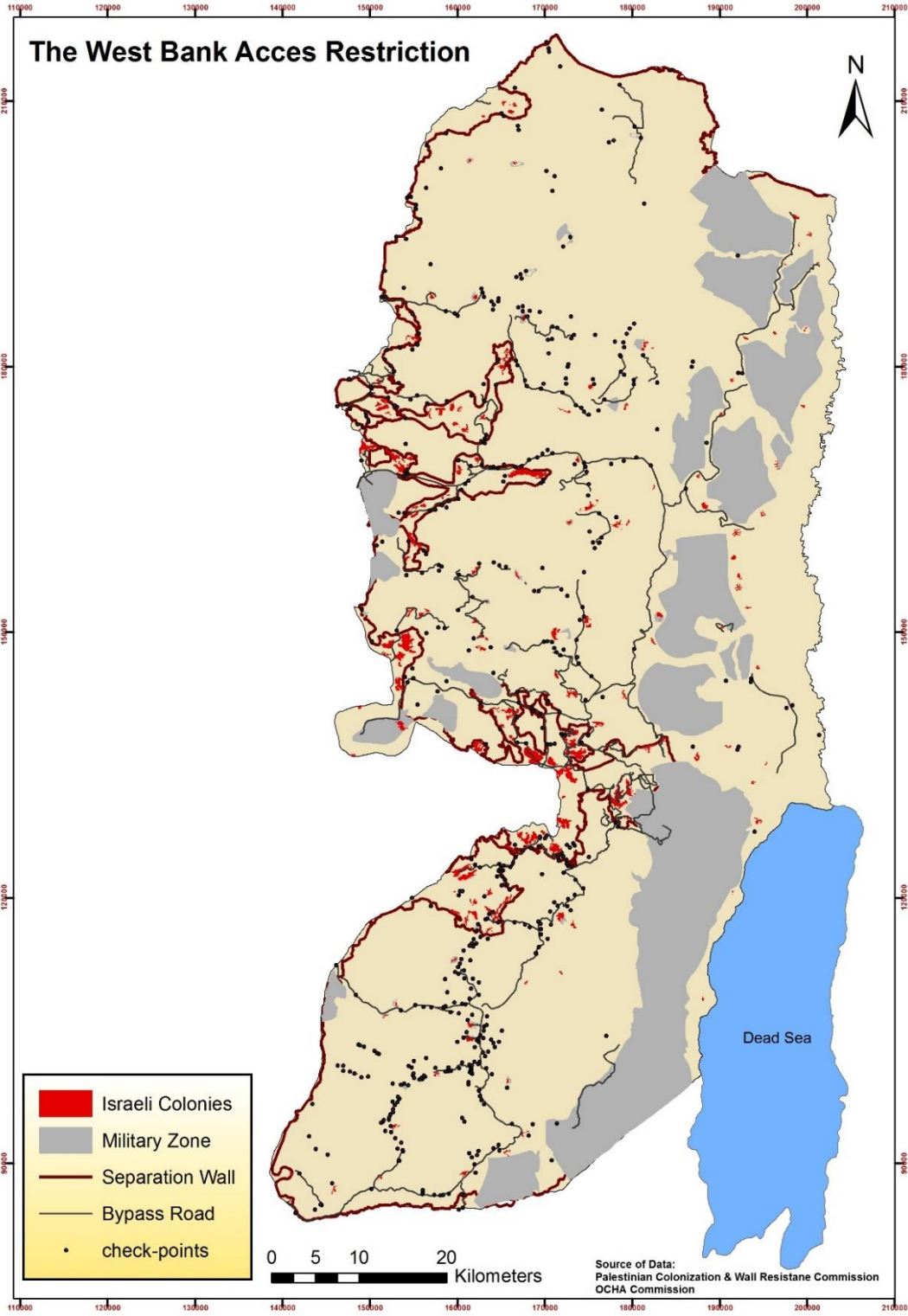
In 1993, there were roughly 100.000 settlers in the WB and 155.000 in East Jerusalem; by the end of 2011, the number had surged to cross 536.932 settler, including '267.643' in Jerusalem (PCBS, 2012) and by 2015 about 600.000 within 141 colonies (PCBS, 2015) and military zone as the map.8, has shown.

The Colonies population has grew rapidly at 5.3% per year, compared to the 1.6% in 'Israel' proper, nearly 10% nowadays are settlers of total Israeli population (PIJ, 2009), squatting in land and number of homes particularly in Jerusalem and Hebron belongs to Palestinians.

By colonies, Israel control 80% of Palestinian water resources and use approximately six fold the amount of 3 million Palestinians in the WB against 536.932 settlers (Oxfam, 2012). Point out that most of Israeli colonies located close to the water resources ex. Anatot colony in Jerusalem district located on the top of hill, which is considered the main water source of (Ein Farah) spring. In the same, the Palestinian villages that environ it are restricted from accessing.

The sellers can travel freely and safety between the WB, Jerusalem and colonies, a system of bypass roads has been developed. This roads network a mere 4% to the WB area restricted from Palestinian use and act as barriers to Palestinian movement (The World Bank, 2013).

Map (8): The Israeli Access Restriction of the West Bank.



Up to 28 November 2012, there was a threefold increase in the number of new settlers housing units were issued for tender in 2012, on 30 November. The Israeli authorities announced plans to build 3000 new colonies units in East Jerusalem and the rest of the WB (OCHA, 2012). Recently on 1/06/2016, same things the Israeli authorities announced a plan to build on 6.2 km² after redrawing the map of the selected area that most of them south of the WB.

However, the colonies are illegal under the International Law as they violate Article 49 of the Fourth Geneva Convention, which prohibits the transfer of the occupying power's civilian's population into occupied territory (B'tselm, 2010).

The 3 million Palestinians citizens of the WB have daily harassment, physical violence and suffer tremendously from the rebel and riot of settlers under the protection of Israeli soldiers of in all districts of the WB, particularly in Hebron and Nablus districts, furthermore; firing the olive trees.

Land confiscation or seizure to control hundreds of thousands of donum for colonies building by pursuing the policy of excuses or pretexts such as, military bases or public need, privately owned Palestinian land and state land. Using these methods led to minimize the area for Palestinians to expansion resulted to natural rate growth particularly in rural area, where most of land confiscated then has resulted in shrinking the land to cater demand on housing and urban development or expansion, So; this forced the Palestinians looking for alternatives as well as migrate towards urban areas like the main cities in the WB that classified area A without a restriction to build.

On the other side continuing colonies construction, expansion and encroachment on the expense of Palestinian owned land. Furthermore, fragmented the WB as particles is to isolate Jerusalem and the area of Jordan Valley in the east of the WB, which is considered an empty area and sparsely populated either Palestinian or Israeli only about 10.000 Israeli colonized in this area which cover an area of approximately at 29% of the WB and characterized by fertile agricultural land and eastern water aquifer (Ma'an, 2012), for that the area consider the Breadbasket of the WB.

However, The Israeli forbidden the Palestinians to use or profited most of resources of this area, such the Palestinians farmer there, listen the sound of drained water but cannot using it! Moreover, most of the area declared as military land and firing zone for Israeli defense force for military exercises.

Colonies are parts of Israel's policy of colonizing and controlling the life of Palestinians in the WB (Muller, 2004).

3. The objectives of Israeli Colonies.

Colonies are used to establish physical and demographic de facto in order to fortify Israeli claim over the large areas of the occupied WB as will be discussed in the next stage.

Since 1967, Israeli colonies have been accompanied with a network of bypass roads for Settlers particularly after 1993 to squatted more land; to avoid passing or crossing the Palestinians communities and forbidden any tension (Abdel-elJawad, 2004) ex. changing the route of Hizma village east of Jerusalem.

On March of 1993 before the signed of Oslo Accord, the Israeli government imposed a number of checkpoints around Jerusalem and colonies to besiege the Palestinian communities firstly, and forbidden Palestinians entering Jerusalem only with a permission, secondly; divided the WB into insulars and disconnected entities to separate Jerusalem and enable Israeli defense force control the socio-economic movement of the Palestinians.

Furthermore, expansion the border of "Israeli State" is the main objective of the Israeli government to reach their dream (Jewish State) of a Jewish homeland in historic Palestine. Expansion the built up area of colonies or outposts aims to colonize more lands on one side, on other side to create a demographic balance between Palestinian and Israelis in the WB, due to the outnumber of Palestinians in the occupied areas particularly in Jerusalem that is considered the core of the demographic crisis.

Thus, continued occupation and increasing number of settlers by Israeli immigration and displacement the Palestinians to minimize their number as possible as, whilst at the same time maximize the number of settlers as much as possible to achieve a demographic balance. Nowadays about 6.1 million Israeli and close to 6 million Palestinian live in historical Palestine (PCBS, 2013).

4. The Oslo Process and the Dilemma of Colonies.

"Move, run and grab as many hilltops as you can, everything we take now will stay ours. Everything we do not grab will go to them" **Ariel Sharon 1998.**

Indeed, while the premise of peace process (Declaration of Principles) between the Palestinian and Israeli, the Israeli side must to freeze and have to uproot the colonies construction in the WB, but the Israeli's politicians were clever and genius more than the Palestinian negotiator.

In fact, the Israeli known how to articulate the words and phrases of the agreement to be convenient and acceptable with their interests.

As one of Oslo declaration principles draftsman Ahmad 'Quray' in his book 'The Complete Palestinian Novel of Oslo, 2005) has mentioned 'Neither the Declaration of principles of September 1993, nor the Interim Agreement include any term or provision prohibiting and restricting continuing colonies construction and expansion in the WB or Gaza strip.

According to Al-Noubani 2008, indicated that Israeli tailored the Oslo Accord to serve the Israeli colonies spatial expansion in the C area and strategic location.

Generally, after the onset of Oslo Accord the number of settlers in the WB increased about 300.000 settlers during 1993 and 2015, which stressed on the fact that Israeli government and the World Zionist Organization offer incentives as attractive factors to live in the colonies such; the house price around 15-25% cheaper than those inside 'Israel' (Ben-Zadok, 1987).

According to Peace Now 2006. Approximately 75% of colonies are comprised within the zones that receive benefits and merits from Israeli government, against zero for the Palestinian if comparing the percentage number of population for the two group, since about 3 million Palestinian live in the WB and Jerusalem, in contrast about 617.291(Table,11) Israeli settler profited three folds more than the Palestinian.

Table (11): Number of Settlers in the Colonies of the WB and Jerusalem.

Year	West Bank	Jerusalem	WB and Jerusalem
2006	279.479	190.534	470.013
2007	294.133	193.485	487.618
2008	298.961	197.071	496.032
2009	314.101	192.768	506.869
2010	328.774	196.178	524.952
2011	343.350	199.647	542.997
2012	359.571	203.176	562.747
2.13	373.995	206767	580.762
2014	387.949	210.420	598.369
2015	403.156	214.135	617.291

(PCSB, 2016)

According to same source, a number of settlers in the WB increased Approximately 66.000, whereas in 2011 the number was 536.932 with growth rate at 1.3% comparing with 2010. Generally, during the period 1972-2011 the number of settlers increased more than 40 times, and most of settlers concentrated in Jerusalem district about 50% of total settlers of the WB; followed by Ramallah district at 18.7%.

Relatively, to Al-Noubani 2008, study resulted that the Israeli colonies have expanded predominately to areas of natural vegetation cover and to a less extent to agricultural land on one the hand, on other hand the Palestinian expansion predominately restricted to agricultural land in areas A and B, since the expansion in area C restricted and forbidden for Palestinians.

The Israeli side has maintained a longstanding commitment after Oslo, freezing the construction of colonies, but continuing colonies expansion and outposts paradoxically. For instance; a large area of land in the WB occupied by settlers and outposts were constructed without governmental approval (B'tselem, 2010) but instead of dismantled after a period of time the government officially recognized under the pretext of military or public area. Only four colonies had dismantled in the northern of the WB particularly in Jenin district in 2005, in the course of the disengagement plan after evacuation and destroyed colonies of Gaza strip.

Up to day, the Israeli government justifies to issue permissions giving the right erection new units and housing in the currently colonies then legitimate it, instead of freezing the process, which increase the tension of conflict between Palestinians and Israeli's.

According to B'tselm 2012, a number of benefits offered to the settlers of Colonies by Israel Government in the WB such as:

The average monthly salary in 2005 was 6.127 NIS, lower than national average that 6.296 NIS, but still higher than in the Jerusalem and with less cost of living.

Poverty in the colonies is lower than the rest part of Israeli residential area. The unemployment rate among the labor force in the colonies was 3.2% in 2006, compared to 5.6% out colonies, the price of apartment in the colonies lower than out colonies (B'tselem, 2010).

5. The Separation Wall.

In 2002 after the operation defensive shield, Ariel Sharon the Israeli prime minister that time authorized to construct of the Separation Wall ostensibly to separate the WB and “Israel” with long about 700 km. To date, the wall has still not completed. The process of construction has followed the armistice line, but the wall reaches as possible as deep into Palestinian lands. The Israeli pilfering the Palestinian land as following:

Approximately 913.000 donum, 16% of the WB total land between 1979 and 1992. While, 26.7 and 27% of total area of the WB in the Jordan Valley and Jerusalem desert respectively, since the signed of Oslo Accord up today has confiscated.

The result of Israeli colonies and Separation Wall through consecutive years that based on false grounds and violated international law infringe Urban Palestinian Development, particularly in the area C that covered about 62% of total area of the WB, which led the Palestinian invested in the urban areas and the main cities that classified area A. Arguably, the disparities of lands endowments due to geopolitical classification according to Oslo Accord and the Separation Wall, caused a high land price in the cities and the possibility of construction becoming complex due to high price of apartment, conversely prohibition in the rural area force them displaced to urban area. However, the Restriction of building, as a result for the first point, the process of civil construction are prohibited in the area C and in Jerusalem. Thus; the Palestinians are forced to construct under their responsibility without permissions in this area, or reside in A and B area and under hard condition in Jerusalem. According to Arij institute 2004, the population density in area A is about 969 Palestinian/km² accused to squeeze on lands, whereas 261 Israeli/ km², with 2% average growth in ‘Israel’ while 6% in the Colonies of the WB and Jerusalem.

The Palestinians have lost their opportunity to make profitable to use their land (B’tselm, 2012) which is considered the major source of income especially in the northern part of the WB. Therefore, most of Palestinians are forced to abandon their lands that located in the western part “Israeli side” of the Wall that located in the ‘seam zone’ which obligation obtaining the permit to enter their agricultural lands under the Israeli conditions. In addition, the wall has an enormous human impact; about 85% of Israeli Settlers population has been placed to the Israeli side (Oxfam, 2012), while plucking the Palestinians from their own agriculture lands.

The result of this action enforced the Palestinians after left the lands to get a permission to work at Israeli side accused to the formidable challenges of de facto of the Separation Wall that restricted the freedom of movement. At a later stage, the Palestinians were oppressed to migrate to other parts of the WB to find the opportunity of work due to given the diminishing opportunities there, Ramallah area is embodied this opportunity at the time that described as “sensational city”.

Point out relate to aforementioned that approximately 2.173 household including 11.461 Palestinians have been displaced from their cities and towns by Israeli, affected by the expansion and annexation wall (PCBS, 2004). The data indicates that Jerusalem governorate has the highest rate of the WB and since 1993, the borders of colonies has grown.

According to the civic coalition for defending Palestinian rights in Jerusalem 2009, that between 2000-2008 more than 670 homes in Jerusalem were demolished, while since the Israeli occupation of the WB in 1967, approximately 9000 ‘administrative’ and ‘Judicial’ demolitions of Palestinian homes have been conducted.

Since 2004, the Israeli have been confiscated approximately 6684 donum from Jerusalemites, and 19.2% was confiscated for the Separation Wall; to empty the city of its Arab residents opposed Israeli’s by a variety means (Shabbaneh, 2006) Entails with a new wave of urban expansion area near Ramallah such as Kufar Aqab and in Jerusalem Shu’fat camp in order to assimilation the exorbitant fee of life.

Further, according to Shabbaneh 22% of Jerusalemites think to emigrate. Therefore, if compared with the net immigration of Ramallah area it will be noticed that the first rate of immigrants to Ramallah area was from Jerusalem (Duriadi, 2009).

Recent perspectives and indicators point to that Israeli have a deliberate plan as tenet, in order to increase the rate of displacement, land confiscation and annexation to create, at later, a stage a stalemate de facto policy for the relation with the Palestinians that lead at the end to a clear setback. However, there is a consensus that the Israeli policy in the WB move to enlarge the colonies and borders and wall construction associated with bypass roads and military basement. Directly, a lurking beneath these policies to fracture the WB as separated enclaves or island within three poles north, middle and south (Nablus, Ramallah, and Hebron).

Moreover, to cement and pave the line for impediments to create a viable Palestinian statehood, and therefore attached its commitments towards Palestinians population, which mirrored outright contradiction with international law in the occupation areas.

6. The direct effect of the colonies and the Separation Wall.

According to B'tselm, 2012. Approximately 85% of the Separation Wall is built inside the WB area as following:

The West Bank lands outside (west) of the Wall, 9.5%.

The Israeli Colonies blocs inside (east) of the Wall 8 %.

The Jordan Valley land under colonies jurisdiction, 25.5%

The Palestinian restricted by Israeli colonies and the Wall, Areas Remaining for Palestinians 54% of the WB.

Palestinian Population Directly Affected by the Wall:

The Population Isolated outside Walled area, 10.2%.

The Population separated from cultivated land (Total Wall), 12%. Has completely damaged the economic ties by separated the community all over the WB, due to the restriction on free movement and ensued by high cost of transportation due to the limited access.

7. Geopolitics of Oslo Accord.

It is an agreement signed in 1993 between Israeli and Palestinian side presented by (PLO) under American patronage and Clinton administration. It is considered the limestone of Israeli-Palestinian political negotiation thereafter was followed by the conflict since the second Intifada break out on 29 September 2000.

The declaration principles of the accord are an attempt to create a Palestinian interim self-government that embodied by the Palestinian National Authority (PNA), to gain control and administration of the Palestinian territory (West Bank and Gaza Strip) the beginning by Jericho/Gaza firstly, after withdrawal of the Israeli forces, then eventually ended by Palestinian State under the term two-state solution.

It worth noting, that Oslo Accord postponed the core issues such as; Jerusalem status, Palestinian Refugees, Israeli colonies and the state border, further water problem could be added. Those four issues, the two side had decided to tackle them within five years. The Oslo Accord divided the WB into three distinct zones, as table.12, and the map.9, show.

Table (12): Geopolitical Classification of the West Bank.

Area	Administration	WB Land %
A	Palestinian	17%
B	Palestinian	26%
C	Israeli	61%

In area C, the Israeli have the power and responsibilities related to the sphere of planning and zoning of land and a small percentage of the Palestinian Population in more than 62% of the WB area (Ishaq and Hakala, 2013).

The restrictions that imposed by Israeli in C area have significant consequences for both areas A and B, where over 90% of the Palestinian reside (The World Bank, 2013), according to the World Bank report also; the Palestinian side has a scarcity on the land affordability to meet the urban growing need accused to the prevention of urban expansion into area C, that ended with further strain on land in area A and B.

In addition, the effect of restrictions on land use by Israeli in area C, resulted with a leap and an explosion of land price in area A and B of the WB particularly in the cities, hence; Ramallah area has witnessed augmentation of land prices after Oslo Accord, reaching as high as 4000\$/ M², with differential price between the WB cities (The World Bank, 2013), associated with high population demands and pressure for residential area in the main cities also.

Table. 13, is giving a brief hint about the land prices and differential in three district of the WB according to a study has conducted by the World Bank.

Map (9): Geopolitical Classification of the West Bank 2016.

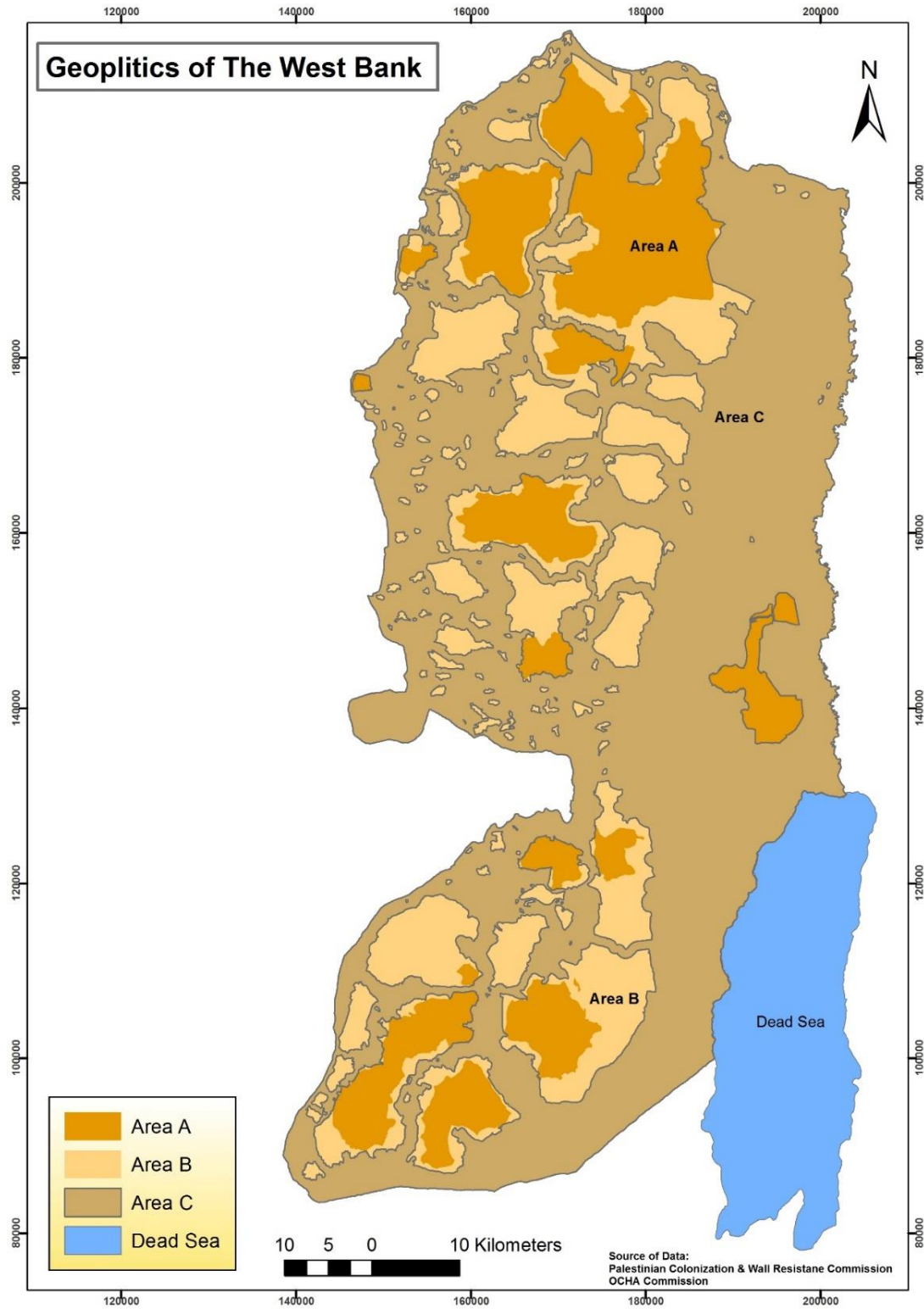


Table (13): Indicative Land Prices in the West Bank 2013.

District	Land use	Zone	Price Range \$/ M²
Ramallah	Residential	A	135-1000
Ramallah	Residential	B	25-250
Ramallah	Residential	C	25-126
Ramallah	Commercial	A	200-4000
Ramallah	Industrial	A	100-500
Ramallah	Agriculture	A/B	15-100
Ramallah	Agricultural	C	2.5-7.5
Hebron	Residential	A/B	35-177
Hebron	Commercial	A/B	388-2472
Hebron	Industrial	A/B	18-85
Hebron	Agricultural	B	11
Hebron	Agricultural	C	0.7-21
Jenin	Residential	A	21-81
Jenin	Agricultural	A	4-113
Jenin	Agricultural	C	1.4-4.2

(The World Bank, 2013)

Table.13 shows an example of land price differential in the WB. It is worth noting that, there is a noticeable range in the price among the three zones which is impacted heavily by type zone and use. Ramallah area has taken the first rank, because of becoming what is dubbed the de facto capital of the PA then has a significant surge in the land price in area A between the other two districts that located in south (Hebron) and north (Jenin) of the WB.

After Oslo Accord, the situation has become more complicated in term of time and in space. In actual, it is important to shed light on one of the most important issue in the WB nowadays which represents in the mortgages and collaterals accused to the credit or loan from the Palestinian Banks to be able buy an apartment in the WB cities regardless to the high price of apartment due to the scarcity of lands in area A on the first side, and taking the investment in cadastral field as business

particularly for the Palestinians who live abroad by their remittances on the other side. In general, specialties estimated the amount of loans in the WB around five billion\$, which is the high percentage for real-estate sector and vehicles.

More likely; the last economic report which issued by MAS institute 2015, reveals that the Palestinian economic situation has a rapid credit growth at the broadcast scale in the WB. The loan-to-deposit ratio increased from 31% in 2008 to 55% in 2014. Foreshadow, a critical economic becomes a status quo in the WB.

The de facto of the WB time, the political situation is turned in 'closed-loop' which means since signing the accord up today nothing has changed as positive attitudes or favor for the Palestinian side.

Conversely, in the term of space, the Israeli side has violated all principles of the Accords which means there is an enormous gap between what on the reality and on paper of Oslo Accord, such as; there has never been Palestinian sovereignty on their land even in area A. It is fallacy perception. Furthermore, the number of settlers has increased in the WB and East Jerusalem associated with more practices and policies implemented by Israeli to Judaize Jerusalem and land grab as much of the valuable land as possible, as well as coercion of Palestinian to abandon their homes and properties.

In addition; the living conditions reflect socio-economic and political circumstances like incidence of poverty accused to the Separation Wall and the high number of checkpoints and another formidable challenges face the Palestinians.

This accentuates the dropping of the situation after Oslo Accord in order to create a fait accompli to coerce the flip-side (Palestinians) to accept the geopolitical actual de facto, particularly upon completion the wall. Notwithstanding, violating the principles of the Accords would be the death knell of peace process whereas these processes have born dead and demise the dream of Palestinian state.

8. The Economic Situation.

Since the Israeli occupation of the WB in 1967, the Palestinian economy has been forced to undergo under the Israeli control and fiscal policy. As Nashashibi mentioned in his study for UNDP program

2015, that the Palestinian economy after 1967 was mostly driven by a combination of labor remittances from the Israeli side in the period 1967-1995 and by funding from donor countries after Oslo Accord 2001-2013. Further, can be add the remittances by the Palestinians who live out Palestine particularly during the period 1973 and 1991 from the Gulf State, meanwhile after Oslo the remittances had increased by the Palestinians reside in the USA.

Generally, an economic protocol was formed in order to re-shape the economic system and relationship between Israeli and Palestinian according to Oslo Accord. It is called Paris Protocol. According to PCBS 2012, that labor market of the WB after Oslo Accord has noticeable and relatively sluggish growth performances.

The employment growth was insufficient to absorb rapid rise in the labor force. It was 39%, then raised to 44% during the period 1995-2012, which led to high percentage (22%) of employment among the Palestinian labor force particularly after the second Intifada. However, on the other side in the same last period has noticed increasing in the labor force in the private sector. It grew from 248,000 to 584.000 in mid-2012 with an average annual increase of 6% (PCBS, 2012).

However, the Palestinian labor force has declined after the second Intifada due to the obstacles that imposed by Israeli mainly after construction of the Separation Wall, as well as it has restricted the freely movement and access; statistics reveals that the share of Palestinian labor force was 26% nowadays about 13%. Meanwhile, it was about 35% of Palestinian labor force engaged in the Israeli labor market as the table 14. Shows.

Moreover, before the outbreak of the second Intifada, about 180.000 employees who comprise 28% of the Palestinians labor force lost their jobs in 2000. Around 100.000 lost jobs at Israeli side, and around 80.000 in the Palestinian private sector of the WB and Gaza strip, ensued by increasing the unemployment percentage from 10% on the eve of the Intifada to more than 35% in 2002 (The aix group, 2015).

Table (14): Labor force Percentage at Israeli side and Unemployment of the WB.

Year	Labor at Israeli %	Unemployment %
1995	23	13.9
1996	16.6	19.6
1997	19.5	17.3

1998	24	11.5
1999	25.9	9.5
2000	21.4	12.2
2001	16.4	21.6
2002	12	28.2
2003	11.2	23.7
2004	10.7	22.8
2005	12.9	20.4
2006	11.7	18.8
2007	12.5	17.9
2008	13.8	19.7
2009	13.9	17.8
2010	14.2	17.2
2011	14	17.3
2012	13.8	19
2013	16.1	18.6
2014	16.1	17.7

(PCBS, 2015)

Table.14 indicates that the rate of unemployment in 2014 was 17.7%, against 13.9% if compared with 1995. Since then to 2014, the rate was increased as well as fluctuates over the time between 13% and 20%, accompanied by a significant loss of labor income from Israeli side, accordingly to the political situation rather than the economic situation in the Palestinian case.

However, what can be deduced from the previous mention rate of labor force at Israeli side that the rate has declined after Oslo Accord; while up to day the work at Israeli side remains as a pivotal role in the WB labor market. According to the aix group report 2015, the total Palestinian labor force number whom employed at Israeli side and in the colonies doubled from around 45.000 in the period 2002-2004, to almost 90.000 in the second half of 2012 most of them from the WB, and their share in the total WB employment was around 15% in 2012. Conversely, if the Israeli labor market prevented the Palestinian to work, the poverty rate in the WB would have been as high as 40%.

To conclude, the Palestinian economic has not increased after Oslo Accord, even it declined over these twenty years (The aix group, 2015). Accordingly, to the Israeli obstacles that were imposed against the Palestinian economic as well as left a significant horrible perspective for the investors to invest in the WB, further; the checkpoints, the separation wall and limited access of movement prevented the economic to see the brilliant.

Consequent to Oslo Accord and economic recession that accompanied with the cease of peace process, the standard of life of the Palestinian worsened, statistics according to MAS 2015 report the GDP per capita declined in the WB, in addition; even those residing in Jerusalem because the Israeli obstacles against the Jerusalemites.

9. The Case of Ramallah Area in the Geopolitical Context.

The geopolitics sphere have been the most dominant factor in the urbane expansion process of Ramallah area.

The political factor of the Palestinian situation is dominated over the other; social and economic, which has been affected for changes in urban structure form of the Palestinian urban pattern and morphology. As far as the political factor is strong in intensity, because it is changeable and variable under the Israeli occupation. Since 2007, the political stabilization has played a major role in increasing the pace of urban and population growth and investments in Ramallah area despite of the decline of purchase rate, which clear by the number of vacant flats.

The urban growth and its expansion has accelerated after 1993 by the advent of the PA. In the same sense, it was followed by urban-urban and rural-urban migration by the impulsion of the new situation.

It is worth taking into consideration the changing pattern of urban expansion that occurred as the result of several factors: political, demographic and socio-economic as a local factor. At the same, it was associated with rapid consequences of urban and socio-economic transformation and interactions.

However, the Ramallah area urban expansion is correlated with Israeli colonies expansion and limitations. Ramallah area is surrounded by colonies in most of its parts, which will affected and oriented the expansion in certain directions contiguous with areas A and B. At the same vain, the urban situation becoming compact and limited. On other hand, Israeli colonies expanded exclusively in area C and east Jerusalem, without Israeli expansion in area A or B, due to the Israeli restriction that prohibited any Palestinian urban expansion in this area. This supports most of studies about the Israeli implication on the Palestinian urban growth.

The distance between Ramallah area administrative borders and the colonies has played the major factor for the expansion of both sides. Through the buffer zone analysis indicate that the land which

is closer to the colonies is more sensible to expand and prohibited and developed. Where most of lands in area C such as Betuniya city have 28.000 donum of total area, but about 5000-donum the municipality accessed it within area A and B, similarly, for Ramallah and Al-Bireh city.

The Israeli colonies and the military bases need the security from the nearby Palestinian livelihood; for that Israeli declare the surrounded area as closed area for security purpose by expropriating land. This is noticeable through the military base near Betuniya city, which strategically located to control and access the urbanization process and movement of Palestinians.

Through map.10, can observe the spatial distribution of Israeli colonies within the buffer zone around Ramallah area, and how it affected the urban expansion. It is striking to observe that all colonies of Ramallah are in area C, while some of Palestinian area is classified in this area, as table.15, shows.

Table (15): The Geopolitics Classification of Ramallah area.

Class	Area/Donum	%
A	22200	98
B	350	1.5
C	105	0.5
Total	22650	100

Through table.16, can be observe that most of Palestinian land according to the geopolitical classification within A area are about 98%, against 1.5% area A and 0.5% area C.

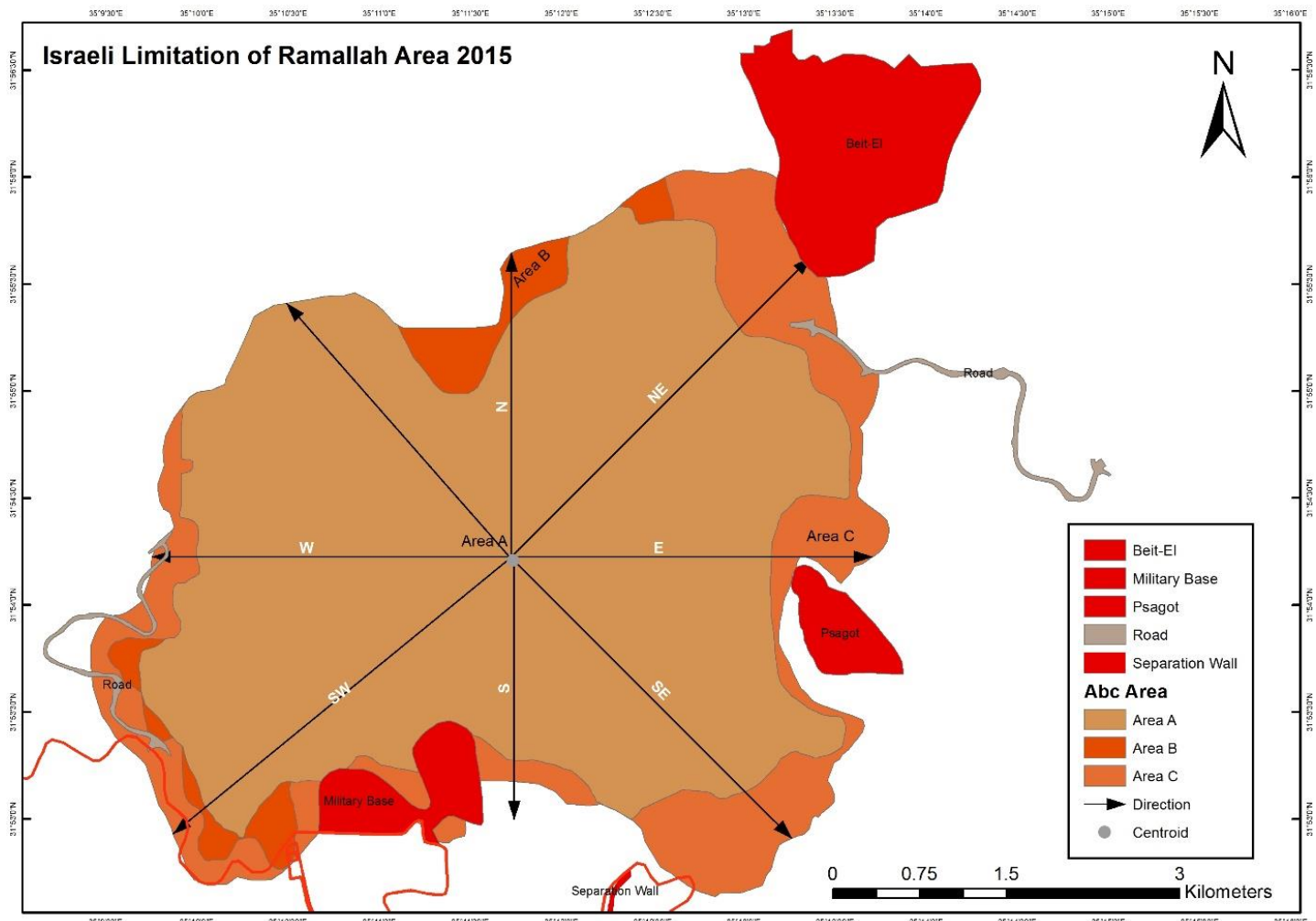
Further analysis, as map.11, has shown the expansion of the Israeli colonies situated in the east and northeast direction presented by Psagot and Beit-El colonies respectively, then in the south, southwest direction; military basement and the Separation Wall, which are constructed on the Jerusalem municipality border in this direction.

Interestingly, the distance between the two communities is closer like adjacent neighborhood, on other hand; the expansion is restricted in the area C where there are a large area for the Palestinian expansion, but; the Israeli restriction leaving just a small corridor in the northwest direction for expansion, where most of new rural-urban cities had constructed.

This indicating how the geopolitical factor that imposed by Israeli limitation affected on the urban expansion of Ramallah area by orientation direction of expansion only in the areas A and B that less the probability of expansion in those directions and negatively increase the urbanization expansion intensity in the study area. On other hand, allows for Israeli expansion on the other

directions, whilst limited for Palestinian, moreover, in certain cases cut off the land from the city for the wall. This for instance the case of south Betuniya and Al-bireh as the photo 5. Show.

Map (10): The Israeli Limitation of Ramallah Area 2015.



More noticeable, Ramallah area is situated in the hill of the WB. For the Israeli doctrine, the elevation is considered as the most important factor that taking in consideration when constructing colonies, according to Weizman, 2004. The hill summit attracts the settlers to those areas for strategic reasons within area C. These areas around Ramallah area is provided to future Israeli expansion for their colonies against the restriction for Palestinian expansion, as Al-Noubani 2008,

has mentioned in his that study Ramallah have a high probability for the Israeli colonies expansion due to the adjacent to Jerusalem.

Photo (5): The Separation Wall Restriction.



Kittaneh, 2009.

General speaking, the functional process of Israeli policy in area C in the study area, the Palestinian urban expansion process moved to suburb areas in the north-west direction, which adversely affected the urbanization process. Over years, the urban pattern of the study area has been characterized by the compaction and directed under Israeli limitation that gave the Palestinian case a merit amongst other countries. As well as the de facto of Ramallah area is quite sprawl, with a significant negative impact on both in the urban and socio-economic manner.

In particular, because of geopolitics factor of the Palestinian question over the next years, the combined effect of the colonies and the wall will presumably bring more changes and effects on the Ramallah area generally, regardless to its location on the hill, adjacent to Jerusalem, and more restrictions will be imposed that will adversely affecting on the urban situation of Ramallah area. In sum, the geopolitical factor influences directly the expansion pattern of the WB on the agricultural land. That led to socio-economic transformation in the Palestinian society due to

increasing the percentage of urban encroachment on expense of the agricultural land in all parts of the WB and intensified in Ramallah area, accompanied by the crippled planning of the Palestinian side.

Arguably, the expansion of Ramallah area is very limited due to the colonies that circled the study area, such as Psagot colony limited of Jabal Al Tawel area any eastern expansion process, in addition preventing it from the southern area that is blocked by Givait Zeev colony. While, Beit Eil colony is limiting northeast expansion. Moreover, the west direction that is characterized by high slope (topography) is being a significant challenge for further expansion.

However, the de facto annexes indicate that the expansion process has the opportunity to expand in the north-west direction as map. 10, had shown.

Furthermore, in December 2008 the Israeli authority withdrew from one of its military bases near Al-Tira area as well as eliminated the limitation to expand in the this area, then subsequent with reuse by Palestinians for cadastral sector in order to build new houses.

Summary.

This chapter has sought to bring out salient points and shedding light upon the problem of Israeli colonies since 1967, then the contradiction of Oslo Accord on the Palestinian general scene and on related phenomena of urban growth since 1993.

The colonies and the Separation Wall construction and expansion have been to seen as a part of a comprehensive process by the Israeli occupation administration in order to confiscate more of Palestinian land in the WB under number of pretexts, as well as violated the International rule. Thus, the result of this process has adversely affected the urban and socio-economic life of the Palestinians.

To date, surveys have been carried out and additional intensive studies which gave a valid picture of pattern and the process of the Palestinian case under the Israeli occupation; geographic, socio-economic condition, land confiscation and others related issues. As a result, there is no a little merits for Oslo Accord for the Palestinians.

The Second Part
The Process of the Transformation

Chapter Four

Analysis of the context and consequences
Of Internal Migration

Chapter Five

Ramallah Area Urban Development.

Chapter Six

Spatiotemporal urban pattern characteristics

Chapter Four: Analysis of the context and consequences

Of Internal Migration.

Introduction.

This chapter oversees the analysis and interpretation of the data gathered from Ramallah area inhabitant by researchers in order to test the hypothesis, address the research questions and to complete the objectives. A mixture of quantitative by questionnaire and qualitative by in-depth interviews methods has been conducted to answer the question of the study in order to analyze the socio-economic condition of the study area, also to identify the main causes that, encourage the immigrants to immigrate and its effects as the results of this process.

The questionnaire gives the opportunity to look for statistically significant indicators, alongside with the qualitative method by interviews to provide and promote the process of analysis.

The main aim of the statistical survey of the study is to find the reason that forced Palestinians to emigrate towards Ramallah area and the socio-economic implications of immigration as well as its results.

However, the questionnaire that has been designed in the Arabic language here was used to gather opinions and respondents on issues related to their immigration to Ramallah area. It offers the opportunity to obtain statistically significant trends. Furthermore, it improves understanding of the process. The questionnaires was distributed in the study area including the immigrants in the three main cities of Ramallah governorate (Ramallah, Al-Bireh and Betuniya).

Some specific questions were used in the analysis of immigration process to get in the main results. While, the remaining questions were not used because there is no need for it as well as regains instead of it by interviews and owned observation.

The questionnaire has been classified for four section. The first includes the main personal information of respondents such as the age and profession. The second one includes questions, which enabled respondents to explain their experiences of immigration such as origin. The third one land use preference. Finally, it is to obtain the main socio-economic and other implication of the internal migration process on the study area during 1997 and 2015.

The respondents of the study comprise the population of Ramallah area particularly the immigrants as the target population. Five hundred questionnaires have been conducted in the study area based on the geographical restriction that determined sampling procedure. For this purpose, Ramallah area was divided into ten zones. The snowball random sampling technique was applied of 50 household in each zone that had surveyed for the purpose of the study.

The number of 50 questionnaires was chosen depending on the population size and number of families in each zone (~ 5% of the household). The questionnaire data was treated by the SPSS program to analyze the data and find the statistical results according to the section of questionnaire. Hence, each individual question was added together to find the highest frequency, then presented in percentage form and presented in tabular form.

Then, 15 recorded in-depth interviews were conducted with the three municipalities of the study area and with a number of ministries and key persons who are relevant with the study. Those interviews as qualitative data, in some cases were used to complete and support the statistical findings and provide more in-depth information about the urban and socio-economic situation of Ramallah area.

Data was collected between July and August 2015, by the structured questionnaire in a face-to-face interview. The target respondents filled in the questionnaire at their home. At the same vain, more verbal information was obtained through respondents beside the written information during the face-to-face interviews.

1. Attraction and Repulsion.

As mentioned previously, Ramallah area is characterized by the highest internal migration rate amongst the WB cities after 1993. Those other cities such as Hebron and Nablus, which are larger spatially and demographically, have lower immigrants flow at the same period.

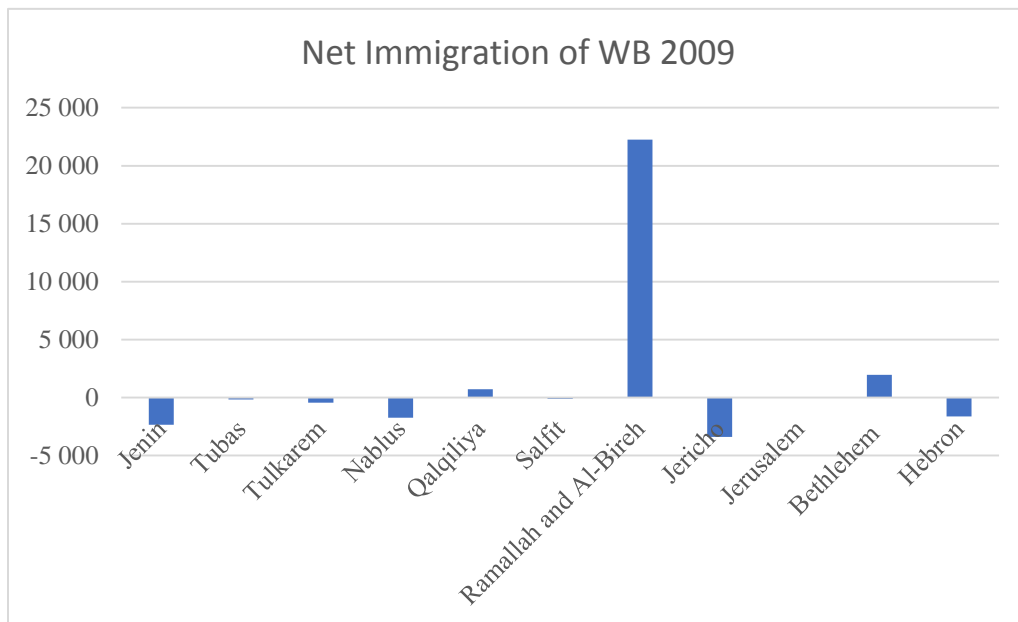
Through number of studies, coinciding with questionnaires and interviews analysis the dominant pattern of immigration flow in the WB and towards Ramallah particularly is rural-urban migration rather than urban-urban migration. In fact, the number of immigrants according to the respondents and interviewers will continue to increase during the next period. In light of stability of the security

and centralized of the PA apparatus in Ramallah area, approximately 64% of respondents indicated that they encouraged their relatives to immigrate.

According to the PCBS 2009 study and 2016 projection, the total population of Ramallah district approximately 357.968 inhabitant, out of which 32 % of total WB population in Ramallah district, including returnees and those had come from Gaza strip due to the conflict between Fatah and Hamas Fraction after 2007.

As figure.1, shows, census data indicates that the immigrants destination is Ramallah area as well as it has a very significant increase of internal migration percentage. About 37.8% immigrated after advent of the PA between 1994 and 1997. It is noticeable that Ramallah area has the highest percentage among the rest of WB district. It is about 7.461immigrants of net immigration, which is 3.7% out of total inhabitants of the district in 1997. While, about 13.500 that is 5.1% out of total inhabitant of the district in 2007 census.

Figure (1): Net Immigration of the West Bank 2009.



(PCBS, 2009)

The aforementioned statistics provides an evidence of a very significant increase in the immigrants' number in Ramallah area more than other Palestinian cities, which increased dramatically after

1995. This aggregate percentage of immigrants includes just who moved as internal migration within the WB.

From the last figure, it is clear that Ramallah area has in-run as the highest reception area for immigrants, under-scoring the migratory movement that consistent with the respondent's point of view.

As the above table has shown, it considers a significant indicator that that Ramallah area have the first rank amongst the WB districts of net internal immigration, which is a pivotal role for the increasing number of population very rapidly comparing to other Palestinian cities during the same period.

After 2000, it is striking that the internal migration rate has declined due to a particular stage in the Palestinian society of movement from urban-urban and rural-urban migration that has noticed between 2000 and 2006 accused to the second Intifada.

During 1997 and 2009 period, Ramallah maintained the first position as the district has the most through net-immigration over the WB district. Noticeably, the internal migration to Ramallah was lower than that period because the immigrants flow began after 1993; after that Ramallah become the first highest gross inflow on immigrants who came from all part of the WB.

It is worth noting that there is a major role for the distance that encourages immigrants to replace their residency among the Palestinian cities; accordingly to Ravenstein law that measures the relationship between the distance and the migration destination (there is an inverse relationship). This is inconsistent with the spatial geographic of the WB. Limited distance encourages people as a pull factor to migrate within the WB, maximum two hours from north to south.

In addition, for the aforementioned, the political situation after the second Intifada that associated with more than 500 checkpoints insofar obliged the Palestinian to migrate internally to diminish the risk of life, the cost of traveling and the time. Resultantly, Ramallah after 2005 had another leap of urban and demographic growth.

It is interesting to note that the flow of internal migration, despite of lack of statistics data about the number of immigrants after the last report of 2009 by PCBS, continues even the high-level cost of life. The percentage of immigrants either urban-urban or rural-urban is increasing according to the number population and houses. It means, there is a still desire to move into Ramallah.

However, Ramallah area has a daily mobility estimated between 150.000 and 250.000 persons coming to Ramallah for either work or daily socio-economic affairs (Hjoj, 2015).

The urbanization rate of the Palestinian urban areas increased during the period 1997 and 2007, from 47.8% to 68.7%. Therefore, the urban population share of total population had augmented about 20.9%. In other words, by 2007 Ramallah area passed this percentage due to the internal migration as mentioned later. The high number of immigrants, which generated the high percentage of urbanization of the 1997 and 2015 period.

The study found that the number of blue-worker immigrants come to Ramallah area searching for jobs and eventually remained there due to the presence of the opportunity to get jobs rather than others cities of the WB. Some of them engaged like daily labor and live at flats sharing in less cheaper areas such as Em-Alshrayt or at the end of Ein-Monjud area. Unfortunately, there is not a particular statistics for the daily worker in Ramallah area.

2. Drivers of Movement.

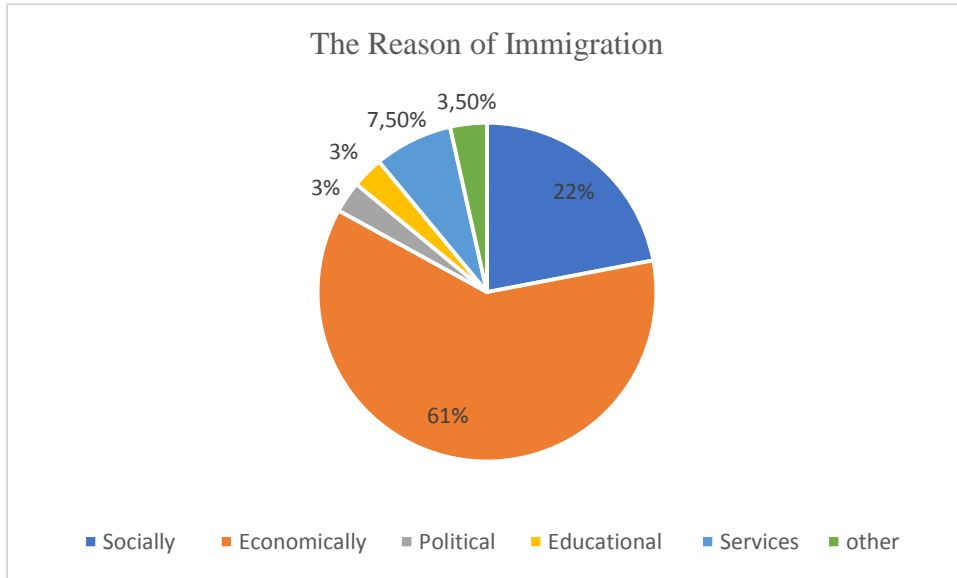
A statistical analysis of the respondents to the reason of immigration indicates that one of the main reasons of immigration is an economically one as the figure.2, show; which is 60%. While 22 % of all respondents are for social reason like reunification the one of family member such as marriage that consistent with PCBS, 2009 study.

This is what deduced from the respondents, when answering the question why they chose Ramallah area, about 60% had responds for the opportunities of jobs and services rather than other Palestinian cities, which put Ramallah area in the first ward in the imagination of the Palestinian immigrants.

Further, results of the survey show that families have ex-residence and at the same time, they have other home at their place of origin. The greatest percentage is the families living in the main three cities, which classified as urban-urban and rural-urban immigrants regardless to their origin.

It is important to notice that when one of the interviews which has been conducted with Judieh, 2015, said that ‘the origin background of immigrants in the last five years whom coming to Al-Bireh city had change, since it was from north of the WB become from south of the WB’.

Figure (2): The Immigration Reason.



Thus, have to explain the reason, one of assumption that, the value of land agriculture had raised after the augmented the price of smoking in the WB. So, most of people in the north district particularly in Jenin, prefer to stay at their land to plant the fields with smoking crop, if knowing the monthly contract lease of land there had raised from 120\$ to 400\$. This fact also plays an important role in giving more attention for the lands regardless to its negative natural impacts on the soil fertility on one hand

The back of the economic importance of Nablus city since 2010 is when the Israeli occupation withdrew and eliminated the main checkpoint that has been sieging the city since 2000 due to the set out of the second Intifada.

Clearly, that the main reason of the leap of Ramallah area urban expansion is the internal migration and the concentration of Palestinian labors in those cities. This is borne out by the fact that the Population annual growth rates in the WB 2.5%, whereas for Ramallah area about 3.6%. Moreover, the analysis of the field study that conducted by interviews and questionnaires revealed that approximately 53% of respondents had immigrated to the study area after 1995, and enumerated outside their past localities of birth as the PCBS, 2009 report mentioned also.

Although, most immigrants in the period 1997 and 2007 then up to 2015, were towards Ramallah area from all part of the WB, particularly from Jerusalem area resulted to the Israeli obstacles to

construct buildings and houses demolished policy as mention in last chapter . Hence, statistics according to PCBS asserted that the greatest ratio of in-migration flow to Ramallah from Jerusalem rather than other cities.

General speaking, the job opportunities are considered the main reason for attracting people to migrate as an economic reason to obtain jobs. After analyzing of questionnaires, it is worth noting that number of migration theory discusses the rural-urban migration or the economic role in migration as an attractive and pull factors, such as push-pull factors theory, it is one of most important theory in the term of internal migration that depends on the income differential.

Nevertheless, if tested in the context of Palestinian case, it is difficult to adopt totally this theory, especially in Ramallah area. Where the most of Palestinian cities have roughly the same economical level or more than Ramallah area such Hebron and Nablus, on the other side, most of Palestinian have more than one source of income.

Thus, through analysis likely clear that the economic factor play a role in the process of immigration, but the pivotal here consequence of the political role which of encourage the economic investments in later stage. Therefore, the precise reason in the study area why people migrate, it is important in determining it, to be able to determine the consequences on the future.

In term of income and job opportunities, the new socio-economic life in Ramallah area after 1990s according to the respondents provided, they have been increased at 69%. This percentage affirms that their income have augmented after the PA advent to Ramallah area.

Despite of the increasing of income; the rapid percentage of internal migration in Ramallah area generated an urban employment and income structure, which does not offer better living condition for the immigrants.

This is asserted by the number of respondents supported by an analysis of household income and expenditure. Whereas, average of earning is less than monthly average of expenditure that is estimated at 1400 \$ according to PCBS, 2011 survey for the Palestinian territory.

In view of higher cost of living in Ramallah area, the respondents indicate that there is a gap between monthly income and the household necessities. This means that the economic situation of the study area for the immigrants characterized by a differential between the income and expenditure even the income had increased after they immigrated, but the gap is widening.

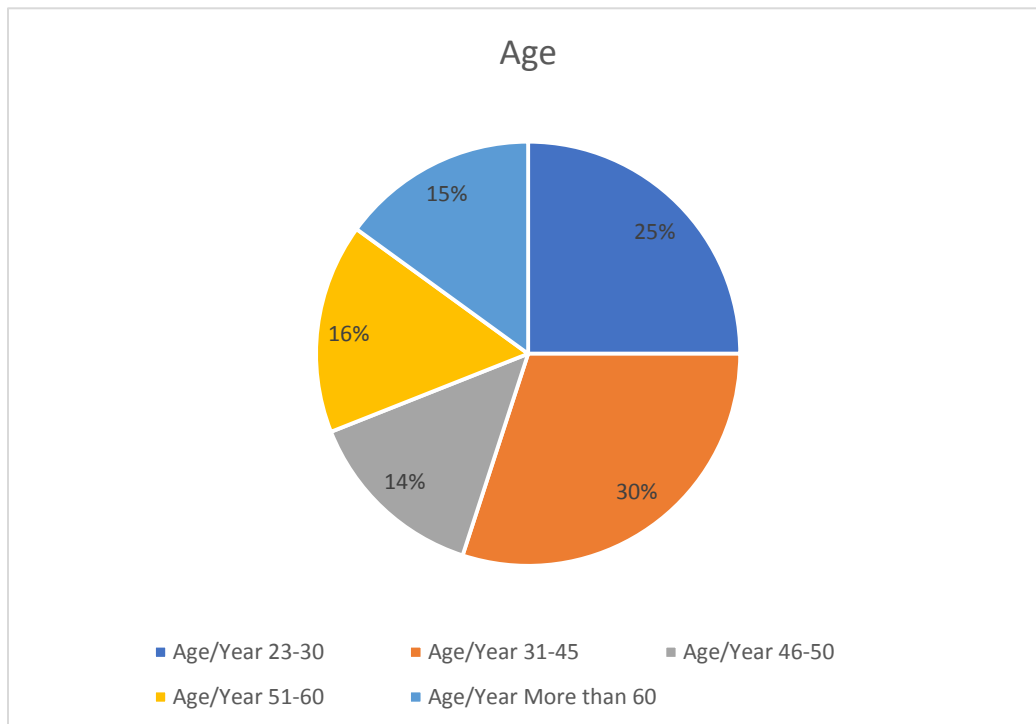
3. Respondents Profile.

1.3. Age with positive attitude toward immigration.

Figure.3, shows that about 55 % of the respondents' age is between 23-30 and 31-45 years respectively, as well as it indicates most of them were already considered as young adult in the employment age and are more mobile than the other age group, whereas 30% of the respondents are between 46-50 and 51-60 years old.

Through the fieldwork and observation, a high percentage of either immigrants or young adult shown in the age group of 23-30, may be attributed to the fact that they are involved in job, education or job seeking. It is followed by the second group of 31-45 who most of them have a profession.

Figure (3): The Respondents Age.



The apparent diversity of the maturity of the respondents giving indication which several implication in the study outcome. To suppose 55 % of the respondents stated that they are actually occupying a position.

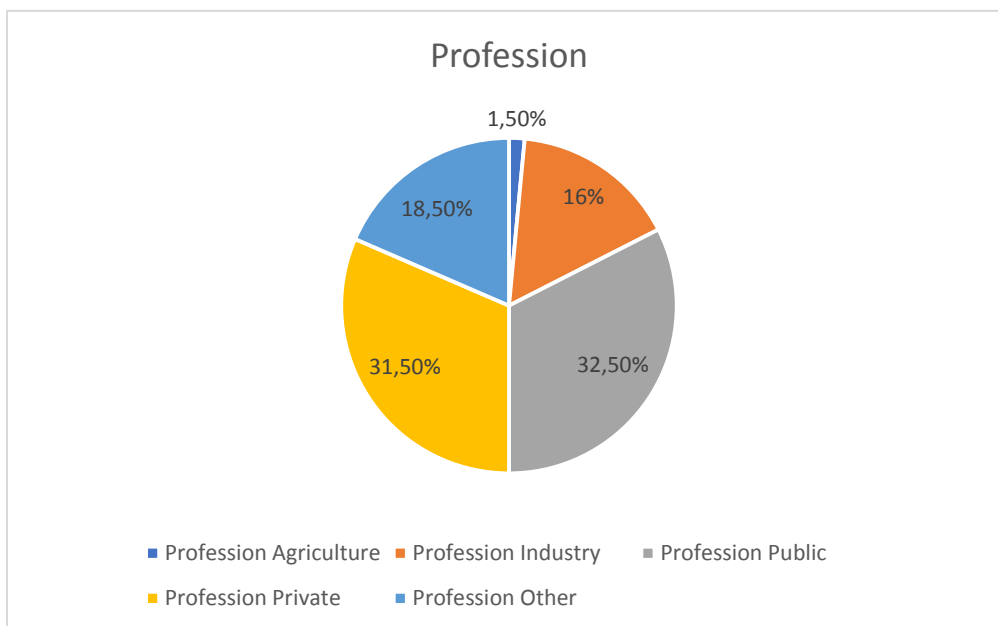
This pattern of migration relatively to the age of the aforementioned group, it is the age of working or looking for work, generally the highest rate of migrants between the 23-45 years. Noticeably the gender of these group here most of them male about 85.5% of total respondents. So, the administrative and economic transformation that accompanied the advent of the PA had experienced by rapid vacancies opportunities development that attract more educated Palestinian young to migrate towards Ramallah area, Adding, the sector of PA security that worked about 70.000 persons, with annual budget more than 66% (Abu Farha, 2015).

In addition, between 1995 and 2000 the movement of Palestinians was more mobile and easily move amongst the WB cities in search for work and accommodation with good infrastructure and transportation network, which means a pull factor in some cases.

2.3. The scope of the profession.

Figure.4, shows the profession status revealed that 32.5% of the respondents are worked in the administrative sector, while 31.6% in the trade sector and only 1.2% in the agriculture sector. Those results indicates that in cities like Ramallah where all administrative institution contested more than other Palestinian cities, the profession situation quite simply be most of the employers classified as white workers.

Figure (4): The Respondents Profession.



According to Awad, 2015, those workers prefer to migrate to the study area far fewer than to the rest of Palestinian cities for the best economic situation of Ramallah area as well as improving their economic situation faster if compared with other cities.

It is followed by stability by owned or rent a resident on one hand due to high requirement daily financial liquidity for transportation costs and the necessity for long duration of mobility between Palestinian areas accused to the checkpoints that had imposed by Israeli after 2000 and another obstacles on the other hands. For that, Ramallah area is characterized with high rate of white workers more than others Palestinian cities did.

3.3. The Significance and Value of Immigrants Education.

Figure.5 shows that about 41 % of the respondents have bachelor degree. The survey indicates that most of the respondents have education high school degree is about 26%.

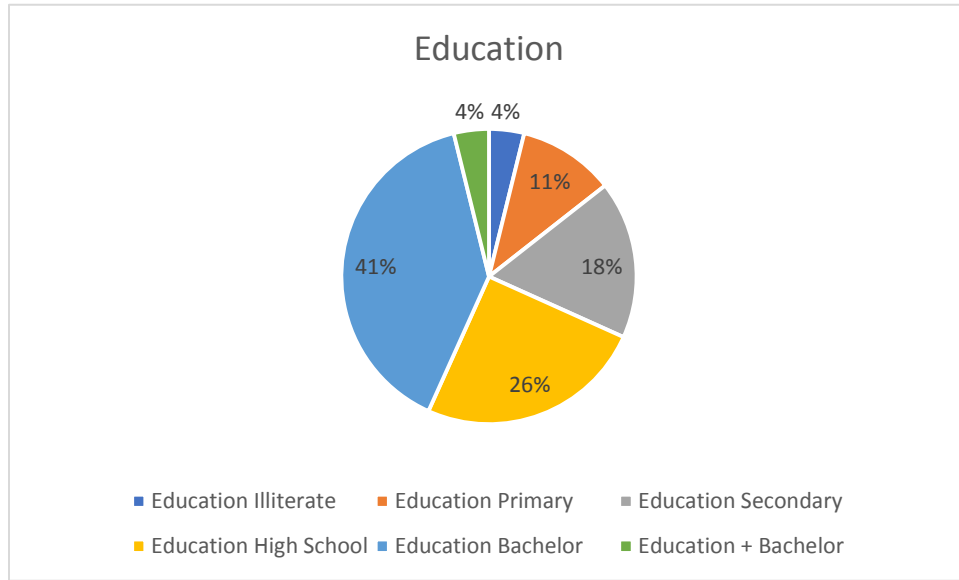
According to the distribution of highest academic qualification amongst the respondents, it is clear that the respondents are mostly literate with only 20 respondents illiterate between 500 respondents. A matter worthy of note that there is a high percentage about 41 % of respondents holding bachelor degree, whilst most of the respondents have the base level of education.

As mentioned above, about 41 % of respondents have the bachelor degree. It seems compatible with the popular education pattern of the WB. About third of respondents in the study area is in the age of employment; at the same time intersect with 55% of respondents in the age interval between 23-45% firstly. Secondly, having completed their higher education would have afforded them more opportunities and benefits to find a job in context of the study area administratively frame, where all public and private institutions centralized.

Generally, as the scholars mentioned in the field of migration, most respondents who live in the cities reached the stage of higher education, which making the transition from their place of origin obligation to find an opportunity accommodated with their education level, that expected to rare at their last place. These findings support the tendency to immigrate.

As argued latterly, although the majority of studies has found that, males have a higher educational level than female and often migrate more than female searching for work, while the females consistently migrate less for this reason, but for reunification family or marriage. However, the reason to migrate is difference but with low variation.

Figure (5): The Respondents Education.



Relatively for the above, the respondents and the field observation indicate that the immigrants of Ramallah area have come not only from the rural areas around or within Ramallah district, but also from all parts of the WB districts about 33.4% of respondents from north and south of WB, whilst the status que the percentage more.

To fully elucidated, according to the human capital theories, young adults in the middle age group who have better educational degree, prefer to move for job seeking with more motivation and expectation to have greater revenue and opportunities.

4. A New Phase of Transformation as Consequences of the Internal Immigration Process.

‘Dish of Cesare salad instead of Houmas dish (Chickpea)’ Benjamin Bernard.

The process of transformation in the study area due to the internal migration and the process of modernization, which is accompanied to transforming the human landscape of Ramallah area, have adversely affected the rate of urbanization followed by socio-economic transformation in the Palestinian society of the study area. The changes have occurred in both social and economic facet, and then affected the familial and kinship topology.

The oldest part of Ramallah area was the core of the city, as other Palestinian cities, which is characterized by adjacent house and social coherent. The core nowadays either has a significant number of new urban houses style in some parts or it remained as the same.

Resulted to the new urban houses that have been constructed due to the dire need for newcomers after 1990, number of socio-economic results accompanied this process such as:

The new houses have been constructed in a small area where contested households and closely packed together with little space or no space in some cases for ventilation. Usually they cannot open the curtains of the windows of one house unto the compound of another house.

1.4. New drivers Influence on Social Coherent.

About 85 % of the respondents keep in contact with home of origin and their families. The majority of the respondents lived in rented dwelling with their nuclear families; the survey shows that condition of residence as an apartment in blocks. Correspondingly, 83 % is in separate flat. It is necessary to note that the minimum price of an apartment in the cities of Ramallah is between 80.000\$ and 100.000 \$ depending on the urban classification of the area, for that the majority live in an apartment rather than separated flat.

Despite of the aforementioned, the journey of family visiting as a band value that ought doing in the Palestinian society at the beginning of the immigration process was on a weekly basis on the weekend vacation. Nevertheless, in later stage had become fortnightly or once per month. This is what common amongst all the Palestinian cities.

According to the survey results, it is clear that the majority of the respondents were not satisfied with their own situation in the cities regardless to the level of services. Versus, the respondents recognize their situation; it is possible to understand the social situation in blocks of 24 apartment. The result of the answer for the question is related to the social problems. The majority gave a negative answer to that.

Approximately 76m % of respondents indicate that the process of immigration has affected negatively on the social coherent and family relationship. Whereas, 24 % of respondents considered there are less effects regardless to the process.

The overall of studies analysis in relation to this question, most of them demonstrate that there is a significant effect on the social relationship. This support the augmentation of social conflicts between residents in the study area as noticed by fieldwork and interviews with respondents that alongside to the questionnaires.

Arguably, the houses in Ramallah area could be classified between medium and high rank in term of construction, with good health and environmental ambiance. The inhabitants of those houses most of them immigrants, such as the Ein-Arik area about 80% of residents classified as immigrants after 1995 (Azzam, 2015).

The Palestinians household are characterized by extended family, whereas the past of Ramallah family structure are considered like this. Conversely, sociologist said the structure may be change over the time gradually or suddenly as what happened with the Palestinian society after 1948 and 1697 wars.

Internal migration brings about particularly significant effects on the process of social transformation. One is the social class diversity as mosaic units on the spatial space of Ramallah area. It is clear for the visitor of Ramallah area to notice the gradually of urban landscape of neighborhoods in terms of planning and designing that give a depiction of disparities of social classes ex, Al-Masion versus Em-Alshrayat area. Backing to the price differences of apartment between those two neighborhoods, then by default differences could be noticed.

Nowadays Ramallah area become a focal point of the multi-culture or social behavior amongst the Palestinian cities. It might be described as a cultural-gap. The importance that the heterogeneity of culture gives Ramallah area the image of liberal city and independent from the traditions of the Palestinian society. In addition, to the traditional custom dresses as the photo.6, showing which of consider as one of the traditional culture of the society that currently disappeared and replaced with new western modern life style, which sometimes contracted with indigenous culture of the Palestinian society, walking ten minutes in Ramallah streets easily to notice that.

I perceive and share the 81 % of respondents who are stressed on the fact that social and cultural freedom of Ramallah area have increased furthermore which brings more social problems such as, social relation, kinship coherent and affinity that have been weakened. Then it is followed by pervasive culture of immigrants that play a role to integrate the cultural behaviors such as own traditions to build their future in Ramallah area.

Photo (6): The Traditional dress of Ramallah Area.



The American Colony and Eric Matson Collection Volume 1.

For example, the returners since onset of the PA 1993 who backed from Tunisia and have the culture of Beirut, since then up today they contradict with social and cultural behavior of the old inhabitants, such as the bar that offered alcohol, number of night clubs, some of trendy clothing of ladies and diverse functions and activities of newcomers which increased continual flow of immigrants towards Ramallah area as an open minded place.

The Gated communities or compound that circled Ramallah area like Al-Ithad rural city, which control ingress and egress of persons in a manner never seen in the WB before 2000. Those communities are specified for the newborn class or bourgeois class that is depending on the price of the resident. On one hand, those communities have created new urban morphology shared in decreasing the agricultural lands as well as classified as olive trees that changed the social tradition in term of agrarian society, on other hand they have created a new social class from white-collar or merchants.

The social situation of the WB has reoriented after advent of the PA and at the same time, it has been associated with the process of modernization. The socio-economic organizations that established in this period are closely related to political orientation, which has played an important role in creating a new secular behavior that not existed before to serve intended purpose more than 5729 association in Ramallah area as the table.16, shows. And so on, the new social ambiance did as an impetus for immigrants to move in Ramallah that resulted with new secular class; such as intellectuals, politicians and undergrads.

Table (16): Number of NGOs in Ramallah Area.

City	N° of Association	N° of Employer
Ramallah	3047	15577
Al-Bireh	2208	13350
Betuniya	474	1846
Total	5729	30774

(PCBS, 2011)

Furthermore, related to the aforementioned the arrival of PA was subsequent with Ngo's (Non-profit organization), which provide different perspectives of the political parties and established new associations supported and concerned with social and economic gender program empowerment either in the cities or villages. In light of this development programs, Ramallah area has taken the headquarter and has played a major role in empowering the status of women's of Ramallah and who immigrated.

In light of this development program, Women's clubs were established in 1996 such as The Rural Women Development Society (RWDS). It is noticeable; most members of this organization came from out of Ramallah area. The joint effect of these development has removed the social border of women's status in Ramallah area and powering the influence in the traditions of the Palestinian society either economically by the projects that empowerment the marginal women or socially by facing or confronting some social traditions under the power of laws.

Despite of these transformations, the society of Ramallah area still have a little of social and economic traditions hold the authority of indigenous traditions.

Clearly, the role of family and lineage as a structure were weakened, also the power of traditions, culture and Palestinian national inspiration were affected. Moreover, the rout of social life generally in some cases is opposite to the indigenous rout.

Hence, this indicates that the new status and expansion of institutional body of Ramallah area after 1993 which associated with new investments and economic activities have provided the opportunity of employments, adding the less development of rural infrastructure that increase the rate of immigrants of Ramallah area.

Furthermore, in accordance with the question of the immigrants origin either from north or south of the WB, a significant percentage of the respondents about 86 %, indicated that the level of services which are available in Ramallah area rather than other cities which directly encouraged immigrants to move into Ramallah area.

It worth notice that the northern districts of the WB which are considered as agrarian land complain from lack of infrastructure and services followed by the obstacles imposed by Israel that limited the services of life. Adding, an important thing is the majority of those societies are educated, at the same need the job that compromised with their certification and suitable services for their necessities.

To fully elucidated, the shift in Ramallah area that is people against increasing number of immigrants who came out of Ramallah area. This shift means there is an explosion in the size and the proportionate share of the newcomers amongst Ramallah area population. Thus, more abstractly nowadays new number of clan association had distributed across Ramallah for the immigrant's family that sharing by the same origin.

Although more evidence for social transformation in Ramallah area, there is an educational evidence to show that, the percentage of educational institutes has increased in general. Approximately 80% of respondents indicate that the level of education has increased and effected positively the family status and the member have the opportunities to get a profession.

It is worth noting as Taraki 2006, indicated that the daughter of Ramallah area have the opportunity to continue post-secondary education and enrolled in the labor market more than other cities like Hebron and Nablus.

2.4. Perspective of Demographic Balance of Ramallah area.

As shown later most of immigrants as young adults about 55% between 23 and 45 years are classified in the labor force sector. In fact, according to studies in the field of demography that immigration has an effect on the average age structure of the destination. More likely, when the high rate of net immigrants fluctuates dramatically then increases its number in the destination country as Ramallah area, it can increase the proportion of the young adults now and at a later point in time, which adds another consequences such as composition of demographic scale to be changed.

The demographic scale of Ramallah area is changing, whereas the percentage of population is increasing at about 125% between 1997 and 2015 according to the municipalities statistics, reflecting as Abu-Lughod 2013 study, indicated that accelerated the Palestinian demographic transformation against went down in fertility percentage of the Palestinian society as exceptional phenomenon.

Hence, the flow of immigrants in Ramallah area has changed the origin population composition. Through data and interview analysis, it is reasonable to expect that the proportion of immigrants and their newborns will rise during the next years and the population mix will change as a result the percentage of Ramallah area people.

The immigrants of Ramallah area as the respondent's part of them have different socio-economic and demographic characteristics such age, education, occupational experience and marital status as a whole. Those characteristics are related to the fertility of Ramallah area today.

The new de facto or urban environment of immigrants in Ramallah face a different socio-economic situation in their new place of residence. This new situation provides different cost of living for number of interrelated life cycle. This includes the monthly lease of houses either owned or rented, cost to child bearing and rearing, receiving well health care and etc. hence, the intensive of new situation particularly if the women work, it leads to reduce the fertility. Then, the fertility will be reduced and will widen the gap between urban and rural areas.

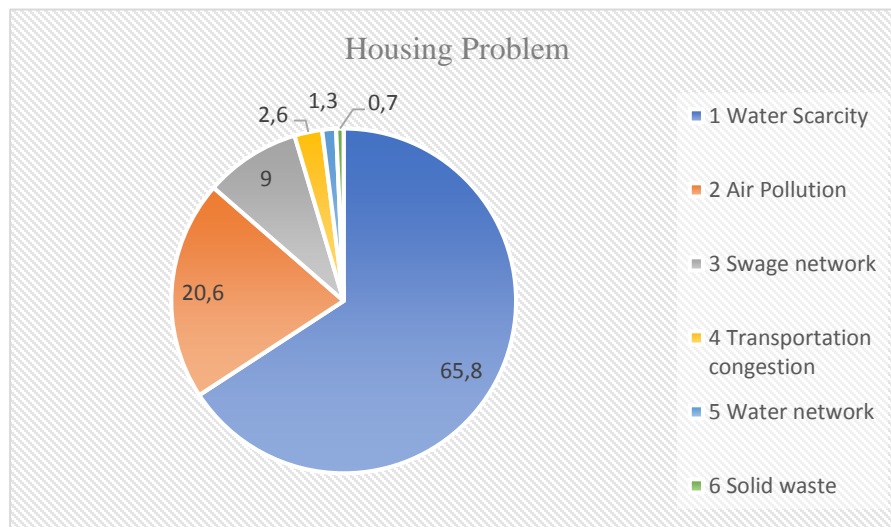
3.4. High Demand for Urban Services.

The study asked to identify the main results of environmental effects of immigration. The respondents fell into six main categories as shown in the figure.6. The percentages indicate that

how the new urban situation influence the environmental situation of Ramallah to understand the new general situation.

The most common problem for all six problems, it is the cutting and scarcity of water which has 65 % of respondents, against 20% for the air pollution and 15 % for the rest problem, such as sewage network and traffic congestion.

Figure (6): The Housing Problems.



5.4. Land use Orientation.

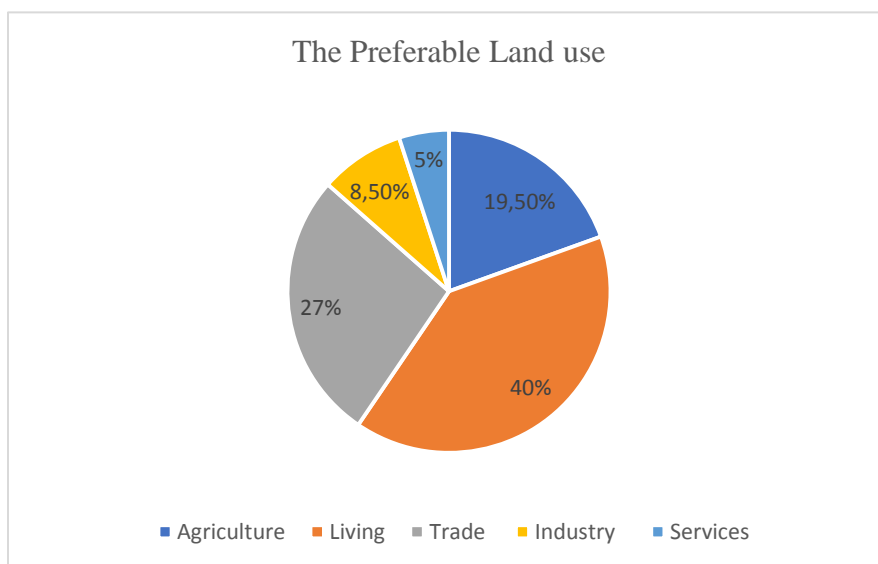
The respondents were asked to indicate for what they use the land they own for in the study area. Figure 11 represents 297 respondents who owned land, 70.7% of the land use is classified for living, while 13.4% for agriculture. The living classification here as for commercial use.

Number of villages around Ramallah area like Surda is an example of a village that has been transformed from the form of rural landscape to semi-urban form. Until 2000, it was very traditional and had agricultural landscape, but by 2006, a rapid pace of suburb areas construction took place that nowadays grew to be double larger than before 2000. The new built up area of the village expanded southward in order to be near the Ramallah to take the advantage of the high price of apartment. Therefore, the village is intersected with Ramallah area.

The transition from traditional Palestinian building dwellings to modern style mix the western with the Palestinian style such as Villa particularly in the eastward of Ramallah governorate however, the process refers to a transitional stage due to two reasons. Firstly, in the beginning of 1990s, it

was through the remittances that were transferred by the people of Ramallah districts who live in the USA.

Figure (7): The respondents Opinion on the Preferable of Land use.



Secondly, it was the advent of the PA accompanied with new social class backing to Palestine and classified as returnees and number of Palestinian investors who benefited from the new political situation.

Therefore, this stage began with imported modern building styles to replace the more old, characterized with high expensive to be built and designed for high-income residents. Moreover, proliferation of the Villa-style in Ramallah area and its rural area as a new urban landscape has taken into account of green areas, thus about 70% respondents indicate that it is the best land use is for living.

Therefore, the gap between increasing of population and limited land as a result to internal migration leads to overcrowding of population in some areas more than others overcrowd.

Responses that are more complex recognized that the investment of land is better in the cadastral use, which has revenue that is more profitable more than other uses like as agriculture. Approximately 40 % of respondents support the cadastral land use, whereas 19% for agriculture and 26% for trading use such a commercial shops. This indicates that the differentiation between

urban and agriculture noting urban has more value than agriculture. In addition, they showed greater awareness of respondents of urban use importance.

In summary, this question demonstrates that overall there are consensus among the respondents and interviewers. Generally, in the Palestinian society the renewable of cadastral invest is more profitable than other use, into account of agricultural land and deteriorated the natural and cultural landscape. Thereby indicating sadly a lack of understanding of the issue due the scarcity of land for urban development.

However, this is generally the de facto of Palestinian land use as opposed to the land diminution by Israeli colonies, the Separation Wall and military bases.

Furthermore, number of indicators and perceptions through fieldwork and observation, the point view people of Ramallah area that concerning the rapid urbanization rate that accompanied with in increasing economic and social transformations, they believe that the growth could not be depicted as a normal case. They believe that immigrants or newcomers particularly the returnees and from Jerusalem area, brought new heterogeneous stereotype of culture and social behaviors which affected by enriching Ramallah area with diversified cultural and traditions as well as in some cases contradict with indigenous culture of the Palestinian society.

In addition to the aforementioned, the rapid pace of urban growth is obvious and noticeable through the vast number of stones that have replaced the green area, and it is attributed with the decrease in agricultural lands in favor of the growth of new suburban areas. Indeed, the most effects of those transformations are increasing in unemployment, poverty, social malaise amongst new dwellers and forcing more pressure on the available services and utilities. Then, the affiliation become for the socio-economic class rather than kinship (Hamola).

Summary.

This chapter shows that it is obvious the process of internal migration in Ramallah area has entered in a period of accelerating growth in its urban population. This period is mainly pushed by geopolitical reason, which of presented by Oslo Accord that would bring the transformation on the Palestinian urban and socio-economic level.

The internal migration pattern in the WB after 1993 can be characterized depending on the last analysis; Ramallah area has the highest urbanization rate due to internal migration during the last twenty years ago. In terms of population, volume has more than 180.000 inhabitant lives in Ramallah area, while the density estimated more than 600 inhabitant/km². This leapfrog coincides also with the private institutional investment development, which nowadays affected the socio-economic life and the available land for more developed projects.

The analysis identifies a number of drivers that push the immigrants to come to Ramallah area, and it reveals that the economic factor motivate people to immigrate. While the new urban environment of Ramallah area has attract the immigrants.

To conclude, in the recent and future years there is a tendency for Palestinian youth to move from their residency to Ramallah due to changing the socio-economic situation such as; getting new jobs, higher education and so on.

Chapter five

Ramallah Area Urban Development

Photo (7): Al-Manara Squar 2015.



Ramallah Municipality. 2015.

Introduction.

I deem 'Ramallah has wrenched from its historical relation of space, as Spatial Amputation'

This chapter aims at completing the analysis that was undertaken in the previous chapter. It includes aerial photo analysis taking into account the population growth due to internal migration in the study area during around twenty years.

Modern Ramallah area have urbanisation rate at about 64 %, much higher than the Palestinian average 52% and the population density about 456 inhabitant/km² (PCBS, 2011). The number of buildings were constructed between 1997 and 2007 are more than 6000 house, that poses great burden on services (PCBS, 2013).

Otherwise, Population density of Ramallah was the least density in the WB area in 1961, about 2.8 inhabitant/km², whilst, if it compared with Jerusalem which was 9.2 inhabitant/km². Nevertheless, after 1967, Ramallah has become 11.9 inhabitant/km², whereas Jerusalem has become 7.4 inhabitant/ km². In 2015, Ramallah area became about 980 inhabitant/km².

1. Aggregate Urbanization Change.

The urban development of Ramallah area has been identified by three stages of growth since 1948 as the first stage. The main majority of population were living in the core of the city located nowadays in the downtown or appellation the old city as the photo.1, has shwon. The main feature of this period was characterized with low density for both the population and built-up area, but a wave of newcomers (Refugees) increased the number of population due to the 1948 war.

The three cities elected municipality council, particularly Ramallah city since 1908 followed by Al-Bireh in 1951 then Betuniya in 1965.

The second period after 1967 was characterized by new wave of Refugees with decrease in annual population growth at that time over the WB because of emigration then as natural annual decreasing. However, the percentage of urban expansion remained limited regardless to the increasing by newcomers and forming a new form of urban morphology (The Camp) phot.8, Hence, the expansion of built-up area was characterized by fill-in remained near the core of the cities.

Photo (8): AL Ama'ri Refugee Camp 2009.



Kittaneh, 2009.

The third stage is considered the most important period in the chronological urban development of Ramallah area due to rapid spatial expansion spurred by geopolitical situation that effected the urban development of the WB in general.

High percentage of internal migration towards Ramallah area might be an indicator of divergence or gap of the low rate of development and services in other WB cities, which encourages Palestinians to displace their residency. In contrast, there not even any plan or policy yet for a better cope with of the newcomers into the city.

Concomitant, the peril-urban areas of Ramallah area are mostly resided by migrants since 1948, like Um-Shrayat area. Nowadays, the uncontrolled population growth led to create alternatives to cope with this increasing, like new suburbs like Al-Jinan and Al-Grader around the city within all public services and infrastructures as newly urban areas, for whom neither rich nor poor, as a norm of urban-rural life style in the countryside.

Findings of the previous studies are both political and economic drivers affected land use change in Ramallah area. The analysis of multi-temporal land use change during 1943, 1997 and 2015 represents a witness urban expansion during the last 18 years 1997-2015 comparing with 1943 and 1997 as Figure.8, shows. The results also indicate that increasing the built-up area from agricultural and uncultivated land. Rising of population was a primary driver of land use change in this period. It is growing towards northwest direction due to the Israeli restriction on the other direction in favor with their colonies, military bases, indeed, the Separation Wall and the geopolitical land classification as it was showed in the chapter three.

For that, the urban expands has taken place in this direction despite the majority of land classified as olives land use. At the same vein, during the same time, the urbanized area increased into accounts of the other agricultural land use such as forests and crop field.

However, the period since 1943 and 1997 excluded the 1948 and 1967 wars, is generally a stable period. This period was characterized with consistent between the built-up area and a slow growing number of population, particularly after 1967, which might be related to the emigration process to the Gulf States that time and the stable of natural increasing of the Palestinian society generally. Indeed, that period was dominated by horizontal urban pattern as a dependent apartment. Similarly, the percentage of agricultural land stilled smooth, whereas the rate of urban development did not exceed about 4000 donum as the figure.8, will show.

The morphology and landscape of Ramallah area changed in the period between 1943 and 1997 at the urban growth scale. It has shifted from like rural city to multiple sub-centers resulted to the spatial and socio-economic agglomeration during that period but not at the same scale during the next period. However, the urban Landscape or the study area before 1997 at almost gave the image of rural morphology due to the socio-economic life norm.

It is striking notice that between 1943 and 1997, the percentage of urban development was at 26% in 54 years. In contrast, it was at 52% between 1997 and 2015. Which might explain the leap in the urban development that was associated with the new political and socio-economic transformation that affected the Palestinian urban landscape since Oslo Accord.

In addition, the importance of Ramallah area during that period was coincided with new phase of internal migration and returners who backed to the WB as members of the Palestinian Liberation Movement. During that period the trend of urban expansion was almost differ to the period before,

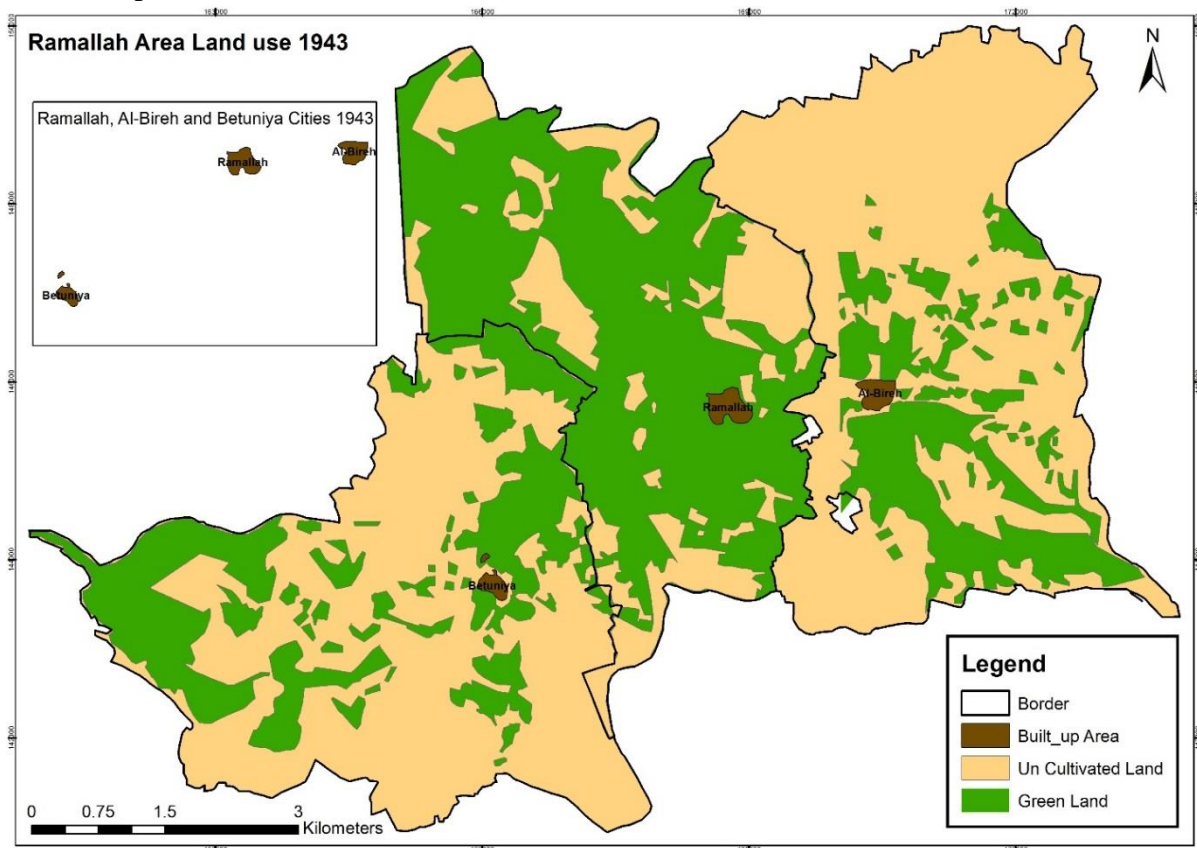
except for the change of Israeli colonies that has taken place within the Palestinian mountain landscape.

Noticeably, according to the aforementioned maps the urban expansion of that period was reoriented towards northwest rather than northeast and southwest due to Israeli colonies and military bases on one hand, and the geopolitical classification into three zones on other hand. a tremendous influences on the land use change in the area A and B. At the same time, it increased the pressure on the agricultural land in the area A of Ramallah area.

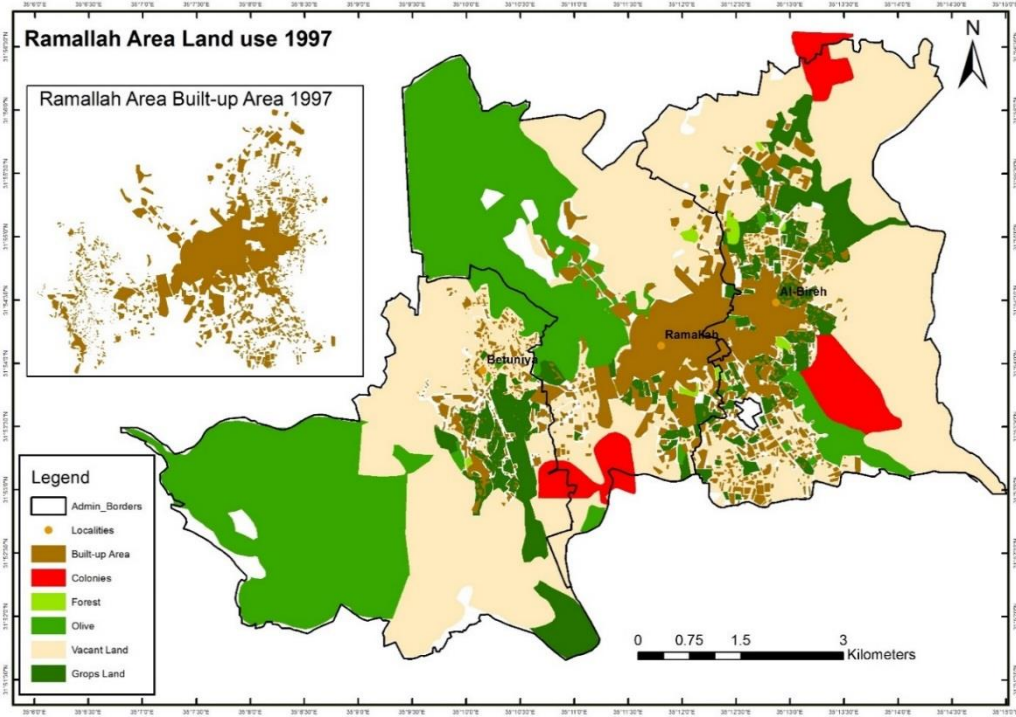
By so doing, a dramatic decreasing in the green area has been witnessed after 1943, then it has been accelerated between 1997 and 2015 as the analysis has revealed as map.13, showing and figure, 8.

It is easy to understand that the impact of advent of the PA which contributed to both increasing of newcomers and expanding the surface of the built-up area. In contrast, decreasing the green area, and so on, Ramallah area has become the first economic pole center for other Palestinian cities.

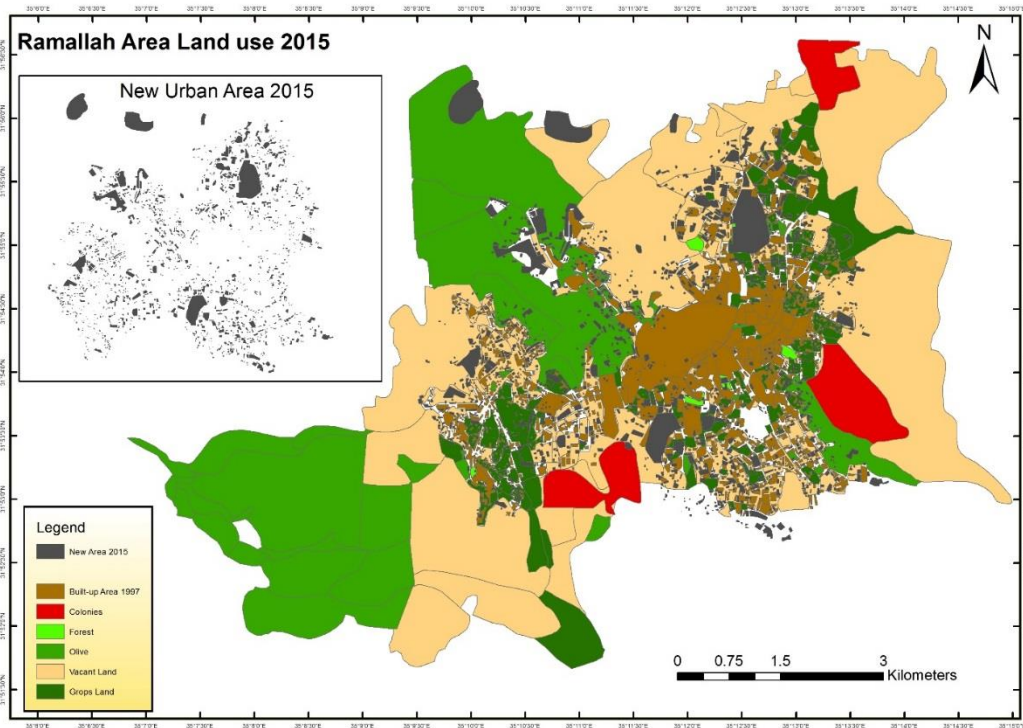
Map (11): Ramallah Area Land use 1943.



Map (12): Ramallah area Land use 1997.



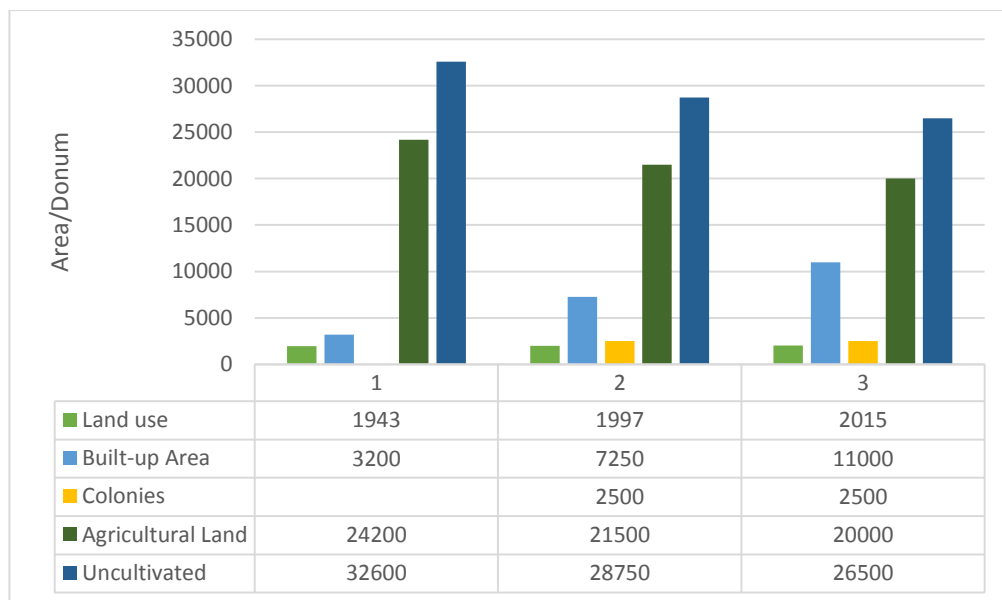
Map (13): Ramallah area Land use 2015.



The decrease of agricultural land was affected mainly by conversion those lands to urban areas to cope with the new political and socioeconomic accumulation that happened in Ramallah area during the last two decades. Usually, the major land-use is affected by increasing the demand for new urban areas due to the increasing of population percentage, In addition, to the Israeli role in diminution of the available land for urban expansion.

A Comparison of chronological land use change as figure. 8, shows based on the British map of land use for the study area in 1943 and the aerial photos of 1997 and 2015. The analysis reveals a distinct pattern of land use change in Ramallah area during 1943 and 2015. Particularly, in the second period the followed Oslo Accord which was characterized with a significant transformation in the land use change mechanism.

Figure (8): The Chronological Land use change of Ramallah area 1943 and 2015.



The agricultural land (olive, citrus, orchards etc.) according to the British land use map of Palestine 1943.

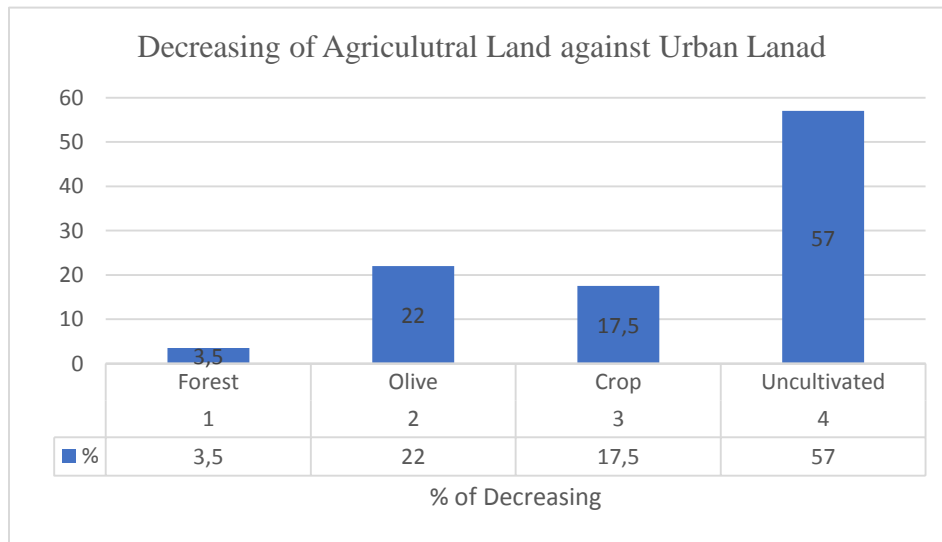
However, the aforementioned data of figure.8, has shown that the agricultural land was estimated at about 24200 donum in 1943, which is contributed to a decrease of the total agricultural land to be about 2700 donum in 1997 and 1500 donums in 2015. The urban areas has expanded between 1943 and 1997 about 4050 donums for the Palestinian communities and 2500 donum for the Israeli colonies as a new urban landscape since then up today. There was an acceleration in rate at 26 %

between 1943 and 1997, while it was at 52 % between 1997 and 2015 in less time for the Palestinian urban development.

Furthermore, the most important new landscape in that period was the Israeli colonies that had been founded as a que status policy in the WB and in the study area. Although, those colonies determined and restricted the Palestinian urban expansion of Ramallah area particularly after Oslo Accord as mentioned in chapter three, and directed the urban development, which has never seen before 1967.

However, according to figure.9, the agricultural land decreased between 1997 and 2015. In contrast, the new urban expansion began to extend from the centers towards the fringes. Thus, the proportion of land use type obtained calculated model in GIS. The main type of land was changed to urban land was uncultivated (Vacant) land, then olive land and field crops lands and finally forests. Thus, the urban expansion of Ramallah area can be divided into four groups as figure, 9 showing.

Figure (9): Agricultural land against urban expansion 1997-2015.



According to the figure 10. The process of transformation as following:

From Uncultivated land to urban Land: it takes the highest proportion of 57%.

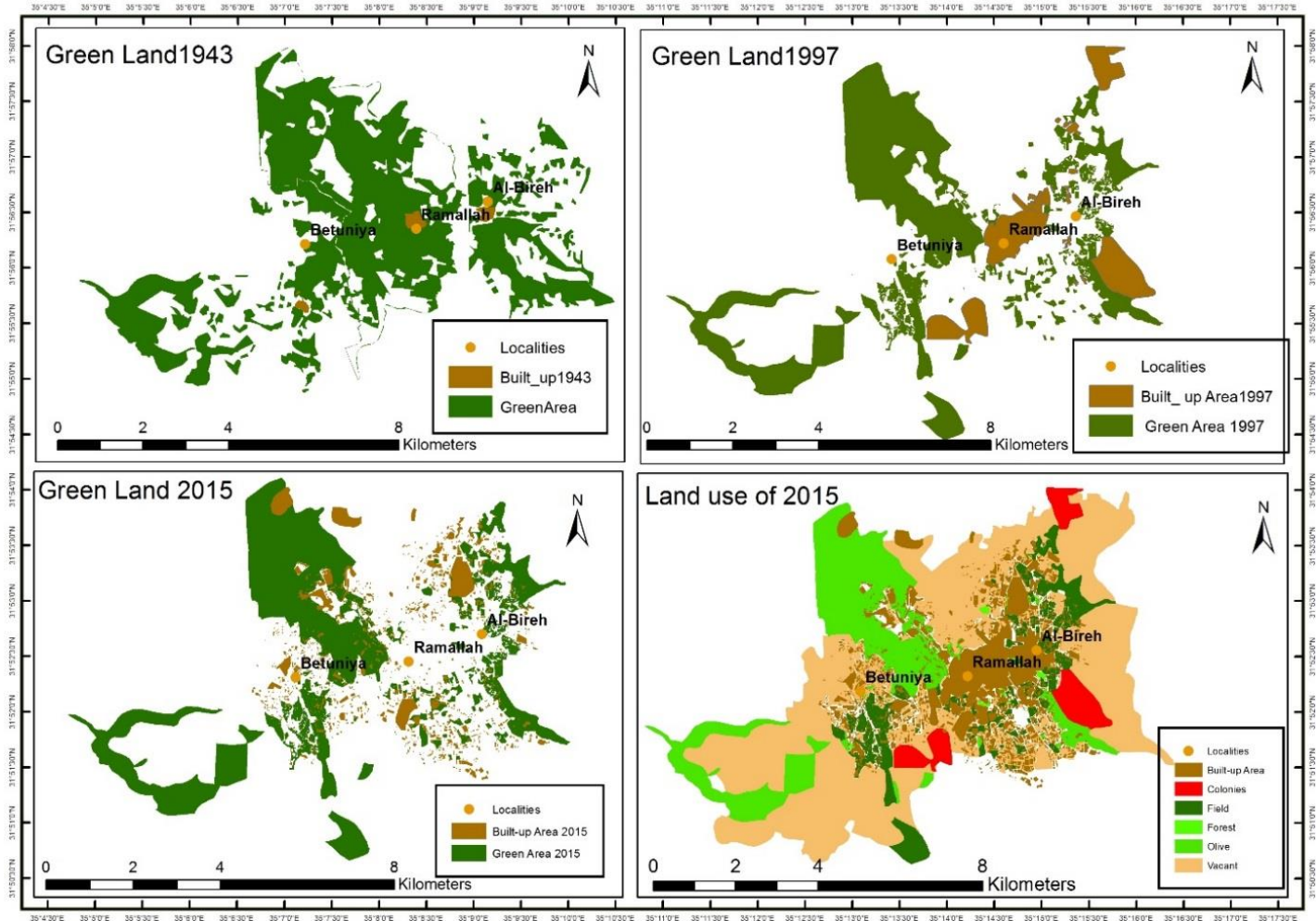
From Olives Land to urban land: it takes the second proportion of 22%.

From field crops to urban land: it takes the third proportion of 17.5%.

From forest to urban land: it takes the fourth proportion of 3.5%.

From map.14, it could be observed that during the entire study period, the urban land area proportion expanded at 52 % of the Ramallah area against agricultural and uncultivated land. Further, the expansion of urban area of northwest is higher than other direction as a whole. The main model of urban expansion as will be discussed in the next chapter is the round-sprawl model, including newly house skirt area around Ramallah area within 6 km as a buffer zone.

Map (14): The Chronological Land use change of Ramallah area 1943 and 2015.



The process of changing has led to elimination of forests within the city area that adversely affected the green landscape of the study area. The forestland had been declined by in the period from 1997 to 2001 to cope with the over demand for residential and economical services.

Generally, the forestland transformation was due to the high value of land prices, since most of forestland within 2 km proximity to the main center. For example, one donum in Al-Irsal area costs about one million \$ nowadays. More likely, by looking at the 1997 aerial photo and British land use map of 1943, it is easily to notice that the Ramallah Mall and its surrounded area had been transformed from forest or cultivated land to urban area. As photo 9 and 10 showing for the same area.

Furthermore, around 17.5% of the field cropland was transformed into built-up area during the same duration. The construction and process of expansion continue at Betuniya city which most of its land is characterized with field cropland. At the same time, it is with less land price comparing with Ramallah and Al-Bireh cities, between 250000 \$ and 500000 \$ per donum. Moreover, it is calmer than Ramallah and Al-Bireh cities.

Photo (9): Ramallah Area Agricultural Landscape 1960.



The American Colony and Eric Matson Collection Volume 1.

Photo (10): Ramallah Area Urban Landscape 2013.



Palestine Remembered web site, 2013.

The analysis has revealed that there are two form of expansion: the growth of the main three cities in most of direction particularly in the northwest following the main transportation axis, governmental/non-governmental and economic institutions. The second form has observed after 2007 based on the growth of newly urban areas in the periphery and rural area that surrounded Ramallah area. Hence, about 3000 donum of those areas expanded into account of agricultural land, particularly the olive land. Ramallah area has turned into growth of rural cities since 2007, which is illustrated by increasing the urban areas in the northwest corridor, coincides with the new infrastructure projects and transportation network have been implemented through intensive investment due to number of reasons as following:

The first and the foremost reason, the high prices of land in the Ramallah cities as the figure.15, will show, which affected adversely the houses prices due to the rapid growth of population and the shrinking of urban land. For that, the investors in the real-estate sector prefer to invest in areas cheaper to accommodate with the level of income and the purchase power of the new comers.

Through the fieldwork that carried out, there are two classes household in the three cities of the study area; those who owns a house or an apartment in the city, and who prefers to rent an apartment. However, in the newly house skirt, the residential have their own home regardless to the less price rather than in the urban centers, especially, facilities are offered by the investors.

Secondly, it is easily to notice that how the political factor rather than other factors has affected the land use change in the study area as other areas of the WB. It is clear that the Israeli limitation has driven a directly caused significant land use changes. Thus, when analyzing the historical land use dynamic up today, the harmful effects of the Israeli policies on the Palestinian urban communities and how caused in the augmentation of land value and prices should be noticed and observed in comparable perspective.

Thirdly, the proximity to the urban centers and low travel costs subsidies also drive more urban expansion on those area. Since high urban density created fewer vehicles distance traveling than lower densities such as Rawabi city that created new transportation line. In contrast, the high degree of clustering and proximity to the infrastructure and services also have negative impact on the adjacent agricultural land.

The combination of these reasons together with a mix of others have forced investors to invest in those areas, and the newcomers to purchase in which of closer to the urban centers of Ramallah area. This has created a cycle of competition to construct new urban areas into accounts the green area generally.

2.1 Land use Change Outcome:

The process of land use change has excreted number of sequences on the landscape of Ramallah area, beside to the loss of agricultural land as the analysis revealed there are about 3750 donum of agricultural and non-agricultural land have been changed into urban land use. In addition, water pollution of the surrounded springs, increased the runoff that led to deterioration of the soil, loss of habitat and biodiversity. Mostly, in the Rawabi newly urban area far about 9 km from Ramallah area, within 600.000 m² of total area.

The land change trends, expansion of urban areas in the rural have reshaped the landscape. The urban expansion wright affected adversely and threatened the agricultural land, also poses more of

threats due to the high consumption of land per housing unit than in the urban area even the pattern of development vertical.

Adding, the newly housing skirt forces most of people to use their private car, however, congestion could quickly become an unbearable problem, like the daily congestion between Birzeit and Ramallah area where most of newly housing area have been constructed.

Cultural change, one of the most important implication in this context is the integration or the diminishment of traditional culture of the rural areas. Migrants here tend to adapted or adjust their habits and traditions system, if not immediately at least over the time. These changes are not necessarily negative. Nevertheless, the most change that obvious is the transformation from produced society depending on the farming into consumption society due to the change of land use system and the privacy of this stage after 1993 over the Palestinian society.

Furthermore, the agricultural land is severely degraded and decreased and the urban area could not support and offered more land. Rather than the land, market will become much more important and give the landowner the appetite to sell their agricultural land regardless to the high its value.

3.1. Dispersion of Distribution.

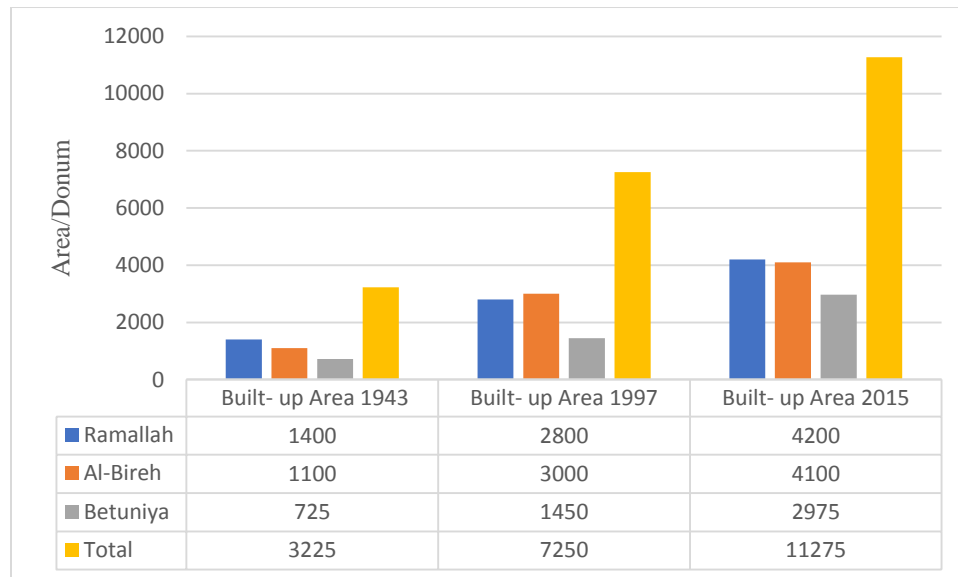
The density of built-up area is getting more in the case of Ramallah city in the three period of development compared to Al- Bireh and Betuniya. This because of the historical important of the city, since the first city had a municipality council in 1908 before the other two cities about 50 years. However, high services and utilities add more advantage for the city. Built-up area showed overall increase of almost 40% in a span of 18 years, compared with 37% and 23% for Al-Bireh and Betuniya respectively.

The increase of built-up area spread over the 20 years concentrated towards the northwestern direction of the study area. It is noticeable that Ramallah city roughly has the first rank of agglomeration depending on the number of building permits figure.11, and the aerial photo analysis due to the following factors:

First, as aforementioned the historical background of the socio-economic status that is characterized by mixed religion texture (Muslim and Christian). According to Taraki, 2015, the Christian identity of the city has given the city more merits to attract the people more than the latter two cities even they are adjacent and integrated with borders. Since most of Ramallah, inhabitants

before 1948 were Christians and they were openness towards other cultures and international institutes by the emigrants of Ramallah city in the diaspora that contributed to diffuse more educational and cultural institutes. Thus, it is clear the effect of the socio-economic background created a flourished ambiance for the immigrants and the strangers from over the world, to prefer Ramallah rather than Al-Bireh and Betuniya particularly after 1993; even the land and house price is more.

Figure (10): Ramallah Area Built-up area Distribution 1943-2015.



Secondly, the geopolitical driver, the limitation of urban expansion for Ramallah city is less than the other two cities since most of Ramallah city urban expansion in the northwest direction where the Israeli limitations are less. While, the contrary for the latter two cities where surrounded more with Israeli colonies such as Beit-El and Psagot on the land of Al-Bireh and military base on other side of Betuniya land. For that, giving the opportunity more space for expansion in area controlled by geopolitical zone classification that restricted the Palestinian urban expansion.

Thirdly, the level of services and utilities that are offered by Ramallah municipality on one hand and the restrictions and rules that posed on other hand encourage people to live in Ramallah city as most of respondents mentioned.

Finally, the role of Ramallah families in diaspora, Ramallah city particularly and Ramallah region generally are characterized by high rate of emigrants in North and South America. Emigration from

Ramallah area rose after Al-Nakba war 1948. Since then up today Ramallah has a flow of remittances that have contributed to and widespread high level of capital investment mostly after mid of 1990s by local families who are living in diaspora have well placed to take the advantage of the new transformation that accompanied the return of the PA to Ramallah. For example, the American Federation of Ramallah have an annual budget for the Association and municipality of Ramallah for local development, which make the city stronger when compared with the other cities. Further; there is a person how is responsible at Ramallah municipality to liaise with Ramallah families in diaspora.

However, the scale of remittances inflow into Ramallah has consequently been profitable. There is a noticeable massive boom in house construction either vertical or horizontal and in the trade sector generally, with the result that the landscape is now peppered with their footprint.

2. Spatial Transformation: Reshaping the Urban landscape.

At the turn of nineties, migration to Ramallah area was characterized by individual internal migration. At the beginning of the 1990s, it was driven by the hope for a better chance to get job or income. What was unique in Ramallah that after the beginning of the second Intifada in 2000, the majority of the migrants, both poor and rich, migrated regards to the security that the city had more than other cities that time, despite it was invaded and subjected to a closure by Israeli soldiers (Anieh, 2015).

Nevertheless, there was a space of limited daily mobility facilitating and encouraging migration towards the city. Internal migration from urban and rural at the same side to Ramallah area is considered as one of the most spectacular event since 1990s up to now, as a new dramatic phase of political change. This process goes hand in hand with urbanisation development of the city, and absorbs most of the socio-economical investments, while less or stagnated in other cities.

Ramallah area is not only the interim political and economic city of the WB, however, it is the most important city in the WB after 1993 because it is the capital and the head quarter of the PA and the regional branches of the government departments. Moreover, the city is the centre of many social, economic and cultural services including hospitals, banks, private institutes and educational ones,

the reason that spurred people to 'depopulate' their urban or rural origin towards Ramallah area as a favourite migration destination.

In the last 20 years, Ramallah area has experienced significant changes that have been coincided with the vast of immigrants towards the city. Statistics reveal that migrants are usually young, about 30% are less than 30 years old in the year 2010 according to the PCBS report. This correlated with the education qualification they obtained in this age period. Which means that the majority are educated and active labour force or active economically. Therefore, roughly they migrate from their origin to find better opportunity of job.

Meanwhile, it does not mean that Ramallah area has a good labour market. The economic situation of the city is not able to integrate all immigrants. If focused on the rate of unemployment about 20% in the city, this underpinning, that the labour market of the city is weak, but its rate is still less if compared with other cities like Jenin and Bethlehem where it is more than 23%.

Primarily, the growing importance of Ramallah area is associated with the unique geographical situation, mid of Palestine and adjacent to Jerusalem. The economic role of the remittances which transferred by expatriates in diaspora left its imprint on the economic situation as mentioned previous, since the municipality has addressed these remittances at the beginning to develop the infrastructure and flourish the city in fifties of 20th century.

At later stage, those remittances have been invested in commercial activities, more likely, in real estate. Ramallah area has attracted a very high level of immigrants to the degree that the population number was doubled between 1997 and 2007. It is noticeably the population have experienced a sharp increase in short period, if compared with other cities. Since then, economic and political role of these cities have been diminished and they might be classified as pushed cities. As mentioned previously, due to that, Ramallah area became the first destination for several reasons that had mentioned previously.

Historically, the urban morphology of the WB and Ramallah as a part of it has taken the traditional built communities where preferred as near as to the city center were seen as the place transition from rural to urban life as much as integrate into urban society. Nowadays, some of the traditional buildings in the old part of the city have been demolished and replaced by commercial buildings, which are considered the main physical urban transformation, whereas others buildings are remained as before.

According to the last aerial photos analysis, the leap of urbanization has placed, a great pressure on the agricultural and marginal land and the more has been on the traditional old city and center as the new morphology of areas and buildings provide a new landscape, which weakened the old city and its neighborhoods.

Besides, the changes of landscape, there were also newly urban outskirts or rural city built as a response and to cater the needs of services that coincide with the rapidly population increasing and economic developing due to new immigrants.

Built-up area expanded during the period of 1997 and 2015, with an increasing percentage of 52 % which approximately 11000 donum of total built-up area, where it was about 16.1% during the period of 1989-1994 (Arij, 2004).

In accordance, according to Abu Hammad and Sharkas study 2007, using consecutive aerial photos analysis, the study has indicated that the built-up area in Ramallah expanded from 800 donum to 3820 donum in the period of 1945 and after the war 1967. The trend of urbanization through 1997-2015 was with a major change of land use as Ramallah area had registered with an increase in the population number.

However, there are changes in the urban form of Ramallah area as mentioned previously in term of size as well as built-up area and population density from 1990 to 2016 to be the largest pole urban center in the WB. Those changes reflect the developments in Ramallah area and its rural areas; urban expansion has taken place as well as expanded to the villages, which are close to Ramallah area.

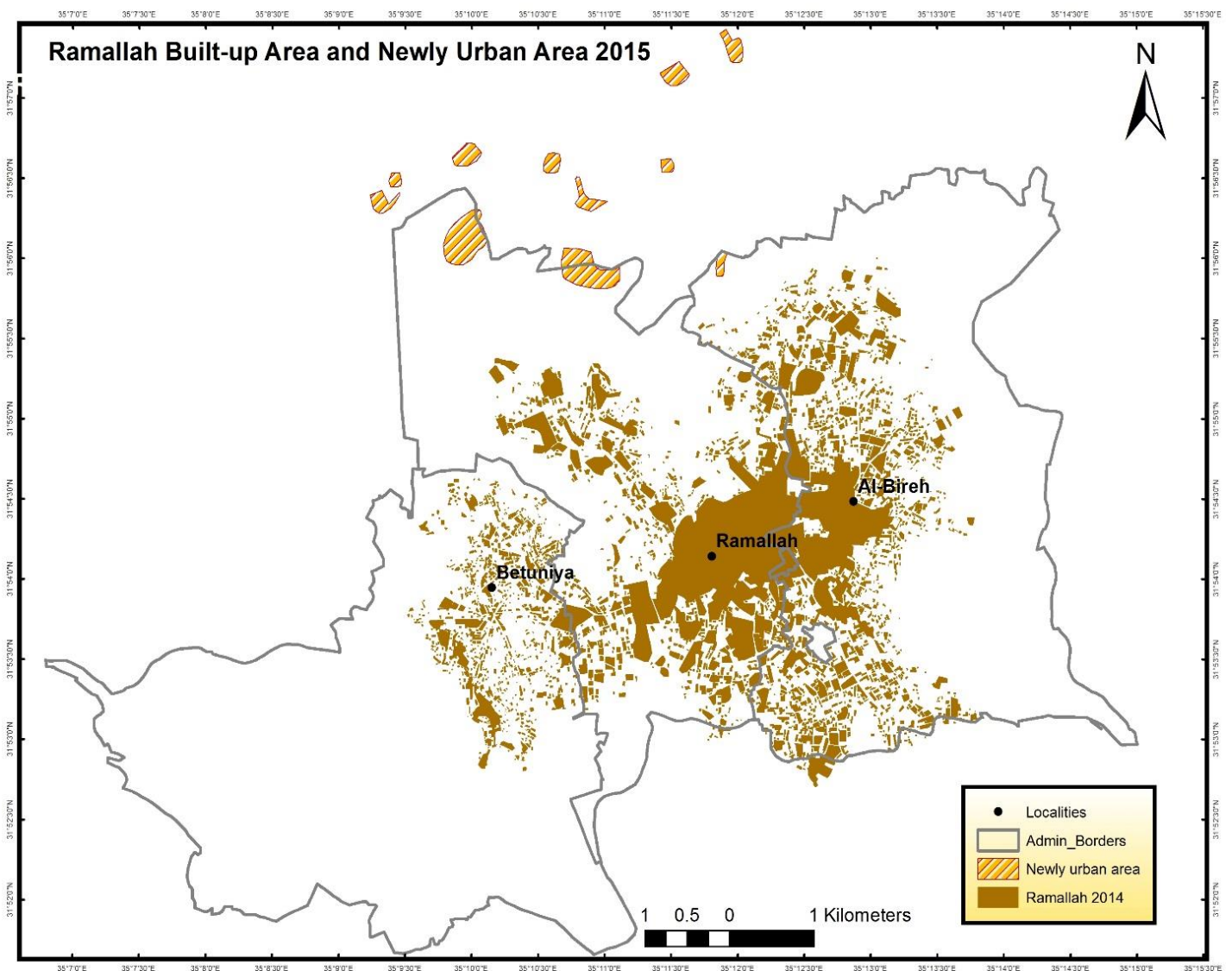
Since 2006, there has been a noticeable number of rural cities with different sizes resulting to the increase demand in Ramallah area as the map.15, shows. It is worth noting that there are more than five rural cities circling Ramallah with total area 3000 donum such as, Rawabi, Al-Ithad, Al-Gadeer and Al-Rihan constructed on the account of agricultural and green land. On one side, they offer new residential places for immigrants, on the other side they decrease the pressure on the primary cities by moving to secondary cities.

However, the district showed a significant increase in the number of suburban area with an urban area about 3000 donums as aforementioned. This explains how that newly urban outskirts had and will loge more inhabitants as well as Rawabi, which is classified as a city with municipality about

600 donum of total area. Therefore, there is a possibility for increasing the percentage of urban population as conurbation of Ramallah area in the near future as model of cluster.

The analysis of the questionnaires reveals that about 49.5% of respondents immigrated into Ramallah area during 10-20 years; this shows a gradual increase in the area with a corresponding to increase in the number of the rural cities in the adjacent town of Ramallah area that had launched after 2005.

Map (15): Ramallah Newly Urban Area between 1997 & 2015.



3. Factors Affecting Urbanization of Ramallah Area.

It is striking from the aerial photos analysis that the region of Ramallah have more urbanized population than other place of the WB cities depending on the increasing of the urbanized area and sharing of the total urban population. By 1995, the core Palestinian cities like Jerusalem, Nablus and Hebron started to lose their urban and rural inhabitants to increase the number of Ramallah area Overall, there is a disparity in the trend of urban primacy of WB cities.

The destination of immigrants clearly signified that there is urban primacy in the WB presented by Ramallah. Obviously, the study area attracts most of the internal migrants of the WB; backing to theory of push-pull factor which could be applied in this case. Ramallah as a primate city being result of the political factor regardless to Oslo accord and its influence on the urban transformation scene of the WB.

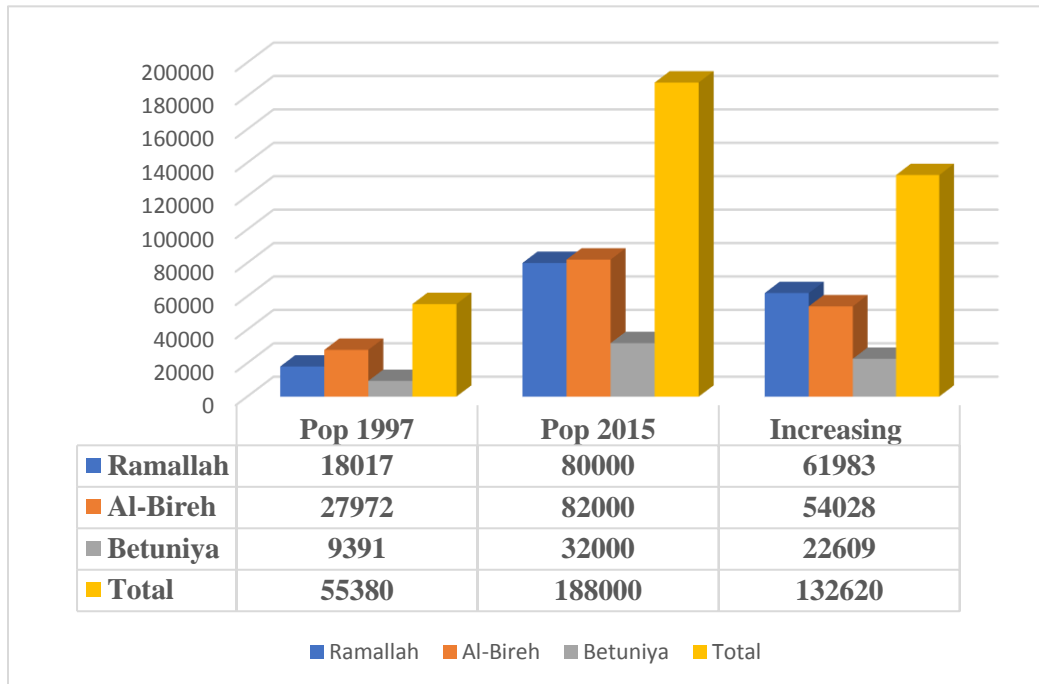
At the broad scale, the case of Ramallah area could be explained by the presence of PA and taking Ramallah city as an administrative headquarter. This is the only explanation for Ramallah area urban primacy that determined the city as the most important city in the WB after 1995.

The related studies about Ramallah area show that the urban pattern, which is characterized by informal expansion, incomplete, fragmentation and fluctuated in the density, is mainly driven by rapid pace of urbanization and condensing of building. Furthermore, poorest infrastructure and low quality of urban spaces development that depend on the de facto of the land and own planning.

To improve the assumption of the primate city or district in the term of increasing the urbanized area due to the growth of population, it is important to see the rate of population increasing against rate of decreasing between the areas. For that, if compare number of population between census of 1997 and 2015 and could be adding the projection of 2016 to testify the change is as the figure 12 showing.

The rapid population increasing followed with high demand on land, which is faced with increasing of land prices and construction expansion, conversely; decrease the green areas to accommodate the demand of dwelling spaces post-Oslo accord. Resultantly, increasing the number of buildings in the twenty past years was obviously and noticeable through the augmentation demand of building permits as the official statistics of municipalities reveal, according to Anieh 2015. Ramallah has the high number of building permits that issued by Palestinian ministry of local

Figure (11): Ramallah Population Development: 1997 & 2015.



***2015 Population according to the statistics of municipalities.**

government. The below figures. Indicates that the number of the building permits that issued by the three municipalities of the Ramallah area.

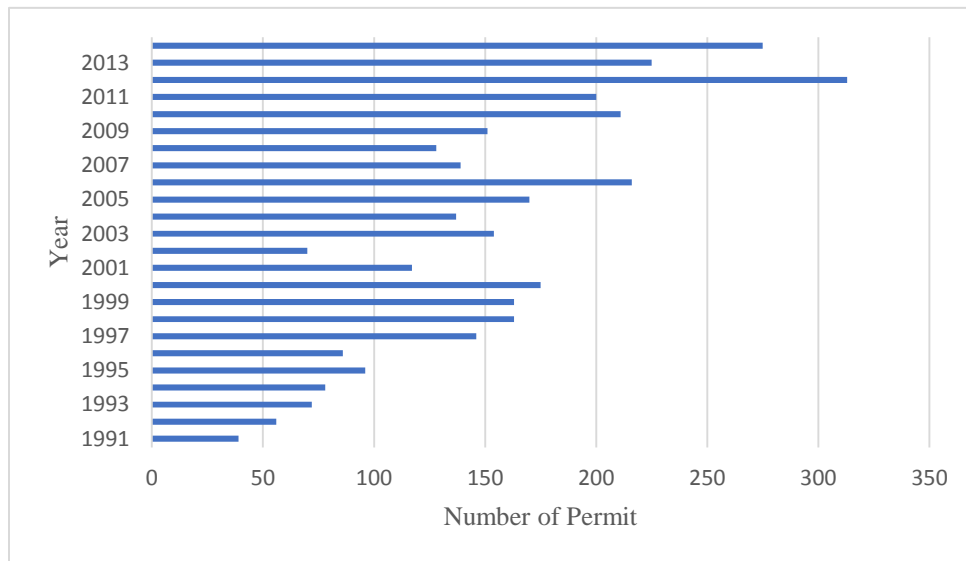
The below figures for the three main cities of Ramallah district illustrate the trajectory of building permits during the period of 1994-2000, then 2007-2014. In general, there is a significant increase of permits number after 1993.

However, there is an obvious leapfrog period between 1993 and 2000 as seen through old aerial photos and the municipalities' data. The growth of permits since 1990s has showed a trend of acceleration growth comparing to previous decades. Considering that the de facto in 1990s was the cornerstone for the Palestinian urbanization process particularly in Ramallah area, and then it led to a high urbanization level has raised more than 60%.

It is striking that the two periods showed a rapid process of permits issued. However, if the situation of these periods are separately examined, then refer to the political situation that had associated with the advent of PA and taking Ramallah area as a headquarter of its administrative apparatus then the city had begun entering the period of speeding up urbanization could be described as a

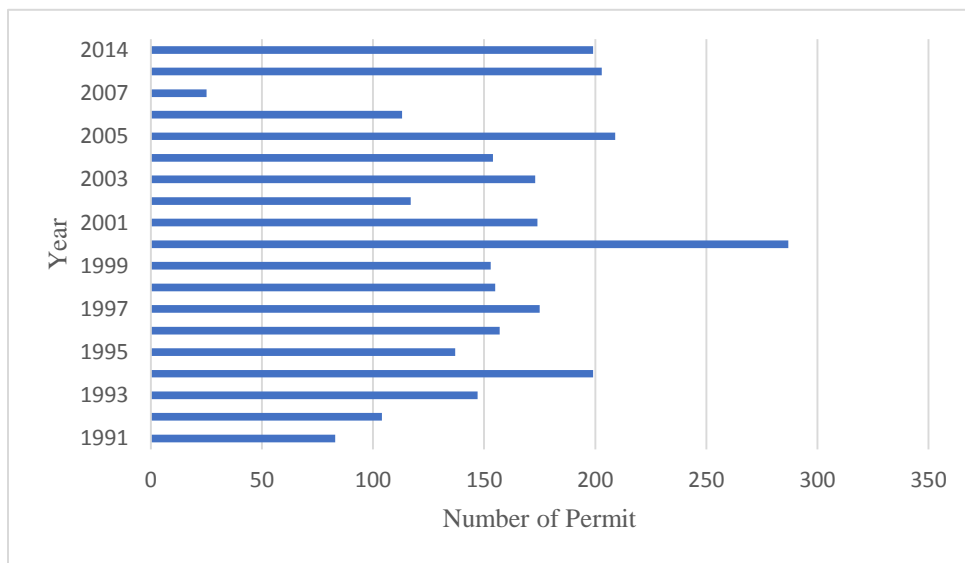
new stage of the Palestinian urbanization scene. The second period after the secure situation that has been broken since 2000 due to the second Intifada.

Figure (12): Building Permit Development of Ramallah: 1991-2014



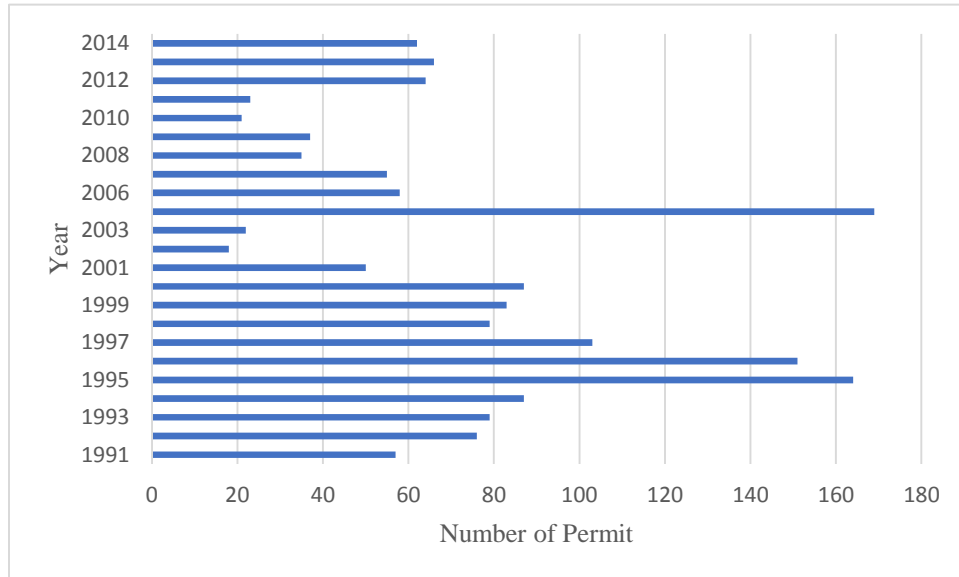
(Ramallah Municipality, 2015)

Figure (13): Building Permit Development of Al-Bireh: 1991-2014.



(Al Bireh Municipality, 2015)

Figure (14): Building Permit Development of Betunyah: 1991-2014



Betunyah Municipality, 2015)

Hence, examining the period between 2000 and 2007, the quantity of permits shows little change, but it shows high change between 1993 and 2000 then there is a gap after 2000.

As a whole, the dominance of permits are particularly after 2007 in the second stage, whilst thereafter it seems there is a change in the growth of newcomers to Ramallah area. It is apparent through the expansion and creeping of buildings either on the peripheries or by newly urban outskirts.

In 2007, it was a critical period in the Palestinian society after the 2006 election on the one hand, and the political conflict between Fatah and Hamas fraction on other hand. Thus, the pivotal role of Ramallah area has soared due to this conflict.

Since then, the problem of urban expansion is well known as a leapfrog in the rate of building construction. It could be noticed through the aerial photos that show unplanned and uncontrolled urban development within and on the edge of Ramallah cities, since the urban expansion is very limited in term of direction due to the Israeli limitation by their colonies.

It clear that Ramallah city have the high number of Permits among the other two cities, which might be refer to the previous reasons that had discussed.

4. Urban Spatial Transformation: Thematic and Geographic Dimension.

According to the aerial photos comparative analysis between 1997 and 2015, the result appears that changes has taken place in Ramallah area. Historically, there was agricultural land that appear through old aerial photos. Most of its land has been cultivated, regardless of its small area if compared with others parts of WB.

Nevertheless, changes that happened could be noticed through aerial photos. Hence, Primary analysis has been conducted by comparing

between two aerial photos of 1997 and 2015 to extract the differences that have happened through the last 18 years in the study area. Before and in this time period agriculture land decreased against intensive built-up area as result of increasing demand on housing through new immigrants to the new liberal city.

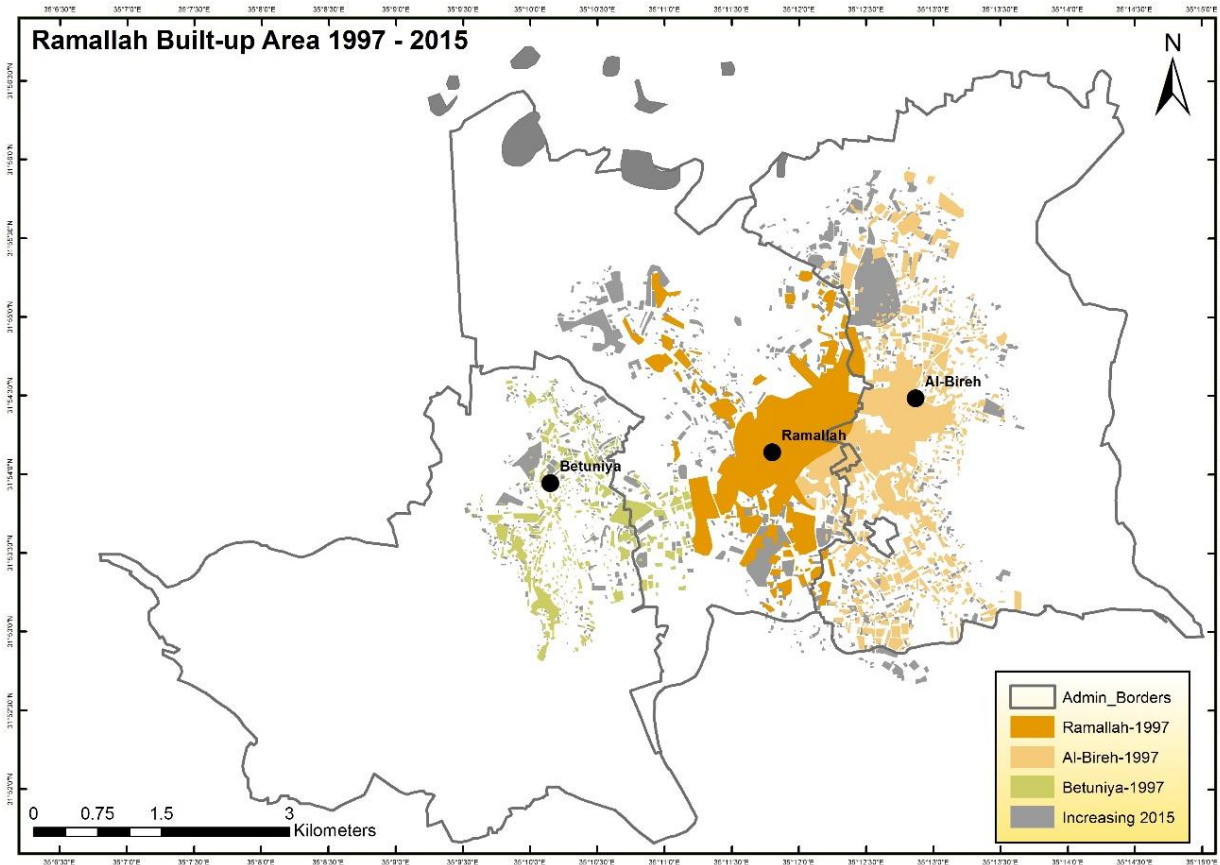
Map.16 shows an overall increase of urban area. It is clear that high density of buildings is around the city center. Moreover, the recent population growth has caused the city and its associated urban areas to expand into surrounding or suburban areas and villages and exceeded the administrative border.

In addition to suburban cities that constructed on agricultural land within villages surrounding Ramallah like Surda, Abu Qush in north-west direction and the east part is restricted by Israeli settlements as mentioned previously. However, the most important effect is how the landscape of Ramallah area and surrounded villages had changed from natural green space to white urban space. The 2015 aerial photo shows tremendous rises in the built up-form, a new land use developments, particularly outlying expansion in suburban areas as patches in some areas. As well as, it is characterized by irregular and elongated shape pattern particularly in the edge of Ramallah area that had not an urban blueprint.

Although, the analysis indicates that the landscape of the study area has changed at a local space as other places of WB. In the case of Ramallah area, the new spatial pattern of urbanization process and the socio-economic transformation directly has affected the landscape.

The urban development has a history of urban expansion after 1948 and 1967 wars, but the aerial photo of 2015 revealed there is a noticeable difference in the periods of 1997 and 2015 more over to the previous time.

Map (16): Ramallah Built-up Area Development between 1997 and 2015.



The development of Ramallah area population since 1922 indicates a fast urbanization process between 1997 and 2016 and then a slower growth rate before. After 1993, the growth rate has increased if calculated together with the urban area before 1997. It could be noticed that Ramallah built-up area in 2015 is 11000 donums, while 7250 donums in 1997.

The new built-up area had developed within 4 km and approximately linear to the city center. This direction of growth in the same vain is related to distance to core center, illustrating the trend of expansion alongside and as near as possible to centralize point or central business district (CBD). After 1990s, the direction of urban growth has been becoming deeply related to approximately to the centers and network road axes or arteries. The difference of change is indicated by leap of expansion in all side near the center. For instance, in the period before 1990s both sides of Jerusalem-Nablus road was dominated by the expansion. Nevertheless, nowadays it is shifted to be in all sides which gave a new depiction of urban pattern for Ramallah area during the last 20 years.

The construction of new urban areas was and still with unprecedented speed; leaving number of environmental effects such as degraded the green areas, agricultural land and pollution, while through the observation in the study area more and more problems have come into being.

According to the analysis, it is found that the built up area in Ramallah increased approximately at 52 % from 1997 to 2015. New areas and suburban areas have been constructed furthermore in the rural area that surrounded Ramallah within 6 km buffer zone. In 1997, the green area occupied about 35 % of the total area. Percentage decreased to 27 % in 2015. New networks of transportation had constructed also.

The downtown old center and houses have been replaced by commercial buildings as a new trend of change. Thus, downtown land use pattern is changing and the open space area is declined and became condensed and congested.

The industrial area has been integrated with the city center with a radius extended maximum 3 km. The increasing number of industrial bodies being inner the new constructed houses, which means that the residential areas expanded towards the industrial area in north of Al-Bireh, east of Ramallah and north-west of Betuniya.

Through the analysis of 2015 aerial photo, there are about 3000 donums of new built up area classified as newly urban outskirts 'rural urban cities' surrounded the Ramallah area in the northwest direction into account of agricultural land. Those cities were developed after 2005 also rapidly developing with well-developed infrastructure for an improved residential environment purpose; land use has changed in order to construct those new urban areas as the photo, 11. Showing.

The process of urban growth is associated with and driven by the socio-economic and geopolitical factors on one hand, on other hand the process of urbanization or urban transformation that happened has a considerable impact on the natural and cultural landscape of Ramallah spatially or socially.

As aforementioned, Ramallah area faced unprecedented population growth coupled with unplanned urban expansion into accounts of valuable lands. Conversely, number of problems created because of unrestricted expansion and irregular lead, such as a traffic bottlenecks in the term of spatial space.

Photo (11): Al-Reehan Rural City.



Al-Reehan city web site, 2015.

The process of urbanization has taken the pattern of radial direction around the city. At the same time it is alongside with transportation network, which could be described as sprawl because it is like a leapfrog in term of time and at all scale of the Ramallah edges as will be discussed in the next chapter.

The year of 1997 as the analysis had revealed that the green area is at 35%, meanwhile the urban area is at 65 %, but in the 2015 photo, the green area has decreased to reach about 27 %, against increasing the urban area This depicts how the demand on houses due to the newcomers has affected the green area by reduplicate the area under the demand of dwellings. It is important to take in consideration that the cutting of forests and transformation of green area is totally an illegal and against the law of green areas prevention.

This increase is noticeable in El-Irsal and El-Balooa' areas.

Photo analysis indicates that the landscape has been transformed to fill-in expansion within the empty lands before during 1997 and 2015. As the last maps has indicated that a significant change in the context of land size that effected the previous land use as well as characterized by agricultural use.

During the continuity of built-up area, expansion further expanded to include the land of Rafat village in the southwestern ward and other suburbs area. However, the period of 1997 and 2015 revealing that a noticeable change in the percent of urban expansion as map.17 reveals.

The aerial photo of 2015 shows a noticeable growth difference of built-up areas as a large scale even, the study area is small. The area of Al-Irsal shows the presence of a surge in the percent of built-up whether within the core or at its edge into account of agricultural land, coupled with growth in the population then resulting in creating new traffic network and expansion towards the industrial area.

According to 1997 photo when overlapped with the slope, it is easily clear that the spatial distribution and the condensed in flat areas characterized with slope between 5-10%, such as in the case of Al-Irsal, plain of Betuniya, old city of Ramallah and also for the ring around Ramallah and Al-Bireh cities. Therefore, the level of urban dispersion according to the slope was low in the last few years.

The topographic characteristics and land prices may be considered as factors of shaping the urban pattern and distribution, followed with other related socio-economic and political factors, such as the income, level of education and buildings prices.

However, the magnitude is being around the core of Ramallah area adapted with low rate of slope, but in the photo of 2014 analysis reveals that there is a high rate of urban condensed in areas characterized by high slope more than 20 % such as, Al-tira, Al-Masaif and Batin El-Hawa. It shows a speed changing of the variable of slope as topological characteristics of the area during last years.

In order to understand part of reasons or factors, which force the contractors first then the newcomers to replace the area of houses construction that increase the level of built-up area dispersion more over last years. The main reason for this spatial transform is the high price of lands within or around the core of the center due to the high demand for dweller space, which led to reconstruct and invest at area less cheaper prices regardless of the slope characteristics.

Arguably, nowadays the urban fabric of Ramallah area is suffering from a magnitude and high density of built-up area with low level of spatial dispersion due to the speed change and the dynamics of growth at all land surface. The explanation of this change, it is due to the unplanned and uncontrolled land use management through ministry of planning, then to the high demand for

residential area as most as nearest to the main centers and services which classified as low slope area. One of the significant buildings of this area is the Mall of Ramallah.

However, the urban development of Ramallah area has relatively an advantage and benefits through the improvement of the infrastructure that are implemented to cater the increasing of demands.

5. Urban Transformation Implication.

1.5. Boom of Real estate.

The urban expansion is influenced by the political reason that had led to the process of urban development in those periods. The process has dominated by the increase of investors in the real-estate sector within the city centers of Ramallah through purchasing the old houses and rebuilt new shopping centers or building for residential purpose characterized by condensed within center and fragmented-condensed in the new suburban.

Despite of Ramallah area status in 1995, the less developed infrastructure and the lack of transportation network had limited the city capacity in absorbing the pressure of the new mobility on arteries firstly, then to cope with the increased demands of dwelling spaces post-Oslo. Employer of Ramallah in that stage could come and back in the same day without first acquiring house either rental or purchasing, which affected arteries.

Nevertheless, in later stage the vision had changed to rent a house in Ramallah between 1996 and 2004. Concurrently, after breaking out of the second Intifada, most of the employers and local residents changed their vision of purchasing a house for many reason such as; the checkpoints that increase the cost of mobility and due to retreat the political horizon of the Palestinian scene.

Hence, the relation was as following: Rent-Back: in the first stage, then Owning- spatial stability in the later stage that is characterized by rapid vertical expansion or rapid proliferating vertical apartment. There, has recently increased interest in the urban vertical morphology or dimension due to physical and political dimensions.

Thus, more and more newcomers have taken the initiative to move to reside and stable in Ramallah area to be permanent residents by purchasing their own house, which have since grown rapidly and the hollow lands that devoid of buildings have become ubiquitous and jostle for position in the city. The expansion of built-up area has resulted in standard series consequences; under the present socio-economic, transformation would be impossible to prevent both the green lands and natural

landscape. Further, as result it is easy to see the acceleration of house construction that accompanied with flow of immigrants and increasing the new real estate investments and the bright light of Ramallah area.

Concisely, despite the scene of Ramallah area development over the past 20 years, Ramallah is now like any Palestinian city in the economic situation particularly poverty rate over which is at 20% and above more than 25.000 apartments are empty (Wattan TV, 2015).

Apparently, it is important to note that there were numerous studies passed on the question of Ramallah area in the context of urban leapfrog that led to transform the urban scene since 1993, when the new policies has received consistent to invest in Ramallah regardless to Jerusalem status, since the transformation that has taken place in Ramallah area. In contrast, there is insufficient attention for the problem that happened as spontaneous combustion for the geopolitics status of Jerusalem.

However, Ramallah area was not always the core of the Palestinians economic or urban priority, rather than Jerusalem is the ancient center. It is clear that the politic situation after 1990s affected and changed strongly the balance of Palestinian cities and supplanted the ancient city with Ramallah.

At the same time, the urban and population growth is expected to grow as due to the internal migration flow. Also, the housing market will be continued under the context supporting and solve the problem of high housing price as well as the value of land will be augmented, contrarily; will accompanied with a shortage of land for public need due the high value and price of land wherever. The increasing of modern Ramallah area status after 1990s is more than in other Palestinian cities, particularly Jerusalem. It has become a major city located in the mid of the WB connected to the urban system of the central Palestinian mountain. However, Ramallah area has a new morphological urban outcome of the geopolitical status regardless to its historical background amongst other Palestinian cities such as Hebron, Bethlehem, Nablus and Jericho. This new urban pole has developed alongside to the political changes that stormed the area in the last few years.

The consequence of rapid urbanization rate or building construction in Ramallah area has been a preponderance of overcrowded housing, high rent level versus low-income level. Ostensibly, there is a high demand for houses, but when the price of an apartment is at least 100.000 \$, versus the standard level of salary 350\$. For that as mentioned in last chapter, people are forced to take a

credit from banks that finance for house buying by provide mortgages and loans with interest rate at about 7% for 15 years for special group of people who have compromised with the condition of banks.

Despite of the high abundance of houses, it is estimate the number of persons that need those new houses coupled with the income. The PA has not attempted to influence on the house rental market and land prices through number of legislation, under the pretext or aegis of private sector.

The effect of leaving houses construction at the hand of private sector, which has resulted in high price to buy and rents, coupled with low income at the end low growth that might be lead to collapse of the cadastral sector in some cases, through counting the differences between what dwelled apartment and empty.

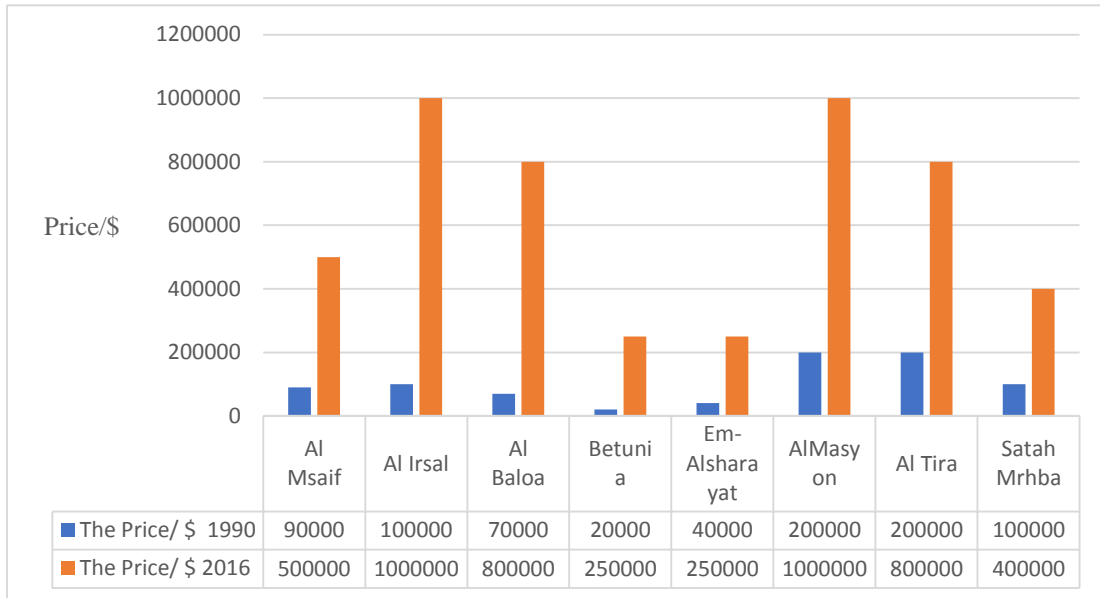
The growth of Ramallah area, either spatially or demographically, has affected the land price. Ramallah area is considered a small area if compared locally or regionally, but by 1995 it was engaged with new era of urban growth as will mentioned later. There were further urban expansion as in/counter-urban growth due to housing estate construction.

However, the last and current situation of land values has been risen over the past few years as the figure.16, showing, which effected the land value that lying within the city center or on the periphery of Ramallah area in order to accommodate with the high demand.

This increases demand of land, on the one hand, in order to establish the infrastructure to meet the new demands, which one of most implication effect is the price increasing of land then houses. On other hand, it is to give the lucky for the poorest people who have land to sale for purchasers whether on Ramallah center or on the edge, which leads to the gentrification model in the urbanization area.

Accordingly, high demand for new houses due to internal migration that led to population growth in Ramallah area has resulted in an increase in land for real estate sector. At the same time, it increased the awareness and gave the Ramallian's an impetus to the economic importance of their land, and in some cases led to social conflicts (Awad, 2015).

Figure (15): The Land Price Development in Ramallah area between 1990 & 2016.



Abu-Shusha, 2016 and Abu-Rida, 2011.

Eventually, the reason for the increasing of land prices in Ramallah region is intuitive: Newcomers+ same amount of land or less which gives more land scarcity. According to the above figure, the price of land was increased during 1995-2016. Whereas, most of the value of land depends on its proximity to centers of economic activity on the one hand, and the geographic characteristics such the slope on other hand, that combined with increasing shortage of land with fast urban expansion of the built-up area particularly in the period between 1995 and 2000 before the break out the second Intifada.

In other words, the augmentation of land prices has been increased since the PA installed in Ramallah region as the main reason following with agglomeration of economic activity and social opportunities that offered to all population living there. In addition, the fled of share capital from the rest part of the WB such as Nablus and Hebron city to invest in the study area that led the contractors to rush in and aggregate as much as they can to purchase the lands. At the same vein and the most important reason, which is, land scarcity to urban development and expansion due to the geopolitical factor as mentioned previous.

However, figure. 17 reveals that house prices have grown faster in the same period than in almost all other Palestinian cities. Clearly, that there are high demand due to the growing population.

In a wider sense, the price of houses will still increase even had enough housing to meet the demand of population growth, due to the Israeli restriction that adversely affected the land prices.

In light of the land value, it has increased directly and spontaneously, subsequent by high-level price of lands. Resultantly, there was significant increase in house prices. In addition to the above causes, the lateral expansion has made Ramallah area more accessible in order to cater the demand for houses.

Most of the effects in Ramallah are represented in the land price that then affected the price of houses as the above figure illustrates. The high demand for urban land has caused a significant increase in the price of land and it becomes difficult to find land to plant or build own separated home as the respondents had affirmed.

Moreover, the field study reveals that another aspect of this problem in Ramallah area has changed the land use. The land market affected efficiently the land use through the desire of purchaser and contractors to buy the land to construct buildings that convert the use of land as a whole scale in Ramallah area. Approximately 66% of respondents said that the past land use was for agriculture, while 85% adding that the lands were sold to urban use to construct buildings. For that, about 82% think that the most profitable land use is investing in real estate sector for living purpose rather than another use.

It is interest to note that in Ramallah area nowadays that the land owners had profited from the transformation process of land use, this apparent to be the rational business thinking behind the land use changing due to the high revenue, then day-to-day the agricultural land will decrease more into account of “stone land”.

Arguably, the internal migration pattern to Ramallah seems as a natural process of population movement and dynamic. However, this process is quite important in the development equality among the Palestinian cities in the near future. Furthermore, the analysis reveals that urban growth of Ramallah area is higher than the rural growth and both area contributed by natural increase generally. However, It is clear that the urban area grows faster than rural as a result for internal migration either rural-rural or rural-urban migration, adding a number of foreigner who reside in Ramallah area

Figure (16): House Prices Development of Ramallah between 1990 &2010.



Abu Reada, 2011.

Between the periods of 1997 and 2007, Ramallah underwent rapid housings growth from 10893 units to 16809 units with increasing about 6.5% per years which it a companied with number of consequences such as:

The respondents illustrate that the density of neighborhood has affected negatively the water supplies and the increasing urban areas shows a significant impacts on quantities and number of days for water supplies by Jerusalem Water Undertaking. Which enable us to say that the water network and its infrastructure need a crucial fixation to adapt with the population increase.

The expansion is in within the core of the city and in the edge zone outside the commercial area and in some cases mixed, near the central business areas. This period has seen a high rate in the urban expansion process about 3750 donum, the increasing between 1997 and 2015.

However, through the analysis, two points could be taking into consideration regardless to the urban transformation process that has occurred. Firstly, the land use has been changed and its

consequences both in cadastral sector that brought noticeable and comparable shift in the percentage of urbanization.

Secondly, the emergence of new urban areas and pattern led to a decrease in the agricultural land within and around the villages that circled Ramallah area in the same time accompanied with new morphology urban landscape which was not existed before.

2.5. Economic Restructuring.

Through the observation and respondents point of view, Ramallah economic has a negative relationship with the Ghost of Ramallah area and the placebo economy of the de facto. Concurrently, it has a positive local rural economic demonstrate the role of rural economic in the city, rather than the high building and modern restaurants.

Thus, the urban centers have kept the relation with countryside of Ramallah area as daily agricultural products and suppliers of consumer with goods and services.

However, the immigrants influenced positively the rural economic of Ramallah area by providing temporary opportunities for rural surplus and thereby attests to the importance of the new urban area economic in developing the rural economic either agricultural or artisans.

Despite of, nowadays the income and wealth inequality is apparent in Ramallah, the poverty is increasing, and fewer labors are being employed in the agriculture sector as it was in the past. The poverty rate is more than 20%, particularly amongst the new graduates who cannot benefit or have the opportunity to get a vacation. Therefore, the economic life became stressful and hard due to low wages or income in contrast with high economic level of life.

According to a number of reports, the Palestinian territory occupies the first rank in production prices at a regional scale particularly Ramallah area. Further, same product could be fined one \$ in Nablus city, but doubled at Ramallah area.

Concomitant, the economic transformation has affected the social lifestyle of Ramallah as well as for the middle class. The uneven development of the WB generally forced people to migrate towards Ramallah, which has played an important role in transforming and shaping a new middle social class.

Furthermore, the average annual income per person has increased from 1438.1 \$ to 1737.4\$ between 1994 and 2015 respectively, based on data PCBS 2014. On the one hand, high income of

residents or immigrants has been interested in buying a parcel of land within the planned area, on which then building a villa type as well as clear in Ramallah these urban landscape. That indicates there is uneven income, which affected the architecture building form.

On the other hand, for the modest or lower income population, they do not have the capability to buy a parcel of land to build their own building. Thus, the existent choice is to buy an apartment in residential multi-family buildings, which led to an outline, a concise rendering of the most salient facts of socio-economic uneven. Then, this bias became existing though ostensibly.

As the photo 12 showing, related to the new economic restructuring in the study area, most of the Palestinian banks has taken place at Ramallah area in accordance with the new social life pattern that had become privilege more than other Palestinian cities, coincide with the new urban landscape and urban pattern, that giving Ramallah area an image like the cosmopolitan city.

3.5. Urban Expansion vs. Environmental Question.

In the light of newcomers coming, Ramallah area landscape has impinged and collided with the urbanization process which was affected by environment degradation as noted from the field work. Either burned or dumped landfills situated near residential areas without buffer zone even there at least 500m, those landfills are accompanied with number of un sanitary dumpsites and smash cars that polluted and contaminated with toxin, odor and dust or ashes. Interestingly, within the confined Ramallah area there is a number of dumpsites on the edge the populated area, particularly when the cities have municipality health sector strike or problems with the Israeli side, as what happened in 2014 when the Israeli closed the land fill of Al-Bireh city which led to an environmental problem in the city center for few days.

The urban growth as a physical development has been questioned for its environmental impact. New urban areas have taken over much arable land as well as decrease its percentage against increasing the size of urban land. Thus, large scale of newcomers in limited time without at least the main infrastructure in the beginning of transformation process have exceed the environmental bearing capacity in the study area, taking the water usage for example as mentioned later.

Photo (12): The Bank of Palestine.



Ramallah on line web site, 2016.

4.5. Landscape Transformation.

The landscape of Ramallah area is negatively affected by the process of urban transformation, unlimited change in landscape increase, loss of green area and forest, loss of fertile lands such as Betuniya plain ensued by environment degradation and many more.

Furthermore, the dilapidated and the derelict ancient dwells, which are considered as one of the cultural landscape as well as could be reserved and rehabilitated. Unfortunately, the pace of urban growth had usurped has swallowed up those cultural spaces of the old cities of the study area and replacing them with cladding and elevation with the white stone such as emporiums.

The pressure of urban expansion as well as the necessity to new dwelling space within limited land area outpaced the architectures and “planners” to design a new urban style to meet with the land shape and the topography in order to meet of a new transformation either demographically or socio-economically.

Thus, this process which misunderstood the value of local urban traditional led to rapid urbanized areas in the edge as an urban sprawl and disappearance of the cultural landscape such as ancient buildings such as the muntar that (Symbolized to the agrarian land use).

Generally in this period, the urban growth acceleration is characterized by new and modern buildings types, developing under the increasing of demands to cater the need of public sector, private sector and the newcomers. Nevertheless, it has left a negative impact on the traditional spatial and socio-economic pattern, and at the same time, it is not related to the local culture architectural style.

According to figure.9, it illustrates the linkage between the urban expansion increasing and the green area decreasing generally. There is a declining rate of the green area land use in order to meet the urban population increasing, which is followed with a number of consequences:

The increase of built-up area with obvious and noticeable transformation in Ramallah area with an increasing of 3750 donum, this indicates to a significant increase comparing with the previous period during 1943-1997 as the analysis of other related studies revealed ,which has converted agricultural land that experienced with decrease at 40% to urban land.

The analysis reveals that rapid urban expansion took place during 2005-2015. That urban development was characterized by newly urban areas at expense of agricultural land, which changed the natural green landscape to white urban landscape in scene similar the western architectural landscape. Thus, the landscape has become more sophisticated within 20 year, with more blur, fragmented and heterogeneous under the urban expansion process.

Further, the most noticeable consequence due to the land use changes process is the new urban pattern at expense of green area. Built-up area spread pattern revealed that the northwest direction of the study area has experienced a rapid development due to the number of drivers whom have been discussed previously within the political context. By other hand, when looking at the currently panoramic photo of Ramallah area in website of Ramallah municipality, the built-up area pattern was dominated by vertical pattern in 2016 that was no longer found before 1997, where the area has been dominated horizontal landscape pattern in order to cope with the increasing of demographic rate since 1997. In contrary, the limited and scarcity urban land has transformed the built-up area pattern. To support this transformation, photo.9, gives an image for the new built-up area pattern with jostle on the space as photo. 13, shows.

Photo (13): The Vertical Built-up area pattern of Ramallah area 2016.



In addition, the intersection between the land uses, the analysis reveals that the new land use of Ramallah area dominated by the integration between divers land use, which means it is easily to find agricultural within urban land use as photo.13, shows.

More likely, the urban development has led to decrease in the green space of the study area, since those area integrated within the urban areas as the previous photo shows. In contrast, the most part of those areas have been transformed to the new urban services landscape as well as open and closed parking for transportation such as Ramallah and Al-Bireh central parking or paved car parks. On other hand, a little number of gardens for recreation has created regardless to the high value of lands in the study area. While these changes had led to a major change of the character of the old residential area (Old City) with negative cultural and environmental consequences as most of respondents were asserted.

Lack of green and public areas, those areas within an urban space have a major role in the quality of the urban environment for Ramallah residents. It indicates that there are recreational centers, which are considered as important evidence in making the Ramallah area livable.

Photo (14): Landscape integration in the Betuniya city 2015.



According to Salem 2014 study and the fieldwork and photos analysis, Ramallah area needs approximately 118,685 m² to be as parks to serve the residents. Unfortunately; the increasing number of immigrants at the same time offset with a high rate of urban expansion, resulted in decreasing the opportunity to green parks regardless to the high value of land and price. Therefore, more and more open green spaces in Ramallah area and its suburban areas has been converting into urban use by construction of new houses.

In addition, those parks give the opportunity to attract human activities that encourage the residents particularly the newcomer to improve and empower the social contacts and develop new relations, which on its turn affected positively the social coherent.

In most of developing countries, the process of internal migration or urbanization are associated with boring new residential areas as slums. However, Ramallah had not an experience with this problem that often associated with the urbanization process. This does not mean there is no deterioration in number of services, roughly; the process of urbanization is still in developing.

Furthermore, the intensification of built-up area expansion is the main driver for the landscape change for the cultural and heritage some of places. It is obvious by the old photos when comparing

with the new urban de facto, for example; a number of old buildings, such as cinema Al-Waled, were replaced by new trade centers, or demolished old houses to make way for large trade buildings, which affected the cultural identity of the Place.

Apparently, more than 20 years elapsed since the new urban transformation. The position of Ramallah urban development should be considered, and its status as a Palestinian city must be addressed through territorial transformation, which will allow privileging the Ramallah model in most of the rest of the Palestinian cities.

Concomitant, under the current conditions of political instability, the fragmentation of the Palestinian cities after the separation wall construction and the retention of Israeli authority influenced the geographic de facto and landscape of the WB for three spatial poles and isolated Jerusalem from the WB hinterland. Indeed, due to the deadlock or the stalemate of the peace process in the short term will impinge harshly with the Palestinian urban development policies.

5.5. Socio-Economic Process and New Spatial Form.

One of the most important consequences of internal migration is the increasing of Ramallah population. During the inter-censal period 1997 and 2007 and the statistics from the municipalities that indicate there is a noticeable increasing of population at 40.5%. Parallel, Ramallah has experienced a decline of the traditional economic sector, especially the agricultural against the raising of the real estate economic sector.

The remittances of expatriates (Muhajirin) in USA has played a role to the economic and social change as well as growth the commercial investments in the Ramallah area, which encourage the Palestinians to migrate due to the local economic opportunities. In some cases, they back either to reside in the cities of Ramallah or in its environs. However, in this point it could be deduced through the name of the commercial centers that they are pointed at in the Ramallah area city center.

Roughly, view on the new role of expatriates particularly in Ramallah and Al-Bireh has been transformed. The first generation built in the city before emigrate or while in the host country through their remittances. Then, the second generation visited the city in the summer. However, to reiterate; the third plus generation piecemeal has sold the properties for others such as contractors

of real estate (Judieh, 2015) at the same time adding an important problem to grapple with land owner to purchase it.

Ramallah is the temporal capital, and its economic growth will be based and depend on the international aids that funded by Amideast and European Union as donors for the Palestinian economic according to a number of agreements. Ramallah area after 1990s has raised as a major financial center for the PA and WB because of the monetary transfer by donors and remittances, through the growing role of the various private sectors, which invested in Ramallah.

Since 1993, the socio-economic transformation that occurred in Ramallah area was a direct consequence on the traditional life of the city; this has resulted to the new social class and political situation of the city after 1990s. further, the image of the universal cities that are have a high standard of life and without any obstacles such particularly the Israeli occupation, for example the photo.15, is abstract this.

Currently, the study area is characterized by the dominance of the most important city in the WB, like the several cities of the third world, which have only one dominance city as the primate city, whilst never happened in the WB before. This due to its highest percentage of urbanization among the cities except Jerusalem city, which is considered, occupied and under the Israeli occupation. Therefore, the development of Ramallah area remains probably the largest urban area expansion to be carried out in the last few years in the WB. It worth noting that there is a relationship between the advent of the PA and this leap of urbanization rate, during the fieldwork with interviewers who asserted the importance of this relationship.

In addition, Ramallah area has a plan to be as metropolitan according to the liaison with number of ministries, municipalities and local councils. The plan has been considered as strategic attitudes base the extension of Ramallah area spatially and administratively, in order to accommodate with the new urban development and increasing the quality of services.

However, the urban development process of Ramallah area still needs more attention in the context of city planning to deal with the dynamics of transformation that stormed with the city. The city lacks the actual and future real blueprints to the urban development and expansion due to local constraint firstly and secondly to a complex constraint related to the Israeli occupation policy towards the occupied land of the WB particularly the area C.

Photo (15): Movenpick Hotel.



Ramallah Online web site, 2016.

Arguably, this period shows a perception of the accelerated urban growth in Ramallah since breaking out the peace process in the beginning of 1990s. Parallel with changing role of Ramallah area from ordinary city and resource base to as political-economic liberal spatial place. Ramallah in this period transformed to a new phase of neoliberal cities with the encouragement of PA and others, which led to a soar up in the urban growth and new preferable destination.

Summary.

The analysis of the two aerial photos 1997 and 2015 shows a variety of urban changes in the land use of Ramallah. This indicates that the urban areas has changed dramatically and rapidly since 1997 through the geographic information system (GIS) technology that examined the land use changes understand the process of urbanization.

The GIS as a technique analyzed with help to detect the changes in the percent of various land use categories during the period from 1997 to 2015, which illustrate an increase of 52 % in built-up

area against 27 % decline in green area such, forests, vegetable lands and olive orchards and with increasing of 86% of population during the same period.

However, the main question is to define how these processes of land use change will shape the present future of the surrounded areas to interpret the de facto situation and the relationship between the urban and rural area under the geopolitical factor.

Thus, the two time frame depict a surge increase in the urban growth that led to a high percentage of urbanization of more than 65%, then gave an incentive likely to use the land for constructing houses to increase the process of urbanization in near future.

This depicts that the land has been transformed to another urban commercial and cadastral use within new infrastructure for access to housing the vast majority of population that much of those urbanized land has affected and change the landscape

Since then, 1993, it is conspicuous that Ramallah area has slipped into the comma of urbanization process and grew relentlessly as all over the space. The matter that led to a new era for overall urban development. New infrastructure has been added.

In so far and clear that there is an influence of the this transformation in Ramallah area and its suburbs on the landscape change and on the dynamic of socio-economic life through the new urban building form, which need more in-deep studies for the process of transformation in order to shed light on the anomalies of leapfrog development.

The increase of Ramallah area population and rapid urban growth causes great changes in the Ramallah area and the expansion of the cities is complicated. Thus, the pressure on the land for housing purpose will be continued to change the surrounding area and the landscape.

Urbanization seems a challenge in Ramallah area nowadays and likely will increase if the geopolitics situation remains as it is. The land prices and houses availability for the urban dwellers might be able to provide the necessity of newcomers, but merely the price will remain the obstacles to buy.

Arguably, the impact of the internal migration on the rate of urbanization has been relatively high and have noticeable consequences on the geographical situation. Ramallah has witnessed a higher rate of urbanization amongst the WB cities. The new era after 1990s indicates at the tendency to attract population from other cities and rural area who is looking for better standard of living.

However, Ramallah area is a case of the fastest urban development due to internal migration flow. It is historically since the war of 1948 up to day, but the causes have differed after 1990. Finally, the contemporary Ramallah area is characterized by new urban scene and new socio-economic life pattern controlled by the new political class under the authority of occupation.

Chapter Six

Spatiotemporal urban pattern characteristics

Introduction.

Urban expansion pattern analysis is very important to understand the geographical distribution on the earth, combining with statistical analysis to identify the spatial pattern in the context of spatiotemporal landscape change.

This chapter depends on analysis of spatial data using the available aerial photos during 1997 and 2015 sequentially and demographic data to simulate the near urban future of the study area based on the sequential analysis of urbanization process. Seven aerial photos will deal with and analyze the spatiotemporal changes, concentrating on the pattern of expansion.

Thus, Number of scholars (Hyum, 2010, Shupeng et.al, 2000, Jiang, 2004, Punia and Singh, 2012, and Herold et.al, 2003) consider urban landscape pattern change as an indicator for natural and cultural landscape transformation. In the same sense, the study uses a number of urban models to verify this assumption due to:

First, the empowerment of GIS technique to assist in understanding land use change pattern. As well as, GIS has been widely used to study and analyze the process of urban expansion, which is at the same time coupled with a multi model analysis that is used for studying the spatiotemporal land use changes. Secondly, the capacity of those models are to manipulate with various factors as well as including population, slope and proximity to the centers etc., and their influence on the urban expansion and land use change process.

Thirdly, different methods were used by scholars and adopted for urban growth studies, such as; UEII (Urban Expansion Intensity Index), LEI (Landscape Expansion Index) and Shannon entropy. Like those models have provided and reinforced the analysis of urban expansion, at the same vain bringing an efficient results. The model helped through the spatial analysis of urban land use transformation during 1997 and 2015 to predict the urban growth pattern.

Finally, those models give a quantification result and reflect the spatiotemporal changes of the city expansion and structure, which is easier to be tested and to prove the hypothesis of the studies. Subsequently, as quantitative indices are used to identify the urban expansion pattern.

To achieve the objective of this chapter, number of different urban models are applied to explore the overall urban expansion process over the past 17 years over Ramallah area. Further, they are applied to estimate the urbanization process result, its effects and giving a prediction for the near

future including multiple regression and statistical analysis that integrated by GIS technique under controlled verification and calibration process to obtain acceptable accuracy of the results.

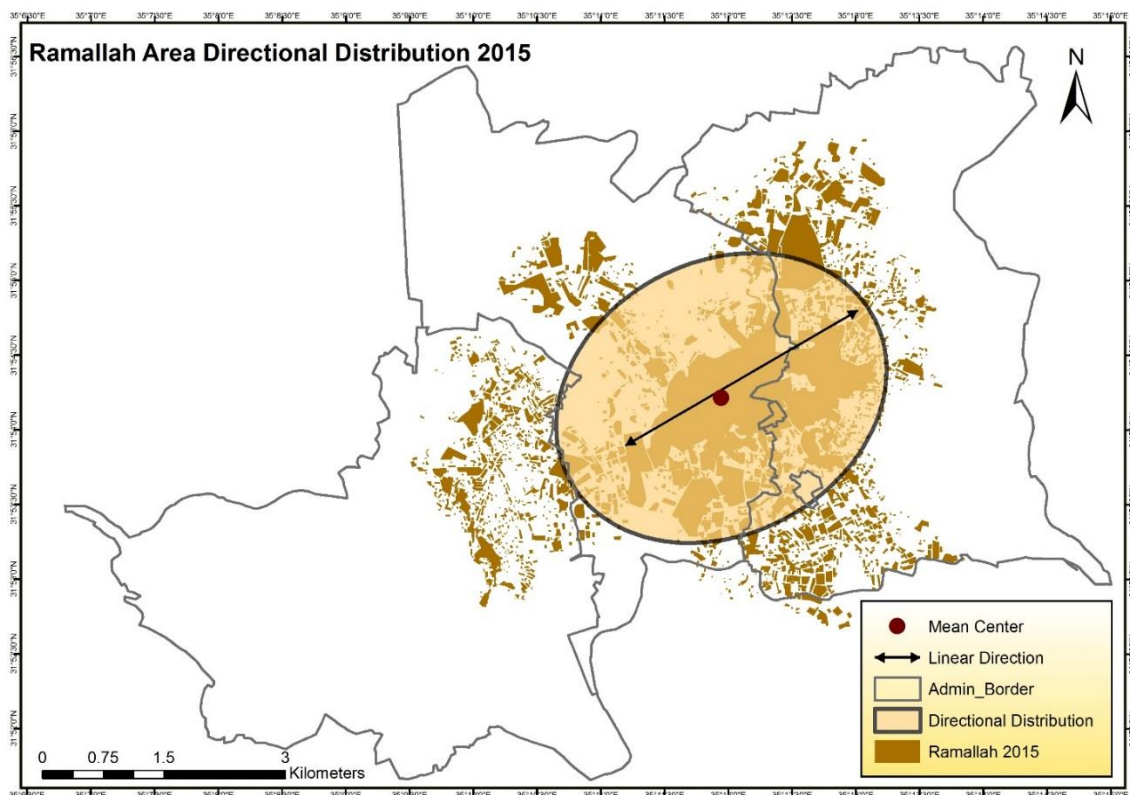
1. Quantifying spatiotemporal urban patterns of urbanization of Ramallah Area.

1.1. Directional distribution (Standard Deviational Ellipse).

This method falls within geostatistics spatial analysis to ascertain the degree of the direction in which direction more than others do. The result of analysis by a statistically margin from 0° to 58° map.17, reveals that the anisotropy is strongest in the SW-NE direction.

However, the map.17, of Ramallah area urban area reveals two prevailing directional trends. The direction north-west towards western ward of Ramallah suburbs areas and villages that are classified within B as geopolitical area without any Israeli constrains. That has influenced negatively on the urban growth process particularly in the Al-Irsal and Em-Alsharait areas, which represent the primary areas of urban growth according to the aerial photo that may be perceived by-eye.

Map (17): Ramallah Area Directional Distribution 2015.



The result of analysis and the visual analysis of the urban expansion areas reveal that the topography of Ramallah area has played a role in the directional trend. It has been oriented broadly to the flat area in the photo of 1997, while the orientation has been transformed to privilege at most as permitted to construct politically, then towards roughly slope areas.

It is worth noting, the directional trends has been influenced by a third anisotropic, which is the modern transportation network that has been constructed and the development of the infrastructures in some areas, such Al-Tira. Ostensibly, traversing the network north-west direction parallels the increasing of the percentage of expansion.

2.1. Different urban growth modes across distance and time

1.2.1. Landscape Expansion Index.

The landscape expansion index is one of the urban analysis pattern, which aims to understand the relationship between urban pattern and landscape change through the time due to the urban growth or expansion (Schroder and Seppelt, 2006).

Further, Landscape Expansion Index (LEI) is considered one of the most methods that quantify the urban landscape pattern change (liu et.al, 2005). Further, it is possible to identify the land cover decreasing and transformed because of new urban areas from the central city to the suburb over the years as spatial temporal changes (Limin et.al, 2015).

The model gives three different urban growth patterns (i.e., infilling, edge-expansion and outlying or outskirt). To detect the urban landscape growth and its effect on landscape change, the study uses the Landscape Expansion Index (LEI) formula, that proposed by Liu et al. 2010.

The Landscape Expansion Index Equation 1:

$$\text{LEI} = \frac{\text{LC}}{\text{P}}$$

Where LC is the area of a newly grown urban area and the pre-growth urban patches and P is the perimeter of this newly grown area. Urban growth type is identified as the value of LEI range of $0 \leq \text{LEI} \leq 100$. According to number of studies such as Infilling: the ranges between 0-50

Edge-expansion: the range 50-100

Outlying or spontaneous growth: The value equal 0

The analysis indicates that the urbanized area increased and cross the second level of the urban landscape hierarchy during 1997 and 2015, which is one of the most noticeable urban agglomeration in the WB districts, particularly the proportion of new urban patches such as rural-urban cities that is classified within the third mode of LEI 'outlying expansion'.

The classification results after intersected the new and pre-growth urban areas with the buffer zone that covers all the study area within 4 km radius that set at distance variable based on the distance from the city enter as a centroid point at the same time classified as the BDC (Business District Center) to extract the pattern of urban expansion for the periods between 1997 and 2015 after calculating the LEI according the LEI formula.

The analysis has taken into consideration two comparative period between 1997/2004 and 2004/2015 to perform a quantitative analysis of the urban growth pattern of Ramallah area. The value of LEI had a little decreasing between the last two periods. It is 44.4% and 44% respectively, which is classified within edge-expansion and still dominated in the study area.

However, as a result, the urban pattern had become more dispersed and vertical construction form more dominated.

It is clearly, through the value of LEI quite a few changes remained for the two periods in the pattern of urban expansion, which is classified as edge-expansion in all directions. Despite of the random or spontaneous distribution as incremental growth around the main center, the dominant direction is the northwestern, which is consistent with to the directional distribution value that, estimated about 60°.

However, during the period of 2007-2015 new urban areas developed, mainly they took place along the main transportation network between Ramallah area and Birzeit area which are characterized by scattered distribution and classified as outlying expansion of LEI as new separated patches environ Ramallah area within 6 km distance from the centroid point.

Those new patches have played a pivotal role in changing rural landscape to rural-urban landscape into account of the green areas as mentioned previous.

The analysis of urban expansion according to the LEI indicated that urban growth or expansion in the context of period are described as a general temporal oscillation during the period of study due

to the geopolitical situation particularly during the second Intifada and the construction of the Separation Wall between the period 2001 and 2007.

It is worth noting that the percentage of new urban growth during the period 1997-2007, is approximately at 22.5%, while it is at 8.3% between 2007 and 2015. Thus, there are two distinct phases for the urban growth process in Ramallah area coinciding with the increasing of population. The buffer zone analysis revealed that the expansion began within the second area of buffer zone 2 km distanced from the urban core, as the seed grows, it dispersed and incremental circled around the center taking the edge-expansion.

Figure.17, indicates that the spatiotemporal urban expansion is from the central city to suburbs. The land use variation have been taken on incremental change, relating to the LEI model analysis of urban expansion that was analyzed by the spatiotemporal distribution over the time. Whereas, it is including the variance between number of new urban built-up as number and the distance from the main city center.

As figure.17, shows it could be easily found that there is a trend of expansion from the main center to the fringe of the Ramallah area within perimeter distance of 4 km. The results from buffer zone analysis for the Ramallah area over each period during 2000 and 2015, buffer zone within 500 m, show a slight increasing near the city center due to the well-developed with diversifies services from a long time in this area on the one hand and the lack of space in CBD area on the other hand..

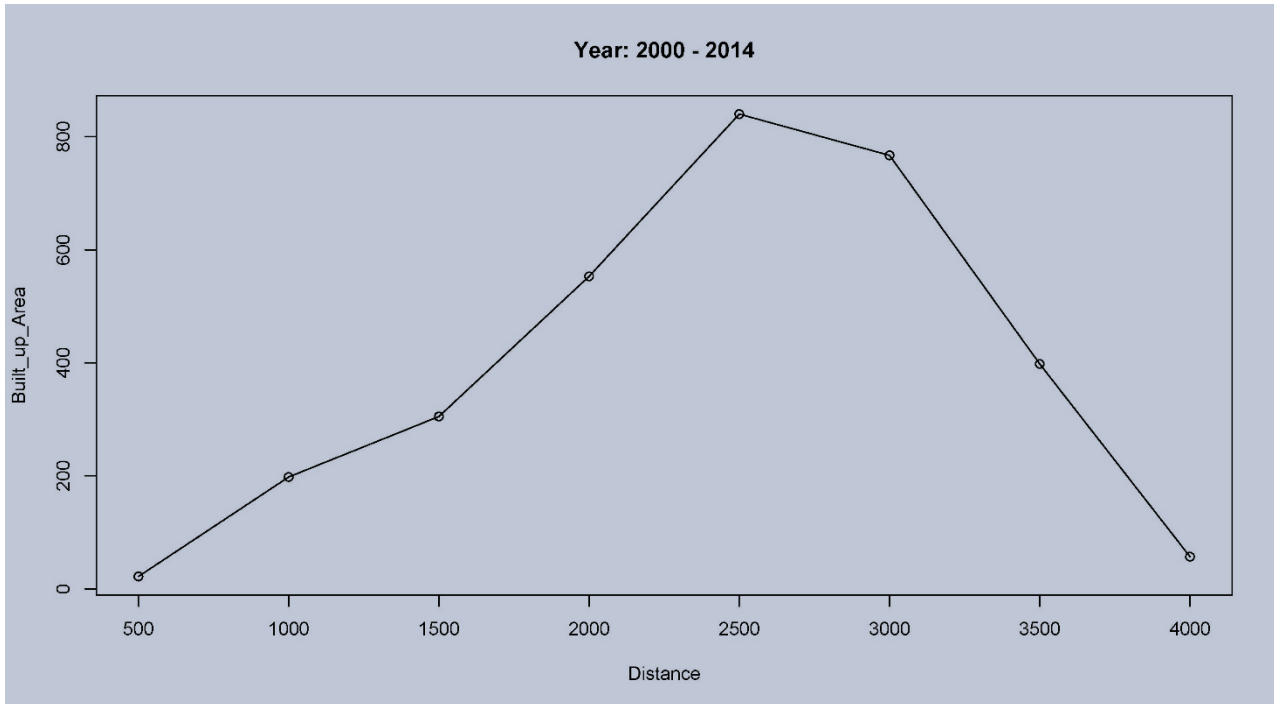
In contrary with, the figure shows an increasing between 1.5 and 3.5 km; it is noticeably the number of new built-up area footprints has accelerated which is considered as high urban intensification. The area is developed and expanded due to its geographical characteristics such as the nearest to the urban center, low slope and network of transportation.

The urban expansion is less in the area between 3.5 and 4 km if compared with previous buffer distance zone. The zone is characterized by a high slope, more far from the urban center and have to taking into consideration the Israeli obstacles within this zone, which all together prevent further urban expansion.

Furthermore, the spatial pattern characteristics of Ramallah area urban expansion could be described as follow: the buffer zone covers all the study area and the suburbs as a new urban zones within radius 6 km, which mainly the directional distribution is characterized by along north-west

expansion axis particularly during the time period between 2005 and 2015 in area B according to the geopolitical classification as mentioned in the previous chapter.

Figure (17): Spatiotemporal expansion trends based on buffer analysis during 2000-2015.



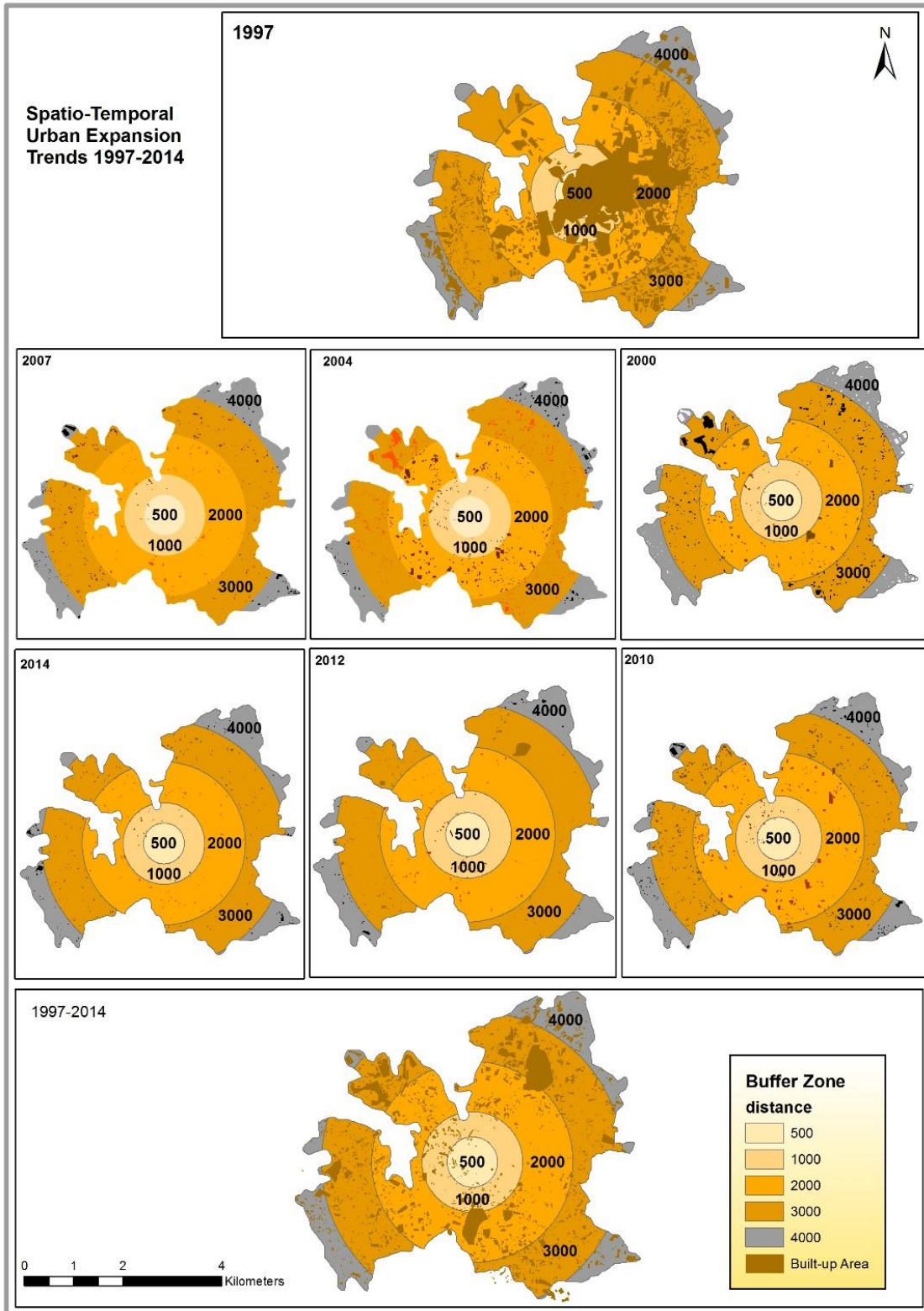
As well as, the expansion surrounded the core center of Ramallah area in all direction mainly concentrated at the fringes in buffer zone of 2 to 4 km.

Most directly, the pattern of expansion after LEI analysis is mainly determined by the new urban areas and the distance from the urban center, it is associated with socio-economic factors.

However, the pattern is characterized by edge-expansion generally spreads out circle surrounding the main center within the shortest distance in the first phase. Whereas, it is clearly influenced by the slope beside the distance which is continually growing.

Interestingly, as a result of the urban expansion and enlarging the radius between the urban center as top-down large scale expansion and bottom-up small scale rural urbanization, the distinction of the landscape pattern between urban and rural areas has become unclear or less distinct (Blurred). General speaking, the new landscape of Ramallah area due to the urban expansion, is considered a key to understand the main urban and socio-economic transformations were imposed after 1993.

Map (18): Spatiotemporal Urban Expansion Buffer Gradient.



In addition, it has been regarded as one of the influential aspects of Ramallah area transformation from passive agent before 1990s to the primate urban center in the WB, including new urban zone and removing the existing dual urban-rural socio-economic tradition in some areas.

Thus, the spatiotemporal urban expansion is determined by the variation of time periods that coupled with the increasing of urbanization gradient extending from the adjacent areas near the city center with a smooth increasing. It is through the suburbs to the rural areas as spontaneous landscape or dispersed urban patches, which is at the end increased the urbanization rate to be above 60% in the study area.

2.2.1. Spatiotemporal trends Urbanization Expansion Intensity Index UEII analysis.

Urbanization expansion intensity index (UEII) is used to compare the urban expansion speed and intensity of urban land use change in various periods. According to a number of studies such as Abu-Bakr et al. 2014 study, the UEII standard is divided as follow:

Table (17): The UEII of Ramallah Area.

Index %	Value
0 – 0.28	Slow development
0.28 - 0.59	Low-speed development
0.59 – 1.05	Medium-speed development
1.05 – 1.92	High-speed development
>1.92	Very high-speed development

The Urban Expansion Intensity Index Equation 2:

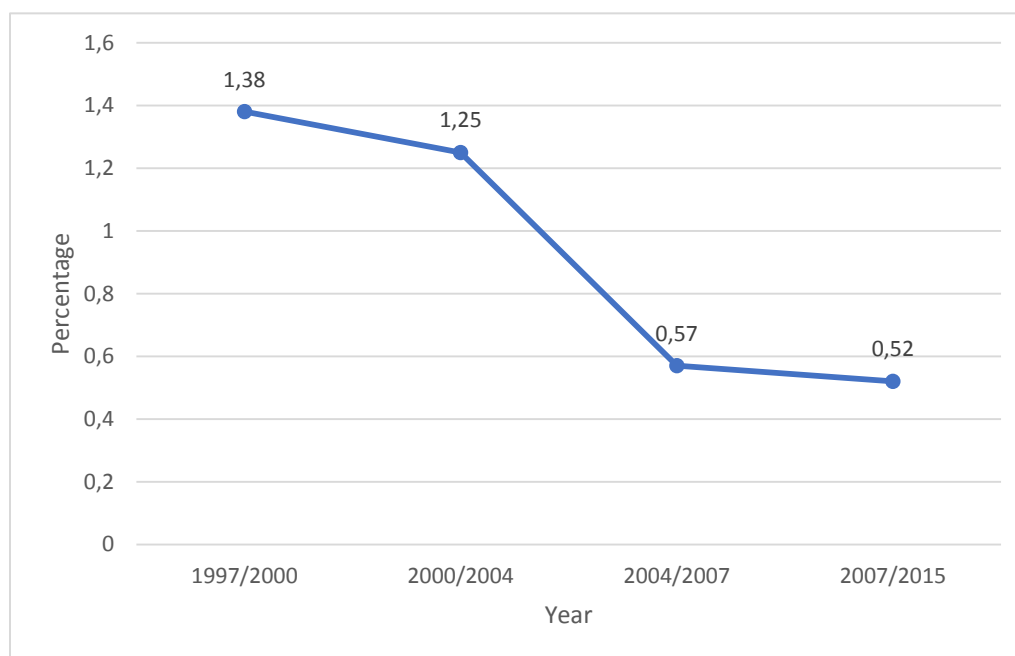
$$U_{i,t-t+n} = \frac{\left[\frac{(U_{i,t+n} - U_{i,t})}{n} \right]}{TLA_i} \times 100$$

UEII is the annual average urban expansion intensity index of (i, Ramallah area) in time period (t), $UL_{Ai,a}$ and $UL_{Ai,b}$, are the area of built-up area at time period a and b in (i) Ramallah area, and TL_{Ai} is the total area of (i) Ramallah area.

According to Yu, 2015, the expansion expressed by the built-up area that have actually constructed. While the intensity (the ratio of urban built-up area) and the index are to analyze the differences of built-up area to be comparable.

In figure.19, the UEII curve shows the differences between UEII values during the period between 1997 and 2015. Through the figure, a smooth decline could be observed between the year 1997 and 2000. This trend indicates that this period is ongoing large-scale of urban growth coinciding with population growth in Ramallah area.

Figure (18): UEII of Ramallah area during 1997-2015.



The urban expansion area has expanded since 1997, as mentioned previous chapter. The expansion is about 3750 donum in the period of study between 1997 and 2015 with urban expansion index about 0.80%. Generally, it is considered a medium-speed urban expansion development. As well as, it illustrates that the urban land had expansion has sped up since 1997. The result index in the two period reflected the spatial differentiation pattern.

It is striking that each period has its certain common characteristics. For example, the UEII has ranked as a high-speed development between 1997 and 2000, particularly in the first phases of Ramallah area developed that combined with the reverent of PA after 1993 to the WB and Gaza strip then taking Ramallah as the administrative headquarter.

This indicates that during this period, urbanization intensity was the highest in the study area immediately around the city core, within a distance of 2 km from the core point.

Further reading the chronological index since 1997, it could be observed that by 2000 the index became to decline until 2004 to reach about 1.25 medium-speed urban expansion. It has occurred regardless to the political situation after breaking out of the second intifada of 2000, then an acute decline in the value about 0.57 and .054 between 2004 and 2007 and 2007 and 2015 respectively.

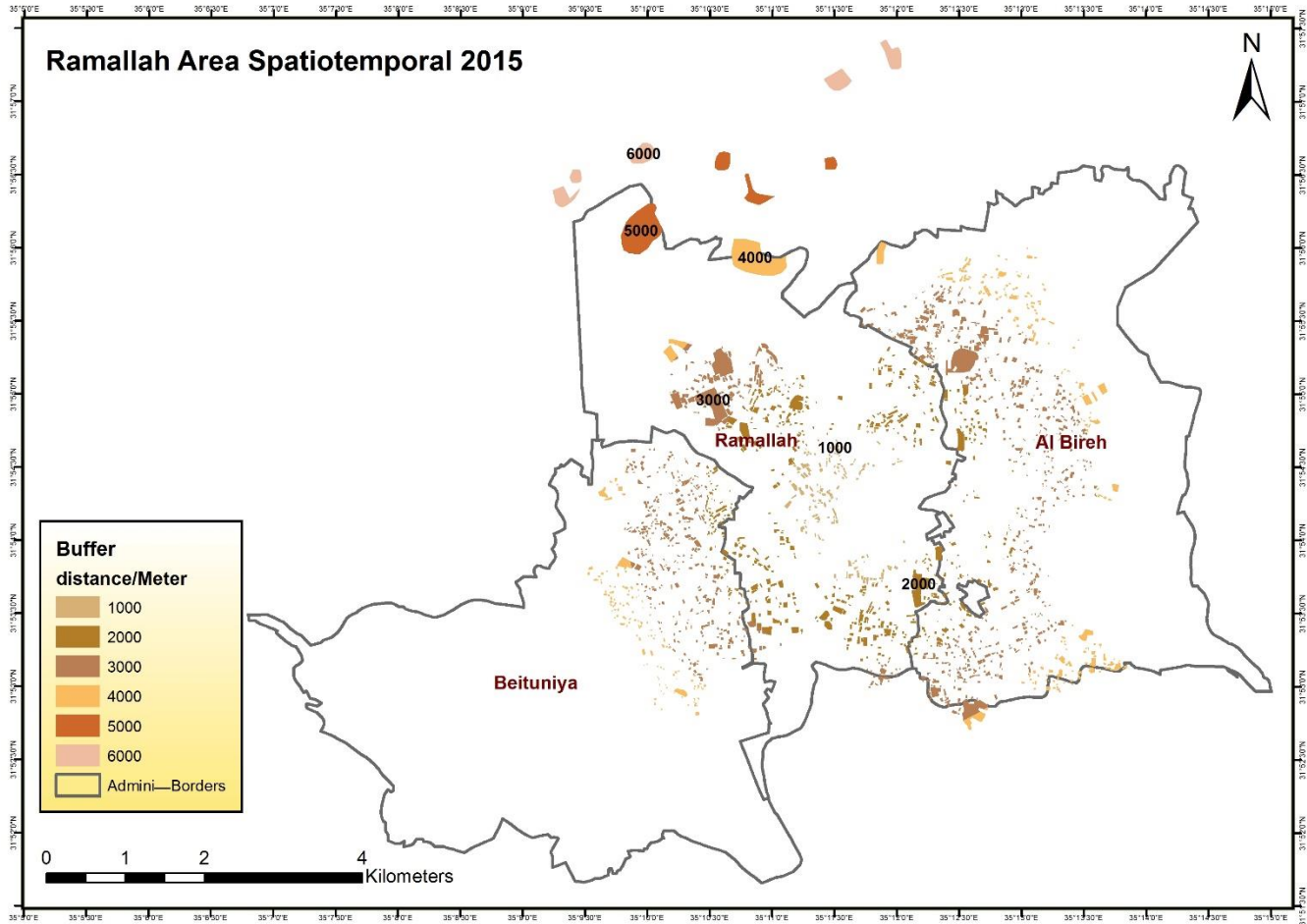
The uptrend shows that urbanization intensity has taken place in the north-western direction rather than other directions of the study area as a ring circled the area but randomly, which is characterized as round-sprawl pattern which of will proved in the next model. While, during the period of 2007 and 2015, the UEII showed a gentle decline, but the spatial radius of urbanization has enlarged to within distance of 6 km due to the leapfrog of expansion that exceed and invaded the rural areas, as well as giving cities that urbanized and expanded outward the buffer distance of 4 km as a dispersed patches were spread between Ramallah area and Birzeit countryside in the northern western direction.

However, the UEII indicates that there is a clear intensification in the first phase in Ramallah area within the three cities administrative border if compared with second phase as map.20, shows, after the UEII 2007 that is characterized with intensification out the administrative border due to network of transportation, services development on one hand.

Whereas, the jostle and affordability of space on the other hand act as substantial impulsion for a new urbanized zones outskirts the urban center of the study area. Which nowadays are completely urbanized and become as urban peripheries, resulted with a uniform trend and intensity of urbanization in the study area and its suburbs.

Coincidentally, the new urban rural-urban within buffer zone 6 km distance from the Ramallah area core center increase the intensity and magnitude of urbanization in those rural areas rather than in the first pace of urbanization between 1997 and 2004.

Map (19): The Urban Expansion over the Administrative Border 201.



This could be explained by the fact that Ramallah area importance has increased as the primate area in the WB and continuing the flow of immigrants regardless the sharp decline in economic situation in Palestinian territory at a whole scale.

Arguably, the analysis reveals that the spatiotemporal urban expansion trends of Ramallah area has ranked as high-speed expansion between 1997 and 2004. Then, it was as medium-speed urban expansion between 2004 and 2015, due to the geopolitical situation on the one hand, and assuming resulted from a sharp decline in demand for purchase power of the residential dwellings on the other hand.

3.2.1. Shannon Entropy: New urban area as an indicator of urban Sprawl.

The rate of population growth is outstripping the urban growth percentage of Ramallah area between 1997 and 2015. The population in Ramallah area grew by about 86 % according to the

number of PCBS, 2016 statistics, while it was about 125% according to the three municipalities' statistics. Meanwhile, the built-up area has grown about 52 %.

Taking into consideration that the consumption of the land as recorded by the aerial photos analysis became on the flat area with low slope. Then, the morphology of construction have taken the vertical construction form regardless to incremental increasing in land prices. In contrast, the vertical rather than the horizontal form has diminished the percentage of land consumption comparing with population growth.

This means if the form still horizontal the percentage of land consumption will increase markedly over the last years, since the consumption had inclusive all land in the real-estate sector.

However, entropy is a useful concept used to describe the structure and behavior of different system (Pedro et al., 2013) such as, Shannon's entropy has been implemented here to measure the distribution of the built-up area and population of Ramallah area, by calculated the percentage of increasing for the built-up area during 1997 and 2015 and same for the population.

Shannon Entropy Equation 3:

$$H = -\sum_{i=1}^n p_i \log(p_i)$$

Where; P_i is the urban area, and n the buffer distance area.

According to Jat et., al 2007 and Sudhira et al., 2004, the value of entropy range is from 0 to $\log n$. If the distribution is very compact then the entropy value will be closer to 0, while if the distribution is very dispersed the value will be closer to $\log n$. Generally, high value of entropy indicates the occurrence of urban sprawl.

The Shannon's entropy calculated value reveals that the distribution of the built-up area in Ramallah area is dispersed more compact, whereas the entropy value is 0.97, which is closer to $\log(n)$ 1.38. However, the degree is closer which means the distribution is more dispersed than compact like spontaneous. Broader perspective, the urban expansion pattern according to the $\log(n)$ indicate that is characterizes by (Sprawl Expansion) as the result of analysis shows:

Shannon's entropy: **$0 < 0.97 < 1.38 = \log(n)$** .

In sum, the result of entropy, indicates that Ramallah has experienced sprawl during 1997 and 2015. This dispersion is incremental and the sprawled tendency is increasing during the time. In area with a better level of economic development, both the urban expansion intensity and urban

population due to the newcomers can be clearly observed as the main reason of the high level of urbanization that underwent a fluctuating increase during the past twenty years.

According to the aforementioned, a linear regression has been built to find the relationship between population and urban land area that expanded. Then, it is to prove the convergence between the increasing of population and the built-up area, which had led to urban sprawl pattern of distribution. In the same vain, the study adopted a statistical approach to pursue the built-up area distribution behavior, through creating a model depending on number of indicators to predict the spatiotemporal changes that will take place in the near future.

Thus, the coefficient value of the analysis indicates that there is a strong correlation with urban built-up area (urban expansion) and population increasing ($R^2= 0.976$). However, the population has played a crucial role in the built-up area increasing which is the key factor for the increasing the urbanization rate.

Therefore, the linear regression analysis indicates that the population increasing in Ramallah area has played a significant role in the urban expansion pattern, which is sprawl.

The Regression Equation 4: Area = (6.577*10⁻²) P + 3.934*10²

The correlation coefficient being $R = 0.976$

Thus, the analysis reveals that there is a linear regression between population and new urban areas that lead the urban expansion which accelerate the process of urbanization.

Then, Round-sprawls is the main model has been recorded in this study, including the number of isolated patches as outskirts urban growth area and corridor has circled the main center within buffer zone 6 km as the map.20, has shown.

The growth rate is expected to be more over the projection period, with highest rate of urban population growth has been recorded in the WB as mentioned in the previous chapter.

Rapid urban growth has been also occurred in the northwestern part of Ramallah area, the transformed from green to urban areas with growing about 3700 donums by 18 years, although it is projected to increase as the next model will show.

2. Predicting the Scenario of Ramallah area of Urban Expansion.

It is important to examine the various factors both economic and non-economic in the studies of urbanization. The study tries to implement the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in the context of urbanization. It is clear that the level of GDP increased between 1997 and 2015 in the WB from 1,602.9 \$ to 2,269.2 (PCBS, 2015),

There is clear positive between GDP of the WB in general and urban population of the study area, it is strictly increasing with population.

According to the economic human capital accumulation approaches such as income-based approach, the economic transformation allows to increase human capital by hiring of population in more active sectors that offering better wages, as well as the same time increase the GDP.

Thus, the WB has a positive increasing in the GDP rate that related with the growth of urban areas such as Ramallah area. Unfortunately, for the scarcity data of Ramallah GDP specifically, the projection excluded using it. Since, measure the relationship between the GDP giving a strong indication for the future of urbanization process as number of studies mentioned.

The Future Equation 5: $\text{Area} = (6.577 \times 10^{-2}) 125350 + 3.934 \times 10^2$

The result of the regression is expected that in the next few years 2025, the urban areas demand according to the population growth in Ramallah will need about 2000 donums.

According to the projection result, the urban growth will increase due to the increasing of population. Substantially, the demand will increase for new places and job opportunities. Thus, the PA have to manage well with the increasing to cope with the pace of urban growth continuity through affordable housing and develop suitable financial alternatives. Otherwise, it will definitely lead to increase the unemployment rate and number of socio-economic problems.

Summary.

Industrialization is considered the engine of urbanization over the world. Nevertheless, in the case of Palestine definitely it differs due to the geopolitical situation particularly after 1990s.

According to aforementioned analysis between 1997 and 2015, urban built-up areas increased from 7250 to 11000 donums, which means that there was an increase at 52% in urban development

within the past 18 years. Further, the major development of urbanization during this period has occurred around the city center as round-sprawl expansion and in the northwestern direction, with lower density at the eastern direction. Despite, the importance of Ramallah area land as agricultural; unfortunately, it has experienced a reduction of this land within the three cities and the around town. In addition, accused to the rural-urban expansion, olive trees cutting and natural land cover faced a decrease about 3000 donum during 1997 and 2015.

Furthermore, through the analysis high there was pace of urbanization between 1997 and 2015, due to the urban expansion, the urbanization intensity had a high-speed urban development between 1997 and 2004. Also, there was a large increase in the rate of expansion whether within the administrative borders or outskirts expansion out of those borders, which those expanded areas has completely urbanized by transformed from green areas to new urban zones with increase in the diameter of the urbanized area.

Through the analysis the study area has been characterized by urban sprawl pattern. However, in sum; the projection model, showed a growing trend in built-up areas. Thereby, based on the projection analysis, urban lands area will increase from 11000 donums in 2015 to 12500 in 2025.

General Conclusion

Finding.

Those final papers present the main findings, the main conclusion and recommendations of the study that is arising from the analysis. To further, it is to understand the purpose of the study. The study explores the chronological urban development of Ramallah area during the main joints of the Palestinian urban history.

The study focused on the main drivers of the internal migration that are associated with the process of urban expansion which accelerated the urbanization rate of Ramallah area during the period between 1997 and 2015. The main finding of the study is that Ramallah area urban pattern is strongly influenced by the advent of the PA after Oslo accord in 1993. This is consistent with the existing studies that discussed the same idea. Following the main findings.

Oslo accord and reshaping the demographic and socio-economic Profile of Ramallah area.

As shown in figure.1, Ramallah area has a witnessed an increasing in the net immigration against acute declining comparing with other Palestinian cities. To improve this assumption population number of Ramallah area estimated about 180.000 inhabitant in 2015 according the municipalities' statistics, against 55380 in 1997, approximately 125% rate of increasing in about 18 years and still continues to increase. In addition, population distribution and densities concentrate in major zone more than other.

Thus, the result of analysis over the period of the study between 1997 and 2015 shows there was a significant increase in the number of Ramallah population due to the internal migration within the atmosphere of the peace process. This supports the suggestion that Oslo Accord affected directly demographic situation of Ramallah area.

Furthermore, a rapid increasing could be noticed in the number due to the internal migration process. While the sending cities suffer from a decline in their population, and inadequate physical and social infrastructure, lower standard of living with high level of education. This paradox lead the Palestinians to migrate to the new liberal area due to the better economic conditions particularly during 1995 and 2000.

The internal migration towards Ramallah area started as soon as 1995, after taking Ramallah as the administrative headquarter and interim-capital for the PA. A better income and affordability of services are the main drivers for the immigration. Better job opportunities and education institutes are also drivers for immigration.

The study has hypothesized that the demographic and socio-economic scene transformed after 1993. The process of internal migration, due to the new political driver, has profound and transformed the socio-economic situation of Ramallah area, such as the social coherent, the role of women who become more involved in Ramallah area that driven by large ongoing of transformation associated political and cultural change that increase the degree of female participation. Further, the economic sector has changed driven by increasing the rate of non-governmental organization that played bilateral role socially and economically. An economic growth has created more job opportunities that encouraged the educated Palestinian to immigrate. Indeed, the analysis shows that internal migration has an important influence upon the Ramallah area traditions and social behavior that characterize the new social atmosphere of Ramallah area. Internal migration and its socio-economic capital have increased the human capital in the form of education. Improvement in education level has been observed which has been increased over the years, nevertheless, the economic and political atmosphere.

The immigrants have increased their income compared to the pre-immigration situation, despite of the expenditure and cost of living, which are higher in Ramallah area than the origin. This process is associated with high unemployment rate at 20% among the labor force in the age of work.

However, the socio-economic of the immigrants is better than the place of origin. At the same time, the social ties are still but weaker than before. Further, socio-economic and environmental problems have increased in the study area according to the respondents, and the area needs more to improve the services and infrastructure.

More likely, internal migration has facilitated a shift and transform of Ramallah area political and socio-economic scene. This was driven by the physical and non-physical an overall change in political parties and socio-economic and transformation the physical and cultural local landscape. The recent transformation towards new urban society was driven by declining the green area against ongoing increasing in the dwelling houses and the economics of services. As well as, categories of new socio-economic atmosphere have been seen never seen before 1993.

Ramallah from rural-urban case of local trend, to liberal case.

Ramallah area has been experiencing an urban transformation since the advent of PA in 1993. Hence, currently Ramallah area is one of the most important political and economic centers. The analysis of urban growth in the study area is governed by the new geopolitical due to the Oslo Accord, which was followed with new wave of newcomers.

A marked growth has been observed through the aerial photos analysis during 1997 and 2015, alongside the transportation network and radically in all direction surrounded the city center. It is clear that the urbanization in Ramallah area has increased about 33% from 1997 to 2015 to be about 64%.

The study suggested that Ramallah area surface (Built-up) has a significant increase driven by geopolitical factor. The result of analysis supported this suggestion which provides the second hypothesis of the study, the Israeli occupation has driven Ramallah area urbanization process.

More interestingly, the expansion of the built-up area has experienced continuous growth of about 52% during 1997 and 2015 approximately 3750 donum an increasing. While, the green and bare surface experienced a decrease in its rate.

The analysis investigated also that the density has been increased over the time to reach more than 900 inhabitant/km², associated with intense expansion in the north-west direction more than other, due to the geopolitical situation.

However, several factors have affected and driven the urbanization process in the study area (geopolitical and economic) which transformed and accelerated changing the urban landscape of Ramallah area. According to responses from the questionnaire analysis and observation, the rapid urban growth of Ramallah area is obvious and associated with major problems such as increasing the pressure on the available facilities and utilities generally, transformed the social texture and increasing the unemployment which consistent with the official statistics.

Landscape changes during Urbanization process.

The models analysis revealed that urban expansion process has accelerated during 1997 and 2015, particularly in the duration between 1997 and 2000. Increasing the surface of built-up area has led

relatively to more random and spontaneous pattern of urban growth than before. This indicates that the political driver guided Ramallah area urban expansion after 1993.

As mentioned previously, the study shows that urbanized area in Ramallah area has increased over the 18 years between 1997 and 2015, as well as it has affected the landscape and has changed the urban expansion pattern. Hence, the study depends on two dimensions (New built-up area and Distance). Number of models was carried out to identify the urban expansion pattern.

The study has investigated that there is a noticeable signs of urban dispersion and sprawl for Ramallah area associated with increasing in the UEII rate between 1997 and 2004, which is characterized with high-speed urban increasing. While the trend of expansion is continuing and increasing with time, the continuous process of urbanization has led to change the urban pattern of Ramallah area, which is characterized by edge-expansion trend according to the landscape expansion index, and sprawl according to Shannon's entropy analysis too.

This support the third hypothesis, which suggested that, is the urban expansion pattern of Ramallah area has changed after 1993, in both spatial and temporal.

Modelling future of the Population Growth and Urban Area Growth.

The quantification analysis of the urban expansion and population increasing provides a useful tool for creating future projection of urban growth. The increasing may have several effects on infrastructures and services. Therefore, more demands on land and services will be increase.

The result predicted by the projected regression model that more urbanized area will occur in Ramallah area and about 2300 donums are needed for urban growth due to the population growth. In the same vain, the urban expansion direction will be determined by the geopolitical driver for this moment, which will oriented the expansion process in north-west direction in 2025. Therefore, more plans for future should be considered to improve the infrastructure and services on the one hand, managing and protecting the green area and the natural vegetation cover as possible as on the other hand.

The Conclusion.

Ramallah area is a good case for understanding the dynamics process of transformation of the WB under conditional Israeli occupation. The study set out to discuss and answer its questions including the role of Oslo Accord in reshaping the urban landscape of Ramallah area.

However, Ramallah area had witnessed during the past two decades urban transformation coinciding with difference transformation in social, economic and political terms. This study has tried to understand the mechanism and the drivers of urban; socio-economic that has been transformed over the 20 years ago.

The study framework has been developed through main two terms relevant to the analysis. On the one hand, the internal migration after 1990s towards Ramallah area to which socio-economic transformation has occurred. On the other hand, the spatial urban landscape changing due to the first term, which is the direct result to understand the urban transformation process, at the same vain; increasing the rate of urbanization in the study area.

However, through the analysis of the two periods of the urban transformation development of Ramallah area, namely the prosperity of the study area has revealed the leapfrog and acceleration in the process of urban growth or expansion in order to cope with and responded to the emergence of urban demands.

It is clear that the advent of the PA in Ramallah area gives the opportunities to be as an attractive point for the Palestinians over the Palestinian territory. The political indication is ambiguous to be Ramallah area the core center and headquarter of the PA. However, far about the politic but generally this factor has affected directly in the transformation process of Ramallah area. Hence, Ramallah area has succeed to be in the lead of the Palestinian cities and taking the advantage of its own political situation to develop its urban landscape regardless to the adversely influence, which is considered nowadays the key tension between the increasing the white cladding and decreasing the green cover.

The discussion covered the characteristics of the urban expansion pattern during the period between 1997 and 2015. However, it is clear through aerial photos analysis and urban investigation model of urban landscape change that the pattern has taken the round-sprawl pattern.

Furthermore, the study covered the internal migration within the context of impulses and pull drivers to examine the consequences and the influences on the socio-economic situation then increasing the urbanized area.

During the period between 1997 and 2015, Ramallah area witnessed a further urban expansion through housing number increasing due to the high demand and necessity of newcomers, which seeking to build more building for dwellers, consolidating real estate, and prominence a new urban areas such as the rural-cities. Surda and Abu-Qush are an example of small villages that transformed to urban areas surrounded with those rural-cities in less two decades.

At the neighborhood, the study has discussed different urban models based on the aerial photos quantitative analysis, which giving main results of the spatiotemporal of Ramallah landscape change and various analyses. Urban expansion intensity index, landscape expansion index and Shannon entropy models have been carried out to investigate the urban expansion pattern and its characteristics.

Although the urban transformation process, the expansion of the three cities was to accommodate the newcomers and concentrate the political and economic apparatus. As the analysis reveals that over the past two decades the study area have experienced dynamic expansion in two dimension; horizontally, number of newly built-up area added to the existing urban area, at the same time vertically those new urban area have taken the vertical form which had expanded both in population and land area.

Actually, Ramallah area has entered a new transitional era of transformation, in which it has to face the challenges of the urban-urban and rural-urban dispersion and the economy susceptible to any political change.

In sum, the main consideration in the end of the study has been identified by an urban prediction model to examine and predicate the needs for new urban areas according to the increasing of population. The result supports the argument that Ramallah area is going to enlarge within the spatial and demographic context, which required a suitable planning and strategies to cope with the future increasing and offer suitable alternative to the current urban expansion pattern, in regard to the political situation such as the failure and stalemate of the peace process as well as could be critically affect the urban and socio-economic situation of Ramallah area.

Recommendations.

This study is still in its initial stages particularly in the field of modeling the urban transformation of Palestinian case under the conflict. Further studies related to this study need to be continued to expand as possible as the knowledge in the field of urban studies.

It is clear that there is a need to enhance and improve the planning system and tools in the Palestinian apparatus in order to do better urban planning, since most of the literature review in the Palestinian case mentioned that the Palestinians urban plans depends on the previous planning since the Jordanian rule then the Israeli urban plan up today despite of the several reform attempts.

However, the importance of this issue plays a major role to achieve better result and give more attention to the current situation. Developing a real urban studies planning center is one of the most important efforts towards achieving this aim.

The WB suffers from dramatic decreasing in its land particularly after the construction of the Separation Wall that has stolen about 10% from WB area. Thus, for better planning have to accommodate with what was remain, putting number of strategies to well management for those land which already adversely affected by the Israeli occupation.

There is a highly and rapidly developed urban area in Ramallah area due to the immigration flow, as discussed previously in this study. In order to understand more this new situation, as other studies and researches recommended that have to develop a statistical project ex, by the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics, to do a survey taking into consideration the internal migration, due to the scarcity of data in this field.

Concomitant, despite of the number of studies about Ramallah that emphasis the problem of urbanization including the implication on the green areas and the current situation of urbanized area, nevertheless, it is not much different to the description studies for the problem. Thus, to understand the expanding dimension of the urbanization process of Ramallah area, more studies are need to be sufficient to analysis the process under the occupation driver, with updates data to track the changes that happened and to find real solution and to predict for near future.

A weak urban planning strategy, the relative lack of awareness of local communities near Ramallah area, together has adversely affected to reduce the cultivated land particularly the olive trees, in contrast to construct new urban areas to encourage rural inhabitants to sale their lands on one hand, and replace their residence to the new cities.

Thus, the PA have to protect the fertile agricultural land particularly olive trees from the urban expansion by issuing laws and regulations. As possible as kept away from those lands.

Furthermore, according to the municipalities of the three cities, about two third of administrative area under Israeli control due to the geopolitical factor which constrains the spatial expansion in area C. Most of urban expansion (98%) focuses in area A and B. Therefore, the PA have to practice more pressure to expand the border of area A and B to be able expand on non-arable land rather than arable land. Each municipality needs about 3000 donum according to their urban master plan in 2030.

It's worth noting related to the aforementioned, a local perspective strategy must be adopted to understand the relationship between the dwelling housing and the amount of land available on one hand, and the future needed of residential which coincides with the annual growth of population, taking into consideration the role of internal migration to Ramallah area on the other hand.

Since Oslo Accord and after Separation wall, Jerusalem has become isolated from the WB land which is also divided geographically to three poles; Nablus, Ramallah and Hebron form the north to south respectively. Jerusalem has been affected by the Separation Wall and the WB urban transformation due to the same reason. However, the combined effects of the Israeli process to isolate Jerusalem and replaced by Ramallah as a central city for Palestinian, it will bring more intensive urban demand in Ramallah area and its suburbs, as new reality will be imposed by Israeli. Therefore, the PA have to deal and confront this de facto policy.

The analysis shows that Ramallah area requires more than 2000 donum for expanding beyond the main cities towards the north-west direction. The study suggested finding sub-center that capable to accommodate the population projection and the future area needed within the existed localities, Also, to minimize the impacts of the urban expansion and building new areas in around the center, which adopted the policy of decentralization by establishing number of core centers close to the Ramallah area within the urban and economic standard criteria.

This sub-area might be responded to the population increasing that followed by housing demands. As well as by this project, the filling houses in Ramallah area could be reduced which multi-story buildings characterize nowadays as a vertical pattern. In addition, the Israeli constrains in area C will increase the urban density in area A and B, which of; increasing the pressure and cause several

environmental problems, particularly in the adjacent residential area, which close to the industrial areas of Ramallah and Al-Bireh cities.

Furthermore, the jostle for the place may also increase the price of land then the house, which now is considered high. Therefore, as these sub-centers will improve the infrastructure of rural area and play two major roles; reducing the urban density on one hand, and empowering the Palestinian in their rural areas to offer efficient life to confront the Israeli policy to reshape the rural areas by forced the residential to leave it on other hand.

To achieve this aim, Committee of planning between the three municipalities that respond to the area needs and services in the upcoming years, urbanism, socially and economically further environmental, including the communities near the area as urban-rural partnership, which provide hierarchical structure to better planning particular in land use for the urban objectives. In the same vain, the orientation of expansion is very important here, because it preserves the cultivated lands and that can be developed to use which support the local economy, and as a barrier against the Israeli colonies expansion.

The geopolitical situation has become a principal element in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. The Israeli has imposed multi-obstacles, which have served as powerful to restrict the Palestinian urban growth.

It is interesting to note that Israeli colonies seem to play an important role in limiting the urban expansion of Ramallah area at most of directions, which is permitted just in the north-west direction. At present, Ramallah area has become the most important city in the WB as a national core or the de facto capital of the PA, associated with generation-long dream of Palestinian state with Jerusalem as a capital for this state. However, the political landscape of Ramallah area has fallen to be the interim-capital of the future Palestinian state. So, have for the PA adopted a strategy to confront the Israeli intention to transform Ramallah area for this objective.

In sum, an additional research could be carried out to investigate further drivers and consequences of the urbanization process of Ramallah area because the study found that the study area needs more attention.

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Annexes.

The Questionnaire.

Angers University

Doctoral College (DEGEST)

Geography Department

Questionnaire of Fieldwork

Place of interview: _____

Date: ___/___/ 2015

Serial Number ...

Dear Sir/Madam

The study carrying out an observation for the urban and socio-economic situation of Ramallah area.

Thank you for agreeing to take part in this study that entitled ‘.....’. be assured that all answer you provide will be kept in the strictest confidentiality.

First Section: Personal Information.						
1 – The area						
Ein-A'rik Area	Jawal Area	City Center	Al-tira	Em-Sharayat	Old Al-Bireh	Old Ramallah
2 – Sex?						
Male			Female			
3- Age?						
23-30	31-45		50 -46	51-60	61/ more	
4 – Education Level?						
Illiterate	Primary	Middle		Secondary	Bachelor	Bachelor/ more
5 – Profession?						

Agriculture	Industry	Trade	Employer	Another.....?	
Section Two: Socio-Economic Situation.					
1- From where did you come?					
North	South	Ramallah city	Al-Bireh city	Ramallah District	Another...?
<u>If from Ramallah and Al-bireh city, skip for the following question.</u>					
2- How do long time for your immigration?					
1-5 year	6-10 year	11-15 year	16-20	20 years/ more	
3- What is your previous occupation before immigrate to Ramallah?					
Agriculture	Industry	Trade	Employer	Another...?	
4- Why did you come to Ramallah?					
Social	Economic	Educational	Political	Services	Another...?
5- Do you plan to back your origin?					
Yes			No		
6- If Yes, What are the main reasons?					
Social	Economic	Educational	Political	Services	Another...?
7- Do you encourage your relatives to migrate Ramallah?					
Yes, Why?				No	

Section Three: Information about family and living condition in Ramallah Area.	
1- Do you own land in Ramallah area?	
Yes	No
If yes. What is the main land use?	

Residential	Agriculture	Services	Industry	Trade	Another...?
2- What is the main land use in the time of your descendants?					
Residential	Agriculture	Services	Industry	Trade	Another...?
3- What are the three main environmental issues in your living area?					
Air Pollution		Water Scarcity			
Solid Waste		Sanitation Pollution			
Traffic Jam and Noise		Water Network Pollution			

4- Defining the effects of internal migration process on the following issues?		
Item:	Increase	Less
Income		
Education Level		
Health Level		
Services Level		
Social Coherent		
Employment		
Social Problem		
Cultural Problem		
Political Problem		

General Comment:

.....

Thank for your Cooperation

Thèse de Doctorat

Mohammad MUHSEN

Les Transformations Urbaines en Cisjordanie 'Palestine' Facteurs explicatifs et Conséquences : Le cas de la région de Ramallah.

Résumé

Cette étude présente des éléments de compréhension du processus de transformation de la zone de Ramallah en Palestine après 1993, suite aux accords d'Oslo. L'introduction souligne l'énoncé du problème, les principaux objectifs de l'étude et l'importance de la méthodologie. L'étude est divisée en deux parties, contenant chacune trois chapitres.

La première partie donne une brève description de l'évolution chronologique du peuple palestinien et des enjeux socio-économiques urbains, ainsi qu'une analyse en profondeur de la zone d'étude avec un focus sur le rôle de l'occupation israélienne qui a contribué à la démarcation de la zone palestinienne.

La deuxième partie analyse les facteurs qui ont affecté le processus de migration interne et la croissance urbaine. L'étude tente ensuite d'enquêter sur les principaux changements intervenus dans le modèle urbain à travers différents modèles.

L'étude a permis de constater que la zone de Ramallah a été témoin au cours des deux dernières décennies, d'un processus de transformation urbaine ; elle coïncide avec des transformations en termes sociaux, économiques et politiques. En outre, l'avènement de l'Autorité palestinienne dans les années 1990 à Ramallah est un point important pour les Palestiniens du point de vue de leur territoire, avec également des répercussions néfastes sur le modèle urbain et sur le paysage.

Cette thèse révèle un mécanisme de « *leapfrog* », une accélération dans le processus de croissance urbaine et l'expansion pour faire face à ces changements et à l'émergence de demandes urbaines en raison de la migration interne.

Mots clés :

Transformation Urbaine – Migration Interne – Urbanisation–Spatiotemporel – Modèle – Cisjordanie.

Urban Transformations in the West Bank of Palestine, Drivers and Consequences: A case of Ramallah Area.

Abstract

This study presents an attempt to understand the process of transformation in Ramallah area of Palestine after 1993 due to the Oslo accord. The Introduction highlights the problem statement, the main aims of the study and its importance; also, the methodology has been followed. While the study contain two parts, each part have three chapters.

Part one contains a brief description of the chronological development of the Palestinian urban and socio economic scene, in addition; in-depth analysis for the study area focusing on the role of the Israeli occupation that was contributed in demarcating the Palestinian scene.

Otherwise, part two has analyses the drivers that have affected in the process of internal migration and urban growth. Then, the study tried to investigate the main changes that had occurred in the urban pattern through number of urban model.

The study found that Ramallah area, during the past two decades, had witnessed an urban transformation process; coincide with the difference transformation in social, economic and political terms.

Furthermore, the advent the Palestinian Authority in 1990s to Ramallah area gives the opportunity to be as an attractive point for the Palestinians over the Palestinian territory. In addition, affected adversely on the urban pattern and landscape.

This thesis concludes that has revealed a leapfrog and acceleration in the process of urban growth and expansion in order to cope with and responded to the emergence of urban demands due to the internal migration.

Key Words:

Urban Transformation – Internal Migration – Urbanization – Spatiotemporal – Model – West Bank.