Settler Colonial Demographics

A Study of the Consequences of Zionist
Land Purchases and Immigration during the
British Mandate in Palestine

Submitted by Endika Rodriguez Martin to the University of Exeter
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I certify that all material in this thesis which is not my own work has been identified and
that no material has previously been submitted and approved for the award of a degree
by this or any other University.

Signature: …………………………………………………..

ABSTRACT

The settler colonial framework provides Palestine Studies with a useful tool; opening new lines of inquiry and leading to new fields of study. This thesis examines the impact of the Zionist settlement policy on rural Palestine during the Mandatory period.

Through a demographic analysis the thesis argues that the displacement of these peasants was the result of an intentional transfer policy by the Jewish community. Transfer, as Nur Masalha has already shown, constituted an important part of the overall Zionist ideology and attitude towards the local population. This thesis argues that the displacements and removal of the indigenous population started before the *Nakba*, including the British Mandate period inside the settler colonial need of becoming a demographic majority in the land under dispute.

Zionist historiography argues that Zionists did not interfere in the daily life of the Palestinians and stresses the profitable aspects of Jewish immigration. This thesis, using settler colonial theories, challenges this historiography and proposes new tools to deal with other settler colonial cases around the world.

This thesis is based on four demographic sources used during the British Mandate to determine the consequences of land purchases and immigration in the Haifa, Nazareth, Jenin and Nablus sub-districts during that period: the *1922 Census*, the *1931 Census*, the *Village Statistics 1938* and the *Village Statistics 1945*. The analysis of the growth rates of all the communities and villages will illustrate the consequences of the Zionist settler colonial project. This thesis discusses the replacement of population and the importance of population, access to land and immigration trends for the Zionist settler colonial enterprise on their way to becoming the demographic majority on the land of the Historical Palestine.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Zerrenda luzeegi bat sortu beharko nuke ikerketa honetan lagundu duten pertsona guztiei eskerrik beroenak emateko.

Lehenik eta behin, nire amari zuzendu nahi nizkioke lehen hitzak emandako babesa eta laguntzagatik, bidean batera aurrera egiten laguntzeagatik, nirea bezain berea da lan hau.

Ondoren eta garrantziari dagokionez, parean, nire bi zuzentzaileei: Ilan Pappe eta William Gallois. Lan honen garapena beraien babes zein bultzada gabe ez litzateke posible izango. Batez ere, eskertu nahiko nieke nirekin edukitako pazientzia, eta unibertsitate zein unibertsitate kanpoko hartu-emana.

Palestina eta Libanoko egonaldietan atzean utzitako lagun guztiak, batez ere orain dela hamarkada bat mundu zoragarri hori ezagutzeko aukera emandakoei. Baita ere Kenyon Institute, Birzeit Uniberstsitatea eta Institute for Palestine Studies-en pasatako denboran zehar edukitako laguntza eta ezagututako jendeari.

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Ikerketa hau egin bitartean ezagutu ditudan lagun guztiei, egondako tokietan nire egonaldia samurragoa egiten laguntzeagatik. Batez ere, Exeterren urte hauetan zehar elkartutako adiskide guztiei, baita ere Armintzan zein Portugalete edo Santurtzin, nola ez Euskal Herrian, ditudan lagunei eta Jakintsu Nafarren Batzar txit agurgarriari.

Azkenik aita eta familiari. Aitite eta amamari, bidean aurrera egiten lagundu izanagatik, hizkuntza hau kenduta beste dena emateagatik, ez nintzateke ni izango zuek gabe.

<div align="right">Endika</div>

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INTERACTIVE MAP EXPLANATIONS

1. Sign in to the account of the online platform for ArcGIS.

   https://www.arcgis.com

Sign in at the top right of the screen

Information to use:

██████████████████

██████████████

2. After logging in, note the different options at the top of the page:

Features; Plans; Gallery; Map; Scene; Groups; My Content

3. Click, My Content

Note the four names:

-Doktoretzadena
-Doktoretzadena-bukatuta
-Doktoretzadena-copy
-Palestine all-data

Click on the Doktoretzadena name to go to another page (Patience may be required as there is a significant amount of information to load.)

4. Once in the new website, note several options. Look to the right side of the screen and find Open in Map Viewer (the first one on the list).

5. After clicking Open in Map Viewer (top right) wait for a map of Palestine.

6. Once there, note on the left side the names of the sub-districts: Haifa, Nazareth, Jenin and Nablus. Clicking the arrow before the name will show all the timeframes and censuses together.

To visualise any timeframe, click on the box of the sub-district name and on the box of the desired timeframe. Scroll the mouse wheel to zoom in the maps.

It is possible to have at the same time the different sub-districts in the map, but clicking two Nablus timeframes together will result in them overlapping. To see the demographic information of any entity (for example, Haifa in the 1922-1931 timeframe), click inside the entity boundaries. The demographic information of the entity will then pop up.

ERRATA: NAZARETH 1939-1945* Should be 1938-1945

1- <u>INTRODUCTION</u>

The birth of the State of Israel, which took place half a century after the first European Jewish immigrants had settled in modern Palestine, cannot be understood without analysing the British Mandate period when the state-making process ended with the declaration of the State of Israel on 15 May 1948 and the concurrent dispossession and expulsion of approximately 750,000 Arab Palestinians from Palestine.[1]

The foundation of the Zionist movement, at the end of the nineteenth century, has been thoroughly researched by numerous scholars via different historical approaches. The vast majority of them define Zionism as a Jewish National Movement supporting the creation of a homeland for the Jews.[2] The reason why these European Jews, many of them assimilated Jews, tried to escape from Europe to a safer place was due to centuries of anti-Semitism and persecution.[3]

In the beginning of the 20th century the Zionist movement declared Palestine as the future Jewish homeland and began settling massively in the country,[4] first under Ottoman rule and then with the blessing of the British Empire. This project of colonisation and settlement resulted in the creation of a Jewish state in 1948 and the *Nakba*, the catastrophic destruction of the lifestyle of the native people of Palestine.

Those events could not have happened without the British Mandate over historical Palestine; nevertheless, before the British were granted the Mandate, the British Foreign Minister promulgated the Balfour Declaration,[5] which was a letter addressed to Baron Walter Rothschild in which he expressed the

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[1]MASALHA, N. *A Land Without a People. Israel, Transfer and the Palestinians 1949-96.* Faber and Faber, London, 1997. p xi.
[2] "Basel Congress Program"
http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/Zionism/First_Cong_&_Basel_Program.html (17/01/15)
[3]PAPPE, I. *A History of Modern Palestine: One Land, Two Peoples*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2006. p 38.
[4]BARD, M. "Pre-State Israel: Jewish Claim to the Land"
http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/History/The_Jewish_Claim_To_The_Land_Of_Israel.html (17/01/15)
[5] "Pre-State Israel: The Balfour Declaration"
http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/History/balfour.html (17/01/15)

willingness of the British Government to create a homeland in Palestine for the Jews without any prejudice to the civil and religious rights of the existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine.[6] This was a great achievement for the Zionist political body. The Zionist movement defended the slogan of "a land without people for a people without land";[7] nevertheless, they knew that Palestine was already inhabited and a reality with which to reckon.

Zionist leadership needed to work in two main directions for the creation of a Jewish homeland: increasing the Jewish population and gaining land. At the beginning of the British Mandate, the Jewish population of Palestine accounted for less than 85,000 out of almost 800,000 people.[8] The aspiration for a Jewish homeland needed to be supported by a massive immigration to Palestine from all over the world. Secondly, leaders of the Zionist movement recognised it was not possible to create a Jewish homeland without owning land to enable the immigrant population to settle there. Consequently, they created companies with the simple aim of purchasing land. Zionists accounted for approximately one third of the population[9] by the end of the British Mandate and they owned approximately six per cent of the land of British Mandate Palestine.[10] The idea of a Jewish homeland for Jews was far from being a reality before Zionist militias carried out the expulsion of almost half of the Palestinian Arab population.[11]

From the very beginning, Zionists were aware of the difficulties they would face in colonising Palestine because the indigenous population, against the Zionists' hopes,[12] was not willing to leave the country and settle elsewhere in the Arab world. The refusal of the indigenous population to leave the country led the Zionist political body to devise a plan of population transfer which would

[6]*Ibid.*
[7]SHAPIRA, A. *Land and Power: the Zionist Resort to Force, 1881-1948*. Oxford University Press,New York & Oxford, 1992. p 41.
[8]BARRON, J. B. *Report and General Abstracts of the Census of 1922*. Greek Convent Press Press, Jerusalem, October, 1923. Table I.
[9]PAPPE, I. *The Forgotten Palestinians: A History of the Palestinians in Israel.* Yale University Press, Connecticut, 2011. p 16.
[10]HADAWI, S. *Land Ownership in Palestine.* Palestine Arab Refugee Office, New York. 1957. p 15.
[11]CAREY, R. *The New Intifada: Resisting Israel's Apartheid.* Verso, London, 2001. p 174.
[12]EISENBERG, L Z. and CAPLAN, N. *Negotiating Arab-Israeli Peace, Second Edition: Patterns, Problems, Possibilities.* Indiana University Press, Indiana, 2010. p 11.

be carried out by the Jewish Agency in Palestine, as other settler enterprises had successfully carried out in other countries around the world.[13] The Zionists openly argued,[14] and some of them still do,[15] that as Palestinians were part of the Arab world they could readily be transferred to other Arab countries to make space for new Jewish immigrants.[16] They aimed to ensure that the land and Jewishness of the future state were not in danger.

The British authorities did not openly defend the idea of population transfer as a solution for Palestine;[17] however, for the Zionist movement this was the best means to secure a Jewish State.[18] As the British were reluctant regarding population transfer, Zionists had few options left to achieve a majority Jewish population for the future Jewish State. From the first moment, they saw their best option to be purchasing land. However, the purchase of land for the creation of exclusive Jewish settlements ran into trouble as well, as the colonies employed Palestinians despite the directive from the Zionist general Trade Union,[19] the Histadrut,[20] to employ only Jews.

After the British refused a massive transfer of the Arab population from the boundaries of the British Mandate,[21] Zionist leaders, pragmatic as they were, adopted the method of land purchases as the principal means of colonising the land. The free market in Palestine after the British opened the Land Registry[22] was not large and the price of land was extremely high due to speculation. [23] At the beginning of the British Mandate, Zionists bought the main tracts of land from absentee landlords, who found that following the new political

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[13]MASALHA, N. *Expulsion of the Palestinians: The Concept of "Transfer" in Zionist Political Thought, 1882-1948.* Institute for Palestinian Studies, Washington, 1992. p 32.
[14]*Ibid.* p 1.
[15]WRIGHT, C. A. *Facts and Fables (RLE Israel and Palestine): The Arab-Israeli Conflict.* Routledge, London, 2015. p 1.
[16]*Ibid.* p 32.
[17]*Ibid.* p 36.
[18]MASALHA, N. *Expulsion of the Palestinians: The Concept of "Transfer" in Zionist Political Thought, 1882-1948.* Institute for Palestinian Studies, Washington,1992. p 1.
[19]*Ibid.* p 143.
[20]SHAFIR, G. *Land, Labor and the Origins of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict 1882-1914.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1989. p xi.
[21]MASALHA, N. *Expulsion of the Palestinians: The Concept of "Transfer" in Zionist Political Thought, 1882-1948.* Institute for Palestinian Studies, Washington, 1992. p 63.
[22]STEIN, K. W. *The Land Question in Palestine, 1917-1939.* University of North Carolina Press, North Carolina, 1984. p 40.
[23] *Ibid.* pp 65-66.

division of the Middle East their land was within the boundaries of other countries.[24] In most cases, their best option was to sell. Jewish-owned companies were able to pay higher prices for the land and consequently did not find it difficult to make deals with the absentee landlords.[25]

These land purchases started to create a problem among the *fellahin.*[26] This eventually was termed the landless Arab problem. Arab farmers lost the land they had been farming for generations when the owners decided to sell the land to Jewish-owned companies. These companies did not want to use the Arab labour force in the new settlements created after purchase. Consequently, the *fellahin* were either expelled by the Arab absentee landlords[27] or were later expelled and compensated by the Jewish-owned companies.[28]

The landless Arab problem, which emerged as an important concern during the 1929 riots,[29] endangered the stability of the weak political balance between the British and Zionist positions during the British Mandate. The British authorities could be accused of not implementing restrictions on immigration and land purchases and thereby exacerbating the landless Arab problem, while Zionists were openly accused of creating the problem through land purchases and substituting Arab labour force for the Jewish one.[30]

As mentioned previously, the reluctance of the British Government to use population transfers as a political solution for Palestine left few options for the Zionists. The only viable option to achieve a future Jewish State with a Jewish demographic majority was through land purchases and the development of a Jewish labour force on the purchased land as a means to clear the land of its Arab population. In other words, this was the way to make physical space for settlers without the native population.

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[24] *Ibid.* p 218.
[25] SIMPSON, J. H. *Palestine: Report on Immigration, Land Settlement and Development.* HMSO, London, 1930. p 53.
[26] Farmers in Arabic.
[27] STEIN, K. W. *The Land Question in Palestine, 1917-1939.* University of North Carolina Press, North Carolina, 1984. pp 52-53.
[28] *Ibid.*
[29] MATTHEWS, W. *Confronting an Empire, Constructing a Nation: Arab Nationalists and Popular Politics in Mandate Palestine.* I.B. Tauris, London, 2006. p 82.
[30] MASALHA, N. *Expulsion of the Palestinians: The Concept of "Transfer" in Zionist Political Thought, 1882-1948.* Institute for Palestinian Studies, Washington, 1992. p 32.

A movement trying to settle in a land populated by another people unwilling to leave or make space for the settler community is unlikely to achieve its goal. If we apply settler colonial theory, varying as it does from the traditional idea of colonialism, different explanations and attitudes can be seen towards the idea of settling in an already populated country.

As I will stress later in the theoretical literature review, I think that Veracini's works on settler colonialism provide the most appropriate theoretical framework for the development of this thesis. In addition to this, Masalha's work represents the most relevant analysis of the idea of transfer in Zionism. In settler colonial theories, Lorenzo Veracini in his book *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview,*[31] analyses different methods used by colonisers to achieve their goals in new lands. The theory of population transfer fits into this case study from a historical perspective. Nur Masalha did exhaustive work on the concept of transfer in Zionist political thought in *Expulsion of the Palestinians: The Concept of "Transfer" in Zionist Political Thought, 1882-1948.*[32] Here, the Palestinian author provides the reader with evidence taken from the Zionist archives in which Zionist leaders openly defended, in meetings and letters, the idea of transfer of the Palestinian people to surrounding countries.

The work of Masalha closely represents and describes the implementation of transfer in Zionist ideology. Veracini also describes the idea of transfer as one of the steps leading to the dispossession and expulsion of the native population by colonisers.[33]

The aim of this research is to determine if the idea of settler colonialism in population transfer explained by Veracini in general terms, and researched by Masalha in the Zionist archives, had an influence on the demographic picture of Palestine. The Zionist aims of colonising Palestine and creating areas lacking a non-Jewish population must have had an effect on the demographic balance and picture of the Palestinian villages throughout the Mandate period, as Nur

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[31]VERACINI, L. *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview.* Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2010.
[32]MASALHA, N. *Expulsion of the Palestinians: The Concept of "Transfer" in Zionist Political Thought, 1882-1948.* Institute for Palestinian Studies, Washington, 1992.
[33]VERACINI, L. *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview.* Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2010. p 34.

Masalha pointed out analysing the Zionist political discourse before 1948 and this thesis researches using demographic tools.

This research compares four sub-districts in Palestine during the British Mandate: two with a reasonable quantity of Jewish immigration and land purchases, Haifa and Nazareth, and another two, Jenin and Nablus, with almost no influence from Jewish immigration and land purchases. The comparison will be made using the data available and collected by the British authorities and published in two censuses, 1922 and 1931, and two inquiries in 1938 and 1945. Approaches to population studies and demography would be the best option to carry out this study to determine if Jewish land purchases during the British Mandate show a correlation between land purchases and the decrease in native Arab population in the entities where the purchases took place.

The idea of population transfer, as Masalha asserts, has been part of the Zionist ideology from the very beginning of the movement.[34] Due to historical events and political decisions, the dispossession of the native population of Palestine could not be carried out during the British Mandate period. However, the attempt to transfer the population or, at least, clear the lands owned by Zionists of the non-Jewish population should be considered a small transfer. According to the historical times, because the British were ruling Palestine and did not allow massive population transfers, such as the one occurring in 1948 which displaced around 750,000 Palestinians,[35] it was not possible to do much for the Zionists apart from keeping the Zionist's purchased lands without Arab population.

Those tactics, pursued by the Zionists during the British Mandate surely had an influence on the demography of each entity. This study aims to determine if there was a demographic relationship between Zionist land purchases and a decrease in the native Arab population in those entities. This could indicate whether the Zionist movement, by not allowing Arab land force working in their settlements and purchasing already occupied lands, conducted transference of population.

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[34]MASALHA, N. *Expulsion of the Palestinians: The Concept of "Transfer" in Zionist Political Thought, 1882-1948.* Institute for Palestinian Studies, Washington, 1992. p 10.
[35]PAPPE, I. *The Israel/Palestine Question: A Reader.* Routledge, London, 2007. p 182.

Historical events at the end of the British Mandate period point to another stage inside the settler colonial processes towards becoming the demographic majority, as described by Veracini. The balance of power changed and eventually allowed colonising forces to carry out a massive dispossession with the destruction of over half of the villages that existed during the Mandate period.[36] The expulsion involved force, threats and murders and resulted in the violently coerced departure of approximately 750,000 Palestinians from historical Palestine.[37]

Settler colonial theory works with different examples, not all of them holding the same characteristics. However, the outcome of settler colonial processes is always the same: the replacement and dispossession of the native population by a settler population. This could be carried out at different stages in the colonisation process. This study focuses on the stage where the colonial machinery was not strong enough and the political and historical factors were not sufficiently propitious to carry out replacement as exposed by Veracini[38] and Patrick Wolfe. In his famous quote Patrick Wolfe states that; "Settler colonialism destroys to replace".[39] The settler colonial project replaces the previous existing native structures destroying them to establish the new settler structures.

1.1- THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL LITERATURE REVIEW

1.1.1- Settler Colonial Literature Review

At this stage of the thesis I have decided to divide the literature review into two parts. The first part will analyse the theoretical and methodological literature review of the thesis, while after the methodological chapter this thesis will introduce to the reader the main literature related to the historical frame and the absence of works related to the dispossession in pre-1948 Palestine.

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[36]PAPPE, I. *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine.* Oneworld Publications, Oxford, 2006. p xiii.
[37]PAPPE, I. *The Israel/Palestine Question: A Reader.* Routledge, London, 2007. p 182.
[38]VERACINI, L. *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview*. Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2010. p 75.
[39]WOLFE, P. *"Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native".* Journal of Genocide Research Vol. 8, No. 4 (December, 2006), pp 387-409. p 388.

A couple of decades ago, settler colonialism, which is a new inter-disciplinary theory, appeared. This theory opens up new horizons to understand and study not only the British Mandate period and the Palestinian Question but colonialism itself.

This new approach taken by Veracini and Wolfe provides us with a different method of explaining a "new" type of colonialism: settler colonialism, especially in Veracini's *Settler Colonialism, A Theoretical Overview,*[40] and Wolfe's *Settler Colonialism and The Transformation of Anthropology*[41] and the article "*Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native*".[42]

The idea of settler colonialism arises from the decolonisation processes that took place in many colonial countries in the 19th and 20th centuries. There were some countries, however, that did not fit into the classic definition of colonialism because they were not directed by a European metropolis.[43] Australia, the United States of America and South Africa are some of the most studied countries that do not fit into this definition. The immigrants did not have any metropolis to go back to so instead of dispossessing the native population of the resources of the country, they replaced the native population by different methods as Veracini explains in his book.

The idea of settler colonialism is closely connected to land ownership, dispossession and replacement of population. Settler colonialism is not possible without first taking the land away from the native population. As Wolfe points out: "the primary motive for the process of elimination is not race (or religion, ethnicity, grade of civilization, etc.) but access to territory. Territoriality is settler colonialism's specific, irreducible element[44]…" Without access to land the aforementioned processes of the settler colonial project could not be carried out, access to land is the first step that a settler colonial project needs to fulfil. The case study of Israel fits within this definition. The main difference between

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[40]VERACINI, L. *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview.* Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2010.

[41]WOLFE, P. *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology: The Politics and Poetics of an Ethnographic Event.* Cassel, London, 1999.

[42]WOLFE, P. *"Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native".* Journal of Genocide Research Vol. 8, No. 4 (December, 2006), pp. 387-409.

[43]VERACINI, L. *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview.* Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2010. p 14.

[44]WOLFE, P. *"Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native".* Journal of Genocide Research Vol. 8, No. 4 (December, 2006), pp. 387-409. p 388.

the examples described above and the Israeli one may be that the case of Israel could be considered an on-going example of settler colonialism, unlike United State of America for example. The analysis of the settler colonialism paradigm in Israel will bring to the fore some concepts that other examples of settler colonialism cannot provide.

Veracini uses different processes that can be linked to the settler colonial model. For this study, there is the idea of transfer, but expulsion/displacement is closely connected and must be underlined as of critical importance. The definition and use of the word "transfer" can be divided into two different types, violent and non-violent transfers, even if the idea of expulsion always has connotations of violence. The main difference between a violent transfer and an expulsion is that in a process of violent transfer people are moved from one place to another, while in a process of expulsion people are forced to leave a place without a fixed place to resettle.

The idea of the transfer of population in Zionism appears at the very beginning of the Zionist ideology,[45] as Masalha points out in *Expulsion of the Palestinians: The Concept of "Transfer" in Zionist Political Thought, 1882-1948.*[46]

Masalha's work is essential to the present study because it provides the theoretical framework. He did exhaustive research into Zionist archives to provide evidence of the idea of transfer in their ideology. His work is divided chronologically, which makes it easier to understand and work within the different periods of the British Mandate. Masalha points out that the idea of transfer is connected to Zionism from the very beginning, as I mentioned before. Indeed, the idea of transfer is as old as the first Zionist settlements in Palestine and the rise of political Zionism.[47]

Through demographic methods, it is the purpose of this study to confirm if the evidence that Masalha provides is seen in the demographic changes in the Arab population as a result of the Zionist land purchases in the British

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[45]MASALHA, N. *Expulsion of the Palestinians: The Concept of "Transfer" in Zionist Political Thought, 1882-1948.* Institute for Palestinian Studies, Washington,1992. p 1.
[46]*Ibid.*
[47]*Ibid.*

Mandate period in Palestine. The theoretical approaches of Veracini and Wolfe should point in the same direction following the logic of elimination.

This study will demonstrate, through statistics, that the idea of population transfer in Zionist ideology during the British Mandate shows patterns validating what Masalha explained in citing letters and speeches by Zionist leaders.

Central to settler colonialism and the history of Palestine is the 1947-1949 war and the expulsion of Palestinians it brought. Although this study does not extend so far, it is important to analyse these events. Pappe's *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine*[48] is the best piece of work to get familiar with the topic.

Pappe, among other scholars, pointed out the idea of ethnic cleansing during the Israeli War of Independence.[49] That prospect is described by Veracini in *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview*[50] and is one of the processes carried out by settler populations to dispossess indigenous populations when other tactics cannot be implemented. The best examples that fit this definition would be Australia and the United States of America.

The research compiled here shows through demographic approaches that before the settlers were strong enough to expel large numbers of the indigenous population, they used other methods such as land purchases and the alienation of the indigenous population from work so as to make the space free of those same indigenous groups.

1.1.2- Methodological Literature Review

This research needs to be completed using extensive literature related to the methodology applied. Throughout the study, it is essential to be familiar with the concepts related to demography.

For a general idea of demography, Michael Drake and Ruth Finnegan's *Studying Family and Community History: 19th and 20th Centuries. Sources and Methods for Family and Community History: A Handbook*[51] is an excellent

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[48]PAPPE, I. *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine.* Oneworld Publications, Oxford, 2006.
[49]*Ibid.* pp 258-259.
[50]VERACINI, L. *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview.* Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2010.
[51]DRAKE, M. and FINNEGAN, R. *Sources and Methods for Family and Community History: A Handbook.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1994.

resource. This book embraces the simplest concepts of demography. Another source from which to acquire a deeper understanding is Louis Henry's *Population: Analysis and Models,*[52] a basic manual for understanding the approach of demography in academia. Among these resources are the definitions used by scholars in this area of inquiry and basic explanations of how to understand sources such as censuses and population enquiries.

For a mathematical approach to demography I chose *The Methods and Materials of Demography*[53] published by Shryock and Siegel and an article dealing with the different types of growth rates published by Arnaldo Torres-Degró under the little *"Tasas de Crecimiento poblacional (r): Una Mirada desde el Modelo Matematico lineal, geometrico y exponencial".*[54] This article shows three different ways to calculate a growth rate. Each one has a specific implementation depending on the time and type of population under research, so by using this article the study will have a good basis for knowing when to use the appropriate formula to calculate a growth rate.

Moreover, some guidelines about demographic transition theory will be necessary to acquire some basic knowledge about the demographics of the countries in the beginning of the industrialisation processes. For this purpose, Dudley Kirk's "Demographic transition theory"[55] article will be a short but very useful source.

Other articles and books of use to this study are Andrew Hinde's *Demographic Methods*[56] and *Demographic Techniques*[57] by F. Yusuf, A. H. Pollard and G. N. Pollard.

The population and demographical approaches are always connected to an area, county or country. In this case, this research is connected to the British

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[52]HENRY, L. *Population; Analysis and Models*. Edward Arnold, London, 1976.
[53]SHRYOCK, H. S. and SIEGEL, J. S. *The Methods and Materials of Demography, Volume 2.* Academic Press, Massachusetts, 1973.
[54]TORRES-Degro, A. *"Tasas de Crecimiento Poblacional (r): Una Mirada desde el Modelo Lineal, Geométrico y Exponencial"*. CIDE digital, Vol. 2, No. 1 (2011), pp. 142-160.
[55]KIRK, D. *"Demographic Transition Theory."* Population Studies, Vol. 50, No. 3 (November, 1996), pp. 361-387.
[56]HINDE, A. *Demographic Methods*. Arnold, London, 1998.
[57]POLLARD, A. H. YUSUF, F. and POLLARD, G. N. *Demographic Techniques*. Pergamon Press, Oxford, 1974.

Mandate of Palestine, so a geographical source is needed to identify and work with the villages and population entities chosen for the research. Doctor Salman Abu-Sitta, a well-known researcher on the Palestinian refugee issue and the *Nakba*, produced an atlas published in 2010; *Atlas of Palestine: 1917-1966.*[58] That atlas contains the village boundaries before the *Nakba* and information on the villages of the British Mandate, apart from the exact location on a GIS map. That piece of work is essential for this research. Without the information provided by this map, it would have been impossible to find all the villages described in the *1922 and 1931 Censuses* and the information derived from the *Village Statistics of 1938 and 1945*.

Another work recently published will be used in case a second overview needs to be made with villages that show location problems. S. J. Frantzman did a PhD under the tittle *The Arab Settlement of Late Ottoman and Mandatory Palestine: New Village Formation and Settlement Fixation, 1871-1948.*[59] As I mention this would be a complementary work in case a second enquiry is required.

Some relevant works are published in Hebrew and have not yet been translated. This study is aware of the existence of these publications, such as *The Demographic Trends in Eretz Israel, 1800-2007*[60] by Yaacov Fitelson or Yossi Ben-Artzi's *Studies in the Geography of Eretz Israel,*[61] and David Grossman's work, *The Arab Population and the Jewish Stronghold.*[62] However, because of the language barrier, this research is not able to access the macro demographic resources provided by these scholars.

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[58]ABU SITTA, S. *Atlas of Palestine: 1917-1966.* Palestine Land Society, London, 2010.

[59]FRANTZMAN, S. J. "*The Arab Settlement of Late Ottoman and Mandatory Palestine: New Village Formation and Settlement Fixation, 1871-1948.*" PhD diss., Hebrew University of Jerusalem, June, 2010.

[60]FITELSON, Y. *The Demographic Trends in Eretz Israel, 1800-2007.* The Institute for Zionist strategy, Jerusalem, 2008. (Hebrew)

[61]BEN-ARTZI, Y. *Studies in the Geography of Eretz Israel.* Ben Zvi Institute, Jerusalem, 1988. (Hebrew)

[62]GROSSMAN, D. *The Arab Population and the Jewish Stronghold.* Magnes publication, Jerusalem, 2004. (Hebrew)

1.1.3- Primary Sources and Population

It is obvious that sources of population need to be analysed for demographic research. The only sources available for research into the British Mandate period are two censuses and two surveys, as I mentioned before. Later on, I will discuss the accuracy of these sources in a small additional chapter.

The first Census of Palestine was carried out by the British Government and published in 1922; it contains sixty-one pages and was compiled by J. B. Barron under the title of *Palestine; Report and General Abstracts of the Census of 1922.*[63] The second Census of Palestine was conducted in 1931 and published in 1932 under the title of *Census of Palestine; Population of Villages, Towns and Administrative Areas.*[64] This census is a much more complete survey of the population of Palestine. It consists of three volumes that comprise around a thousand pages. The British administrators realised that a more accurate survey was necessary after having seen the results of the first census, so the second census was carried out following the pattern of modern censuses conducted in Europe in the 19th and 20th centuries.

The first survey under the name of *1938 Village Statistics*[65] was published in February 1938 by the Statistics Office of the Government of Palestine. The last population data information is derived from the Anglo-American Inquiry published in 1946, although it was carried out between 1944 and 1945. The copy used for this research was obtained from the Palestinian Liberation Organization Research Center under the title *Village Statistics 1945; A Classification of Land and Area Ownership in Palestine*[66] published in Beirut in 1970.

Those are the four sources that I will use for this research. Nevertheless, taking into consideration the accuracy of the sources, I would like to add a book

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[63]BARRON, J. B. *Report and General Abstracts of the Census of 1922*. Greek Convent Press Press, Jerusalem, 1923.
[64]MILLS, E. *Census of Palestine 1931. Population of Villages, Towns and Administrative Areas*. Greek Convent Press, Jerusalem, 1932.
[65]GOVERNMENT OF PALESTINE. *1938 Village Statistics*. Statistics Office, February 1938.
[66]HADAWI, S. *Village Statistics 1945; A Classification of Land and Area Ownership in Palestine.* Palestine Liberation Organization Research Center, Beirut, 1970.

written by Justin McCarthy, *The Population of Palestine.*[67] This additional source will be used as complementary literature to solve the nuances related to the accuracy of the censuses.

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[67]McCARTHY, J. *The Population of Palestine.* Columbia University Press, New York, 1990.

2- <u>THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK</u>

<u>2.1- INTRODUCTION</u>

Before turning to the procedures followed by the Zionist movement in settling Palestine, I would like to explain the approach that allows this thesis to connect with different but similar cases around the world. As was mentioned in the introduction, settler colonialism is quite a new approach that tries to develop and expand upon classical explanations of empire.

When colonialism ended, not referring to the new economical colonialism or other theories, some countries were not following the patterns established by former colonial nations. There are different examples and patterns; there is not a mathematical formula that can be used to identify/typify settler colonial countries. For example, some scholars argue that Algeria is not a settler colonial case because it depended on a metropolis that in this case was France, and when Algeria got independence from France most settlers moved back to the metropolis, where they had come from.[68] Other scholars say that Algeria does not even follow this pattern but it is another type of settler colonial case.[69] This is still under discussion by scholars, which shows that it is an on-going approach.

Clearer cases can be found in Australia, Canada, South Africa and the United States of America. In the case of Israel, it is necessary to point out the reluctance of some scholars to include this country in the previously mentioned examples.[70] Zionist historiography emphasises the exceptionality of the Zionist case, trying to analyse it as an isolated case that is not related to any instances of colonialism.[71] As mentioned before, this thesis seeks to stress the non-

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[68]VERACINI, L. *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview.* Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2010. pp 56-57.
[69]GALLOIS, W. *A History of Violence in the Early Algerian Colony.* Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2013. p 146.
[70]COCKS, J. *On Sovereignty and Other Political Delusions*. Bloomsbury Publishing, New York & London, 2014. p 7.
[71]KIMMERLING, B. *Israeli State and Society, The: Boundaries and Frontiers*. State University of New York Press, New York, 2012. p 3.

exceptionality of the Zionist case, arguing that it clearly meets the definition of a settler colony.

Lorenzo Veracini describes the need for a new field of settler colonial research separated from typical post-colonial research. General definitions and particular understanding of settler colonialism and colonialism show that both approaches are connected although they are not the same. Initially, settler colonialism can be mistaken for colonialism. As mentioned before, when the post-colonial era started there were some cases that did not follow these decolonisation processes. Veracini argues that; "settler colonial phenomena are intimately related to both colonialism and migration. And yet, not all migrations are settler migrations and not all colonialisms are settler colonial."[72] Initially, both colonialism and settler colonialism could be confused. Colonialism relies on migration from the metropolis to keep the administrative and military control of the colonies, however this migration is not necessarily considered a settler colonial migration because once the colony gains independence that population returns to the metropolis, as occurred in India. In the same way, all colonialist projects are not settler colonialisms because once the colonial era ended, the sovereignty returned to the colony from the metropolis. However, in settler colonial case studies the outcome is a new sovereignty different from the colonial time and the previous colonial era.

First of all I would like to mention the definition of colonialism by Georges Balandier.[73] It is really important to make the distinction between colonialism and settler colonialism in this thesis:

> The domination imposed by a foreign minority, racially
> (or ethnically) and culturally different, acting in the name of
> a racial (or ethnic) and cultural superiority dogmatically
> affirmed, and imposing itself on an indigenous population

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[72]VERACINI, L. *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview.* Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2010. p 3.
[73]*Ibid.*

constituting a numerical majority but inferior to the dominant group from a material point of view.[74]

By using this definition, it is quite obvious that settler colonialism could be a part of colonialism theories, as initially settler colonial attempts were part of colonial movements. However, once the colonial rules ended, the settler colonial character of the settlers emerged, thereby creating a new entity that previously did not exist. Balandier's definition could be used for any settler colonial or colonial movements at the time of the establishment of the first settlements. We need to understand that before replacing and destroying native structures, a settler colonial project needs to make a claim over the land where they intend to settle, in order to later migrate while carrying their own sovereignty. This process is also applicable to colonial movements in general.[75] However, these points will be discussed later on.

The terminology related to this topic should be clarified to understand the thesis. It is necessary to emphasise that there is not only one definition of a settler colonial entity. For example, Ronald Horvath differentiated between colonialism and imperialism by identifying the presence of settlers in the first case.[76] George M. Fredrickson differentiated between "occupation colonies", "plantation colonies", "mixed colonies" and "settler colonies".[77]

I would like to discuss the different terms for settler colonialism used by George M. Fredrickson because these types of colonies could be analysed as the first steps to modern settler colonial countries and colonialism. The first three examples are more related to the idea of modern colonialism while the latter case, as its name implies, is a settler colonial entity.

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[74]*Ibid.* p 4.
[75]WOLLACOTT, A. *Settler Society in the Australian Colonies: Self-government and Imperial Culture.* Oxford University Press, New York & Oxford, 2015. p 7.
[76]HORVATH, R.J. *"A Definition of Colonialism"* Current Anthropology, Vol. 13, No. 1. (February, 1972), pp. 45-57. p 47.
[77]FREDRICKSON, G. M. *The Arrogance of Race: Historical Perspectives on Slavery, Racism, and Social Inequality.* Wesleyan University Press, Connecticut,1989. pp 216-235.

Occupation colonies are represented by many settlements built on the shores of the Mediterranean Sea. The aim of these settlements was to facilitate trade with the native population without involving any kind of conquest within the territory.[78] As an example, the colonies were founded based on the Phoenicians' economic interests and the workforce was purely Phoenician. Applied to white settlers, in this case the indigenous population is marginalised and only white settlers are allowed to work.

On the other hand, plantation colonies needed immigrants to succeed.[79] The best example to illustrate this type of colony are the ones established by the British in Ireland, the Southern part of the United States and the Caribbean. This type of colony needed a supply of foreign population brought from the metropolis or a slave labour force. This type of colony follows the pattern of colonialism related to supply to the metropolis and from a material point of view.[80] The difference between a settler colonial type of colony and these is the treatment of the native population. There is no need for native populations in this latter example because they are brought in from outside.

The last example used by Fredrickson is related to mixed colonies.[81] Good examples of these are the colonies that Spain and Portugal had in South America. From the very beginning people (from the metropolis) emigrated there and their descendants created a new group of American-born people known as Creoles.[82] These colonies were ruled from the metropolis and their population was mixed, native and from the metropolis. The supply of the workforce relied on the indigenous population, while settlers enjoyed social advantages. Later, some of these colonies developed into settler colonial countries.

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[78]DANVER, S. L. *Native Peoples of the World: An Encyclopedia of Groups, Cultures and Contemporary Issues.* Routledge, London, 2015. p 711.
[79]BARTOLOVICH, C. and LAZARUS, N. *Marxism, Modernity and Postcolonial Studies.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2002. p 110.
[80]MEIKSINS WOOD, E. *The Origin of Capitalism: A Longer View.* Verso, New York & London, 2002. p 150.
[81]FREDRICKSON, G. M. *The Arrogance of Race: Historical Perspectives on Slavery, Racism, and Social Inequality.* Wesleyan University Press, Connecticut, 1989. pp 216-235.
[82]FRANCIS, J. M. *Iberia and the Americas: Culture, Politics, and History : a Multidisciplinary Encyclopedia, Volumen 1*. ABC-CLIO, California, 2006. pp 375-376.

We have seen different types of colonies and their specific characteristics. George M. Fredrickson describes the last case as settler colonies;[83] this is the case study of this thesis so we will focus on this type of colony to see the difference between colonies and settler colonies. "Colonialism reinforces the relation between the colony and the metropolis while settler colonialism erases it".[84] This is the main difference, which must be stressed between colonialism and settler colonialism. While colonial regimes are in most cases backed up by a metropolis,[85] a settler colonial regime brings with it its own sovereignty; there is no metropolis supporting the project.[86] This is why some scholars do not accept Algeria as a settler colonial case study as it does not fit this definition. As mentioned above, there are different patterns to describe settler colonial countries and not all of them share the same characteristics.

At the same time, as Patrick Wolfe pointed out, "settler colonialism is not an event but a structure".[87] It is not a one-time event, rather a process that spans across time. It is a dynamic structure that affects society in all of its domains – political, economic, cultural and social – and each country follows its own path.

Settler colonial projects have many characteristics such as the claim to the land, the denial of rights to the native population, sovereignty, land labour, immigration and access to land, which make the difference between colonialism and settler colonialism. In the next paragraphs I will describe and discuss these characteristics for the approach used in this thesis and the definitions agreed in order to clarify them.

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[83]FREDRICKSON, G. M. *The Arrogance of Race: Historical Perspectives on Slavery, Racism, and Social Inequality.* Wesleyan University Press, Connecticut, 1989. pp 216-235.
[84]VERACINI, L. "*Introducing, Settler Colonial Studies*". Settler Colonial Studies. Special Issue: A Global Phenomenon, Vol. 1, Issue 1, (2011), pp 1-12. p 3.
[85]NICHOLLS, D. *From Dessalines to Duvalier: Race, Colour, and National Independence in Haiti.* Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, 1996. p 22.
[86]VERACINI, L. *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview.* Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2010. p 53.
[87]VERACINI, L. "*Introducing, Settler Colonial Studies*". Settler Colonial Studies. Special Issue: A Global Phenomenon, Vol. 1, Issue 1, (2011), pp 1-12. p 3.

2- CHARACTERISTICS

2.2.1- Claim to the Land

The first step followed by colonialism and settler colonialism is the same. Both approaches are grounded in land claims; without this there will be neither colonialism nor settler colonialism. Claims to land can be diverse. These claims to land first happened when the European enlightenment produced an attitude of superiority in terms of morality and ethics towards the rest of the world.[88] This alleged moral superiority was used to support any effort to dispossess native populations around the world and deny them access to land.

One of the claims used by both colonialists and settler colonial entities is the promise of better use of the land by settlers because the native population's methods of production are not highly profitable and the land is not being fully utilised.[89] Both settler colonialists and colonial entities follow this approach in order to dispossess the native population, defending the principle of better use of the land. This can be considered one claim based on economical or technical advantages.

Another way to claim land was carried out by American settlers taking over areas under French, Spanish or Mexican jurisdiction and waiting for the American government to follow suit. Thus, the settlers are the ones who push the claim rather than the "state" being behind the settlers.[90]

The next types of claims are related to the case study of this thesis. The first type of claim that was made by Zionists in relation to Palestine was that the land was promised to the Jews in the Bible.[91] Other options for settling Jewish

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[88]BRENNER, M. CARON, V. and KAUFMANN, V. R. *Jewish Emancipation Reconsidered: The French and German Models.* Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen, 2003. p 120.

[89]HOFSTRA, W. R. *The Planting of New Virginia: Settlement and Landscape in the Shenandoah Valley.* Johns Hopkins University Press, Maryland, 2005. p 121.

[90]MITCHELL, M. *From Talking Chiefs to a Native Corporate Elite: The Birth of Class and Nationalism among Canadian Inuit.* McGill-Queen's Press – McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal & Kingston, 1996. pp 361-362.

[91]WIERSBE, W. W. *The Wiersbe Bible Commentary: Old Testament.* David C Cook, East Sussex, 2007. p 270.

immigration were discussed but the final candidate was Palestine.[92] It should be emphasised that the Zionist movement was at first supported mainly by assimilated Jews and was a secular movement that used religious claims to gain access to the land under dispute.[93]

Settler colonial enterprises used all types of claims, so it is not so strange that a non-religious movement was using a 2000-year old religious claim to deny the native population the right to the land. Settler colonial powers needed to deny the rights of the native population because, as we will see later, they brought their sovereignty with them. Using this claim, Zionism was denying the rights of the local population arguing that they were resettling their ancestral land.[94] It was not a conquest of the land because the land rights belonged to the Jewish inhabitants as the "real" population and sovereign people of Palestine.

Theodor Herzl in his book *Altneuland*[95] uses science fiction to describe the future situation in Palestine, where the native population no longer exists with the exception of a few small communities.[96] The book describes the land of Israel as paradise, but the native population that was living there has disappeared from the land claimed by the Zionist movement.

Another similar case, related to religious claims over the native population would be the "Spanish" conquest of Latin America. The Castilian conquerors were conquering that land for the Kingdom of Castile with the purpose of extending Catholicism and obtaining the wealth from indigenous lands.[97] One of the main purposes for Christianising those lands[98]was that they believed that God had given these lands to them,[99] and as a consequence the

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[92]BOYARIN, J. *Palestine and Jewish History: Criticism at the Borders of Ethnography*. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1996. p 49.

[93]BOLAFFI, G. *Dictionary of Race, Ethnicity and Culture*. SAGE, London, 2003. p 335.

[94]FRIEDLAND, R and HECHT, R. *To Rule Jerusalem*. University of California Press, California, 2000. p 60.

[95]HERZL, T*. Old New Land.* Createspace Independent Pub., South Carolina, 2011.

[96]HERZL, T. *Old New Land.* BoD – Books on Demand, Norderstedt, 2015. p 44.

[97]SALINERO, G*. Mezclado y Sospechoso: Movilidad e Identidades, España y America, Siglos XVI-XVIII*. Coloquio Internacional, 29-31 mayo 2000. Casa de Velázquez, Madrid, 2005. p 212.

[98]*Ibid.*

[99]GÓMEZ, S. O. *Atlas de Historia de América*. Editorial Limusa, Mexico DF, 2003. p 32.

military conquest and religious rights to the land erased indigenous ownership of the land.

Settler colonial projects use all kinds of different claims to dispossess the native population, physically, ethically or using historical narratives.[100] The next point of discussion is related and is a consequence of the claim of settler colonial projects to a land that has already been occupied. Both settler colonial countries and colonial powers have used these types of claims to obtain sovereignty.

2.2.2- Denying Natives

The first stage of a settler colonial movement is to make a claim to a land as we have already analysed. These types of claims to a land always have the same problem; the land being claimed is not empty. Sometimes, as we have seen above, the claim to the land is made because the settlers argue that the native population is backward and they do not know how to use the land.[101] Native populations are typically represented as unsettled, nomadic, rootless, etc., in settler colonial discourse.[102] This is one of the patterns followed by the settlers to deny the rights of the native population; however, it is not the only one. In this type of claim, when the native population is accused of being backward, at least its existence is not denied as the local inhabitants of the land. In addition, the Zionist case is singular in that the native population was represented as thieves or usurpers who robbed the land from the Jewish people.

The settlers and settler colonial movements deny the existence of the native population in different ways or they deny the native population as the original inhabitants of the place where they had made the claim. The Zionist movement is one of the best examples to analyse this type of reaction against the local population. As I have summarised in the introduction there is one

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[100]MASALHA, N. *The Zionist Bible: Biblical Precedent, Colonialism and the Erasure of Memory.* Routledge, London, 2014. p 69.
[101]WOLFE, P. *"Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native."* Journal of Genocide Research Vol. 8, No.4, (December, 2006), pp. 387-409. p 389.
[102]*Ibid.*

famous phrase that states the idea of denying the existence of the native population. Zangwill in that famous phrase stated that; "a land without people was for a people without land".[103] Obviously, Palestine was already populated by the time that the Zionist movement directed their political project towards it. However, the idea of denying to the native population their "nativeness" was a mechanism utilised by settler colonial projects to make a claim of sovereignty over the land. If there is no one who has the claim over the land, there is no objection to obtaining sovereignty over it for the settler colonial project.

Lorenzo Veracini stressed that for the settler colonial ideology the land under the settler colonial project represented vacant lands open to colonisation: "Indeed, claims that areas to be annexed and opened up for colonisation are "vacant" areas is a constituent part of a settler colonial ideology."[104] For the purpose of colonisation as mentioned before, the indigenous population is shown as foreign in the beginning to gain the claim to the land. Later on there are three options for the indigenous population; the first one is to be assimilated by the settlers; the second is to remain as a minority or majority but with less rights and as a working force for the settlers; the last option is when there is no need of the indigenous population by the settlers leading to their extermination, expulsion, dispossession.

Golda Meir declared that there were no such people as the Palestinians when she was the prime minister of Israel.[105] In the next chapters we will see how the Zionist movement from the very beginning in their attempt to claim the land and sovereignty of Palestine declared and defended the idea that the Palestinians were Arabs that could live elsewhere outside of the land of Israel and many of them were immigrants recently arrived in Palestine.[106] This is another example of how to deny the indigenous distinction of the people of

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[103]BENHABIB, S. *The Reluctant Modernism of Hannah Arendt*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Maryland, 2003. p 42.

[104]VERACINI, L. *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview*. Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2010. p 82.

[105]SHINDLER, C. *A History of Modern Israel*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2013. p 153.

[106]PETEET, J. *Landscape of Hope and Despair: Palestinian Refugee Camps*. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 2011. p 43.

LOCKMAN, Z. *Comrades and Enemies. Arab and Jewish Workers in Palestine, 1906-1948.* University of California Press, California, 1996. p 380.

Palestine that had been living there for centuries as the indigenous population. The narrative also provides a strong tool for denying the existence of the indigenous population and the capabilities of creating any kind of modern institution. "Settler colonialism, on the other hand, is primarily characterised by indigenous de-territorialisation accompanied by a sustained denial of any state-making capability for indigenous peoples."[107] For settlers, indigenous people are often like ghosts, who do not exist physically; like spirits without body.[108] This is one of the characteristics of the settler colonial ideology when related to the indigenous population when they are not needed for economic purposes.

The next step for the settler colonial ideology, after denying the indigenous distinctiveness of the indigenous population, is to demonstrate the settlers as the real indigenous population.[109] Sometimes it is not enough to deny the presence of the indigenous population; the settlers also need to dominate the indigenous in order to increase their strength over their claim to the land. Settler colonial projects and settlers openly follow this type of ideology. As far as settlers are concerned, they see themselves as the first real inhabitants of the place they have settled.[110] While the indigenous population is de-indigenised, the settlers follow the opposite course; they become "indigenised", as if they were the only real habitants of the place.

Previously I talked about the assimilation of the indigenous population, but in the case of Palestine we cannot talk about this kind of process. However, other settler colonial cases reveal that the assimilation of the indigenous population is another option to make the indigenous people disappear.[111] For instance in Australia, before trying to assimilate the remaining aborigines, the material culture and the symbols of the indigenous population were appropriated by the settlers.[112]

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[107]VERACINI, L. *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview.* Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2010. p 105.
[108]*Ibid.* p 86.
[109]*Ibid.* p 46.
[110]*Ibid.* p 93.
[111]SHAW, K. *Indigeneity and Political Theory: Sovereignty and the Limits of the Political.* Routledge, London, 2008. p 52.
[112]JACOBS, M. D. *White Mother to a Dark Race: Settler Colonialism, Maternalism, and the Removal of Indigenous Children in the American West and Australia, 1880-1940.* University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 2009. p 7.

However, in the case of Palestine, we cannot state that the indigenous population was assimilated as in other cases. Nevertheless, the assimilation of their material culture, food and symbols was part of the reinforcing process of the indigenisation of the settlers in denying the indigenous population their identity. This process has been carried out over decades and there is a very complex and thorough method of appropriating the indigenous people's identity and adopting it for themselves.[113]

2.2.3- Sovereignty

When the claim to a land is made and the indigenous population is uprooted, the settlers have sovereignty over the land. The settler colonial enterprises brought this sovereignty with them.[114] The same is true of the colonisers who brought the sovereignty of their country over the land they had conquered.

Settlers are distinct from colonisers; the latter conquered a land for some political entity that was not there. However, settlers brought and created that political sovereignty with them.[115] This is one difference between colonial and settler colonial theories and approaches. As Veracini states:

> Settlers, however, are unique migrants, and, as Mahmood Mamdani has perceptively summarised, settlers "are made by conquest, not just by immigration". Settlers are founders of political orders and carry their own sovereignty with them.[116]

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[113]*Ibid.*
MERI, J. *The Routledge Handbook of Muslim-Jewish Relations.* Routledge, London, 2016. p 488.
[114]VERACINI, L. *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview.* Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2010. p 57.
[115]*Ibid.* p 57.
[116]VERACINI, L. *"Introducing, Settler Colonial Studies".* Settler Colonial Studies. Special Issue: A Global Phenomenon, Vol. 1, Issue 1, (2011), pp. 1-12. p 3.

The settlers, as discussed before, need to gain access to the land, which is why they must conquer rather than simply move onto the new land. The only way to carry a new political order and to be successful establishing the new sovereignty on it is to get access to the land; to conquest the access to the land.

We have another example that could be midway between colonisation and settler colonisation; the change from one to the other or the chain that connects both of them. The European settlers living in imperial or colonial contexts carried the power of the sovereignty of their metropolis with them to expropriate the indigenous population. Later on, that sovereignty moved to the periphery due to various reasons. The colonisers that had exported the sovereignty with them were asking for full independence from the metropolis. In the process they were transformed from colonisers into settler colonisers. One example of this can be seen in the Boers of South Africa, in the development from the beginning of colonisation until the end of the Apartheid political regime. The sovereignty changed from the metropolis to the creation of independent state, settler colonial states.

2.2.4- Replacement

The intention of the settler colonialists, as described before, is to settle in a land that was already occupied. These lands had their own social, economic and political structures, so settler colonialism needed to replace them and establish its own structures. In the previous part we discussed what happened to sovereignty once the claim over the land and indigenous population rights had been erased. Settler colonialism destroys in order to replace.[117]

Before analysing the case of Israel, I would like to analyse the Australian situation in order to achieve a more general perspective. The Australian aborigines were almost eliminated,[118] so the settlers could create their own structures in their newborn country. The replacement of the population and the previous structures can be achieved by the same three methods previously

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[117]WOLFE, P. *"Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native."* Journal of Genocide Research, Vol. 8, No. 4, (December, 2006), pp. 387-409. p 388.
[118]BARTROP, P. R. and JACOBS, S. L. *Modern Genocide: The Definitive Resource and Document Collection*. ABC-CLIO, California, 2014. p 1861.

mentioned. Firstly, it can be replaced if the indigenous population has been displaced from the land under the claim. The second one is to assimilate the indigenous population and the final method is to eliminate the indigenous population.

In the case of Australia all three stages were followed during the establishment of the settler colonial regime. First of all, displacement, followed by partial elimination until the number of aborigines was not really significant and there was no risk in assimilating them, or at least trying to assimilate them.

Theodor Herzl in *The Jewish State[119]* says; "If I wish to substitute a new building for an old one, I must demolish before I construct".[120] The idea of Zionism was to establish in Palestine a community of Jewish settlers and replace the existing community under the claim that the land had been promised to the Jewish people. Nevertheless, these connections will be analysed better when we deal with the case studies of this thesis.

David Day, in his book *Conquest: How Societies Overwhelm Others[121]*, describes the process of supplanting the native society. He describes this process in three stages:

> Firstly, it must establish a legal or de jure claim to the land. Then, a supplanting society must proceed to the next stage of the process by making a claim of effective or de facto proprietorship over the territory that it wants to have as its own. Such a claim is commonly established by exploring the territory's furthest reaches, naming its geographic and other features, fortifying its borders, tilling its soil, developing its resources, and, most importantly, peopling invading lands. Lastly, the last and most elusive

[119]HERZL, T. *The Jewish State*. Penguin Books, London, 2010.
[120]*Ibid.* p 17.
[121]DAY, D. *Conquest: How Societies Overwhelm Others*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2008.

step of the progress…involves establishing a claim of moral proprietorship over the territory.[122]

The process of supplanting can be paralleled with the Zionist moves towards the land of Palestine and the process of substitution using the claim to the land. As mentioned before, the claims made by the Zionist movement described by David Day are those written in the Bible. Once those claims had been made the settler colonial enterprise tried to name the place using old biblical names in order to create stronger ties for their claims.[123] The process previously described concerning the disappearance of the indigenous population and the replacement process shows the mechanism of the settler colonial machine to establish their claim and, erase others' rights and in order to effectively keep the land under claim.

Other cases of settler colonial studies like South Africa and the United States of America for example follow similar patterns in replacing native claims, rights and population. However, although our thesis is focusing on Zionism, making comparisons will be helpful to understand the general dynamics although the main case under analysis is the Zionist settler colonial project in Palestine.

2.2.5- Peaceful Attitudes to Settlement

Another characteristic of the settler colonial ideology is to demonstrate that there is a peaceful attempt at settlement. There is no warmth shown to the indigenous population but there are benefits because the settlers bring with them new ideas and mechanisms to increase production due to the backwardness of the indigenous population.

First of all, it would be useful to discuss the peaceful methods used by settler colonial movements in order to become established in the land. Veracini describes this peaceful method using the example of Australia:

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[122]*Ibid.* pp 7-8.
[123]PAPPE, I. *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine*. Oneworld Publications, Oxford, 2006. p 297.

Most importantly, the peaceful settlers hide behind the ethnic cleanser (colonisation is an inherently non-violent activity; the settlers enters a "new, empty land to start a new life"; indigenous people naturally and inevitably "vanish"; it is not settlers that displace them- in Australia, for example, it is the "ruthless convicts" that were traditionally blamed for settler colonialism's dirty work).[124]

The narratives of settler colonial countries always blame others for their dirty work as explained in the example concerning the indigenous population which vanished or escaped as happened with the refugees in the 1947-49 war in Palestine.[125] The settler colonial movements are never guilty or have anything to do with what happened to the indigenous population of the land under claim. This is just part of the settler colonial narrative and many of these paradigms have been challenged by scholars. However, the settler colonial narrative always attempts to describe the invaders as peaceful settlers.[126]

"The narratives of settler colonisation emphasising notions of peaceful settlements, however, often resemble another Freudian form, screen memory: an inaccurate reconstruction that obscures what really happened".[127] It is true that most of the collectives were escaping violence when they turned into settlers, as for example the early American colonisers escaping from religious persecution and the Jews that were escaping from the Pogroms and Nazi extermination.[128]

[124]VERACINI, L. *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview.* Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2010. p 14.
[125]TZFADIA, E. and YACOBI, H. *Rethinking Israeli Space: Periphery and Identity.* Routledge, London, 2011. p 16.
[126]VERACINI, L. *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview.* Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2010. p 108.
[127]*Ibid.* p 90.
[128]KUIPER, K. *Native American Culture.* The Rosen Publishing Group, New York, 2010. p 169.
PAPPE, I. *A History of Modern Palestine: One Land, Two Peoples.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2006. p 38.

The idea of peaceful settlement is a key for this thesis, as I will explain later. The settler colonial narrative of peaceful settlement and not harmful to the indigenous population in the development of the country will be discussed thoroughly throughout the thesis.

2.2.6-Land

This is one of the most important characteristics of settler colonialism. Without a land under claim, there is no possibility to develop a settler colonial structure. This thesis contains a full sub-chapter to analyse the land issues during and before the British Mandate, so a short general comment will be made about settler colonial links to the land.

Patrick Wolfe, one of the founders of the settler colonial approach stated concerning the land under settler colonialist claim:

> Whatever settlers may say, the primary motive for elimination is not race (or religion, ethnicity, grade of civilisation, etc.), but access to territory. Territoriality is settler colonialism's specific, irreducible element.[129]

This statement gives a clear idea with regards to settler colonialism; there is no possibility of any kind of settler colonial attempt without land. The colonisation does not give such importance to the land itself; the main idea of colonisation is the material profit from the lands.[130] Although, as Patrick Wolfe stated, there is no process to establish a settler colony if there is no land in which to achieve it.[131] All of the previously explained characteristics depend on access to land; a land to establish a claim and sovereignty, without which there can be no settler colonialism.

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[129]WOLFE, P. *"Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native."* Journal of Genocide Research, Vol. 8, No. 4, (December, 2006), pp. 387-409. p 388.
[130]ANBAR, M. *Israel and Its Future: Analysis and Suggestions.* iUniverse, Lincoln, 2004. p 12.
[131]WOLFE, P. *"Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native."* Journal of Genocide Research, Vol. 8, No. 4, (December, 2006), pp. 387-409. p 388.

2.2.7- Population

In the sub-section concerning indigenous population, we analysed the different treatment of the settlers depending on interest, mainly economic, over the claimed land. However, one important feature of Zionism is that there is no option of being a demographic minority. Settlers are made by conquest and immigration.[132] According to these characterisations, colonisers cease being colonisers if and when they become the majority of the population.[133] This outcome is not followed by all settler colonial cases. For example, the case of South Africa it not the same as that of Australia and Israel where the indigenous population "vanished" from the land under claim or decreased until numbers were not a threat to the settlers.

One of the key features of this thesis is population; demography is a foundation of the settler colonial project in Israel. Nevertheless, this topic will be discussed in more depth throughout the thesis using demography as the main tool to analyse the consequences of the Zionist demography on the indigenous population.

2.2.8- Labour

The characteristics of settler colonialism are linked one with another. There is a structure as Patrick Wolfe described it,[134] like one brick on top of another as in the building of a house. The features of settler colonialism are connected and depend on one another.

When we were analysing the use of the indigenous population by settlers depending on the demographic balance and economic interest, we are considering the broader picture of settler colonialism. In this case, when we want to analyse the conquest of labour by settlers, we turn to a stage previously described which refers to the settlers' needs towards the indigenous population.

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[132]VERACINI, L. *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview.* Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2010. p 3.
[133]*Ibid.* p 5.
[134]WOLFE, P. *"Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native."* Journal of Genocide Research, Vol. 8, No. 4, (December, 2006), pp. 387-409. p 388.

At this stage, the indigenous population needs to provide the labour force used by the settler colonial power. Because of the reasons previously mentioned in the population sub-section, the replacement of workers is used to remove the indigenous population and gain the majority in demography that is so important for settler colonial countries.

The best example for the conquest of labour theory is Israel. Later there will be one specific sub-section chapter on this, so a short introduction will help to detail what will be discussed later. Patrick Wolfe, states:

> The core doctrine of the conquest of labour, which produces the kibbutzim and Histadrut, central institutions of the Israeli state, emerged out of the local confrontation with Arab Palestinians in a form fundamentally different from the pristine doctrine of productivization that had originally been coined in Europe.[135]

The conquest of labour has a different root than Jewish productivization. The productivization should be understood in line with a European context where Jews were excluded from jobs and the direct response to such exclusion. On the other hand, the conquest of labour emerged inside the Palestinian framework from the racial confrontation between Zionists and the Arab population, where Zionists refused to hire Arab labour.[136] Nevertheless, not all the settlers and settlements in Palestine followed the conquest of labour.[137] This is one of the processes described to eliminate the indigenous population from the land under claim. As mentioned before, this process will be analysed later on so further explanations will be made in the chapter dedicated to this topic.

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[135] *Ibid.* p 389.
[136] SHAFIR, G. *Land, Labor and the Origins of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict 1882-1914.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1989. p 81.
[137] *Ibid.* p 54.

This study uses different approaches to answer the research questions that arise from the literature. It focuses on the search for answers to (the roots of) one of the biggest political problems in the 20th century. For this purpose, a mixture of disciplines will be used to answer the research questions.

At the beginning of this thesis, some nuances were detected that previous studies had not covered. These nuances created the main research questions related to the British Mandate period and the settler colonial approach of this thesis.

The first big question arising from the literature, which this thesis tries to answer, is related to the expulsion of the native population by the Zionist movement using land purchases. Nur Masalha analysed the discursive basis of this Zionist desire, and this study looks into four case studies to determine whether those expulsions/transfers actually happened. Were the Zionist companies trying to expel or transfer people by means of land purchases? Related to this idea, did those expulsions really take place? Is demographic research an adequate procedure for determining whether those evictions took place?

Through demographic research, is it possible to determine whether land purchases and Zionist immigration changed the demographic picture of Palestine? Could this methodology be considered accurate to determine a settler colonial project's influence in Palestine? Moreover, could this methodology be used for another period of time in Palestine or another settler colonial case study?

The literature shows that the landless Arab problem was a consequence of land purchases. However, could this be considered another consequence of the settler colonial project of the Zionist movement? If we consider the Zionist movement as another settler colonial case study within the broad picture of the Israel-Palestinian conflict, would the roots of the conflict need to be rewritten? Could it be accurate to say that the roots of the conflict began when the first

attempts to settle in Palestine, settler colonial settlements, took place in the lands of Palestine?

The research questions will be addressed throughout the thesis using data from the sources available and references to other scholars that have worked on similar themes.

3- <u>METHODOLOGY</u>

3.1- INTRODUCTION

To what extent did Jewish immigration and land purchases carried out by the Zionist enterprise, as a settler society, have an influence on the rural Arab native population in the British Mandate period? This study, using the idea of population transfer and the Jewish land labour policy in Zionist ideology, will try to determine the impact of both on the rural Arab native population. The best methodology to determine their influence consists of the calculation of the growth rates of each entity to compare them with the land purchases made by the settler society.

As mentioned in the introductory chapter, the idea of population transfer, as part of Zionist ideology, is supported by different sources.[138] The demographic results calculated from entity growth rates will help determine if these ideas had a profound impact on the Arab native population. The theories of settler colonialism and, in particular, those related to population transfer are an essential framework to understand the approach of this study.

The methodology that this research follows is based on demographic approaches. The data used for this research are the *Censuses of Palestine 1922*[139] *and 1931*[140] published by His Majesty's government and the *Village Statistics of 1938*[141] and the *Village Statistics of 1945.*[142] Four sub-districts are case studies: Haifa, Nazareth, Jenin and Nablus. The first two sub-districts, Haifa and Nazareth, were exposed to a large number of Zionist land purchases and settlements during the British Mandate period, while the other two, Jenin and Nablus, were barely exposed to Zionist influence. This methodology, which selects two different types of sub-districts – one with Zionist influence and the

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[138]MASALHA, N. *Expulsion of the Palestinians: The Concept of "Transfer" in Zionist Political Thought, 1882-1948*. Institute for Palestinian Studies, Washington, 1992. p 1.
[139]BARRON, J.B. *Report and General Abstracts of the Census of 1922*. Greek Convent Press, Jerusalem, October, 1923.
[140]MILLS, E. *Census of Palestine 1931. Population of Villages, Towns and Administrative Areas.* Greek Convent Press, Jerusalem, 1932.
[141]GOVERNMENT OF PALESTINE. *1938 Village Statistics.* Statistics Office, Jerusalem, February, 1938.
[142]HADAWI, S. *Village Statistics 1945; A Classification of Land and Area Ownership in Palestine*. Palestine Liberation Organization Research Center, Beirut, 1970.

other without – will allow this research to compare diverse types of sub-districts and entities to determine the influence of land purchases and labour policies. The impact will be shown in percentages, using the decrease in population in each entity as the indicator to obtain the results.

The procedure followed for reaching the final results will show the percentages of decrease in each entity of the four sub-districts in the different periods analysed. The sub-districts analysed in this study will be displayed on a 1945 British Mandate map in order to reflect any changes in boundaries and thereby allow an accurate calculation of the growth rates over a period of four years within the four sub-districts. Therefore, a geographical approach will be needed to solve the mapping task. Once the mapping process has been carried out, the study will continue with demographic approaches as well as mathematical and statistical methods that will be used to calculate the decreasing percentages in the analysed entities.

This research involves a survey of the diverse ethnic and religious groups in four different years to obtain a broad picture of the sub-districts. The years under analysis are 1922, 1931, 1938 and 1945. It would be interesting to make a comparison between different periods: 1922 and 1931, 1931 and 1945, 1922 and 1945, 1922 and 1938, 1931 and 1938 and finally 1938 and 1945. As mentioned before, the censuses provide this study with different information, showing a diverse ethnic and religious classification of population in each census. While the first two *Censuses, 1922 and 1931,* show a division of the population between Muslims, Christians, Jews and other minorities such as the Druze and Samaritans, the *Village Statistics of 1938 and 1945* show only two columns of information divided into Arabs and Jews. This ethnic and religious division allows this study to focus on the differences between the smaller groups in the first two censuses, while the broader picture will show the differences between Jews and Arabs.

The first problem that this research faces is the different information obtained from the censuses. The number of villages in each sub-district is different in each source. Consequently, a new map needs to be created in order for all the villages to appear on the map and allow for the calculation of the growth rates of each of them. The software used for this procedure was ArcGIS,

which is one of the main tools used in geography for mapping areas. This program will allow for the creation of a "new" map with all the boundaries the villages had in 1945.

3.2- EXPLANATION FOR THE CHOICE OF THE FOUR SUB-DISTRICTS

In working with population data from the British Mandate period, it became clear there would be difficulties in conducting this study. The high population numbers would not allow a thorough study of the total population during the British Mandate period. The best way to obtain a representative sample of the period under analysis was to narrow down the area.

Narrowing down the area generated another problem related to the accuracy of the region under analysis. What would be the most accurate sample to work with in order for the conclusions related to the region not to be affected if a broader area or another region were to be analysed? The literature had the answer to this difficulty. The land purchased by Jewish-owned companies was not uniform in the whole of Palestine during the British Mandate. Some areas were of more interest than others to the Jewish-owned companies due to location and fertility of the land.[143] Another significant problem the companies faced was the paucity of land available and the high prices of that land.[144]

This provides the study with a picture making clear that not all the regions had the same density of Jewish population. Consequently, the best sample that this research could identify was in comparing two regions with different concentrations of Jewish population. One would show the development of the selected entities that were exposed to land purchases made by Jewish-owned companies and the other would show the development of those entities that were not affected by Zionist land purchases.

The data show that the main areas where the Jewish-owned companies purchased land were the Coastal Plain and the Galilee.[145] The Coastal Plain was divided into the following sub-districts: Gaza, Ramle, Jaffa, Tulkarem, Haifa

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[143]STEIN, K. W. *The Land Question in Palestine, 1917-1939.* University of North Carolina Press, North Carolina, 1984.p 3.
[144]*Ibid.* p 36.
[145]ANGLO-AMERICAN COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY. *A Survey of Palestine, Volume I.* Institute for Palestine Studies, Washington, D.C., 1991. p 245.

and Aka, while the Galilee was part of the sub-district of Haifa, Aka, Nazareth, Safed, Beisan and Tiberias.[146]

Haifa and Nazareth were the sub-districts chosen from those which had Jewish immigration. The decision to choose two of these sub-districts lies in the capacity of analysing the different communities. It is well known that the Nazareth area has been populated by Christian communities for centuries. Consequently, this study would also analyse the development of the Christian community.

Apart from these two sub-districts that were exposed to Jewish immigration, another two sub-districts were chosen to be analysed and compared. The geographical area suggested selecting two sub-districts that were close to Haifa and Nazareth and with little or the minimum number of Jewish land purchases. Jenin and Nablus were the best located sub-districts, south of Nazareth, and with almost no Jewish population.

This was the procedure for choosing the area under analysis for this research, far from a random selection. The aim of this study is to get the most accurate picture of British Mandate Palestine. These four sub-districts were the best samples to be analysed in order to obtain a broader representation.

3.3- OTTOMAN TAPU AND POPULATION

The first data available for Palestine before the British arrived there and decided to conduct the 1922 population survey was carried out by Ottoman administrators. Ottomans prepared the *Tanzimat* reform. [147] The Ottoman Land Code of 1858 and the survey were developed to collect information on ownership of the land[148] to improve the tax system and make the population registry more accurate. Under Ottoman law, landowners could be recruited for military service.[149] Different reasons did not allow the Ottoman administrators to carry out an accurate registry of land ownership in many areas of Palestine.

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[146]BIGER, G. *The Boundaries of Modern Palestine, 1840-1947.* Psychology Press, London, 2004. p 209.
[147]BRAGG, J. *Ottoman Notables and Participatory Politics: Tanzimat Reform in Tokat, 1839-1876.* Routledge, London, 2014. p 129.
[148]STEIN, K. W. *The Land Question in Palestine, 1917-1939.* University of North Carolina Press, North Carolina, 1984. p 20.
[149]SILBERSTEIN, L.J. *New Perspectives on Israeli History: The Early Years of the State.* New York University Press, New York, 1991. p 62.

This part of the land registration will be analysed more extensively in the chapter related to land.

The Palestine of the Mandate and the Palestine of the Ottoman period did not refer to the same land. The northern part of Palestine was divided into two different *Sanjaks*: The Acre *Sanjak*[150] and the Nablus *Sanjak.*[151] At the same time, these *Sanjaks* were part of bigger entities called *Vilâyet*; in this case, they were part of the Beirut *Vilâyet.*[152] The southern part was part of the independent *Sanjak* of Jerusalem, which was directly controlled by the Sublime Port due to its religious importance.[153]

This is one of the reasons why it is challenging to make accurate estimates of population during the Ottoman period for the sake of comparisons. If it is difficult to make estimates or have accurate data on the region because of an absence of data on each village's population, it would be impossible to open the study to that period.[154]

3.4- DESCRIPTION OF THE SOURCES

The four sources available for the demographic research, as mentioned previously, are as follows: the *Census of Palestine* published in *1922,*[155] the *Census of Palestine* published in *1931,*[156] the *Village Statistics 1938*[157] and the *Village Statistics 1945.*[158] These are the main sources that can be used to calculate the population growth of each entity in the sub-districts under analysis. A copy of the *Village Statistics 1943* was not found during the years of research. Consequently, the data provided in that survey is not available for the demographic research of this thesis.

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[150]KASSIR, S. *Beirut.* University of California Press, California, 2010. p 94.
[151]*Ibid.*
[152]*Ibid.*
[153]PAPPE, I. *The Israel/Palestine Question: A Reader.* Routledge, London, 2007. p 37.
[154]McCARTHY, J. *The Population of Palestine.* Columbia University Press, New York, 1990. p 5.
[155]BARRON, J.B. *Report and General Abstracts of the Census of 1922.* Greek Convent Press, Jerusalem, October, 1923.
[156]MILLS, E. *Census of Palestine 1931. Population of Villages, Towns and Administrative Areas.* Greek Convent Press, Jerusalem, 1932.
[157]GOVERNMENT OF PALESTINE. *1938 Village Statistics.* Statistics Office, Jerusalem, February, 1938.
[158]HADAWI, S. *Village Statistics 1945; A Classification of Land and Area Ownership in Palestine.* Palestine Liberation Organization Research Center, Beirut, 1970.

For data on new Jewish villages and settlements during the British Mandate and the Ottoman period, we can consult the *Handbook of Jewish Villages*[159] published in 1949 by the Jewish National Fund. In this book, the list of Jewish villages is arranged in alphabetical order with name, population, place, year and a brief description of each entity. Using this information and comparing it with the demographic results will enable this study to see the different consequences of the Jewish settlements for the Arab native population.

In the *1938 and 1945 Village Statistics* the village by village land ownership appears. This thesis will be able to follow approximately the development of the Jewish land ownership in different entities.

3.5- INFORMATION ABOUT THE SOURCES

The only possible way to use demographic approaches is to have population data. As we will see in the next part, the land registry was far from accurate. The first problem I faced was that the boundaries of the same villages were different under the periods of Ottoman and British rule. Any type of general information is not useful unless it is provided by village size, but that is not the case.

The first effort to conduct a modern *Census of Palestine* was made by the British authorities' publication of the *Census of 1922*.[160] The accuracy of the survey has been under deep debate, though it is the best information that can be used for that period. As the British authorities were worried about the percentage of population registered in the first census, they conducted another one that was published in 1931.[161] The *Census of 1931* was more accurate than the first one. There is a third source that gives population data, published in 1938 as a survey of village statistics under the name of *Village Statistics 1938*.[162] Due to the increase in population, they conducted another survey

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[159]JEWISH NATIONAL FUND. *Jewish Villages in Israel.* Hamadpis Liphshitz Press, Jerusalem, 1949.

[160]BARRON, J.B. *Report and General Abstracts of the Census of 1922.* Greek Convent Press, Jerusalem, October, 1923.

[161]MILLS, E. *Census of Palestine 1931. Population of Villages, Towns and Administrative Areas.* Greek Convent Press, Jerusalem, 1932.

[162]GOVERNMENT OF PALESTINE. *1938 Village Statistics.* Statistics Office, Jerusalem, February, 1938.

whose information was published in the *Anglo-American Inquiry* in 1946.[163] These are the four main sources available related to the population of Palestine in the British Mandate that provide us with information on each village.

There is another source published by the Jewish National Fund that provides us with information on population and location of Jewish villages by the end of the 1947.[164] Although this information is only on Jewish settler policies, it will be useful during the demographic research, as we will see at the end of this methodology chapter.

3.5.1- The Census of 1922

The *Census of Palestine of 1922* was published under the name of *Report and General Abstracts of the Census of 1922, Palestine,* on 23 October 1922.[165] The superintendent of the census was J.B. Barron who signed the introduction to the census on the 10 February 1923. The census consists of 58 pages and begins with a short introduction followed by 23 tables presenting a variety of information.[166] The first table shows the whole population of Palestine,[167] while the second one shows the number of inhabitants in municipalities, villages and tribal areas.[168] The third table only contains the population of the municipal areas.[169]

From the fourth to the 11th table, we can find the main body of the census, where the population of the sub-districts and districts is shown by village and the total population of the sub-districts and districts.[170]

The Christian population of Palestine is analysed in the next five tables, from the 12th to the 16th.[171] There is one table for each different district of

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[163] *Report of the Anglo-American Commitee of Enquiry Regarding the problems of European Jewry and Palestine.* His Majesty's Stationery Office, Lausanne, April, 1946.
[164] JEWISH NATIONAL FUND. *Jewish Villages in Israel.* Hamadpis Liphshitz Press, Jerusalem, 1949.
[165] BARRON, J.B. *Report and General Abstracts of the Census of 1922.* Greek Convent Press, Jerusalem, October, 1923.
[166] *Ibid.* pp 1-5.
[167] *Ibid.* p 6.
[168] *Ibid.*
[169] *Ibid.* p 7.
[170] *Ibid.* pp 8-43.
[171] *Ibid.*

Palestine: Northern, Southern, Samaria and Jerusalem-Jaffa.[172] There is another table that shows the members of different churches in the whole of Palestine.[173] The next six tables are divided into municipal areas and the whole of Palestine. The analysed characteristics are: age of return to Palestine, civil status and language habitually spoken in Palestine.[174] There is a final table that roughly counts only the returns of persons of Palestinian nationality living abroad.[175]

These are the contents of the *Census of Palestine of 1922*. The procedure for collecting the data is described in the introduction by J.B. Barron.[176] The towns and villages were divided into areas of approximately 500 houses to collect the information. Also, in May 1920 and November 1921 estimates were made to use as a comparison for the main census. The main problem of the census was related to the Bedouin population, whose number is inaccurate due to the reluctance of the Bedouin tribes to cooperate with the data collectors.[177] Some scholars have analysed the problems with accuracy, and this discussion will be analysed later in the chapter.

The British decided to divide the population into different religious groups in the first census. The principal three religions are Islam, Christianity and Judaism. However, information on religious minorities such as Druze, Samaritans, Hindus, Sikhs, Baha'is and Metawilehs is also shown in the census.

This data will provide the first step to calculate the different growth rates of the population and the starting point will be the *Census of 1922*.

3.5.2- The Census of 1931

The C*ensus of Palestine of 1931* was collected on 18 November 1931 under the title of *Census of Palestine 1931, Population of villages, towns and*

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[172]*Ibid.*
[173]*Ibid.* pp 44-52.
[174]*Ibid.* pp 53-57.
[175]*Ibid.* p 58.
[176]*Ibid.* pp 1-5.
[177]MADDRELL, P and GRINAWI, Y. *The Beduin of the Negev.* Minority Rights Group, Issue 81, (1990), pp1-25. p 5.

administrative areas.[178] The superintendent of the census was E. Mills who signed the preface in July 1932, the whole census contains 120 pages. There were another two volumes printed later in Alexandria: The first one is the *Census of Palestine 1931, Volume I, Palestine Part I, Report. Alexandria, 1933*[179] which contains 349 pages and the second one the *Census of Palestine 1931, Volume II. Palestine, Part II, Tables. Alexandria, 1933*[180] with 595 pages.

The first volume of the census contains the information that is relevant to this research: the data on the population by village. The volume is divided into three parts: the first one contains the data on the southern district,[181] the second one on the Jerusalem district[182] and the third one on the northern district.[183] At the beginning of the census, there is a preface[184] and there is a summary[185] of Palestine before all the data related to the village population is presented.

The British authorities tried to carry out a more accurate census than the previous one in 1922. They faced some of the same problems they had when they carried out the *Census of 1922*, but they also learned new methods to deal with some of the inaccuracies that appeared in 1922.

Those examples are explained in the preface. Some villages were changed from one sub-district to another so as to fit better for administrative purposes. They also tried to solve the problems with the English transliteration of some names. One of the main problems of accuracy in the *Census of 1922* was related to the counting of the Bedouin population. For this case a special system of enumeration was designed to try to be more accurate than in the previous census.[186]

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[178]MILLS, E. *Census of Palestine 1931. Population of Villages, Towns and Administrative Areas.* Greek Convent Press, Jerusalem, 1932.
[179]MILLS, E. *Census of Palestine 1931, Volume I. Palestine Part I, Report.* Alexandria, 1933.
[180]MILLS, E. *Census of Palestine 1931, Volume II. Palestine, Part II, Tables.* Alexandria, 1933.
[181]MILLS, E. *Census of Palestine 1931. Population of Villages, Towns and Administrative Areas.* Greek Convent Press, Jerusalem, 1932. pp 1-25.
[182]*Ibid.* pp 26-53.
[183]*Ibid.* pp 52-105.
[184]*Ibid.* Preface.
[185]*Ibid.* Summary.
[186]*Ibid.* p 4.

The final result and data derived from this census are more accurate than in the previous one. Nevertheless, it does not mean that it is completely accurate. This issue of accuracy will be discussed in the next part of the methodology.

3.5.3- Village Statistics 1938

The third source used in this thesis is the *Village Statistics 1938*, published by the Government of Palestine. The copy used by this research was taken in the Institute for Palestine Studies in Beirut. The *Village Statistics 1938* were collected by the Statistics Office of the Government of Palestine and includes the population and built-up area of all the villages of Palestine.[187]

The data provided in this survey was obtained by building from the data of the *1931 Census of Palestine*. The Office of Statistics calculated the approximate percentage increase in the non-Jewish population up to 1937 for each sub-district.[188] The figure for the Jewish population is based on a survey made by the Statistical Department of the Jewish Agency at the end of September 1936.[189]

Due to the two different collecting dates, this thesis sets 1938 as the year to be used in the demographic research, acknowledging the small variations this may create, but knowing that this was the most accurate option to solve the data problem.

3.5.4- Village Statistics 1945

The fourth source used in this research is the *Village Statistics 1945*, conducted by the Government of Palestine. The data collected by the Government was used by The *Anglo- American Committee of Inquiry*. The copy available for this research was published in Beirut in September 1970 by the Palestine Liberation Organization Research Centre under the title of *Village*

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[187]FINKLESTEIN, I. "*A Few Notes on Demographic Data from Recent Generations and Ethnoarcheology.*" Palestine Exploration Quarterly, Vol. 122, Issue 1, (January, 1990), pp. 47-52. p 48.
[188]GOVERNMENT OF PALESTINE. *1938 Village Statistics*. Statistics Office. Jerusalem, February 1938. p 3.
[189]*Ibid.*

Statistics 1945, A Classification of Land and Area Ownership in Palestine.[190] The data was collected at the end of 1944, however, this study decided to set it in 1945, according to the publishing year of the document.

The main difference to stress regarding this source is that the population is divided in a different way in comparison with the previous censuses. The population is only divided into Arabs and Jews, as it is in the *1938 Village Statistics*. The Arab population contains Muslims, Christians, Druze and other minorities, but there is no data on each individual religious group.

In terms of data collection for the *Village Statistics 1945*, we are limited to estimations. The data was obtained adding natural increases and migratory increases to the *1931 Census*, apart from comparing the population figures with the village statistical data for the end of 1942, the estimates of the Food Controller of 1942 and 1944 and finally the Jewish Agency's various data.[191]

This source is far from being accurate, as seen in the procedure for collecting data, but it is imperative to understand that all data available at the time was used by the department of statistics to calculate the results in order to arrive at the best picture of demographic reality.

3.5.5- Handbook of Jewish Villages 1949

The last source used for this research is *The Handbook of Jewish Villages 1949,*[192] published by the Jewish National Fund in the summer of 1949. Due to military reasons, and particularly the necessity to disclaim precise information on population during wartime, the data used in the handbook only dates from 1947.[193]

This source will provide us with information on the 373 Jewish villages in Palestine with their population in 1947, location of settlement, size of land and ownership of land. Each village is followed by a brief introduction.

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[190]HADAWI, S. *Village Statistics 1945; A Classification of Land and Area Ownership in Palestine.* Palestine Liberation Organization Research Center, Beirut, 1970.
[191]*Ibid.* pp 11-12.
[192]JEWISH NATIONAL FUND. *Jewish Villages in Israel*. Hamadpis Liphshitz Press, Jerusalem, 1949.
[193]*Ibid.* p I.

3.6- ACCURACY OF THE SOURCES

When we talk about the accuracy of the sources, the first thing to underline is that there is no other data available. As seen before, the British authorities faced several difficulties in achieving their goals. One of the biggest difficulties was in calculating the number of Bedouins, mainly in the South of Palestine. The British authorities tried to solve this difficulty by using estimates because of the reluctance of the Bedouin tribes to cooperate with the survey.[194]

The first *Census of Palestine, the 1922 Census of Palestine* was the first modern census conducted in Palestine. Several of the problems that affected the accuracy of the data were partially solved in the next census, which faced the same problems for counting the Bedouins of the South. *Village Statistics 1938 and* the last survey conducted by the Government of Palestine for the *Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, Village Statistics 1945* is the least accurate of them. This inaccuracy is partly due to the procedure for conducting the statistics. The *Village Statistics 1945* were calculated by adding growth rates and immigration to the results of 1931.[195] The data derived from the *Village Statistics 1945* are estimates because the final results are rounded. In spite of that, we can consider it representative to have an idea of the population of each village. The best way to proceed is to look at the villages that suffered a big change in population and later in 1945 had a significant number of Jews. The data compiled in the 1945 survey could be considered representative of the villages that had no Jewish population in the *1931 Census*, but in the *1945 Survey* had many Jewish inhabitants.

The last data used for this research are derived from the *Village Statistics* conducted by the Jewish National Fund. However, the data can be used in the same way as the data for the 1945 case. The data of the handbook has not been used in the demographic research.

The data accuracy may create problems for the actual demographic results. I would like to stress that the final results are representative of what

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[194]MADDRELL, P and GRINAWI, Y. "*The Beduin of the Negev*". Minority Rights Group, Issue 81, (1990), pp 1-25. p 5.
[195]ZUREIK, E. and LYON, D. and ABU-LABAN, Y. *Surveillance and Control in Israel/Palestine: Population, Territory and Power.* Routledge, London, 2010. p 302.

happened and if any researcher followed the same methodological procedure, the results would be the same.

The analysis of the censuses pointed to other problems related to the accuracy of the names of some villages and to the number of villages in the different censuses. These matters needed to be solved to calculate the growth rates of each entity.

First of all, we must stress that some villages appear under a different name in the different censuses. In the preface of the *1931 Census*, it is mentioned that the transliteration of names of places and tribal groups was the most difficult problem.[196] On the other hand, in the *Village Statistics 1945*, it is stressed that the names of villages and sub-districts are the same as the ones used in the *Administrative Divisions Proclamation 1945*, which was published in the Palestine Gazette No. 1415 published on 7 June 1945.[197]

Furthermore, in the *Village Statistics 1945*, there are four different cases explained that I am going to use to describe how to create an accurate entity unit. The first one is when an administrative area includes two different administrative names, such as Sur Bahir and Umm Tuba.[198] The second one is when an area includes a village previously declared that does not appear as a separate village again. For example, Beit Kahil includes Khirbet Jamrura.[199] The third one is when the village adopts a new name. For example, 'Ein hash Shofat previously appeared as Ji'ara.[200] Finally, the last case is when an entity is known under two different names as is the case with Khirbet Samah also appearing as Eilon.[201] This is how the *Village Statistics 1945* dealt with the problems of the names of villages. As mentioned before, I will use some of the procedures followed there, but I will deal with them in a different way. I have designed a new map to meet the needs of the research, as well as four new population censuses. This stresses the interdisciplinary methodology of the research, which in itself contributes to further knowledge in this field.

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[196]MILLS, E. *Census of Palestine 1931. Population of Villages, Towns and Administrative Areas.* Greek Convent Press, Jerusalem, 1932. Preface.
[197]HADAWI, S. *Village Statistics 1945; A Classification of Land and Area Ownership in Palestine.* Palestine Liberation Organization Research Center, Beirut, 1970. p 12.
[198]*Ibid.*
[199]*Ibid.*
[200]*Ibid.*
[201]*Ibid.*

Another problem we would face if we tried to make a single map containing all the villages that appear in all the censuses is that some of the villages were moved into different administrative areas from census to census. Al-Raml, for example, appears in the *1922 and 1931 Censuses* but within the Acre sub-district.[202]

The accuracy of the names in the first census brought about another problem, as some of the villages, which appeared in that first census, did not appear in the other sources. This might be due to the fact that the officials who collected data did not consider a village with very few inhabitants important enough to be considered an independent entity. Consequently, the officials who collected data for the next census decided not to consider it representative, so they did not include it in the census. The number of such cases is ten out of approximately 500 places in the four sub-districts; in any case, this error percentage is acceptable for the purposes of this research.

This problem was due to the fact that the different surveys and censuses were conducted by different officials and because of the changes the region experienced in that period due to massive immigration, which is one of the most important factors concerning this thesis.

We faced another problem related to the accuracy of the data collected, as some entities contain a low number of some ethnic groups. For example, the entity of Tantura had only one Jewish citizen in the *Census of 1922*, but in the following censuses there were none. It is unlikely that only one person of that ethnicity lived in that entity. Perhaps the person was in the entity for some reason when the data were being collected. Alternatively, an inadvertent error may have been made. Dealing with this type of problem is a constant for this study. Consequently, I decided not to include negligible population figures, I defined this any population lower than 2% of the total population of the entity. In reference to the case of Tantura and the rest of the demographic procedure, I have excluded the only Jewish person that appears in the *1922 Census* in Tantura, representing less than two per cent of the total population of the entity.

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[202]BARRON, J.B. *Report and General Abstracts of the Census of 1922.* Greek Convent Press, Jerusalem, October, 1923. p 37.
MILLS, E. *Census of Palestine 1931. Population of Villages, Towns and Administrative Areas.* Greek Convent Press, Jerusalem, 1932. Preface. p 102.

This study, however, decided not to remove the numbers from the total population, taking into consideration that small numbers would not significantly affect the total population of the entities.

Another problem arose when the map was being made, as two different entities appeared under the same name in some cases. The reason for this could be that two places had been given the same name or just due to inaccuracies. However, that problem does not affect this study because those repeated names do not contain population. Those names are always part of a bigger entity.

As mentioned in this chapter, the main problem with collecting data was related to the number of Bedouins, mainly in the Southern district. There were also some Bedouin families in the Northern district. This study deals with the population by entity. Consequently, if any inaccuracies appeared in the entities with Bedouin population, deeper research into the inaccuracy should be carried out.

McCarthy pointed out that during the period under consideration demographers worked with a margin of error because most of the numbers were approximations or estimations.[203] As mentioned before, the *Census of 1922* and mainly the *Village Statistics 1938 and 1945* are far from being accurate. However, I would like to stress that although the results of 1938 and 1945 are not taken as a census, they can be considered approximations and the error due to data inaccuracy can be considered the same for each unit analysed.

Some scholars argue that a number of immigrants and illegal immigrants were not included in the censuses.[204] This research is completely aware of the difficulties that a study by village faces and that the results are approximations of the reality on the ground. However, the data collected with and without errors will show a broad picture so as to conduct deeper research into each entity to discover the reasons for the results. To sum up, I would like to add that if the estimates obtained from the *Surveys 1938 and 1945* had been made using basic growth rates, the results obtained by this research would have shown the

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[203] *Ibid.* p 27.
[204] *Ibid.* pp 33-34.

same growth rates for all entities for 1931-1945 or 1931-1938, but that is not the case. In this research I am using real growth rates,[205] which include birth rates, death rates and emigration/immigration, rather than using the natural growth rates,[206] which only include birth and death growth rates.

My conclusion regarding the conduct of this research is that it is essential to be aware of the possible inaccuracies of the data collected from each source, but that inaccurate as it may sometimes be it is the only data available for study. As the results will show, the approach used to analyse the influence of land purchases on the native population is the most accurate one that can be followed.

3.7- MAPPING THE SUB-DISTRICTS

The problems of accuracy, which were analysed in the previous part of the methodology, needed to be solved so that the demographic research results could be regarded as accurate and representative. The first step I took was to create a map with the boundaries that the villages had in 1945. Once the boundaries of the 1945 map were defined, the name of each place obtained from each source (1922, 1931, 1938 and 1945) was placed within the boundaries of each village using *The Atlas of Palestine 1917-1966.*[207] The new atlas published by Salman Abu Sitta was also the source from which the village boundaries of 1945 were taken.[208]

The procedure that I followed was to make a blank map with the boundaries of all the villages of the four sub-districts. After that, I wrote all the names of the *1922 Census*. I added the entities of the *1931 Census*, the names that appeared in the *Village Statistics 1938* and finally the entities of the *Village Statistics 1945*. This procedure ended up with different village names within the same boundaries due to the problems of accuracy explained previously. This

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[205]DEGRAFF, D. S. "Population Growth and Government Policy in the Developing World: Lessons from Asia". In *Development and Democratization in the Third World: Myths, Hopes, and Realities* edited by Kenneth E. Bauzon, Yeshiva University, New York, 1992. pp. 151-169. p 152.
[206]LUNDQUIST, J.H. & ANDERTON, D. L. & YAUKEY, D. *Demography: The Study of Human Population.* Waveland Press, Illinois, 2015. p 7.
[207]ABU SITTA, S. *Atlas of Palestine: 1917-1966.* Palestine Land Society, London, 2010.
[208]*Ibid.* pp 39, 42.

was the most accurate procedure for creating homogeneous entities in order for the growth rates to be calculated by entity.

For political, economic and demographic reasons, the number of villages changed from source to source. Some villages were left outside the boundaries of the 1945 map because in the previous censuses, they belonged to another sub-district. Other villages, as seen before, appeared as independent entities in the first census and as part of another entity in the other three, so it was necessary to merge the two villages together so as to get an accurate population figure from which to work. A common problem was that the only data on some villages was the name and the population figure that appeared in the *1922 Census*, but those villages did not appear in the other censuses. It was as if those villages and populations had disappeared. In such cases, a new entity was created within the boundaries of that village and the population was added to the other three sources.

Another problem that this procedure faced was that it was impossible to identify, as mentioned before, approximately ten out of nearly 500 places. I have tried to minimise the error caused by this problem.

A new map was designed to solve the problem of accuracy of the diverse sources so as to calculate the growth rates of each community. The new entity keeps the name of the main village, while the data of the merged villages, disappeared or fused, were added to the "main" entity in each census.

3.8- ARCGIS

The mapping process was carried out with ArcGIS software that is largely used by geographers. The program is used for creating or using maps, compiling geographic data as a database or for analysing mapped information. This program allowed this research to be used to draw its own map with the village boundaries of 1945 where all the data on each entity could be stored for the four different years.

The program also allowed me to create different entities in colours with information and explanations. Therefore, a visual explanation of what happened to each entity in each period could be portrayed to the reader or audience in conferences, for example, to be understood in an easier and clearer way.

Without this program, the previous process of mapping the sub-district could not have been carried out because the map where the names of each place were written was designed with ArcGIS. The program was enormously important and useful to this research.

3.9- MAPS

One of the main contributions to knowledge that this thesis makes is the recreation of the maps of the British Mandate according to the redesign of the sources of the Mandate period, as well as the redesign of the population sources of the Mandate themselves. For each case study and timeframe, I have created a map showing the demographic changes in the sub-district, which eventually will help the reader to get a clearer image of the demographic changes period after period based on a 1945 boundaries map.

As previously explained in the introduction, this thesis wants to share an online mapping system by ArcGIS where the reader would be able to analyse the demographic growth rates of each entity in every period by simply clicking on the name of the entity. The information provided in this online mapping system would allow the reader to analyse the population of each entity and the demographic changes throughout the different periods.

3.10- DEMOGRAPHIC APPROACH

Once the accurate map of population was drawn up, and all the population data placed in the corresponding new entities for each year,[209] the demographic approach could be carried out. Before explaining the formula used to calculate the results, some basic concepts of demography need to be understood.

The growth rate is a number or percentage that shows an increase in amount of population within a certain period. The numbers used for this research, as seen before, are those obtained from the sources. The population number that each source contains includes immigration, births and deaths what in demography is called real growth.[210] Growth that does not include

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[209]See Appendices
[210]DEGRAFF, D. S. "Population Growth and Government Policy in the Developing World: Lessons from Asia". In *Development and Democratization in the Third World:*

immigration is called natural growth.[211] This research will work with real growth in order to provide a more accurate picture.

There are three different formulas for calculating the growth rate depending on the time that passes from census to census. Those formulas have a mathematical explanation that has no academic interest for this research. A brief description will be enough to understand why this research has chosen one instead of the others.

The three methods used to calculate the growth rates are: the exponential,[212] the geometric[213] and the lineal one.[214] All of them depend on amplitude (the distance in time). For the purpose of this research and analysing the period from census to census, the first period between the initial two censuses is nine years, the second one seven years and the last one seven as well. The best formula for calculating the growth rates is to use the exponential one because it is more accurate for long periods.[215]

$$r = \frac{\ln P^{t+n} - \ln P^{t}}{a}$$

r = Growth rate per year.

a = Time between two censuses.

P(t+n) = Number of population at the end.

Pt = Number of population at the beginning.[216]

$$r = \frac{\ln P^{t+n} - \ln P^{t}}{a} x100$$

Consequently, the percentage is shown per year.

Myths, Hopes, and Realities edited by Kenneth E. Bauzon, Yeshiva University, New York, 1992. pp. 151-169. p 152.

[211]LUNDQUIST, J.H. & ANDERTON, D. L. & YAUKEY, D. *Demography: The Study of Human Population.* Waveland Press, Illinois, 2015. p 7.

[212]TORRES-Degro, A. *"Tasas de Crecimiento Poblacional (r): Una Mirada desde el Modelo Lineal, Geométrico y Exponencial."* CIDE digital, Vol. 2, No. 1, (2011), pp. 142-160. pp 151-153.

[213]*Ibid.* pp 148-151.

[214]*Ibid.* pp 146-148.

[215]*Ibid.* p 151.

[216] *Ibid.*

This formula is widely used and accepted by demographers all around the word. This is the basic tool to calculate the future percentage of decrease in each community by entity and period of time.

This formula has one problem when there is no population in one of the two censuses to be analysed. That has a very simple methodological answer. When we want to analyse the growth rate of one community in an entity, but that community does not appear in one of the years, this research adhered to the following procedure: when the population appears, it is considered growth, and when the population disappears, it is considered a decrease. This is a clear and simple statement to solve the problem.

For the results provided by the formula, there are three different possibilities. When the result is negative, there is a decrease in population within the analysed period.[217] When the result is positive, there is an increase in population per year in the analysed entity.[218] The last one is when the result is zero. This means that the population is in balance; there is no growth or decrease. The balance between births, deaths and immigration, and emigration is zero.[219]

3.11- CALCULATION OF RESULTS AND TABLES

After having explained the whole procedure for obtaining the growth rates, we need to understand how the results are calculated. The aim of this research is to determine the influence of a settler colonial enterprise on the native population. As soon as the results of each entity, community and year under analysis are in a table, we can start to think about how to deal with them to answer the research questions.

The first step to determine the influence of the settler society is to analyse what happened to the native population. The first analysis of the two censuses will allow this research a deeper analysis of each Arab community, while the next results, will compare only Jews and Arabs.

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[217]DEGRAFF, D. S. "Population Growth and Government Policy in the Developing World: Lessons from Asia". In *Development and Democratization in the Third World: Myths, Hopes, and Realities* edited by Kenneth E. Bauzon, Yeshiva University, New York, 1992. pp. 151-169. p 153.
[218]*Ibid.* p 152.
[219]*Ibid.*

The main difference between two entities lies in the ethnicity of its population. There are some entities that do not have a Jewish population. This will be the first step to mark the difference between entities to determine the influence of the Zionist land purchases. There are also some entities that do not have Arab population at the end of one data population year, therefore, in this case, the process is to analyse what happened to the local population in the period of time between those years that brought about the disappearance of the local population.

In those entities without mixed population, the procedure is to determine how many entities suffered a decrease in population and calculate the percentage.

The procedure for the entities that have mixed population is to count the number of entities where the Arab population decreases and calculate the percentages. The main figure for the purpose of this research is the negative population. However, it was striking to follow the procedure for each ethnic community in the entity.

Having the results of each community, we will be able to analyse what happened to the entities where the native population suffered a decrease in population and compare this situation with the development of the settler community to determine if there is any connection between the decrease in one community and the increase in the other in the same entity.

The next step is of crucial importance to determine if there is any connection between the decrease in the native population and the settlement activities of the settler society. For this purpose, the names of the entities where the population decreased need to be compared with the documents of land purchases or with the year of the foundation of a settlement to determine if there is any link between the decrease in the native population and the settlement of the settler society or the expansion of one of the entities purchasing more land.

Once this procedure is finished, we need to analyse each case in order to compare the differences and similarities between them so as to make sure that the research questions have been answered successfully. The answers

may open new paths for future research because there are nuances in the findings that are beyond the scope of this undertaking.

3.12- DEMOGRAPHIC TRANSITION THEORY

It is important for this thesis to understand how demographics behave in pre-industrialised environments and what kind of demographic trends could have been expected from such countries.

According to demographic transition theories, before a region is industrialised, modernised or developed, the death rates and birth rates stay high (Stage one).[220] The purpose of this is to offset the high rates of deaths. When a country starts to develop, modernise or industrialise due to different social and economic changes, the first change that occurs in the demographics is that the death rates decrease.[221] The decrease in death rates, while the birth rates stay high, brings about an increase in population (Stage two).

The next stage of the demographic transition occurs when the birth rates also start to decrease (Stage three).[222] The next trend, where the death and birth rates are also low, is similar to modern European countries (Stage four).[223] There are different examples and patterns that confirm this theory. Every country, however, has its peculiarities when we analyse the demographic transition expected according to the theory. In the Jenin sub-district the particularities of the Palestinian case study will be analysed.

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[220]JIMENEZ, E. *Development and the Next Generation.* World Bank Publications, Washington DC, 2006. p 43.
[221]*Ibid.*
[222]*Ibid.*
[223]FERRANTE, J. *Sociology: A Global Perspective.* Cengage Learning, Connecticut, 2007. p 443.

Table 3.1-Demographic Transition Model[224]
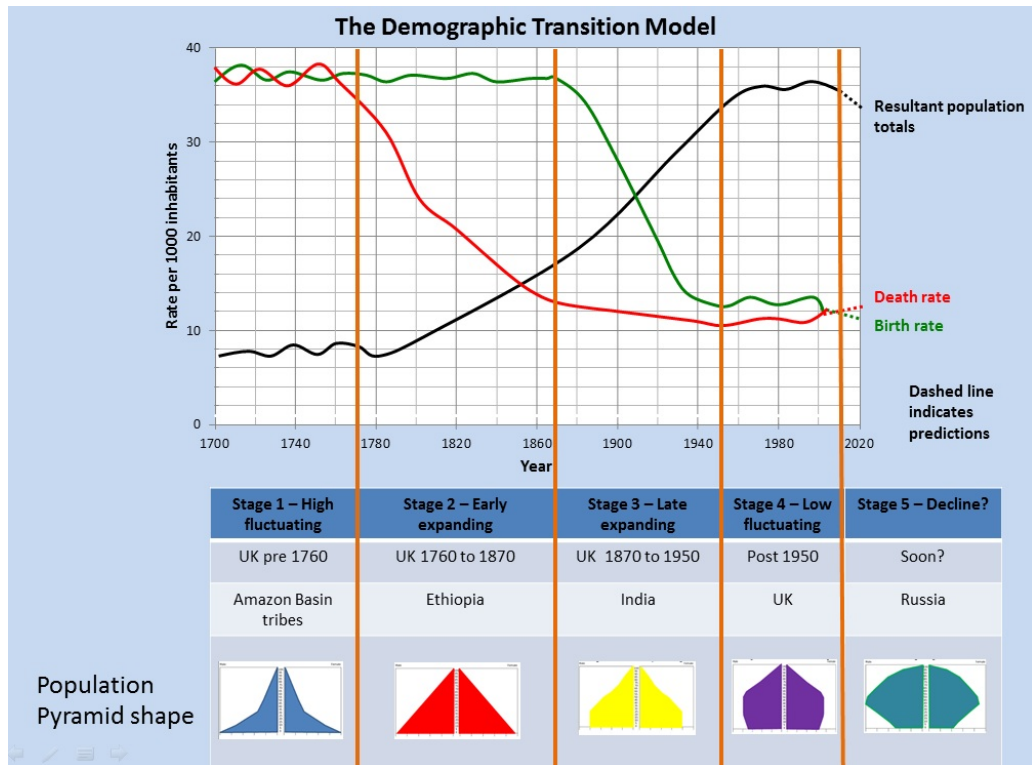
3.13- DOUBLING TIME THEORY

The doubling time theory is a very simple formula to find if the population increases quickly or slowly. This formula calculates the time that a population will need to double its size. Pre-industrialised countries have high birth rates and high death rates as well,[225] while already industrialised countries have low birth rates and low death rates.[226] The process between these two periods is known as the demographic transition.[227] Demographic transition theory and the practical implications will be analysed later throughout the case studies. This study will take the reference of 70 years to calculate if the doubling time of a village is fast or slow. Because some measures need to be taken, knowing that the demographic transition in Palestine during the British Mandate was just starting, when an increase of population would have been expected due to

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[224]"Demographic Transition Model"
http://www.coolgeography.co.uk/GCSE/AQA/Population/Demographic%20Transition/Demographic%20Transition%20Model.htm (05/09/2016)
[225]PIRAGES, D. & DeGEEST, T. M. *Ecological Security: An Evolutionary Perspective on Globalization.* Rowman & Littlefield,Maryland, 2004. pp 33-34.
[226]ANDERSEN, M. L. & TAYLOR, H. F. *Sociology: Understanding a Diverse Society, Updated.* Cengage Learning, Connecticut, 2007. p 570.
[227]*Ibid.*

several economic and social changes that later on would be deeply analysed in the Jenin chapter.

The formula to calculate the doubling time is:[228]

$$t = \frac{70}{r}$$

t = time of doubling the size of the population in years.

r = growth rate number

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[228]TORRES-Degro, A. *"Tasas de Crecimiento Poblacional (r): Una Mirada desde el Modelo Lineal, Geométrico y Exponencial."* CIDE digital, Vol. 2, No. 1, (2011), pp. 142-160. p 159.

4- HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

4.1-HISTORICAL LITERATURE REVIEW

The British Mandate period in Palestine is a historical period that has been under deep study by scholars for many decades. There are extensive works on the British Mandate covering social, political, economic themes. A brief overview of them will help to provide this research with a thorough grounding.

For a general perspective, there is Albert Hourani's *A History of the Arab Peoples,*[229] a piece of excellent literature essential to an inclusive historical view of Arab history and one that provides vital insights related to this research.

The research also requires extensive familiarity with modern Palestinian history, covering the last two centuries from the first European Jews arriving around the 1880s[230] to the most recent events related to the Israeli-Palestinian question. *A History of Modern Palestine: One Land, Two Peoples*[231] written by the new Israeli historian Ilan Pappe is a comprehensive piece of work that analyses the most important events of that period.

Yehoshua Porath's works helped develop the research question addressed here. Both *The Emergence of the Palestinian-Arab National Movement, 1918-1929*[232] and *The Palestinian Arab National Movement, 1929-1939: From Riots to Rebellion*[233] analyse the period of the British Mandate and Palestinian history in depth. In addition, Tom Segev's *One Palestine, Complete: Jews and Arabs under the British Mandate,*[234] is an excellent scholarly work that helps to understand the main historical events of the British Mandate period. However, the most important piece of work examined for this research was

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[229]HOURANI, A. *A History of the Arab Peoples*. Faber, London, 1991.
[230]PAPPE, I. *The Israel/Palestine Question*. Routledge, London, 1999. p 76.
[231]PAPPE, I. *A History of Modern Palestine: One Land, Two Peoples.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004.
[232]PORATH, Y. *The Emergence of the Palestinian-Arab National Movement 1918-1929*. F. Cass, London 1974.
[233]PORATH, Y. *The Palestinian Arab National Movement: from Riots to Rebellion, 1929-1939.* F. Cass, London, 1977.
[234]SEGEV, T. *One Palestine, Complete: Jews and Arabs under the British Mandate.* Abacus, London, 2001.

published by Porath in *The Jerusalem Quarterly* under the title *"The Land Problem in Mandatory Palestine".*[235] This article focuses on the land question in Palestine and the idea of the landless Arab problem. This brief article opened a new perspective regarding land purchases and immigration to the land of Palestine. It turns out that the problem of land purchases during the British Mandate period was more substantial than Porath pointed out. He used British reports to confirm his ideas, basically the *Lewis French Report*. The article serves as a starting point for the research developed here as the land question in Palestine leads to this thesis's exploration of population transfer and Zionist land purchases during the British Mandate under a settler colonial framework. The literature on the idea of population transfer covers multiple fields. Extensive and diverse works were needed to develop the ideas for this research.

The first area to consider was land issues during the British Mandate in Palestine. Several scholars have researched this, perhaps most notably Kenneth W. Stein, Sami Hadawi and Martin Bunton.

Stein, in his book *The Land Question in Palestine, 1917-1939,*[236] researches land ownership and tenure during the British Mandate period. His insights help imbue the research with a deep knowledge about the different land policies, transfer ordinances and Jewish land purchases. Martin Bunton, in his book *Colonial Land Policies in Palestine 1917-1936,*[237] also analyses land policies, however, this work is more related to the land market. A mixture of both works will enable this research to better understand the complex situation at the end of the Ottoman rule in Palestine and the establishment of British rule. The old taxation system and land ownership were a real problem for the new governors of Palestine.[238] Through these two researchers' works, both of them with their own particular view about it, the study will gain a better understanding of land problems during the Mandate.

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[235]PORATH, Y. *"The Land Problem in Mandatory Palestine"*, Jerusalem Quarterly, No. 1 (Fall, 1976), pp. 18-27.
[236]STEIN, K. W. *The Land Question in Palestine, 1917-1939.* University of North Carolina Press, North Carolina, 1984.
[237]BUNTON, M. *Colonial Land Policies in Palestine, 1917-1936.* Oxford University Press, New York & Oxford, 2007. pp 21-22.
[238]STEIN, K. W. *The Land Question in Palestine, 1917-1939.* University of North Carolina Press, North Carolina, 1984.

The third scholar, Sami Hadawi, wrote both on Zionism and land ownership in Palestine. *Land ownership in Palestine*[239] and *Zionism and the Lands of Palestine*[240] are two useful works to understand the influence of Zionism on the Palestinian lands. Also published and related to this theme are *Palestinian Rights & Losses in 1948, A Comprehensive Study*[241] and *Bitter Harvest, A Modern History of Palestine.*[242]

The Zionist enterprise could not be carried out without the British authorities' help and that of part of the indigenous population. To analyse the role British authorities had in Zionist land purchases, Aida Essaid's thesis, *The Land Tenure System of Modern Palestine: A Deconstruction of the Role of Zionism in the British Mandate Administration,*[243] proved very helpful. Concerning the collaboration of the native population, Hillel Cohen's *Army of Shadows: Palestinian collaboration with Zionism, 1917-1948*[244] proved instructive in highlighting the connections between the native population and Zionists. Cohen details the process of land purchases carried out by the Zionists as well as the way they used the network of the native population. Cohen's book is a relevant piece of work that analyses chapters in Palestinian history that had not been well researched previously.

The literature analysed thus far shows the different works on Palestinian land from both a wider perspective and a more detailed one. However, before finishing the review on land, I would like to mention *"The Tenants of Wadi Hawarith: Another View of the Land Question in Palestine"* written by R. Adler (Cohen). This article highlights the consequences of Zionist land purchases in Wadi Hawarith. Even though Wadi Hawarith is outside the boundaries of this study, it is important to mention the contribution of this article in this field.

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[239]HADAWI, S. *Land Ownership in Palestine.* Palestine Arab Refugee Office, New York, 1957.
[240]HADAWI, S. *Zionism and the Lands of Palestine.* International Organisation for the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, London, 1977.
[241]HADAWI, S. *Palestinian Rights & Losses in 1948, A Comprehensive Study.* Saqi Books, London, 1988.
[242]HADAWI, S. *Bitter Harvest, A Modern History of Palestine.* Olive Branch Press, New York, 1990.
[243]ESSAID, A. *"The Land Tenure System of Modern Palestine: A Deconstruction of the Role of Zionism in the British Mandate Administration".* PhD diss., University of Exeter, October, 2009.
[244]COHEN, H. *Army of Shadows: Palestinian Collaboration with Zionism, 1917-1948.* University of California Press, California, 2008.

Beside this, the British Mandate is a period rich in British governmental reports, and to complete the literature review I would like to highlight as supplementary sources the *Hope Simpson Report*[245] and the *Lewis French Report.*[246]

The first report, named after its author, is the *Hope Simpson Report for Palestine. Report on Immigration, Land Settlement and Development*[247] that was submitted to the British Parliament in October 1930. The Colonial Office asked Sir John Hope Simpson to write a report on the 1929 riots as he had practical experience because he had worked for the Indian Civil Service. The consequences of that report changed British foreign policy. This report was followed by the *1930 White Paper* or *1930 Passfield Paper*[248] and a new report conducted by Lewis French, who was the Development Director in Palestine.

The Sir John Hope Simpson Report pointed out the problem that Jewish immigration and land purchases were creating among the rural native community, focusing on the idea that a community of dispossessed *fellahin*[249] was being created, what was called the landless Arab problem. Sir John Hope Simpson suggested in his report that the British Government should control Jewish immigration and land purchases.[250]

After this report the *Passfield Paper* came out implementing these suggestions by Sir John Hope Simpson while a more extensive survey related to the landless Arab problem was put under the charge of Lewis French. By April of 1932 the report came out under the name of the *First Report on Agricultural Development and Land Settlement in Palestine.*[251]

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[245]SIMPSON, J. H. *Palestine: Report on Immigration, Land Settlement and Development.* HMSO, London, 1930.
[246]FRENCH, L. *First Report on Agricultural Development and Land Settlement in Palestine.* Crown agents for the colonies, for the Palestine Government, London, 1931.
[247]SIMPSON, J. H. *Palestine: Report on Immigration, Land Settlement and Development.* HMSO, London, 1930.
[248]HIS MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE. "Statement of Policy by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom."
http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/History/passfield.html (05/02/15)

[250]TESSLER, M.A. *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict.* Indiana University Press, Indiana, 1994. p 237.
[251]FRENCH, L. *First Report on Agricultural Development and Land Settlement in Palestine.* Crown agents for the colonies, for the Palestine Government, London, 1931.

The reports said that the British Government was partly responsible for the landless Arab problem, land purchases and immigration.[252] Both reports can be considered essential to understand British policies during the Mandate, together with other reports, letters and declarations. However, this research does not want to focus on British policies during the British Mandate. Nevertheless, other documents such as the *Macdonald letter,*[253] *Shaw Commission Report*[254] and *Peel Commission Report*[255] will provide more comments and evidence for this thesis where necessary.

However, as we have seen in this literature review, there have been several works that have dealt with different topics related to the British Mandate and land issues. However, no research has been done analysing the demographic consequences of the Zionist land purchases and land policies before 1948.

4.2- HISTORICAL FRAME

The aim of this part of the thesis is to focus on the British Mandate period, the period prior to the creation of the state of Israel. This thesis seeks to challenge the argument that the Zionist movement did not interfere and affect the native population when they settled in Palestine.[256] This historiography always underlines the modernisation and development brought by the Zionists to Palestine.[257] However, it also dismisses the fact that the local population

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[252]SIMPSON, J. H. *Palestine: Report on Immigration, Land Settlement and Development.* HMSO, London, 1930. pp 64, 146.
FRENCH, L. *First Report on Agricultural Development and Land Settlement in Palestine.* Crown agents for the colonies, for the Palestine Government, London, 1931. p 6.
[253]"The Macdonal Letter"
http://unispal.un.org/UNISPAL.NSF/0/BBAA033C46A9AA8B8525712C0070B943. (05/02/15)
[254]*Report of the Commission appointed by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, with the approval of the Council of the League of Nations, to determine the rights and claims of Moslems and Jews in connection with the Western or Wailing Wall at Jerusalem.* His Majesty's Stationery Office, London, December, 1930.
[255]*Palestine Royal Commission Report.* His Majesty's Stationery Office, London, July, 1937.
[256]GHAZI-BOUILLON, A. *Understanding the Middle East Peace Process: Israeli Academia and the Struggle for Identity.* Routledge Studies on the Arab-Israeli Conflict, London, 2015. p 102.
[257]NIMNI, E. *The Challenge of Post-Zionism: Alternatives to Fundamentalist Politics in Israel.* Postcolonial Encounters, Zed Books, London, 2003. p 46.

suffered through dramatic changes due to the immigration and settlement of the Zionist movement and not all of those changes were beneficial for the indigenous population. Analysing the settler colonial period during the British Mandate we need to focus on the transfer idea related to the Zionist movement. This is a key framework for the thesis.

The creation of the state of Israel cannot be understood without analysing the events that occurred during the Ottoman and British periods. Although this thesis focuses on the demographic and land aspects of the British Mandate in Palestine, a further picture of the period is necessary to understand the situation there during those periods.

Throughout this chapter I will analyse different events and developments that will be necessary to position this thesis in the context of the political, social and economic situation of the Ottoman and British Mandate periods. First, I will analyse the general situation of the periods that affected this thesis. Second, I will stress the idea of Zionism as a form of European nationalism. This will enable the thesis to emphasise the settler colonial character of the Zionist enterprise. Third, there will be a short introduction to the British refusal of the transfer solution. After this, there will be a short sub-chapter about land, immigration and self-labour. This thesis seeks to analyse one of the consequences of the implementation of the Zionist political idea of transfer: the Arab landless problem. This historical framework will help us to understand the broad picture that influences this thesis.

4.2.1- The British Mandate and Ottoman Empire – An Historical Overview

As noted in the methodology section, the boundaries of modern Palestine were not the same during the Ottoman Empire. Modern Palestine as we know it was created by a British-French agreement to divide the Levant.[258] Before the end of the World War I, the foreign ministers of Britain and France agreed on how to divide this zone. The agreement was known as Sykes-Picot.[259] The British Army entered Jerusalem in December 1917 and by October 1918 the

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[258]BIGER, G. *The Boundaries of Modern Palestine, 1840-1947.* Psychology Press, 2004. London, p 66.
[259]PAPPE, I. *A History of Modern Palestine: One Land, Two Peoples.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004.p 66.

Ottoman army had surrendered.[260] After the end of the First World War, the Ottoman Empire lost all its lands in the Arab world, including Palestine. Also, by April 1920 at the San Remo Conference, Palestine was given to Britain under the jurisdiction of a Mandate as the Sykes-Picot agreement had arranged.[261] However, the Mandate was not formally accepted by the international community until 1922. Britain took control of it in 1923.[262] That agreement divided the Middle East into two spheres of control: the British one contained today's Palestine/Israel, Jordan and Iraq and the French one which contained today's Syria and Lebanon.

Furthermore and related to this thesis, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Arthur Balfour, wrote a letter to a Jewish-British member of Parliament, Baron Rothschild (Lionel Walter Rothschild), who was a supporter of Zionism and a personal friend of Chaim Weizmann, member of the World Zionist Organisation and later first President of Israel.[263] This letter, known as the Balfour Declaration, supported the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. The letter, however, was quite ambiguous and although it has been thoroughly discussed by scholars through the years, there is no agreement about how clear Balfour's intentions really were.

The Balfour declaration was issued even before the British took control of Palestine from the Ottomans. It is worth analysing the meaning of the Balfour Declaration.

> His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people. And will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievements of this object. It being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may

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[260]TUCKER, S.C. *Encyclopedia of Middle East Wars: The United States in the Persian Gulf, Afghanistan, and Iraq Conflicts.* ABC-CLIO, California, 2010. p 797.
[261]TABARANI, G. G. *Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: From Balfour Promise to Bush Declaration: The Complications and the Road for a Lasting Peace.* AuthorHouse, Indiana, 2008. p xx.
[262]*Ibid.* p xxi.
[263]TUCKER, S.C. *Encyclopedia of Middle East Wars: The United States in the Persian Gulf, Afghanistan, and Iraq Conflicts.* ABC-CLIO, California, 2010. p 190.

prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine.[264]

This is a piece of the short letter that Balfour wrote to Rothschild. The Zionist movement interpreted this letter as their right to create a sovereign state in the land of historical Palestine. The words national home have been understood by Zionists to mean a sovereign state. Once again, the British Government promised the same thing to more than one partner as happened with Syria.[265]

The second part of the letter also stresses the idea that no prejudice should be expressed to existing communities in Palestine. However, as we will analyse later, the British authorities conveyed conflicting positions to two different partners and their position during the Mandate period was influenced by the prior promises.

Apart from the promises made by the British to both Arabs and Zionists, British interests in the Middle East should be taken into consideration. There are two main reasons why the British were interested in Palestine. The first was to avoid France stepping into Palestine and seizing the spheres of influence protecting Egypt and the Suez Canal[266]. The second was related to the first. The Suez channel was a strategic factor to British interests because it connected their Indian colony with the Metropolis. Therefore, keeping that transport connection under British control and influence was essential to the British authorities who also simply preferred the Zionist project in Palestine rather than the Arab one.[267]

The British authorities received the concession of the Mandate from the League of Nations in 1922 and it was formally implemented in September 1923. The Mandate remained in place until the British Authorities left on 14 May 1948

[264]ISAREL MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS. "The Balfour Declaration". http://www.mfa.gov.il/mfa/foreignpolicy/peace/guide/pages/the%20balfour%20declaration.aspx (10/12/2015)

[265]FRIEDMAN, I. *Palestine, a Twice-Promised Land: The British, the Arabs & Zionism: 1915-1920.* Transaction Publishers, New Brunswick, 2000. pp xiii-xiv.

[266]COHEN, M. J. *Britain's Moment in Palestine: Retrospect and Perspectives, 1917-1948.* Routledge, London, 2014. p 155.

[267]SCHAYEGH, C. & ARSAN, A. *The Routledge Handbook of the History of the Middle East Mandates.* Routledge, London, 2015. p 286.

after passing control of the Mandate to the League of Nations in 1947.[268] During these years of British authority events occurred that were vital determinants of the future of historical Palestine and the people inhabiting that land.

The British authorities did not have an easy period in Palestine. They had real difficulties in implementing their Mandate and laws. The British faced the 1920 and 1929 riots and the 1936-39 Arab Revolt that shook the stability of the Mandate.

The first events that demonstrated to the British authorities that the implementation of the Mandate was not going to be an easy task were the 1920 *Nebi Musa* riots.[269] The reasons why violence broke out are not clear.[270] The previous year's *Nebi Musa* celebration had been peaceful and even though the Zionists tried to warn the British authorities about a possible outbreak of violence, they did not consider any further measures necessary.[271] The British confirmation that Palestine would be under their control and the implementation of the Balfour Declaration were reason enough to expect protests. On top of this, some days before the *Nebi Musa* celebration, Faisal was crowned king of Syria.[272] This heightened the Arab population's determination to gain independence and should have alerted authorities to expect challenges to their authority during the *Nebi Musa* celebration.

The riots lasted for three days from the fourth to the seventh of April, and the British were not able to stop the looting and attacks on Jews.[273] When the situation had calmed; five Jews and four Arabs were dead while 216 Jews, 23 Arabs and seven soldiers were wounded.[274] This can be regarded as the first

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[268]TABARANI, G. G. *Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: From Balfour Promise to Bush Declaration: the complications and the road for a lasting peace.* AuthorHouse, Indiana, 2008. p xxi.
PAPPE, I. *A History of Modern Palestine: One Land, Two Peoples.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004.p 121.
[269]KRÄMER, G. & HARMAN, G. *A History of Palestine: From the Ottoman Conquest to the Founding of the State of Israel.* Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 2011. p 207.
[270]SEGEV, T. *One Palestine, Complete: Jews and Arabs under the British Mandate.* Abacus, London, 2001 .p 128.
[271]*Ibid.* p 130.
[272]*Ibid.* p 128.
[273]SPINGOLA, D. *The Ruling Elite: The Zionist Seizure of World Power.* Trafford Publishing, Indiana, 2012. p 704.
[274]*Ibid.* p 138.

warning for the British authorities that control of Mandate Palestine would not be easy.

The next outbreak of violence took place in August 1929, known as the "Western Wall" or "*al-Buraq*" disturbances.[275] The tension in Palestine was increasing year by year because of British policies concerning Jewish immigration and land purchases. Moreover, Zionist claims over the *Haram al-Sharif* and Western Wall were seen as a threat by Muslim worshipers.[276] The political situation was turning dangerous, while the British authorities apparently were not discerning the change of atmosphere within Palestine.

On 15 August 1929 the *Haganah* and the Revisionist *Betar* organised demonstrations by the Wall.[277] The following week some violent incidents occurred after the 23 August Friday prayers in Jerusalem's Old City.[278] The next morning the violence spread to Hebron where more than 60 Jews were killed.[279] The violence also spread to Haifa, Jaffa and Safad. Once the rioting had been controlled the official casualties were 133 Jews and 116 Arabs killed and 339 Jews and 232 Arabs wounded.[280]

After these events, the British authorities made three different commissions of inquiry. In light of this, the British authorities were forced to re-evaluate the policies they had followed in the first years of the Mandate. The first inquiry was the *Shaw Commission*, which proposed the limitation of Jewish immigration[281] and the need to carry out another commission in order to solve the increasing problem of Zionist land purchases and the landless Arab problem. These commissions and their results will be analysed at the end of this chapter in a special sub-section on the landless Arab problem.

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[275]PAPPE, I. *A History of Modern Palestine: One Land, Two Peoples*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004.p 91.
[276]BICKERTON, I. J. *The Arab-Israeli Conflict: A History.* Reaktion Books, London, 2009. p 62.
[277]SEGEV, T. *One Palestine, Complete: Jews and Arabs under the British Mandate.* Abacus, London, 2001 .p 309.
[278]*Ibid.* pp 314-315.
[279]*Ibid.* p 324.
[280]*Ibid.* p 327.
[281]PAPPE, I. *A History of Modern Palestine: One Land, Two Peoples*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004.p 92.

Despite these attempts at changing policies, the British authorities ignored the measures suggested by the commissions and accepted Jewish immigration into Palestine again. The tension between the communities increased. *Haganah* began smuggling arms into Palestine after the 1929 riots, as was discovered in 1935 in the Haifa docks,[282] and the number of Jewish migrants increased in the 1930s, doubling the Jewish population in Palestine.[283] The Arab community feared that the Zionists would take control because the British were helping them. The option of an armed struggle against the British by the Arabs became a reality when a group led by Izz ad-Din al-Qassam started attacking British forces. Al-Qassam was killed by British forces in November 1935,[284] but the seed for the armed revolt had already been planted.

The rest of al-Qassam's rebel group hid in the mountains. Its members shot and killed two Jewish drivers near Nablus and the Irgun in revenge killed another two Arabs near Petah Tikva.[285] The funeral procession for the two Jews killed turned into riots and some Arabs were beaten. These events led the Arabs to call a general strike that later turned into an armed revolt against the British occupants lasting until 1939.[286]

These three riots and revolts –1920, 1929, and 1936– were the most significant to occur during British rule in Palestine. They produced several consequences, including the confrontation of the Palestinian and Jewish societies. The British authorities realised that trying to govern the Mandate was creating troubles and a larger army presence would be required. And, finally, they realised that more economic investment needed to be put into Palestine.[287] In addition, British society was becoming more and more reluctant for the British

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[282]SEIKALY, M. *Haifa: Transformation of an Arab Society 1918-1939.* I.B.Tauris, London, 2002. p 173.
[283]*Ibid.* p 50.
[284]PAPPE, I. *A History of Modern Palestine: One Land, Two Peoples*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004. p 104.
[285]HUGHES, M. "*The Banality of Brutality: British Armed Forces and the Repression of the Arab Revolt in Palestine, 1936–39."* The English Historical Review, Vol. 124, Issue 507, (April, 2009), pp. 313-354. p 313.
[286]HUSAIN, M. Z. *Global Studies: Islam and the Muslim world*. McGraw-Hill, New York, 2006. p 220.
[287]LUCAS, S. *Britain and Suez: The Lion's Last Roar.* Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1996. p 8.

presence to continue there.[288] For the Arabs, the defeat of the Arab Revolt implied the exile and breakup of the Arab Executive[289] and the resultant weakness of the future capacity of the organisation to represent the Palestinian population.[290]

Before addressing Zionist policies, I would like to offer a short summary of the origins of Zionism to explain why and how it should be understood as a form of European nationalism and consequently as a settler colonial project within Palestine.

4.2.2- European Zionist Nationalism

As mentioned in the short introduction, Zionism is considered by most scholars to be a Jewish nationalist movement to support the creation of a Jewish National Home.[291] The first Zionist Congress took place in Basel in 1897,[292] far from Palestine. The roots of Zionism, however, can be found earlier than the Zionist Congress. Two important writings before the Zionist movement was born formed its foundation: Moses Hess's *Rome and Jerusalem: The Last National Question* [293]in 1862 and Leon Pinsker's *Auto-Emancipation[294]* in 1882. These two can be considered proto-Zionist writers. Hess wrote his book while he was in Germany after observing the increasing anti-Semitism of German society, while Pinsker was born in Odessa and suffered the Pogrom of 1871 there[295] and later on the riots and Pogrom after the assassination of Tsar Alexander II.[296]

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[288]PAPPE, I. *A History of Modern Palestine: One Land, Two Peoples*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004. p 121.
[289]Created after the Third Arab Congress in 1920 in Haifa, as representative of the Palestinians.
[290]MATTAR, P. *Encyclopedia of the Palestinians*. Infobase Publishing, New York, 2005. p 28.
[291]PAPPE, I. *Across the Wall: Narratives of Israeli-Palestinian History*. I.B.Tauris, London, 2010. p 400.
[292]*Ibid.*
[293]HESS, M. *The Revival of Israel: Rome and Jerusalem, the Last Nationalist Question*. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1943.
[294]PINSKER, L. *Auto-emancipation*. Maccabaean, New York, 1906.
[295]KLIER, J. D. & LAMBROZA, S. *Pogroms: Anti-Jewish Violence in Modern Russian History.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004. p 376.
[296]*Ibid.* p 39.

These two European Jews were among the first to be aware of the problems their community had faced during the process of modern European nationalism. However, it was another assimilated European Jew who created the modern Jewish National Movement. Theodor Herzl, a Hungarian Jew who lived in Vienna and worked in Paris, was the person who developed the political movement that today rules the State of Israel. Current events had changed the perception of this assimilated Jew; the main one being the Dreyfus affair.[297] Alfred Dreyfus, who was a Jewish-French soldier, was imprisoned and accused of treason for providing secret information to the Germans. Although he was proved not guilty, the court charged him with new false evidence.[298] By this time, Herzl was working as a journalist in Paris and determined that only if Jews had their own homeland would they be safe.

Incidents like this helped European Jews to realise that after a long time trying to assimilate, modern European countries were treating them as second-class citizens. We need to take into consideration that during this period, some of the modern countries that exist today were coming into being: Italy, Germany and others. Europe was a place where new ideas were being born at the time and where workers were gaining more political strength.[299] In this context, assimilated Jews were also able to gain good positions and prosper in the newly created countries and societies. However, events like those previously described, revealed to some of the assimilated Jews that the European "paradise" was not without major dangers.

Nevertheless, assimilated Jews understood and learnt from the political changes that were taking place in Europe. The modern European enlightenment was a perfect umbrella for Zionist political enterprise. "Minorities" in Europe were asking for recognition and Jews understood these claims well. This is one of the reasons to regard Zionism as a European-based nationalism and later as a settler colonial power. A European sense of superiority was brought with them all the way from Europe to Palestine. The Zionist movement adopted these characteristics and enlightenment superiorities towards *Others,*

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[297]PAPPE, I. *A History of Modern Palestine: One Land, Two Peoples.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004. p 36.
[298]*Ibid.*
[299]WILBER, C. K. & JAMESON, K. P. *Socialist Models of Development.* Pergamon Press, Oxford, 2013. p 953.

denying rights to *them* in the place where they had been living for centuries. This colonial exercise carried out by European countries towards the rest of the world was well understood by the Zionist movement. Immigration before this period from Eastern Europe cannot be considered Zionist. The political agenda of the early settlements is different from the immigration of the second *Aliyah* and the two types of immigration had different characteristics.[300] While the early immigration was mainly poor, religious and non-qualified that of the second *Aliyah, from* 1904-1914, was skilled and politicised.[301] The latter would be those considered as the founders of the modern State of Israel.

The first *Aliyah* was not a political project to settle the Holy Land but merely a spiritual movement to be closer to the Promised Land.[302] Hovevei Zion was the first company founded to help migrants settle in Palestine.[303] The headquarters of the company were originally in Europe. Baron Edmond Benjamin James de Rothschild[304] sponsored this spiritual project of the first *Aliyah* in the beginning with money because the migrants were from the poorest strata of society and had little knowledge of harvesting in difficult lands such as Palestine.[305]

However, after in-depth discussion and analysing different settler options, the Zionist movement chose Palestine as the place to create a homeland for the Jewish people.[306] Obviously, the land was already occupied as stated in the famous phrase: "The bride is beautiful, but she is married to another man".[307] In this case, I would like to remark on the moral right to the land stressed by the Zionists over Palestine. Using the settler colonial approach, the Zionists claimed a religious right to the Promised Land, thus denying every kind of possession right to the native population that was already living there. Other European

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[300]*Ibid.* p 52.
[301]*Ibid.*
[302]MASALHA, N. *The Zionist Bible: Biblical Precedent, Colonialism and the Erasure of Memory*. Routledge, London, 2014. pp 89-90.
[303]PAPPE, I. *A History of Modern Palestine: One Land, Two Peoples.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004. p 38.
[304]BIGER, G. *The Boundaries of Modern Palestine, 1840-1947.* Psychology Press, London, 2004. p 123.
[305]*Ibid*. pp 39-40.
[306]TUCKER, S.C. & ROBERTS, P. *Encyclopedia of the Arab-Israeli Conflict: A Political, Social, and Military History*. ABC-CLIO, California, 2008. p 1123.
[307]SHALIN, A. *The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World.* W. W. Norton & Company, New York, 2001. p 3.

colonial enterprises contrasted their own enlightened superiority to the backwardness of the native population in the right of conquest.[308] The Zionists, in this case, found the place that they wanted to establish, but first due to the Ottomans and later to the British, the idea of creating a homeland for the Jews presented numerous problems.

4.2.3- British Negative Action and the Zionist Solution

The main way to succeed in the "conquest" of the Promised Land had for decades been the purchase of land. This is one big difference between Israel and other settler colonial countries; the land. Prior to 1947 it was acquired through land purchases inside the legal framework.[309] Once that land was under Jewish ownership, the Arab *fellahin,*[310] who were tenants, were evicted. Thus, physical space was created for Zionist settlements. The main problem in this process was that after decades of purchasing land and promoting immigration to the Holy Land, the numbers were not impressive. By the end of the Mandate only 30 per cent of the population was Jewish,[311] while the land owned by the Jewish population was less than 6 per cent.[312]

They realised that using the process of buying land and expelling the native population from it would take centuries to redeem *Eretz* Israel.[313] However, due to political and social events, it appeared as the only means for the *Yishuv* to succeed in its goal of "conquering" the Promised Land. Nevertheless, the Zionist movement kept the idea of the transfer of population as a feasible option for achieving the Judaisation of historical Palestine, as happened after 1947 with the massive expulsion of Palestinian population.

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[308]KEAL, P. *European Conquest and the Rights of Indigenous Peoples: The Moral Backwardness of International Society*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2003. pp 65-66.
[309]WOLFE, P. "Purchase by Other Means: The Palestine *Nakba* and Zionism's Conquest of Economics". Settler Colonial Studies, Vol. 2 No.1, (2012), pp. 133-177. p 136.

[311]HADAWI, S. Village Statistics 1945; A Classification of Land and Area Ownership in Palestine. Palestine Liberation Organization Research Center, Beirut, 1970. p 39.
[312]MASALHA, N. *Expulsion of the Palestinians: The Concept of "Transfer" in Zionist Political Thought, 1882-1948*. Institute for Palestinian Studies, Washington, 1992. p 14.
[313]*Ibid.* p 158.

Considering the British Mandate provided the preconditions for the *Nakba* to occur. [314]

In the meantime, the Zionist movement realised that the only possible method to create a Jewish State in the future within Palestine, or at least in a part of it, was to produce the conditions to achieve that goal. That goal was directed in two directions: the acquisition of land and the introduction of Jewish immigration into British Mandate Palestine. In the next part of the chapter, I will analyse the three different pillars which the Zionist movement concentrated on to achieve its goals; these were land purchases, immigration and the self-labour force. However, in this thesis I focus on two of them: land and demography.

4.2.4- British Mandate Population Data

In this section and before the actual data of the entities is displayed and analysed, I would like to present some general data related to the sub-districts and the whole British Mandate Palestine (excluding Beersheba). In the first table (4.1) the population of the sub-districts under analysis and the data for the whole Palestine but Beersheba sub-district would appear divided in Arab and Jews. On the hand, in the second table (4.2) the growth rates for each community would appear as well as the results for the whole Mandate Palestine, excluding again Beersheba sub-district.

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[314] WOLFE, P. "Purchase by Other Means: The Palestine *Nakba* and Zionism's Conquest of Economics". Settler Colonial Studies, Vol. 2 No.1, (2012), pp. 133-177. p 134.

Table 4.1- British Mandate population by sub-districts and the whole Palestine

	POPULATION									
	PALESTINE		HAIFA		NAZARETH		JENIN		NABLUS	
	Arabs	Jews	Arabs	Jews	Arabs	Jews	Arabs	Jews	Arabs	Jews
1922[315]	588.758	83.696	47.540	8.745	21.979	700	33.312	7	56.678	17
1931[316]	809.198	174.593	71.860	23.367	25.404	3.172	41.407	4	68.535	10
1938[317]	941.247	392.338	93.416	66.393	29.307	4.397	48.112	2	77.204	4
1945[318]	1.210.920	553.450	120.120	104.510	38.500	7.600	56.680	0	89.200	0

The first two columns contain the population of the whole of Palestine divided in Arabs and Jews for the population sources of 1922, 1931, 1938 and 1945. The same process is carried out for the Haifa, Nazareth, Jenin and Nablus sub-districts.

In the following table the growth rates for the whole of Palestine divided by ethnicity and in six time frames are displayed in the same way as for the Haifa, Nazareth, Jenin and Nablus sub-districts.

[315] BARRON, J.B. *Report and General Abstracts of the Census of 1922.* Greek Convent Press, Jerusalem, October, 1923. pp 3, 23, 32.
[316] MILLS, E. *Census of Palestine 1931. Population of Villages, Towns and Administrative Areas.* Greek Convent Press, Jerusalem, 1932. pp 0, 66, 72, 76,98.
[317] GOVERNMENT OF PALESTINE. *1938 Village Statistics. Statistics Office. Jerusalem, February, 1938.* pp 4,20, 26, 30, 41.
[318] HADAWI, S. *Village Statistics 1945: A Classification of Land and Area Ownership in Palestine.* Palestine Liberation Organization Research Center, Beirut, 1970. p 37.

Table 4.2- British Mandate growth rates by sub-districts and the whole Palestine

GROWTH RATES										
	PALESTINE		HAIFA		NAZARETH		JENIN		NABLUS	
	Arabs	Jews	Arabs	Jews	Arabs	Jews	Arabs	Jews	Arabs	Jews
1922-1931	3,53	8,16	4,59	10,92	1,60	16,78	2,41	-6,21	2,11	-5,89
1931-1945	2,87	8,24	3,66	10,69	2,96	6,24	2,24	0	1,88	0
1922-1945	3,13	8,21	4,03	10,78	2,43	10,36	2,31	0	1,97	0
1922-1938	2,93	9,65	4,22	12,66	1,79	11,48	2,29	-7,89	1,93	-9,04
1931-1938	1,28	11,56	3,74	14,91	2,04	4,66	2,14	-9,9	1,70	-13,08
1938-1945	3,59	4,91	3,59	6,48	3,89	7,81	2,34	0	2,06	0

The growth rates displayed in this table are the general results that show the different increase or decrease patterns of the Arab and Jewish communities. Even though in the following five chapters a deeper demographic analysis would be done, entity-by-entity, I would like to highlight some key points related to the later discussions.

The first key point that I would like to underline is the fact that in all the comparisons, sub-districts where Zionist land purchases have been carried out and for the whole Palestine, between the Arab community and the Jewish one, the latest one increase in higher numbers. The comparisons of increase there are really representative because in some case the increase of the Jewish community is four times bigger. The increase of the Jewish community could not have been supported by natural increase of population and as we will analyse later, the settler colonial project needed for land to settle the newly arrived immigrants, so the demographics on the ground are changed.

In the two sub-districts where the Zionist influences are almost non-existent, the Jewish population numbers there are not relevant, while the Arab community growth rates there follow the expected trends for populations inside a demographic transition process.

Nevertheless, in the following chapters a deeper study will be done analysing the possible reasons that might affect the demographic behaviour of each community.

4.2.5- Land Purchases

In the next chapter, I will analyse the different types of land and processes to purchase land by the different Jewish-owned companies. In this historical framework, I will analyse and describe the first attempts at Jewish immigration in the 1880s and the beginning of the creation of the J.N.F. (Jewish National Fund) in 1901.[319]

Although there were some attempts to settle in Palestine before the 1880s, like Petah Tiqvah in 1878-79,[320] the focus here will be on the settlements after the 1880s. This is the period most scholars regard as being the beginning of modern Jewish immigration into Palestine. The first land purchases in Palestine were made by immigrants granted support for their pioneering movement from Jews from outside of Palestine.

In the beginning, the aid to settle in Palestine came from abroad. The four main places Jews lived at the time were Jerusalem, Safad, Tiberias and Hebron because of their religious importance.[321] However, the new settlements after the 1880s were more agricultural than urban, what in colonial theories would be defined as plantation settlements.[322]

To set up plantation settlements, the first thing that needs to be done is to secure a plot of land. For that purpose, after the failure of the attempt at Petah Tiqvah,[323] and after the pogroms in 1882 in Russia, the Lovers of Zion, Hovevei Zion migrants from Russia and Romania travelled to Palestine in order

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[319]METZER, J. "Jewish Land-Israel Lands: Ethno-Nationalism and Land Regime in Zionism and in Israel, 1897-1967". In *Land Rights, Ethno-nationality and Sovereignty in History* edited by Stanley L. Engerman, and Jacob Metzer. Routledge, New York, 2004. pp 87-111.p 89.

[320]ISSAWI, C. *The Fertile Crescent, 1800-1914: A Documentary Economic*. Oxford University Press, New York & Oxford, 1988. p 337.

[321]PERRY, Y. & YODIM, E. *British Mission to the Jews in Nineteenth-century Palestine.* Routledge, London, 2004. p 21.

[322]ELKINS, C. & PEDERSEN, S. *Settler Colonialism in the Twentieth Century: Projects, Practices, Legacies.* Routledge, London, 2012. p 44.

[323]ISSAWI, C. *The Fertile Crescent, 1800-1914: A Documentary Economic.* Oxford University Press, New York & Oxford, 1988. p 337.

to create plantation settlements.[324] Among these immigrants were some with a more political inclination known as the Biluim.[325] They can be defined as proto-Zionists.

This group was looking to create a homeland for the Jews in Palestine as a base for buying land, which would never return to non-Jewish ownership, creating agricultural settlements where the only members could be Jews and where non-Jewish workers could not be hired. Business would exclusively be in Jewish hands.[326] As we will see throughout this chapter, this definition fits quite well the behaviour of the Zionist companies and precisely with the J.N.F.

This plantation settlement project could not be carried out without economic aid because the immigrants to Palestine were not rich. This aid was directed and supported by the French financier Baron Rothschild and the J.C.A. (Jewish Colonization Association) created by Baron Hirsch.[327] Later, the J.C.A. would change its name to the P.I.C.A. (Palestine Jewish Colonization Association), a Yiddish acronym. This was an agency to help the settlement of Jewish immigrants in Palestine during the Ottoman period and afterwards.

After the first Zionist Congress and by proposition of Hermann Schapira, they decided to establish the J.N.F. to help with the colonisation of Palestine.[328] This did not happen officially until the fifth Zionist Congress in 1901, and they did not start purchasing land until 1903.[329] The J.N.F. was also directed in different directions to aid the Zionist cause in Palestine by buying lands in the countryside as well as properties and smallholdings in the cities.

The aims and policies of the company to succeed in the plantation economy were to continue buying plots of land connected to one another, thus

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[324]PAPPE, I. *The Israel/Palestine Question: A Reader*. Routledge, London, 2007. p 67.
[325]PAPPE, I. *A History of Modern Palestine: One Land, Two Peoples*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004. p 39.
[326]COHEN, M. *Zion and State: Nation, Class, and the Shaping of Modern Israel*. Columbia University Press, New York, 1992. p 94.
[327]KRÄMER, G. & HARMAN, G. *A History of Palestine: From the Ottoman Conquest to the Founding of the State of Israel*. Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 2011. p 114.
[328]METZER, J. "Jewish Land-Israel Lands: Ethno-Nationalism and Land Regime in Zionism and in Israel, 1897-1967". In *Land Rights, Ethno-nationality and Sovereignty in History* edited by Stanley L. Engerman, and Jacob Metzer. Routledge, New York, 2004. pp 87-111.p 89.
[329]"1901: It All Started With a Dream..."
http://www.jnf.org/about-jnf/history/ (06/04/16)

granting access to the Jewish immigrants although they could not afford the payment themselves. The J.N.F. made this possible by working as a state agency to help settle immigrants in the land. The policies of the J.N.F. changed once the Mandate was implemented because British policies were not as restrictive as the Ottoman ones.[330]

In the chapter related to land I will analyse in more depth the legal framework of land purchase and the different reactions and policies of the Jewish-owned companies, British authorities and Arab citizens.

4.2.6- Immigration

Jewish immigration to Palestine started at the beginning of the 1880s during the Ottoman period. Nevertheless, the immigration of the first *Aliyah* was completely different to the following ones.[331] The first *Aliyah* in 1882 can be considered as a spiritual immigration by economically disadvantaged religious Jews who wanted to be closer to their holiest sites.[332] Most of these people were emigrating from Eastern Europe, due to bad economic conditions and *Pogroms.*[333] In 1881 the Tsar of Russia, Alexander II, was assassinated and public opinion pointed to Jewish citizens as the perpetrators.[334] Genocidal massacres followed the assassination and some of the Jews in the Russian Empire felt that they were no longer secure there. Jewish immigration to the Holy Land was not qualified in terms of work skills, and they brought very little money to invest in the region.[335] Beside this, the Ottoman Empire by the end of the 19th century was facing structural economic and political problems.[336] The western powers saw its decadence as an opportunity to expand their economic

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[330]SHILONY, Z. *Ideology and Settlement: The Jewish National Fund, 1897-1914.* Magness Press, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1998. p 16.
[331]PAPPE, I. *A History of Modern Palestine: One Land, Two Peoples.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004.p 39, p 52.
[332]DORON, G. *The Government and Politics of Israel.* Westview Press, Colorado, 1997. p 66.
[333]SAMUELSON, N. M. *An Introduction to Modern Jewish Philosophy.* State University of New York Press, New York, 2012. p 52.
[334]*Ibid.* p 38.
[335]*Ibid.* p 39.
[336]TUCKER, S.C. & ROBERTS, P. *Encyclopedia of the Arab-Israeli Conflict: A Political,Social, and Military History.* ABC-CLIO, California, 2008. p 760.

influence.[337] Palestine was an obvious target based on the interest that could generated in its being the Holy Land.

The first *Aliyah* was from 1882 to 1903,[338] after the pogroms in Russia and until the Kishniev *Pogrom* in 1903.[339] The second started in 1904 and lasted until 1914,[340] when the First World War started. There is a gap between the years of the war and when the next *Aliyah* started. During the war there was apparently no Jewish immigration to Palestine.[341] The next *Aliyah* started after the end of the First World War and continued until the implementation of the British Mandate period in 1923.[342] The fourth *Aliyah* started in 1924 and lasted until the 1929 Wailing Wall riots.[343] The fifth *Aliyah* started after the riots of 1929 and finished with the end of the Arab Revolt and the *1939 White Paper.*[344] After that, Jewish immigration was more restricted. However, there is a last *Aliyah* known as *Aliyah Bet* which lasted from 1939 to 1948, the birth of the Israel.[345] It is necessary to mention that throughout the Mandate and more precisely when the restrictions on immigration happened, the Jewish community tried to pursue illegal immigration into Palestine.[346]

During the different *Aliyahs* the types of immigration changed. More skilled workers and more politicised people constituted the second *Aliyah* compared to the first one.[347] We can state that the members of the second wave of immigrants were politicised Zionists helping to construct the state of Israel. In this second *Aliyah,* we can find prominent members of the future state such as Ben Gurion, Weizmann and Moshe Sharett.

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[337]ISMAEL, T. Y., & ISMAEL, J. S. *Government and Politics in Islam.* F. Pinter, London, 1985. p 26.
[338]*Ibid.* p xiv.
[339]KLIER, J. D. & LAMBROZA, S. *Pogroms: Anti-Jewish Violence in Modern Russian History.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004.p 172.
[340]PAPPE, I. *A History of Modern Palestine: One Land, Two Peoples.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004. p xiv
[341]METZER, J. *The Divided Economy of Mandatory Palestine.* Cambrigde University Press, Cambridge, 1998. p 14.
[342]BERNSTEIN, D. S. *Pioneers and Homemakers: Jewish Women in Pre-State Israel.* State Uiversity of New York Press, New York, 2012. p 191.
[343]*Ibid.* p 6.
[344]*Ibid.*
[345]HESKES, I. *Passport to Jewish Music: Its History, Traditions, and Culture.* Greenwood Publishing Group, California, 1994. p 242.
[346]*Ibid.*
[347]PAPPE, I. *A History of Modern Palestine: One Land, Two Peoples.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004. p 52.

As mentioned previously, when analysing the Zionist political ideas on transfer, the immigrants of the second *Aliyah* were those who brought the idea of a Jewish State with them. Zionist ideology, from the very beginning, understood that there was no place for two peoples in the same land. A solution was needed for the "Arab problem". Again and again throughout the thesis the importance of demography to the Zionist project needs to be repeated. This is the basis of the Zionist project concerning *Eretz* Israel, the immigration of the Jewish population with the view to eventually become the demographic majority. In the theoretical chapter, I have emphasised the theoretical framework of settler colonial projects. The Zionist project and most of the other projects rely on being the demographic majority to survive.

Land purchases and immigration, legal and illegal, until the declaration of the State of Israel, were the basis of the Zionist project to succeed in their enterprise. However, there is another factor that needs to be considered: the idea of the "conquest of labour".[348]

4.2.7- The Self-Labour Force

The Zionist project, as a settler colonial project, seeks to control all the structures of life, including the markets. The two previous pillars of the Zionist project were directed towards the idea of creating a sovereign entity in the historical land of Palestine. However, the acquisition of lands and immigration is not enough when there is a large majority of non-settlers in the land needed for settlement. The settlers also need to take over the labour in order to displace the native population and control the economic structures.

The main area that relates to this research is that of land labour. City markets, shops and unions are not going to be analysed in this thesis, even though the importance of these entities to the Zionist conquest of labour were significant. This research, however, is focussed on the countryside where the demographic changes and land purchases are more visible than in the cities.

The immigration of the *Aliyahs*, mainly from Europe, was not agricultural. The immigrants were not very familiar with agricultural work and the climatic

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[348]SHAFIR, G. *Land, Labor and the Origins of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict 1882-1914.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1989. pp 59-61.

conditions of Palestine.[349] The first attempts to settle in the late 19th century were not as successful as some of the pioneers had expected. As mentioned before, the first settlements survived due to external aid, mainly from Baron Rothschild.[350]

The first settlements did not deny the Arab land force the right to be employed in their settlements. That was a common pattern and the Arab population moved close to the settlements where the land force was needed.[351] Apart from the Bilu members, the first settlements did not refuse cheap Arab labour. However, this changed after the second *Aliyah,* which was more politicised.

The policies of the J.N.F. in the settlements owned by the Fund were quite clear about using the Arab labour force. The land acquired by the J.N.F. was considered redeemed and it was not possible to return the title to non-Jewish ownership under any circumstances.[352] The policies of hiring labour were strict for the J.N.F; Arab labour was not allowed.[353]

However, all the Jewish-owned companies and parties did not follow the same pattern. The J.C.A., sponsored by Baron Rothschild, hired Arab workers for their settlements[354] for a variety of reasons. The Arab workers had wide experience working under hard climatic conditions while the Jewish immigrants, mainly from Europe, were not familiar with the new roles needed to harvest in the Middle East. Furthermore, the Arab workers were considered cheap labour. The salaries paid to the Arab workers were lower than those paid to Jewish workers.[355] The Jewish immigrants, also, were more used to living in cities and the country lifestyle was not as attractive as life in the city. Many newly arrived

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[349]PAPPE, I. *A History of Modern Palestine: One Land, Two Peoples.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004. p 39.
[350]SHAFIR, G. & LEVINE, M. *Struggle and Survival in Palestine/Israel.* University of California Press, California, 2012. p 68.
[351]SHAFIR, G. *Land, Labor and the Origins of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict 1882-1914.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1989 .p 62.
[352]*Ibid.* pp xi-xii.
[353]*Ibid.* p xi.
[354]DE VRIES, D. *Strike Action and Nation Building: Labor Unrest in Palestine/Israel, 1899-1951.* Berghahn Books, New York & Oxford, 2015. p 22.
[355]SHAFIR, G. *Land, Labor and the Origins of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict 1882-1914.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1989 .p 61.

immigrants preferred to stay in cities as mid-level skilled workers rather than live in kibbutzim and settlements.[356]

Some of the companies and parties that did not follow the self-labour policies from the beginning faced pressures from the J.N.F. to stop hiring from the Arab land force.[357] One of the first attempts to replace Arab labour was carried out by bringing Yemenite Jews to harvest the settlements.[358] The Yemenite Jews were used to the Middle Eastern climate and the salaries were lower than those paid to the European Jews.[359] The main problem with this solution was that Yemenite Jews were not treated in the same way as Ashkenazi Jews and that caused problems in the movement with demands for equality and some strikes.[360] The Jews from the Arab World and the Palestinians were not the same, but they shared the same language and many cultural characteristics.[361] Yet the bringing in of Mizrahi Jews was not a success in the beginning.

Considering all the effort to halt the Arab workers in the Jewish-owned settlements, by the end of the British Mandate there were still some settlements that were using an Arab land force, despite all the Zionist political pressures.[362] The idea of controlling labour was carried out by different political parties, but was not uniform among all the Jews in Palestine. Nevertheless, by the end of the British Mandate period the clashes between both communities increased as did the division and violence between them. These events also affected the land market and the distrust for each other.

These three different pillars of Zionist ideology: the purchase of land, Jewish immigration and the control of labour affected the daily life of the Palestinian peasants and destroyed the old structures of their society. The consequences of these changes can be analysed in different features of

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[356]PAPPE, I. *A History of Modern Palestine: One Land, Two Peoples.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004. p 52.

[357]DE VRIES, D. *Strike Action and Nation Building: Labor Unrest in Palestine/Israel, 1899-1951.* Berghahn Books, New York & Oxford, 2015. p 22.

[358]SHAFIR, G. *Land, Labor and the Origins of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict 1882-1914.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1989 .p 103

[359]*Ibid.* p 116.

[360]*Ibid.* pp 116-120.

[361]*Ibid.* pp 117-120.

[362]DE VRIES, D. *Strike Action and Nation Building: Labor Unrest in Palestine/Israel, 1899-1951.* Berghahn Books, New York & Oxford, 2015. p 22.

Palestinian society. The landless Arab problem is, I maintain, central to the broader picture of the Zionist settler colonial project during the British Mandate.

4.3- TRANSFER

There are different ways of dealing with the different stages of a settler colonial project. As we have been observing before in settler colonial cases such as South Africa, the indigenous land force was needed for production. This is the way in which colonisation takes advantage of the indigenous population because it is basically interested in raw materials and economic profits.[363] However, the settler colonial target is the land; there is no settler colonialism without access to land. However, the use of the native population as the work force is closely linked to some settler colonial examples, as Lorenzo Veracini described. Settler colonialism uses this argument as a base; "work for me until you leave or disappear".[364]

This is the stage that this thesis wants to emphasise, the period where there was still an indigenous population majority and the settlers needed to become the majority in order to secure the settler colonial project. Analysing settler colonial cases there are three main options to succeed in a project. The first one, and quite obvious, is to exterminate the local population. This is what happened in Australia for example where the aborigines were almost completely annihilated.[365]

The second option is to expel the indigenous population, meaning violent expulsion. There is no such thing as non-violent expulsion. No one leaves their homeland without an evident threat. An example of this happened in the 1947-49 war in Palestine.[366] There are scholars that defend the idea that a master plan was prepared to expel almost half of the indigenous population of Palestine.[367] The settlers needed the demographic majority to secure their

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[363]BETHELL, L. *Colonial Spanish America.* Cambridge University Press Archive, Cambridge, 1987. p 315.
[364]VERACINI, L. Past is Present: Settler Colonialism in Palestine. *"Overcoming Zionism, Dismantling Settler Colonialism."*
https://vimeo.com/album/2456546 Min: 4:10-4:20 (11/11/2015)
[365]JONES, A. *Genocide: A Comprehensive Introduction*. Routledge, London, 2010. p 119.
[366]PAPPE, I. *The Making of the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1947-1951*. I.B.Tauris, London, 1994. pp 88-89.
[367]*Ibid*. p 89.

settler colonial project and the war allowed them to create the physical change in the land under claim for facilitating future colonisation.

The last option is to transfer the population. When there is no option of expelling the indigenous population because of political and social conditions, the transfer of population is the most achievable method to create physical space for future colonisation. Expulsion differs from transfer in that the former does not imply any final known destination, whilst the transfer of population implies a known destination. The political situation during the British Mandate only allowed the Zionists to proceed or try to proceed with the idea of transfer by means of small displacements of population because of the reluctance of the colonial government to massive population transfers.[368] This historical procedure will be analysed in chapter number four.

Veracini analyses the different types of population transfer. For the purpose of this thesis I will analyse those that relate to the period under research. As has been pointed out throughout the thesis, the characteristics of settler colonialism change from one case study to another and not all the population transfers described by Veracini fit into this case study.[369] Beside this, not all the characteristics of the Palestinian case study can be applied to the Australian one; even if there are similarities.

I have considered ten different types of transfers that could be applied to the case study of Palestine during the British Mandate. Veracini named the first case that could be applied as ethnic transfer defined by the forcible deportation of indigenous communities, either within or outside the territory controlled by the settler entity.[370] The main idea of this process is to create the physical space for the colonisers. During this type of transfer, the same problem will be faced over and again; how to distinguish a voluntary transfer from a coerced migration if there is not proof of it.

KHALIDI, W. *"Plan Dalet: Master Plan for the Conquest of Palestine."* Journal of Palestine Studies, Vol. 18, No. 1, Special Issue: Palestine 1948 (Autumn,1988), pp. 4-33.
[368]MASALHA, N. *Expulsion of the Palestinians: The Concept of "Transfer" in Zionist Political Thought, 1882-1948*. Institute for Palestinian Studies, Washington, 1992. p 31.
[369]VERACINI, L. *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview.* Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2010. p 35-52.
[370]*Ibid.* p 35.

The next type of transfer is called conceptual displacement as in the case of indigenous peoples not being considered indigenous to the land and therefore perceived as exogenous to *Others* who have entered the settler space at some point in time and preferably after the arrival of the settler collective.[371]

The political discourse of the Zionist movement tried to emphasise that the Palestinians were Arabs and being Arabs could live in any Arab country; indeed that their homeland was not Palestine and they were actually recently arrived migrants.[372] As has been discussed before in the sub-section about claims and settlers' perception of the native population, this is one of the cases where settlers deny the indigenous identity of the indigenous population to gain claims over the land.

The next type of population transfer analysed by Veracini is that of the civilizational transfer, whereby indigenous peoples in their supposed traditional form are represented as putative settlers.[373] The settlers describe the indigenous population as non-indigenous to the land trying to find to for them different origins and historical connections. For example, Russell McGregor has pointed out that during the first half of the twentieth century, "a significant strand of scientific opinion has held the Australian Aboriginals to be racially akin to the Caucasians".[374] Using this theory the indigenous population at some point in the past they had been settlers so the transfer of population is not about transferring indigenous population but population that is not original from the land.

The fourth kind of population transfer is that of perception transfer where the indigenous peoples are disavowed in a variety of ways and their actual presence is not registered.[375] One of the consequences is that when the

[371]*Ibid.*
[372]PETEET, J. *Landscape of Hope and Despair: Palestinian Refugee Camps.* University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 2011. p 43.
LOCKMAN, Z. *Comrades and Enemies. Arab and Jewish Workers in Palestine, 1906-1948.* University of California Press, California, 1996. p 380.
[373]VERACINI, L. *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview.* Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2010. p 36.
[374]McGREGOR, R. *Imagined Destinies: Aboriginal Australians and the Doomed Race Theory, 1880-1939.* Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 2012. p 156.
[375]VERACINI, L. *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview.* Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2010. p 37.

existing indigenous people enter the field of settler perception, they are deemed to have entered the settler space and can therefore be considered exogenous.

The best illustration of this is the famous phrase by Zangwill previously mentioned; "A land without people, for a people without land".[376] The indigenous population does not exist inside the mind of the settler, so there is no problem in transferring them. From a more local perspective the Zionists were clamming to settle and buy lands that were not occupied. As we will see and discuss during the thesis this narrative is not accurate and the local population was affected by the settlements.

The next type of transfer is not physical, but is far more important because it allows and gives the right of transfer. I am talking about the narrative transfer. Lorenzo Veracini divides the narrative transfer into four different categories; I will highlight three of them because I think that these fit comfortably into the frame of the thesis.

The first type of narrative transfer occurs when indigenous people are represented as hopelessly backward, as an undeveloped specimen of a primitive form of humanity inhabiting pockets of the past surrounded by contemporaneity.[377]

This type of narrative transfer has been discussed before in the analysis of the treatment of the native population by settlers. Using this narrative, the settlers create a right to the land, the discourse of the better use of the land or how enlightened they are compared to the poor and backward indigenous population. This is just an excuse to dispossess them.

The second class of population transfer is when a "tide of history" rationale is invoked to deny legitimacy to on-going indigenous presences and grievances.[378] The best example of this case is the claims of the Zionist movement to the Promised Land even when the movement was secular. The Zionist movement used the historical connections of the Jews with Palestine to

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[376]BENHABIB, S. *The Reluctant Modernism of Hannah Arendt*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Maryland, 2003. p 42.
[377]VERACINI, L. *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview*. Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2010. p 41.
[378]*Ibid.* p 41.

create a moral legitimacy over the land.[379] Furthermore, this legitimacy erased any kind of claims that the indigenous population had over the land.

The last type of narrative transfer is when claims are made saying that "settlers are also indigenous peoples". This focuses on settler continuity, and emphasises how the settler ethnogenesis happened to the land.[380] As discussed before, the idea of the Zionists being the descendants of the Jews expelled by the Romans gave them that indigenisation that was so needed for their political rights and narrative. They were returning to a land from where they had been expelled two thousand years ago.[381] The Jews were the indigenous population of that land from the Zionist political point of view.[382] Thus, the Palestinians, the indigenous Arab population based on this logic, lost all its rights over the land.

The next type of transfer is called transfer by settler indigenisation. This happens when settler groups claim current indigenous status.[383] United States citizens use this slogan; *"born in the USA: We are Native Americans"* to refer to white persons born in the United States.[384] In Israel the same pattern occurs. Using this logic, the actual indigenous population loses its indigenousness. The right to the land of indigenous inhabitants loses its value because under settler ideology the settlers are indigenous to the land. Occasionally the settlers also appropriate indigenous cultural features so the actual indigenous population become marginalised.

The last clear connection between the work of this thesis and the different types of transfer is the transfer by racialisation whereby "blackness" and "whiteness" are seen as categories fundamentally defining the social body

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[379]TORSTRICK, R. L. *The Limits of Coexistence: Identity Politics in Israel.* University of Michigan Press, Michigan, 2000. p 146.

[380]VERACINI, L. *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview.* Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2010. p 42.

[381]TORSTRICK, R. L. *The Limits of Coexistence: Identity Politics in Israel.* University of Michigan Press, Michigan, 2000. p 146.

[382]WALLACE, C. D. *Foundations of the International Legal Rights of the Jewish People and the State of Israel: Implications for a New Palestinian State.* Creation House, Florida, 2012. pp 70-71.

[383]VERACINI, L. *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview.* Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2010. p 46.

[384]MIHESUAH, D. A. & WILSON, A. C. *Indigenizing the Academy: Transforming Scholarship and Empowering Communities.* University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 2004. p 44.

in accordance to what Charles W. Mills has authoritatively described as the "racial contract".[385] The clearest example is what happened in the Southern States of the USA, where the slaves were used in the big plantations. However, the racialisation within the Israeli/Palestinian conflict also needs to be taken into consideration. We can discuss racial or ethnic differences, but the conclusion is basically the same. On the basis of a diverse racial or ethnic origin the rights of the non-settler population are ignored or dismissed. The non-Jews according to the settler colonial ideology do not have the same rights as the native Jewish settlers.[386]

The last three types of transfer can be applied to the case study even though they happened after the end of the period of this study. However, it would be interesting to keep them in mind in order to understand the consequences of the settler colonial project during the British Mandate. The administrative transfer happened when the administrative borders of the settler policy were redrawn and the indigenous people lost the entitlements they had retained in the context of previous arrangements.[387]

This example could be applied to the West Bank and Gaza before and after the 1967 war. Previously, the Palestinians there were under a different administration. Once the war ended the administration changed and did not provide them with rights, whereby they were exposed to an administrative transfer of population to create physical space for the colonisation of the West Bank and Gaza.[388] Another example of this would be what happened to the Bedouins in the Negev. Under administrative laws they were dispossessed from the land and made to live in developing cities changing both their life styles and habits.[389]

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[385]MILLS, C. W. *The Racial Contract.* Cornell University Press, New York, 2014. pp 3-4.
[386]ATTWELL, K. *Jewish-Israeli National Identity and Dissidence: The Contradictions of Zionism and Resistance.* Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2015. p 65.
[387]VERACINI, L*. Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview*. Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2010. p 44.
[388]DREW, C. J. "Self Determination, Population Transfer and the Middle East Peace Accords." In the Human Rights, Self-Determination and Political Change in the Occupied Palestinian Territories, edited by BOWEN, S. pp 119-169. Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague, 1997. pp 146-154.
[389]ROY, A. & ALSAYYAD, N. *Urban Informality: Transnational Perspectives from the Middle East, Latin America, and South Asia.* Lexington Books, Maryland, 2004. p 228.

The next two types of transfer are referred to as diplomatic transfer and non-diplomatic transfer. Diplomatic transfer happens when indigenous people are constrained within sovereign or semi-sovereign political entities.[390] In this case, as a territorial section of the settler-controlled locale is excised from the settler body politic, an indigenous population is transferred outside of the settler entity's population economy.[391] The best example for this type of transfer is the semi-autonomous Palestinian Authority created after the Oslo accords.

Non-diplomatic transfer happens when the settler entity retains paramount control but ostensibly relinquishes responsibility for a specific area.[392] The best example of this is what happened in Gaza and is still happening today; Israel withdrew from the Gaza strip while keeping control of it.

These are the main ideas concerning the transfer of population within the settler colonial ideology described in this thesis. In the following sub-section, we will match these different transfer types to the results of the case study.

Zionists did not have any moral problem in transferring the Arab population from the land that Arabs had been cultivating for decades.[393] In their view, population transfer would solve the "Arab problem".[394] Zionist leaders employed different options at distinct times to resettle the Palestinian farmers, and while their plans changed depending on British manoeuvres, the main idea of the political transfer was always that it was a means to secure the future state.

Chaim Weizmann, who later became the first president of the State of Israel,[395] stated several times that Palestine was a land for the Jews and the Palestinians already had the Arab world to settle in. In the conference at Paris after the First World War, he stated, "I want a Jewish Palestine as England is

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[390]VERACINI, L. *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview*. Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2010. p 45.
[391]*Ibid.*
[392]*Ibid.*
[393]MASALHA, N. *Expulsion of the Palestinians: The Concept of "Transfer" in Zionist Political Thought, 1882-1948*. Institute for Palestinian Studies, Washington, 1992. p 137.
[394]*Ibid.* p 37.
[395]PAPPE, I. *A History of Modern Palestine: One Land, Two Peoples*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004. p 307.

English".[396] Moreover, Weizmann referred to the Palestinians as "rocks of Judea that should be removed out of the way".[397] The political discourse of the Zionist leaders was quite similar. The main problem they faced was that they could not openly suggest the transfer of the Palestinian population to Transjordan, Iraq or Syria because such a political statement would have inflamed the tensions between the British, Palestinians and Zionists even more.

As Nur Masalha researched in his book, *The Expulsion of the Palestinians: The Concept of "Transfer" in Zionist Political Thought, 1882-1948,*[398] the Zionist leaders in written form and at meetings always defended the need for transferring the Arab population out of the land of *Eretz* Israel.[399] Some comparisons were made with the Greeks, Turks and the Balkan States,[400] but they refused to express such comparisons and proposals to the British.

The different political parties within the Zionist ideology did not differ much on the main idea of transfer. From the Revisionists to the parties on the left, the idea of transfer was the preferred solutions for Zionist politicians to solve the Arab problem.[401]

Later on, we will discuss these topics in greater depth. First, however, we need to stop and clarify some points about the land and the Palestinian population from the Zionist point of view. In the next sub-chapter, as we will see, the land is the main issue for all settler colonialist ideologies and the Zionists were no different. The two crucial things for the Zionists were to control the land and the matter of demographic balance. Therefore, the Zionists were well aware of the problems with purchasing land[402] and the demographic balance of their "future state" as well as the options to solve that problem: namely, the transference of population.

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[396]MASALHA, N. *Expulsion of the Palestinians: The Concept of "Transfer" in Zionist Political Thought, 1882-1948*. Institute for Palestinian Studies, Washington, 1992. p 31.
[397]*Ibid.* p 38.
[398]MASALHA, N. *Expulsion of the Palestinians: The Concept of "Transfer" in Zionist Political Thought, 1882-1948.* Institute for Palestinian Studies, 1992.
[399]*Ibid.* p 136.
[400]*Ibid.* p 53.
[401]*Ibid.* p 37.
[402]*Ibid.* p 25

Before discussing the option of transferring the Palestinian population from *Eretz* Israel to Transjordan or, even better for the Revisionists, to Iraq and Syria,[403] the claims over the land and the dis-indigenisation of the native population need to be highlighted as means of asserting moral control over the indigenous population.

The Zionist movement, as with other settler colonial movements, worked in three main directions to deny the Palestinians the right to the land they had been working for centuries. The first means was to deny the existence of a population over the claimed land. As I will analyse later, this type of claim was not advantageous to them due to the fact that Palestine was populated and it was not a very difficult thing to prove. The second tool to win the claim over the land was the effort to show the native population to be backward tribes and people that were not able to develop and use the land and harvest properly.[404] European Jews saw themselves as morally superior to the seminomadic, backward tribes of Arabs that populated the land. There would be no problem, some believed, in expelling them because the Zionists would make better use of the land that had been promised to them. The third mechanism was to deny the fact that the Palestinians had ever existed as a separate people. They were just part of the bigger Arab population. Consequently, there was no such thing as Palestinians or the Palestinian nation[405] and therefore no problem at all in transferring them to their real homeland in Iraq, Syria or other Arab countries.[406]

The main galvanizing idea of this movement was to win the claim over the land under dispute. The Zionist movement achieved its first big step towards "statehood" when the Balfour Declaration was proclaimed.[407] However, it was a very ambiguous document and the political path that was needed to achieve statehood was a long one. Once they had achieved the first step, the claim over the land, or at least a part of it, they prepared for the next one. This problem

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[403]MASALHA, N. *Imperial Israel and the Palestinians: The Politics of Expansion*. Pluto Press, Virginia & London, 2000. p 60.
[404]MASALHA, N. *Expulsion of the Palestinians: The Concept of "Transfer" in Zionist Political Thought, 1882-1948*. Institute for Palestinian Studies, Washington, 1992. p 33.
[405]*Ibid.* p 40.
[406]*Ibid.* p 41.
[407]QUIGLEY, J. B. *The Case for Palestine: An International Law Perspective*. Duke University Press, North Carolina, 2005. p 10.

was that the land was owned by others and the demographic balance was not adequate to establish any type of homeland. Something had to be done.

The land needed to pass from Arab hands to Zionist ones so that the Arabs would leave in order to create more physical space for colonisation. The main problem that they faced was that the British were in power there and were not considering the option of transferring the Arab population anywhere.[408]

The Zionist leaders always tried to demonstrate the advantages of transferring the Arab population to other countries.[409] This would, they argued, help to develop Syria and Iraq; even the Zionist movement was willing to pay for the resettlement of the Arab farmers outside the land of *Eretz* Israel.[410] However, they knew that they could not carry out such a project without the help of the British authorities.[411] Without using public statements to propose such an idea, they kept in contact with British officials to discover what they thought about the idea of transferring the Palestinians somewhere else.[412]

The Zionists also considered transference in terms of physical space a priority for future colonisation. There was no possibility of a state where the ruling ethnicity was a minority. Such a case was not sustainable and the Zionist leaders knew it. That was why the concept of transfer was so important for the survival of the Israeli state. Ben-Gurion once pointed out that both Arabs and Jews wanted to become the majority.[413]

As mentioned at the beginning of the sub-section, the Zionists were quite aware that without the support of the British authorities their goal could not be achieved. They started collecting information and prepared two different commissions to discuss and analyse the possibility of the transfer option.[414] The main Zionist leaders dreamed of having *Eretz* Israel empty for their

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[408]MASALHA, N. *Expulsion of the Palestinians: The Concept of "Transfer" in Zionist Political Thought, 1882-1948*. Institute for Palestinian Studies, Washington, 1992. p 63.
[409]*Ibid*. pp 22-23.
[410]*Ibid*. p 22.
[411]*Ibid*. pp 67,79.
[412]*Ibid*. p 56.
[413]*Ibid*. p 39.
[414]*Ibid*. pp 94,102.

colonisation.[415] Once they faced the reality, they tried to find different options using diplomacy and fieldwork.

The Zionists were entirely aware of the scarcity of land available for settling, as Arthur Ruppin wrote:

> …land is the most vital condition for our settlements in Palestine. But since there is hardly any land which is worth cultivating that is not already being cultivated, it is found that wherever we purchase land and settle it, by necessity its present cultivators are turned away… In the future it will be much more difficult to purchase land, as sparsely populated land hardly exists. What remains is densely (Arab) populated land.[416]

As Ruppin states, there was no sparsely populated land, and as we will see later, the Zionist land purchases turned the cultivators of the land away. This is a very important thing to keep in mind because it is one of the key aspects to understanding the landless Arab problem and the settler colonial project of the Zionist movement.

Indeed, the Zionists knew that the land was already populated, but they pretended to deny the link between the Arabs and Palestine by pointing out that the Arabs had other lands to live in, meaning this land could be entirely for the Jews. As Moshe Beilinson, a writer, Labour leader and close associate of Ben Gurion wrote in 1929:

> There is a fundamental and decisive difference between the situation of the Arabs as a nation and that of the Jews as a nation. Palestine is not needed by the Arabs from the national point of view. They are bound to other centres. There, in Syria, in Iraq, in the Arabian Peninsula lies the homeland of the Arab people.[417]

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[415] *Ibid.* p 11.
[416] *Ibid.* p 11.
[417] *Ibid.* p 20.

Once the indigenous population of Palestine was stripped of its indigeneity the Zionists were openly able to suggest that the population should be moved to other countries. There was, however, a big problem with this plan. The British authorities were the only ones who had the authority to allow the population transfers that the Zionists were contemplating. As Chaim Weizmann, the head of the World Zionist Organisation, stated:

> For my part, as a life-long Zionist, I never had any doubt that the creation of a National Home for the Jews must result in the establishment of the State of Israel and that the consequences of this must be faced. I thought, and said long ago, that a steadily increasing immigration of Jews from all over the world to a country the size of Wales, without great natural sources, was quite unrealistic unless accompanied by some resettlement of the Arab population. This could, and should, have been carried out between thirty and forty years ago by the British Government, on lavish lines, when they had both the power and the money to do it. How, otherwise, could they hope to implement the pledges they had given?[418]

Weizmann openly suggested that the British forces would carry out the transfers of population because they had made a promise to the Jews, according to the Zionist interpretation of the Balfour Declaration. He also realised that the British Government was the only entity capable of undertaking such a big task because they had the power and the money to do it. Thus, it is important to realise that the promises made by the British, from Weizmann's point of view should not take into consideration one of the principles contained within the promise to the Jews in the Balfour Declaration. As pointed out before, in the Balfour declaration it was clearly underlined that: "nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine". [419] Moreover, Weizmann understood the definition of homeland as meaning a sovereign state. As Veracini explains: "Normally,

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[418]*Ibid.* p 16.
[419]" The Balfour Declaration"
http://www.mfa.gov.il/mfa/foreignpolicy/peace/guide/pages/the%20balfour%20declaration.aspx (10/12/2015)

sovereignty is understood as one basic criterion defining a political space, and a territory is defined in its unity as the extension of a particular sovereignty and jurisdiction."[420]

The Zionists understood that they alone could not carry out such a large task and the British rejected the possibility of transferring Arabs outside the boundaries of the Mandate. Zionist leaders realised that without big transfers sponsored by the British they would need to limit themselves to small ones. This is a key aspect for this thesis; the Zionists realised that the land was occupied, the people were not willing to leave it and the British authorities were not willing to help with transfers. The Zionists decided to carry out small transfers of peasants through land purchases once they owned the land. However, this procedure, rather than a transfer was an eviction or displacement. A transfer, whether violent or not, includes a destination, from point A to point B, while a displacement or eviction does not have a specific destination for those who have been expelled.

These are the thoughts the Zionist leaders had about the native population of Palestine, but the difficulties they faced only allowed them to buy small plots of land and to expel the population that was living on and harvesting that land. The Mapai leader, David Hacohen, explained the implementation of these policies:

> I remember being one of the first of our comrades (of the Ahdut Ha'avodah) to go to London after the First World War… There I became a socialist…(In Palestine) I had to fight my friends on the issue of Jewish socialism, to defend the fact that I would not accept Arabs in my trade union, the Histadrut; to defend preaching to housewives that they not buy at Arab stores; to prevent Arab workers from getting jobs there… To pour kerosene on Arab tomatoes; to attack Jewish housewives in the markets and smash the Arab eggs they had bought; to praise to the skies the Kereen Kayemet (Jewish National Fund) that

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[420]VERACINI, L. *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview.* Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2010. p 53.

sent Hankin to Beirut to buy land from absentee effendi (landlords) and to throw the fellahin (peasants) off the land - to buy dozens of *dunams* - from an Arab is permitted, but to sell, God forbid, one Jewish dunam to an Arab is prohibited.[421]

This statement from Hacohen describes perfectly the policies carried out by the Zionist movement to achieve their goals in Palestine. Also, this quote shows the confluence of Zionism, socialism and racism, and how Zionists drew the line based on racial bases rather than class fraternity as would have been coherent with socialist thought.

In the next parts of this chapter we will analyse the history of the land problem of British Mandate Palestine. In addition, the consequences of the Zionist policies will be analysed in the last part of the chapter in order to address the landless Arab problem.

4.4- LAND INTRODUCTION

The aim of this sub-chapter is to give a general overview of the Palestinian land question. In this way, the reader will be able to connect the demographic picture of Palestine with Zionist land purchases, highlighting the consequences of a specific settler colonial project. As we will discuss later, access to land ownership and transfer records was not possible during the course of this research. However, a short summary of the main factors related to the land question and the process of land purchase will be helpful to connect the importance of the land problem with the demographic procedure carried out in this thesis.

At the beginning of the thesis, the aim of the research was to compare all the demographic results with the available Zionist land transfers to analyse the possible connections between Zionist land policies and the decrease in the Arab population within a broader settler colonial framework. However, the limitations of the land transfer archives did not allow the research to fulfil the goal set at the outset. Nevertheless, the importance of the land question in

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[421]MASALHA, N. *Expulsion of the Palestinians: The Concept of "Transfer" in Zionist Political Thought,* 1882-1948. Institute for Palestinian Studies, Washington, 1992. p 25.

Palestine revealed by this thesis made it necessary to produce a short chapter in order to explain the main characteristics and historical relevancy of this topic.

The settler colonial project cannot be understood without realising the importance of access to land. Patrick Wolfe stated: "the primary motive for elimination is not race (or religion, ethnicity, grade of civilization, etc.) but access to territory. Territoriality is settler colonialism's specific, irreducible element".[422] Emigration to Palestine could not be carried out without access to the land. Before being able to consider the importance of the Zionist emigration to Palestine in order to achieve a demographic majority, the first step was to get access to the land. Without this there was no chance of establishing the second goal of the settler colonial project. This is why it was decided to write one short separate chapter for the land question apart from the main historical framework of the period.

4.4.1- Land Classification

First to be analysed are the different types of Ottoman lands. Even though not all of them were in Palestine, a general overview will be helpful in understanding the Ottoman land legacy. The Ottoman Land Law was divided into five different categories with some sub-categories:[423]

Mulk,[424] by definition, was private land. The owner was able to freely sell without state intervention. In addition, some *Mulk* lands could be turned over for pious uses and would become *Waqf Sahih,* allodial land in mortmain tenure.

Miri[425] could be defined as state land. It was state land leased in usufruct. The grant of *Miri* land was conditional on an immediate payment known as "the price of the land" or an annual tithe, depending on the productivity of the land. The British authorities changed the tithe to a land tax. However, the usufruct

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[422]WOLFE, P. *"Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native."* Journal of Genocide Research, Vol. 8, No. 4, (December, 2006), pp. 387-409. p 388.
[423]HADAWI, S. *Palestinian Rights & Losses in 1948, A Comprehensive Study*. Saqi Books, London, 1988. pp 36-42.
STEIN, K. W. *The Land Question in Palestine, 1917-1939*. University of North Carolina Press, North Carolina, 1984. pp 10-15.
[424]GOADBY, F. M. and DOUKHAN, M. S. *The Land Law of Palestine.* Shoshany's Printing Co, Tel Aviv, 1935. p 37.
[425]*Ibid.* p 17.

land could be converted into *Mulk* land through special state permission. This turned into a formality and *Miri* lands were often changed into *Mulk* ones.

Waqf[426] was land related to religious purposes. During Ottoman times, two different types of *Waqf* land could be identified. The first was connected to *Mulk* land and known as *Waqf Sahih,* whilst the second related to *Miri* land was known as *Waqf Ghar Sahih*. *Waqf Sahih* was *Mulk* land leased out for religious purposes, while *Waqf Ghar Sahih* was *Miri* land leased out by permission of the sultan.

Matruka[427] lands were left for general public and community use. There is no reliable evidence as to whether such a category existed in Palestine.

Mewat[428] lands were considered unoccupied, hilly or grazing grounds, estimated to be almost 50 per cent of all the land in Palestine.

Mahlul[429] *were Miri* lands left uncultivated for three years and turned over to State administration control.

Mudawwara[430] lands were those turned over from private ownership to that of the Sultan. The largest area of land under this definition was in the Beisan sub-district.

Musha[431] *were* communal areas normally kept by villages or communities for grazing.

These are the main land categories although not all of them existed in Palestine. Zionist companies and individuals tried to purchase lands under Arab or state ownership once the British authorities had taken control of Palestine.

Apart from the lands mentioned above, Sami Hadawi also divided the land in Palestine into three distinct categories: good-quality land, medium-

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[426]*Ibid.* p 69.
[427]*Ibid.* p 52.
[428]*Ibid.* p 44.
[429]STEIN, K. W. *The Land Question in Palestine, 1917-1939*. University of North Carolina Press, North Carolina, 1984. pp 13.
[430]*Ibid.* p 14.
[431]*Ibid.*

quality land and poor-quality land.[432] Zionist companies were of course more interested in the good-quality lands and precisely those on the Coastal Plain and in the northern valleys.

4.4.2- Ottoman Legacy

The land registry in Ottoman Palestine was far from being accurate. Due to different social and economic situations, the person cultivating the land rarely had all the documents to prove ownership.[433] Sometimes that person was not even the owner of the land.

As mentioned before, after analysing some of the antecedents related to the *effendis*' ownership, the Ottoman land property registry was not accurate. The next part of the thesis will focus on the different reasons why peasants did not have the necessary legal documents to prove their ownership.[434] The rural population of Palestine did not trust the Ottoman officials who collected the taxes so they used to lie about the amount of land that they owned to pay less in taxes.[435] Others did not provide information about the land they owned for the same reason.[436] Another case was when the owners refused to declare the land that they owned in order to avoid military service,[437] which was compulsory under Ottoman law.[438]

A further example was when there were documents related to ownership of the land, but the owner had died. The ownership of the land was in the name of a family member, but when the owner died no one bothered to change the ownership document.[439]

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[432]HADAWI, S. *Palestinian Rights & Losses in 1948, A Comprehensive Study*. Saqi Books, London, 1988. pp 33-34.

[433]SILBERSTEIN, L.J. *New Perspectives on Israeli History: The Early Years of the State.* New York University Press, New York, 1991. p 61.

[434]PAPPE, I. *A History of Modern Palestine: One Land, Two Peoples*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004. p 95.

[435]STEIN, K. W. *The Land Question in Palestine, 1917-1939.* University of North Carolina Press, North Carolina, 1984.p 21.

[436]*Ibid.*

[437]GROSSMAN, D. *Rural Arab Demography and Early Jewish Settlement in Palestine.* Transaction Publishers, New Brunswick & London, 2011. p 23.

[438]SILBERSTEIN, L.J. *New Perspectives on Israeli History: The Early Years of the State.* New York University Press, New York, 1991. p 62.

[439]STEIN, K. W. *The Land Question in Palestine, 1917-1939*. University of North Carolina Press, North Carolina, 1984.pp 22-23.

Another type of problem some peasants faced was that even though they paid taxes on the land they were cultivating, it was not registered in their name.[440] This could happen because the money was given to somebody to do the registration and the name of that person appeared as the owner of the land instead of the actual owner.

Another type of problem that the British authorities faced was the inaccuracy of the boundaries of lands under ownership. In some cases the boundaries between the lands were calculated with reference to physical features.[441] Finally, apart from the previous problems encountered by the British, during the withdrawal process the Ottomans took some of the records with them to Damascus and to towns inside Turkey.[442]

British administrators did not inherit an accurate land registry, and some details of land ownership were not accurate. Administrators faced the problem of not having accurate data on the ownership of the land and they tried to solve what the Ottomans had not been able to do.

In this case, there is a close link between the difficulties of collecting information about the land and the problems with securing accurate data on the population in Palestine. Furthermore, as we will see later, the Zionist companies took advantage of these problems.

One of the first things which the British authorities had to solve in order to sort out the registration problem in Palestine was to organise a cadastral survey. In doing so, the land registration would be accurate and the ownership of land would be clarified for administrative purposes. The Zionist movement was also interested by the fact that a cadastral survey would open up more land for purchase. The cadastral survey faced several problems apart from the 1929 disturbances, 1936-1939 Arab Revolt and the Second World War. It needed constant work from the different departments, such as the Land Registry Department, the Treasury of Palestine and the Survey Department, but this did

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[440]*Ibid.* p 18.
[441]HADAWI, S. *Palestinian Rights & Losses in 1948, A Comprehensive Study.* Saqi Books, London, 1988. p 43.
[442]*Ibid.*

not occur accurately.[443] It is worth mentioning that the areas where the cadastral survey was most successful were those occupied by Zionist immigrants.

The Zionist movement was extremely interested in having a proper cadastral survey in order to get access to as much land as possible. This is why the inspectors were usually welcomed in the Zionist areas, while in the Arab-populated villages their equipment was destroyed and the inspectors threatened.[444] The Arab population did not trust the fact that a cadastral survey was being carried out because behind it they thought that the Government was trying to tax them, as had occurred during the Ottoman period.[445] Also, the land being divided into parcels by the British may explain why later on, even when a land purchase was carried out in an entity, the demographics of the indigenous population were not affected. This was because the indigenous population inhabited another parcel than that which was purchased. Thus, although both communities lived in the same entity, the Zionist land purchases did not affect the peasantry. The peasants were in fact only displaced to the closest parcel within the entity boundaries, meaning that the population never left the entity, thus not producing changes in the demographics.

This is the heritage that the British took from the Ottomans. However, some authors point out that the dispossession of the Palestinian peasantry started at the end of the 19th century and before the British Mandate.[446] The fact is that the displacement did not begin until the Zionist companies started to buy land in Palestine, forcing the peasants to become tenants and changing the ownership of the land. The indigenous population initially lost title to the land for various reasons and the land ended up in the hands of wealthy Palestinian elites. However, in this case, although the peasants converted into tenants, they were never displaced from the land. This differed from later when a Zionist company purchased land. Then, the tenants were replaced by Jewish labourers, displacing the indigenous population.

[443]ESSAID, A. *Zionism and Land Tenure in Mandate Palestine*. Studies on the Arab-Israeli Conflict, Routledge, London, 2014. p 101.
[444]*Ibid.* p 99.
[445]*Ibid.* p 103.
[446]STEIN, K. W. *The Land Question in Palestine, 1917-1939*. University of North Carolina Press, North Carolina, 1984.p 15.

4.4.3- British Land Regulations

In order to avoid the displacement of the Arab peasantry, the British Authorities passed several laws in an effort to protect them.

4.4.3.1- The Land Transfer Ordinance (1920) [447]

This ordinance was designed to protect cultivators from being expelled by their landlords. At the time, several large tracts of land were being sold to Jews by absentee landlords. Using this ordinance, the Government sought to protect the cultivators and their rights. The ordinance had four key points:

1. The person who acquired the property had to be a resident in Palestine.
2. The person could not obtain property exceeding £3000 in value or 300 *dunams* in area.
3. The person had to personally cultivate the land immediately.
4. The transferee, if in possession, or the tenant in occupation of the property leased, would retain sufficient land in the district or elsewhere for the maintenance of himself and his family.

Any application that was rejected by the District Governor could be appealed to the High Commissioner. Also the High Commissioner had the power to allow sales of large areas of land.

4.4.3.2- The Transfer of Land Ordinance (1920-21) [448]

This land ordinance replaced the previous one. The Director of Lands was the authority which granted permission in place of the District Governor. The land transfer could be granted if the transferee had the title and guarantee that any tenant in occupation could remain with sufficient land in the district or elsewhere to maintain himself and his family.

This ordinance could be bypassed in two ways. First, the owner could get rid of the tenants before the land transaction in order for the land to be vacant. Secondly, the tenant could be given compensation by the seller or the purchaser. In general, however, the ordinance failed to protect tenants.

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[447]HADAWI, S. *Palestinian Rights & Losses in 1948, A Comprehensive Study*. Saqi Books, London, 1988. pp 55-56.
[448]*Ibid.* p 56.

4.4.3.3- Protection of Cultivators Ordinance (1929)[449]

This new ordinance replaced the previous one and contained some new provisions designed to protect the cultivator. For cultivators with two years in holding, the landlord needed to give notice one year in advance if the rent was going to increase or the tenancy was ending. Also, those tenants with more than five years of holding needed to have a compensation of one year's rent.

On the one hand, this new ordinance did not prevent the displacement of tenants, but on the other hand it was extremely difficult for a tenant to establish a tenancy of five years holding the same land.

4.4.3.4- The Cultivators (Protection) Ordinance (1933)[450]

This ordinance remained until the end of the British Mandate. It defined the "statutory tenant" status that should be protected. A "statutory tenant" was any person, family or tribe occupying and cultivating a holding other than the owner.[451] A "statutory tenant" who had been cultivating the same holding for over a year could not be evicted unless he was allocated land in the vicinity of where he had been displaced.

This ordinance did not help to protect the interests of legitimate tenants because once tenants had "statutory tenant" status some of them stopped carrying out their duties and paying their rent, which actually turned into a problem for the landowner. One of the solutions for the landowner was to sell the land to the Jewish-owned companies. The occupants were compensated, even when they were legitimate tenants, and displaced from the holding. Once this happened the tenant would become a landless cultivator or join the labour market. Consequently, this ordinance failed to protect both tenants and landowners.

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[449] *Ibid.*
[450] *Ibid.* p 57.
[451] *Ibid.*

4.4.3.5- The Land Transfer Regulations (1940)[452]

This regulation was enacted after the results of the White Paper of 1939. The transfer regulation divided Palestine into three zones. In zones A and B the transfer of land was prohibited from Arab Palestinians to non-Arab Palestinians. Some circumstances could change the previous prohibitions, but these were exceptional.[453] In zone C land transfer was not restricted. Zone A comprised an area of 16,860,000 *dunams*; Zone B another 8,348,000 *dunams*; and finally the zone C approximately 1,292,000 *dunams*.

The Arab community complained that the transfer regulations had arrived too late because by this time the Arab population had already suffered dispossession by Zionist land purchases. On the other hand, the Zionists complained because they thought that the transfer regulations were betraying the Balfour Declaration statements. Nevertheless, by means of these transfer regulations, the Zionist companies through Arab land brokers kept purchasing lands in the restricted areas.[454] Thus, once again, the British initiative failed.

These were the main regulations made by the British Government during the British Mandate period to protect tenants from becoming landless Arabs and losing their rights. According to Aida Essaid, the British authorities worked together with the Zionist movement to design such ordinances and laws.[455] This enabled the Zionist movement to have an input into British policies and the consequences of this will be revealed throughout this thesis in analysing the demographic development of the population during the British Mandate.

4.4.4- Sellers

Some of the rural Palestinian lands were owned by *effendis*[456] who usually lived in cities and outside of Palestine. They leased their lands to the

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[452]*Ibid.* p 58.
[453]EL-EINI, R. *Mandated Landscape British Imperial Rule in Palestine, 1929-1948.* Routledge, London, 2006. pp 261-263.
[454]HADAWI, S. *Palestinian Rights & Losses in 1948, A Comprehensive Study*. Saqi Books, London, 1988. p 59.
[455]ESSAID, A. *Zionism and Land Tenure in Mandate Palestine.* Studies on the Arab-Israeli Conflict, Routledge, London, 2014. p 72.
[456]BERBEROGLU, B. *Turmoil in the Middle East: Imperialism, War, and Political Instability.* State University of New York Press, New York, 1999. p 70.

fellahin who paid rent to the owner in money or sometimes by giving them part of the crop.[457] The *effendis* also lent money to the *fellahin*. Peasants sometimes did not have enough money to pay the rent or for seeds for the following harvest. In such cases, they borrowed money from the *effendis* but at high rates of interest.[458] A few years of bad harvest meant that these peasants were not able to meet the repayments, and as a result the land passed into the *effendis'* hands.[459] This process did not involve the expulsion of the peasant from the land, just that the land changed ownership from the peasant to the *effendi*. In this way, the peasant turned into a tenant. This situation only relates to land that was still owned by peasants. This is a significant difference compared to the change of ownership to Zionists, where we will see throughout the case studies the many cases in which the indigenous population was expelled or displaced.

Another reason that pushed some peasants to sell their land was related to the increasing economic pressure resulting from the fact that Palestine was opening to the international market.[460] Peasants were not able to compete with low European prices, so the debt with the creditors, in some cases, was so big that they needed to sell their land to pay them off.[461] Likewise, when a bad harvest occurred, the repayment of loans became more difficult.

It is a fact that as a result of the reforms carried out by the Ottoman Government, known as *Tanzimat,*[462] the ownership passed to *effendis*, who, in some cases, were not Muslims. These reforms took place between 1839 and 1876.[463] They were an attempt to modernise the country in order to respond to the new economic and social problems, producing many changes in the Ottoman Empire. As a result, some rich Christian families, mainly merchant families, took advantage of the opportunity to purchase land throughout the

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[457]STEIN, K.W. *The Land Question in Palestine, 1917-1939*. University of North Carolina Press, North Carolina, 1984. p 16.
[458]KARK, R. and OREN-NORDHEIM, M. *Jerusalem and Its Environs: Quarters, Neighborhoods, Villages, 1800-1948.* Wayne State University Press, 2001. p 216.
[459]OAKMAN, D. *Jesus, Debt, and the Lord's Prayer: First-Century Debt and Jesus' Intentions.* James Clarke & Co, 2015. p 32.
[460]PAPPE, I. *A History of Modern Palestine: One Land, Two Peoples*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004. p 18.
[461]JOHNSON, N. *Islam and the Politics of Meaning in Palestinian Nationalism.* Routledge, London, 2013. p 34.
[462]BRAGG, J. *Ottoman Notables and Participatory Politics: Tanzimat Reform in Tokat, 1839-1876.* Routledge, London, 2014. p 129.
[463]*Ibid.*

Ottoman domains. One of the best-known cases was the Sursock family, a Greek Orthodox family from Lebanon. This family purchased vast tracts of land in the Jezreel valley.[464] These were then purchased by Jewish-owned land companies[465] whose new owners were regarded as absentee landlords because they lived outside Palestine during the British Mandate. The amount of land owned by the Sursock family and the rest of the absentee landlords did not exceed two per cent of the total land in Palestine.[466] Nevertheless, most lands owned by families who were absentee landlords ended up with Jewish families.[467] Likewise, this was the case with some of the lands sold by peasants.[468]

Some Palestinians opposed to the Zionist land purchases, refused to sell land to Zionist land companies, as well as the different riots over the Mandate period complicated the purchase plans. However, the Zionist companies used different tactics to bridge this resistance.

4.4.5- Buyers

The process of buying land in Palestine was carried out by different parties, from companies to individuals. As Patrick Wolfe stated, this is a big difference compared to other settler colonial case studies because prior to 1947 the access to the land was through purchases inside the legal framework. [469]

As will be mentioned in the following chapters, Zionist companies were focussed on the creation of the necessary space for the homeland promised in the Balfour Declaration. Obviously when considering the quality of land purchases and the price paid for them there are important details to take into

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[464]SUFIAN, S. M. *Healing the Land and the Nation: Malaria and the Zionist Project in Palestine, 1920-1947*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 2008. p 150.
[465]HUNEIDI, S. *A Broken Trust: Sir Herbert Samuel, Zionism and the Palestinians*. I.B.Tauris, London, 2001. p 223.
[466]STEIN, K. W. *The Land Question in Palestine, 1917-1939*. University of North Carolina Press, North Carolina, 1984. p 26.
[467]HUNEIDI, S. *A Broken Trust: Sir Herbert Samuel, Zionism and the Palestinians*. I.B.Tauris, London, 2001. p 223.
[468]*COHEN, H. Army of Shadows Palestinian Collaboration with Zionism, 1917-1948.* University of California Press, California, 2008. p 32.
[469] WOLFE, P. "Purchase by Other Means: The Palestine *Nakba* and Zionism's Conquest of Economics". Settler Colonial Studies, Vol. 2 No.1, (2012), pp. 133-177. p 136.

consideration. However, the most important characteristic was the proximity of the lands purchased to the necessary physical continuity for the future state.

Palestinian land classification and the access to different types of land were not always easy for the Zionist companies. Yet they managed to bypass the regulations forbidding purchases by using Arab land brokers or other tricks. Despite all the machinations used for the purchases, Sami Hadawi has pointed out that by the end of the British Mandate period, Zionist-owned land did not exceed six per cent of the total.[470] However, if we look at the map where the purchases appear,[471] we realise that the bulk of Jewish-owned lands are close to one another. Besides that, if we look to the division of Palestine in terms of quality of land,[472] we notice that most of that owned by Zionists was located in the most fertile areas. At the end of the Mandate, the Zionist companies owned almost a quarter of the most fertile land in Palestine.[473] In addition to this, if we compare the previous two maps with the Partition Plan map,[474] we realise that the latter gave the Zionists the most fertile areas of Palestine and these were based on the land purchases previous carried out before the end of the British Mandate.

Analysing all of this, we can clearly see the priorities and difficulties of the Zionist companies in purchasing lands, always bearing in mind the creation of a future state. For this purpose, the Zionist movement formed different companies, all of them under the umbrella of the Jewish Agency. All of them worked together to achieve the ultimate goal: the creation of a Jewish state in the land of historical Palestine.

The main companies created for land purchases are the following (a brief comment will be given on the most important ones):

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[470]HADAWI, S. *Palestinian Rights & Losses in 1948, A Comprehensive Study*. Saqi Books, London, 1988. p 64.
[471]PAPPE, I. *A History of Modern Palestine: One Land, Two Peoples*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004. p 96.
[472]HADAWI, S. *Palestinian Rights & Losses in 1948, A Comprehensive Study*. Saqi Books, London, 1988. p 200.
[473] HADAWI, S. *Land Ownership in Palestine*. Palestine Arab Refugee Office, New York, 1957. pp 5-6, 15-16.
[474]PAPPE, I. *A History of Modern Palestine: One Land, Two Peoples*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004. p 96.

4.4.5.1- The Jewish National Fund (Keren Kayemeth LeIsrael)

The J.N.F. was founded during the Fifth Zionist Congress which took place in Basel in 1901. In the beginning they proposed a collection of £200,000. The first land purchase in Palestine took place in Hadera in 1903 with the purchase of 50 acres of land. This was the beginning of the J.N.F. as a purchasing body of the Zionist movement in Palestine.[475]

4.4.5.2- The Palestine Jewish Colonization Association

The Palestine Jewish Colonization Association was established in 1891 under the name of the Palestine Jewish Colonization Association and in 1896 started to help the colonies of Gederah, Ḥaderah, Nes Ẓiyyonah, and Mishmar ha-Yarden in Palestine. In 1899 Baron Rothschild transferred to the ICA the colonies under his control and by 1923 they had established the Palestine Jewish Colonization Association.[476]

4.4.5.3- The Palestine Land Development Co. Ltd.

The second agency founded by the Zionist Organization was the Palestine Land Development Company. The company was created in 1908 by Otto Warburg and Arthur Ruppin to help the J.N.F. purchase land in Palestine.[477]

Others include:

- *Hemnuta Ltd.*
- *The Africa Palestine Investment Co. Ltd.*
- *The Bayside Land Corporation Ltd.*

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[475]"1901: It All Started With a Dream..."
http://www.jnf.org/about-jnf/history/ (06/04/16)
[476]"Jewish Colonization Association (ICA)"
https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/judaica/ejud_0002_0011_0_10128.html
(06/04/16)
[477]GREENWOOD, N. "Immigration to Israel: "The Redeemers of the Land""
https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/Immigration/redeem.html (06/04/16)

- *The Palestine Kupat Am. Bank Ltd.*

4.4.6- Landless Arabs

The land purchases were the first reason for the creation of the landless Arab problem. The lands purchased by the Zionist companies had been harvested in common by farmers. The regime of land and the type of contracts of the tenants varied from place to place. This will be analysed in the chapter related to the land.

The physical space to settle the new immigrants and the scarcity of land available for purchase created a problem for the peasants in that they lost the land they had been harvesting. Furthermore, if we add the idea of conquest of labour by some Zionist parties, it is clear that the Palestinian peasantry had no place in this new project.

The main problem historiographic studies have faced with this landless Arab problem is the lack of agreement about the amount of population affected.[478] The landless Arab problem turned into a national political one, where the three parts involved – Palestinians, British and Zionists – never agreed on the reasons and numbers.

Each one of the parties involved had a political interest in the outcome of any inquiry. First of all, the British Authorities were those primarily interested in not having a large number of landless Arabs. The political stability of the Mandate was not the best and any other political problem that the British could have been accused of creating would not have helped. The Palestinian nationalists were openly accusing the British Authorities of helping the Zionist movement in Palestine. The number of immigrants was increasing and Zionist land acquisitions were increasing as well. British impartiality was being compromised. Accepting that they themselves were part of the problem in creating a high number of landless Arabs would have put more pressure on the British. Thus the British were the first party interested in avoiding a large number of landless Arabs. The British authorities took all the political decisions

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[478]FIELDHOUSE, D.K. *Western Imperialism in the Middle East 1914-1958*. Oxford University Press, New York & Oxford, 2006. p 164.

within the Mandate with the consequence being that any poor political decision could have increased instability in the country.

The Zionist companies were the second party involved in this problem. For political reasons, they had the same interests as the British authorities in dismissing the importance of the landless Arab problem. First of all, Zionist historiography describes Jewish immigration and settlement in Palestine as profitable for the local population.[479] If the Zionist companies were producing the landless Arab problem due to land purchases, immigration and the conquest of labour, the political discourse of helping to develop the country cannot be honestly asserted. The Palestinian leaders denounced the idea of the Zionists making a "conquest" of Palestine for themselves and creating a land for all the Jews in the world where the Palestinians would have no place.[480] Hence, if the inquiries made by the British Authorities concluded that Zionist land purchases and policies created the landless Arab problem, the Zionists could be blamed for creating a political problem. The Zionist companies were therefore another party interested in having few landless Arabs. Though contributing to the problem, they wanted the country to stay stable in order to continue working towards the goal of statehood.

The last party involved in this problem is the Palestinian population and leadership. The Palestinian leadership could have used the landless Arabs as a political tool to denounce Zionist policies, and they complained about it to the British authorities.[481] However, the Arab Executive was not interested in making this problem highly public in order to hide the complicity of their own members who had sold land to Jewish-owned companies.[482] Furthermore, the British authorities were interested in dismissing the importance of the landless Arab people for political motives. The Arab leadership and landless population, however, had little chance of successfully complaining to the British. Yet it was

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[479]NIMNI, E. *The Challenge of Post-Zionism: Alternatives to Fundamentalist Politics in Israel.* Postcolonial Encounters, Zed Books, London, 2003. p 46.
[480]UDOVITCH, A.L. *The Middle East: Oil, Conflict & Hope.* Lexington Books, Maryland, 1976. p 185.
[481]CASHMAN, G. & ROBINSON, L.C. *An Introduction to the Causes of War: Patterns of Interstate Conflict from World War I to Iraq.* Rowman & Littlefield, Maryland, 2007. p 163.
[482]AVNERI, A. L. *The Claim of Dispossession: Jewish Land-settlement and the Arabs, 1878-1948.* Herzl Press, New York, 1983. p 233.

this very problem of landless Arabs that was one of the determining factors in the outbreak of strikes, riots and the Arab Revolt.

After the 1929 riots, the British authorities decided to launch an inquiry to determine the reasons for the outbreak. The report is known as the *Shaw Commission Report.*[483] In this report the reasons for the riots were analysed and the commission made recommendations to prevent a further outbreak of violence. Some of the recommendations were related to the control of Jewish immigration and the limits of settlement in the country.[484] The British Government decided to make another inquiry into the possibilities for further immigration of the Jewish population into Palestine and their access to the land.

This report, known as the *Hope Simpson Report,*[485] recommended a halt to Jewish immigration because of the lack of cultivable land for settlement there.[486] Furthermore, the report warned of the consequences of the policies of the Zionist companies. These policies of land purchases were creating a new stratum in Palestinian society, landless Arabs. These peasants lost the lands that they were harvesting because of the land purchases of Zionist companies and the policies of the conquest of labour and redemption of the land of *Eretz Israel*.

The British authorities understood the importance of the landless Arab problem and decided to determine the number of people affected and possible remedies or solutions to the issue. Lewis French carried out the next inquiry, known as the *Lewis French Report.*[487] Lewis French decided to open a procedure for the people that were landless Arabs to determine if they fit the definition proposed by the report. There were approximately 3,271 petitions to be considered, however only 664 were accepted.[488] According to Yehoshua

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[483]Report of the Commission on the Disturbances of August 1929, Presented by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to Parliament by Command of His Majesty, March 1930, Cmd.
[484]PAPPE, I. *A History of Modern Palestine: One Land, Two Peoples*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004. p 92.
[485]SIMPSON, J.H. *Palestine: Report on Immigration, Land Settlement and Development.* HMSO, London, 1930.
[486]*Ibid.* pp 141-153.
[487]FRENCH, L. *First Report on Agricultural Development and Land Settlement in Palestine.* Crown agents for the colonies, for the Palestine Government, London, 1931.
[488]PORATH, Y. *"The Land Problem in Mandatory Palestine."* Jerusalem Quarterly, No. 1, (Fall, 1976), pp. 18-27. p 25.

Porath, this number of landless Arabs showed that the magnitude of the problem was not that significant and that land purchases had not affected a large number of the native population in Palestine.[489]

I would like to analyse the definition used by Webb, A.H.[490] to determine who actually was a landless Arab and whose claims could be excluded. Kenneth W. Stein describes six categories of claimant that could be excluded:[491]

- Persons who owned land other than that which they had cultivated as tenants.
- Persons who had found land other than that from which they were displaced and were now cultivating it as tenants.
- Persons who, subsequent to the sale of the land from which they were displaced, obtained other land, but, on account of poverty or other reasons, had since ceased to cultivate it.
- Persons who, at the time of sale, were not cultivators such as labourers and ploughmen.
- Persons who had themselves sold land to Jews.
- Persons who, although landless, had obtained an equally satisfactory occupation.

These restrictions in considering a person as a landless Arab were beneficial for both the British and the Zionists. Later on, I will deal with the analysis of these restrictions and the disagreements that were created in determining what a landless Arab person was. Throughout the thesis I will argue the reasons why the population affected by the Zionist policies was higher than the number of landless Arab people calculated by the Lewis French report. Furthermore, I will include the discussion of the landless Arab problem in a larger perspective of the consequences of a settler colonial project towards Palestine. As stated in the introduction, this thesis seeks to determine the consequences of a settler colonial project on the land of Palestine, when the political and social situation was not favourable for a massive transfer of population.

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[489] *Ibid.* p 27.
[490] STEIN, K.W. *The Land Question in Palestine, 1917-1939.* University of North Carolina Press, North Carolina, 1984. p 149.
[491] *Ibid.* p 152.
   PORATH, Y. *"The Land Problem in Mandatory Palestine."* Jerusalem Quarterly, No. 1, (Fall, 1976), pp. 18-27. p 25.

Due to the reluctance of the British Colonial Government to accept the proposal of population transfer made by the Zionist movement, which was never made publicly to avoid confrontation with the native population,[492] the Zionist project used the only tool remaining to it. The Zionist movement needed to make physical space for the arriving population in an attempt to get a demographic majority in the land under claim. The only way to achieve this goal was to buy land to enable Jewish immigrants to settle there. This process did affect the native population, as this study will illustrate. The consequences that stemmed from land purchases were diverse.

The aim of purchasing land was to make physical space for the coming immigration, but the land was already populated. Consequently, the Zionist movement had to confront this problem. They thought of two solutions. The first one was to buy land without tenants as the owner had expelled them before the transaction of land.[493] The second one was to buy land with tenants and then later expel them. In this case, Zionist companies or private Jewish owners paid them compensation.[494] Although the process was not the same, the consequence that stemmed from both solutions was the eviction of the native population. A new ethnic group later replaced it on the land with the result that the demographic balance of the village changed.

The first type of purchase, when the owner expelled the tenant before the transaction of land, was the best option for the Zionist companies because they were not involved in the direct expulsion of the native population. This way they were not accused of evicting the native population and creating the landless Arab problem. The British authorities were also interested in this type of transaction of land because the new owners avoided expelling the tenants by force. The British authorities did not want to be accused of helping to establish the Jewish State.[495]

[492]MASALHA, N. *Expulsion of the Palestinians: The Concept of "Transfer" in Zionist Political Thought, 1882-1948.* Institute for Palestinian Studies, Washington, 1992. p 15.

[493]STEIN, K. W. *The Land Question in Palestine, 1917-1939.* University of North Carolina Press, North Carolina, 1984.pp 52-53.

[494]*Ibid.*

[495]EL-EINI, R. *Mandated Landscape British Imperial Rule in Palestine, 1929-1948.* Routledge, London, 2006. p 124.

The second way of eviction was more complicated, when the tenants refused to leave the land and the problem ended in a trial with a court order of eviction.[496] In these cases, both the British authorities and the Zionist movement were blamed for the eviction; the first ones because they carried out the court order of eviction and the second ones because they were the owners and the reason why the tenants were expelled.

Neither the British authorities nor the Zionist movement were interested in court expulsions because they undermined the idea that the Zionists did not interfere in the native population's life. The notion that the British were a neutral colonial power was also challenged by court cases leading to eviction. As seen before, both parts were not interested in creating a political problem and giving a reason to the Arab Executive to call for the end of the Mandate, and consequently the end of Jewish immigration and land purchases.

One of the consequences of land purchases with the "help" of the British authorities was the creation of the landless Arab problem. There are several aspects of this problem worth clarifying. Both the British authorities and the Zionists were not interested in having that problem, or at least a large number of Landless Arabs.

It is not the aim of this study to discuss the exact number of landless Arabs that the process caused. It would be impossible to calculate the exact number of landless Arabs because of a dearth of sources. I would, however, like to stress some aspects of the inquiry. As mentioned before, both the British authorities and the Zionists were interested in having the lowest possible number of landless Arabs so as to downplay the problem for political reasons.

The analysis of the definition of landless Arab used by the British authorities confirms that idea. This study discusses some of these six points used to determine if a person was a landless Arab because they were key determinants affecting the number of landless Arabs.

The first case that is defined by A.H. Webb is when the tenant owns another land apart from the one being harvested. This makes total sense not to

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[496] ADLER (COHEN), R. *"The Tenants of Wadi Hawarith: Another View of the Land Question in Palestine."* International Journal of Middle East Studies. Vol. 20, No. 2 (May, 1988), pp. 197-220 p 198.

consider that person a landless Arab, even though the person owned a plot of land where the harvesting was not as profitable as the rented one.

The second case is one of the keys to understanding the settler colonial project of the Zionist movement. I completely agree that we cannot consider a person a landless Arab if it states that a person who found another tract of land was not considered a landless Arab. However, the Zionist companies leaning on this case were steadily able to make physical space for the future state. While they expelled tenants, these tenants were not considered landless Arabs.

The third case is more controversial because it states that a person who was expelled from one land and got another land, which might be less productive or where the harvest took longer or who was not able to pay the rent or the mortgage, was not considered a landless Arab. The fourth case narrows the number of landless Arabs, excluding workers who were not cultivators and lived outside those lands.

The fifth case is also a bit controversial. It states that a person who sold land to Jewish-owned companies was not considered a landless Arab. There were several cases where tenants were not able to make their mortgage payments,[497] and the land ended up in the hands of the Jewish-owned companies because they would pay higher prices for the land. It is unjust to discriminate against the action of tenants who had to sell their lands so as to repay their debts due to a bad economic situation. Although there is a marked difference between selling the land to speculate and selling the land because you are not able to make your mortgage payments, neither tenant was considered a landless Arab according to the definition.

The last definition was another step to reducing the number of landless Arabs. To understand this definition, we can cite the example of a tenant who was not considered a landless Arab although he had been expelled from the land he was cultivating because he had found a job as a docker in the port of Haifa.

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[497]STEIN, K. W. *The Land Question in Palestine, 1917-1939.* University of North Carolina Press, North Carolina, 1984. p 19.

Moreover, we need to add those who were not able to claim compensation because they were not able to prove their ownership of the land or because they were not owners.[498] All these problems, discussed in the land chapter, helped to reduce the number of people regarded as landless Arabs.

As seen in this chapter, the definitions used to consider a person a landless Arab were really quite narrow. The explanation for this was to avoid a large number of landless Arabs and consequently a problem for the colonial power and the Jewish Agency.

First of all, the aim of this study is to point out that the number of landless Arabs is far from being accurate due to the restrictions and problems previously explained. Furthermore, this study argues that the landless Arab problem is one of the consequences of the settler colonial Zionist enterprise, whose strategy was based on land purchases and Jewish immigration so as to make physical space and obtain a demographic majority to achieve the creation of a Zionist State in the land of Palestine.

In this chapter, I discussed redemption of the land and use of Jewish land-labour as the tool used by the settler colonial project to achieve its goal. The idea of self-labour carried out by some political parties and settlements were inherent to the Zionist project, but not all the parties and settlements followed this pattern.[499] Due to problems with accuracy, this study is not able to calculate the number of people evicted because of Zionist policies. It is clear enough, however, that the landless Arab problem was a bigger problem than the British and Zionist authorities portrayed it to be. This was one of the consequences of the expanding settler colonial project of the Zionist movement.

Due to the reluctance of the British authorities to transfer a large number of Arabs from the land claimed by Zionists, the Zionist movement had no other alternative but to purchase land and replace the native population with Jewish immigrants that came from Europe. At this juncture, the only way to continue with the project to achieve the "promised state" was through land purchase and the consequent population displacement.

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[498]PAPPE, I. *A History of Modern Palestine: One Land, Two Peoples*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004. p 95.
[499]LOCKMAN, Z. *Comrades and Enemies. Arab and Jewish Workers in Palestine, 1906-1948*.University of California Press, California, 1996. pp 201-202.

5- <u>HAIFA SUB-DISTRICT</u>

This chapter is divided into six periods so as to make the reading easier. The first period under analysis is the period between 1922 and 1931 where the diverse ethnic groups' development will be described and later analysed. The second one is the period between 1931 and 1945 where the different ethnic groups' development will be described and then analysed. The third time period is the one between 1922 and 1945 where the ethnic groups' development will be described and subsequently analysed. The next group for analysis is the period between 1922 and 1938. The fifth group for analysis is the period between 1931 and 1938, while the last timeframe for analysis works with the years between 1938 and 1945. Finally, I will underline the conclusions related to the development of the diverse ethnic groups in the whole sub-district, showing the consequences of the Zionist policies towards the indigenous population.

The procedure that will be followed for the demographic study has been explained in the methodological chapter. One of the sub-districts chosen for this demographic study is the Haifa sub-district due to Jewish immigration and land purchases made by the Zionist movement. Therefore, the idea of political population transfer and its consequences during the British Mandate period can be analysed in the entities of this sub-district.

5.1- MAPPING

As mentioned in the methodology chapter, this study faces several problems of accuracy related to the sources used for the demographic research. Those sources are the *Censuses of Palestine 1922* and 1931, the *Village Statistics 1938* and the *Village Statistics 1945*, where we find a large number of villages whose names undergo changes, disappear, appear, are outside the sub-district boundaries or appear as independent entities to later show up within the boundaries of another entity.

To solve the problems explained above, it was necessary to create a new map of the Haifa sub-district. This map is based on new homogeneous entities that do not change in size or boundaries in the four sources so as to calculate the growth rates of population for the whole period of the British Mandate. The

four sources provide this study with a different number of names of places such as villages, junctions, farms, settlements, etc. The *1922 Census of Palestine* provides 109 names of villages, the *1931 Census of Palestine* provides 169 names of villages, the *1938 Village Statistics* 86 names and the *1945 Village Statistics* 84 names of villages. After deep research, all the names turned into 51 homogeneous entities for 1922, 1931, 1938 and 1945.

For a better understanding, all the changes that have been made to the new entities appear on an interactive map by clicking on each entity. However, I would like to explain through examples some of the different cases and the reasoning that led to the creation of an accurate map. There are several different examples but it is not relevant to this study to mention all of them. For that purpose, an interactive map of the Haifa sub-district of the British Mandate has been designed with all the procedures that have been carried out showing the outcome of the process.

The first case that we analyse is the simplest one and it is not necessary to make any changes to the village because it appears identically in the four sources. This is not a common pattern, although we can find some cases such as Beit Lahm, Buteimat, Ein Haud and I´billin in this sub-district. There is no need to define the boundaries of those villages because they are the same in the four sources in the British Mandate period.

The second case comprises the villages that appear within the boundaries of another village on the map provided by Salman Abu Sitta.[500] In this case, the procedure carried out was to add the population of these villages to the main entity. Pardes Hanna, which is a clear example of this case, needs to be included in Caesarea (Quirsaya) in the four sources to create an accurate entity for the demographic study. However, this study used the name of Pardes Hanna to define the new entity in the population sources.

The third case comprises the villages whose boundaries need to be defined in at least one of the sources so that they contain the same population centres. Once they have been defined, they can be taken as homogeneous entities in order to calculate the growth rates of the whole British Mandate

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[500]ABU SITTA, S. *Atlas of Palestine: 1917-1966.* Palestine Land Society, London, 2010.

period. One of those cases is the village of Abu Susha, which in the *Census of Palestine 1922* needs to include the independent village of Shuqueirat because in the *Census of Palestine 1931*, the population of Shuqueirat appears as part of the population of Abu Susha. As we need to work with an accurate entity, the population of the *1922 Census* needs to be the result of the addition of both Abu Susha and Shuqueirat, whereas the name of the new entity stays as Abu Susha. This study considers the population of the annexed village of Shuqueirat as part of the new accurate entity of Abu Susha.

Daliat al-Karmel, for example, has the village of Mansura, Arabs within its boundaries in the *1931 Census*. The village of Mansura, Arabs appears within the boundaries defined for 1945 in the Atlas of Palestine.[501] Therefore, the village of Daliat al-Karmel needs to be added to the population of Mansura, Arabs so as to create an accurate entity in order to calculate the growth rates for the demographic study.

Mishmar HaEmek, a settlement created in 1926 by the J.N.F.,[502] appears within the boundaries of Abu Susha in the *1931 Census*, but it does not appear as an independent village. Consequently, the population is included in the total population of Abu Susha. In the *Village Statistics 1945*, it appears as an independent village. Therefore, the procedure for creating an accurate entity, in this case, is to add the population of Mishmar HaEmek to the population of Abu Susha in the *Village Statistics 1945*.

The problems of accuracy that this study faces have led to the creation of homogeneous entities so that the growth rates are accurate; in this case, Abu Susha is the main entity for the British Mandate period.

There are a couple of other cases, but they are not as numerous as the previous ones. In the *1922 Census*, there are two villages called Harbaj and Zubaidat, which are later included in Kefar Hasidim because Kefar Hasidim was created by the J.N.F. in 1924.[503] Consequently, when the *1922 Census* was published there were only the two villages previously mentioned in those lands. Harbaj does not appear in the *Census 1931*, while Zubaidat does. Harbaj and

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[501] *Ibid.*

[502] JEWISH NATIONAL FUND. *Jewish Villages in Israel*. Hamadpis Liphshitz Press, Jerusalem, 1949. p 122.

[503] *Ibid.* p 87.

Zubaidat do not appear in the *Village Statistics 1945*; therefore, the main name used for the study is Kefar Hasidim, even though it does not appear in the first source. This is one of the cases where a newborn entity includes older villages.

In the Haifa sub-district, we face another problem of accuracy. The boundaries used for this study, provided by Salaman Abu Sitta´s study, leave the village of Raml outside the boundaries of the Haifa sub-district in the *1922 and 1931 Censuses*. To solve this problem, this village has been included in the Acre sub-district in order to make an accurate map for the demographic study.

In the previous chapter on methodology, I explained the entities that appear under different names due to the diverse sources that conducted the censuses and statistics. The aim of this study goes further than the discussion about the spelling of names of the villages in the British Mandate. The *Atlas of Palestine: 1917-1966*[504] provides this study with the list of names of the villages in the British Mandate period and that source was consulted in the event any problem arose in the process of identifying any entity.

To sum up, the Haifa sub-district based on the 1945 boundaries comprises 51 accurate entities, each one with an accurate number of inhabitants obtained from the four sources under analysis in this study: the *1922 Census of Palestine,*[505] the *1931 Census of Palestine,*[506] the *Village Statistics 1938*[507] and the *Village Statistics 1945.*[508]

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[504]ABU SITTA, S. *Atlas of Palestine: 1917-1966.* Palestine Land Society, London, 2010.
[505]BARRON, J.B. *Report and General Abstracts of the Census of 1922.* Greek Convent Press, Jerusalem, October, 1923.
[506]MILLS, E. *Census of Palestine 1931. Population of Villages, Towns and Administrative Areas.* Greek Convent Press, Jerusalem, 1932.
[507]GOVERNMENT OF PALESTINE. *1938 Village Statistics.* Statistics Office, Jerusalem, February, 1938.
[508]HADAWI, S. *Village Statistics 1945; A Classification of Land and Area Ownership in Palestine.* Palestine Liberation Organization Research Center, Beirut, 1970.

5.2- DESCRIPTION OF THE NEW CENSUS AND GROWTH RATES PROCEDURE

After solving the mapping problems by creating an accurate map with the geographic software ArcGIS, the Haifa sub-district has accurate data for each year of the four sources for the 51 new accurate entities.[509]

In the previous chapter on methodology, I analysed the diverse type of information from the four sources. The population of the *1922 Census* and the *1931 Census* has been divided into groups according to religion, while the information from the *Village Statistics 1938 and 1945* has been divided only into Arabs and Jews. The first two sources allow calculating and analysing the growth rates of the different religious groups, such as Muslims, Christians and Others (mainly Druze). Apart from the broad picture of Arabs and Jews, the first two sources allow this study to focus on the development of these minority groups in particular.

As explained in the methodological chapter, the analysis of each sub-district is divided into six periods: 1922-1931, 1931-1945, 1922-1945, 1922-1938, 1931-1938 and 1938-1945. The first period provides this study with eight different results according to religion and ethnicity. There are percentage decreases in Muslims, Christians, Others, Arabs, Jews, total, entities with Jewish population and a decrease in Arabs, and entities without Jewish population and information about the decrease in Arab population. This is the information obtained from the first period of time between 1922 and 1931.

The second period analysed, using the same sources, is the period between 1931 and 1945. In this part of the study, the sources allow the comparison only between Arabs and Jews. The second period provides the study with five results. The percentage decreases are divided into Arabs, Jews, total on one hand. One the other hand, entities with Jewish and Arab population analysing the development of the Arab population and the behaviour of the Arab population in entities without Jewish population.

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[509]See the interactive map.

The next period under analysis is the one between 1922 and 1945 and, as in the second period, the sources allow this study to work with only five different groups that are the same ones as in the second period.

The fourth period of this chapter analyses the results between 1922 and 1938 because the data provided by the sources have five different results: Arabs, Jews, total, entities with Jewish and Arab population analysing the development of the Arab population and the decrease in the Arab population in entities without a Jewish population.

The fifth table is related to the 1931-1938 period and, as in the previous case, it will have five different results to be analysed. The last frame of time will cover the period between 1938 and 1945 and as in the previous examples will have five different percentages.

Once the percentage decrease in the different groups has been obtained from the period under analysis, we can proceed to the next step. The aim of this study is to analyse the consequences of Zionist land purchases and immigration within the settler colonial framework. As discussed in chapter four, the social and political situation did not allow the Zionist movement to carry out a big transfer of population or the expulsion of the Arab population from the lands "under dispute". This study argues that owing to social and political reasons during the British Mandate, the only way for the Zionist movement to succeed in the settler colonial attempt was to purchase land to enable Jewish immigrants to settle there in order to make physical space and achieve a demographic majority. However, the process was too slow to succeed within a few decades' time, and it saw a substantial change in the 1948 war.

The landless Arab problem, as discussed in the previous chapter, provides this study with the first signal to understand that something bigger was behind the landlessness problem during the British Mandate. This insight was the key to understanding and opening gates to a bigger and different approach to analysing if the landless Arab problem pointed to something more important than just those *fellahin* expelled and dispossessed from the lands that they were cultivating. For obvious political reasons, the British authorities and Zionist leaders refused to admit any connection between Zionist land purchases and

Jewish immigration and the settler colonial attempt and dispossession of part of the Arab population.

After the percentage decreases have been obtained, this study gets the first tool to answer the research questions. However, there are other sources that allow this study to be more concrete. If the Zionist movement was using those purchases to expel the native population, as the settler colonial theories would argue, comparing the results of decrease with the land purchases and settlements should lead us to a correlation between land purchases and the expulsion of the native population This procedure is another part of the methodology of this study to analyse the consequences of land purchases and immigration.

The growth rates and overall population of the Haifa sub-district show different displays of development of the Arab population throughout the British Mandate period under analysis. The type of analysis followed here will enable this study to answer the research questions more accurately. The patterns of the Arab population are the following: the first is when the Arab population suffers a decrease during the British Mandate, the second is when the Arab population disappears in certain entities and the third is when the Arab population does not suffer any decrease during the periods under analysis.

The next parts of the chapter analyse the results divided into the six periods previously discussed: 1922-1931, 1931-1945, 1922-1945, 1922-1938, 1931-1938 and 1938-1945.

5.3- FRAME TIME: 1922-1931

The results of the period between 1922 and 1931 are divided into eight different groups:

- Muslim: Muslim religious population
- Christian: Christian religious population
- Others: In this case, the Druze population
- Arabs: The sum of all the Arab religious groups
- Jews: Jewish religious population
- Total: The total amount of population living in the entity
- Arabs (Jews): Arab population entities that contain Jewish population at some point during the period under analysis

- Arabs (No Jews): Arab population entities without Jewish population at any time during the period under research

- Decrease: Number of entities in which the population decreased.

- Total: Total number of entities.

- Percentage: Percentage of entities in which the population decreased.

Table 5.1- Haifa sub-district 1922-1931 period

Haifa	1922-1931 period							
	Muslims	Christians	Others	Arabs	Jews	Total	Arabs (Jews)	Arabs (No Jews)
Decrease	13	4	0	13	1	10	8	5
Total	51	12	5	51	16	51	16	35
Percentage	25,49%	33,33%	0%	25,49%	6,25%	19,60%	50%	14,28%

5.3.1- Description of the sources 1922-1931:

There are four sub-districts under analysis in six different periods of time, resulting in 24 diverse case studies, plus all the sub-districts together. The easiest way to deal with this number of results is to describe them briefly and then to analyse them.

The first results show the percentage decrease in the Muslim populated entities in the Haifa sub-district. The common pattern is that all the entities have a Muslim population. The number of entities that suffer a decrease in Muslim population are 13, so the percentage decrease in this group is 25.49 per cent. In just over one quarter of the entities there is a decrease in Muslim population that is due to various causes that will be analysed later.

The second group consists of 12 entities including a Christian population. Due to methodological and accuracy procedures, the number of Christian citizens, who represent less than two per cent of the total population, are excluded from the study. In this group, four out of 12 entities suffer a decrease in population. This means that 33.33 per cent of the Christian population entities lost Christian population by 1931.

The third group under analysis, which is called Others, refers to the Druze population. There are five entities with Druze population in the Haifa sub-district after excluding some cases as we did with the Christian entities and for the same reasons. In this group, the number of entities that suffer a decrease in population is zero. The Druze population increases in the period under analysis.

The fourth group is the Arab ethnic group that contains the three religious groups. In this case, the number of entities under analysis is 51, and in 13 of them the population decreases. The percentage of decrease in this group is 25.49 per cent, which is the same as the percentage of the Muslim religious group.

The fifth group under analysis deals with the entities where there is a Jewish population. There were 16 entities with a Jewish population in the Haifa sub-district in 1931. The Jewish population decreased in one out of the 16 entities in the period under analysis. The percentage of decrease in this group is 6.25 per cent.

The sixth group is the total number of entities in the Haifa sub-district. There are 51 entities and the total population decreases in ten of them. The percentage decrease in this group is 19.6 per cent.

The next two groups give us one of the keys to understanding the consequences of Zionist land purchases and immigration on the native population. The first of these two groups is the group of entities with a Jewish population and the development of the Arab population in those entities. There are 16 entities with a Jewish population, and the Arab population decreases in eight of them. The percentage of decrease is 50 per cent during the period 1922-1931. The second of these two groups, which shows the development of the Arab population, is the group of entities with an Arab population but no Jewish population. There are 35 entities with no Jewish population and the Arab population decreased in only five of them. The percentage decrease in the entities with no Jewish population is 14.28 per cent.

Once we have made a brief description of the different results, the analysis of the Haifa sub-district in the period between 1922-1931 needs to be put in the context of the social and political events of the period.

5.3.2- An analysis of the 1922-1931 results

First of all, the results displayed in the 1922-1931 table do not have the same relevance to the aim of this study. On the one hand, we have the results dealing with specific religious groups, which are less significant, apart from the Jews. On the other hand, those that analyse the development of the Arabs, the total population number and the last two columns of the table could be considered the most important results of the study.

The least significant results, nevertheless, bring some representative thoughts about the development of the religious groups, particularly in analysing the Muslim community, which is the largest religious community in Palestine. The percentage decrease in the Muslim community entities in the Haifa sub-district is 25.49 per cent, which is a large percentage decrease if we analyse the development of the Muslim population from 1922 to 1931. The average percentage increase in the Muslim population during that period is 3.94 points (39.40 persons per year per thousand habitants).[510] We have to stress that the increases in population per year are very high, but around a quarter of the entities lose population. The usual case in developing countries when they are in the beginning of a demographic transition, such as Palestine during the British Mandate, shows large increases in population, an improvement in health services, longer life expectancy and a decrease in infant mortality rates.[511] According to these facts, an increase in population in the entities of the Haifa sub-district would be the expected pattern. However, such demographic changes are always related to the economic development of regions. In a developing country or region, where new industries are being established, the developing region or country usually provides the industry with land labour.[512] So far, the progress of the Muslim demography follows the same pattern, as in countries in the process of industrialisation. It can be expected that the population of the entities that decrease in population migrated to Haifa or other

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[510]McCARTHY, J. *The Population of Palestine.* Columbia University Press, New York, 1990. p 65.
[511]STOLTE-HEISKANEN, V. "*The Population Problem and Underdevelopment*." Acta Sociologica, Vol. 18, No. 2/3, (April, 1975), pp 107-119. pp 108-109.
[512]LIVI-BACCI, M. *A concise History of World Population.* Blackwell, Oxford, 1997. p 98.

developing cities in Palestine to find the job opportunities that the rural economy was not able to offer.[513]

If, however, we compare the 13 entities where the Muslim population suffered a decrease with the entities where there is Jewish population settled the percentages change. The entities with Zionist ownerships that suffered a decrease in population during that period were eight out of 13.[514] Therefore, the percentage decrease if compared to the information is 61.53 per cent. This percentage decrease cannot be explained in terms of economic migrations. There is a clear connection between the increase in settlements for Jewish immigrants and the decrease in indigenous population, as the settler colonial theories argue using the replacement of population. This discussion will be carried out after having analysed all the different results.

The second religious group is the Christian community of the Haifa sub-district. This community has always been historically more connected to cities than the Muslim community, which has been mainly connected to the countryside.[515] The number of entities under analysis after rejecting some of them due to accuracy procedures is 12. Four of them suffered a decrease of Christian population, showing a 33.33 per cent decrease for the group. If we use the same procedure that was used with the Muslim community, comparing the data with the Jewish settlements, the decrease is 20 per cent. There are five entities with Christian and Jewish population together and in one of them there is a decrease of Christian population.[516] There could be two reasons for this: first, the Christian community has always been more connected to cities and business. Consequently, the community was very unlikely to be affected by land purchases and immigration. The second reason is connected to the large percentage of land owned by the small Christian community because of their economic success.[517]

[513]KAMEN, C. S. *Little Common Ground: Arab Agriculture and Jewish Settlement in Palestine, 1920-1948.* University of Pittsburgh Press, Pennsylvania, 1991. p 21.
[514] See Appendices- Haifa censuses
[515]ROBSON, L. *Colonialism and Christianity in Mandate Palestine.* University of Texas Press, Austin, 2011. p 3*.*
[516]See Appendices. Haifa censuses.
[517]PAPPE, I. *The Israel-Palestine Question.* Routledge, London, 1999. p 119.

The third religious group, which is called Others, is the Druze community. After rejecting some entities due to accuracy procedures, the total number of Druze entities is five and the percentage of entities suffering a decrease in population is zero. The Druze community in the Middle East is known as a closed community with its own worship and community structures.[518] The Druze entities are always located in the mountains and the influence that land purchases and Jewish immigration might have had on them is imperceptible.[519]

The *Censuses of 1922 and 1931* allow this study to compare the development of the religious groups. I divided the percentages into two main groups for analysis. The first group refers to the percentages of Arabs, Jews and the total population of the entity. The second group analyses the percentages of the Arab population when there is a Jewish population in the entity and when there is not. This process would be carried out in the six periods: 1922-1931, 1931-1945, 1922-1945, 1922-1938, 1931-1938 and 1938-1945.

The next step is the analysis of the Arab, Jewish and total population of the Haifa sub-district. The Arab population, which contains the previous three religious groups, shows the same development as the Muslim religious group. This is due to the demographic balance of the Muslim population in the Arab ethnic group. There are 51 entities with an Arab population and 13 of them suffer a decrease in population. Therefore, the percentage of entities suffering a decrease in Arab population is 25.49 per cent. The same percentage does not appear though when we analyse only the entities that suffer decreases. There are eight Jewish settlements in these entities so the decrease in these entities is 61.53 per cent when there is Jewish population. The same argument that we followed with the Muslim religious community can be followed with the Arab ethnic group.

As discussed before, the Jewish community in Palestine, which is the settler entity in the region, leaned on land purchases and immigration to secure its position in the region. There were 16 entities with Jewish population in the Haifa sub-district by 1931 and the Jewish population decreased in only one of

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[518]HAZRAN, Y. *The Druze Community and the Lebanese State: Between Confrontation and Reconciliation.* Routledge, London, 2014. p 241.
[519]FIRRO, K. *A History of the Druzes.* E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1992. p 33.

them. The decrease in population in Kabara is so deep that the Jewish population disappeared entirely in that entity.

Kabara is a representative entity of the purposes of the Zionist enterprise. The reason why there was a Jewish population in that entity was that the J.N.F. got a concession to drain a swamp in the late 1910s and early 1920s.[520] The Jewish population appeared in the *1922 Census*, but that community did not appear in the *1931 Census*. There was another attempt to settle there in 1938 under the name Maayan Zvi.[521]

In the *1922 Census*, there were seven entities where there was no Jewish population and later in the *1931 Census*, there was a Jewish population in those entities[522]. This can be explained by the Zionist land purchases and the immigrants that settled in the Haifa sub-district. The best mechanism for a better understanding of the Jewish influence on the native population is the analysis of the percentages of the next group.

To finish with this first group, we need to analyse the development of the total population of the entities. There are 51 entities in the Haifa sub-district and ten of them suffered a decrease in the total population. The percentage of decrease is 19.6 per cent because the Arab population constituted the majority of the population. When the total population decreased in those ten entities, the decrease came within the Arab community[523]. The Arab population decreased in another three cases, but that did not affect the total population of those entities because the number of Jewish immigrants counteracted the decrease in Arab population. That is relevant to the study if we understand that process as a process of replacement of the native population.[524] The idea of self-labour followed by some Zionist political parties and leaders,[525] as analysed in chapter four, is also one of the theories used by the settler colonial framework to

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[520]AVNERI, A. L. *The Claim of Dispossession: Jewish Land-settlement and the Arabs, 1878-1948.* Herzl Press, New York, 1983. p 108.
[521]JEWISH NATIONAL FUND. *Jewish Villages in Israel*. Hamadpis Liphshitz Press, Jerusalem, 1949. p 112.
[522]See Appendices. Haifa censuses.
[523]*Ibid.*
[524]WOLFE, P. "*Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native*." Journal of Genocide Research, Vol. 8, No. 4, (December, 2006),, pp. 387-409. p 388.
[525]LOCKMAN, Z. *Comrades and Enemies. Arab and Jewish Workers in Palestine, 1906-1948.*University of California Press, California, 1996. p 104.

analyse the change in the demographic balance between settlers and native population, following Patrick Wolfe's "logic of elimination".[526]

Other interesting data can be seen in these results. Namely, out of ten entities that suffer a decrease in the total population, none of them suffers a decrease in Jewish population.[527] That means the decrease in the total population, which never affects the Jewish population in these entities, is related to the process of decline in the Arab population.

The results are representative of a process of settler colonialism leading to the replacement of the native population with settlers by means of land purchases following the idea of mini transfers of population and removal of the native population that lived there. In the next two parts of the analysis of the data, we will see that the idea of transfer of population and the landless Arab problem are closely connected, so it will be possible to fit in the case study of the Zionist movement in Palestine with the settler colonial framework, as many scholars argue.

First of all, we will analyse the results obtained from the demographic study to connect them with the narrative discussed in the previous chapters. The percentages obtained from the demographic research are divided into two groups: the first group analyses the decreases in Arab population in the entities where there was a Jewish settlement, the second one analyses the percentages of the entities that were not exposed to Zionist land purchases and immigration. Taking those two groups, this study can compare and analyse the development of the native population to try to determine the connection between Zionist land purchases and immigration with the decrease in native population in the sub-district.

The first group comprises 16 entities where there is a Jewish population. Of these, there are eight entities that suffer a decrease in Arab population. The percentage decrease in Arab-populated entities in that group of entities in the Haifa sub-district is 50 per cent in the period under analysis. The second group comprises the 35 remaining entities where there is no Jewish population. In that

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[526]WOLFE, P. "*Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native.*" Journal of Genocide Research, Vol. 8, No. 4, (December, 2006), pp. 387-409. p 387.
[527]See Appendices. Haifa censuses.

group, there are five entities that suffer a decrease in Arab population. The percentage decrease in Arab-populated entities in these entities is 14.28 per cent.

Throughout the analysis of the 1922-1931 period, it is significant that the lowest percentages of decrease in native populated entities occur in those that are not exposed to Zionist land purchases and immigration. Moreover, to emphasise this, it is also especially relevant that the highest percentages of decrease in native populated entities take place when we analyse the influence of Zionist settlements on those entities. The difference between the two percentages, almost 35 per cent, shows the connection between Zionist settlements and the decrease in native population in those entities.

The entities where the decrease in Arab-populated entities is the highest are the entities most exposed to Jewish immigration and land purchases. On the other hand, the entities with the lowest percentages decrease in Arab-populated entities are those where the settler colonial population did not interfere. The results of the following periods will confirm this tendency.

Zionist land purchases and immigration did affect the demographic balance of the Palestinian villages where the Zionist movement purchased land. The answer to the research question if the Zionist movement affected the development of the native population's life is affirmative. There are many political reasons explaining these results. Although there are several different results in the period, we will focus only on the last two because they are central to understanding the settler colonial attempt of the Zionist movement.

The Zionist movement, as we argued at the beginning of the thesis, is a European-based nationalist movement. This is the first step in considering the enterprise a settler colonial movement. The decision to bring the "homeland" of that settler colonial project to Palestine is just a consequence of the settler colonial attempt itself. They had other options apart from Palestine.[528] The decision is connected to the religious and historical links that Jewish communities had with the land. When the association of religious and historical links and the right to claim the land have been established, the settler colonial

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[528]MASALHA, N. *The Zionist Bible: Biblical Precedent, Colonialism and the Erasure of Memory.* Routledge, London, 2014. p 29.

project goes to a second level. As argued before, claims used by settler colonial projects can be diverse but all of them go in the same direction: the denial of the right of the native population to the land in dispute. Once the Zionist movement turned all its efforts to conquer Palestine, the historical right to claim Palestine became a legal right to the land. After that step, the settler colonial project needed to act in a physical way. Patrick Wolfe stated: "the primary motive for elimination is not race (or religion, ethnicity, grade of civilization, etc.) but access to territory. Territoriality is settler colonialism's specific, irreducible element".[529] Without access to land there is no settler colonial project.

At the beginning, the Zionist project faced a region already populated, so the establishment of a settler colonial project had to face that problem. We have already discussed the idea of turning the Zionist movement into a demographic majority, which is important to clarify because not all of the settler colonial case studies worked in the same way. The South African case, for example, did not follow the pattern of the settlers becoming a demographic majority and in this way it differed from the Zionist and Australian cases. So the machinery of the Zionist movement started to work with the newly established colonial power, Great Britain, to try to gain the claim over the land and put into practice the idea of transferring the native population outside the boundaries of the territory under claim.[530] Apart from the historical connections to the land, the main reason to gain the claim over the land was the advantage of the Zionist project based on a European model of state – modern and involved in the world economy. This idea was worthwhile for Britain's economic interests, because of the European Zionist profile.[531] The Zionist movement tried to gain the favour of the newly established colonial power to achieve its goal of establishing a state in the land of Palestine.

[529]WOLFE, P. *"Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native."* Journal of Genocide Research, Vol. 8, No. 4, (December, 2006), pp. 387-409. p 388.
[530]MASALHA, N. *Expulsion of the Palestinians: The Concept of "Transfer" in Zionist Political Thought, 1882-1948.* Institute for Palestinian Studies, Washington, 1992. p 22.
[531]BARON, I. Z. *Justifying the Obligation to Die: War, Ethics, and Political Obligation with Illustrations from Zionism.* Lexington Books, Maryland, 2009. p 39.

5.4- TIMEFRAME: 1931-1945

For the results of the period between 1922 and 1931, this study has analysed the main connection with the historical frame. There are other relations that will be discussed in the following periods apart from the results themselves. This phase of the study will follow the same pattern as the previous one; therefore, a brief description of the results will help as an introduction to the analysis of the 1931-1945 demographic results.

From this time period we can obtain only two groups because there is no data on the Arab religious communities in the *Village Statistics 1945*. The first group contains the percentages of the Arab and Jewish communities plus the total results of the sub-district. The second group, which is more relevant to the thesis, contains the results divided into two different percentages. As in the period between 1922 and 1931, the first percentage analyses the decrease in Arab population in those entities where there is a Jewish population, and the second percentage analyses the entities where there is no Jewish population. The results of the research are the following:

- Arabs: The sum of all the Arab religious groups
- Jews: Jewish religious population.
- Total: The total number of entities.
- Arab (Jews): Arab population entities that contain Jewish population at some point during the period under research.
- Arab (No Jews): Arab population entities without a Jewish population at any time during the period under research.
- Decrease: Number of entities in which the population decreased.
- Total: Total number of entities.
- Percentage: Percentage of entities in which the population decreased.

Table 5.2- Haifa sub-district 1931-1945 period

Haifa	1931-1945 period				
	Arabs	Jews	Total	Arab (Jews)	Arabs (No Jews)
Decrease	12	0	4	10	2
Total	49	21	51	19	30
Percentage	24.48%	0%	7.84%	52.63%	6.66%

5.4.1- Description of the sources 1931-1945:

The first community under analysis is the Arab community. The difference between the previous period and this one is that there are two fewer entities to analyse. There are 51 entities in the first period, but in this one there are only 49 entities with an Arab population. The reason for this is that two entities with Arab population, Sheikh Bureik and Kefar Hasidim, lost all the Arab population at some point by the end of 1931. Twelve of the 49 Arab entities suffer some type of decrease in the Arab population. The percentage of decrease is 24.48 per cent.

The second community under analysis is the Jewish community with a total of 21 entities including a Jewish population. This shows an increase of five entities compared with the previous census. The Jewish community does not suffer any decrease in population in any entity in this period; therefore, the percentage decrease in the Jewish community entities is zero.

The next group under analysis is the total population of the entities between 1931 and 1945. There are 51 entities and four of them suffer a decrease in population, showing a result of 7.89 per cent.

The next group of results shows the two most relevant percentages to this study in this period. As in the previous period, the next two percentages give us the key to understanding the consequences of land purchases and immigration carried out by the Zionist movement during this period.

Nineteen entities with an Arab population have a Jewish population (two entities do not have an Arab population: Sheikh Bureik and Kefar Hasidim), and there is a decrease in Arab population in ten of those 19 entities. The percentage decrease is 52.63 per cent in this type of entity in the period between 1931 and 1945. On the other hand, in the remaining 30 entities where there is no Jewish population or land purchases, the Arab community entities shows a percentage decrease of 6.66 per cent because the Arab population decreases in two out of 30 entities in that period.

Once we have explained the different results of the tables, we will analyse and put them in the context of the time period.

5.4.2- An analysis of the 1931-1945 results

Some of the patterns and causes explained in the previous period happened again in this period. In this part of the thesis, I will identify the new patterns and characteristics that did not appear or were not discussed in the other period.

The first difference to underline is that there are two fewer entities with Arab population to analyse. In the *1931 Census*, there are two entities that according to that source no longer have an Arab population. The Arab population of Sheikh Bureik and Kefar Hasidim disappeared before 1931 and do not appear in the *1945 Village Statistics* either. Those two entities lost all the Arab population during the British Mandate and they did not recover it.

If we analyse only those two entities and their development, we can see that the J.N.F. purchased land there between 1922 and 1931. In the case of Kefar Hasidim, the J.N.F. bought 9,400 *dunams* of land in 1924.[532] According to the list of Jewish villages published by the J.N.F. in 1949, that settlement was a *Moshav Ovdim*, a workers' settlement. Jews coming from Galicia created the settlement in 1924. Many of the Orthodox Jews moving there belonged to Hapoel Hamizrahi, which was a religious Zionist party that disappeared in 1956.[533] One of the most interesting points about the party is that it supported the creation of settlements where all the work needed to be done according to the *Halakha*, the Jewish religious law.

As discussed in chapter four, the idea of using self-labour based work, meaning only Jews, was part of the settler colonial project of the Zionist movement and a political decision to clear the purchased land of Arabs. As argued before, the only way to proceed to make space for settlers in the land of Palestine was to purchase land and replace the Arab population with Jewish immigrants coming mainly from Europe in order to Judaise both the land and the population. Kefar Hasidim is a clear example of population replacement and Judaisation of the land after purchasing land and building a settlement for

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[532]JEWISH NATIONAL FUND. *Jewish Villages in Israel.* Hamadpis Liphshitz Press, Jerusalem, 1949. p 87.
[533]"Encyclopedia Judaica: Hapo'el Ha-Mizrachi"
http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/judaica/ejud_0002_0008_0_08392.html
(02/09/2015)

Jewish immigrants. This study is not aimed to determine if the population of these Arab villages, Harbaj and Zubeidat, was evicted after a trial or after having been compensated by the previous owners. This study is aimed at emphasising the consequences of the changes in population due to land purchases and Jewish immigration. Another type of research would be to study these villages in depth in order to analyse in detail what transpired there.

This is one example, but there are many different cases and patterns, as we will see throughout the thesis. Not all of them followed the same pattern or suffered a change in population for the same reasons. The second case study of this period analyses the Arab entity of Sheikh Bureik where the Arab population disappeared.

Sheikh Bureik is a case where the Arab population disappeared before 1931. Due to issues of accuracy, the name of that entity stays as Sheikh Bureik although another six settlements were created by Jewish immigrants within the boundaries of that entity. The Jewish settlements that were within the boundaries of Sheikh Bureik were the following: Givot Zeid, ElRoi, Sede Yaakov, Shaar Hamaakin, Kiryat Amal and Kiryat Haroshet. As in the previous example, there is one case where the land was purchased before 1931. According to the data provided by the J.N.F., a land purchase of 6,170 *dunams* was made in 1927 to create Sede Yaakov.[534] The creation of that *Moshav Ovdim* followed the same pattern as the previous example. The land was in the J.N.F.'s name and the settlement was created by immigrants from Poland, Lithuania and Hungary. The founders of both settlements under analysis belonged to the same political party.

It is relevant to this study that in both cases where the Arab population disappeared, a settlement was created by the same political party that followed the pattern of self-labour theories. This is a key fact that supports one of the theories of this research: the eviction of the Arab population to make physical space for Jewish immigrants by Zionists was a political decision during the British Mandate. Although this pattern was not followed by all the settlements, it was a reality.

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[534]JEWISH NATIONAL FUND. *Jewish Villages in Israel.* Hamadpis Liphshitz Press, Jerusalem, 1949. p 161.

The next ethnic community under analysis is the Jewish community. There are 21 entities with Jewish population, five more than in the previous period, taking into consideration that one entity, Kabara, lost all of its Jewish population, as analysed previously. It is also important to underline that the entities with a Jewish community increase in population from period to period. This is not related to natural population growth of the community, but can be attributed to Jewish immigration. The results provided by this research show that none of the entities suffered a decrease in Jewish population in this period. We can compare this outcome with the decrease of 24.48 per cent in the Arab community entities. It is quite representative that the Jewish community grew in terms of population and in number of entities by colonising the physical space steadily, as argued before, using settler colonial theories. The process of colonising the land to enable the Jewish immigrants to settle there was the consequence of the decrease in native population and the increase in the number of settlers in the entities that were exposed to land purchases.

The total number of decreases in entities also shows another pattern. There are four out of 51 entities that suffer a decrease, showing a 7.84 per cent in the total population figure. The Arab community suffers a decrease in population in 12 entities but the total amount of population decreases in only four of them. This proves that the total population does not decrease when there is a decrease in the Arab community because that decrease in Arab population is offset by the Jewish immigrants replacing them. As seen in chapter one, this is another key factor in settler colonial theories; the replacement of the native population with the settlers, following the "logic of elimination", as described by Patrick Wolfe.[535]

This was the analysis of the first group, which shows the results of the Arab community, Jewish community and the results of the total number of entities between 1931 and 1945. As in the previous period analysed, the second group under analysis is the most representative of this study. The first results are related to the decrease in Arab population in the entities where there is a Jewish population. There are 19 entities with Jewish population and there is a decrease in Arab population in ten of them, showing a percentage decrease

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[535]WOLFE, P. "*Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native.*" Journal of Genocide Research, Vol. 8, No. 4, (December, 2006), pp. 387-409. p 388.

of 52.63 per cent. The other results show the entities where there is no Jewish population. There are 30 entities without a Jewish population. Only two of the 30 entities without a Jewish population suffer a decrease in Arab population; a percentage decrease of 6.66 per cent.

As in the previous period, the results of this period are also quite clarifying. The highest percentage decreases in Arab-populated entities occur when there is Jewish population in the entities, while the lowest percentages occur when the Arab population has no connection with the Jewish population. As stated for the 1922-1931 period, there is an obvious connection between Jewish settlements and decreases in Arab population. In this case, the difference between the percentages of both types of entities is bigger if compared with the previous period.

It is a fact that the literature shows that the decrease in native population could be related to factors other than the Zionist land purchases. There are some cases where these decreases in population occurred due to problems in the entities separate from Zionist land purchases. For example, one example would be the epidemics of malaria that occurred before and during the British Mandate.[536] The swamps near the entities were the places where the mosquitoes created the most problems. Some entities may have decreased in population due to malaria epidemics. During the British Mandate, improvements in health care and the drying of swamps reduced the population migration from these entities. This study is not aimed at analysing each entity independently. The cases of decrease are diverse; therefore, this study is trying to identify patterns so as not to analyse each case independently. Carrying out an analysis by entity could be a useful study; nevertheless, the sources for this type of research are different. It would be necessary to focus on daily newspapers of the time and medical records to follow the development of epidemics in each entity.

Another possible reason for a decrease in native population without the interference of the Zionist companies can be attributed to internal problems in

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[536]AVNERI, A. L. *The Claim of Dispossession: Jewish Land-settlement and the Arabs, 1878-1948.* Herzl Press, New York, 1983. pp 26-27.

the entities,[537] which sometimes resulted in fights between village leaders.[538] There were some cases in which different clans of the same village fought amongst themselves. Sometimes the consequences were the displacement of one of the sides in conflict. This explanation could be better analysed if this study focused on each entity deeply by following newspapers of the time and researching police records and trials that took place due to such fights. Although this is not the aim of this study, such an approach would open new paths to further study throughout the British Mandate period.

The Arab Revolt is another factor that could have affected the demographic balance of the native population in the period between 1931 and 1945. The Arab Revolt, 1936-1939, took place mainly in the countryside of Palestine, although the consequences were not the same in all the regions. This revolt affected the peasantry's life in the countryside. On the one hand, there were the rebels who held the support of part of the population and, on the other hand, the British authorities and the Jewish population.

The peasantry was persecuted and harassed by both sides in conflict during the Arab Revolt.[539] The rebels wanted to get food supplies from the local peasantry as support for the revolt. Sometimes they also asked the local *Mukhtars* for men able to fight.[540] The British Army, however, also persecuted those collaborating with the rebels by punishing any kind of help to the uprising.[541]

For that reason, the population of some villages was displaced and their houses demolished.[542] Some scholars have analysed and discussed the consequences of the Arab Revolt, but its demographic consequences have not been sufficiently researched.

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[537]HAHNEMANN, S. *Oil, Israel and Modernity. The West's Cultural and Military Interventions in the Middle East.* Books on Demand, Norderstedt, 2004. p 118.
[538]*Ibid.*
[539]COHEN, H. *Army of Shadows Palestinian Collaboration with Zionism, 1917-1948.* University of California Press, California, 2008. p 137.
[540]SWEDENBENBURG, T. *Memories of Revolt: 1936-1939 Rebellion in the Palestinian Past.* University of Arkansas Press, Fayetteville, 2003. p 123.
[541]*COHEN, H. Army of Shadows Palestinian Collaboration with Zionism, 1917-1948.* University of California Press, California, 2008. p 137.
[542]*Ibid.* p 131.

This study does not stress the results of this period because the consequences are almost the same as the ones of the previous period analysed. For this reason, this study focuses on other possible aspects apart from the obvious connections between the decrease in native population and land purchases and Zionist immigration.

Although we have not dealt in this part of the research with the consequences of the settler colonial project, the idea of population transfer or the practices of the Zionist movement, the results show that the tendencies analysed in this period of the British Mandate are the same as the ones analysed in the first part of the British Mandate.

As explained before, the analysis is divided into six parts: results between 1922-1931, 1931-1945, 1922-1938, 1931-1938, 1938-1945 and results of the whole period, 1922-1945. The next step is the analysis of the whole period, 1922-1945.

5.5- TIMEFRAME: 1922-1945

The next period under analysis is the period between 1922 and 1945, covering the whole British Mandate period. The first census was conducted in 1922 and the last survey was published in 1945; therefore, we can see the overall picture of the British Mandate analysing this period. From the information obtained from the last survey, we can see that the growth rates are only available for the ethnic groups, not for the religious groups. The procedure for the results of this period is the same as the procedure for the results of the 1931-1945 period.

- Arabs: The sum of all the Arab religious groups
- Jews: Jewish religious population.
- Total: Total population living in the entity.
- Arab (Jews): Arab population entities that contain Jewish population at some point during the period under research.
- Arab (No Jews): Arab population entities with no Jewish population at any time during the period under research.
- Decrease: Number of entities in which the population decreased.
- Total: Total number of entities.
- Percentage: Percentage of entities in which the population decreased.

Table 5.3- Haifa sub-district 1922-1945 period

Haifa	1922-1945 period				
	Arabs	Jews	Total	Arab (Jews)	Arabs (No Jews)
Decrease	11	1	2	9	2
Total	51	22	51	22	29
Percentage	21.56%	4.54%	3.92%	40.9%	6.89%

5.5.1- Description of the sources 1922-1945:

The division of the table is the same as for the period between 1931 and 1945. The first community under analysis is the Arab ethnic group, which comprises 51 entities with Arab population in this period. Eleven out of these 51 entities suffer a decrease in Arab population or the Arab population disappears completely. The percentage decrease in this community is 21.56 per cent. The second community under analysis is the Jewish community. There are 22 entities overall with a Jewish population. One out of the 22 entities suffers a decrease in Jewish population, so a decrease of 4.54 per cent in this type of entity. The last result of this group of percentages is the total number of decreases in the total population. There are 51 entities in the Haifa sub-district and only two of them show a decrease in population – or 3.92 per cent.

The second part of the analysis of this period focuses on the decreases in the Arab population in the entities where there is Jewish population and in the entities where there is no Jewish population. This is central to understanding the consequences of the settler colonial and population transfer processes of the Zionist movement.

In the first part, there are 22 entities with Jewish population. Nine out of the 22 entities suffer a decrease in the Arab population to the point that it disappears. The percentage of decrease for these entities is 40.9 per cent. In the second part, there are 29 entities without a Jewish population. Out of these entities, which have not been exposed to Zionist land purchases and immigration, only two of them suffer a decrease in population. The percentage decrease is 6.89 per cent.

5.5.2- An analysis of the 1922-1945 results

These results show a broad picture of the patterns followed in the Haifa sub-district during the British Mandate period. Following the same stages as we did in the previous period of time, we will first analyse the initial three groups in the table: Arabs, Jews and total population.

The first clear picture, as in the previous period, is that the Arab community decreases in large numbers in comparison with the other two groups. There are 11 entities that suffer a decrease in population. The development of the Arab community during the British Mandate until now is the same in the three time periods; therefore, there is no more relevant information to be added about this group.

The second group under analysis is the Jewish community. There are a couple of matters to discuss about the development of this group during the British Mandate period. The Jewish community entities suffer a decrease of 4.54 per cent during the British Mandate period. There is one entity, Kabara, whose population decreased, but the decrease in population in this entity is not accurate. According to Arieh Avneri, the I.C.A. got a concession from the Ottoman Government and was confirmed by the Mandatory Government in 1921 to dry the swamp in Kabara,[543] but only in the first source, 1922, does there appear to be a Jewish population in Kabara. This could be because when the census was taken Jews were living there and once they dried the swamp they left for another entity or they were not able to establish a permanent settlement. In either event, the Jewish population did not settle there during the British Mandate period, again, according to the population sources.

The second matter to emphasise regarding this community is that in the *1922 Census* there are ten entities with a Jewish population. The number of entities with a Jewish population in the *Village Statistics 1945* grows to 22. The number of entities with Jewish population at the end of the Mandate was more than twice as many as the entities that were there at the beginning of the British Mandate. This shows a clear pattern of Zionist immigration settlement. While

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[543]AVNERI, A. L. *The Claim of Dispossession: Jewish Land-settlement and the Arabs, 1878-1948.* Herzl Press, New York, 1983. p 108.

the Arab community populated entities decrease during this period, the Jewish community not only does not suffer a decrease in population, but it increases in population and in number of entities.

Ottoman Palestine was an agrarian region that was poorly developed according to European standards of modernisation when the British decided to collect the first population figures.[544] This agrarian-based economy was also reflected in the demographics of the region and the behaviour of the demographics would have been expected to follow the same patterns as a country before having been developed. By the time the first census was carried out, Palestine could be considered a country without any industrial development and based on agricultural subsistence.[545] Thus, the demographics of Palestine by that time had not started the demographic transition. According to demographic transition theories, before the demographic transition starts the birth rates and death rates are high.[546] This is due to the necessity of keeping a high number of births to balance the high numbers of deaths. The same way as in other non-developed countries, the death rates to births were expected to be high. The main survival method was to have a high number of children to balance the death rates. The same occurred with the death rates and life expectancy among populations in non-developed countries.

All these demographic patterns happened in European countries before being industrialised. Palestine, in this case, faced the same demographic development. However, to these expected demographic behaviours of population we need to add that Palestine suffered the consequences of the First World War. The Ottoman forces confiscated food and animals to feed the troops and cut down trees for the war effort against the Allies.[547] These actions also had an impact on the demographics of the region. This is the larger landscape of the area before the British conquest of Palestine.

[544]GROSSMAN, D. *Rural Arab Demography and Early Jewish Settlement in Palestine.* Transaction Publishers, New Brunswick, 2011. p 6.
[545]KARK, R. "The Introduction of Modern Technology into the Holy Land (1800-1914 CE) In *The Archaeology of Society in the Holy Land* edited by Thomas E. Levy. Leicester University Press, London, 1995. pp 524-537. p 537.
[546]JIMENEZ, E. *Development and the Next Generation.* World Bank Publications, Washington DC, 2006. p 43.
[547]KRÄMER, G. and HARMAN, G. *A History of Palestine: From the Ottoman Conquest to the Founding of the State of Israel*. Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 2011. pp 155-156.

There is a clear connection between the decrease in one community and the increase in the other. One community "makes" space for the other. The consequences of population transfer/displacement can be clearly seen by the end of the British Mandate. The increase in Jewish entities is also connected to the idea of land property and the physical need for land in the Zionist enterprise. There was no possibility of a Jewish State without land under Zionist control holding a majority Jewish population.

This idea is reflected in the analysis of the following group. The total number of entities that suffered a decrease in the total population during the British Mandate is only one. How is it possible to obtain these results if 11 Arab entities, constituting the majority of the population, suffer a decrease in population? The answer, which is quite obvious, is that the native population is being replaced with Jewish immigration. The theory of transfer of population very ably explains what is transpiring.

The idea of population transfer of the Zionist settler colonial attempt is to secure available land for the incoming settler population to colonise. The only possible process at that time was to buy land steadily to enable the incoming Jewish immigration stream to settle there and replace the native population. The British authorities did not permit any kind of large population transfer.[548] However, the results show that small transfers or replacements of population did occur during the British Mandate.

The differences between the communities and the total percentages of the entities in the Haifa sub-district show a pattern that challenges the Zionist historiography, which asserts that Zionists did not interfere in the native population's life.[549] As mentioned in the first part of the results, however, the landless Arab problem is a direct consequence of the settler colonial project of the Zionist movement.

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[548]MASALHA, N. *Expulsion of the Palestinians: The Concept of "Transfer" in Zionist Political Thought, 1882-1948.* Institute for Palestinian Studies, Washington, 1992. p 36.
[549]CAPLAN, N. *The Israel-Palestine Conflict: Contested Histories*. Wiley-Blackwell, West Sussex, 2010. p 46.

There are another two results that reinforce the theories of population replacement. The analysis of the results of the last two groups: the development of the Arab population in entities with Jewish population and the development of the Arab population in entities without Jewish population. The analysis of these results is essential to showing the consequences of the settler colonial project.

The first thing that I would like to underline again is the difference between the percentages. The first group shows a decrease of 40.9 per cent in the Arab-populated entities in the entities where there is a Jewish population, while the decrease in Arab-populated entities in the entities where there is no Jewish population is 6.89 per cent. The difference between the percentages in the development of the Arab population is remarkable. The discrepancy between the two groups has been a constant throughout the results. There is another point that I have explained with the example of two entities in the 1931-1945 period that is worth analysing in depth in the British Mandate period. In the previous results, there are two entities, Kefar Hasidim and Sheikh Bureik, which did not have an Arab population in the *1931 Census*. I analysed the pattern in relation to the redemption of land and Jewish self-labour theories within the settler colonial paradigm.

In the *Village Statistics 1945* there are another nine entities that lost all the Arab population apart from the two entities mentioned previously. Moreover, the results of the period between 1922 and 1945 show that there were nine entities where there was a Jewish population that suffered a decrease in Arab population. It is surprising that in those entities the Arab population decreased to the point that it disappeared completely. There was no Arab population in those nine entities in 1945, so there were nine entities with only a Jewish population by the end of 1945, while at the beginning of the British Mandate, there was an Arab population in all the entities of this sub-district. By the end of the Mandate 17.64 per cent of the entities of the Haifa sub-district were populated exclusively by Jews.

This data is relevant to understanding the general picture of the British Mandate period in the Haifa sub-district. The consequence of the Zionist policy of purchasing land to replace the native population with Jewish immigrants shows that 17.64 per cent of the entities had only a Jewish population. This is

the physical space discussed before, a step forward to achieving a Jewish State.

It is worth analysing the seven entities (nine entities from 1922 to 1945) where the Arab population disappeared because there are another six entities, Haifa included, where although they were Zionist settlements, the Arab population did not decrease. The entities where the Arab population disappeared are the following: Jeida, Givat Ada, Jiara, Karkur, Kuffrita, Kefar Yehoshua and Zirkon Ya'akov. All these entities have a common history in being founded by the J.N.F or at some point the lands or part of the ownership of the lands was transferred to the J.N.F. It is necessary to analyse each case in depth before reaching any conclusion.

- **Jeida:** Known as Beit Shearim, it is a *Moshav* founded in 1936 by the J.N.F. The information obtained from the list only says that workers from Eastern Europe and Palestine founded this settlement. It does not provide any information about the workers' party or political affiliation.[550]

According to other sources, members of the Labour Zionist Youth Movement from Yugoslavia, HaNoar HaOved, founded this settlement.[551] That movement was connected to the *Histadrut*, so they may have adopted the Jewish self-labour policy proposed by a side within the *Histadrut* to make physical space for the survival of the project.

- **Givat Ada:** This is a *Moshav* founded in 1903 by I.C.A. for agricultural workers. According to the J.N.F. village list, part of the land was transferred to national ownership, and as a consequence of that, new families settled in the village.[552]

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[550]JEWISH NATIONAL FUND. *Jewish Villages in Israel*. Hamadpis Liphshitz Press, Jerusalem, 1949. p 22.
[551]"About Beit Shearim" (Hebrew)
http://www.beit-shearim.com/?post&post_id=SBAEMy (22/01/2015)
[552]JEWISH NATIONAL FUND. *Jewish Villages in Israel*. Hamadpis Liphshitz Press, Jerusalem, 1949. p 55.

As asserted throughout this study, the connection between the transfer of land to J.N.F ownership and the decrease in the Arab population that lived in the entity occurs quite often.

- **Jiara:** Since 1937 it has been known under the Jewish name of Ein Hashofet. It was founded by American members of Hashomer Hatzair.[553]

The Hashomer Hatzair movement is a Zionist-socialist movement. However, at some point, this movement worked for a bi-national state and equality of rights for the Arabs. The results of this entity contradict the aim of the founders because the Arab population disappeared by the end of 1945. There is a possibility that the land passed to J.N.F. ownership before the members of Hashomer Hatzair established the *Kibbutz* there and consequently the Arab population was expelled before that occurred. However, we would need to do further research into this case to determine the causes of the expulsion of the native population. This study does not have access to the land transfers to deal with such interesting theories.

- **Karkur:** This *Moshav* was founded in 1913 although the village was not established until 1921. The village list says, without making reference to the year, that six new settlements were set up there when part of the land was transferred to the J.N.F. After World War II, the economy improved and the village absorbed new settlers.[554]

As in the other cases, the native population started to disappear when the J.N.F. appeared in the entity. The population decreased from 1922 to 1931 and disappeared from 1931 to 1945. The information on the founders makes reference to a group of English Zionists called Ahuzat London. There are not any other references to the founders. However, it is a fact the Arab population disappeared. Moreover, according to the J.N.F, a Yemenite community arrived at Karkur.[555] The Yemenite community was used to replace the Arab

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[553] *Ibid.* pp 37-38.
[554] *Ibid.* p 75.
[555] *Ibid.*

workers,[556] although we would need more information to confirm this theory in relation to this particular entity.

- **Kufritta:** There were three settlements in the Arab village of Kufritta: Usha, Ramat Yohanan and Kefar Hamaccabi. The J.N.F., together with Jewish immigrants from Poland and Galicia, founded Usha in 1936.[557] Ramat Yohanan was founded by the Hashomer Hatzair movement in an area of land owned by the J.N.F in 1932.[558] The last settlement that was established in the Arab village of Kufritta was Kefar Hamaccabi. This settlement was founded by members of the Maccabi Hatzair movement that came from Czechoslovakia. The land also belonged to the J.N.F. and it was funded by the World Maccabi Organization.[559]

Kufritta and the Arab village of Majdal are included in the new entity of Kufritta. Before 1931 the Arab population started to decrease in the entity in parallel with the appearance of a number of Jewish settlers. This occurred before the J.N.F purchased land in the entity. However, when the J.N.F. ownership appears in the entities, the Arab population disappears completely. In this case, we cannot prove that the Arab population disappeared because of the arrival of settlers, due to a lack of sources. We do not know if the displacements of population took place before these movements established themselves there.

- **Kefar Yehoshua:** Members of Gedud Avoda, which was a socialist Zionist group, founded the *Moshav Ovdim*[560] of Kefar Yehoshua in 1927. The founders of this settlement were part of the third *Aliyah* coming from Russia.[561]

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[556]SHAFIR, G. *Land, Labor and the Origins of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict 1882-1914.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1989. p 92.

[557]JEWISH NATIONAL FUND. *Jewish Villages in Israel.* Hamadpis Liphshitz Press, Jerusalem, 1949. pp 176-177.

[558]*Ibid.* p 149.

[559]*Ibid.* p 86.

[560]RANE, A.A. & DEORUKHKAR, A.C. *Economics of Agriculture*. Atlantic, New Delhi, 2007. p 118.

[561]JEWISH NATIONAL FUND. *Jewish Villages in Israel*. Hamadpis Liphshitz Press, Jerusalem, 1949. pp 99-100.

In the lands of Kefar Yehoshua there was a small Arab settlement called Tal al Shamman. In 1922 there was no Jewish population in the village, but by the end of 1945 the Arab population disappeared completely within the boundaries of the new entity of Kefar Yeshoshua. It would be interesting to establish the connection, once again, between J.N.F. ownership and the disappearance of the Arab population.

- **Zirkhon Ya'akov:** It was founded in 1882 by members of the first *Aliyah* coming from Romania. Later this *Moshava* passed to Baron Rothschild's ownership, and after that it passed to the I.C.A. According to J.N.F. sources, the *Moshava* absorbed a large number of immigrants and some land came under the control of the J.N.F.[562]

The Arab population that lived in the settlement decreased from the beginning according to the sources of the British Mandate period. This is one of the cases where Arab labour was employed for agricultural work in the settlements.[563] The decrease and eventual disappearance of the Arab population in the entity is proportional to the increase in Jewish immigration. The reason for this could be that the Arab population was being replaced with the new Jewish immigrants. Zirkhon Ya'akov was an old settlement, and there is no data that can confirm the existence of an Arab entity where this settlement was established. It is quite understandable that the Arab population moved to the entity due to the job opportunities offered by the settlement.[564] The Arab workers are supposed to have left the entity when they were not needed as a work force any longer.

These are the accounts of the entities and settlements that did not have an Arab population by the end of 1945. As analysed before, there are different cases of entities and patterns, but the outcome is always the same: the displacement of the Arab population that was previously living in the entity. It is also representative and telling that the J.N.F. was always present in these

[562]*Ibid.* pp 184-185.
[563]SHAFIR, G. *Land, Labor and the Origins of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict 1882-1914.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1989. p 143.
[564]BORNSETIN, A.S. *Crossing the Green Line Between the West Bank and Israel.* University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 2002. p 37.

demographic changes. In chapter four and in the chapter about land issues, I have stressed the importance of this organization in the settler colonisation of Palestine. This was the tool to succeed in these land transactions and the instrument for the new immigrants to settle there and, at the same time, the instrument for displacing the native population from the lands purchased.

In the methodological chapter, we have stressed that demography is not an exact method, although it helps to show patterns and answer questions that other disciplines cannot answer. There are six entities where the Arab population never decreases that need further elaboration. The first thing to underline is that Haifa is included in this group. Haifa and other cities in Palestine are difficult to analyse because of the high population figures. As most Jewish immigrants were used to living in cities, they preferred to settle in urban areas.[565] Consequently, it does not make sense to calculate the demographic influence of land purchases on these cities. This study does not aim to focus on cities in general, or on Haifa in particular, because the real consequences of land purchases affected the rural population. However, there are another five entities that fit into the description: Yajur, Tab'un, Isfiya, Daliat al Rauha, and Abu Zureiq.

- **Yajur:** Members of Gedud Avoad founded the *Kibbutz* in 1922. The economy was based on intensive agriculture supplemented with diverse auxiliary activities.[566]

The case of Yajur, as it is written in the village book, is a case that does not follow the patterns explained previously. It was created in lands owned by the J.N.F. by a group belonging to the third *Aliyah* known as Gedud Avoda, which was a Zionist socialist group in lands owned by the J.N.F. Therefore, they were expected to follow the same patterns as the cases analysed previously, which ended up with the displacement of the Arab population from the entities. That displacement, however, did not occur during the British Mandate period. It could happen that the Arab population suffered an internal displacement, since the British divided the land in parcels. It could have happened that they were

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[565]KAPLAN, E. & PENSLAR, D.J. *The Origins of Israel, 1882–1948: A Documentary History.* The University of Wisconsin Press, Wisconsin, 2011. p 14.
[566]JEWISH NATIONAL FUND. *Jewish Villages in Israel.* Hamadpis Liphshitz Press, Jerusalem, 1949. p 179.

internally displaced and the demographic picture of the entity did not change.[567] The case of Kefar Yehoshua was just the opposite. Although the same movement established the *Moshava*, in that case, the Arab population disappeared. This study has not been able to determine the reasons for the different patterns followed by the settlements that were created by the same Zionist organisation.

- **Ta'bun, Isfiya and Daliat al-Rauha:** These three entities do not appear on the J.N.F. village list, but according to the population data that this study is based on, a large number of Jewish settlers lived there. The only explanation for this is that this population may have been settled in the nearby entities that had a Jewish population as appears to be the case in the 1947 survey conducted by the J.N.F. The population of the three entities only appears in the 1945 survey.

In this case, it would be necessary to conduct further research into these entities to determine if the theories formulated by this study are true. This study, however, lacks sources to examine these cases.

- **Abu Zureiq:** The Arab village of Abu Zureiq appears within the boundaries of the settlement of Ramat Hashofet. It was founded in 1941 by pioneers from Lithuania, Poland, Hungary and Bulgaria. The lands were owned by the J.N.F. and, according to the source, the pioneers faced difficulties, as they had to claim each dunam of the hilly and uncultivated land.[568]

Using the scarce sources available for this case, the difficulties that these pioneers had to face could be the reason why there was no displacement of the Arab population from the entity by the end of the survey of 1945. The late construction of the settlement could have avoided the displacement of the population in contrast to what happened in other cases.

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[567]GAVISH, D. The Survey of Palestine Under the British Mandate, 1920-1948. Routledge, London, 2005. p 166.
[568]KAPLAN, E. and PENSLAR, D.J. *The Origins of Israel, 1882–1948: A Documentary History.* The University of Wisconsin Press, Wisconsin, 2011. pp 146-147.

These are the five cases where the Arab population did not suffer any type of decrease throughout the timeframe. This study has analysed those cases to find answers to the patterns shown by these entities. There are reasonable arguments for all the cases apart from the case of Yajur that, as we mentioned before, would be interesting to analyse in depth.

5.6- TIMEFRAME: 1922-1938

The next timeframe of the analysis is the timeframe between 1922 and 1938. There are five different groups in this table. The first result analyses the development of the Arab population of the Haifa sub-district. The second one gives the results for the Jewish community. The next result of the table analyses the behaviour of the total population of the sub-district. The fourth percentage analyses the development of the entities that had Arab population and Jewish population at the same time, and the last result analyses the Arab population in entities that did not have Jewish population at any time in the timeframe under analysis. The results are as follows:

- Arabs: The sum of all the Arab religious groups
- Jews: Jewish religious population.
- Total: Total amount of population living in the entity.
- Arab (Jews): Arab population entities that contain Jewish population at some point during the period under research.
- Arab (No Jews): Arab population entities without Jewish population at any time during the period under research.
- Decrease: Number of entities in which the population decreased.
- Total: Total number of entities.
- Percentage: Percentage of entities in which the population decreased.

Table 5.4- Haifa sub-district 1922-1938 period

Haifa	1922-1938 period				
	Arabs	Jews	Total	Arab (Jews)	Arabs (No Jews)
Decrease	8	2	3	6	2
Total	51	18	51	18	33
Percentage	15.68%	11.11%	5.88%	33.33%	6.06%

5.6.1- Description of the sources 1922-1938:

The first result of the table analyses the Arab entities of the Haifa sub-district. There is an Arab population in every entity in the beginning of the British Mandate. There are 51 entities with an Arab population. Out of these 51 entities in eight of them the Arab population decreases, showing a percentage decrease of 15.68 per cent. The second group under analysis is the Jewish community of the sub-district. After the accuracy procedure, there are 18 entities that contained a Jewish population in them. Two entities decreased out of the 18 entities, making the percentage decrease for this community 11.11 per cent. The third result of the table analyses the total population of the sub-district. There are 51 entities in the Haifa sub-district; in three of them there is a decrease in the total population figure, showing a percentage decrease of 5.88 per cent.

The fourth result analyses the development of the Arab population in the entities where at some point a Jewish population had settled there. There are 18 entities that fit this description and in six of them the Arab population decreases. The result for this type of entity is a 33.33 per cent decrease. The last result of the analysis gives the results for the entities that only had Arab population, entities that were not affected by Jewish immigration or land purchases. There are 33 entities with only Arab population and in two of them there is a decrease in the Arab population; the result for this type of entities is 6.06 per cent.

5.6.2- An analysis of the 1922-1938 timeframe

After describing the results for the 1922-1938 Haifa sub-district, this thesis will analyse the results and put them inside the historical frame of the British Mandate. I will try not to be repetitive, but will analyse the different timeframes giving different historical perspectives and applying these explanations to the statistics obtained in the table.

The first community for analysis is the Arab community. There are eight entities that decreased in this period. If we compare the number of entities that decreased with the previous three timeframes, we can recognise that the number of affected entities is lower than in the other three frames, 1922-1931,

1931-1945 and 1922-1945. This could have an explanation: the Arab Revolt could have affected the 1938 data results. The Arab Revolt certainly affected the Mandate structures. During the years of the Arab Revolt the Zionist land purchases decreased. In the previous two years, 1934 and 1935, Zionists purchased 62.114 and 72.905 *dunams* of land, while during the years of the Arab Revolt, 1936-1939, the land purchases were 18.146, 29.367, 27.280 and 27,973 *dunams* respectively.[569] The quantity of purchased land decreased when the Arab Revolt started; this need to be linked to the difficulties of the Zionist companies in purchasing more land from the Palestinians as well as the difficulties of displacing tenants once the land was purchased.

As we will see in the next period, where the consequences of the Arab Revolt could be analysed better because the timeframe is closer to the Arab Revolt dates, the percentages of decrease in the Arab community are the lowest in the British Mandate for this sub-district. It is obvious that the Zionist companies faced more difficulties in carrying out the purchases and displacement because of the social and military pressure of the Arab Revolt.

The second community is the Jewish one. There are two entities that decreased in population; one is Kabara and the other one is Atlit. Kabara did not have any Jewish population by 1931. It was a concession to dry the swamp granted to the J.C.A..[570] On the other hand, in Atlit there is a decrease in the Jewish population from 1931 to 1938 from 496 to 224 citizens.[571] This could have happened because of some attack on the settlement or because the Jewish Agency decided to move the population to another settlement for military or strategic reasons. The first reason could be researched by analysing the police and military records of the British authorities to determine if the rebels took any military action in the settlement, as well as the newspapers of the epoch. The second option is more difficult to track because the researcher will need to find the letters where those decisions were taken – if they were even written down somewhere.

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[569]BUNTON, M. *Land Legislation in Mandate Palestine.* Cambridge Archive Editions, Cambridge, 2010. Vol 8, p 706.
[570]AVNERI, A. L. *The claim of Dispossession: Jewish Land-settlement and the Arabs, 1878-1948.* Herzl Press, New York, 1983. p 108.
[571]See Appendices or Interactive map

The third result of the period is the analysis of the total population figure in the Haifa sub-district for this period. There are three entities that decreased during the years of the analysis, showing a percentage decrease of 5.88 per cent. This is a common result if we compare this tally with the rest of the period and the Nazareth sub-district, so no further explanations will be made for this result to avoid being repetitive.

The analysis of the entities with Arab and Jewish population in them shows a result that is lower than the rest of the periods apart from the 1931-1938 timeframe. This could be because the Arab Revolt affected these results. As I explained in the analysis of the Arab community, the Zionists faced more difficulties in implementing their plans because of the Arab Revolt.

The last result, which analyses the development of the Arab demographics in entities that were not affected by Zionist land purchases and immigration, follows the same patterns and numbers as the previous and next timeframe as we will see.

As we have discussed in the timeframe, some consequences of the Arab Revolt affected the patterns of this timeframe. In the next timeframe, 1931-1938, these patterns also will be discussed because the results of this period do not follow the patterns shown by this sub-district and the British Mandate sub-districts under analysis.

5.7- TIMEFRAME: 1931-1938

The fifth table of the Haifa sub-district analyses the period between 1931 and 1938. As in the previous three tables, there are five columns with results. In the first one, the development of the Arab community's demographics is analysed. The second community is the Jewish one and the third column analyses the behaviour of the total population of the Haifa sub-district.

The last two results, as in the preceding tables, are related to the behaviour of the Arab population. The first result analyses the behaviour of the Arab population in entities that have been populated with Jews as well. The other result analyses the demographics of the Arab community in entities where there was no influence of Jewish immigration and land purchases. The results are as follows:

- Arabs: The sum of all the Arab religious groups
- Jews: Jewish religious population.
- Total: Total amount of population living in the entity.
- Arab (Jews): Arab population entities that contain Jewish population at some point during the period under research.
- Arab (No Jews): Arab population entities without Jewish population at any time during the period under research.
- Decrease: Number of entities in which the population decreased.
- Total: Total number of entities.
- Percentage: Percentage of entities in which the population decreased.

Table 5.5- Haifa sub-district 1931-1938 period

Haifa	1931-1938 period				
	Arabs	Jews	Total	Arab (Jews)	Arabs (No Jews)
Decrease	3	3	5	1	2
Total	49	17	51	15	34
Percentage	6.12%	17.64%	9.8%	6.66%	5.88%

5.7.1- Description of the sources 1931-1938:

The first result of the table analyses the demographics of the Arab population. There are 49 entities with Arab population and in three of them the Arab population decreases. The percentage result for this community is 6.12 per cent. The second community of the analysis is the Jewish one; there are 17 entities holding a Jewish population. Out of these 17 entities, there are three entities in which the Jewish community decreases. The percentage decrease for this community entities during this timeframe is 17.64 per cent. The third column shows the results of the total population of the sub-district. There are 51 entities and in five of them the total number of the population decreases. The percentage result of the decreased entities for the total number of population is 9.8 per cent.

The last two results, as in all sub-districts, analyses the behaviour of the Arab population in entities with and without a Jewish population. The first result analyses the demographics of the Arab population in entities where there is a

Jewish population living. There are 15 entities that fit this description; in one of them the Arab population decreases. The percentage decrease of this type of entities is 6.66 per cent. The last result of the table, on the other hand, analyses the demographics of the Arab population in entities not influenced by Zionist immigration and land purchases. There are 34 entities with only an Arab population and in two of them there is a decrease in the Arab population. There is a 5.88 per cent decrease for this type of entity.

5.7.2- An analysis of the 1931-1938 timeframe

The results of the 1931-1938 period can be described as a continuation of the development explained in the previous timeframe: 1922-1938. The patterns that appeared in this timeframe were the opposite of the patterns that appeared until now in the British Mandate period.

The first result of the analysis involves the Arab community of the Haifa sub-district. In this case, there are three entities decreasing out of 49, showing a percentage decrease of 6.12 per cent. This result is the lowest one obtained for this community in all of the six timeframes analysed. There are three entities decreasing in this timeframe, while the next timeframe period that has less entities decreasing, for this community, is the previous 1922-1938 one, with eight entities. In the rest of the results, there are at least 11 entities decreasing. This confirms the idea explained in the previous timeframe about the influence of the Arab Revolt on the demographic development of the sub-district and the implementation of Zionist policies during these years.

The second result involves analysis of the Jewish community of the period. There are three entities where the Jewish population decreases, the highest number in the Haifa sub-district timeframes. In the rest of the period, the number of entities with a decrease in Jewish population did not exceed two entities. It is noteworthy that in the same period where the lowest number of Arab entity decreases occurred, the highest number of Jewish entity decreases appeared in the sub-district timeframes. Moreover, the patterns of the sub-district showed the opposite demographic dynamics comparing with the rest of the timeframes.

This thesis explains these changes in pattern dynamics by connecting them to developments related to the Arab Revolt. The amount of land purchased decreased when the Arab Revolt started. The Zionist movement changed strategies because of the threat of war.[572] During these years it was not easy to buy Arab-owned land and displace the tenants form the land. Also, the Jewish Agency dealt with attacks to the settlements and settlers by the rebels and surrounding Arab entities.[573] These events affected Zionist strategies and consequently the demographics of the Haifa sub-district and the dynamics shown until now.

The third result of the period is the analysis of the total population figure of the Haifa sub-district. There are 51 entities in the Haifa sub-district and in five of them the total population decreases. This is not a result that changes the dynamics and patterns of the sub-district, so no deeper information will be added to this result.

The next result, on the other hand, changes all the patterns previously analysed in the sub-district. There are 15 entities with Arab and Jewish populations, and in one entity the Arab population decreases, showing a percentage decrease of 6.66 per cent for the Arab-populated entities. The rest of the results from the Haifa sub-district for the entities with these characteristics show results higher than this. The closest one is the 33.33 per cent of the previous period; all the results of the sub-district are around a 30-55 per cent decrease in this type of entity. This is a big change in the demographic dynamics of this type of entity. This timeframe analyses the changes inside the Arab Revolt's dynamics.

The Arab Revolt changed the policies of the Zionist companies and these changes had an effect on the demographics of the region. If we analyse the last

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[572]SOFER, S. *Zionism and the Foundations of Israeli Diplomacy.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2007. p 100.
[573]HUGHES, M. "*The Banality of Brutality: British Armed Forces and the Repression of the Arab Revolt in Palestine, 1936–39.*" The English Historical Review, Vol. 124, Issue 507, (April, 2009), pp. 313-354. p 314.

group of the table, the development of the Arab population in entities where the Zionist policies were not implemented, the dynamics are the same as the rest of the sub-district. This is because the Arab Revolt did not much affect the entities only populated by Arabs, but did affect the policies and dynamics of the entities with Arab and Jewish populations.

5.8- TIMEFRAME: 1938-1945

The last table of the Haifa sub-district analyses the timeframe between 1938 and 1945. The procedure followed is the same as in the previous five tables; the first result shows the behaviour of the Arab-populated entities. The second result shows the demographic of the Jewish community. The third result analyses the total population for the timeframe between 1938 and 1945. Finally, the last two results are related to the behaviour of the Arab population. The first one analyses the demographics of the Arab population in Jewish-populated entities, while the second one analyses the development of the Arab community in entities that were not affected by the Zionist settler colonial project. The results are as follows:

- Arabs: The sum of all the Arab religious groups
- Jews: Jewish religious population.
- Total: Total amount of population living in the entity.
- Arab (Jews): Arab population entities that contain Jewish population at some point during the period under research.
- Arab (No Jews): Arab population entities without Jewish population at any time during the period under research.
- Decrease: Number of entities in which the population decreased.
- Total: Total number of entities.
- Percentage: Percentage of entities in which the population decreased.

Table 5.6- Haifa sub-district 1938-1945 period

Haifa	1938-1945 period				
	Arabs	Jews	Total	Arab (Jews)	Arabs (No Jews)
Decrease	12	2	7	10	2
Total	49	22	51	20	29
Percentage	24.48%	9.09%	13.72%	50%	6.89%

5.8.1- Description of the sources 1938-1945:

The description of the results of the last table of the Haifa sub-district starts by analysing the demographics of the entities containing an Arab population. There are 49 entities containing an Arab population and in 12 of them there is a decrease in the Arab population. The percentage result of the Arab-populated entities is 24.48 per cent. The second column analyses the behaviour of the Jewish community. After the accuracy process there are twenty-two entities with a Jewish population during this timeframe. In two entities out of twenty-two there is a decrease in the Jewish population, showing a 9.09 per cent decrease in the Jewish-populated entities. The third result of the table analyses the total population of the sub-district. There are 51 entities in the Haifa sub-district. In seven entities there is a decrease in the total population figure. The result for the total population figure of the sub-district is 13.72 per cent.

The last two results analyse the behaviour of the Arab community in entities with and without a Jewish population. The first results analyse the demographics of the Arab community in entities exposed to Zionist immigration and land purchases. There are 20 entities that fit into this description and in ten of them there is a decrease in the Arab population. The result for this type of entity is a 50 per cent decrease. The last result of the table analyses the behaviour of the Arab population in entities not affected by Zionist land purchases and immigration. There are 29 entities with only Arab population and in two of them the Arab population decreases. The percentage decrease for this type of entity is 6.89 per cent.

5.8.2- An analysis of the 1938-1945 timeframe

The last timeframe will be analysed in another way to provide further information about the demographics of the Haifa sub-district. The results of the 1938-1945 timeframe do not differ that much from the 1922-1931 ones so the analysis of the first timeframe could be easily applied to the 1938-1945 one. Hence, the typical analysis will be substituted for the analysis of the growth rate numbers. This procedure could not be carried out throughout the whole sub-

district's analysis, but it is necessary to mention some key aspects of the growth rate numbers.

In the methodology chapter this thesis decided to regard as a decrease in population all the growth numbers that were negative and as an increase in population all the growth numbers that were positive. This decision was based on the assumed accuracy of the demographic procedure. However, everybody will surely agree that it is not the same for an entity to grow by 20 per cent or just by one per cent. The population does not increase in the same number in one and in the other. Obviously, it was not possible for this thesis to analyse all the growth rates of all the entities, sub-districts and periods. To do so, this thesis would need to analyse over one thousand growth rate results. Consequently, in this period, I will underline some differences in entities considering the analysis of the growth rates.

When we say that a growth rate is three, this means that this entity increases the number of its population by three persons per year per each 100 people.[574] When the result is negative this would be the same but with the disappearance of the population. One of the methods to see if a population is increasing quickly or not it is to calculate in how many years it will double the size of its population – the doubling time.[575] Demographers use the 70-year method to calculate doubling time; under normal circumstances the population will double in size in 70 years. This serves as a reference or starting point.[576] Entities that need more than 70 years have a low increase in population and those that require less than 70 years have a fast increase in population.

The formula to calculate the doubling time is:[577]

$$t = \frac{70}{r}$$

t = time of doubling the size of the population in years.

r = growth rate number

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[574]TORRES-Degro, A. "*Tasas de Crecimiento Poblacional (r): Una Mirada desde el Modelo Lineal, Geométrico y Exponencial.*" CIDE digital, Vol. 2, No. 1, (2011), pp. 142-160. p 152.
[575]*Ibid.* p 156.
[576]*Ibid.*
[577]*Ibid.* p 159.

There are some entities where the population disappears completely. In this case, the Arab population disappears completely in entities such as Karkur, Zikhron Ya'aqov or Kufritta. There is an option to analyse the growth rate number and the doubling time. However, we dealt with this type of case in the methodology. The disappearance of the population is a decrease and the appearance is an increase of population.

The first conclusion that this thesis can point to is that apart from Pardes Hanna and Givat Ada every entity took less than 34 years to double its Arab or Jewish population[578]. This is because in developing countries, the population increases quickly and is related to the social, economic and health changes of the country.

Apparently there are not many differences between the Arab communities and the Jewish community in the number of doubling time years. However, if we analyse the growth rate numbers we see that for the Jewish community, in general, the growth rate numbers are higher. This means that, first of all, the Jewish increase is supported by an external immigration because it is impossible to double the population of an entity in three or six years as occurred in Sheikh Bureik, Pardes Hanna and Yajur.[579] Another difference is that there is only one entity that decreases among the Jewish community, while for the Arab community there are five decreases and six complete disappearances of Arab communities. Also, there are eight entities where the Arab community decreases or disappears while the Jewish community doubles in population in a maximum of 11 years, apart from the case of Givat Ada.[580] These are clear examples of replacing the Arab population with a Jewish one. The influence of the Zionist policies on the indigenous population is clearly observable here and these could be key samples to understand general patterns related to increase and decrease growth rates. Unfortunately, this process could not be carried out in all of the thirty tables under analysis of this thesis.

It is clear that in general the population of the Haifa sub-district increases quickly in population in comparison with general growth rates. Also, it is clear

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[578]See Appendices
[579]*Ibid.*
[580]*Ibid.*

that in reference to the decrease in population we are not referring to five persons (in most of the cases) but to tens and hundreds of people. Thus, this could not be considered a population decrease created by normal circumstances, as we will discuss in the Jenin sub-district, but a population decrease created by an external force. In this case, the external force is Zionist policies. The link between the decrease in native population and the increase in Zionist population has been clearly shown in this period and, also, the total numbers confirm this involves not just scores of the native population being affected, but thousands in the Haifa sub-district alone.

After analysing the results of the six periods of the British Mandate and the different groups, we have obtained different patterns and developments of the entities under analysis. In this chapter, the cases have been analysed in a period of time, so the total analysis of the sub-district has not been done yet. Before finishing this chapter, I will summarise the analysis of the Haifa sub-district during the British Mandate period. I will also analyse all the results together – or at least the most defining characteristics of the research.

5.9- THE WHOLE PICTURE OF THE HAIFA SUB-DISTRICT

There are some features that would be interesting to underline when we analyse the results of the Haifa sub-district during the whole British Mandate period. However, these results need to be understood in the context of a region where there is a large number of Jewish immigrants and land purchases made by Zionist companies.

Having concluded the analysis of the results of the demographic research, the first clear pattern that we observe is the relationship between the decrease in the Arab population and Arab-populated entities and the establishment of the Zionist settlements. In the six periods, the highest percentages of decrease in the Arab-populated entities always occur in the entities where there are Jewish settlements. On the other hand, the lowest percentages of decrease always occur in the entities where there are no Jewish settlements, as could be expected in a developing country that is starting the demographic transition.

These two patterns, which appear in the six periods under analysis, support the thesis of this study stressing the connection between the settler colonial project of the Zionist movement and the idea of transfer of population. As we argued throughout the analysis, Zionist historiography defends how profitable the Zionist "conquest" of Palestine[581] was for the native population and the non-interference in the native population's life.[582] However, the results obtained contradict and challenge the idea of non-interference in the native population's life. Moreover, it opens another path to place the Zionist movement in the context of settler colonial theories and prove the theory of transfer of population during the British Mandate as argued by Nur Masalha in his analysis of the ideology of displacement in narrative sources.

Another pattern that confirms transfer/displacement of population occurred is related to the idea that the total population of these entities that suffered a decrease in Arab population did not decrease in overall population. The reason for this is that the decreases in Arab population were counteracted by Jewish immigration. This confirms the settler colonial theories of replacement of population conducted by settler societies. The theories of "conquest of labour", discussed in chapter four, could also be applied to these cases, but the introduction of this variable would create an equation even more complex to solve. Despite having this idea in mind, this study prefers to confine itself mainly to demography and land.

The next pattern that I would like to stress is the increase in Jewish-populated entities throughout the British Mandate period. The idea of settler colonialism, as Patrick Wolfe argues, is related to land and access to the land.[583] The Zionist movement realised that the first step to conquer Palestine was to secure the access to the land. The increase in the presence of Jewish settlers in more entities means that the land purchases increased, and once the land was in Zionists' hands, it never returned to Arab ownership. The increase in the entities with Jewish population, as argued before, is related to the

[581]SHAFIR, G. & PELED, Y. *Being Israeli: The Dynamics of Multiple Citizenship.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2002. p 25.
[582]CAPLAN, N. *The Israel-Palestine Conflict: Contested Histories*. Wiley-Blackwell, West Sussex, 2010. p 46.
[583]WOLFE, P. *"Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native."* Journal of Genocide Research, Vol. 8, No. 4, (December, 2006), pp. 387-409. p 388.

physical space needed by the settler colonial enterprise to secure the survival of the project in the future. The following patterns are connected with the results described above. The Jewish population decreases in only six entities out of all the periods previously analysed, but it increases in the rest of the entities. The reason is that the Jewish immigrants coming from outside the boundaries of the sub-district helped to increase the population[584]. The settlements and entities created for the Jewish migrants to settle there never disappeared. As argued before, this is part of the settler colonial project and the redemption of land towards the establishment of a settler colonial state.

The last pattern to stress is one of the most representative ideas of transfer of population defended by Nur Masalha: the increase in entities with only Jewish population. By the end of the British Mandate, there were nine entities in the Haifa sub-district that did not have an Arab population, but previously did. This is a consequence of the settler colonial project and land purchases carried out by the Zionist companies, what Patrick Wolfe defined as "the logic of elimination".[585]

As argued before, the landless Arab problem represented just a fraction of a wider problem caused by land purchases and the idea of transfer of population pursued by Zionist companies and political parties. The results also confirm the interference of the Zionist movement in the native population's life. The population that left the land for different reasons, whether they were evicted or expelled, moved to another place. It is not the aim of this study to follow the population that was displaced, but to bring an overall picture of the Haifa sub-district during the British Mandate.

As seen through the analysis of the sub-district throughout the British Mandate period, some of the paradigms of the Zionist historiography have been challenged and new questions have arisen.

There are another three districts to be analysed in this thesis and another 12 sub-districts left outside the study, as explained in the methodological chapter. At the end of the thesis, there is a section in which I analyse the whole

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[584]See Appendices. Haifa censuses. See interactive map.
[585]WOLFE, P. *"Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native."* Journal of Genocide Research, Vol. 8, No. 4, December, 2006), pp. 387-409. p 387.

picture of the four sub-districts in the British Mandate period by examining the different patterns and entities so as to bring a more accurate picture that can answer the research questions raised in the beginning of the thesis.

Also, at the end of this thesis, apart from the answers to the research questions, we will deal with those questions that this study has not been able to address due to different methodological reasons and research interests. The methodology proposed in this research could be applied, as I will argue at the end of the thesis, to different periods of the same country or to different countries, provided the sources of population are available and related to the settler colonial framework.

BLUE BOUNDARIES

Jewish population living in the village

RED COLOUR

The Arab population disappeared from the village

YELLOW COLOUR

The Arab population decreased in the village

ORANGE COLOUR

The Jewish population decreased in the village

BLUE COLOUR

Only Jewish population living in the village

GREEN COLOUR

No decrease of Arab population in the village

ORANGE BOUNDARIES

The Jewish population decreased in the village

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[586] Balad esh Sheikh does not contain Jewish population in any of the timeframes. Look tables.

Map 5.10.1- Haifa sub-district 1922-1931
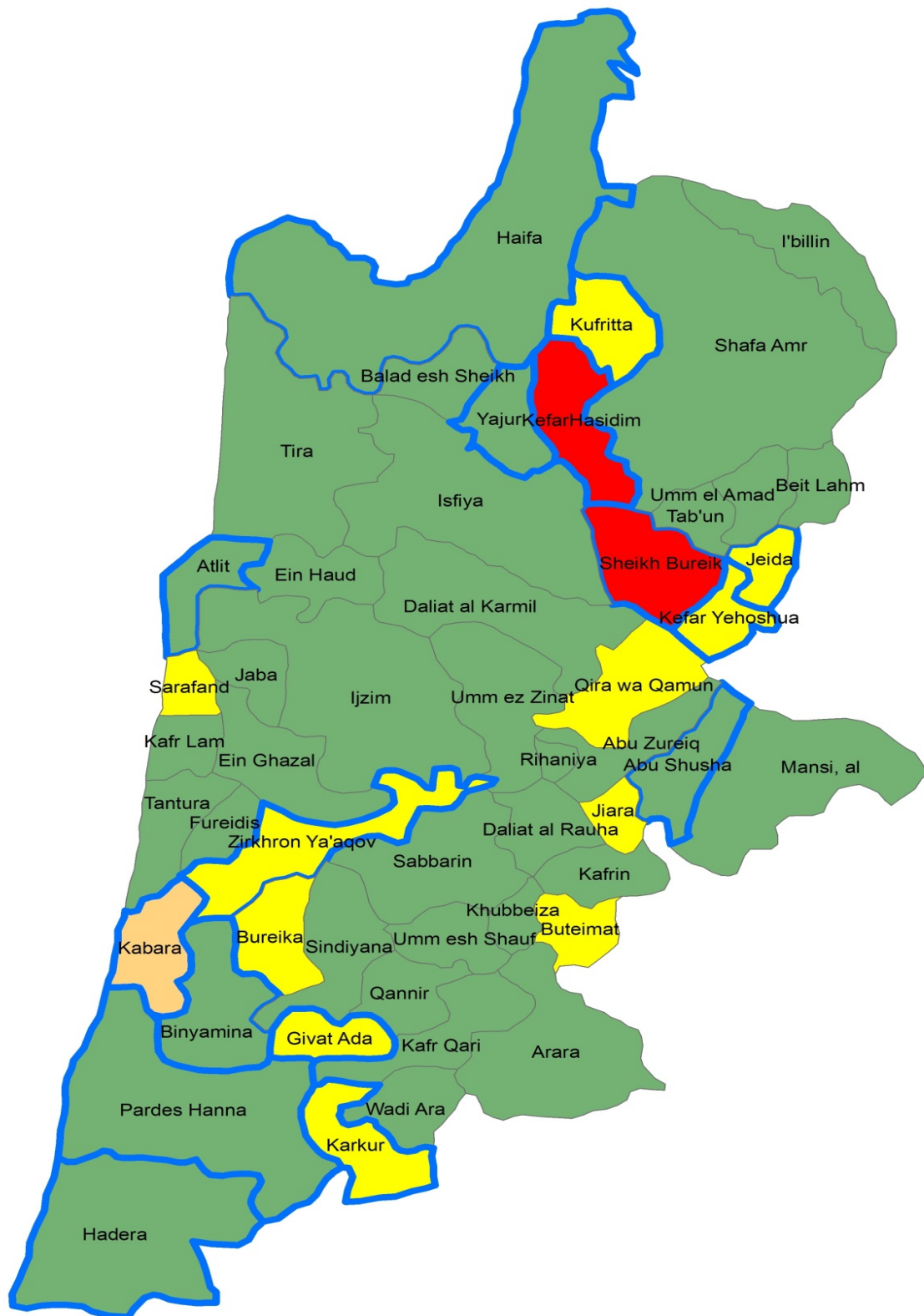
Map 5.10.2- Haifa sub-district 1931-1945

Haifa

I'billin

Kufritta

Shafa Amr

Balad esh Sheikh

YajurKefarHasidim

Tira

Isfiya

Umm el Amad
Tab'un

Beit Lahm

Atlit

Ein Haud

Sheikh Bureik

Jeida

Daliat al Karmil

Kefar Yehoshua

Sarafand

Jaba

Ijzim

Umm ez Zinat

Qira wa Qamun

Kafr Lam

Ein Ghazal

Rihaniya

Abu Zureiq
Abu Shusha

Mansi, al

Tantura

Fureidis

Zirkhron Ya'aqov

Jiara

Daliat al Rauha

Sabbarin

Kafrin

Khubbeiza

Buteimat

Kabara

Bureika

Sindiyana

Umm esh Shauf

Qannir

Binyamina

Givat Ada

Kafr Qari

Arara

Pardes Hanna

Wadi Ara

Karkur

Hadera

Map 5.10.3- Haifa sub-district 1922-1945
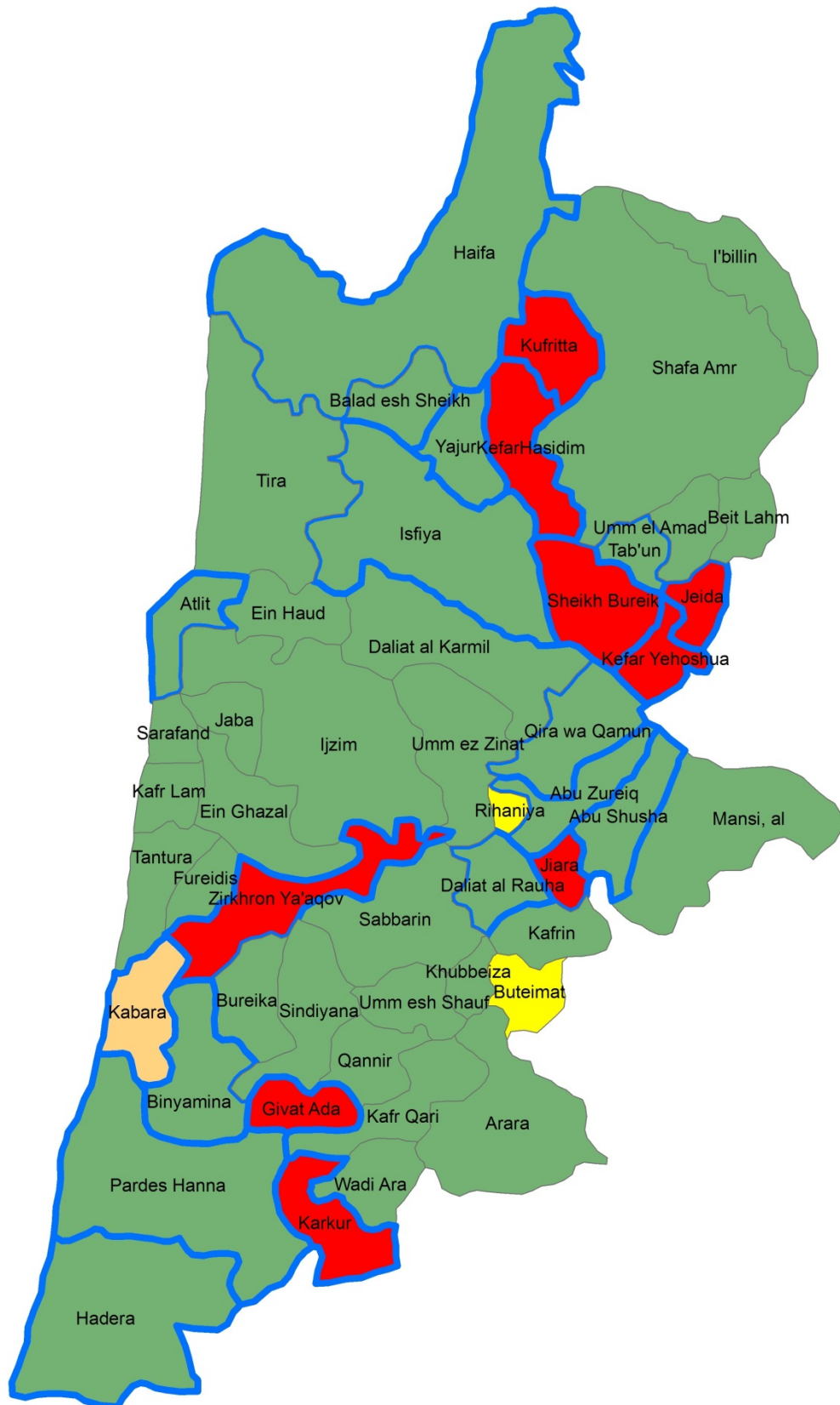
Map 5.10.4- Haifa sub-district 1922-1938
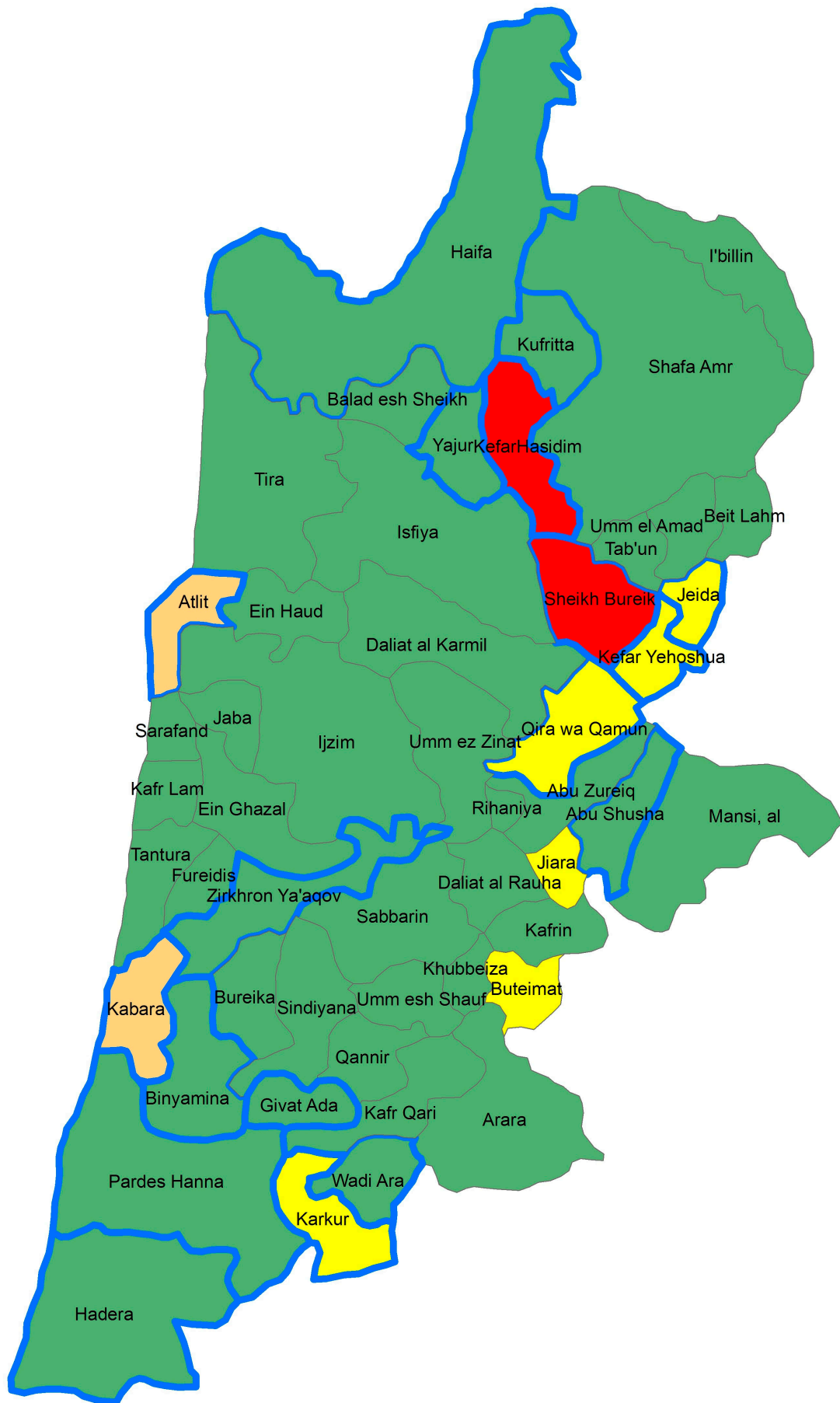
Map 5.10.5- Haifa sub-district 1931-1938
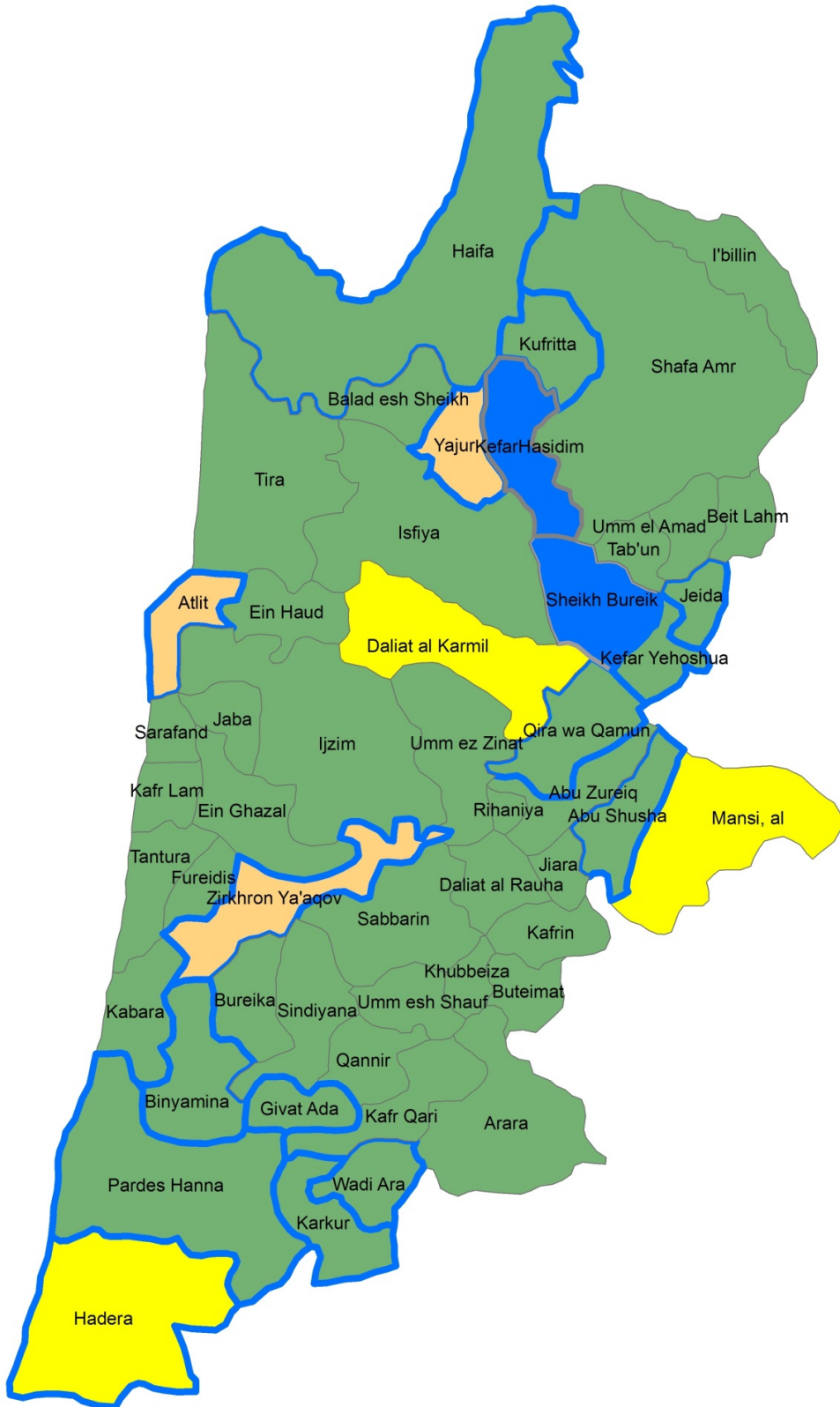
Map 5.10.6- Haifa sub-district 1938-1945

Haifa

I'billin

Kufritta

Shafa Amr

Balad esh Sheikh

YajurKefarHasidim

Tira

Isfiya

Umm el Amad Beit Lahm
Tab'un

Atlit

Ein Haud

Sheikh Bureik

Jeida

Daliat al Karmil

Kefar Yehoshua

Jaba

Sarafand

Ijzim

Umm ez Zinat

Qira wa Qamun

Kafr Lam

Ein Ghazal

Abu Zureiq

Rihaniya

Abu Shusha

Mansi, al

Tantura
Fureidis

Jiara

Zirkhron Ya'aqov

Daliat al Rauha

Sabbarin

Kafrin

Kabara

Bureika

Sindiyana

Umm esh Shauf

Khubbeiza

Buteimat

Qannir

Binyamina

Givat Ada

Kafr Qari

Arara

Pardes Hanna

Wadi Ara

Karkur

Hadera

6. NAZARETH SUB-DISTRICT

This chapter analyses the demographic development of the Nazareth sub-district. This example was chosen because of the significant amount of Zionist immigration and land purchases between 1922 and 1945. Following the same argument as for the Haifa sub-district, the analysis of this sub-district provides the thesis with a more comprehensive view regarding the influence of Zionist settlement policies in Palestine.

The data used for the demographic approach is the same as the other sub-districts: the *Census of 1922*,[587] the *Census of 1931*,[588] *1938 Village Statistics*[589] and *1945 Village Statistics*.[590] The results and analysis provided in this chapter are organised in six different timeframes. The first timeframe analyses the period between 1922 and 1931. Due to the information provided in the censuses, this first timeframe allows us to identify the religious changes in the population apart from the ethnic ones. The second timeframe under analysis is between 1931 and 1945. In this case the censuses only allow this study to analyse the development of the ethnic groups in the sub-district because, as mentioned before, the *1938 Village Statistics* and *1945 Village Statistics* only provide ethnic divisions within the population. The next timeframe under analysis is the whole period of the Nazareth sub-district from 1922 to 1945. The final three results are related to the *1938 Village Statistics*; the first one analyses the results between 1922 and 1938; the second one, between 1931 and 1938, and the last one the final part of the Mandate period between 1938 and 1945. In the latter three cases, the population analysis is based on ethnic differences not religious ones.

Every result in this sub-district, apart from the first timeframe, provides a clear picture of the ethnic development during this period. As mentioned

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[587]BARRON, J.B. *Report and General Abstracts of the Census of 1922*. Greek Convent Press, Jerusalem, October, 1923.
[588]MILLS, E. *Census of Palestine 1931. Population of Villages, Towns and Administrative Areas.* Greek Convent Press, Jerusalem, 1932.
[589]GOVERNMENT OF PALESTINE. *1938 Village Statistics*. Statistics Office. Jerusalem, February 1938.
[590]HADAWI, S. *Village Statistics 1945; A Classification of Land and Area Ownership in Palestine*. Palestine Liberation Organization Research Center, Beirut, 1970.

previously, using the *1922 and 1931 Censuses*, this thesis was also able to analyse the development of the religious groups and not just the ethnic ones. The first timeframe has seven different results; the first two are the percentages of the Muslim and Christian communities in the sub-district. The next five results are repeated in the six timeframes, containing the main body for the analysis of the influence of Zionist land purchases and immigration in the Nazareth sub-district.

The main five results that this thesis will work with are the total Arab population, the total Jewish population and the total population in the sub-district. The last two results for the sub-district are the analysis of the Arab population in the entities that contained a Jewish population and in those where Zionist immigration and land purchases did not affect the demographic development of the Arab population.

6.1- MAPPING

Before being able to produce the results previously described by this thesis, as was described in the methodology, the creation of a new accurate map of the village boundaries for the sub-district was produced in order to be able to calculate the growth rates of each entity and ethnic group in the sub-district under analysis. The process previously explained in the methodology and shown in the Haifa sub-district chapter needs to be repeated for the Nazareth sub-district.

For this new accurate map, it was necessary to create one based on the 1945 village boundaries provided by Salman Abu-Sitta's *Atlas of Palestine*.[591] The procedure, as explained in the methodology chapter, needed to identify the location of every village in each of the four sources used for the demographic research. The first source used is the *1922 Census of Palestine*, in which 41 village names[592] appeared within the Nazareth sub-district. The second source used is the *1931 Census of Palestine*, in which 59 village names are

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[591]ABU SITTA, S. *Atlas of Palestine: 1917-1966*. Palestine Land Society, London, 2010.
[592]BARRON, J.B. *Report and General Abstracts of the Census of 1922*. Greek Convent Press, Jerusalem, October, 1923. p 38.

included.[593] The third one contains the *1938 Village Statistics*, which provides 54 different village names.[594] The final source used in this research contains the *1945 Village Statistics*, which provides 46 village names.[595]

As explained in the methodology section, to be able to calculate the growth rates of each entity, a new accurate map needed to be created to calculate an accurate population analysis in the newly created entities. As mentioned in the previous examples, there are different cases that affected the creation of this new accurate map. The first case is the easiest one, when the entity is a village that remains constant and no change is needed in the boundaries to be able to calculate the growth rates. Examples of this type of village are Tamra, Uzeir and Ma'lul.

The second type of change that needed to be made to create this new accurate census was when one village needed to be included in all the sources within a larger one. In the sub-district under analysis there were two villages that followed this pattern, Dabburiya and Kaukab. For example, inside the boundaries of Kaukab the village of Kafr Manda needed to be included in every source. The small entity named Hujeirat, Arab el was included in the *1931 Census* inside Kafr Manda.[596] In the *Atlas of Palestine*, however, it appeared inside the boundaries of Kaukab.[597] Thus, these two villages, Kaukab and Kafr Manda, needed to be merged in order to have an accurate entity and ensure that the population of Hujeirat, Arab el was counted. In this case, the new entity took the name of Kaukab.

The third type of village that needed to be changed in the process to create an accurate census and map for the Nazareth sub-district pertains to those that at some point needed to be included in one of the sources. Villages that needed to be included in a larger entity because they only appeared in the *1922 Census*, like Waraqni, al, ended up included in Kefar Barukh. The *Atlas of*

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[593]MILLS, E. *Census of Palestine 1931. Population of Villages, Towns and Administrative Areas.* Greek Convent Press, Jerusalem, 1932. pp 73-76.
[594]GOVERNMENT OF PALESTINE. *1938 Village Statistics*. Statistics Office. Jerusalem, February 1938. pp 18-20.
[595]HADAWI, S. *Village Statistics 1945; A Classification of Land and Area Ownership in Palestine.* Palestine Liberation Organization Research Center, Beirut, 1970. pp 62-63.
[596]MILLS, E. *Census of Palestine 1931. Population of Villages, Towns and Administrative Areas.* Greek Convent Press, Jerusalem, 1932. p 74.
[597]ABU SITTA, S. *Atlas of Palestine: 1917-1966*. Palestine Land Society, London, 2010. p 219.

Palestine[598] included this village within the boundaries of Kefar Barukh and the British authorities did not mention it as an independent entity in the following sources. Consequently, we can assume that the population was absorbed by a larger entity inside the boundaries proposed by the Atlas of Salman Abu-Sitta. This type of process could be repeated for any of the sources; 1922, 1931, 1938 or 1945.

There is another type of change that should be made. As a consequence of Zionist immigration and land purchases, new villages and settlements were created. Some of these new entities were created after the collection of the *1922 Census*. These new entities needed to be included in a previously existing entity. For example, Kefar Gid'on was created in 1923[599] so in 1922 no population had been established there. However, this new settlement was created inside the boundaries of Balfourya according to the *Atlas of Palestine.*[600]

In other sub-districts this thesis faced still other problems with accuracy. For example, in the Nablus sub-district the sources pointed out that some villages were part of the sub-district while the *Atlas of Palestine*[601] was representing them as outside the sub-district. Another problem that occurred in the Haifa sub-district was that some villages in the *1922 Census* did not appear anywhere, neither in the other sources, nor in the *Atlas of Palestine.*[602] Thus, this small quantity of lost population was included in the error. However, as mentioned previously, this was not the case in the Nazareth sub-district.

After dealing with all these procedures, the Nazareth sub-district had 31 accurate new entities for all four of the sources used in the demographic research. Also a new map was created for the rest of the sub-districts with the new boundaries of the 31 new entities based on the *1945 Atlas of Palestine* village boundaries.[603]

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[598] *Ibid.* pp 257.
[599] JEWISH NATIONAL FUND. *Jewish Villages in Israel.* Hamadpis Liphshitz Press, Jerusalem, 1949. p 83.
[600] ABU SITTA, S. *Atlas of Palestine: 1917-1966.* Palestine Land Society, London, 2010. p 259.
[601] *Ibid.*
[602] *Ibid.*
[603] *Ibid.* pp 39, 42.

<u>6.2- A DESCRIPTION OF THE NEW CENSUS AND GROWTH RATES
PROCEDURE</u>

Once the new map was created with ArcGIS and the new accurate census was designed, the procedure to obtain all the growth rates could start. As mentioned in the methodology section, an ethnic population of less than 2 per cent of the total population of the entity was not considered in this research. For example, if a Jewish resident was counted in an entity containing 1,000 Arabs, he or she was not considered in this research because working with such small numbers made the research results problematic.

As mentioned previously, this chapter contains six different results from the demographic research. The timeframes are as follows: 1922-1931, 1931-1945, 1922-1945, 1922-1938, 1931-1938 and 1938-1945. The analysis of the results is divided between Arabs, Jews, the total population, the development of the Arab population in entities that contained Jews and the development of the Arab population where there were no Jewish inhabitants. These are the main five results included in this research. However, in the first timeframe there was the option of also analysing the development of Muslim and Christian communities separately.

This sub-district, as occurred in the case of Haifa, was one where Zionists purchased quite a lot of land and settled new immigrants in the settlements already created by 1922 and those created after the first census of the British Mandate era. As stated in the historical framework, the only tool available for the Zionist project at the time of the British Mandate period was to purchase land and create the physical space needed for the newly arrived immigrants to settle. The political, social and economic situation of the British Mandate period did not allow them to transfer a massive Arab population outside the boundaries of the Mandate because the British refused that option.[604] Consequently, the only option available was to purchase land and settle there. As cited before, after the British Mandate era ended, a new opportunity emerged for the Zionist project to create the physical space needed

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[604]MASALHA, N. *Expulsion of the Palestinians: The Concept of "Transfer" in Zionist Political Thought, 1882-1948*. Institute for Palestinian Studies, Washington, 1992. pp 57-58.

and change the demographic balance as Ilan Pappe, Walid Khalidi, Benny Morris and other scholars have argued.[605]

This research aims to analyse the period where the Zionist project was not strong enough and the characteristics of the time did not allow them to make the physical space needed to secure the settler colonial project. However, the British Mandate period was the key moment of survival or failure for the Zionist settler colonial project in Palestine.

In the next sections of this chapter, the results of the demographic research will be analysed and described in order to contextualise them and provide the most important aspects in order to understand the importance of the research itself and the thesis in its totality.

6.3- TIMEFRAME: 1922-1931

The results of the period between 1922 and 1931 are divided into seven different groups:

- Muslims: The Muslim religious population
- Christians: The Christian religious population
- Arabs: The sum of all the Arab religious groups
- Jews: The Jewish religious population
- Total: The total population living in the entity
- Arabs (Jews): Arab population entities that contained a Jewish population at some point during the period under analysis
- Arabs (No Jews): Arab population entities without a Jewish population at any time during the period under research

- Decrease: Number of entities in which the population decreased.
- Total: Total number of entities.
- Percentage: Percentage of entities in which the population decreased.

[605]PAPPE, I. *A History of Modern Palestine: One Land, Two Peoples.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2006. p 128.
MORRIS, B. *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem Revisited*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004. p 344.
KHALIDI, W. *"Plan Dalet: Master Plan for the Conquest of Palestine."* Journal of Palestine Studies, Vol. 18, No. 1, Special Issue: Palestine 1948 (Autumn, 1988), pp. 4-33.

Table 6.1- Nazareth sub-district 1922-1931 period

Nazareth	1922-1931 period						
	Muslims	Christians	Arabs	Jews	Total	Arabs (Jews)	Arabs (No Jews)
Decrease	7	5	8	0	4	6	2
Total	28	8	28	9	31	6	22
Percentage	25%	62.5%	28.57%	0%	12.90%	100%	9.09%

6.3.1- Description of the sources 1922-1931:

The first timeframe under analysis is the period between 1922 and 1931. As I explained before, this is the only one that also contains the results for the Muslim and Christian populations separately. The first group under description is the Muslim population of the Nazareth sub-district. There are 28 entities that contained a Muslim population within their boundaries and in seven of them the Muslim population decreased in population, showing a percentage decline of 25 per cent.

The next religious group under analysis is the Christian community of the Nazareth sub-district. There are 17 entities that contained a Christian population living in them. However, because of problems with accuracy, this thesis is only working with eight of them. As explained before in the chapter on methodology, any population that contained less than two per cent of the total would be dismissed. In this case, nine entities contained less than two per cent of the population. Five entities out of eight have a decrease in population showing a result of 62.5 per cent. The next group under analysis is the Arab community of the Nazareth sub-district. There are 28 entities that contained an Arab population and in eight of them there is a decrease in population, showing a 28.57 per cent decrease for the entities with an Arab population. The next community being studied is the Jewish population of the sub-district. There are nine entities that contained Jewish inhabitants and none of them suffered any kind of decrease in the population. The result for this community is zero per cent.

The analysis of the total of the entities in the Nazareth sub-district contains 31 entities. There are four entities where the population decreases so the result is a 12.90 per cent decrease for all of the entities in the Nazareth sub-district. There are two other results for the period; the first is related to the Arab population in the entities populated by Jews as well. There are six entities that contain a mixed Arab and Jewish population inside their boundaries. In six of them, all of them, the Arab population decreased, showing a percentage of 100 per cent. This low number of Jewish/Arab-populated entities happened because there were three entities that were dismissed due to the low number of Jews living within them and another three entities that before 1922 were only populated by Jews. The last result analyses the populations of the entities that only contained an Arab population, without interference from Zionist land purchases and immigration. There are 22 entities that fit into this category and in two of them the Arab population decreases, showing a 9.09 per cent of decrease in this type of entities.

These are the results for the period between 1922 and 1931 in the Nazareth sub-district. In the next part of this sub-chapter the results will be analysed and contextualised within the historical framework.

6.3.2- An analysis of the 1922-1931 results

The first group under analysis in this period is the Muslim community of Nazareth. 25 per cent of the entities of this community show decrease in population within the sub-district. As mentioned before concerning the Haifa sub-district, this is the only timeframe where we can analyse the development of the Muslim community. If we compare the results of this community with those that we took from Haifa during the same period (25.49 per cent) the percentage is almost the same. The Christian community, on the other hand, doubled the results when compared with the Haifa sub-district. In the Nazareth sub-district 62.5 per cent of the entities decreased while in the Haifa sub-district the percentage drop was only 33.33 per cent. As we will see throughout this chapter, the highest rates of decrease for all the sub-district cases occurred in Nazareth. This has a simple explanation. The largest plots of land that the

different Zionist companies owned were in Galilee.[606] Almost half of the land owned by the Zionist companies by 1945 was in this region, which included Nazareth sub-district. In the following table we can see the results by the end of 1945 in metric *dunams*.[607]

Analysing the whole picture of Palestine, we realise that the Nazareth sub-district was one of the regions most exposed to Zionist land purchases and immigration. Even without analysing the way that each Zionist company behaved towards the native population, it is clear that this region was more exposed to Zionist influence than any other.

As mentioned in the chapter about land, one of the main resources for the Zionist companies in terms of land holdings were the absentee landlords. These landlords owned some big plots of land mainly in Galilee thanks to previous Ottoman reforms before the division of the Mandates took place. They saw themselves as owning some land in another country ruled by a different colonial power.[608] The most famous absentee landlords were the Sursock Lebanese Christian family. The land owned by the absentee landlords had some good characteristics for the Zionist companies. These were quite substantial plots of land, the total amount being around two per cent of the whole of Palestine.[609] In addition, the plots of land were not disseminated throughout Palestine but mainly in the Northern sub-districts. This follows the idea of purchasing one plot of land in the vicinity of another in order to be able to create the physical space needed for the future state and defence of the settlements as was illustrated in the 1948 war. According to the classifications of types of lands, these were fertile lands compared to the hilly lands of Samaria or the *Neqev* desert.[610]

One of the most important things to take into consideration was that the absentee landlords were willing to sell the lands. Managing ownership from

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[606]See Appendices
[607]*Ibid.*
[608]KARLINSKY, N. *California Dreaming: Ideology, Society, and Technology in the Citrus Industry of Palestine, 1890-1939.* State University of New York Press, New York, 2012. p 79.
[609]STEIN, K. W. *The Land Question in Palestine, 1917-1939*. University of North Carolina Press, North Carolina, 1984.p 26.
[610]HUNEIDI, S. *A Broken Trust: Sir Herbert Samuel, Zionism and the Palestinians*. I.B.Tauris, London, 2001. p 223.

another country was no easy task and the Zionist companies were able to offer high prices for the lands.[611] This was the main inconvenience for the Zionist companies, the fact that they had to pay high prices for the lands.

As we have seen in the land ownership table, this region was even more exposed than Haifa to Zionist land purchases and influence. The next group for analysis is the Arab community; there are 28 entities that contained an Arab population. This is an important matter to stress because it is the first case in which in a sub-district at the beginning of British Mandate sources, there was not an Arab population presence in all the entities throughout the sub-district. In this case, there were three entities that by 1922 had an exclusively Jewish population within their boundaries. The entities that only contained a Jewish population were the following: Balfourya, Merhavya and Nahlal and Shimron. This is an important change from the rest of the case studies because the creation of physical space started before the establishment of the British Mandate, according to the population sources.

Yosef Baratz, one of the Mapai leaders and a member of the Knesset in the first elections, is well worth quoting. Baratz did not question the morality of the transfers; he supported the idea of carrying them out. He talked about the case of Merhavya, which is a fascinating example for this study. Baratz stated:[612]

> Isn't it evacuation which has been continuing our work
> in the country for the last 40-50 years? Didn't we transfer
> Arabs from D'ganya, Keneret, Merhavya, and Mishmar
> Haemek? I do remember the nights on which Shmuel
> Dayan (the father of Moshe Dayan) and I were called to
> Merhavya to help "Hashomer" (a paramilitary organization
> of Zionist settlers established in 1909)… carrying out
> (Arab) evacuations. What was the sin in that. I also know
> that even before the proposal of a "Hebrew State" (the

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[611]ESSAID, A. "*The Land Tenure System of Modern Palestine: A Deconstruction of the Role of Zionism in the British Mandate Administration.*" PhD diss., University of Exeter, October, 2009. p 62.
[612]MASALHA, N. *Expulsion of the Palestinians: The Concept of "Transfer" in Zionist Political Thought, 1882-1948*. Institute for Palestinian Studies, Washington, 1992. p 75.

partition proposal) appeared, a plan had already been worked out by one Jewish colonization company to transfer Arabs from known villages in the Galilee to Transjordan… Why is artificial commotion being created around this matter?

Members of Hashomer Hatza'ir are saying: by the establishment of a Hebrew state we are creating a barrier between us and the Arabs: Isn't such a barrier already existing and permanent in the country? Aren't we building exclusive train stations, an exclusive post service, exclusive government office, an exclusive sea port, exclusive roads, and an exclusive economy as far as possible?

There are several items worth underlining in Baratz's intervention. The first is related to the fact that he mentioned that they helped expel Arabs from Merhavya. As I mentioned before, Merhavya is one of the three entities that had no Arab population in it by 1922. Before 1922 there were Arabs inside the entity boundaries, but the Zionists displaced them. It is important to understand that these "evacuations", carried out at night by the Hashomer paramilitary group, did not have a legal basis. This shows that the Zionist project affected the Palestinian lifestyle even before the British Mandate was established. Moreover, knowing that big transfers of population were very difficult to carry out, small displacements of population started before the British Mandate, as Baratz mentioned in his intervention. This is related to the idea defended by this thesis regarding the only means feasible for Zionist companies to establish and secure their project in Palestine at this time: To buy land and create the physical space necessary for settling the immigrants and in some cases expelling the previous tenants from the land by the use of force.

The other idea is related to exclusively Jewish facilities. This is also connected to the idea of self-labour theories previously discussed in this thesis. Making exclusive use of these facilities for the Jewish population, as Baratz defends, creates a barrier between the two communities in the country. This clashes with the Zionist narrative about the Zionist project helping to develop

the country and its population.[613] The Zionists, as mentioned throughout the thesis, had a clear idea that in the land under dispute there was no space for both the Arab and Jewish communities.

The Arab community entities in this case had a 28.57 per cent decrease, meaning eight entities out of 28 declined, more or less the same percentage as the Haifa sub-district during the same time period. The only difference between them was the absence of an Arab population in three entities from the beginning of the British Mandate period. This can be related to the previously mentioned idea of greater exposure to land purchases in this region compared to those analysed previously.

The next community under analysis is the Jewish population of the Nazareth sub-district. After dealing with the entities that contained Jewish inhabitants, it was decided not to include three entities in the demographic research because they contained less than two per cent of the total population. The entities that were not included were Nazareth, Bu'eina and Dabburiya. Once these entities had been removed, the research analysed nine entities for the period under analysis in the Nazareth sub-district. None of the entities suffered any decrease in Jewish population. This is a pattern that happened in Haifa as well. While the Arab community was decreasing in some entities, the Jewish community rarely suffered any decrease in population. This is confirmed by the support of external population resources for the increase in Jewish population.

The next result to be analysed is the total population of the sub-district for the period 1922-1931. There were 31 entities, and as mentioned before, by 1922, three of them contained only a Jewish population. There were four entities out of 31 that suffered a decrease in the total population. Two of them were also entities with a Jewish population while the other two had an exclusive Arab population. This indicates that in the other six entities where the Arab population was decreasing, the total population of the entity was not. In some of the entities the replacement of population was already happening in the first stages of the British Mandate period. The 12.90 per cent decrease for the

[613]MORRIS, B. *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem Revisited.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004. p 45.

entities of the sub-district shows the highest percentage for a whole sub-district in the six timeframes under analysis. In the rest of the time periods the replacement of population is more obvious apart from the 1931-1938 period that will be analysed later.

The next two results are representative for the aim of this thesis. In the first case, this research is analysing the development of the Arab population in the entities where there were Arab and Jewish populations at some stage during the timeframe under consideration. In this case, there were only six entities with a mixed population and another three with only Jewish population by 1922. The second result analyses the development of the Arab population where there was no Jewish interference.

For the first case, there were six entities that contained a Jewish/Arab population. In all of them, the Arab population decreased. The result for the period was 100 per cent. This is a high number taking into consideration that there were already three entities with only a Jewish population. In this case, we can see the influence of the settler colonial project on the native population. Throughout the thesis the idea of the influence of Jewish land purchases and immigration has been discussed. Here, with this result, once more this thesis confirms the actual influence of the settler colonial project on the native population lifestyle. It is illustrative that in all the entities where the Jewish population settled, the Arab population decreased, while the Jewish population in the sub-district during this period never suffered such decline. It is a clear example of population replacement.

Once again, I would like to stress the idea as to which stage the settler colonial project was passing during the British Mandate period. The social and political atmosphere during the British Mandate did not allow the creation of large physical spaces for the settler colonial project to ensure the survival of the plan over a long time period, as the 1947-49 war and the *Nakba* later enabled. As stated at the beginning of the thesis, those involved in the settler colonial project wanted to have large spaces in which to settle their immigrants. The ruling colonial power, however, refused the idea of transferring the native

population outside the boundaries during the Mandate period.[614] This left the settler colonial project with only one possible solution to create the necessary physical space needed to survive in the long term: to purchase lands and settle immigrants there. As we have discussed, this procedure would have an influence on the native population in the lands where the Zionist companies bought land for settlement. Here we have one clear example of how these land purchases and the resultant immigration influenced the native population. In the entities where the Zionists settled, the percentage decrease was representative (100 per cent). If we compare this with the entities where there was no such influence, the decrease was 9.09 per cent. These results are quite clear in clearly showing the differences and the influence of the settler colonial project on the entities that experienced Zionist land purchases.

The analysis of the last result shows that two entities, Sulam and Ma'lul, had a decrease in the Arab population. The decreases in the entities where there were no Zionist land purchases could have different explanations. In the next sub-district chapter concerning Jenin, we will analyse all the possible reasons for an Arab population decrease despite being unaffected by any Zionist land purchases or policies.

There are several influences that may have affected the Arab population in any given entity. According to demographic patterns of populations in developing countries, there are normally large increases in the beginning of a demographic transition.[615] However, in our entity-by-entity analysis, we can see that the increase in population turned to a decrease in some rural areas. This could be because the land-labour needed in the industrialising centres arrived from the rural areas, as occurred in the port of Haifa.[616] Among the various reasons that may affect a population, we need to keep in mind natural disasters like plagues or epidemics.[617] Moreover, internal social problems can also affect

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[614]MASALHA, N. *Expulsion of the Palestinians: The Concept of "Transfer" in Zionist Political Thought, 1882-1948.* Institute for Palestinian Studies, Washington, 1992. pp 57-58.
[615]HARPER, C. L. & LEICHT, K. T. *Exploring Social Change: America and the World.* Routledge, London, 2015. p 331.
[616]NORRIS, J. *Land of Progress: Palestine in the Age of Colonial Development, 1905-1948.* Oxford University Press, New York & Oxford, 2013.
[617]ORON, Y. *The Banality of Indifference: Zionism and the Armenian Genocide.* Transaction Publishers, New Brunswick, 2009. p 62.

the development of an entity; internal fights between Mukhtars for example.[618] There are more possible explanations, however, I would like to analyse these diverse cases in the next chapter, where I will also explain the possible procedures in researching these types of demographic changes.

The first results of the Nazareth sub-district highlight some of the tendencies and consequences of the practices carried out by the settler colonial project during the Mandate period in Palestine. In the rest of the five timeframes I will analyse and underline different case studies and explanations for the results provided by the demographic research without losing track of the bigger picture of the British Mandate period in Palestine.

6.4- TIMEFRAME: 1931-1945

The results of the period between 1931 and 1945 are divided in five groups as follows:

- Arabs: The sum of all the Arab religious groups
- Jews: Jewish religious population
- Total: The total amount of population living in the entity
- Arabs (Jews): Arab population entities that contain Jewish population at some point during the period under analysis
- Arab (No Jews): Arab population entities without Jewish population at any time during the period under research

- Decrease: Number of entities in which the population decreased.
- Total: Total number of entities.
- Percentage: Percentage of entities in which the population decreased.

Table 6.2- Nazareth sub-district 1931-1945 period

Nazareth	1931-1945 period				
	Arabs	Jews	Total	Arab (Jews)	Arabs (No Jews)
Decrease	4	1	1	4	0
Total	25	11	31	5	20
Percentage	16%	9.09%	3.22%	80%	0%

[618]HAHNEMANN, S. *Oil, Israel and Modernity. The West's Cultural and Military Interventions in the Middle East.* Books on Demand, Norderstedt, 2004. p 118.

6.4.1- Description of the sources 1931-1945:

The main difference with the previous period is that this thesis cannot analyse the development of Christian and Muslim communities themselves, as both communities are tallied inside the Arab community. As I mentioned in the beginning of the chapter, after finishing with all the accuracy procedures, the Nazareth sub-district ended up with 31 accurate entities.

The first community under analysis is the Arab community of the Nazareth sub-district. There are 25 entities that contained Arab population at some point in the period between 1931 and 1945. In four of them the Arab population decreases in population. The percentage result for this period indicates the Arab population decreases in 16 per cent of the relevant entities. The second community for this period is the Jewish community. There are 11 entities that contained Jewish population during the period under analysis. Just one of them declines in population, meaning the Jewish community decreases in only 9.09 per cent of the identified entities.

The third result of the period is the total number of entities and population in the Nazareth sub-district. After finishing with all the accuracy procedures, this sub-district had 31 accurate entities to use for the demographic research. One entity out of those 31 suffered a decrease in the total population figure, showing a result of 3.22 per cent.

The next two results are the more representative ones for this period. The first one analyses the development of the Arab communities in the entities that also contained Jewish population. In this case, only five entities suit this definition because another six entities that contained Jewish residents had only a Jewish population in them. There was no longer an Arab population registered in those entities. For the five entities containing an Arab population, the Arab population decreased in four of them, showing a result of 80 per cent.

The last result analysed in this table is related to the entities that only contained an Arab population inside their boundaries. There are 20 entities that fit into this definition and in none of them does the Arab population decrease. The percentage result for these entities is zero.

6.4.2- An analysis of the 1931-1945 results

The first group for analysis in the 1931-1945 results is the Arab community in the Nazareth sub-district. There were 25 entities that contained an Arab population at some stage in this period. This is quite meaningful because if we compare the number of Arab-populated entities with the previous period there were three fewer entities. Again, this result shows the consequences of the Zionist settler colonial project on the sub-district demographic picture. Although, throughout the thesis, I have tried to avoid repetition, again and again the consequences and the policies of the Zionist companies to succeed in their ultimate goal need to be emphasised. Land purchases contributed to pushing Palestinians off the land and created the space for the formation of a Jewish nation in the historical land of Palestine.

A settler colonial project has different options as regards the native indigenous population and the demographic balance. For instance, in the case of Australia there was no need for a native land force. Consequently, the natives' presence was not necessary for the settler colonial project. The solution here was the ethnic cleansing of the land under dispute so that no one could have a claim on the land. The Australian aboriginal population is around three per cent of the total number of Australian inhabitants; the numbers of Aborigines is thus minimal.[619] The settler colonial project managed to eliminate any possible demographic threat.

Another option occurred in most of the Latin American countries where the native population and settlers mixed, creating the indigenisation of the settlers. Although the structures of the society and politics changed, the settlers were merged into the new society with the native populations. The former Spanish colonies are a good example of this kind of settler colonial country. However, there are some cases, like Cuba, where the native population was ethnically cleansed and slaves were brought from Africa to replace the former

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[619]CAVALLI-SFORZA L. L. & MENOZZI, P. & PIAZZA, A. *The History and Geography of Human Genes.* Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1994. p 343.

inhabitants because a land force was needed in the plantation settlements.[620] The Spanish conquerors brought illnesses with them that in some areas almost decimated the native populations which had no immunity.[621] This may be another reason why the merger of native and settler populations became easier.

The next possible demographic type of settler colonial project could be applied to the case of South Africa. Here, an external land power was needed for supply. The settlers did not need to be the majority of the demographic population because they controlled the economy, politics and every aspect of society – all the structures, as Patrick Wolfe pointed out.[622] The native population provided the land force needed by the settlers to carry through their colonial project. Without this indigenous labour force, the settlements would not survive.

Analysing the three main types of demographic behaviour strategies within the different settler colonial projects, we need to return to the case study being analysed in this thesis. The Zionist strategies towards demography changed over the decades being researched here. The Zionist movement was able to make demographic decisions depending on the needs of the project. The chronological analysis of the Zionist project allows us to examine every stage of settler colonial endeavour from the beginning – when no settler population was established in the country until the settler colonial project was nearly achieved along with the reduction in the native population.

The Zionist project did not need the native population for economic purposes. The aim of the settler colonial project was to be the only population inhabiting the land under dispute, as some of the Zionist leaders had stated several times before and during the British Mandate period.[623] This is why

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[620]CERVANTES-RODRIGUEZ, M. & PORTES, A. *International Migration in Cuba: Accumulation, Imperial Designs, and Transnational Social Fields*. Pennsylvania State Press, Philadelphia, 2011.
[621]*Ibid.*
[622]WOLFE, P. *"Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native."* Journal of Genocide Research, Vol. 8, No. 4, (December, 2006), pp. 387-409. p 388.
[623]MASALHA, N. *The Zionist Bible: Biblical Precedent, Colonialism and the Erasure of Memory,* Routledge, London, 2014. p 62.

access to the land and control over demographic development became the focus of Zionist policies.

The different periods demanded differing measures from the Zionists settling the land. In the period under analysis in which there was no control of the political structures of the land under claim, the aim of the settler colonial project was to establish the physical space needed to make sure that their project would survive. The only means to succeed in this aim was to purchase land and settle immigrants there in order for Arab Palestine to be transformed into Jewish *Eretz* Israel.

The results for the Arab population show that three fewer entities were inhabited by Arabs from 1922 to 1945, decreasing from 28 to 25, while two more entities were inhabited by Jews in the same period, increasing from nine to 11. This is part of the replacement of population and the creation of the needed physical space previously mentioned. The Arab population decreased in four entities revealing a 16 per cent decrease, while the Jewish community decreased in one entity showing a 9.09 per cent decrease. The difference does not appear to be big, but in the following results we will see to what extent the Zionist project affected the lives of the native population in the Nazareth sub-district.

The next result in the table is the population in the Nazareth sub-district for the 1931-1945 period. The total number of entities after carrying out the accuracy process is 31. It is worth mentioning that neither Arabs nor Jews inhabited all the entities in this sub-district. This is because before the *1922 Census of Palestine*, there were only three entities with an exclusive Jewish population.

Another detail to take into consideration is that only one entity out of 31 decreased in population and that was Balfouriya for the Jewish community. This means that in the rest of the four entities containing an Arab population that decreased, the incoming Jewish immigrants were replacing the Arab inhabitants, as will be analysed in more depth in the next set of results. This idea of replacing population has been discussed throughout the thesis in

analysing different results in the Haifa and Nazareth sub-districts; both were exposed to Zionist land purchases and immigration. The Zionist project used the only means available at the time for implementing their political goals during the British Mandate period, waiting for a change in the political situation to enable the Zionists to displace the population on mass, as they did in the *Nakba*.

In connection with the replacement consequences of Zionist policies, the next two results analyse such developments. The first result analyses the behavioural patterns of the Arab population in the entities where there was a Zionist population, while other results analyse the development of the Arab population in the entities where Zionist land purchases and immigration were not affecting their development.

There were 11 entities with a Jewish population between 1931 and 1945 in the Nazareth sub-district, however, there was an Arab population in only five of them. This is because of the previously mentioned replacement policies and physical space needed by the settler colonial project to survive. There were six entities that contained only a Jewish population. These entities cannot be counted in this result because of the lack of Arab population within them. In the other five entities containing Arabs within Jewish-populated entities, there was an 80 per cent decrease in the Arab-populated entities in four of them. This is representative and meaningful for this thesis. By 1945 there were six entities with an exclusive Jewish population and four out of five entities with a documented decrease in the Arab population.

Here again, analysing these results we can notice the consequences of Zionist land purchases and immigration policies. There were four entities where the Arab population decreased; Afula, Gevat, Sarid and Tamra during the 1931-1945 period. Three of them had also decreased in the previous period, 1922-1931, so a pattern of consequences can be observed in the land purchases by the Zionist companies.

The process of tracking land ownership faces different difficulties and stages in order to carry it out. First of all, this thesis will identify the company that purchased the land in the entity under analysis. In some cases the

ownership changed. Originally, it may have been privately owned and later turned over to J.N.F. hands. This will also change which archives and documents need to be examined.

There is a need to emphasise the fact that land ownership in Palestine has not been declassified. This prevented expropriated Palestinian landowners from claiming the land taken from them after the enactment of the Absentees' Property Law in 1950; and also preventing researchers to get access to sensitive material due to political reasons.[624] The British Government held the land registers until they were transferred to the Israeli and Jordanian Governments. Apart from this, there is very little information. Some of the people that owned land before 1948 kept their land ownership documents, but this was not the normal procedure. As mentioned at the beginning of the thesis, knowing that land ownership is classified in Palestine, the only possible way to approximate the consequences of land purchases is to find the land transfer documents for when a Zionist company bought land from another party. As in any purchase, there are three parties involved: the first is the person or company looking to sell, the second is the person or company wanting to buy and the third is the Government or State Agency confirming that the transaction has been carried out correctly and the change of ownership has been done according to established law. All three parties involved in the purchase have a document to guarantee that the process has been properly carried out.

The transfers of land are not classified; the third party involved in the purchase is the one that is available to the public. However, this brings us to another problem: access to the required material.

First of all, this thesis has 211 different and accurate entities for each of the four sources. Identifying the exact time when and where a purchase was made is not easy. If the first step is resolved then the company or party that purchased the land needs to be identified in order to determine where the document was stored. For this purpose, the *1947 Jewish National Fund's* book could be used as it contains information for each Jewish village, including the

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[624]ABU HUSSEIN, H. & McKAY, F. *Access Denied, Palestinian Land Rights in Israel*. Zed Books, New York & London, 2003. p 69.

foundation date and ownership of the land.[625] Sometimes, years after the foundation, the ownership of land changes from one party to another as for the P.I.C.A. to the J.N.F. This could be problematic and needs to be kept in mind.

There are four possible places where transfer of land documents could be stored. The first is the J.N.F. archive in Jerusalem. The lands purchased by this Zionist company would be stored in its own archives. The second is the Israeli State Archives. There, the rest of the documents pertaining to the transfer of land purchased by other Zionist companies – such as the Palestine Jewish Colonization Association and the Palestine Land Development Company – would be stored. The third case would be when the purchases were carried out in a big administrative city with its own Land Registration Department as in Nazareth or Haifa. In this case, the registration of the land transfer would be available in the council archives or in the Land Registration Department of the administrative area. The final way to find a land registration document is related to the party that purchased the land to establish a settlement. For instance, a big settlement might have its own archives.

These are the four possibilities that this thesis analysed for accessing land transfers. Unfortunately, there was neither time nor opportunity to have access to any of these four possibilities. In the chapter on the Jenin sub-district, this thesis will analyse the possibilities for getting access to the lands that today are inside the West Bank. The procedure is different for this geographic setting.

Although this thesis was not able to bring forward one case study following the previous archive research, it will follow another path in order to analyse the influence of land purchases and immigration on demographic changes in the region. The *1938 and 1945 Village Statistics* have provided this thesis with some general statistics about land ownership. Also, there is the existence of the *1947 Jewish National Fund's* book[626] where the statistics for Jewish settlements and villages appear, along with the foundation years and population numbers.

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[625]JEWISH NATIONAL FUND. *Jewish Villages in Israel.* Hamadpis Liphshitz Press, Jerusalem, 1949.
[626]*Ibid.*

For the case study, the whole picture of the sub-district will be analysed so that the correlation between the creation of settlements and their expansion, along with the decrease in Arab population demographics, can be put in context. For a specific case study, it was decided to focus on the entity of Gevat in the Nazareth sub-district. This is an entity with solely an Arab population in the beginning of the Mandate and with no Arab population within its boundaries by 1945.

The next result in the table shows the behaviour of the Arab population in the Jewish-populated entities. As explained in the previous result, with the same characteristics, there are some entities that only contained a Jewish population with the consequence that the demographic patterns in the Arab population could not be analysed. In this case, there were five entities that contained a mixed Arab and Jewish population during the 1931-1945 period. In four of them the Arab population decreased, showing a percentage of 80 per cent. This could be due to several reasons as discussed in the Haifa sub-district.

The last result for the period concerns the behaviour of the Arab-populated entities that were not exposed to Zionist immigration and land purchases. In these cases there were 20 entities. In none of them did the Arab population decrease. This is representative compared to the four out of five entities that decreased in population in the previous example.

This is a good example to show the influence of a settler colonial project on the native population. The demographic balance of Palestine was changing due to land purchases and immigration throughout the British Mandate period. This is connected to one of the principal ideas defended by this thesis, namely that the Zionist project was not strong enough to carry out massive population transfers and expulsions so the only approach available at the time was to purchase small plots of land and displace the peasants and previous tenants that were living there. This approach would guarantee the survival of the settler colonial project because the physical space needed was being achieved.

The results of the period between 1922 and 1945 are divided into five groups as follows:

- Arabs: The sum of all the Arab religious groups
- Jews: The Jewish religious population
- Total: The total number of entities
- Arabs (Jews): Arab entities that contained a Jewish population at some point during the period under analysis
- Arabs (No Jews): Arab entities without a Jewish population at any time during the period under research

- Decrease: Number of entities in which the population decreased.
- Total: Total number of entities.
- Percentage: Percentage of entities in which the population decreased.

Table 6.3- Nazareth sub-district 1922-1945 period

Nazareth	1922-1945 period				
	Arabs	Jews	Total	Arab (Jews)	Arabs (No Jews)
Decrease	6	0	0	6	0
Total	28	11	31	8	20
Percentage	21.42%	0%	0%	75%	0%

6.5.1- Description of the sources 1922-1945:

The period between 1922 and 1945 is the timeframe when the whole demographic development during the British Mandate can be analysed. The analysis is divided into five different groups as in the previous timeframe. The first group under analysis is the Arab population and the entities where this community was settled. There are 28 entities containing an Arab population and in six of them it goes down, showing a percentage decrease of 21.42 per cent. The second group to be dealt with is the Jewish community during the British Mandate. There are 11 entities by the end of this period containing a Jewish population and in none of them is there a decrease in population. The percentage decrease in this case is 0 per cent.

The third group in the table is the total population during the Mandate period. There are 31 entities with an accurate population according to the methodology. In all 31 entities the population increases. Consequently, the percentage decrease is zero for this case. The next group in the table analyses the behaviour of the Arab community in the entities where there was a Jewish population settlement. There are eight entities containing mixed Arab and Jewish communities and in six of them the Arab population decreases, revealing a percentage decrease of 75 per cent.

The last group under analysis is the Arab community in the entities where the Jewish population did not interfere. There are 20 entities that fit this description and there is not a decrease in the Arab population in any of them. Thus, the percentage decrease for this last result of the table is 0 per cent.

6.5.2- An analysis of the 1922-1945 results

There were 28 entities containing an Arab population during the British Mandate. As mentioned before, in six of them there was a decrease in the number of Arab inhabitants. This result is more or less the same as in the previous two examples for the same group in the earlier timeframes analysed. I would like to emphasise, however, that even if on the one hand there were 28 entities with an Arab population at the beginning of the British Mandate, according to the last sources for this same period, there were only 23 entities containing an Arab population. This means that from the beginning to the end of the Mandate period the Arab population disappeared in five Arab entities in Nazareth.

This is a clear example of population displacement. There is a connection between the disappearance of the Arab population in these entities and the increase in the Jewish population. As mentioned before in reference to the earlier chapter on the Haifa sub-district, the land purchase, immigration and land labour policies did affect the life of the indigenous population, mainly in the rural areas of Palestine where this study is focused. The land purchases did not affect all the areas of the sub-district in the same way. The entities that were exposed to Zionist land purchases were those that had higher rates of decrease in the Arab population as will be analysed in greater depth later. Access to land

is necessary in order to establish immigrant settlements which is why I mentioned in the theoretical framework the phrase of Patrick Wolfe:[627]

> Whatever settlers may say, the primary motive for elimination is not race (or religion, ethnicity, grade of civilisation, etc.), but access to territory. Territoriality is settler colonialism's specific, irreducible element.

Before taking into consideration the ethnic or racial points of view towards the non-settler community, the first need of any settler project is access to land. Without this there is no possibility of racial or ethnic exclusion of the indigenous inhabitants by the settlers. The first step towards a settler colonial country on the ground is access to the land. Once this step has been taken the next phases, like immigration or land labour policies, will come depending on the needs of the settler colonial project in question. As mentioned before, all the settler colonial case studies do not follow the same pattern. However, access to land is a non-negotiable aspect of all settler colonial projects.

The possible reasons for the Arab population decrease in entities containing a Jewish population have been analysed in the previous chapter. In the chapter on Jenin, the explanations for the Arab decrease in population where there was no Zionist influence on the Arab population will be analysed.

The second group under analysis involves the Jewish population's demographic behaviour patterns during the Mandate period. As stated before, at the beginning of the *1922 Census* there were only three entities that contained a Jewish population within their boundaries. There were also another three mixed entities. Thus, there were six entities populated by Jews at the beginning of the period. According to the last demographic sources of the British authorities, by the end of the British Mandate there were 11 entities with a Jewish population inside their boundaries. This means that not only did the Jewish population not decrease, but they actually increased. This is connected to the idea of creating a physical space with a Jewish presence to ensure the

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[627]WOLFE, P. *"Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native."* Journal of Genocide Research, Vol. 8, No. 4, (December, 2006), pp. 387-409. p 388.

survival of the future state would not be put in danger. This settler colonial case study needed access to land in order to create the necessary physical space for settlement for it to be possible to change the demographic balance between the settlers and the indigenous people to an acceptable percentage, where the survival of the settler colonial project would not be at risk.

Another result that supports this theory is that there was no decrease in population in any of the Jewish entities. Moreover, the rates of increase there were very high. So the increase in the Jewish population in most cases was not due to natural causes but to an external force: immigration. This idea of the analysis of the rates of increase or decrease will be carried out at the end of this chapter using one particular case study.

The third result for the analysis shows the total population for the Nazareth sub-district from the beginning to the end of the Mandate according to the sources available. The behaviour patterns of the total population, where there was no decrease in population in any entity, follows the pattern for developing countries. According to demographic theories, countries where industrialisation is taking place are helped by an increase in the population.[628] The demographic increase normally occurs in the countryside because of increases in life expectancy, birth rates and decreasing death rates.[629] These changes could occur due to various reasons that have been analysed before such as improving health care, advances in alimentation, etc.

This demographic increase provides the necessary land force for industrial growth; normally emigration from the countryside to industrial cities occurs when developing countries are being analysed.[630] This, for instance, occurred in Spain where a massive emigration from the countryside provided industry with the labour needed for its development.[631]

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[628]HARPER, C. L. and LEICHT, K. T. *Exploring Social Change: America and the World.* Routledge, London, 2015. p 331.
[629]*Ibid.*
[630]LIVESEY, C. *Cambridge International AS and A Level Sociology Coursebook.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2014. p 222.
[631]GARCIA MELERO, J. E. *Literatura Española sobre Artes Plásticas. Volumen 2: Bibliografía Aparecida en España durante el Siglo XIX.* Encuentro, Madrid, 2012. p 83.

In this instance, the results of the Nazareth sub-district suggest the same patterns as for developing countries. However, the increase in population in all the entities also hides another reason. As we have mentioned before in the analysis of this timeframe, an external force supports the Jewish population increase. The total numbers are hiding the replacement of population carried out by the settler colonial project. The Arab population of the entities is decreasing while that space is being taken by the external immigration brought by Zionist groups. That is why there is no decrease of the Zionist population in the entities inhabited by Jewish residents while the decrease of the Arab-populated entities is not reflected in the total numbers of the sub-district because the space left by the Arabs is being taken by the Jewish immigrants.

Someone might think that the Arab population is leaving for job opportunities while that space is being taken by the Jewish immigrants. In the Jenin sub-district, I deal with such ideas. However, these large numbers of demographic changes could not be explained only by internal migration and changes in economic policies. The relation is quite different; the Arab population leaves to make space for the incoming settlers so there is physical space for the immigrants to be settled. That is why one of the aims of this thesis is to link the Zionist land purchases with the decrease in the Arab population in Palestine.

6.6- TIMEFRAME: 1922–1938

The results of the period between 1922 and 1938 are divided into five groups as follows:

- Arabs: The sum of all the Arab religious groups
- Jews: The Jewish religious population
- The total population living in the entity
- Arabs (Jews): Arab-populated entities that contained a Jewish population at some point during the period under analysis
- Arabs (No Jews): Arab-populated entities without a Jewish population at any time during the period under research

- Decrease: Number of entities in which the population decreased.

- Total: Total number of entities.

- Percentage: Percentage of entities in which the population decreased.

Table 6.4- Nazareth sub-district 1922-1938 period

Nazareth	1922-1938 period				
	Arabs	Jews	Total	Arab (Jews)	Arabs (No Jews)
Decrease	7	0	2	6	1
Total	28	10	31	7	21
Percentage	25%	0%	6.45%	85.71%	4.76%

6.6.1- Description of the sources 1922-1938:

The next period under analysis is 1922-1938. Like the previous two examples, this timeframe analyses five different results. The first is the development of the Arab population in the Nazareth sub-district. There are 28 entities containing an Arab population and in seven of them the number of Arab inhabitants decreases, showing a decreased percentage of 25% for this type of populated entity. The second results in the table contain the figures of the Jewish community during the period. There are ten entities that contained a Jewish population, none of which sees a decrease in the number of Jewish inhabitants. The percentage decrease for this community during the period is zero per cent.

The third result of the analysis is related to the total population in the Nazareth sub-district for the years 1922-1938. There are 31 entities and in two of them the total population decreases. The percentage result in this case is a 6.45 per cent decrease. The next two results as usual contain one of the most important results for the analysis during this timeframe, in which the behaviour patterns of the entities with and without a Jewish population are revealed. On the one hand, there are seven entities with an Arab and Jewish population together. It needs to be underlined that there were some entities with only a Jewish population that were not taken into consideration; out of the seven entities, six of them experience a decrease in the Arab population revealing a decline in 85.71 per cent of the entities.

On the other hand, we have 21 entities with only an Arab population and not facing displacement pressure from land purchases. There is one entity out

of 21 that suffers a decrease in population, so the percentage result is 4.76 per cent.

As we have seen, we have described the results of the table for the period 1922-1938 for the Nazareth sub-district. In the next sub-chapter we will analyse the results previously described.

6.6.2- An analysis of the 1922-1938 results

The first result in the table of the 1922-1938 results analyses behaviour patterns of the Arab community in Arab-populated entities. The result does not differ much from previous ones obtained in the other timeframes; in this case the result was 25 per cent. There are several interventions that might have affected the development of the Arab community in the Nazareth sub-district in the period in question. However, in order to avoid excessive repetition, we will not touch on the reasons for this as they were covered in the previous timeframes and in the chapter on the Haifa sub-district. There were some entities that decreased because of the influence of the Zionist project and there were others where they did not. In the last two results for the period under analysis this will be analysed more thoroughly.

The next community for analysis is the Jewish population in the Nazareth sub-district. There were ten entities with a Jewish population after eliminating three of them following accuracy procedures. There was one entity less than in the previous timeframe because in the last period between 1938 and 1945 one more settlement was created in the Nazareth sub-district. As mentioned before, the total number of Jewish-populated entities was ten. However, no entity decreased during this period. In all ten Jewish-inhabited entities the population increases. This is a pattern in the Jewish demographic development throughout the sub-districts.

As stated in the previous results and throughout the chapter on the Haifa sub-district, this Jewish demographic behaviour was linked to the physical space needed by the settler colonial movement in order for their project to survive. Throughout the different demographic results of the Nazareth sub-

district, in general, the Jewish community increased its population. On the other hand, the Arab population experienced the opposite. These demographic patterns are related to the replacement ideas described and analysed in the context of the Haifa sub-district. These replacements of population also occurred in the Nazareth sub-district as we have seen in the previous period (1922-1945) while analysing the behaviour patterns of the Arab and Jewish communities and the total population.

We can also see how the number of Arab-populated entities compared with the total number of populated entities behaved. The total number of entities that decreased in population was only two compared with seven in the Arab community. Moreover, the Jewish community decrease is zero for this period as demonstrated previously. This shows that the physical space that the Arab community left behind in the entities was being taken over by the Jewish immigrants. This would have consequences during the British Mandate, changing the demographic balance within the communities.

Apart from the previous results, I would like to analyse the behaviour patterns of the Arab population in entities with settled Jewish immigrants and in those where the Jewish immigrants did not interfere in the dynamics of the community. These are the last two results of the tables. In the first, there were seven entities containing a mixed Arab and Jewish population together and in six of them the Arab population decreased. There were another three entities that did not have an Arab population at all, which were solely Jewish settlements. These could not be included within the previous results. The percentage decrease for the previous result was 85.71 per cent. This is a very high percentage decrease if we compare it with what happened in the entities that were not affected by Zionist land purchases and immigration. The last result in the table shows that there were 21 entities that contained only an Arab population and there was only one that witnessed a decrease in the number of Arab inhabitants. The percentage decline was 4.76 per cent.

If we compare these two percentages, we can see the difference between the entities with and without a Zionist influence. This has been a pattern throughout the chapters on the Nazareth and Haifa sub-districts

because, as mentioned in the introduction, these are the two sub-districts chosen by this thesis that were exposed to Zionist land purchases and immigration.

Once again, another timeframe reveals the influence of Zionist land purchases and immigration on the native indigenous population. There might be different reasons applied to the changes in Arab demographics in the entities that were not exposed to these influences. However, this thesis will try to avoid being repetitive and will refer to discussions and analysed case studies in the next chapter to provide further explanation to explain the decreases in the Arab population. This type of decrease has been analysed thoroughly in the chapters on the Jenin and Nablus sub-districts. As mentioned in the methodology, these sub-districts were not affected by Zionist land purchases and immigration. Here, the dynamics of indigenous population demographics will be analysed without the influence of the settler colonial project policies.

6.7- TIMEFRAME: 1931-1938

The results of the period between 1931 and 1938 are divided into five groups as follows:

- Arabs: The sum of all the Arab religious groups
- Jews: The Jewish religious population
- Total: The total number of entities
- Arabs (Jews): Arab-populated entities that contained a Jewish population at some point during the period under analysis
- Arab (No Jews): Arab-populated entities without a Jewish population at any time during the period under research

- Decrease: Number of entities in which the population decreased.
- Total: Total number of entities.
- Percentage: Percentage of entities in which the population decreased.

Table 6.5- Nazareth sub-district 1931-1938 period

Nazareth	1931-1938 period				
	Arabs	Jews	Total	Arab (Jews)	Arabs (No Jews)
Decrease	1	1	2	0	1
Total	24	10	31	3	21
Percentage	4.16%	10%	6.45%	0%	4.76%

6.7.1- Description of the sources 1931-1938:

The fifth table in the Nazareth sub-district analyses the timeframe between 1931 and 1938. As with the previous timeframes, this table has five different results. The first result contains the demographics of the Arab community in the Nazareth sub-district for the 1931-1938 period. There are 24 entities with an Arab population and in one of them there is a decrease in the number of Arab inhabitants, showing a percentage decrease of 4.16 per cent. The second result analyses the behaviour patterns of the Jewish demographic. There are ten entities with a Jewish population and in one of them there is a decrease; the percentage result for this community is ten per cent. The next group in the table is the total population of the entity. There are 31 entities and in two of them there is a decrease in the total population, showing a decrease of 6.45 per cent. The next group under analysis, the fourth one, is the Arab population in entities also containing a Jewish population. There are only three entities that fit this description, and in none of them does the Arab community decrease. The percentage decline for this group is zero.

The last group for the 1931 and 1938 timeframe for the Nazareth sub-district is the Arab community demographics in entities that do not contain a Jewish population. There are 21 entities that contained an Arab population and in one of them there is a decrease in population, showing a 4.76 per cent decline for this type of entities. These are the five results for the 1931-1938 table for the Nazareth sub-district. In the next part, the analysis of the demographics will take place.

6.7.2- An analysis of the 1931-1938 results

The analysis of the next timeframe will show some particularities that the other timeframes do not have. The main difference between this period and the rest is that the Arab Revolt happened closer to the years of this analysis.

The first group in the table is the Arab community. There were 24 entities containing an Arab population. Comparing the number of populated entities, it is noticeable that little by little as the British Mandate period continued, the number of Arab-populated entities was decreasing within the Nazareth sub-district. Once more this pattern is related to access to land and the physical space needed by the Zionist companies and the consequences of their land labour policies towards the native population.

Although the pattern previously mentioned also manifests itself in the period between 1931 and 1938, it is worth mentioning that the results of this table do not follow the patterns in the preceding tables. The results of the Arab community during this period are very low in comparison with the rest of the results for the sub-district. The decrease for the entities of the Arab community during this timeframe was only 4.16 per cent with only one entity decreasing out of 24. This result does not follow the pattern of the others; however, this is not a negative development and will not affect the overall accuracy or methodology of the thesis. As pointed out in the methodology and introductory chapters, demographics are not an exact science and some of the results might be problematic.

From the very beginning, this study was aware of the problems that the analysis of the censuses might cause. However, some of these "abnormal" patterns may have historical answers. The only Arab entity that decreased in population was Bu'eina. In fact, the decrease in population in the *1938 Village Statistics* is very important. The Arab population grew in Bu'enia from 212 in 1922[632] to 347 in 1931[633] and then declined to 105 in 1938[634] while it again

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[632]See Appendices or Interactive map
[633]*Ibid.*
[634]*Ibid.*

increased to 540 in 1945.[635] Something happened in 1938 that stopped the demographics of Bu'enia from increasing. This thesis investigated different reasons that might have caused this. The first and less probable one is that the data were not accurate and a significant mistake – or mistakes – occurred in gathering data in the entity.

Other possible reasons and explanations for the results obtained in the tables are that the population left Bu'enia and later returned. This possible absence of population could have happened for a variety of reasons. The first would be related to the Arab Revolt and its consequences. The entity may have suffered actions by the British army or the rebels and because of this the population thought it best to abandon the entity until the situation was safer.[636] The procedure for researching the case study of this entity is as follows: the newspapers of the period were analysed to determine if some military actions took place there. The British Colonial Government police and trial records could also be studied; these would be interesting archives to investigate if the population of the entity was charged in collaboration with the rebels and punishments were carried out on them. Such developments might well have affected the demographics of the entity.

There are other possible reasons that have been analysed and discussed in the chapters related to Jenin and Nablus that might have affected the demographics of that entity apart from the Arab Revolt and the inaccuracies in collecting the data. However, once again it was not possible to investigate these possible reasons for the changes in demographics in Bu'enia due to lack of time and complications with archival access. Despite this, although not confirming the hypothesis of this case study, this thesis provides the possible tools needed to be implemented if another researcher wants to examine more thoroughly any of the case studies presented here.

As mentioned before, one of the main possibilities that might have affected the demographic behaviour patterns in this timeframe was the Arab

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[635]*Ibid.*
[636]WINSLOW, P. C. *Victory for Us is to See You Suffer: In the West Bank with the Palestinians and the Israelis.* Beacon Press, Boston, 2007. p 33.

Revolt. Although the Zionist companies purchased land during the period, they were not able to displace the native population because of pressures related to the revolt and security concerns.[637] This hypothesis will reveal further data to support this idea in the analysis of the next results.

On the other hand, the demographic behaviour patterns of the Jewish community did not differ from the rest of the results of the table. There was one entity that suffered a decrease in population out of ten entities following the accuracy process. The total results for the population do not differ from the previous timeframe. There were two entities that decreased out of 31 entities. This represents the same percentage as in the previous period.

The next result in the table is the most representative one if we compare it with the previous results obtained in the other timeframes. There were three entities that simultaneously had Arab and Jewish populations and in none of them did the Arab numbers decrease. This is very representative because out of all the timeframe results, it is in this type where the higher percentage of decrease happens. This is a significant piece of evidence to support the hypothesis that the Zionist companies did affect daily life and demographics of the British Mandate.

Further data need to be added to this discussion. It could be argued that the Zionist companies stopped buying land because of the Arab Revolt. Yet it is well known that the Arabs continued selling land to the Zionist companies despite the threats and recommendations of the Muslim Supreme Council.[638] Moreover, members of the Arab Council sold land to the Zionist companies after the ban on selling had been imposed.[639] The data for the areas purchased by Jewish residents show clearly that even though sales decreased from 1935 to 1936, it never stopped.

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[637]TUTEN, E. E. *Between Capital and Land: The Jewish National Fund's Finances and Land-Purchase Priorities in Palestine, 1939-1945*. Routledge, London, 2004. pp 17-19.
[638]COHEN, H. *Army of shadows Palestinian collaboration with Zionism, 1917-1948.* University of California Press, California, 2008. pp 46-47.
[639]*Ibid.*

Table 6.6- AREAS PURCHASED BY JEWS, 1920-1945[640]

Year	Dunams
Before 1920	650,000
1928	21,515
1929	64,517
1930	19,365
1931	18,585
1932	18,893
1933	36,991
1934	63,114
1935	72,905
1936	18,146
1937	29,367
1938	27,280
1939	27,973
1940	22,481
1941	14,530
1942	18,810
1943	18,035
1944	8,311
1945	11,000
Total	1,588,365

Area Purchased by Jews

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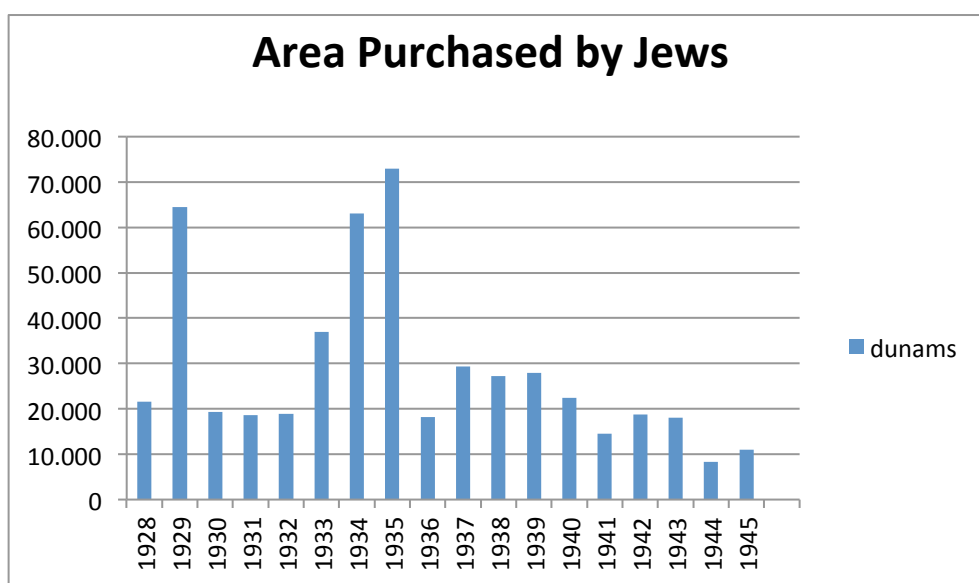
[640]BUNTON, M. *Land Legislation in Mandate Palestine*. Cambridge Archive Editions, Cambridge, 2010. Vol 8. p 244.

The evidence in the table shows that the purchases of land never stopped. The *Passfield white paper* issued in October 1930[641] did affect land purchases as we have seen in the table, however, the *McDonald's letter* was published in February 1931,[642] and the land purchases only decreased after the 1929 riots.

According to the data provided in the table, land purchases did not stop, but this study reveals that the displacement of the Arab population did not occur between 1931 and 1938 in the Nazareth sub-district. There are various possible reasons that may explain this dynamic; obviously, the Arab Revolt affected the plans of the Zionist companies. Even though they were able to purchase and register land, they were very careful and tried not to displace the Arab population during the years of the Arab Revolt.[643] Some of the settlements and settlers were attacked during the Arab Revolt,[644] so the Jewish Agency had more urgent tasks in protecting the already existing settlements rather than settling new immigrants in the newly acquired lands. Once the land had been purchased, the settlement of it would have had to wait until the situation stabilised.

This is the main reason as to how this thesis explains the change of dynamics in the Nazareth sub-district for the period under analysis. There are other possible reasons to explain the changes, but the Arab Revolt is the most plausible one.

After analysing the possible reasons for this change in dynamics, the last result in the table follows the same patterns as the other results in the previously analysed timeframes. There were 21 entities with only an Arab population and as mentioned before, in only one, Bu'enia, was there a

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[641]BUNTON, M. *The Palestinian-Israeli Conflict: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford University Press, New York & Oxford, 2013. p 32.

[642]BIRNBAUM, E. *In the Shadow of the Struggle*. Gefen Publishing House Ltd, Jerusalem, 1990. p 126.

[643]TUTEN, E. E. *Between Capital and Land: The Jewish National Fund's Finances and Land-Purchase Priorities in Palestine, 1939-1945*. Routledge, London, 2004. pp 17-19.

[644]FRIEDMAN, M. *Martin Buber's Life and Work.* Wayne State University Press, Michigan, 1988. p 7.

decrease. This has been a common pattern throughout the entities not exposed to Zionist land purchases and immigration, as we have witnessed in the different examples.

6.8- TIMEFRAME: 1938–1945

The results of the period between 1938 and 1945 are divided into five groups as follows:

- Arabs: The sum of all the Arab religious groups
- Jews: The Jewish religious population
- Total: The total number of entities
- Arabs (Jews): Arab-populated entities that contained a Jewish population at some point during the period under analysis
- Arabs (No Jews): Arab-populated entities without a Jewish population at any time during the period under research

- Decrease: Number of entities in which the population decreased.
- Total: Total number of entities.
- Percentage: Percentage of entities in which the population decreased.

Table 6.7- Nazareth sub-district 1938-1945 period

Nazareth	1938-1945 period				
	Arabs	Jews	Total	Arab (Jews)	Arabs (No Jews)
Decrease	3	1	1	3	0
Total	23	12	31	4	19
Percentage	13.04%	8.33%	3.22%	75%	0%

6.8.1- Description of the sources 1938-1945:

The last timeframe concerning the Nazareth sub-district is the period between 1938 and 1945 in which there are also five different results. The first one, as always, contains the demographics of the Arab population. There are 23 entities with an Arab population inside the boundaries, and in three of them the Arab population decreases, showing a percentage decrease of 13.04 per cent. The second group in the table is represented by the Jewish community

with 12 populated entities. Among these 12 there is one that decreases, so the percentage decrease for this community is 8.33 per cent. The total number of populated entities in the Nazareth sub-district is 31. In this case, there is one entity that decreased in population. The percentage for this type of group is 3.22 per cent.

The last two results in the table reveal the demographic behaviour patterns of the Arab population in the entities with a Jewish population and those that did not have the influence of Zionist land purchases and immigration. The number of entities with a combined Arab and Jewish population are four. Out of these, three of them see a decrease in Arab numbers, showing a percentage decrease for this group of 75 per cent. The last group in the table is the result of the Arab population in the Nazareth sub-district within entities without a Jewish population. There are 19 entities with these characteristics and in none of them is there a decrease in the Arab population, showing a percentage of zero.

6.8.2- An analysis of the 1938-1945 results

This is the analysis of the last timeframe in the Nazareth sub-district between 1938 and 1945, just before the British left Palestine. There are five different results, as in the previous timeframes, and the order of the groups is the same.

The first group under analysis is the Arab community. Apart from the fact that the percentage decrease is 13.04 per cent, the main point to underline concerning this group is that compared with the previous timeframes, the number of Arab-populated entities is the lowest one of the British Mandate. There were 23 entities at the end of the British Mandate period with an Arab population, while at the beginning there were 28. This means that from the beginning to the end of the period, five entities had been depopulated. The number of entities without an Arab population increases to eight if we take into consideration that by the beginning of the Mandate there were already three entities exclusively populated by Jewish inhabitants. These data are relevant for

the aim of this study because they prove that there is a link between the Zionist settlement project and the displacement of the Palestinian native population.

This thesis has defended its argument using the data analysis in the chapters on the Haifa and Nazareth sub-districts which demonstrate a connection between the creation and expansion of the Zionist settlements and the decrease in the native Palestinian population. Analysing and comparing the last results of the sub-district with the first data provided by the *Census of 1922*, the picture of the displacement of the native population appears clearer. As we have discussed in previous periods, the settler colonial project needed the necessary physical space in order to succeed in its aim of securing material land where previously only a claim was ventured.

As we have seen in this timeframe, from the beginning of the British Mandate to its end in 1945, five entities lost all their Arab inhabitants[645]. Also, if we take all the entities that contained only a Jewish population, by the end of the British Mandate, 25.8 per cent of the entities in the Nazareth sub-district were purely Jewish settlements. This is linked to the analysis of the result of the next community involving Jewish residents. At the beginning of the British Mandate period, there were seven entities with a Jewish population and by the end of the British Mandate period there were 11 entities that contained a Jewish population. This increase in populated entities is also linked to the disappearance of the Palestinians from the entities of Kefar Baruch, Sarid and Gevat. These entities are the entities where at the beginning there was no Jewish population living in the entity, but only Arabs and by the end of the British Mandate they became exclusively Jewish settlements. This pattern happened also in the Haifa sub-district, but did not occur in the Jenin and Nablus sub-district entities because these were not exposed to Zionist land purchases and immigration.

The next group being analysed is the total population. There were 31 homogeneous entities in the Nazareth sub-district and in this timeframe there was one population that decreased. This is very much like the rest of the timeframes. There is little analysis and few explanations to be added regarding this group. The last two groups are related to the Arab population, the first one

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[645]See Appendices. Nazareth censuses.

analysing the behaviour patterns of the Arab demographic in the entities inhabited by both Arabs and Jews, while the second one analyses the demographics of the Arab population where there was no influence of the Jewish population through land purchases.

The analysis of these two types of entities has been constant in the previous five timeframes. Apart from the previous timeframe that had some results that did not follow the patterns shown by the rest for the Nazareth sub-district, these two results are more or less the same if we compare them with the previous ones, so no further analysis is necessary for this group.

This brings to an end the analysis of the six timeframes for the Nazareth sub-district. However, it is necessary to analyse one particular case study from the beginning to the end of the Mandate period to track the demographics of both communities within Zionist land purchased areas available in the censuses.

6.9- THE CASE-STUDY OF THE NAZARETH SUB-DISTRICT

Instead of analysing the whole picture of the Nazareth sub-district, an analysis of the development of the demographics and land ownership in one of the entities previously mentioned, Gevat, would be beneficial. In doing so, this thesis seeks to show the influence of Zionist land purchases and immigration on the native population of Palestine during the British Mandate period and give the whole picture of one particular entity within the sub-district.

First of all, this thesis will calculate the land ownership within Gevat in the different years available. As mentioned before, at the beginning of the Mandate there was no Jewish population living inside the boundaries of the entity. Gevat was founded in 1926, and for the *1922 Census of Palestine* the entity that was inside its boundaries was Jabata with a total of 39 Arabs.[646]

As outlined in the methodology, this research will call the entity Gevat. However, inside the boundaries of Gevat, there were other Jewish settlements as well, apart from the previously mentioned Arab entity. In the next table, the main demographic features will appear. Moreover, the Jewish owned area of

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[646]BARRON, J.B. *Report and General Abstracts of the Census of 1922*. Greek Convent Press, Jerusalem, October, 1923. p 38.

the entity will be shown for different years compared to the total area of the
Gevat entity, accurately measured and created that adheres to the boundaries
of 1945.

Table 6.8- Gevat Entity Development

	Name	Founded	Area	1922		1931		1938		1945		Area(38)	Area(45)	Area(47)
				A	J	A	J	A	J	A	J			
	Gevat	1926		0	0	9	200	11	460	0	830	7.6	13.5	15.72
	Jabata			318	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
	R. David &Hash Sharon	1926		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
	Sahrona	1938		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
Gevat entity			16.31	318	0	9	200	11	460	0	830	7.6	13.5	15.72

- Name: Name of the entity
- Founded: Year when the Jewish settlement was founded.
- Area: Total area of the entity in square kilometres.
- 1922: Population by 1922. First part Arabs, second part Jews.
- 1931: Population by 1931. First part Arabs, second part Jews.
- 1938: Population by 1938. First part Arabs, second part Jews.
- 1945: Population by 1945. First part Arabs, second part Jews.
- Area (38): Area owned by Jews in 1938 in square kilometres.
- Area (45): Area owned by Jews in 1945 in square kilometres.
- Area (47): Area owned by Jews in 1947 in square kilometres.

In the table (6.8), we can see that at the beginning of the British Mandate
there was no Jewish population in the entity that this thesis labelled as Gevat.
This new entity had 16.31 square kilometres.[647] There were 318 Arabs inside
the Gevat boundaries at the beginning of 1922.[648] At some point in 1926,
Gevat[649] and Ramat David & Hash Sharon[650]were founded inside the

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[647]Result provided by the ArcGIS, estimation of the size of Gevat. See Interactive map.
[648]BARRON, J.B. *Report and General Abstracts of the Census of 1922*. Greek Convent
Press, Jerusalem, October, 1923. p 38.
[649]JEWISH NATIONAL FUND. *Jewish Villages in Israel*. Hamadpis Liphshitz Press,
Jerusalem, 1949. p 60.

boundaries of the entity called Gevat according to this thesis. The area where the settlements began is not known by this thesis. The procedure to track the land ownership has been explained in this chapter and in the chapter on Jenin for the West Bank archives. By the time of the next source, the *1931 Census*, the demographic picture of the entity had changed completely. The *1931 Census* shows nine Arabs and 200 Jews living in the entity,[651] while in the previous census there was no Jewish population living there. The land purchases and settlements created in 1926 affected the demographics of the Arab population in the entity. By 1938 the total land owned by Jewish companies was 7.6 square kilometres[652] out of 16.31 and there were 11 Arabs living in the entity with another 460 Jews.[653]

In 1938 there was the creation of another settlement inside the Gevat boundaries. *Moshav Ovdin* was established under the name of Sharona.[654] Created in the same year as the *1938 Village Statistics*, the land and population were not added to the data obtained in 1938. However, for the latest population sources available, there was no Arab population living in the entity, but there were 830 Jews living in the entity. In addition, the area owned by the Jewish companies grew to 13.5 square kilometres out of the 16.31 of the total area for the entity.[655] There are other data obtained from the Jewish entities in Israel, showing that by 1947 the Jewish population owned 15.72 square kilometres of the entity.[656]

In the entity referred to by this research as Gevat,[657] we have seen the influence of Zionist land purchases and immigration. How could an entity

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[650]ABU SITTA, S. *Atlas of Palestine: 1917-1966*. Palestine Land Society, London, 2010. p 243.

[651]MILLS, E. *Census of Palestine 1931. Population of Villages, Towns and Administrative Areas.* Greek Convent Press, Jerusalem, 1932. pp 73-76.

[652]GOVERNMENT OF PALESTINE. *1938 Village Statistics.* Statistics Office. Jerusalem, February 1938. pp 18-20.

[653]*Ibid.*

[654]JEWISH NATIONAL FUND. *Jewish Villages in Israel.* Hamadpis Liphshitz Press, Jerusalem, 1949. p 163.

[655]HADAWI, S. *Village Statistics 1945; A Classification of Land and Area Ownership in Palestine.* Palestine Liberation Organization Research Center, Beirut, 1970. pp 109-110.

[656]JEWISH NATIONAL FUND. *Jewish Villages in Israel*. Hamadpis Liphshitz Press, Jerusalem, 1949.

[657]Includes the villages of Jabata, Hash Sharon, Sharona and Ramat David Ayanot.

populated only by Arabs and without Zionist-owned land at the beginning of the period turn into a completely Jewish entity with almost the whole area owned by Zionist companies? The demographics of this entity were affected by the Zionist policies of land purchases and immigration, which supported the creation of new settlements.

This is a clear example of how a settler colonial project worked through land purchases and the displacement of the native population. The Arab population steadily disappeared from the entity when the Zionist companies began to own the land. As explained in the theoretical chapter, the Zionist project tried to replace all of the structures of the society with the aim of overwhelming the native population. Arab land labour was not needed. It is worth mentioning that all the settlements analysed within the Gevat entity, Gevat, Ramat David & Hash Sharon and Sharona, were owned by the J.N.F..[658] We can see here the influence of the Zionist land project connected to the labour policies discussed in the Historical Frame chapter. The J.N.F. redeemed the land, changing the ownership over to Jewish hands and not permitting Arab labour in the settlement. The non-settler community was pushed out of the labour market. In this way, the economic pressure forced the non-settlers to emigrate as had been occurring in Palestine/Israel for some decades up until then. The settler colonial project changed its techniques according to its needs, as we seen elsewhere in this thesis.

This is one example to show how the Zionist project worked in a particular entity. There were different behaviour patterns and developments within the entities, but this thesis shows an entity that at the beginning of the Mandate was populated only by Arabs and at the end contained only Jews. This thesis would have liked to have shown more examples like this, however, it was not possible to provide examples in more depth because of the magnitude of the data analysed and the sub-districts chosen by the research.

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[658] *Ibid.* p 60.
Ibid. p 144.
Ibid. p 163.

BLUE BOUNDARIES

Jewish population living in the village

RED COLOUR

The Arab population disappeared from the village

YELLOW COLOUR

The Arab population decreased in the village

ORANGE COLOUR

The Jewish population decreased in the village

BLUE COLOUR

Only Jewish population living in the village

GREEN COLOUR

No decrease of Arab population in the village

Map 6.10.1- Nazareth sub-district 1922-1931
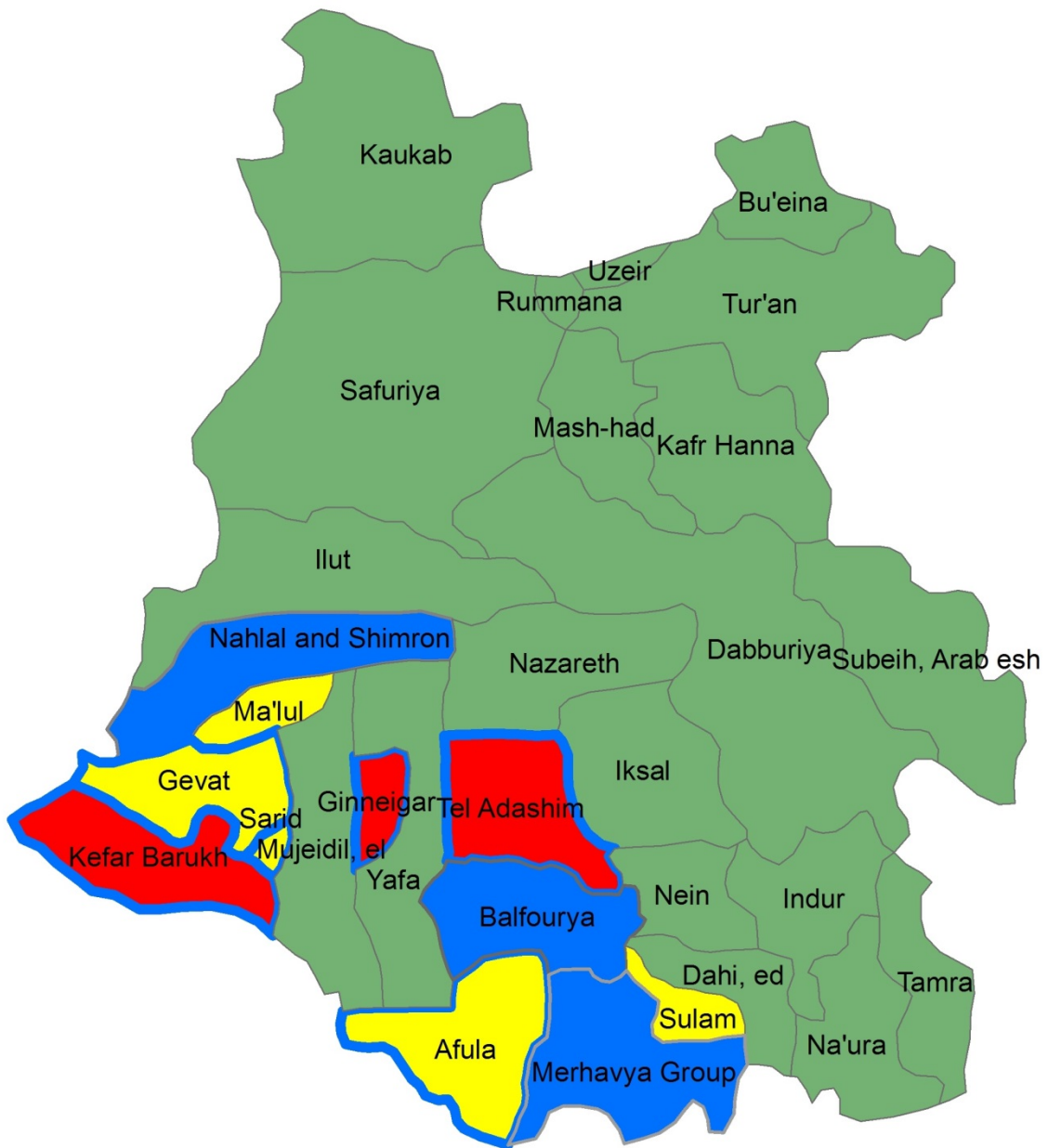
Map 6.10.2- Nazareth sub-district 1931-1945
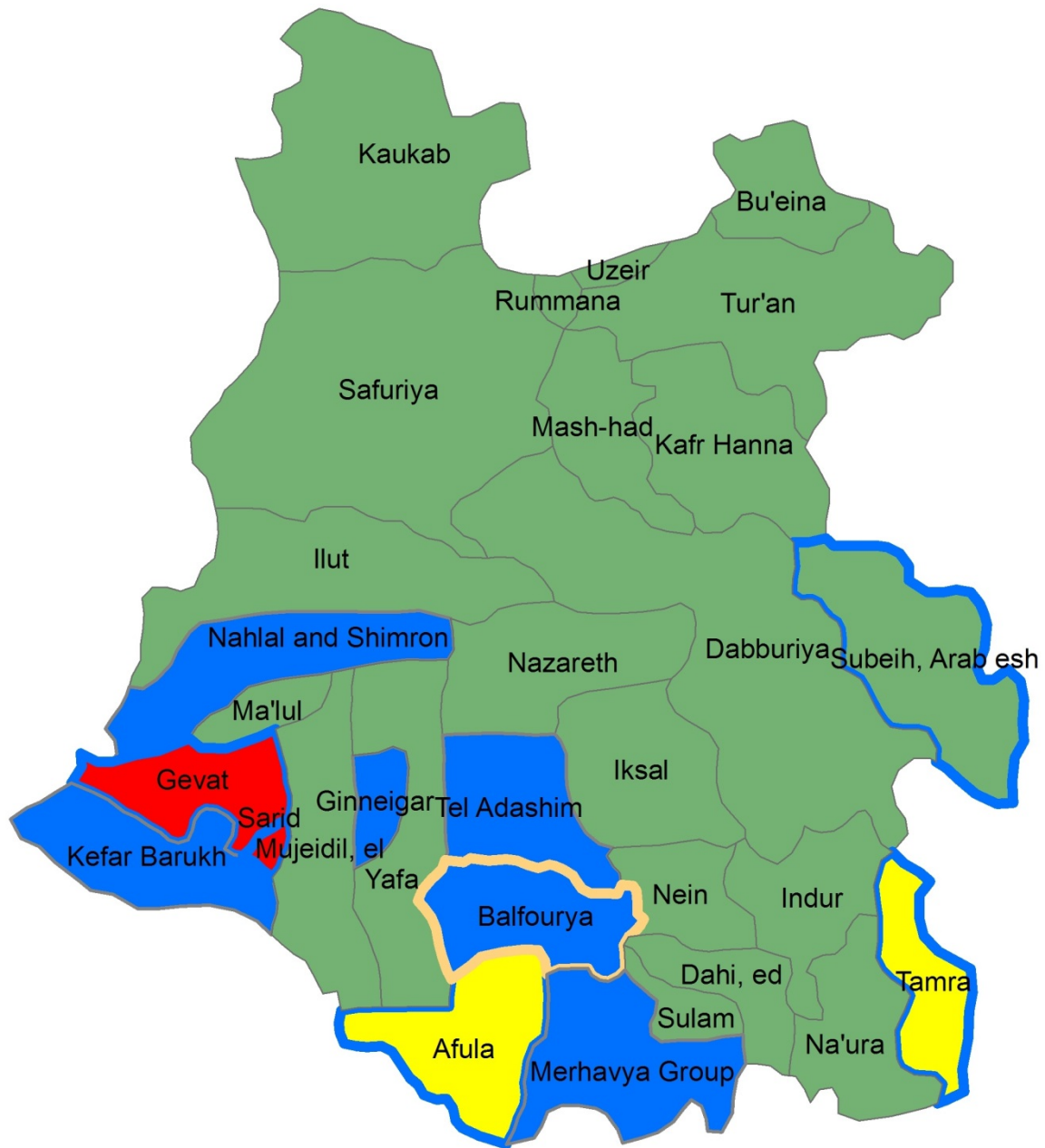
Map 6.10.3- Nazareth sub-district 1922-1945
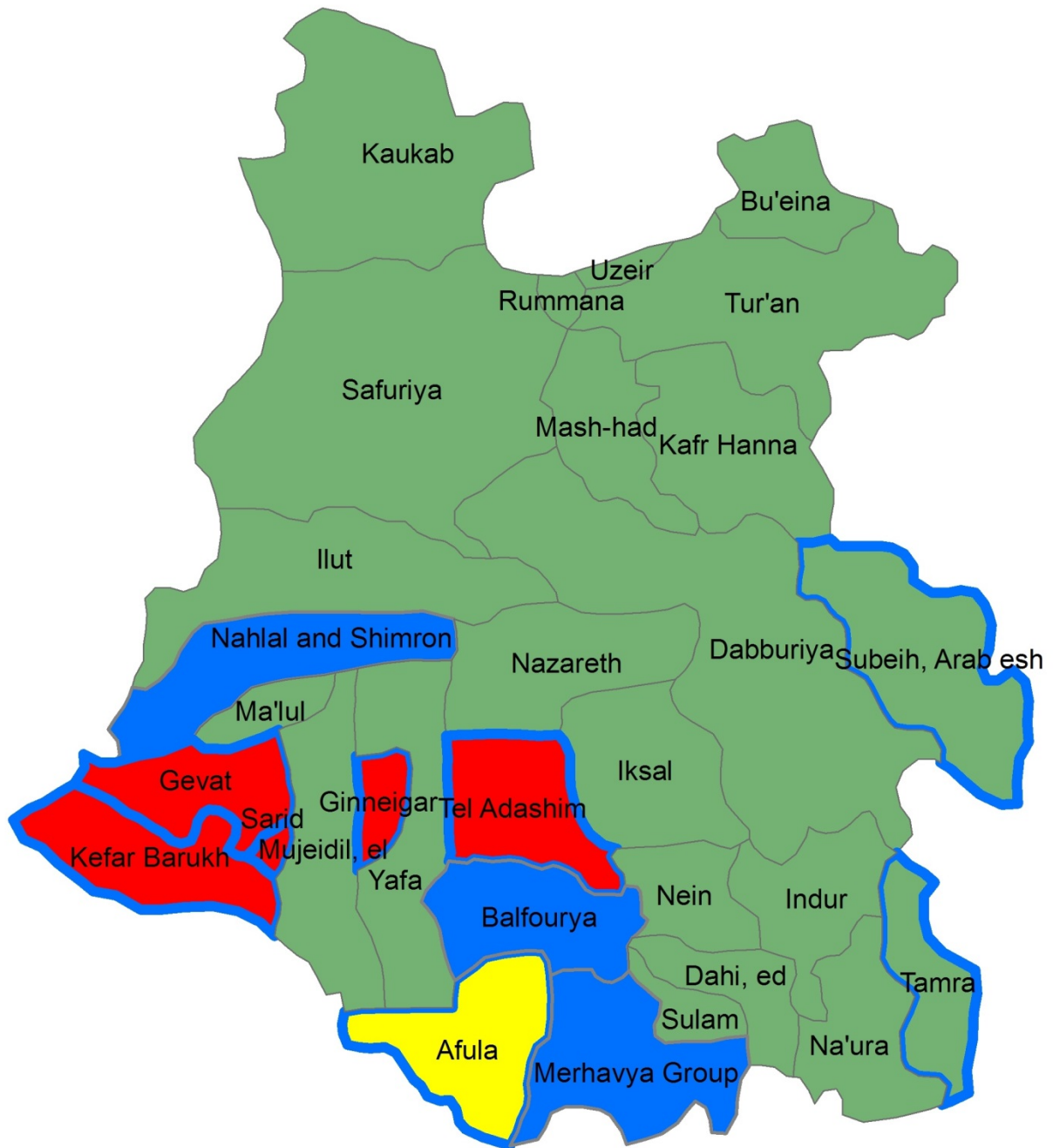
Map 6.10.4- Nazareth sub-district 1922-1938
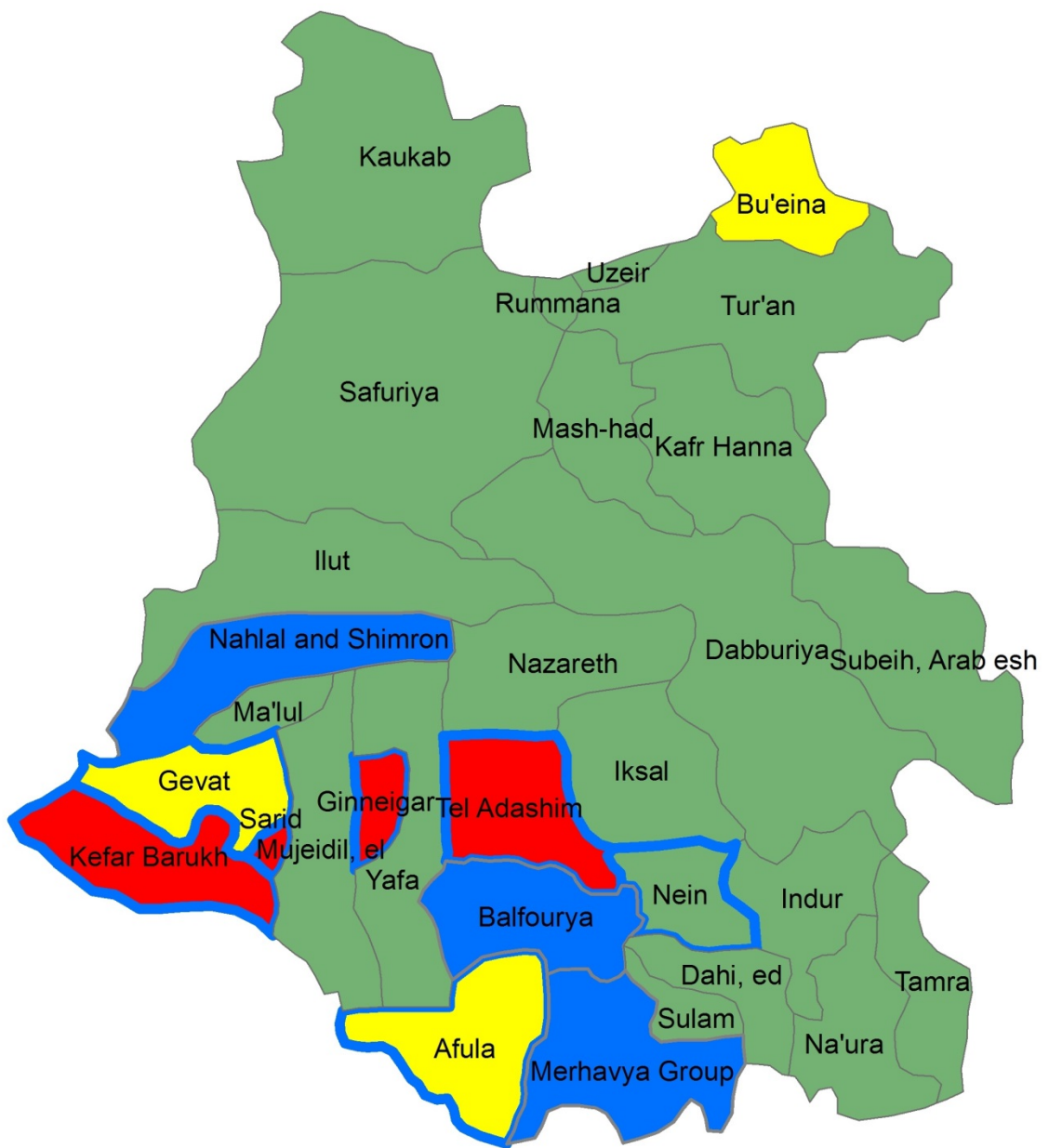
Map 6.10.5- Nazareth sub-district 1931-1938
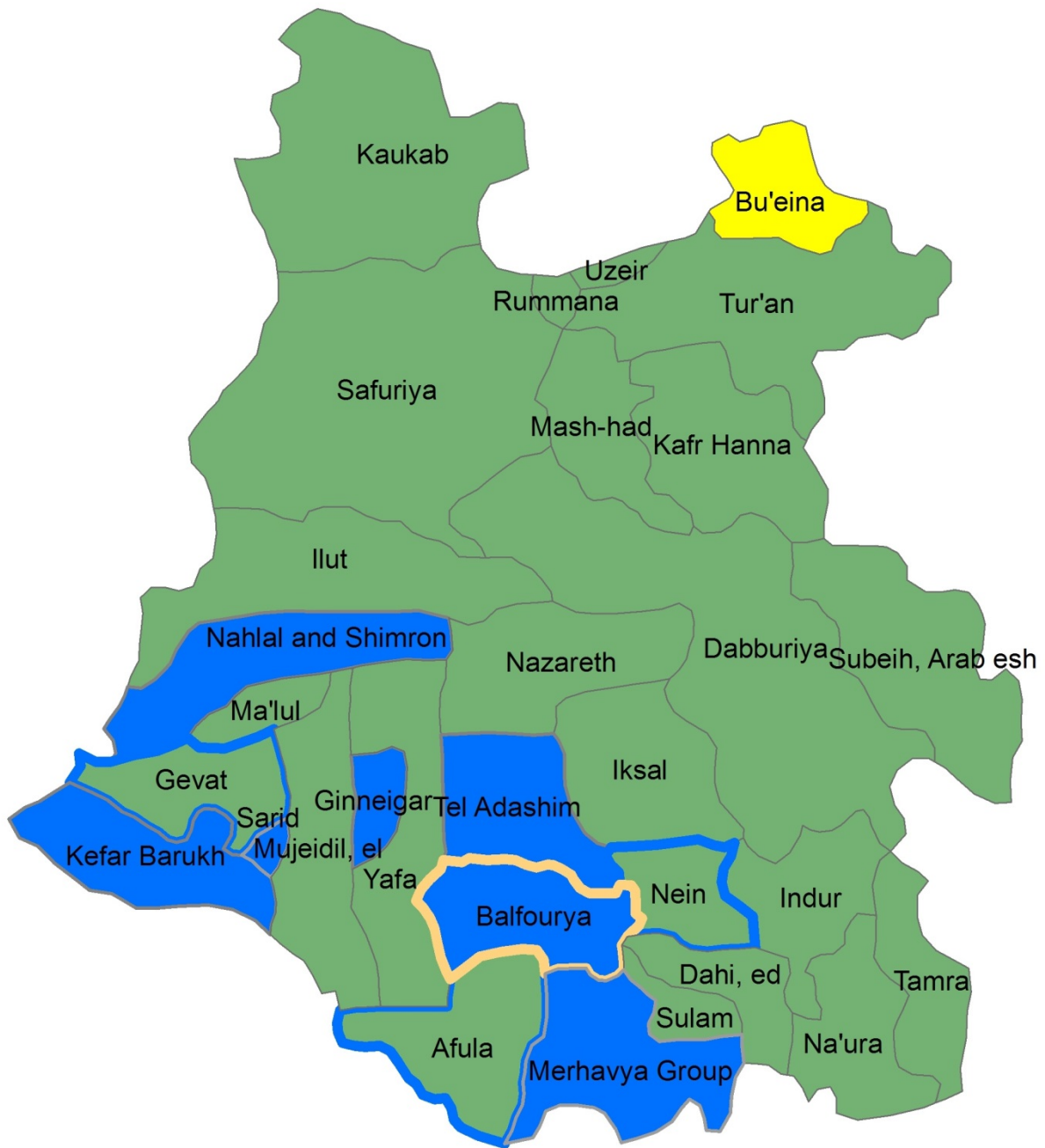
Map 6.10.6- Nazareth sub-district 1938-1945
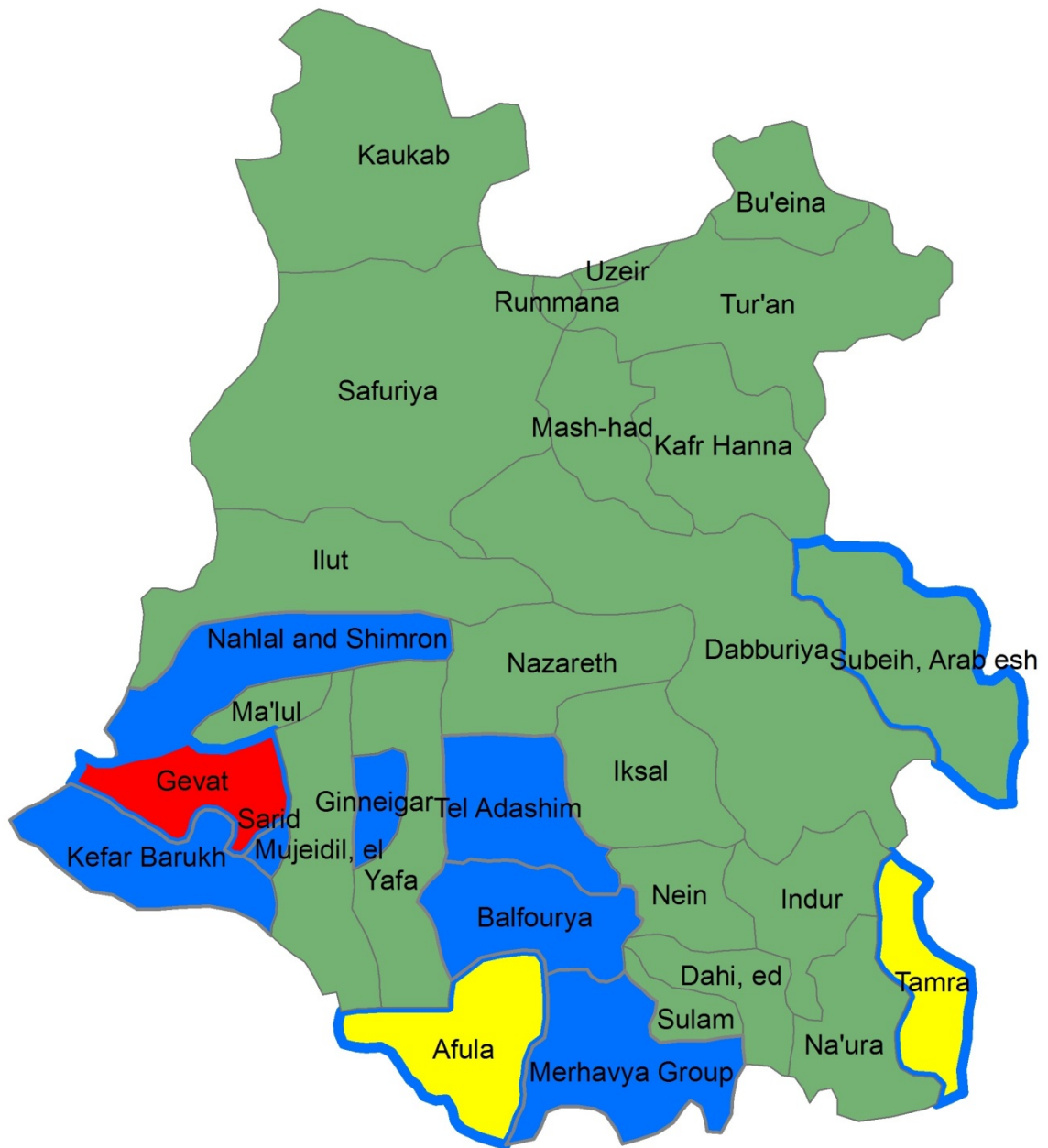
7. <u>JENIN SUB-DISTRICT</u>

The Jenin sub-district is one of the sub-districts that during the British Mandate was not affected by Zionist immigration and land purchases. Thus, this is a case study where the non-interference of the settler colonial attempt could be analysed. The procedure followed for this chapter is the same described in the chapter on methodology. The first step to calculate the growth rates of population was to create an accurate map for the British Mandate period.

The sources used in this chapter to calculate the growth rates for each entity of the Jenin sub-district are the same described in the methodology. The data are obtained from the *1922 Census of Palestine,*[659] the *1931 Census of Palestine,*[660] the *Village Statistics 1938*[661] and the *Village Statistics 1945.*[662] They provide approximately 100 (different) village names. The *1922 Census* provides 74 names, the *1931 Census* 75, the *1938 Village Statistics* 82 and the *1945 Village Statistics* 60 names. This thesis needed to create homogenous entities that did not suffer any change in their boundaries throughout the British Mandate period to calculate the growth rates of the population of each entity for the whole period under analysis. The procedure is the same as that used for the Haifa sub-district.

As mentioned previously, the number of entities obtained from the four sources was 100, but the problem this thesis faced is that not all the entities appeared in the four sources. Some of them only appeared in the first census, while others appeared within the boundaries of a larger village in the *1931 Census* and so forth. This thesis also detected that some entities appeared outside the boundaries of the Jenin sub-district; apart from others that could not be found anywhere. This made it impossible to situate them on the newly created 1945 map. The different problems derived from the inaccuracy of some entities that were within the Jenin sub-district were solved with the creation of a

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[659]BARRON, J.B. *Report and General Abstracts of the Census of 1922.* Greek Convent Press, Jerusalem, October, 1923.
[660]MILLS, E. *Census of Palestine 1931. Population of Villages, Towns and Administrative Areas.* Greek Convent Press, Jerusalem, 1932.
[661]GOVERNMENT OF PALESTINE. *1938 Village Statistics.* Statistics Office. Jerusalem, February 1938.
[662]HADAWI, S. *Village Statistics 1945; A Classification of Land and Area Ownership in Palestine.* Palestine Liberation Organization Research Center, Beirut, 1970.

new map for the Jenin sub-district based on the village boundaries provided by the *Atlas of Palestine: 1917-1966*[663] by Salman Abu-Sitta. The process of creating the new map is the same described for the Haifa sub-district.

7.1- A DESCRIPTION OF THE NEW CENSUS AND GROWTH RATES PROCEDURE

The first step for creating a new map for the Jenin sub-district was to identify and locate each village on the map. The first problem that this study had to face was that some villages were not within the boundaries of the sub-district. As explained in the methodology, each of the four sources that this thesis works with was collected and published by different publishers. Those that were responsible for collecting the data (for the censuses) decided to include some villages within the boundaries of the Jenin sub-district that according to the mapping carried out by Salman Abu-Sitta were included within the boundaries of other sub-districts.

This thesis, following the boundaries drawn by Salman Abu-Sitta, decided to leave six villages out of this demographic research despite the fact that they appeared in the four sources in the period under study. One of the villages that appeared outside the boundaries of the Jenin sub-district was Ghazzalin, Arab el which needed to be included in the Beisan sub-district. In both the *1922 and 1931 Censuses*, this village was within the Jenin sub-district boundaries; however, the *Atlas of Palestine: 1917-1966*[664] includes this village within the boundaries of the Beisan sub-district.

The other five villages that appeared within the boundaries of the Jenin sub-district in the sources, but outside the boundaries according to the atlas by Dr. Abu-Sitta, were included in the Tulkarm sub-district. Kherbet Maisir and Kherbet Umm al-Qatuf[665] appeared in the *1922 Census of Palestine* while Nazla al Gharbiya and Nazla ash Sharqiya appeared in the *1931 Census of Palestine,*[666] but according to the *Atlas of Palestine: 1917-1966*, these two

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[663]ABU SITTA, S. *Atlas of Palestine: 1917-1966.* Palestine Land Society, London, 2010. pp 42, 118.
[664]*Ibid.* p 243.
[665]*Ibid.* p 223.
[666]*Ibid.* p 303.

villages belong to the Tulkarm sub-district.[667] The last village that followed the same pattern was the village of Kaffin (Qaffin) that in both the *1922 and 1931 Censuses* appeared within the boundaries of the Jenin sub-district.[668] However, as in the other cases, in the *Atlas of Palestine* this village is outside the boundaries of the Jenin sub-district.[669]

This is one of the problems that this study had to face for the Jenin sub-district. Apart from the problem with accuracy mentioned previously, this study had to deal with the impossibility of locating some villages on the map. Three villages that appear in the *1922 Census of Palestine* are not published on the list of villages provided by the *Atlas of Palestine*, and consequently they could not be located on the 1945 map. These villages are Bustan Ali Ya'qub, Umm al-Dib and Wadi Shabash.[670] As it was impossible to identify these three villages and locate them on the map, this study decided not to use them for the demographic research.

Once the first problems were solved, this study started to work with all the villages that were within the Jenin sub-district boundaries. This sub-district faced the same difficulties as that of Haifa to create an accurate map of homogeneous entities to calculate the growth rates for the whole period. Some villages appeared only in the *1922 Census of Palestine*, but others that in the first *Census of Palestine* appeared as independent villages showed up in the next census as being within a larger village. These cases made it difficult to create an accurate map of entities to calculate the growth rates of population for the Jenin sub-district for the British Mandate period

The procedure followed for this case was the same explained in the methodology and carried out for the Haifa sub-district. However, it is worth pointing out that the two main cases this sub-district faced related to the accuracy of the new map.

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[667] *Ibid.*
[668] *Ibid.*
[669] *Ibid.*
[670] BARRON, J.B. *Report and General Abstracts of the Census of 1922.* Greek Convent Press, Jerusalem, October, 1923. pp 29-30.

The village of Umm al-Fahm to the northwest of the Jenin sub-district had a vast extension of land according to the *Atlas of Palestine: 1917-1966.*[671] Following the mapping carried out by Abu Sitta, there are another 12 villages[672] within the boundaries of this village that needed to be included in the population data of Umm al-Fahm to have an accurate population entity for the whole British Mandate period.

There were another four villages in the first two *Censuses of Palestine* that appeared as independent villages, but in the last source, the *1945 Village Statistics*, these four villages were within the boundaries of Umm al-Fahm. The names of these villages were Musheirifa, Kafr Thulth, Musmus and Lajjun, El.[673] The population of these four villages, provided by the first two censuses, was included in the population of Umm al-Fahm. Once this was carried out, Umm al-Fahm became an accurate population entity for the 1945 new map.

We followed the same procedure for the village of Aqabeh that appeared in the *1922 Census of Palestine,*[674] but not in the *1945 Village Statistics*. Therefore, the population data of this village was included in the total population of Umm al-Fahm to have an accurate population entity for the new 1945 map. Another village that was included in the total population of Umm al-Fahm was Mawiyeh. It only appeared in the *1922 Census of Palestine.*[675] The village of Ein Ibrahim appeared in the *1931 Census of Palestine*[676] and in the *1945 Village Statistics,*[677] so following the procedure previously mentioned, the population of this village was also included in the population of Umm al-Fahm. The last five cases make reference to villages that appeared in the *1931 Census of Palestine* and (some of them) in the *1945 Village Statistics*. Four of those villages appeared in the Jenin sub-district: Khirbat Butweishat, Meggido, Mu'awiya and

[671]ABU SITTA, S. *Atlas of Palestine: 1917-1966.* Palestine Land Society, London, 2010. p 280.
[672]*Ibid.*
[673]HADAWI, S. *Village Statistics 1945; A Classification of Land and Area Ownership in Palestine.* Palestine Liberation Organization Research Center, Beirut, 1970. p 55.
[674]BARRON, J.B. *Report and General Abstracts of the Census of 1922.* Greek Convent Press, Jerusalem, October, 1923. p 30.
[675]*Ibid.*
[676]MILLS, E. *Census of Palestine 1931. Population of Villages, Towns and Administrative Areas.* Greek Convent Press, Jerusalem, 1932. p 68.
[677]HADAWI, S. *Village Statistics 1945; A Classification of Land and Area Ownership in Palestine.* Palestine Liberation Organization Research Center, Beirut, 1970. p 55.

Murtafi'a, el,[678] but the village of Na'im, Arab el appeared in the Haifa sub-district in the *Census of 1931*.[679] These five villages' population was included in the total population of Umm al-Fahm in order to have an accurate village. However, it is necessary to point out the importance of including the village of Na'im in its corresponding sub-district.

As previously underlined, some villages were outside the boundaries of the Jenin sub-district according to the *Atlas of Palestine*. In this case, one of the villages needed to be included within the boundaries of a village belonging to another sub-district. These cases prove that this thesis uses an accurate methodology to provide the reader with as accurate a picture as possible.

Another case is the village of Arab al-Mansi. The censuses included this village[680] in both the Jenin and Haifa sub-districts. After analysing the data, the best solution for this village was to include it in the Haifa sub-district as an independent entity, including other smaller villages within its boundaries.

The other case that this study refers to is the village of Arraba, which is the name given to the merger of three villages. Due to inaccuracies in the censuses, this study was forced to create a new entity, a larger village that was the result of merging Arraba, Ya'bad and Barta'a. Within the boundaries of these three villages were included other smaller villages. In the *Census of 1922,* within the boundaries of the newly created Arraba, appeared the village of Kherbet al-Sheikh Zaid.[681] It appeared again in the *1945 Village Statistics*.[682] This village's population needed to be included in the total population of the newly created Arraba.

According to the *1945 Village Statistics* source,[683] there were three other villages within the boundaries of the newly created Arraba: Khirbat el Khulijan,

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[678]MILLS, E. *Census of Palestine 1931. Population of Villages, Towns and Administrative Areas.* Greek Convent Press, Jerusalem, 1932. pp 68-69.
HADAWI, S. *Village Statistics 1945; A Classification of Land and Area Ownership in Palestine.* Palestine Liberation Organization Research Center, Beirut, 1970. p 55.
[679]MILLS, E. *Census of Palestine 1931. Population of Villages, Towns and Administrative Areas.* Greek Convent Press, Jerusalem, 1932. p 89.
[680]*Ibid.* pp 68, 90.
[681]BARRON, J.B. *Report and General Abstracts of the Census of 1922.* Greek Convent Press, Jerusalem, October, 1923. p 30.
[682]HADAWI, S. *Village Statistics 1945; A Classification of Land and Area Ownership in Palestine.* Palestine Liberation Organization Research Center, Beirut, 1970. p 55.
[683]*Ibid.*

Khirbat Tura esh Sharqiya and Khirbat el Tarim. The main problem in including these villages within the boundaries of the *Atlas of Palestine* was that the three main villages, Arraba, Ya'bad and Barta'a, needed then to be merged to create one entity for calculating the growth rates of population for the four sources during the British Mandate period. The decision this thesis made was to create one entity by merging the villages previously mentioned. The entity took the name of Arraba. This type of methodological procedure previously explained in the methodology was carried out for the four sub-districts under analysis.

These were the main obstacles to the Jenin sub-district having an accurate number of entities to calculate the growth rates of each entity for the British Mandate period. Once the obstacles were overcome, there were 52 entities for the Jenin sub-district. .

Another methodological step had to be taken regarding the population of the entities in the Jenin sub-district. As pointed out in the chapter on methodology, the ethnic/religious population (Christians, Muslims, Jews, Others and Arabs) that was less than two per cent of the total population of an entity was excluded from the demographic research due to problems with accuracy. This decision left four villages out of the research containing Christian populations. Also, there was not a Jewish population between 1922 and 1931 in the Jenin sub-district during the British Mandate.

Once the methodological procedure was applied to the Jenin sub-district to solve the problem with accuracy, the research was able to start with the demographic research. The easiest system to deal with the demographic research was to follow the same procedure carried out for the Haifa sub-district and divide the Jenin sub-district into six timeframes.

The first timeframe for analysing different ethnic groups runs from 1922 to 1931. The second timeframe runs from 1931 to 1945 and the third from 1922 to 1945. The fourth timeframe analyses the period between 1922 and 1938. The fifth table is related to the timeframe that runs from 1931 to 1938. The final results are the analysis of the 1938-1945 timeframe. The development of the 52 entities of the Jenin sub-district are analysed throughout the six different timeframes.

The results of the period between 1922 and 1931 are divided into six groups:

- Muslims: The Muslim religious population.
- Christians: The Christian religious population.
- Others: The Druze religious population.
- Arabs: The sum of all the Arab religious groups
- Jews: The Jewish religious population.
- Total: The total number of entities.

- Decrease: Number of entities in which the population decreased.
- Total: Total number of entities.
- Percentage: Percentage of entities in which the population decreased.

Table 7.1- Jenin sub-district 1922-1931 period

Jenin	1922-1931 period					
	Muslim	Christians	Others	Arabs	Jews	Total
Decrease	6	1	0	6	0	6
Total	52	4	0	52	0	52
Percentage	11.53%	25%	0	11.53%	0	11.53%

7.2.1- Description of the sources: 1922-1931

Following the procedure used for the previous sub-districts, this study describes the demographic results of each timeframe and later analyses them.

The first result shows the percentage decrease in the Muslim community in the Jenin sub-district. As mentioned previously, there are 52 entities under analysis, but the number of entities affected by a decrease in Muslim population is six – representing a percentage decrease of 11.53 per cent in the Muslim community entities from 1922 to 1931 in the Jenin sub-district.

The second religious group under analysis is the Christian community. Due to accuracy problems previously mentioned, the total number of entities in which the Christian population represented more than two per cent is four. In this case, ten entities are excluded from the demographic research. Once the

accuracy problem was solved, this study proceeded to calculate the percentage decrease in the Christian community in the four remaining entities. Only one out of the four entities suffers a decrease in Christian population, so the percentage decrease in the Christian community entities is 25 per cent in the period under analysis.

The next religious group under analysis is the Druze religious population that is included in the group Others. The only population included in this group is the Druze population that lived in Jenin. However, because of the same methodological reason previously mentioned, the number of Druze residents living in the city of Jenin was less than two per cent of the total population. Thus, the Druze population is excluded from the results as none of the entities in the Jenin sub-district contained more than a two per cent Druze population.

The following ethnic group under analysis is the Arab population. The Arab population included only the Christian and Muslim population because the Druze population was dismissed due to accuracy concerns. In this group, there are 52 entities under analysis and the decrease in Arab population affected six entities with a percentage of decrease of 11.53.

The next group for analysis is the Jewish religious group. According to the 1922 and 1931 censuses this community was in two entities in the Jenin sub-district: Umm al-Fahm and Jenin. For the same accuracy reasons previously mentioned, the Jewish population was less than two per cent of the total population in both entities. Consequently, the small Jewish community is left out of the demographic study for the Jenin sub-district.

The last group under analysis is the total population for each entity. The total number of entities is 52 and the number of entities where population declines is six. The decrease for the total entities is 11.53 per cent in the Jenin sub-district for this period.

These are the results obtained from the demographic research for the 1922-1931 timeframe in the Jenin sub-district during the British Mandate. Once the results have been described, this thesis will proceed to analyse the reasons for these results.

7.2.2- An analysis of the 1922-1931 results

As shown in the description of the results, there were six groups that could be analysed in the 1922-1931 timeframe. However, two groups did not reach the minimum percentage of population to be included in the research in this timeframe. Later, we will discuss this matter because the absence of Jewish population in the sub-district provided another picture for analysis within the settler colonial framework. The main interest of this study is to look into the influence of the Zionist settler colonial influence on the native population. As pointed out in the introduction chapter, there were two sub-districts that saw a low amount of Zionist immigration and land purchases. Analysing the development of the population in these two districts, this thesis will be able to compare them with the development in the other two sub-districts that did see a large amount of Zionist immigration and land purchases. This will be the key analysis to determine if the displacements of population were carried out using land purchases and settling Jewish immigration.

The first religious group under analysis is the Muslim community of the Jenin sub-district. As previously mentioned, the number of entities with a Muslim population was 52. Only six entities suffered a decrease in population making the percentage decrease 11.53 per cent. As mentioned before, this sub-district was not affected by Zionist immigration and land purchases, so the actual decreases in population occurred for reasons other than Zionist interference.

There are various reasons why these six entities containing Muslim population suffered a decrease in population. In the previous chapter on Haifa, the main reason for the decrease in population in the Haifa sub-district was pointed out, but I will focus on it again here.

In the decades after the Ottomans left Palestine, the population of Palestine suffered a decrease in population that affected the different communities because of war difficulties and food shortages.[684]

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[684]COATES ULRICHSEN, K. *The First World War in the Middle East.* Hurst, London, 2014. p 114.

After the British authorities took possession of Palestine at the San Remo conference,[685] the demography in Palestine went through significant changes compared with the previous decades. The change in laws improved the health care system and life expectancy grew.[686] These factors changed the demographic development, which showed a considerable increase in population from the Ottoman period to the British Mandate period in Palestine. The tendencies of population growth due to the improvement on the health care system were not related exclusively to Palestine, but to most developing countries in that period. The implementation of the new health care system reduced the child mortality rates, while life expectancy grew because doctors reached rural areas.[687] These were the decisive factors for an increase in population as the demographic transition theories for developing countries at the beginning of their transition could expect.

This thesis does not intend to deal with illegal immigration due to accuracy problems. Some scholars have written about this problem,[688] but because of the entity by entity demographic study done by this thesis it is impossible to know precisely where the illegal immigrants settled.

As previously stated, the whole picture of the Mandate showed an increase in population according to demographers who have dealt with the topic. Thus, if the population was increasing, what could have been the reasons for a decrease in those six entities?

It is necessary to stress the idea that this thesis does not intend to prove the actual case studies of these six entities. However, this thesis aims to provide some possible answers to the reasons why these six entities suffered a decrease in population. The first reason for a decrease in population could be attributed to malaria epidemics, which were frequent in the region during the

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[685]TABARANI, G. G. *Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: From Balfour Promise to Bush Declaration: the complications and the road for a lasting peace.* AuthorHouse, Indiana, 2008. p xxi.
[686]HEN-TOV, J. Communism and Zionism in Palestine during the British Mandate. Transaction Publishers, New Brunswick, 1974. p 11.
[687]EL-EINI, R. *Mandated Landscape British Imperial Rule in Palestine, 1929-1948.* Routledge, London, 2006. p 91.
[688]LIEBREICH, F. *Britain's Naval and Political Reaction to the Illegal Immigration of Jews to Palestine, 1945-1949.* Routledge, London, 2004. p 1.

Ottoman times.[689] Some entities were situated close to swamps that were the main focus of the epidemics. The authorities and villagers focused on draining the swamps close to the entities in an attempt to fight malaria epidemics. So, too, did the Zionist movement, which got a concession to drain the swamp in Kabara in the Haifa sub-district.[690]

Malaria epidemics could have been one of the reasons for a decrease in population in an entity before the Mandate. There is evidence that during the Ottoman period some settlers did not succeed in settling in specific entities because of malaria epidemics.[691]

This could be the main reason why an entity suffered a decrease in population. The method to research these case studies would be to look into the newspapers of the period to find articles that made reference to malaria epidemics between 1922 and 1931, which could explain the decrease in population.

There is another method to track epidemics to prove whether they were the reason for a decrease in population. Looking into travellers' diaries, it would be possible to find mentions of entities that suffered a malaria epidemic. There is an additional source that could provide information about epidemics in entities in Palestine. The village stories could also be a reliable source to track malaria epidemics in Palestine.

The main problem with village stories is that they are scarce, and in many cases it would be highly unlikely to find a story about a specific entity. The same could occur with the newspapers and the travellers' journals. This study, however, is not interested in what happened to those entities because they did not see much Zionist influence. It is nevertheless true that this thesis tries to find possible answers to the actual decreases in population and to open additional paths for possible research.

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[689]ORENSTEIN, D. E. & MILLER, C. & TAL, A. *Between Ruin and Restoration: An Environmental History of Israel.* University of Pittsburgh Press, Pennsylvania, 2013. p 11.
[690]AVNERI, A. L. *The Claim of Dispossession: Jewish Land-settlement and the Arabs, 1878-1948.* Herzl Press, New York, 1983. p 108.
[691]ORENSTEIN, D. E. & MILLER, C. & TAL, A. *Between Ruin and Restoration: An Environmental History of Israel.* University of Pittsburgh Press, Pennsylvania, 2013. p 11.

Another source to trace malaria epidemics would be to research medical records of the period. The British Mandate Administration kept medical records which could contain cases of malaria and the places where this occurred. This would help to determine if any entities suffered a decrease in population due to epidemics, both malaria and otherwise.

Another possible reason, as previously mentioned in the Haifa sub-district chapter, could be that within the same entity the Sheikh or notables fought among themselves.[692] This could be a reason why part of the population left the entity. Fights between families and clans did not occur on a regular basis, but they might have taken place and could have been the reason for a decrease in population in an entity.

The procedure to track down these events is the same as for the cases of malaria. Still, however, it's unlikely to find an answer. The method to deal with such research would be to look into the newspapers of the period and find articles about fights between sheikhs and notables within the same entity. Another way to study this problem would be to research trials of the period for disputes between families or murders in entities because of acts of revenge. This type of research needs a deep knowledge of both Arabic and the English language to search for evidence of these possible fights.

Another possible reason for a decrease in population could be attributed to bad harvests. There were some decreases in agricultural production due to locust plagues and bad weather, which could have affected the number of labourers employed for gathering crops from the fields.[693] Bad harvests would have created a problem for tenants in paying their rents or mortgages.[694] As mentioned in the chapter on the land issues, this could have affected families that had been farming in that period. The outcome would have been a change in land ownership and the resettlement of the family in another entity. However, as mentioned before, the usual change was to the status of a person who, having been a free peasant, became a tenant or labourer.

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[692]HAHNEMANN, S. *Oil, Israel and Modernity. The West's Cultural and Military Interventions in the Middle East.* Books on Demand, Norderstedt, 2004. p 118.
[693]ORON, Y. *The Banality of Indifference: Zionism and the Armenian Genocide.* Transaction Publishers, New Brunswick, 2009. p 62.
[694]OAKMAN, D. *Jesus, Debt, and the Lord's Prayer: First-Century Debt and Jesus' Intentions.* James Clarke & Co, Cambridge, 2015. p 32.

There are different methods for researching this type of situation. As pointed out in previous examples, a possible solution would be to research newspapers of the period for any mention of plagues or food shortages due to bad harvests and bad weather. Another possible solution that may not find the answer to a case study of an entity, but could provide a general picture of the annual production, would be to research the annual production statistics in the "blue books" of the British Mandate that are kept in the National Archives in Kew Gardens. The annual statistics were recorded in the "blue books". If there had been a substantial decrease in agricultural production, it would have been recorded by the British authorities. The problem of losing land ownership leads to talk about the problems analysed in the chapter on land. Land ownership was not public so it would be necessary to look into land transfer records. This would make the research more difficult.

The Jenin sub-district land transfers records are stored in the *Tapu* Office in Jenin. When the Oslo accords were implemented, the West Bank was divided into three areas: A, B and C.[695] All the land records belonging to the C area were taken by the Israeli authorities to the Israeli Civil Administration archives in Beit El settlement, which is close to Al-Bireh in the administrative area of Ramallah. The data on land records of the B and A areas might also be in Beit El.

In the case that land transfers needed for the study were not in the *Tapu* Office in Jenin, but in Beit El settlement, there are two possibilities to access such land transfer records. The first would be to ask the Israeli Civil Administration Authorities for a permit to visit the archives and the second would be to employ a lawyer specialised in land issues who would ask for the land transfer records of the entities under analysis.

As seen previously, the process of researching the change in land ownership during the British Mandate is complex. However, this study tries to provide all the possible solutions for research into the decreases in population.

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[695]UNITED NATIONS ENVIRONMENT PROGRAMME. *Desk Study on the Environment in the Occupied Palestinian Territories.* United Nations Publications, 2003. p 17.

The next possible cause for a decrease in population could be related to economic developments. The lack of job opportunities in an entity would force part of the population to move and settle in nearby entities or cities trying to find job opportunities that they did not have in their own entities. This would affect the demographic picture of the entity. It is complex to trace and research these details. The indicators to track down such movements of population are not available for the Mandate period. Despite the fact that it would be possible to prove a decrease in population in an entity, it is highly unlikely to find the mechanisms to trace the reasons for that decrease. Although a non-normal increase in population was detected in nearby entities, it would be virtually impossible to determine the origin of such an increase.

There are another two possible reasons for a decrease in population in an entity during the British Mandate period. The first one is related to problems with data collection. The Bedouin population, as a nomadic population, could have been recorded in one entity for one census and in the next census recorded in another entity. This is related to the previously discussed accuracy of the sources. The problem with accuracy not only affects the Bedouin population, but this study uses the example of the Bedouin community to answer a question related to a decrease in population in an entity. As previously mentioned in the methodology, there are problems caused by inaccuracies in the data collection that demographic research needs to accept because they cannot be fully solved. This problem also occurred in this thesis.

The second possible reason is related to the Bedouin community in the British Mandate period. The British authorities fought the Bedouin tribes that caused riots in populated areas more efficiently than the previous Ottoman rulers.[696] During the British Mandate period some Bedouin tribes caused trouble to the villagers living near the places where the Bedouin camped and this could have led to a decrease in population in those entities. This type of event could be traced in local newspapers and also in the British Military Archives through research into reports on these disturbances caused by the Bedouin community.

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[696]MANSOUR, N. & RITCHER-DEVROE, S. & RATCLIFFE, R. & ABU-RABIA-QUEDER, S. *The Naqab Bedouin and Colonialism: New Perspectives.* Routledge, London, 2014. pp 40-45.

As previously seen, there were several reasons why an entity could have suffered a decrease in population during the British Mandate. This study provides the possible reasons that determine a decrease in population in an entity and the best possible procedure for research into such a decrease in population. As previously explained, the focus of this study took a different path. This study, however, engenders to provide tools for future and further research on these problems.

The analysis of the Muslim community entities that decreased 11.53 per cent could also be applied to the Christian community that suffered a decrease of 25 per cent in the entities of the Jenin sub-district in the 1922-1931 period. It also makes sense to extrapolate the reasons and analysis of the Muslim community to the Arab and total population of the Jenin sub-district for the period under analysis. Both groups (Arabs and total population) suffered the same percentage decrease in populated entities: 11.53 per cent. It is obvious that in this case we are essentially referring to the same population so the explanations for the Muslim community can be used for the other two groups.

In the case of the Other group, there is no further information because there was no population or results to be analysed. The Jewish community followed the same pattern. This thesis could not study the development of that community because it did not exist in this sub-district (after the procedure of accuracy done for the population) because it was less than two per cent. As mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, the absence of Jewish population and Zionist land purchases permitted this thesis to analyse the development of population and entities that did not suffer the settler colonial influence of the Zionist movement. Later, in the last chapter of the thesis, the results of the four sub-districts will be put together and further conclusions will be discussed related to the settler colonial theories and transfer policies carried out by Zionist companies using land purchases and Jewish immigration.

7.3- TIMEFRAME: 1931–1945

Once the first period of the Jenin sub-district has been researched, this thesis will proceed as with the Haifa sub-district into the analysis of the 1931 to 1945 period. Due to the lack of data on the Arab religious groups, this period

will only analyse the development of Arabs, Jews and the total population of the Jenin sub-district. The results for this period are the following:

- Arabs: The sum of all the Arab religious groups
- Jews: The Jewish religious population.
- Total: The total number of entities.

- Decrease: Number of entities in which the population decreased.
- Total: Total number of entities.
- Percentage: Percentage of entities in which the population decreased.

Table 7.2- Jenin sub-district 1931-1945 period

Jenin	1931-1945 period		
	Arabs	Jews	Total
Decrease	1	0	1
Total	52	0	52
Percentage	1.92%	0	1.92%

7.3.1- Description of the sources 1931-1945

The first group under analysis in the 1931 to 1945 period is the Arab community of the Jenin sub-district. The Arab community was settled in each of the 52 entities of the sub-district. There is only one entity that suffered a decrease in population for the period under analysis. The percentage decrease for the Jenin sub-district for this period and for the Arab community entities is 1.92 per cent.

The next community under analysis is the Jewish community. There are no entities inhabited by the Jewish community. There are only two places containing Jewish population in the *Census of 1931*: Jenin and Umm al-Fahm. Both places had two Jews in the census.[697] Consequently, according to the procedure followed in the previous cases and explained in the methodology, the Jewish population of these two entities, which was less than two per cent of the

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[697]MILLS, E. *Census of Palestine 1931. Population of Villages, Towns and Administrative Areas.* Greek Convent Press, Jerusalem, 1932. pp 68, 71.

total population, was excluded from the demographic research for reasons of accuracy.

The last group for analysis in this period and for this sub-district is the total population of the sub-district. The total population in this case is the same previously mentioned Arab community. There is only one entity that suffers a decrease in the total population and it is the same entity that suffers a decrease in the Arab population. The percentage decrease in the total population in the Jenin sub-district for the 1931-1945 period is 1.92 per cent.

These are the results of the Jenin sub-district for the period under analysis. In the next part of the chapter these results will be analysed and further explanations will be given.

7.3.2- An analysis of the 1931-1945 results

This period, as in the previous period under analysis, shows a sub-district that was not exposed to Zionist immigration and land purchases. The native population was not affected. In this area, the study was able to analyse the development of the native population without the interference of land purchases. As pointed out in the previous period under analysis, there were different reasons that might have caused a decrease in population. For this period, I will mention the reasons but I will not analyse them in depth to avoid being repetitive.

The only entity that decreased in population during the whole period is the entity of Firasin that in 1931 had a population of 24 people[698] and in 1945 decreased to 20.[699] The population figure is very low in comparison with other nearby entities. In the *1931 Census* this entity had five inhabited houses,[700] suggesting there were perhaps three or four families living in the entity.

The decrease in population in the entity of Firasin could have occurred for different reasons. The main reason for a decrease in population was analysed in the first part of this chapter. The decrease in population could have

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[698]*Ibid.* p 68.
[699]HADAWI, S. *Village Statistics 1945; A Classification of Land and Area Ownership in Palestine.* Palestine Liberation Organization Research Center, Beirut, 1970. p 54.
[700]MILLS, E. *Census of Palestine 1931. Population of Villages, Towns and Administrative Areas.* Greek Convent Press, Jerusalem, 1932. p 68.

been caused by epidemics, such as malaria or typhus epidemics. Earlier, possible ways to research epidemics were examined.

Another possible reason for a decrease in population can be attributed to fights between families within the same entity. This could have led to the displacement of one of the families from the entity. Taking into consideration the low population of Firasin, the event could have had an influence on the entity demography. The procedure for researching these events in an entity, as previously explained, would be to look into the newspapers or trials related to this entity in the British Mandate period.

Other reasons that might have created a decrease in population in an entity can be related to economic problems. Poor harvests could have had dramatic consequences for villagers in that period. These would have led peasants[701] into a severe shortage of food and money. As mentioned before, poor harvests could have changed land ownership or forced peasants to migrate to other entities to find better job opportunities. This type of economic problem could be researched by delving into statistics on agricultural production conducted by the British Government or into land transfers or trials for debts caused for falling behind on mortgage payments for land ownership.

Another possible reason that would explain the decrease in population is related to the Arab Revolt. This entity could have suffered a decrease in population as some inhabitants were imprisoned, murdered or exiled as a consequence of the Arab Revolt. However, it is highly unlikely that this option notably affected the demographics of the entity. The best way to deal with such a possibility would be to research the local newspapers of the period to find out about citizens from Firasin on trial for having taken part in the Arab Revolt.

These are the reasons discussed in the previous part as possible explanations for a decrease in population without the interference of Zionist land purchases and immigration. For this case, however, it would be interesting to analyse other possible reasons as the entity under analysis contained only five

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[701]ORON, Y. *The Banality of Indifference: Zionism and the Armenian Genocide.* Transaction Publishers, New Brunswick, 2009. p 62.

houses and 24 people living in the entity.[702] This decrease in population may have had another possible demographic explanation.

In the *1931 Census* the entity of Firasin contained 11 men and thirteen women.[703] This study did not have the right tools to determine the exact age of the population, the family structure or the number of families in the entity. The only information provided by the *1931 Census* was that this entity contained five houses.[704] As there were so few inhabitants in the entity, it is possible the female inhabitants who were old enough got married and moved to the entity of their husband. It's also possible there were fewer births than deaths between 1931 and 1945.

In the case of this entity, any small demographic change would have affected the overall picture of the entity. The main problem that this study faced is that the information available for such a small entity was not enough to support any of the previous explained theories. These can be regarded as informed guesses waiting for new methods to determine the significance of a decrease in population in such a small entity for the British Mandate in Palestine.

One of the most remarkable cases of this period is that only one entity out of 52 suffered a decrease in population. However, the analysis of this finding will be left for the next period under analysis.

The following group under analysis is the Jewish community. After dismissing for reasons of accuracy the small Jewish population of Umm al-Fahm and Jenin, there was no Jewish population left in the Jenin sub-district for analysis. The practical absence of the Jewish population provided this thesis with another case study to analyse an entity that was not affected by Zionist immigration and land purchases. The absence of the Jewish population may be related to a variety of explanations. The first reason could be that the Jenin sub-district did not contain any relevant Jewish shrines/ancient synagogues.

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[702]MILLS, E. *Census of Palestine 1931. Population of Villages, Towns and Administrative Areas.* Greek Convent Press, Jerusalem, 1932. p 68.
[703]*Ibid.*
[704]*Ibid.*

Consequently, the Jewish religious population had no reason to settle in that area in terms of religious interest.[705]

The other possible reason that halted Jewish immigrants was the lack of land to settle because Zionist companies did not purchase land there. There were no settlements or significant land purchases during the British Mandate period in the Jenin sub-district. This could be due to different reasons. The first one is that land purchases started in the Coastal Plain on the shore of the Mediterranean Sea.[706] Jewish companies focused on purchasing more land in the Coastal Plain, not in the inland areas of Palestine. The explanation for this could be that land in the Coastal Plain of Palestine was suitable for fruit tree plantations and therefore an enticing place to set up colonies for immigrants in comparison with the land of the Jenin sub-district.[707]

Another reason why Zionist companies were not interested in the Jenin sub-district was related to the scarce availability of land to be purchased. Absentee landlords did not own land in the Jenin sub-district, but rather in the Galilee and the Coastal Plain.[708] The easy access to land in the Galilee and the Coastal Plain pushed Zionist companies to purchase more land close to that already purchased. The analysis of Zionist land purchases and land ownership by the end of the British Mandate showed a clear line that connected land owned by different Zionist companies from the Galilee to the Coastal plain.[709]

There are two main explanations for this. The first one is related to physical space and the other one is related to land quality. The pieces of land owned by Zionist companies were close to each other. This could be understood as a need for defence as it was used and proved in the 1948 War. Land purchases were not made to create isolated settlements. The objective was to build settlements close to each other to create physical space under Zionist control by means of settlements. If the Partition Plan is compared with

[705]ABU EL-HAJ, N. *Facts on the Ground: Archaeological Practice and Territorial Self-Fashioning in Israeli Society*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 2008. pp 74-77,80.

[706]RAMRAZ-RA'UKH, G. *The Arab in Israeli Literature*. I.B.Tauris, London, 1989. p 9.

[707]NADAN, A. *The Palestinian Peasant Economy under the Mandate: A Story of Colonial Bungling.* Harvard University Press, Massachusetts, 2006. p xxviii.

[708]GHANDOUR, Z. B. *A Discourse on Domination in Mandate Palestine: Imperialism, Property and Insurgency.* Routledge, London, 2009. p 54.

[709]HADAWI, S. *Palestinian Rights & Losses in 1948, A Comprehensive Study*. Saqi Books, London, 1988. p 202.

the land owned by Zionist companies in the Northern sub-district, we find that the shape is that of the land owned by Zionist companies. The physical space to create a country was designed and carried out through land purchases. That is why the Jenin sub-district had no interest for Zionist companies. There was no land owned by Zionist companies previously, so they made no effort to settle amidst the Arab community.

The second reason is related to land and land quality in the Jenin sub-district. The Jenin sub-district is hillier than the Galilee and the Coastal Plain, so the available land was not as interesting for Zionist companies as the more accessible land of the Galilee and Coastal plain. The type of plantation settlement built by Zionist companies was more suitable for flat regions than for the Jenin sub-district that was hillier. Land quality in the Coastal Plain was also better because it was sandier and therefore more appropriate for fruit trees than the type of land available in the Jenin sub-district.[710]

These are the main reasons why Zionist companies were not interested in settling in the Jenin sub-district. The effort was focused on sub-districts like Haifa or Nazareth, which were analysed in this thesis because of practical, demographic and economic reasons. The absence of Zionist interference allowed this study to make comparisons between non-Jewish-populated areas and populated areas, as explained at the beginning of the thesis.

Once the second group was analysed, or at least the reasons for the absence of that ethnic group in this sub-district explained, the last group under analysis was the total population for the Jenin sub-district. As the Arab population and the total population figure of the sub-district were the same, there was no need for further analysis.

7.4- TIMEFRAME: 1922–1945

The next period under analysis is the whole British Mandate period that goes from 1922 to 1945, considering the availability of the sources. Following the same procedure as that for the Haifa sub-district, this period only analysed the Arabs, Jews and the total population of the sub-district because the sources

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[710]NADAN, A. *The Palestinian Peasant Economy under the Mandate: A Story of Colonial Bungling.* Harvard University Press, Massachusetts, 2006. p xxviii.

did not allow researching the religious groups. The results for the Jenin sub-district between 1922 and 1945 are:

- Arabs: The sum of all the Arab religious groups
- Jews: The Jewish religious population.
- Total: The total number of entities.

- Decrease: Number of entities in which the population decreased.
- Total: Total number of entities.
- Percentage: Percentage of entities in which the population decreased.

Table 7.3- Jenin sub-district 1922-1945 period

Jenin	1922-1945 period		
	Arabs	Jews	Total
Decrease	0	0	0
Total	52	0	52
Percentage	0%	0	0%

7.4.1- Description of the 1922-1945 results

The Arab community under analysis lived in the 52 entities of the Jenin sub-district. None of them suffers a decrease in population. The decrease in population in the Arab-populated entities for the period under analysis is zero. There is no Jewish population in any of the entities in the Jenin sub-district for this period, so a decrease in their population is impossible. The last group under analysis is the total population of the sub-district. In this case, as in the previous period, the total population and the population figure of the Arab community are the same. Consequently, there is no decrease in any entity for the period under analysis. The percentage decrease in the total population of the Jenin sub-district for the 1922-1945 period is zero.

7.4.2- An analysis of the 1922-1945 results

The first group under analysis is the Arab community of the Jenin sub-district. The Arab community in this period did not suffer any decrease in any entity. The results of the Arab community in this period followed the pattern of

that of a developing country in the beginning of the demographic transition with the attendant increases in population in a non-industrialised or industrialising region.[711] As could be expected, in this case the increase in population was clear because the population grew in all the entities of the sub-district. Throughout this timeframe, it is worth explaining the main factors that could be expected in a country that was in the beginning of its demographic transition. This stage in Palestine would have led to an increase in population, as could be expected, and the Jenin sub-district is the best case study to analyse the demographics because of non-Zionist interference.

There are several reasons why the population increased in the period under analysis, but it is necessary to point out the absence of Zionist land purchases and immigration. The absence of Zionist land purchases and immigration allowed this thesis to examine the case study through the influence of that community and compare the results with the other two sub-districts, Haifa and Nazareth that had a large amount of land purchases and immigration.

The comparison between sub-districts was carried out after the analysis of a sub-district in each chapter. It is very significant that where there was no interference of the Zionist movement with land purchases and immigration, the native population did not suffer any decrease in population. As argued before, the interference of Zionist companies was not the only reason that could create a decrease in population in an entity in the Haifa sub-district. However, as stated in the previous chapter, there are meaningful reasons and data that link the decrease in native population to the settlements built for Zionist immigrants.

In the previous chapters, the influence that the improvement in the health care system and economy had on the demography of Palestine was referenced. The total population of Palestine increased from 823,684[712] in 1922 to 1,868,597[713] in 1945 according to the estimates made by Justin McCarthy. This is a growth rate of 3.561 per cent. This is a high rate according to demographic growth rates increases. In effect, this means the population in Palestine increased by 35.61 per thousand in inhabitants or that the population increased

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[711]CASSEN, R. *Population and Development: Old Debates, New Conclusions.* Transaction Publishers, New Brunswick, 1994. p 79.
[712]McCARTHY, J. *The Population of Palestine.* Columbia University Press, New York, 1990. p 30.
[713]*Ibid.* p 35.

by 3.561 per cent per year. These results cannot be explained without including the Zionist immigration. However, these broad results for the whole of Palestine show a constant and large increase in population that was not only created by Jewish immigration. In this part of the chapter we will analyse the possible reasons that would explain the large increase in population according to demographic transition theories.

The Jenin sub-district is the best example to analyse the demographic changes that Palestine was suffering due to several economic, social and political changes. These changes shook the old Ottoman structures of Palestine and had a long-term influence on the demographics of the region. According to demographic transition theories, before a region is industrialised, modernised or developed, the death rates and birth rates stay high.[714] The purpose of this is to offset the high rates of deaths. When a country starts to develop, modernise or industrialise due to different social and economic changes, the first change that occurs in the demographics is that the death rates decrease.[715] The decrease in death rates, while the birth rates stay high, brings about an increase in population. This could be said of Palestine in the time of the transition between the Ottoman period and the end of the British Mandate. The next stage of the demographic transition occurs when the birth rates also start to decrease.[716] There are different examples and patterns that confirm this theory. Every country, however, has its peculiarities when we analyse the demographic transition expected according to the theory. In this case, the Jenin sub-district could show the demographics without Zionist influence, indicating the results expected for a non-influenced region. We need to take into consideration, however, that Jenin was not isolated from the rest of Palestine. Once more, what this thesis is looking for are patterns so as not to analyse particular case studies.

As mentioned, the increase in population described for this period could be related to diverse causes. The period under analysis that goes from 1922 to 1945 is a period when historical Palestine endured many remarkable changes. In the first chapter, immigration and the implementation of the British Mandate

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[714]JIMENEZ, E. *Development and the Next Generation.* World Bank Publications, Washington DC, 2006. p 43.
[715]*Ibid.*
[716]*Ibid.*

in Palestine were explained. The change in rulers and the involvement of the Palestinian economy in the world's economy plus the efforts of the newly created administration to modernise the country had consequences for Palestine's demography.

Another reason that I would like to underline was the improvement of the health care system during the British Mandate. The improvement of the health care system can be analysed in different directions, but all together it helped to increase the demographics during the British Mandate period. The first change from the Ottoman period was the introduction of more doctors in rural areas by the British administration.[717] The introduction of more doctors in rural areas helped to control epidemics and common illnesses. Consequently, the population mortality rates decreased during the British Mandate period. Moreover, the presence of doctors in rural areas helped increase birth rates and child-life expectancy.[718]

Apart from Zionist immigration and low Arab immigration, access to modern medicine in rural areas of Palestine helped to increase the demographics of the British Mandate period. Although access to modern medicine was easier for the rural population due to the implementation of the new health care system, in some cases the rural population continued with traditional treatments that they had been carrying out for decades.[719]

The number of doctors working in rural areas of Palestine was not enough, but compared with the statistics of the Ottoman period was significantly better.[720] As previously mentioned, this helped to decrease mortality rates and increase birth rates as well as infant life expectancy.

The draining of swamps made it possible to control malaria epidemics and other diseases. The British administration worked on drying swamps to fight malaria transmitted by mosquitoes. Zionist companies were also given some

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[717]EL-EINI, R. *Mandated Landscape British Imperial Rule in Palestine, 1929-1948.* Routledge, London, 2006. p 91.
[718]*Ibid.*
[719]PERRY, Y & LEV, E. *Modern Medicine in the Holy Land: Pioneering British Medical Services in Late Ottoman Palestine.* I.B.Tauris, London, 2007. p 12.
[720]EL-EINI, R. *Mandated Landscape British Imperial Rule in Palestine, 1929-1948.* Routledge, London, 2006. p 91.

concessions to drain swamps as in the case of Kabara.[721] This turned out to be an effective method to fight some epidemics that had serious effects on the population at the beginning of the 20th century.

A population can only grow with an improvement in birth-death ratio under natural growth.[722] This type of change happens in countries that are in the process of modernisation or development under western parameters of modernisation in accordance with transition theories.

There are, however, other reasons that could influence population growth in an underdeveloped or developing country. The British administration renewed and created a better communications system that connected the more populated areas in Palestine.[723] This communications system was created for civil and military purposes, but the improvement of infrastructure could also have been appreciated in the markets of Palestine. The use of better routes enabled merchants to provide markets with better food supplies, which could be linked to a more varied diet for the Palestinian population. Furthermore, a varied diet could also have led the population to enjoy better health. The healthier a population is, the longer it lives, and consequently it grows.

This can be linked to the birth and death rates of the Palestinian population throughout the British Mandate period. When the population is healthier and lives longer, more babies are born and consequently the population grows. This type of simple argument is the foundation of the growth of any developing country.[724] For any substantial change in the population size of a country, we talk about natural increases in a population's births-deaths,[725] without taking into consideration the immigration and emigration in the country. The increase in the birth rates and the decrease in the death rates are essential for a population to grow.

[721]AVNERI, A. L. *The Claim of Dispossession: Jewish Land-settlement and the Arabs, 1878-1948.* Herzl Press, New York, 1983. p 108.
[722]HARPER, C. L. & LEICHT, K. T. *Exploring Social Change: America and the World.* Routledge, London, 2015. p 331.
[723]DAVIS, D. E. & LIBERTUN de DUREN, N. *Cities and Sovereignty: Identity Politics in Urban Spaces.* Indiana University Press, Indiana, 2011. pp 60-61.
[724]NAUGHTON, B. *The Chinese Economy: Transitions and Growth.* Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, Massachusetts, 2007. p 163.
[725]LUNDQUIST, J.H. & ANDERTON, D. L. & YAUKEY, D. *Demography: The Study of Human Population.* Waveland Press, Illinois, 2015. p 7.

Another important point that could influence the growth of the population would be technological improvements in agriculture. The British authorities, but mainly the new Zionist immigrants, brought new techniques for agriculture.[726] A more productive use of soil would allow peasants to increase agricultural production.

This would have different consequences. The first is that better and more supplies would arrive to the markets meaning that they would be able to feed more people. The second is that the spending power of the rural population would increase. Consequently, the population also could have been fed in a better and more varied way, increasing life expectancy.[727]

The introduction of the Palestinian economy in the world's economy also supports this idea of production increase. The main problem is that most profits end up in the hands of merchants and middle class people, while the impact on peasants is lower than it should be.[728]

These are general cases that could be used for any other country that was in the process of development under demographic transition theories. All these descriptions and analyses could be applied to the Jenin sub-district and other sub-districts of Palestine. As discussed previously, the British Mandate period was a time when the region suffered important economic, political and social changes and the demographics of the country did not differ from the general changes. As argued before, the demographics of Palestine changed and not only due to immigration.

There were other factors that led to these changes in demography. Despite the Arab Revolt, other riots and turmoil that took place in the British Mandate period, the absence of war helped to increase the population of the region. The consequences of World War I in the region did not occur during the British Mandate. World War II did not have such devastating consequences in the region as World War I. The determining factors for the natural growth of

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[726]NESLEN, A. *In Your Eyes a Sandstorm: Ways of Being Palestinian.* University of California Press, California, 2011. p 273.

[727]NAUGHTON, B. *The Chinese Economy: Transitions and Growth.* Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, Massachusetts, 2007. p 163.

[728]KIMMERLING, B. *The Palestinian People: A History.* Harvard University Press, Massachusetts, 2009. pp 46-54.

population were more stable during the British Mandate period than before. This allowed the population to grow because of the reasons previously analysed.

The sub-district of Jenin is one of the best examples to analyse the development of the native population of Palestine during the British Mandate because of the absence of settler influences related to land purchases and immigration. The development of the native population will be analysed later with the rest of the case studies of the thesis in order to reach general conclusions and patterns. The last part of the chapter will analyse the overall picture of the sub-district of Jenin.

7.5- TIMEFRAME: 1922–1938

The next timeframe under analysis was the period between 1922 and 1938. There were three groups for analysis. The first one was the Arab community of the Jenin sub-district in the period between 1922 and 1938. The second one was the development of the Jewish community. None of the entities in the sub-district contained a Jewish population so there is not a percentage result for this community. The last result is the total population of the sub-district that in this case coincides with the population of the Arab community in the sub-district. The results are as follows:

- Arabs: The sum of all the Arab religious groups.
- Jews: The Jewish religious population.
- Total: The total number of entities.
- Decrease: Number of entities in which the population decreased.
- Total: Total number of entities.
- Percentage: Percentage of entities in which the population decreased.

Table 7.4- Jenin sub-district 1922-1938 period

Jenin	1922-1938 period		
	Arabs	Jews	Total
Decrease	0	0	0
Total	52	0	52
Percentage	0%	0	0%

7.5.1- Description of the 1922-1938 results

There are only two groups for analysis in the 1922-1938 results of the Jenin sub-district: the Arab community and the total population. As there was no Jewish population in the sub-district in this timeframe, the Arab community is the same as the total population. None of the 52 entities in the sub-district suffers a decrease in population in the whole timeframe so the percentage results for both communities are zero per cent.

7.5.2- An analysis of the 1922-1938 results

The analysis of the results of the 1922 to 1938 timeframe for the Jenin sub-district is the same as the pervious timeframe under analysis, the 1922 to 1945 timeframe. The percentages are the same for the same groups so to avoid repetition I will not analyse them again. Moreover, the possible reasons for decreases in population when there was no influence of Zionist immigration and land purchases on the native population have been analysed in depth in the previous timeframes.

7.6- TIMEFRAME: 1931–1938

The results and percentages obtained are the same as those of the two previous analysed timeframes. There are only results for the Arab community and the total population. There was not a Jewish population living in the sub-district for the analysis of this timeframe:

- Arabs: The sum of all the Arab religious groups
- Jews: The Jewish religious population.
- Total: The total number of entities.

- Decrease: Number of entities in which the population decreased.
- Total: Total number of entities.
- Percentage: Percentage of entities in which the population decreased.

Table 7.5- Jenin sub-district 1931-1938 period

Jenin	1931-1938 period		
	Arabs	Jews	Total
Decrease	0	0	0
Total	52	0	52
Percentage	0%	0	0%

7.6.1- Description of the 1931-1938 sources

There are 52 entities containing Arab population in the Jenin sub-district for this timeframe. Not a single entity suffers a decrease in population so the percentage result for this community is zero per cent. The result for the total population in the Jenin sub-district is also zero per cent.

7.6.2- An analysis of the 1931-1938 results

The analysis of this timeframe obtained the same results as the previous two timeframes. Once again, in order to avoid being repetitive I will refer to the 1922-1945 timeframe analysis to answer and explain all the demographic developments of the population in the 1931-1938 period analysis because no further explanations will be added to those previously provided.

7.7- TIMEFRAME: 1938–1945

The last period under analysis was the 1938 to 1945 timeframe. There were only two results for this timeframe. The results of the Arab population and the total population of the timeframe were the same. Once more, there were no Jewish population results in this sub-district because there was not a Jewish population there. The results are as follows:

- Arabs: The sum of all the Arab religious groups
- Jews: The Jewish religious population.
- Total: The total number of entities.

- Decrease: Number of entities in which the population decreased.

- Total: Total number of entities.

- Percentage: Percentage of entities in which the population decreased.

Table 7.6- Jenin sub-district 1938-1945 period

Jenin	1938-1945 period		
	Arabs	Jews	Total
Decrease	5	0	5
Total	52	0	52
Percentage	9.61%	0	9.61%

7.7.1- Description of the 1938-1945 sources

There are 52 entities containing an Arab population in the last timeframe under analysis for the Jenin sub-district. There are five entities where the Arab population decreases, making the percentage decrease for this community entities 9.61 per cent. The results for the total population were the same for the Arab community in this timeframe because there was not a Jewish population in this sub-district. The total number of entities in the sub-district is 52 and in five of them, the same as for the Arab community, the population decreases, showing a percentage decrease of 9.61 per cent.

7.7.2- An analysis of the 1938-1945 results

The analysis of this table could be repetitive taking into account the deep analysis carried out in the first three timeframes of the Jenin sub-district. The absence of a Jewish population in the sub-district showed and reduced the possible analysis of the six timeframes tables of the Jenin sub-district to just three tables to make the chapter easier to read.

7.8- THE WHOLE PICTURE OF THE JENIN SUB-DISTRICT

It is vital to underline the most important factor for the analysis of the Jenin sub-district: the absence of the settler colonial entity that would have interfered in the development of the native population. The results of this sub-district, which could be the results of the development of a population in any

developing country going through a demographic transition, follow the patterns of a sub-district without the interference of Zionist land purchases and immigration in the British Mandate period. This is the first marked difference if we compare this sub-district with the previously analysed Haifa sub-district where there was a large number of Zionist settlements.

The main picture of this sub-district shows that in the six timeframes under analysis, there are few entities that suffered a decrease in population. This thesis has examined the possible reason that may have created these decreases in population. However, this research cannot analyse each case study in depth. The rest of the entities of the sub-district followed the pattern of developing countries' demographics in the beginning of a demographic transition when death rates start to decline.[729]

As discussed previously, many changes that affected the demographics of the sub-district took place in this period. The main changes that happened in this sub-district during the British Mandate period could be explained using simple population theories. Developing countries, according to demographic transition theories, normally have a large increase in population due to the reasons analysed in the last period of this sub-district.[730]

Furthermore, analysing the present demographics of the world for non-industrialised countries or those in the process of industrialization, we find that the patterns the population follows in these developing countries are similar.

To sum up, we can say that the absence of Zionist interference in the sub-district follows the patterns of a developing country in the beginning of the demographic transition as the demographic results suggest. The decreases in population in some of the entities could have different social or economic answers as analysed during the chapter, but the overall picture shows that in the absence of Zionist interference, the native population grows, as would be expected.

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[729]HARPER, C. L. and LEICHT, K. T. *Exploring Social Change: America and the World.* Routledge, London, 2015. p 331.
[730]*Ibid.*

BLUE BOUNDARIES

Jewish population living in the village

RED COLOUR

The Arab population disappeared from the village

YELLOW COLOUR

The Arab population decreased in the village

ORANGE COLOUR

The Jewish population decreased in the village

BLUE COLOUR

Only Jewish population living in the village

GREEN COLOUR

No decrease of Arab population in the village

Map 7.9.1- Jenin sub-district 1922-1931
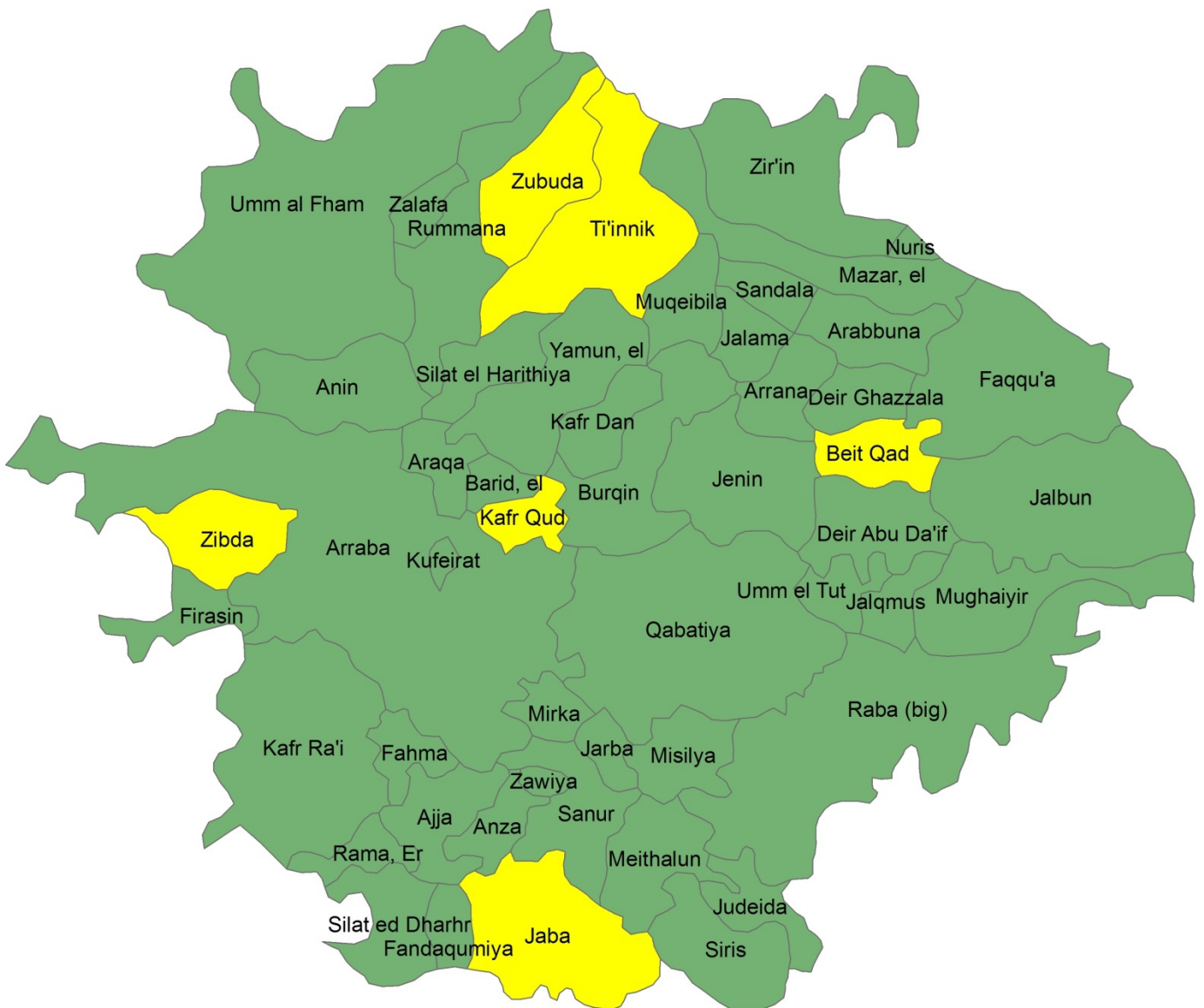
Map 7.9.2- Jenin sub-district 1931-1945

Map 7.9.3- Jenin sub-district 1922-1945

Umm al Fham Zalafa Zubuda Zir'in

Rummana Ti'innik

Nuris

Mazar, el

Muqeibila Sandala

Anin Silat el Harithiya Yamun, el Jalama Arabbuna

Kafr Dan Arrana Deir Ghazzala Faqqu'a

Araqa Beit Qad

Barid, el Burqin Jenin

Kafr Qud Jalbun

Zibda Arraba Kufeirat Deir Abu Da'if

Firasin Umm el Tut Jalqmus Mughaiyir

Qabatiya Raba (big)

Mirka

Kafr Ra'i Fahma Jarba Misilya

Zawiya

Ajja Anza Sanur

Rama, Er Meithalun

Judeida

Silat ed Dharhr Jaba Siris

Fandaqumiya

Map 7.9.4- Jenin sub-district 1922-1938

Umm al Fham
Zalafa
Rummana
Zubuda
Ti'innik
Zir'in
Nuris
Mazar, el
Muqeibila
Sandala
Arabbuna
Anin
Silat el Harithiya
Yamun, el
Jalama
Arrana
Deir Ghazzala
Faqqu'a
Kafr Dan
Beit Qad
Araqa
Barid, el
Burqin
Jenin
Jalbun
Kafr Qud
Deir Abu Da'if
Zibda
Arraba
Kufeirat
Umm el Tut
Jalqmus
Mughaiyir
Firasin
Qabatiya
Raba (big)
Mirka
Kafr Ra'i
Fahma
Jarba
Misilya
Zawiya
Ajja
Anza
Sanur
Rama, Er
Meithalun
Silat ed Dharhr
Fandaqumiya
Jaba
Judeida
Siris

Map 7.9.5- Jenin sub-district 1931-1938

Map 7.9.6- Jenin sub-district 1938-1945

Umm al Fham
Zalafa
Rummana
Zubuda
Ti'innik
Zir'in
Nuris
Mazar, el
Muqeibila
Sandala
Jalama
Arabbuna
Yamun, el
Anin
Silat el Harithiya
Arrana
Deir Ghazzala
Faqqu'a
Kafr Dan
Araqa
Barid, el
Burqin
Jenin
Beit Qad
Jalbun
Kafr Qud
Zibda
Arraba
Kufeirat
Deir Abu Da'if
Firasin
Umm el Tut
Jalqmus
Mughaiyir
Qabatiya
Raba (big)
Mirka
Kafr Ra'i
Fahma
Jarba
Misilya
Zawiya
Sanur
Ajja
Anza
Rama, Er
Meithalun
Judeida
Silat ed Dharhr
Jaba
Siris
Fandaqumiya

8. <u>THE NABLUS SUB-DISTRICT</u>

The last sub-district analysed in the thesis is Nablus. As with the Jenin sub-district analysis, this area did not contain Zionist immigration or land purchases. The aim of the analysis of this type of sub-district, as explained in the introduction, is to compare the results of sub-districts where Zionist influence occurred and where it did not.

The procedure followed in the study of this sub-district is identical to the one followed in the previous sub-districts and described in the methodological chapter of the thesis. The sources used for demographic research are also the same ones as before: The *1922 Census of Palestine,*[731] the *1931 Census of Palestine,*[732] the *1938 Village Statistics*[733] and the *1945 Village Statistics.*[734]

8.1- A DESCRIPTION OF THE NEW CENSUS AND GROWTH RATES PROCEDURE

Before dealing with the demographic procedure itself, the mapping of the sub-district was carried out to obtain an accurate number of entities and boundaries for the Nablus sub-district. After applying the accuracy procedure, the number of entities to work with within the Nablus sub-district was 77. There were some cases, as in the previous sub-districts, where villages needed to be merged. In addition, the *Atlas of Palestine: 1917-1966*[735] set villages outside the boundaries of the Nablus sub-district.

There were six mergers within the Nablus sub-district creating accurate boundaries for all four of the demographic sources used in the research. For instance, the entity of Hajja took the name of the merged villages of Hajja, Baqa, Jabaria and Khirbat Sir. All of them merged together into one new entity

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[731]BARRON, J.B. *Report and General Abstracts of the Census of 1922.* Greek Convent Press, Jerusalem, October, 1923.
[732]MILLS, E. *Census of Palestine 1931. Population of Villages, Towns and Administrative Areas.* Greek Convent Press, Jerusalem, 1932.
[733]GOVERNMENT OF PALESTINE. *1938 Village Statistics*. Statistics Office, Jerusalem, February, 1938.
[734]HADAWI, S. *Village Statistics 1945; A Classification of Land and Area Ownership in Palestine.* Palestine Liberation Organization Research Center, Beirut, 1970.
[735]ABU SITTA, S. *Atlas of Palestine: 1917-1966*. Palestine Land Society, London, 2010.

named Hajja, which includes the population for all four villages in all the demographic sources.

The other case that may affect the accuracy of the map was when a village was placed inside the boundaries of the sub-district by the demographic sources, whereas the *Atlas of Palestine: 1917-1966* situated the village outside the boundaries of the sub-district. There are two villages, Kafr Bara and Kafr Thulth, that the sources collocated inside the Nablus sub-district, but the *Atlas of Palestine* situated them within the Tulkarem sub-district.[736]

After utilising the accuracy procedure, this research worked with 77 entities in the Nablus sub-district. As with the previous sub-district, this one contained six different periods of analysis. The first was 1922-1931, followed by 1931-1945, 1922-1945, 1922-1938, 1931-1938 and finally 1938-1945.

The Nablus sub-district shares many similarities with Jenin; both sub-districts were rarely exposed to Zionist land efforts. This is the reason why the patterns described and analysed in the Jenin sub-district will fit for Nablus. In this chapter, I will not analyse in such depth as the Jenin sub-district the results obtained in the demographic research to avoid repetition.

The Jenin study provided an in-depth analysis of the demographics of one sub-district during the Palestine Mandate where there was no influence of Zionist land purchases and immigration, showing the expected results for a region in the beginning of its demographic transition. The Nablus sub-district, without analysing it in so much depth, shows that the patterns revealed in the Jenin sub-district were not coincidences.

8.2- TIMEFRAME: 1922-1931

The results of the period from 1922 to 1931 are divided into six groups:

- Muslims: The Muslim religious population.
- Christians: The Christian religious population.
- Arabs: The sum of all the Arab religious groups.
- Jews: The Jewish religious population.
- Total: The total number of entities.
- Decrease: Number of entities in which the population decreased.

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[736] *Ibid.* pp 343-344.

- Total: Total number of entities.

- Percentage: Percentage of entities in which the population decreased.

Table 8.1- Nablus sub-district 1922-1931 period

Nablus	The 1922-1931 period				
	Muslim	Christians	Arabs	Jews	Total
Decrease	3	2	3	0	3
Total	77	8	77	0	77
Percentage	3.89%	25%	3.89%	0	3.89%

8.2.1- Description of the sources 1922-1931:

The first community to analyse is the Muslim population. There are 77 entities with a Muslim population living inside the boundaries and in three of them there is a decrease in population. The result shows a decrease of 3.89 per cent for the Muslim community entities in the 1922-1931 period. The second community under analysis is the Christian one. Following the accuracy procedure of a two per cent threshold there are eight entities with a Christian population. Two entities out of eight suffer a decrease in population, showing a 25 per cent decrease for this community entities. The third result available for this table is that of the Arab community. There are 77 entities populated with Arabs and in three of them there is a decrease of population showing a percentage decline of 3.89 per cent. The fourth group in the table, following the accuracy process, does not meet the threshold because there are only three entities with a Jewish population and they hold only one, two and 16 people. Thus, the percentage decrease is zero for this community. The last result of the table contains the total results for the whole population during this period. There are 77 entities populated in the Nablus sub-district for the period between 1922 and 1931 and in three of them there is a decrease in population, showing a percentage decrease of 3.89 per cent.

8.2.2- An analysis of the 1922-1931 results

The first period of analysis was the period between 1922 and 1931. In this case, there were five results in the table. For the rest of the sub-district

there will only be three. The first community under analysis in the table is the Muslim community. In this case, there was a decrease of only three entities out of 77. The percentage decrease of 3.89 per cent was very low. This shows that the Muslim community increased in population,[737] as would have been expected for a region that saw improvements in economy and health.[738] On the other hand, the Christian community entities decreased by 25 per cent (two out of eight communities), the same percentage that occurred in the Jenin sub-district. As mentioned in previous chapters, due to accuracy procedures, the Christian community had a lower number of entities calculated than the number of communities actually populated with a Christian population. There were entities with very few Christian inhabitants compared to the total population, so they could not be taken into consideration within the demographic research.

The total Arab population suffered a 3.89 per cent decrease, the same as the Muslim community and the total for the period. There were three entities which decreased out of 77. These percentages are very low if we compare them with the results obtained in the Haifa and Nazareth sub-districts. This shows the connection between the sub-districts that were affected by the Zionist settler colonial project and those that were not. To avoid repetition, the diverse reasons and research procedures have been explained in the Jenin sub-district section. In this chapter, I will show more data that will reaffirm the analysis carried out in the Jenin sub-district chapter.

8.3- TIMEFRAME: 1931-1945

The 1931-1945 table is divided into three groups because the Muslim and Christian communities could not be calculated due to the lack of information provided by the sources. The results are as follows:

- Arabs: The sum of all the Arab religious groups.
- Jews: The Jewish religious population.
- Total: The population living in the entity.

- Decrease: Number of entities in which the population decreased.

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[737] See Appendices. Nablus censuses.
[738] TYLER MILLER, G. & SPOOLMAN, S. *Sustaining the Earth.* Cengage Learning, Connecticut, 2014. p 86.

- Total: Total number of entities.

- Percentage: Percentage of entities in which the population decreased.

Table 8.2- Nablus sub-district 1931-1945 period

Nablus	The 1931-1945 period		
	Arabs	Jews	Total
Decrease	1	0	1
Total	77	0	77
Percentage	1.29%	0	1.29%

8.3.1- Description of the sources 1931-1945:

The first community under analysis for the period 1931-1945 in the Nablus sub-district is the Arab community. There are 77 entities populated by an Arab population in the Nablus sub-district for this period, and in one of them there is a decrease in population. The percentage result for the Arab community entities is a decrease of 1.29 per cent. The second group under analysis is the Jewish community, although there was no significant population there for demographic research. The percentage result for this community is zero. The last result for the 1931-1945 period is the total population. In this case, the result is the same as the Arab community. There are 77 entities and in one of them there is a decrease in population, so a 1.29 per cent decline.

8.3.2- An analysis of the 1931-1945 results

The second table for the Nablus sub-district only contains two results: the Arab community and the total population. There was only one entity that decreased in the period 1931-1945 out of seventy-seven entities. The percentage decrease was 1.29 per cent, a very low percentage if we compare it with the percentage decreases obtained in the Haifa and Nazareth case studies. Once more in this thesis the influence of the Zionist settler colonial project on the native population is shown. The areas where the Zionist companies purchased land and settled show high percentages of native population decreases, whereas in sub-districts like Nablus and Jenin, where the

Zionist companies did not interfere, the percentage decreases of the native population were quite low.

As mentioned in the section on the Jenin sub-district, apart from Zionist influences, other factors may have affected the demographics of the native population in Palestine. In developing countries, as demographic theories argue, it is expected to see demographic growth in population at the beginning of their demographic transition due to various social and economic improvements.[739] As in the Jenin sub-district, the decrease in entities where the Zionist companies did not affect the development of the population had different explanations. The decrease in population may have occurred for different reasons, the first one being related to an epidemic that occurred during the period, increasing the death rates in the entity while the birth rate during the same period was not able to keep a positive balance.[740]

Another possible reason could be due to a bad harvest that forced some of the population to emigrate to another entity.[741] In addition, emigration because of a lack of job opportunities may be another reason that could have affected an entity during the British Mandate period.[742] Some areas in British Palestine were developing industrially, so cheap land labour was needed and, in many cases, that labour supply arrived from the countryside as happens in many countries undergoing industrialisation.[743]

8.4- TIMEFRAME: 1922-1945

The table for the 1922-1945 period contains three different results. The results are as follows:

- Arabs: The sum of all the Arab religious groups
- Jews: The Jewish religious population.
- Total: The total number of entities.

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[739]*Ibid.*
[740]DAVIS, R. *Palestinian Village Histories: Geographies of the Displaced.* Stanford University Press, California, 2011. p 110.
[741]OAKMAN, D. *Jesus, Debt, and the Lord's Prayer: First-Century Debt and Jesus' Intentions.* James Clarke & Co, Cambridge, 2015. p 32.
[742]*Ibid.*
[743]LAWRENCE, R. & WERNA, E. *Labour Conditions for Construction: Decent Work, Building Cities and the Role of Local Authorities.* John Wiley & Sons, Chichester, 2009. p 65.

- Decrease: Number of entities in which the population decreased.

- Total: Total number of entities.

- Percentage: Percentage of entities in which the population decreased.

Table 8.3- Nablus sub-district 1922-1945 period

Nablus	1922-1945 period		
	Arabs	Jews	Total
Decrease	1	0	1
Total	77	0	77
Percentage	1.29%	0	1.29%

8.4.1- Description of the sources 1922-1945:

The period under analysis covers the whole Mandate period. There are only two percentage results because there was no Jewish population living in the Nablus sub-district during this period. The Jewish population living in Qawarat and Nablus was not representative enough to include, as occurred in the whole Nablus sub-district.

The Arab community is therefore the only one up for analysis here. There are 77 entities with an Arab population and in one of them there is a decrease in population. The result for this community entities during this period is a 1.29 per cent decrease. The total population of the sub-district is the same as the Arab population, so there are 77 entities and in one of them there is a decrease in population, revealing a 1.29 per cent decrease for the total population of the Nablus sub-district in the 1922-1945 period.

8.4.2- An analysis of the 1922-1945 results

This period analyses the whole demographic spectrum of the British Mandate period in Palestine for the Nablus sub-district. There were only two results in the table because there was no data for the Jewish community following the application of the accuracy procedure. There were 77 populated entities in the Nablus sub-district that contained an Arab population and only one entity out of the 77 suffered a decrease in population. The result for this

community, and for the total population of the period, was 1.29 per cent. The result obtained is very low.

As I mentioned in the chapters on Nazareth and Haifa, the Zionist companies focused on different areas in order to make land purchases for their settlements. However, all the lands did not have the same economic and strategic value. The Zionist companies carried out the purchases in areas where the land was more fertile and strategically close to others, so in the future the defence of the settlement would be easier. Jabotinsky used the phrase "Iron Wall",[744] and that is what the Zionist companies were trying to construct, as if trying to create a barrier. In this way the defence of the settlements would have been strategically easier on the one hand and, on the other, this policy enabled the Zionist project to gain geographic continuity in the land. As was demonstrated by the Partition Plan, the Zionist project had enough land under its control to be able to "proclaim" sovereignty in case a state-building project was to be enacted.

This is one of the reasons why the Zionist companies were not interested in the Nablus sub-district. In the Nablus sub-district there were no settlements in existence, so the establishment of a settlement would have created a problem in terms of defence capabilities. Establishing an isolated community in the middle of Arab-populated entities was not a good strategic decision for the Zionist movement. Additionally, the land in the Nablus sub-district was not as fertile as that in the Coastal Plain or Jerzeel Valley. As the Nablus area is hillier than the Jerzeel Valley, Zionist companies were not very interested in investing money in this region.

8.5- FRAME TIME: 1922-1938

The analysis between the years 1922 and 1938 contains three results. The results are as follows:

- Arabs: The sum of all the Arab religious groups
- Jews: The Jewish religious population.

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[744]RABINOVICH, I. & REINHARZ, J. *Israel in the Middle East: Documents and Readings on Society, Politics, and Foreign Relations, Pre-1948 to the Present*. University Press of New England, Hanover & London, 2008. p 41.

- Total: The total number of entities.

- Decrease: Number of entities in which the population decreased.

- Total: Total number of entities.

- Percentage: Percentage of entities in which the population decreased.

Table 8.4- Nablus sub-district 1922-1938 period

Nablus	1922-1938 period		
	Arabs	Jews	Total
Decrease	2	0	2
Total	77	0	77
Percentage	2.59%	0	2.59%

8.5.1- Description of the sources 1922-1938:

The next period under analysis runs from 1922 to 1938. The first community under analysis is that of the Arabs. There are 77 entities with an Arab population and in two of them there is a decrease in population. The exact result for this community entities is a 2.59 per cent decrease. There is no demographic result for the Jewish community as there is no population residing in the Nablus sub-district.

The last result in the table shows the demographic results for the total population of the Nablus sub-district in the 1922-1938 period. There are 77 entities and in two of them, as with the Arab community, there is a decrease in population. The percentage result for the total population in this sub-district is 2.59 per cent.

8.5.2- An analysis of the 1922-1938 results

The fourth period under analysis is from 1922 to 1938. As mentioned before, the patterns throughout the period repeat themselves. The decrease in the Arab population is not comparable with the previous results obtained from the Haifa and Nazareth sub-districts.

Once again, in this period, the results obtained for the Arab community have a very low percentage decrease. The influence of Zionist land purchases and immigration could not be detected in this sub-district, so the growth of a developing country society can be analysed free of outside influence. The two sub-districts without a Zionist presence demonstrate the behaviour of a developing country. As indicated before, the Palestinian economy and society were changing and this affected the demographics of the region. Apart from Zionist immigration and less important Arab immigration into Palestine, improvements in the economy and to health care increased the population of the region. However, it can be questioned to what extent the modernisation process started by the British affected the Nablus and Jenin sub-districts.

Such an increase in population does not match with the Haifa and Nazareth sub-districts because of the damaging Zionist policies towards the Arab population there. However, in sub-districts such as Nablus and Jenin the Arab population increased throughout the British Mandate period. One of the aims of this thesis is to look at the influence of Zionist land purchases and immigration. Comparing sub-districts with and without these purchases is the most accurate way of determining such an influence.

As we have discussed so far, the non-presence of Zionist land purchases showed that the demographics of the analysed areas had a consequent increase in population in both the Nablus and Jenin sub-districts. Furthermore, few entities decreased in these areas during the British Mandate and in those where a decrease in population did occur, different explanations were discussed in the Jenin sub-district section to provide possible explanations for what transpired.

8.6- TIMEFRAME: 1931-1938

The table analysing the results between 1931 and 1938 contains three different results:

- Arabs: The sum of all the Arab religious groups

- Jews: The Jewish religious population.
- Total: The total number of entities.

- Decrease: Number of entities in which the population decreased.
- Total: Total number of entities.
- Percentage: Percentage of entities in which the population decreased.

Table 8.5- Nablus sub-district 1931-1938 period

Nablus	1931-1938 period		
	Arabs	Jews	Total
Decrease	1	0	1
Total	77	0	77
Percentage	1.29%	0	1.29%

8.6.1- Description of the sources 1931-1938:

The fifth table for the Nablus sub-district analyses the period between 1931 and 1938. The first group is the Arab community. There are 77 entities populated with Arabs and in one of them there is a decrease in population. The percentage result for this community entities is 1.29 per cent. For the Jewish religious community there is no result because there was not enough of a residing population to be able to calculate the demographic statistics. Thus, there is no result for the Jewish community in the period between 1931 and 1938 in the Nablus sub-district.

The last result of the table analyses the total population. There are 77 entities and in one of them there is a decrease in population. The percentage result is a 1.29 per cent decrease for the total population of the Nablus sub-district in the period under analysis.

8.6.2- An analysis of the 1931-1938 results

The fifth table shows the same patterns as the previous results described in the preceding table analysis. The influence of Zionist policies does not exist in this region and the results obtained in the demographic research are similar

in all the six different periods under analysis. An analysis has already been carried out in the previous chapter concerning the Jenin sub-district and repetition would be unproductive for the thesis because the most important parts are analysed in the section dealing with the Haifa and Nazareth sub-districts.

The accuracy procedure suggested a comparison of the sub-districts with and without a Zionist influence. As was mentioned in the chapter on methodology, it was decided to carry out the comparisons in pairs; one sub-district with a Zionist presence under analysis needed to be compared with another without such a presence. As a result, two sub-districts were chosen with a Zionist influence and another two were analysed without the Zionist land purchases and immigration in order to make a fair comparison. It is true that with one sub-district without Zionist influence, this would have been enough to show the patterns where the Zionists were not present. However, two sub-districts were deemed to be more substantial.

8.7- TIMEFRAME: 1938-1945

The last table in the Nablus sub-district contains three different results. The results in the table are as follows:

- Arabs: The sum of all the Arab religious groups
- Jews: The Jewish religious population.
- Total: The total number of entities.

- Decrease: Number of entities in which the population decreased.
- Total: Total number of entities.
- Percentage: Percentage of entities in which the population decreased.

Table 8.6- Nablus sub-district 1938-1945 period

Nablus	1938-1945 period		
	Arabs	Jews	Total
Decrease	3	0	3
Total	77	0	77
Percentage	3.89%	0	3.89%

8.7.1- Description of the sources 1938-1945:

The last results for the Nablus sub-district analyse the period between 1938 and 1945. The first group under analysis is once again the Arab community. There are 77 entities with an Arab population and in three of them there is a decrease in population. The percentage result for this community entities is 3.89 per cent. With the second community under analysis, as occurred in the rest of the period, the demographic procedure could not be calculated because of the lack of data related to the Jewish community. Thus, once more this table only contains two representative results. The last result analyses the behaviour of the total population during this period – in this case, it is the same as the Arab community. There are 77 entities and in three of them there is a decrease in population, revealing a percentage decrease of 3.89 per cent.

8.7.2- An analysis of the 1938-1945 results

The last result for the Nablus sub-district does not differ from the previous ones obtained in this chapter and in the Jenin sub-district. After analysing the last two sub-districts, this thesis maintains that in the regions where the Zionists were not buying lands, the demographics and daily lives of the indigenous population did not change dramatically. The demographics for the patterns expected in a developing country in the beginning of the demographic transition show that nothing unusual happened.

There are, and this needs to be underlined, some entities that suffered decreases in the Arab population. These decreases have been researched and analysed in the previous chapter. This thesis tried to provide informed explanations for why an Arab entity decreased in inhabitants. Limited data do not allow the thesis to dig as thoroughly as would be necessary to research each case study separately, but the main interest of this thesis resides in the patterns obtained from the demographic research and not from the individual analysis of one case study.

8.8- THE WHOLE PICTURE OF THE NABLUS SUB-DISTRICT

The analysis of the Nablus sub-district was identical to that of Jenin. The 12 results obtained from both tables did not vary much and the purpose of the analysis of both sub-districts was to reveal a region where the Zionist policies were not implemented in order to discover the behaviour of the demographics in a region unaffected by migration. The Nablus sub-district during all six of the periods under analysis showed a very low variation in population as would be expected for a region mainly based on agriculture.

The heart of the thesis rests in the Haifa and Nazareth sub-district analysis, although a bigger and more accurate picture is revealed by analysing both the Jenin and Nablus sub-districts. Finally, this thesis provides one last chapter including all the data of all the sub-districts in order to give a more general comparison.

BLUE BOUNDARIES

Jewish population living in the village

RED COLOUR

The Arab population disappeared from the village

YELLOW COLOUR

The Arab population decreased in the village

ORANGE COLOUR

The Jewish population decreased in the village

BLUE COLOUR

Only Jewish population living in the village

GREEN COLOUR

No decrease of Arab population in the village

Map 8.9.1- Nablus sub-district 1922-1931
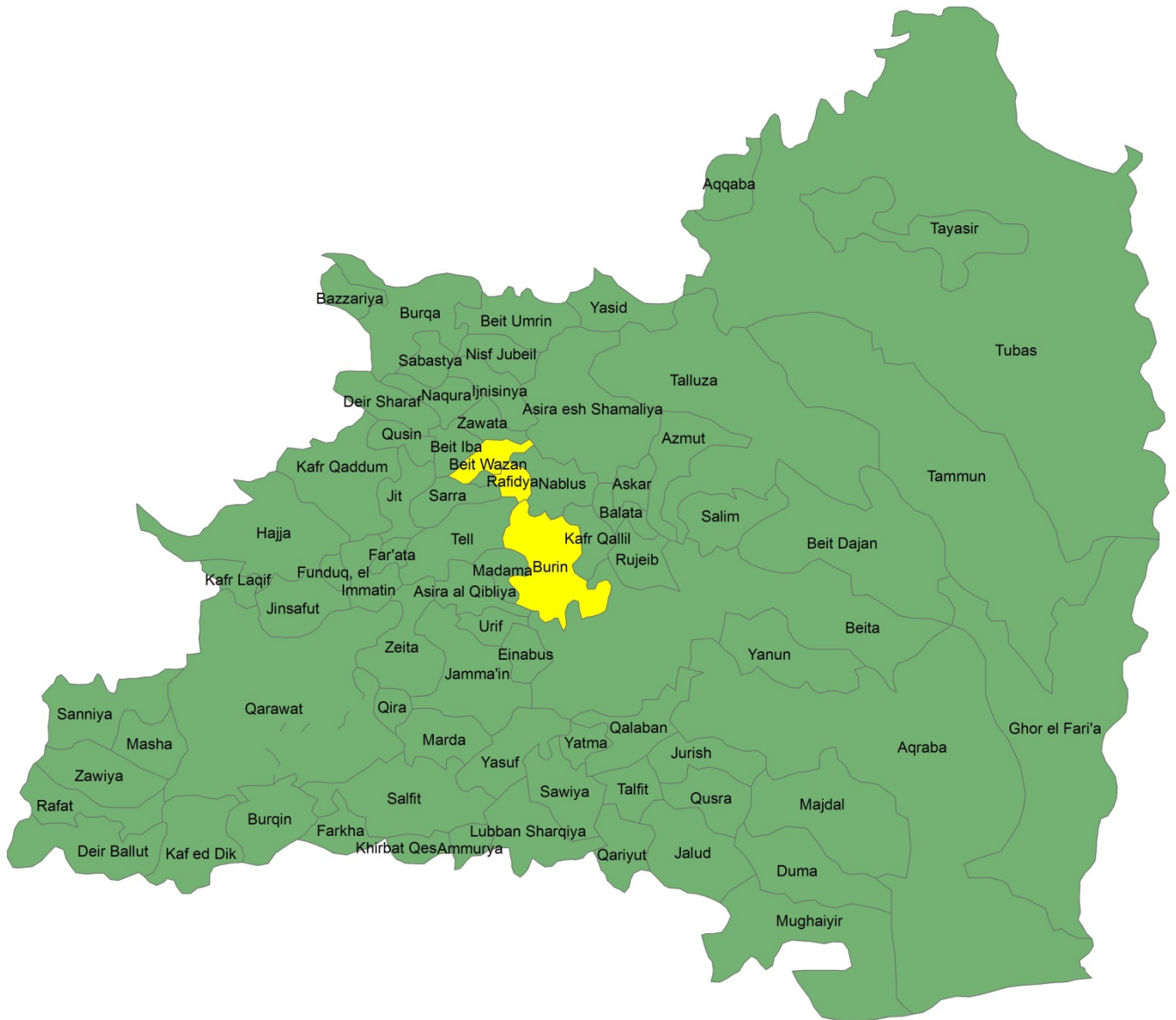
Map 8.9.2- Nablus sub-district 1931-1945
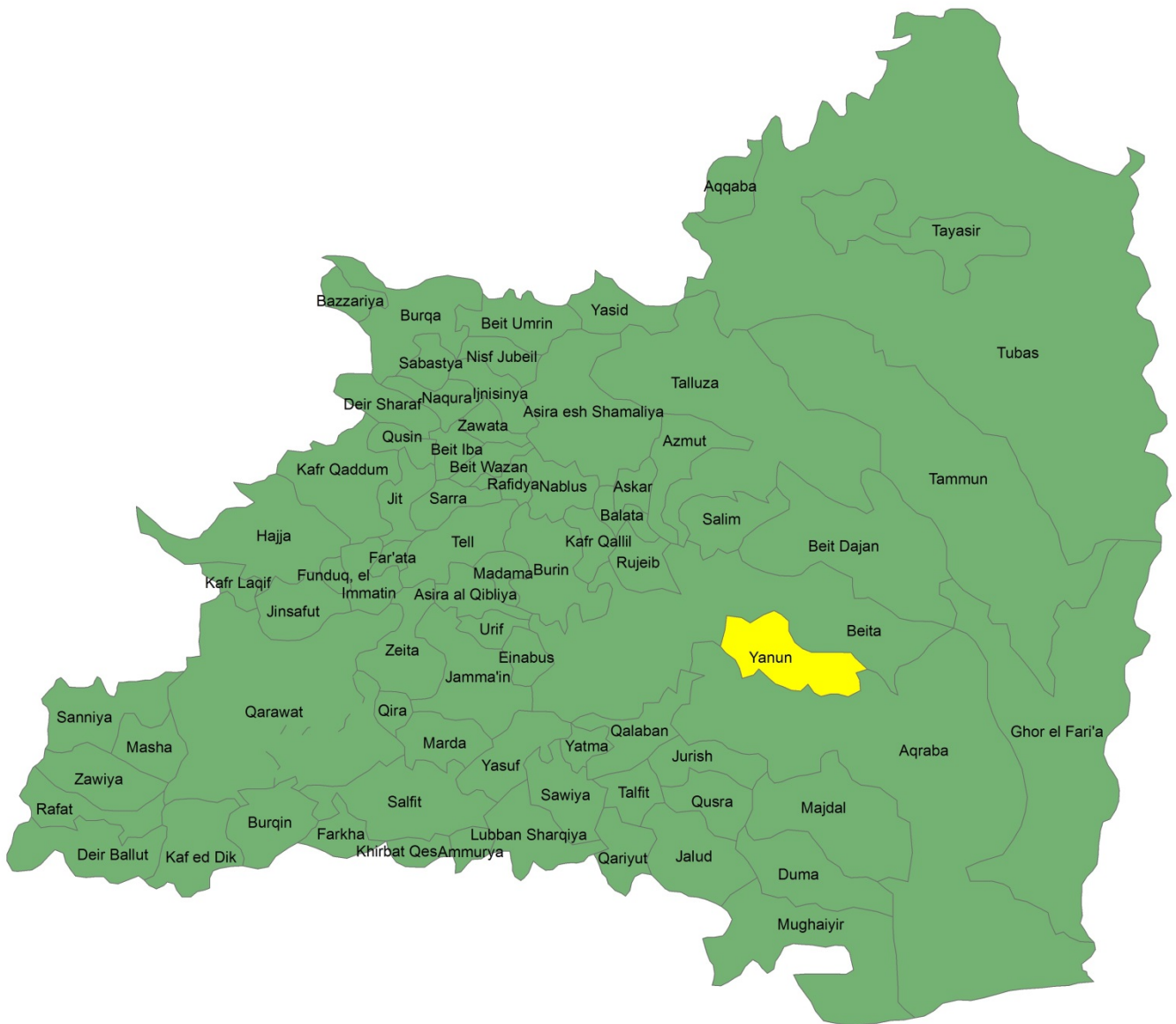
Map 8.9.3- Nablus sub-district 1922-1945

Map 8.9.4- Nablus sub-district 1922-1938

Aqqaba

Tayasir

Tubas

Bazzariya

Burqa

Beit Umrin

Yasid

Sabastya

Nisf Jubeil

Talluza

Deir Sharaf

Naqura

Ijnisinya

Asira esh Shamaliya

Zawata

Azmut

Qusin

Beit Iba

Kafr Qaddum

Beit Wazan

Tammun

Rafidya

Nablus

Askar

Jit

Sarra

Balata

Salim

Hajja

Tell

Kafr Qallil

Beit Dajan

Far'ata

Madama

Burin

Rujeib

Kafr Laqif

Funduq, el

Immatin

Asira al Qibliya

Jinsafut

Urif

Beita

Zeita

Einabus

Yanun

Ghor el Fari'a

Jamma'in

Sanniya

Qarawat

Qira

Qalaban

Aqraba

Masha

Marda

Yatma

Jurish

Zawiya

Yasuf

Talfit

Qusra

Majdal

Rafat

Burqin

Salfit

Sawiya

Jalud

Duma

Deir Ballut

Kaf ed Dik

Farkha

Lubban Sharqiya

Khirbat Qes

Ammurya

Qariyut

Mughaiyir

296

Map 8.9.5- Nablus sub-district 1931-1938

Map 8.9.6- Nablus sub-district 1938-1945
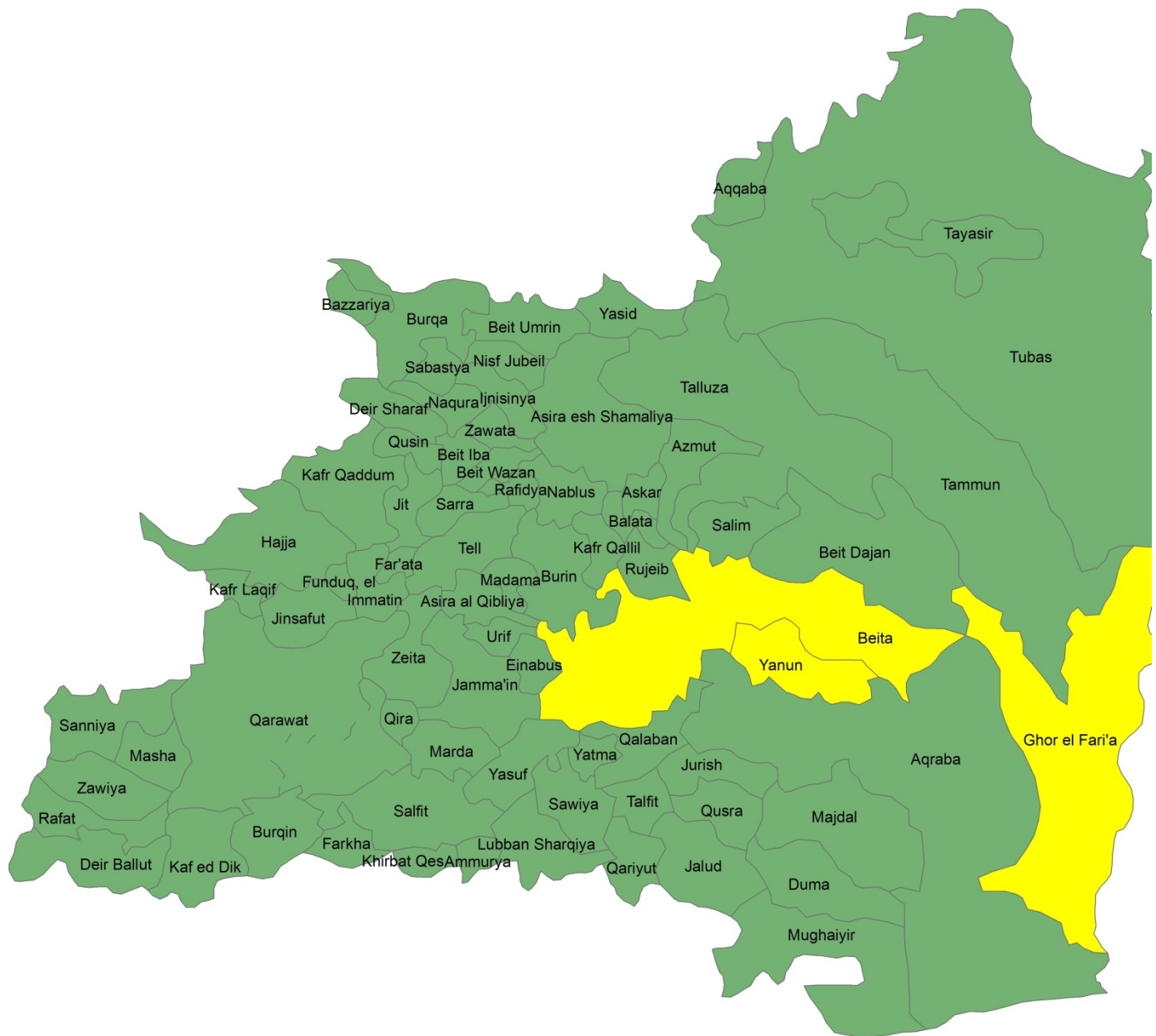
9. <u>ALL SUB-DISTRICTS</u>

The last chapter under analysis will be one that contains the results of the previous four sub-districts all divided into the same six time periods. The results obtained for the Haifa, Nazareth, Jenin and Nablus sub-districts will be analysed in this chapter to give a general view of the British Mandate period in Palestine.

Previously, each sub-district was analysed individually and the entities located within them using the accurate 1945 map. Now that the accuracy procedure for all the sub-districts has been obtained, this chapter will sum up all the results and divide them for the same six periods.

Throughout this chapter the results for the different regions where the Zionists purchased lands and engaged in immigration will be mixed with those that were not affected by these policies. Thus, this chapter will reveal and analyse the patterns of the four sub-districts together.

9.1- A DESCRIPTION OF THE NEW CENSUS AND GROWTH RATE PROCEDURES

In the tables there are different divisions. The initial information in the first table contains the total Muslim population of the sub-district. In this case, the first three results are only used in the 1922-1931 period because of the data provided by the population sources. The second data group is related to the Christian community of the four sub-districts, while the third information group concerns the Druze community in the Haifa sub-district for the 1922-1931 period.

The next five results are repeated in the six periods under analysis. In the first one, the demographics of the Arab community are analysed. The second grouping of information is related to the entities where at some point Jews were living. The third result analyses the total population of the entities and their demographic behaviour. The last two results are more representative for this thesis. In the first result, the demographics of the Arab community are analysed in the entities populated with Jews in order for the influence of the Zionist settler colonial project to be analysed. The second result analyses the demographics

of the Arab community in the entities where the Zionist project did not interfere. Here, the behaviour of the Arab community can be analysed where the Zionists had no direct influence.

These are the different groups that will be studied in this chapter, an analysis that will be more general than in the individual sub-district case studies. The aim of this chapter is to bring into the picture the four sub-districts together.

9.2- TIMEFRAME: 1922-1931

The first result will analyse the period from 1922 to 1931. This period contains eight different groups and can be divided into:

- Muslims: The Muslim religious population.
- Christians: The Christian religious population.
- Others: In this case, the Druze religious population.
- Arabs: The sum of all the Arab religious groups.
- Jews: The Jewish religious population.
- Total: The total number of entities.
- Arab (Jews): Arab-populated entities that contain Jewish residents at some point during the period under research.
- Arab (No Jews): Arab-populated entities without Jewish residents at any time during the period under research.
- Decrease: Number of entities in which the population decreased.
- Total: Total number of entities.
- Percentage: Percentage of entities in which the population decreased.

Table 9.1- All sub-districts 1922-1931

All Sub-districts	1922-1931 period							
	Muslims	Christians	Others	Arabs	Jews	Total	Arabs (Jews)	Arabs (No Jews)
Decrease	29	12	0	30	1	23	14	16
Total	208	32	5	208	25	211	22	186
Percentage	13.94%	37.5%	0%	14.42%	4%	10.90%	63.63%	8.6%

9.2.1- Description of the sources 1922-1931:

The first table under analysis is the table related to the period 1922-1931. The first community analysed is the Muslim community. There are 208 entities populated by Muslims and in 29 of them there is a decrease in population, showing a decrease percentage of 13.94 per cent. The second community under analysis is the Christian community. There are 32 entities populated by Christians following the accuracy procedure and in 12 of them there is a decrease in population. The decrease percentage for this group is 37.5 per cent. The third group analysed are the Druze. There are only five entities populated by Druze and there is no decrease in population, thus the percentage decrease for this community is zero.

The Arab community has 208 entities and in 30 of them there is a decrease in population. The percentage decrease is 14.42 per cent for these community entities. The next group under analysis is the Jewish community of all the sub-districts. There are 25 entities populated with Jews and in one of them there is a decrease in population, showing a percentage decrease of four per cent for this community entities. The next group under analysis is the total population of the sub-districts. There are 211 populated entities following the accuracy procedure and in 23 of them there is a population decrease. The percentage decrease for this group is 10.90 per cent.

The last two groups are the most relevant for this study. In the first one the demographics of the Arab community in Jewish-populated entities are analysed. However, these do not include solely Jewish settlements. There are 22 entities with a Jewish population that also contain an Arab population and in 14 of them the Arab population decreases. The result for this group is a 63.63 per cent decrease.

The last result of the table analyses the demographics of the Arab population when there is no Zionist influence. There are 186 entities with an Arab population exclusively and in 16 of them there is a decrease in population. The percentage decrease for this last group is 8.6 per cent.

9.2.2- An analysis of the 1922-1931 results

The first period in the table analyses the years between 1922 and 1931. It is the only table that analyses the demographics of the religious groups. The behaviour of the Muslim religious group is more or less the same as the Arab ethnic group, so no further information needs to be added. The Christian community, on the other hand, suffered higher percentage decreases in all the sub-districts. As analysed in previous chapters, the reasons why the Christian community decreased are various. Even though the depth of this thesis is not sufficient to analyse each case study separately, it does give possible explanations for the decreases as in the chapter on the Nazareth sub-district, a very important religious area for the Christian community. The third ethnic group in the table is the Druze community under the name of Others. There was no decrease in that community. The hermetic character of that community is well known.[745] Therefore, it is unsurprising that a more isolated community living in the mountains was not affected by the changes taking place nearby.

In the analysis of the four sub-districts together the picture is even more general. In this chapter the thesis aims to confirm the patterns previously obtained and discussed in the preceding sub-district chapters. The Arab percentage decreases are relatively similar to the previous chapters and the Jewish decreases are very low. These low percentages are related to the increase in settlement and immigration previously analysed. The Zionists had no other option than to introduce immigration into Palestine and through that demographic increase push for the national right to the whole area. The total population group of entities decreased by 10.9 per cent, but this decrease is related to the Arabs and not the Jews.

The low decrease in the entities without Zionist interference compared to the high percentage decreases of those with a Zionist influence highlights again the patterns analysed in the chapters on Haifa and Nazareth. This thesis argues that because of the political, social and economic events during the British

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[745]KESICH, V. & KESICH, L. W. *Treasures of the Holy Land: A Visit to the Places of Christian Origins*. St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, New York, 1985. p 109.

Mandate period, Zionism was not able to make large-scale expulsions such as those which occurred during the *Nakba*. The only feasible solution was to buy small plots of land and change the demographic balance once the transaction had been carried out. Obviously, this was not enough to radically change the demographic picture in Palestine, but it is one important part of the Zionist settler colonial project to promote the "Judaisation" of Palestine. This thesis could not cover all the case studies and it is aware of the nuances created by the lack of access to the source. However, I strongly believe that demographic research is the most accurate method for analysing the consequences of the Zionist settler colonial project in Palestine and not only during the British Mandate.

9.3- FRAME TIME: 1931-1945

The 1931-1945 table is divided into five groups because the numbers in the Muslim and Christian communities could not be calculated. The results are as follows:

- Arabs: The sum of all the Arab religious groups
- Jews: The Jewish religious population.
- Total: The total number of entities.
- Arab (Jews): Arab-populated entities that contained a Jewish population at some point during the period under research.
- Arab (No Jews): Arab-populated entities without a Jewish population at any time during the period under research.
- Decrease: Number of entities in which the population decreased.
- Total: Total number of entities.
- Percentage: Percentage of entities in which the population decreased.

Table 9.2- All sub-districts 1931-1945

All Sub-districts	1931-1945 period				
	Arabs	Jews	Total	Arab (Jews)	Arabs (No Jews)
Decrease	18	1	7	14	4
Total	203	32	211	24	179
Percentage	8.86%	3.12%	3.31%	58.33%	2.23%

9.3.1- Description of the sources 1931-1945:

The 1931-1945 timeframe is the first one containing only five results per table. The Muslim and Christian communities could not be calculated because the sources did not give the religious division for these groups, as mentioned in previous chapters. Thus, the first community in the analysis is the Arab community during the 1931-1945 time period. There are 203 entities populated with Arabs and in 18 of them there is a decrease in population. The percentage decrease for this community entities is 8.86 per cent. The second community under analysis is the Jewish population of the sub-districts. There are 32 entities populated by Jews and in one of them there is a decrease in the Jewish population, showing a result of 3.12 per cent. The next group is that of the total population of the sub-districts for the period under analysis. There are 211 populated entities and in seven of them there is a decrease in population. The percentage result for the total population of the sub-districts is a 3.31 per cent decrease.

The fourth result in the table analyses the behaviour of the Arab community in the Jewish-populated entities. There are 24 entities that contain combined Arab and Jewish populations. Out of the 24 entities, there are 14 entities that suffer Arab decreases; the percentage decrease for this group is 58.33 per cent. The last analysis is on the demographics of the Arab population where there is no Zionist influence. There are 179 entities that fit within this definition and in four of them there is a decrease in the Arab population for a percentage decrease of 2.23 per cent. The analysis of the second table contains the data for the period between 1931 and 1945. As we have described in the previous paragraphs, this timeframe only contains the data of five results.

In the analysis of the religious communities it was not possible to include Jews due to limitations in the sources.

9.3.2- An analysis of the 1931-1945 results

The patterns obtained in this table, once more, confirm the hypothesis formulated by this thesis at the beginning of the PhD. The Arab community suffered higher percentage decreases compared with the Jewish community. These decreases are not reflected in the total decrease of the population, which suggests a replacement of population, as occurred in previous examples in the Haifa sub-district. This idea can be confirmed by analysing the results of the Arab community in entities with and without a Jewish influence. In the entities with a Jewish influence, the decrease in the Arab-populated entities was 58.33 per cent while in those without a Jewish influence there was only a decrease of 2.24 per cent. These results should have been reflected in a total decrease in population, but only in half of the entities where the Arab-populated entities decreased without a Jewish influence did the total population decrease. This suggests that the newly arrived Jewish immigrant population was supplanting the Arab inhabitants. Furthermore, the low percentage decreases for the Arab community entities in entities where there were no Zionist settlements suggests that the main reason for the decrease in the Arab population was the influence of the Zionist project.

This thesis cannot confirm case by case and for each period the findings for each entity and community for obvious logistical reasons. However, using the analysis of the demographic results and establishing the patterns of each group, we can surmise the reasons and motives for the demographic changes. Unfortunately, source and time limitations have not allowed this thesis to carry out an in-depth study for each case, although a new door may have been opened for future researchers. Developments in the demographics of the British Mandate period and the bigger picture of the influence of the Zionist settler colonial project within Palestine can be visualised from the work carried out here.

Demography appears to be one of the most accurate methods, if not the best, for determining the influence of Zionist policies in Palestine and has given the broad picture of what happened in Palestine during the Mandate period. However, this thesis is aware of the problems that the broad demographic picture can reveal. Demography, it must be said, is not an exact science in establishing the truth of what transpired. Nevertheless, it offers a feasible methodology for dealing with land policies and the displacement or expulsion of populations. That is why, this thesis is not able to assure the reasons for each individual decrease in population. It can, however, guarantee that the influence of the Zionist policies on the Arab native population is the main reason for the decrease of this community.

In this case, there were 24 entities with a mixed Arab and Jewish population. There were nine more entities that only contained Jewish population; three of them lost the Arab population before 1922, and the other six lost the Arab population during the British Mandate period. Thus, there is no other reason during the British Mandate for an Arab-populated entity to lose all its population other than the fact of Zionist land purchases. Zionist policies are the only possible cause for the disappearance of the Arab population from entities in the four sub-districts. No plagues or natural disasters happened during the British Mandate important enough to empty an entity, and moreover, just of one ethnic group of the entity.

9.4- TIMEFRAME: 1922-1945

The table for the 1922-1945 period contains five different results as were presented in the previous table. The results are as follows:

- Arabs: The sum of all the Arab religious groups
- Jews: The Jewish religious population.
- Total: The total number of entities.
- Arabs (Jews): Arab-populated entities that contained a Jewish population at some point during the period under research.
- Arabs (No Jews): Arab-populated entities without a Jewish population at any time during the period under research.
- Decrease: Number of entities in which the population decreased.
- Total: Total number of entities.

- Percentage: Percentage of entities in which the population decreased.

Table 9.3- All sub-districts 1922-1945

All Sub-districts	The 1922-1945 period				
	Arabs	Jews	Total	Arab (Jews)	Arabs (No Jews)
Decrease	18	1	3	15	3
Total	208	33	211	30	178
Percentage	8.65%	3.03%	1.42%	50%	1.68%

9.4.1- Description of the sources 1922-1945:

This period analyses the whole British Mandate period from the first source available to the last. There are five different groups in the table, as in the previous one. The first community under analysis is the Arab population. There are 208 entities populated by Arabs and in 18 of them there is a decrease in the number of Arab inhabitants. The percentage decrease for this community entities during the period is 8.65 per cent. The second group in the table represents the Jewish community for all the sub-districts. There are 33 entities populated by Jews and in one of them the Jewish population decreases. The result for this community entities during this period is a 3.03 per cent decrease. The third group analyses the whole picture of the sub-districts with the results for the total population. There are 211 entities and in three of them there is a decrease in the number of inhabitants. The percentage result for the total population is 1.42 per cent.

The last two results analyse the demographics of the Arab population with and without the influence of Zionist policies. The first result analyses the behaviour of Arab demographics in entities populated by Jews. There are 30 entities populated by Arabs and Jews and in 15 of them the Arab population decreases. The percentage result for this group is a decrease of 50 per cent. The last result for the period between 1922 and 1945 analyses the development of the Arab community in the entities where the Zionist settler colonial project did not affect the daily life of the native population. There are 178 entities with

only an Arab population and in three of them there is a decrease in population. The percentage result for this last group is 1.68 per cent.

These are the descriptions of the results for the period between 1922 and 1945 for all four sub-districts previously analysed.

9.4.2- An analysis of the 1922-1945 results

The third table of the chapter analyses the period between 1922 and 1945, the whole British Mandate period. If we compare the number of entities with the previous table, we realise that there are five more Arab-populated entities in this analysis. This is related to the beginning of the Mandate because these five entities lost their Arab population by 1931, but they had been populated by Arabs back in 1922. Apart from this explanation, the result for this community does not vary from that of the previous timeframe period.

The Jewish community also obtains the same results as in the previous chapter. However, it is worth mentioning the increase in populated areas of Jewish immigrants. By the end of 1931 there were 25 populated areas with a Jewish population and by the end of the British Mandate period there were 33. While the Arab-populated entities were decreasing, the Jewish ones were increasing. This situation was repeated in the sub-districts affected by Zionist immigration and, as this thesis discussed in previous chapters, this was the only possible method of creating the physical space needed by the settler colonial project to guarantee its survival in the long-term. The decrease in Arab-populated entities does not mean that their total populations were decreasing. As we have seen in the previous sub-districts, the Arab population was being replaced by Zionist immigration. The procedure for the Arab displacement has been described in the previous chapters. Once a Zionist company owned a plot of land, depending on the legal outcome (some cases ended up with trials providing us with insight),[746] they were able to empty the land and replace the previous tenants with Jewish inhabitants.

The analysis of the demographics of the Arab population in the entities exposed to Zionist land purchases shows again a high percentage decrease in

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[746]TUTEN, E. E. *Between Capital and Land: The Jewish National Fund's Finances and Land-Purchase Priorities in Palestine, 1939-1945*. Routledge, London, 2004. p 119.

those inhabitants compared to the Arab entities not exposed to the land purchases. Once more, the influence of the Zionist settler colonial project is seen in analysing the demographic data of the thesis. Palestine was a densely populated region, apart from the desert, and these types of changes were bound to have had an influence on the native population, as this study is establishing.

9.5- TIMEFRAME: 1922-1938

The analysis for the years between 1922 and 1938 contains five results. The results are as follows:

- Arabs: The sum of all the Arab religious groups
- Jews: The Jewish religious population.
- Total: The total number of entities.
- Arabs (Jews): Arab-populated entities that contained a Jewish population at some point during the period under research.
- Arabs (No Jews): Arab-populated entities without a Jewish population at any time during the period under research.
- Decrease: Number of entities in which the population decreased.
- Total: Total number of entities.
- Percentage: Percentage of entities in which the population decreased.

Table 9.4- All sub-districts 1922-1938

All sub-districts	1922-1938 period				
	Arabs	Jews	Total	Arabs (Jews)	Arabs (No Jews)
Decrease	17	2	7	12	5
Total	208	28	211	25	183
Percentage	8.17%	7.14%	3.31%	48%	2.73%

9.5.1- Description of the sources 1922-1938:

The table between the years 1922 and 1938 contains five different group divisions, the same ones as in the previous two tables and the next two. The first group under analysis is the Arab community. There are 208 entities

populated by Arabs in the sub-districts. In 17 cases the Arab community decreases, showing a percentage decrease of 8.17 per cent. The second community in the table is the Jewish population. There are 28 entities populated by Jews and in two of them there is a decrease in population of the Jewish inhabitants. The result for this community is a 7.14 per cent decrease. The third result in the table gives us the picture of the total population of the sub-districts for the period under analysis. There are 211 entities populated and in seven of them there is a decrease in population. The result for this group is a 3.31 per cent decrease for this period.

The fourth result analyses the development of the Arab community in entities inhabited by a Jewish population as well. There are 25 entities inhabited by Jews and Arabs at the same time and in 12 of them the Arab community decreases. The result for this type of group is a 48 per cent decrease. The last result in the table analyses the demographics of the Arab community in entities not affected by Zionist policies. There are 183 entities and in five of them the Arab population decreases. The percentage result for this last group is 2.73 per cent.

These are the results for the period between 1922 and 1938 for all the sub-districts together.

9.5.2- An analysis of the 1922-1938 results

In this chapter, as occurred in the previous ones, there are five different groups that brought diverse demographic results. The results obtained for the 1922-1938 timeframe are more or less the same as for the previous one. This means that the patterns are becoming constant throughout the Mandate period, where the Arab population has larger percentage decreases compared to the Jewish community. Additionally, the Arabs that were living in entities also populated by a Jewish population suffered more decreases than those that were not exposed to Zionist land purchases and immigration.

In this particular case, the demographics of the Arab population show the same result as in the previous timeframe, where the decrease in the Arab-

populated entities was approximately eight per cent. There were 17 entities with decreasing numbers, but when we analyse them we realise that there were five such entities where there were no Zionist land purchases or immigration and there were 12 entities decreasing in population, which had been exposed to Zionist policies. The percentage decrease in the entities where there was no Zionist influence was low throughout the entire Mandate period. The demographic development in a region that is developing economically used to be also helped by a large increase in population.[747] According to the demographics of a developing country, based on agriculture and the export of non-manufactured goods, the population should have a large increase in population.[748] In the entities populated by Jews, however, the Arab population did not follow this pattern. The small decrease in the population of entities where there was no Zionist influence shows that two different developments in population occurred for the same community at the same time. The variable in this equation is the influence of the Zionist settler colonial policies. The main reason for obtaining two completely different results for the same community in the same sub-district depends on the existence of the land policies of the Zionist movement.

9.6- TIMEFRAME: 1931-1938

The table that analyses the results between 1931 and 1938 contains five different results. The results for this table are as follows:

- Arabs: The sum of all the Arab religious groups
- Jews: The Jewish religious population.
- Total: The total number of entities.
- Arabs (Jews): Arab-populated entities that contain a Jewish population at some point during the period under research.
- Arabs (No Jews): Arab-populated entities without a Jewish population at any time during the period under research.
- Decrease: Number of entities in which the population decreased.
- Total: Total number of entities.
- Percentage: Percentage of entities in which the population decreased.

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[747]TYLER MILLER, G. & SPOOLMAN, S. *Sustaining the Earth*. Cengage Learning, Connecticut, 2014. p 86.
[748]*Ibid.*

Table 9.4- All sub-districts 1931-1938

All Sub-districts	1931-1938 period				
	Arabs	Jews	Total	Arab (Jews)	Arabs (No Jews)
Decrease	5	4	8	1	4
Total	202	27	211	18	184
Percentage	2.47%	14.81%	3.79%	5.55%	2.17%

9.6.1- Description of the sources 1931-1938:

The fifth table in the chapter analyses the period between 1931 and 1938. There are five different groups and the table starts with the analysis of the Arab community. There are 202 entities that contain an Arab population and in five of them the Arab community decreases. The percentage decrease for this community entities is 2.47 per cent. The second group in the table is the Jewish population for the period under analysis. There are 27 entities that have a Jewish population and in four of them the Jewish community decreases for a 14.81 per cent outcome. The third group analyses the behaviour of the total population in the sub-districts. There are 211 entities and in eight of them the total population decreases. The percentage result for this group shows a 3.79 per cent decrease.

The last two results, as always, analyse the demographics of the Arab population exposed to Zionist policies and those that were not. The first group analyses the demographics of the Arab community in the entities exposed to Zionist policies. There are 18 entities that fit this definition and in one of them there is a decrease in the Arab population. The percentage decrease for this group is 5.55 per cent. The last result analyses the behaviour of the Arab population in entities not affected by Zionist policies. There are 184 entities and in four of them the Arab population decreases. The percentage result for the last group in the table represents a 2.17 per cent decrease.

9.6.2- An analysis of the 1931-1938 results

The fifth table in the chapter reveals some interesting results that the preceding tables did not. Mainly in the Nazareth and Haifa sub-districts, I have

mentioned the possibility of the demographic consequences of the Arab Revolt. There are some results that do not follow the patterns shown until now in the previous periods and the most feasible explanation for this is the influence of the Arab Revolt on Zionist policies.

The Arab Revolt, as I have explained in the Historical Frame chapter, shook the foundations of British policy in Palestine. The Zionist policies were also affected by the revolt and the procedures carried out after the general strike slowed it down.[749] The results obtained in this table show that something happened during the timeframe that changed the demographic patterns. The Arab population had by far the lowest numbers of entity decreases for all the periods, five compared with 17 for the previous period. This result contains the analysis of all the entities populated by Arabs during the period. Obviously, there were different reasons that affected Arab demographics, as I argued in the chapter on the Jenin sub-district. However, the main reasons were the land purchases and settlement policies of the Zionist movement.

The Arab Revolt halted the Zionists' projects for a while, and as a consequence the displacement of the Arab population from Zionist-acquired lands stopped or decreased considerably. This is what the demographics suggest. Moreover, this is the most plausible reason to explain the change in the patterns. The influence of the Arab Revolt can be analysed by observing the entities where the rebels and the British army were most active. The military reports and the newspapers of the period are a fantastic source for tracking the influence of the Arab Revolt in different entities. In addition, the Zionist companies faced more difficulties in purchasing lands because of the Arab Revolt and some settlements were attacked.[750] It does make sense that Zionist companies and policies were affected by the revolt, and as a consequence the demographics of the period between 1931 and 1938 showed that influence.

The Jewish community in this period suffered the highest number of decreases compared with the rest of the timeframes, almost double the

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[749]TUTEN, E. E. *Between Capital and Land: The Jewish National Fund's Finances and Land-Purchase Priorities in Palestine, 1939-1945*. Routledge, London, 2004. p 30.
[750]FRIEDMAN, M. *Martin Buber's Life and Work*. Wayne State University Press, Michigan, 1988. p 7.

percentage for the next period where they suffered the highest percentage. This may be related to the reasons previously mentioned regarding the attacks of the rebels on some Zionist settlements. Consequences can be clearly seen in the demographics of the Jewish community.[751] The procedure in tracking these events again relies on British Military Archives, newspapers of the period or settlement archives, letters and notebooks of Zionist members. However, once again this thesis cannot research any deeper because of a lack of sources and time.

The results for the Arab population in entities with a Jewish population and those without also show some inaccuracies as compared with the patterns shown until now. The entities where Arabs and Jews were living together, showed high percentages of Arab decrease; all of them almost 50 per cent, until this table. However, in this period the percentage decrease was 5.55 per cent, very low compared with the rest. This may be explained by the effect on Zionist policies of the Arab Revolt. The displacements of the Arab population slowed down because of the pressure of the Arab Revolt, as mentioned in the 1931-1938 timeframe for some sub-district case studies. The Zionist companies apparently stopped or slowed down the displacement procedures when the Arab Revolt erupted and this change is shown in the demographics of the Arab community.

The demographics of entities with exclusively Arab communities were not affected by Jewish immigration. On the other hand, they showed the same patterns as the previous periods, thus, apparently, this type of entity was not affected by the events of this period as much as those with a Jewish population living in them.

9.7- TIMEFRAME: 1938-1945

The last table for all the sub-districts together contains five different results. The results of the table are as follows:

- Arabs: The sum of all the Arab religious groups

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[751] *Ibid.*

- Jews: The Jewish religious population.

- Total: The total number of entities.

- Arabs (Jews): Arab-populated entities that contain a Jewish population at some point during the period under research.

- Arabs (No Jews): Arab-populated entities without a Jewish population at any time during the period under research.

- Decrease: Number of entities in which the population decreased.

- Total: Total number of entities.

- Percentage: Percentage of entities in which the population decreased.

Table 9.6- All sub-districts 1938-1945

All Sub-districts	1938-1945 period				
	Arabs	Jews	Total	Arab (Jews)	Arabs (No Jews)
Decrease	23	3	16	13	10
Total	201	34	211	24	177
Percentage	11.44%	8.82%	7.58%	54.16%	5.64%

9.7.1- Description of the sources 1938-1945:

The last table of the chapter and indeed of the thesis analyses the demographics for all the sub-districts together for the period between 1938 and 1945. There are five different groups and the first one is the Arab community. There are 201 entities populated with an Arab population and in 23 of them there is a decrease in the Arab population showing a percentage decrease of 11.44 per cent. The second community under analysis is the Jewish population for the sub-districts. There are 34 entities populated by Jews and in three of them there is a decrease in population. The percentage decrease for this community entities is 8.82 per cent. The third group analyses the total population for the period. There are 211 entities and in 16 of them the total population decreases. The result for the total population in the sub-districts during this period is a 7.58 per cent decrease.

The fourth result analyses the demographics of the Arab population in mixed entities. There are 24 entities with Arabs and Jews living together and in

13 of them the Arab population decreases. The result for this type of group is a 56.16 per cent decrease. The last result of the table analyses the development of Arab demographics in entities only populated by Arabs and without a direct Zionist influence. There are 177 entities populated only by Arabs and in ten of them the Arab population decreases. The percentage result for the last group in the table is a 5.64 per cent decrease.

9.7.2- An analysis of the 1938-1945 results

The last table in the chapter analyses the final period of the British Mandate, namely the years between 1938 and 1945. This period reveals the same patterns as the first four timeframes. For instance, the number of Arab-populated entities is the lowest for the whole of the British Mandate, showing clearly the consequences of the settler colonial project. In addition, by this period there were already 11 entities that only contained a Jewish population.

There were 201 entities populated by Arabs and in 23 of them there was a decrease in the Arab population. The percentage decreases were in the average range of the first four timeframes. On the other hand, the Jewish community contains the highest number of populated entities for all the periods. This makes sense if we think in terms of the settler colonial project. The Zionist companies bought land little by little to create the settlements so it figures that there were more Jewish-populated entities by the end of the period.

The total population tally for all the sub-districts showed 16 entities with a decrease in inhabitants. What this suggests is that the Jewish population had not replaced the Arab population in the entities where the Arab community had decreased. Maybe the displacement project had started with the eviction of the Arab community, but had not finished by the time of the collection of data.

As I mentioned before, the number of Jewish-populated entities is the highest at this point, as well as the number of exclusively Jewish-populated entities. On the other side of the equation, the number of entities where the Arab population had disappeared is the highest in 11 cases.[752] If we analyse the

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[752] Look Appendices.

1945 results there were 17 entities without an Arab population.[753] Thus, by the end of 1945 Zionists had 17 entities populated only by Jews. The physical space needed for the survival of the settler colonial project was created using the methods described previously. It is obvious that by the end of the British Mandate the Zionist movement still did not have the amount of land wished for, but still had enough population and a sufficiently high land percentage to persuade the partition commission to provide them with more than half of the land in the Mandate.[754] Without access to the land, the claims over Mandate Palestine were useless.

9.8- THE WHOLE PICTURE FOR THE ALL SUB-DISTRICTS

The analysis of all the sub-districts together does not differ much from the one-by-one analysis of the sub-districts. As occurred with the Haifa and Nazareth sub-districts, there are patterns that worked for all the periods except one. The analysis of all sub-districts together showed the same results as the previous chapter, thus this chapter confirms the patterns and demographic results discussed beforehand.

The analysis of the results of this chapter has been similar to the previous ones. The main explanations have been used throughout the thesis and have worked for all the sub-districts. The aim of the analysis of all four of the sub-districts together was to study all the results jointly to see if any new pattern or result could be brought out. The patterns of this chapter did not differ from the rest, so no further research was needed.

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[753]*Ibid.*
[754]BEN-DROR, E. *Ralph Bunche and the Arab-Israeli Conflict: Mediation and the UN, 1947-1949.* Routledge, London, 2015. p 16.

BLUE BOUNDARIES

Jewish population living in the village

RED COLOUR

The Arab population disappeared from the village

YELLOW COLOUR

The Arab population decreased in the village

ORANGE COLOUR

The Jewish population decreased in the village

BLUE COLOUR

Only Jewish population living in the village

GREEN COLOUR

No decrease of Arab population in the village

ORANGE BOUNDARIES

The Jewish population decreased in the village

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[755] Balad esh Sheikh does not contain Jewish population in any of the timeframes. Look tables.

Map 9.9.1- All sub-districts 1922-1931
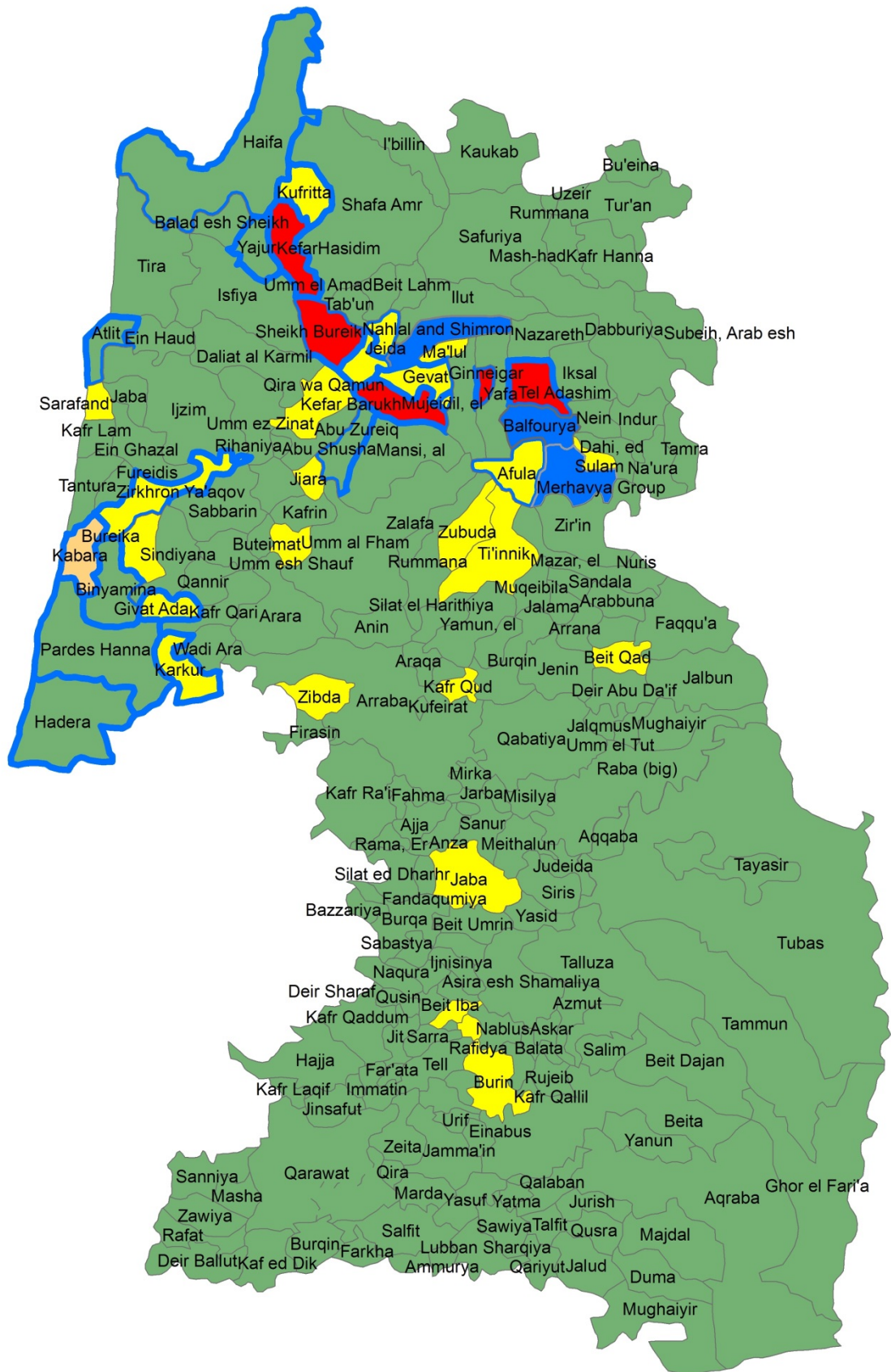
Map 9.9.2- All sub-districts 1931-1945
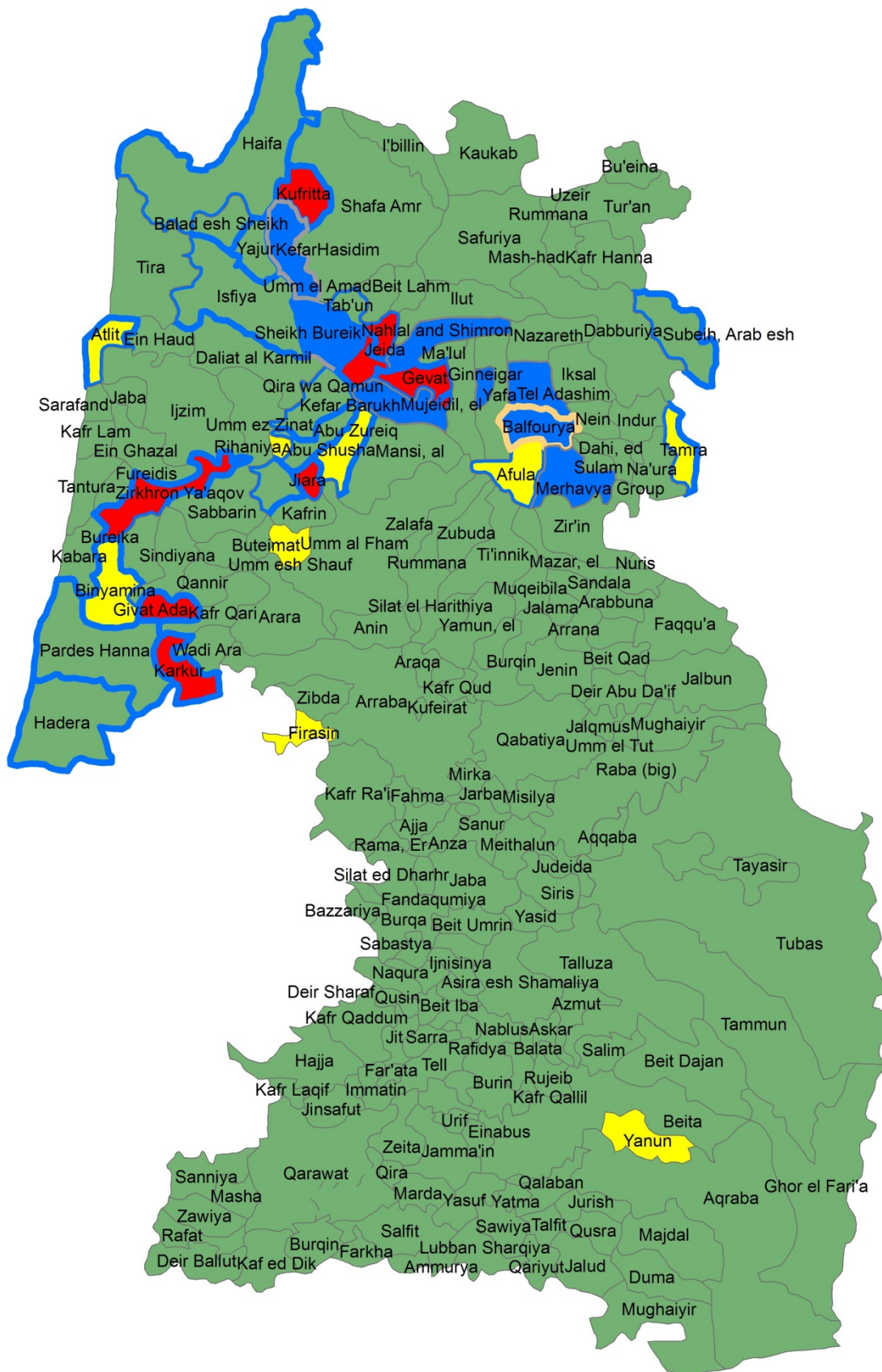
Map 9.9.3- All sub-districts 1922-1945
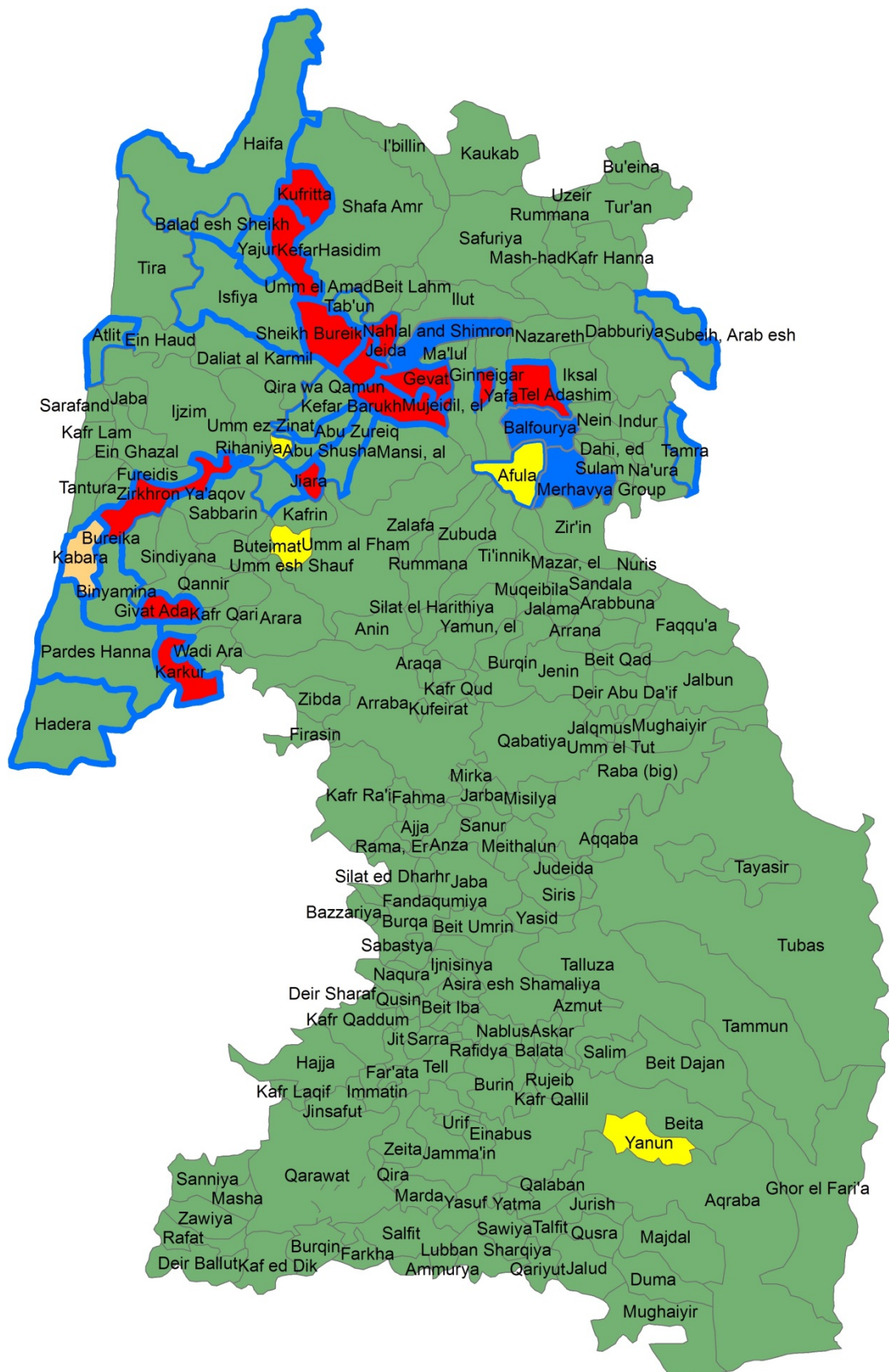
Map 9.9.4- All sub-districts 1922-1938
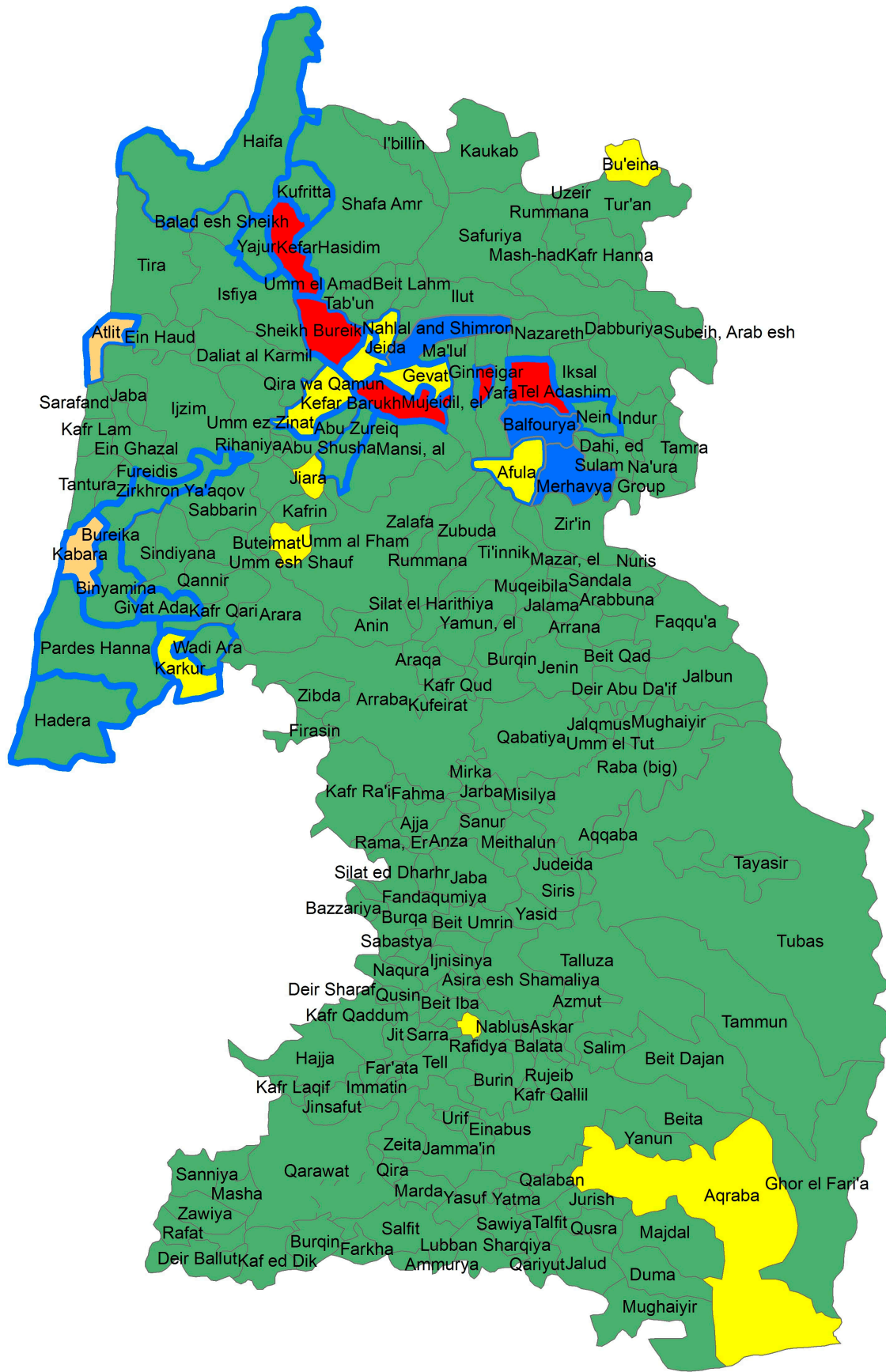
Map 9.9.5- All sub-districts 1931-1938
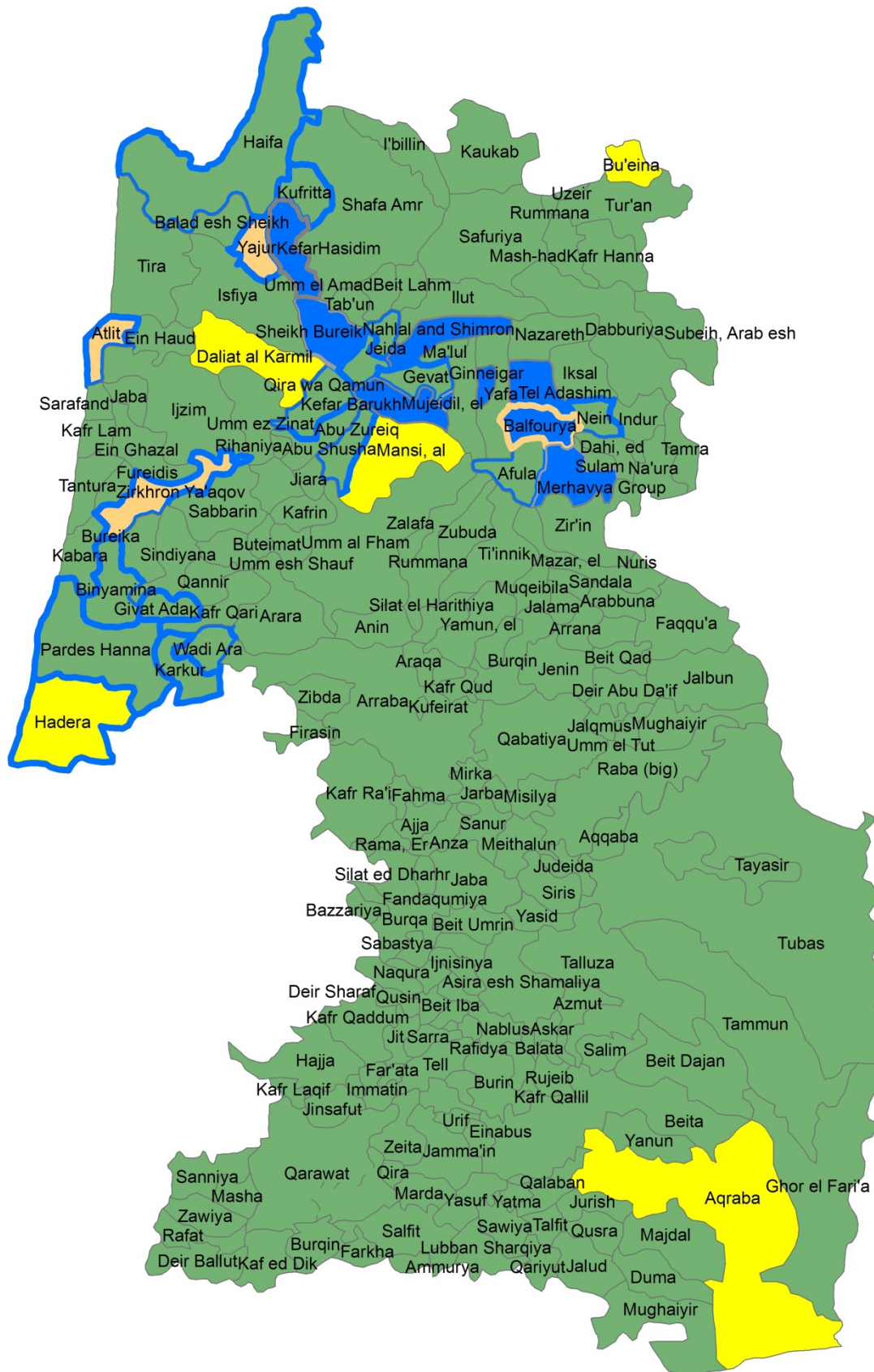
Map 9.9.6- All sub-districts 1938-1945
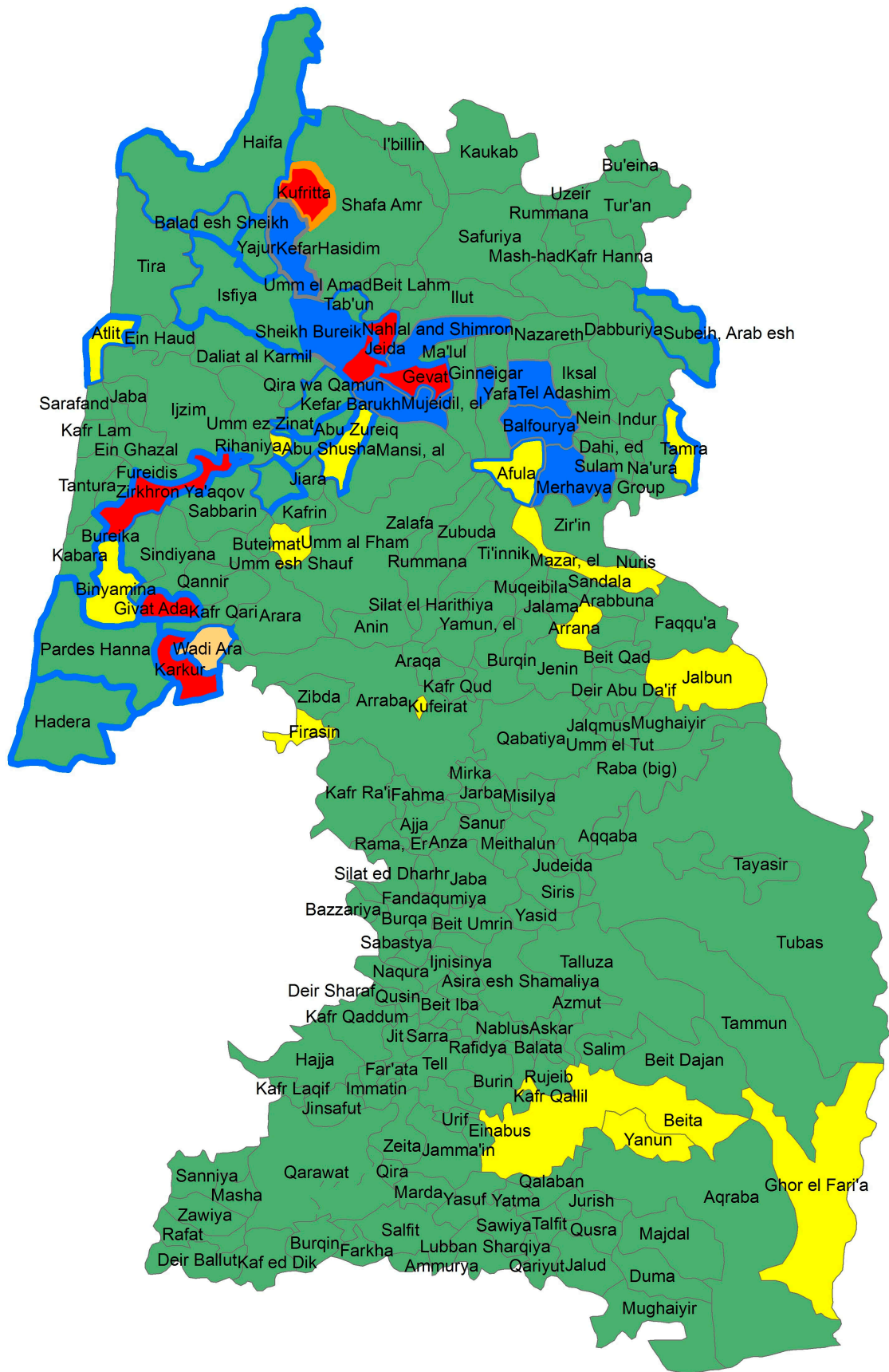
10.   <u>**CONCLUSIONS**</u>

There are several conclusions that I would like to draw from this study. Firstly, I would like to underline that the settler colonial project is an ongoing process; history can only be understood as a set of interrelated events. The events that are happening nowadays in Palestine are a consequence of those that have been occurring since the 1880s. A settler colonial project can show different faces, names, attitudes or tactics, but its aim will in most cases be the same: the creation or expansion of a state with a demographic settler majority.

This thesis deals with a stage within a broader context, where the settler colonial reach gets entangled with all the characteristics of a society. The settler colonial enterprise's reach alters the economy of a region or country where the project is implemented, and also the politics of the place where it settles. The settler colonial characteristics of Zionism embrace all the social strata and the British Mandate period is the key period because it is the time when the settler colonial project consolidates its existence.

As mentioned in the introduction and throughout this thesis, the Zionists were not strong enough during the British Mandate to carry out the procedures for transferring and displacing population on a large scale as they did in the 1947-49 War, and the British authorities did not permit them to do it. However, the Zionist movement managed to adjust to the limiting political realities of different periods, including during the British Mandate. Instead of carrying out population transfers on a grand scale, the Zionist movement succeeded in displacing the Arab population on a small scale to achieve its goal of getting land for the future state. The project managed to keep the settler colonial project alive at difficult moments. The British Mandate is the period when the preconditions for the *Nakba* to occur took place. [756] Without the events and the base created during the British Mandate period the *Nakba* and the massive displacement of the Palestinian indigenous population could have never occurred. That is why it is so important to connect the British Mandate period with the *Nakba*.

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[756] WOLFE, P. *"Purchase by Other Means: The Palestine Nakba and Zionism's Conquest of Economics".* Settler Colonial Studies, Vol. 2 No.1, (2012), pp. 133-177. p 134.

One of the first questions that arise from the literature is if the Zionist movement was using land purchases to displace the native population from their lands. After having analysed each of the four sub-districts in six different periods of time, in other words, having analysed 211 entities six times, it is evident that there is a clear connection between Zionist land purchases and settlements built for Jewish immigrants and the decrease in the native population in the analysed areas. As different case studies showed, there were several reasons that might explain the different demographic results. However, the main cause of the decrease in the Arab population in Palestine is the interference of the Zionist movement.

The demographic results prove that the population displacements took place and consequently there was a decrease in the Arab population in the affected entities. In some cases, the case studies show not only that the displacements of the Arab population occurred, but also a direct replacement of Arab population with Jewish population. This idea of replacement of population has been discussed in relation to the self-labour theories implemented by Zionist land companies. The displacement and replacement of (part of the) native population was carried out by the Zionists because it was impossible for the settler colonial project to survive being a demographic minority in the land under dispute, that is why is so important to link the *Nakba* and the British Mandate period, because Zionist companies were not able to change the demographic balance enough during the Mandate years through purchases and immigration. The Zionist companies used land purchases to create the necessary physical space that was vital for the settler colonial project to survive. As some writings and speeches by Zionist leaders showed, these displacements were consciously carried out. This thesis discusses the aims of the settler colonial project during the British Mandate period and it is perfectly clear that it was not possible to build a Jewish State or homeland without becoming the demographic majority in the contested land. This was a key point for the Zionists leaders and for the settler colonial project as well. The areas where the Zionist companies bought land also suggests that the settler colonial project had at the top of its agenda the areas and land that they needed to purchase and always kept in mind that their ultimate goal was to achieve a Jewish State.

It is necessary to stress that in this thesis the demographic patterns could hide different reasons applied to the decreases in the native population of Palestine. However, at this point, I would like to point out that having analysed all the statistics obtained from the research, the key factor in the decrease in the Arab population turned out to be the interference of Zionist land purchases and settlement of Jewish immigrants. Throughout the thesis I have analysed different possible reasons that could explain the decrease in Arab population where there was not Zionist interference. In the communities where there was no direct Zionist contact, it would have been necessary to do further and deeper research into each entity to determine the real cause of the decrease in population. Although the results of my case study research are rather interesting, they are limited by the logistical impossibility of an independent analysis of each entity. However, these preliminary case studies open new avenues for other researchers. The lack of sources was the real impediment to overcome in carrying out further and more detailed research.

Another question arising from the literature that my demographic research answers is if the Zionist land purchases and immigration affected the demographic picture of Palestine during the British Mandate period. As occurred with the Haifa sub-district when the first source was compared with the last one, we observe that in almost 20 per cent of the entities of the sub-district there was not a single Arab left. The displacement and replacement process was done by Zionist companies changing completely the nature of the entities that in the beginning of the British Mandate period were entities populated by Palestinian Arabs. "Settler colonialism destroys to replace".[757] The social structures of the affected entities disappeared completely when their demographics changed. Theodor Herzl pointed out: "If I wish to substitute a new building for an old one, I must demolish before I construct".[758] This is what happened with the demographics of 20 per cent of the entities of the Haifa sub-district; the demographic picture of those entities was destroyed and replaced by a new one.

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[757]WOLFE, P. "*Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native.*" Journal of Genocide Research, Vol. 8, No. 4, (December, 2006), pp. 387-409. p 388.
[758]HERZL, T. *The Jewish State.* Penguin Books, London, 2010. p 38.

From the moment I came across the literature, I realised that demographics would have something to say about what happened during the British Mandate period. I understood that it was impossible for so significant a number of land purchases to be made and for so many immigrants to arrive without profoundly affecting the demographics of Palestine. When first researching the existing literature on demography and land in Palestine, I discovered that these two issues had previously been tackled separately. This thesis brought the two key characteristics of the Zionist movement together: land purchases and immigration. The best way to analyse the consequences of both of them was to use demographic approaches to determine if the land purchases and immigration affected the demographics of the native population in Palestine. The answer to that research question, after having analysed all the demographic results, is a definite yes. Zionist land purchases and immigration had a very destructive influence on the demographics of Palestine during the British Mandate.

Through demographic approaches this thesis determined that the displacements of Palestinians took place within the Zionist political thought of transfer, although they were not initially able to transfer as much population as expected. As argued before, the only feasible tool for the settler colonial project was to carry out micro-displacements of population because the native population was reluctant to leave their land and because the colonial power did not permit the Zionist movement to cleanse vast areas for Zionist colonisation. Thus, the demographic research turned out to be the most appropriate approach to dealing with the questions arising from the topic. This demographic research could be helpful in determining whether the displacements took place or not. Due, however, to the lack of sources it was impossible (to try) to find the precise number of Palestinians displaced because of Zionist land purchases. Although the patterns obtained from the demographic research are clear enough to deconstruct some of the Zionist myths, this is one of the points where I would have liked to go further had the sources allowed it.

The methodology to analyse the demographic consequences of the Zionist settler colonial project in Palestine proposed by this thesis turned out to be accurate and adequate for the period and purposes of the research. However, it is important to underline that this methodology could be used for

different case studies of settler colonialism in different periods. For instance, every case study that contains population sources and maps of the villages/entities could be analysed using the methodology proposed by this thesis. An excellent example would be the "Judaisation" of the Galilee carried out by the Israeli Government after the 1947-49 war where the methodology proposed by this thesis could be implemented to analyse the settler colonial consequences. Any other settler colonial country like Australia or Canada could also meet the requirements for the implementation of this methodology. The requirements to implement this methodology, in other case studies, are always needed to have sources of population and geographical delimitation to analyse the native population demographics to determine the consequences of the settler colonial project.

Another conclusion that this thesis came to is that Israel is a settler colonial case study and consequently a settler colonial country. This is supported by plenty of works by different scholars. This thesis has analysed a key period within the broader settler colonial project. There are several settler colonial case studies, but not all of them share the same characteristics with respect to the native population. There are countries such as South Africa where the native population's labour was essential to keeping settler colonial structures alive in contrast to other countries where the native population labour force was not necessary to carry out the settler colonial project. In cases where the native population was not necessary, they were simply expelled or ethnically cleansed as in Australia and the United States of America.

Israel was late to the settler colonial "game", so it is still working on the settler colonial characteristics of the project. However, the most important characteristic for this thesis is the demographics of the Zionist settler colonial project. The Zionist movement was not able to empty the whole area that became part of the State of Israel after the *Nakba*. Zionist leaders also failed in their attempt to conquer all the land that they thought belonged to them. As a result of that, the Zionist movement still needs to deal with the fact that there is a large number of Palestinians living within "their boundaries" as a "fifth column". The settler colonial project is unfinished and the ultimate goals of the Zionist movement have not yet been achieved. Consequently, the Israeli settler

colonial project is still in process and has to adapt to the needs of the period and international events.

One of the salient aspects that the literature showed vis-à-vis the settler colonial paradigm was the creation of the landless Arab problem; this was one key aspect to understand and highlight some of the consequences of the Zionist settler colonial influence during the Mandate period. Apart from not being possible, it was not the aim of this thesis to find the exact number of landless Arabs created by Zionist land purchases. This thesis did, however, succeed in putting this problem into a broader settler colonial perspective, pointing out that the number of landless Arabs given by the Zionists and British authorities was lower than it really was so as to downplay the significance of the problem. The demographic results suggest that the number of landless Arabs was much larger than the final number given by Lewis French. This thesis would like to stress the idea that the landless Arab problem was just the tip of a major problem. The Zionist policies of buying land and settling immigrants in the Palestinian countryside brought about other consequences than the creation of a landless Arab community.

As previously analysed in the thesis, the idea of framing the Zionist project within the settler colonial framework leads us to another degree of contextualisation of the roots of the conflict. The beginning of the Palestinian conflict should be rethought and rewritten from the moment that the settler colonial attempts started in Palestine in the early 1880s when the first settlements of modern times were built there. Indeed, some scholars argue we should go back to that time period to rewrite the origins of the conflict because it is essential to set correctly the origins of the conflict.

Demographics are not an exact science although they are based on numbers and mathematics. Source collection, and who collects them and their purpose as political considerations could affect the data of the censuses. Acknowledging the difficulties and possible inaccuracies derived from these problems, I strongly believe that the demographic approach was the best and the only option for this thesis to deal with the research questions. As mentioned in the chapter on methodology, the inaccuracies and problems derived from the

sources are realities that have to be accepted and minimized as much as possible.

Having said this, I would like to stress the possible doors this research could open. As mentioned previously, this demographic methodology could be used for researching different periods in Palestine or different settler colonial countries. There are other possible ways this research opens further study. It would be illuminating to research in depth some of the entities affected by Zionist land purchases and immigration to determine the real scope of the Zionist policies entity by entity.

Furthermore, the landless Arab problem has not been sufficiently researched. Future research might be interested in looking into the landless Arab problem through another prism and might seek to redefine the meaning of landless Arabs. This would be an opportunity to calculate the number of Arabs affected by Zionist land purchases and immigration.

The settler colonial project in Palestine is still an ongoing project. The aim of this thesis was to highlight some of the demographic characteristics and the consequences that the native population suffered due to Zionist land purchases and immigration during the British Mandate period, when the success of the settler colonial project was not certain.

11. APPENDICES

Table 11.1-Holdings of Large Jewish Land Owners as of 31 December 1945[759].

	J.N.F.		P.J.C.A.		P.L.D.C.		Hennuta		A.P.I.C.		B.L.C.		P.K.A.B		Total
	In whole	In common	In whole	In common	In whole	In common	In whole	In common	In whole	In common	In whole	In common	In whole	In common	
Galilee	272,000	49,600	123,800	3,900	2,200	0	0	200	0	0	0	0	0	0	451,700
Haifa	112,600	0	60,800	0	6,000	200	0	0	9,900	0	8,500	0	6,300	2,100	206,400
Samaria	79,600	2,200	1,100	0	0	0	4,800	9,100	0	0	0	0	0	0	96,800
Jerusalem	13,100	2,200	1,800	0	900	0	200	800	0	0	0	0	0	0	19,000
Lydda	60,100	3,100	2,300	0	400	0	700	700	0	0	0	0	0	0	67,300
Gaza	63,400	2,200	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	65,600
Total	600,800	59,300	189,800	3,900	9,500	200	5,700	10,800	9,900	0	8,500	0	6,300	2,100	906,800

- J.N.F.: Jewish National Fund
- P.J.C.A.: Palestine Jewish Colonization Association
- P.L.D.C: Palestine Land Development Company Ltd.
- Hennuta: Hennuta Ltd.
- A.P.I.C.: Africa Palestine Investment Company Ltd.
- B.L.C.: Bayside Land Corporation Ltd.
- P.K.A.B.: Palestine Kupat Am. Bank Ltd.

[759] ANGLO-AMERICAN COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY. A Survey of Palestine, Volume I. Institute for Palestine Studies, Washington D.C., 1991. p 245.

Table 11.2- Haifa censuses

HAIFA	M(22)	C(22)	O(22)	A(22)	J(22)	T(22)	M(31)	C(31)	O(31)	A(31)	J(31)	T(31)	A(38)	J(38)	T(38)	A(45)	J(45)	T(45)
Abu Shusha	415	0	0	415		415	831	0		831	122	953	934	247	1181	720	390	1110
Abu Zureiq	301	0	0	301		301	352	2	7	361	0	361	406	0	406	550	240	790
Arara	1107	0	0	1107		1107	1644	0	0	1644	0	1644	1847	0	1847	2290	0	2290
Atlit	85	6	0	91	274	365	413	39	0	452	496	948	508	224	732	150	510	660
Balad esh Sheikh	524	1	0	525		525	747	0	0	747	0	747	840	0	840	4120	0	4120
Beit Lahm	113	111	0	224		224	135	99	0	234	1	235	263	1	264	370	0	370
Jeida	324	3	0	327		327	33	2	3	38	77	115	48	135	183	0	380	380
Binyamina	28	3	0	31	202	233	429	1	15	445	744	1189	500	830	1330	270	1250	1520
Bureika	249	0	0	249		249	237	0	0	237	0	237	266	0	266	290	0	290
Buteimat	137	0	0	137		137	112	0	0	112	0	112	126	0	126	110	0	110
Daliat al Karmil	51	26	921	998		998	200	11	1154	1365	0	1365	1318	0	1318	2060	0	2060
Daliat al Rauha	179	0	0	179		179	212	0	0	212	0	212	238	0	238	280	320	600
Mansi, al	1796	10	0	1806		1806	1900	6	0	1906	0	1906	1810	0	1810	2970	0	2970
Ein Ghazal	1063	0	0	1063		1063	1439	0	0	1439	0	1439	1617	0	1617	2170	0	2170
Ein Haud	347	3	0	350		350	459	0	0	459	0	459	516	0	516	650	0	650
Fureidis	335	0	0	335		335	454	0	0	454	0	454	510	0	510	780	0	780
Givat Ada	58	0	0	58	61	119	57	0	0	57	153	210	64	156	220	0	160	160
Hadera	872	1	0	873	621	1494	1594	9	0	1603	2152	3755	1390	5092	6482	1770	7980	9750
Haifa	9759	8865	164	18788	6230	25018	20598	13827	332	34757	16048	50805	51912	48031	99943	63590	76030	139620
I'bilin	289	528	0	817		817	663	453	0	1116	0	1116	1254	0	1254	1660	0	1660
Ijzim	1975	1	0	1976		1976	2072	88	0	2160	0	2160	2428	0	2428	3180	0	3180
Isfiya	51	128	590	769		769	176	187	742	1105	0	1105	1242	0	1242	2130	360	2490
Jaba	523	0	0	523		523	760	2	0	762	0	762	856	0	856	1140	0	1140
Jiara	94	0	0	94		94	62	0	0	62	0	62	70	0	70	0	320	320
Kabara	495	0	0	495	17	512	572	0	0	572	0	572	643	0	643	740	0	740
Kafr Lam	156	0	0	156		156	215	0	0	215	0	215	242	0	242	340	0	340
Kafr Qari	776	9	0	785		785	1105	4	0	1109	0	1109	1247	0	1247	1510	0	1510

Location																	
Kafrin	26	0	0	26		26		657	0	657	738		920	0	920		
Karkur	1040	0	0	1040	35	1075	565	0	565	635	847	1000	1635	2380	2380		
Kufritta	480	8	0	488	0	488	158	29	187	519	5224	5743	2500	2500			
Kefarhasidim	540	0	0	540	0	540	0	420	0	420	823	823	980	980			
Kefar Yehoshua	70	1	0	71	0	71	32	245	277	36	391	427	620	620			
Khubbeiza	140	0	0	140	0	140	209	0	209	0	209	235	235	290	290		
Yajur	202	0	0	202	0	202	554	858	591	1449	664	728	1392	2040	2620	4660	
Pardes Hanna	529	32	0	561	26	587	683	282	706	988	1624	1180	2804	1630	2460	4090	
Qannir	400	0	0	400	0	400	483	0	483	543	0	543	750	750			
Qira wa Qamun	134	0	0	134	0	134	86	0	86	97	280	377	410	570	980		
Rihaniya	266	0	0	266	0	266	293	0	293	329	0	329	240	240			
Sabbarin	833	12	0	845	0	845	1090	18	1108	1245	0	1245	1700	1700			
Sarafand	204	0	0	204	0	204	188	0	188	211	0	211	290	290			
Shafa Amr	1224	1263	402	2889	0	2889	2405	1321	496	4222	1	4223	4745	46	4791	7190	10
Sheikh Bureik	111	0	0	111	0	111	0	0	37	37	428	428	1950	1950			
Sindiyana	598	0	0	598	0	598	922	1	923	923	1038	1038	1250	1250			
Tabun	151	0	0	151	0	151	239	0	239	239	269	269	370	320	690		
Tantura	749	1	0	750	0	750	944	8	952	953	1070	1	1071	1490	1490		
Tira	2386	18	0	2404	25	2429	3173	17	1	3191	3191	3587	3587	5270	5270		
Umm el Amad	65	63	0	128	0	128	163	68	231	231	260	260	260	260			
Umm esh Shauf	252	0	0	252	0	252	325	0	325	325	365	365	480	480			
Umm ez Zinat	782	5	0	787	0	787	1020	9	1029	1029	1157	1157	1470	1470			
Wadi Ara	68	0	0	68	0	68	81	0	81	81	91	317	408	230	230		
Zirkhron Ya'aqov	340	7	0	347	1109	1456	289	23	312	1411	1723	350	1250	1600	2160	2160	

Table 11.3- Nazareth censuses

NAZARETH	M(22)	C(22)	O(22)	A(22)	J(22)	T(22)	M(31)	C(31)	O(31)	A(31)	J(31)	T(31)	A(38)	J(38)	T(38)	A(45)	J(45)	T(45)
Afula	471	62	2	535	28	563	76	9	3	88	786	874	103	1073	1176	10	2300	2310
Balfourya	0	0	0	0	18	18	0	0	1	1	459	460	1	410	411	0	420	420
Bu'eina	212	0	0	212	0	212	347	0	0	347	2	349	105	2	107	540	0	540
Dabburiya	1628	449	0	2077	0	2077	1980	409	0	2389	1	2390	2783	1	2784	3620	0	3620
Dahi, ed	84	0	0	84	0	84	87	0	0	87	0	87	101	0	101	110	0	110
Gevat	308	10	0	318	0	318	1	1	7	9	200	209	11	460	471	0	830	830
Ginneigar	118	44	0	162	13	175	0	0	0	0	109	109	0	159	159	0	330	330
Iksal	621	0	0	621	0	621	752	0	0	752	0	752	876	0	876	1110	0	1110
Ilut	618	0	0	618	0	618	834	0	0	834	0	834	972	0	972	1310	0	1310
Indur	310	1	0	311	0	311	444	1	0	445	0	445	518	0	518	620	0	620
Kafr Hanna	672	503	0	1175	0	1175	896	482	0	1378	0	1378	1605	0	1605	1930	0	1930
Kaukab	753	0	0	753	0	753	1260	0	0	1260	0	1260	1468	0	1468	1750	0	1750
Kefar Barukh	62	0	0	62	0	62	0	0	1	1	174	175	1	215	216	0	250	250
Nahlal and Shimron	0	0	0	0	437	437	0	0	1	1	663	663	0	943	943	0	1310	1310
Nein	157	0	0	157	0	157	227	0	0	227	0	227	264	11	275	270	0	270
Ma'lul	168	250	0	436	0	436	228	162	0	390	0	390	454	0	454	690	0	690
Subeih, Arab esh	653	0	0	653	0	653	716	0	0	716	0	716	831	0	831	1320	230	1550
Mash-had	356	0	0	356	0	356	486	1	0	487	0	487	567	0	567	660	0	660
Merhavya Group	0	0	0	0	135	135	0	0	0	0	302	302	0	400	400	0	620	620
Tel Adashim	98	4	0	102	16	118	0	0	0	0	332	332	0	448	448	0	680	680
Mujeidil, el	817	192	0	1009	0	1009	1044	197	0	1241	0	1241	1446	0	1446	1900	0	1900
Na'ura	200	0	0	200	0	200	203	0	0	203	0	203	237	0	237	340	0	340
Nazareth	2486	4885	0	7371	53	7424	3345	5464	6	8815	79	8894	9961	100	10061	14200	0	14200
Rummana	33	4	0	37	0	37	195	2	0	197	0	197	230	0	230	590	0	590
Safuriya	2574	8	0	2582	0	2582	3136	11	0	3147	0	3147	3666	0	3666	4330	0	4330
Sarid	38	1	0	39	0	39	3	0	0	3	65	68	3	175	178	0	350	350
Sulam	366	4	0	370	0	370	328	0	0	328	0	328	382	0	382	470	0	470
Tamra	104	0	0	104	0	104	193	0	0	193	0	193	225	0	225	160	80	240
Tur'an	542	226	0	768	0	768	693	268	0	961	0	961	1120	0	1120	1350	0	1350
Uzeir	70	0	0	70	0	70	88	0	0	88	0	88	103	0	103	150	0	150
Yafa	274	400	0	674	0	674	456	377	0	833	0	833	971	0	971	1070	0	1070

Table11.4- Jenin censuses

JENIN	M(22)	C(22)	O(22)	A(22)	J(22)	T(22)	M(31)	C(31)	O(31)	A(31)	J(31)	T(31)	A(38)	J(38)	T(38)	A(45)	J(45)	T(45)
Ajja	500	0	0	500		500	643	0	0	643		643	748	0	748	890	0	890
Anin	360	12	0	372		372	447	0	0	447		447	520	0	520	590	0	590
Anza	537	0	0	537		537	642	0	0	642		642	747	0	747	880	0	880
Arabbuna	136	0	0	136		136	138	0	0	138		138	160	0	160	210	0	210
Araqa	168	0	0	168		168	219	0	0	219		219	255	0	255	350	0	350
Arraba	4442	0	0	4442		4442	5575	0	0	5575		5575	6484	0	6484	8290	0	8290
Arrana	216	0	0	216		216	267	0	0	267		267	811	0	811	320	0	320
Barid, el	153	0	0	153		153	190	0	0	190		190	221	0	221	280	0	280
Beit Qad	199	0	0	199		199	185	0	0	185		185	215	0	215	290	0	290
Burqin	871	12	0	883		883	1010	76	0	1086		1086	1263	0	1263	1540	0	1540
Deir Abu Da'if	434	7	0	441		441	593	5	0	598		598	695	0	695	850	0	850
Deir Ghazala	120	14	0	134		134	159	17	0	186		186	216	0	216	270	0	270
Fahma	187	0	0	187		187	238	0	0	238		238	277	0	277	350	0	350
Fandaqumiya	327	0	0	327		327	445	0	0	445		445	518	0	518	630	0	630
Faqqu'a	553	0	0	553		553	663	0	0	663		663	771	0	771	880	0	880
Firasin	14	0	0	14		14	24	0	0	24		24	28	0	28	20	0	20
Jaba	1622	0	0	1622		1622	1533	9	0	1542		1542	1793	0	1793	2100	0	2100
Jalama	253	8	0	261		261	300	4	0	304		304	354	0	354	460	0	460
Jalbun	405	5	0	410		410	564	0	0	564		564	656	0	656	610	0	610
Jalqmus	124	0	0	124		124	150	0	0	150		150	174	0	174	220	0	220
Jarba	31	0	0	31		31	65	0	0	65		65	76	0	76	100	0	100
Jenin	2307	108	215	2630	7	2637	2668	103	1	2772	2	2774	3179	0	3179	3990	0	3990
Judeida	361	0	0	361		361	569	0	0	569		569	662	0	662	830	0	830
Kafr Dan	486	0	0	486		486	603	0	0	603		603	701	0	701	850	0	850
Kafr Qud	161	8	0	169		169	153	9	0	162		162	188	0	188	250	0	250
Kafr Ra'i	1088	0	0	1088		1088	1470	0	0	1470		1470	1710	0	1710	2150	0	2150
Kufeirat	113	0	0	113		113	154	0	0	154		154	303	0	303	240	0	240
Mazar, el	223	0	0	223		223	257	0	0	257		257	299	0	299	270	0	270

Meithalun		783	0	783	938	0	938	0	938	1091	0	1091	0	1360
Mirka		142	0	142	167	0	167	0	167	194	0	194	0	230
Misilya		190	0	190	222	0	222	0	222	258	0	258	0	330
Mughaiyir		94	0	94	141	0	141	0	141	181	0	181	0	220
Muqeibila		181	20	201	244	26	270	0	270	314	0	314	0	460
Nuris		364	0	364	429	0	429	0	429	499	0	499	0	570
Qabatiya		1799	4	1803	2445	2	2447	0	2447	2846	0	2846	0	3670
Raba (big)		971	20	991	1203	26	1229	0	1229	1809	0	1809	0	1810
Rama, Er		149	0	149	186	0	186	0	186	216	0	216	0	280
Rummana		640	0	640	644	0	644	0	644	749	0	749	0	880
Sandala		146	0	146	189	0	189	0	189	220	0	220	0	270
Sanur		682	0	682	759	0	759	0	759	883	0	883	0	1020
Silat ed Dharhr		1635	3	1638	1985	0	1985	0	1985	2309	0	2309	0	2850
Silat el Harithiya		1041	0	1041	1259	0	1259	0	1259	1464	0	1464	0	1860
Siris		494	0	494	608	0	608	0	608	707	0	707	0	830
Ti'innik		65	0	65	64	0	64	0	64	74	0	74	0	100
Umm el Tut		94	0	94	129	0	129	0	129	150	0	150	0	170
Umm al Fham		3149	18	3167	3965	42	4007	2	4009	4661	2	4663	0	5490
Yamun, el		1485	1	1486	1836	0	1836	0	1836	2135	0	2135	0	2520
Zalafa		156	0	156	198	0	198	0	198	230	0	230	0	340
Zawiya		45	0	45	76	0	76	0	76	88	0	88	0	120
Zibda		150	0	150	132	0	132	0	132	154	0	154	0	190
Zir'in		723	4	727	975	3	978	0	978	1137	0	1137	0	1420
Zubeida		390	1	391	344	0	344	0	344	400	0	400	0	560

Table 11.5- Nablus censuses

NABLUS	M(22)	C(22)	O(22)	A(22)	J(22)	T(22)	M(31)	C(31)	O(31)	A(31)	J(31)	T(31)	A(38)	J(38)	T(38)	A(45)	J(45)	T(45)
Ammurya	69	0	0	69	0	69	85	0	0	85	0	85	96	0	96	120	0	120
Aqaba	322	8	0	330	0	330	402	9	0	411	0	411	463	0	463	600	0	600
Aqraba	1245	2	0	1247	0	1247	1478	0	0	1478	0	1478	1164	0	1164	2060	0	2060
Asira al Qibliya	282	0	0	282	0	282	326	0	0	326	0	326	367	0	367	410	0	410
Asira esh Shamaliya	1178	1	0	1179	0	1179	1544	0	0	1544	0	1544	1739	0	1739	2060	0	2060
Askar	215	0	0	215	0	215	276	0	0	276	0	276	311	0	311	340	0	340
Azmut	283	0	0	283	0	283	307	0	0	307	0	307	346	0	346	410	0	410
Balata	461	0	0	461	0	461	568	6	0	574	0	574	646	0	646	770	0	770
Bazzariya	183	0	0	183	0	183	217	0	0	217	0	217	244	0	244	320	0	320
Beita	4211	0	0	4211	0	4211	5097	0	0	5097	0	5097	5738	0	5738	5590	0	5590
Beit Dajan	487	0	0	487	0	487	548	0	0	548	0	548	617	0	617	750	0	750
Beit Iba	456	0	0	456	0	456	470	0	0	470	0	470	529	0	529	630	0	630
Beit Umrin	512	15	0	527	0	527	607	13	0	620	0	620	698	0	698	860	0	860
Beit Wazan	270	0	0	270	0	270	253	0	0	253	0	253	285	0	285	310	0	310
Burin	982	0	0	982	0	982	921	0	0	921	0	921	1037	0	1037	1200	0	1200
Burqa	1589	99	0	1688	0	1688	1785	105	0	1890	0	1890	2128	0	2128	2590	0	2590
Burqin	367	0	0	367	0	367	534	0	0	534	0	534	601	0	601	690	0	690
Deir Ballut	384	0	0	384	0	384	532	0	0	532	0	532	599	0	599	720	0	720
Deir Sharaf	487	0	0	487	0	487	572	0	0	572	0	572	644	0	644	800	0	800
Duma	155	0	0	155	0	155	218	0	0	218	0	218	245	0	245	310	0	310
Einabus	227	0	0	227	0	227	244	0	0	244	0	244	275	0	275	340	0	340
Farata	36	0	0	36	0	36	47	0	0	47	0	47	53	0	53	70	0	70
Farkha	210	0	0	210	0	210	304	0	0	304	0	304	342	0	342	380	0	380
Funduq, el	66	0	0	66	0	66	72	0	0	72	0	72	81	0	81	100	0	100
Hajja	847	0	0	847	0	847	1013	0	0	1013	0	1013	1141	0	1141	1350	0	1350
Ijnisinya	119	0	0	119	0	119	157	0	0	157	0	157	177	0	177	200	0	200
Immatin	234	0	0	234	0	234	334	0	0	334	0	334	376	0	376	440	0	440
Jalud	145	0	0	145	0	145	225	0	0	225	0	225	253	0	253	300	0	300
Jamma'in	720	0	0	720	0	720	957	0	0	957	0	957	1078	0	1078	1240	0	1240
Jinsafut	267	0	0	267	0	267	315	0	0	315	0	315	355	0	355	450	0	450
Jit	285	0	0	285	0	285	289	0	0	289	0	289	325	0	325	440	0	440
Junied	59	0	0	59	0	59	69	0	0	69	0	69	78	0	78	90	0	90
Jurish	195	0	0	195	0	195	236	0	0	236	0	236	266	0	266	340	0	340
Kaf ed Dik	487	0	0	487	0	487	665	0	0	665	0	665	749	0	749	870	0	870
Kafr Laqif	95	0	0	95	0	95	141	0	0	141	0	141	159	0	159	210	0	210
Khirbat Qes	94	0	0	94	0	94	114	0	0	114	0	114	128	0	128	170	0	170
Lubban Sharqiya	356	0	0	356	0	356	475	0	0	475	0	475	535	0	535	620	0	620
Madama	170	0	0	170	0	170	211	0	0	211	0	211	238	0	238	290	0	290
Majdal	199	0	0	199	0	199	310	0	0	310	0	310	349	0	349	430	0	430
Marda	290	0	0	290	0	290	356	0	0	356	0	356	401	0	401	470	0	470

Name													
Masha	80	0	0	80	80	87	0		87	87	98	98	110	110
Mughayir	179	0	0	179	179	204	0		204	204	230	230	290	290
Nablus	15238	544	149	15931	15947	16708	617	167	17492	17498	19548	19548	23250	23250
Naqura	233	0	0	233	233	247	0		247	247	278	278	350	350
Nisf Jubeil	74	88	0	162	162	105	105		210	210	237	237	260	260
Kafr Qaddum	874	0	0	874	874	963	0		963	963	1084	1084	1240	1240
Qalaban	771	0	0	771	771	1058	0		1058	1058	1191	1191	1510	1510
Kafr Qallil	298	0	0	298	298	332	0		332	332	374	374	470	470
Qawarat New	2712	0	0	2712	2713	3536	1		3537	3537	3587	3587	4730	4730
Ghor el Fari'a	726	0	0	726	726	1180	3		1183	1183	1728	1728	1670	1670
Qariyut	530	0	0	530	530	729	3		732	732	824	824	930	930
Qira	87	0	0	87	87	102	0		102	102	115	115	140	140
Qusin	147	0	0	147	147	217	0		217	217	244	244	310	310
Qusra	707	0	0	707	707	851	0		851	851	958	958	1120	1120
Rafat	92	0	0	92	92	127	0		127	127	143	143	180	180
Rafidya	111	307	0	418	418	68	287		335	335	400	400	430	430
Rujeib	250	0	0	250	250	277	0		277	277	312	312	390	390
Sabastya	562	10	0	572	572	731	20		751	753	846	846	1020	1020
Salfit	899	2	0	901	901	1412	3		1415	1415	1593	1593	1830	1830
Salim	423	0	0	423	423	490	0		490	490	552	552	660	660
Sanniya	529	0	0	529	529	722	0		722	722	813	813	990	990
Sarra	277	0	0	277	277	382	0		382	382	430	430	540	540
Sawiya	476	0	0	476	476	596	0		596	596	671	671	820	820
Talfit	352	0	0	352	352	464	0		464	464	523	523	610	610
Tell	567	0	0	567	567	803	0		803	803	904	904	1060	1060
Talluza	1350	0	0	1350	1350	1691	0		1691	1691	1904	1904	2200	2200
Tammun	1345	0	0	1345	1345	1599	0		1599	1599	1801	1801	2070	2070
Tayasir	146	0	0	146	146	187	5		192	192	216	216	260	260
Tubas	3442	7	0	3449	3449	4068	29		4097	4097	4613	4613	5530	5530
Urif	270	0	0	270	270	402	1		403	403	454	454	520	520
Yanun	71	0	0	71	71	120	0		120	120	135	135	50	50
Yasid	308	0	0	308	308	369	3		372	372	419	419	480	480
Yasuf	172	0	0	172	172	443	0		443	443	498	498	620	620
Yatma	242	0	0	242	242	325	0		325	325	366	366	440	440
Zawata	214	0	0	214	214	247	0		247	247	278	278	330	330
Zawiya	396	2	0	398	398	513	0		513	513	578	578	720	720
Zeita	283	0	0	283	283	404	1		405	405	456	456	510	510

Table 11.6- HAIFA SUB-DISTRICT'S DOUBLING TIME THEORY RESULTS

	A(38)	A(45)		70 years	J(38)	J(45)			T(38)	T(45)		70 years
Abu Shusha	934	720	-3.7175032	-18.829842	247	390	6.52512004	10.727772	1181	1110	-0.885736	-79.030318
Abu Zureiq	406	550	4.33664455	16.141512	0	240	+		406	790	9.50971123	7.36089649
Arara	1847	2290	3.07127309	22.7918514	0	0	0		1847	2290	3.07127309	22.7918514
Atlit	508	150	-17.426374	-4.0169	224	510	11.7537811	5.95553037	732	660	-1.4791526	-47.324395
Balad esh Sheikh	840	4120	22.7172364	3.08136072	0	0	0		840	4120	22.7172364	3.08136072
Beit Lahm	263	370	4.87641391	14.354811	1	0	0		264	370	4.82219861	14.5162001
Jeida	48	0	0		135	380	14.7842353	4.73477311	183	380	10.4383586	6.7060352
Binyamina	500	270	-8.8026591	-7.9521425	830	1250	5.84961614	11.9665972	1330	1520	1.90759132	36.6954909
Bureika	266	290	1.23406592	56.723064	0	0	0		266	290	1.23406592	56.723064
Buteimat	126	110	-1.940022	-36.082065	0	0	0		126	110	-1.940022	-36.082065
Daliat al Karmil	1318	2060	6.37986495	10.9720191	0	0	0		1318	2060	6.37986495	10.9720191
Daliat al Rauha	238	280	2.32169899	30.150334	0	320	+		238	600	13.209414	5.29925096
Mansi, al	1810	2970	7.07478725	9.89429046	0	0	0		1810	2970	7.07478725	9.89429046
Ein Ghazal	1617	2170	4.20220839	16.6579078	0	0	0		1617	2170	4.20220839	16.6579078
Ein Haud	516	650	3.29807996	21.2244702	0	0	0		516	650	3.29807996	21.2244702
Fureidis	510	780	6.06975991	11.5325814	0	0	0		510	780	6.06975991	11.5325814
Givat Ada	64	0	0		156	160	0.36168297	193.539662	220	160	-4.549339	-15.386851
Hadera	1390	1770	3.45251142	20.2750959	5092	7980	6.41811044	10.9066369	6482	9750	5.831974	12.002797
Haifa	51912	63590	2.89866069	24.1490839	48031	76030	6.56116234	10.6688413	99943	139620	4.77606319	14.6564225
I'billin	1254	1660	4.00684515	17.4701037	0	0	0		1254	1660	4.00684515	17.4701037
Ijzim	2428	3180	3.85447605	18.1607044	0	0	0		2428	3180	3.85447605	18.1607044
Isfiya	1242	2130	7.70569995	9.0841845	0	360	+		1242	2490	9.93656753	7.04468619
Jaba	856	1140	4.09304522	17.102181	0	0	0		856	1140	4.09304522	17.102181
Jiara	70	0	0		0	320	+		70	320	21.7117965	3.2240538
Kabara	643	740	2.00722089	34.8740891	0	0	0		643	740	2.00722089	34.8740891
Kafr Lam	242	340	4.85725559	14.4114302	0	0	0		242	340	4.85725559	14.4114302
Kafr Qari	1247	1510	2.73384263	25.6049852	0	0	0		1247	1510	2.73384263	25.6049852
Kafrin	738	920	3.14899779	22.2292947	0	0	0		738	920	3.14899779	22.2292947
Karkur	635	0	0		1000	2380	12.3871498	5.65101747	1635	2380	5.36368119	13.0507384
Kufritta	519	0	0		5224	2500	-10.528181	-6.648822	5743	2500	-11.8813	-5.8916113
KefarHasidim	0	0	0		823	980	2.49423387	28.0647299	823	980	2.49423387	28.0647299
Kefar Yehoshua	36	0	0		391	620	6.58588454	10.6287925	427	620	5.3276495	13.1390025
Khubbeiza	235	290	3.00422013	23.3005562	0	0	0		235	290	3.00422013	23.3005562
Yajur	664	2040	16.0346134	4.36555583	728	2620	18.2946936	3.82624611	1392	4660	17.2610555	4.05537193
Pardes Hanna	1624	1630	0.05268247	1328.71516	1180	2460	10.4949559	6.66987082	2804	4090	5.39282858	12.9802012
Qannir	543	750	4.61376981	15.171975	0	0	0		543	750	4.61376981	15.171975
Qira wa Qamun	97	410	20.5920883	3.39936382	280	570	10.1549537	6.89318752	377	980	13.6472483	5.12923911
Rihaniya	329	240	-4.5059832	-15.5349	0	0	0		329	240	-4.5059832	-15.5349
Sabbarin	1245	1700	4.44989602	15.7307047	0	0	0		1245	1700	4.44989602	15.7307047
Sarafand	211	290	4.54318271	15.4077008	0	0	0		211	290	4.54318271	15.4077008
Shafa Amr	4745	7190	5.93713914	11.7901903	46	10	-21.800804	-3.2108907	4791	7200	5.81916954	12.0292079
Sheikh Bureik	0	0	0		428	1950	21.6637351	3.23120643	428	1950	21.6637351	3.23120643
Sindiyana	1038	1250	2.65496809	26.3656652	0	0	0		1038	1250	2.65496809	26.3656652
Tab'un	269	370	4.55416609	15.3705418	0	320	+		269	690	13.4568603	5.20180775
Tantura	1070	1490	4.73024959	14.7983735	1	0	0		1071	1490	4.71690469	14.8402405
Tira	3587	5270	5.49591663	12.7367289	0	0	0		3587	5270	5.49591663	12.7367289
Umm el Amad	260	260	0	#DIV/0!	0	0	0		260	260	0	0
Umm esh Shauf	365	480	3.91269643	17.8904756	0	0	0		365	480	3.91269643	17.8904756
Umm ez Zinat	1157	1470	3.42045647	20.4651048	0	0	0		1157	1470	3.42045647	20.4651048
Wadi Ara	91	230	13.2459972	5.28461535	317	0	0		408	230	-8.1883981	-8.5486806
Zirkhron Ya'aqov	350	0	0		1250	2160	7.81378101	8.95853108	1600	2160	4.28720846	16.3276408

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