

# Contents

<b>SUMMARY</b>	<b>III</b>
<b>ACKNOWLEDGMENTS</b>	<b>V</b>
<b>LIST OF FIGURES, MAPS, AND TABLES</b>	<b>XII</b>
<b>LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS</b>	<b>XIII</b>
<b>PREFATORY NOTES</b>	<b>XIV</b>
<b>1. INTRODUCTION</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>2. LAND DISPOSSESSION, STRUGGLES AGAINST IT, AGRARIAN CHANGE IN THE GLOBAL PRESENT, AND THE CASE OF PALESTINE: A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE</b>	<b>8</b>
2.1 Insights into debates on land and agrarian change in the global present	9
2.1.1 What is dispossession?	9
2.1.2 Implications of and responses to dispossession, land struggles and agrarian change	17
2.1.3 Limits and perspectives for research	19
2.2 Palestine, Palestinians, and Palestine Studies	20
2.2.1 Land dispossession, settler colonialism, and the ongoing Nakba in Palestine	20
2.2.2 The rural hinterlands of Jerusalem: research context	23
2.2.3 Historical trajectory of enclavization: the cases of Al-Walaja and Wadi Fukin	32
2.2.4 Dispossession—cum-de-development, resistance to it, and agrarian change in Palestine Studies	41
2.2.5 Studying land dispossession and agrarian change in the Israeli/Palestinian context	46
<b>3. CONCEPTUAL AND ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK: LAND STRUGGLE AND REGIMES OF LAND USE, PROPERTY, AND LIVELIHOODS (RLUPLS)</b>	<b>49</b>
3.1 Conceptualizing dispossession, opposition to it, and agrarian change	49
3.2 A combined analytical framework to study RLUPLs	52
3.2.1 Land tenure analysis: seeing through and beyond property	55
3.2.2 Modes of land use and the agrarian system approach	60
3.2.3 Livelihoods framework	64
3.3 The ‘shape’ of RLUPLs, their transformation, and outcomes of land struggles	67
3.3.1 The shape of RLUPLs	67

3.3.2	Transforming structures and mechanisms of land control	67
3.3.3	Modes of dispossession and opposition to it, and RLUPLs transformation	71
3.3.4	Outcomes of land struggles	72
3.4	RLUPLs under analysis and research questions	72
3.5	Research methodology and researcher's positionality	73
3.5.1	Ethnographic fieldwork	74
3.5.2	Fieldwork phases	75
3.5.3	Data collection	77
3.5.4	Data analysis: juggling between theory and empirical materials	82
3.5.5	Power, knowledge, and intersubjectivity in the field	83
3.6	Conclusion	86
<b>4.</b>	<b>CHANGING REGIMES OF LAND USE, PROPERTY, AND LIVELIHOODS (1948 – MID-1990S)</b>	<b>88</b>
4.1	Displaced and dispossessed: general context after the Nakba (1950-1979)	88
4.2	RLUPLs in Al-Walaja and Wadi Fukin after the Nakba	90
4.2.1	Land, property, and livelihoods in Al-Walaja	90
4.2.2	Land, property, and livelihoods in Wadi Fukin	104
4.2.3	Conclusive remarks on RLUPL in Al-Walaja and Wadi Fukin	116
4.3	The terrain of land struggle (1979 -1990s)	117
4.3.1	Israeli settler colonial policies of de-agrarianization and dispossession	117
4.3.2	Palestinian development and the agrarian resistance economy	125
4.4	The transformation of RLUPL in Al-Walaja and Wadi Fukin	131
4.4.1	Experiences of de-agrarianization in both villages	131
4.4.2	Reversing de-agrarianization and dispossession in Al-Walaja and Wadi Fukin	137
4.5	Outcomes of the land struggle and dynamics of agrarian change	143
4.5.1	Characteristics of the new RLUPL in Al-Walaja	144
4.5.2	Characteristics of the new RLUPL in Wadi Fukin	145
4.5.3	Dynamics of agrarian change in the West Bank: a discussion	147
4.6	Collective efforts to keep the land under active cultivation vis-à-vis land dispossession: concluding remarks	150
<b>5.</b>	<b>NEO-SETTLER COLONIZATION AND MARKET-BASED RLUPLS IN AL-WALAJA AND WADI FUKIN (MID-1990S–2018)</b>	<b>155</b>
5.1	The Oslo Years: Context and consequences of the peace process	155
5.1.1	The content of the Oslo Accords	155
5.1.2	Economic transformations following the Oslo Accords	157
5.2	Neoliberal restructuring and the emergence of a new terrain of struggle for land	160
5.2.1	Neo-settler colonialism in the West Bank	160
5.2.2	Palestinian statehood and the neoliberalization of the liberation struggle	162

5.3	Spatial fragmentation, livelihood change, and RLUPL transformation in Al-Walaja	164
5.3.1	The multiplication of spatial compartments after Oslo	164
5.3.2	Denial of access in the seam zone: The making of an Israeli national park	168
5.3.3	State-orchestrated agrarian crisis	174
5.3.4	Making complex livelihood patchworks in and against agrarian crisis	181
5.3.5	(Post-)Agrarian land struggles: Between survival and accumulation	185
5.3.6	Outcome of the land struggle and characteristics of the new RLUPL in Al-Walaja	191
5.4	Spatial fragmentation, livelihood change, and RLUPL transformation in Wadi Fukin	196
5.4.1	Spatial, labour, and farm dynamics after Oslo	196
5.4.2	Agricultural expansion and intensification in and against agrarian crisis	202
	Ph: Fadia Panosetti, Wadi Fukin, 2019	205
5.4.3	Individual property claims, sale and rent of land, and water shares	205
5.4.4	Individualization of risks associated with intensive planting	207
5.4.5	Outcome of the land struggle and characteristics of the new RLUPL in Wadi Fukin	209
5.5	Dynamics of agrarian change in the West Bank: a discussion	215
5.6	Individual forms of use and property in the face of neo-liberal settler colonization: conclusive remarks	217
<b>6.</b>	<b>CONCLUSION</b>	<b>221</b>
	<b>REFERENCES</b>	<b>231</b>
	<b>GLOSSARY</b>	<b>248</b>
	<b>ANNEXES</b>	<b>250</b>