# STAYING ON THE MAP: AN ANALYSIS OF THE IMMEDIATE OUTCOMES OF AMALGAMATION OF PALESTINIAN LOCAL GOVERNMENTS IN THE WEST BANK

## Ву

### Majida Awashreh

MSc, Development Studies, University of London, UK
MPhil, English Language and Literature, University of Bergen, Norway
BA, English Language and Literature, Bir Zeit University, Palestine

A thesis submitted in fulfillment of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Geography, Environment and Population School of Social Sciences Faculty of Arts The University of Adelaide

March 2016

## **Table of Contents**

List of Figures	
List of Tables	
List of AcronymsAbstract	
Declaration	xi
Acknowledgements	1
Chapter One: Introduction	
1.1 Research Problem	
1.2 Research Questions and Hypotheses	
1.3 Research Context	
1.3.1 Political Context	5
1.3.2 Theoretical Context	6
1.3.3 Methodological Context	8
1.4 Significance	10
1.5 Definition of Reform Types	11
1.6 Thesis Organisation	12
Chapter Two: Background of Palestinian Local Goverment	
2.1.1 Area and Population	
2.1.2 Basic Social and Economic Development Indicators	
2.1.3 Territorial and Functional Fragmentation	
2.2 Local Government under Foreign Control	
2.3 Local Government after Oslo Accords	
2.3.1 Structure and Size	
2.3.2 Functions and Finances	
2.3.3 Representation and Democracy	
2.4 Conclusion	
2.4 Odifidatori	20
Chapter Three: Understanding Consolidation	29
3.1 Theoretical Foundations of Consolidation	30
3.1.1 Economies of Scale	30
3.1.2 Democratic Deficit	35
3.2. Consolidation Outcomes: Empirical Evidence	39
3.2.1 Expenditure, Services and Taxation	39
3.2.2 Institutional Capacity and Sustainability	42
3.2.3 Regional Growth	43
3.2.6 Local Democracy and Participation	45

3.3 Determinants of Policy Outcomes	49
3.3.1 Voluntariness and Policy Incentives	50
3.3.2 Disparities between Constituent Communities	52
3.3.3 Actors and Agendas; Winners and Losers	55
3.3.4 Drivers for Reform	57
3.4 Alternatives to Consolidation	60
3.5 Conclusion	62
Chapter Four:Methodology	63
4.2 Research Design	
4.2.1 Multi-Stakeholder Approach	
4.2.1 Quantitative Methods	
4.2.3 Selection of Target Areas and Informants	
4.3 Data Collection	
4.4 Response Rates	
4.5 Data Analysis Framework	
4.6 Validity and Reliability	
4.7 Challenges and Limitations	
4.8 Conclusion	
Chapter Five: Insitutional Capacities of Consolidated Councils	89
5.0 Introduction	
5.1. Human Resources	90
5.1.1 Staff Number, Cost and Distribution	90
5.1.2 Staff Satisfaction and Attitude to Consolidation	98
5.1.3 Personnel Share of Revenues and Expenditures	99
5.2 Financial Resources	102
5.2.1 Income, Revenue and Policy Incentives	
5.2.2 Administrative and Service Expenditures	
5.2.3 LGU Liabilities	
5.3. Organisational Structure and Functional Mandate	
5.4 Conclusion	128
Chapter Six: Local Representation and Democracy	<b>130</b>
6.2 Government Costs	
6.3 Public Accessibility to LGU	
6.3.1 Accessibility to Elected Representatives	
6.3.2 Physical Accessibility	

6.4 Public Consultation and Non-Electoral Participation	141
6.5 Electoral Participation	146
6.5.1 Council Formation Methods	147
6.5.2 Community Competition and Representation	150
6.5.3 Political Competitiveness	155
6.5.4 Gender and Youth Participation	158
6.6 Conclusion	163
Chapter 7: Territorial Criteria and Outcomes	
7.2 Territorial Criteria of Consolidation	168
7.2.1 Community Size and Marginalisation	170
7.2.2 Criteria for Annexation and Amalgamation	174
7.2.3 Cluster Contiguity and Coherence	178
7.3. Jurisdictional Fragmentation of Consolidated LGUs	180
7.4. Territorial Outcomes and Barriers to Defragmentation	183
7.4.1 Land and Property Taxation	183
7.4.2 Spatial and Land-Use Planning	186
7.5 Conclusion	195
Chapter Eight: Community Satisfaction, Preferences and Recommendations 8.1 Citizen Satisfaction of LGU Performance After Consolidation	
8.2 Community Assessment of Policy Outcomes	204
8.3 Community Preferences for Deconsolidation and Representation	206
8.4 Stakeholders' Recommendations and Alternatives	210
8.4.1 Preference for Functional Reforms	210
8.4.2 Public Perceptions of Policy Alternatives	213
8.4.3 Perceptions of Consolidation in Independent Communities	
8.5 Conclusion	
Chapter Nine: Discussion, Recommendations and Policy Implications	
9.1 Policy Outcomes and Implications	
9.1.1. Institutional Capacity Outcomes	221
9.1.2. Local Democracy Outcomes	227
9.1.3. Territorial Defragmentation Outcomes	231
9.2 Policy Drivers and Motives	233
9.2.1 The Political Economy Approach	233
9.2.2 The Crisis Model	236
9.3 Final Assessment of Policy Success	237
9.4. Study Recommendations	239
9.4.1 Deconsolidation	239

9.4.2 Municipal Formation and Boundary Modification Legislation	242
9.4.3 Inter-Governmental Fiscal Relations and Transfers	245
9.5 Territorial and Administrative Reorganisation	247
9.6 Conclusions and Further Areas for Research	249
10. References	251
11. Appendices	266
Appendix (1): Citizen Perceptions Survey for Consolidated Communities	
Appendix (2): Citizen Perceptions Survey for Independent Communities	269
Appendix (3): Questions for Focus Group Discussions	271
Appendix (4): Questions for Semi-Structured Interviews	272
Appendix (5): Demographical Distribution of Study Sample In the West Bank	274
Appendix (6): Demographic Profile of Survey Respondents, by Sample, Reform Type and Year	275
Appendix (7): Framework for Data Analysis	277
Appendix (8): Informants' Recommendations Pertaining to Local Government Law and Reform	279
Appendix (9): Informants' Recommendations Specific to Consolidation	280

# List of Figures

5' 04 TI 0 1' 1I 1' 1' 1' 1' 1' 1' 1' 1' 1' 1' 1' 1' 1'	Page
Figure 2.1: The Geographical Location of the Occupied Palestinian Territories Figure 2.2: West Bank Fragmentation due to Oslo Accords, Israeli Settlements and Separation Wall	14 16
Figure 4.1: Sub-Sample Distribution by District and Number of LGUs and Communities	75
Figure 4.2: Sub-Sample Distribution by LGU Population Size of and Number of Communities	75
Figure 4.3: Regional Distribution of Research Tools and Target Areas	76
Figure 4.4: Number of Interviewees by Institutional Affiliations	78
Figure 4.5: Distribution of Focus Group Participants by Institutional Affiliations	79
Figure 4.6: Distribution of Survey Respondents by Gender and LGU	80
Figure 5.1: Number of LGU Staff by Population, and Number of Communities and Services (2013)	95
Figure 5.2: Project Support to Amalgamated LGUs (2009-2012)	107
Figure 5.3: LGUs Total Annual Revenues and Expenditures (2011-2012) in NIS Million	111
Figure 5.4: Annual Variation in Per-Capita Administrative and Total Expenditures (2011-2012)	115
Figure 5.5: Per Capita Total and Administrative Expenditures (2011-2012) by Ascending Population	116
Figure 5.6: LGU Liabilities at the End of 2012, by Descending Population, in NIS Million	119
Figure 5.7: Organisational Structure For a Rank C Municipality	124
Figure 6.1: Distribution of Government Costs by LGU (2011-2013)	135
Figure 6.2: Respondents' Perceptions of Accessibility to LGU and Services	139
Figure 6.3: Respondents' Who (Strongly) Disagreed with Public Participation Statements	141
Figure 6.4: Respondents perception of Public Participation, by LGU and Community Population	142
Figure 6.5: Satisfied of Election Results in Consolidated LGUs, by Community	149
Figure 7.1: Distribution of Palestinian LGUs after Consolidation, by LGU Population Size	177
Figure 7.2: Mutahida Draft Spatial Map, 2013	192
Figure 7.3: Kafreyyat Draft Spatial Map, 2013	193
Figure 7.4: Yassereyya Draft Spatial Map, 2013	194
Figure 81: Percentage of Respondents who Perceived Service Improvement after Consolidations	191
Figure 8.2: Percentage of Respondents who Perceived Service Improvement, by Community	193
Figure 8.3: Respondents' Perceptions of Best and Worst Outcomes of Consolidation	197
Figure 8.4: Local Preferences for Representation and Deconsolidation	198
Figure 8.5: Respondents Who (Strongly) Agreed on Deconsolidation, by Community	199
Figure 8.6: Respondents' Preferences for Alternative Reforms in Consolidated LGUs	205

# **List of Tables**

Table 2.1: West Bank Jurisdiction Arrangements in Oslo Accords Table 2.2: Distribution of Administrative Responsibilities in Areas A, B and C Table 2.3: Shared Local Responsibilities for Service Delivery and Regulation Table 2.4: Fragmentation of the Palestinian Administrative System (1967-2013) Table 2.5: LGU Ranks According to MOLG and MDLF Municipal Ranking Systems (2012)	Page 18 19 20 22 23
Table 3.1: Minimum Populations for Economies and Diseconomies of Scale after Consolidation Table 3.2: Post-Consolidation Population Size in Select Countries	32 33
Table 4.1: Distribution of Study Sample and Research Instruments Table 4.2: Modifications to the Study Sample during Fieldwork Table 4.3: Distribution of Small-Size Communities in the Sample, by Population Category Table 4.4: Response Rates in Study Sample, by Instrument and Gender of Respondents Table 4.5: Distribution of Interviewees by Type of institution, Region and Gender Table 4.6: Survey Distribution and Response Rate Compared to LGU Population Size	73 74 76 77 77 80
Table 5.1: Variation in LGU Personnel Number and Costs (2011-2013) Table 5.2: Population-Staff Ratio and Distribution by Employment Mode (2011/13) Table 5.3: Average LGU Staff and Ratio to Population in Services and Administration (2013) Table 5.4: Distribution of LGUs Human Resources in 2013, by Department (Total 258) Table 5.5: Percentage of Staff Costs of Revenue and Expenditure (2011-2012) in NIS Table 5.6: Percentage of Staff Costs of Revenue and Expenditure (2011-2012) by LGU Table 5.7: LGUs Actual Revenues 2011-2013, in NIS million Table 5.8: Distribution of LGU Actual Income by Source (2007-2013) Table 5.9: Percentage of LGUs Actual Revenues in 2011-2012 (Total: NIS 20.4 Million) Table 5.10: Support to Consolidation Policy by Funding Source and Purpose (2011-2013) Table 5.11: LGUs Actual vs. Estimated Revenue and Expenditure (2011-2012) in NIS Million Table 5.12: Percentages of LGU Expenditures, by Function (2007-2012) Table 5.13: Per-Capita Expenditures (2011-2012) by Reform Type and Population, in NIS Table 5.14: Pre-Consolidation Surplus and Debt Transferred to Consolidated LGU (2010) Table 5.15: LGUs Accumulative Liabilities at the End of 2012 Financial Year, in NIS Million	90 92 94 96 99 100 102 103 104 106 113 114 118 120
Table 6.1: Changes in LGUs Government Indictors in the Study Sample (2005-2013) Table 6.2: Government Costs in Study Sample (2011-2013), in NIS Thousand Table 6.3: Respondent Satisfaction with Election Results, by Formation Method Table 6.4: Percentage of Respondents Satisfied of Election Results, by LGU Population Table 6.5: Election Participation Indicators of Elected LGUs in Sample Communities Table 6.6: LGU Elections Results by Political Affiliation and Reform Type Era Table 6.7: Results of National and Local Elections (2004/5-2012/13) Table 6.8: Distribution of Councillors by Gender and LGU Formation Method (2005-2013) Table 6.9: Women and Youth Representation in the LGUs Sample (2005-2013) Table 6.10: Women and Youth Participation Indicators in the Study Sample (2012/13)	131 134 147 148 150 155 156 158 159
Table 7.1: Territorial Objectives of Consolidation According to Respondents Table 7.2: Territorial Objectives of Consolidation, by LGU and Population Size Table 7.3: State-Building Strategies According to Survey Respondents Table 7.4: Population Density and LGUs Lacking Basic Services in Targeted Districts (2010) Table 7.5: Percentage of Respondents with Relationship to Constituent Communities Table 7.6: Total and Built-Up Densities in 2012 in 2010 Consolidations Table 7.7: 2012 Total and Average Built-Up Densities by Reform Type Table 7.8: West Bank Land Uses in Draft Palestinian National Spatial Plan (2013) Table 7.9: Regional Land Use Patterns in the West Bank (2010)	165 166 168 171 180 182 183 189

Table 8:1 Community Satisfaction of LGU Performance in 2010 Consolidations	199
Table 8.2: LGUs Total and Per-Capita Service Expenditure (2011-2012)	200
Table 8.3: Deconsolidation Preferences by Population and Number of Representatives	208
Table 8.4: Respondents' Preference for Deconsolidation, by Demographic Profile	209
Table 8.5: Community Perceptions of Consolidation Criteria and Alternatives	216
Table 8.6: Community Perceptions of Alternatives to Consolidation	217
Table 9.1: Summary of Findings on Policy Outcomes (2011-2012)	208
Table 9.2: Assessing the Palestinian Experience on the Policy Success Spectrum	238

## **List of Acronyms**

APLA Association of Palestinian Authorities

CEC Central Elections Commission

JSCs Joint Service Councils

LGU Local Government Unit

MDLF Municipal Development and Lending Fund

MOLG Ministry of Local Government

MOPAD Ministry of Planning and Administrative Development

NIS New Israeli Shekel

OCHA United Nations Office for the coordination of Humanitarian Affairs in the

Occupied Palestinian Territory

OPT Occupied Palestinian Territories

PLO Palestine Liberation Organisation

PNA Palestinian National Authority

PCBS Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics

UNDP United Nations Development Programme

#### **Abstract**

Since 2010, a large-scale consolidation policy has been enforced in Palestine motivated by building capacity of small Palestinian local governments and improving service delivery in West Bank rural areas. Theoretical justifications for consolidation anticipate increased efficiency in local government performance based on assumptions of economies of scale resulting from increasing population size of local governments. Arguments against consolidation point to a negative relationship between population size and local democracy and participation. Both theoretical assumptions have not been empirically proven. A large body of literature that investigated outcomes of consolidation has found mixed results for local government efficiency, organisational capacity and democratic government.

This thesis uses a mixed method approach to analyse immediate outcomes of Palestinian consolidations against a control sample of non-consolidated units. Due to the unavailability of data on performance prior to consolidation, the methodology included comparative analysis with a sample of consolidations that occurred in the last decade. This thesis argues that internal and external dimensions of local government capacity need to be addressed, particularly financial resources, functional mandate, jurisdictional integrity and democratic government. The thesis had three research hypotheses. Firstly, given the policy objectives, improvements in human and material resources, structure and service were anticipated. Secondly, local democracy and participation was expected to decrease after consolidation due to the decline in the number of councillors, strong traditional ties to local communities and territorial fragmentation of population centres. The third hypothesis was that consolidated LGUs are unlikely to exercise full control over territorial jurisdictions and populations due to geopolitical fragmentation.

Findings show that consolidation has mixed results on institutional capacity, negative effects on political representation and democracy and no effect on territorial defragmentation. Outcomes varied significantly between individual LGUs of the same population size. Citizens were most satisfied with improvement in local infrastructure and least satisfied with disruption to social relationships between communities and community representation within elected councils. Results show that post-consolidation capacity is dependent on pre-consolidation capacity of constituencies, state support of consolidation policy, extent of public acceptance of consolidated governments and other reform policies implemented concurrently with consolidation. Public policies focusing on debt

reduction and utility reforms have more serious impacts than consolidation on local government resources, functions and sustainability potential.

The findings of this study have implications on future local government reform. Structural reforms need to be governed by specific legislation regarding boundary delimitation which provides opportunities for public participation throughout the policy process. Building capacity of local government also necessitates a revision of division of functional roles and fiscal responsibilities between government tiers in addition to resolution of major territorial issues.

**Declaration** 

I certify that this work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other

degree or diploma in my name, in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my

knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person,

except where due reference has been made in the text. In addition, I certify that no part of this work

will, in the future, be used in a submission in my name, for any other degree or diploma in any

university or other tertiary institution without the prior approval of the University of Adelaide and

where applicable, any partner institution responsible for the joint-award of this degree.

I give consent to this copy of my thesis, when deposited in the University Library, being made

available for loan and photocopying, subject to the provisions of the Copyright Act 1968.

I also give permission for the digital version of my thesis to be made available on the web, via the

University's digital research repository, the Library Search and also through web search engines,

unless permission has been granted by the University to restrict access for a period of time.

SIGNED Majida Awashreh DATE: March 05,2016

Χİ

#### Acknowledgements

I would like to express my special appreciation and thanks to my supervisors, Dr. Melissa Nursery-Bray and Dr. Dianne Rudd for their guidance and support throughout the study period and the writing of this thesis. My thanks also go to the staff of the Department of Geography and Environment and Population for their kind assistance.

I offer sincere thanks and gratitude to all of the respondents and local councils and organisations in the West Bank who made this research happen, by taking time to participate in this research or suppling additional document. I specifically thank all the local councils and District Offices of the Ministry of Local Government for their help in coordination of research activities in their areas and for their hospitality and permission to use their premises.

In full gratitude I would like to acknowledge the following individuals who helped with the citizen survey questionnaires, particularly the research assistants, Ibrahim Abu Rayya and Roa'a Jaber, my brothers Faed and Raed Awashreh, and my brother-in-law Ahmed Ghannam.

I offer special thanks to all my colleagues and friends, especially Jasmine Palmer and Christina Yeo who spent many hours discussing this research and for their moral support.

At the end I would like to express my deep appreciation to my family and husband for supporting me emotionally and mentally throughout this journey. Without their support and encouragement, this thesis would not have been possible