

# Palestinian Territories

## Conflict Risk Assessment



# Plan

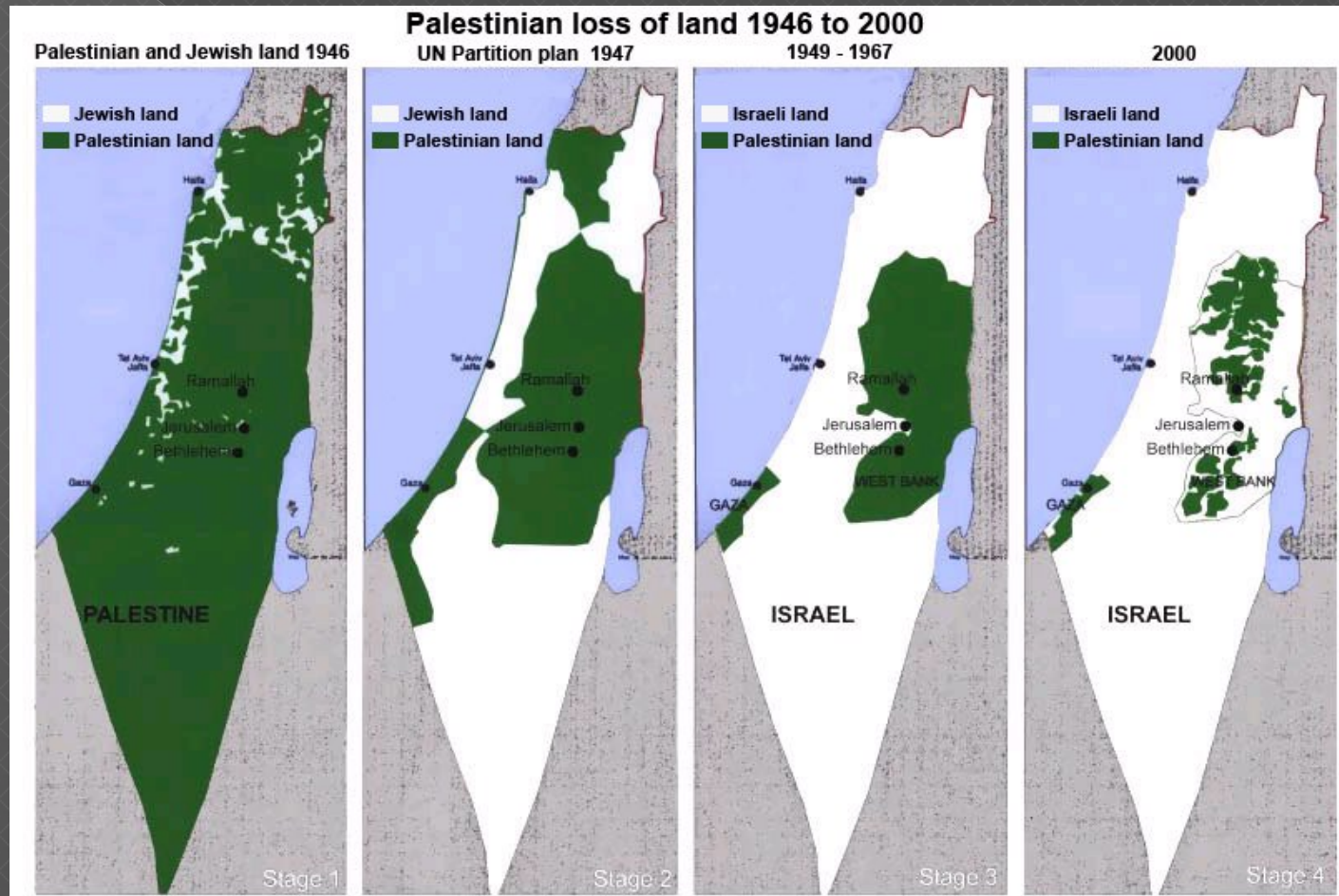


1. Introduction
2. Indicators
3. Scenarios
4. Discussion Questions

# Overview

- Conflict intensity has been on a decline over the past 6 years
- Political deadlock, human rights abuses and corruption significant obstacles to good governance in the PT
- Increased population density and urban growth contributing to environmental, economic and demographic strains
- Structural obstacles to economic growth and political stability as a result of Israeli occupation and settlement construction

# Background



# External Stakeholders

## Primary External Stakeholders

- The United States  
*(Mixed)*
- The European Union  
*(Positive)*
- The United Nations  
*(Positive)*
- Israel *(Negative)*
- The Arab League / Arab States  
*(Mixed)*



# Internal Stakeholders

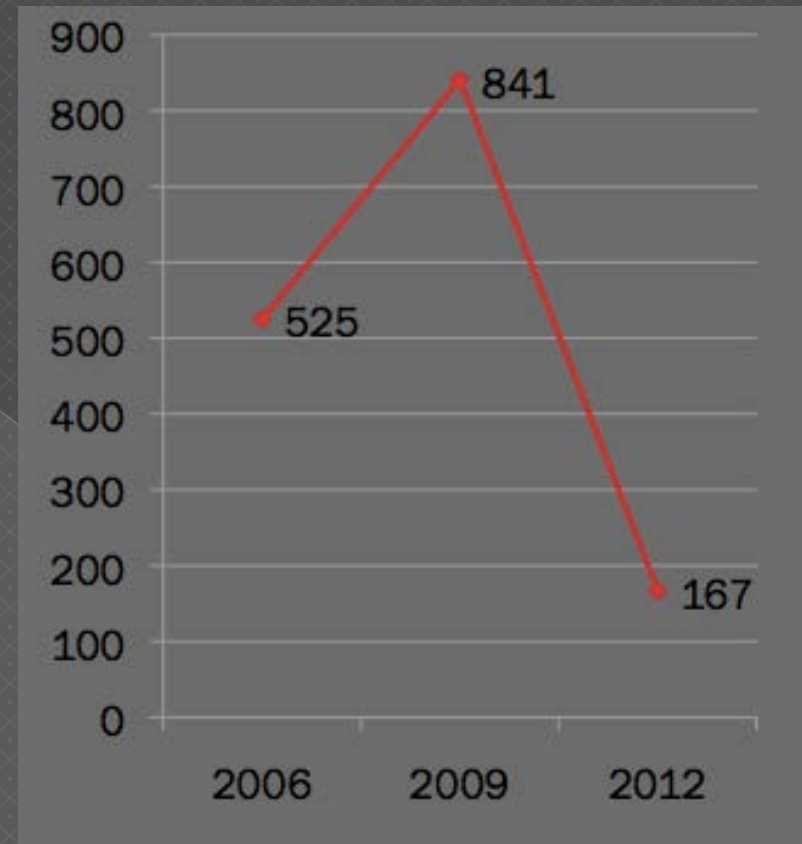
- Palestinian Authority/State of Palestine (Mixed)
  - President: Mahmoud Abbas
  - Prime Minister: Rami Hamdullah
  - Governing body in the West Bank
  - Resumed Negotiations with Israel
- Hamas (Mixed)
  - Prime Minister: Ismail Haniyeh
  - Chief of Political Bureau: Khaled Mashall
  - Objectives: Liberation of Palestine using armed struggle
  - Flexibility - Ceasefire
  - Providing basic needs in the Gaza
- Non-Fatah/Hamas Paramilitary Organizations (Negative)
  - Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ)
  - Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine – General Command (PFLP-GC)
  - Objectives: Liberation of Palestine using armed struggle
- Palestinian Population (Mixed)
  - Seeks peace despite reservations
  - Public sector unions are active
- Israeli Settler Population (Negative)
  - Destabilizing
  - Confiscation of Palestinian property
  - Negotiation Roadblock

# History of Armed Conflict

Medium Risk and Improving

Annual Conflict Related Deaths

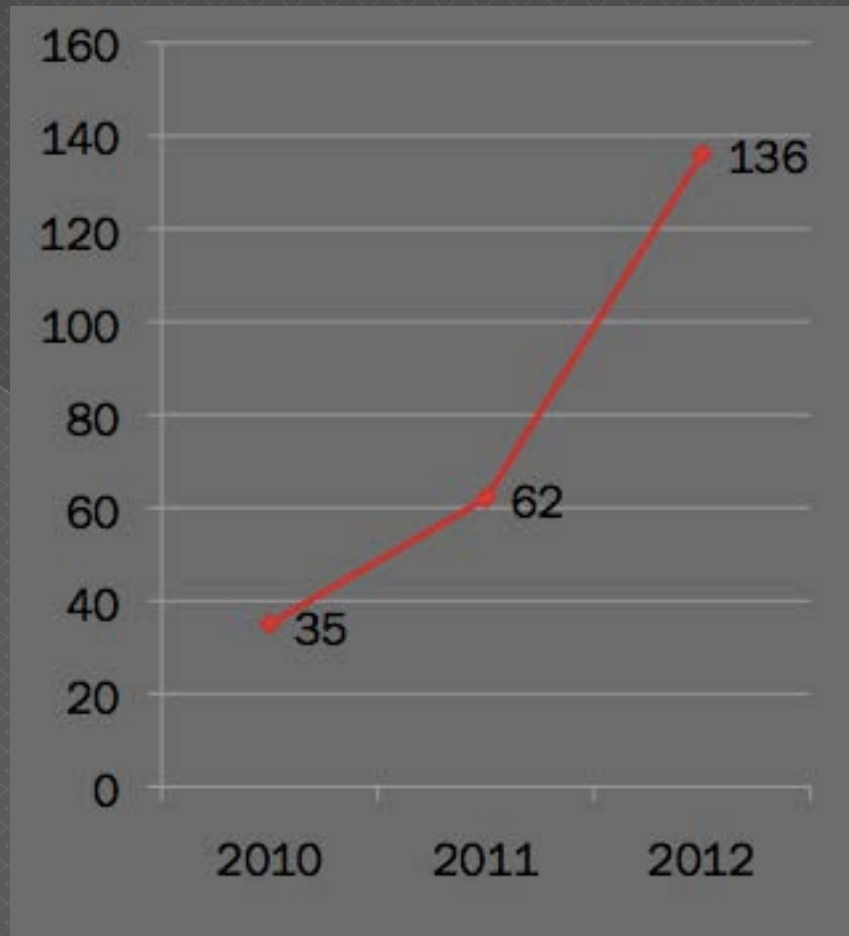
- Current trends for conflict related deaths has decreased overall despite a 2009 peak (UPPSALA and OCHA).
- Improving



# History of Armed Conflict

## Annual Palestinian Civilian Deaths

- Palestinian Civilian Deaths increased drastically in the past 3 years (OCHA)
- Deteriorating





# History of Armed Conflict

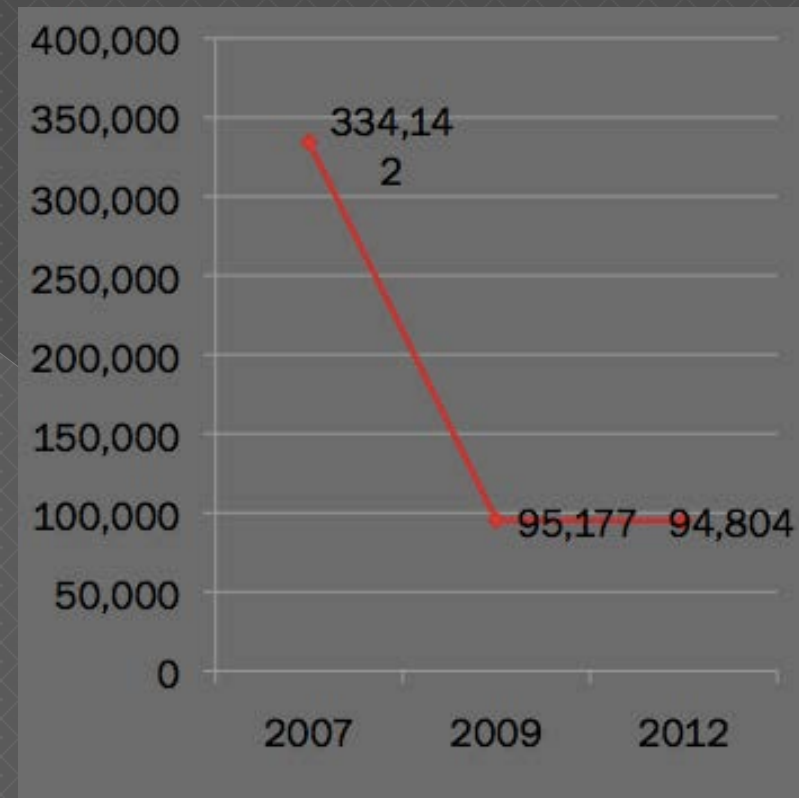
## Total Number of Refugees (1947-present)

- Total number of Palestinian Refugees has increased from 4.3 mn (2006) to 4.9 mn in 2012. (UNHCR)
- Deteriorating

# History of Armed Conflict

## Number of Refugees Produced

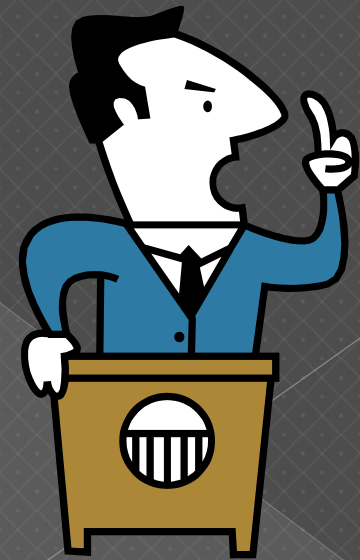
- Yearly increase in Refugee in absolute terms has declined drastically (UNHCR).
- Improving



# Governance and Political Stability

High Risk and Deteriorating

- Level of Democracy
- Regime Durability
- Restrictions on Civil and Political Rights
- Restrictions on Press Freedom
- Level of Corruption



# Governance and Political Stability

## I. Level of Democracy

- Democratic elections in place for the presidency, legislature, and local councils since 1994 (Oslo).
- Direct vote multi-party system

## II. Regime Durability

- While Mahmoud Abbas (Fatah) won the presidency in 2005, Hamas won the majority of seats in the 2006 legislative elections.
- Resulted in a conflict between Fatah and Hamas.
- Hybrid Regime - Institutional Polarization.



# Governance and Political Stability

## III. Restrictions on Civil and Political Rights

- Rule of Law (2010): 49%
- Voice and Accountability (2010): 26%
- Civil liberties/political rights are more restricted in Gaza.

## IV. Restrictions on Press Freedom

- Freedom House (2012) scores press status as “not free”
- TI Press Freedom Index (2011-2): 153/179

# Governance and Political Stability

## V. Level of Corruption

- 41% Palestinians engaged in corruption for public sector services in 2011. It remains prevalent in all sectors.

BUT....

Control of Corruption (2010): 48%

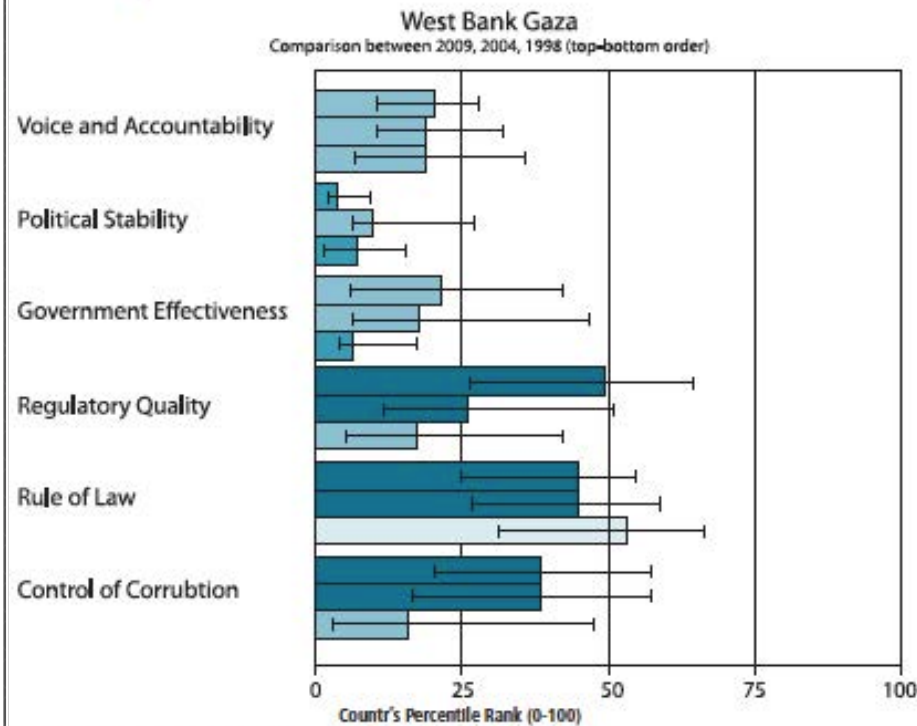
>>> a vast improvement from 16% (2005).

Palestinian Anti-Corruption Commission

Codes of Conduct

# Governance and Political Stability

Figure 3: Worldwide Governance Indicators for West Bank and Gaza



Source: Kaufmann D., A. Kraay, and M. Mastruzzi (2010), The Worldwide Governance Indicators: Methodology and Analytical Issues

Note: The governance indicators presented here aggregate the views on the quality of governance provided by a large number of enterprise, citizen and expert survey respondents in industrial and developing countries. These data are gathered from a number of survey institutes, think tanks, non-governmental organizations, and international organizations. The WGI do not reflect the official views of the World Bank, its Executive Directors, or the countries they represent. The WGI are not used by the World Bank Group to allocate resources.

# Militarization

## Medium Risk and Stable

### Military Expenditure

- Oslo Accord (1993) – PA cannot have their own standing army. Only public Security forces.
- 28% of PA 2013 budget spent on their security forces

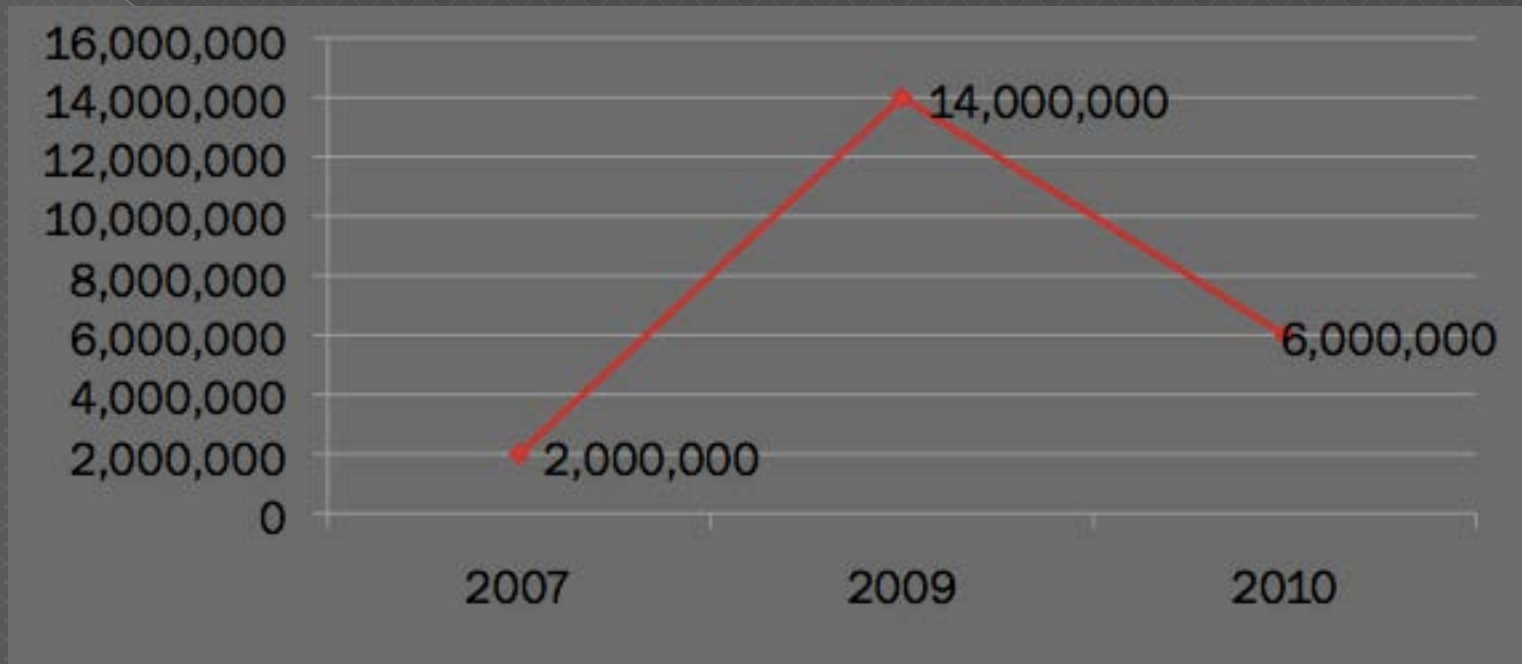


# Militarization

## Total Security Forces

- Total estimated number between 2006-2012: 56,000 (IISS Military Balance).
- Number has not changed due to scarce data.
- A number of are designated terrorist organizations by US
- Stable

# Militarization

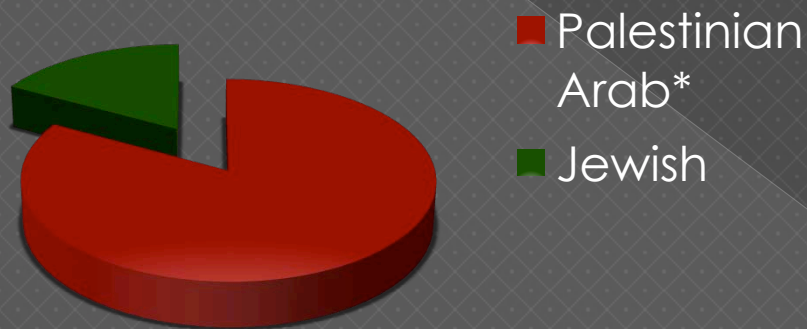


Arms Imports (USD)

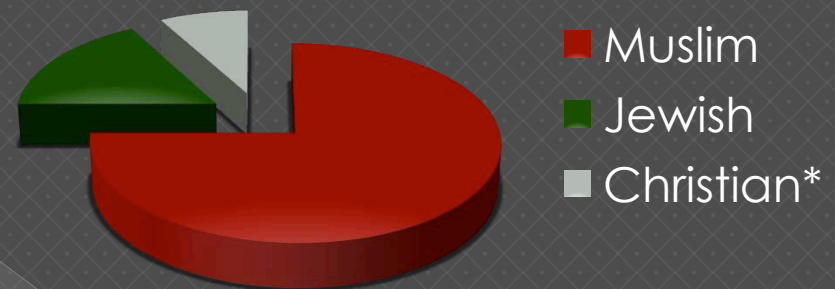
Despite a peak in 2009, annual Arms Imports has been on current downward trend.

# Population Heterogeneity

## Ethnicity in West Bank



## Religion in the West Bank



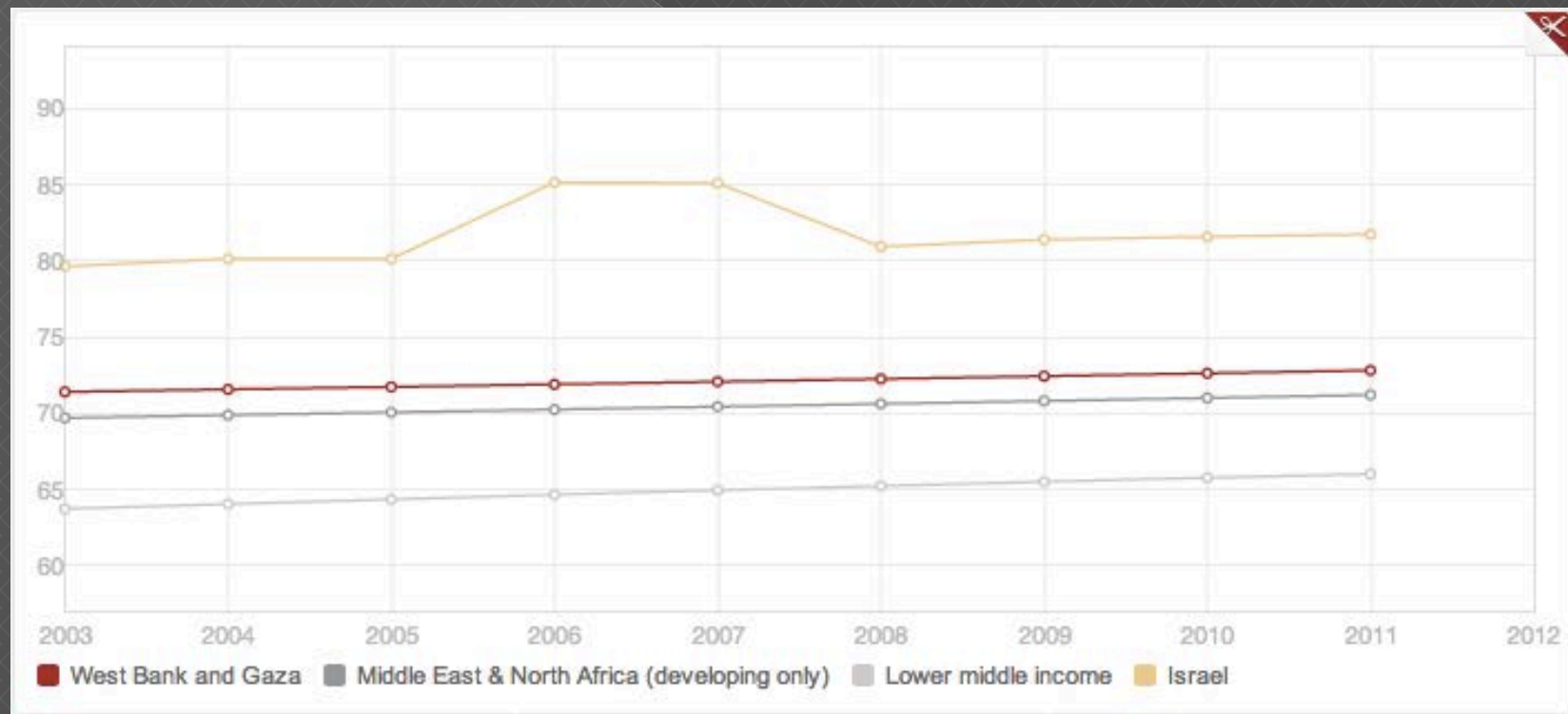
Indicator: Medium Risk and Deteriorating

- Both the West Bank and Gaza are very homogenous, the Gaza Strip even more so. The predominant ethnicity is Palestinian Arab and the predominant religion is Sunni Muslim. However, increased settler populations erode this homogeneity.
- Jewish settlers represent the most sizeable minority, however it should be noted that they are not indigenous residents of the Palestinian Territories that are engaging in internal rebellion but citizens and representatives of an expansionist neighbour. They do not constitute a 'minority at risk'.

# Demographic Stress

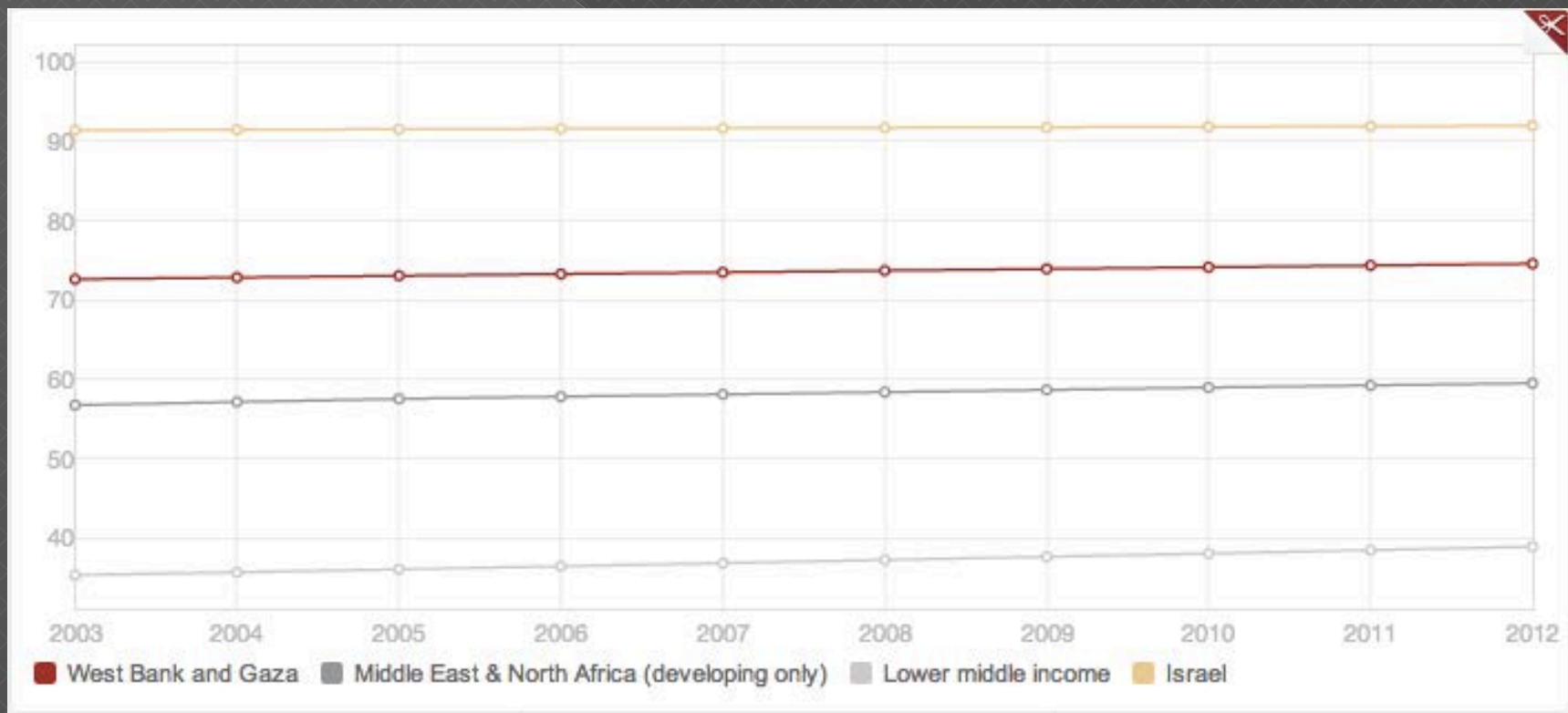
Indicator: High Risk and Deteriorating

- Life expectancy at birth in the Palestinian Territories is a stabilizing factor. It is relatively high at 73 (on average) and gradually improving. It is higher in the West Bank than in Gaza and, as expected, higher for females than for males.



# Demographic Stress

- Several factors are particularly worrisome, including population density, urban population, urban population as a percentage of the total, and the youth bulge (although the latter is ameliorating as the population ages).



# Economic Performance

## High Risk and Stable

- (+) Economy has grown every year since 2006
- (+) Average Annual increase in private employment since 1995
- (-) High unemployment: WB 17.3% Gaza 26.8%
- (-) PA/SOP budget has a billion dollar deficit, expected to worsen
- (-) chronically dependent on donor aid and Israeli tax transfers that are withheld for political purposes
- (-) Young population with low labour force participation
- (-) Severe restrictions by Israel on mobility, security wall isolating economically interdependent areas in WB, crippling blockade in GAZA
- (+) After delays this year donor aid and tax revenue flowing back in to public coffers
- (+) Some recent easing of restrictions by Israel

# Human Development

## Medium Risk and Stable

- (+) 95.7% adult literacy rate, 92% primary school enrollment, 83.52% secondary enrollment
- (+) Infant mortality rate improving: 13.5/1000 WB, 16/1000 Gaza, down .5 -1 a year every year in past 10
- (+) 1,5% improvement in maternal mortality rate between 2005-present
- (-) 82% of Palestinians have access to improved drinking water
- (-) Israeli restrictions on development of Palestinian water infrastructure
- (-) Israeli blockade of Gaza leading to humanitarian crisis

# Environmental Stress

## High Risk and Deteriorating

- (+) Palestinian ecosystem home to 23.159 hectares of forest
- (+) 60 indigenous tree and 90 bush species
- (+) Forests contribute to Palestinian economy through non-timber forest products: i.e. fruit, nuts, honey, wax, resins, dyes, timber/firewood for industry and heating
- (-) 10.96% of arable land comprised of permanent crops
- (-) 16% of biomass on land has degraded over past 10 years, only 3% has improved
- (-) deforestation resulting from grazing, soil erosion, fire, exotic species, urban development, pop. Growth



# International Linkages

## Medium Risk and Improving International Organizational Linkages

- The PLO/SOP is party to approximately 21 regional and international organizations, mainly economic and social in nature.
- December 2012: PLO succeeds in its bid to become a *non-member observer state* in the UN. Although this raised Palestine's international profile, it falls short of bestowing full membership privileges.
- Heavy reliance on foreign aid.



# International Linkages

## Israel

Longstanding sovereignty, territorial, resource based dispute

Peace Talks since July 29, 2013

## Egypt

Gaza Blockade

## Middle East and North African Region

High conflict intensity and frequency

A number has a longstanding animosity with Israel

Arab Spring (2010) - Democratization

# Scenarios

## Best Case Scenario

Conflict intensity continues to decrease. Hamas renounces violence and recognizes Israel, leading to reconciliation with Fatah based on a power-sharing agreement and followed by a new round of free and fair elections. Subsequently, a negotiated peace settlement between PA/SOP is signed (partial withdrawal of settlers and mutually agreed upon borders and land swaps). Easing of the Israeli blockade of Gaza and mobility restrictions in the West Bank lead to improved human development indicators.

## Worst Case Scenario

Indicators of economic health decline. The PA/SOP collapses as a result of a worsening crisis of internal legitimacy, followed by a spike in conflict intensity. A renewed round of violence between Hamas and Israel occurs. Israel engages in a full-scale occupation of the West Bank and increases annexation of Palestinian lands. An increase in refugees produced and a decrease in regional stability results as Arab states oppose Israeli unilateral action and non-state actors seek violent reprisals.

## Most Likely Scenario

Israeli-Palestinian conflict in the West Bank continues to decrease in intensity. The resumption of previously frozen donor aid and easing of Israeli restrictions lead to improved economic and human development indicators. The government continues to reign in corruption. Fatah and Hamas continue negotiations but the are ultimately unfruitful in the short-term. An interim peace agreement is signed by Israel and the PA/SOP, excluding Hamas. Such an agreement mandates an expansion of areas under control of Palestinians and reduced settlement expansion and internal mobility restrictions in exchange for Israeli absorption of certain settlement blocks.

# Discussion Questions

1. Is the United States a credible third-party mediator for the Israeli-Palestinian conflict?
2. What, if anything, will the current round of negotiations between Israel and Palestine produce?
3. Although classified as internal stakeholders, to what extent do Israeli settlers represent external stakeholder interests?
4. What is the role of the Palestinian Diaspora in stabilizing or destabilizing the Palestinian Territories?