

THE WEST BANK HANDBOOK

A Political Lexicon

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Jordan. In fact, his program is close to the maximalist approach in that it leaves less than a quarter of the West Bank under Arab control. Although it does not call for the general annexation of the West Bank, it does represent a transition from the assumption behind the Allon Plan – that it would be possible to predicate an agreement on the West Bank upon territorial compromise – to the aim of unilateral reorganization on the part of Israel in some areas heavily populated by Arabs, although not in all of them.

DEMOGRAPHY (ISRAELI)

The number of Jewish settlers on the West Bank for the years 1972-85, is as follows:

1972 – 1,182	1976 – 3,176	1980 – 12,424	1984 – 42,600
1973 – 1,514	1977 – 5,023	1981 – 16,119	1985 – 52,000
1974 – 2,019	1978 – 7,361	1982 – 20,600	
1975 – 2,581	1979 – 10,001	1983 – 27,500	

Two major phases may be distinguished, the first from 1968-1977, concurrent with the Alignment government's term of office, the second from 1977-84, concurrent with the Likud administration. During the first period annual growth (1972-77) averaged 65 percent, and in the second period (1977-84) it almost doubled, averaging 121 percent. Since 1982, the rate of growth has considerably increased and the number of settlers has doubled within two years. The average absolute annual growth in the Alignment period was about 770 settlers and under the Likud about 5,400 settlers. In 1984, for the first time, the growth rate exceeded 10,000 settlers per year. These differing rates of growth highlight the differences in the extent to which public resources were distributed under the Alignment and Likud governments (See INVESTMENT IN SETTLEMENTS). They represent the differing approaches of the two political movements with regard to settling the West Bank. These divergent approaches are also clearly expressed in the location of the West Bank settlements. The growth rate of more than 50% between 1982-1983 and 1983-1984 slowed to 21.5% between 1984-1985. The absolute growth in 1985 was 9,165 compared with 15,000 in 1984.

With the fall of the last Alignment government in May, 1977, there were 34 settlements in the West Bank, 21 of them in the Jordan Valley and its western slopes, two in the Jerusalem area, six in the Etzion bloc, one in Kiryat Arba, two in the Latrun area, and two on the mountain ridge running in a southerly direction from Nablus to Hebron. In 1982, there were 71 West Bank settlements (including NAHAL outposts), 16 of them in the Jerusalem area, 21 on the mountain ridge, 11 in Western Samaria (Tel Aviv area), 20 in the Jordan Valley, and three south of Mt. Hebron. In 1984 the number climbed to 114, distributed as follows: 24 in the

Jerusalem area, 26 on the mountain ridge, 20 in Western Samaria, 26 in the Jordan Valley, and 12 on Mt. Hebron (See ALLON PLAN, DROBLESS PLAN). The rest are nahal camps. Only one additional settlement had been added in 1985.

By 1984, 72.5 percent of the Israeli settlers were located in 15 large settlements (over 180 families per settlement), with 27.5 percent living in 99 small settlements. One quarter of all settlers were living within the municipal boundaries of Ma'aleh Adumim, an outlying suburb of Jerusalem. Distribution of the settlements by size reveals that 42.8 percent were populated by 20 or fewer families, 38.0 percent had between 20 and 50 families, 8 percent of the settlements had 50 to 100 families, 4.5 percent had 100-250 families, and 7.5 percent of the settlements had a population of more than 280 families. These data reveal the growth problems of the smaller settlements. By contrast, those planned as KIRIYOT or TOSHAVOT appear to have rapid growth potential. There has been no change in demographic distribution in this regard, since 1984.

In 1982, 57.0 percent of settlers were located in the metropolitan areas of Jerusalem and Tel Aviv. Forty percent were in the Jerusalem area (within a radius of 20 kilometers) and 17.5 percent were in the Tel Aviv area, within a commuting distance of 30-45 minutes. The rest were settled on the mountain ridge (29 percent) and in the Jordan Valley (13.5 percent). By 1985 there was a pronounced shift in the population center: 75.0 percent were living in the metropolitan areas, 17.5 percent on the mountain ridge and only 7.5 percent in the Jordan Valley. The growth in the metropolitan area of Tel Aviv was particularly rapid. There was almost no population increase in the Jordan Valley and, on the mountain ridge, settled mainly by members of Gush Emunim, growth was limited. In 1985 only 110 families joined COMMUNITY SETTLEMENTS. In July 1985 the World Zionist Organization published a demographic census of the community settlements in the West Bank. The socio-economic profile that emerges from this census is illuminating. Average family size in the settlements is 4.7 persons per family, average age 36; native-born Israelis - 63.1%; European or American-born - 22.4%, Asian or African-born - 13.8%.

If we include the origin of fathers of native-born Israelis, it emerges that about 29% are oriental and 61% are ashkenazim (the rest are third generation Israelis).

The inventory of houses and the projected rate of building starts permits the housing of 1,500 - 2,000 families per year. It is estimated that by the end of the 1980's, the number of Jewish settlers on the West Bank will reach 100,000. (See MINISTRY OF HOUSING).

DEMOGRAPHY (PALESTINIAN)

Data on the size of the population of the West Bank are based on estimates and statistical models and not on census. No census has been taken since 1967, even though during this period two full population censuses were conducted in Israel, in 1972 and 1983. Until 1972 three different figures had been published for the region's population. In 1980, the Central Bureau of Statistics published a population estimate of 704,000. The same year, the published Interior Ministry estimate was 871,000. The staff officer for statistics published his own figure - 750,000.

Publication of population data, other than by the Central Bureau of Statistics, was discontinued in 1982. According to the bureau's figures, the West Bank population at the end of 1984 was 787,000, not including Jewish settlers or the Arabs of East Jerusalem. This figure represents the population present at the end of the year and does not include 150,000 holders of West Bank identity cards residing abroad whose papers are deposited at the border stations. If these are included, the sum total of West Bank residents reaches over 900,000. At the end of 1967 there were 586,000 residents, in other words, there has been an increase of over 200,000 (present population), or 32 percent, in 18 years. Since the beginning of 1970, when war-related migration came to an end, the growth reached 34 percent. An examination of the annual growth rate reveals considerable changes from year to year. In the period 1969-1974, it stood at 2.4 percent, from 1975-79 at 1.5 percent, in 1980-81 at 0.8 percent and in 1982-83, at 2.4 percent. In 1984 the rate jumped to 2.7 percent - 3.1 percent natural increase and emigration of 0.4 percent. By comparison, between 1952 and 1967 under Jordanian rule, average annual growth rate was only 0.9 percent, half the rate under Israeli occupation.

The sources of population growth are fertility, live births minus deaths, and the migration balance. The fertility rate of the West Bank population has not changed over the last generation. The gross birth rate is 45 per 1,000 and total births are 30,000 each year (1974-1983). Under-registration of deaths, in particular of neonates and the elderly, makes estimates of natural increase and life expectancy controversial (See HEALTH). The Central Bureau of Statistics puts infant mortality at 60-70 per 1,000. Life expectancy is estimated at more than 60 for men and 64 for women. The annual rate of natural increase (live births minus deaths) averages 3 percent. The principal factor affecting population size and its growth rate is balance of migration.

During the Jordanian period, emigration from the West Bank was almost offset by natural increase. It is estimated that almost 400,000

persons left the West Bank between 1948 and 1966. Jordanian government economic policy, which accelerated East Bank development at the expense of the West Bank, created a strong incentive for emigration. This emigration was not uniform for all socio-economic groups. The number of Christians leaving was greater than that of Muslims and residents of refugee camps tended to emigrate less than permanent residents. Most emigrants during the Jordanian period were men under 40 years of age seeking a livelihood. During the 1960's women and children began to leave in order to reunite with their husbands. Between 1952 and 1961 the West Bank's population grew by only 63,000.

As a direct result of the 1967 war, 215,000 people left the West Bank – a fifth of its population. In the period after the war, emigration continued. With the exception of two years – 1969 and 1973 – there was a negative balance of migration each year. In total, 147,000 people emigrated between 1968 and 1983. Emigration was not uniform. In the period 1969-1974 it was of minor dimensions: 13,800 people, as against 69,100 in 1978-1979. During the years 1980-81 alone, 33,000 emigrated. In the years 1982-83 the level shrank considerably (10,600 people) and in 1984 the migration balance was 3,000. The emigration rate was especially high for men between the ages of 18 and 24, and those with secondary school and post-secondary education (See UNIVERSITY GRADUATES). Of West Bankers who were between the ages of 10 and 24 in 1961 (between 33 and 47 in 1983), only 27 percent of men and 40 percent of women have remained. Of the total initial cohort ages of 10 and 21 in 1967 (27-35 in 1983) only 30 percent of the men and 50 percent of the women continue to live in the West Bank. The causes of emigration are the classic socio-economic "push and pull" factors. It is commonplace to attribute emigration to the "repressive Israeli regime" but the reasons are more complex. The political pressures and the occupation do not directly affect emigration, but by means of economic policy and variables (See ECONOMIC POLICY, INDUSTRY, UNIVERSITY GRADUATES, AGRICULTURE).

The data on internal migration (from region to region) are scarce and unreliable. Even so, there are signs that there has been faster growth in the southern West Bank (Hebron and Bethlehem districts) than in the north (Nablus, Tulkarm and Jenin districts). The growth rate in the towns is greater than the average and there is no doubt that a rapid urbanization process is under way in the West Bank. This is particularly marked in the Jerusalem metropolitan area. In the city itself (See EAST JERUSALEM) there has been a constant annual growth of 3 percent.

Continued sustained fertility and decreasing mortality rates explain the very 'young' age structure of the territories' population: 46% of West Bankers and 48% of Gazans are children under the age of 14. Though the annual number of births has remained more or less constant in the last 10 years or so, the absolute size of the three younger 5-year age groups has still increased significantly: for instance, in 1977 the number of pre-school children (0-4 years) was 129,000 in the West Bank and close to 83,000 in the Gaza Strip; by 1984, the figures were 140,000 and 97,000, an increase of 9% and 17% respectively; the number of children aged 5 to 9 increased by 20-40% during the same period.

Following the decline in emigration, and the rise in survivorship, the number and proportion of people in their prime (20-34 years old) increased considerably in the last few years: since 1977 their number increased by almost 50% in the West Bank and by 35% in the Gaza Strip, and their proportion has increased from 20% or less, to 23%.

The immediate consequences of these trends were an expanded marriage market and an increased potential for natality; the availability of young men and women for wage labor also enlarged and dependency ratios steadily decreased (106-107 in 1977, around 100 in 1984).

An analysis of demographic trends reveals that the Palestinian population is almost totally dependent on outside forces, which determine its size and its age distribution by controlling factors affecting migration. Between 1948-1967 the Jordanians created and maintained incentives that led to continued emigration. After 1967, when Israel opened its economy to laborers from the territories, emigration came to a complete standstill. With the worsening economic situation in Israel (1974) and the outbreak of the Lebanese civil war, which had the effect of creating rapid growth in Jordan, there was a surge in emigration. Then, as the economic situation in the oil-producing countries began to get tighter, Jordan's own growth slowed, the entry of young people was restricted (1983), and emigration from the West Bank diminished considerably.

The demographic trends described above have brought about steady growth in the Arab population in former Mandatory Palestine. If population returns are accounted for (the return to Egypt of 37,000 Sinai residents), then Jewish majority status has been steadily eroded, from 65% in 1969 to 63% in 1984. In the younger age groups, up to age 15, which approximately forecast the overall situation a generation ahead, Jews now constitute 53% of the total population of this age living in the

region as a whole, and Arabs constitute 47%, 31% of whom live in the occupied territories and the rest of whom are Israeli Arabs (including residents of East Jerusalem).

Distribution of children up to the age 15 by groups

	1982	1984	Difference	
			%	
			Absolute	Relative
Total	100.0	100.0	-	-
Israel: Jews	53.7	52.9	-0.8	-1.4
Israel: Arabs and others	16.6	16.5	-0.1	-1.1
Occupied territories (Arabs)	29.7	30.6	+0.9	+3.2

As shown in the table, within two years the percentage of Arab children living in the West Bank and Gaza Strip was augmented by 3%, while the percentage of Jewish children declined by 1.4%. In fact, if a relatively moderate annual growth rate of 2.7 is assumed for the Arab populations in the forthcoming years (if fertility and mortality continue to decrease moderately and if net migrancy balance continues on the same level as in 1982-1984), then West Bankers could number over 900,000 persons by 1990 and Gazans, more than 600,000 (together more than 1.5 million). By the year 2000, assuming similar or even slightly lower growth, West Bankers and Gazans together would approach two million (1,986,000 according to assumed growth rates).

Based on these assumptions and realistic official population forecasts for the Jewish population, the share of the Jewish population in the area of Mandatory Palestine would decrease from 63% in 1984 to about 61% in 1990, 57-59% by 2000 and under 55% by 2005.

DEPLOYMENT OF THE IDF ON THE WEST BANK

Deployment is tailored to meet the threat of war on the Jordanian front, but also to meet the problems of day-to-day security and to exploit the possibilities for other military uses – such as training – of the land occupied by Israel.