Introduction

The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict is one of the most studied and intractable conflicts in the modern era. The actors involved and the stakeholders are myriad, resulting in a wide range of peace spoilers and spoiling behavior. This study focuses on the spoiling effects of Israeli settlements in the West Bank with a particular focus on actions by a national religious contingent within Israel who work to maintain and extend Israeli settlements in the West Bank. National Religious ideology and supporters thwart the potential for peace negotiations by negatively influencing Israel’s political ability to agree to a peace agreement and diminishing Palestinian trust in Israel’s ability to agree to and implement a peace agreement. The term national religious refers to an ideology that calls for the expansion of settlements and the idea of ‘Greater Israel’ that embodies both the West Bank and Gaza Strip; thus they tend to be ardently against territorial withdrawal and settlement dismantlement. Once the domain of secular Zionists, settlement of the West Bank is now dominated by national religious Israelis. They comprise upwards of 80 percent of the 70,000 settlers residing outside the separation barrier in the West Bank and are becoming increasingly anti-statist. International Crisis Group reports that former Israeli Intelligence Chief Ami Ayalon estimates that eight percent of the West Bank’s 250,000 settlers are militantly anti-state.¹

In this study I examine behavior of national religious supporters and their effects on the peace process. I focus on behavior rather than on labeling a group a “spoiler” due to the complexity of the concept and the complexity of the groups involved. I take a broad view of spoiling behavior. Unlike others, such as Stedman (1997), one of the first to work on the notion of “spoiling,” I do not believe spoiling has to be a violent enterprise in order to thwart a peace process. I identify behavior based upon the motivations of the people involved and/or the effects of the behavior. There is a broad spectrum of spoiling, from disruption to derailment of a peace process. This broader and more encompassing view of spoiling behavior allows me to better identify spoiler influences on the peace process as well as to understand differences in groups engaging in spoiling behavior and their effects.

Israeli settlers are a diverse group with different ideologies and rationales for becoming settlers and thus it is not analytically useful to examine this group of people as unified. I narrow the group of study to those who identify as national religious, but it is still problematic to treat this group as wholly unified due to diversity in beliefs within this group as well. Some identifying as national religious are willing to go against the government of Israel while others are more moderate and aim to work within Israeli government. Thus, I focus my study on a range of behavior and effects of individuals and groups identifying as national religious. Through a focus on behavior I am able to remove myself from debate regarding the identification of groups as static and monolithic, enabling me to analyze the effects of spoiling behavior.

**Israeli Settlements and the Peace Process**

Israeli settlements in the West Bank date back to the 1967 Six Day War in which Israel captured the land in conjunction with the Sinai Peninsula, Gaza Strip, and Golan Heights. Israel was established in 1948 alongside a separate land for Palestinians. The 1948 War between the newly established Israeli state and her Arab neighbors\(^2\) resulted in the expansion of Israeli territory and the establishment of custodianship of Palestinian land by Egypt and Jordan respectively. Prior to the 1967 War the West Bank was under the control of Jordan and predominantly occupied by Palestinians. Since the time of capture Israel and its citizens have acted to establish enclave settlements within West Bank territory, as well as within the Gaza Strip until the 2007 Gaza withdrawal.

A peace process between Israelis and Palestinians has been underway over the past two decades. The process is focused on establishing peace between the two sides and currently focuses on the establishment of two separate states, one for Palestinians and one for Israelis. While there have been some breakthroughs, notably in the beginning with the 1993 Oslo Accords, the process has stalled as of recent. The United States has played a substantial role as mediator between the two sides. While settlements are not the only threat to the peace process, the continued expansion of settlements has served to shake Palestinian trust in Israel’s willingness to both concede territory in negotiations and to execute any future agreement requiring territorial concessions and/or dismantlement of settlements. Recently the U.S.’s support of Israel has also been negatively affected due to continued settlement activity in the face of US calls to stop settlement expansion.

\(^2\) Egypt, Syria and Lebanon as well as Iraq
as a measure of good faith in negotiations with Palestinians. As the dismantling of settlements is required for any future Palestinian agreement it is of utmost importance that Palestinians trust that Israel is willing to engage in settlement dismantlement. The expansion of the settlements as well as behavior of settlers, primarily those identifying as national religious, are some of the main causes of Palestinian mistrust of Israel.

A Study in Spoiler Behavior and Effects

I focus this study by looking at the spoiling behavior of the national religious settlers and those who support them. I classify their behavior as spoiling due to their aims of the group and their effects. National Religious ideology largely opposes territorial concessions to Palestinians. The National Religious Party, represented in the Knesset, includes in their party platform the following statement;

“There will only be one state between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean Sea - the State of Israel. No independent national Arab entity will exist within the limits of the Land of Israel. No part of Israel will be given over to a foreign government of authority. The State of Israel will strive for peace and make every effort to attain it.”

As Palestinians view territorial concessions as necessary in any future peace agreement, the beliefs espoused above and held by many national religious Israelis threaten the peace process through harming Palestinian faith in Israeli ability and willingness to negotiate and perform territorial withdrawal and settlement dismantlement in any future peace agreement. A recent poll by Truman Research Institute found that 60% of Israeli support "dismantling most of the settlements in the territories as part of a peace agreement with the Palestinians." Thus the attitudes and actions of the national religious opposing any territorial withdrawal and settlement dismantlement are firmly against the majority within Israel. It is important to note that within the statement is a reference to working toward peace. However, due to an unwillingness to negotiate on the crucial aspect of territorial concessions the commitment to peace is very limited and should not be considered a commitment to peace. National religious ideology is influential in both settlements and within Israeli government and thus has proven to be a true obstacle to the peace process.

Marie Joelle-Zahar\(^7\) differentiates between inside and outside spoilers as a way to understand the motivation and behaviors of spoilers. I extend this framework to examine inside and outside spoiling behavior. Through this framework I analyze the effects of national religious ideology and settlements within the West Bank. I classify settlements activity and behavior by national religious supporters as both inside and outside due to the diversity in goals and tactics. Some tactics and effects are within the Israeli political system while some are outside. National religious ideology is represented in Israeli political parties that are specifically oriented toward the ideology, such as the National Religious Party, as well as by some members of the broader Likud party. This then establishes an insider role for the spoiling behavior. However, there are some behavior and effects of national religious supporters that can be classified as outside spoiling behavior. Antagonistic behavior that targets Palestinians neighboring settlements, whether violent or not, is an outside spoiling tactic. It serves to threaten Palestinian trust in Israel and undermines the peace process from outside, not within. Threats from settlers, many national religious, that their settlements will not be dismantled and that they will not leave their settlement peacefully also functions as outside spoiling behavior that threatens Palestinians belief in Israeli ability and willingness to dismantle settlements in any future agreement.

To examine outside spoiling behavior by national religious supporters and their ideology I utilize a framework developed by Andrew Kydd and Barbara Walter in their 2002 article “Sabotaging the Peace: The Politics of Extremist Violence.”\(^8\) Their framework is developed specifically to assess the effects of terrorist violence during civil war peace processes, but it is just as relevant to the actions of spoilers in general- whether terrorist or not, violent or not. In their article they argue that “extremists succeed in destroying a peace settlement if they are able to foster mistrust between more moderate groups that must implement the deal; they fail if the moderate groups retain an adequate level of mutual trust in each other’s willingness to fulfill the deal.”\(^9\) Disruption of trust is essential for spoilers, or as Kydd and Walter\(^10\) term them “extremists,” to be effective at spoiling peace, as spoilers rarely have the material power alone to disrupt a peace process. Through adapting their framework that relies on trust I am able to demonstrate how settlements and national religious supporters are able to negatively influence the peace process from the outside by fostering Palestinian mistrust of Israeli ability and willingness to agree to and implement territorial concessions involving settlement dismantlement. National religious Israelis threaten resistance, both violent and non-violent, in the event of West Bank territorial withdrawal and settlement dismantlement in the West Bank. Their threat is credible as is the fact that the Israeli government has demonstrated reluctance in dealing with activist settlers. Settlements and their hard line national religious supporters are able to successfully thwart or spoil the peace process by fostering mistrust.

I organize this study in spoiling behavior and effects by Joelle-Zahar’s (2008) distinction between inside and outside spoiling. I first give an overview of the motivations for opposition to territorial concessions and settlement dismantlement by the national religious and then a

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\(^10\) ibid
discussion of institutional constraints and opportunities for spoiler behavior within the peace process. I then move to discuss the inside spoiling behavior by the national religious community within Israel and the effects of such behavior within Israel. The focus in this section is largely on how political parties and participation by national religious Israelis prevents or dissuades the Israeli government from a willingness to concede territory in a peace agreement with Palestinians. I then move to a discussion of outside spoiling behavior and its effects on Palestinian trust of Israel. In this section I utilize Kydd and Walter’s\textsuperscript{11} framework to understand how behavior by national religious settlers reduces Palestinian trust in Israel and thus serves to harm the peace process and potential for successful negotiations.

**National Religious Spoiling Behavior**

**Reasons for Spoiling Behavior**

This paper focuses specifically on the behavior and effects of national religious Israelis, their organizations and support for settlement activity within the West Bank. The reason for focus on this movement within Israel is due to their ideological opposition to territorial concessions in a peace agreement and toward dismantlement of settlements within the West Bank, two necessary facets of any future peace agreement between Israel and Palestinians. National religious Israelis and their organizations are taking an increasingly prominent role in opposing territorial concessions\textsuperscript{12} and thus are likely to continue and possibly increase their level of spoiling toward the peace process. Not all Israeli settlers are national religious and motivated by ideology for their movement to settlements within the West Bank. Some settlers are motivated by more structural reasons such as cost of living; living in settlements is far less expensive than life within Israel proper, thus motivating those in financial hardship to move to settlements. However, cost of living is not the motivational factor for national religious settlers and their supporters within Israel. It is an ideological belief in Greater Israel, one that stretches between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean Sea that motivates national religious Israelis to oppose territorial concessions and settlement dismantlement.

**Institutional Constraints and Opportunities in the Peace Process**

There are two main institutional opportunities that increase the influence and ability of national religious Israelis to spoil the peace process. The structure of peace process itself, largely through the Clinton parameters, and Israel’s parliamentary democracy allow national religious opportunities to spoil the peace process. The peace process has served to increase the impetus for settlement expansion, resulting in opportunities for outside spoiling. The parliamentary system in Israel gives opportunities for insider spoiling behavior, allowing national religious parties more power than their number of supporters should garner.

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Some authors identify the role of “facts on the ground” as an influential institutional opportunity driving settlement expansion. The idea behind ‘facts on the ground’ is that Israelis are trying to alter possible future peace agreements by expanding settlements so as to ensure greater Israeli territory in any future peace agreement with Palestinians. This idea gains support from the Clinton parameters, instituted in the peace process in 2000, that “a final Israeli-Palestinian agreement would grant sovereignty over Jewish-occupied areas to Israel.” Thus, the more Jewish occupied territory through settlements the more territory to be controlled by Israel in a future peace agreement. While I believe the issue of facts on the ground plays a role in the rationale behind national religious support for settlement expansion I do not think it fully addresses their ideological belief in and desire for Greater Israel. Some national religious may be seeking to garner as much territory for Israel as possible in the event of a future peace agreement, but other more extremist national religious Israelis are wholly opposed to any idea of territorial concession and use settlements to thwart any possible peace agreement that would engage in territorial concessions to Palestinians.

A second important institutional opportunity for national religious spoiling behavior comes in the form of Israel’s democratic structure. Israel’s parliamentary structure allows national religious parties to gain political power through two main facets: the low threshold of votes needed to gain representation in the Knesset and the coalitional system often requiring grand coalitions for governance. In Israel a political party need only garner two percent of the vote in order to secure a seat in the Knesset. The low threshold of votes need to garner a seat in the Knesset means that small, extremist parties can gain representation in the Knesset. Securing political representation adds to the power of the national religious movement, power that would not otherwise be afforded to them were the threshold for votes higher. The low threshold of votes needed to garner a seat results in the failure of one party to garner a majority of seats and often results in a grand coalition government. If the small and extreme parties, such as the National Religious Party, join in the grand coalition they are, at times, able to exercise power in the government far beyond their numbers. They are able to exercise influence by threatening to leave a coalition, thereby collapsing the government and requiring new elections. This means the moderate party with far more seats can at times be tied to the will of the more extreme parties.

**Inside Spoiling Behavior**

Inside spoiling behavior stemming from national religious ideology and supporters comes in the form of political power. As noted in the previous section, national religious parties are able to gain political power within Israel through the electoral process. Their power at times exceeds their number of supporters due to an ability to become the lynch pin in a grand coalition. They are able to exercise power through their political parties, namely the National Religious Party, allowing them to thwart the peace process, if not directly, vis-à-vis the Israeli government. Their ideological opposition to territorial concessions and settlement dismantlement is then able to influence the governments of which they are a part. When members of a coalition, typically ones

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14 Ibid. P.2
lead by Likud, they are able to threaten a leader’s coalition if the leader falls into their disfavor, thereby negatively influencing a leader’s likelihood for participation in a peace agreement with Palestinians.

Coalition problems following Prime Minister Benyamin Netanyahu’s agreement with Palestinians at the Wye River Accords in 1998 serve as an example of the impact of the right, particularly of national and national religious politicians, on the peace process and Israeli governance. Netanyahu rose to power in 1996 on a message of opposition to the peace process. He formed a grand coalition comprised of eight parties, including the National Religious Party. Following Netanyahu’s agreement at the Wye River his coalition came down due to a no confidence vote and a call for new elections in the Knesset. National religious parties and supporters, upset with the idea of a potential Palestinian state promised in Wye, spoke out against the Wye River Accord and Netanyahu, helping to lead to the dissolution of Netanyahu’s coalition. Following the dissolution new elections were called in which Netanyahu ran as the head of Likud. The Council of Jewish Communities in Judea, Samaria, and Gaza, typical supporters of Likud, refrained from endorsement of any candidate, largely due to Netanyahu’s actions at Wye. In this case national religious supporters were not the only actors threatening the peace process; political parties on the right and their supporters acted together to topple Israel’s governing coalition and disrupt the peace process.

In conclusion, the inside spoiling tactics used by national religious supporters has been focused through their political parties, predominantly through the National Religious Party. While national religious ideology and parties have been influential within Israeli government I do not want to overemphasize their power. They have wielded political power that has negatively affected the peace process, but their influence on the peace process does not only come through their party activity but also through outside spoiling tactics. They are able to threaten the Israeli government with the potential of a violent confrontation with settlers and are able to decrease Palestinian trust in the willingness and ability of Israel to reach and carry out a peace agreement. I now turn to an analysis of outside spoiling behavior, utilizing a framework revolving around the impact of trust developed by Kydd and Walter.

**Outside Spoiling Behavior**

National religious ideology, their supporters and settlements within the West Bank serve as outside spoiling to the Israeli Palestinian peace process through affecting the level of trust Palestinians and the United States, a key mediator, have in Israel’s willingness and ability to engage and carry out a peace agreement. The ideological opposition to a Palestinian state comprised of land from ‘Greater Israel’ and their support, both material and ideological, for settlement expansions within the West Bank cause doubt to form as to whether Israel has the political will to commit to and engage in territorial concessions. A portion of national religious supporters can be described as anti-state, with many of those willing to violently resist Israeli attempts to dismantle settlements. Israel is loath to combat its own citizens and has historically

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shown reluctance when dealing with disruptive settlers.\textsuperscript{19} This reluctance diminishes trust that Israel will implement a peace agreement demanding any settlement dismantlement. As Kydd and Walter state “whenever two sides negotiate a peace agreement, there is uncertainty about whether or not it is self-enforcing. Each side fears that though it may carry out its side of the bargain, the other side will not, catapulting it back to war on disadvantageous terms.”\textsuperscript{20} The outside spoiling behavior by national religious supporters serves to increase uncertainty and diminish Palestinians trust that Israel will be able to implement a peace agreement, while insider spoiling negatively impacts Palestinians trust that Israel would be willing and politically able to engage in a peace agreement in the first place.

Tactics used in outside spoiling are both violent and non-violent. Palestinians and Bedouins residing outside settlements are attacked, sometimes by stones and other times in more violent manners. International Crisis Group reports that:

> “Palestinians in villages adjoining settlements or isolated outposts that lack military protection speak of threatening practices. These are designed, in the words of a settler at an outpost near Yitzhhar settlement, “to keep Arabs away”. They reportedly include torching fields, uprooting olive groves, rustling sheep and hindering harvests. A hilltop youth on guard at a tiny outpost said, “when Palestinians come too close, we chase them off by training our guns on them.” The report continues, noting that “National religious activists also are suspected of setting fire to an ancient mosque near Bethlehem in January 2008 and desecrating Muslim graves and mosques in Hebron.”\textsuperscript{21}

This violent behavior toward Palestinians often goes unpunished by Israeli authorities, due possibly to a lack of reporting but also to a reluctance to bring settlers to justice.\textsuperscript{22} Israeli precedence of, at times, avoiding confrontation with settlers ensures Palestinian trust in Israel remains below what Kydd and Walter phrase the critical threshold required for cooperation. Kydd and Walter argue that “terrorism may actually be more successful when moderates are perceived to be most capable of halting terrorism….the weaker the moderates are perceived to be, the less of an impact a terrorist attack will have on the other side’s trust, and the less likely such an attack is to succeed”\textsuperscript{23} While I do not broach the subject as to whether these actions by settlers, many national religious, is terrorism I believe Kydd and Walter’s argument to hold for those acting to spoil a peace agreement. Antagonistic actions by settlers, such as attacks on Palestinians and threats of violence, diminish Palestinian trust in Israel due in part to the perceived ability of Israel to diminish settler attacks on Palestinians and to remove settlers from illegal settlements\textsuperscript{24}

\textsuperscript{19} This is not to say that Israel has never dealt with unruly settlers, but that Israel demonstrates a reluctance to combat settlers acting illegally
\textsuperscript{20} Ibid, p.264
\textsuperscript{22} Ibid
\textsuperscript{24} The term illegal settlements is from an Israeli perspective. Many states and the UN consider all settlements in the West Bank to be illegal, but Israel does not. Some settlements however are done with Israeli approval and it is to those that I refer to when I say illegal settlements.
Outside spoiling tactics also involve the use of threats. Some national religious settlers explicitly state their willingness to disobey state orders and to take up arms against the state in the event of territorial concessions and/or attempted settlement dismantlement. Yet some of the spoiling effects from national religious settlers comes in less explicit threats. The extent of dissent and violence toward the state in the event of territorial concessions and likely settlement dismantlement is unknown. While some assume that since the Gaza Strip withdrawal went fairly smoothly so to would a West Bank withdrawal. Yet, it is important to note that West Bank settlements are far more extensive than settlements were within Gaza. The national religious contingent have learned from the experience of Gaza and “have redoubled efforts to hold and, if possible, expand land in their possession”25. Further, International Crisis Group quotes an expert on the topic in a 2009 report, stating that “Gaza has not broken the back of messianic Zionism; it has strengthened its radical strain.”26 Thus, it is important that it not be assumed that simply because the Gaza withdrawal went smoother then expected that so too will any future West Bank withdrawal.

Many Israeli policymakers and national religious leaders do not assume that as the Gaza Strip withdrawal went smoothly, so too would a West Bank withdrawal. International Crisis Group reports that “neither the intelligence services nor leading national religious activists have ruled out the prospect that the threat of violence could re-emerge come the next serious move toward settlement dismantlement or territorial withdrawal.”27 Many settlements are well armed, contributing to the threat of violent confrontation between settlers and Israel in the event of territorial withdrawal. The settlements maintain their own military arsenal and operate their own paramilitary squads, developed as first responders in the case of an emergency. Many of the arsenals are well developed and the squads well trained by professions. This not only diminishes Israel desire for confrontation but also diminishes trust in Israeli ability to wholly and effectively implement settlement dismantlement. The threat of confrontation, both explicit and implicit, serves to further Palestinian mistrust in Israel’s political willingness and materially capability to effectively dismantle settlements and confront violent settlers.

In conclusion, the outside spoiling behavior by settlers, particularly hardliners within the national religious camp, threatens Palestinian trust In Israel’s willingness and ability to implement territorial withdrawal. This diminishment of trust serves to spoil the potential for peace negotiations. Gaza disengagement may have strengthened the radical strain of national religious settlers and taught them new lessons they may use in the event of a peace agreement. The recent return of right wing governance in Israel has helped revive national religious faith in the state28, thereby decreasing the level of anti-state beliefs within the national religious followers. But as we have seen in the past, following the Wye River Accords, conservative governments can still topple if they anger the more extreme elements within their coalition. It is important to note, however, that the present Netanyahu coalition does not rely on national religious parties, unlike

26 Ibid, p. 10
27 Ibid, p. 11
his coalition during Wye, creating more insulation from insider spoiling behavior from national religious parties.

Lessons Learned

In this study I aimed to contribute to a broader understanding of the term spoiling and of spoiling behavior while illuminating the spoiling behavior of an important national religious demographic within Israel. I focused on spoiling behavior and its effects, whether violent or not, to illuminate national religious spoiling effects on the Israeli Palestinian Peace Process. I also aimed to contextualize spoiling behavior in order to demonstrate when the spoiling behavior is likely to be effective at spoiling peace. Through contextualization this study can contribute to a broader understanding of spoiling effects on peace processes as well as offer some policy insights into ways to combat spoiling behavior.

Members of groups involved in peace processes often hold diverse views, problematizing the application of the term spoiler to an entire group of people. Utilizing a focus on spoiling behavior and effects has allowed me to better explore the actions and influences of the national religious on the peace process. Every group is different, but in this case it was important to focus on the behavior rather than on the group itself. Extending the focus on behavior to other groups and cases may allow greater ability to understand spoiling behavior and discern ways to neutralize the effects of spoiling behavior on a peace process.

Authors on the topic of spoiling have commented on the need for a focus on non-violent tactics of spoiling as well as the violent tactics. In this study I worked to show why we must also include non-violent behavior in the study of spoiling behavior. Non-violent actions can serve as spoiling behavior and in some cases can be more detrimental than violent actions. Much of the inside and outside spoiling behavior of national religious Israelis is non-violent and powerful in effecting Palestinians perceptions of Israeli willingness to commit to and implement a peace agreement, thereby negatively affecting the peace process.

The focus on spoiler behavior within this study helped contextualize the behavior of national religious, thereby allowing a better understanding of how spoiling can be encouraged through institutional rules (within the peace process and Israel’s government). The contextualization of behavior, through a focus on institutional opportunities for spoiling and Kydd and Walter’s framework, enables this study to be generalized to other cases of spoilers in similar situations. The contextualization and use of Kydd and Walter’s framework also allows me to identify ways that spoiler influence can be diminished or neutralized. By changing institutional rules and making steps to increase trust Israel can demonstrate support for the peace process and diminish the role of inside spoiling from political parties.

Policy Recommendations

Policy recommendations stemming from this analysis vary in their degree of plausibility, likelihood and effect. Israel can take steps to diminish the role of outside spoiling by the national religious community by seeking to improve Palestinian trust of their ability to commit to and implement a peace agreement as well as alter institutional rules creating opportunities for insider spoiling.

To alter institutional opportunities for insider spoiling Israel can seek to alter its election rule that requires only a two percent vote share in order to garner a Knesset seat. In addition the Clinton parameters should be taken as a guideline rather than a hard fact. One alternative is that only land occupied by Jewish settlers in 2000, the time of the parameter establishment, may be guaranteed to Israel but not land settled after that date. A second option is to revoke the parameters and let all territory be considered on the table at negotiations. This second option will help quell incentive for settlements\(^\text{30}\), but is far less likely than to alter the time frame of the Clinton parameters. The recommendation that Israel alter its institutional rules may be unlikely, but it is possible. An easier step can be taken by Israel to alter the institutional ability for insider spoiling. The inclusion of extremist parties within coalition often holds the moderate members of a coalition at the will of the extremists. Through careful selection of coalition partners Israeli governments can create moderate coalitions free from insider spoiling by extremist political parties.

The use of Kydd and Walter’s framework to understand how behavior by national religious supporters and settlers spoils the peace process highlights the need for Israel to take steps to demonstrate a commitment to the peace process. Actions by national religious Israelis diminishes Palestinian and U.S. trust in Israel’s willingness and ability to implement any peace agreement requiring territory withdrawal and/or settlement dismantlement. This is of increasing importance due to recent U.S. insistence that Israel halt all settlement expansion in order to demonstrate good faith in negotiations to Israel.\(^\text{31}\) The recent push by the U.S. and rift between the two states created by this push demonstrates diminishing U.S. trust in Israeli willingness to implement territorial concessions and settlement dismantlement. As the U.S. is a historical ally of Israel and typically an ardent supporter, this requirement of settlement freeze by the U.S. can be considered of importance. To thwart the spoiling behavior of national religious supporters it is necessary that Israel improve the trust of Palestinians and the U.S. that Israel can and will participate in a peace agreement including territorial concessions.

This study focuses on the national religious spoiling behavior within the Israeli Palestinian conflict, but its findings can be generalized to other cases of conflict and spoiling behavior. Trust is an essential part of peace negotiations and while it is not likely to be perfectly achieved between opposing sides, it is necessary that both sides take steps to demonstrate commitment to peace and to implementing a peace agreement. Similarly institutional rules within democracies

\(^{30}\) I say quell because it is not the Clinton Parameters alone that incentivize settlements. What is termed facts of the ground will always alter negotiations between Palestinians and Israelis and the more land controlled by either factions will alter negotiation dynamics.

that enable insider spoiling can be altered through changing rules or decisions made by moderate ruling parties. Lastly, it is important that rules and behavior within peace processes do not encourage behavior that can lead to spoiling. The belief that Jewish held land will remain Israeli in any future agreement encourages settlement expansion that then diminishes Palestinian trust that Israel will commit to a peace agreement creating a viable Palestinian state. The effects of spoiling behavior can be addressed by actions of moderates who control power, but require effort and alteration of moderate behavior and decisions.