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**Non-trade in the MENA revisited: systematic review  
and gravity analysis**

*Libby Lahar, Binyam A. Demena, Peter A.G. van Bergeijk*

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## **Abstract**

This working paper deals with the comparatively low levels of trade in the MENA region with a focus on the impact of the Palestinian Israeli conflict. The methodological focus is on the application of the gravity model for international trade.

We provide an innovative systematic review that does not only use the standard approach (search engine search) but also identifies primary studies by means of expert interviews. We identify 118 studies of potential relevance.

We identify best practices and review estimates on trade potential. In terms of citations reported in Google Scholar a study by Arnon, Spivak and Weinblatt (published in *World Economy* 1996) is the most influential paper on this topic. The last year for which a trade potential estimate according to our systematic review is available is 1999. This paper fills this gap by providing estimates for the year 2019.

We first replicate, extend, and update the study Arnon, Spivak and Weinblatt taking best practices as identified by the systematic review into account. Based on the best practice identified in the systematic review we estimate a panel PPML gravity model for 76 countries and the years 1991-2019 inclusive. Next, we use two alternative approaches to estimate the intra MENA trade potential that could be reaped as a consequence of a geopolitically more stable and open Middle East. In the year 2019 this ‘pot of gold’ in percent of intra MENA trade amounts to 10% to 54% (import based) and 21% to 48% (export based), respectively. These estimates are lower than those reported in the earlier literature. The conclusion is that an economically significant trade potential still exists.

## **Keywords**

Trade, systematic review, gravity, PPML, MENA.

**JEL:** F5, F14, N74, O19

## **Econometric software**

Stata version 17.0

## **Acknowledgements**

An early version of this paper was presented at the European Trade Study Group (Groningen, 2022). Comments by participants are gratefully acknowledged. This paper is part of a larger ongoing PhD project on the economic prospects of the Middle East Peace Process, that analyses the Oslo negotiations that led to the Paris Agreement that provides a settlement including economic arrangement for the relations between Palestine and Israel.

# Non-trade in the MENA revisited<sup>1</sup> systematic review and gravity analysis

## 1 Introduction

Already at the start of the long history of applied trade modelling, Linnemann (1966: 215) pointed out the low levels of bilateral trade between Israel and Arab states as an issue worth investigating by means of his gravity model. He explicitly suggested the possibility of estimating ‘the “normal” level of trade flows which were (and presently are) at an “abnormal” level’.<sup>2</sup> Gravity has lived up to Linnemann’s expectations in many ways. Noteworthy is the ability of gravity models to analyse (and, to a large extent, predict) trade potential in the context of politically disturbed trade flows. Indeed, gravity models have in the past met the test of predicting trade potential in situations characterized by the kind of political conflicts and physical border protection measures that are characteristic of the current trade environment of Israel and Palestine. In particular, the gravity model has worked quite well in foreseeing double digit growth rates of East West trade as a consequence of the end of the Cold War (van Bergeijk and Brakman 2010, van Bergeijk 2015). Gravity has also been used to analyse (non) trade in the Middle East as we review in Section 2, but here the model has unfortunately not yet been put to a similar real world before-after test as the Arab-Israeli conflict has dragged on to the present day. It is true that trade with Egypt and Jordan increased 2 to 3-fold, but it is still at rather low levels, because ‘the level of hostility due to the continuing conflict is still high and creates a significant barrier to trade’ (Bader et al. 2012: 61). Still, we would agree with Linnemann that gravity also provides a useful tool for the assessment of trade potential in this context.

Assessments of trade relations and trade potential for the Middle East have often been inspired by political events: the 1979 peace agreement between Egypt and Israel, the 1991 regional Madrid Peace Process, the 1993 Oslo Accord between Palestine and Israel and the 1994 peace agreement signed between Jordan and Israel. Each diplomatic step held further promise and eventually led to more openness in the Middle East region. More recently, for example, the 2020 Abraham Accords, signed on November 2020 between Bahrain, the United Arab Emirates, and Israel, changed the political and economic arena of the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) whilst opening the door to new economic initiatives and cooperation between the Arab World and Israel.<sup>3</sup> In all these economic assessments the gravity method played an important role as a

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<sup>1</sup> An early version of this paper was presented at the European Trade Study Group (Groningen, 2022). Comments by participants are gratefully acknowledged.

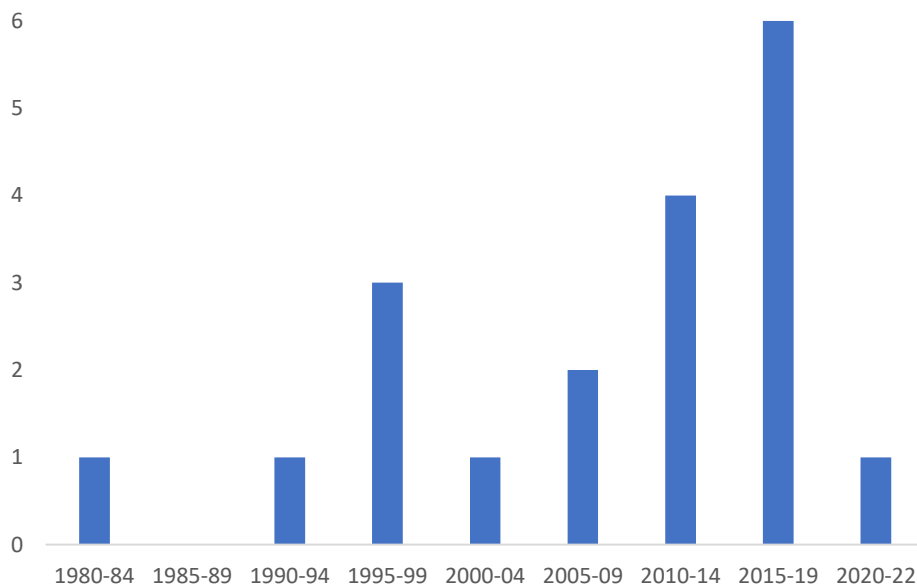
<sup>2</sup> Linnemann (1966) is a PhD thesis at Erasmus University Rotterdam (the promotor is Jan Tinbergen) that provides the underpinnings for the Appendix to Tinbergen (1962) that contains the first published gravity model.

<sup>3</sup> A recent example is the July 15, 2022 statement of Saudi Arabia on opening its airspace “for all air carriers”, meaning lifting the ban on Israeli flights.

way to quantify the potential benefits of peace, forecasting new trade with MENA trading partners enabled by regional peace agreements.

This paper takes stock of the empirical literature that assesses the economic impact of the Arab-Israeli conflict with a focus on the Palestinian/Israeli relation. We first provide a systematic review of the economic literature of the past 40 years that for the purpose of this paper has been focused on the use of the gravity model, that has been the intellectual workhorse of 19 identified studies and on their research strategies and findings (Figure 1).

**Figure 1**  
**Identified gravity model studies 1983-2022**



The overview of the primary studies enables us to derive best practices for the second contribution of this paper, that is a replication and extension of one of the seminal papers in this literature “The potential for trade between Israel, the Palestinians and Jordan” co-authored by Arnon, Spivak and Weinblatt and published in *World Economy* in 1996. Arnon et al. (1996) provide one of the major analyses of that time. The article gives the econometric underpinnings of their 1997 book project, *The Palestinian economy: Between imposed integration and voluntary separation*.<sup>4</sup> Given its influence both in academia and policy circles the investment in a replication adds value. In the econometric part of this paper (section 4), we first replicate their gravity model successfully, then increase both the country sample and the time dimension (their study was a cross section) and finally apply a different econometric technique, PPML. Although we observe differences in size and significance, the basic findings of their gravity model survive this

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<sup>4</sup> The book also led to offspring in the *Economic Journal* (Arnon and Weinblatt 2001) and *Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv* (1996), that are not trade related.

endurance so that the policy implications of that study by and large remain the same: there is significant trade potential that could be reaped if a peace settlement could be achieved. Our third contribution to the literature is the use of state-of-the-art gravity estimates as a basis to assess the ‘pot of gold’ of a comprehensive peace settlement for MENA. The gravity estimates provide the basis for two straight forward approaches to assess the trade potential that MENA countries miss due to the political conflict: (i) a comparison of observed trade flows and predicted trade flows, and (ii) a counterfactual based on model outcomes that focusses on MENA. These assessments are of course not to be treated as exact predictions but rather as the order of magnitude of the increase of trade that would be enabled by a peace settlement and a normalization of political and economic relationships in the MENA region.

The structure of this paper is as follows. Section 2 offers an overview of the literature based on the systematic review with a focus on method. Section 3 discusses data sources and research strategy. Section 4 provides the replication and builds the state-of-the-art gravity model, and reports on simulations of the ‘pot-of-gold’ enabling us to arrive at a rough ballpark number. Section 5 draws conclusions.

## 2 Systematic review

This research is part of a larger project covering the role the bilateral economic relations, specifically the trade between Palestine and Israel, in the grand search for peace settlement, with the 1994 Paris Protocol, part of the 1993 Oslo-I Accord and its metamorphosis being the focal point for these relations. We apply three methods to collect primary studies. The first method is the collection of secondary literature based on private knowledge and unofficial conversations (with friends and former colleagues). This helped us to collect all so-called Aix reports (10 in total - published and unpublished) and the Paltrade and The Peres Center for Peace (2006) report *The Untapped Potential: Palestinian-Israeli Economic Relations: Policy Options and Recommendations*. Added to this, was a search of complementary reports dealing with the region and economic trade relations of World Bank (19 papers), UNCTAD (14 papers), reports to the Ad Hoc Liaison Committee (AHLC a.k.a. donor countries) (12 papers), and other international and local research bodies including Bank of Israel, Tony Blair Institute for Global Change, and Palestine Economic Policy Research Institute (MAS). These papers were obtained via websites or online library system. Some of these reports were specifically tracked following local news publications and/or other unofficial meetings with people from the region working in the field. The secondary resources collection of the studies was complemented by a Google Scholar search using terms including ‘Economic relations’ ‘Israel’, ‘Palestine’ ‘Occupied Territories’ ‘the economic agreement Palestine-Israel’ and ‘Oslo Accords’. The collection of all secondary data started early 2015 and continued until October 2022.<sup>5</sup>

The second method to identify potential studies are interviews conducted with experts and participants to informal and formal negotiations. This option to use experts and witnesses to identify papers has as far as we know not been used in a systematic review before. Not every topic will lend itself for this kind of involvement and of course it is costly and time consuming. In our case the option occurred thanks to the fact that the project already was designed to have interviews and a review of empirical studies. In a case, such as the one we are studying, where negotiations are ongoing and/or political sensitivities may prohibit publication, the inclusion of nonpublished work is highly relevant. The second method helped us to identify missing studies by both directly referring to specific studies or people that have been conducting recent relevant studies, as well as sometimes providing us with personal copies of ‘non-papers’ (typically unofficial papers that are written for informal discussion). The interviews were conducted between January 2017 and August 2021, with 26 interviews in total.<sup>6</sup> Some of these papers and reports are only available in Arabic or Hebrew, thus were by default excluded from the systematic review. The other English papers

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<sup>5</sup> Project papers were also presented at The European Neighbourhood Policy Summer School (June 2016), the 17th Development Dialogue (online conference, July 2021) and the European Trade Study Group’s 23rd annual conference, Groningen September 2022, also with the aim of getting suggestions of studies that we had missed.

<sup>6</sup> These interviews were performed with 8 Palestinians, 16 Israeli and 2 Internationals.



and studies provided through the interviews were analysed while sometimes leading to other references they address. Also, prominent published literature written by the interviewees themselves was reviewed to complement the relevant data mapping. This occasionally led to approaching the interviewees again with queries about other non-papers mentioned in the literature and for their assistance in tracking these non-papers. The interviews helped to collect 20 non-papers and reports, 5 studies out of these are only available in Arabic/Hebrew. The other 15 are comprised of 4 unpublished white papers; and an unpublished study funded by the EU from 1999 on the economic relations in the region, including 9 articles and 2 appendix studies.

In 2021 we decided to complement the collection of both primary and secondary studies that have been collected up to this point in time with an extensive systematic search for empirical studies. This is the third (partially overlapping) method to identify primary studies of potential relevance. We performed a search based on Google Scholar as this source also covers books, reports, and the 'grey' literature (working and conference papers, pre-pubs etc.). The search included English Language publications only and included combinations of key words that provided geographical scope ('Israel'; 'Palestine', 'West Bank', 'Gaza', 'Occupied Territories'), topical scope ('trade', 'export', 'import', 'trade potential') and methodological scope ('empirical', 'model', 'estimat\*' 'gravity'). Based on title and abstract (and when unclear followed by reading the introduction and the conclusion) we excluded non-economic papers. We also followed up on the reference sections of identified papers (backward check) and checked in Google Scholar for papers quoting the identified primary studies (forward check) and then repeated this process for the thus identified papers. After two iterations this process was exhausted, that is: no new papers could be identified.

The total number of studies thus identified for potential inclusion is 118. We read these studies in detail, and based on this reading, we excluded 99 studies (84%). Appendix 2 provides an overview of the excluded studies and the reasons for exclusion, and Figure 2 provides an overview of the included and excluded studies by type of publication.

All in all, we identified 19 papers that used the gravity model, reported the empirical estimates, and aimed at analysing the causes of low levels of bilateral trade for (selections of) MENA countries.<sup>7</sup> Excel files were designed and used for double coded manual data extraction.

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<sup>7</sup> Initially we identified 29 primary studies of which after careful consideration 3 were duplicates (pre-publications, conference papers, working papers, dated drafts, etc.) where the gravity results were identical. As a rule, we have included only the last version, typically published in a journal; 6 were grounded in gravity but did not apply a trade matrix, only estimations of import and export demand for one selected country based on its trade flows with many countries; and 1 was a duplication of one of these 6.

**Figure 2**  
**Identified studies by quality of publication**



## 2.1 Some bibliometric details

The earliest identified primary paper is a book chapter in Arad, Hirsch and Tovias (1983: 87-116); the most recent paper is a 2022 peer reviewed journal article (Sekkat 2022). The median study was published in 2009; Figure 1 illustrates an increasing trend in the frequency of included primary studies by year of publication. Peer reviewed studies appeared in 6 articles with journals listed by Web of Science; 2 book chapters appear with MacMillan and 1 with Routledge. Non-peer reviewed publications consisted of reports by World Bank and Aix Group and 6 working papers. The 19 studies generated 758 citations based on Google Scholar, with Arnon et al. (1996, 1997) receiving a total of 30%, followed by Wolde and Bhattacharya (2010) with 20% of the citations; the rest of the studies received (far) less than 100 citations each.<sup>8</sup> In order to provide systematic elaborations of the identified studies, in section 2.2 we first provide a discussion of methodological developments in the estimation of the gravity models. Section 2.3 discusses stylized facts and provides an overview of strategies to infer the causes of low levels of bilateral intra-MENA trade and ways to assess trade potential. Section 2.4 gives an overview of the excluded empirical studies.

<sup>8</sup> The number of Google Scholar citations was determined November 8, 2022.

**Table 1**  
**Identified gravity model-based studies (characteristics and key findings)**

Study	N	Period	Estimation technique	Dependent variable	Key findings (reported values are converted to US\$ at 2020 prices with GDP deflator)
1 Arad et al. 1983	~250 (99 product categories (24 OECD countries))	NR	NR	BI	Trade potential for bilateral trade for Israel US\$ 19 million and Egypt US\$ 11 million, that is: roughly a doubling of trade
2 World Bank 1993	95 countries	1989	ML	BE, BI	Israel-Palestina trade above normal level. Predicted changes in import shares of Arab Countries from 2.6 to 9.7% Palestina 30.9 to 68.9%)
3 Arnon et al. 1996	250 (16 countries)	1991	OLS	BE, BI	Trade potential Palestina US\$0.9 bn, Jordan US\$ 0.4 bn and Israel US\$ 0.5 bn. West Bank exports much more to Israel than predicted
4 Ekholm et al. 1996	24 (13 OECD and 11 outward oriented developing countries)	1989, 1990, 1992	OLS	BE, BI	Simulations for 12 MENA countries based on gravity estimates for the 'normal' volume of trade in the absence of political conflict and trade barriers 3 to 5 fold increase in Israelian exports (integration scenario ads some 10%)
5 Arnon et al. 1997	35 countries	NR	NR	BE, BI	Also calculates trade potential for 1986 (in addition to Arnon et a; 1996). In 1986 Israel's trade was above potential; 1992 trade potential of US\$ 0.3bln
6 Miniesy et al. 2003	27291 (186 countries)	1970-1992	NR	BT	Intra-MENA trade reaches only 45% of its potential
7 Tovias et al. 2007	NR	1995-2001	NR	BE, BI	Total inter-regional trade potential: exports US\$7.5-9.8 billion (observed \$3.5-5.4 billion). 3- fold increase of Israeli exports
8 Scorbureanu 2007	117 (10 trade couples)	1995-2005	Unbalanced panel, GLS, RE	BE, BI	focuses on impact of lacking cross border infrastructure (export elasticity concerning infrastructure +5; import elasticity -2).
9 Nugent et al. 2010	10 countries	1970-2000 (5 years interval)	OLS	BE	For Jordan 75% increase in exports ("positive for 'most' MENA countries")
10 Wolde and Bhattacharya a 2010	7,832 (93 countries)	2005-2007 (period average)	PanelTobit	BE, BI	Estimated MENA dummy coefficient for exports -2.0 to -2.6 and for imports -0.1 to -0.2) but not significant if surveys on border procedures are used as additional explanatory variable.
11 Bader et al. 2012	234,597 (173 countries)	1948-1999	Panel FE	BT	Geographical factors are more critical for intra-MENA trade.
12 World Bank 2014	8,583 (182 countries)	2009-2011 (average)	OLS, FE	BS	Especially Egypt and Turkey are under-trading intra-MENA; Israeli trade with Jordan, Egypt and Lebanon below potential.

Study	N	Period	Estimation technique	Dependent variable	Key findings (reported values are converted to US\$ at 2020 prices with GDP deflator)
13 Karam and Zaki 2016	222,256 (27 sectors)	1980-2006	PPML	Manuf. BE	Focuses on trade impact of state and non-state conflict. At the macro level a conflict is equivalent to a tariff of 5% at the sectoral level tariff equivalents range from 4% to 65%)
	(20 countries)	1960-2013	PPML FE, panel	BE, BI	
14 Didier 2017	129,3064 (approximately 200 countries)	1948-2012	Panel FE, PPML, lags	BE, BI	Focus on trade impact of shocks during the Arab-Israeli conflict. The nature of Arab-Israeli peace agreements strongly and heterogeneously influences Israeli trade with trading partners.
15 Roesmara-Donna et al. 2018	8,960 (16 MENA countries)	1988-2015	Panel FE, RE, IV, PPML	BE	Democracy has a positive effect on trade in MENA Region, with dominant effect on partner country than home country. Democracy positively affects (3-4%) of trade in MENA region, especially democracy in partner countries.
16 Karam and Zaki 2019	21 MENA countries (99 sectors)	1995-2014	Panel PPML	BT	Institutions in MENA countries are not well developed and provide a significant barrier to intra-MENA trade.
	21	1995-2014	Panel PPML	BS	Exporters institutional gap significantly reduces exports also after controlling for endogeneity.
17 Gupta et al. 2019	43,013 (164 countries)	1985-2013	Panel, FE, RE, HT, PPML	BT	Focusses on impact of the Geo-Political Risk indexes an elasticity of trade to the GPR of - 0.12 and - 0.18.
18 Martínez-Zarzoso and Márquez-Ramos 2019	19 MENA (with 189 trading partner countries, and the full sample)	1996-2013	PPML Panel FE	BE	Income elasticities of MENA exporters are considerably lower than the elasticity of the average exporter and common border is not statistically significant. Common language effect is considerably higher. Voice and accountability, and rule of law show a consistent negative (positive) and statistically significant effect on exports (importers)
19 Sekkat 2022	18 MENA (with 110 non-Mena trading partners)	1970-2015	OLS, Tobit, PPML	BI	For the MENA countries import restriction is the only commercial sanction that is effective in reducing trade; The low bilateral trade in the MENA region is affected by the low rate of democracy in the region.

Notes: BE Bilateral Exports, BI Bilateral Imports, BT Bilateral Trade, FE Fixed Effects, HT Hausman–Taylor, IV Instrument variables, ML Maximum likelihood, NR Not reported, OLS Ordinary Least Squares, PPML Poisson Pseudo-Maximum Likelihood, RE Random Effects.

## 2.2 Observations on methods

As could be expected from the fact that we cover 39 years of research we encounter a lot of heterogeneity with respect to reporting standards, methodology, and data. Reporting standards over time increased significantly and have become more accessible. We note, for example, that about a quarter of the studies do not specifically report the estimation method (although it could be deduced from the year of publication, the cross-section nature of the study and the common standards of gravity analysis at the time of publication that three of these studies probably used OLS). One sobering but important conclusion is therefore that it would not be possible to do a meta-analysis since elementary statistics are not always reported. One (peer-reviewed) study, for example, did not even report an indication of the sample size.

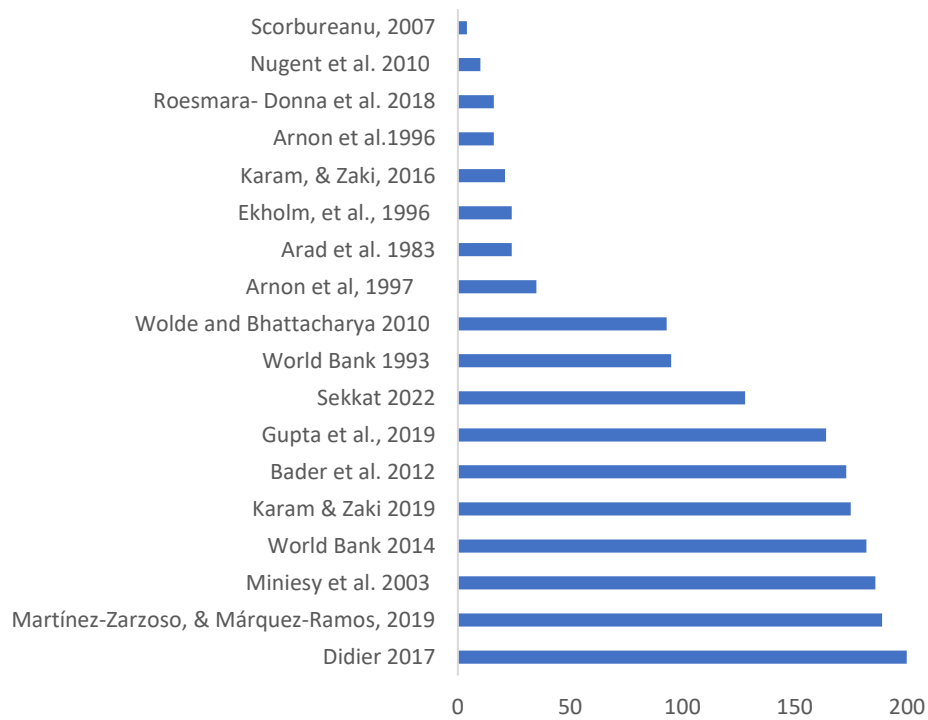
One of the problems with gravity models for long has been the treatment of non-trade (zero flows) due to the multiplicative formulation of the gravity model that was therefore estimated in logarithmic format. The log of zero does not exist and zero trade flows were often completely dropped meaning that the estimated model could not consider the information contained in the zero trade flows. Since the topic of this paper is directly related to non-trade this is not a feasible solution. As an alternative to omitting zero flows, the trade literature often applied a strategy replacing zero flows with small arbitrary values. Also, alternative estimators such as Tobit were introduced to fix the zero problem (in our sample Wolde and Bhattacharya 2010). The first study in our sample to use state-of-the art gravity modelling with Poisson Pseudo Maximum Likelihood (PPML)<sup>9</sup> is Karam and Zaki (2016).

A second main problem – originally mainly related to data collection and (access to) computing power – was that studies by and large worked with cross-section estimation. If longer periods were analysed, typically this was done comparing parameters estimated with cross-sections at different moments in time. The first balanced panel in our sample is Miniesy et al. (2003). The availability of dedicated data sets such as CEPII (Head and Mayer 2014; available at [cepii.fr](http://cepii.fr)) and data set sharing by (in our sample) Feenstra et al. (1997), Glick and Rose (2016), Head et al. (2010), and Rose (2004), facilitated large sample time series analysis. Indeed, the combination of readily available data and technological progress (including the Internet) nowadays enable researchers to do more at home than was possible with the mainframes of the 1980s. Figure 3 below provides an overview of the number of exporting countries per study.

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<sup>9</sup> See Santos Silva and Tenreyro (2006) who also emphasize the need to estimate the gravity equation in multiplicative form rather than using logarithmic transformation even in the absence of the zero trade flow problem. See Karam and Zaki (2019: 66-67) for a discussion in the context of MENA trade flows.

**Figure 3**  
**Number of countries included in the identified gravity model studies 1983-2022**



The inclusion of directional time-varying fixed-effects in state-of-the-art applications control for observable and unobservable time-varying covariates. In addition to controlling for any other potential observable and unobservable factors that vary over time and may influence trade flow, according to Anderson and van Wincoop (2003), controlling for exporter-time and importer-time fixed-effects for each exporter and importer, enables researchers to consider (changes in) multilateral resistance.

Our goals with this paper are modest. We want to replicate the seminal research by Arnon, Spivak and Weinblatt (1996, 1997) using state-of-the-art estimation techniques, extend their sample and update their findings for recent years so as to provide an empirical economic perspective of the potential trade gains that could be associated with an end to the conflict.

### 2.3 Stylized facts and trade potential

The studies published over half a century since Linnemann's (1966) observation that trade in the region is at an abnormal low level empirically substantiate that trade in the Middle East remains below potential. As illustrated in Table 1, estimates of the trade gap indicate that a 2-to-5-fold trade increase could be expected both for individual countries and for MENA. A constant issue in the studies is their concern about the large share of zero trade flows. Several reasons

are suggested, prime of which are the political difficulties (Ekholm et al. 1996, Karam and Zaki 2016, Didier 2017), of course, but also the lack of cross border trade infrastructures (Scorbureanu 2007), the specific location of Israel and Palestine between potential MENA trade partners, political systems (Roesmara-Donna et al. 2018) and lacking or substandard institutions including democratic standards are indicated (Martínez-Zarzoso and Márquez-Ramos 2019, Karam and Zaki, 2019, Sekkat 2022) as potential causes for low levels of trade. True as this may be the studies also show that the traditional gravity variables exert a strong influence on trade in the region. Indeed, Bader et al. (2012) argue that geographical factors are more critical for MENA countries with stronger (more negative) distance effects and lower trade stimulation of common borders.

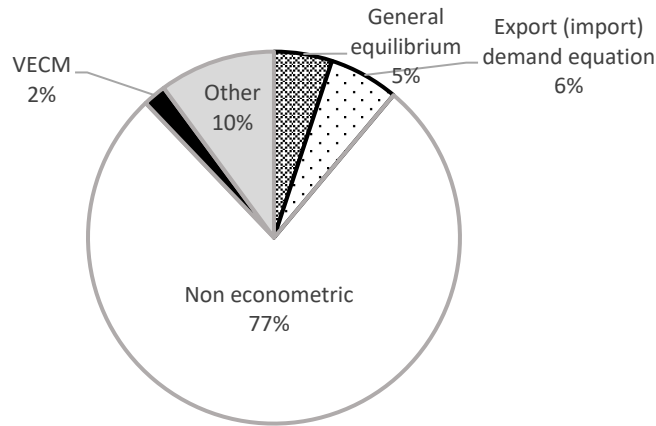
A great many methods have been used to arrive at estimates of the trade potential. Quite some papers compare predictions and observations of the gravity model. A logical problem is that the assumption that too low trade could adjust upward is that in a gravity setting this requires that other trade that is too high will have to be adjusted downward. Sometimes the estimated parameters of a gravity model for a specific sample are used in combination with observations for Palestine and Israel explanatory variables in order to predict what their trade flows could be under normal conditions. This would seem to suffer from the fallacy of hasty generalization: it is an out of sample prediction that assumes that coefficients estimated for a fundamentally different group of countries could be applicable. Finally, gravity models are also used to directly estimate specific parameter values, for example for the creation of a Free Trade Area (FTA) or dummy variables that measure the extent to which trade is below the normal level (that is: after controlling for other gravity variables, such as GDP, population, language, and geographical variables, including distance, common borders, being landlocked or an island, etc.). All in all, it is important to realize that trade potential estimates are at best snapshots, as trade potential is influenced by economic development of the trade partners and estimates based on more recent data can thus be expected to yield higher estimates as a result of increasing GDPs. Moreover, another point hardly ever noted in this literature is that developments outside and exogenous to MENA can have an impact on intra-MENA trade when multilateral trade resistance outside MENA changes. The upshot is not that gravity analysis is futile, but that interpretation needs to be cautious. From this perspective it is important to adopt a good practice that is suggested by the many studies that provide ranges of estimates based on different approaches.

## **2.4 A selection of findings from excluded studies**

The 99 excluded studies have been cited 726 times (average 8 citations per study; median 2) as compared to 758 citations for the 19 included studies (average 42; median 29). As illustrated in Figure 2, the vast majority of the excluded studies consists of reports (69%), only a handful of articles registered in the Web of Science, and 20 articles and book chapters that are not covered by Web of Science. Figure 4 characterizes the excluded studies by method. The majority of these studies do not report original econometric findings (although the empirical

literature is often discussed); in the remainder of this section, we focus on the primary studies that report econometric findings.

**Figure 4**  
**Excluded studies by method (N=99)**



Note: 'Other' includes macro-econometric, input-output, and partial equilibrium models, cost benefit analysis, growth equations, SURE, GMM and household studies.

The excluded econometric studies are characterized by substantial methodological heterogeneity. Typically, the excluded studies analyse the problem through the lens of an individual country, for example using an input-output analysis (Niksic et al. 2014), a macroeconometric model (Makhhol et al. 2004) or a general equilibrium model (Astrup and Dessus 2005, Botta 2010, Missaglia and Valensisi 2010, 2014). The same lens of an individual country is deployed in 6 excluded studies that, although grounded in gravity theory and therefore labelled as a gravity model by the authors of the primary studies, provided estimates of import and export demand for one country only based on its trade flows with many countries ( $1 \times N$ ), such as Hashai (2004), Bank of Israel (2014), Al-Majali and Adayleh (2018), El-Jafari (1997), Temurov and Kilicaslan (2016) and Saqfalhait et al. (2011).<sup>10</sup>

Despite the methodological heterogeneity the econometric studies support the stylized fact that bilateral trade is below potential. This consensus is especially important because it provides circumstantial evidence for the robustness of the finding in the gravity literature that we discussed in the previous section.

<sup>10</sup> In other words, we only included in Table 1 studies that estimated a trade matrix ( $N \times N$ ). We will, however, also include the import and export demand models when we discuss the impact measure in the next section.



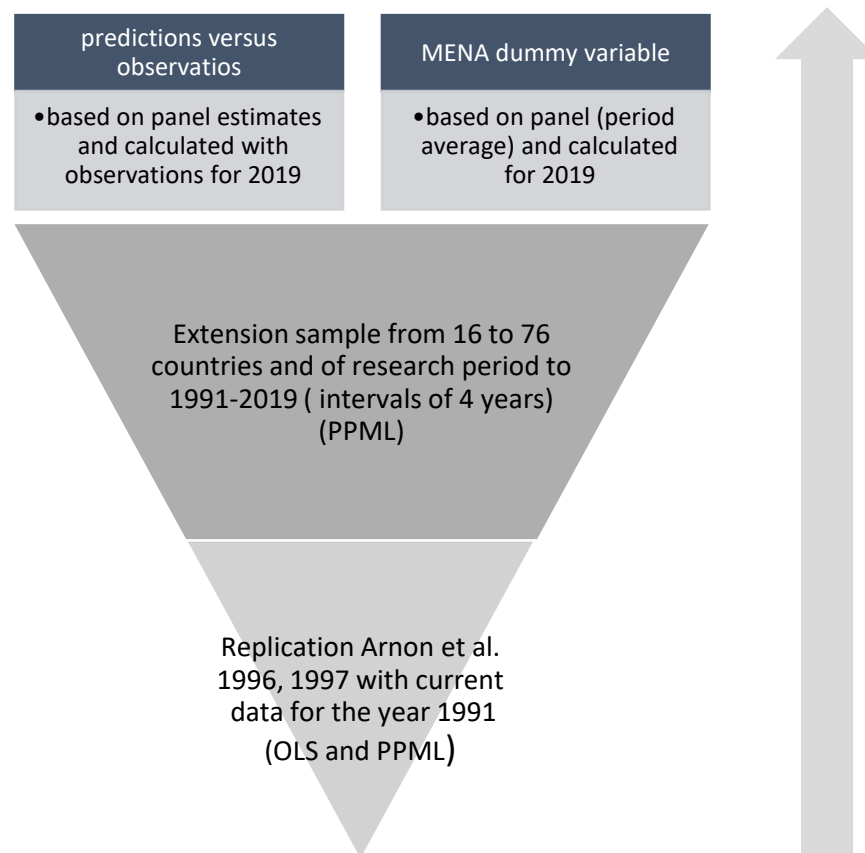


The range of estimates is considerable with a standard deviation of 141%, an average of 108% and a median of 49%. Discarding the study of Ekholm et al. (1996) that produces two of the extreme outliers reduces the standard deviation to 104%, the average to 83% and the median to a comparable 47%. For the individual country estimates the standard deviation is 34% (average 45%; median 44%).

### 3 Research strategy and data

In the empirical analysis we proceed in three steps (Diagram 1). We first replicate the study by Arnon, Spivak and Weinblatt (1996, 1997). As discussed in section 2.1 this research has been most impactful in terms of Google Scholar citations. The next step is to extend and update the sample and estimate a gravity model. We use these estimates in our assessments of trade potential following two rough and ready approaches in order to arrive at a range of estimates of the pot of gold of comprehensive peace settlement.

**Diagram 1**  
**Research strategy**



#### 3.1 Data

Since this is a replication, we include the variables in the original primary study (Arnon et al. 1996, 1997) with the exception of a country dummy for Jordan that we exclude because this will be covered by the country fixed effects estimates that we report. Observations were obtained from current data sources (as listed in Table 2) and could very well differ from the values used by Arnon et al., who have not given a very detailed description of their data. We collected

data from 1991 (as Arnon et al. analyse this particular year) and end in 2019 for practical reasons because it is the last year before the COVID 19 pandemic that distorted international trade flows significantly.

An important issue is the treatment of zero flows. Our data source reports the size of the bilateral trade flow in a range from 0.001 to US\$ 4.2 billion, so small trade flows appear to be reported and no actual zeros occur in the data set. The issue is how to treat the reported blanks that constitute a quarter of potential trade flows for our sample). It is not clear beforehand if the blanks are true zeros, missing observations or manipulated data.<sup>14</sup> We decided to substitute the blanks by zeros.

**Table 2**  
**Data sources**

Variable	Source	Min	Max	Std	Avg	Med
Exports	CEPII	0.001	4.19+8	1.04+7	1,703,893	44,483
Imports	CEPII	0.001	4.82+8	1.05+7	1,737,922	47,303
GDP	WDI / CEPII	9.51	23.79	2.22	18.30	18.47
Distance <sup>a</sup>	CEPII	9.05	23.78	2.25	18.29	18.47
Common language (dummy)	CEPII	4.09	9.87	0.86	8.2	8.3
RTA (dummy)	CEPII	0	1	0.36	0.15	-
Lindner effect <sup>b</sup>	GDP and population from CEPII	0	1	0.44	0.25	-
MENA (dummy)	See main text	0	1	0.24	0.43	-

Notes: a Distance in kilometres (kms) between most populated cities.

b According to Linder's trade theory the degree of similarity between the growth domestic product or the per capita income levels defines trading pattern.<sup>15</sup> That means similar countries do more trade as compared to dissimilar countries. We captured this variable through the square of the difference in the levels of per capita GDP between exporting (i) and importing (j) countries. In this case, the Linder hypothesis suggests a negative and statistically significant coefficient as a smaller gap in per capita GDP between i and j countries associated with a greater volume of trade will be and vice versa.

## 3.2 Country sample

The countries selected for the extension of the sample from the original 16 to 76 was made based on the ambition to include all MENA region countries. The MENA is a region defined by geographical more than religious, social, cultural, or any other aspect. Yet there is no official definition of MENA, nor of the

<sup>14</sup> It is common that trade statistics are distorted in conflict situations and/or to hide strategically or politically sensitive information (van Bergeijk 1995).

<sup>15</sup> See Linder (1961).

countries included in it.<sup>16</sup> This research uses the widest definition of the MENA region based on definitions of the World Bank,<sup>17</sup> UNSTATS,<sup>18</sup> World Atlas,<sup>19</sup> and IMF<sup>20</sup> combined, thus a total of 37 countries.<sup>21</sup>

Furthermore, G20 countries, excluding the EU itself, and all other EU Member State countries, were added bringing the sample to total size of 76 countries. The decision to include all EU Member States derives from the high volume of both the EU and its Member States trade with Israel.

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<sup>16</sup> The United Nations Regional Groups e.g., African; Asia and Pacific; Eastern European; Latin American and Caribbean (GRULAC); Western European and Others (WEOG) (see: <https://www.un.org/dgacm/en/content/regional-groups>).

<sup>17</sup> <https://data.worldbank.org/country/ZQ> accessed 14 October 2021.

<sup>18</sup> <https://unstats-un-org.eur.idm.oclc.org/unsd/methodology/m49/>, accessed 14 October 2021.

<sup>19</sup> <https://www.worldatlas.com/articles/what-are-the-mena-countries.html>, accessed 14 October 2021.

<sup>20</sup> Wolde H. and Bhattacharya, M.R. (2010) *Constraints on Trade in the MENA Region*. International Monetary Fund.; Davoodi, M.H.R. and Abed, M.G.T. (2003) *Challenges of growth and globalization in the Middle East and North Africa*. International Monetary Fund. Both papers consider Pakistan in their analysis of MENA region countries. Wolde and Bhattacharya (2010) conduct gravity analysis of trade performance in the MENA region with selection of 8 countries in the MENA region and 88 countries in total based on availability of criteria data. As such Pakistan is excluded from the model though addressed in the general discussion of the region.

<sup>21</sup> As there are no data available for Western Sahara it was excluded from the list of MENA countries.

## 4 Findings

Section 4.1 provides a replication in three steps. We start with an OLS estimate for 16 countries. We do not have the original data set and use the data collected as discussed in section 3.1. The second step provides a test of the impact of using OLS: we apply PPML to include the zero trade flows in the analysis. The third step investigates the impact of the relatively small sample that we increase from 16 to 76 countries. Next, we extend the research period from a cross section for 1991 to a panel for 1991-2019 (4-year interval periods).<sup>22</sup>

### 4.1 Replication

Table 3 presents the regression results of Arnon et al. (1996) and our replication. Columns (1) and (2) reproduce the results reported in the primary study for exports and imports, respectively. The primary study does not report the number of observations  $N$  and the  $t$ -statistic for the regional trade agreement dummy is reported as ‘(-)’.<sup>23</sup> The  $t$ -value for the constant term for the regression for imports is reported to be positive, but that is an obvious typo.

Columns (3) and (4) report our replication. The explanatory power of the original and the replication is similar (about 2/3 of the variation of the bilateral trade flows is explained). Original and replication agree on the signs of the estimated coefficients for exporter and importer GDP, distance and regional trade agreement, but disagree on the dummy for common language (negative and insignificant in the replication) and the Linder effect which in contrast to the original study is positive and highly significant in the replication. Distance comes out stronger in the replication. For regional trade agreements the sign is similar, while the size is smaller in the replication. Since the original does not report a  $t$ -value we cannot assess changes in the level of significance for this variable.

Table 4 reports the results if we make two innovations to the original design. For purpose of reference, we report the results of the replication in columns (1) and (2) of Table 4. Note that we report standard errors in Table 4, rather than the  $t$ -values reported in Table 3 (the original study reported  $t$ -values). First, in columns (3) and (4) we use PPML, an estimation method not yet available at the time ASW published their research, bringing in the information contained in the 39 zero export flows and 36 zero import flows. Second, we extend the country sample from 16 to 76 in column (5) and (6). This extended replication produces satisfactory results. The signs found in the replication confirm the original findings and in line with theoretical expectations. Typically, the replication finds more significant coefficients partly due to the larger number of observations. The main difference with the original study is in terms of significance. The Linder effect is insignificant in the replication; distance and RTA are significant.

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<sup>22</sup> We have also checked for possible reverse causality and non-linearity in a model with lagged explanatory variables. Results were to a large extent similar.

<sup>23</sup> Neither issue is discussed in the primary study.

On balance the replication is sufficiently successful to use the replication as a basis for further investigation.

**Table 3**  
**Arnon et al. (1996) Replication and comparison - Estimating the effects of Regional Trade Agreements OLS, 16 countries, 1991**

	Arnon, Spivak, and Weinblatt (1996)		This study	
	<i>Original</i>		<i>Replication</i>	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Method	OLS	OLS	OLS	OLS
Trade flow	Exports	Imports	Exports	Imports
Exporter GDP (ln)	1.087 (19.5)	0.813 (13.6)	1.025 (11.4)	0.863 (10.0)
Importer GDP (ln)	0.843 (15.1)	1.055 (17.7)	0.671 (8.9)	0.698 (8.4)
Distance (ln)	-0.24 (-1.7)	-0.20 (-1.4)	-0.96 (-4.7)	-0.77 (-3.3)
Common language (dummy)	1.84 (4.4)	1.99 (4.5)	-0.10 (-0.2)	-0.42 (-0.9)
Regional trade agreement (dummy)	1.5 (-)	1.5 (-)	0.62 (1.9)	0.56 (1.8)
Linder effect	-0.034 (-2.2)	-0.027 (-1.6)	0.030 (4.4)	0.027 (4.6)
Constant term	-15.88 (-14.0)	-15.43 (12.7)	-12.53 (-5.1)	-11.29 (-3.7)
<i>N</i>	n/a	n/a	201	204
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	0.724	0.683	0.605	0.608

Note: *t* statistics in parentheses

**Table 4**  
**Arnon et al. (1996) replication and extension for the year 1991 (OLS, PPML 16 and 76 countries)**

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Estimation method	OLS	OLS	PPML	PPML	PPML	PPML
Number of countries	16	16	16	16	76	76
Trade flow	Exports	Imports	Exports	Imports	Exports	Imports
Exporter GDP (ln)	1.03** (0.09)	0.86** (0.09)	0.76** (0.13)	0.77** (0.05)	0.70*** (0.06)	0.92*** (0.03)
Importer GDP (ln)	0.67** (0.08)	0.70** (0.08)	0.89** (0.05)	0.51** (0.11)	0.92*** (0.03)	0.57*** (0.06)
Distance (ln)	-0.96** (0.20)	-0.77** (0.23)	-0.36** (0.11)	-0.28** (0.09)	-0.54*** (0.06)	-0.52*** (0.06)
Common language (dummy)	-0.10 (0.42)	-0.42 (0.45)	-0.11 (0.30)	-0.43 (0.32)	0.24 (0.16)	0.20 (0.15)
Regional trade agreement (dummy)	0.62+ (0.33)	0.56+ (0.32)	0.78** (0.21)	0.26 (0.22)	0.74*** (0.13)	0.56*** (0.12)
Linder effect	0.03** (0.01)	0.03** (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	0.012** (0.004)	0.003 (0.01)
Constant term	-12.5** (2.4)**	-11.3** (3.1)	-15.8** (3.2)	-7.57** (2.4)	-13.47 (1.54)	-10.70 (1.3)
N	201	204	240	240	4254	4254
R <sup>2</sup>	0.61	0.61	0.95	0.88	0.88	0.85
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.14	0.14	0.19	0.16	0.31	0.25

Note: Standard errors in parentheses

+  $p < 0.10$ , \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ .



## 4.2 Panel estimates

Table 5 presents the revisited model estimated for 76 countries with PPML and panel data for 1991-2019 in 4-year intervals. This clearly extends beyond what usually would be called a replication, because it uses observations that are from the perspective of the original study hidden in the future.

**Table 5**  
**Panel PPML 76 countries, 1991-2019**

Trade flow	(1) Exports	(2) Imports
Exporter GDP (ln)	0.69** (0.12)	0.65** (0.12)
Importer GDP (ln)	0.57** (0.11)	0.56** (0.11)
Distance (ln)	-0.32** (0.07)	-0.28** (0.07)
Common language (dummy)	0.59* (0.15)	0.56** (0.14)
Regional trade agreement (dummy)	1.19** (0.12)	1.12** (0.12)
Linder effect	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
Constant term	-8.3 (6.0)	-7.4 (5.8)
<i>N</i>	41207	41207
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	0.662	0.648
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup> -adj	0.63	0.64

Note: Standard errors in parentheses

+  $p < 0.10$ , \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ .

The findings in Table 5 constitute an extension of the sample, an update and new structure of the data as well as state of the art estimation technology. The aim of the extension along these dimensions is, as stated before, to fill the gap in the literature on trade potential that according to Figure 5 has been based on pre-2000 observations only.

## 4.3 Trade potential

Trade potential estimation is an art rather than a science because many assumptions need to be made and also because the modelling results, while important for any assessment need expert judgement based on the strength and weaknesses of the methods. Rather than providing a point estimate we provide a range so as to reflect the uncertainty that is inherent to trade potential estimation.

As identified during the systematic review we estimate the panel gravity PPML model for exports as well as for imports and use two different methods to arrive at estimates of the trade potential in the MENA countries. This approach generates some ballpark numbers for the 'pot of gold', that is: the potential gain in trade that could be reaped in the hypothetical world where MENA trades like the average country in our sample.

The first method deployed by Minisey et al. (2003) uses gravity forecasts  $F_i$  and observations  $O_i$  for the MENA countries to estimate the pot of gold ( $PoG$ )<sup>24</sup>. The forecasts show what trade levels could occur in a world where only the gravity forces are at play. For example, the level of a bilateral trade flow that now due to political constraints is very low or even zero.

$$PoG_1 = \sum_{i \in MENA} (F_i - O_i) \quad (1)$$

We use the model of Table 5 and observations for the explanatory variable for the year 2019 to generate forecasts for exports and imports. We express trade potential in percent of the observed trade flows (equation 2) in order to be able to compare our findings with the studies that we reviewed earlier (Figure 5).

$$\frac{PoG_1}{\sum_{i \in MENA} O_i} = \frac{\sum_{i \in MENA} (F_i - O_i)}{\sum_{i \in MENA} O_i} \quad (2)$$

The results of the simulation amount to 10% of intra MENA trade for the imports model and 21% of intra-MENA trade for the exports model, respectively.

The comparison of observed and predicted trade flows needs to be accompanied by another perspective, that is the question what would have happened if the MENA region had not been more open and not hampered by political constraints on trade. Such a what-if question is called a counterfactual. We, so to say, investigate what a hypothetical world would look like if the distinguishing trade-reducing characteristics of MENA could be lifted.

Following the method developed by van Bergeijk and Oldersma (1990) for the trade distortions in Europe at the eve of the fall of the Iron Curtain and the Berlin Wall we compare two forecasts: the forecast where we set the dummy variable  $MENA$  equal to 1 with the forecast where  $MENA = 0$  (equation 3). Obviously, this is a very rough approximation that, moreover, provides an estimate of what is attainable if all MENA related distortions are lifted. It should thus be understood as an indication of the maximum for the range of the trade potential.

$$PoG_2 = \sum_{i \in MENA} \{F_i (MENA = 0) - F_i (MENA = 1)\} \quad (3)$$

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<sup>24</sup> Some authors estimate a gravity model for a sample that does not include the country of interest and use the estimated parameters to generate out of sample forecasts for the country of interest.

We now use the model reported in Table 6 (the difference with Table 5 is that we now include a dummy for MENA; see also Miniesy et al. 2003) for an example of such an approach). To calculate trade potential, we compare the predictions to the counterfactual where we set  $MENA = 0$  for all countries. Again, we express the results as a percentage of intra MENA trade (equation 4) in order to make our findings comparable to the studies that we reviewed earlier.

$$POG_2 = \frac{\sum_{i \in MENA} \{F_i (MENA = 0) - F_i (MENA = 1)\}}{\sum_{i \in MENA} \{F_i (MENA = 1)\}} \quad (4)$$

**Table 6**  
**Model with MENA dummy**  
**Panel PPML 76 countries, 1991-2019**

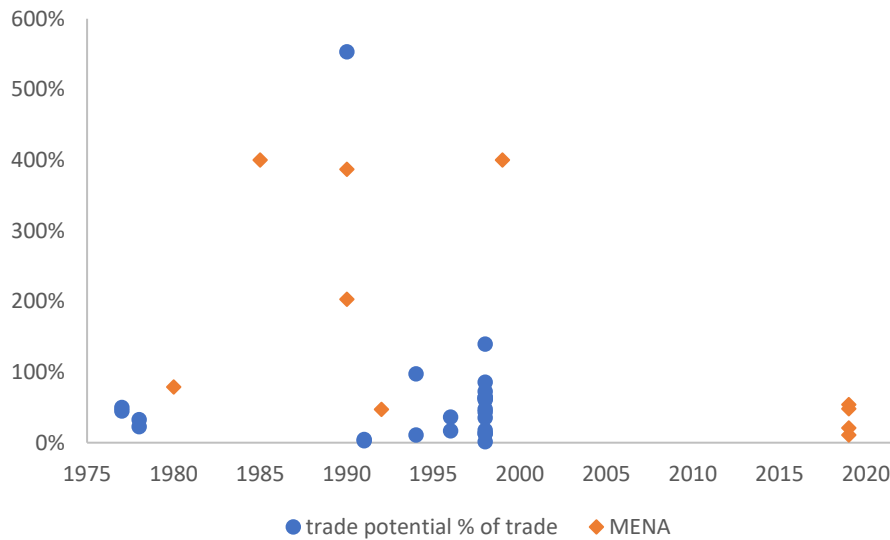
<b>Trade flow</b>	<b>(1) Exports</b>	<b>(2) Imports</b>
Exporter GDP (ln)	0.664 (0.124)**	0.623 (0.121)**
Imprter GDP (ln)	0.540 (0.117)**	0.534 (0.113)**
Distance (ln)	-0.318 (0.069)**	-0.286 (0.070)**
Comon language (dummy)	0.631 (0.146)**	0.592 (0.143)**
Regional trade agreement (dummy)	1.205 (0.123)**	Not1.134 (0.122)**
MENA (dummy)	-0.431 (0.253)+	-0.391 (0.238)
Linder effect	0.010 (0.013)	0.010 (0.013)
Costnt term	-6.845 (6.154)	-6.048 (6.000)
<i>N</i>	41207	41207
<i>r</i> <sup>2</sup>	0.660	0.647

Note: Standard errors in parentheses  
+  $p < 0.10$ , \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ .

The results of the simulation amount to 48% of (forecasted) intra MENA trade for the exports model and 54% of intra-MENA trade for the imports model, respectively.

Figure 6 updates Figure 5 by including our findings for the year 2019. The ‘pot of gold’ in percent of intra MENA trade amounts to 10% to 54% (import based) and 21% to 48% (export based), respectively. These estimates are lower than those reported in the earlier literature. The conclusion, however, is still that an economically significant trade potential exists.

**Figure 6**  
**Reported estimates of trade potential in percent of observed trade flow (year is the year that has been analysed in the primary study; 2019 refers to this working paper)**



## 5 Summary and conclusions

This paper followed a multimethod approach consisting of a systematic review (following the PRISMA protocol), a replication of one of the leading studies on trade potential in the region and a panel trade model.

We provided an innovative systematic review that does not only use the standard approach (search engine search) but also identifies primary studies by means of expert interviews. We identify 118 studies of potential relevance and identified best practices regarding gravity model. Moreover, we reviewed estimates on trade potential. In terms of citations reported in Google Scholar a study by Arnon, Spivak and Weinblatt (published in *World Economy* 1996) is the most influential paper on this topic. The last year for which a trade potential estimate according to our systematic review is available is 1999. This paper fills this gap by providing estimates for the year 2019.

We first replicate, extend, and update the study by Arnon, Spivak and Weinblatt taking best practices as identified by the systematic review into account. Based on the best practice identified in the systematic review we estimate a panel PPML gravity model for 76 countries and the years 1991-2019 inclusive. Next, we use two alternative approaches to estimate the intra MENA trade potential that could be reaped as a consequence of a geopolitically more stable and open Middle East. In the year 2019 this ‘pot of gold’ in percent of intra MENA trade amounts to 10% to 54% (import based) and 21% to 48% (export based), respectively. These estimates are lower than those reported in the earlier literature. The conclusion is that an economically significant trade potential still exists.

## Structured Summary of the Systematic Review

*Background:* The low levels of intra-MENA trade have been acknowledged by the literature since the 1960s, with application of the gravity model as the prominent method to calculate the trade flows. The potential of trade flows and their effects on the Arab-Israeli conflict, especially the Palestinian-Israeli one, have been presented following each peace accord signed between Israel and other Arab countries, presenting the untapped potential of an open and peaceful Middle East. Yet the trade flows have been lastly estimated for 1999.

*Objectives:* Identification of (characteristics of) academic and grey literature on the trade potential of a peace settlement. Identification of best practices in econometric appraisal. Identification of trade potential.

*Sources:* Private knowledge and unofficial conversations, Google scholar, and interviews.

*Study eligibility criteria:* Included studies (19 in total) are all those grounded in the gravity theory estimating a trade matrix (N x N). Excluded studies (99 in total) are studies applying all other methods e.g., studies grounded in gravity theory but providing estimates of import and export demand for one country only based on its trade flows with many countries (1 x N); general equilibrium method; export (import) demand equilibrium; as well as studies that do not report original econometric findings.

*Study appraisal:* Review; double coded.

*Synthesis methods:* Narrative, tables and graphs.

*Key findings:* This research establishes the gravity model as the key method for evaluation of trade flows in the MENA region based on a three step, innovative systematic literature review of 118 studies in total, 99 excluded studies and 19 included. Findings: (i) Arnon, Spivak and Weinblatt (1996) is the most influential study in our sample in terms of google scholar citations (ii) no post 1999 estimates of trade potential exist (iii) only one third of the empirical studies provides numbers that inform our overview of trade potential estimates (iv) The range of estimates of is considerable with a standard deviation of 141%, an average of 108% and a median of 49%. For the individual country estimates the standard deviation is 34% (average 45%; median 44%).

*Implications:* There is a need for trade potential estimates for a more recent year. This conclusion is followed up in the working paper using identified best practice estimates (panel PPML gravity) for the year 2019.

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## APPENDICES

### Appendix 1 PRISMA checklist (Moher et al. 2009)

Section/topic	Item No.	Checklist Item	Reported in Page No
<b>TITLE</b>			
Title	1	Identify the report as a systematic review, meta-analysis, or both.	Title page; 3
<b>ABSTRACT</b>			
Structured summary	2	Provide a structured summary including, as applicable: background; objectives; data sources; study eligibility criteria, participants, and interventions; study appraisal and synthesis methods; results; limitations; conclusions and implications of key findings; systematic review registration number.	2, 24
<b>INTRODUCTION</b>			
Rationale	3	Describe the rationale for the review in the context of what is already known	3
Objectives	4	Provide an explicit statement of questions being addressed with reference to participants, interventions, comparisons, outcomes, and study design (PICOS)	4-5
<b>METHODS</b>			
Protocol and registration	5	Indicate if a review protocol exists, if and where it can be accessed (e.g., Web address), and, if available, provide registration information including registration number.	No protocol
Eligibility criteria	6	Specify study characteristics (e.g., PICOS, length of follow-up) and report characteristics (e.g., years considered, language, publication status) used as criteria for eligibility, giving rationale.	8-9; Table 1
Information sources	7	Describe all information sources (e.g., databases with dates of coverage, contact with study authors to identify additional studies) in the search and date last searched.	5-7
Search	8	Present full electronic search strategy for at least one database, including any limits used, such that it could be repeated	5-6; Figure 2
Study selection	9	State the process for selecting studies (i.e., screening, eligibility, included in systematic review, and, if applicable, included in the meta-analysis).	6-7
Data collection process	10	Describe method of data extraction from reports (e.g., piloted forms, independently, in duplicate) and any processes for obtaining and confirming data from investigators.	10
Data items	11	List and define all variables for which data were sought (e.g., PICOS, funding sources) and any assumptions and simplifications made.	10-11; Figure 3
Risk of bias in individual studies	12	Describe methods used for assessing risk of bias of individual studies (including specification of whether this was done at the	11-12

		study or outcome level), and how this information is to be used in any data synthesis.	
Summary measures	13	State the principal summary measures (e.g., risk ratio, difference in means).	Figure 4, 5
Synthesis of results	14	Describe the methods of handling data and combining results of studies, if done, including measures of consistency	Figure 3, 4, 5
Risk of bias across studies	15	Specify any assessment of risk of bias that may affect the cumulative evidence (e.g., publication bias, selective reporting within studies)	6 (including footnote 5)
Additional analyses	16	Describe methods of additional analyses (e.g., sensitivity or subgroup analyses, meta-regression), if done, indicating which were pre-specified.	14-16; Appendix 3
<b>RESULTS</b>			
Study selection	17	Give numbers of studies screened, assessed for eligibility, and included in the review, with reasons for exclusions at each stage, ideally with a flow diagram	12-13; Appendix 2
Study characteristics	18	For each study, present characteristics for which data were extracted and provide the citations.	13; Figure 4; Appendix 3
Risk of bias within studies	19	Present data on risk of bias of each study and, if available, any outcome level assessment	15
Results of individual studies	20	For all outcomes considered (benefits or harms), present for each study (a) simple summary data for each intervention group and (b) effect estimates and confidence intervals, ideally with a forest plot	Figure 5
Synthesis of results	21	Present results of each meta-analysis done, including confidence intervals and measures of consistency	NA
Risk of bias across studies	22	Present results of any assessment of risk of bias across studies	NA
Additional analysis	23	Give results of additional analyses, if done (e.g., sensitivity or subgroup analyses, meta-regression)	NA
<b>DISCUSSION</b>			
Summary of evidence	24	Summarize the main findings including the strength of evidence for each main outcome; consider their relevance to key groups (such as health care providers, users, and policy makers)	24; Figure 6
Limitations	25	Discuss limitations at study and outcome level (such as risk of bias), and at review level (such as incomplete retrieval of identified research, reporting bias)	6
Conclusions	26	Provide a general interpretation of the results in the context of other evidence, and implications for future research.	23-24



## Appendix 2 Excluded studies and motivation

	<b>Study</b>	<b>Reason for Exclusion</b>
1	Abugamea 2005	VECM
2	Abugamea 2008	SURE
3	Abugamea 2010	CA
4	Albuginea 2019	VECM
5	Abu-Qarn 2008	RL
6	Agbahey et al. 2022	AGE
7	Aix Group 2004	NE
8	Aix Group 2005	NE
9	Aix Group 2013	NE
10	Al-Majali and Adayleh 2018	GEE, GEI
11	Arcand and Secretariat, U.N.C.T.A.D. 2020	MDH
12	Arnon, 2007	NE
13	Arnon, 2013	NE
14	Arnon and Bamyá 2007	NE
15	Arnon and Bamia, 2009	NE
16	Arnon and Bamyá (eds) (Aix Group) 2010	NE
17	Arnon and Bamyá (eds) (Aix Group) 2015	NE
18	Arnon and Bamyá (eds) (Aix Group) 2016	NE
19	Arnon and Bamyá 2017	NE
20	Arnon and Spivak 1996	NE
21	Arnon and Weinblatt 2001	NE
22	Astrup and Dessus 2005	CGE
23	Awadallah (MAS) 2011	NE
24	Bank of Israel Research Department 2014	GEE
25	Baskin and al-Qaq (Israel/Palestine Center for Research and Information-IPCRI) 1998	NE
26	Botta 2010(a)	CGE
27	Botta 2010(b)	NE
28	Cali 2015	LPM

	<b>Study</b>	<b>Reason for Exclusion</b>
29	Diwan and Shaban (eds) (MAS and World Bank) 1999	NE
30	Economic Cooperation Foundation (ECF) 2013	NE
31	El-Jafari 1995	NE
32	El-Jafari 1997	GEE, GEI
33	Elkhafif and Elagraa (UNCTAD) 2014	NE
34	Eltalla 2016	NE
35	El-Wassal 2012	GMM
36	Fidrmuc et al. 2003	NE
37	Gal and Rock 2018	NE
38	Halevi 1999	NE
39	Hashai 2004	GEE
40	Hirschfeld (Economic Cooperation Foundation- ECF) 1992	NE
41	Independent Evaluation Group (IEG) World Bank 2010	NE
42	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, World Bank 2017	NE
43	Israel/Palestine Center for Research and Information (IPCRI) 2003	NE
44	Israel/Palestine Center for Research and Information (IPCRI) 2005	NE
45	Kashiwagi 2016	NE
46	Kessler 1999	NE
47	Khalidi and Taghdisi-Rad (UNCTAD) 2009	NE
48	Kubursi and Secretariat, U. N. C. T. A. D. 2019	NE
49	Makhool et al. (MAS) 2004	MX
50	Ministry of Finance and Planning State of Palestine 2018	NE
51	Ministry of National Economy and Applied Research Institute-Jerusalem (ARIJ) 2011	NE
52	Missaglia and Valensisi 2010	CGE
53	Missaglia and Valensisi 2014	CGE
54	Misyef (MAS) 2017	NE
55	Naqib and Secretariat, U. N. C. T. A. D. 1996	NE
56	Naqib and Secretariat, U. N. C. T. A. D 1998	NE
57	Nashashibi et al. 2015	NE

	<b>Study</b>	<b>Reason for Exclusion</b>
58	Niksic et al. (World bank) 2014	IO
59	Office of the Quartet (QQ) 2015	NE
60	Office of the Quartet (QQ) 2016	NE
61	Office of the Quartet Representative Tony Blair (OQR) 2011, April	NE
62	Office of the Quartet Representative Tony Blair (OQR) 2011, September	NE
63	Office of the Quartet Representative Tony Blair (OQR) 2012, March	NE
64	Office of the Quartet Representative Tony Blair (OQR) 2012, September	NE
65	Office of the Quartet Representative Tony Blair (OQR) 2013, March	NE
66	Office of the Quartet Representative Tony Blair (OQR) 2013, September	NE
67	Office of the Quartet Representative Tony Blair (OQR) 2014	NE
68	Office of the Quartet Representative Tony Blair (OQR) 2015	NE
69	Office of the United Nation Special Coordinator for the Middle East Peace Process (UNSCO) 2020	NE
70	Peres Center for Peace and PALTRADE 2006	NE
71	Samhoury 2016	NE
72	Samour (MAS) 2016	NE
73	Saqfahait et al. 2011	GEE, GEI
74	Schiff (World Bank) 2002	CBA
75	Secretariat, U. N. C. T. A. D 1994	NE
76	Secretariat, U. N. C. T. A. D. 2000	NE
77	Secretariat, U. N. C. T. A. D. 2012	NE
78	Secretary-General, U. N. and Secretariat, U. N. C. T. A. D. 2018	NE
79	Secretary-General, U. N and Secretariat, U. N. C. T. A. D. 2019	NE
80	Shawa and Secretariat, U.C.T.A.D. 1998	NE
81	Shtayyeh 1998	NE
82	The Aix Group 2015	NE
83	Temurov and Kilicaslan 2016	GEE, GEI, OT
84	Tovias and Al Khouri 2004	PE
85	UNCTAD 1997	NE
86	UNCTAD 2014	NE
87	Vaggi and Baroud 2005	NE

	<b>Study</b>	<b>Reason for Exclusion</b>
88	Valensisi and Missaglia 2010	NE
89	World Bank 2002	NE
90	World Bank 2003	NE
91	World Bank 2004	NE
92	World Bank 2014	NE
93	World Bank 2015	NE
94	World Bank 2018, March	NE
95	World Bank 2018, September	NE
96	World Bank Group 2017	NE
97	World Bank Group 2019, April	NE
98	World Bank Group 2019, September	NE
99	World Bank Group 2021	NE

## **Appendix 3 Code Book**

### **Citations**

Google scholar hits; total combined hits if different versions exist (e.g. journal article and working paper)

### **Quality**

A top tier WoS

B other WoS

C non WoS article and book chapters

RP Report

WP Working paper

### **Reason for exclusion**

AGE Applied General Equilibrium

BS Bilateral services

CA Cointegration analysis

CBA Cost benefit analysis

CGE Computable General Equilibrium

GE Growth equations

GEE Gravity export equation

GIE Gravity import equation

GMM Generalized Methods of Moments

IO Input output analysis

LPM linear probability model (time series)

MDH, Micro data household study

MX Macroeconometric model (Klein)

NE non econometric

NP Non Paper

PE Partial equilibrium

RL Review of literature

SURE Seemingly Uncorrelated Regression Equations

VECM Vector Error Correction Model

## Appendix 4 List of countries in the gravity analysis

Countries marked @ are included in Arnon et al. (1996)

Afghanistan	Luxembourg
Algeria	Mali
Argentina	Malta
Armenia	Mauritania
Australia	Mexico
Austria	Morocco
Azerbaijan	Netherlands
Bahrain	Niger
Belgium	Oman
Brazil	Pakistan
Bulgaria	Palestine
Canada	Poland
Chad	Portugal
@China	Qatar
Comoros	@Republic of Korea
Croatia	Romania
Cyprus	Russia
Czech Republic	@Saudi Arabia
Denmark	Slovakia
Djibouti	Slovenia
Egypt Arab Rep.	Somalia
Eritrea	South Africa
Estonia	Spain
@Ethiopia	@Sudan
Finland	Sweden
France	@Syria Arab Rep.
Georgia	Tunisia
@Germany	@Turkey
Greece	United Arab Emirates
Hungary	United Kingdom
@India	@United States
@Indonesia	@Yemen Rep
@Iran Islamic Rep.	
Iraq	
Ireland	
@Israel	
Italy	
@Japan	
@Jordan	
Kuwait	
Latvia	
Lebanon	
Libya	
Lithuania	