## University of Hamburg/ the Berghof Foundation (Berlin)

## European Master's Degree in Human Rights and Democratisation

## 2015/2016

"If There'll Be Peace All The 'Arsim Will Come":

The Case for Furthering Dialogue in the Israeli Periphery Between Mizrahim and
Palestinian-Israelis.

Author: Leeor Ohayon

Supervisor: Hans-Joachim Giessmann.

### Abstract.

Within Israeli society, Mizrahim are type-casted as the embodiment of anti-Arab prejudice in which ultra-nationalist voting patterns and hawkish views serve as an obstacle towards peace. However, such a depiction is problematic given that such an explanation provides little explanation as to how such attitudes have manifested amongst Mizrahim, as a group of an Arab cultural identity. Consequentially, this thesis asserts the argument that Mizrahi anti-Arabness is a symptom not a cause, as a product of Israeli ethnocratic state structures that maintain a preference for the Ashkenazi hegemonic class at the expense of Mizrahim and Palestinian-Israelis, who are subject to structural and cultural violence that manifests through the periphery, in which they coinhabit. A system of violence results in human rights violations that exacerbate socioeconomic inequality and in turn perpetuates a micro-conflict between Mizrahim and Palestinian-Israelis as groups that form the lower strata of the ethno-class hierarchy. Mizrahim, owing to historic conditions, view Palestinian-Israelis as an immediate threat to their mobility and interests within the ethno-class hierarchy. Applying conflict theories to the New Mizrahi Discourse, this thesis seeks to provide a different lens for looking at Israel's internal conflicts, as a series of interconnected human rights based struggle, whose resolve relies on the construction of dialogue initiatives conducive to the Mizrahi-Palestinian environment and outside of current Ashkenazi-Zionist binaries.

# Table of Contents:

Introduction6
-Understanding this thesis11
-Understanding the discourse15
Part I. Conflict and its Theories20
1.1 Defining Conflict20
1.2 The Causations of Conflict21
1.2.1 Realistic Conflict Theory22
-1.2.2. Social Identity Theory23
-1.2.3 Human Rights Violations as Instigator of Conflict24
1.3 Escalation of Conflict25
1.4 Transformation of Conflict 26
1.4.1. Defining Conflict Transformation27
1.4.2. Human Rights and Conflict Transformation27
1.5 Preventing Conflict: Dialogue30
1.5.1 Defining dialogue31
1.5.2 The Significance of Dialogue32
1.5.3 Forms of Dialogue33
Part II. Conflict with the Hegemony34
2.1 Israel as an Ethnocracy34
2.1.1. Orientalism and the Ethnocratic structure36
2.1.2. Level of Escalation38
2.2. Structural and Cultural Violence39
2.2.1. Context: Creating the Periphery39
2.3. Legacy of the Periphery42
2.3.1. Development and Employment43
2.3.2. Higher Education46
2.3.3. Land and Housing49
2.3.4. Legal Discrimination51

2.4. Consequential HRVs53
Part III: Understanding the Micro-Conflict56
3.1. Perpetuating SCV57
3.2. The Roots of Anti-Arabism and Out-Group Favouritism58
3.3. The Vote for the Right and Realistic Conflict Theory 63
3.3.1. The Left as a Threat64
3.3.2. A Culture of Non-Recognition69
Part IV: Advancing Mizrahi-Palestinian Dialogue70
4.1. An In-depth Understanding72
4.1.1. Understanding the Obstacles72
4.2. The Case for Localisation: Identity and Culture76
4.2.1. A Shared Culture76
4.2.2. De-Ashkenization76
4.2.3. Utilisation of the Periphery78
4.2.4. The Potential Impact of Localisation79
4.3. The Importance of Language82
4.4. A Shared Responsibility83
4.4.1. The Periphery's Conditions for Regionalism84
4.4.2. The Significance of Regionalism for Dialogue85
Conclusion88

Bibliography...91

Annex I...107