The Demographic Demon - Jewish existential uncertainty

An analysis of contemporary Israel's protection and maintenance of a Jewish and democratic state.

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Abstract

The research investigates public moral reasoning behind securitization in Israel today and how the securitization is related to the idea of a Jewish demographic majority in Israel. The researcher poses the question of how Israel protects and sustains a Jewish and democratic state. Sub questions related to how minority communities influence Israel's Jewish and democratic state, are asked. The Palestinian minority living in Israel is seen as a demographic threat to the Jewish majority. At the same time, the ultra-Orthodox minority in Israel is challenging secularism and a democratic state in Israel. Therefore, the research depicts the role of the ultra-Orthodox minority in relation to Israel's sustainment of a Jewish and democratic state. The research field is scrutinized by focusing on the past 20 years in Israel. The research applies Social Constructivist ideas and theories of International Relations. The research takes use of Securitization Theory (ST) and profound studies of Israel by political scientists Uriel Abulof, Sammy Smooha, Amal Jamal, Oren Yiftachel and Ian Lustick. Uriel Abulof's theory of "Deep Securitization" in Israel is analysed in order to answer the research question. The theories depict the role of the ultra-Orthodox political parties, religious courts and individuals that constitute an ultra-Orthodox community in Israel. The research applies theories suggesting that the ultra-Orthodox courts control religious conversions to Judaism today. Another important finding is that Israel's "Status Quo Document" gives legal status to religious norms in Israel. The theories study how the Law of Return in Israel secures a Jewish majority in the state because it welcomes Jews in diaspora to integrate in Israel every year. The Palestinians in Israel are seen as a historical "Demographic Demon" that challenges Israel's Jewish majority on numbers because the minority has a higher birth rate than the Jews. The research applies a deductive method and analyses the research question by applying a Normative Concepts Analysis. This type of analysis displays a political "language of legitimation" and is used to depict the public moral reasoning of politics in Israel. The researcher conducted four semi-structured interviews with Palestinians and Israelis that are discussed together with the theory. The research analyses the rhetorical and political Israel in the 2000s. The analysis identified that keeping the Law of Return active is the result of extraordinary measures of security regarded by the Israeli state as necessary implementations in order to survive. The study also analyses how a Jewish state would fail to exist without a Jewish majority population. The analysis demonstrated that Zionists explained securitizations against the Palestinian hostilities and likely revenge as fear of being outnumbered and the importance of protecting the Jewish identity. The research concludes that Israel grants authority to the ultra-Orthodox political parties and religious courts in order to avoid conflicts of power between the state and the ultra-Orthodox community. The ultra-Orthodox authority is maintained because Israel depends on the religious community's support of a Jewish majority through a Status Quo and the Law of Return. It was also concluded that the Palestinian minority is seen as an obstacle to the Jewish demographic majority, peace and security. With respect to the research question, Israel is preserving the ultra-Orthodox's authority to the extent that the state can benefit from it in order to sustain as a state for a Jewish ethnic majority. Israel's role in the current refugee crisis is discussed in the research. A denial of asylum to Syrian and African nationals is concluded to be an act of securitization of the Jewish demographic majority in Israel.

Terminology

The following section plots the frequently used concepts and specifies how they are applied and understood in the research:

Deep Securitization / Extraordinary measures of securitization

"Deep Securitization" and "extraordinary measures of securitization" are frequently applied in the research. The terms are exemplified in *Deep Securitization and Israel´s "Demographic Demon"* by Israeli Associate Professor in Political Science, Uriel Abulof (2014). The extraordinary measures of securitization are part of the Deep Securitization in Israel that always seeks to protect Jewish identity and majority (Abulof 2014: 14). The researcher understands and applies the terms in the research according to the above explanation.

The Demographic Demon

According to Abulof, Zionism in Israel enables Deep Securitization to protect the Jewish population against the Demographic Demon. The Demographic Demon refers to the Palestinians in Israel and the size of their population (Abulof 2014: 1+4). Demography is understood as a statistical study of populations (Oxford 2016). The Demographic Demon encompasses the Arab population in the occupied territories of the West Bank and Gaza Strip as well. This research will mainly discuss the Demographic Demon when referring to the Palestinian population inside Israel and the existential threats coming from the Palestinians living in Israel (Abulof 2014). When the occupied territories are included in the Demographic Demon, it will be mentioned.

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1. Introduction

The population of Israel comprises over six million Jews and nearly two million non-Jews. The non-Jews are mostly the Palestinian[1] citizens of Israel constituting the largest minority[2] (Tripathi 2015). The current relationship between the Palestinian minority and the Jewish majority is a result of tragic circumstances of war and destruction. The Arabs and Jews see themselves as the indigenous population in the same strip of land (Smooha 2004: 11). Some argued that Palestine was simply an empty[3] land ready for the Jewish immigrants to settle in while statistics show that 450,000 Arabs and just 20,000 Jews lived in the land before 1948 (Morris 2004: 40-41). By the end of the 1948 War, Israel had a population of some 750,000 Jews and 150,000 Palestinians that were not only a minority instead of a majority, but also a security issue to Israel (Morris 2004: 39-41+ 61).

The historical developments put the Palestinian citizens of Israel under great pressure (Tripathi 2015). The relations between the Jews and the Palestinians in Israel today suffer from serious disagreements regarding ideological issues in society: the Jewish-Zionist[4] character of the Israeli State and the solution to the violent conflict between Jews and Palestinians. The Palestinians in Israel are a working class community within a middle-class society. Ninety per cent of the Palestinian citizens of Israel live in Arab towns and the remaining 10 per cent live in separate neighborhoods in Jewish cities (Smooha 2004: 11).

Critics of the Israeli state claim that the Palestinians are suffering from discrimination in allocation of state budgets, and in obtaining work and housing in the private sector (Yiftachel 2011;Jamal 2009;Adalah 2011;Smooha 2004: 11). The Israeli state explains the differential treatment with a critical need for protection against likely outbursts of hostilities from Palestinians in Israel and the necessary protection of a Jewish majority. The protection of the Jewish demographic majority in Israel has been the background of the state's securitization of the Palestinian Arabs in the area ever since 1948 (Morris 2004: 61).

The Jewish existential uncertainty has since the 2000s been a focal point as the public, parliamentary, and media repeated and highlighted the demographic crisis in Israel. Following the same rationale, Israeli Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu stated in 2003 that the Palestinians were an internal

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[1] The Palestinians in Israel make up approximately 18 per cent of the total population who are mostly Muslims (14 per cent out of the total population in Israel) and a small percentage are Christians (two per cent) and druze
[2] The most frequently mentioned minority in the research is the Palestinian citizens of Israel. When the term does not refer to the Palestinians it will be specified. The majority in this research is always understood as the Jewish citizens of Israel. The research will take use of different variations of the two concepts inspired by Lustick (1980;1988) and Smooha (2001) as exemplified in their studies of Israel.
[3] *"A land without people for a people without a land"* is a commonly used phrase by Zionists and proponents of a Jewish return and are widely used in the literature of Zionism (Muir 2008).
[4] The researcher understand and apply *Zionism* as a political movement for the historical establishment, development and protection of the Jewish nation in what is now Israel. The description is inspired by the dictionary of Oxford's (2016) definition.

demographic threat to the state:*"(...)our raison d'état is a Jewish and democratic state, and in order for democracy not to cancel out Jewishness, we must retain a Jewish majority"* (Abulof 2014: 29). Thus, it can be seen that the so-called "demographic demon", the Palestinians in Israel, continues to challenge the Jewish majority on numbers (Abulof 2014: 22).

Israel's relationship to the Palestinian minority is often linked to its democratic[5] character, political legitimacy and the question of equality of treatment under its laws. In addition, critical voices claim that Israel treat the Palestinian minority with different rights under the constitution (Tripathi 2015;Yiftachel 2011).

While the Palestinians in Israel threaten the Jewish population on numbers, the religious ultra-Orthodox community in Israel are said to be threatening secularism and a democracy in Israel. According to an American fact tank, an overwhelmingly 89 percentage of the ultra-Orthodox Jews in Israel are of the opinion that Jewish law should take precedence over democratic ideals. At the same time, an equally large share of secular Jews supports democratic ideals in Israel. The gap between the secular and religious in Israel could potentially challenge a future democratic state (Lipka 2016). The presence of different minorities adds to the difficulties of maintaining a state that is stable, secular, democratic and Jewish. Hence, this research will investigate Israel's approach to and securitization of their Palestinian and ultra-Orthodox minority.

The following section will explain the research field and the researcher's motivation behind the development of the research question.

1.2 Research Field

The field of research tackles the social aspects of securitization in Israel today, and how the processes are related to the idea of a Jewish demographic majority in Israel.

Several authors (Morris (2004), Jamal (2000) and Smooha (2001)) argue that the Palestinian population in Israel is a demographic threat to the Jewish majority's and the Jewish state. The researcher will examine the political legitimacy of the state's behaviour in relation to the Palestinian minority. The maintenance of Israel's democratic and Jewish state is depending on a Jewish demographic majority (Abulof 2014). Therefore, the research will analyse areas of Israel's policies, immigration law and political atmosphere in relation to the demographic threats in Israel.

Another angle that will be analysed is the role of ultra-Orthodox community. The ultra-Orthodox community comprises ultra-Orthodox rabbinical courts[6], parties in Knesset[7] and ultra-Orthodox individuals in Israel (Jamal 2009;Shahar 2015). The relationship between the religious ultra-Orthodox authorities and a Zionist state in Israel today will be depicted in the research. The researcher will

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[5]When the concept of a *democracy* is applied in the research it refers to a continuous variable, a normative and conceptual approach in social sciences inspired by Smooha (2001: 11).
[6]The Rabbinical courts are explained in the first theory chapter..
[7]The role of the religious parties in Israel is examined in theory chapter three.

explore to what extent securitization processes are influenced by the ultra-Orthodox community in Israel. The ultra-Orthodox[8] community in Israel constitutes a minority of eight per cent out of the total population in Israel and is even smaller than the Palestinian minority of around 20 per cent (Lipka 2016). Despite the size of the minorities, the ultra-Orthodox community is of vital importance to religious conversions influenced by ultra-Orthodox rabbinical courts and parties in the Knesset. The ultra-Orthodox rabbinical courts decide who can convert to Judaism in Israel (Shahar 2015;Jamal 2009). Therefore, the researcher finds it relevant to analyse potential differences in the Israeli state's political behavior toward the two minority groups.

The aforementioned areas will be examined by focusing on political legitimations in the past 20 years in Israel. Historical events of Jewish/Palestinian demography will be unfolded when they serve as answers to the research question. Examples of security processes throughout Israel's history will be examined, as they are likely to reflect implemented securitizations in Israel today. Nevertheless, the research is mainly focusing on securitization processes in the 2000s that influenced the current situation in Israel.

The researcher is not applying an analysis of Israel's legislations or the disputed "two-state solution" between Palestinians and Jews. Rather, the research is centered on the political and rhetorical atmosphere in Israel in the past 20 years, and how this atmosphere shaped the processes of securitization within the state. The starting point of the analysis is therefore rhetorical and political statements repeating threats to the Jewish demographic majority. Even though the researcher is not focusing on Israeli legislation, elements of Israel's immigration policies will be analysed as they are part of Israel's securitizations of a Jewish and democratic state.

The researcher developed the research question based on theories of mainly Smooha (2001), Jamal (2009) and Morris (2004) and from personal experiences in Israel and the West Bank during a three months stay. The experiences motivated the researcher to examine how Israel is protecting and maintaining a status of a Jewish state while being a democracy.

The nexus of religion, democracy and ethnic divisions in Israel attracted the researcher to develop the following research question:

1.3 Research Question

How is Israel protecting and sustaining a Jewish and democratic state?

The research question is an interplay of policies and social actors in Israel. The research question will be answered applying methodological considerations of a Normative Concepts Analysis (Abulof 2013). By analysing the "language of legitimation" in the Israeli society, the research examines the

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[8] The Jewish Haredim minority is further examined in theory chapter one and three.

public moral reasoning of politics. A political language of legitimation justifies Deep Securitization, carried out by Israel to protect the Jews and the Jewish state against existential uncertainty in Israel (Abulof 2013;2014). The research question will be analysed by applying the chosen theories and statements from the Israeli political sphere together with conducted data from interviews carried out in Israel and the West Bank.

Sub questions

The following sub questions guide the direction of the research. The questions are related to "extraordinary measures of securitizations" carried out to protect the Jewish demographic majority. As stated above, the Israeli state is said to be challenged by minority groups. The religious ultra-Orthodox minority is likely to challenge democratic or secular values while the Palestinian minority in Israel is presenting a demographic threat to the Jewish majority. Therefore, the researcher poses the following three questions that will be examined in the theory chapters:

1: To what extent are the Palestinians in Israel[9] constituting a demographic threat to Israel's Jewish majority?

2: Why is Zionism in Israel implementing "extraordinary measures" of securitization against the Palestinians in Israel?

3: How is the Israeli democracy challenged by minority communities, including the Palestinians in Israel?

The three questions will be examined in three theory chapters but not in numerical order. The first and second questions are created on the basis of Securitization Theory (Buzan et al. 1998;Weaver et. al 1993) and *Deep Securitization and Israel´s "Demographic Demon"* (Abulof 2014). The third sub question does not only concern the Palestinian minority in Israel but also the ultra-Orthodox (the Haredim[10]) minority[11] in Israel. The third question is created with inspiration from "*The Model Of Ethnic Democracy*" (Smooha 2001) and theories of Israel's democratic character.

The following section presents the research framework and the deductive method.

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[9]The Palestinians living in Israel are in the research named "Palestinians in Israel" or "Palestinian citizens in Israel" in order to distinguish them from Palestinians within the territories occupied in 1967 and the Palestinian diaspora. In this research, the "Palestinians in Israel" excludes the Druze and Bedouin communities that the research is not engaged in (Yiftachel 2011: 129).

[10]When the ultra-Orthodox Jews are mentioned throughout the research, the term refers to the Haredi Jews (the Haredim). The ultra-Orthodox Haredi Jews are further explained in the theory chapters.

[11]When the researcher mentions the ultra-Orthodox minority community it refers to the ultra-Orthodox rabbinical courts, parties in Knesset and ultra-Orthodox individuals in Israel.

1.3,1 The deductive process

This research follows a deductive method. The research starts from a general theoretical base and moves toward the particular cases, as seen in the Figure X found at the end of this section.

Therefore, the research begins with presenting sub questions derived from the theory that are discussed in three theory chapters. Each theory chapter is concluded with a short sub-conclusion.

Following deductive reasoning in a social science research, conclusions are expectations based on the *a priori* knowledge. The expectations need to go through a validation and falsification process (Dawes 2009). After the theory chapters, the methodology is presented. The methodology includes a Normative Concepts Analysis of political legitimisation and examines Social Constructivism and how it is applied in the research. As stated by Miller and Brewer (2003: 67-69), the process of deduction involves the creation of hypotheses[12] logically derived from the theory. Accordingly, the methodology chapter will present two hypotheses created by the researcher. The hypotheses reflect underlying assumptions in the research. A data chapter presenting the interview persons and the practical reflections of interviewing follows the methodology chapter. After discussing and analysing the data, the research starts the process of analysis.

The aforementioned analysis will be used to test the formulated hypotheses. Miller and Brewer highlight that the hypotheses must be empirically tested and the theory reflected on again based on evaluating the falsification or verification of the hypotheses (Miller & Brewer 2003: 67-69). Finally, the conclusion chapter will evaluate the validation of the hypotheses and conclude the research question based on is the findings in the analyses.

The following Figure X provides a full overview of the deductive method in the research:

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[12]The research will present two hypotheses in the Methodology chapter that are analysed in two separate analysis sections.
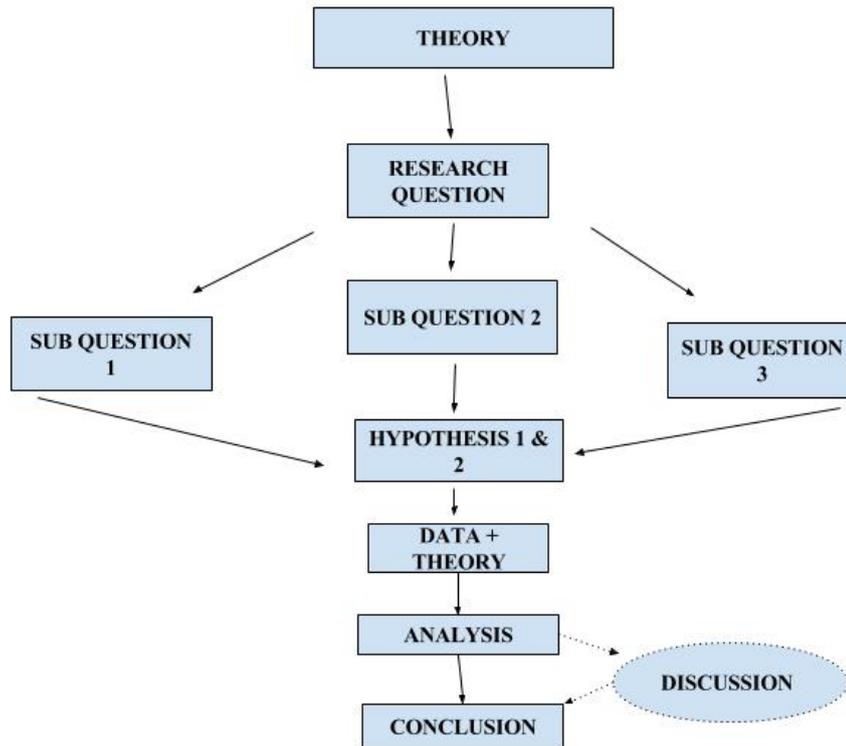
Figure X: The deductive method in the research.

The following section presents the theory chapters.

2. Theory

2.1,2 Presentation

The theory chapters discuss studies within the field of International Relations. The research take use of Securitization Theory, as seen in the work of Barry Buzan, Jaap de Wilde and Ole Waever, and profound studies of Israel by the academics and political scientists Uriel Abulof, Sammy Smooha, Amal Jamal, Oren Yiftachel and Ian Lustick.

The most widely used theorists in this research are Israeli Jews or Palestinians and it is therefore necessary to mention the awareness of a likely bias toward either the Jewish or Palestinian side of the conflict. Abulof, Smooha and Jamal present critical reviews of Israel's regime, policies and political legitimisation. Israeli historian Benny Morris, whose works will be presented below, is a claimed

Zionist and has been accused of basing his studies on Israeli sources alone (Smooha 2001). Despite the possibility of a political bias in the theories, they are found useful for answering the research and sub questions because they are based on studies of Israel's democratic and Jewish regime.

It is necessary to mention that Smooha claims the Ethnic Democracy model to be a purely scientific analytical tool. The model is not created to rationalize or legitimize Israel´s regime (Smooha 2001: 45;Ghanem et al. 1999). As a scientific tool, this researcher applies and analyses the model with the awareness that it received critical remarks and condemnation. The concept of security in Ethnic Democracy will be used to support the answering of the research question and sub questions. The critical reviews of the Ethnic Democracy model is examined in the theory chapter three and in the analysis.

The following section presents the first theory chapter.

2.2 Chapter 1: Jewish demographic majority in Israel

2.2,1 Introduction

The following theory chapter one examines theories related to processes of demography and securitization in Israel today. The presented theories of mainly Morris (2004), Smooha (2001) and Jamal (2009), scrutinize historical ideas of demographic securitization attempts, and why the Zionists in Israel developed Palestine from being primarily inhabited by Arab Palestinians into a country with a majority of Jews. The historical events are relevant in order to analyse how the Palestinians in Israel constitute a demographic threat in Israel today. Therefore, the purpose of this chapter is to examine the first sub question "*To what extent are the Palestinians in Israel constituting a demographic threat to Israel's Jewish majority?*"

The chapter also examines the Jewish ultra-Orthodox minority community. The ultra-Orthodox's role in keeping the Law of Return and the Status Quo Document active in order for Israel to sustain a Jewish majority, will be explored. The purpose of this examination is to depict the third sub question: "*How is the Israeli democracy challenged by minority communities, including the Palestinians in Israel?*"

2.2,2 Jewish demography in Israel - a brief history

In order to unfold to what extent the Palestinians in Israel are presenting a demographic threat to the Jewish state today, it is necessary to briefly examine historical relations between Jews and Arabs in the area that became Israel. This section functions as a historical overview of events that are important for understanding securitization in Israel today. The nexus of state, religion and the people in the area that became Israel, is examined.

The goal of the Zionist project has always been to resolve the Jewish question; to create a state that grants the Jewish people a homeland and protection. The Zionist movement began in 1882 with the first wave of Jewish European immigration to Palestine and emerged in Eastern Europe as a brand of ethnic nationalism that accepted the Jews as an ethnic nation[13] (Beinin & Hajjar 2014: 1;Smooha 2001: 58-59). Because Jews were spread across the world in diaspora, the Jewish national movement Zionism, sought to establish a state where Jews could come together in their ancestral land, the Land of Israel (Morris 2004: 9;Beinin & Hajjar 2014). The Jewish immigrants were drawn by the positive ideal of a Jewish home, and impelled by the negative experiences of oppression in Eastern Europe (Morris 2004: 9). All the while, Jewish settlements in Palestine spread resulting in friction between Arab and Jewish communities. The villagers and townspeople resented the arriving Russian and Yiddish speakers who were foreigners that rejected Islam and they began to fear a cultural-religious subversion of their life and a possible displacement from their homes. In 1917-1918, British military entered Palestine and the League of Nations sanctioned British Mandatory rule in Palestine (Morris 2004: 9).

The Palestinian revolt against the Zionist and British in 1936-1939 was crashed by British and Zionist allies, weakening the Palestinian society and paved the way for its defeat in 1948[14] (Morris 2004: 10-12). Economic costs of occupying Palestine and battling Jewish terrorists, together with the aftermath of the Holocaust's growing pressure from pro-Zionist America, resulted in that United Nations took over (Morris 2004: 12).

In April 1947, the UN General Assembly voted for the Jews to receive some 55 per cent of the land and the Arabs 40 percent with Jerusalem and Bethlehem being a zone under international control. The resolution was greeted by the Jewish residents of settlements (the Yishuv) and rejected by Palestinian representatives, the Arab Higher Committee. The outcome was a full-scale civil war between the two communities (Morris 2004: 12-14). Where the Yishuv had strong financial help from Western and especially American Jewry, the Palestinians had no steady or reliable aid from the Muslim world or Arab states (Morris 2004: 34-35).

On 14 May 1948, The Jewish Agency and David Ben-Gurion in Tel-Aviv proclaimed the State of Israel[15] and the British troops withdrew from Israel leaving the Israelis with control of four-fifths of Palestine (BBC News 2012;NY Times 2012). The Palestinians, with no state of their own and under Jordanian and Egyptian rule, were the losers of the war and left with a great refugee problem (Morris 2004: 34-35). The Arabs, who lived in the areas that became Israel, fled or were driven out (Morris 2004: 60). Due to Palestinian resistance and their rejection of the UN partition plan, the Palestinian

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[13]The Jewish immigration from Russia to the Ottoman-ruled Palestine in the 1880's, dedicated itself to rebuilding a national home for the Jewish people (Beinin & Hajjar 2014: 1;Smooha 2001: 58-59).

[14]The demographic aspects of Peel's partition plan are further examined in theory chapter two.

[15] On the 15-16th of May, the armies of Egypt, Jordan, Syria and Iraq invaded Palestine. The declared reason was in support with the Palestinians, to hinder the establishment of a Jewish state and to occupy both Jewish and Arab parts of Palestine. The war was protracted and bloody. In February-July 1949, the Arab governments agreed to ceasefire and the war was officially over (Morris 2004: 34-35).

Arabs were increasingly seen as mortal enemies to the Jewish state. Yishuv leaders, parties and population did not protest against the military and politically sensible decision to not allow Palestinian refugees to return. A rejection was explained with the possibilities of Arab hostility (Morris 2004: 60-61).

According to Morris, a Jewish state could not have been created with a majority of Arabs or without a displacement of Arab population (Morris 2004: 60-61). By autumn 1948, some 500,000 Arabs had been displaced from the area that was now Israel. Israel's minister of interior, Yitzhak Gruenbaum proclaimed; *"(...)there is no need to discuss a return of the refugees so long as a renewal of hostilities is possible"* (Morris 2004: 61).

The demographic threat to a Jewish majority is often repeated in Israeli news and was in 2015 a topic of debate. Figure 1 displays the Arab and Jewish populations in Israel, West Bank and Gaza from 1947-2005 and projections from 2005-2020. The numbers are in thousands (Mezzofiore 2015).
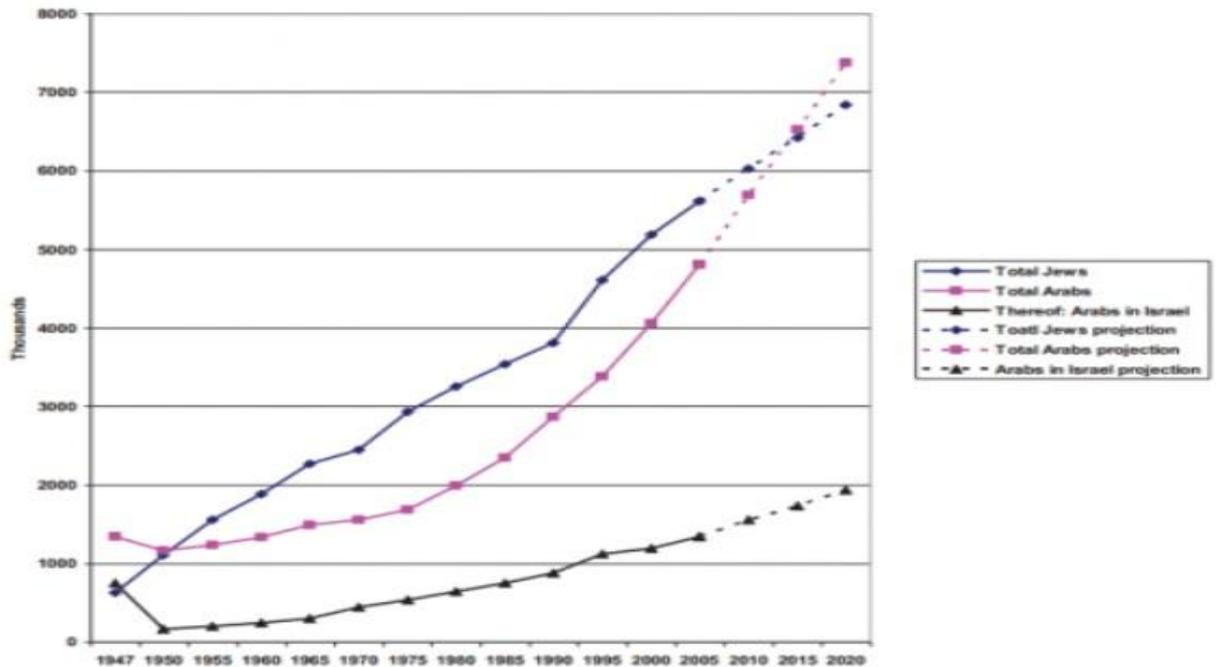
Figure 1. Jewish and Arab populations in Israel, West Bank and Gaza. Source: Mezzofiore 2015.

Professor at Hebrew University bases the above Figure 1 on a study by Sergio DellaPergola. DellaPergola examined to what extent the Palestinians in Israel would outnumber the Jews by 2020. According to DellaPergola, the Palestinian population will overcome the Jews in 2015, as seen in Figure 1, and after this year, the number of Palestinians will keep growing. The demographic threat was in 2015 repeated by Geography Professor Arnon Soffer at the University of Haifa, who told the Jerusalem Post that *"[...]today the percentage of Jews is 52% and in 2024 it will be just 48%."*

(Mezzofiore 2015). The rhetorical demographic threat was repeated in order to explain the necessity of a protection of the Jews in Israel (Abulof 2014).

The following section will unfold elements of Israel's protection of a Jewish majority.

2.2,3 The Status Quo Document

The following section reviews historical events relating to the sustaining of Jewish traditions and basic laws in Israel. The events are related to the protection of a Jewish majority in Israel today. The Status Quo Document is a way for Israel to protect its current Jewish majority and status as a Jewish state and is therefore relevant to examine (Jamal 2009).

In 1948, Israel made the decision to adopt all remaining laws during previous times of the British Mandate with its secular colonial law (Barak-Erez 2009: 2-3). Following the declaration of Israel as a Jewish state, ethno-religious affiliation and not civic membership became the main principle of citizenship. The declaration of Israel being a Jewish and democratic State does not reflect religious norms but an understanding of a nation state for the Jewish people whose values stem from Jewish culture and civilization. This ambiguity of the state's definition led to major tensions[16] between religious orthodox establishments, secularized elites and the population in Israel (Jamal 2009: 1157). It became important for Israel to adopt pre-independent politics and solutions that would unify the Jewish people in the new state. The result was a compromise between secular laws and new arrangements seeking to implement legal status to religious norms. The Status Quo Document contained an agreement to insure that the Jewish state would respect the prevalent role of religion in the Jewish community in Palestine before 1948 (Barak-Erez 2009: 2;Jamal 2009:1157-1158).

In 1962, the secular[17] and founding father of Israel, David Ben-Gurion expressed his opinion on the importance of keeping the religious Status Quo Document:

"Any government leader must prescribe for himself priorities, must decide on first things first [...]In the same way I agreed not to change the Status Quo on religious authority for matters of personal status. I know it was hard on some individuals. But I felt, again in the national interest, that it was wise to pay the comparatively small price of religious Status Quo." (Ben-Gurion 1962).

The original letter of the Status Quo from 1947 contained commitments to Jewish traditions in the future state. The traditions were the Jewish Sabbath ("Saturday") as the official day of rest, kosher food in public institutions, exclusive religious law[18] in the area of marriage and divorce and autonomy of the ultra-Orthodox education system (Barak-Erez 2009: 3-4;Jamal 2009: 1158).

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[16]The relations between Theodor Herzl's Zionist movement and Jewish Orthodoxy were in fact uneasy from the beginning. The Zionist movement sought to achieve by human means what Jews for two millenniums considered to be God's work alone, namely the gathering of the diaspora in the land of Israel (Taub 2010).

[17]Today, the majority of Jews in Israel are secularists according to Amal Jamal (2009).

[18]Marriage, divorce, alimony, inheritance and burials are regulated by religious law controlled by Rabbinical courts with monopoly over personal status and family law, and regulates and dismiss conversions to Judaism (Jamal 2009: 1157-1158).

Since the inception of the Israeli state, the Status Quo Document has conditioned state-religion relations (Jamal 2009: 1157-1158). The document has direct implications on democratic values[19] in Israel today such as freedom of movement[20], personal autonomy, personal status and equality (Barak-Erez 2009: 3-4;Jamal 2009: 1158).

Today, around 300,000 Israeli residents are, according to the state's religious law not defined as Jews. Many residents face problems when they wish to get married or divorced if they do not wish to convert to Judaism. The differential treatment results in a homogenous society that lacks civil marriage and divorce, and does not allow mixed religious marriages. Instead, the state is legitimizing religious and national endogamy (Smooha 2001: 50;Jamal 2009: 1157-1166).

The power of the ultra-Orthodox Jews in relation to the Status Quo Document will be examined in the following section.

2.2,4 The ultra-Orthodox community

Before analysing how minority communities challenge the Israeli democracy, it is relevant to examine the religious ultra-Orthodox community in Israel. The ultra-Orthodox Haredi Jews is a minority among the Jewish population but nevertheless a community supporting religious legislation and norms in the Jewish state (Jamal 2009). The section examines the ultra-Orthodox minority because their politico-religious[21] beliefs can potentially challenge secularism in the democratic state of Israel.

The main objective of Zionism in Israel is to increase the number of Jews and to protect the interests of the Jews in Israel and in the diaspora (Jamal 2009: 1157; Smooha 2001: 50). The Jewish population in Israel today is divided into the Orthodox minority (including the ultra-Orthodox Haredi minority) constituting 15 per cent of the Jewish population and the secular majority of some 85 per cent of the Jewish Israelis. Within the religious subcultures there are the ultra-Orthodox parties[22] strongly represented in the Knesset[23]. The ultra-Orthodox have not accepted the Zionist definition of the Jews as a nation in search of a homeland. Instead, they are still faithful to the ancient definition of Jews as a religious community waiting for a messiah (Beit-Hallahmi 2016).

According to Israeli columnist Ben Caspit and Israeli historian Gadi Taub, the ultra-Orthodox community can potentially challenge secularism in Israel. Israel holds many different societal groups,

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[19]Israel has in fact never adopted the formal constitution that was initially mentioned in its Declaration of Independence. The background for this decision is still, as for today, disagreements and conflicts between secularists and religious groups over the regulation of religions and state in Israel. Instead, a series of basic law had been adopted, that will eventually be consolidated to a full and formal constitution (Barak-Erez 2009: 3-4; Jamal 2009: 1158).

[20]The Sabbath still inflicts the public transportation system in Israel where the only source of transportation on Saturdays are taxis (Barak-Erez 2009: 6).

[21] The term refers to the religious role brought into politics by the ultra-Orthodox (Oxford 2016).

[22]Israel's electoral system is explained in theory chapter three.

[23]Knesset is the national legislature of Israel (Knesset 2016).

divisions leading to the so-called culture war between liberals and conservatives and between the secular and the religious Jews (Taub 2010; Caspit 2016).

The ultra-Orthodox community in Israel is characterized by an occupational structure of full-time studies of the Torah, reflecting its rejection of the Zionist project.[24] Members of the ultra-Orthodox civil community reject government identity cards, Israeli money (Israeli New Shekels) and do not accept state services. The general belief is that Jews can not be a nation because they are a Holy people chosen by God, and the reason why Jews were sent into exile was because of their sins, and not as a result of world history (Beit-Hallahmi 2016).

The rejection of the Israeli military is a symbol of a separatism viewed by most Israelis as a parallel community connected to a historical diaspora existence. The secular majority regard the ultra-Orthodox' social structures as a refusal of Israeli identity. Instead of supporting the majority's Zionist beliefs, the ultra-Orthodox[25] implement the historically defined rabbinical Judaism as a living reality[26] (Beit-Hallahmi 2016).

As we will see in the following section, the authority of the ultra-Orthodox' secures a Jewish majority in Israel as they handle political and religious areas of personal status, family law and the process of converting to Judaism. According to Israeli political scientist Jamal (2009) and member of Knesset, Merav Michaeli, Israel is depending on the support of the Jewish communities in Israel (Jamal 2009: 1159-1160;Michaeli 2012). The first clause in the Status Quo Document has great implications on the status of three major communities in Israel (ibid.). The following section explains the implications.

One community affected by the Status Quo Document is the secular Jews who are forced to follow religious regulations in personal affairs (Jamal 2009: 1159-1160;Michaeli 2012). The ultra-Orthodox community is not allowing civil marriage and as a result, civil marriage is not possible in Israel. Jewish citizens have to either leave the country to get a civil marriage or marry according to traditional rules. Today, the hegemonic reality in all Jewish societies in Israel overrules the liberal democracy laws[27]. Clashes between the Israeli Supreme Court of Justice and the Rabbinical courts led to several efforts of bypassing liberal decisions of the Supreme Court, one led by the former religious Minister of Justice, Yaacov Ne'eman (Jamal 2009: 1159-1160;Levi 2009).

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[24]Ultra-Orthodox Jews are not soldiers or farmers and are instead working full-time in religious services. Full-time Yeshiva (the study of the Torah) students are exempted from military service, which is otherwise a formative experience for men and women in Israel at age 18 (Beit-Hallahmi 2016).

[25]The full-time yeshiva (the study of the Torah) students receive monthly support in stipends from the state, but the ultra-Orthodox see themselves as a threatened minority because the majority of the secular world in Israel represents Zionism. Therefore, the ultra-Orthodox completely separate themselves by e.g. avoidance of Israeli mass media (Beit-Hallahmi 2016).

[26]The growing ultra-Orthodox institutions that make up the community are mostly schools run by famous rabbinical authorities (Beit-Hallahmi 2016).

[27]An example of the liberal law is the 1992 Basic Law of Human Dignity and Freedom in Israel. The law was concluded to have a constitutional status by the Israeli Supreme Court of Justice, yet was suspended as it clashes with religious laws regulating the personal status and family issues (Jamal 2009: 1159-1160).

Another group affected by the first clause of the Status Quo Document is the hundreds of thousands Jews who adopted a more liberal interpretation of the holy book and developed their own religious practices in Israel and abroad. The ultra-Orthodox religious parties control the process of converting and getting an official recognition of religious practice[28]. In one case[29], the High Rabbinical Court denied thousands of conversions facilitated by state rabbis. The denials[30] are results of the ultra-Orthodox' monopoly over religious affairs, a practice that according to Jamal is violating basic Human Rights of liberty to practice family life and freedom of conscience (Jamal 2009: 1159).

The ultra-Orthodox has full authority over a separate education[31] system. The state finances the education of the entire ultra-Orthodox community without having access to its materials or content. Jamal (2009) poses the question of how Israel can claim democratic authority over the education system in Israel while granting authority to religious social groups. In other words, he poses the question of how Israel can be considered a democracy if a minority of ultra-Orthodox Jews control the personal status, family law, the process of converting and being recognized as a Jew while treating non-Jews, including the Palestinian minority, with a downgraded citizenship (Jamal 2009: 1158+1160).

The third affected group of the Status Quo Document is women in Israel. The ultra-Orthodox' monopoly over personal status and family law, favors men over women and gives privileges to males in all family affairs of inheritance, divorce or divisions of property issues[32]. The Rabbinical court's[33] regulations of divorce makes the women bounded to men because the religious laws deny the women to leave a marriage, irrespective of the reason (Jamal 2009: 1160). The segregation of women in some bus lines in Israel is another case of religious dominance (Shahar 2015;Levi 2009; Jamal 2009: 1160). According to Israeli journalist Gideon Levi, the State is fully identified with the Jewish community. An example is the lack of public transportation in Israel because of the Sabbath on Saturdays (Jamal 2009: 1160; Levi 2009). In an article in Haaretz in 2009, Levi concludes that, *"The tyranny exists because the secular majority has chosen to obey it"* (Levi 2009). According to Levi, the majority of the secular Jews are to be blamed for allowing their lives to the affected by the imposement of faith by

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[28]The religious parties in Israel will be unfolded in theory chapter three.

[29]In the 1980s and 1990s, the ultra-Orthodox religious parties tried to institutionalize ultra-Orthodox conversions as the only approved method in Israel but without success (Jamal 2009: 1159).

[30]The secular political parties of Kadima and Likud have not made efforts to promote state-led processes of Jewish conversions due to fear of loss of support from religious parties and instability in governing coalitions (Jamal 2009: 1160).

[31]The ultra-Orthodox education system has since 1948 been granted full autonomy from state control and is still today kept separate from the public education system (Jamal 2009: 1159).

[32]With the establishment of the family civic court in 1995 that focuses on family law, the status of women was positively changed. Despite the changes in the last decades, women are still discriminated against (Shahar 2015; Levi 2009;Jamal 2009: 1160).

[33]The Rabbinical courts are part of Israel's judicial system managed by the Ministry of Religious Services. The courts have exclusive jurisdiction over marriage and divorce of Jews. A man whose wife refuses to divorce him can receive permission from the rabbis to marry a second wife, all the while a woman whose husband refuses to divorce her do not hold any of these rights (Michaeli 2012).

the ultra-Orthodox. If the majority would stand up to the religious minority, the busses would run on Saturdays[34]. In the 1980s, tensions over the exact meaning of Jewishness led to a growing secularization in Israel. The secularization is one aspect of what Lustick (1979) calls the deeply divided society, which will be unfolded in the third theory chapter (Lustick 1979). The orthodox and the ultra-Orthodox communities wished to secure their grip on religious affairs and keep the state and public loaded with various Jewish symbols and meaning (Jamal 2009: 1158).

The following section will uncover the Law of Return that is an important part Israel´s Securitization and immigration regime.

2.2,5 The Law of Return

The following elements of the Israeli immigration policies are worth emphasizing because they are related to securitization processes and keeping Israel's majority Jewish.

Israel issued three immigration laws within four years after its foundation in order to ensure Judaisation, a Jewish majority in Israel and to block the non-Jewish Arab population to return to their homes after 1948. The three laws are still functioning today. The Absentees' Property Law, the Israel Citizenship Law and the Law of Return meant that any Jewish person regardless of place of origin could unrestricted immigrate to Israel and get automatic citizenship (Shiblak 2006: 8-9). This section will focus on the latter because the law secures a Jewish majority in Israel.

There are two aspects of the Law of Return worth emphasizing in order to answer the research question. One aspect of the Law of Return was the arrival and integration of more than two million Jews and another is the denial of millions of Palestinian refugees' repatriation. The Law of Return has since 1950 resulting in that arriving Jews are considered "returnees" and not immigrants. The law provides Jews with a free entrance and settlement in Israel and helps to increase and support the ethnic Jewish ascendancy. It functions as a connection between the Jews and their homeland (Smooha 2001: 50). The Law of Return states that, *"A Jew is a person born to a Jewish mother, or who is a convert to Judaism, and is not a member of another religion"* (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2016). From its adoption, the Law of Return secured newcomers and their Jewish and non-Jewish descendants assistance with integration in the Jewish society (Smooha 2001: 51).

According to an arrangement between the government of Israel and the Jewish Agency, it is stated that the latter handles immigration ("aliya") to Israel. The Jewish Agency checks the candidates and refers them to immigrant centers, studies and places of employment. The Jewish Agency recommends and transfers the candidate to a state official representative of Israel (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2016).

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[34]According to Levy, a society that pretends to be Western; *"[...]are (almost) a state governed by religious law"* (Levi 2009).

The other aspect of the Law of Return is the denial of 3.5 million Palestinian refugees' right of repatriation (Smooha 2001: 51). A right supported by interviewee Sam Bahour who says that, *"[...]it is a war crime to not allow them to return"* (Appendix 2: 4).

Policies of blocking Palestinians to return and reducing the number of Palestinians while increasing the number of Jewish immigrants, were pursued following the occupation of the West Bank in 1967 (Shiblak 2006: 8-9;Smooha 2001: 51+59). International pressures challenged Israel's Jewish settlements and their extraordinary[35] measures of security but Israel continued a securitization of the Jewish demography and territories. Following the 1967 occupation, Israel considered all Palestinians inhabitants of the occupied Palestinian territory as non-citizens and foreign residents. 250,000 Palestinians were outside the occupied territories at the time of occupation and were not allowed to return to their homes (Shiblak 2006: 8-9;Smooha 2001: 51+59).

Furthermore, the Palestinians were not granted automatic extension of citizenship, as Israel did to those remaining after 1948. The size of the Palestinian population, the Demographic Demon[36], in the occupied territories of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, has since 1967 functioned as a demographic threat and is the real obstacle for Israel to withdraw from Palestinian territories (Shiblak 2006: 8-9;Smooha 2001: 51+59;Abulof 2014). .

Today, more than 90 per cent of the land in Israel is owned or controlled by the state or by Jewish public bodies. The land makes it possible to establish extraordinary measures of security, namely the internationally illegal settlements to Jewish immigrants on the West Bank. Israel is prioritizing the protection of nearly 700.000 Jews living in the Jewish settlements on the West Bank and the Jewish majority in Israel (ibid.).

The findings in the first theory chapter are presented below before the research continues to the securitization of the Palestinians in Israel.

Sub-conclusion

The first theory chapter examined the following two sub questions: *"To what extent are the Palestinians in Israel constituting a demographic threat to Israel's Jewish majority?"* and *"How is the Israeli democracy challenged by minority communities, including the Palestinians in Israel?"*

The surrounding threats from the so-called Palestinian hostilities are reasons for Israel's securitization against the Palestinians in Israel. Since 1948, the Palestinians in Israel have constituted a threat to the Jewish majority to the extent that a transfer of Arabs was discussed and the Law of Return was implemented. The Law of Return is still active today (Morris 2004).

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[35]Israel defied international law by building illegal settlements on Palestinian territory prompting the International community to protest (Shiblak 2006: 8-9;Smooha 2001; 51+59). The international community followed Israel's security attempts with great attention. A ruling by the International Court of Justice in 2004 declared, *"Israeli settlements including East Jerusalem, are illegal and an obstacle to peace"* (CEPR 2016).
[36]The theory of the Demographic Demon in Israel (Abulof 2014) will be enrolled in the following theory chapter two.

A Jewish state could not have been consolidated with a majority of Arabs or without a displacement of Arab population. The Law of Return is actively reducing the number of Palestinians while increasing the number of Jewish immigrants. The estimated numbers of Israel's population today show that the Arabs are likely to outnumber the Jews in the coming years, causing demographic threats to be repeated by academics and in Israeli news (Mezzofiore 2015;Abulof 2014).

As seen in the first theory chapter, Israel is upholding and protecting its status as a religious and democratic state by keeping the Status Quo Document as a historical agreement with the ultra-Orthodox community in Israel. The agreement secures a survival of the Jewish majority but challenges the democratic considerations such as freedom of movement, personal autonomy and status and equality. By sustaining the ultra-Orthodox' monopoly over family affairs in Israel and Jewish conversions, a Jewish majority is secured. The state sustains the ultra-Orthodox' authority due to fear of loss of support from the religious parties and instability in governing coalitions (Jamal 2009: 1160).

Israel's occupied territory makes it possible to establish extraordinary measures of demographic security, namely the internationally illegal settlements to Jewish immigrants on the West Bank. The settlements, together with The Law of Return effectively secure a Jewish demographic majority in Israel. The question as to how Israel can be considered a democracy if an ultra-Orthodox Jewish minority controls areas of education, personal status, family law and the process of converting to Judaism, was asked.

A culmination of the Demographic Demon and a securitization of the Jews in Israel are examined in the following second theory chapter.

2.3 Chapter 2: Deep Securitization in Israel

2.3,1 Introduction

Securitization Theory (ST) was introduced and developed in the early 1990s by Weaver and the Copenhagen School[37] (Abulof 2014: 2). ST was later advanced by Abulof (2014) who introduced "Deep Securitization". The term refers to societies absorbing discourses of existential threats. Deep Securitization focuses on social actor's political behavior and discourses founded in a social context (Abulof 2014: 1+4).

The following chapter implements the theory of Abulof due to his studies of threat discourses in the Israeli society. The discourses found depicted the Israeli politics and Jewish people as constantly endangered. Based on his studies in Israel, Abulof claimed that Israel is empirically one of the deepest

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[37]The Copenhagen School is a school of security studies on academic thoughts with origins in Barry Buzan's book *People, States and Fear: The National Security Problem in International Relations* (1985) with a certain focus on the social aspects of security (Buzan 1985: 756–758).

cases of securitization. The theory presents how and why Israel securitizes[38]. Abulof investigated Israel's securitization triangle of democracy, demography and geography and the Zionist's "Demographic Demon", the Palestinians in Israel (ibid.).

ST and Abulof´s theories will be explored in order to examine the following first sub question*: "To what extent are the Palestinians in Israel constituting a demographic threat to Israel's Jewish majority?"* and the second sub question*: "Why is Zionism in Israel implementing "extraordinary measures" of securitization against the Palestinians in Israel?"*

2.3,2 Maintaining survival

Demographic dominance and a Jewish majority are paramount goals of Zionism in Israel. As a response to the goal, Israel strengthened its securitization during the 2000s. Threats to the demography and the existence of the Jewish state still cause large and deep fear in the society today (Abulof 2014: 4).

A criterion of securitization is existential threats - loss of state sovereignty or ideology - that must be followed by political moves. ST presents an issue as an existential threat to both the state and its sovereignty or to the identity in society. The special nature of securitization in a military-political context is to survive followed by actions prioritized by the state in order to "act before it is too late" (Buzan et. al 1998: 22-27;Abulof 2014: 4-5). Securitization justifies actions in order to control the threats. To invoke security threats is to legitimize use of force and for the state to mobilize powers to control existential threats. By saying security, the state claims rights to use whatever necessary means to block the threatening development (Buzan et al. 1998: 22-23).

In society, the existential threat can be directed toward the collective identities within religions and nations. A change in the collective identity is easily seen as threatening because the "we" will no longer be "us" and we can lose our true identity. The Palestinians in Israel exemplify an example of what Abulof calls a securitization of rival identities and minorities. The rival "Arab identity" is likely to challenge the Jewish collective identity. Securing rival identities from minorities, depends on the openness of the holders of the collective identity and how the identity is constituted (Buzan et al. 1998: 22-23): *"The abilities to maintain and reproduce a language, a set of behavioral customs, or a conception of ethnic purity can all be cast in terms of survival"* (Buzan et al. 1998: 23). The survival of the Jewish existence in Israel becomes the main importance and even preserving Jewish customs, culture and a collective identity are used as a mean to survive (Buzan et al. 1998: 23).

Processes of securitization can be seen as a more extreme kind of politicization. "State issues" can range from non-politicized and therefore not turned into a public debate, or they can also be politicized, meaning the issue is part of public policies. Finally, the state issues can be securitized.

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[38]Deep Securitization was mainly applied to European and North American countries but extended to Israel by Abulof (Abulof 2014).

Securitization is when the issue is presented as an existential threat requiring emergency measures and actions outside the bounds of political procedures (Buzan et al. 1998: 23-24).

Depending on the size of the issue, some countries securitize religion and some politicize culture. The level of securitization depends on how the actor can argue that the issue can upset the entire process of the state or overflow the general political logic. The issue does not become a matter of existential threats in need of security before being presented as an actual threat. Security is therefore a self-referential practice since it presents itself as a threat and not just an issue (Buzan et al. 1998: 24). When an actor uses rhetoric's of existential threats and placed the issue out of the "normal" politics, a case of securitization is born (Buzan et al. 1998: 24-25).

The existential threat will have unavoidable and substantial political effects to the country. Studying securitization is therefore also studying discourse and political constellations, arguments and specific rhetorical structures in order to achieve an effect from the receivers. If the actor succeeds in arguing about the urgency of a given procedure while bending the otherwise bounding rules, it is a case of securitization (ibid.).

ST is based on qualitative discourse analysis and public opinion polls. A discourse that presents something as an existential threat in society does not create securitization alone (Abulof 2014: 10). Instead it is a securitizing move. The securitized issue is only named as such with consent from the audience. The existential threat has to be argued in a way that creates a platform for legitimizing steps of emergency. If the discourse had not taken the form of an existential threat, legitimizing emergency steps and point of no return would not be possible. Securitization is enabled by presenting cases of existential threats so large that they legitimize breaking of rules (Buzan et al. 1998: 25).

"When the procedure has been legitimized through security rhetoric, it becomes institutionalized as a package legitimization, and it is thus possible to have black security boxes in the political process" (Buzan et al. 1998: 28).

Not every security act is presented with high priority or urgency, because it has already been established as common knowledge that a certain area needs security. An example is seen in how it is common sense in Israel that the number of Palestinians within the country is likely to constitute demographic threats, as we will see in the following sections of this chapter (Buzan et al. 1998: 28).

2.3,3 A Multisectoral Approach to Security

Deep Securitization comprises widespread, public discourses on protracted threats. ST claims ostensive dangers that do not stretch longer than over a few years whereas Deep Securitization is dealing with an ongoing situation of security as extremity (Abulof 2014: 8-9).

In a society with Deep Securitization as Israel's, to politicize is to securitize; the everyday politics and the praxis of existential threats become the same thing. The constant danger that is articulated through foreign policy is the state's condition of possibility, followed by discourses of dangers

institutionalized by the state. The possible dangers dominate more than actual threats to the state's identity or existence. Peace would ironically be the greatest existential threat to the state because it does require protection of the state. As an example, civic nations such as Denmark or the US have a national security interest defined in terms of what protects the state whereas in the ethnonational Israel, the state interest is defined in what protects the ethnic nation - the Jews (Abulof 2014: 11-12).

When Israel's society is undergoing Deep Securitization and the various security sectors are combined into a concurrent whole, one sector's threat is shaped by another units fear. Abulof establishes the process as Israel's multisectoral approach to security. The threat perception results in a paranoid situation of "fear of fear" and even the de-securitizing moves in society are securitized. It becomes necessary for the state to practically and rhetorically frame existential threats from terrorism or threats to the democracy (Buzan et al. 1998: 196-198;Abulof 2014: 12).

In ST, sociologists study the social context of speech and acts of security as well as the socio-political legitimation of taking emergency steps. In Deep Securitization, a legitimate process of securitization goes deeper than the social acceptance in society. In a society like Israel's, authority, policy, polity and identity are secured at the same time. The goal is that public debates turn into a matter of securitizing the Jewish identity. When legitimation is part of justifying the threatened existence itself, the need for securitization and extraordinary measures grow (Abulof 2014: 13-14).

The extraordinary measures of Deep Securitization are therefore always leading toward a protection of the Jewish identity. The discourses on existential threats are repeated in the Israeli public sphere with the goal of justifying the extraordinary measures (Abulof 2014: 14). Examples of the extraordinary measures will be presented in the next section "Israel's Demographic Demon".

When a society lacks legitimation for collective identities and policies, the members of that society are more likely to feel an omnipresent existential insecurity: *"The loss of legitimacy itself is securitized, frames as an existential threat"*. (Abulof 2014: 14). The power of the state is disguised and moves explained as securitizing against threats. In a community with insecure ethno-national polity, the state must exist to preserve the people while the ethnic majority exists to sustain the state. This type of societal security based on pure ethnic survival challenges the liberal democracy[39] (Abulof 2014: 14-15;Buzan et al. 1998: 41).

The following section presents Israel's Demographic Demon and the existential threats to a Jewish majority.

2.3,4 Israel's Demographic Demon

Abulof claims that Israel's society is an outstanding case of Deep Securitization. He examines securitizations in Israel from the perspective of the Jewish and mostly Zionist[40] population excluding

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[39]Theory chapter three explores challenges to the liberal democracy.
[40]According to polls, 80-90% of Israeli Jews consider themselves Zionists (Abulof 2014: 17).

the non-Jewish population and the Jewish diaspora. In previous works of Abulof, he focused on Zionists securitizations after 1948 and the establishment of the State of Israel. Deep Securitization in Israel evolves around the "Demographic Demon" within the society in the decades following 1948. The strongest focus of Zionists is demography. The collective memory of the Holocaust and the ongoing clashes with the Arab world created a so-called "collective angst" (Abulof 2014: 17;Wohl et al. 2010: 898-910;Bar-Tal 2013). The Zionist "culture of threat" provided a ground for the deepest sort of securitizations. The Zionist elite and the public society framed existential threats to Israel such as economic inequalities and political corruption, all followed by Deep Securitization moves (Abulof 2014: 17-18).

The extraordinary measures of Deep Securitization are Zionism's coordinated work of structure across sections and social actors pointing out the Demographic Demon which remained crucial to Israel's "securitization triangle"; demography, geography and democracy. The fear of failure against the existentially challenge of the Demographic Demon were shared by all Zionist factions including the Labor movement throughout time since the 1930s[41]. The geographic demon became a cornerstone of Zionism's Deep Securitization and the "race against the Arabs" was already in the 1920s an ongoing public discourse. An example of an extraordinary measure of securitization is the focus on the demographic demon, the Arabs in Israel and the challenges they bring along for the Jewish existence (Abulof 2014: 18-19).

The *demography* part of the "securitization triangle" pertains to an ethnic Jewish majority, *democracy* is interpreted procedurally and sometimes as liberalism while *geography* refers to Greater Israel extended to the West Bank and the Golan Heights. The geographic and democratic aspects were often subject to securitization and seen as values worth legitimating and competing for. The most intense Deep Securitization was of the demography that involved both geography and democracy (Abulof 2014: 18-19). Actions taken to secure the demography in Israel are therefore examples of extraordinary measures of securitization in Israel. Demography was often securitized to boost arguments of opponents to the Palestinian case. An example[42] of this was the idea of a transfer of Palestinians that started as a discourse based on existential threats and came into practise in the 1948 War. The Zionist acceptance of the 1947 UN partition plan, as we saw in theory chapter one, and the decision to pause the military developments (resulting in around 78% of the area to Israel) were actions driven forth by fear of an Arab majority (Abulof 2014: 21).

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[41]The Labor Zionist Movement in Israel was born out of the underground army Haganah that fought against the Arabs and the British in 1948 and that later became the foundation of the Israel Defense Forces. Haganah was the economic backbone of the Labor Zionist Movement in Israel, part of a Zionist trend dominating Zionist and Israeli politics since the mid 1930s (Lustick 1980: 95).

[42]The British Peel's Commission proposal on dividing Palestine in 1937/8, was a securitization of demography. The existence of the European Jews was increasingly put to a risk and the Zionist factions claimed they needed more land. The arguments were not only founded on land and geography but also listing existential threats to the creation of a Jewish majority in a future state (Morris 1990: 6;Morris 2009: 62-63;Abulof 2014: 19-20).

The discourses on demography challenged the democratic considerations, an argument that will be elaborated in the analysis[43]. In 1987, parliamentary debates on the demographic danger claimed the "democratic question" a matter of the very existence of the Jewish state and that giving up the occupied territories would mean the end of the democratic state (ibid.). Various incidents[44] played a role in the culmination of the discourse of the Demographic Demon. The existential uncertainty in the Jewish community rose as public, parliamentary and media discourses repeated the demographic crisis (ibid.).

The following section provides a summarization of the above findings.

Sub-conclusion

The theory chapter answered the following sub questions: *"To what extent are the Palestinians in Israel constituting a demographic threat to Israel's Jewish majority?"* and *"Why is Zionism in Israel implementing "extraordinary measures" of securitization against the Palestinians in Israel?"* The perceived existential threats from a Palestinian Arab minority go back to the 1948 War. The ideas of a transfer of Palestinians were based on fear for the survival of the Jewish majority. The ideas turned into practice as the Deep Securitizations are results of a protection of the Jewish ethnic majority since 1948. The extraordinary measures of Deep Securitization are Zionism's coordinated work of structure across sections, the multi sectorial approach to security, and social actors in Israel pointing out the Demographic Demon in society: the Palestinian minority. The extraordinary measures of securitization are the rhetorical focus on Palestinian threats in Israel and the existential challenges they bring along for a Jewish majority. The collective memory of the Holocaust and the ongoing clashes with the Arab world created a so-called Jewish collective existential angst (Abulof 2014: 17;Wohl et al. 2010: 898-910;Bar-Tal 2013). As we saw in theory chapter one, the Palestinians are representing a demographic challenge as the population numbers grow and the Palestinians are likely to outnumber the Jews. The minority represents a demographic threat to the extent that a security need is publicly repeated providing a ground for the deepest sort of securitizations by the Zionist culture of threat (Abulof 2014: 17-18). The implemented extraordinary measures of securitization are based on a societal ethnic survival that challenges the liberal democracy. Israel's democratic character is examined in the following third theory chapter.

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[43]The Peel recommendation provided for a transfer and "exchange of population" of a large part of the three hundred thousand Palestinians living on the "wrong" side of the future partition line, to earmarked Arab areas or Arab states (Abulof 2014: 19-20; Morris 2009: 62-63).

[44]The collapse of the Oslo peace process in the mid-1990s, the Jewish USSR immigration wave to Israel in the early 1990s, the Second Palestinian Intifada in 2002 and the Palestinian insistence on the refugees right of return, contributed to a Zionist/Jewish need of securing their majority. Increasing terror and economic instability in Israel resulted in further culmination of the Demographic Demon (Abulof 2014: 22).

2.4 Chapter 3: State and Religion in Israel

2.4,1 Introduction

Since the 1970s, various studies analysed Israel's political system and elaborated on types of democracies corresponding to the state (Smooha 2001: 20). Before analysing how Israel is maintaining and protecting its democratic and Jewish state, studies of Israel's democratic character will be examined.

Lustick (1979;1980) and Smooha (1989; 2001) based their studies directly on the Israeli case as we will see in the following chapter. Their theories were developed based on case studies of Jews and Arabs in Israel, adding a relevance of the theories for this research. Security mechanisms in Ethnic Democracy and theories of Ethnocracy and Control are presented as well. The chapter examines and answers the third sub question: *"How is the Israeli democracy challenged by minority communities, including the Palestinians in Israel?"*

2.4,2 State and Religion

In order to examine how minorities challenge the Israeli democracy, it is interesting to uncover the Israeli public's attitude to the interaction of religion and state. According to an extensive survey of more than 5,000 Israelis conducted in late 2014 and early 2015, around three-quarters (76 per cent) of the Israeli Jews believed that the country can be a Jewish state and a democracy at the same time. In the same survey, 89 per cent of the ultra-Orthodox Jews stated that Jewish law should take precedence over democratic principles, while an equally large share of secular Jews said democratic ideals should take priority (Lipka 2016).

The following Figure 2 shows the diversity of religious groups in Israel between 2014 and 2015:

Israel's diverse religious landscape

% of Israeli adults who identify as ...

Non-Jewish : 19%   Jewish: 81%

Druze 2%
Christian 2%
Other/ no religion 1%

14% Muslim

8% Haredi (Ultra Ortho-dox)   10% Dati (Religious)

23% Masorti (Traditional)

40% Hiloni (Secular)
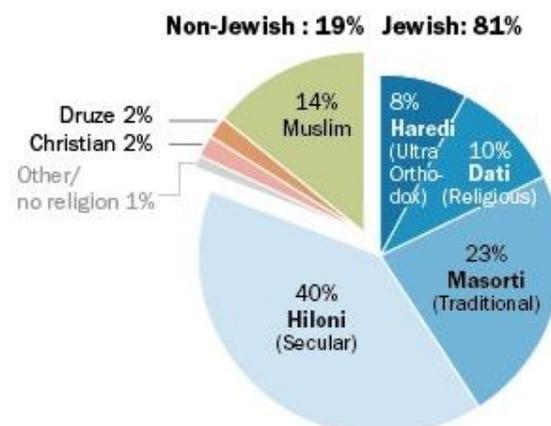
As seen in Figure 2, nearly all Israeli Jews, 81 per cent, identify themselves with one of four Jewish categories: Haredi[45] (generally known as "ultra-Orthodox"), Dati ("orthodox"), Masorti ("traditional") or Hiloni ("secular"). According to the same survey, the ultra-Orthodox Haredi and Dati Jews, express the view that Israel's government should promote religious beliefs and values, while the secular Hiloni Jews strongly favor separation of religion from government policy. 79 per cent of the Jews from the survey answered that Jews deserve preferential treatment in Israel over other religious groups (Pew Research Center 2016).

The different views on state and religion are the result of a deeply divided society (Lustick 1979). Several critics called the relationship between state and religion in Israel symbiotic. Some explain the relationship as dominated by civil religion agreed to by Jewish parties while excluding Arab citizens (Jamal 2009: 1157). Others reflect the relationship between religion and the secular state as *"ambivalent"* because the state defines itself in its basic laws as a "Jewish and democratic state" (Barak-Erez 2009: 1). According to Haaretz[46] columnist and member of the editorial board Gideon Levi, religion has never been separate from the Jewish State. In fact, they function hand in hand (Levi 2009). Religion is deeply institutionalized in the Israeli state and many considered the establishment of the state as a "miracle" given the chaotic circumstances (Jamal 2009: 1157).

Lustick states that because Israel tolerates the ultra-Orthodox Jews' religious extremism as part of its modern state, it proves the priority of religion on the national agenda. He explains the religious extremism with the national restrictions on travels on Sabbath that affects the whole country and is a way of sustaining and demonstrating the religious importance in Israel (Lustick 1988: 4).

The relationship between religion and state is further examined in the following section.

2.4,3 Israel's electoral system

In order to analyse how Israel is protecting its democratic state, this section will present Israel's electoral system.

Since the birth of Israel, the state has been criticized for favoring small parties over large ones and granting an unequal proportion of power to ideological groups. Historically, Israel's electoral system developed out of the Yishuv's (Jewish immigrant community) political landscape. Israel needed a political system supporting the many smaller parties due to the large amount of arriving immigrants. Israel chose a parliamentary system of proportional representation. In this system, voters cast ballots for political parties and not individuals. Israel kept the electoral threshold as low as one per cent of the votes, resulting in few barriers to enter politics. This electoral system served to increase power to

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[45]The Haredi Jews, also called the Haredim, are the ones that will be referred to as "ultra-Orthodox Jews" throughout this research.

[46]Haaretz is the oldest daily newspaper in Israel founded in 1918 (Haaretz).

party elites in Israel's new state (Friedman 2015;IDI 2011). The electoral threshold has increased since the birth of Israel. Just before the 2015 election, it was raised to 3.25 per cent and the change made it possible to exclude the smallest parties and strengthen the power of the popular parties (Knesset 2016). The Israeli electoral threshold falls far below the European average in the 5-10 per cent range. The push to change the electoral reform was initiated for political reasons by Foreign Minister Avigdor Liberman[47] and Finance Minister Yair Lapid[48] as they wished to leave out smaller Arab and leftist parties in order to win more seats in the Knesset for the right wing parties (Friedman 2015;Knesset 2016).

The ultra-Orthodox party Shas controls the provision of social services and much of Israel's ultra-religious educational system, as stated in theory chapter one (Jamal 2009;Knesset 2016). The total seats for parties representing ultra-Orthodox and Orthodox streams are 21 whereas the Arab parties (United Arab Joint List) currently hold a total number of 17 out of 120 seats in the Knesset (Knesset 2016).

We have now examined the large amount of small parties in Israel and seen that parties representing the Jewish minorities have more seats in Knesset than the Arab parties. The character of Israel's democracy is further examined in the following sections.

2.4,4 Democratic character

The following section will unfold types of democracy claimed to be corresponding to Israel. The purpose is to analyse how Israel is sustaining a democracy.

The most frequent and accepted definition[49] of democracy is the "minimum procedural definition". The "procedural" aspect of the definition refers to democratic procedures instead of policies that might be seen as democratic. The "minimum" refers to its deliberate focus on the smallest possible number of features setting a standard for democracy (Collier & Levitsky 2009: 273-279).

Scholars disagreed as to which features were needed for the definition to be appropriate. They argued that the society and economy were potential causes or consequences of democracy and not features of the democracy itself. The procedural minimum definition most widely used includes full suffrage and absence of large-scale fraud combined with effective guarantees of civil liberties, freedom of speech,

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[47]Founder and leader of the secular-nationalist Yisrael Beiteinu party (Knesset 2016).

[48]Founder and leader of Yesh Atid, the party for the secular middle class (Knesset 2016).

[49]The definition of democracy evolved with the rise of democratizing states worldwide since the mid 1970s and increased the number of countries considered democratic. In 1974, only around 30 per cent of the world's independent states met the criteria of electoral democracy, a system in which citizens have civil rights and through universal suffrage can choose and replace their leaders among various political parties in fair, free and meaningful elections. In the past three decades (the 1980s-2000s), the number of democracies worldwide held steady or expanded every year from 1975 until 2007. This trend was paralleled by a steady expansion in levels of political rights and civil liberties, annually measured by Freedom House (Diamond 2015: 141).

assembly and association[50] (ibid.). The quality of a democracy can be defined by a general consensus on democratic procedures and differ in degree of their stability and capacity. Where stable democracies dominate in times of deep crisis or rapid changes, instability can prevail from unsettled conflicts in the state[51] (Smooha 2001: 11).

A civic democracy previously matched with Israel's, is the consociational democracy. The consociational democracy is seen in Belgium, Finland, Switzerland and Canada. According to Smooha, the types of civic democracy differ in how they handle ethnicity and in the rights given to the ethnic groups (Smooha 2001: 11-12).

The consociational democracy, a non-liberal democracy, is based on ideas of bilingualism, biculturalism and binationalism (Smooha 2001: 6). The model[52] of consociational democracy was suggested and developed in the 1970s by Dutch political scientist Arend Lijphart as a response to the failure of liberal democracies due to the poor shape of liberal democracies in deeply divided societies. Lijphart claims that this type of democracy is appropriate to societies with moderate internal ethnic conflicts and differences and that it is fairer than the liberal type since it grants both collective and individual rights to its citizens (Lijphart 1977). Political scientist Brian Barry claims that supporters of the model are ignoring its manipulative elements that are considered anti-democratic and that the minority is cooperating with the superordinate element at the expense of power (Barry 1975;Lustick 1979: 329-330).

According to Lustick, there is no deeply divided society that is only consociational which is exemplified by the case of Israel (Lustick 1979: 330). Consociational techniques are used to maintain stability among Jewish political and religious subcultures while the absence of conflict between Jews and Arabs in Israel is best explained by control (Lustick 1979: 336).

We have now explored one type of a civic democracy and the following section will unfold the so-called "non-democracies".

2.4,5 Control and Ethnocracy

Opposite the civic democracies is a non-democracy, defined as a regime dealing with national conflicts based on ethnicity. The non-democracies include Control and Ethnocracy (Smooha 2001: 19-20).

In the 1970s, Lustick (1979;1980) studied conflicts in divided societies and the conflicts between the Jewish majority and the Arab minority in Israel. Lustick found that he could not fully describe the power structures between the two parties as either liberal or consociational democracy. Instead he

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[50]The procedural minimum definition was later extended by adding that elected governments must have effective power to rule and govern a military (Collier & Levitsky 2009: 273-279).

[51]Israeli democratic character is further explored in the second analysis part

[52]American sociologist Nathan Glazer (1995), voiced concerns against the consociational democracy theory arguing that it is distorting a democracy and that recognition of group rights goes against human and individual rights (Glazer 1995: 123-138;Smooha 2001: 14-15).

called the political system Control[53]. The system of Control is here seen as an alternative to a liberal and consociational democracy (Smooha 2001: 19).

A system of Control has a "superordinate segment" taking labor, political support or property from the "subordinate segment" whenever it wants (Lustick 1979: 330). The system is based on isolation, economic dependence and denial of the minority group's access to the majority group that internally divides and rules it. At the same time, the minority is prevented from organizing themselves politically (Lustick 1979: 325-344). Control is a set of mechanisms that can be applied by democracies and non-democracies to contain ethnic minorities (Smooha 2001: 19-20).

Lustick does not see Control as a stable democratic system but he implies that minorities can benefit from Control as the system can protect them from bloodshed and violence (Smooha 2001: 20). Control can thus be seen as an alternative form of stability in deeply divided societies (Lustick 1979: 327).

A model of Control is applied to vertically divided societies that have stability as a result of sustained manipulation of minorities by the power segment. Jews and Arabs in Israel are part of a deeply divided society whose stability is explained with exertion of superior power of only one subunit (Lustick 1979: 330). For the superordinate group (the majority), the main goal is to develop cost-effective methods for manipulating the subordinate group (the minority). For the subordinate, the main strategic problem is to compromise and coping as much as possible to subordination and to evaluate possibilities for bargaining with the superior part (Lustick 1979: 332).

Ethnocracy[54] is a non-democracy seen in deeply divided societies and applied to Israel by Oren Yiftachel (1997) as he developed the existing term. The difference between an Ethnocracy and an Ethnic Democracy is the nature of the regime itself (Smooha 2001: 22).

An Ethnocracy is a non-democracy with few democracy features such as democratic institutions and universal suffrage whereas an Ethnic Democracy is conceptualized as a democracy. Rights are determined by ethnonational descent and not by universal citizenship. The regime's political legitimacy is determined by ethnicity and not the citizenry, the people. The state´s territorial expansion and involvement in state´s affairs by the ethnic diaspora, confuses the political boundaries (ibid.).

Ethnocracy is a non-democracy and an unstable regime lacking democratic structure. The regime employs selective openness to the international community only to obtain legitimacy (Yiftachel 1999: 367-368;Smooha 2001: 22). Ethnocracy breaches key democratic principles such as equal citizenship, universal suffrage and protection against the majority's tyranny. The regime was initially applied to Israel, though it seems to not apply properly to the state (Smooha 2001: 22-23). Israel extended automatic citizenship and the right to vote to the approximately 150.000 Palestinians, and later to their descendants, who remained in Israel after 1948. Despite fulfilling a few democratic principles to the

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[53]When Control is written with a capital C, it refers to the theory of "Control" by Lustick.
[54]An Ethnocracy is according to Smooha also seen in Estonia, Sri Lanka, Latvia and Serbia (Smooha 2001: 22).

new minority group, the state considered the Palestinians disloyal and placed them under military rule for 18 years until 1966[55] (Beinin & Hajjar 2014: 6;Yiftachel 2011: 130;Smooha 2001: 49).

The following section presents another democracy type applied to Israel, namely the Ethnic Democracy.

2.4,6 Ethnic Democracy

Some democratic regimes do not fit into civic democracies centered around the citizen or to non-democracies. Such a regime is the Ethnic Democracy (Smooha 2001: 11).

The model of Ethnic Democracy[56] was developed by Smooha in 1989 based on his studies of Arab-Jewish relations in Israel[57] (Smooha 2001: 24). The theory of Ethnic Democracy is essential to bring into the literature because it unfolds procedural backgrounds of Israel's democracy. The theory serves to analyse how Israel is upholding and protecting a democratic and Jewish state.

Smooha is challenging the general outlook, set forth by the Jewish elite, western scholars and the Zionist left wing in Israel, that the country is a western democracy. Smooha argues that the model of Ethnic Democracy is particularly valid for states like Israel that attempts to manage their divided society without giving up structured majority dominance (Smooha 2001: 5-8).

Ethnic Democracy combines ethnic dominance with democratic rights for all. The ethnic majority controls the state and uses it to push forward its national interests and to grant the ethnic majority a favoured status. The ethnic minority groups are granted with individual and collective rights, treated as second-class citizens and placed under control (ibid.).

The main difference between a civic and an Ethnic Democracy is the lack of civil and political equality. The lack is a result of inferior rights of minorities compared to the rights of the majority. Ethnic Democracy is *not* a non-democracy because it shares its ground with civic democracy more than with non-democracy (Smooha 2001: 25-26). Ethnic Democracy contains the procedural minimum definition of democracy. The regime is selective on the matter of collective rights and denies those that might empower the minority or threat the majority. A civic democracy treats the minority equally to the majority whereas Ethnic Democracy grants individual and collective rights to the minority all the while guaranteeing the favored status of the majority (Smooha 2001: 26).

Ethnic Democracy enrolls an ethnic stratification of citizenship and members of the ethnic majority are treated as first-class citizens that have the option to define the common good for the society. The ethnic minority groups can take part in determining national goals and policies but they can not enjoy the outcome (Smooha 2001: 31). This is exemplified by the fact that Palestinians in Israel have a right

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[55]During the Six-Day War in 1967, Israel occupied the West Bank and the Gaza Strip including other areas (Morris 2004).
[56]Objections to the theory are presented in the end of this chapter.
[57]The model was later applied in a comparative study of Israel and Northern Ireland and to Estonia, Latvia and Slovakia (Smooha 2001: 24).

to vote while being exempted from civil and military service (Smooha 2001: 34;Adalah 2011: 27-28). The state's official language, religion, welfare, security, laws and policies are biased in favour of the majority that in return expects a favored status in the society (Smooha 2001: 31). A reason behind the state's approach is that the Palestinian minority today is large, non-assimilating and dissident toward the Jewish State of Israel all the while rejecting Zionism (Appendix 1: 1).

Four types of individual rights are given in an Ethnic Democracy together with collective rights. The individual rights in an Ethnic Democracy include human rights, such as equality and dignity, social rights including housing and employment, civil liberties referring to independent judiciary and freedom of the press and political rights such as the right to vote and to stand for election[58](Smooha 2001: 32-33). The collective rights include the right to use a language, the right to hold separate religious institutions, cultural institutions and schools. The collective rights are granted because the state recognizes the minority groups as separate and distinct from the ethnic majority[59] (Smooha 2001: 32). The Ethnic Democracy is therefore superior to civic democracies[60] that do not support any collective group rights (Smooha 2001: 33).

The following section examines security aspects behind restrictions for Palestinians in Israel.

2.4.6,1 Security in Ethnic Democracy

The next section uncovers security aspects in an Ethnic Democracy in order to analyse the following sub question: "*How is the Israeli democracy challenged by minority communities, including the Palestinians in Israel?*"

The state in an Ethnic Democracy mobilizes the ethnic majority in order to defend it against a perceived or real threat. Perceived or real threats are common in any democracy type while they are essential parts of the system in the Ethnic Democracy, Ethnocracy and Control (Smooha 2001: 32+34). As a response to threats only the citizens of the ethnic majority are called up for military service and encouraged to make personal sacrifices for national interest. As a vast majority of Palestinians citizens of Israel are exempted from compulsory military services, they can not get the jobs that requires these services. The background for not hiring the Palestinians are claimed a discriminatory and excluding practice (Adalah 2011: 27-28; Smooha 2001: 53).

Instead, the state and the ethnic majority perceive the minority groups as national security risks regardless the degree of potential or real threat. The threats concern the national demography, political

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[58]Recent election cycles have witnessed attempts by the Attorney General (2003) and right-wing political parties to disqualify Arab parties and MKs from the Knesset. The aim was to limit the Palestinian political voice in the legislature. In 2003 and 2009, the Israeli Supreme Court overturned decisions of the Central Elections Committee to disqualify Arab political parties and Arab leaders from participating in the national elections. (Adalah 2011: 11).

[59]As an example, the right to buy land for the minority group might be restricted. Ethnic democracy does not recognize national rights of the minority groups, who are therefore not entitled to a share in the states resources, power-sharing or autonomy (Smooha 2001: 33).

[60]Smooha mentions the individual-liberal democracy and the republican-liberal democracy (Smooha 2001: 33).

power and national culture that are results of the minority groups accumulation of subversive attitudes. A part of the risk thinking is directed at the minority group's loyalty to an external homeland that is seen as a reason for instability (Smooha 2001: 32-35).

According to Smooha, Ethnic Democracy in Israel aims to stop three threats: First of all the anti-Semitism and secondly the hostilities of the Palestinian people and Arab world who are against Israel. A third threat is a potential overthrow of Israel's national security, the Jewish character and of Israeli Jews' ethnic separation by the Palestinian minority (Appendix 1: 1).

In order to maintain a democracy wanted by the secular majority and to compromise between conflicting values within the state, Israel contains the threats directed against it. The larger and the more united a majority, the greater the chances of survival and stability. Only when the ethnic majority constitutes a numerical and demographic majority it can rule democratically because it does not need political support and legitimacy from minority groups (Smooha 2001: 37;Abulof 2014).

Following the publication of the Ethnic Democracy model, heated debates and controversies were shared. After its publication in 1989, the model was criticized for its legitimacy, efficiency and stability (Neuberger 1999). Israeli Professor Benyamin Neuberger (1999) claimed that Ethnic Democracy should not be called a "democracy" when it does not provide equality and rights to the entire citizenry, according to the procedural minimum definition. Instead, he suggested calling the model a "liberal democracy with stains" leaving space for the type of democracy to improve and cleaning itself off its flaws (Neuberger 1999). Smooha rejects Neuberger´s criticism by stating that naming the model a "liberal democracy with stains" is untrue because Ethnic Democracy is not a liberal democracy and not civic as it prioritizes the ethnic majority over the citizenry (Smooha 2001: 43-44). Others claimed that the model is simply not democratic enough to be called a democracy type and instead suggested "ethnic state". Yet again others raised the issue of legitimacy. Ethnic Democracy is a normative model just like other types of democracies. Comparing it to civic types of democracies gives the model a legitimacy it does not deserve (Ghanem et al. 1999).

As we have now seen, the model of Ethnic Democracy was applied to Israel followed by objections and debate. The next section concludes on the findings in this chapter.

Sub-conclusion

The chapter examined the third sub question; "*How is the Israeli democracy challenged by minority communities, including the Palestinians in Israel?* 89 per cent of the ultra-Orthodox Jews believe that Jewish law should take precedence over democratic principles all the while an equally large share of secular Jews believes that democratic ideals should have priority. This fact proves a gap in the Jewish communities in Israel (Lipka 2016). The ultra-Orthodox minority community challenges the Zionist and secular foundation of the Israeli state when they do not accept the Zionist definition of the Jews as a nation in search of a homeland. Instead, they are still faithful to the ancient definition of Jews as a religious community waiting for a messiah (Beit-Hallahmi 2016).

The amount of small political parties in Knesset representing the ultra-Orthodox present a level of power to the ultra-Orthodox community that can potentially challenge Zionism's democratic ideals in a future Israel. The parties representing the religious ultra-Orthodox hold more seats in the Knesset today than the Arab parties, proving an unequal representation of power to the two minority groups (Knesset 2016). At the same time, the ultra-Orthodox party of Shas is an example of a party controlling the provision of social services - the religious educational system (Jamal 2009; Knesset 2016).

The Palestinians in Israel are challenging the Israeli democracy to the extent that control and security is implemented. In order to maintain a democracy wanted by a Jewish majority in Israel and to compromise between Jewish subgroups, Israel commits itself to Ethnic Democracy. Israel contains the threats directed against it coming from the Palestinian minority in order to maintain the support from the Jewish majority. Israel needs the Jewish majority to constitute a numerical and demographic majority in order to rule democratically. Having the support from the majority, the state is not depending on the political support and legitimacy from minority groups. The larger a Jewish majority in Israel, the greater the chances of survival and stability for an Ethnic Democracy (Smooha 2001: 37;Lustick 1979). Ethnic Democracy, Ethnocracy and Control are thus alternative forms of stability in deeply divided societies like Israel´s (Yiftachel 1999: 367-368;Lustick 1979: 327).

The following chapter presents the research methodology.

3. Methodology

3.1 Introduction

Following the process of deduction, the theory is empirically tested and reflecting upon in the analysis.[61] Before moving on to the analysis, it is relevant to emphasize the research methodology. Therefore, the following sections will present how Social Constructivism and the role of normative concepts in argumentation and legitimation, is reflected in the research. The applied methods of a Normative Concepts Analysis and semi-structured interviewing are explained. The chapter also presents the two hypotheses created by the researcher based on Securitization Theory and Deep Securitization (Abulof 2014;Buzan et al. 1998)

3.2 Social Constructivism

The research theory is based on Social Constructivism. Securitization Theory's (ST) main contention, the social construction of security, is *"perceptive and productive"* (Abulof 2014: 1). ST maintains

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[61]See Figure X of the deductive process in this research.

that the meaning of security is a social construction and defined as a "speech-act", a discourse generating social reality (Buzan et al. 1998;Waever 1995;Waever et al. 1993;Abulof 2014: 2).

The research analyses aspects of religion. The religious aspects are publicly or academically argued as part of the social reality in Israel. Judaism as a religion and religiosity are according to Jamal sociological constructs as well as being a theological identity. The social construction of religious identity is according to Jamal (2009) a process in which the Israeli state plays an important role. The democratic authority in Israel is challenged by the relationship between state and religion. A religious belief is either institutionalized or suppressed by state structures, as we will see in the analysis (Jamal 2009: 1144).

This research understands and applies ST's interpretation of security as a need for existential certainty. The application of the theories in the analysis, complements a general understanding of security as defense against threats. Security is regarded as collective polity and a process validating a collective Jewish identity. The researcher chooses to apply the understanding of the Jewish collective identity that pertains to ST's "societal security" and to the "ontological security" approach (Abulof 2014: 16). When the researcher analyses Jewish existential uncertainty or existential threats, the mechanisms are understood as intentions and capabilities of the Self (Abulof 2014: 16; Huysmans 1998b). Security issues are in the research related to the Jewish existence and understood as mechanisms of survival that have historical and societal implications (Abulof 2014: 16). These points are further explored in the analysis.

The following section presents a Normative Concepts Analysis and how it is applied in the research.

3.3 Normative Concepts Analysis (NOCA)

Normative Concepts Analysis (NOCA) is applied in this research. NOCA's hermeneutic process is concerned with language's normative content and political context. The emphasis on normative concepts and their role in argumentation and legitimation is only important to the extent they bear on the normative content (Abulof 2013: 10+26). An example of an argumentation bearing on a normative content is the statement that, *"The demographic threat is real, and the need to preserve the Jewish nation state's character as a democracy doesn't allow for large minorities"* (Hendel 2015). The normative content in the statement is the presence of a demographic threat.

NOCA is focusing on the normative concept's *sort*, *scale* and *scope*. The researcher's can usefully *sort* the concepts in for example arguments of authority, moral or rationalization. When sorting the normative concepts, we effectively follow the "why" through moral reasoning, as seen in sub question two in the introductory chapter (ibid.). *Scaling* concepts is useful for locating an object of legitimation such as danger or threat, responsibility or justice (Wodak 2001). The scaling of securitization concepts will be relevant in the analysis when depicting how Israel protects and maintains a Jewish and democratic state. The *scope* of the political legitimations is depicted through analysing the

contextual resonance of concepts (Abulof 2013: 26). The scope of political legitimations in Israel is carried out by rhetorically framing the Palestinians as existential threats to the Jewish demographic majority. The scope is understood as how widespread the political legitimations are. The scope of the legitimations is examined in the first analysis chapter (Abulof 2013: 2-3).

A "language of legitimation" underlines the public moral reasoning of politics. A fusion of an "ought" to be and a sociological "is" is applied in the study of political legitimacy. The public's justification of politics is intertwined with the public's discourses (Abulof 2013: 2-3):

"Israel's Jewish identity can be threatened by forces within the country that wish to change it" *(*Appendix 4: 15). An apparent force that threatens the Jewish identity legitimises politics of security. Normative concepts are not only informative as they attribute to a certain level of moral value to politics. The politics are indirectly or directly referring to the support of normative concepts such as Human rights, peace or security (Abulof 2013: 2-3).

NOCA explores what societies "think" and say about political principles and how the principles change over time. In this research, the first part of the analysis will depict how the public's opinion of existential threats and dangers in Israeli/Jewish society in the 2000s changed when politicians repeated the threats. The second part of the analysis deals with minorities today and current examples from the Israeli society. Aspects of legitimation are revealed in different types of language in interviews, laws and surveys from Israel and applied in the analysis. The legitimations represent distinct stories about the principles the Israeli society hold as prescribing political or moral right and wrong (Abulof 2013: 7).

Normative political concepts are vital when studying the public's political thoughts. Not all political concepts are normative (e.g. a party) and not all concepts are political (ibid.). The legitimation of Israel as a Jewish state has entailed the construction of prescriptive claims including religious necessities, legal rights, political missions and historic events. The Jews' right to self determination is an example of a normative concept that provide a focal point for Zionism's language of legitimation (Abulof 2013: 8). Bearing this in mind, the researcher will take use of NOCA in order to answer how Israel protects and sustains a Jewish and democratic state.

The following section presents the two hypotheses.

3.4 Presentation of the Hypotheses

The presented theory of securitization led to the creation of two hypotheses. It is necessary to shed light on the expectations and underlying assumption that exists in the research and sub questions. The questions indicate that Israel has various reasons for protecting and sustaining a Jewish and democratic state:

1: Israel implements "extraordinary measures" of Deep Securitization against Palestinians in Israel due to the threat of losing Jewish demographic majority.

2: Israel's character as a democracy is challenged by the Palestinian minority community in Israel because the State's first priority is the protection of the Jews[62].

The first hypothesis relates directly to the securitization of the Palestinians in Israel in the 2000s and today while the second seeks to examine the Israeli democratic character in relation to the implemented securitizations. Therefore, it is crucial to divide the analysis into two parts. Following the process of deduction, the theory is empirically tested and reflecting upon in the analysis.

The hypotheses are developed by the researcher with inspiration from theories of Deep Securitization (Abulof 2013;2014) and Securitization Theory (Buzan et al. 1998). In the first hypothesis, the "extraordinary measures" of Deep Securitization refer to the theory of Abulof (2014). In the second hypothesis, the "challenge" is understood as the assumption that the Palestinian minority with citizenship in Israel is treated with different or less civil rights than Jewish citizens of Israel (APSA 2012). The ultra-Orthodox minority is expected to have equal civil rights to the Jewish majority because they share a Jewish collective identity. Therefore, the Jewish minority is prioritized and protected more than the Palestinian.

The two hypotheses will be analysed by applying a NOCA in order to depict a language of political legitimation (Abulof 2013). The hypotheses are analysed separately in one section each. The purpose of this division is to depict normative concepts in different areas of Israel's public sphere.

The next section presents the researcher's process of conducting four semi-structured interviews.

3.5 Semi-structured interviewing

The research is based on a mixture of theory and qualitative data collected by the researcher. The researcher conducting four qualitative semi structured interviews as part of the data collection. Semi-structured interviews primarily use open-ended questions and their main goal is to reconstruct the participant's opinions within the studied topic (Bryman, 2012;Seidman 2012). The semi structured interview style uses a predetermined interview guide, which contains a list of open-ended questions. During the interview session, the list can be supplemented with new questions emerged from the dialogue between the participant and the researcher (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree 2006).

During one interview, the researcher created new questions inspired by the interviewee's answers. The process of creating questions in semi-structured interviewing is flexible and it is not required to

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[62]In this research, "the Jews" only include the Jews inside of Israel and therefore excludes the Jews in diaspora around the world that this research is not dealing with.

follow a pre-given order. The main emphasis is how participants frame and interpret the topic and the questions according to the social constructivist approach (Bryman 2012).

In this research, the goal is to gain insight into the perspectives and experiences of persons living in Israel, used to live in Israel or who are directly involved in the social or political life in the country. The researcher found open-ended questions appropriate as the participant's answers should reflect their own opinions and not be influenced by predetermined questions. Following the process of deduction, the interview questions are based on the theory and will support the falsification or verification of the hypotheses. The interviews support an empirical testing of the hypotheses (Miller & Brewer 2003: 67-69).

The researcher conducted four single person interviews and questions were asked with the research question in mind. It became important to the researcher to involve both Palestinian and Jewish persons in the data collection in order to attain opinions from both groups.

The data and practicalities of interviewing are presented below.

4. Data

4.1 Introduction

The researcher conducted four interviews[63] in Israel and Palestine[64] during a three-month stay. The researcher lived in the city of Ramallah on the West Bank from mid February to May 2016 and frequently visited cities in Israel. Statements from the interviewees are applied in the analysis when they support or argue against the theoretical claims. The following sections will explain the limitations and ethical considerations when interviewing in Israel and the West Bank. The last section in the chapter presents the four interview persons and their representativeness.

4.2 Limitations

The researcher established contact with the interview persons via telephone or email. All of the four persons agreed on the interview with the exception of the Jewish settler who was contacted twice before replying and agreeing to the interview. The researcher gave the participants the chance to decide whether the interview should be recorded or carried out by taking notes. In two occasions the interviewees decided that the researcher should take notes and in two instances using recording.

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[63]The data is found in Appendix 1-4.

[64]Palestine and the West Bank refer to the same area. Israeli Jews and most internationals call the area the West Bank while Palestinians and their supporters claim the area to be Palestine. "Palestine" or "the West Bank" will both be mentioned in the following Data section.

The two recorded interviews were transcribed. The two remaining interviews were written down in notes and were shorter than the others. The researcher wrote down the statements while the persons spoke. During the recorded interviews, the researcher had difficulties with the sound. The interviewees chose to meet at crowded and noisy cafes. Therefore, the researcher faced difficulties with the transcription of these two interviews and at times it was impossible to hear what was said.

One great limitation is the access around the West Bank. The area is under occupation by Israeli military and every person crossing the time consuming checkpoints is registered. The rough nature and destroyed roads on the West Bank caused a bumpy infrastructure that together with daily traffic jams and the unpredictable every day life, made it difficult to plan appointments or interviews. Therefore, planned interviews were at times cancelled or dates moved due to the abovementioned factors.

Another great limitation in the everyday life on the West Bank, is the unstable electricity supply controlled by the Israeli occupational force that is paused almost every day for a couple of hours. As a result, it was not possible for the researcher, or everyone else, to use the Internet or landline phone and therefore difficult to plan interviews. While being on the West Bank, it becomes necessary to follow news updates as often as possible due to the above-mentioned factors caused by the occupation. Without electricity, this became difficult.

The process of collecting data was limited by the researcher's language. The researcher has no knowledge of the Hebrew (or Arabic) language. Therefore, the researcher used translated or English data only. The language was not a problem during the interviews as most Jews and Palestinians in the area speak English.

For internationals and non-Palestinian residents, the process of passing through checkpoints is usually fast and without problems if the purpose of entry is unrelated to the support of the Palestinian cause. As a student with no Arab or Palestinian roots it was easy to enter a settlement. Yet, the interviewed Jewish settler seemed cautious during the interview and reluctant to answer the questions while the rest of the three interviews were carried out without difficulties. A likely reason behind the Jewish interviewee's unwillingness to answer is that the questions were interpreted or framed as too critical of Israel's politics.

The interviews were carried out in the early stages of the research. Due to the circumspection of the researcher in the early stages of the data collection, the interview questions are characterized by being careful not to "disturb" the interview situation or create an awkward atmosphere.

The following section presents the researcher's ethical considerations of the interviews.

4.3 Ethical considerations

An important part of being a student and conducting interviews in Israel and the West Bank, is to constantly be aware of how to address the political situation and people living in it. The researcher

took ethical considerations of not being biased toward the Palestinian or Jewish side of the situation. The purpose was not to judge or lead the questions toward an answer. Ethically, the researcher positioned herself in attempted neutrality and the purpose was to uncover the way social and political processes in Israel are enacted and reproduced by text and talk in the social and political context (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree 2006).

The Danish House in Palestine (NGO in Ramallah) had previous to the visit recommended the researcher to not specify the purpose of the entry in order to avoid conflicts or suspicion from the Israeli military or individuals in the Jewish settlement. The researcher followed the recommendations in order to not disturb the situation.

The following section presents the interviewees.

4.4 Interviewees

Sammy Smooha

Sammy Smooha was interviewed in Haifa, Israel. The interview was not recorded.

Sammy Smooha is a Professor of Sociology at The University of Haifa. Sammy presents himself as a specialist in comparative ethnic relations and has published widely on the Israeli internal divisions and Israel in a comparative perspective (Appendix 1).

The researcher became aware of Sammy's theories of the Ethnic Democracy while being on the West Bank. Smooha was chosen as an interview participant with the purpose of applying additional data to his own theories used in this research. Statements from the conducted interview with Sammy Smooha could support or disprove his theoretical claims. Therefore, quotes from the interview are applied as supporting literature in the theory chapters and to the analysis.

Sam Bahour

Sam Bahour was interviewed in Ramallah on the West Bank. The interview was recorded.

Sam Bahour's parents are Palestinian. Sam was born in the United States and relocated to Palestine after the Oslo Peace Accords in 1994. Sam came to Palestine to establish the Palestine Telecommunications Company and have been living in the West Bank ever since. Sam has a well-known name in the business community in Palestine and is working together with the Danish House in Palestine in Ramallah and with Israeli businesses. Sam has a business consultancy doing Applied Information Management and runs an online blog on the Palestinian cause, Palestinian and Israeli law and how to do business between Israel and Palestine. He has previously given a TED-talk on Palestinian refugees (Appendix 2). Sam has a profound knowledge on Israeli law and social and ethnic stratifications that was found useful for this research.

Fida Jiryis

Fida Jiryis was interviewed in Ramallah on the West Bank. The interview was recorded.

Fida was chosen as an interviewee due to her background as a Palestinian with citizenship in Israel. She lived and worked in Northern Israel for 7 years from 1995-2003. As a Palestinian expat, Fida was born and raised in diaspora in Lebanon, a daughter of Palestinian refugees from the 1960s. Her mother and father were from Upper Galilee. Her father, famous Palestinian writer Sabri Jiryis[65], worked in the resistance movement for PLO[66] and he left Israel in 1968 on a tourist visa. Her mother was killed in the 1983 by Israeli militants in a bombing targeting her father and PLO's offices. After the Oslo Peace Accords in the 1990s, around 50 Palestinians were allowed to implement the Right of Return[67] to their villages within the territory that Israel occupied in 1948. Around 10 people returned, amongst them Fida's family who had held Israeli citizenship before the Oslo Accords. Fida came back to former Palestine in her early twenties, became an Israeli citizen in 1995, had to learn Hebrew and *"found out exactly what it was to be a Palestinian"* (Appendix 3: 6). Today, she lives and works as a writer in Ramallah in the West Bank. Statements by Fida on social and economic issues of the life as a Palestinian living in Israel will be applied in the analysis.

Miri Maoz

Miri Maoz was interviewed in the Jewish settlement "Binyamin Regional Council" on the West Bank. The interview was not recorded. Jewish Miri Maoz lives and works in a Jewish settlement on the West Bank as the International Desk Director of the council. Her title indicates that she is the official contact person for the Jewish settlement and the person journalists' contact before they can enter the settlement. Miri was chosen as an interviewee among other Jewish settlers in order to apply a perspective from a person with a Jewish belief to the research. Miri was the only Jewish settler who responded to the researcher's email. During the interview, Miri did not provide more information to her background than her working title (Appendix 4). Statements by Miri are applied to the analysis with the purpose of discussing the theory.

Representativeness

The researcher is aware that the interviewees are not representative for the whole situation in Israel. The current population of Israel is approximately eight million people and the researcher interviewed four persons (Cohen & Scheer 2015). Two of the participants, of whom one used to live in Israel, are currently residing on the West Bank, one in Israel and finally one lives in a Jewish settlement on the West Bank. The participant's backgrounds are diverse and their statements reflect personal beliefs.

The following chapter analyses data and theory in order to validate or falsify the two hypotheses.

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[65]Author of the novel, "The Arabs in Israel" (1977) on Israel's discrimination of Arabs.
[66]Palestine Liberation Organisation.
[67]The Right to Return refers to the political position or principle that Palestinian refugees (from 1948 or 1967 or after) have a right to return to their homes and country of their descendants (Joffe & Romirowsky 2014).

5. Analysis

5.1 Introduction

The following analysis explores the two previous stated hypotheses. The analysis chapter is divided into two sections that will each analyse one hypothesis.

The first part examines the extraordinary measures of Deep Securitization (Abulof 2014) concerning the Palestinians in Israel. The first part is mainly focusing on the extraordinary measures of Deep Securitizations in the 2000s (Abulof 2014). Several events in the 2000s prompted actors in Israel to increase the rhetorical existential threats, as they played an active role in the Israeli Deep Securitization regarding the demographic threat. The events pushed Israel into taking extraordinary securitization steps against Palestinians in Israel. The recurring threats are articulated today by politicians and opinion makers and analysed in the following chapter together with statement from the conducted interviews.

The second section analyses to what extent the Israeli democracy is challenged by large minority communities: the Palestinians and the ultra-Orthodox Jews.

The two analysis sections will bring forward findings from the three theory chapters, statements from the political arena in Israel today and the researcher's collected data from interviews in Palestine and Israel. The theory and data is analysed with methodological inspiration from Abulof's NOCA of political legitimation (Abulof 2013) and Deep Securitizations in Israel (Abulof 2014). The chapter analyses how Israel protects and sustains a Jewish and democratic State, as stated in the research question.

5.1,2 Part one: The demographic demon - Jewish existential uncertainty

The first analysis section applies Abulof's (2014) Deep Securitization of demographics in Israel with the purpose of analysing the first hypothesis:

1: Israel implements extraordinary measures of securitization against Palestinians in Israel due to the threat of losing Jewish demographic majority.

In order to examine the first hypothesis, the first part of the analysis takes use of the theory of Deep Securitization in Israel (Abulof 2014), Securitization Theory (Buzan et al. 1998) and adds quotes from Israeli opinions makers and politicians. When it is found relevant, statements from the interviewees are brought into the analysis. The following section investigates Israel's implementation of extraordinary measures of Deep Securitization of the Palestinians - the "demographic demon" in

Israel. The section examines the extraordinary securitization measures against hostilities, terrorism and the high Palestinian birth rate in Israel.

The demographic threat to the Jewish majority is related to the population growth in Israel. While the average Israeli woman[68] has three babies in her lifetime, almost double the fertility rate for the rest of the industrialized countries in the OECD, the birth rate is even higher among Israel's Palestinian community. The average woman in the Palestinian territories has four children in her lifetime (Cohen & Scheer 2015). The number of Jews in all of Israel, including the Jewish settlements in the occupied West Bank, is now roughly equal to the number of Palestinians in the same areas - each populations are around 6.3 million[69] (Cohen 2015). Due to the Palestinian's high birth rate, by 2059 the percentage of Palestinians in Israel will grow to 23 per cent from the 20 per cent today (Cohen & Scheer 2015). The estimated numbers of Israel's population show that the Arabs are likely to outnumber the Jews in the coming years, as we saw in Figure 1 and in the theory chapters. Such a trend results in demographical threats being repeated by politicians and academics in Israel (Mezzofiore 2015).

Where a high population growth can be seen as a positive development in a country, the Palestinian birthrate and free movement in Israel is not only presented as an issue but also as an existential threat to the Jewish majority. When presenting the Palestinian birthrate as an actual existential threat, the need for security becomes inevitable and the survival of the Jews a necessity (Cohen & Scheer 2015; Buzan et al. 1998: 24).

Israel's fear of being outnumbered is mentioned by Palestinian Israeli[70] Fida Jiryis;

"Israel has long referred to the Palestinian population as a demographic bomb or a demographic threat [...] They [the Jews] are terrified of the day, and the day is coming soon, I think in 2020, when Arabs and the Jews will actually be equal number." (Appendix 3: 7).

Palestinians living in Israel are not the only ones mentioning Israel's demographic securitization. The securitization triangle of demography, geography and democracy is discursively repeated in the Israeli public and by politicians. The fear of the Demographic Demon is repeated in order to legitimize the deepest sort of securitizations (Abulof 2014: 18-19;Abulof 2013).

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[68]Recent statistics on Jewish fertility point in different directions. While recent article from July 2016 have stated that secular and moderately religious Jews have the highest birthrate among Jews in Israel, others have argued that the women in the ultra-Orthodox community have the most babies among the Jews (Trofimov 2016; Cohen 2015).

[69]In Israel, 1.75 million are Palestinians with Israeli citizenship, out of approximately 8 million Israelis, and in the Gaza Strip, West Bank and East Jerusalem, 4.55 million are Palestinians. The occupied territories are also home to half a million Jewish settlers (Cohen 2015).

[70]Fida Jiryis calls herself a Palestinian. She will mostly be referred to as "Palestinian Israeli" because of her Israeli citizenship. "Palestinian Israeli" or "Arab Israeli" are commonly used for Palestinians in Israel with Israeli citizenship.

In 2013, Abulof used historical archives of the oldest Israeli newspaper Haaretz Daily to measure discourses on threats. The below graph in Figure 3 displays existential threat(s)/danger(s) and demographic threat(s)/danger(s) in Israel from 1994-2012. Via word frequency it reflects the most commonly articulated threats in Israeli articles over the last two decades (Abulof 2014: 23-24). The graph shows threats discussed by the political left and right in newspaper articles that played an active role in the Israeli Deep Securitization and the demographic threat (Abulof 2014: 23).
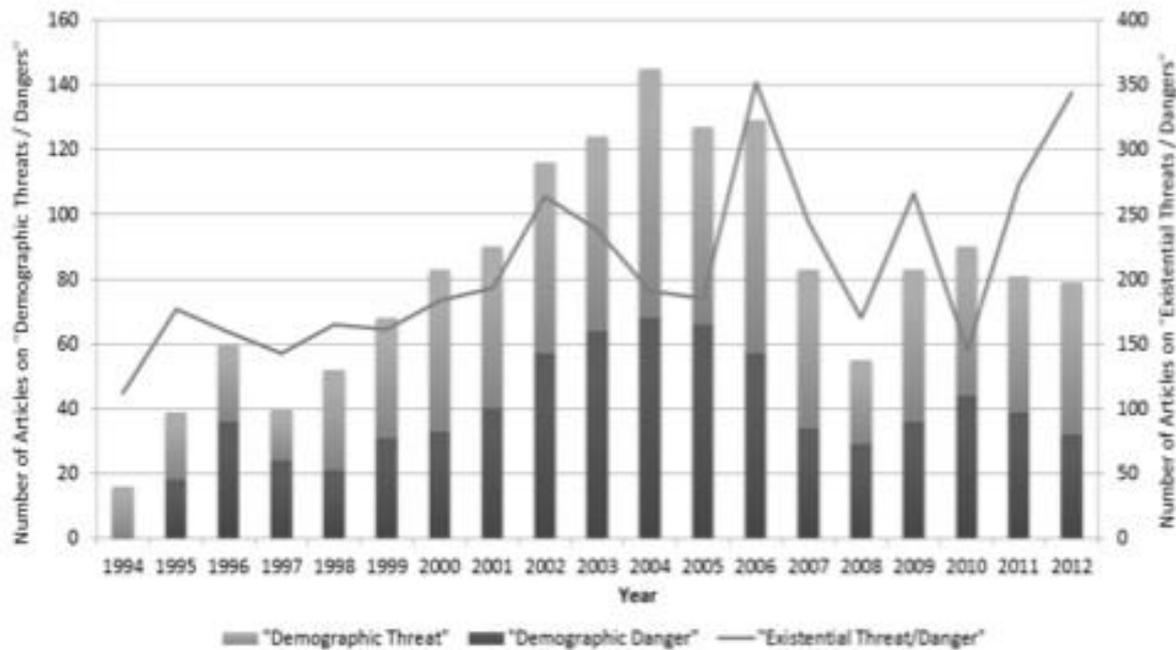

Figure 3. Existential / Demographic Securitizing Moves in Haaretz Daily. Source: Abulof 2014: 24.

The most frequently repeated discourses on demographic and existential threats/dangers change during historical events especially at the height of the Second Intifada (on the graph, 2002-2004) and in the aftermath of the Second Lebanon War (in 2006). The threat discourses were followed by securitization of "internal ethno-demographics" that were the Palestinians living in Israel[71] (Abulof 2014: 23).

In 2003, Netanyahu[72] claimed that the internal demographic threat was directly coming from the Palestinians living in Israel; *"(...)our raison d'état is a Jewish and democratic state, and in order for democracy not to cancel out Jewishness, we must retain a Jewish majority"* (Abulof 2014: 29). Netanyahu elaborated by stating that if the Palestinians in Israel integrate among the Jews in Israel and reach 30-40% of the total population, the Jewish State would disappear and be replaced by a

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[71]The "external threats" are by Abulof considered threats from Palestinians living on the West Bank and in Gaza (Abulof 2014: 24-27).

[72]The researcher has chosen to use Abulof's translation of the quote instead of the original statement made in Hebrew. Therefore, the reference is from Abulof, 2014.

binational state (ibid.). The statement came a year after politician and former military commander Effi Eitam compared Palestinians in Israel to a cancer disease;

"[...]the State of Israel today faces an existential threat that is characterized by being an elusive threat, and elusive threats by their nature resemble cancer. Cancer is a type of illness in which most of the people who die from it die because they were diagnosed too late. By the time you grasp the size of the threat, it is already too late to deal with it." (Shavit 2002).

The Palestinians in Israel were seen as an existential threat by nature. Framing Palestinians in Israel as a demographical threat to the Jewish state was seen in 2000 following the Second Intifada. In the aftermath of the wave of violent protests by Palestinians in Israel around October 2000, Israeli police killed 13 Palestinian citizens (Abulof 2014: 29). The result of the killings was that most of the Palestinians in Israel boycotted the elections to the prime minister held the year after in 2001 (Smooha 2001: 50).

The media's effort in perpetually framing Palestinians in Israel as a demographic threat had a major influence on the public audience in Israel. The result was an increase of Jews who thought of Palestinians in Israel as "a risk to the state's existence"[73] that rose from 25% in 2000 to 50% in 2002. The Palestinians in Israel were framed as the main source of internal threats to the state's security and its Jewish character (Sagiv-Shifter & Shamir 2002;Arian 2003;Abulof 2014: 30).

Public claims of Palestinians in Israel trying to destroy the state from within and wanting to preserve the conflict were expressed during the 2000s. As a response, Palestinian organizations in Israel published documents calling for an annulment of the Jewish character of Israel. The documents prompted rage in the Jewish community claiming that the Palestinian minority in Israel declared war on the Jewish nation (Abulof 2014: 30). The documents reopened the historical Arab/Jewish wound and the Israeli public saw the actions as a proof of Arab hostility against Israel. Hence, protection against the internal threat was required (Abulof 2014).

At the same time, the discourses on demography and hostility challenged the democratic considerations in Israel (Abulof 2014). The procedural minimum definition of a democracy include full suffrage and absence of large-scale fraud, combined with effective guarantees of civil liberties, freedom of speech, assembly and association (Collier & Levitsky 2009: 273-279). The conflict in the 2000s and the securitization of Palestinians in Israel challenged liberal-democratic values: the rights of Palestinians to vote, to hold demonstrations, to appear on television, to be elected or to participate in defining state borders were denied by most Jews (Arian 2003;Sagiv-Shifter & Shamir 2002;Abulof 2014: 30). The Jewish existential uncertainty and the demographic fears rose as public, parliamentary and media discourses repeated the demographic crisis in Israel in the 2000s (Abulof 2014: 22).

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[73]The focus on the state's "existence" and the Jewish "existence" was common in the 2000s and was mostly connected to risks coming from Palestinians in Israel (Abulof 2014).

During the 2000s, Palestinian Israeli author Fida Jiryis lived in Israel and describes restrictions against Palestinians as a way of encouraging them to leave Israel;

"Another thing is the Arab villages in Israel, the infrastructure, the roads. They are in a bad shape compared to the Israeli roads[...]All in all, these restrictions are made to encourage people to leave, if they [the Jews] can not press them out themselves." (Appendix 3: 7).

Implementing restrictions for Palestinians against their free movement are acts of Deep Securitization carried out by Israel in order to make the Jewish individuals in society feel secure. The restrictions are results of internal demographic threats and carried out to protect the Jewish majority against the Palestinians (Abulof 2014: 13). The poor infrastructure and limitation of the free movement of Palestinians are measures of power and securitization carried out in order to discourage the Palestinians from living in Israel (Abulof 2014: 12-13).

In a community like Israel's with an ethno-national polity, the state must exist to preserve the majority, the Jewish citizens, while the ethnic majority exists to sustain the state (Abulof 2014: 14-15;Buzan et al. 1998: 41). Israel's status as a Jewish state relies on Jewish support and Jewish majority in Israel. The recurrences of discourses on the demographic crisis and Palestinian hostilities, underline a necessity and a wish to protect the Jewish majority. By repeating the discourses of threats, the hope was Jewish support of the securitizations. The outcome is restrictions of Palestinian's free movement that challenge the liberal democracy's idea of the right to freedom for all citizens regardless of ethnicity. In this way, Israel breaks the democratic principle of equal protection of civil rights (Abulof 2014: 14-15;Buzan et al. 1998: 41;APSA 2012).

The securitization acts in the 2000s also resulted in attempts at undermining previous legislations of the 1990s on Human and Civil Rights in Israel. Disqualifying Arab parties and candidates, cutting child allowances for Palestinian families and breaking a naturalization procedure for Palestinians marrying Israeli citizens, took place in 2002-2003. Existential statements followed the public discourses on the legislations. Opponents to the disqualifications of the Arabs called the legislations racist, apartheid supporting and undermining the democracy and equality in Israel. Still, the supporters of the legislations argued that they overcame the Demographic Demon and were necessary to sustain a Jewish State. The Ministry of Finance argued that cutting child allowances for Palestinian families in Israel would break the internal demographic threat and protects a Jewish majority (Abulof 2014: 31;Jamal 2009).

In the 2000s, Deep Securitization was exemplified by policies attempting to increase Jewish childbirth, Palestinian emigration as well as Jewish immigration, supported by the Law of Return. The policies were highlighted in public discourses of securing against the demographic threat by supporting "the beauty of large Jewish families" (ibid.). Since the 2000s, the support for securitizations against internal demographic threats has only increased. Israeli efforts of de-securitizing the threats claimed that the legislations and disqualification attempts were anti-democratic

and failing to be Jewish. Still, the majority of Israeli Jews subscribed to the emerging need of securitization of internal demography (Abulof 2014: 32-33).

In 2006, Head of Yisrael Beiteinu ("Israel is our Home") Avigdor Liebermann stated that the Palestinian minority in Israel defined their identity on destroying the state of Israel. The statement increased the party's electoral success that also included the amendment of legislations designed to limit the freedoms of Israeli Arabs (ibid.). The legislations and the attempts of disqualifications are examples of securitization acts against existential and demographic threats so deep that emergency actions outside the bounds of political procedures were required (Buzan et al. 1998: 23-24). The existential threat was argued in a way that created a platform for legitimizing steps of emergency and by presenting cases of existential threats so large that they legitimize breaking of rules (Buzan et al. 1998: 25). The everyday politics and the praxis of existential threats were merged together and politics turned into an act of securitization (Abulof 2014: 11-12).

The outcome of the securitization policies is the prioritization of Jews over Palestinians mentioned in the below statement;

"[...]when you go for a job interview in Israel, they will ask you for your Army Registration Number, the number you are giving when you enroll in the army. As Arabs, we are left out of the Army. So they say "oh, you don't have one, we will call you, thank you very much." And then you never hear back from them. They can not say it is because you are Arabic or write it down. But you don't hear back from them. When you apply as an Arab for the same job, they will choose the Jew even though he might be less eligible. Jews who go to the army get various benefits after ending the army, they get help with student's loans. As an Arab you are not eligible." (Appendix 3: 7).

The Palestinians in Israel are exempted from the army in Israel and are therefore left without an Army Registration Number. The Palestinian citizens of Israel are repeatedly excluded from the labor force by the use of the military-service criterion, the Army Registration Number. The Army Number is a condition for acceptance of employment even when there is not a connection between the nature of the work and military experience (Adalah 2011: 9).

Israel does not pursue policies of including non-Jewish minorities into state institutions or the army (Smooha 2001: 9-11+19-20). Instead, the majority takes labor from the minority whenever it wants (Lustick 1979: 330). Control in Israel is based on internal divisions of isolation of the Palestinians, economic dependence and denial of the minority group's access to benefits of the majority group (Smooha 2001: 19-20).

In the above statement, the interviewee mentions the Israeli authorities prioritization of Jews. The reason behind the denial of jobs was according to Fida left hidden; *"They can not say it is[74] because you are Arabic or write it down [...] When you apply as an Arab for the same job, they will choose the Jew even though he might be less eligible."* (Appendix 3: 7).

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[74]During the interview, Fida did not explain why she was not hired but she mentioned the feeling of being discriminated against several times.

The lack of a reason for not wanting Fida for a job is a way of signaling that Palestinians are unwanted. The security in society is threatened from the unknown, creating paranoia and fear of the fear all the while the Palestinian applicant is left without a "legitimate" reason for the denial. The goal for Israel is instead to create an insecure existential feeling in the Jewish society that legitimates the exclusion from the army and jobs. The exclusions are Israel's implementation of extraordinary measures of security (Abulof 2014: 14). The denial of a job for the Palestinian Israeli Fida, is the result of a prioritization of Jews in society and the authorities' extraordinary securitizations against Palestinians (Abulof 2014: 13-14). A matter of authority or policy is automatically turned into a matter of having a Jewish identity or not (ibid.).

The fact that the Palestinians in Israel have low participation in the Israeli workforce is an indication of a prioritization of the Jewish majority (Cohen & Scheer 2015). Despite the fact that Palestinian Fida has Israeli citizenship, she has less economic rights than Jewish citizens of Israel;

"Economic citizenship entails a regime that guarantees economic rights, provides universal public services as a matter of right, and maintains a regime of public finance to support these aims and to reduce and limit poverty and inequality." (APSA 2012).

Restrictions of free movement, unequal job opportunities and low employment are results of political unwillingness to make the citizens of Israel equal. The inequality has historical and existential reasons (Smooha 2001). If Israel made the Palestinians feel equal to the majority of the citizens, the state would not be able to emphasize the importance of Jewish ethnicity and identity in order to belong in Israel. By making sure the Palestinians have less democratic and economic rights, they will feel existentially unwelcomed and not eligible for Israel's society. By not guaranteeing rights, the overall goal is to underline the fact that they are not the right and wanted citizens (APSA 2012).

According to Smooha, Israel is not providing equal rights to Palestinians because they are seen as a non-assimilating group that is hostile toward the Jewish State of Israel all the while rejecting Zionism (Appendix 1: 1). If the Palestinians do not wish to assimilate, act with hostile behavior and reject the majority's belief, Israel can claim a need for security. In this way, Israel has an argument for not guaranteeing equal economic and democratic rights for a minority group who clearly do not wish to belong. At the same time, the state can call the rejection of Zionism a hostile behavior and the need for security becomes inevitable (Buzan et. al 1998;Abulof 2014).

The informal state prioritization of Jews is an expression of ethnic stratification of citizenship where the Jewish ethnic majority is treated as first-class citizens (Smooha 2001). The Palestinian minority can take part in determining national policies through a right to vote in Israel. Yet, they cannot enjoy the a full spectrum of the national policies such as the social benefit of student loans because they do not have an Army Registration Number, which also prevents them from getting certain jobs. Another side of the ethnic stratification stems from perceived threats in Israel. The threats concern the national demography but are also results of the historic Arab accumulation of subversive attitudes toward Israel (Morris 2004). A part of the risk thinking in Israel today comes from the Palestinians' lack of

loyalty to the Israeli nation and national culture. The Palestinians are instead seen as a threat to the national order because they can not identify with the ethnic majority and the state. As a response, only the citizens of the ethnic majority are called up for military service and encouraged to make personal sacrifices for national interest (Smooha 2001: 31-35). The ultra-Orthodox Jews are not a part of the majority either and are therefore also exempted from military service, yet they are not seen as a national or existential threat because they are Jews. A denial of the Palestinian's rights is according to interviewee Sam Bahour discrimination mixed with fear:

"Israel has refused to register the Israeli nationality as a nationality in Israel, so you can be an Israeli anywhere in the world, but you can not be just an Israeli in Israel. Israel in your ID force you to take in a religion [...]. Israel has a very hard time defining its state as a state for citizens to be able to perpetrate this discrimination within the society after identifying where you belong. So the discrimination applies at whatever level they want, and the worst thing that could happen is if everybody were put in the same box as "Israelis" they [Israel] would not have these tools to be able to discriminate against a minority population, discrimination is the mechanical tool they are using to be able to identify and stratify their communities." (Appendix 2: 5).

The labeling of citizens as just "Israelis" would inevitably state that all citizens are equal citizens of Israel, including the Palestinians in Israel with Israeli citizenship. The necessary stratification of minorities could not be carried out without a large focus on identity and ethnicity. The stratification can be seen as a *"mechanical tool"* in order to emphasize the Jewish identity and communities and to support the survival of a Jewish majority (Appendix 2: 5). The stratification is a measure of extraordinary securitization legitimised by the disloyalty of the Palestinian minority to the Israeli state. If the Palestinians were proved to be disloyal from the beginning then why call them "Israelis". Officially naming Palestinians as "Israelis" would not signal the protection of Jews, which is the first priority of Israel, and instead suggest that Palestinians share an identity with Israel's majority (Smooha 2001: 31-35).

The title "Israeli" would at the same time signal that the Palestinians belong in Israel. Instead, citizenship in Israel is classified based on ethnicity, Jewish or Arab. The threats coming from Palestinians must be kept alive in order for Israel to legitimize its stratifications.

The interviewee Fida Jiryis goes as far as to claim that all Arabs are the enemy to Israel today, as she focuses on the denial of returning Palestinian refugees;

"The biggest fear Israel has, is to allow the Palestinians to come back [...]there is demographic reasons, they are 11 millions in Israel, and right now most people are assimilated into the society. You won't find 11 million people who want to come back, but even if you find 2 million Palestinians who want to come back, it would be a catastrophe for Israel. Today all Arabs are the enemy" (Appendix 3: 7).

The reasons behind denying the Palestinians to return while greeting immigrating Jews have historical implications. The ongoing Arab/Jewish violence and struggles throughout Israel's existence, demonstrate the Palestinian's hostility toward the Israeli state and the Jews (Morris 2004: 43-44). As

the interviewee Fida is explaining in the above quote, the Arab hostility in the 2000s remained a reason for denying the return of Palestinians to Israel. The securitizations of Israel are not only based on the protection of the Jewish majority today but also implemented to protect the citizens against Arab terrorism (Smooha 2001).

The securitizations in the early 2000s led to a complete ban of the Palestinian national flag as the symbol was claimed to go against the Israeli state:

"In the days I was living in Israel from 1995-2003, if you raised an African[75] or Palestinian flag, you would be arrested, and call it attempted terror supporting the Holocaust, you had no security as a Palestinian, very quickly it was called attempted terror." (Appendix 3: 7-8).

The Arab hostility is often mentioned in relation to the fear of terror against Israel. The following statement by Israeli politician and former military commander Effi Eitam, show this tendency in the early 2000s. Providing Palestinians with freedom of movement across borders and a right to return would according to Eitam create a *"[...]general assault on all of Israel's borders and terrorism that will not rest for a minute. In the end, it will bring about Israel's collapse"* (Sharit 2002). Letting the Palestinians return signifies the end of Israel or as interviewee and Jewish settler Miri Maoz explained:

"Israel is not threatened from the refugees, rather from them bringing terror and anti Israel activity [...]Israel's Jewish identity can be threatened by forces within the country that wish to change it.". (Appendix 4: 9).

The "anti Israel activity" was not further explained but Miri Maoz expresses the importance of securitizing the Jewish identity before the rival Palestinians will change or challenge the Jewish collective identity (Buzan et al. 1998: 22-27;Abulof 2014: 4-5). Miri mentions a fear of terror, which is the motivation behind the security act of denying the return of Palestinian refugees (Buzan et al. 1998: 26). A matter of letting Palestinian refugees return turns into a matter of securitization and to "act before it is too late" (Abulof 2014: 13-14). When the settler expresses the security threat, she is legitimizing Israel's use of force and the mobilization of powers to control existential threats from Palestinians (Buzan et al. 1998: 22-23). An extraordinary measure of securitization is keeping the Law of Return active and thereby denying Palestinian refugees to return in order for the Jewish majority to survive. It is likely that the Jewish settler is influenced by the focus on existential threats and the Demographic Demon in the Israeli public sphere. The legitimation in the settler's argumentation employ the normative concept of "refugees are terrorists" based on a general belief seemingly shared by all Jews (Abulof 2013: 18).

In the Israeli society with Deep Securitization, to politicize is to securitize and the everyday politics and the praxis of existential threats become the same thing. According to Abulof, the largest threat to

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[75]Fida did not mention a reason behind ban of African flags

the securitizations in Israel is claiming peace. Peace would be an existential threat to the Israeli state because it would not require a protection of the state. By repeating the threats and terror from the Palestinians, the society has legitimate reasons for their securitizations (Abulof 2014: 11-12). In fact, one could claim that the survival of Israel is depending on keeping the existential threats alive.

The historical fear of the end of Jewish existence is mentioned by interviewee Sam Bahour in the below quote. Israel's stratifications are mechanisms originating from a fear of Arab revenge and hostilities;

"Israelis have a deep sense of fear in general, a historic fear, so we are paying the price of someone else putting a fear into them, historically. The fear has two sides today, a part of it is real, it's probably well justified, they have been a military occupier for the last fifty years, and part of it is perceived fear from history, and that is unfortunate, because we are paying the price for this perceived fear. People are looking for revenge due to the long term military occupation. Added to that is the displacements since 1948 and they have done a lot of wrong against Palestinians ever since. Part of the fear is the fear of revenge". (Appendix 2: 5).

In the above statement, Sam Bahour mentions Israel's fear of revenge. The societal fear is used as a tool for the legitimization of securitizations against Arab revenge and hostility. The securitizations based on fear of Arab hostility or revenge, are interesting to analyse. How is Israel legitimizing securitizations against Arab hostilities and revenge? According to Morris, there are several reasons behind Israel's securitizations. One of the official reasons for not letting the Palestinian refugees return to their homes after 1948, were the risks of being outnumbered by the Palestinians. The explanation had demographic implications (Morris 2004: 60-61).

Another reason for the historical denial of Palestinians was fear and the outburst of Arab hostility, revenge and terror (ibid.). Keeping the Law of Return active is the result of extraordinary measures of security regarded by the Israeli state as necessary implementations to survive. If a Jewish majority does not populate Israel, the Jewish state would fail to exist. The securitizations against the Palestinian's revenge were therefore explained by fear of being outnumbered and by focusing on the importance of protecting the Jewish identity (Morris 2004: 43-44). At the same time, Israel had to focus on the Palestinian's hostilities and revenge, to be able to legitimize their securitizations of this minority group.

The securitizations against revenge and hostilities are from Israel's point of view a way of surviving as a Jewish state and majority. In order to compromise between conflicting values within Israel, the state commits itself to a democracy for the ethnic Jewish majority and contains the threats directed against it (Smooha 2001: 37). The multisectoral approach to the Deep Securitizations is carried out by focusing on the various and ongoing threats in the Israeli society (Abulof 2014: 8-9). The threat perception in Israel results in a paranoid situation of "fear of fear". The paranoid state of fear is what interviewee Sam Bahour in the above quote calls Israel's *"perceived fear"* that legitimizes all sorts of securitizations (Appendix 2: 5;Abulof 2014: 8-9).

The likeliness of Arab hostilities dominates more than actual threats to the Israel's identity or existence. By never directly addressing the source of the threats and instead focusing on the Jewish existence, Israel keep the fear alive in the society. By discursively and practically framing Arab revenge and hostilities as existential threats, it is possible for Israel to sustain the threats accumulated by terrorism or threats to the democracy (Buzan et al. 1998: 196-198;Abulof 2014: 12). The so-called perceived fear stems from the omnipresent existential insecurity in Israel and the collective existential angst arising from certain and undetermined death. The dramatic birth of the Jewish state, the memory of the Holocaust and the ongoing clashes with the Arab world, created a collective existential angst and fear of an uncertain death of the Jewish state (Abulof 2014: 16-17;Wohl et al. 2010: 898-910;Bar-Tal 2013;Huysmans 1998;Morris 2004).

As the majority of Israeli Jews subscribed to the emerging need of securitization of internal demography in the 2000s, the ultra-Orthodox community today is in fact directly supporting a Jewish demographic majority. They are participating in upholding the Jewish state and majority by controlling the conversions to Judaism. The ultra-Orthodox community plays a large role in keeping the Law of Return and the Status Quo Document active. At some occasions, the reason for keeping down the number of Palestinians and to maintain the occupation of territories was explained with the risks of failing to be a democratic state (Hendel 2015;Jamal 2009;Morris 2004). The following second analysis section explores the second hypothesis.

5.1,3 Part two: Minorities in Israel and the protection of Jews

The following section analyses statements from the conducted interviews and quotes from Israeli opinion makers. The analysis will take use of theories by Smooha (2001), Jamal (2009), Lustick (1979), Adalah (2011), Abulof (2013;2014) and Buzan et al. (1998). The section examines to what extent the Israeli democratic character is challenged by the Palestinians in Israel because the state's first priority is assumed to be the protection of the Jews.

The protection of Jews is expected to include the ultra-Orthodox minority. It is assumed by the researcher that the ultra-Orthodox minority has equal civil rights to the Jewish majority population due to their Jewish background and status in society. The researcher expects the minority to be protected and granted with more civil rights than the Palestinian minority. The analysis depicts the second hypothesis:

2: Israel's character as a democracy is challenged by the Palestinian minority community in Israel because the State's first priority is the protection of the Jews[76].

As stated in the theory chapters, the societal security in Israel is based on ethnic survival. Israel is upholding and protecting its status as a religious and democratic state by keeping the Status Quo

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[76]In this research, "the Jews" are the Jews inside of Israel and the reference is therefore excluding the Jews in diaspora around the world that this research is not dealing with.

Document as a historical agreement with the ultra-Orthodox community in Israel. The agreement secures an ethnic survival of the Jewish majority. But discourses of threats concerning Palestinian/Jewish demography and Palestinian hostility challenge the liberal democracy (Abulof 2014: 14-15; Buzan et al. 1998: 41).

The first analysis part uncovered arguments as part of a strategy with a social, political or psychological goal. The public's attitudes changed as politicians claimed existential threats as part of their Deep Securitizations (Abulof 2013: 18). When analyzing Israel's character as a democracy, it is interesting to depict how Israel rhetorically frames a challenge or an existential threat, seemingly coming from minority communities. The analysis will examine to what extend the Israeli democracy is challenged by the religious ultra-Orthodox minority as well.

If one views Israel as a liberal democracy, the processes of securitizations can be seen as a more extreme kind of politicization by turning security issues into a public debate and part of public policies. An example of the extreme politicization in Israel is the recent political legitimisation by the Israeli journalist and Zionist, Yoaz Hendel:

"The demographic threat is real, and the need to preserve the Jewish nation state's character as a democracy doesn't allow for large minorities. The current numbers of Muslims pose a complicated challenge even without additions." (Hendel 2015).

The statement supports the theoretical claims of Israel being a state of far-reaching and extreme politicization. In the above statement, Hendel presents the Palestinians as a *"complicated challenge"* and as existential threats to the state's democracy. The existential threats require actions outside the bounds of political procedures in order to "preserve the Jewish state's democracy". His presentation of the Palestinian threat legitimizes Deep Securitizations of preserving the democracy where all necessary actions must be taken (Buzan et al. 1998: 23-24). The fact that the large Palestinian minority is not "allowed" in the Jewish state's character as a democracy is a political legitimisation based on normative concepts of what is regarded as threatening.

Hendel mentions that the number of Muslims poses a complicated challenge for Israel. Religiosity should according to Jamal (2009) not contradict democracy as long as the Muslims in Israel do not violate the rights of other citizens in Israel and stay within the normative frame in a liberal democracy. The Muslim Arabs as a religious group in a civil and political society should be granted the right to fulfill their interests if they stay within the rules of the democratic game. This statement is of course depending on the Israeli state to stay within the democratic game as well. Focusing on the wrong kind of religion in Israel is according to Jamal counter-democratic in a multi-religious society like Israel's (Jamal 2009: 1144-1146).

Is Israel an Ethnic Democracy based on ethnic Jewish survival? Or do they have liberal democracy and state policies focusing largely on security and ethnicity in the everyday public sphere?

According to Yiftachel (1999: 367-368), Israel has the character of an Ethnocracy. The unstable regime of an Ethnocracy discriminates, excludes and militates against their minorities (Smooha 2001: 49). Yet, the Ethnocracy model ignores the differences in marginalization between minority groups. Classifications of Jews in Israel, including the ultra-Orthodox minority, are indeed privileged compared to the non-Jewish Palestinian minority with Israeli citizenship (Smooha 2001: 23).

According to Smooha, the "democratic principle" is equality between all citizens and members of that society whereas the "ethnic principle" provides ethnic preference and inequality. The structural inefficiency in Israel creates contradictions, tensions and conflicts despite the existence of a democratic framework. The democratic framework in Israel entails that the state grants the Palestinian minority citizenship and fulfills a few democratic principles to the minority group (Smooha 2001: 23). The very same democratic framework is also granting the ultra-Orthodox minority authority of an education system while their ultra-Orthodox rabbinical courts are decisive in matters of Jewish citizenship (Adalah 2011;Jamal 2009). By fulfilling the democratic principles to its citizens, the regime secures itself against repression on behalf of the state and the Jewish majority. Meanwhile, the state imposes various restrictions and control in order to avert disorder and instability (Smooha 2001: 23).

Due to the state's structural inefficiency, control and ethnic differentiations, Israel is according to Smooha an Ethnic Democracy (Smooha 2001: 25). At the same time Smooha claim that the Ethnic Democracy model is not created to rationalize Israel´s regime. He is applying the model in order to point out how Israel's democratic framework is not corresponding to a normative Western democratic model. According to As'ad Ghanem, Nadim Rouhana and Oren Yiftachel, Smooha forgets to bear the historical relations in mind. Considering the Palestinians disloyal to the Israeli state has historical implications of Jewish/Arab war and terror (Smooha 2001: 45;Ghanem et al. 1999).

According to professor of Middle East History and Arab studies Joel Beinin and Lisa Hajjar, the Palestinians were never supposed to be a part of the Jewish state. Therefore, the state is not protecting the Palestinians against a structural control (Beinin & Hajjar 2014: 6;Yiftachel 2011: 130). Interviewee Fida Jiryis mentions the insecure feeling of not being protected against a structural control:

"On a personal level, we can't talk politics at work (in Israel) [...] It is not safe for us as Palestinians to express our dissatisfaction openly. You can not voice your feelings. [...] In the days I was living in Israel from 1995-2003, if you raised an African or Palestinian flag, you would be arrested, and call it attempted terror supporting the Holocaust, you had no security as a Palestinian, very quickly it was called attempted terror." (Appendix 3: 7-8).

Israel's political legitimation for the state's control of the Palestinians is explained as a protection against the disloyal and threatening individuals (Abulof 2014: 14-15; Buzan et al. 1998: 41). Israel commits itself to Ethnic Democracy, a democracy first and foremost for the protection of the Jews, by containing the threats allegedly coming from the Palestinians in Israel (Smooha 2001: 37).

According to Smooha, the larger and the more united a Jewish majority, the greater the chances of survival and stability for the Ethnic Democracy. The Israeli state can only rule democratically if the Jewish majority constitutes a numerical and demographic majority because it does not need political support and legitimacy from the Palestinian minority (Smooha 2001: 37). The ethnic Jewish survival depends on the stability of the democracy while the political support from the Palestinian minority is not needed even though they are citizens of Israel;

"A country that is defining themselves as a democratic country but not giving the same rights, is not a democratic country. You can't say that "if you are black or yellow, we won't give you the same rights as us"[...]They [the Palestinians in Israel] are told that they are not Jews, they are traitors and they will never belong. But at the same time Israel is making sure that they don't belong. It is a paradox because we are citizens" (Appendix 3: 7).

The structural control over the Palestinian minority is an alternative form of stability in deeply divided societies like Israel's (Lustick 1979: 327). A system based on Control is implemented when ethnic differences cause profound conflicts in Israel that can not be managed by a liberal democracy. Therefore, Control in Israel is not a stable democratic system but a model that manages ethnic differences in order to protect the Jewish majority (Smooha 2001: 20).

All necessary means to protect the Jewish citizens of Israel are inevitable. Lustick even argues that the minorities can benefit from the state control as well because it protects them from bloodshed and violence (Lustick 1979: 327;Smooha 2001: 20). From the individual's perspective, the results of Control is that the Palestinian Fida is left with a feeling of not belonging to Israel or protected by the state despite being a citizen of Israel (Appendix 3: 7-8).

The ethnic differences between citizens of Israel are the result of vertically divided power system. The state has the superior power and sustains the manipulation of minorities. The state manipulates and control the subunit of the ultra-Orthodox minority while granting them a great position in the power system over another subunits in Israel; the Palestinians (Lustick 1979: 330).

The authority of the ultra-Orthodox is based on a compromise between secularism and religion. In order to sustain stability and ethnic survival in Israel and the democracy wanted by the Jewish secular majority, Israel had to compromise between conflicting values within the state. The arrangement between the Jewish majority of the secularists and the ultra-Orthodox was from the beginning, that the ultra-Orthodox party would not oppose the establishment of a Jewish state in exchange for the Status Quo Document (Jamal 2009: 1157-1158). The fear of internal conflicts is still the reason for Israel to give away power to the ultra-Orthodox' parties and religious courts today, and to maintaining the Status Quo Document.

In order for Israel to stay Jewish without risking internal divisions between Jewish subgroups, they kept exclusive ultra-religious laws in the area of conversions, marriage and divorce. The state granted the minority the right to hold a separate education system controlled by ultra-Orthodox representatives (Barak-Erez 2009: 3-4;Jamal 2009: 1158).

The secular Zionist dream has always been a democracy for Jews. While the Zionist majority in Israel today wish to maintain the democratic and Jewish character in Israel, the ultra-Orthodox communities threaten the democratic idea. Nordlinger (1981: 152) defines the Israeli state as an elitist party-state regime. In an elitist regime, the state is colonized and the state administration's ideology is guided by the ruling party's ideology (Yishai 2012: 11+31). The parties in a party-democracy fulfill a major role in the policy process and their voice is decisive of the course of the nation. They control social mobilization in Israel by penetrating social organizations and ethnic communities and use the mobilization as a tool to socialize the individual or a segment in society (Yishai 2012: 32-33).

Applying Nordlinger's theory of Israel's party regime, the many small religious parties in Knesset representing the Orthodox and the ultra-Orthodox add to the fact that the secular and Zionist democratic ideals are threatened in a future Israel. The religious ideology is guiding the Israeli state, as the parties are decisive of the course of the nation (Nordlinger 1981: 152). While Orthodox religious ideologies might influence the democratic ideals in Israel, the ultra-Orthodox community is not threatening the Jewish demographic majority.

On the other hand, a situation that could threaten democratic ideals in Israel, is ending the occupation of the West Bank. The protection of the Jewish demographic majority entails the sustainment of the West Bank occupation with settlements populated by Jews. Ending the occupation voids the idea of a Jewish democratic state:

"Even if Israel annexed only the West Bank, it would more than double its Arab population. With birthrates in the territories far exceeding those of Arabs and Jews within Israel, Jews would soon enough be a minority. This would void the very idea of a Jewish democratic state. Israel would have to choose between remaining democratic but not Jewish, or remaining Jewish by becoming non-democratic." (Taub 2010).

Following the logic of Israeli historian Gadi Taub, Israel have to retain the occupation of the West Bank if they wish to remain a democratic and Jewish state. Giving up the settlements in the West Bank would lead to the end of a Jewish majority because of the large Palestinian population living there. A Palestinian majority in Israel is not a Jewish state. The argument of keeping Israel Jewish gives Israel a legitimate reason for maintaining the occupation of the West Bank and the Jewish settlements (Taub 2010). All the while, the Israeli state is depending on the Jewish population to vote for the ultra-Orthodox parties to keep Israel Jewish.

The Jewish state also benefits from the ultra-Orthodox parties major political role as they keep Israel's majority Jewish by supporting the Status Quo Document and the Law of Return. On the other hand, the rabbinical court's authority over family law and religious conversions are kept alive in order to avoid internal conflicts with the purpose of protecting the Jewish majority (Jamal 2009: 1158). According to Barak-Erez and Jamal, internal conflicts in Israel are only prevented by the state when the minority is Jewish whereas control and discrimination is applied when the minority is Palestinian (Barak-Erez 2009: 3-4;Jamal 2009: 1158). This argument goes hand in hand with the fact that 17% of

all Arabs in Israel feel discriminated against as they were questioned by state officials for "security reasons" (Lipka 2016).

Israel is protecting the rights of Jewish minority groups but not the rights of Palestinians, even though they are citizens of Israel. The differential treatment of the state's minorities are present as Israel hand over authority and rights to political citizenship to the ultra-Orthodox while treating non-Jews with less democratic rights.

In an Ethnocracy, the citizen's rights are determined by ethnonational descent and not by universal citizenship. Citizenship rights are provided to the Jews and not the citizenry, the people. The Jewish state give authority to discriminatory practices toward the Palestinian minority group. Segregation is seen in an everyday life of politics, economy, residence, labour and social classes (Smooha 2001: 22). The restrictions and control are imposed to the minority group in order to avert disorder and instability (Smooha 2001: 25).

"Democracy requires effective citizenship, which is built on the twin pillars of economic and political citizenship [...]Political citizenship entails not only the franchise and the familiar civil and political rights but also active participation in governance to secure legitimacy, accountability, and responsiveness. The protection of rights is thus central to both pillars of democracy, and participation in defining and securing rights is itself part of the democratic promise." (APSA 2012).

The "effective political citizenship" entails governing participation to ensure equal opportunities for all citizens which Israel provides the Palestinians in Israel through the right to vote and run for election (APSA 2012;Knesset 2016). When Lustick claimed that the Arab minority is prevented from organizing themselves politically in a system of Control, his statement is not properly applied to Israel as Arab parties hold a total number of 17 seats in Knesset today (Lustick 1979: 325-344;Knesset 2016).

Yet, a system of Control is still present. Israel breaks the democratic promise of *equal* protection of civil rights when they protect the rights of the ultra-Orthodox minority group but not the rights of the Palestinians (APSA 2012). Interviewee Sam Bahour mentions the fact that Israel protects and treats its minority groups differently below;

"Israel is a democracy striving for Jewish citizens of Israel only. So it is a very collective democracy, which is performing institutionalism and discriminating against non-Jewish citizens, Muslims and Christians mainly Palestinians, which are citizens of Israel but don't enjoy the full spectrum of rights in Israel. I would indicate that there are fifty laws in Israel today, which actually discriminate legally against non-Jews. It is to cross the border, land ownership, regional planning and budgeting, municipal development, there is 50 laws in total that I know of which are legislated. A lot of this discrimination is based on a second-degree discrimination due to some of the laws, for example that they don't serve in the Israeli army. The same applies for residential zoning, you are eligible to apply to live somewhere but you do not have an Army Registration Number so it is a way of saying "This club is not for you [...]" (Appendix 2: 4).

As a way of maintaining stability and control over the large non-Jewish minority, Israel performs several legal discriminations as extraordinary securitizations for the protection of the Jewish majority (Abulof 2014;Jamal 2009). The legal discriminations are restrictions for Palestinians to cross the

border, owning land in Israel, taking part in regional planning, budgeting and municipal development (Appendix 2: 4). The institutional discrimination in regions and municipalities in Israel is acted out in order to sustain a system of Control over the minority (Lustick 1979). The discriminations are part of Israel's political project in order to create a realization of equality of citizens in Israel:

"The definition of the State of Israel as a Jewish state makes inequality and discrimination against Palestinian citizens of Israel a reality and a political project. The pairing of "Jewish" and "democratic" both codifies discrimination against non-Jewish citizens and impedes the realization of full equality" (Adalah 2011: 7).

The right to freedom and equality from discrimination is not enshrined in Israeli law as a constitutional right or protected by statute. The Israeli Supreme Court have interpreted "The Basic Law: Human Dignity and Liberty" from 1992 as embracing the principle of equality for citizens of Israel but the fundamental right of equality is protected by a judicial interpretation alone (Adalah 2011: 7+13).

Differential treatment in the realization of equality is seen in the Law of Return. The law only privilege Jews and not citizens of Israel (Adalah 2011: 8). By maintaining the title as a "democracy" and granting citizenship to the Palestinian minority, Israel can claim equal citizenship status for all its citizens, all the while not providing equal rights to all its citizens. The title of a democracy secures the image of Israel as a fair state by focusing on the rights for Jews to protection while the legal discrimination against Palestinians is upheld with Control (Lustick 1979).

The outcome of the so-called legal discriminations is that Arab families are greatly overrepresented among Israel's poor. More than half of the Palestinian families in Israel are classified as poor compared to just one-fifth among all families in Israel. The cities of Israel with the lowest socio-economic rankings are the towns inhabited by a majority of Palestinians (Adalah 2011: 8).

The Palestinians in Israel are not the only minority experiencing structural discrimination. The interviewee Sam Bahour mentions the existence of discrimination between Jewish subgroups that is part of a breakdown of the Western Democracy's protection of minority rights;

"There are communities inside Israel where Jewish women can not sit in front in the bus, that is how bad it is, and this is also a clear indication that there is a breakdown in what we would call the Western Democracy which is protective of minority rights within the Jewish community in Israel. That distinction has to be made. There is discrimination against non-Jews but there is also discrimination in relation to vary kinds of Jewish minorities within Israel. When it comes to other minorities, it is about institutional discrimination targeted toward Palestinians which is the largest minority in Israel." (Appendix 2: 5).

When it comes to facing economic inequalities in Israel, the ultra-Orthodox community and especially the Haredi Jews, is hit hard. The ultra-Orthodox Haredim minority have low participation in the Israeli workforce similar to the Palestinian minority but for different reasons. The ultra-Orthodox communities hold different jobs than the Jewish majority, namely jobs related to religious studies.

The Palestinians are facing the institutional discrimination based on ethnicity (Cohen 2015;Smooha 2001).

The vertical division of ethnic control is present within Jewish communities (Lustick 1979: 330). The absence of rights for a woman to sit in a public bus in religious neighborhoods in Israel, or the right for a Jewish woman to choose whom to marry or divorce, is the result of a system of Control. The system has overruled the protection of civil rights. The ultra-Orthodox political parties and courts control areas of the public sphere, the education system and the process of converting and being recognized as a Jew. The authority given to the ultra-Orthodox is due to the state's identification with Jews (Jamal 2009: 1158+1160;Levi 2009;Lustick 1979).

The discrimination in public buses and against non-Jews is caused by the internal ethnic divisions in Israel and Israel's deeply divided society (Lustick 1979). The challenges of the liberal democracy in Israel are visible when the state sustains a system of Control over the Palestinian minority. Israel is not protecting the civil rights of the Palestinians or the Jewish women's right to divorce (Lustick 1979: 330;Shahar 2015;Levi 2009;Jamal 2009: 1160). The individual's wish to convert to Judaism is controlled by the religious ultra-Orthodox courts and political parties supported and controlled by a secular state.

The Control is applied due to the risk of internal ethnic conflicts. According to Lustick, the ethnic conflicts in Israel can not be managed by a liberal or consociational democracy. Lijphart's development of the consociational model of a democracy is based on ideas of bilingualism, biculturalism and binationalism (Lijphart 1977). One can argue that the bilingualism of a consociational democracy is present in Israel because the state have at least two languages, the Hebrew and the Arabic language. Yet, when the Arab national symbols were shown in the 2000s, they were banned from the public and labelled as attempts of terror (Appendix 3: 7-8). The ban is based on ethnicity and applied in order to control and prevent an escalation of conflicts.

The collective rights in an Ethnic Democracy include the right to use a language, the right to hold separate religious institutions, cultural institutions and schools. The rights are granted to the Palestinian minority in Israel because the state recognizes the minority groups as separate and distinct from the ethnic majority (Smooha 2001: 32). The Ethnic Democracy is therefore superior to the civic democracies that do not support any collective group rights (Smooha 2001: 33). The Palestinians have distinctive group and collective rights of expressing language and national symbols, officially recognized in Israel (Adalah 2011). Still, Palestinian national symbols and the Arabic language are associated with likely hostility and a perceived existential fear (Smooha 2001;Appendix 2).

Smooha´s claim of the structural, state sanctioned and long-term inequality of ethnic minority rights in Israel is according to Ghanem, Rouhana and Yiftachel false. The structural inequality in Israel can coexist with democratic rule. While Smooha makes a distinction between individual and collective rights, these are often impossible to separate, *"[...]since the limitation imposed on collective rights also entails the violation of individual rights and, hence, the breaching of a fundamental democratic*

principle of individual civil equality." (Ghanem et al. 1999: 255). Ghanem, Rouhana and Yiftachel find Smooha´s model to be out of the Israeli historical context because Israel never sought to achieve equal citizenship between Palestinians and Jews. Israel has never historically sought the consent of its Arab citizens either and Smooha´s discussion on equal rights therefore lack fundamental elements of historical Zionism in Israel. In practice, Israel makes equality impossible between Arab and Jews since a membership in the Jewish people, and not citizenship in Israel, is the main criterion for the claim of state ownership. The Israeli state system is according to Ghanem, Rouhana and Yiftachel, based on a constitutional arrangement that contradicts the conditions of equal citizenship and, therefore, the conditions of a democracy. Based on these arguments it is difficult for Smooha to engage in a debate on Ethnic Democracy in Israel because the model overlooks historical and conditional elements within the state (Ghanem et al. 1999: 256). If the model is an analytical tool only, how can it reduce internal conflicts between majority and minority groups as Smooha is claiming? Smooha leaves out to explain how (Smooha 2001: 48).

Lijphart claims that the consociational democracy is appropriate to societies with moderate internal ethnic conflicts as in Israel and states that the model as fairer than the liberal democracy. He states that the consociational model is fairer because it grants both collective and individual rights to its citizens (Lijphart 1977). While Israel might grant individual and collective rights to the minority they do not equally protect the individual rights of citizens. The collective society in Israel, mentioned by interviewee Sam Bahour, indicates a wish by the state to collectively protect the Jewish majority group and their interests but not the interests of individuals even if the individual is a Jewish woman (Appendix 2: 5).

By handing out authority to the ultra-Orthodox political parties and religious courts to decide over public areas in the communities, Israel avoids conflicts of power between the state and the ultra-Orthodox community (Smooha 2001: 20;Lustick 1979: 330;Lijphart 1977). The stability is upheld in order to protect the Jewish majority against internal conflicts. The state grants the ultra-Orthodox certain areas of power in order to satisfy them because the state is depending on the minority; without the support from the ultra-Orthodox minority, the state could not stay Jewish. In order to maintain the Jewish majority, the state depends on the ultra-Orthodox' parties and Rabbinical courts to control conversions, marriages and the denial of mixed religious marriages (Jamal 2009: 1157-1166;Adalah 2011). If Jews could legally marry Muslims and vice versa, it would break the promise of a Jewish state for a Jewish majority.

For the ultra-Orthodox, the main strategic problem is to compromise and cope as much as possible to subordination, in order to keep their religious authority (Lustick 1979: 332). Control is a result of Israel's effective utilisation of power between ethnic groups with the purpose of securing a Jewish majority in Israel. The vertical system of Control in Israel over the minorities becomes an alternative form of stability that constitutes a non-democracy (Lustick 1979: 327). The outcome of a system of

Control is that the Palestinian minority and Jewish women are discriminated against for ethnic or religious reasons.

While recent survey shows that 89 per cent of the ultra-Orthodox Jews believe that Jewish law should take precedence over democratic principles, an equally large share of secular Jews believe that democratic ideals should have priority. The different beliefs prove a gap in the Jewish communities in Israel that could challenge a secular Israel in the future (Lipka 2016). The state is depending on the ultra-Orthodox minority to support the Status Quo Document and The Law of Return in order to sustain as a state for a Jewish ethnic majority. Therefore, Israel preserves the ultra-Orthodox's authority to the extent that the Jewish majority can benefit from it (Shahar 2015; Levi 2009; Jamal 2009). The alternative form of stability in Israel is the reason behind the state's decision to grant authority to the ultra-Orthodox community.

Israel's character as a system of Control is granting the ultra-Orthodox minority group authority to the extent that the authority supports to increase a Jewish majority. On the other hand, the system can not benefit from the Palestinian minority in order to remain a Jewish demographic majority. Instead, the Palestinian minority is an obstacle to the Jewish demographic majority, peace and security.

The following chapter discusses securitization processes from the analysis in relation to Israel's role in the so-called "refugee crisis". The chapter brings in new data and examples of Israel's political standpoints on Palestinian refugees and Eritrean and Sudanese asylum seekers.

6. Discussion

6.1 Israel and the refugee crisis

The following chapter discusses Israel's political and rhetorical approach to the current refugee crisis. The chapter adds a new perspective to the applied theory and discusses it with findings from the analysis. The following discussion supports the answering of the research question. The chapter focuses on Israel's current role in relation to medical aid and political willingness to help Syrian refugees. Is Israel's political stand in the refugee crisis related to securitization of the Jewish demographic majority in Israel?

Despite the fact that Israel has a GDP per capita almost double that of Turkey and five times more than Jordan, the country has openly refused to allow any refugees to apply for asylum in Israel from the ongoing war in Syria (White 2015). A small number of Syrians crossed the Israeli border seeking medical aid in the Golan Heights. The Syrian refugees were taken to hospitals in Israel but returned back to Syria and denied the possibility of seeking asylum. By doing so, Human Rights organisations claim that Israel violated the principle of non-refoulement (Plotner 2014: 33). Israel's response was that Syrian patients were eager to return home and that repatriation is therefore voluntary. However,

according to Human Rights organisations, wounded Syrians treated in Israel were not informed about a possibility of seeking asylum in Israel (ibid.). In fact, Israel approved asylum claims of only around 200 refugees since the country signed the UN Refugee Convention almost 60 years ago. Israel has recognized less than 1% of asylum claims in this period and between July 2009 and August 2013, Israel recognized 0.15% of asylum-seekers as refugees, the lowest percentage in the Western world (HRM 2016).

Israel has long been torn between the international humanitarian demands of taking non-Jewish refugees and its struggle to keep its Jewish identity and majority. Today, Israel is struggling with the presence of tens of thousands of African asylum seekers and migrants who in the recent years crossed Israel's borders from Egypt. A further issue for Israel is the Palestinian refugees and their millions of descendants around the world who fled or were expelled during the war over Israel's creation in 1948. The Palestinian refugee's demand of the right of return to their former homes has long been one of the most debated issues of the decades-long conflict between Israel and Palestine (Kershner 2015). Estimated numbers reveal that 3,000 Palestinians, former refugees or descendants of refugees, were killed in Syria since the beginning of the war. Around 80,000 of the 560,000 UNRWA-registered Palestinian refugees in Syria are no longer present in the country (White 2015).

In 1954, Israel acceded the 1951 Refugee Convention and did not incorporate the Convention into its domestic legislation. The unwillingness to incorporate the 1951 Refugee Convention can be explained by Israel´s position after WWII and the Israeli identity of belonging to the Jews. The identity is a likely reason for Israel's immigration laws today and automatically granting citizenship to the Jewish diaspora. Israel has in fact never processed refugees with Jewish background as refugees because they were seen as an integral and essential part of the Jewish State of Israel since 1948 (Swissa 2015).

In 1951, Israel adopted the Prevention of Infiltration Law. Under this law, all irregular border crossers are seen as infiltrators and potential threats to the State of Israel (JWL 1954: 1;Swissa 2015). With the law, the Ministry of Defense is authorized to deport infiltrators even before the border crossers are convicted. The law was initially directed to prevent Palestinians to enter Israel and to detain the Palestinian refugees from returning. According to Article 1(3) of the Prevention of Infiltration Law, an infiltrator is defined as *"(...)a Palestinian citizen or a Palestinian resident without nationality or citizenship or whose nationality or citizenship was doubtful"* (JWL 1954: 1;Swissa 2015). The Prevention of Infiltration Law was passed and implemented during the 1950s to address Palestinian refugees whether or not they were to commit terrorist attacks or seeking to return to their homes. The law made it possible for Israel to politically and rhetorically frame the Palestinian individuals as "infiltrators" highlighting the illegal nature of their border-crossing and the perceived danger they pose to national security in Israel (ARDC 2016).

Today, Israel's role in the refugee crisis is widely debated (Swissa 2015; NYTimes 2015). On the 5th of September 2015, former finance minister and chairman of the Yesh Atid Party, Yair Lapid expressed that Israel cannot afford to get into the matter of the refugee crisis because this could

"(...)open a backdoor to discussing the right of return for Palestinians" (White 2015). The argument of an "open backdoor" is a political legitimation that underlines a need for security. The concept of a "return" of Palestinians is the worst possible scenario and represents a constant danger. The danger articulated through foreign policy is the state's condition of possibility, followed by securitization. The open backdoor is a matter of Jewish survival that must be prioritized (Abulof 2014: 13-14).

If Israel accepted Syrians to return, Palestinian individuals are likely to be among the returnees. Is the denial of asylum to individuals fleeing Syria in fact related to a Jewish existential fear of being outnumbered by Palestinians? Sam Smooha states that: *"Any Palestinian alien who comes temporarily or permanently to Israel, from Syria or the diaspora is seen as fulfilling the right of return which Israel absolutely denies."* (Appendix 1: 2).

Not only would Palestinian's right of return be highlighted by granting Arab refugees asylum. The international community would attempt to overrule their right to return. Critics claimed that it was only through turning the Palestinian majority population into refugees that the Jewish State of Israel was born (White 2015). Letting the Palestinians return put the future of a Jewish state in a dangerous position due to the demographic threat of being turned into a Jewish minority. Letting the Palestinians return is a matter of survival.

In a deeply divided society like Israel's, the need to survive as a state for Jews becomes more important than protecting the refugees fleeing war zones. When Israel claim to not have capacity for Syrian refugees, it is in fact a result of unsettled conflicts within the state. The unsettled conflicts between secular and religious powers in Israel and the vertical power division in Israel, creates an unstable democracy. The democracy in Israel does not have a general consensus on democratic procedures or humanitarian aid for non-Jews (Smooha 2001: 11). When the religious and secular groups are deeply divided on democratic matters for citizens in Israel, the capacity to agree on a humanitarian responsibility for fleeing refugees seems even smaller.

The result is a lack of political willingness to grant asylum to individuals and instead focus on security and border control, as seen in the following statement. In September 2015, Netanyahu wrote on his Facebook page that Israel must control its borders and prevent migrant workers, infiltrators or "generators of terrorism" from entering Israel (Swissa 2015). He continued by stating that *"(...)we must control our borders, against both illegal migrants and terrorism"*, referring to refugees from African countries and refugees fleeing Syria (NYTimes 2015).

The tense political relationship between Syria and Israel marked by war and Israel's occupation of Syrian territory in 1967 is a likely explanation for the security focus (Morris 2004: 34-35). The question is if Syrian refugees would accept asylum in Israel? Two of the participants from the researcher's interviews, Fida Jiryis and Miri Maoz claimed that no Syrians want asylum in Israel (Appendix 3: 13;Appendix 4: 16), while multiple interviews with Syrians indicated that they would indeed accept asylum in Israel if it were granted (Plotner 2014: 33). Nevertheless, the concept of

"security" implies a scale of the highest importance to the Israeli state that effectively places security-promotion over the needs or wishes of fleeing refugees (Abulof 2013: 19).

Israel's role in the refugee crisis has been compared to exclusive policies born out of an unwillingness to accept any non-Jewish individual. Israeli journalist Ben White poses the question of how the country can hold the title of the "only democracy in the Middle East" and the *"only vanguard of liberty"* all the while Israel's neighbors Jordan and Lebanon provide refugees with safeguard and Israel do not (White 2015).

46,000 predominantly Sudanese and Eritreans reside in Israel and over 5,000 of the persons have filed their asylum claims in Israel to date (NYTimes 2015;Times of Israel 2015;ARDC 2016). But so far zero Sudanese nationals received refugee status in Israel (Swissa 2015;ARDC 2016). In 2012, Israel's additional response to the influx of African asylum seekers was to build a surveillance border fence equipped with sensors that alert on infiltration attempts from Eilat to Gaza along its border with Egypt. Netanyahu´s explanation was *"(...)a strategic decision to secure Israel's Jewish and democratic character"* (Times Of Israel 2015;NYTimes 2015;Swissa 2015). Mentioning the Jewish and democratic character, Netanyahu secures the government support from secular and religious parties. When Netanyahu is linking the political strategies to "border security", a securitization is born (Abulof 2014).

The Eritreans and Sudanese are entitled to collective protection under the 1951 Convention because no one can be forcibly returned to a country where they have a justified fear of persecution (UNHCR 1951). Still, the Israeli government refuses to accept and review asylum claims from African nationals by stating that: *"Israel is a very small country that lacks demographic and geographic depth"* (NYTimes 2015). The African asylum seekers are closely linked to potential threats to the Jewish identity as recently stated by Foreign Ministry spokesperson Emmanuel Nahshon, *"(...)it could become also a challenge to our identity here in Israel (...) [Having] open borders through which migrants can pass mean also open borders through which terror organisations can penetrate Israeli territory and commit terror acts"* (Harcombe 2016).

Granting African nationals asylum in Israel is compared to a situation of open borders around Israel. The rhetorical act of repeating the "open borders" turns into a normative concept with an outcome known to all. The "open borders" is a political and rhetorical package solution of securitizations against all refugees regardless of their nationality. The purpose is to create an omnipresent fear in society that legitimises the securitizations against refugees and alleged terrorists (Buzan et. al 1998;Abulof 2014). Israel's denial of asylum to Syrian and African nationals is indeed an act of securitization of the Jewish demographic majority in Israel.

7. Conclusion

The research set out to answer the research question as stated below:

How is Israel protecting and sustaining a Jewish and democratic state?

Based on the findings of the research it is concluded that the dramatic birth of the Jewish state and ongoing clashes with the Palestinian Arabs, created a collective existential angst and fear of an undetermined death of the Jewish state. The protection of a Jewish and democratic state is carried out due to the omnipresent existential insecurity in Israel.

The research findings established that the survival of Israel as a Jewish and democratic state is depending on keeping the existential threats alive. The risk thinking and securitizations of Israel are not only based on the protection of the Jewish majority today but also implemented to protect the citizens against Palestinian/Arab terrorism and lack of loyalty to the nation. The research has demonstrated that the concept of "security" implies a scale of the highest importance to the Israeli state. The outcome of Israel's protection of a Jewish and democratic state is the prioritization of Jews over Arabs in society. Ethnic stratifications in Israel are measures of extraordinary securitization legitimised by the disloyalty of the Palestinian minority to the Israeli state. Without the fear of Palestinians in society, Israel has no political legitimation for the securitizations.

The results from the research show that the recurring threat discourses in the 2000s and today are carried out to gain the Jewish majority's support in order to survive as a Jewish and democratic state. The outcome is Deep Securitizations based on pure ethnic survival. The Israeli state's securitizations result in a type of democracy breaking with the procedural minimum definition as it does not provide equal protection of civil rights and freedom for all citizens regardless of ethnicity. In the light of the extraordinary securitizations, the Israeli state is not guaranteeing civil liberties for the Palestinians in Israel but only for the Jews. Based on the findings from the research, the first hypothesis is verified and it can now be concluded that Israel implements extraordinary measures of securitization against Palestinians in Israel due to the threat of losing Jewish demographic majority.

In order to protect and sustain a Jewish state, Israel performs legal discriminations against the Palestinians resulting in social stratifications and an overrepresentation of Arab families among Israel's poor. It is concluded that Israel exercises certain elements of Control, Ethnocracy and Ethnic Democracy in the shape of ethnic differentiations between Jews and Arabs to the extent that the stratifications do not cause insecurity and conflict for a Jewish majority. It can be concluded that Israel is not breaking the Palestinian's rights to political citizenship as Arab parties in Knesset

represent the minority. At the same time, the state is not depending on the political support and legitimacy from the Palestinian minority as long as Israel has political support from the majority.

It can furthermore be concluded that Israel sustains a Jewish state by exercising authority based on a constitutional arrangement that contradicts the conditions of equal citizenship because ethnicity and not citizenship is the main criterion for claiming state ownership.

The second research hypothesis emphasized that the ultra-Orthodox minority were granted with more civil rights than the Palestinian minority for prioritization and security reasons. Based on the findings of this research, the second hypothesis is partly verified: Israel is protecting a Jewish state by focusing on the importance of a collective Jewish identity and majority. A vertical system of control allows Israel to regulate elements of the ultra-Orthodox religious authority in order to protect a secular and democratic state. The ultra-Orthodox minority has a distinct role in relation to maintaining a Jewish majority in Israel but is not recognized as part of the Jewish majority exemplified by the exemption from military service. The ultra-Orthodox minority is not threatening Jewish demography and is therefore granted with civil and political rights to the extent that it benefits the protection of Jewish majority and demography.

Based on the findings from the research it can be concluded that authority is granted to the ultra-Orthodox to protect a Jewish majority from conflicts. While the many religious parties in Knesset support policies of maintaining a Jewish majority through the Law of Return, they are also decisive of the course of the nation. In order to avoid conflicts and to sustain a democratic and Jewish state, Israel has to maintain a political focus on demographic threats from the Palestinian minority and the importance of a collective Jewish identity and majority. Israel's denial of asylum to Syrian and African nationals is at the same time carried out to protect a Jewish demographic majority.

The research can therefore conclude that while the ultra-Orthodox minority community supports a protection of a Jewish collective identity and demography, the Palestinian minority is seen as an obstacle to the Jewish existence, demographic majority and peace. The Israeli state is protecting the Jewish majority from the deeply divided society - the unrest between the Palestinian and Jewish community, and the conflicting relationship between the secular and the religious in Israel - by containing the existential threats against it.

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