Transcript

00:00:00 Speaker 1

OK. Hello everyone. Welcome to the Trinity term.

00:00:04 Speaker 1

Sessions of the Israeli Studies seminar and we are excited to have you for three to term this term. I'll start with few words. We'll have 4 meetings weeks 1 to 4.

00:00:21 Speaker 1

I find them very interesting and exciting and you're more than welcome to join us and our first.

00:00:28 Speaker 1

Contributor to our seminar is Doctor Farid Bilder. Ferret is an assistant professor in the Department of International Relations at Marmara University in Istanbul, he earned his MSC's from source University.

00:00:44 Speaker 1

In 2006.

00:00:46 Speaker 1

Teen and completed his PhD in Eastern Bull in in 2018. His doctoral research analysed the political behaviour of Ultra Orthodox political parties in Israel through the framework of societal security. His academic expertise focuses on Israeli politics, including.

00:01:06 Speaker 1

Elections and political parties, vanity security, relationship, Israel, Palestine relations and joy settlements. He is currently conducting his postdoctoral research titled identifying multiple frames of the Israeli Settlements. Our own Oxford School of Global and Area study.

00:01:25 Speaker 1

And the floor is yours. I'll just say it's played so.

00:01:34 Speaker 1

Yeah, please behave.

00:01:36 Speaker 1

Yeah.

Thank you very much for having me today. My talk will be on the Israeli Pharaohs and I will be questioning the discursive directions of the far right to election periods of 2021 and 20.

.2, when I say it's far right, I mean the special partnership between two parties, religious scientism parties.

And.

Other people.

And the Jewish Power Party, ultimately with it and the smaller fraction within this alliance of Emmaus and his non party is not included in this research.

I had.

Two objectives doing this research. The 1st is to see how strategic and ideological directions of the discourse was shaped by the leaders of these two parties and determine which one, for example.

Was more influential in shaping the general framework of scores. What were the topics of overlappings and how did they frame the similar topics? To what extent, similar to what extent different the second object?

Was to see if there was a discursive shift between these two election periods in terms of rhetorical strategies, thematic priorities and ideological trainings. But before I start, I should clarify the potential setbacks in doing this kind of research.

3.

00:03:12 Speaker 2

The first is the history dimension, because the historical background of the relationship between religious Zionism and Communism as ideologies or as is not, is out of these of these rest.

00:03:26 Speaker 2

Search. Actually it will be illustrative to see the political trajectories of these two movements before the establishment of the party that, but I'm not suggesting that this partnership was.

00:03:35

That's what.

00:03:40 Speaker 2

This is a this was a a natural partnership arising from the historical evolution of the relationship between these two ideologies. In fact, it was the response to the exceptional political circus.

00:03:57 Speaker 2

Took place after 2019 election because there was a coalition crisis that went to the polls five times in four years and this partnership was the result of was to promote, to mobilise, all right.

00:04:15 Speaker 2

And more recently, religious Zionism movement cannot be limit.

00:04:18 Speaker 2

To Smotrich and his religious Zionist party because there are different strings within religious science and movement, different institutions, figures.

00:04:27 Speaker 2

So.

00:04:30 Speaker 2

It sounds a bit awkward, but religious Zionism does not represent the entire religious Zionism movement, so I concentrated on the special partnership in two parts.

00:04:42 Speaker 2

And the second set back I think is also related to the first one. Is the character of this partnership. To what extent can we take it for granted, especially while considering the

current Israeli political developments service and two actors as separate entities when asking respondents?

00:04:58

For example.

00:05:02 Speaker 2

Or these rivals?

00:05:05 Speaker 2

Yeah.

00:05:06 Speaker 2

Because they share certain society, certain social and political values, they appeal to certain segments of the society. So they are competing with each other to gain the support of those people.

00:05:20 Speaker 2

So but what is for certain was that Iran and I think this special partnership deserves to be analysed.

00:05:25 Speaker 2

Yeah.

00:05:29

Why?

00:05:30 Speaker 2

And the third set back is the third.

00:05:33 Speaker 2

The far right discourse itself.

00:05:38 Speaker 2

Debate is used in my talk does not refer to monolithic or unified entity. Instead it encompasses the collective discourses of both leaders.

00:05:57 Speaker 2

Dancing party, plus the discourse of Itamar Vandiver as the vocal representative of Osma.

00:06:04 Speaker 2

But rather than being a challenge, it's it's also an advantage because it enabled me to see the consensual and conflictual elements within the alliance to see how they frame.

00:06:15 Speaker 2

Similar topics in different ways.

00:06:21 Speaker 2

Let me say fevers about methodology, because the objective is to map the discursive directions of the far right alliance.

00:06:30 Speaker 2

I collected, written and visual materials released by these two leaders during the campaign periods I collected textual materials, posters, means images, pictures, short videos I collected almost all materials that shared online, and my primary source of data.

00:06:51 Speaker 2

Was the X platform formerly Twitter, and to a lesser extent targeted data from Facebook to?

00:07:00 Speaker 2

Not to miss the external context, so primary source of data was the exit platform and because since I concentrated on the construction of the discourse, the public reception of this discourse or the reproduction of this course through the mission processes.

00:07:20 Speaker 2

Are both outside of the scope of this research. That's why I didn't trace the comments on these platforms or other online communication channels like WhatsApp and Telegram groups.

00:07:31 Speaker 2

And after collecting data and inductive and money was applied, two rounds of coding were conducted using mixed media software.

00:07:42 Speaker 2

And the first round of coding gave me the chance to create the general framework of the far right alliance. I mean the general framework of the discourse and the second round of coding and in-depth analysis focusing on three key.

00:08:00 Speaker 2

Putting traces to identify the dominant themes within the.

00:08:04 Speaker 2

Co occurrences to explore uncertain are elaborate addition to others and intersection between actors to examine how different actors frame specific topics, and I didn't use machine learning techniques like natural procession because the amount of data was manageable.

00:08:24 Speaker 2

And I had the purpose of not missing the external contacts.

00:08:33 Speaker 2

Lastly, I should say few words on the data collection period. As I said, I concentrated on the last two election periods despite there were five consecutive elections in 2019 and 2022.

00:08:50 Speaker 2

But of course it's a deliberate strategy because there was no such partnership in the first election of 2019 and 20.

00:08:57 Speaker 2

Win.

00:08:58 Speaker 2

And in during the first election, trio Tahani's voices were viewed as actors were not viewed legitimate partners, even among their potential partners, joined the Union of Flighting parties ahead of April 2019.

00:09:19 Speaker 2

But when the Supreme Court but the leader of put it behind Mary from running in the elections, the Union did not nominate another of my audit representative.

00:09:31 Speaker 2

So it was one of the reasons why Osman, who did left the Union.

00:09:35 Speaker 2

Then in the second and third elections.

00:09:39 Speaker 2

Religious Zionist leaders like Smotrich, Besala Smotrich, Naftali Bennett, traffic Perez, they he came together to run under the name Yamina, so this cooperation further marginalised so this cooperation.

00:09:59 Speaker 2

Outside of the legitimate circle of politics.

00:10:04 Speaker 2

The second.

00:10:05 Speaker 2

Big difference, I think between the two sets of elections and the first election trial and the last two elections is the shift in there are politics because when the coalition building the coalition crisis reached its peak in the year 2020, Arab parties great performance in terms of.

00:10:26 Speaker 2

Cooperation. They run together, they gain 15 seats in the 120 seat Parliament. So when considering the necessity of obtaining 61 seat for addition and the traditional exclusion role of the Arab parties, it becomes clear how these.

00:10:45 Speaker 2

Arab police as an outsider to put the pressure on the circle of coalition building process. So I think this external position of these structural factors that might be useful to explain coalition building crisis, Israel experience so.

00:11:05 Speaker 2

Ahead of 2021 elections, these are up. Block was also dissolved and are apron party running dependently and after the elections jointly until Netanyahu coalition. So it was. I mean I called this circle. I mean this exclusion as legitimate.

00:11:26 Speaker 2

Of our parties, so they run.

00:11:29 Speaker 2

Joining the coalition marked as the end of this legitimate circle of coalition. So when we look at the General Dynamics of the second set of elections, we see the erosion of legitimate politics in two opposite directions, with the inclusion of a minority party.

00:11:49 Speaker 2

It elevated progressively.

00:11:51 Speaker 2

With the normal voices, it eroded more radically. Why I'm putting so much emphasis on it's one of the central components of the far right alliance. This governance, because of the legitimacy deficit of the of my holiday party.

00:12:15 Speaker 2

After the first round of coding, the general framework of the discursive map of the Far Right alliance emerged, and the general discourse was shaped by two main components.

00:12:28 Speaker 2

The first is the relationship between the legal political establishment. The second is self positioning in Israeli poll landscape and the legitimacy performed right here in this second pillar.

00:12:38 Speaker 2

Was.

00:12:42 Speaker 2

Legal political establishment has four main components. 2 are related to the reinterpretation of sovereignty, are related to reinterpretation of law regarding sovereignty. The alliance called for action in widening and deepening Israeli sovereignty, expanding settlements in the West Bank, and increasing.

00:12:49

Because.

00:13:02 Speaker 2

State control over territories where Arab population concerns the right wing actors like the Negev, Kalila, mixed Arab, Jewish of Israel and Jerusalem.

00:13:13 Speaker 2

So widening servant beyond the green line within the green line and all this happened in reference to Green line because in the far right, of course there's no such thing as green light through the normalisation of.

00:13:33 Speaker 2

Zionist actors such as smother, she probably said that he's seeking to normalise settlements administrative politically, economically.

00:13:41 Speaker 2

And he says it's important to pan Israeli sovereignty without declaration. So he calls. He refers to this process as the gradual process of sovereignty. And it's based on the idea of changing facts on the ground. And according to this logic.

00:13:58 Speaker 2

One day will come, and then Israel will have to expand. An Israeli government will have to expand its sovereignty over territories and international community will have to recognise the realities on the ground will not have an option to turn a blind eye on the real.

00:14:17 Speaker 2

Yes.

00:14:20 Speaker 2

Actually, this strategy I mean, did one example of this strategy was the was can be seen in the settlement actors comments on the when the deal of the century was announced, it was criticised by pro settlement actors because it was.

00:14:40 Speaker 2

Envisioning the establishment of an independent Palestinian state, but at the same time it was viewed as the success of this strategy. Because Trump plan recognises the Israeli society over settlements and the recent example of this normalisation.

00:14:56 Speaker 2

Was.

00:14:58 Speaker 2

When?

00:15:00 Speaker 2

Better Las Smotrich joined the coalition after 2022 elections. He held the ministerial position within the Defence Ministry with some authority over civil affairs of the civil administration, which overseas the Israeli occupation of the West Bank. So one of the first things he did was to.

00:15:19 Speaker 2

Transferred responsibility of illegal settler unsettlement by the ministry because, according to far right or this or or according to the seller discourse, there is no such thing.

00:15:33 Speaker 2

There are young settlements to be regularised overtime and the state, the Government ministry must be responsible for to to, to support this process, to state this regularisation process.

00:15:49 Speaker 2

So it's.

00:15:52 Speaker 2

Example of.

00:15:54 Speaker 2

But it's important to note here none of these things. None of these are invented by Smotrich or Vancouver, similar to the topic of settlements, the situation in the Negev is not entirely independent from the states position. Since the end of the military regime applied to.

00:16:14 Speaker 2

Citizens in 1966, the relationship between the bedding communities and the state has been marked by controversy surrounding on the demographic control over territories and the claim of the lack of governance or the lack of sovereignty.

00:16:31 Speaker 2

Were already articulated by other acting actors like Ariel Sharon in the year 2000, Ariel Sharon was complaining about the lack of governance in the not a or in the same year, he paid the controversial visit to to the Temple Mount Alexa to show the Israeli solvent over there.

00:16:51 Speaker 2

For the place. But what is different? I think is the discursive articulation of sovereignty within the religious national context. In the example of the far right discourse.

00:17:04 Speaker 2

While Problematizing, the lack of governance in the net gap, they are putting forward the Jewish identity of the victims and calling for action to ensure the security of the Jewish souls and when opposing the Alexas score. Then you will portray kind of weakness of the Jewish holiday.

00:17:24 Speaker 2

In the Jewish holy place.

00:17:26 Speaker 2

In one of his posts, he says the Jewish sovereignty is passed on the Temple Mount and the time time has come to exercise sovereignty in the holiest place for the Jewish people.

00:17:38 Speaker 2

Because for him, it's one of the few places, perhaps the most remarkable one, where Palestinians are from some sort of sovereignty which is ontologically unacceptable.

00:17:52 Speaker 2

Or during this shift JIRA conflicts, he said. Also lauded in government will ensure that we will be landlords here in Jerusalem and the rest of the State of Israel, so this was not only the call for the Jewish servant because Israel already applied, extended its sovereignty over Jerusalem and next.

00:18:12 Speaker 2

East Jerusalem, but he calls for the factor solvent. That's why it's one of the one of the most striking slogans of the party in the 2022 elections was it's time to be landlord here or it's time to show who is landlord here.

00:18:36 Speaker 2

Simple sovereignty. The reinterpretation of love obscured two major demands. The first is the call for judicial reform. It tends to reduce the perceived excessive powers of backups.

00:18:51 Speaker 2

Supreme Court and to prevent its interventions into politics.

00:18:55 Speaker 2

Among the writing circle, this call was also not something new and religious Zionist parties and Cohens actors, also the ones who experienced the the these interventionist interventions of discipline court. That's why they became vocal supporters of this.

00:19:15 Speaker 2

Judicial reform, as we mentioned in the example of Michael Benali and he was not the only one. Some other figures of of my party were but from running in the elections by the Supreme Court.

00:19:29 Speaker 2

So if.

00:19:32 Speaker 2

Osman will detect the legitimacy deficit. The legal system is an important aspect to explain this, and the gods is at the centre of legal so ahead of 2021 elections they already declared their own judicial reform plan. If they enter to implement it.

00:19:52 Speaker 2

If they entered into the coalition so both parties adopted their hawkish stance against the Supreme Court and the current judicial system, and when they joined the coalition after 2022, the ones who put pressure on Netanyahu not to step back or negotiate with the.

00:20:11 Speaker 2

On us.

00:20:12 Speaker 2

And Bangor, for example, in the middle of the political crisis, threatened Netanyahu. It poses the reform.

00:20:20 Speaker 2

But the second major demand is more right.

00:20:24 Speaker 2

I define it as ethnonational brain interpretation of love, or selective application of love, different from judicial overhaul. This call includes radical discernment for the enemies of the state.

00:20:38 Speaker 2

For example, death penalty for terrorists, of course, Arab terrorists, because in the far right discourse there is no alternative definitions of terrorism. There is no such thing as Jewish terrorism or terrorism.

00:20:52 Speaker 2

And he himself was also committed of supporting terrorism, described his he was he promoted the idea of harsher punishment so that death penalty for terrorist or the life imprisonment for them.

00:21:09 Speaker 2

And this call also includes banning Arab leaders from the Knesset on the grounds that they are operating against the state and supposedly supporting terrorism offers to expand from the Knesset, and in the second election period he went even further by calling the banishment of Arab.

00:21:30 Speaker 2

Key Arab leaders from the country.

00:21:32 Speaker 2

Another component of this demand is strengthening security forces by easing the use of force regulations. For example, the open fire instructions according.

00:21:43 Speaker 2

To bank over.

00:21:44 Speaker 2

The open fire instructions undermine the capacity security forces in the protester, writers and terrorists.

00:21:53 Speaker 2

Virtually used by him to call for strengthening security forces.

00:22:00 Speaker 2

I call it selective or ethnonational grain interpretation because both leaders are they do not support such harsh measures against against sectors. For example, even though some of them involved in violent attacks against Palestinians, in some cases they did the opposite.

00:22:21 Speaker 2

They criticise these measures taken against sectors, even if.

00:22:26 Speaker 2

They involved violence, some sort of violence against the military. For example, before ahead of 2022 elections, there were conversations between the police and the Palestinians or the military.

00:22:46 Speaker 2

Stone dropping stone but.

00:22:50 Speaker 2

When defining this stone traverse in confrontations with the security forces, the identity of perpetrator always mattered when calling for.

00:23:00 Speaker 2

And that, independent from the legal political establishment, self positioning is also also pretty much.

00:23:10 Speaker 2

And it has two main opposite calls. The 1st is the positive call. I define it as consolidated politics and the negative call I define it as anti politics. If I start with anti politics with three aspects and all related to the legislative seeking of the alliance.

00:23:31 Speaker 2

Because of what we did, the self legitimacy seeking led to the legitimising others. So the first aspect is the legitimising Arab member of.

00:23:42 Speaker 2

And Palestinians in the streets of Jerusalem and in the villages of the West Bank, they were supposedly they they. They were portrayed as enemies of the state. The second aspect is demonising the left and the Liberals on the grounds that these actors were emphasising the.

00:24:01 Speaker 2

Illegitimate character of Kahani is more. They emphasise the legitimacy of Osman, who did.

00:24:10 Speaker 2

And the third aspect is demonising the writing actors, because especially before 2021 elections, some of the writing actors were reluctant to cooperate with Netanyahu and the right thought they were accused of stealing.

00:24:30 Speaker 2

Right was to form non right government against the against the Jewish state. They were seen as traitors.

00:24:41 Speaker 2

While the first two aspects of this negative call was exclusively constructed by Penguin, the third was by and smartbridge, and the personal call.

00:24:55 Speaker 2

Includes 2 aspects as well. The first is consolidation of the religious science.

00:25:01 Speaker 2

Because especially before the in, I mean especially in the first election period, there were two religious science parties competing with each other. So it was the strategy of religious Zionism to consolidate national religious force, to mobilise those people and portray the the to promote the.

00:25:21 Speaker 2

These values and promote religious science and list as the true representative of this camp, so there was an inter intra come privately in this period. I call it the positive.

00:25:33 Speaker 2

Call.

00:25:34 Speaker 2

And the second positive direction with securitization of the range.

00:25:40 Speaker 2

So it it was about the portrait again because this design is income or the religious sign is in the party portrait itself as the guarantor of the establishment of a young writing government, but not writing but.

00:26:00 Speaker 2

I've been in a sense, so it was it we portrayed itself as the guarantor of the establishment of Yemen, amity real right.

00:26:13 Speaker 2

This is, as I said, the general framework that was created after the front of coding.

00:26:23 Speaker 2

The second round of coating after providing this broad framework that I mapped out, let's dive into the details with some examples. These are two questions. The first shopping recording frequency and the second is division of labour.

00:26:42 Speaker 2

So as seen in.

00:26:43 Speaker 2

The.

00:26:43 Speaker 2

Graphs the A clear division of labour between actors, I think.

00:26:49 Speaker 2

And in the 2021 elections, 4 aspects dominated the general discourse of the alliance, the most dominant 2 are processional language, and the call for judicial reform, and they were mainly constructed by Smotrich.

00:27:05 Speaker 2

And the 3rd and the 3rd and the 4th dominant teams were constructed mainly by which were which are at the national. The call for at the national reinterpretation of law.

00:27:18 Speaker 2

For the sake of the state of state, both physical and ontological security as of the position of the station in the Negev, and the call for the fact of sovereignty.

00:27:30 Speaker 2

Given the fact that both actors are settlers, it's not surprising to see the prominence of this process. Clement language smart, which lives in Bend, will lives in, so they are both centres and historically there is a harmonious relationship between religious science and movement, and the settlement enterprise.

00:27:49 Speaker 2

Mission of cushion minimum and later the Yesha Council, which is the umbrella organisation for the regional, regional and local Council scientist mayors.

00:28:01 Speaker 2

And set the population is also seen as one of the main voting bases of the religious science and movement. For example, in the 2021 elections.

00:28:13 Speaker 2

Religious kind.

00:28:15 Speaker 2

Gained it. It became the most popular part in the settlements it.

00:28:20 Speaker 2

Needs.

00:28:21 Speaker 2

21% of votes in the settlements, but the overall percentage of vote gain in the in general nationwide was only 5.

00:28:34 Speaker 2

Or another religious Zionist party. Yamina gained 13% of worst in the settlements, but it gained only 6% of votes nationwide, so huge gap between the percentage of votes in settlements and nationwide show the close relationship between.

00:28:54 Speaker 2

Religious Zionism and settlement enterprise and the leaders of religious Zionist parties both they have careers in process element organisations. They have yamina. After that he served as the chairman of the Yesha Council before entering the politics.

00:29:14

Umm.

00:29:15 Speaker 2

Best sellers Smotrich he is one of the Co founders and leading figures of the movement at the organisations set Pro settlement organisation that is monitoring the activities of the Palestinian Authority in the area C and it defines activities as illegal activities or land grabbing.

00:29:34 Speaker 2

So it puts itself as the antithesis of the peace movement piece. Now, because, you know, it is now also monitors the the illegal settlement activities in the West Bank.

00:29:49 Speaker 2

In small treats this force language is listed. One of the national religious values.

00:29:59 Speaker 2

So.

00:30:01 Speaker 2

He that he strictly committed to these values and his discursive consistency made pro settlement language as the dominant theme in the of the far right alliance in 2021.

00:30:16 Speaker 2

And his emphasis on settlements was accompanied by the call for judicial reform.

00:30:22 Speaker 2

The Co occurrence of these two themes reflects two types of alignment. First.

00:30:28 Speaker 2

Judicial reform or judicial system is portrayed as as an obstacle for the expansion of settlements or judicial reform is depicted as a necessary step to the to be taken, or alternatively.

00:30:43 Speaker 2

Settlement Orientedness and judicial reform are listed as the core part values or the values of the writing coalition.

00:30:54 Speaker 2

And this example the short second alignment, the core values of the coalition being flight thinking, which identity being flight thinking of being right, thinking, settlement, being right, thinking, sovereignty, government so on support.

00:30:58 Speaker 2

The.

00:31:14 Speaker 2

So, considering this, it's not surprising to see the call for judicial reform was the second most told that element in the far right is, and that itself positioning the collection of these points can be understood as the efforts to consolidate religious science camp and securitize writing government. So cross settlement.

00:31:34 Speaker 2

Language in.

00:31:36 Speaker 2

The first elections had positive conditions. It was supported by positive positive consolidated language so but it this was mainly constructed by not.

00:31:56 Speaker 2

The English contribution this process was quite limited, although it was not entirely absent.

00:32:05 Speaker 2

In the 2022 elections, the influence of Benguela increased to shape the directions of airlines, even though settlement Orientedness remained as they remain at the core of the discourse, the connotations of Pro settlement language radically changed.

00:32:25 Speaker 2

And unlike the first elections, Bengal will also played a significant role in shaping the language of settlements. Almost 40% of used by Bengal. And in terms of Co occurrence, there is almost no clear connection with topics of the legal establishment regarding.

00:32:45 Speaker 2

Staff positioning.

00:32:49 Speaker 2

The positive calls disappeared and half of the settlement related post targeted.

00:32:55 Speaker 2

Arabs directly or indirectly anti Arab discourse accompanied the process. Clement language one one thing that might explain this.

00:33:08 Speaker 2

Shift can be the object of the entitlements that erupted in Chechnya neighbourhood of Jerusalem, then spread to other cities in Israel and to the West Bank.

00:33:21 Speaker 2

Actually this anti language was already evident in the discourse of Vancouver, but it became clearer and more intense actors in the.

00:33:32 Speaker 2

Smart Rich also started to use this anti relic to frame his position regarding the settlements.

00:33:42 Speaker 2

In this example, smooth riches raising criticism against the government, particularly in defence of sectors in the West Bank, even if they were even balanced against Palestinians.

00:33:55 Speaker 2

By calling the calling Arabs as terrorists because they were throwing stones.

00:34:01 Speaker 2

He condemned the government for not sending border police to confront with the Palestinians, but instead to stop the sector violence in the West Bank town of Guara, and he promised that they would replace that he would replace the priming minis.

00:34:21 Speaker 2

And they really did it after 22 elections, which held the ministerial position within Defence Ministry, with some responsibilities over.

00:34:39 Speaker 2

I take these examples are because just a couple of months later, the conflict escalated in Wara and after two sectors were shot dead by a Palestinian government, sectors storm villages around Wara and the Israeli Major General.

00:34:59 Speaker 2

If this is wrong.

00:35:01 Speaker 2

And after the events, Smotrich commented that the village of Hawara needed to be wiped out. So I wanted to show this example settlements Orientedness or settlement post had different connotations from the first elections.

00:35:20 Speaker 2

In terms of start positioning, I notice I have noticed a significant shift between when the condition of the religious Zionist camp was more prominent in the first election.

00:35:32 Speaker 2

The anti Arab rhetoric became the central leader of the alliance. There could be certain reasons.

00:35:39 Speaker 2

Explaining this, the first is I just mentioned the violence occurred between these elections, as specifically the May 2021 violence.

00:35:52 Speaker 2

Reason can be short lived until Netanyahu government, including an Arab party.

00:35:59 Speaker 2

Create but crystalized demonization of Arabs in power.

00:36:04 Speaker 2

The third is the lack of intracom, primarily because in 2021 elections 2, religious parties were completing each other. But in 2022 elections religious sign is implemented as they solved formal representative of religious Zionism, so the lack of.

00:36:23 Speaker 2

And standard driver leg put the console stores on the back burner.

00:36:27 Speaker 2

And did the last reason I think one of the most important one is the increasing influence almost 7/10 of post anti Arab related posts were produced by him?

00:36:42 Speaker 2

So we see the struggle of Bengal to promote himself as a legitimate actor in politics.

00:36:51 Speaker 2

Because he was portrayed as supremacist and a supporter of terrorism.

00:36:57 Speaker 2

To counter these acquisitions it.

00:36:59 Speaker 2

That country sports still verse the language of legitimacy and instead attack the legacy of others and Arabs became his primary targets. The left and Liberal Alliance was demonised for emphasising painkillers, illegitimacy and allegedly cooperating.

00:37:19

That's.

00:37:20 Speaker 2

Actors who attacked the legitimate selves by audit were also attacked by the language during the period during. Within this strategy of this type of self legitimacy, the logic is quite simple.

00:37:35 Speaker 2

Army illegitimate in the eyes of illegitimate. That makes illegitimate. So there are plenty of examples of examples of this. If they are inside their outside, I'm seeing illegitimate. I'm portrayed as illegitimate by those who see.

00:37:54 Speaker 2

Or use pack heavy spark.

00:37:57 Speaker 2

So if we are inside merits outside, don't like, let it come and join us. But when it comes to the Arabs, it goes even further and goes for the punishment of the Arab leaders from from the country.

00:38:17 Speaker 2

Even though if it even though it does not realistic demand or and actually it shows the intensity of this anti language.

00:38:30 Speaker 2

Examine the concurrence of the anti Arab component in bank with discourse in detail. We can see that goes hand in hand with the call for action.

00:38:40 Speaker 2

Of.

00:38:40 Speaker 2

It means whenever he speaks about.

00:38:43 Speaker 2

Arabs, he calls for action against them. He calls legal action against them. This pattern was already evident in the previous examples, like if they are inside outside. But when it comes to Arabs, his support.

00:38:57 Speaker 2

The measures taken against them prohibit them from running in the.

00:39:01 Speaker 2

Knesset or to prevent the Supreme Court from overturning the disqualification decisions about the Arab leaders that was taken by Central Election Committee?

00:39:15 Speaker 2

And there are 4 examples of the occurrence between anti Arab discourse and national reinterpretation of law. The 1st is as the first is, as I already mentioned, the exclusion of key Arab leaders and politics.

00:39:31 Speaker 2

For example, he's not happy when Supreme Court vilifies the disqualification decisions taken by the Central Election Committee. The second is advocating for punishment for Palestinians in the States or Palestinians involved in violence against Jews into especially West Bank and.

00:39:50 Speaker 2

Also, the protesters against the security forces, so you see the examples of these two, the third is easing using force regulations, which are supposedly restraining the security forces in dealing with the Arabs.

00:40:07 Speaker 2

And are protesters writers or terrorists? As I said before, different words were used by him.

00:40:14 Speaker 2

The 4th.

00:40:16 Speaker 2

Concerns the argument of individuals, of course, not armament of citizens, but not the Arab citizens, obviously. So it's not common, uncommon to see him in the streets, streets again. In this particular example during the election campaign kid he was.

00:40:36 Speaker 2

Autocraft confronting Palestinians, whom he labelled as.

00:40:40 Speaker 2

Terrorists, because they were throwing stones at him.

00:40:44 Speaker 2

And the next day he shared a post with a picture with his kids at the playground. He took them to a playground and they are seen as holding toy weapons and shooting so bankrupt stating that he's teaching his kids have to deal with the terrorists.

00:41:04 Speaker 2

So one of the first actions he did after October 7th was to authorise the release of weapons.

00:41:14 Speaker 2

To complete my talk, I can say that.

00:41:20 Speaker 2

Clear. I mean what I found in this research, there was a clear division of labour in this partnership, aligned with their independent political orientations.

00:41:33 Speaker 2

While their priorities diverged, they didn't clash in the prioritised topics. Smotrich was more active in the first address and his priorities and formations.

00:41:44 Speaker 2

We are more prominent within the alliance, but in the second elections BANGLAR took control of the discursive directions of their lives, while the first elections, negative discourse established positively constructed by being the second object mode, which came closer to this and language. In framing his position in.

00:41:58

It's.

00:42:03 Speaker 2

Other topics.

00:42:05 Speaker 2

I'll stop here. Thank you very much.

00:42:07 Speaker 2

For listening to me.

00:42:11 Speaker 1

OK. I'll thank you very much. I'll.

00:42:14 Speaker 1

Stop the recording.

00:42:16 Speaker 1

And the floor is open for questions.