DeRadicalisation

in Europe and Beyond: Detect, Resolve, Reintegrate

Trends of Radicalisation

Israel/3.2 Research Report

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List of Abbreviations

Al Aktza Intifada – the second intifada (27.9.2000–8.2.2005)

Arabs – Israeli civilians who live inside Israeli territory

BESA –The Begin-Sadat Centre for Strategic Studies

Hamas – Political party and organization in the Gaza strip, operates "Izz al-Din al-Qassam" Brigades

Hazionot Hadatit- religious Zionists, a joint party of three separate radical right-wing parties.

IDF – Israeli defense forces

IDI – The Israel Democracy Institute

INSS – The Institute for National Security Studies

Intifada – meaning "shaking off", violent resistance of Palestinians against Israel

ISA – Israel Security Agency

ITIC –The Intelligence and Terrorism Information Centre, Israel

Kahana Chai – outlawed radical right-wing movement

Knesset – Israeli parliament

Lahava – Lemeniat Hiotbolelut Beeretz Hakodesh, meaning "to prevent assimilation of non-Jews in the holy land"

Noam – extreme right-wing political party

Noar Ha'Gvaot – "Hilltop Youth", settlers of outposts in the West Bank

Otzma Yehudit – extreme right-wing political party

Outposts – Illegal Israeli settlements in isolated locations in the West Bank

PIJ –The Palestinian Islamic Jihad movement, operated by "the Jerusalem Battalions"

Return Marches- mass protests next to the fence of the Gaza Strip since 2018

Settlements – villages established by Israelis in disputed areas within the Israeli-Palestinian conflict

Tag Mechir – meaning "price tag", action of violence including vandalism and/or physical harm

The Knife Intifada – the third intifada, 2015

Tzook Eitan – Protective Edge, IDF operation in 2014 along the Gaza Strip

West Bank – disputed territory including Palestinian cities and Israeli settlements, also named Judea and Samaria by the settlers.

Zionism – Jewish national ideology materialized by the establishment of the Israel as a Jewish state, based on the word "Zion" (Jerusalem)

About the Project

D.Rad is a comparative study of radicalisation and polarisation in Europe and beyond. It aims to identify the actors, networks, and wider social contexts driving radicalisation, particularly among young people in urban and peri-urban areas. D.Rad conceptualises this through the I-GAP spectrum (injustice-grievance-alienation-polarisation) with the goal of moving towards measurable evaluations of de-radicalisation programmes. Our intention is to identify the building blocks of radicalisation, which include a sense of being victimised; a sense of being thwarted or lacking agency in established legal and political structures; and coming under the influence of "us vs them" identity formulations.

D.Rad benefits from an exceptional breadth of backgrounds. The project spans national contexts including the UK, France, Italy, Germany, Poland, Hungary, Finland, Slovenia, Bosnia, Serbia, Kosovo, Israel, Iraq, Jordan, Turkey, Georgia, Austria, and several minority nationalisms. It bridges academic disciplines ranging from political science and cultural studies to social psychology and artificial intelligence. Dissemination methods include D.Rad labs, D.Rad hubs, policy papers, academic workshops, visual outputs and digital galleries. As such, D.Rad establishes a rigorous foundation to test practical interventions geared to prevention, inclusion and de-radicalisation.

With the possibility of capturing the trajectories of seventeen nations and several minority nations, the project will provide a unique evidence base for the comparative analysis of law and policy as nation states adapt to new security challenges. The process of mapping these varieties and their link to national contexts will be crucial in uncovering strengths and weaknesses in existing interventions. Furthermore, D.Rad accounts for the problem that processes of radicalisation often occur in circumstances that escape the control and scrutiny of traditional national frameworks of justice. The participation of AI professionals in modelling, analysing and devising solutions to online radicalisation will be central to the project's aims.

Executive Summary/Abstract

This report will identify and review general trends in radicalization through an inductive analysis of "hotspots" that epitomize them. Typically, specific events that qualify as hotspots are (1) premeditated, (2) potentially scalable acts of (3) extremist violence, within (4) a larger series or pattern of similar acts that are committed by radicalized individuals (5) clearly linked to or influenced by a radicalized group, network or organization. The analysis will identify, contextualize and then quantify distinct occurrences of physical or emotional violence that are characteristic of and central to the trends. The report's main task is to scrutinize specific, pivotal moments – "hotspots" of radicalization – that represent a culmination of general radicalization trends and provide meaningful insights into their growth and expansion.

The report's findings rely primarily on secondary sources: official statistics, state reports, academic research, publicly available datasets, published interviews and legal materials. The hotspots identified in Israel that are presented in this report focus on ethno-nationalist, right-wing, religious extremism and Palestinian jihadist terrorism. The cases showcased here focus on the most relevant aspects radicalisation in Israel, presenting its most vivid and consequential manifestations and linking them to the general trends that led to specific situations.

The first chapter opens with a short introduction. The second offers contextual and historical background by overviewing the three chosen hotspots (section a): 1. A Palestinian terror attack against Israeli Jews: the murder of the youths from Gush Etzion (2014). 2. A Jewish terror attack against Israeli Arabs: the murder of teenager Abu Khdeir (2014). 3. A homophobic hate crime: Young Shira Banki's last parade (2015). This part will ground the analysis in the wider connections between the chosen hotspots, influenced by the radicalisation processes of socio-political extremism occurring within Israeli society over the past decades. Section b provides reasoning for the method and chosen hotspots, focusing on three main themes that accompany the hotspots: disputed territory, religious xenophobia, and ethno-nationalist racism, connected directly or circuitously to Israel's capital city of Jerusalem.

This part will be followed by a multilevel analysis of the forces of radicalization that are most intimately linked to the chosen hotspots (section c), providing a closer look at the micro, meso and macro levels. The micro level will focus on the personal background of the individuals responsible for planning, organizing and carrying out the violent acts. The meso level will point to the wider radical milieu – the supportive or even complicit social surroundings – which serve as a rallying point and may be the "missing link" to wider radicalized networks. This level includes political cells, religious leaders and other groups encouraging violence in various ways. The macro level identifies the role of the government and society in processes of radicalization, including systemic and structural factors such as a lack of socio-economic opportunities, the atomization of political and religious tensions, traditional structures and more. The next section (d) will present our identification and analysis of "facilitating factors", meaning specific elements in the political and socio-cultural environment of the individuals responsible for the hotspots that facilitated the violent acts – circumstances that made the violent acts possible.

The next section (e) will present the motivational causes for the hotspots, and quantify them by placing them on the I-GAP spectrum, a constructivist method of multifaceted assessment that allows us to trace the motives driving radicalization, by examining four aspects that

motivate individuals to engage in violent extremism (Injustice, which lead to Grievance, Alienation and Polarization). The motives are identified from the point of view of the individuals involved in the hotspot and should reflect these individuals' own sentiments and impressions rather than external or "neutral" perspectives, with answers ranging from 1 to 5. Low and high scores indicate lower and higher degree of radicalization, respectively (quantified in electronic form).

The third chapter briefly summarises the findings of the report. The conclusions sum up, finalizing the critical interactions between the three hotspots and their socio-political environment, on the basis of micro-, meso- and macro-scale elements, facilitating factors and motivational I-GAP coding. This shows that the chosen hotspots share several links to each other, as with the fact that the hotspots all had some relation to greater notions regarding Jerusalem's contemporary issues: the acceptance of the LGBTQ community despite its religious identity; sustaining the relations between its western neighborhoods and eastern ones populated by Israeli-Arabs and/or Palestinians; and finally, using the political centrality of the national conflict as a tool for gaining individual profit in the name of radical ideologies. This might lead to the notion that the incitement behind retribution acts, whether planned or not, never leads to the desired outcome but actually creates long-term damage to the next generation that sometimes interprets state and/or anarchistic violence as an *invitation* for retaliation.

Introduction

Since its establishment in 1948, the Israeli state has seen ongoing tension between the Jewish-Israeli majority and the Arab-Palestinian minority, also named "the national conflict". Its internal social disputes are influenced by this historic tension, it is present in political, socio-economic and geo-demographic discourse, but it also sharpens ethno-religious differences – eventually leading to violent confrontations – and emphasizes the state's characterization as a ruptured society. Even though it customary to think that the main sources of violence derive from the national conflict, the goal of this report is to consider other factors, offering possible connective lines between three case-studies (hotspots), which occurred in Israel during 2014–2015. These are the murder of the youths from Gush Etzion, the murder of teenager Abu Khdeir, and young Shira Banki's last parade. All cases symbolized a shift in radical behaviour, and were directed against members of vulnerable groups and committed by individuals of different religious and ethnic identities. All three hotspots are characterized by being premeditated, expressing extremist violence, and also presenting part of a larger pattern of similar acts that were committed by radicalized individuals, clearly linked to or influenced by a radicalized action group, a communal network or a wider organization.

The report will include two main parts. The first will give an overview of the chosen hotspots by exploring factors on individual (micro), organizational (meso) and societal (macro) levels, followed by optional facilitating factors that might have helped in creating a fertile ground for violent actions. This part is based on a variety of available data such as academic resources, government and security state reports, law documents, journalistic articles and social media posts. The second part will offer a closer analysis of the motivations behind the chosen hotspots, using the I-GAP coding method, to examine and present the main actors' reasoning for their participation in the attacks. Finally, this paper will present a link between elements in the political and socio-cultural environment that surrounded those hotspots, and notions of racism and/or xenophobia materialized in three extremely violent events, all involving teenagers in key roles, either as perpetrators or human targets.

Hotspots of radicalisation

During 2020 some officials in Israeli security institutions claimed that violence expressed by the radical right-wing movement in Israel is out of control (Kobowitz and Shizaf, 2020). In parallel, globalism, media and the modern culture revolution brought a new political reality where political states' power is divided between more private actors using terror methods against the institutionalized traditional military (Ibid, p. 11). The threat Israel faces, accordingly, is no longer just a physical one on its very existence, but one that is aimed towards its democratic regime and the definition of its national identity (Ibid, p.18). The following chosen hotspots, even though planned and carried out separately from each other and motivated by different elements, share a similar basis of self-act attacks with the tragic outcome of the involvement and murder of youths in the name of radical ideology. In addition, the chosen hotspots are connected to each other by wider radicalisation processes of socio-political extremism occurring within Israeli society of the past decades.

Overview of chosen hotspots

The murder of the youths from Gush Etzion: Palestinian terror attack against Israeli Jews

Israel has been suffering from terrorism, influenced and financed by different Palestinian organizations, since 1967. The main shift occurred in 1987 with the first Intifada events, which showed premeditated planning and acted against the whole civilian Jewish population and not just against soldiers or military officials, led by the notion of jihadist violence. The Second Intifada, "Al Aktza", further established the possibility of turning to violence, not only for ideology but also in exchange for payment or other key benefits from the Israeli government, otherwise denied from the Palestinian population of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. The third intifada, in 2015, showed "lone-wolf" terror phenomena to be inaccurate, since Israeli security authorities (ISA) found that most Palestinian terror actions performed individually included – one way or another – the involvement of other actors, such as Hamas. The first hotspot involves a particular case of Palestinian terror, influenced by a socio-political agenda and executed with the financial support of the Hamas organization. The latter could act easier by leaning on local and individual disputes and the difficulties of the perpetrators. Eventually, this hotspot led to further violence and acts of retaliation.

On June 12, 2014, three youths, aged 16, 17 and 19 and living in the Jewish settlements of the West Bank, were kidnapped while waiting for transportation home. Israeli security authorities announced a military operation in the hope of finding them alive. On June 30, after two weeks of wide-spread searching across Israel and the West Bank territory, the boys were found dead and buried underground near Hebron in the Gush Etzion area, located southeast of Jerusalem. This area received its municipal status in 1980, as the first regional council of Jewish settlements in the West Bank after the Six Day War (1967). The council has 20 localities, including 7 common localities for religious and secular people, 8 national-religious localities, 3 kibbutzim and 2 ultra-Orthodox localities (Yesha council website, 2021). Gush Etzion was also the home of the three youths. As a fulfilment of connecting territory with terror victims (see D.Rad 3.1), three new outposts were established the day after IDF's tragic announcement by Gush Etzion official municipality, as part of the Jewish settlers' response to Palestinian terror acts (Hughes, 2017, pp. 360-361). This act, some claim, has already been constructed within Israeli society through its collective memory, since outposts are used as an "ad hoc" response to terrorism, but also as a commemorative instrument, since the name of each new settlement is derived from the name of a victim whose life was lost nearby (p. 368). Ultimately, the Hamas organization[1] – which serves both as a terror militant group and a political movement, ruling forcibly and violently on the Gaza Strip officially since 2007 – took responsibility for the attack that was executed by individual perpetrators (Bartal, 2017, p. 213). The abduction of these youths led other perpetrators to perform similar actions during 2014–2015, and so changed the paradigm of what were considered until then "lone-wolf" phenomena, proving them to be deeply rooted in the agenda of bigger organizations (pp. 214–215). This hotspot inflamed the Israeli and Jewish community globally and was also a basis

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[1] Hamas is recognized by Israel, the United States and the European Union as terrorist organization, "a fundamentalist Sunni Islamic movement, founded in 1987 by Muslim Brotherhood activists in the Gaza Strip" (ITIC, 2021). "Hamas does not recognize the right to exist of the State of Israel, demands to establish Palestinian state in all areas of Israel through armed struggle." (Ibid). Hamas started as an organization, but nowadays functions also as a political party, holds an armed military branch – the "Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades" – which carries out attacks including rocket fire from the Gaza Strip, shootings, suicide bombings, kidnappings, etc.

for numerous military operations at the time, but also influenced the second hotspot greatly, being performed as a retaliation response in the name of the boys.

The murder of teenager Abu Khdeir: Jewish terror attack against Israeli-Arabs

The second hotspot relates to the disputed term "Jewish terrorism". Some Israelis in the political elite refuse to define it as such, declining the perception that acts of terror could also be performed by Jews and not just by Palestinians, and therefore do not recognize the term as valid. Some of those actors serve as members of the Knesset (Israeli parliament) or hold important positions such as communal rabbis. They also include extreme right-wing activists. Until 2014, Jewish terrorism was already recognized by president Rivlin and other public figures from all sides of the political map, expressing concern due to multiple cases of "Tag Mechir" (meaning price-tag actions – revenge through vandalism and physical violence against Arabs/Palestinians/Muslims). The murder of the youths from Gush Etzion was used as a major incentive for this hotspot, involving settlers from the West Bank who geographically shared a high exposure to constant discursive and de-facto violence, sociably supported one another in performing a murder of another youth, and personally identified with self-actions in the spirit of a revengeful price-tag agenda.

After IDF forces announced that the youths were murdered, the need for a retaliation act emerged from Jewish settlers, regardless of the military's operation within the West Bank and Gaza Strip at the time, including from "Noar Ha'gvaot" (Youth of the Hills), who usually establish and live in illegal outposts in the West Bank. This "call", mistakably interpreted by future perpetrators, resulted in the burning and murdering of 16-year-old Muhammad Abu Khdeir. On July 2, 2014, the body of Abu Khdeir was found in the Jerusalem Forest. The boy's death was caused by 90% burns that covered his entire body, which led to the conclusion that he was burned alive (Levinson and Hasson, 2014). The police arrested six suspects, which eventually uncovered that two youths aged 16 and 17, led by a third 29-year-old Israeli settler, guided, incited and evidently orchestrated the horrific crime (Brainer, 2016a). The revenge remained notorious in Israeli collective memory as a terror act in the guise of counter-terrorism. The murder inflamed East Jerusalem Arab and Palestinian populations, who responded with riots and protests, and some with vandalism, against Israeli authorities (Bartal 2017, pp. 218–219). In Palestinian collective memory, the day of Abu Khdeir's death is commemorated as part of "the Jerusalem intifada" (p. 219) (named by Israel "the knife intifada") since retaliation terror attacks were performed within this context from 2015 until 2016 in the West Bank and Jerusalem metropolitan area.

Young Shira Banki's last parade: Homophobic hate crime

Alongside the obvious national tension expressed by the first two hotspots, there is also the issue of the relations between religion and state within democratic laws, which constitute much of the ideology of radical right-wing parties and religious movements in Israeli society. LGBTQ rights, as a movement, symbolize for the ultra-orthodox community a diversion from biblical rules defining heterosexual relationships as the only form of marriage accepted by Judaism. This interpretation has been expanded by extremists who, in addition, wish to re-establish the third Jewish Mount Temple and live according to biblical law, thereby combining it with a religious–territorial ideology. In parallel, a claim suggests that the "coming of the Messiah" (or "Tikkun Olam") is being delayed by the LGBTQ community's existence, among other reasons, since it encourages secularity, a divergence from the biblical order. This third hotspot

expresses the connection between the influence of fanatical religious ideology through political and social actors and its fulfilment through attacks against civilians and liberal ideas themselves. This case showed an element of "pre-planning", accumulated in a radical right-wing atmosphere, and led to the success of a horrific crime inside Jerusalem, the most religious-based disputed area, which experiences repeated violence based on racism and ethno-religious radical perceptions – and in this case, pure hate of otherness.

Usually, Tel Aviv is considered the capital of Israeli LGBTQ communal life, in contrast to Jerusalem which, despite being the capital city, is considered orthodox and conservative (Rachamimov, 2019, p. 19). Jerusalem, as a mixed living-space, sees clashes based on religious, political and social ideologies and norms, emphasizing a debate between encouraging LGBTQ rights and antagonizing against them. Thus, the annual March for Pride and Tolerance by the LGBTQ community ("the parade"), usually takes place in Tel Aviv and other cities across Israel where it is performed peacefully, but has a tragic history of violence when it comes to the streets of Jerusalem. On July 30, 2015, the Jerusalem parade included the participation of thousands of people expressing solidarity with the community's liberal agenda. In the midst of the march through the city's main streets, the joy was disturbed by an ultra-orthodox militant, who lashed out at the crowd and stabbed six people using a knife. One of the victims was a 16-year-old high school teenager, who did not survive and died from her wounds a few months later (Hasson, 2015). As a result, hundreds of people protested in different locations across the country to express solidarity with the family and the LGBTQ community, who saw this as a direct hit on its right to not be harmed (Jerusalem Open House, 2021). It increased the number of participants at subsequent parades and emphasized that the murder derived from xenophobia. Even though the past few years have shown a rise in public support for the LGBTQ community, reflected in inclusive political discourse and state ruling, hate-crimes have not reduced (Misgav and Hartal, 2019). This murder added to the tension already present in Jerusalem, fuelling existing conflicts.

Method and reasons for choice of hotspots

All three cases ignited more actions, protests and public discourse in years to follow, and so were well burned into Israeli society's collective memory. To uncover the main mechanisms used by the actors who took part in the hotspots, our method of research involves two parts. The first includes analysis of micro-, meso- and macro-scale reasoning and facilitating factors surrounding the events. This part relies on multiple information resources, from academic sources, government and security state reports and law documents to journalistic articles, news reports and video interviews, as well as social media publications. The data collected will also form the basis of the second part, which includes I-GAP coding of motivational factors, accumulated in electronic form and summarized in a separated section. For each hotspot, country reports will examine four aspects of radicalization that motivated individuals to engage in violent extremism. The report will ground the chosen hotspots in perceptions of *injustice*, which lead to *grievance*, *alienation* and *polarization* (I-GAP), and finally culminate in the violent act. The I-GAP coding provides a spectrum that allows us to quantify these sentiments. Analysis will focus on three main themes that accompany the chosen hotspots: disputed territory, religious xenophobia, and ethno-nationalist racism, connected directly or circuitously to Israel's capital city of Jerusalem.

The abduction and murdering of three youths in Gush Etzion was premeditated, and presented a possible contemporary characterization of one of the Palestinian jihadist terror

methods. After IDF found the attackers that were assumed to be lone-wolfs (Bartal, 2017), investigations by the police and special security authorities showed that Hussam al-Qawasma, a 40-year-old Palestinian from Hebron, planned the attack with the help of others (Bohbot, 2014). The investigation revealed that the kidnap was planned prior to the event and relied on funds that came directly from the Gaza Strip (Bohbot, 2014). The other two perpetrators – Marwan, al-Qawasma's brother, and Amar abu-Aiysha – were killed during the IDF operation, after opening fire on the Israeli forces (Rab'ad, Ephraim and Zeitun, 2014). Since the beginning of the 1990s, Palestinian terror organizations have been using lone-wolf perpetrators as part of a wider strategy in order to attack civilian targets (Bartal, 2017, p. 212). These actions have a few goals, as explained by the perpetrators, such as showing solidarity and performing actions that constitute revenge for an enemy's crimes (p. 213). These elements led other perpetrators during 2014–2015 to carry out more allegedly lone-wolf actions, when in fact in most cases they were supported by Hamas. During 2019, 19-year-old Dvir Sorek from the West Bank (Ofra) was kidnapped and murdered with a similar method (Berger, 2019), inspired by the 2014–2015 events and supported by Hamas funding (Limor, 2019). As in the first hotspot, the money was used to buy weapons and to sponsor transportation of the perpetrators through a network of accomplices (Bohbot, 2014). According to the ISA, 2014 was caricaturized by a rise in terror acts in Jerusalem and the West Bank, prior to the knife intifada of 2015. 19 people died in terror attacks, in comparison to 6 in the year before (ISA, 2015a). Most of them were killed in Jerusalem. The number of attacks committed by lone wolfs was specifically noted in that year. The severity of cases was also mentioned as a "game changer" (ISA, 2015a), inflecting Israel's national security situation. 346 terror attacks occurred in Jerusalem alone, and 1,793 in the West Bank. Hamas was identified as the main threat to the West Bank, with its headquarters in the Gaza Strip and abroad. Hamas had the intention to perform more abductions of soldiers and civilians within Israeli territory during an operation which occurred in May 2014, prior to the youths' kidnapping. This reflects the organization's perception of promoting violence as a tool of political leverage since its main aim in the act of kidnapping is to initiate future negotiations over Palestinians imprisoned in Israel.

The reaction to the first case-study, that strengths its status as a hotspot, emerged in the shape of a vicious murder of another teenager. This act of Jewish terror was premeditated by three perpetrators, two underaged and one adult, who decided to perform *the same act* that was experienced by the three boys from Gush Etzion and involved a few attempts (Supreme Court verdict 4713-16). The first one occurred when all three tried to kidnap a woman with a baby from Beit Hanina neighbourhood in east Jerusalem. When this attempt failed, they re-grouped a few days later and decided to try again in a different village, this time committing price-tag vandalism against Arabs' cars in East Jerusalem. This reflects an extreme right-wing agenda (see also WP3.1), but also shows retaliation as a goal alongside everyday life, when in fact none of the perpetrators knew the three youths from Gush Etzion, similarly to the first hotspot. Even though some politicians in Israel refused to see it as an act of terror, it's hard not to notice that the same practices were involved (such as pre-planning and a vendetta) as in cases of Palestinian jihadist terror acts. It also shows direct inspiration drawn from price-tag actions which occurred at the time, as in 2013 ISA identified 25 Jewish terror attacks, as opposed to 16 in the year before. The ISA report also mentioned that the *quality* of the acts had become more vicious (ISA, 2015b). There was a reduction in price-tag actions performed during 2014 (10, against 17 in the prior year), but again the methods were more brutal than in prior years. The young victim was murdered with barbarian torture methods, as he was bitten, burned and thrown away. The three perpetrators were all past\present students of yeshivas, Jewish orthodox education institutions for studying Torah and rabbinic traditions (Chabad, 2021), and were inspired by radical right-wing organizations' ideologies. Yosef Ben David, the leading adult, showed it was nationalist motivated, since he yelled the names of Jews murdered by Palestinian jihadist terrorists during the attack: "this is for the Fogel Family, this

is for Shalhevet Pas". He also described that they (as a group) were deeply motivated by "extreme revenge against Arabs" (Brainer, 2016b). The three tried to pursue a wider agenda of hurting Arabs and/or Palestinians in response to ongoing terror attacks. Usually, price-tag retaliation acts were performed within the West Bank by Noar Ha'Gvaot youths (see WP3.1), who strongly encourage this approach, and therefore they might have been used as an inspiration that eventually developed into action. The attack took place closer to Jerusalem and harmed Israeli-Arab citizens. The court of law mentioned in the verdict that this act "can be described as a strategic attack that ignited a fire in the territories in general and in East Jerusalem in particular" (Shapira, 2019), given the riots that began shortly after (Bartal, 2017, p. 211). During 2014, Israel experienced an increase in jihadist terror attacks and thousands of armed missiles launching over its western area, close to the Gaza Strip borderline. In Jerusalem itself, it was also tense around the Temple Mount area (Michael, 2014), since religious Jews have increasingly fulfilled their right to visit and/or pray at the Temple Mount, while Palestinians viewed these efforts as a threat to the status quo and their own right to do the same in Al Aktza Mosque.

The third hotspot, which also occurred during those years, shows another aspect of radicalisation derived from gender xenophobia against the liberal agenda. In a way, it emphasises Jerusalem as a hub for contradictions, not only through the national Israeli–Palestinian conflict, but also through the variety of social communities within Israel. It reflects on how individual acts, mistakenly identified as lone-wolf actions but ultimately showing a link to a wider paradigm of political, nationalist or religion-based exclusion. In this case, the perpetrator, Yishai Schlissel, was released prior to the event from ten years' incarceration, after stabbing three participants in the 2005 parade in Jerusalem (Rachamimov, 2019, p. 19). A week before the event, he stated that the march is harmful to all Jews, as scholars stated: "in Jerusalem, the stabbings in 2005 and 2015 were framed as a direct result of the understanding of Jerusalem's urban space as holy" (Hartal and Misgav, 2021, p. 1472). That shows that, even though Israel responded firmly against the attack and also supported the LGBTQ community, it still allows co-existence with the notion of LGBTQ rights as undermining the Jewish religion, within and outside of Jerusalem. For example, hate crimes against individuals and groups were on the rise during 2019 (Dvir, 2020), and "according to data from the Iggy (Proud Youth Organization), during the Corona period there was an unusual increase, relative to the general population, of 27% in reports of suicide among youth in the LGBTQ community" (Ministry of Community Strengthening and Advancement, 2021). Add to that the radical homophobic political agenda of the "Noam" party, elected recently to the Knesset on March 2021, which does not hide its opinion on the matter, following in the steps of its spiritual leader Rabbi Tao: "the gays, these sex perverts, miserable people and instilling forbidden values in the Ministry of Education" (Sherki, 2021). In fact, the LGBTQ community has been offended for years by radical individuals influenced by existing notions like Rabbi Tao. In August 2009, a shooting attack upon a gay youth centre, "Bar Noar" in Tel Aviv, caused the death of two and injury of 14 more (Hartal and Misgav, 2021, p. 1465). Even though the political community accepts the LGBTQ rights movement, as the Minister of Internal Defence is gay himself, radical right-wing xenophobia derives from fanatic religious agendas, shared by Schlissel himself. During the 2019 elections, the Noam party and LGBTQ activists had two days of public clashes that ended with death threats against the community, claiming that they have experienced verbal attacks for days just because they raised the multi-colour flag in Jerusalem (Greenwood, 2019). This occurred after the horrific murder of young Shira Banki, again attaching Jewish religious practice to Jerusalem as its symbol, and disregarding Israel's liberal declaration of independence. Abu Khdeir's case and Banki's killer both reflect a wider picture than solo individual crimes, by emphasizing that both ideologically linked religion and territory, materializing in hate-crimes. While the first implies that the Arab\Palestinian minority is the enemy threatening the Jewish state, the other claims LGBTQ sexual tendencies as the enemy of the Jewish religion. Both notions are also rooted in far-right-wing ideology, carried

out by "Hazionot Hadatit" (religious Zionists), a joint party of three separate radical right-wing parties. Jerusalem is the territory that connects all the hotspots, as it sees conflicts within the Israeli Jewish and Arab civic populations, but also between liberalism and ultra-orthodox approaches concerning human rights and state laws. Still, every three hours an LGBTQ person is attacked in Israel (Gil-Ad, 2021).

Micro, meso and macro factors

Micro Level: Personal Factors (Background of Individual Actors)

The murder of the youths from Gush Etzion

The kidnapping of the youths from Gush Etzion was proven by the court and the Israeli security authorities to be influenced by several factors, aside from the link to Hamas's terror organization that was found later. Hussam al-Qawasma (40), was accused by a military court of leading the "abduction squad" of Gil-ad Shaar, Naftali Frenkel and Eyal Yifrach (Cohen, 2014). The other two who committed the kidnap and murder, Marwan Qawasmeh (29) and Amer Abu Aisha (33), were killed during an Israeli attempt to capture them (ISA, 2015b). Hussam al-Qawasma was a former prisoner who spent time in Israeli jail during 1995–2002, due to his membership of Hamas and an additional violent anarchistic group (Cohen, 2014). Both other perpetrators also served time in jail for similar reasons. Qawasma's attorney said in the court's discussion that "this is an opportunity for both sides to tell the leaders of both sides to end the conflict. Too bad for all the bloodshed […] Despite his confession, […] it is true that he was planning, but in order to release him in exchange for others. Therefore, he does not deserve life imprisonment." (Bendt, 2015). Marwan al-Qawasma was released from Israeli jail (after being incarcerated for actions associated with Hamas) during a 2011 political prison exchange named the "Shalit Deal" between Israel and Hamas (Zeitun, 2014). The purpose of the attack, according to Hussam, was to force Israel to release more Palestinian prisoners from incarceration in exchange for kidnapped Jewish and\or Israeli civilians and\or soldiers. All perpetrators wished to influence political status ideologically, but also got paid for it. The actors were all former prisoners who lived in bad socio-economic situations, lacking means and acceptance in the Palestinian West Bank community, since they did not support the Palestinian authority regime and act independently. All three lived in the social structure of the Qawasma Hamoolah (traditional clan\tribe). Al Monitor described the history of the Qawasma Hamoola from Hebron in relation to a perpetrator's action: "[…] it counts about 10,000 people and is considered one of the three largest clans on Mount Hebron. At least 15 family members were killed during the Second Intifada; nine of them carried out suicide bombings in Israel […] Each time the head of the clan organization was eliminated or arrested by Israel, his brother or cousin was appointed under him. For example, when Abdullah Qawasma, the head of the organization at the time, was assassinated during the Second Intifada, his cousin Basel Qawasma inherited him; and when Basel was assassinated by Israel, they chose Imad Qawasmeh, who was captured by the IDF in October 2003. **Marwan Qawasmeh, who is behind the abduction of the boys, became a dominant figure in the clan after the arrest of Imad Qawasmeh, who was sentenced in Israel to life in prison**." (Eldar, 2014).

The murder of teenager Abu Khdeir

Muhammad Abu Khdeir's murder was committed by three perpetrators, including two underaged yeshiva students (16 and 17) and their older uncle Yosef Ben David (27) (Jerusalem County Court's verdict, 34700-07-14, p. 1). The court put the main responsibility for the idea and execution in the hands of Ben David, who provided the means and tools that led the others to what was perceived by them as a retaliation act. Ben David lived in Geva Binyamin with his parents: a settlement located 2 km from Jerusalem. He owned a small shop in the city, where he and his two nieces used to meet, in addition to gatherings taking place in his house (Jerusalem County Court's verdict, 34700-07-14, pp. 1–2).

During the trial and until recently, Ben David pleaded insanity, since he was treated for years with psychiatric medications prior to the event. This argument was declined by the judicial system (Altman, 2016). Ben David's background was as an "outsider", a settler living on disputed land, located in the heart of the Israeli–Palestinian conflict. Ben David was close to religion but not in a way that made him unaware of modern and secular society. According to the verdict, his initial plan was to damage Arab\Palestinian property with vandalism and\or arson. On the night of July 30, 2014, as the security forces announced that they had found the missing boy's bodies, Ben David decided to revenge in a way that was later described as having "got out of control" (Jerusalem County Court's verdict, 34700-07-14, pp. 2–4). He was thereby executing a long-planned scheme, in which he was searching for a victim to emphasize his radical ideology (Eli, 2018), but even so, his lack of self-control was expressed during the trial itself: a few days after the verdict, on April 28, 2016, Ben David tried to harm himself using a can lid, with no success (Bendt, 2016). Years afterwards he said, in an interview from his jail cell, that he had remorse for the action, but simultaneously claimed that he did it unconsciously (Eli, 2018; Shapira, 2018).

The Israeli Ministry of Justice, the prosecutor, has rejected all attempts to reduce his sentence since 2016 (Ministry of Justice, 2016). The court described the action as being derived from "a tunnel of racism and darkness", and could be referred to as "strategic terrorism" (Shapira, 2018). Even though Ben David got two life sentences, the judge emphasized that his two underaged family members were central to the success of this act of terror (Shapira, 2018). Due to the fact that they were minors at the time of the event, details about their story are yet to be revealed.

Young Shira Banki's last parade

Ishay Schlissel (40) lived in Modi'in Elit, an ultra-orthodox settlement close to Jerusalem (Levinson, Ettinger and Lior, 2015). According to the indictment, he spoke against the LGBTQ parade prior to the month of July 2015, and planned to assault the participants while the parade passed along Jerusalem's main streets (Jerusalem County Court's verdict, 44503-08-15, pp. 1–3). The incitements committed by Schlissel included posters hung in synagogues in the city, demanding the parade to be eliminated and cancelled, and action to be taken against its participants. On the day of the parade, after purchasing a 15-centimetre-long knife, Schlissel made his way to Jerusalem with the plan of stabbing marchers (Jerusalem County Court's verdict, 44503-08-15, pp. 11–13). He managed to strike six people, among them 16-year-old Shira Banki, who died after four months of struggle. When brought to court, he claimed that he "does not recognize the court's authority" (Hasson, Efrati and Sheidleri, 2015), since "the court does not act according to the Holy Torah and is part of the evil mechanism" (Rosen, 2015). The public defence solicitor who represented him filed a motion to dismiss him

as a client due to his lack of cooperation with him and the court itself (Ginat, 2016). After his arrest, it was revealed that Schlissel had already performed the same action during the LGBTQ parade of 2005, and he was sentenced to 12 years in prison. The judge said that "the sad picture that emerges is that **the lessons that were supposed to be learned from the 2005 parade were not assimilated**. The writing was on the wall, but those responsible did not read it." (Ginat, 2016). Following the same crime – attempted murder of participants during the march – he spent 10 years in prison after a reduced sentence (Jerusalem County Court's verdict, 44503-08-15, pp. 10–11). During the latest trial, he revealed his passion to radical ideology in which there is no place for the gay community in any form within the holy land, and specifically in Jerusalem. The accused did not show any regret and is still trying to perpetuate xenophobic and misogynist actions. For example, he tried violently to prevent the entry of a policewomen into the prison's synagogue, claiming she was not dressed properly and she would disgrace the sanctity of the place (Hachmon, 2018). It is critical to take under consideration that revenge, as in the prior hotspot, was the main driver of his action.

Meso Level: Social Setting Factors (Groups, Networks, Communities)

The murder of the youths from Gush Etzion

Hussam al-Qawasma had the assistance of additional family members in orchestrating the kidnap, all living in similar conditions. According to ISA press releases, the initial purpose was to kidnap one Israeli Jew, but ultimately there were three and all were killed (Israel Hayom, 2015). Al-Qawasma was sentenced to 75 years in prison. With financial support by Hamas from the Gaza Strip of 220,000 NIS, he managed to buy a car and weapons, and pay his assistants and perpetrators (Haaretz, 2014). The connection between Hamas's money and the operation itself was made through a third-party mediator – the "Elnor" Association, active officially as an NGO within the Gaza Strip. It was found to transfer money to Hamas's prisoners in Israel, through members of the organization in the West Bank, as well as to families of "Shahidi martyrs" and others (ISA, 2013; 2015a). It was mentioned by an IDF prosecutor that planning began in April 2014, when Hussam met with Marwan and both talked about Palestinian prisoners' conditions in Israeli jail. Marwan offered to abduct an Israeli civilian and use it as leverage to release their incarcerated relatives (Tzaflowy, 2014, p.1). They both recruited a third person and needed cars and weapons. For that, Hussam asked for the assistance of his brother Muhamad Qawasma, who worked in Elnor. The total cost included two cars with Israeli licence plates, two M-16 rifles, two guns and ammunition. These were the weapons used for the kidnap and later on to murder the three boys (p. 2).

After spending time in Israeli prison, as a Palestinian with no civilian rights inside Israel, living in Hebron – a divided occupied territory that also houses Jewish settlements that do get civic benefits – it is reasonable to assume that these circumstances strengthened or at least enhanced feelings of marginalization and discrimination, such as deprivation of a right to establish a national state, and thereby complemented feelings of revenge. Al-Qawasma had to use a wide net of family members and friends to achieve his goal, and therefore had support from his environment that did not turn him in to the Palestinian authorities, as uncovered in the investigation by security forces (ISA, 2015b). It was reported at the time that "the ISA claims that Qawasma intended to flee to Jordan with the help of two other relatives, using fake documentation. After an extensive intelligence operation, Qawasma was located in a hiding place in the Shuafat refugee camp in East Jerusalem" (Dvori, 2014). Offending Israeli Jews, especially close to Jerusalem and dispute areas, was "an acceptable Palestinian jihadist tactic" used by Hamas (Bartal, 2017, p. 215), and so it's reasonable to assume he found

supporters within the area. In addition, Marwan and Abu Aisha both managed to hide in Hebron for a few months, even though "the security establishment feared that the kidnappers would be able to flee abroad and from there negotiate the replacement of the bodies with prisoners" (Bohbot, 2015). It was also added at the time by officials in the security system that "unfortunately, in this case Hamas managed to find the loophole with the help of quite a bit of luck, and it seems that this is a struggle that is far from over. As long as there are Palestinian prisoners imprisoned in Israel terrorist organizations will continue to try to kidnap Israelis" (Bohbot, 2015). It was also discovered that six family members assisted in hiding all the perpetrators during IDF searches: five from the al-Qawasma clan and one relative of Abu Aisha (Ofer, 2014).

The murder of teenager Abu Khdeir

According to the indictment, IDF's announcement of finding the boys was taken by the perpetrators as an invitation to retaliate against Israeli Arabs and\or Palestinians (Jerusalem District Court's verdict, 34700-07-14). On the same night Ben David said to one of his two family members that they must perform a terror act. He ordered him to drive them both together to East Jerusalem neighbourhoods Beit Hanina and Tz'oor Bah'er, where they tried to capture a few potential victims, among them a mother with two infants that eventually needed medical care. They also poured gasoline over cars and tried to set them on fire. The three perpetrators met in Jerusalem the day after, and agreed to commit another attack, wishing for it to be well planned this time, including discussing what to wear and how to behave in order not to get caught. All three had each other's support, both as family and due to sharing the same ideology of violently revenging the deaths of others, and so ignoring the state's monopoly over violence. Since all three are Jewish citizens, it was relatively easy for them to collect glass bottles, gasoline and other improvised weaponry, and also move freely in the area (Jerusalem District Court's verdict, 34700-07-14, p. 2). This is partly due to the fact it is not prohibited to carry such items within Israel and the West Bank area, but they are considered "weapons" when found with Palestinians and\or Israeli Arabs that are suspected of terrorism. For that matter, Israeli security preventive tactics usually do not include a routine of physical searches for this type of weaponry when it comes to Jewish civilians. On the other hand, IDF do search more often in disputed areas such as East Jerusalem and the West Bank. This all came together to result in the disappearance of young Abu Khdeir.

The three executers decided to act on their own, based on deep racism and hatred towards Arabic society as a hole, and therefore tried a number of times before succeeding (Maanit, 2014). There was no bigger organization involved in that decision, nor any institution who provided the idea or the means, but the general spirit among extremists (teenagers and elders) inside the religious–Zionist community was a radical perception of revenge in the name of justice. The ideology of retaliation was well established by Noar Ha'Gvaot (see WP3.1) since the beginning of the millennium, affected by the Second Intifada, and based later on the notion of price-tag actions. This hotspot can also be defined as price-tag, but furthermore it created a clear linkage between self-driven terrorism and the ideology allowing retaliation to be acceptable under the democratic regime. Amongst extremists who live in the West Bank or in nearby areas of conflict with religious significance like Jerusalem, the ideology includes a violent struggle, mistaken sometimes as "an invitation" to take action that might look "reasonable" in certain times of security clashes. Ben David, according to his cousin, brought the notions of nationalist violence, using personal compassion as a way to create support for his action: "My father beat me the year before the incident and severed ties with me... A cousin

(Ben David) was like my father all the time. He took care of me and did everything my father was supposed to do. He helped me with the meetings, gave me glasses, he was the most ordinary person, charismatic and a magnet to everyone around him. He filled in the gaps for me during the rift with my father" (Magnezi, 2015). "When he picked me up from the house, he said that something must be done, a price tag, to avenge the name. I had a hard time saying no to him […] I was very dependent on him. I could not tell him no. I had a war in my heart. I was afraid to do anything, but on the other hand I cannot tell him no" (Magnezi, 2015). He remembered warning Ben David: "I heard it was dangerous there," I told him. He told me to pick up a small child, put him in the car and beat him. I told him and he told me to do it for the people of Israel. I told myself we would pass the time, Ben David would give up and go home." (Magnezi, 2015). When asked about the exposure to hate within his home, he answered, "There was no talk at home about politics. I did not know what was right and left. Until I was arrested, I did not know what nationalism was," the defendant claimed. "My mother works with Arabs, she has Arab friends, and I would prepare food for the Arab workers that my father would bring home" (Magnezi, 2015).

Young Shira Banki's last parade

Jerusalem is a canvas painted in a variety of social, political and ethno-religious colours. Among them one can also find a vibrant LGBTQ community (Hartal and Misgav, 2021, p.1470), fighting against long-term antagonism towards its very presence in public spaces. Its unique texture combines the religious and secular, nationalists and human right activists, all in one place (p. 1471). Schlissel's multiple attempts at harming members and supporters of LGBTQ ideology just for participating in a public parade representing social minorities that live within the city, express an anti-queer religion-based objection to any form of one-sex relationship. Many in Jerusalem's population think that the pride parade violates the holiness of the city (pp. 1471–1473). Ultra-orthodox protests against the pride parade already took place in 2005, including violence committed by Schlissel himself, and continued on smaller scales since, facing resilient counter-demonstrations from the LGBTQ movement. Therefore, the social atmosphere of a city that contains support on one hand, but carries out resistance by extremists on the other, might be part of what led to the acts of violence.

In 2015, the leading Rabbis of Israel spoke against Schlissel's action and said it was worse than a simple murder, since according to the Jewish religion it is prohibited to murder in the name of religion (Nachshoni, 2015). Even though Schlissel grew up in a small village outside of Jerusalem, he was educated in a yeshiva in the city. No rabbi supported or helped his effort to stab and murder participants, nor his family, since according to police, state advocates and the news media, he was considered to have a solitude-seeking personality (Adamkar, 2016). As a religious person, he also did not have any known connections through social media, but used common means to incite within ultra-orthodox communities. It's also important to consider that some rabbis that identify with religious Zionist ideology do see in the LGBTQ community's existence an "abomination", and directly influence their public and potentially others. The radical right-wing "Noam" Party's spiritual leader, Rabbi Tao, published a manifesto (The Courage for Independence, 2019), sharing this point of view and proving to be supported by others, as reported in one of the religious news websites: "Rabbi Tao is the leader who moves away from the media, but influences well-known names: Rabbi Ali and among them Rabbi Yigal Levinstein ('Perverts who have lost normalcy') and Rabbi Kellner ('Bahurilot' – girl gorilla), Rabbi Shlomo Aviner and Rabbi Rafi Peretz" (Weiss, 2019). Even

right-wing journalists were shocked by the allegedly "cultural war" offered by Tao: "The main part of the booklet focuses on the rejection of the claim made in the name of Rabbi Kook's 'inclusive' philosophy" (Sorek, 2019). In addition, informative posters (Pasquil – community announcements)[2] supporting Schlissel's act, were spread in orthodox neighbourhoods afterwards. They were countered, on the other hand, by calls to denunciate him as an individual from the orthodox community (Farkash, 2015).

Macro Level: Institutional, Systemic and Structural Factors

The murder of the youths from Gush Etzion

Al-Qawasma and his two accomplices to the kidnapping and murdering of three Jewish youths reflect the complicated relationship between the Jewish majority and the Palestinian minority, over the sovereignty control of Jews on territory, regime and control of mechanisms of violence. Add to that the eternally fragile relations between the Israeli state and Arab-Israeli citizens, who identify with the Palestinian struggle and do not get equal rights in terms of employment, education and welfare infrastructure from the Jewish state. The idea of executing lone-wolf acts of terror, despite their devastating outcomes, is unfortunately used too often by Hamas as a tool, taking advantage the daily-life struggles of the Palestinian population. All three perpetrators lived in the West Bank, known as an area of great socio-economic struggles due to a lack of workplaces, living facilities and basic infrastructure. Therefore, most communication between Jews and Arabs is attached to this political context.

Al-Qawasma came from a Palestinian village considered as an occupied territory, detached from the Palestinian Authority leadership which is having trouble supplying social and health goods, since it doesn't have a state's liberties and stable finances. The ongoing situation of conflict is a fertile ground for Hamas's terror organization to take advantage of the poverty and lack of well-being of people living in these areas, progressing a violent discourse of violent resistance, even if committed by solitary actions, such as lone-wolfs. This might explain some of the linkage between al-Qawasma and Hamas. Another perspective claims that "[…] one of them (al-Qawasma) hails from one of Hebron's biggest clans, the Qawasmas, who have provided Hamas with a good dozen suicide bombers, but who have a history of acting independently, especially when Hamas negotiates ceasefires or agrees to deals that smack of moderation – such as the recent one endorsing the Palestinians' unity government" (The Economist, 2014). In any case, most interpretations show that the socio-economic gaps between societies had a great effect over acts of violence coming from the West Bank territory. Hamas, which sees itself as both a political party and a religious movement, tries consistently (since gaining control over the Gaza Strip in 2006) to recruit supporters from the West Bank area to become shahids, whereas the Palestinian Authority competes with it over political and institutional control, but decided to shift away from terror violence. Mahmud Abas (Abu Mazen) himself, head of the Palestinian Authority in the West Bank, said that the boys from Gush Etzion are just youths like any other humans (the Economist, 2014). Hamas and Fatah are fighting over the Palestinian leadership, and have a significant difference on terror actions performed today: Fatah does not support a violent resistance and Hamas does, so that in past years most terror acts were performed by Hamas (Ayalon and Shafran-Gitelman, 2017, p. 28–30). Al-Qawasma's accomplices were also from Hebron, aged 29 and 33, and showed a

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[2] Morfix definition: a wall poster in ultra-orthodox Jewish neighbourhoods, often containing polemic text.

record of involvement with the Hamas organization (Globes, 2014). Since political tension between Palestinians and Israelis was at one of its numerous boiling points, it seems inevitable that individuals accompanied by friends or family suffering from the same socio-economic difficulties will team up to perpetrate horrific attacks against a joint enemy – in this case, the Jewish state, materialized by its citizens, youths (the next generation, soon to be soldiers in the IDF) and those who live in the settlements of the West Bank, and as such, identify as Zionists.

In addition, violence is used as mechanism. Since 2008, Israel has suffered from terror waves characterized by different types of violent actions. According to reports by BESA (The Begin-Sadat Centre for Strategic Studies), terror waves in the past decade can be divided into three groups: 1. individual "lone-wolf" actions; 2. individual acts with a basis ascribable to an organization; and 3. collective actions funded and instructed by terror groups (Bartal & Frisch, 2017, p. 21). The first hotspot led to the "Shuvu Banim" military operation in the West Bank, focused on finding the Israeli missing boys (Ayalon and Shafran-Gitelman, 2017, p. 18). In parallel, Hamas opened a missile attack upon the southern cities and border villages of Israel, which led to "Tzook Eitan" in July. Added to that was the increasing amounts of Jewish visitors allowed to visit Temple Mount that year, deepening the historic theological argument between Jews and Palestinians for the joint area of each religion's sacred monuments (Bartal, 2017). From July to December of that year, Israel has experienced multiple terrorist attacks, riots and disturbances (p. 211). Even though it is customary to think of perpetrators as coming from a background of solitude and wrongdoing, it has been found that in one way or another, a form of incitement is 'sending' them to use violence against a harm made by the regime towards family members, friends and\or holy religious monuments and places (Bartal and Frisch, 2017, p. 22). In most cases of jihadist terror attacks, perpetrators are found to be related to certain organizations mainly on joint ideological lines. This leads scholars to believe that lone-wolf terror emerges eventually from extreme jihadist-based terror groups. In total, over 80 percent of jihadist terror attacks that occurred in 2015 had affinities and\or were inspired by a greater movement. De-radicalization on that matter involves cooperation between the IDF and the Palestinian security authority, capturing squads before they operate through intelligence information exchange (pp. 27–28). This cooperation improved after 2006, when Hamas won political elections in Gaza and overtook the area violently in 2007 (p. 30). But despite the fact that this joint work reduces number of deaths on each side, it does not bring them to the negotiation table in order to solve the conflict as whole, meaning that both sides do not engage in order to get a permanent solution. Hamas's support of lone-wolf actions is enhanced in its ideology since 1994, when it published a book defining the principals of cold-weapon use in the name of nationalist struggle (Ayalon and Shafran-Gitelman, 2017, p. 15). This strategy of lone-action terrorism was re-established in 2008–2009, by increasing the number of participants coming from other areas like Arab villages within Israeli municipal authorities (p. 16).

The murder of teenager Abu Khdeir

The Israeli public was outraged by the murder of Abu Khdeir and the act was described as a "man hunt" (Maanit, 2014), but in fact society also wanted the state to avenge the murder of the boys. Even though the "Shuvu Banim" operation in the West Bank focused on finding them (Ayalon and Shafran-Gitelman, 2017, p. 18), it certainly did not require civic assistance. In the past 20 years Israel has witnessed a rise in actions initiated by right-wing extremists, in an

attempt to revive the *Kahanist* (see D.Rad 3.1) notion of forced evacuation of the Arab population from all Israeli-occupied territory by all necessary means, suggesting that price-tag actions such as this case not be considered acts of terror. The day after the announcement that the bodies had been found in the Hebron area, on July 1, 2014, about 400 people protested violently in Jerusalem after the boy's funeral, calling for revenge (Altman, 2014). It was led by extreme right-wing activists, some of them also known as members of the Israeli parliament (Knesset) today, using violence against police forces (according to the media) who claimed it was not a legal demonstration. Out of hundreds of participants, 47 were arrested in what later concluded as a march of "hit and smack", meaning its main goal was to strike blows against Arabs and law enforcement policemen under the slogan "blood shall answer with blood" (Baruch, 2014). News media reported on the next day that it looked as if youths were aiming to find Arabs and lynch them, using the headline "**This is almost what lynching looks like in the evenings in Jerusalem**" (Dvir, 2014), almost predicting the fact that a few hours later, Abu Kh'deir would be an actual victim. But Ben David, who years later appealed and was denied by the court, said "I do not deserve to sit on something I did not do consciously" (Eli, 2019), refusing to go back to his initial statements, documented by police investigators, that the murder was done in the name of Jews killed by Palestinian jihadists (Jerusalem County Court, 44503-08-15).

Therefore, violence was used as a mechanism, similarly to hotspot 1, as politically elite extremists refuse to classify murder by retaliation as terrorism, and legitimise price-tag actions in their essence. The political conflict and lack of state solution added to the atmosphere of nationalist revenge against repeated attacks from Palestinian jihadists, who continued on to a third intifada in 2015 (Bartal, 2017, pp. 217–219). In parallel, the right-wing government, led by the "Likud" party, did not prevent the establishment of settlements and\or illegal outposts for many years (Hughes, 2017). Some of these were built as a reaction to jihadist terror, and as such added a "norm" of exceeding state law for the benefit of settlers on a very sensitive issue, connecting between blood and territory.

Young Shira Banki's last parade

The debate about whether it is safe or not to have the parade every year in Jerusalem indicates that the authorities themselves are having difficulty in producing a unified message about the legitimacy of the LGBTQ community moving around in public space. Religious aspects are always taken into consideration when it comes to Jerusalem, even where civic actions are involved, since the Israeli democratic state tries to mediate between its liberal laws and aspirations and the religious practices of Jews, Christians and Muslims who have sacred monuments, synagogues and monasteries within the city. Even though there are some profound religious-based elements in Israeli state laws which favor the Jewish majority, the municipality of Jerusalem has to allow all other actors express themselves, otherwise it can lead to tension and violence. Rapid modernization, increasing individualism and social atomization can also describe part of the macro-scale motives regarding Schlissel's act. Scholars claim that the heterogeneity and complexity of Jerusalem, as one place that holds a majority-orthodox population, makes it seem unwelcoming to the queer community, and therefore some of the latter see it as an extremely conservative and violent space (David, Hartal and Pascar, 2018, p. 4). The fragile texture in Jerusalem is used by ultra-orthodox extremists, seeking to build a regime that is not affected by liberal and secular approaches, and alongside other radical right-wing principles such as reconquering the West Bank and

establishing the third great temple demolished thousands of years ago, also holds the ambition to eliminate sexual freedom of choice. This attitude has materialized in the "Noam" party recently, reaching the electoral threshold to now become a member of the Knesset under the joint party "Ha'Zionot Ha'datit" (religious Zionism), led by Betzalel Smotrich and also including "Otzma Yehudit" of Itamar Ben Gvir (see WP3.1). One of Noam's principles relates to the definition of a "normal" family: "Without noticing, we woke up one morning and discovered that in the State of Israel it is forbidden to say that **family = father and mother.** The Noam party will return the color to the cheeks of families in Israel. Father and mother are the family, children are joy and peace for Israel" (Noam Party, 2019).

Other organizations, using self-made websites, communal meetings and religious sermons, spread an ideology of LGBTQ as abhorrent in the eyes of the Bible, and try to progress notions of "conversion therapy" in order to heal homosexual tendencies among ultra-orthodox and young Jews. On February 2015, in parallel to numerous activities all over major cities in Israel, "Lahava" – the most significant radical right-wing organization led by settlers from the West Bank and rabbis (see WP3.1) – intervened in an LGBTQ sporting activity by sending activists to interrupt it after the city municipality denied their request to cancel the event. "A drag race was held on behalf of the gay and lesbian community in Jerusalem […] which in this event tried to recruit voters and activists for its party […] unfortunately the event took place in all this. In light of this, the organization's activists were called upon to protest the blasphemy involved in such an event, which is a resounding contradiction in the Jewish character of the city of Jerusalem, and in the tradition-keeping public. The demonstration, coordinated by law enforcement, was organized in front of the abomination procession with signs in Hebrew and English: 'Shame!'" (Lahava, 2021b). According to its archive history of publication, the organization was active in actions such as preventing weddings between Jewish women and non-Jews, demonstrations against the LGBTQ community and encouraging violent price-tag actions as retaliation against Arabs since 2011 (Lahava archive, 2021a). Back in 2012, they were described as "hatred of Arabs and hatred of women" (Levin, 2012). On October 10, 2015, the minister of homeland security said that the government was considering outlawing the organization after one of its members was arrested during a violent demonstration which occurred in Jerusalem (Haaretz, 2015), but it has failed to do so to date. According to ISA there was not enough evidence supporting the outlawing of Lahava (Cohen, 2015). During the parade of July 30, 2015, Shira Banki's murder occurred in parallel to a Lahava counter-protest (Friedson, 2016), which led some to say it "was written on the walls", since Schlissel was stabbing participants while the incitement against the existence of the LGBTQ community took place.

Facilitating factors

This section will present specific elements in the political and socio-cultural environment of the individuals responsible for the hotspots, as circumstances that made the violent acts possible or attractive and therefore helped or encouraged the opportunity for creating the hotspot.

The murder of the youths from Gush Etzion

Marwan al-Qawasma recruited Abu Aisha, who handled the purchasing of weaponry and cars without involving the other perpetrators, operating alone and separately (Ha'aretz, 2014). Neither of them knew in real time where or what the other was doing. The money transfer was done by family members, including Hussam's mother (Ha'aretz, 2014), who assisted in three physical transactions. Abu Aisha got help from a car thief living in Idana Palestinian village. At the day of the abduction, Marwan bought another car with Israeli license plates, which assisted them in moving alongside the Gush Etzion area without being stopped by IDF patrolling and

usually having army troops across the region. That leads to a crucial element regarding transportation in the West Bank roads for Israeli Jews, due to a constant threat of terror actions coming from Palestinian villages. The youths were hoping to get to their destination by hitchhiking, which is not safe and prohibited by the military around the West Bank territory. As posted by religious media at the time, *"Rabbi Eliyahu Schlesinger, rabbi of the Gilo neighborhood in Jerusalem, told Kikar Hashabat that: 'From a halakhic point of view, it is forbidden to ride hitchhikers unless you know the driver of the car personally'"* (Gronich, 2014). Yet there was no enforcement when it comes to relatively isolated areas such as Gush Etzion. Rabbis expressed concern prior to the case, saying it might happen to other yeshiva students. As an outcome, one of IDF's major lessons taken from the event was to put more cameras in blank areas, more soldiers in bus stations and particularly to add more public transportation to prevent the norm of hitchhiking by youths and settlers in general, as stated by the IDF high commander of Gush Etzion (Ofer, 2015, p. 4–5).

The murder of teenager Abu Khdeir

The intensity of public discourse among religious Zionists came to its peak on the day of the youth's funeral, prior to Abu Khdeir's murder. His father said, a few days after burying his son, *"this is a settler government, they are partners […] The day before my son was killed, there were Knesset members and ministers who called for 'death to the Arabs'".* He also added that the security authorities did not want to admit he was killed by a Jew (Zilberman, 2014). Even though security camera footage was found documenting the brutal act of kidnapping Abu Khdeir and forcibly pushing him into Ben David's car (Nussbaum, 2014), it was also noticed that there were no police around, nor a single adult to capture this event in real time or prevent the perpetrators from driving all the way the Jerusalem Forest and burning him to death. No consideration was taken by security forces of the tension arising in those days, and expressed by demonstrators on the day prior to the murder: not by the municipality of Jerusalem for an Israeli-Arab area under its jurisdiction, and not by state police. Another perspective that needs to be considered is that the publication of news media among orthodox communities and religious Zionists, which included details of the youth's murder by al-Qawasma, actually might have assisted in facilitating an "eye for an eye" retaliation model, since Ben David operated with a similar method as al-Qawasma: he used a car, kidnapped with the assistance of family members, murdered, brutally and hid the body away from the authorities. Ben David emphasized in his testimony that he was taking psychiatric medications prior to the attack (Jerusalem County Court's verdict, 34700-07-14), and so the combination might have had a deadly impact.

Young Shira Banki's last parade

The border separating Occupied East from West Jerusalem, and the city as a whole, is heavily controlled and militarized by Israel's security forces (David, Hartal and Pascar, 2018, pp. 3–4). This fact did not reduce Schlissel's ability to stab participants in the parade. A few months after the attack, seven police officers were transferred from duty, due to what was named by the official investigation committee appointed by the state as an "omission" by the police (Ephraim and Janowski, 2015). It was also mentioned that the relation between police intelligence and Schlissel's release from prison was insufficient in preventing the crime from being repeated. It also revealed that there were only two policeman who identified Schlissel seconds before he began to stab, which indicated a lack of field force (Ephraim and Janowski,

2015). Four years later, the police decided, as a lesson from Banki's murder, to require participants to identify themselves at the entrance to the Jerusalem parade (Krauss, 2019), with the support of LGBTQ "open house". This shows that police absence was crucial to Schlissel's actions and managed to help facilitate his agenda of violence.

Motivational factors (to be quantified with IGAP Coding)

<u>Method:</u> academic sources, government and security state reports, law documents, journalistic articles, news reports and social media publications.

The murder of the youths from Gush Etzion

The findings of I-GAP analysis can shed some light on the motivations behind the horrific murder of the youths. The main actor, Hussam al-Qawasma, had a clear perception of Injustice, that accumulated into a personal and political goal of correcting it for other family members. A close relationship with violence, through living in occupied territory and past imprisonment in Israel, added Grievance to his path of action. Finally, as presented, the polarization between the Israeli regime and the Palestinian one – and moreover, inside the official institutions of the Palestinian Authority, Hamas and the local clan – also had an influence over the attack.

Injustice: according to court documentation there was an obvious political goal that was attached to personal experiences of being incarcerated. It can be assumed that the perceived injustice was produced by a specific group inside the area he lived in, but also government actions, considering the clash between the Palestinian Authority and Hamas, and between Israel and Palestinians during 2014 and before. Therefore, it was an action taken after repeated wrongdoing. The actor (composed of three participants) was driven by a notion of putting pressure on political discourse through a violent act, and also on the national conflict of the Palestinians who deal with everyday difficulties of ownership of land or jobs. According to media resources, a local political dispute was also part of action taken to re-establish power among the population of the Qawasma clan. In addition, there was a political goal that also served Hamas, and the demand for recognition can be found in this case. Even though the act included political and social goals, it had little to do with a demand for representation, since the Hamas organization assisted but did not use the case eventually for negotiation on exchanging political prisoners with Israel, and it also did not affect the political clash between Hamas and Fatah.

Grievance: in this case, the accusation was well-framed and rooted in specific wrongs. The actor had a close relationship with violence by living in occupied territory, was imprisoned himself for political actions in the past, and was hoping to release other family members and friends with this act that ultimately got out of control. The transgressive event affected the actor's family, since IDF destroyed their houses shortly after they were captured. The act contained a combination of demanding that the government institution and minority group address the grievance, but it was also clear that the actor had earlier experience knowing this kind of act will not solve the political and social situation. Since Israel has made an exchange deal of political prisoners with Hamas and Fatah before, it is not baseless to assume that the prospect of addressing the grievance was somewhat realistic, even though it was not achieved.

Alienation: there is a precise and direct link between a specific form of alienation and the hotspot, since the actor testified that his personal identity and location were taken under consideration while performing the attack against a specific population. It is hard to tell whether the actor perceived the alienation as a self-made decision or as a deterministic reality, since it combines both. The alienation can be considered a result of a lack of education, long-term indoctrination living in the West Bank area and being involved with an authority that has a political branch and a terror one, such as Hamas.

Polarization: it might be true to say that kidnap as a tool for political action shows deep polarization between the Israeli regime and the Palestinian one, but this also applies inside the official institutions of Palestinian divided regime. Hamas and the actor shared the same position of violent struggle to gain political profit, and by that creating a wider effect on life within the West Bank, in parallel to Fatah and the local clan.

The murder of teenager Abu Khdeir

In this case, Yosef Ben David was the main actor, planning and performing the burning and murdering of another teenager with his two cousins. The perceived cause of the injustice was mostly systemic for Ben David, since the actor was exposed to state violence by living in a settlement, knowing friends that were injured and\or killed by jihadist terror attacks. As for the element of Grievance, it included the will to revenge death of Jews led by a radical retaliation ideology, combined with a profound sense of Alienation, claiming he was isolated from normal social activities in addition to geographically living in a disputed area.

Injustice: according to the perpetrator's testimony and direct interviews with the media, it is clear that the decision to engage in violence was a response to the fragile tension between Jews and Palestinians, and was also explained during the act as revenge against an ethno-political entity. The actor did not take into account state laws prohibiting individuals' use of violence as an answer to national security issues. The perceived cause of the injustice was mostly systemic, since the actor was exposed to state violence, and yet it also should be taken into account that the actor claimed to have psychiatric condition that led him to go "too far" with his revenge. Redistribution did not have much influence on the motives for the attack, but firmly ideological influence developed due to recent events. Recognition might have been part of the general message the actor tried to convey, but at the same time he was not part of any ideological group, and the political and religious group representing this ideology had an existing platform and was not ignored by the political elite. Therefore, it is safe to say that there was some small ambition for recognition. Representation was not a major part of the motives for the attack, since no connection to any radical right-wing groups was found. The fact that the actor tried to cause massive harm on multiple occasions prior to the murder suggests that he might have had thoughts about lack of radical representation that gave him a sufficient answer to the bad security situation in Israel.

Grievance: the perpetrators claimed that this was retaliation for very specific attacks made against the Jewish community of the West Bank, and also mentioned names during the act itself. But at the same time, they did not know these families, so the wrongs were not that specific. Their list of grievances includes the will to revenge the death of Jews with violence and connects to radical ideology, in addition to their own daily struggles. Even though all participants lived in a disputed area, belonged to a minority religious community, and had probably experienced terror attacks by jihadist Palestinians first-hand – at least by seeing

and\or hearing about friends and family – it is hard to determine that the act was motivated by personal closeness to the grievance, since they were not threatened themselves. There was no call for an entity to resolve or address the grievance, only an act of power that aimed to retaliate for a matter without thinking about its political effect. The demands stemming from the grievance were not at all pragmatic, since the only purpose was pure revenge and nothing more. In a re-enactment that occurred after the murder and was released to the public, Ben David said, in his version of the attack, *"[…] I wanted revenge for the events of the Fogel family, the murder of Shalhevet Pas and the three hostages"* (Brainer, 2016b). He also explained, *"we wanted an act of revenge. It started as a children's discourse but from talking it became serious things that only then do you pick them up at the time of the act. Looking for Arabs, something, no matter what"* (Brainer, 2016b).

Alienation: a sense of alienation was expressed by Ben David, according to court documentation, claiming he was isolated from normal social activities. The area he lived in also sharpened the isolation, and therefore might have had an influence on the perception of alienation linked to his participation in the hotspot. It's hard to be conclusive about the extent to which the alienation was voluntary, for a few reasons: the voices of the underaged participants were censored, and according to Ben David's testimony he did not have control over what happened, so it is not clear whether it was a result of a desirable reality or involuntary influence. The sense of alienation was a reaction to a recent event from hotspot 1, but also planned a few weeks prior to the event by performing minor acts of vandalism. It is not clear if the actor is interested in mitigating feelings of alienation, since he showed regret but did not take any accountability for his actions. One might say it is the start of realising the need to explain the actions.

Polarization: there is no doubt that the actor believed himself to be doing justice by using violence against anyone who was Palestinian\Arab. Attacking with violence during a military operation suggests the actor does not treat the law or the political situation as resolvable, but completely polarized. It's hard to determine what consideration has been taken by the actor of the political field and its polarization, since the actor could easily find a political or religious institution/establishment that professed similar ideas of racism in Israel (see WP3.1).

Young Shira Banki's last parade

According to testimony and Israeli journalistic interviews with main actor Yishai Schlissel, his understanding was that he had a historic mission led by the ultra-orthodox radical perception of restricting civic life according to the what he names "Tora law". The elements of Injustice, Grievance and Alienation had a very significant impact as motivational factors, pushing Schlissel to action. Political and religious leaders had also influenced his grasp of Polarization, and were used as part of his reasoning for violent action.

Injustice: Schlissel declared that the perceived injustice was produced by government; the judicial system and all secular Jewish society take part in liberal activities. The act was not rooted in unfair distribution of resources, but it is more accurate to assume what led Schlissel was a fundamental rejection of the Israeli state's lawful institutions. The sense of injustice is deeply rooted in a lack of political–religious representation, since the perpetrator declared that the only way for him to cooperate with the authorities is by them turning ultra-orthodox.

Grievance: For the actor, the fact that the gay parade took place in Jerusalem (or at all) was as if the state forced him to look at an abomination against the Jewish religion itself. The main

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grievance that comes out of Schlissel's testimony, statements and actions, is the freedom that the state gives to the queer community, which led him to violent actions in both 2005 and 2015. Schlissel was incarcerated for performing the same crime, and a month after getting out from prison he acted again. This goes to show that even if in the past one may assume the grievance was not personal, since he did not suffer any attack from the gay community himself, the 2015 case was added to the time he spent in jail for what he calls wrongdoing. The actor refers specifically to the way the democratic regime is build, and therefore centralizes his complaints against all Israeli authorities.

Alienation: it seems as if the actor points out the dimension of voluntarism in his behaviour. For Schlissel, there is no solution or wish to act differently, since his action was repeated. The sense of alienation was a reaction to the annual parade, but was not influenced by his environment, since he waited 10 years in prison to perform the same act again. The actor is not interested in mitigating feelings of alienation, and moreover he feels as if all official authorities are against him and therefore does not wish to cooperate. Schlissel sees himself as a messenger of God, never showing regret but acting on its own (Jerusalem County Court, 44503-08-15).

Polarization: even though there is a group that shares similar values to Schlissel's xenophobic perceptions, what separates him from it is the use of violence, as he stated that his path is the only effective way to act, and violence is a necessity. The perceived socio-political atmosphere between camps is very polarized in the eye of the actor. The policies in Israel do not permit any kind of violence against the LGBTQ community, and some high officials are part of it themselves. But unfortunately, the polarized agenda pursued by the actor is not far from current radical right-wing political parties.

Conclusions

The chosen hotspots share several links to each other, besides the fact that they all reflect various complex and fragile socio-political textures within the fabric of Israeli society. The city of Jerusalem and its complicated geopolitical situation emphasizes the first connection between the three different attacks. Being the Jewish state's capital city, divided into dozens of quarters populated by various ethnicities, the hotspots all had a relation to Jerusalem's complicated contemporary issues: the acceptance of the LGBTQ community despite its religious identity; sustaining the relations between its western neighborhoods and the eastern ones populated by Israeli-Arabs and Palestinians; and finally, using its political centrality in the national Israeli–Palestinian conflict as a tool for gaining individual profit in the name of radical ideologies.

Another link between the chosen hotspots is the liberal and democratic political framework in which all the attacks occurred, which highlights the lack of official definition in Israeli law of Jewish terror and violent actions. By that it allows radical opinions to be expressed, in a way, and helps discourse form into action. A third link can be identified in the role of the overarching "heated discourse" of "us vs. them" on religious, political and ethnic issues within Israeli society, but also on civic matters involving liberal law. This also plays a role in the political elite, starting at the beginning of the 21st century with the murder of Yitzhak Rabin by a radical right-wing extremist, followed by the near-elimination of the leftist parties, and finalized by excluding supporters of liberal and\or left-wing ideology. The word "peace" vanished from public discourse, and was replaced by intifada, lone-wolf terror, or war at its worst.

In parallel, a few gaps were also illuminated by finding the mutual elements and factors that were identified within the actors. On the micro-level the first and third hotspots shared a mutual link, since al-Qawasma and Schlissel both spent time in Israeli prison, but the second hotspot showed the opposite, by linking more of Ben David's mental issues and lonely personal conditions to its crime. He had no criminal record, and yet commanded the attack on Abu Khdeir. The isolation element also suits Schlissel, but does not follow al-Qawasma, since he was very much involved socially and used the assistance of friends from other villages as well as the Hamas organization and prison-mates. This leads to the meso-level, which exposes the shared reliance on family members in both the first and second hotspots, while the murder of Banki in the third did not depend on any other person but the main actor. In addition, the actors in the first and third hotspots both were struggling with socio-economic difficulties, while the perpetrators of hotspot 2 did not experience any.

On the macro-level there is also a significant difference between al-Qawasma's reliance on a political organization's instrumental support, while Schlissel and Ben David's external dependency was mainly on the ideology of radical religious movements. Hamas financed and recognized al-Qawsma's need for action. Some emphasize its ability to recruit perpetrators for violent actions through being highly active on social media since 2000 (Bartal & Frisch, 2017, p. 32), but in this case the actions were promoted mostly within their abilities to meet and contact others in person, since they lived in relatively isolated communities. It was almost easy for Schlissel to stab to death 16-year-old Shira Banki and for Ben Yishai to capture Abu Khdeir, who both lived in isolated areas under the Israeli free state, and saw anti-gay violence as a solution to disputes while Israel was pre-occupied with the complex national security situation. On the other hand, al-Qawasma did not have the same liberties as the actors from hotspots 2 and 3, since he was not a citizen, and so tried to lean on political help from Hamas in order to gain a socio-political and personal outcome in releasing Palestinian prisoners and family members.

The chosen hotspots show a lack of inclusive discourse, which contradicts the Israeli regime's agenda of an allegedly liberal democracy. Price-tag actions are illegal according to Israel's supreme court, but at the same time "The Nationality Law: 2018", established by right-wing parties, fuels radicalism on both sides. The law determined the superiority of the Hebrew language, customs and Jewish symbols over all other minorities, led by a right-wing regime (IDI, 2018). The law is not consistent with the notion of liberal democracy, and somewhat gave right-wing extremists the ability to feel empowered by ruling to a Kahanist agenda of purifying Israel from Arabs\Palestinians.

Finally, the most tragic relation of all is the fact that teenagers were involved in one way or another, as casualties or perpetrators, in all of these hotspots. The youths, led by elders and\or hurt by them in all three hotspots, highlight that exposure of children to racism and\or xenophobia incurs the highest price, whether through abusing another teenager or innocently participating in a parade. The abduction of the three boys, Gil-Ad Shaar, Naftali Frenkel and Eyal Yifrach, was also commemorated by an Israeli television series sold to HBO ("The Boys"), showing the complexity and socio-political struggles and outcomes of that horrific event, where its main offenders are the generation of the future (Horowitz, 2019). It is no coincidence that the show's main focus is on the reactions and consequences of the youths' kidnapping, by presenting the awful revenge in the form of another teenager, 16-year-old Muhammad Abu Khdeir. In parallel, 2019 revealed rifts in relations between the two main terror organizations,

PIJ and Hamas, as well as the fragility of the situation in the Gaza Strip (Zoref and Schweitzer, 2019).

And even though Shira Banki had nothing to do with the Israeli–Palestinian conflict, nor with nationalist terror groups, it's hard not to notice that her murder happens against the background of multiple violent acts across Israeli society. This might lead to the notion that the incitement behind retribution acts, whether planned or not, never leads to a desired outcome but actually creates long-term damage to the next generation that sometimes interprets state or anarchistic violence as an invitation for retaliation.

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Annex: I-GAP Coding

The murder of the youths from Gush Etzion

Injustice Coding

Q1. To what extent the hotspot is a response to injustice?	1
Comments to Q1	according to court documentation there was an obvious political goal that was attached to personal experiences of being incarcerated, as other member from the family and community
Q2. To what extent was the actor motivated by a real or perceived systemic bias or prejudice which leads to consistently unfair treatment?	5
Comments to Q2	It can be assumed that the perceived injustice was produced by a specific group inside the area he lived in, but also government actions, considering the clash between the Palestinian Authority and Hamas, and between Israel and Palestinians during 2014 and before. Therefore, it was an action taken after repeated wrongdoing
Q3. To what extent the injustice is linked to issues of redistribution?	5
Comments to Q3	The actor (composed of three participants) was driven by a notion of putting pressure on political discourse through a violent act, and also on the national conflict of the Palestinians who deal with everyday difficulties of ownership of land or jobs
Q4. To what extent the injustice is linked to issues of recognition?	5
Comments to Q4	According to media resources, a local political dispute was also part of action taken to re-establish power among the population of the Qawasma clan. In addition, there was a political goal that also served Hamas, and the demand for recognition can be found in this case
Q5. To what extent the injustice is linked to issues of representation?	2

Comments to Q5	Even though the act included political and social goals, it had little to do with a demand for representation, since the Hamas organization assisted but did not use the case eventually for negotiation on exchanging political prisoners with Israel, and it also did not affect the political clash between Hamas and Fatah.

Grievance Coding

Q1. How specific is the experienced grievance?	5
Comments to Q1	in this case, the accusation was well-framed and rooted in specific wrongs.
Q2. How extensive and diverse is the list of grievances?	5
Comments to Q2	The actor had a close relationship with violence by living in occupied territory, was imprisoned himself for political actions in the past, and was hoping to release other family members and friends with this act that ultimately got out of control.
Q3. How personal is the grievance?	1
Comments to Q3	The transgressive event affected the actor's family, since IDF destroyed their houses shortly after they were captured.
Q4. How formalized is the demand to address the grievance?	3
Comments to Q4	The act contained a combination of demanding that the government institution and minority group address the grievance, but it was also clear that the actor had earlier experience knowing this kind of act will not solve the political and social situation.
Q5. How realistic are the prospects to address the grievance?	3
Comments to Q5	Since Israel has made an exchange deal of political prisoners with Hamas and Fatah before, it is not baseless to assume that the prospect of addressing the grievance was somewhat realistic, even though it was not achieved.

Alienation Coding

Q1. How specific and central is the sense of alienation?	5
Comments to Q1	there is a precise and direct link between a specific form of alienation and the hotspot, since the actor testified that his personal identity and location were taken under consideration while performing the attack against a specific population.
Q2. How voluntary is the process of alienation?	3
Comments to Q2	It is hard to tell whether the actor perceived the alienation as a self-made decision or as a deterministic reality, since it combines both.
Q3. How complete is the alienation?	3
Comments to Q3	
Q4. How entrenched is the alienation?	4
Comments to Q4	The alienation can be considered a result of a lack of education, long-term indoctrination living in the West Bank area and being involved with an authority that has a political branch and a terror one, such as Hamas.
Q5. How reversible is the sense of alienation?	5
Comments to Q5	

Polarisation Coding

Q1. To what extent does the actor consider the political field to be polarized?	3
Comments to Q1	
Q2. How high is the perceived level of the polarization?	5
Comments to Q2	it might be true to say that kidnap as a tool for political action shows deep polarization between the Israeli regime and the Palestinian one, but this also applies inside the official institutions of Palestinian divided regime.
Q3. To what extent do the actor's opinions radically contrast with the	3

institutions (political, religious, cultural) and policies that are currently in place?	
Comments to Q3	
Q4. To what extent does the actor consider the political field to be polarized as compared with the social sphere?	2
Comments to Q4	
Q5. Did the actor consider their radical positions to have a clear outlet on the institutional, cultural, or political spectrum prior to the hotspot?	5
Comments to Q5	Hamas and the actor shared the same position of violent struggle to gain political profit, and by that creating a wider effect on life within the West Bank, in parallel to Fatah and the local clan.

The murder of teenager Abu Khdeir

Injustice Coding

Q1. To what extent the hotspot is a response to injustice?	5
Comments to Q1	according to perpetuator's testimony and direct interviews made to the media, it is clear that the decision to engage violence was a self-act response to fragile tension between Jews and Palestinians and was also explained during the act as revenge against an ethno-political entity
Q2. To what extent was the actor motivated by a real or perceived systemic bias or prejudice which leads to consistently unfair treatment?	4
Comments to Q2	the actor did not take under account state laws prohibit individuals use of violence as an answer to national security issues. the perceived cause of the injustice was mostly systemic since the actor was exposed to state's violence. it should be noted that the actor claims to have psychiatric condition that led him to go "to far" with his revenge
Q3. To what extent the injustice is linked to issues of redistribution?	1

Comments to Q3	Redistribution did not have much influence on the motives for the attack, but firmly ideological influence developed due to recent events
Q4. To what extent the injustice is linked to issues of recognition?	2
Comments to Q4	Recognition might have been part of the general message the actor tried to convey, but at the same time he was not part of any ideological group, and the political and religious group representing this ideology had an existing platform and was not ignored by the political elite. Therefore, it is safe to say that there was some small ambition for recognition.
Q5. To what extent the injustice is linked to issues of representation?	2
Comments to Q5	Representation was not a major part of the motives for the attack, since no connection to any radical right-wing groups was found. The fact that the actor tried to cause massive harm on multiple occasions prior to the murder suggests that he might have had thoughts about lack of radical representation that gave him a sufficient answer to the bad security situation in Israel.

Grievance Coding

Q1. How specific is the experienced grievance?	2
Comments to Q1	the perpetrators claimed that this was retaliation for very specific attacks made against the Jewish community of the West Bank, and also mentioned names during the act itself. But at the same time, they did not know these families, so the wrongs were not that specific.
Q2. How extensive and diverse is the list of grievances?	1
Comments to Q2	Their list of grievances includes the will to revenge the death of Jews with violence and connects to radical ideology, in addition to their own daily struggles
Q3. How personal is the grievance?	3

Comments to Q3	Even though all participants lived in a disputed area, belonged to a minority religious community, and had probably experienced terror attacks by jihadist Palestinians first-hand – at least by seeing and\or hearing about friends and family – it is hard to determine that the act was motivated by personal closeness to the grievance, since they were not threatened themselves
Q4. How formalized is the demand to address the grievance?	5
Comments to Q4	There was no call for an entity to resolve or address the grievance, only an act of power that aimed to retaliate for a matter without thinking about its political effect.
Q5. How realistic are the prospects to address the grievance?	5
Comments to Q5	The demands stemming from the grievance were not at all pragmatic, since the only purpose was pure revenge and nothing more

Alienation Coding

Q1. How specific and central is the sense of alienation?	4
Comments to Q1	a sense of alienation was expressed by Ben David, according to court documentation, claiming he was isolated from normal social activities. The area he lived in also sharpened the isolation, and therefore might have had an influence on the perception of alienation linked to his participation in the hotspot.
Q2. How voluntary is the process of alienation?	3
Comments to Q2	It's hard to be conclusive about the extent to which the alienation was voluntary, for a few reasons: the voices of the underaged participants were censored, and according to Ben David's testimony he did not have control over what happened, so it is not clear whether it was a result of a desirable reality or involuntary influence.
Q3. How complete is the alienation?	3

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Comments to Q3	
Q4. How entrenched is the alienation?	2
Comments to Q4	The sense of alienation was a reaction to a recent event from hotspot 1, but also planned a few weeks prior to the event by performing minor acts of vandalism
Q5. How reversible is the sense of alienation?	3
Comments to Q5	It is not clear if the actor is interested in mitigating feelings of alienation, since he showed regret but did not take any accountability for his actions. One might say it is the start of realising the need to explain the actions.

Polarisation Coding

Q1. To what extent does the actor consider the political field to be polarized?	5
Comments to Q1	there is no doubt that the actor believed himself to be doing justice by using violence against anyone who was Palestinian\Arab
Q2. How high is the perceived level of the polarization?	5
Comments to Q2	Attacking with violence during a military operation suggests the actor does not treat the law or the political situation as resolvable, but completely polarized.
Q3. To what extent do the actor's opinions radically contrast with the institutions (political, religious, cultural) and policies that are currently in place?	1
Comments to Q3	
Q4. To what extent does the actor consider the political field to be polarized as compared with the social sphere?	3
Comments to Q4	It's hard to determine what consideration has been taken by the actor of the political field and its polarization, since the actor could easily find a political or religious institution/establishment that professed similar ideas of racism in Israel (see WP3.1).

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Q5. Did the actor consider their radical positions to have a clear outlet on the institutional, cultural, or political spectrum prior to the hotspot?	5
Comments to Q5	

Young Shira Banki's last parade

Injustice Coding

Q1. To what extent the hotspot is a response to injustice?	1
Comments to Q1	
Q2. To what extent was the actor motivated by a real or perceived systemic bias or prejudice which leads to consistently unfair treatment?	5
Comments to Q2	Schlissel declared that the perceived injustice was produced by government; the judicial system and all secular Jewish society take part in liberal activities.
Q3. To what extent the injustice is linked to issues of redistribution?	1
Comments to Q3	The act was not rooted in unfair distribution of resources
Q4. To what extent the injustice is linked to issues of recognition?	1
Comments to Q4	it is more accurate to assume what led Schlissel was a fundamental rejection of the Israeli state's lawful institutions
Q5. To what extent the injustice is linked to issues of representation?	4
Comments to Q5	The sense of injustice is deeply rooted in a lack of political–religious representation, since the perpetrator declared that the only way for him to cooperate with the authorities is by them turning ultra-orthodox.

Grievance Coding

Q1. How specific is the experienced grievance?	5
Comments to Q1	For the actor, the fact that the gay parade took place in Jerusalem (or at all) was as if the state forced him to look at an

	abomination against the Jewish religion itself.
Q2. How extensive and diverse is the list of grievances?	1
Comments to Q2	The main grievance that comes out of Schlissel's testimony, statements and actions, is the freedom that the state gives to the queer community, which led him to violent actions in both 2005 and 2015.
Q3. How personal is the grievance?	1
Comments to Q3	Schlissel was incarcerated for performing the same crime, and a month after getting out from prison he acted again. This goes to show that even if in the past one may assume the grievance was not personal, since he did not suffer any attack from the gay community himself, the 2015 case was added to the time he spent in jail for what he calls wrongdoing
Q4. How formalized is the demand to address the grievance?	1
Comments to Q4	The actor refers specifically to the way the democratic regime is build, and therefore centralizes his complaints against all Israeli authorities.
Q5. How realistic are the prospects to address the grievance?	5
Comments to Q5	
Q1. How specific is the experienced grievance?	5

Alienation Coding

Q1. How specific and central is the sense of alienation?	5
Comments to Q1	
Q2. How voluntary is the process of alienation?	1
Comments to Q2	it seems as if the actor points out the dimension of voluntarism in his behaviour.
Q3. How complete is the alienation?	5
Comments to Q3	For Schlissel, there is no solution or wish to act differently, since his action was repeated

Q4. How entrenched is the alienation?	3
Comments to Q4	The sense of alienation was a reaction to the annual parade, but was not influenced by his environment, since he waited 10 years in prison to perform the same act again.
Q5. How reversible is the sense of alienation?	5
Comments to Q5	The actor is not interested in mitigating feelings of alienation, and moreover he feels as if all official authorities are against him and therefore does not wish to cooperate. Schlissel sees himself as a messenger of God , never showing regret but acting on its own

Polarisation Coding

Q1. To what extent does the actor consider the political field to be polarized?	5
Comments to Q1	even though there is a group that shares similar values to Schlissel's xenophobic perceptions, what separates him from it is the use of violence, as he stated that his path is the only effective way to act, and violence is a necessity
Q2. How high is the perceived level of the polarization?	5
Comments to Q2	The perceived socio-political atmosphere between camps is very polarized in the eye of the actor.
Q3. To what extent do the actor's opinions radically contrast with the institutions (political, religious, cultural) and policies that are currently in place?	5
Comments to Q3	The policies in Israel do not permit any kind of violence against the LGBTQ community, and some high officials are part of it themselves
Q4. To what extent does the actor consider the political field to be polarized as compared with the social sphere?	1
Comments to Q4	

Q5. Did the actor consider their radical positions to have a clear outlet on the institutional, cultural, or political spectrum prior to the hotspot?	5
Comments to Q5	unfortunately, the polarized agenda pursued by the actor is not far from current radical right-wing political parties even though the liberal law is against acts of xenophobia.