International Journal of Arts and Social Science www.ijassjournal.com
ISSN: 2581-7922,
Volume 7 Issue 8, August 2024

Beyond the Margins: Exploring the Socio-Spatial Stigma of Bedouin Neighborhoods in Jerusalem's Periphery

Omar Mizel
Ono Academic College

Abstract: The discourse surrounding Bedouin neighborhoods in the periphery of Jerusalem is fraught with challenges, as their development is often viewed as a flaw within the urban fabric. The absence of state institutions further exacerbates the stigma associated with these communities. This paper examines the complexities of Bedouin neighborhoods in Jerusalem's periphery, shedding light on the various factors contributing to their marginalization. Drawing on insights from labeling theory and social exclusion literature, this study reveals the multifaceted nature of stigma experienced by residents of Bedouin neighborhoods. The intertwining of labeling, stereotyping, exclusion, and discrimination has perpetuated a sense of social injustice among Bedouin youths, impacting their self-esteem and societal perceptions. The research highlights the urgent need to address the socio-spatial stigma attached to Bedouin neighborhoods and to challenge the prevailing narratives that contribute to their marginalization. By recognizing the complexities and contradictions inherent in these communities, Israeli society can strive towards greater inclusivity and social justice.

I. Introduction

Stigma is one of the major social phenomena that have attracted the attention of sociologists and researchers in the various fields of the social sciences. This phenomenon is associated withthe labeling and classifying of individuals or social groups in a manner that demeans them or positions them in a negative place in society. Stigma may be based on specific individual features such as gender, race, religion, social class, or sexual orientation, or on specificfeatures of the group to which the individuals concerned belong.

The concept of stigma is very muchpresent in the social sciences, especially in the field of social psychology. There are manymisperceptionsregarding the definition of this concept, and it should be notedhere that one of the curious features present in the literature is the variability that exists inthe definitions of stigma (Stafford and Scott, 1986). According to Stafford and Scott, stigma "is a characteristic of persons that is contrary to a norm of a social unit" where "norm" is defined as a "shared belief that a person ought to behave in a certain way at a certain time."Crocker and Major (1989) maintain that stigmatized individuals possesssome attribute, or characteristic, that conveys a socialidentity that is devalued in a particular social context."Joneset al. (1984) define stigma as the relationship between an attribute and a stereotype. When attempting to clarify the concept, most researchers refer to Goffman's definition (1963) that stigma is an invisible badge that discredits its bearers deeply, transforming each of them "from a whole and usual person to a tainted, discounted one".

Two prominent reasons stand behind the diversity and variation in the definitions of stigma.First, the concept of stigma is invariably applied to a wide range of situations, each of which is characterized by its own jargon. Secondly, stigma research is interdisciplinary,encompassing contributions from researchers in psychology, sociology, politics, and geography.

Given the complexity and the definition variations of the phenomenon of stigma, I will focus in this study on spatial stigma, which refers to the process by which individuals or specific groups, spaces, or residential environments are stigmatized and their status diminished.

Spatial stigma

Considered one of the social phenomena that are worthy of attention and scientific research, spatial stigma plays a crucial role in shaping social identities and determining attitudes towardboth individuals and communities and reflects the inequality and marginalization that some impoverished localities in citiesare faced with.The subject of spatial stigma is prominent in sociological studies with regard to issues such as social differentiation, marginalization, chaotic urban identity, and population policies.

In her study that is focused on urban collapse and which is entitled "Urban Decay" (2000), Durateprobes processes of stigmatization in poor urban neighborhoods and emphasizes the role of marginalization and exclusion in these slums.Monira Zirmani (1999) in a research study conducted in France noted that the youthswho were interviewedfelt that they were victims of what could, I believe, be termed spatial ghettoization.

In a study on suburban youth stigmatization, Derville Gregory (1997) asked"What is the potential impact on public perception of the discourse conveyed by the media and media coverage of the suburbs and suburban youth?"and showed how French media and media coverage tend to form a specific and highly demeaning image of suburban youth.

Surveys have shown that the residents of impoverished urban neighborhoods consider themselves abandoned by the authorities, and this feeling leads to increased unemployment and violence in those neighborhoods.

The effects of the concepts of "we"/"us"and "they"/"them" in the perpetuation of stigmatized communities

The concepts of "we"/"us"and "they"/"them"reflect social divisions that characterize stigmatized communities, with "them"referring to the feelings of segregation and social exclusion resulting from discrimination and marginalization, and with "us" signifying unity and solidarity in the face of distress and common challenges.

The effects of the concepts of "we"/"us"and "they"/"them" in the perpetuation of stigmatized communities are manifested in several ways.

1. The formation of a social identity: Spatial stigma influences the formation of a social identity among stigmatized individuals and groupsthat reflects the negative self-image resulting fromdiscrimination and marginalization.

2. Reinforcement of discrimination and marginalization: The concepts of "we"/"us"and "they"/"them"in stigmatized societies reinforce discrimination and marginalization, as they separate the elite from the marginalized and reinforce social partitions.

3. Serious limiting of social and economic opportunities: The concepts of "we"/"us" and "they"/"them" significantly limit the social and economic opportunities of stigmatized individuals, as discrimination and marginalization deter them from realizing their potential and hinder their personal and professional development.

Morone (1997) points out that the American experience provides numerous examples of the effects of the concepts of "we"/"us" and "they"/"them."Black Americans of African origin and North American Indians as well as successive waves of immigrants are frequently described as outsider groups, labeled as"them," and regarded as completely different from "us"—the members of the majority society. In the early days of U.S. history, Americans of English origin leftspecific neighborhoods where many of the residents were of Dutch origin and were regarded by the English colonists as individuals who exhibited unacceptable deviant practicesand who caused considerable social disturbances. In contrast with their English counterparts, the Dutch colonists had a lower standard of living and earned their livelihood from jobs that had a lower status and which

provided lower wages. Their situation frustrated and angered the Dutch colonists, who, in the eyes of the English colonists, were considered immoral and lazy and therefore a threat to the English colonists.

The stigmatization process often involves the attribution of undesirable traits to individuals or groups and the exploitation of thisattribution as a justification for the belief that the people who are stigmatized are fundamentally different from those who are not stigmatized.

In general, stigmatized groups suffer from a deprivation of livelihood opportunities such as income, education, housing, medical treatment, etc. Stigmatized people feel out of place and usually have a low status in the hierarchy of the society in which they live. If a person is attributed with undesirable characteristics, this reduces his or her status in the eyes of the stigmatizer. The fact that human beings establish hierarchies is evident in organizational arrangements, which invariably determine who sits in meetings, the order of speakers, and so on.

It is noteworthy that the concept of institutional racism refers to accumulated institutional practices that disadvantage racial groups and minorities even in the absence of individual bias or discrimination. (Carmichael & Hamilton, 2008).

For example, white employers often make hiring decisions based on personal recommendations from white colleagues or acquaintances.

Who are the Bedouin of Jerusalem?

When the Bedouin from the Negev sought places of refuge during Israel's War of Independence (1948–1949), or what is referred to by many Arabs as the Nakba (the catastrophe), that population became dispersed over a wide area in Israel, and a large percentage of the Negev Bedouin settled in various Jerusalem suburbs, principally, Anata, Wadi Abu Hindi, Khan al-Ahmar, and Jabal al-Baba. Israelrefuses to recognize the new Bedouin settlements and seeks to expel their inhabitants. Twenty-six of these communities are located in the greater Jerusalem area, and are inhabited, according to United Nations estimates, by 4,856 Bedouin, who face harsh living conditions in terms of basic services such as water and electricity, and have limited access to educational and health centers (Heneiti, 2016).

The Bedouin of Jerusalem belong to the Jahalin tribal confederation and are known as "Jahalin Arabs." As a result of the War of Independence, they leftthe Tel Arad area in the Negev and took refuge in the West Bank.

Initiallly, most of them were concentrated in the Hebron area, and, as noted above,some of them subsequently settled in Jerusalem, specifically, in four main suburbs: Anata, Wadi Abu Hindi, Khan al-Ahmar, and Jabal al-Baba.

The Bedouin of Jerusalem are very unhappy with the restrictions on their movement. Those who live in the Khan al-Ahmar area, which is adjacentto Ma'aleAdumim, are not allowed to enter Jerusalem. In March 2010, the Israeli Civil Administration issued a decision to demolish all of the houses and all of the public and commercial buildings in Khan al-Ahmar. Not only are the villages of the Bedouin of Jerusalem not recognized communities,their residents are also denied ownership of the land as part of a policy that aims at relocating them in other parts of the country.

Amara (2008) stresses that the legal status of the Bedouin differs from one community to another. Some of them live on Palestinian lands under an agreement with the landowners and the families that own them, while others reside on lands owned by churchesthat allow them to live there, in accordance with certain understandings, as is the case with the Jabal Al Baba community.

At all times, the Bedouin in the Jerusalem periphery face daily challenges with regard to restrictions concerning movement, grazing areas, and entryto some places that are close to their communities and which have been designated "military zones".In addition, these Bedouinmust contend with orders issued by the military that allow the immediate demolition and evacuation of houses in the communities of the Jerusalem Bedouin without sufficient judicial review (Amara, 2008).

The State of Israel contributes to the reinforcement of the political stigma of these residents, who are labeled as trespassers, infiltrators, and nomads with no fixed address; thusthese residents often feel that they are beingmanipulated.In addition, Jerusalem Bedouinsense that they are being seriously neglectedbyIsrael's civil society institutions with regard to the provision of sufficientschool facilities and the opening of medical clinics. In the area of spatial stigmatization, these Bedouin feel that parallel urban communitiesare labeling themas unwanted outsiderswho are not allowed to integrate into society. Thepolitical and social stigmatizationof Jerusalem Bedouin has dramatically contributed to their marginalization and their exclusion from public space.

It should be emphasized that the present research study does not address all forms of stigmatization experienced by Jerusalem Bedouin; however,it will delve intothe spatial social stigma that has created barriers between the settlements of Jerusalem Bedouin and adjacent urban neighborhoods.

This research study traces the development of the concept of stigmatizationdirected against Bedouin communities by the neighboring urban communities in the city of Jerusalem, especially the stigmatization as seen from the perspective ofIsraeli Jewish youth. Although the focus of the present research study will be on negative stigmatization, it should be acknowledged that someIsraeli Jewish youth describe Bedouin in positive terms, citing theirbravery, chivalry—and generosity. Finally, it was my intention to focus a spotlight on the agony of the social exclusionbeing suffered by these inhabitants.

The social construction of the social stigma of the Bedouin settlements in the Jerusalem periphery is based onadistinction between "us" and "them." The concept of "us" versus "them" is one of the most important components of stigma, because the differences between urban neighborhoods in Jerusalem andthe Bedouin settlements adjacent tothem contribute significantly to social stigmatization.

This spatial hierarchy distinguishes the residents of Bedouin neighborhoods, who are labeled "Bedouinchildren," from the residents of the adjacent Jerusalem neighborhoods, who are labeled "city children." Denying individuals their "social sanctity," stigmatization categorizes themas human beings who have rejected the moral and aesthetic standards of society, and ultimatelylabeling them and ranking them as citizens who have an "inferior" status.

Goffman (1963) defines stigmatization as a special kind of specific relationship that can be either physical or psychological. Unless it bases itself on a list of inferior characteristics, our perception of the Other as decidedly different is not necessarily stigmatization. Therefore, in order to understand the stigmatized person, we contrast him/her not with what we consider to be abnormal, but rather with what we consider to be normal. Consequently, to comprehend the symbolism of the "Bedouin community" in this study, we must compare the Bedouin population around Jerusalem with the communities in the city of Jerusalem to which they are adjacent.

Differences between spatial stigmatization and stereotypes

There are many negative stereotypes associated with the spatial stigmatization that stems from the differences between these two kinds of neighborhoods. The inferiority of the Bedouin communitybears a significant social symbolism. In social psychology, this category of stereotype encompasses all the beliefs connected withthe characteristics of certain individuals and with the ideas that some people associate with another human group. Stereotypes are also the products of mental representations, social classifications, and stereotypical characteristics that appear in the form of linguistic clichés and expressions that erase certain features, replacing them with other features and evengiving them meaningful content.

Therefore, the labeling of Jerusalem's Bedouin as "inhabitants of Ash-Shaq" (inhabitants of the tent) has become a form of symbolic punishment directed against the entire Bedouin community in Jerusalem for any instance of immoral or illegal behavior committed by a member of that community. It should be noted parenthetically that the concept of "Ash-Shaq" (the tent) throughout ages was a positive concept connoting generosity and chivalry. However,due to the closeness of Bedouin communities to urban neighborhoods in Jerusalem, the concept has acquired a negative connotation among the residents of those neighborhoods. Thus, residents of the urban neighborhoods to which Bedouin communities are adjacent often refer to any unacceptable behavior on the part of a Bedouin individual as "the behavior of the people of the 'Ash-Shaq' (the

tent).”The overall result is that the Bedouinslums adjacent to Jerusalem neighborhoodshave become strongly stigmatized because of urban social imagination and urban social perceptions.

Bedouin communities generally suffer from preconceived thoughts that associate them with misery, migration, and insecurity because they often represent the worst forms of housing at the bottom rung of the ladder of urban hierarchy due to the inferior materialsused in the construction of the houses in those communities and because of their marginal location in physical terms. Therefore, social life in such neighborhoods often tends to seem monotonous, shallow, tragic, and—at times—violent. This inferiority is linked not only to the Bedouin residents themselves in these communities, but also to the image ofpoverty and crime stigmathat is prevalent in these slums. Sadly, these Bedouin neighborhoods share a spatial stigma that makes them dangerous places where the law is not respected and where social deviance and crime prevail.

The presence of the preconceived thoughts and prejudices ofthe residents of Jerusalem’s urban neighborhoods toward the adjacent Bedouin communities causes these residents to considerthe members of those Bedouin communities deviants, extremists, and uncivilized individuals. Although, as a result, all Bedouin communities adjacent to urban neighborhoods are automatically labeled slums,some scholarsblame the prevailing materialistic or symbolic stereotype in urban neighborhoods as the underlying reason for the stereotypes imposed on Bedouin.

Consequences of spatial stigmatization

Recognizing the impact ofspatial differences on the formation ofsuch stereotypes, we must also be aware thatstigmatizationcan generate discriminatory practices. For Bourdieu (1979), places that exist in a hierarchical society are also hierarchical, expressing existing social components and differences.

When residents of Bedouin neighborhoods are stigmatized and associated with undesirable characteristics, their segregation, exclusion, and devaluation become a justified matter, and, as a result, stigmatized Bedouin neighborhoods always live under the yoke of material and psychological deprivation. One of the most important consequences of stigmatization is the assignment of stigmatized persons and communities to a lower social status and theirassociation with a stereotype that reduces and demeans their status. Like other forms of stigma, spatial stigmatization is used as a justification to devalue and exclude stigmatized persons or groups. As a result,the Bedouin residents of these neighborhoods have to daily carry the enormous symbolic burdenplaced on their shoulders: their “affiliation with Bedouin clans,” a label that is automatically linked in the eyes of others to a stereotypical group that is despised, humiliated, and socially stigmatized. Thus, Bedouin are often viewed as annoying, threatening or dangerous (Link et al., 1999). At the same time, all the other dimensions that make these residents look as ordinary as their neighbors in urban neighborhoods are underestimated, placed in the background, or completely overlooked. (Link et al., 1999)

From the sociological standpoint, severalcomparisonscan be made between, on the one hand, the strategies of spatial and social distancing of urban middle classes toward the lower and poorer classes and, on the other hand,the concern of parents for the fate of their children. It should be noted here that Israeli lawrequires parents to search for schoolsfor their children. As a result,Bedouin parents sometimes have no choice but to send their children to schools in nearby urban neighborhoods. The Bedouin studentssent to schools outside their neighborhoods may find themselves torn between great contradictions.Sometimes,they may find themselves psychologically and socially isolated despite their actual presence in a school setting. Their psychological and social isolation may even cause them to run away or to drop out of school.

Despite the geographical and physical integration of Bedouin youth into the urban fabric, they sense the illegitimacy of their presence and feel that they are outsiders in the urban setting.

The reason for such sentiments is the fact that a Bedouin neighborhood exists as an isolated entity that is socially alien to the city; the residents of that neighborhood feel that they are separated from the civilized space and they have beenthrown into a distant space characterized by emotions of rejection and abuse.

Those who live in Bedouin slums feel the embarrassing difference between their community and the adjacent urban neighborhood. This feeling of embarrassment can be also interpreted as a form of awareness of the discriminationthey daily experience. Furthermore, an individual’s social status is often determined by his or

her position in the material space. Self-perception as a second-class city dweller is usually the result of, on the one hand, a dynamic social process and, on the other hand, theintegration of dominant and exclusionary social representations.

This stereotype represents a constant threat to the stigmatized, who often internalize it and confirm it through their behavior(Mahmoud & Zaki, 2015).

The spatial stigmatization of Bedouin neighborhoods has a strong and profound impact that ultimately encompasses all Bedouin, and itcan extend to schools, universities, hospital, and all other public institutions. This influence is reflected in the formation of an internal self-image among the residents of Bedouin settlements. Stigmatized neighborhoods can have a negative effect on ordinary urbanites and on even the residents of Bedouin settlements.

As noted above, one of the most important consequences of this process of stigmatization is that it places stigmatized personsand groups in a lower social status,linking them to a negative stereotype; thus, the stigmatized youth of Bedouin neighborhoodsare likely to feel outsiders in urban settings and to feel that they are in a kind of compulsory exile in these urban settings and that those settings are a savage world.These youths experience a strong awareness of being isolated and excluded from mainstream society andfeel that they stand out in a negative and embarrassing way because of their place of residence. In this connection, Bourdieu (1979) speaks of the formation of the place, which, for some social classes, constitutes a form of power flaunting.The Bedouin residents of slum communitiesoccupy an inferior place that constitutes a source of embarrassment to them.

Since slum dwellers have a bleak image of their place of residence, it is difficult for themin their daily lives to live outside the image of contempt that they suffer from and which is due to the stigma of their place of residence, labeled as a havenof distress and crime. In addition to affecting their presence in school, their search for work, their relationships with the opposite sex, and all their various daily interactions (Wacqunat, 2007), stigma impacts the dwellers of Bedouin communities themselves, causing them to bear feelings of shame toward their Bedouin neighbors and to even fear them.

An obstacle to self-realization

Spatial and social stigma constitute a major obstacle to self-realization. Not only does stigma affect self-image—because stigmatized individualsare exposed to negative classifications that affect their self-confidence and their belief in their own capacities—it also limits social opportunities and restricts the ability of the stigmatized individuals to achieve their goals and ambitions. In addition, stigma can affect social relationships and cause psychological stress.

The youth of Bedouin neighborhoodsmust contend with spatial injustice, which representsa double-edgedspatial contempt: symbolic,as communicated by the negative image that others attribute to them, and materialistic,because they aredeprived of a decent area of housing in which all basic services are available. They suffer the experience of living under a zinc roof or in a tent, and they must struggle with natural phenomena: In the summer, they are stifled by the heat of a relentless sun, and, in winter, they must contend with rain, whichproduces damage and discomfort in these slumsdue to a lack of reliable sanitation services and an inadequate supply of electricity and clean water, serious problems compounded by poor sanitary and health conditions. Therefore, extreme weather conditions turn theslum into a space of distress and suffering rather than a haven of safetyand comfort.

One of the most important forms of spatial deprivation is the absence of intimate personal space and an absence of areas where Bedouin youth can freely engage in many of the rituals that youthin ordinary neighborhoods engage in. The absence of privacy and the lack of a private room inside a zinc-roofed housecause young Bedouin people—who naturally need to communicate freely with their peers—to suffer fromtension more than the members of other age groups.

Due tothe absence of intimacy and privacy, the suffering they cause in Bedouin neighborhoods extends to broader areas like marital structureand family structure, which are often encroached upon byother members of the family who are constantlyintruding, by the physical presence of many individuals in cramped spaces, and by

the noiseand sounds that passthrough thin walls and which allow everyone to hear everything that goes on in these impoverished dwellings. Thisproblem is also reflected in the intercommunication with neighbors. For example, Abdul Rahman Al-Kawakibi, who is cited by Arrif (1991),stresses that "the quality of housing plays a major role in determining the degree of family independence. The more isolated the household is, the more freedom its members feel and the better their communication with their neighbors is, while the members of the household that are closely attached to each other and open to their neighbors are more disposed toisolation and closure." In addition, the entry of guests into their homes causes distress to slum dwellersbecause they are ashamed of their living conditions and because the importance of hospitality in Islamic culture does not permit them to evade the hosting of guests on a regular basis.

These Bedouin settlements are considered border neighborhoods. A spatial border isthe "space between private space—home—and public space— street/road, square, or doorstep." (SOURCE???) Spatial borders are considered a feminine space*par excellence* in the Bedouin slums, where women are positioned at the center of daily neighborhood social relations. In neighborhood alleys, which are a superb feminine space, there is a distinct feminine touch: Women are present in the alleys because of their daily domestic activities, and they transform the alley from a semi-public space to a private one— a spaceforinterpersonal exchange and neighborhood interactions.

The pressures of slum householdsforce women to relocate their domestic activities to the neighborhood alleys due to the narrow space of their slum house. To maintain some degree of privacy and to block curious glances, a cloth of transparent fabric is sometimes hung at the entrance of alleys and the interiors of houses. Thus, activities are moved from the interior of the house to the doorstep or the alley near the entrance of the dwelling. Doorsteps and spatial boundaries betweenthe interior of the house and the street, as well as in alleyways offer a space for relationships and meetings where use is sometimes made of codes and symbols in order to preserve confidentiality or for fear that these meetings might have to be transferred tothe public spaces.

Spatial stigma and livability

One of the most serious difficulties faced by slum residents is the lack of freedom of movement, which is compounded by the presence of Israeli military checkpoints, which constitute a major obstacle to freedom of movement. The difficulty of easily accessing public and private means of transportation is anothermajorobstacle. The standard of livingin the Bedouin neighborhood generally does not allow residents to own their own means of transportation; public transportation services are inadequate, and their availability does not match the residents' requirements. The importance of space and mobility is measured not only spatially but also temporally. The more important the city where the Bedouin neighborhood is, the easier will be the access to public and private means of transportation and thus the greater will be the ability of the neighborhood's residents to control their time (Bourdieu, 1979).

Many young people in Bedouin neighborhoodsface difficultieswhen they enter the labor market because potential employers refrain from employing them. Whenever a slum youth revealshis or her place of residence, this is frequently sufficient to triggera potential employer's wariness. Discrimination because of a slum address naturally hinders the process of searching for a job andsignificantly increases the local rate of unemployment. The problem of a slum address not only affects job-hunting but also causes teachers, police officers, and university admission offices to proceed with great caution.

People often tend to adapt their behavior to conform to the norms of their place of residence. In the case of Bedouin slums, they are generally perceived by outside observers as havens of social deviance. It is enough for young peopleto mention that theylive in a Bedouin slum for themto beaccused of social deviance, and such accusations foster feelings of guilt and embarrassment among the youth of Bedouin slums. When some individualsbelonging to a specific group or community are labeled as persons associated with a negative stereotype, stigmatizers feel they havethe right to apply that negative stereotype to the entire group or community and to discriminate against it, whether overtly or covertly. This is what Bruce Link and Jules Phelan call "individual discrimination" (DuPont-Reyes et al., 2020). Symbolic exclusion increases in such situations,

because slum youth from such marginalized neighborhoods tend to be ashamed of their community and to view themselves as permanent outsiders vis-à-vis mainstream society.

The power of spatial stigma

The mental image of the slum has beengradually developed and built over time by various institutions, media, and governmental institutions, and the spreading of this mental image is reflected in all sectors of society. The power of spatial stereotypingstems from thecreation of a sharp distinctionbetween"acceptable" neighborhoods ("we"/"us") and Bedouin slums("they"/"them") and from the fear that "they" areseen as potentially threatening "us" because "they" are considered social deviants and criminals.

When this attitude is strengthened inthe urban imagination and the urban mentality, every negative and violent action against "them" becomes socially acceptable. Furthermore, stigmatization is entirely contingent on access to social, economic and political power(Link et al.,1999).Poor and marginalized places are considered a "discriminatory space" forthe exercise of power, often in a covert manner.

Bedouin neighborhood youth must contend with the negative image imposed on them in urban space. They are fully aware of the stigma and their being branded as an unacceptable Other and they are also conscious that they are being excluded from the process ofurbanization because they belong to a socially inferior group and because they live in a marginalizedspace of residence. In response to the stigmatization of the place of their residence, some Bedouin youth try to escape and move out of their stigmatized neighborhoods.

Geographic or symbolic social escape is one of the means that slum youths have followed to remove their stigma. There is another strategy to escapefrom stigma, which is to throw stigmas back on others and which can be considered a form of symbolic self-cleaning.

The distortionand defaming of the spatial reputation of others reduce depression, combat any desire to surrender, and are a response to attempts to exclude stigmatized individuals; such actions eventually prevent the stigmatizers from strengthening their network of relationships andimpairs their social interaction.

In addition to geographic or symbolic social escape, there are other strategies to conceal signs of a stigmatization identity, such as the concealment ofone's body and attire.The body is an expression of identity, and slum youth sometimes hide their bodies by replacing their traditional attire with urban clothes; this strategy allows them to integrate into urban society. Another strategy isgive a false address in order to circumvent, and deny,one's actual geographical location and affiliation.

The Bedouin neighborhood is considered a "territorial dilemma" for Bedouin youth, and they tryeverypossible way to get rid of this spatial territoryeither by leaving it or by resorting to concealment.

Is it possible to changea stigma?

If stigma is a persistent problem for many, how can it be changed? Stigma is a social phenomenon that causes discrimination against, and the marginalization of, individuals or groups within society. Since stigma isa continuous problem facing the individual over time,there are practical strategies that can be adopted to achieve a change in this situation.

Practical strategies to change an individual's or a group's stigma

1. Resistance to the dominant culture: The attempt to change astigma is a formidablechallengebecauseof the power of the dominant culture and the power of negative perceptions and stereotypes that may be part of that culture. In general,itis very difficult to transforman existing stigma.

2. Combatting social prejudice: Social prejudicecan be a major barrier to changing a stigmabecause the attitude of individuals or groups to a stigmatized individual or group and to prevailing perceptions and discriminatory practices is often deeply rooted.

3. Combatting psychological factors: Psychological factors,such as fear of the unknown and anxiety over possible failure, can influence the desire and willingness of individuals to take part inefforts to change a stigma.

It is crucial to focus on two principles when one considers ways to change a stigma. First, the approach that one adopts must be multifaceted and multileveled: multifaceted so that one can effectively address the multiple mechanisms that have been leading to undesirable consequences; and multileveled in order to successfully address issues of individual and structural discrimination. Nonetheless, an approach to change—here is the second and most important principle—must ultimately address the fundamental cause of a given stigma. We can either attempt to change the positions of powerful groups and their deeply-rooted convictions that have led to denigration, stereotyping, dehumanization, and discrimination, or, alternatively, we can attempt to change circumstances in order torestrict the power of the group or groups that are causing the stigmato be dominant and prevalent in a given society.

In the absence of the possibility of fundamental transformations, interventions that target only one mechanism at a time will ultimately fail because their effectiveness will be undermined by contextual factors that such narrow intervention leaves untouched.

When we consider a multifaceted response to stigma, we must,therefore, choose either interventions that bring about fundamental transformations in attitudes and convictions, or interventions that change the power relations underlying the supremacy of the dominant group or groups.

Summary

Any discourse concerning the Bedouin neighborhoods in the Jerusalem periphery is problematic due to the fact that the development of this phenomenon is considered a defect in the urban structure, and undoubtedly the absence of state institutions in these neighborhoods contributes to the prominenceof the stigma.

II. Conclusion

It is difficult to discuss publicly the problem of Bedouin neighborhoods in Jerusalem, asIsrael's official and civil society institutions have contributed tothe development of this phenomenon, which is considered a defect and a shortcoming in urban structure.

The stigma of the Bedouin neighborhoods in Jerusalem'speriphery was formed when diverse elements—labeling, stereotyping, exclusion, loss of place, and discrimination—came together in a situation of balance of power that allowed these processes to unfold. The goal of this research study was to reveal the anguish of the Bedouin in isolated and excluded neighborhoods, which not only failed to provide access tothe most basic of social services, but alsohaveexacerbated their dilemma to the extent that they cannot overcome the obstacleof the presentation of the self in everyday life.

Residents of Bedouin neighborhoods, especially youths, have been labeled with a socio-spatial stigma that may causea loss of their self-esteem in their interpersonal relations and which may also harm their self-image. A feeling of social injustice not only weighs down onthe members of the younger generation inBedouin neighborhoods when they consider their status as Arab youths in Israeli society, it also causes them to sense social oppression to the extentthat these youths have started to consider the differences between poor and rich neighborhoods that go beyond the issue of Arab-Jewish relations in Israel, and this awareness serves to exacerbate their feelings of social injustice.

As Loïc Wacquant (2007)notes, exclusion is a process that results in many forms of marginalization that take materialistic and symbolic forms. The deprivation, discrimination, and stigmatization that Bedouin experience in their daily interactions has created aparadoxical stigma in the attitudes toward Bedouin neighborhoodsin the Jerusalemperiphery. This paradoxical stigma, which must be eliminated from Israeli society, reflects a complex reality full of differences and contradictions.

Bedouin neighborhoods are considered part and parcel of Palestinian culture and heritage, and the Bedouin occupy a prominent position in society.As Bedouin history, which is full of tales of bravery and

loyalty,demonstrates, the Bedouin have always done their utmost to preserve their traditions and origins. Stereotypes and societal stigma towards Bedouin neighborhoodscan be diverse and contradictory: While, on the one hand, the Bedouin are viewedas a symbol of ancient traditions and culture that expresses an important aspect of Palestinian identity, they are, on the other hand, often considered a symbol of backwardness and isolation from modern developments in society.

The economic and social disparity between Bedouin slums and urban neighborhoods in Israel exacerbates negative stereotypes and societal stigma.

The Bedouin family plays an important role in preparing individualsto live with this stigma: They are taught from an early age the nature of the negative stereotypes and prejudicial attitudes directed toward Bedouin society.

Stigma specifically affectsthe self-image of individuals, whomay develop feelings of inferiority and surrender as a response to the negative qualities attributed to their specific group. The feelings of inferiority are invariably accompanied by a lack of self-confidence and a lack of self-esteem and can thus negatively affect the ability of the individual belonging to the stigmatized group to comfortably coexist with society and to socially interact with confidence and a positive attitude.

In addition, stigma can significantly affect an individual's employment opportunities and career advancement, because negative stereotypes can curb an individual's career opportunities and reduce the possibilities at his or her disposal for career advancement and success.

If individualsare exposed to stigma from childhood to adulthood, this stigma can become deeply rooted in their personality and can become an integral part of their self-perception. A profound feeling of stigma can lead to a constant sense of anxiety and stress in social and professional situations, making it difficult for individuals belonging to stigmatized groups to confidently integrate into society and realize their full potential.

In general, in order to overcome the effects of stigma, there is a need for a concerted effort aimed at increased awareness in the general public. Hopefully, such an increased awareness can lead to social changesthat canremove negative stereotypes and promote a culture of tolerance and mutual respect. Individuals affected by stigma should be provided with psychosocial support and should beencouraged to build a positive self-image and to develop their skills in order to deal with the challenges they may have to face in their daily and professional lives.

Social factors play a crucial role in shaping and reinforcing an individual's stigma. Bedouin societies are no exception to this "law of society." Individuals are greatly influenced by the perceptions and beliefs they have been raised on within their society. Such perceptions can have a profound impact on theirself-concept.

Bedouin society is asociety distinguished for itspreservation of ancient values and traditions. Both family and tribe play an important role inthe upbringing of children and in the shapingof their conscience and their perceptions of themselves and their society. From an early age, Bedouin individualsare taught the values and traditions that must be part of their lives, and their role and status within Bedouin society are determined in accordance with their adherence to those values and traditions.

These values and traditions sometimes include a preference for certain traits or patterns of behavior over others, and that may even lead to a reinforcement of stigma for some individuals within the Bedouin communitywho deviate from the established pattern of their society in any way, whether in appearance, behavior or customs. In fact, the decision by a Bedouin individual to adopt behavior, attire, or even customs that are considered different from the accepted norm in Bedouin society could lead to that person's stigmatization within his or her own society.

Such individuals may feel the pressure to conform to the ideal image expected of them, and they mightdecide to stop appearing differently for fear of social repercussions.The pressure and stigmatizationcanhavea negative impact on "deviant" individuals—specifically, on their self-perception and ability to achieve their ambitions, realize their personal potential, and use their professional and social skills.

The Bedouin community must fulfill its role in enablingindividuals to deal with stigma by promoting a culture of mutual respect and tolerance within that community, by encouraging diversity, and by accepting differences among individuals. Bedouin society shouldenhance public awareness within Bedouin society itself,

in order to combat negative attitudesand in order to promote openness and tolerance within the Bedouin community,the ultimate aim being to create a more inclusive and interactive society.

Negative stigmasgenerate societal, economic and cultural challenges for Palestinian society in general. Therefore, Israel's urban society and Bedouin neighborhoods must work hand in hand in order to understand each other, accept social differences, and work toward the development of an Israeli society characterized by solidarity and peaceful coexistence.

References

[1] Arrif, A. (1991) Le passage précaire : du bidonville au lotissement: anthropologie appliquée d'une mutation résidentielle : le cas de Hay Moulay Rachid à Casablanca. PhD

[2] Amara, A. (2008). The Goldberg Committee: Legal and extra-legal means of solving the Naqab Bedouin case. *HAGAR: Studies in Culture, Polity & Identities*, *8*(2).

[3] Bourdieu, P. (1979). Symbolic power. *Critique of anthropology*, *4*(13-14), 77-85.

[4] Carmichael, S., & Hamilton, C. V. (2008). the myths of coalition" from" black power: The politics of liberation in america. *Race/Ethnicity: Multidisciplinary Global Contexts*, *1*(2), 171-188.

[5] Crocker, J., & Major, B. (1989). Social stigma and self-esteem: The self-protective properties of stigma. *Psychological review*, *96*(4), 608.

[6] Derville, G. (1997). La stigmatisation des «jeunes de banlieue». *Communication & Langages*, *113*(1), 104-117.

[7] Duarte, P. (2000). Les représentations de la dévalorisation urbaine. Chez les professionnels de la politique de la ville. In *Les Annales de la recherche urbaine* (Vol. 88, No. 1, pp. 30-38). Persée-Portail des revues scientifiques en SHS.

[8] DuPont-Reyes, M. J., Villatoro, A. P., Phelan, J. C., Painter, K., & Link, B. G. (2020). Adolescent views of mental illness stigma: An intersectional lens. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, *90*(2), 201.

[9] Heneiti, A. (2016). Bedouin Communities in Greater Jerusalem: Planning or Forced Displacement?. *Jerusalem Quarterly*, (65), 51.

[10] Goffman, E. (1963). Stigma englewood cliffs. *NJ: Spectrum*, 127-128.

[11] Jones, E. E., Farina, A., Hastorf, A. H., Markus, H., Miller, D. T., & Scott, R. A. (1984). Social stigma: The psychology of marked relationships. New York: Freeman.

[12] Link, B. G., Phelan, J. C., Bresnahan, M., Stueve, A., & Pescosolido, B. A. (1999). Public conceptions of mental illness: labels, causes, dangerousness, and social distance. *American journal of public health*, *89*(9), 1328-1333.Mahmoud, S., & Zaki, R. A. (2015). Internalized Stigma of Mental Illness among Schizophrenic Patients and Their Families (Comparative Study). *Journal of Education and Practice*, *6*(12), 82-98.

[13] Mahmoud, S., & Zaki, R. A. (2015). Internalized Stigma of Mental Illness among Schizophrenic Patients and Their Families (Comparative Study). *Journal of Education and Practice*, *6*(12), 82-98.

[14] Morone, J. A. (1997). Enemies of the people: the moral dimension to public health. *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law*, *22*(4), 993-1020.

[15] Stafford, M. C., & Scott, R. R. (1986). Stigma, deviance, and social control: Some conceptual issues. In *The dilemma of difference: A multidisciplinary view of stigma* (pp. 77-91). Boston, MA: Springer US.

[16] Wacquant, L. (2007). Territorial stigmatization in the age of advanced marginality. *Thesis eleven*, *91*(1), 66-77.