

“Arabs in a Jewish State: The Arab Minority in Israel – Between Integration and Alienation” (with additional bibliography)

Undergraduate Seminar at Northwestern University

Fall 2012 - Elie Rekhess

The 1948 war created a unique situation: A Palestinian-Arab minority amidst the Jewish state of Israel. Thus, Israel was established as a Jewish state but not exclusively so. The Palestinian Arabs who became Israeli citizens remained nationally and religiously bound to the outside Arab world. This necessarily resulted in a sharp crisis of loyalties, the Arab community being torn between its Israeli citizenship and its Arab national identity.

Today the Arab minority constitutes nearly 20 percent of Israel’s population. It has undergone intensive processes of change, generally referred to as: Israelization, Palestinization and Islamization.

The seminar will focus on minority-majority relations in Israel, with special emphasis on three areas: first, the effect of modernization on the more traditional Arab society; second, the dilemma of national identity (the interrelation between the Israeli, Arab, Palestinian and Muslim/Christian components, the impact of the PLO and Hamas), political participation (Knesset) and the struggle of the Arab minority for equality, and third, the developments following the Oslo Accords, the establishment of the Palestinian Authority and the Intifada (the October 2000 Uprising; the discourse over the “Jewish and Democratic” nature of Israel; the search for alternative models – “State of its Citizens”, separatism, autonomy).

A. Method

The course is organized as a seminar and requires students’ participation in class, discussions on the topic of the lesson and the assigned reading. Meetings will consist of introduction by lecturer; analysis of a text relevant to the issue discussed; and presentations by students.

C. Course objectives

- To encourage critical, synthesized and analytical thinking;
- To expose students to the historiographical notion of “multiple narratives”;
- To explore the complexity underlying ethnic relations in multicultural societies;
- To study the particular features of majority-minority, Jewish-Arab relations in Israel: historical background; the national identity problem; socio-economic discrepancies; government policies;
- To examine the integration of the Arab minority into the Israeli political system;
- To survey the ascendance of national and religious forces such as the Islamic Movement;
- To discuss the sustainability of the present-day paradigm of majority – minority relations in Israel and potential models for the future.

D. Requirements

1. Required Readings

There are no required textbooks; however, selected readings are collected in a two-volume course pack.

The articles marked for each class are the readings that should be completed before attending the class.

This course has a considerable reading load. Many of the readings, however, are very detailed, and you do not need to know all the facts and figures, but should focus on key themes, events, and concepts (S.A. Kirchner).

Please note that there are optional additional readings listed in the reading for several of the lessons.

For a list of suggested additional readings, see “**General Bibliography**” on page 12.

2. Attendance

Class attendance is mandatory. A sign-in attendance sheet will be passed around regularly. You should provide appropriate documentation if you unexpectedly must miss class (e.g. a doctor’s note). More than three unexcused absences will lower your grade by one letter grade. More than 7 unjustified absences will result in failure.

3. Assignments

a. 392 Students

- 10-15 minute class presentations. Topics will be assigned during the first two lessons.
- Midterm Take Home Exam – 2-4 pages, essay questions.
Distributed **23 October 2012**
Due: **30 October 2012**
- Final Paper - An 8 page historiographical essay, topics will be distributed.

Distributed: **29 November 2012**

Due: **11 December 2012**

b. 395 Students

- 10-15 minute class presentations. Topics will be assigned during the first two lessons

- Seminar Paper – A 15-20 page original, independently-researched paper, relating to the topic of the course. Students are expected to begin working on the paper as of lesson 3, when a list of topics and detailed instructions will be distributed.

Due: 11 December 2012

- c. Prof. Rekhess will be available for on-going consultations.

E. Evaluation and Grading

The final grade will be calculated as follows:

392 Students

Attendance and participation	10%
Oral presentation	15%
Midterm Exam	30%
Final Paper	45%

395 Students

Attendance and participation	10%
Oral presentation	15%
Seminar paper	75%

F. Syllabus

Lesson 1: Thursday, 27 September, 2012

Introduction and Methodological Outline

- *Readings*
 - Reiter, Yitzhak, *National Minority, Regional Majority*, Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2009, PP. xi-xxviii; 1-33.

Lesson 2: Tuesday, 2 October, 2012

Statistical and Demographic Background

Statistical and demographic data on the Arab minority in Israel; geographical distribution and religious structure.

- **NOTE: Please bring Course Pack, Vol. 1, to class.
- *Readings*
 - Inter-Agency Task Force on Israeli Arabs (henceforward IATF), “Geographical Distribution and Type of Settlement, Fact Sheet.” p. 1-2; “Population and Demographics, Fact Sheet.” p. 1-3; “Muslim, Christians, Druze, Fact Sheets.” p. 1-7
 - State of Israel, PM office, Central Bureau of Statistics, “The Arab population in Israel.” *Statistilite* no. 102 (2008): p. 1-8
 - Goldscheider, Calvin, “The Arab-Israelis: Demography, Dependency and Distinctiveness.” *Asian and African Studies*, Vol. 27, (March-July 1993): p. 67-84.

Lesson 3: Thursday, 4 October, 2012

National Minorities and Majority - Minority Modalities

Theoretical and comparative aspects of ethnicity; models of minority-majority relations: nation-state, consociational democracy, segregation.

- *Readings*
 - Dowty, Alan. “Consociationalism and Ethnic Democracy: Israeli Arabs in Comparative Perspective”, *Israel Affairs* 5, No. 2&3 (Winter-Spring 1999): pp. 169-182.
 - Esman, Milton and Itamar Rabinovich, “The Study of Ethnic Politics in the Middle East.” In Esman, Milton and Itamar Rabinovich (eds.), *Ethnicity, Pluralism and State in the Middle East*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press (1988): pp. 3-24.

Lesson 4: Tuesday, 9 October 2012

1948 and the Formulation of Israeli Policy — Security Consideration

Historical background; the formulation of government policy: the integrationist approach vs. the security-oriented consideration; land expropriation; the installment of military government.

- *Readings*
 - State of Israel Proclamation of Independence.
 - Rekhess, Elie. “Initial Israeli Policy Guideline toward the Arab Minority, 1948-1949.” In Laurence Silberstein (ed.), *New Perspectives in Israeli History*. New-York: NYU Press, pp. 103-123.
 - Smooha, Sammy. “Existing and Alternative Policy towards the Arabs in Israel.” *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol. 5, no. 1 (January 1982): pp. 71-98.

Lesson 5: Thursday, 11 October, 2012

Government Policy – The Process of “Israelization”

The legal status; socioeconomic integration; evolvement of an educational system; the process of “Israelization.”

- *Readings*
 - Kretzmer, David, *The Legal Status of the Arabs in Israel*. Tel-Aviv: International Center for Peace in the Middle East, 1987. Chapter 2: “The Jewish State: Constitutional Implications,” pp. 17-24; Chapter 4: “Control of Land,” pp. 49-69.
 - Stendel, Ori, *The Minorities in Israel*, “The Basic Concept in Israel Law,” pp. 184-195.
 - Rouhana, Nadim, *Palestinian Citizens in an Ethnic Jewish State*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997. Chapter 4: “The Dynamic of Ethnic Jewish State,” pp. 44-64.

Lesson 6: Tuesday, 16 October, 2012

The Question of National Identity – 1948-1967

The interrelationship between four circles of national-religious belonging: Israeli, Arab, Palestinian, Muslim/Christian; Jewish nationality vs. Israeli citizenship; the Arab nationalist component in the 1950’s and the 1960’s.

- *Readings*
 - Landau, *The Arab Minority in Israel, 1967-1991: Political Aspects*. “Problems of Identity,” pp. 162-188
 - Rouhana, *Palestinian Citizens in an Ethnic Jewish State*, Chapter 7: “The Nucleus: Collective Self-Identification Labels”; Chapter 8: “The Affective Axes: Sentimental Attachment and Belonging to the National System,” pp. 111-150.
- *Additional/Optional Readings (found in Course Pack)*
 - Peres, Yochanan, “Modernization and Nationalism in the Identity of the Israeli Arabs.” *The Middle East Journal* vol. 24, no. 4 (1970): pp. 479-492.
 - Peres, Yochanan and Nira Yuval-Davis, “Some Observations on the National Identity of the Israeli Arabs.” *Human Relations* vol. 22, no. 3, (1969): pp. 219-233.

Lesson 7: Thursday, 18 October, 2012

The Impact of the Six-Day War – “Palestinization”

The impact of the Six-Day War, the elimination of the Green Line, and the reunification of the West Bank/Gaza on the Israeli Arabs; the strengthening of the national Palestinian component.

- *Readings*
 - Rekhess, Elie, “Israeli Arabs and the Arabs of the West Bank and Gaza: Political Affinity and National Solidarity.” *Asian and African Studies* vol. 23, no. 2 and 3 (November 1989): pp. 119-154.
 - Rouhana, Nadim, “The Political Transformation of the Palestinians in Israel: from Acquiescence to Challenge.” *Journal of Palestine Studies* (1989): pp. 38-59.

Additional/Optional Readings (found in the Course Pack)

- Rouhana, Nadim, “Accentuated Identities in Protracted Conflict: The Collective Identity of the Palestinian Citizens in Israel.” *Asian and African Studies* vol. 27 (1993): pp. 97-127.
- Jiryis, Sabri, “The Legal Structure for the Expropriation and Absorption of Arab Lands in Israel.” *Journal of Palestine Studies* Vol. 2, No.4, (1973): pp. 82-104.

Lesson 8: Tuesday, 23 October, 2012**Political Activism in the 1970s**

Changing national agenda; identification with the PLO; the formation of a new political-national platform; shifting patterns of public protest; the events of the first Land Day, 1967.

- *Readings*
 - Sahliyeh, Emile, “The PLO and the Israeli Arabs.” *Asian and African Studies* vol. 27, no. 1-2, (March-July 1993): pp. 84-96.
 - Lehman-Wilzig, Sam, “Copying the Master? Patterns of Israeli-Arab Protest, 1950-1990.” *Asian and African Studies* vol. 27, no. 1-2 (1993): pp. 129-147.
 - Reiter, pp. 34-68.

Lesson 9: Thursday, 25 October, 2012**Political Parties**

Pro-Zionist parties; the “Arab Satellite Lists”; Arab-Jewish parties (Rakah); the Arab nationalist parties; exclusion from government coalition.

- *Readings*
 - Landau, *The Arab Minority in Israel, 1967-1991*, pp. 131-161
 - Neuberger, Binyamin, “Trends in the Political Organization of the Arabs in Israel.” In *Arab Politics in Israel at a Crossroad*, edited by Elie Rekhess. Tel-Aviv: 1996, pp. 27-40.

Lesson 10: Tuesday, 30 October, 2012**Voting Patterns and Knesset Participation**

Turnout and participation; boycott of elections; election results; voting patterns.

- *Readings*
 - Rouhana, Nadim, Nabil Saleh and Nimer Sultany, “Voting without Voice: About the Vote of the Palestinian Minority in the 16th Knesset Elections.” In *The Elections in Israel – 2003*, edited by Arian, Asher and Michal Shamir. New Brunswick: Transaction, 2005, pp. 215-244.
 - Rekhess, Elie. “Israel’s Arab Minority and the Elections for the Seventeenth Knesset: The Beginning of a New Era?” In *The Elections in Israel 2006*, edited by Asher Arian and Michal Shamir. pp. 159-188.
 - Reiter, pp. 175-198.

- *Additional/Optional Readings (found in Course Pack)*
 - Ghanem, As'ad, "The Limits of Parliamentary Politics: The Arab Minority in Israel and the 1992 and 1996 Elections," *Israel Affairs*, Vol. 2, No. 2, (Winter 1997): pp. 72-93.
 - Jamal, Amal. "Abstention as Participation: The Labyrinth of Arab Politics in Israel." In *The Elections in Israel – 2001*, edited by Arian, Asher and Michal Shamir. Jerusalem: Israel Democracy Institute, 2002, pp. 55-103.
 - *Arab Politics in Israel and the 18th Knesset Elections*, no. 1. Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, The Konrad Adenauer Program for Jewish-Arab Cooperation, 9 February 2009.

Lesson 11: Thursday, 1 November, 2012

Municipal Councils and Local Politics

Characteristics of municipal politics; differences between municipal elections and Knesset elections; the role of the clan and traditional/tribal frameworks; the modernizing process of local politics.

- *Readings*
 - Herzog, Hanna, and Yahia-Younis Taghreed. "Men's Bargaining with Patriarchy: The Case of Primaries within Hamulas in Palestinian Arab Communities in Israel." *Gender and Society* 21, (August 2007): 579-602.
 - El-Taji, Maha. "Arab Local Councils in Israel: The Democratic State and the Hamula." In *Local Government Reforms in Countries in Transition: A Global Perspective*, edited by Fred Lazin, Matt Evans, Vincent Hoffmann-Martinot, and Hellmut Wollman. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2007, 253-269.

Lesson 12: Tuesday, 6 November, 2012

Government Policy after 1967

The impact of the abolition of the military government; the role of the Advisor on Arab Affairs; attitudes of Jewish political parties towards required policy and government guidelines.

- *Readings*
 - Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "Arab Israelis", pp.1-5. August 2001
 - The Prime Minister - Ehud Olmert. "PM Olmert's Speech at the PM's Conference for the Minority Sector (2008)." July 10 2008, 1-7.

- Rekhess, Elie. "Government Resolutions Passed in Recent Years Regarding the Arab Population of Israel." The Abraham Fund Initiatives, November 2005, 4. <http://www.abrahamfund.org/main/siteNew/index.php?page=116&action=sidLink&stId=903>

Lesson 13: Thursday, 8 November, 2012

Socioeconomic Gaps

- *Readings*
 - IATF Fact Sheets: "Economy," p. 1-4; "Employment," p. 1-4; "Education," p. 1-7; "Welfare," p. 1-2; "Land and Planning," p. 1-5; "Housing," p. 1-3; "Health," p. 1-4.
 - Haider, Ali. "Sikkuy Report 2007: The Equality Index of Jewish and Arab Citizens in Israel." Jerusalem: Sikkuy – the Association for the Advancement of Civic Equality in Israel, June 2008, p. 1-26. www.sikkuy.org.il/english/papers/annual-2007.pdf

Lesson 14: Tuesday, 13 November, 2012

The Islamic Movement in Israel

The roots of Islamic revival within the Muslim community in Israel; community-oriented activity; the religious foundations (Muslim brotherhood); political attitudes towards the State, Hamas, PLO.

- *Readings*
 - Rekhess, Elie. "Resurgent Islam in Israel." *Asian and African Studies* vol. 27, (1993): pp. 189-206.
 - Rekhess, Elie. "Islamism across the Green Line", *The Washington Institute*, Research Memorandum, 39, (August 1997): pp. 1-23.
 - Wasserstein, David, "Muslims in States with Non-Muslim majority: A Doctrinal and Comparative Approach." In *Arab Politics in Israel at a Crossroads*, edited by Elie Rekhess. TAU, 1996, pp. 69-78.
- *Additional/Optional Readings (found in Course Pack)*
 - Layish, Aharon, "The Status of the Shar'ia in a Non-Muslim State – The Case of Israel." *Asian and African Studies*, vol. 27, (1993): pp. 171-187.
 - Dalal, Marwan, "Sheikh Ra'ed Salah", in October 2000 – Law and Politics before the Or Commission of Inquiry." *Adalah* July 2003, pp. 46-57.

Lesson 15: Thursday, 15 November, 2012

The Impact of the Oslo Accords (1993)

The effect of the Oslo Accords; the sharpening of the national identity crisis; reconceptualization of status as national minority; demand for collective rights; the “reopening of the 1948 files.”

- *Readings*
 - Mana, Adel, “Identity in Crisis: The Arabs in Israel and the Israel – PLO Agreement.” In *Arab Politics in Israel at a Crossroads*, edited by Elie Rekhess. TAU, 1996, pp. 79-86.
 - Rekhess, Elie, “The Arabs in Israel after Oslo: Localization of the National Struggle.” *Israel Studies* Vol. 7, no. 3, (Fall 2002): pp. 1-44.
- *Additional/Optional Readings (found in Course Pack)*
 - Wakim, W., “The ‘Internally Displaced’: Seeking Return within One’s Own Land.” *Journal of Palestine Studies* vol. 31, no. 1 (2001): pp. 32-38.
 - Sa’di, Ahmad H., “Catastrophe, Memory and Identity: Al-Nakbah as a Component of Palestinian identity.” *Israel Studies* Vol. 7, no. 2 (2002): pp. 175-198.
 - Frisch, Hillel, “Ethnicity or Nationalism? Comparing the Nakba Narrative among Israeli Arabs and Palestinians – The West Bank and Gaza.” *Israel Affairs* vol. 9, no. 1-2 (2003): pp. 165-188.

Lesson 16: Tuesday, 20 November 2012

“Jewish and Democratic” – Inherently Incompatible?

Debating the nature of Israel as a Jewish and Democratic state; alternative models to Israel as “a state of all its citizens”; demand for autonomous status for the Arab minority in Israel.

- *Readings*
 - Smooha, Sammy, “The Model of Ethnic Democracy: Israel as a Jewish and Democratic State.” *Nations and Nationalism* vol. 8, no. 4 (2002): pp. 475-503.
 - Ghanem, As’ad, Nadim Rouhana and Oren Yiftachel, “Questioning ‘Ethnic Democracy’: a Response to Sammy Smooha.” *Israel Studies* Vol. 3, No. 2 (Fall 1998): pp. 253-267.
 - Gavison, Ruth, “Jewish and Democratic? A Rejoinder to the ‘Ethnic Democracy’ Debate.” *Israel Studies* vol. 4, no. 1 (1999): pp. 44-58.
- *Additional/Optional Readings (found in Course Pack)*

- Dowty, Alan, "Is Israel Democratic? Substance and Semantics in the 'Ethnic Democracy' Debate." *Israel Studies* vol. 4, no. 2 (1999): pp. 1-15.

Lesson 17: Tuesday, 27 November 2012

The October 2000 Events

Background to the eruption of riots; socioeconomic constraints; national upsurge; the role of leadership; the Or Inquiry Commission and its recommendations.

- *Readings*
 - Dalal, Marwan, "Reasons for the October 2000 Protest Demonstration," pp. 16-34.
 - Reiter, 199-228.
 - Shamir, Shimon. "Two Years After the Or Commission Report." *The Arabs in Israel Update Series*. 2006, pp.1-32.

Lesson 18: Thursday, 29 November 2012

The Future Vision Documents

The four "Future Vision Documents" (the National Committee for the Heads of the Arab Local Authorities in Israel, Adalah, Mossawa, Mada al-Carmel); analysis of four position papers concerning the civic and national status of the Arabs in Israel were published between December 2006 and May 2007; contents and impact; response of Jewish public.

- *Readings*
 - Rekhess, Elie and Arik Rudnitzki (eds.). "The Future Vision of the Palestinians Arabs in Israel," *Arabs in Israel Update Series*, 7 February 2008, p. 19.
 - Rekhess, Elie. "The Arab Minority in Israel: An Analysis of the "Future Vision" Documents." *Dorothy and Julius Koppelman Institute on American Jewish-Israeli Relations*, The American Jewish Committee, April 2008, pp. 1-39.
 - Peleg, Ilan and Dov Waxman. *Israel's Palestinians: The Conflict Within*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011, pp. 47-77
- *Documents*
 - The National Committee for the Heads of the Arab Local Authorities in Israel. "The Future Vision of the Palestinians Arabs in Israel," Nazareth, 2006, p. 27. available online at: <http://www.arab-lac.org/tasawor-mostaqbali-eng.pdf> (and in the Course Pack)

- Yousef T. Jabareen. “An Equal Constitution for All: On a Constitution and Collective Rights for Arab Citizens in Israel – Position Paper” (Haifa: Mossawa Center, May 2007), available online at: <http://www.mossawacenter.org/files/files/File/An%20Equal%20Constitution%20For%20All.pdf>
- The Democratic Constitution (Adalah – The Legal Center for Arab Minority Rights in Israel, 2007), available online at: http://www.adalah.org/eng/democratic_constitution-e.pdf
- The Haifa Declaration (Haifa: Mada al-Carmel, May 15, 2007), available online at: <http://www.mada-research.org/UserFiles/file/haifaenglish.pdf>

G. Additional Bibliography

- Adalah: The Legal Center for Arab Minority Rights in Israel. “The Democratic Constitution.” (2007): 1-19.
http://www.adalah.org/eng/democratic_constitution-e.pdf.
- Al-Haj, Majid. *Education, Empowerment and Control: The Case of the Arabs in Israel*. New York: SUNY Press, 1995.
- Bar-Tal, Daniel and Yona Teichman. *Stereotypes and Prejudice in Conflict: Representations of Arabs in Israeli Jewish Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Ben-Dor, Gabriel. *The Druzes in Israel: A Political Study*. Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1979.
- Bishara, Azmi. “Reflections on October 2000: A Landmark in Jewish-Arab Relations in Israel.” *Journal of Palestine Studies* 30, no. 3 (2001): 54-67.
- Cohen, Hillel. *Good Arabs: The Israeli Security Agencies and the Israeli Arabs: 1948-1967*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010..
- Firro, Kais. “Reshaping Druze Particularism in Israel.” *Journal of Palestine Studies* 30, no. 3 (2001): 40-53.
- Frisch, Hillel. “Israel and its Arab Citizens.” *Israel Affairs* 11, no. 1 (2005): 207-222.
- Ghanem, As’ad. *The Palestinian-Arab minority in Israel, 1948-2000*. Albany: SUNY Press, 2001.
- Ghanem, As’ad and Muhannad Mustafa. “The Palestinians in Israel and the 2006 Knesset Elections: Political and Ideological Implications of Election Boycott.” *Holy Land Studies* 6, no. 1 (2007): 51-73.
- Grossman, David. *Sleeping on a Wire: Conversations with Palestinians in Israel*. New York: Picador, 2003.

- Gurr, Ted Robert. *Minorities at Risk: A Global View of Ethnopolitical Conflicts*. Herndon: USIP Press, 1997.
- Haidar, Aziz. *Social Welfare for Israel's Arab Population*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1990.
- Haklai, Oded. *Palestinian Ethnonationalism in Israel*. Philadelphia: Penn Press, 2011.
- Halkin, Hillel. "The Jewish State and its Arabs." *Commentary* 30, no. 127 (2009): 30-37.
- Horowitz, Donald L. *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. Berkeley: University of California, 1985.
- Jamal, Amal. "Nationalizing States and the Constitution of 'Hollow Citizenship:' Israel and its Palestinian Citizens." *Ethnopolitics* 6, no. 4 (2007): 471-493.
- Jamal, Amal. "Strategies of Minority Struggle for Equality in Ethnic States: Arab Politics in Israel." *Citizenship Studies* 11, no. 3 (2007): 263-282.
- Jiryis, Sabri. *The Arabs in Israel*. New York and London: Monthly Review Press, 1976.
- Kaufman, Ilana. *Arab National Communism in the Jewish State*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997.
- Kedourie, Elie. "Ethnicity, Majority and Minority in the Middle East." In *Ethnicity, Pluralism and the State in the Middle East*, edited by Esman and Rabinovich, 26-38. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1988.
- Klein, Claude. *Israel as a Nation-State and the Problem of the Arab Minority in Search of a States*. Tel Aviv: International Center for Peace in the Middle East, 1987.
- Kymlicka, Will. *Multicultural Odysseys: Navigating the New International Politics of Diversity*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Lijphart, Arend. *Democracy in Plural Societies: A Comparative Exploration*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997.
- Louer, Laurence. *To Be an Arab in Israel*. London: C. Hurst & Co., 2007.
- Lustic, Ian. *Arabs in the Jewish State: Israel's Control of a National Minority*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1980.
- Marx, Emmanuel. *Bedouin in the Negev*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1967.
- Masalha, Nur, ed. *The Palestinians in Israel – Is Israel a State of All its Citizens and "Absentees?"* Nazareth: Galilee Center for Social Research, 1995.
- Payes, Shany. "Palestinian NGOs in Israel: A Campaign for Civic Equality in a Non-Civic State." *Israel Studies* 8, no. 1 (2003): 60-90.
- Peled, Alisa. *Debating Islam in the Jewish State: The Development of Policy toward Islamic Institutions in Israel*. Albany: SUNY Press, 2001

- Peled, Yoav. "Ethnic Democracy and the Legal Construction of Citizenship: Arab Citizens of the Jewish State." *The American Political Science Review* 86, no. 1 (1992): 432-443.
- Peretz, Don. "Early State Policy toward the Arab-Population, 1948-1955." In Laurence J. Silberstein, ed. *New Perspectives on Israeli History: The Early Years of the State*. New York: New York University Press, 2010.
- Rabinowitz, Dan, and Khawla Abu-Baker. *Coffins on Our Shoulders: The Experience of the Palestinian Citizens of Israel*. Berkeley: The University of California Press, 2005.
- Rekness, Elie. "In the Shadow of National Conflict: Inter-Group Attitudes and Images of Arab and Jews in Israel." *TriQuarterly* 131, I (Winter 2007): 206-236.
- Rouhana, Nadim. *Palestinian Citizens in an Ethnic Jewish State: Identities and Conflicts*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997.
- Rouhana, Nadim, and As'ad Ghanem. "The Crisis of Minorities in Ethnic States: The Case of Palestinian Citizens in Israel." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 30, no. 3 (1998): 321-346.
- Smootha, Sammy. *Arabs and Jews in Israel Vol. I: Conflicting and Shared Attitudes in a Divided Society*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1989..
- Yakobson, Alexander, and Amnon Rubinstein. *Israel and the Family of Nations: The Jewish Nation-State and Human Rights*. New York: Routledge, 2009.
- Zureik, Elia. *The Palestinians in Israel: A Study in Internal Colonialism*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979.