"The Struggle for Israeli Identity"
Spring Semester – 2016

Sde Boker Campus, The Ben Gurion Research Institute for the Study of Israel and Zionism

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Course Description:

We will start by outlining the construction of Israel's collective identity during the State's formative years. We will then discuss the shattering of that collective outlook in subsequent years and will proceed to examining its transformation into its current condition of a kaleidoscopic set of different and even contrasting identities. The theoretical notions of individual and collective identities will guide us throughout the course. Among the topics to be explored are: Israel's political system and society; ethnic relations in Israel; the Arab minorities in the Jewish state; is there a unique Israeli culture?; Israeli Occupation and settlement projects; the struggle for a unifying Israeli identity.
The course will conclude with a staged peace conference on the conflict between Israel and Palestine

Course Objectives:

The object of this course is to provide an advanced understanding of modern Israeli politics, culture and identity(ies). The theoretical prisms of both collective and individual identities will serve us as an analytical tool in our examination of Israeli society, culture and politics.

Course Structure:

Each class will be composed of lectures, discussions and short presentations.

Total # of Credits: 4

Teaching Method:

The course will be conducted through a combination of formal lectures, independent study and class discussions. The lectures and discussions will be based on weekly reading assignments.
A broad array of genres and modes of expression - not only academic writings, but also literature, popular music, film, documentaries and art - will be incorporated into our discussion.

Course Requirements

Mandatory attendance	-- **YES**
Pre-requisites	-- **NONE**

Structure of Final Course Grad

1. Participation (including in-class study groups, presentations, and the Staged Peace
Conference)   20%
2. Short reading assignments   40%
3. Final paper or Seminar Paper   40%

Course Schedule Layout:

I.   **Theoretical and historical considerations**

   1.
      Opening remarks and theoretical foundations
      - Israel today – the complexity of contemporary Israeli society
      - Individual and collective identity formation: theoretical underpinnings
      - The Zionist Meta-narrative: basic characteristics – the *New Jew* and the return to
        the old-new homeland

   2.
      Israel's formative years, 1948-1973
      - Civil Religion in Israel and the formation of Israel's core identity, the "*Sabra*"
      - Israel's political system
      - The three branches of government
      - The educational systems
      - Amos Oz: "Where the Jackals Howl"

II. **The great divide**

   3.
      The watershed of 1973-1982
      - The watershed of 1973-1982 and the shattering of the old Civil Religion of Statism
        and the *New Jew* myth
      - Israel as a Jewish immigrant society: Jewish-ethnic relations – the Mizrahim [I]

III. **Israel's history and identity revisited**

   4.
      The Mizrahim [II]: the Mizrahim of today
      - Current Mizrahi identity
      - Shas

   5.
      1948 revisited [I]
      - Background to the debate on 1948
      - The debate over 1948

   6.
      1948 revisited [II]
      - The debate over 1948 (cont.)
      - The Israeli revisionist school (the "New Historians"; Post-Zionism)
      - The presence of the *Nakba* in contemporary Israel

7.

The Arab minorities in Israel
- The Palestinian-Arabs and the Bedouin-Arabs in Israel – history, identity
- "The Future Vision of the Palestinian Arabs in Israel"

8.

Is Israel a colonialist state?
- Israel's Occupation and settlements' projects
- The messianic component in Israeli identity and politics
- The Religious Right

9.

The Holocaust in Israeli Identity; the Israeli Diaspora
- The role of the Holocaust in Israeli identity
- The Israeli Diaspora

10.

The Ultra-Orthodox (Haredim); How Jewish is the Jewish state?
- The Ultra-Orthodox (Haredi) communities in Israel
- How Jewish is the Jewish state?

11.

Social protests in Israel; Israeli culture;
- Israeli economy, globalization in Israel; technology and environment in Israel today
- Israel's social protest movement of summer 2011 ("Occupy Tel Aviv")
- Israeli popular music and Israeli identity

12. A Staged Peace Conference

READINGS

Readings for session #1:
Recommended:
1. *Israel* in Wikipedia: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Israel
2. *Palestine* in Wikipedia: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/State_of_Palestine
3. Alan Dowty, *Israel/Palestine* (Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2005), pp. 1-68

Readings for session #2:
4. Charles Liebman and Eliezer Don-Yehiya, *Civil Religion in Israel: Traditional Judaism and Political Culture in the Jewish State* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), pp. 4-10; 84-122
5. Amos Oz, "The Trappist Monastery", in his: *Where the Jackals Howl* (London: Fontana Paperbacks, 1983), 84-106
6. אליעזר דון-יחיא, "ממלכתיות ויהדות בהגותו ובמדיניותו של בן-גוריון", **הציונות**, יד (1989), עמ', -61 51, 73-70, 80-78 ; המאמר זמין ב:
http://humanities.tau.ac.il/zionism/templates/ol_similu/images/zionism_journals/zionis m_14/4.pdf

7. עמוס עוז, הסיפור "מנזר השתקנים", בתוך ספרו: **ארצות התן**. הסיפור מועלה באתר הקורס

Readings for session #3:

8. Amnon Rubinstein, "No More Sabras", in his: *From Herzl to Rabin: the Changing Image of Zionism* (New York & London: Holmes & Meier, 2000), pp. 159-182
9. Eli Amir, *Scapegoat* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1987), chapters 3, 5, 19, 21.
10. אמנון רובינשטיין, "אין עוד 'צבר' מיתולוגי", בתוך ספרו: **מהרצל עד רבין והלאה: מאה שנות ציונות** (ירושלים ותל-אביב: שוקן, 1997), 183-216
11. אלי עמיר, **תרנגול כפרות** (תל-אביב: עם עובד, תשנ"א), קטעים מהרומן

Recommended:

12. Ella Shohat, "Sephardim in Israel: Zionism from the Standpoint of Its Jewish Victims", *Social Text*, No. 19/20 (Autumn 1988), pp. 1-35

Readings for session #4:

13. Yoav Peled, "Towards a Redefinition of Jewish Nationalism in Israel? The Enigma of Shas", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 21:4 (July 1998), 703-727
14. Ofir Abu, "Citizenship, Identity, and Ethnic Mobilization in Israel: the Mizrahi Democratic Rainbow – Between Universalism and Particularism," Guy Ben-Porat and Bryan S. Turner (eds.), *The Contradictions of Israeli Citizenship: Land, Religion and State* (London and New York: Routledge, 2011), 111-134

Recommended:

15. Oren Yiftachel and Erez Tzfadia, "Between Periphery and 'Third Space': Identity of Mizrahim in Israel's Development Towns", Adriana Kemp, et al (eds.), *Israelis in Conflict: Hegemonies, Identities and Challenges* (Brighton and Portland: Sussex, 2004), pp. 203-235

Readings for session #5:

16. Benny Morris, *1948 and After: Israel and the Palestinians* (Oxford: Clarendon Press: New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 1-27.
17. Yitzhak Rabin, *The Rabin Memoirs* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 383-384 (Appendix A)
18. Yoav Gelber, *Palestine 1948: War, Escape and the Emergence of the Palestinian Refugee Problem* (Brighton & Portland: Sussex Academic Press, 2001), pp. 1-15, 298-302

Recommended:

19. Laurence J. Silberstein, *The Postzionism Debate: Knowledge and Power in Israeli Culture* (New York & London: Routledge, 1999), pp. 89-126
20. David Grossman, *The Yellow Wind* (New York: Farrar, Strauss and Ciroux, 1988), 5-28 (the first two stories)

Readings for session #6:

21. David Grossman, *Sleeping on a Wire: Conversations with Palestinians in Israel* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1993), pp. 80-100
22. Ghassan Kanafani, "Returning to Haifa", in his: *Palestine's Children: Returning to Haifa & Other Stories* (boulder, London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2000), 149-188

Recommended:

23. Rashid Khalidi, *The Iron Cage: The Story of the Palestinian Struggle for Statehood* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2006), pp. 105-139

24. Benny Morris, *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem Revisited* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. xii-xxii (maps), 473-492, 588-601
25. Helena Lindholm Schulz, *The Palestinian Diaspora: Formation of Identities and Politics of Homeland* (London ; New York: Routledge, 2003), 44-84

Readings for session #7:
26. Azmi Bishara, "Arab Citizens of Palestine: Little to Celebrate", *Tikkun* (Jul/Aug 1998), pp. 14-15
27. Ilan Peleg, Dov Waxman, *Israel's Palestinians: The Conflict Within* (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 19-46
28. The Future Vision of the Palestinian Arabs in Israel: http://www.adalah.org/newsletter/eng/dec06/tasawor-mostaqbali.pdf

Recommended:
29. Anton Shammas, *Arabesques* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988), pp. 226-263
30. As'ad Ghanem, *The Palestinian-Arab Minority in Israel, 1948-2000: A Political Study* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001), pp. 11-27, 36-38, 123-135
31. Samir Srouji, "Nazareth: Intersecting Narratives of Modern Architectural Histories", *Third Text*, 20/3-4 (2006), pp. 355-371.
32. Nadim Rouhana and As'ad Ghanem, "The Democratization of a Traditional Minority in an Ethnic Democracy: The Palestinians in Israel", in: Ilan Pappe (ed.), *The Israel/Palestine Question* (London and New York: Routledge, 1999), pp. 223-246

Readings for session #8:
33. Israeli Settlements: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Israeli_settlement
34. Neve Gordon, *Israel's Occupation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), pp. 1-22
35. Baruch Kimmerling, *The Invention and Decline of Israeliness: State, Society and the Military* (Berkeley, Calif.; London: University of California Press, 2001), pp. 112-129
36. Amos Oz, *In the Land of Israel* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1983), pp. 103-123

Recommended:
37. Gershon Shafir, "Zionism and Colonialism: A Comparative Approach", in: Michael N. Barnett (ed.), *Israel in Comparative Perspective: Challenging the Conventional Wisdom* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996), 227-242
38. Gershon Shafir and Yoav Peled, *Being Israeli: The Dynamics of Multiple Citizenship* (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 137-158.

Readings for session #9:
39. Steven J. Gold, *The Israeli Diaspora* (Routledge, 2002), 1-20
40. David Grossman, *See Under Love* (New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1989), pp. 51-86

Recommended:
41. Gulie Ne'eman Arad, "The Shoah as Israel's Political Trope", in: Dash Moore, Deborah and S. Ilan Troen (eds.), *Divergent Jewish Cultures: Israel and America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), pp. 192-216.

Readings for session #10:
42. Theodore H. Friedgut, "Immigrants from the Former Soviet Union: Their Influence and Identity", in: Anita Shapira (ed.), *Israeli Identity in Transition* (Westport, CT and London: Praeger, 2004), pp. 185-214.
43. Nurit Stadler et al., "Fundamentalist Citizenship: The Haredi Challenge", Guy Ben-Porat and Bryan S. Turner (eds.), *The Contradictions of Israeli Citizenship: Land, Religion and State* (London and New York: Routledge, 2011), 135-157

Readings for session #11:
44. "Miracles and Mirages: A strong economy built on weak fundamentals," *The Economist* (April 3rd 2008)
45. Motti Regev and Edwin Seroussi, *Popular Music and National Culture in Israel* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 1-14, 236-248
Recommended:
46. Uri Ram, *The Globalization of Israel: McWorld in Tel Aviv, Jihad in Jerusalem* (New York & London: Routledge, 2008), 179-205
47. Charles Liebman and Yaacov Yadgar, "Israeli Identity: The Jewish Component", in: Anita Shapira (ed.), *Israeli Identity in Transition* (Westport, CT and London: Praeger, 2004), pp. 163-183

Readings for session #12:
Recommended:
48. Roger Petersen, *Understanding Ethnic Violence: Fear, Hatred, and Resentment in Twentieth-Century Eastern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 17-39
49. Stephen Van Evera, "Memory and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: Time for New Narratives," *Draft Paper* (August 2003)

Additional Recommended Bibliography
1. Books
    1. Neil Caplan, *The Israel-Palestine Conflict :Contested Histories* (Malden, MA : Wiley-Blackwell, 2010)
    2. Shmuel Noah Eisenstadt, *The Transformation of Israeli Society: An Essay in Interpretation* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1985)
    3. Steven J. Gold, *The Israeli Diaspora* (Routledge, 2002)
    4. Dan Horowitz and Moshe Lissak, *Trouble in Utopia: The Overburdened Polity of Israel* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989)
    5. Rashid Khalidi, *The Iron Cage: The Story of the Palestinian Struggle for Statehood* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2006)
    6. Rashid Khalidi, *Palestinian Identity: The Construction of Modern National Consciousness* (New York: Columbia University Press,1997)
    7. Baruch Kimmerling, *The Invention and Decline of Israeliness: State, Society and the Military* (Berkeley, Calif.; London: University of California Press, 2001)
    8. Ilan Pappe (ed.), *The Israel/Palestine Question* (London and New York: Routledge, 1999)
    9. Derek J. Penslar, *Israel in History: the Jewish State in Comparative Perspective* (London & New York: Routledge, 2007)

10. Amnon Rubinstein and Alexander Yakobson, *Israel and the family of nations : the Jewish nation-state and human rights* (London ; New York : Routledge, 2009)
11. Gershon Shafir and Yoav Peled, *Being Israeli: The Dynamics of Multiple Citizenship* (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002)
12. Anita Shapira (ed.), *Israeli Identity in Transition* (Westport, CT and London: Praeger, 2004)
13. Charles D. Smith, *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict* (Boston & New York: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2010)
14. S. Ilan Troen and Noah Lucas (eds.), *Israel: The First Decade of Independence* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995)
15. On the Israeli diaspora see *Shofar* 16.2 (1998) - a special issue called "Israel and America"

2. Scholarly Journals and articles:
    1. Israel Studies
    2. Journal of Palestine Studies
    3. Journal of Israeli History
    4. International Journal for Middle Eastern Studies
    5. Israel Affairs
    6. Azure
    7. Sammy Smooha, "Arab-Jewish Relations in Israel: A Deeply Divided Society", in: Anita Shapira (ed.), *Israeli Identity in Transition* (Westport, CT and London: Praeger, 2004), pp. 31-69
    8. Oren Yiftachel, " 'Ethnocracy': The Politics of Judaizing Israel/Palestine", *Constellations*, Vol. 6:3 (1999), pp. 364-390
    9. Arend Lijphart, "Constitutional Design for Divided Societies," *Journal of Democracy*, 15:2 (April 2004), 96-109
    10. Ruth Gavison, "Jewish and Democratic? A Rejoinder to the 'Ethnic Democracy' Debate", *Israel Studies* 4.1 (1999) 44-72

3. Websites
    i. Israeli newspapers and news sites: http://www.world-newspapers.com/israel.html
    ii. Palestinian newspapers and news sites: http://www.world-newspapers.com/palestine.html
    iii. Haaretz – www.haaretz.com
    iv. Al Jazeera - http://english.aljazeera.net/
    v. The Jerusalem Post -- http://www.jpost.com
    vi. Ma'ariv -- www.nrg.co.il/online/HP_0.html
    vii. Al Arabiya - http://www.alarabiya.net/english/
    viii. Ynet -- www.ynetnews.com/home/0,7340,L-3083,00.html
    ix. Adalah -- www.adalah.org/eng/index.php
    x. The Debka Files -- http://www.debka.com/
    xi. Hebrew University's Steven Spielberg Jewish Film Archive -- http://w3.castup.net/spielberg/ (The Archive has over 10,000 titles, with over 400 films currently available for viewing online in full for free)
    xii. Zochrot (Remembering) [*Zochrot ["Remembering"] is a group of Israeli citizens working to raise awareness of the Nakba, the Palestinian catastrophe of 1948*]: http://www.zochrot.org/index.php?lang=english
    xiii. Palestine remembered: http://www.palestineremembered.com/
    xiv. Israel Defense Forces - http://dover.idf.il/IDF/English/

xv.   Hamas - http://www.palestine-info.co.uk/en/

xvi.   WikiProject Palestine:
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikipedia:Palestine

xvii.   WikiProject Israel:
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikipedia:WikiProject_Israel

xviii.   CIA World Factbook -- The West Bank and the Gaza Strip:
https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/we.html#; https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/gz.html

xix.   CIA World Factbook – Israel:
https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/is.html

Learning Goals:

By the end of the course, you should be able to:

- Define and describe major events in the history of modern Israel
- Define and describe Israel's political regime (political parties, municipal and regional administration, etc.)
- Define, describe and appraise the major analytical terms used in our course
- Integrate course data into a coherent narrative(s) of current Israeli identity(ies)

Cell phones and laptops policy:

Cell phones: Use of cell phones in class (for talking, texting, reading/writing email, or any other purpose) is prohibited. Kindly keep your cell phones turned off and stowed away in class. However, if you need to leave your cell phone on because of an ongoing emergency situation, please speak to me at the start of class.

Laptops: Kindly keep your laptop turned off and stowed away in class. Using laptop computers in class is permitted only for taking notes pertaining to our discussion, or for independent work related to the course.

Possible topics for classroom presentations

- Israel's political system
- Israel's educational systems
- Israeli military
- Globalization and Israel
- Israel's municipal and regional systems
- The postzionism debate
- The Israeli economy
- Israel's settlement projects and colonialism
- How Jewish is the Jewish State?
- The Holocaust in Israeli identity
- The Israeli Diaspora
- Jewish-ethnic groups in Israel
- The Ultra-Orthodox sub-culture in Israel
- Civil society in Israel [NGOs, etc.]
- The Palestinian-Arab minority in Israel
- 'Ethnic democracy' versus 'ethnocracy'
- 'Jewish and democratic' versus 'a state for all its citizens'
- Israeli popular music as a reflection of the country's identity

- Israeli literature and Israeli identity
- Israel and the Jewish-Diaspora relations
- The development of Israel's culinary as an expression of its identity
- The Israeli-Palestinian ethnic and national conflict in comparative perspective:
    Cyprus
    Sri Lanka
    Former Yugoslavia
    South Africa
    Northern Ireland
    French Algeria
    Former Soviet Union
    The Balkans
    Africa