

SISME 458– Israel: Politics and Society

Spring Quarter 2007

Course Web Page: <http://faculty.washington.edu/migdal/SISME458/>

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Office hours:
Thursday 1:30-3:00
and by appointment

Israel is a state within whose borders exists a complex mosaic of ethnic groups and religions. One interesting element about Israeli society, however, is that for years very few Israelis thought of their society as a mosaic. They conceived of it, much like Americans did about their own society several decades ago, as a melting pot that created a fairly homogeneous social core. Arabs were considered permanently outside this core, and immigrant Jews were expected to assimilate into the core. The core presented an archetype of the *helutz*, or pioneer, typified by those revolutionaries from East Europe (especially Russia) who settled the land and their children, the *sabras*. In recent years, the primacy of that core and the image of the archetypical Israeli have been challenged. This course examines how the parts of the mosaic have interacted over time to create today's Israeli society and how Israelis have thought about and handled the realization that social diversity, not singular acculturation and homogeneity, dominates.

The course looks, too, at the politics of Israel, especially the interaction of the state with the mosaic society. Whereas the politics of the early decades of the state, especially under the leadership of David Ben-Gurion, Israel's first prime minister, were often considered heroic, with citizens relying heavily on state initiative, today Israeli politics have been marred by corruption, and citizens demonstrate little faith in the leadership. The course will trace this change in politics.

Economically, Israel has moved from a relatively poor post-colonial state, which relied heavily on agriculture, to one based on high-tech, with average incomes approaching the levels of Western Europe. At the same time, Israel has gone from one of the most economically egalitarian states to one marked by sharp disparities in income. The course will inquire into these economic changes, as well.

Finally, the course seeks to put these and other changes (such as the growing number of foreign workers) in a broader context, looking at Israel in the Middle East regional system and the global context.

I have selected the readings based on two criteria.

1. I hope they are informative and provocative about the subjects they discuss. Gregory Mahler's *Politics And Government In Israel: The Maturation of a Modern State* serves as a good basic text, with other readings providing other perspectives and information.
2. I have, in many instances, chosen accounts by authors who have been major actors in the shaping of the question of how Israeli history, society, and politics are understood. Eisenstadt, Morris, Kimmerling, and others have been important figures in the construction of Israeli intellectual life and public understanding as much as they have been ivory tower observers. In class, I will discuss these figures as an entry way for students into the intellectual debates that both fortify and rock Israeli society. As the last topic on the list below indicates, historiography itself has become a major area of contention in Israel, symbolic of other deep cleavages in society, and the authors here are central to the struggle over how to understand the country's history. The readings reflect differing historiographic perspectives, especially on the topic popularly called post-Zionism.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

1. Class sessions will include some lecture, with, I hope, frequent interruptions for questions, clarifications, and objections; directed class discussion; and viewing of occasional films and videos. All reading for the week must be completed before Monday's class (except for the first week, when it must be completed before Thursday's session). **Come prepared to talk about the question motivating the author, the central argument, the type of evidence used, and how the piece fits into the array of other readings (with whom is the author allying and with whom is the author arguing?).** There will be three pop quizzes during the course of the quarter on the weekly readings. In total, they will account for 20 percent of the grade, and class participation (attendance and discussion of readings and lecture materials) will account for another 10 percent of the final grade. Gregory Mahler's book, *Politics And Government In Israel: The Maturation of a Modern State*, is available for purchase at the University Bookstore. The other readings are on e-reserve at the Libraries and can be accessed easily through the course webpage.
2. Students will write three response papers, each on the readings for a particular week. The papers should concentrate on one of the readings that week but should also bring in the others in order to develop the argument of the paper on the main reading. These papers—about three pages each—should **not be summaries** or simple critiques. Rather, each should be an exegesis, having its own argument based on a close reading (and citing of passages) of the text. The small papers will, in total, account for about 20 percent of the final grade. The papers must be handed in at the beginning of class on the Tuesday that the reading is due, and the paper writer must attend the full class that day. No late papers will be accepted.

3. Students will write a bibliographic essay of approximately 10 pages on one of the course topics listed below. Like the shorter papers, this paper will be organized around your own argument. The “data” for the paper, however, will be the principal literature on the topic, beyond that listed below. As you research the literature on a topic, you will want to ask who the main figures are, what the most important texts are, what the major schools are, and what the most important divisions in the field are. This paper will count for 30 percent of the grade. It is due Tuesday, MAY 22. The final exam is on ... (20%).
4. Students must keep up on current events relating to Israel, including daily perusing articles in the *New York Times* and one of two websites:

<http://www.haaretzdaily.com/>

<http://www.ynetnews.com>

COURSE TOPICS AND READING ASSIGNMENTS

1. Overview: Israel in the Local, Regional, and International Context

Reading (due March 29):

Uzi Rebhun, “Major Trends in the Development of Israeli Jews: A Synthesis of the Last Century” in Uzi Rebhun and Chaim I. Waxman, eds., *Jews in Israel: Contemporary social and Cultural Patterns* (Hanover, NH: Brandeis University Press, 2004), pp. 3-19.

Gregory Mahler, *Politics and Government in Israel*, pp. 1-84.

2. State Formation: The Yishuv and the Creation of Political Institutions (due April 5): **Note that there will be no class on Tuesday, April 3.**

Don Horowitz and Moshe Lissak, *Origins of the Israeli Polity: Palestine under the Mandate* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1978), pp. 37-68.

Yonathan Shapiro, “The Historical Origins of Israeli Democracy,” in *Israeli Democracy Under Stress*, ed. by Ehud Sprinzak and Larry Diamond (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1993), pp. 65-80.

Gregory Mahler, *Politics and Government in Israel*, pp. 85-169.

3. The Formation of Jewish Society in Palestine and Israel (due April 10):

S.N. Eisenstadt, *Israeli Society* (New York: Basic Books, 1967), pp. 7-58.

Gershon Shafir, *Land, Labor and the Origins of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict 1882-1914* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 45-90.

Calvin Goldscheider, *Israel's Changing Society: Population, Ethnicity, and Development* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 2002, 2nd ed.), pp. 43-64.

Gregory Mahler, *Politics and Government in Israel*, pp. 171-219.

4. Palestinians in Israel (due April 17):

Ian Lustick, *Arabs in the Jewish State: Israel's Control of a National Minority* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1980), pp. 1-27.

Nadim N. Rouhana, *Palestinian Citizens in an Ethnic Jewish State: Identities in Conflict* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), pp. 65-107.

Baruch Kimmerling and Joel S. Migdal, *The Palestinian People: A History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003), pp. 169-213.

Yoram S. Carmeli and Kalman Applbaum, "Introduction" in Carmeli and Applbaum, eds., *Consumption and Market Society in Israel*, pp. 1-19.

Amalia Sa'ar, "'Doing Market' across National and Gender Divides: Consumption Patterns of Israeli Palestinians" in Carmeli and Applbaum, eds., *Consumption and Market Society in Israel*, pp. 123-140.

5. Kulturkampf: The Religious Divide (due April 24):

Charles S. Liebman, "Religion and Democracy in Israel" in *Israeli Democracy*, pp. 273-293.

Shlomit Levy, Hanna Levinsohn, and Elihu Katz, "Beliefs, Observances and Social Interaction Among Israeli Jews : The Guttman Report" in *The Jewishness of Israelis*, ed. by Charles S. Liebman and Elihu Katz (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997), pp. 1-37.

Patricia Woods, "The Irony of State Incorporation," in "Courting the Court: Social Visions, State Authority, and the Religious Law Conflict in Israel" (University of Washington, Ph. D. Dissertation, 2001) pp. 79-132 .

Asher Cohen and Bernard Susser, *Israel and the Politics of Jewish Identity* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), pp. xi-xiv.

Shlomit Levy, Hanna Levinsohn, and Elihu Katz, "The Many Faces of Jewishness in Israel" in Uzi Rebhun and Chaim I. Waxman, eds., *Jews in Israel: Contemporary Social and Cultural Patterns* (Hanover, NH: Brandeis University Press, 2004), pp. 265-284.

6. The Jewish Ethnic Divide (due May 1):

Sammy Smootha, "Class, Ethnic, and National Cleavages and Democracy in Israel," in *Israeli Democracy*, pp. 309-342.

Baruch Kimmerling, *The Invention and Decline of Israeliness: State, Society, and the Military* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), pp. 89-111.

Oren Barak and Gabriel Shefer, "Israel's 'Security Network' and Its Impact: An Exploration of a New Approach," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 38(2006), 235-261.

Ira Sharkansky "Israeli Income Equality" *Israel Studies* Vol.1 Number 1 (spring 1996). 306-314

Gregory Mahler, *Politics and Government in Israel*, pp. 251-288.

7. War and Israeli Society and Politics (due May 8):

Yoram Peri, "The Arab-Israeli Conflict and Israeli Democracy" in *Israeli Democracy*, pp. 343-357.

Uri Ben-Eliezer, *The Making of Israeli Militarism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998), pp. 193-229.

Yaron Ezrahi, *Rubber Bullets: Power and Conscience in Modern Israel* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1997), pp. 175-206.

Benny Morris, *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem, 1947-1949* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 1-3, 286-296.

Gregory Mahler, *Politics and Government in Israel*, pp. 331-366.

8. The 1967 War: the Burden of Occupation and Israel in the American Imagination (due May 15):

Aviezer Ravitsky, *Messianism, Zionism, and Jewish Religious Radicalism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), pp. 1-9, 79-144

Menachem Friedman, "The State of Israel as a Theological Dilemma" in *The Israeli State and Society* ed. by Baruch Kimmerling (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989), pp. 165-211

Melani McAlister, *Epic Encounters: Culture, Media, and U.S. Interests in the Middle East, 1945-2000* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), pp. 155-197.

9. Contested Israeli Identity and the Long Road to Peace (due May 22)

William B. Quandt, *Peace Process: American Diplomacy and the Arab-Israeli Conflict Since 1967* (Berkeley: University of California Press, revised edition, 2001), pp. 290-376.

10. After Zionism?: New Historians, New Sociologists, New Textbooks—New Israel? (due May 29):

Moshe Lissak, “‘Critical’ Sociology and ‘Establishment’ Sociology in the Israeli Academic Community: Ideological Struggles or Academic Discourse?” *Israel Studies* 1 (Spring 1996), pp. 247-294.

Michael Shalev, “Time for Theory: Critical Notes on Lissak and Sternhell,” *Israel Studies* 1 (Fall 1996), pp. 170-177.

Laurence J. Silberstein, *Postzionism Debates: Knowledge and Power in Israel Culture*. (New York, Routledge, 1999), pp.1-10, 89-127, and 207-209.

Yoram Hazony, *The Jewish State: The Struggle for Israel’s Soul*. (New York, 2001), ch. 1, pp. 3-38.

Baruch Kimmerling, “A Glimpse of The Right-Wing Mind—Review of *The Jewish State: The Struggle for Israel’s Soul* by Yoram Hazony,” pp. 1-5.

Joel S. Migdal, “Israel Grapples with Its History (and Future): The Domestication of the Post-Zionist Critique,” pp. 1-19.

**JACKSON SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
INFORMATION FOR STUDENTS***

COURSES, GRADING, ACADEMIC CONDUCT

Plagiarism

Plagiarism is defined as the use of creations, ideas or words of publicly available work without formally acknowledging the author or source through appropriate use of quotation marks, references, and the like. Plagiarizing is presenting someone else's work as one's own original work or thought. This constitutes plagiarism whether it is intentional or unintentional. The University of Washington takes plagiarism very seriously. Plagiarism may lead to disciplinary action by the University against the student who submitted the work. Any student who is uncertain whether his or her use of the work of others constitutes plagiarism should consult the course instructor for guidance before formally submitting the course work involved.

(Sources: UW Graduate School Style Manual; UW Bothell Catalog; UW Student Conduct Code)

Incompletes

An incomplete is given only when the student has been in attendance and has done satisfactory work until within two weeks of the end of the quarter and has furnished proof satisfactory to the instructor that the work cannot be completed because of illness or other circumstances beyond the student's control. *(Source: UW General Catalog 2002-2004, p. 26.)*

Grade Appeal Procedure

A student who believes he or she has been improperly graded must first discuss the matter with the instructor. If the student is not satisfied with the instructor's explanation, the student may submit a written appeal to the director of the Jackson School with a copy of the appeal also sent to the instructor. The director consults with the instructor to ensure that the evaluation of the student's performance has not been arbitrary or capricious. Should the director believe the instructor's conduct to be arbitrary or capricious and the instructor declines to revise the grade, the director, with the approval of the voting members of his or her faculty, shall appoint an appropriate member, or members, of the faculty of the Jackson School to evaluate the performance of the student and assign a grade. The Dean and Provost should be informed of this action. Once a student submits a written appeal, this document and all subsequent actions on this appeal are recorded in written form for deposit in a School file. *(Source: UW General Catalog 2002-2004, p. 27.)*

Concerns About a Course, an Instructor, or a Teaching Assistant

If you have any concerns about a Jackson School course or your instructor, please see the instructor about these concerns as soon as possible. If you are not comfortable talking with the instructor or not satisfied with the response that you receive, you may contact the chair of the program offering the course (names available from the Office of Student Services, Thomson Hall 111).

If you have any concerns about a teaching assistant, please see the teaching assistant about these concerns as soon as possible. If you are not comfortable talking with the teaching assistant or not satisfied with the response that you receive, you may contact the instructor in charge of the course. If you are still not satisfied with the response that you receive, you may contact the chair of the program offering the course (names available from the Office of Student Services, Thomson Hall 111), or the Graduate School at G-1 Communications Building (543-5900).

For your reference, these procedures are posted on a Jackson School bulletin board in the Student Services Office, Room 111 Thomson Hall.

* *Adapted from material prepared by the UW Department of History and used with permission.*

POLICIES, RULES, RESOURCES

Equal Opportunity

The University of Washington reaffirms its policy of equal opportunity regardless of race, color, creed, religion, national origin, sex, sexual orientation, age, marital status, disability, or status as a disabled veteran or Vietnam-era veteran in accordance with University of Washington policy and applicable federal and state statutes and regulations.

Disability Accommodation

The University of Washington is committed to providing access, equal opportunity and reasonable accommodation in its services, programs, activities, education and employment for individuals with disabilities. For information or to request disability accommodation contact: Disabled Students Services (Seattle campus) at (206) 543-8924/V, (206) 543-8925/TTY, (206) 616-8379/Fax, or e-mail at uwdss@u.washington.edu; Bothell Student Affairs at (425) 352-5000/V; (425) 352-5303/TTY, (425) 352-5335/Fax, or e-mail at uwbothel@u.washington.edu; Tacoma Student Services at (253) 552-4000/V, (253) 552-4413/TTY, (253) 552-4414/Fax.

Sexual Harassment

Sexual harassment is defined as the use of one's authority or power, either explicitly or implicitly, to coerce another into unwanted sexual relations or to punish another for his or her refusal, or as the creation by a member of the University community of an intimidating, hostile, or offensive working or educational environment through verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature.

If you believe that you are being harassed, seek help—the earlier the better. You may speak with your instructor, your teaching assistant, the director of student services (111 Thomson), or the director of the Jackson School (406 Thomson). In addition, you should be aware that the University has designated special people to help you. They are: University Ombudsman and Ombudsman for Sexual Harassment (for complaints involving faculty members and teaching assistants) Lois Price Spratlen, 301 Student Union, 543-6028; and the University Complaint Investigation and Resolution Office, 616-2028. (*Sources: UW Graduate School, CIDR, Office of the President*)

Office of Scholarly Integrity

The Office of Scholarly Integrity is housed in the Graduate School under the Vice-Provost and Dean of the Graduate School. The Office of Scholarly Integrity assumes responsibility for investigating and resolving allegations of scientific and scholarly misconduct by faculty, students, and staff of the University of Washington. The Office of Scholarly Integrity coordinates, in consultation and cooperation with the Schools and Colleges, inquiries and investigations into allegations of scientific and scholarly misconduct. The Office of Scholarly Integrity is responsible for compliance with reporting requirements established by various Federal and other funding agencies in matters of scientific or scholarly misconduct. The Office of Scholarly Integrity maintains all records resulting from inquiries and investigations of such allegations. University rules (Handbook, Vol. II, Section 25-51, Executive Order #61) define scientific and scholarly misconduct to include the following forms of inappropriate activities: intentional misrepresentation of credentials; falsification of data; plagiarism; abuse of confidentiality; deliberate violation of regulations applicable to research. Students can report cases of scientific or scholarly misconduct either to the Office of Scholarly Integrity, to their faculty adviser, or the department chair. The student should report such problems to whomever he or she feels most comfortable. (*Sources: UW web page (<http://www.grad.washington.edu/OSI/osi.htm>); minutes of Grad School Executive Staff and Division Heads meeting, 7/23/98*)