Being Israeli
The Dynamics of Multiple Citizenship

A timely study by two well-known scholars offers a theoretically-informed account of the political sociology of Israel. The analysis is set within its historical context, as the authors trace Israel’s development from Zionist settlement in the 1880s, through the establishment of the state in 1948, to the present day. Against this background the authors speculate on the relationship between identity and citizenship in Israeli society, and consider the differential rights, duties, and privileges that are accorded different social groups - Jews and Palestinians, Europeans and Middle Eastern Jews, men and women, religiously Orthodox and non-religious Jews - and how these have evolved. In this way they demonstrate that, despite ongoing tensions, the pressure of globalization and economic liberalization has gradually transformed Israel from a warlike welfare society to one more oriented towards peace and private profit. This unexpected conclusion offers some encouragement for the future of this troubled region. However, Israel’s position towards the peace process is still subject to a tug-of-war between two conceptions of citizenship: liberal citizenship on the one hand, and the combination of colonial republicanism and an ever more religiously defined ethno-national citizenship on the other.

Cambridge Middle East Studies 16

Editorial Board
Charles Tripp (general editor)

Julia A. Clancy-Smith  Israel Gershoni  Roger Owen
Yezid Sayigh  Judith E. Tucker

Cambridge Middle East Studies has been established to publish books on the nineteenth- and twentieth-century Middle East and North Africa. The aim of the series is to provide new and original interpretations of aspects of Middle Eastern societies and their histories. To achieve disciplinary diversity, books will be solicited from authors writing in a wide range of fields including history, sociology, anthropology, political science and political economy. The emphasis will be on producing books offering an original approach along theoretical and empirical lines. The series is intended for students and academics, but the more accessible and wide-ranging studies will also appeal to the interested general reader.

A list of books in the series can be found after the index
Being Israeli

The Dynamics of Multiple Citizenship

Gershon Shafir
University of California, San Diego

Yoav Peled
Tel Aviv University
PUBLISHED BY THE PRESS SYNDICATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE
The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge, United Kingdom

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, UK
40 West 20th Street, New York, NY 10011-4211, USA
10 Stamford Road, Oakleigh, VIC 3166, Australia
Dock House, The Waterfront, Cape Town 8001, South Africa
http://www.cambridge.org

© Gershon Shafir and Yoav Peled

This book is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2002

Printed in the United Kingdom at the University Press, Cambridge

Typeface Plantin 10/12 pt. System LATEX2ε

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication data
Shafir, Gershon.
Being Israeli: the dynamics of multiple citizenship / Gershon Shafir, Yoav Peled.
p. cm. – (Cambridge Middle East studies)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
I. Peled, Yoav. II. Title. III. Series.
JQ1830.A91 S53 2002
323.6'095694–dc21 2001037490

ISBN 0 521 79224 X hardback
ISBN 0 521 79672 5 paperback

© Cambridge University Press

www.cambridge.org
To the memory of Yonathan Shapiro
trailblazer, teacher, friend
Contents

Acknowledgments
List of abbreviations

1 Introduction

Part 1 Fragmented citizenship in a colonial frontier society
2 The virtues of Ashkenazi pioneering
3 Mizrachim and women: between quality and quantity
4 The frontier within: Palestinians as third-class citizens
5 The wages of legitimation: Zionist and non-Zionist Orthodox Jews

Part 2 The frontier reopens
6 New day on the frontier
7 The frontier erupts: the intifadas

Part 3 The emergence of civil society
8 Agents of political change
9 Economic liberalization and peacemaking
10 The "constitutional revolution"
11 Shrinking social rights

© Cambridge University Press  www.cambridge.org
Contents

12 Emergent citizenship groups? Immigrants from the FSU and Ethiopia and overseas labor migrants 308

13 Conclusion 335

Bibliography 349
Index 387
Acknowledgments

This book has been many years in the making, and during these years we have incurred many intellectual and material debts to friends, colleagues, and institutions. Many people have read parts of the manuscript at the various stages of its development and have given us valuable comments and suggestions. They are, in alphabetical order, José Brunner Israel Gershoni, Zvi Gitelman, Dov Khenin, Gal Levy, Ian Lustick, Roger Owen, Michael Shalev, Yehuda Shenhav, Oren Yiftachel, and Arnona Zahavi. We would also like to thank the many people, too numerous to be mentioned by name, who provided us with research assistance, or with whom we consulted in less formal ways over the years. Special thanks are due also to the people who have kindly consented to be interviewed for this study. Their names appear in the bibliographical section of the book.

Institutionally, we owe a debt of gratitude for their financial help to the Israel Science Foundation, the Joint Committee on the Near and Middle East of the US Social Science Research Council and the American Council of Learned Societies, the Gershon Gordon Faculty of Social Science and the Department of Political Science, both at Tel Aviv University, and the Academic Senate Committee on Research at the University of California, San Diego.

In addition to these joint thanks we would each like to give special thanks to people and institutions who have helped each one of us personally: Shafir would like to thank the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Tel Aviv University, where he spent a very fruitful sabbatical year in 1994–5, as well as the University of California’s Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation for its continued support. Peled would like to thank the Center for Judaic Studies at the University of Pennsylvania, and its Director, David Ruderman, for enabling him to spend a most stimulating and productive year there as a Fellow, in 1996–7. A crucial part of his contribution to this book was written during that year. Most especially, Peled would like to thank Horit Herman-Peled, without whose love, companionship, and constant intellectual challenge the effort he invested in this book would have been neither possible nor worthwhile.
x Acknowledgments

Finally, we would like to express our gratitude to our editor at Cambridge University Press, Marigold Acland, for bearing with us through so many missed deadlines and for her unfaltering support for this book, to three anonymous reviewers whose comments and criticisms helped us improve the manuscript, and to Mary Starkey, our copy-editor, for being both diligent and good-natured in the execution of the very complicated project of tri-continental copy-editing.

This book is a real joint product, the culmination of many years of intellectual cooperation. We have each contributed to it equally, and the order in which our names appear on the cover was determined by lot. We dedicate the book to the memory of Yonathan Shapiro who, in different ways, was a friend, teacher, and mentor to us both.
Abbreviations

AWU  African Workers' Union  
AY  Agudat Yisrael  
BOI  Bank of Israel  
CBS  Central Bureau of Statistics  
DMC  Democratic Movement for Change  
DOP  Declaration of Principles  
DT  development town  
EESP  Emergency Economic Stabilization Plan  
FCC  Federation of Chambers of Commerce  
FDI  foreign direct investment  
FSU  former Soviet Union  
HMO  health-maintenance organization  
IDB  Israel Discount Bank  
IDF  Israeli Defense Force  
ILA  Israel Land Administration  
IMC  Israel Management Center  
JNF  Jewish National Fund  
ISI  import-substitution industrialization  
LSM  Labor Settlement Movement  
MAI  Manufacturers' Association of Israel  
MIC  military-industrial complex  
NII  National Insurance Institute  
NIS  New Israeli Shekel  
NRP  National Religious Party  
ONA  Omnium Nord Africa  
OT  occupied territories  
OWM  Organization of Working Mothers  
PLO  Palestine Liberation Organization  
PLP  Progressive List for Peace  
PM  prime minister  
PNF  Palestinian National Front
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SES</td>
<td>socio-economic status</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TASE</td>
<td>Tel Aviv Stock Exchange</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WB</td>
<td>World Bank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WIZO</td>
<td>Women's International Zionist Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WWC</td>
<td>Women Workers' Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WWM</td>
<td>Women Workers' Movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WZO</td>
<td>World Zionist Organization</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>