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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.

GERSHON SHAFIR is Professor of Sociology at the University of California, San Diego. His publications include *Land, Labor, and the Origins of the Israeli–Palestinian Conflict, 1882–1914* (1989, 1996) and *Immigrants and Nationalists* (1995). He is the editor of *The Citizenship Debates* (1998). Yoav Peled is Associate Professor in the Department of Political Science, Tel Aviv University. His book, *Class and Ethnicity in the Pale: The Political Economy of Jewish Workers' Nationalism in Late Imperial Russia* was published in 1989 and he co-edited *Ethnic Challenges to the Modern Nation-State* (2000). Both authors have co-edited *The New Israel: Peacemaking and Liberalization* (2000).

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To the memory of Yonathan Shapiro
trailblazer, teacher, friend

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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

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SES	socio-economic status
TASE	Tel Aviv Stock Exchange
WB	World Bank
WIZO	Women's International Zionist Organization
WWC	Women Workers' Council
WWM	Women Workers' Movement
WZO	World Zionist Organization

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