

Arab Soccer in a Jewish State

Over the last two decades, soccer has become a major institution within the popular culture of the Arab-Palestinian citizens of Israel, who have attained disproportionate success in this field. Given their marginalization from many areas of Israeli society, as well as the ongoing Israeli-Palestinian conflict, such a prominent Arab presence highlights the tension between their Israeli citizenship and their belonging to the Palestinian people. Bringing together sociological, anthropological and historical approaches, Tamir Sorek examines how soccer can potentially be utilized by ethnic and national minorities as a field of social protest, a stage for demonstrating distinctive identity, or as a channel for social and political integration. Relying on a rich combination of quantitative and qualitative methods, he argues that equality in the soccer sphere legitimizes contemporary inequality between Jews and Arabs in Israel and pursues wider arguments about the role of sport in ethno-national conflicts.

TAMIR SOREK is an Assistant Professor of Sociology and Israel Studies at the University of Florida.



Cambridge Cultural Social Studies

Series editors: Jeffrey C. Alexander, Department of Sociology, Yale University, and Steven Seidman, Department of Sociology, University at Albany, State University of New York.

Titles in the series

JEFFREY C. ALEXANDER, BERNHARD GIESEN AND JASON L. MAST, Social Performance

ARNE JOHAN VETLESEN, Evil and Human Agency

ROGER FRIEDLAND AND JOHN MOHR, Matters of Culture

DAVINA COOPER, Challenging Diversity, Rethinking Equality and the Value of Difference

KRISHAN KUMAR, The Making of English National Identity RON EYERMAN, Cultural Trauma

STEPHEN M. ENGEL, The Unfinished Revolution

MICHÈLE LAMONT AND LAURENT THÉVENOT, Rethinking Comparative Cultural Sociology

RON LEMBO, Thinking through Television

ALI MIRSEPASSI, Intellectual Discourse and the Politics of Modernization

RONALD N. JACOBS, Race, Media, and the Crisis of Civil Society ROBIN WAGNER-PACIFICI, Theorizing the Standoff

KEVIN MCDONALD, Struggles for Subjectivity

S. N. EISENSTADT, Fundamentalism, Sectarianism, and Revolution

PIOTR SZTOMPKA, Trust

SIMON J. CHARLESWORTH, A Phenomenology of Working-Class Experience

LUC BOLTANSKI, Translated by GRAHAM D. BURCHELL,

Distant Suffering

(list continues at end of book)



Arab Soccer in a Jewish State

The Integrative Enclave

Tamir Sorek





> CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo

Cambridge University Press The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 8RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521870481

© Tamir Sorek 2007

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 2007

Printed in the United Kingdom at the University Press, Cambridge

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

ISBN 978-0-521-87048-1 hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this book, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



In memory of my beloved brother Alon (1985–2006)



Contents

Lis	st of tables	page viii
Lis	st of figures	X
Pro	eface and acknowledgments	xi
1	Introduction	1
2	Sports, modernity, and struggle in Palestine	14
3	The emergence of the integrative enclave	31
4	Soccer and municipal "labor quiet"	57
5	"These points are Arab": nationalist rhetoric in the sports pre	ss 81
6	"Maccabi Haifa is my flag": Arab fans of Jewish teams	102
7	The Islamic Soccer League	128
8	Sakhnin – between soccer and martyrdom	150
9	Conclusion	183
Ap	opendix 1: Interviews with functionaries	192
	opendix 2: Research design of the countrywide survey	194
	opendix 3: Main findings from the countrywide survey	197
	ppendix 4: Research design of the survey in Sakhnin	204
Ap	ppendix 5: Explanations for chapter 4	206
Bil	bliography	208
Inc	dex	221

vii



List of tables

3.1:	Ticket sales for the second division in the 1997/8 season	page 31
3.2:	Percentage of Arab men aged 18 to 50 who participated in	
	various modes of soccer consumption	52
4.1:	Support of Arab and Jewish municipalities for various sports	s 60
6.1:	Do you consider yourself a fan of a team in the Premier League's	? 103
6.2:	Do you consider yourself a fan of a team not in the Premier	
	League?	103
6.3:	When the Israeli national team plays against a European	
	national team, whom do you choose to support?	122
8.1:	Percentage of interviewees who chose each identity as one	
	of three identities of which they are proud to be part	153
8.2:	The relation between attendance in the local soccer stadium	
	and the choice of various identities as source of pride	161
8.3:	Involvement in soccer and voting intentions	180
8.4:	Attendance at the local soccer stadium and voting intentions	181
App	endix	
1:	Interviews with functionaries	192
2:	Research design of the countrywide survey	194
3:	Main findings from the countrywide survey	197
3.a:	Factor analysis of soccer consumption by the media	198
3.b:	The contribution of each variable to the probability of	
	choosing each identity as a source of pride (standardized	
	logistic coefficients)	199
3.c:	Attendance at local games and pride in Palestinian identity	200
3.d:	Attendance at Premier League games and pride in Palestinian	ı
	identity	200

viii



	List of tables	ix
3.e:	Logistic regression model predicting participation, voting for Zionist parties, and voting for Arab parties in the 1999	201
2.6	parliamentary elections in Israel	201
3.1:	Variables predicting at least one attendance at an official soccer game	201
3.g:	Percentages of interviewees who choose different identities as source of pride by attitude toward the Israeli national team	
	of soccer	202
3.h:	The differences between Maccabi and Ha-Po'el fans in	
	Arab localities	203
4:	Research design of the survey in Sakhnin	204
4.a:	Logistic regression model predicting participation in 1999	
	election in Sakhnin	205
4.b:	Logistic regression model predicting voting for a Zionist	
	candidate in the 1999 election in Sakhnin	205
5:	Explanations for chapter 4	206
	The ratio of support for local sports associations as predicted	
	by various demographic attributes of localities	207



List of figures

3.1: Percentages of Arab teams in adult IFA divisions,	
1977–2000	page 50
4.1: Voting patterns among young Arab men in Israel	78

X



Preface and acknowledgments

As a child in a Kibbutz in the western Galilee, and a mediocre player on our very mediocre soccer team, I sometimes participated in regional soccer competitions against teams which represented Arab towns and villages. These competitions were among the rare opportunities for us, the Jewish youth from the Kibbutz, to meet Arab youth, who despite their numerical predominance in the Galilee, were almost invisible for us. My memories from these encounters include sentiments of alert and worry; I always felt that for our Arab rivals, it was much more than a game, as if they were trying by any means to prove something to us, or to themselves.

Holding a very superficial and selective knowledge about the social history of the landscape of my childhood, as well as about the political dynamics of Arab–Jewish relations in Israel, I did not yet have the tools to decipher the political complexity of these encounters. Years later, as a graduate student at the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at the Hebrew University, equipped with much more historical and political knowledge, as well as theoretical perspectives and methodological tools, I had the opportunity to investigate in a scholarly way Arab–Jewish soccer encounters and study the tension I felt as a teenager. Between 1998 and 2001, I conducted a doctoral study on Arab soccer in Israel, which constitutes the core of this book. This long journey, which began as an attempt to study "the other," has taught me as well much about "my" side in the Israeli–Palestinian conflict and even about the ways that the boundaries between "them" and "us" have been constructed.

I began the study during a relatively optimistic period in Jewish–Arab and Israeli–Palestinian relations. Since then, we experienced the crisis of October 2000 when Arab demonstrators were killed by Israeli police, and four years of the second Intifada during which more than 3,000



xii Preface and acknowledgments

Palestinians and 1,000 Israelis lost their lives. It is in this context in particular that many good people consider soccer to be an island of sanity and tolerance in a stormy sea of enmity. This book is not intended to pull the rug out from under this conviction, but it does shed light on the less popularly known and less discussed aspects of soccer in Israel, as well as on the complex (and not always innocent) role which soccer plays in the relations between the Jewish majority and the Arab–Palestinian minority.

Parts of this book have been previously published as articles in journals and edited volumes. Some of the main arguments appeared first in my article "Arab Football in Israel as an Integrative Enclave," in *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 26 (3), 2003, as well as in "Arab Soccer in a Jewish State," in *Jews, Sports and the Rites of Citizenship*, edited by Jack Kugelmass University of Illinois Press, 2006. Chapters 2 and 3 are an extension and elaboration of my article "Palestinian Nationalism has Left the Field – A Shortened History of Arab Soccer in Israel," which appeared in *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 35 (3) 2003. An earlier version of chapter 7 appeared as an article, "The Islamic Soccer League in Israel: Setting Moral Boundaries by Taming the Wild," *Identities – Global Studies in Culture and Power*, 9 (4), 2002. Chapter 8 is based on my article, "Between Football and Martyrdom – the Bi-Focal Localism of a Palestinian Town in Israel," *British Journal of Sociology*, 56 (4) 2005.

Throughout the years of working on this book I enjoyed the support of a number of institutions that financed the study, as well as many colleagues and friends who helped with good will and talent. First, thanks to my two thesis advisers who believed in the project from its inception: Baruch Kimmerling, whose sociological Weltanschauung served as my main source of inspiration, believed and supported, encouraged and challenged; and Danny Rabinowitz, whose original anthropological viewpoint is obvious throughout this book. I wish also to express my gratitude to the Israel Foundation Trustees and to the Shain Center for Research in the Social Sciences at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem for research grants which facilitated gathering of data, and to the Eshkol Institute for a sustenance grant. A special and warm thanks to the Meyerhoff Center for Jewish Studies at the University of Maryland, where, during my stay as a research fellow in 2000-2002, I wrote much of the original dissertation. The former center director, Marsha Rozenblit, provided generous support with much good will. The Department of Near Eastern Studies at Cornell University, where I spent three years from 2003 to 2006, was a warm academic home. Special thanks to the then Department Chair, Ross Brann, who secured funding for translation which enabled me to publish this book in a relatively short time.



Preface and acknowledgments

xiii

I would like also to thank my research assistants who worked with me during the study: Suha Ibrahim, Najwan Ighbariya, Sammy Khatib, Iyad Mahamid, Țaleb Mukari, Şallah Muhsin, Afnan Muşarwa, Vivian Siagha, Hiba Zidan, and Tareq Zu'abi. Rami Shala'ata, my research assistant, who also became a good friend, was very helpful in interpreting for me many of the subtle nuances in his town, Sakhnin. Nabil Khattab from Bristol University, who was then a graduate student and my colleague at the Hebrew University, was very helpful in building the questionnaires for the survey and in designing the sample. Also deserving of thanks are David Malka of the Sports Authority at the Ministry of Education, Ronit Nirel of the Department of Statistics at the Hebrew University, the sports reporters, Wa'el Hakrush and 'Abd al-Salam Shalabi, and a very special thanks to the devoted soccer fan 'Awni Shahin. Many thanks also to Kadish Goldberg, who assisted me with translating significant parts of the Hebrew version into English, and to Alexei Waters whose skills in language editing were very important in improving the linguistic style of the text. I would like to thank as well the photographer Shlomi Bernthal who provided the cover image of this book.

Thanks also to the hundreds of interviewees – soccer fans, journalists, functionaries – most of whom I did not know personally, but without whose cheerful compliance I could not have presented you with this book. In order to preserve the anonymity of the fans, their names appearing in the book are fictitious. Functionaries interviewed by virtue of their positions, however, appear with their original names.

Many of my colleagues and friends gave of their time and talents to read the manuscript at various stages of its development and enlightened me with their observations. Ramzi Suleiman, Moshe Zimmerman, and Kobi Metzer, read an earlier version of the manuscript in Hebrew and made significant contributions with their valuable comments. Allan Bairner and Paul Silverstein reviewed the English version and their insights were very helpful in upgrading and polishing the final product. I wish also to thank Nabih Bashir, Eyal Ben-Ari, Amir Ben-Porat, Ruti Kadish-Brener, Laleh Khalili, Etan Kohlberg, Daniel Maman, Shira Robinson, Sezet Rohana, Zeev Rosenhek, Guy Stecklov, Michael Shalev, Ishay Shneydor, Nurit Stadler, Shawkat Toorawa, and Ibtisam Tarabiya, who read and commented on parts of the manuscript.

Finally, I am grateful to my wife Michelle, who has been a wonderful emotional and intellectual partner. I benefitted from her comments, insights, and editorial suggestions, and she deserves special thanks for her support.