

New York University  
Department of Politics

Near and Middle Eastern Politics  
Israeli Politics and Society  
V53.0540  
Spring Semester 2005  
Monday & Wednesday 9:30-10:45  
MEYR 102

(Washington Place and the Corner of Broadway)

Instructor: Professor Hani Zubida

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### **Course Description**

The course will address the main issues in Israeli politics and society from the establishment of the state through the late 1990s. We will begin with an overview of the local, international, and historical context of the Israeli state. Move on to the state formation and study the structure of its political institutions. We will explore the focal elements of Israel's political system, and concentrate on the following: (1) Parties, the electoral system and state institutions. (2) Political leadership and political elite. (3) Political behavior. During the second part of the course we will explore the major social divisions in Israeli society, which include: (1) The Ethnic divide. (2) The Religious divide. (3) The National divide. (4) The Political divide. (5) War and Israeli society and Politics. (6) The Identity divide. Finally, we will examine the future challenges to Israeli society and politics. Throughout the course, we will focus on the relationship between state institutions, on the one hand, and social groups, movements, and institutions, on the other hand.

## Course Requirements

**The requirements needed to fulfill this class are describes in the appendix at the end of the syllabus.**

- Class Attendance is Mandatory.
- Three critical essays on course readings, 1-2 Pages long (from the entire reading list) will account for 20% of your final grade. These essays should be sent via e-mail to both me and the TA, a hard copy to the TA at the beginning of each class is also required.
- Term Paper – 12-14 pages long (topics to be approved by the instructor/TA) will account for 50% of your final grade. Final papers should be sent via e-mail as well as hard-copy to the TA. Drafts of the papers will be presented and discussed by the class during the last **five** meetings of the semester.
- Class Participation will account for 30% of your final grade. This part is three-fold:
  1. Each student will be required to lead the discussion once during the course. This will include preparing a five to seven minute presentation of the relevant readings and prepare questions for the discussion to follow. Each presentation, which will be sent to me before hand, will be distributed to the students via e-mail before the class.
  2. Active class participation. Class participation will be evaluated on the degree to which you understand and engage with the readings, and contribute to the quality (not quantity) of class discussion and postings.
  3. Term paper presentation.

\*\*\* All written assignments have to be typed in font 12, double spaced, with 1-inch margins. Always keep a copy of your assignments for your records.

All plagiarism issues will be handled with accordance to the College of Arts and Science bulletin.

<http://cas.nyu.edu/object/bulletin0406.ug.academicpolicies.html>

## **Important Dates and Deadlines**

- Monday February 13 - Email description of paper topic, after discussion with me or TA
- Monday February 20 - NO CLASS Presidents' Day.
- March 13 to 18 - No Classes Spring Recess.
- March 8 - Email outline and annotated bibliography
- Monday April 10 - Last date to submit final literature review
- Monday April 12 - Paper outline, ready for circulation
- Wednesday May 1 Final Paper Due

## **Required Books and Readings**

Books are available for purchase at the Book Store (and on reserve in Bobst):

### **Required Books:**

Arian Asher. 1997. **The Second Republic: Politics in Israel**. Chatham, N.J.: Chatham House. (JQ1830.A58 A75 1997)

Dowty Alan. 1998. **The Jewish state: a century later**. Berkeley: University of California Press. (JQ1830.A58 D69 1998)

Garfinkle Adam. 2000. **Politics and society in modern Israel: myths and realities**. Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe. (DS126.5 .G357 2000)

Peretz Don and Gideon Doron. 1997. **The government and politics of Israel**. (3<sup>rd</sup> Ed.). Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press. (JQ1830.A58 P47 1997)

### **Recommended Only:**

Stein Leslie. 2003. **The hope fulfilled: the rise of modern Israel**. Westport, Conn.: Praeger. (DS125 .S73 2003)

Migdal S. Joel. 2001. **Through the lens of Israel: explorations in state and society**. Albany: State University of New York Press. (JQ1830.A91 M54 2001)

❖ **Class 1** Wednesday January 18

General Introduction

❖ **Class 2** Monday January 23

**Overview Israel in the Local, and International Context:**

- Uzi Rebhum (in **Jews in Israel: Contemporary Social and Cultural Patterns**, Uzi Rebhum and Chaim I. Waxman, (Eds.)). pp. 3-19.
- Leslie Stein pp. 1-86.

❖ **Class 3** Wednesday January 25

**Historical and political Background**

- Garfinkle Ch. 2
- Dowty Chs. 2, 3

❖ **Class 4** Monday January 30

Movie: Is Jerusalem Burning?

❖ **Class 5** Wednesday February 1 & **Class 6** Monday February 6

**State Formation and State Institutions:**

- Leslie Stein pp. 87-122.
- Arian (Second Republic) pp. 1-41.
- Peretz and Doron Ch. 1 pp. 11-45.
- Horowitz and Lissak (Origins of the Israeli Polity) pp. 37-68.

❖ **Class 7** Wednesday February 8

**\*\*\*February 13: Email description of paper topic, after discussion with me or TA**

**Society Formation**

- Dowty Chs. 4, 6.
- Garfinkle Ch. 5.

❖ **Class 8** Monday February 13 & **Class 9** Wednesday February 15

**Parties, the Electoral System and State Institutions**

- Peretz and Doron Chs. 3, 4, 6.
- Garfinkle Ch. 5.

**Suggested Readings:**

- Arian (Second Republic) Chs. 5 & 6.

❖ Monday February 20      **NO CLASS Presidents' Day!**

❖ **Class 10** Wednesday February 22

**Political Leadership and Political Elite**

- Daniel Maman. 1997. "Elite Structure in Israel: A socio-Historical Analysis". Journal of Political and Military Studies 25(1). **(Online)**
- Arian (Second Republic) Ch. 4 pp. 73-102.
- David Nachmias. 1991. "Israeli's Bureaucratic Elite: Social Structure and Patronage". Public Administration Review. 51(5) pp. 413-420. **(Online)**

❖ **Class 11** Monday February 27 & **Class 12** Wednesday March 1

**2. Political Behavior**

- Shamir Michal and Asher Arian. 1999. "Collective Identity and Electoral Competition in Israel" American Political Science Review. 93(2) pp. 265-277. **(Online)**
- Shamir Michal and Arian Asher. 1993. "Two Reversals in Israeli Politics: why 1992 was not 1997". Electoral studies. 12(4) pp. 315-341. **(Online)**
- Asher Arian and Michal Shamir (Eds.). 1996. **The Elections in Israel**. Introduction. pp. 4-23.

\*\*\*\*\***Social Divisions**\*\*\*\*\*

❖ **Class 13** Monday March 6

\*\*\***March 8: Email outline and annotated bibliography**

**Ethnic Divide: Mizrachim and Ashkenazim**

- Dowty Ch. 7
- Sami Shalom Chetrit. 2000. "Mizrahi Politics in Israel: Between Integration and Alternative". Journal of Palestinian Studies. 29(4) pp. 51-65. **(Online)**
- Yehouda Shenhav. 1999. "The Jews of Iraq, Zionist Ideology, and the Property of the Palestinian Refugees of 1948: An Anomaly of National Accounting". International Journal of Middle East Studies. Vol. 31(4) pp. 605-630. **(Online)**

**Suggested Readings:**

- Dan Horowitz and Moshe Lissak. 1989. Troubles in Utopia: The Overburdened Polity of Israel. pp. 32-36 and pp. 64-83.
- Ella Shohat. 1999. "Sephardim in Israel: Zionism from the Standpoint of Its Jewish Victims". Social Text. 19-20 pp. 1-35. **(Online)**

❖ **Class 14** Wednesday March 8

**Movie: Black Panthers in Israel Speak**

(Call number: NYU Bobst A Fisher DVD 3119)

❖ **March 13 to 18**      **No Classes Spring Recess**

Continue: **Ethnic Divide: Mizrachim and Ashkenazim**

❖ **Class 15** Monday March 20 & **Class 16** Wednesday March 22

\*\*\***Special movie screening: Time of Favor**

**The Religious Divide: Secular and Religious Jews**

- Dowty Ch. 8
- Eisenstadt N. Shmuel. 1995. "Jewish Civilization: Approaches to Problems of Israeli Society" in Israeli Judaism: The Sociology of Religion in Israel. Shlomo Deshen, Charles S. Liebman, and Moshe

- Shokeid (Eds.). New Jersey: Transaction Publishers. (HN660.A8 S83 vol.7)
- Asher Cohen and Charles S. Liebman. 1997. "The Struggle among Religious Zionists over the Issue of a Religious State". In Religion, Democracy and Israeli Society. Amsterdam: the Netherlands: Harwood Academic Publishers. (BM390 .L526 1997)

**Suggested Readings:**

- Liebman, Charles and Susser, Bernard. 1998. "Judaism and Jewishness in the Jewish State". The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. Vol. 555 pp. 15-25. **(Online)**
- Sprinzak, Ehud. 1998. "Extremism and Violence in Israel: The Crisis of Messianic Politics". The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. Vol. 555 pp. 114-126. **(Online)**
- Asher Arian, (Second Republic) pp. 73-140.
- Charles S. Liebman. 1993. "Religion and Democracy in Israel". In Ehud Sprinzak and Larry Diamond (Eds.). Israeli Democracy Under Stress. pp. 273-293.

❖ **Class 17** Monday March 27 & **Class 18** Wednesday March 29

**The National Divide Jews and Arabs**

- Oren Yiftachel. 1997. "Israeli society and Jewish-Palestinian reconciliation: 'Ethnocracy' and its territorial contradictions". The Middle East Journal. Vol. 51(4) pp. 505. **(Online)**
- Joel S. Migdal and Baruch Kimmerling. 2001. "The Odd Man Out: Arabs in Israel". In Joel S. Migdal, (Ed.) Through the Lens of Israel: Explorations in State and Society. Albany, NY: SUNY Press. pp. 173-194.
- Dowty Alan. 1999. "Is Israel Democratic? Substance and Semantics in the "Ethnic Democracy"". Israel Studies. Vol. 4(2) pp. 1-15. **(Online)**
- Smootha Sammy. 1997. "Ethnic Democracy: Israel as an Archetype". Israel Studies. Vol. 2(2) pp. 198-241. **(Online)**

❖ **Class 19 Monday April 3**

**The Political Divide: Hawks and Doves**

- Garfinkle Ch. 7.
- Dowty Ch. 10
- Peleg Ilan, 1998. "Epilogue: The Peace Process and Israel's Political Kulturkampf". In Ilan Peleg (Ed.). The Middle East peace process: interdisciplinary perspectives. Albany, NY: SUNY Press. pp. 237-263.

❖ **Class 20 Wednesday April 5**

**3. War, Israeli Society and Politics**

- Ben-Eliezer Uri. 1998. The Making of Israeli Militarism. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. pp. 175-206.
- Peri Yoram. 1993. "The Arab-Israeli Conflict and Israeli Democracy". In Ehud Sprinzak and Larry Diamond (Eds.). Israeli Democracy Under Stress. pp. 343-357.
- Asher Arian, (Second Republic) pp. 178-205.
- Baruch Kimmerling. 2001. The invention and Decline of Israeliness: State, Society, and the Military. University of California Press. pp. 208-228.

❖ **Class 21 Monday April 10**

**\*\*\*Last date to submit final critical essay**

**\*\*\*Monday April 12: Paper outline, ready for circulation**

**Identity Divide: Jews and Israelis**

- Avraham B. Yehoshua. 2002. "Separating Religion from National Identity". Palestine - Israel Journal of Politics, Economics, and Culture. Vol. 8(4) pp. 94-101. **(Online)**
- Evron, Boas. 2002. "Israel's Shifting Identity". Palestine - Israel Journal of Politics, Economics, and Culture. Vol. 8(4) pp. 102-107. **(Online)**

❖ **Class 22** Wednesday April 12

**Conclusions: Challenges for the Future**

- Peretz and Doron Ch. 9

❖ **Class 23** Monday April 17

**Final Paper Presentations**

❖ **Class 24** Wednesday April 17

**Final Paper Presentations**

❖ **Class 25** Monday April 19

**Final Paper Presentations**

❖ **Class 26** Wednesday April 24

**Final Paper Presentations**

❖ **Class 27** Monday April 26

**\*\*\*Wednesday May 1 Final Paper Due**

**Final Paper Presentations**

❖ **Class 28** Wednesday May 1

**\*\*\*Final Paper Due**

**Last Class Summation of the Semester and Party!!!**

## Appendix

### Preparing Your Written Critical Essays

Your written essays should be 2 pages long, double spaced, font 12. The essay should discuss one of the readings from the given list for the relevant week.

**Essays cannot be submitted on readings from past dates.**

It should consist of the following elements:

1. Bibliographic information – Title, Author/s, Name of Journal, Year.
2. Short Summary – main research question/s, theoretical perspective, methods and data, main findings.
3. Evaluation – main strengths, main weaknesses. (This article is badly written, or I did not understand what the author/s wrote is not a valid criticism.)

**\*\*\* This requirement is to be done and evaluated individually.**

## Class Presentations

**During the semester students will present an assigned reading in class.**

Presentations should be about 7 minutes long.

The presentation should address the following questions:

- Who is the writer of the text?
- What kind of text is this?
- What is the main purpose of this text?
- Who is this text addressed to?
- What are the main arguments presented in the text?
- What support does the author provide to substantiate the arguments?
- Are the arguments convincing? Why or why not?
- What counter arguments could one make?
- How are the issues raised in the text relevant to the class?
- What did you find to be truly insightful in this text?
- What are the weaknesses of the text?
- How do the arguments made in the text fit with your own worldview?
- What particular issues raised in the text merit more discussion?

The presentation should be clear, coherent, and flowing (it should not be in a Q and A form).

**In addition to the oral presentation you should submit your written notes the day before the class no later than 4 PM.**

If you have questions please come see me or the TA during office hours.

## Paper Outline Guide

What do we have to write in the paper Outline?

Your outline should provide answers to 4 basic questions:

1. What do you want to know? (specific problem or issue, research questions)
2. Why do you want to know it? Why should anyone care what you find? What difference does it make?
3. What do you think the answer is, what are your hypothesis, what is your theory? Be sure to spell out the reasoning behind your hypothesis and the logical connections between them.
4. How do you intend to solve the puzzle? (Research design)

Each answer should be about two to three paragraphs long.

The outline should be written in essay format, about 2 to 4 pages long, font 12 double spaced.

**\*\*\* The paper outline is the basis for the final paper class presentation.**

## Annotated bibliography

The annotated bibliography should include your reference list with a short explanation for each item on how it is linked to your argument.