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Israeli Society between Sectarianism and Integration

S. N. Eisenstadt

The paper takes up the argument, recently voiced in the public discourse in Israel, that the roots of the conflictual tendencies in contemporary Israeli society, as well as the normlessness and institutional decay which are abundant in Israel today, are due to the growth of tendencies to sectorial segregation, seemingly attesting to the loss of any common framework.

In this paper, the above argument is critically examined and it is shown that in fact the situation is more complicated. The paper argues that the conflictual or divisive potentialities that developed in Civil Society in the contemporary Israeli scene, as well as the tendencies to normlessness, are indeed rooted in the mere development of such different sectors. But, more importantly, they are also the result of the combination of this sectorialization, with the continual struggle of these sectors for incorporation into the central framework of Israeli society. Indeed, many of these conflictual tendencies were driven by the feelings of many sectors of society of having been secluded from these general frameworks; feelings which became transformed into far-more reaching confrontations, and became closely interwoven with concomitant struggles of different elites — old and new — for hegemony in society.

The conflictual tendencies were intensified by the dissolution of the hitherto predominant institutional patterns; by the development of tendencies of ‘oligarchization’ and contestation between different groups for access to economic positions; by the many cases of corruption in high places, and by the brutalization of many aspects of life, especially under the impact of continual occupation and the tensions and confrontations with the Palestinian population. All of these processes contributed to a general weakening of the normative ambiance of the society, manifested in the

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development of highly aggressive behavior on all levels of social life, evident for instance in the continual high level of often fatal traffic accidents; growing violence, including violence within the family, in schools, of juvenile delinquency, sexual harassment, and the like. But, at the same time, these very processes also contained the potential for the development of more consensual tendencies, as well as the reconstitution of normative frameworks.

The Israeli Economy in the Fifth Decade Following D. Patinkin's *The Israeli Economy: The First Decade*

Yaakov Kop

This paper analyzes the Israeli economic scene in the 1990s and into the 21st century. It is anchored in the methodology of Don Patinkin in his unique work *The Israeli Economy: The First Decade*, and provides an historical perspective to the state of affairs in the fifth decade. The move from a young developing economy in the 1950s to an advanced economy in the 1990s brought with it increasing inequalities and social gaps that continued to widen in the fifth decade. Israel's economic development in the 1990s was composed of two sub-periods. The first period was characterized by a dynamic trend, driven by a growth-oriented economic policy whereas the focus of the second period was inflation containment. It can be said that government efforts in both sub-periods were successful, however, the cost of the second period was the entrance into a period of stagnation. Later, when this was coupled with an ongoing war of terror and a slowdown in the world economic scene, the Israeli economy sank into a deepening recession. In the concluding section, the paper states that despite the hardships of the past few years, it seems that the basic structure of the Israeli economy and its great potential will allow a resurgence of growth once security issues are solved. Still, an important lesson has been learned: the economy cannot lean on the high-tech sector alone and should diversify its industrial composition to encourage and ensure more equitable participation of the entire population in future growth and prosperity.

Budget Deficits and the Development of Fiscal Institutions in Israel, 1986-2002

Ben-Zion Zilberfarb

Fiscal institutions consist of all the procedures, rules and laws that determine how the government budget is formed, approved and executed. This study analyzes the new fiscal institutions that were formed in Israel after the stabilization program of 1985.

The stabilization program of 1985 put an end to a decade of very high inflation caused by large government deficits. To restore faith in the government commitment to conduct a responsible fiscal policy, the government adopted two fiscal institutions in July 1985: a law that prohibits the printing of money by the government and the omnibus law. Six years later, another fiscal institution was formed: the law that limits the budget deficit.

The study shows that these institutions played an important role in the consistent and continuous improvement in key macroeconomic parameters of the Israeli economy such as: the weight of government expenditures in GDP, inflation, etc. They enhanced the fiscal responsibility of the various governments that have been in power. The first two fiscal institutions remain intact until today. The last one, the limit on the budget deficit has been adjusted frequently, leading to erosion in its credibility and effectiveness.

1967: A Political-Economic Turning Point in Israel

Shlomo Swirski

Searching for the origins of the present-day predominance of capital over state and labor, this article goes back to the 1967 War. The war turned Israel into a regional power and a desirable strategic partner for the United States, which was prepared to invest in strengthening Israel's military power through generous financial and military assistance. US assistance enabled Israel to expand its defense capabilities to world-class dimensions, including the development of its own large-scale military industrial complex. The complex put Israel on the track of what economists call high-road economic development. It led to the eventual marginalization of the

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emerging 'traditional' industries, foremost among them the textile industry, along with the emerging 'traditional' working class, itself largely a product of the two previous decades of state-led industrialization. The military-industrial complex overtook the 'traditional' industries to assume the lead in Israel's economy, society and politics, springboarding a narrow segment of Israeli society.

Similarly, Israel's drive to maintain control of the territories conquered in 1967, among other things through establishing settlements there, led to the marginalization of urban and agricultural settlements established within Israel proper a short period before, in the context of a far larger government relocation and construction project, to house more than a million Jews who came to Israel in the first decade after 1948.

Why the Free Market is Preferable for Israel

Yitzhak Klein

Economic theory emphasizes the central role of investment in creating growth. Low taxation, low government deficits (ideally none), and minimal interference in the price mechanism are the key to high investment, long-term growth, and high demand for labor resulting in low unemployment and greater income equality. From the 1930s to the late 1960s, Israel's economy was characterized by relatively low public expenditure and massive capital transfers from abroad, stimulating growth — whether or not extensive government regulation of the economy was present. From 1973 on, public expenditure soared and unilateral transfers from abroad ended (except for military imports). Consequently, growth and employment stagnated (but for an exceptional period of growth, 1990-1995, following fiscal reform). As in European economies, rising welfare expenditures have failed to compensate for ever-increasing income inequality and unemployment, especially during the last decade. The adoption of growth-stimulating, jobs-creating policies, i.e. fiscal restraint, structural reform and deregulation, is the key to restoring growth and overcoming the acute social crisis that misconceived policies have created.

On the Origins of National Inequality in Israel

Amal Jamal

In recent years, we have been witnessing a process by which the Arab-Palestinian public has more assertively made appeals against the Israeli structure of dominance, despite the fact that its influence on Israeli politics is still marginal. Like other national minorities in the world that are discriminated against their national background, the Arab minority in Israel has been striving to reframe its relationship with the state. While fully exploiting the structure of opportunities allowed by the Israeli political sphere it has increased its national mobility in recent years.

Reviewing some studies on the relationship between the State of Israel and its Arab citizens shows that most explanatory models utilized have usually been one-dimensional. As a result, they have missed portraying the complexities of the Israeli reality and especially the dialectical relationship between Israeli policies towards the Arab population and the reaction of this population to these policies. This essay demonstrates that there is a need for an interactive and multidimensional model of explanation. The analytical framework developed by the American theorist, Nancy Fraser, regarding dilemmas of social and political justice, and regarding the struggle of minority groups for equality, is taken as an opening point. The model is first clarified and then modified by contextualizing it within theories of minority nationalism and social movements pertinent to deal with ethno-national conflicts in ethnic states. The essay then demonstrates how the combination of the politics of (mis)recognition, distributive inequality and political exclusion provide a more adequate explanation to Arab-state relations in Israel. For that purpose, the essay provides empirical data on Israeli policies towards the Arab population and on the latter's location within the Israeli state structure.

Gender Aspects in the Labor Market of Israel's Privatized Economy

Sylvie Fogiel-Bijaoui

In this paper, the author examines what is happening to women in the labor market in light of Israel's integration into the global economy since the mid-1980s. This

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issue arises not only because in the neo-liberal age dramatic changes are taking place that reposition and realign men and women in the labor market, but also due to the fact that the labor market—like the globalization process itself—is gendered: In other words, it is important to discover how a process which has far-reaching implications for Israel's economy, as does globalization, is shaped by the gender order of the labor market and how globalization shapes it in turn.

In this analysis, the author sees global capitalism—like modern capitalism—as a double edged system: On the one hand, global capitalism is based on individualism, capability, ambition, competition and universalism, or what is conventionally referred to as meritocracy. On the other hand, global capitalism entails the veneration of profitability and the concentration of capital. As a consequence, global capitalism is produced and reproduced by a growing inequality between various groups at both the national and global levels; *ipso facto*, it creates new stratifications and new hierarchies based on gender, age, ethnicity, citizenship, religion, place of residence and so forth. It also creates new discourses and new practices of inclusion and exclusion in the local and global markets.

The present analysis is based on these theoretical assumptions. The author mainly relates to the mechanisms of women's exclusion from, and their marginalization within the labor market, which create both unemployment and poverty among them.

The paper is divided into three parts: In the first part, the author refers briefly to the factors promoting women's inclusion in the Israeli labor market.

In the second part the author refers to the factors that bring about women's exclusion from the Israeli labor market. Here the author emphasizes the fact that exclusion trends mainly affect those women who belong to the weaker groups in Israeli society: Israeli Arab women, some of the Oriental women, some of the new immigrants from the former Soviet Union and female migrant workers. The author also relates to the government policies as a 'visible hand' that for the past twenty years have promoted these exclusion trends, while the trade unions have been unable to change them. The author also claims that in this context, the political forces that could promote a new approach are mainly the NGOs (feminist groups, human rights groups, social citizenship associations, etc.), intellectuals and the media. In today's political game, these are the main actors who meet in the arena of the 'New Politics' and sometimes replace the classic actors such as political parties and the trade unions.

In the third part, the author briefly outlines an alternative policy that could change the situation, would enable women's inclusion in the labor market on a more equal basis by taking into account the divisions of gender, class, ethnicity, religion and citizenship.

Labor Migration to Israel: Causes and Consequences

Moshe Semyonov, Tamar Lerenthal

The major purpose of this paper is to provide an overview of the social causes and consequences of labor migration to Israel. The authors argue that the recent flows of labor migration to Israel should be understood as part of the international mobility of labor in the global economy. In general, the flows of labor migrants are asymmetric and mostly in one direction — from the poor developing countries to the rich economically developed countries. In other words, migrants move from countries of capital scarcity and labor abundance to countries of capital abundance and labor scarcity. In Israel, the massive migration of non-Jewish foreign labor from overseas countries began in 1987, after the first *Intifada*, as a replacement to Palestinian workers from the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Since then, the number of foreign workers in Israel has increased steadily and considerably, and reached approximately 300 thousands (half of whom are without a permit).

Labor migrants have arrived in Israel from a variety of countries, mostly from Romania, Turkey and China (construction), Thailand (agriculture), The Philippines (personal services) and Africa and Latin America (domestic services).

Foreign workers are placed at the bottom of the social order. Most are relegated to low-status low-paying jobs that Israeli citizens are unwilling to take. They earn the lowest salaries (many times below minimum wage) and they suffer from the worst working conditions. They are highly concentrated in the slums of major urban centers (mainly in the southern neighborhoods of Tel Aviv) and their communities are highly segregated from the Israeli population. Furthermore, although foreign workers have become an integral part of the Israeli economy, they do not generally benefit from the welfare system and union protection accorded to Israeli citizens. The 'new ethnic communities' of labor migrants have not only changed the ethnic fabric of Israeli society but have also become a source of competition and threat to individuals and a threat to the national character of the state. As a result, they have

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also become a target of hostility, discrimination and prejudice. The data presented in this paper (based on a national representative sample) reveal high levels of threat and fear of competition over socioeconomic resources as well as strong support for exclusionary practices against foreign workers among Israeli citizens. The meaning of these findings and data are evaluated and discussed.

The Hebrew University and the Ethno-class Stratification in the First Decade

Uri Cohen

The Hebrew University of Jerusalem functioned as a preferable 'life track' for the old Ashkenazi group during the 'fifties. The University signified the new social solidarity during the constitution of nationality in Israel and the formation of the new middle class. The University enabled the new class to construct a unique class consciousness that spread over all the major areas of social life. The advantage of the University as a social institution was embedded in its capacity to play a major role in producing the ideology of 'science and technology'. This ideology was the most important means to create a durable exchange of relations of social resources that reproduced selective accessibility to centers of power and domination within Israeli society. The state and its apparatus sponsored the veteran Ashkenazi group's efforts to appropriate the advantages of the University by the institutionalization of 'spiritual domination' combined with 'organization domination' that could reproduce itself.

Capitalism and the 'American Way' in Israel: Productivity, Management and the Capitalist Ethos of the US Technical Aid in the 1950s

Avner Molcho

Between the years 1951-1962 Israel received American technical aid as part of a worldwide program known as the 'Point Four Program'. As in most developing countries, during the early 1950s, the main activities of the program were in basic

fields such as health, agriculture, sanitation and small industry. However, due to continued pressure of the Israeli government and the American recognition of Israel's relatively advanced phase of technical development, the emphasis changed to more sophisticated fields. The major project in this later phase of the technical aid was the 'Management Training Project'. This project encompassed three parts: expansion of the Industrial Engineering department in the Technion, establishing a Business Management department at the Hebrew University and developing a program for the training of managers. Many of the Americans involved in this project spoke of it as part of 'The American Way of Life', which meant above all Capitalism. The Israeli participants of the program viewed it in the same way and learned to appreciate this 'American Way'. These responses imply as to the role that this program played in the cultural changes that Israel underwent during its early years, from a more or less Socialist oriented society into a far more Capitalistic one.

Zalman Aranne and the Productivization of the Oriental Jews

Zvi Zameret

Zalman Aranne was one of the predominant ministers of education in the State of Israel. He served in this office twice, for a total of eleven years. Without doubt, he greatly influenced the shaping of the Israeli educational system during the State's first two decades, and in fact until this very day.

During Aranne's term in office, 'survey tests' were conducted on the basis of which it was decided which pupils would study theoretical subjects, who would be referred to vocational schools and who would join the labor force in their teens, without completing high school. Some of the decisions taken in his time as Minister of Education included 'The Reform' of the school system, the encouragement of vocational training and the establishment of comprehensive high schools in development towns. In those years, it was also decided that pupils could specialize in many technical subjects such as secretarial work, sewing, household economics, metalworking, carpentry, automotive mechanics and more.

To this very day, there are no high schools devoted solely to theoretical studies in development towns. Even in cities such as Beersheba, Ashdod and Kiryat Gat, once considered to be development towns, there are only comprehensive high schools. The establishment and development of comprehensive schools and of

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programs of technical training resulted *inter alia* from Aranne's belief that children of the Oriental communities in general, and those growing up in the development towns in particular, would provide the ranks of Israel's future 'blue collar' workers.

Aranne, a socialist who believed in the theory of 'righting the upside-down pyramid', i.e., that the Jewish people must abandon *luftgesheften* (occupations such as liberal professions, trade, commerce, speculation, etc.) and become more 'productive', now perceived that during the first two decades of the State of Israel the pyramid was turning once again: every Jewish mother wanted her son to become a lawyer, a physician or a tradesman — even a clerk or a middle-man. No mother wanted her son to be a laborer in agriculture or industry.

Perturbed by this state of affairs, Aranne used his influence to increase vocational training to an extent relatively greater than in any other country. The development of these education programs resulted, among other things, from Aranne's concern about the future of the working class and of the Israeli economy. He believed that children of the Oriental Jewish communities had the greatest capability of becoming 'productive' and were most suited to preserve the Israeli proletariat. In the long run, some of these children paid a heavy price due to Aranne's efforts.

The Policy of Economic Expansion in the *Histadrut*, 1948-1988

Yitzhak Greenberg

During the period under discussion in this article, the Labor economy carried on a policy of economic expansion that gave priority to the realization of national-economic and social goals, at times decreasing the importance of the profit considerations. The expansive economic policy found expression in the development of the economy, in the creation of employment, in the development of frontier areas, in wages and improved social conditions in comparison to the private sector. However, this policy did entail an economic price: it harmed the economic efficiency, hidden unemployment, sustained losing enterprises over a length of time, caused high financial expenses and damaged the economic basis. Every decade, from 1948 to 1988, attempts were carried out to bring about a change in the behavioral pattern of the Labor economy. In the first three attempts the Labor economy did not break away from the expansive economic policy. It held on to it because it continued to carry out the traditional national-economic and social goals due to political

considerations: fear of harming the status of the *Histadrut*, as well as the leadership and strength of the Party (*Mapai* and later on the Labor Party). Also, there was a general concept that the economy was a means of mobilizing power and the Labor economy never doubted that government aid would come its way in case of a crisis. This expectancy did not dissipate even after the *Likud* came to power in 1977. Only in the latter half of the 1980s, and quite belatedly so, did the Labor economy cut itself off from the expansive economic policy and adopt an economic policy that was based on profit considerations. This change brought about a fundamental turn within the Labor economy and was a step towards privatization a few years later.

On Social Rights in the Evolving Israeli Constitution

Yuval Elbasha

This article focuses on one of the many aspects of the evolving Israeli constitution. This aspect relates to the controversy surrounding the question of what is the desired social-economic character of the state. In this context the constitution is a biography of power struggles between those interest groups who wish to reduce government involvement and those interest groups who wish to expand the boundaries of the social safety net that is provided by the government. One aspect of this debate deals with the question of which rights should be integrated into the declaration of human rights (which forms part of the constitution) and the extent to which these rights should be protected by the constitution. In practice this controversy revolves around which 'social rights' should be integrated into the Israeli constitution.

In this connection, the author of the article argues one main point: as opposed to parallel constitutional processes elsewhere in the world, which from the inception of the constitutional effort have not encompassed social rights, in the Israeli constitution social rights have received a status of precedence from the start of the constitutional effort, but over the years have been excluded almost completely, until their partial revival in the 'nineties. It seems that these rights have been driven aside from the Israeli declaration of human rights from a position where their integration and strength were not even debated to a status of second class rights — social benefits which are given as charity by the government and not human rights which are claimed rightfully by those to whom they are due. This process reflects the general trend which Israeli society is undergoing as it moves from a social democratic pole to a neo-liberal one.

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In the current Israeli reality, which operates by constitutional authority to exclude social rights, there is further relevance to the failure to supply those rights to those who need them. This is the fact that social rights are a precondition without which other human rights may not be enjoyed. In this exclusion lies a fatal blow to the ability of the underprivileged population to enjoy other rights that have been included in the constitution. Against this background a warning should be noted: the continuation of the exclusion process may change the developing Israeli constitution to a constitution for the rich alone and may thus be the last nail in the social justice coffin of the Israeli legal system.

Mandatory Pension Law in Israel

Rami Yosef, Avia Spivak

This study proposes the legislation of a mandatory pension coverage law in Israel. Both new data and previously published material is presented to substantiate the claim that such legislation is needed. The authors further propose a new framework for pension plans, present the corresponding actuarial calculations and estimate the cost to the national budget.

Medicine, Society and Politics: The Israeli National Health Insurance Law as a Case Study

Shifra Shvarts, Nadav Davidovitch

This paper traces attempts to bring about the passage of a compulsory health insurance law in Israel. The research covers seventy years of struggle — from initial efforts in 1925 to the actual passage of such legislation in 1995. It examines the course of events in historical perspective, documenting positions adopted by various bodies — governmental, political, quasi-political, professional and other — at various stages. A special emphasis is given to the early years of the State of Israel, a formative period in which a major attempt to enact a national Health Insurance Law was conducted. The relationships among the various agents involved in the dispute are analyzed, clarifying why early initiatives failed.

This case study helps to illuminate the processes involved in the development of the Israeli health system and to illustrate the political and social dimension of the Israeli medical system in context. The research is based on historical archival documents from Israel and London.

Between Welfare and Work:
Policies towards the Unemployed in Pre-state Palestine and in Israel

John Gal

The policies adopted towards the unemployed in pre-state Palestine and in Israel are the subject of this article. A study of these policies reveals a significant degree of diversity in the approaches adopted to deal with unemployment and the unemployed over time. On the whole, it would appear that the policies implemented by both the leadership of the Jewish community in Palestine and later by the sovereign government of the State of Israel were characterized by a continual pendulum-like process. More specifically, the approaches adopted in different periods swung between an emphasis upon the desire to ensure the welfare of the unemployed while they were unable to find paid work, and an effort to encourage the rapid return of the unemployed to the labor market.

The article describes in detail the policies adopted towards the unemployed during three specific periods, each of which saw a differing emphasis in these policies. The first period saw the establishment of an unemployment insurance program by the *Histadrut* trade union federation in the early 1930s. The second period was the one immediately after the establishment of the state in the late 1940s and early 1950s. The predominant policy during this period was a relief work program. The final period is that following the 1967 Six-Day War during which a state unemployment insurance program was finally adopted. The central claim of this article is that a major factor that explains the swing between the policies adopted during these periods was the impact of policy legacies. These shaped the contours of the response by decision-makers to unemployment and the needs of the unemployed.

The Political and Intellectual Origins of the 'From Welfare to Workfare' Policies

Abraham Doron

From 'Welfare to Workfare' policies have recently become the basis for welfare reform programs already adopted, or currently pursued, in many countries and especially in the United States. The relative success of some of these programs in reducing the welfare roles has provided considerable political support for their implementation. In the current retrenchment climate with regard to social programs in Israel, the adoption of 'From Welfare to Workfare' reform is high on the agenda of the country's policy makers. This article attempts to describe and evaluate the political and intellectual origins of these policies in general as well as in Israel in particular.

The main sources of the workfare ideas can be found in the intellectual underpinning of the innovative English Poor Law of 1834 and the manner it was implemented throughout the 19th century. The basic ideas of compulsion and deterrence that pervaded them have changed considerably since then, but they have still left some significant imprints on welfare policies towards the unemployed and the needy that have evolved even in the period after World War II. These ideas have recently gained ground again and can be found in the policies pursued by the Blair government in Britain that has embraced various measures of compulsion to induce people to reenter the labor force and thus fulfill in this manner their societal obligations.

In addition to the long standing historical background of workfare in US welfare policies, the current workfare ideas in the US are closely associated with the radical criticism of welfare by Charles Murray, Lawrence Mead and others. Their ideas of welfare reform were eventually adopted by the radical Republican Right, and culminated in 1996 with the passing of the PRWORA (Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Act) that substantially changed the structure and operation of welfare programs in the US. Under the reformed program welfare recipients are actually forced to engage in work or in work related activities. There is also a five-year lifetime limit on receipt of welfare benefits. The highly publicized Wisconsin Program has become a model for the new welfare operations.

Israel has a long history of relief work programs that in practice can be seen as a sort of workfare. At present, policy makers in Israel seem to be resolute to follow

the American example and change the existing safety net income support program by introducing into it a strong workfare element. The question remains whether it will be conducive for the cohesion of the fragmented Israeli society to emulate a Wisconsin type, divisive workfare program.

The historical and intellectual sources of the 'Welfare to Workfare' programs that were elucidated in the paper show that despite the great political and social changes that have taken place in modern societies over the last two hundred years, the ideas and attitudes toward the unemployed and other people in need have changed very little. The paper attempts to show that these negative attitudes continue to prevail and can be found within practically the entire political spectrum.

The Former Soviet Union Immigrants between Separation and Integration

Elazar Leshem

950 thousand emigrants from the former Soviet Union arrived in Israel from September 1989 to December 2003. These immigrants and their offspring constitute approximately 14 percent of Israel's total population and 17 percent of its Jewish population.

An examination of this population's communal features in 1996-1999 has revealed a fairly consolidated community structure at both the formal and informal levels, as well as on the local and national levels. Within a relatively short period of time, this group of immigrants has been able, through a unique process of community empowerment, to crystallize from a marginal, dependent, passive and amorphous group, in the initial stage of its absorption into a consolidated ethnic community by 1999, with a significant representation in the local and the central government in Israel and with a desire for cultural and educational autonomy.

However, an examination of the immigrant community features in 2001-2003 reveals that significant changes have taken place in the community's structure and its integration into the host society. This paper tries to present and analyze these changes according to research studies that have been conducted on this subject during the last three years.

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North African Immigrants and Peopling the Israeli Periphery, 1954-1956

Avi Picard

For political, security and economic reasons, the Israeli periphery became the object of extensive population-growth efforts in the first decade of the state. Because the longtime residents of the country and the immigrants who had arrived in the mass immigration of 1948-1951 were unwilling to live there, it was primarily the North African immigrants, who began arriving in 1954, who were directed to the periphery. Under the new 'Ship to Village' absorption policy, the newcomers were taken directly to peripheral regions, without any way stations. Thus, the pace of immigration was made contingent on the pace of construction. Steering the immigrants directly to the periphery required the full control of the Jewish Agency apparatus; from registration for immigration in North Africa, through arrival at the port in Israel, to the trip straight to the *moshav* or development town.

The new policy focused on the Jews of North Africa, not only due to the timing of their arrival but also to traits attributed specifically to North African Jews, such as the willingness to live in rural areas. When the immigration from Eastern Europe resumed in late 1956, the absorption policy was changed.

The urban localities founded in the periphery, known as 'development towns', were mainly intended to create a population mass in the periphery and had no economic function for their surroundings. Their relations with the older rural settlements nearby, as well as their low prestige, turned their residents into the socioeconomic fringes of Israeli society, and they remained so for a long time.

East and West in the Inter-cultural Encounter in the State of Israel

Esther Meir-Glitzstein

In Israeli society 'East' and 'West' are portrayed as two poles. The East is identified with backwardness, primitivism, ignorance, mysticism and superstition, while the West with modernity, advanced schooling, progress, enlightenment and rationalism. In the 1950s, Jewish immigrants to Israel from Islamic countries were labeled as progeny of a traditional 'Oriental' society whose social integration in Israel would correspond to

and hinge on processes of modernization and Westernization. Research of Israeli society, conducted mainly within the discipline of sociology, has reinforced this view by dealing largely with non-urban and less Westernized population groups and by projecting its findings onto the general population of immigrants from Islamic countries.

The article concerns a group of immigrants from Iraq who joined the kibbutz movement and uses them as a test case for research on the cultural encounter between Westernized urban immigrants from Islamic countries and Israeli society. Research about the relations that took shape on the kibbutz undermines the monolithic view and shows that the differences between 'East' and 'West' are based on two models of Westernization — one of East European origin and the other of Middle Eastern origin.

Women Meeting Women: The Role of Veteran Women in the Absorption of Immigrant Women in 1950s Israel, History and Theory

Orit Rozin

During the massive immigration of the 1950s, veteran Israeli women, both professionals and volunteers, worked with immigrant women in the *Ma'abarot* (transit camps) as well as in newly established villages. The role of these veteran women in the absorption of the immigrant women into the Israeli society is at the focus of this study.

The veteran women were especially involved in teaching the immigrant women the secrets of Israeli domesticity: local (actually Western) procedures of child rearing and also the 'modern' methods of cooking, cleaning and the protocols of the rationally organized Israeli home.

The need to intervene in the immigrants' lives was presented by the veteran women and men at the time as being based on the high infant mortality rate, both in the immigrants' countries of origin as well as locally — especially during their first years in Israel, while they were still living in temporary housing facilities. Another reason for the deep intervention was the Austerity policy and the shortage in many basic foods. However, it will be claimed that the need to inculcate the Israeli methods on the immigrant feminine community was based on the rationale of 'Scientific Motherhood' as developed in Western countries like the US, as well as the need to transform or civilize the immigrant women so they would fit into the standards of the national identity as developed during the British Mandate period.

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How similar was this form of training to other nation building enterprises? What were the reasons that the veteran Israeli women got involved in this task? All these are some of the issues that are addressed in the article.

Communal Utopia and Politics: Israel via the Theory of Emancipative Praxis in European Socialism

Yiftah Goldman

This essay deals with a controversy within the socialist movement and with its implications for trends and possibilities in Israeli society in the past and at present. The author refers to the debate about the means by which society should be liberated (i.e. the emancipative praxis). In the essay, the 'Political' and the 'Utopian' ways to liberation are juxtaposed. According to the proponents of the political way, the political struggle within the institutions of the state should stand at the center of socialist activity. On the other hand, the Utopian, and especially the 'neo-utopian' socialists, believe that the liberation of society necessitates, first of all, a project of establishing communal social nuclei within existing (un-liberated) societies. Political struggle, according to this view, is of secondary importance, if any. In this essay, the author attempts to show that both approaches are insufficient by themselves and that only a dialectical synthesis of the political and utopian trends of socialism has a chance of succeeding.

The controversy between politics and utopia has its roots in the socialist schools and parties of nineteenth century Europe. However, this controversy has an immediate relevance for the attempts to realize socialism in Israel. From its beginning, the socialist-Zionist movement has contained elements of opposing socialist trends (political and utopian). Its unique way in socialism was indeed a dialectical synthesis of those elements. This synthesis has been more successful in Israel than in Europe. But (as is shown toward the end of the essay), the Zionist labor movement also came to abandon the synthetic approach. This abandonment was both a cause and an effect of the deep crisis of the Israeli labor movement in the last decades of the twentieth century. However, in recent years there have been signs in Israel of a revival of the synthesis between the political and utopian paths to socialism.

Ephraim Kishon's Bourgeois Satire

Gidi Nevo

Ephraim Kishon is one of the outstanding Israeli satirists of recent generations, and one of the most prolific Hebrew writers of the second half of the twentieth century. Yet there is almost no academic work devoted to his abundant literary output. This essay offers an analysis of the Kishon oeuvre, in particular of its social and economic aspects, in the light of the notion of 'Homo Economicus' which was introduced into the lexicon of literary criticism by the English critic Ian Watt. The writings of Kishon document and deride, consistently and caustically, the many and variegated and often extremely comic transgressions of the normative ideal of the 'Economic Man' and of the 'Economic Society' which it engenders. Analysis of these transgressions enables us to chart the contours of the Kishon Utopia, which hides behind the curtain of witticism, behind the hail of sharp pointed arrows with which, skillfully, precisely and with evident relish, he assails his victims, including in the tally — himself.

Equality and Cooperation in David Ben-Gurion's Political Thought in the 1950s and 1960s

Nir Kedar

The article investigates David Ben-Gurion's perception of equality and cooperation and the place of these ideas in his social policy during his tenure as Prime Minister. The author of this article argues that Ben-Gurion attempted to go beyond the dichotomy between formal and substantive equality, and articulated instead a more elaborated political conception. Although he emphasized the pivotal importance of equality and formal justice, Ben-Gurion also underlined the need to supplement the idea of equality with the concepts of civic cooperation and all-inclusiveness. As the leader of a national movement and a fledgling state, Ben-Gurion turned the idea of c i v i c cooperation into a guiding principle in his social policy, and demanded not only to tolerate the 'other' but also to treat the 'other' with solidarity, goodwill and responsibility.

Voluntarism and Civic Engagement According to David Ben-Gurion, 1948-1955

Paula Kabalo

After the establishment of the State of Israel, David Ben-Gurion promoted the idea of *Halutzit*, pioneering, as a vital issue on Israel's agenda. The use of the old Zionist term *Halutzit* within the new context was meant to demonstrate a framework and a general direction for the shaping of an ideal Israeli citizen. This citizen was expected to express his readiness to volunteer based on a set of goals defined by the state's authorities and representatives.

The discussion on the meaning of *Halutzit* and the attempt to include the nation's goals within it reflected Ben-Gurion's notion on the fragility of sovereignty. Ben-Gurion feared that the mere act of declaring the establishment of the state would be considered by the people as the completion of the national goals, and would be followed by the people's expectations for the state to complete the national goals on its own and fulfill all the needs. Such an attitude threatened to exclude the individual from being actively involved in the collective national project. This involvement was considered by Ben-Gurion to be an essential means to overcome the grave challenge of nation building, especially the challenge of merging the new comers into the existing society — socially, culturally and economically.

However, the attempt to generate a new wave of *Halutzit* was beset by barriers and pitfalls. The efforts to implement it through mediating organizations usually led to a dead end. Also, the younger generation did not show much enthusiasm in following its leader. Each organization or group held on to its own familiar interpretation of the concept and failed to transmit it into a new historical context — the sovereign reality, the demographic and cultural changes or the territorial expansion.

Nevertheless, although the concept itself did not become a clear cut program for action, the wide public discourse on the topic that ensued did have its effects. The concept merged into the Israeli being and maintained a unique status as one of the desired idealistic values that were to be achieved and fulfilled one day.

Post-Zionism: The First Decade

Uri Ram

In its official self-presentation, as well as in the popular mind of the Jewish majority, Israel is depicted as a 'Jewish and democratic state'. Post-Zionists argue, as against it, that the actual social, cultural and political realities of the country stretch this formula so widely, that it threatens to tear it apart, and indeed it does, with the clear danger that Israel is fast becoming neither Jewish nor Democratic. The Jewish and the democratic dimensions of Israel get further and further away from each other, creating in opposite poles two contrasting new alternatives for Israel - to transmute to an ethnic Jewish state, or to transmute to a democratic state of its citizens.

In face of the ambiguities of mainstream Zionism (Jewish AND democratic) and the bluntness of Jewish neo-Zionism, the concept of post-Zionism emerged in the 1990s as a democratic non-ethnic alternative to Israeli society. In the last decade post-Zionism has in fact become a broad perspective upon Israeli society, and it serves as a fulcrum for an emerging array of research and critique of Israeli society and ethos.

The present article offers a broad socio-historical analysis of post-Zionism. It provides (1) a review of the history of the concept 'post-Zionism' from its emergence in 1993, as well as a retrospective view of its sources, (2) an exposure of manifestations of post-Zionist culture in Israel, (3) an analysis of four different theories of post-Zionism: post-national, post-modern, post-colonial and post-Marxist, (4) an account of some ideological controversies surrounding post-Zionism, and (5) an evaluation of the state of post-Zionism in the beginning of the 2000s and an estimation of its future prospects.

The Israeli Left between a Liberal-Dovish Ideology and Social Involvement

Avner Cohen

A short time after the beginning of *Al-Akza Intifada*, Adi Offir, a well-known postmodernist intellectual, called the Israeli Left to focus solely on the problem of the occupied territories (the West Bank and the Gaza Strip) and to leave aside any

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other question (be it socio-economic or juridical-civilian) until the end of the occupation.

This paper discusses Offir's position. It finds his premises, concerning the relation between the struggle against the occupation and the perspective of other (internal) campaigns, to be unfounded. In any case, according to the paper, Offir's views were of no consequence for they did not reflect the dominant tendency of the Israeli Left. Unlike the typical left-wing movement, whose agenda is mostly social, the Israeli Left does not bother itself with such issues, for it is concerned mainly with the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The paper attempts to analyze the historical background of this peculiarity and to clarify its actual significance.