

"State and Religion in Israel" (16.2.2023)

Spring Semester, 2019

Thursdays, 12:30 - 16:00

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The tension between religion and politics exists in Israeli society from its inception. It underlies debates regarding national boundaries (both social and physical), democracy and rights and even influences international relations. We will analyze institutional arrangements from separation to establishment, and we will examine the meaning of secularism as a modern project. We will explore what the formation of the modern state owes to religion, but also how the modern state transforms religion. The centrality of the Jewish religion in Israel is not limited to cultural aspects, but influences the actions of the state and its political landscape. In this course we will critically analyze this phenomenon and assess the sociological and political influence of religion on Israel's public sphere.

Course evaluation:

This class is designed as a seminar. Therefore class time is devoted to discussion between and among students and the instructor, as well as lectures. It is essential that seminar participants come to class prepared to discuss the reading material for that day's class. Grades are based on daily participation, response papers, a book review, a short presentation and a final seminar paper. The composition of final grades and grading scale are as follows:

Class Participation (15%): Class attendance will not be taken. However, class participation is part of the final grade and you will be expected to include issues discussed during class in the final essay.

Response papers (15%): Five times, the students will prepare (in advance to class) a short response to the assigned reading (2-3 paragraphs). The response paper should show that the student is able to critically analyze and/or personally relate the work instead of just composing a restatement or summary.

Book Review (10%): Students will be required to write a critical review of literature related to the topic of the course. The literature review has to comment on one book which is NOT from the required reading list. The review should be 800 words long. The review should take a form similar to that found in academic journals. For a good example, browse an issue of *Contemporary Sociology* or the *American Journal of Sociology* (review sections are at the end). Reviews include both a summary of a book's central argument and approach, and a discussion of the book's contributions and shortcomings.

Midterm assignment – short presentation (10%): - Each student will be required to present his or her research project in class. The presentation should be 15 minutes long.

Final essay (50%): One 15-20 page long essay. The essay should focus on a subject discussed in the course and that is of particular interest to the student. The essay could be theoretical or practical; that is, it could highlight a theoretical debate or a specific historical event. The student should introduce new literature on the subject, and combine at least two sub-topics discussed during the course.

Course Schedule & Assigned Readings:

Each class will be divided to two parts. During the first part we will discuss the main topic of the class and the required readings. In the second part we will have a closer look at a specific contemporary debate related to the main topic.

* Additional articles and topics may be added during the course.

Class 1 / Introduction: State, Society, and Religious Institutions

Pierre Bourdieu, 1991. "Genesis and Structure of the Religious Field", *Comparative Social Research*, 13:1-44

Contemporary debate: Global Dimensions

Samuel Huntington, 1993. "The Clash of Civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs* 72: 22-49

Scott Thomas, 2010. "A Globalized God" *Foreign Affairs* 89: 93-101

Class 2 / What the Modern State Owes to Religion?

Philip Gorski, 2001. "Beyond Marx and Hintze? Third Wave Theories of Early Modern State Formation," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*.

Contemporary debate: Rabbinical courts in Israel

Hacker, Daphna. 2012. "Religious Tribunals in Democratic States: Lessons from the Israeli Rabbinical Courts." *Journal of Law and Religion* 27(1): 59-81.

Class 3 / Political Power and the Secular

Ernest-Wofgang Bockenforde, "The Rise of the State as Process of Secularization," *State, Society and Liberty: Studies in Political Theory and Constitutional Law*, 26-46.

Levy, Gal. 2011. "Secularism, Religion and the Status Quo", in *Religion and the State: A Comparative Sociology*. in Jack Barbalet et al. (eds.). Anthem Press, pp. 95-122.

Jose Casanova, 1994. *Public Religions in the Modern World*, Introduction, chapter 1.

Contemporary debate: Sabbath

Ben-Porat, Guy, and Yariv Feniger. 2009. "Live and Let Buy? Consumerism, Secularization, and Liberalism". *Comparative Politics* 41(3): 293–313.

Class 4 / Typologies of State Regulation of Religion

Alfred Stepan, 2000. "Religion, Democracy, and the "Twin Tolerations"", *Journal of Democracy*, 11 (4): 37-57

Jürgen Habermas, 2006. "Religion in the Public Sphere" *European Journal of Philosophy*, 14 (1): 1-25.

Contemporary debate: Religious coercion in Israel

Cohn, Haim H. 2002. "Religious freedom and religious coercion in the state of Israel." *Human Rights Review* 3(2): 3-35.

Class 5 / Ethnic-Democracy? Ethnocracy?

Smootha, Sammy. 2002. "The model of ethnic democracy: Israel as a Jewish and democratic state." *Nations and Nationalism* 8(4): 475-503.

Gavison, Ruth. 1999. "Jewish and Democratic? A Rejoinder to the 'Ethnic Democracy' Debate." *Israel Studies* 4 (1): 44-72.

Yiftachel, O. 2002. "'Ethnocracy': The Politics of Judaizing Israel/Palestine." *Constellations* 6 (3): 364–390.

Contemporary debate: The national Flag and anthem

Tamir, Ilan, and Alina Bernstein. 2015. "Do they even know the national anthem? Minorities in service of the flag—Israeli Arabs in the national football team." *Soccer & Society* 16.5-6: 745-764.

Class 6 / The Law of Return and the "Who is a Jew" Controversy

Israel's Law of Return: <http://www.knesset.gov.il/laws/special/eng/return.htm>

Cohen, Asher, and Bernard Susser. 2000. *Israel and the Politics of Jewish Identity: The Secular-Religious Impasse*. Baltimore, Md: Johns Hopkins University Press., Ch. 4.

Gavison, Ruth. 2010. *The Law of Return at Sixty Years: History, Ideology, Justification*. Jerusalem: The Metzilah Center for Zionist, Jewish, Liberal and Humanist Thought.

Contemporary debate: Immigration from the FSU

Remennick, Larissa, and Anna Prashizky. 2012. "Russian Israelis and Religion: What Has Changed after Twenty Years in Israel?." *Israel Studies Review* 27(1): 55-77.

Class 7 / Secular Identity

Yadgar, Yaacov. 2011. "Jewish Secularism and Ethno-National Identity in Israel: The Traditionist Critique." *Journal of Contemporary Religion* 26 (3): 465-479.

Liebman, Charles S., and Yaacov Yadgar. 2009. "Secular-Jewish Identity and the Condition of Secular Judaism in Israel." In *Religion or Ethnicity? Jewish Identities in Evolution*, edited by Zvi Gitelman, 149-170.

Charles Liebman and Eliezer Don-Yehiya, 1983. *Civil Religion in Israel: Traditional Judaism and Political Culture in the Jewish State*. Berkeley: University of California Press: 4-10; 84-122

Contemporary debate: Civil Marriage

Bystrov, Evgenia. 2012. "Religion, demography and attitudes toward civil marriage in Israel 1969–2009." *Current Sociology*

Class 7 / Israeli Traditionalists

Shenhav, Yehouda. 2003. "The Cloak, the Cage and the Fog of Sanctity: The Zionist Mission and the Role of Religion Among Arab Jews*." *Nations and Nationalism* 9(4): 511–531.

Yadgar, Yaacov. 2010. "Maintaining Ambivalence: Religious Practice and Jewish Identity Among Israeli Traditionists—a Post-Secular Perspective." *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies* 9(3): 397–419.

Contemporary debate: Shas - The Expansion of Religious Ethnicity and its Impact on Israeli Politics

Shafir, Gershon and Peled, Yoav, 2005. *Being Israeli, the Dynamics of Multiple Citizenship*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 137-155.

Class 8 / Jewish Orthodoxy and the Jewish State

Aviezer Ravitzki, 1998. "Munkach and Jerusalem: Ultra-Orthodox Opposition to Zionism and Agudaism", in Almog, S., Jehuda Reinhartz, and Anita Shapira, eds. *Zionism and religion*. UPNE, pp. 67-92.

Friedman, M. 1995. "Life Tradition and Book Tradition in the Development of Ultraorthodox Judaism." In *Israeli Judaism, Studies of Israeli Society*, edited by Shlomo Deshen, Charles S Liebman, and Moshe Shokeid, 127–47. Transaction Books.

Contemporary debate: Equality in the burden - recruitment of Haredim to the IDF

Bick, Etta. 2016. "Lip-service to service: the Knesset debates over civic national service in Israel, 1977–2007." *Israel Affairs* 22(1): 126-149.

Class 9 / Religious Zionism

Schwartz, Dov. *Religious-Zionism: history and ideology*. Academic Studies Press, 2009.

Don- Yehiya, Eliezer. 1987. "Jewish Messianism, Religious Zionism and Israeli Politics: The Impact and Origins of Gush Emunim." *Middle Eastern Studies* 23(2): 215–234.

Contemporary debate: Disobedience in the IDF

Peri, Yoram. 2006. "Land versus State: Israel and its Army after the Disengagement." *Dissent* 53(1): 15-18.

Class 10 / Reform and Conservative Judaism in Israel

Cohen, Asher, and Bernard Susser. 2010. "Reform Judaism in Israel: The Anatomy of Weakness." *Modern Judaism* 30 (1): 23–45.

Tabory, Ephraim. 1999. Reform Judaism in Israel: progress and prospects. Institute on American Jewish-Israeli Relations of the American Jewish Committee. (Available at: <http://www.ajc.org/site/apps/nl/newsletter3.asp?c=ijITI2PHKoG&b=840313>)

Elazar, Daniel Judah, and Rela M. Geffen. 2000. *The Conservative movement in Judaism: dilemmas and opportunities*. SUNY Press, 127 – 144.

Contemporary debate: The Wailing Wall

Charne, Stuart L. 2005. "The political transformation of gender traditions at the Western Wall in Jerusalem." *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion* 21(1): 5-34.

Class 11 / Non-Jews in Israel

Lustick, Ian S. 1999. "Israel as a Non-Arab State: The Political Implications of Mass Immigration of Non-Jews." *Middle East Journal* 53(3): 417–433.

Kemp, Adriana, Rebeca Raijman, Julia Resnik, and Silvina Schammah Gesser. 2000. "Contesting the Limits of Political Participation: Latinos and Black African Migrant Workers in Israel." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 23(1): 94–119.

Contemporary debate: Family reunification

Nikfar, Bethany M. 2005. "Families Divided: An Analysis of Israel's Citizenship and Entry into Israel Law." *Nw. Univ. J. Int'l Hum. Rts.* 3