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Palestinians in Israel: New Scholarship on Politics and Religion

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Reviewed work:

Ghanem, A. and Mustafa, M. (2018). *Palestinians in Israel: the politics of faith after Oslo*. Cambridge University Press;

Al-Atawneh, M., & Ali, N. (2018). *Islam in Israel: Muslim Communities in Non-Muslim States*. Cambridge University Press.

Abstract:

This article situates these two new books on the Palestinians in Israel in the broader evolution of the existing scholarship. Ghanem and Mustafa provide a comprehensive new model based on the concept of “politics of faith” in order to explain how the Palestinians have tried to advance their collective interests as a minority in Israel. Al-Atawneh and Ali trace the evolution of Islamic identity and practice among the Palestinian minority in Israel. They explain how Islam has affected social and political change within Palestinian society in Israel. While both books expand our knowledge of the Palestinians in Israel, using different approaches, they share an emphasis on synthesizing both internal and external factors in their analysis of the developments affecting the Palestinians.

Keywords: Palestinians; Israel; Politics; religion; Islam; Colonialism; Conflict; National Minority; Indigenous; Arab Spring;

Introduction

The outbreak of violence in May 2021 was yet another round in the ongoing Israeli–Palestinian conflict. It started with protests against an expected evacuation of Palestinian families from their homes in Sheikh Jarrah, a neighborhood of East Jerusalem. Rapidly, the events developed beyond the issue of the expected evacuation. It extended to al-Aqsa Mosque, then to the Gaza Strip, the West Bank, and into mixed cities in Israel-proper.

These events highlight the importance of understanding the situation of the Palestinian people. It is worth noting that the Palestinian people residing in six major countries and territories in the Middle East: 1) the West Bank; 2) the Gaza Strip 3) Israel-proper; 4) Jordan; 5) Syria; and 6) Lebanon. This is in addition to other parts of the Palestinian diaspora in additional Middle Eastern countries and worldwide. Generally, discussions on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict focus on the conflict's core issues and the Palestinians in the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, and the Palestinian refugees in neighboring Arab countries. The Palestinians in Israel-proper are frequently ignored in this regard.

The Palestinians' status in Israel has been seen as an internal problem in Israel, as they represent 18% of Israel's population (1.7 million people). However, the recent events show us the importance of understanding the situation of the Palestinians in Israel on multiple levels. For example, in the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, in the context of an indigenous ethnic minority in a nation-state, and the context of the religious relations of Muslims and Jews, to name a few. For this purpose, this essay will review the recent scholarship, while focusing on politics and religion among the Palestinians in Israel.

Ghanem and Mustafa (2018) and the Politics of Faith

The first book reviewed in this essay was written by Ghanem and Mustafa (2018), *Palestinians in Israel: the politics of faith after Oslo*. It contributes significantly to the existing rich scholarship on the topic. They proposed the model of “Politics of Faith,” which seeks to explain the political development of the Palestinians in Israel through the fundamental “faith” in this community's ability to work in an organized fashion to achieve collective interests. It further includes essential confidence in their ability to achieve positive change, organized and coordinated efforts to maximize the use of human resources, and prioritization of their goals and interests (27). The authors achieved their goals by presenting the “pillars” of the politics of faith

and empowerment by presenting each pillar in a separate chapter.

The first chapter introduced the first pillar of faith and empowerment: “*the consolidation of the political demands of the Palestinian minority in Israel, including challenging the Jewish hegemony.*” The chapter argues that Israel is an example of a “*hegemonic state,*” where the dominant group (Jews) has offered “partial democracy” to the minority (Palestinian citizens) while upholding its superiority and sovereignty (29). In a “hegemonic state,” the minority’s aspirations appear in two different forms: separation (irredentism) or integration with equality among the groups within the state. In their attempt to deal with this situation, the aspirations of the Palestinians in Israel range from full autonomy as a national minority or “integration” within the state. However, the chapter surveys the several changes from the late 1990s, which lead the Palestinians in Israel to a process of searching for alternatives and a new discourse that can empower them to end their marginality (32-48). Eventually, the Palestinians in Israel demand to transform the Israeli hegemonic system into one with “*collective equal rights and binationalism*” (32). Or, in other words, “*transform Israel from a hegemonic ethnic state to a power-sharing and consociational regime*” (54). The authors focus on the “partial modernization” model as the main reason for the changes (32-49). As for the timing, the authors suggest multiple reasons for such change within the Palestinians in Israel (49-53). Some of the reasons for the shift are internal to the Palestinian society in Israel, such as the sharp rise in the standard of living, life expectancy, living conditions, etc. Other reasons are external, such as the multiple constitutional measures establishing the Jewishness of the state.

The second chapter introduced the second pillar of faith and empowerment: “*the emergence of a new and diverse generation of political leadership.*” The chapter surveys the development of the Palestinian political leadership in Israel and analyzes the new political and social leadership patterns, both local and national. The chapter starts with a historical overview of the Palestinian leadership in Israel (55-61). It includes a few critical periods, such as the days after the Nakba and under the military government, the leadership that emerges in the 1970s, and the new political parties in the 1980s and the 1990s. The authors identified several factors that have influenced the development of political leadership in Palestinian society in Israel, such as the traditional social structure, the structure and culture of the Israeli context, personalization of roles and parties, and male leadership (61- 63). After surveying the leadership development at the municipal level, the authors describe the growing importance of the High Follow-up

Committee for Arab Citizens in Israel (67-77). While doing so, they describe how local leaders become leaders at the national level and whether High Follow-up Committee is becoming a “National Leadership Forum.” The authors argue that there is still much to be done despite the improvement in the Arab political leadership. They state the election of national leadership to organize its everyday political activities as one of the significant challenges.

The third chapter introduced the third pillar of faith and empowerment: “*the Palestinian’s empowerment in Israeli civil society.*” The chapter surveys Palestinian civil society in Israel by presenting the status of the non-governmental organizations that operate in every sector of Palestinian society, such as education, culture, health, welfare, entertainment and leisure, religion, law, and the status of women. Such organizations are from two major types (80-81): The first type is opposing the Jewish hegemony but focuses on the secular “within and against” approach. The second type of Palestinian civil society in Israel operates mainly in areas and communities neglected by the state. They hold the “without and against” approach, which aims to empower Palestinian society from the inside and construct an integrated Islamic–Palestinian identity. The authors present a general overview of the Palestinian NGOs in Israel and their fields of activity (83-89). Next, the authors explain how these NGOs act as an empowerment mechanism for the Palestinians in Israel (89-91). In the final part of the chapter, the authors describe some of the challenges of the Palestinian NGOs in Israel and criticism of their activities (91-96). The authors conclude that the Palestinian NGOs have played a positive role in raising awareness of public issues. However, they “*have not yet created an organized civil society that is legitimate and able to contribute to the empowerment of this group and to strengthen its autonomy and internal sources of funds*” (96-97).

The fourth chapter introduced the third pillar of faith and empowerment: “*the politicization of Islamic activism in Israel.*” The chapter focuses on political Islam in Israel and the foundation of the Islamic Movement in Israel as a political association. The authors survey the theoretical context to explain the phenomenon of political Islam and situate the Israeli case within these theories (100-105). The authors then add to the existing literature a new model, which is built on four levels that compose the overall explanation to the phenomenon (105-109): “(1) *the political context (the broadest factor); (2) the political orientation of the general public as the Islamic Movement’s target community; (3) the nature, orientation, and preferences of the political leadership of the Islamic movements themselves; and (4) the meanings this leadership ascribes*

to religious texts (see Figure 4.1).” In the final part of chapter four, the authors describe the differences between the two branches of Political Islam in Israel, which developed following the split in 1996 and created two different movements (109-118). One of the significant differences between the two movements is that one advocates for integration into Israeli politics, while the other claims that the “*Arabs and Muslims in Israel did not improve their religious and civic status in its framework*” (118).

The fifth chapter introduced the third pillar of faith and empowerment: “*the publication of the Future Vision documents, as a manifestation of collective identity politics.*” The chapter focuses on the publication of the document “*Future Vision of the Palestinian-Arabs in Israel,*” its background, and its future. The authors first analyze the document’s background and argue that “*the Future Vision provides a path for the Palestinians in Israel to cope with their exclusion from the Palestinian National Movement on one hand and their exclusion from the peace talks between the PLO and Israel after the signing of the Oslo Accords in 1993, on the other hand.*” (121-129). The authors then explain the importance and the content of the Future Vision while focusing on the historical narrative, the challenge of the Jewish symbols of the state, and a discussion of the alternatives to the existing political framework (121-129). Next, the authors survey the discourse that developed surrounding the documents (129-141). In the final part of chapter five, the authors discuss the future of the Future Vision based on a public opinion poll that examined the support for the document and its concepts among Palestinians in Israel (141-146). In this context, the authors claim that one of the significant obstacles of the Palestinians in Israel is that they have been trying to find their place within the projects of others who do not include them: the vision of Islamic, Israeli, or pan-Palestinian movements. This is why, the authors claim, the Future Vision is a significant step towards successfully achieving the goal of the Palestinians in Israel, which is to organize as a national group with united goals.

The sixth and final chapter introduced the third pillar of faith and empowerment: “*the establishment of the Joint List as a new stage in the consolidation of collective political actions among the Palestinians in Israel.*” The chapter focuses on establishing the “Joint List” of the Arab parties as an important political event in the history of the Palestinians in Israel. The authors survey the historical and intellectual context (148-150) and the background of Palestinian political activity in Israel, both in its external and internal context (150-156). The authors then delve into the debate for and against the establishment of the Joint List (156-162). Next, the

authors describe the results of this “experiment,” as they describe it, in the 2015 election, resulting in record support for any Arab list with 82% of the Arabs voting for the Joint List (162-165). In the final part of the chapter, the authors discuss the future of the Joint List and the likelihood of its continued success or its demise (165-167). The authors draw a link between the processes after Oslo, such as the publication of Future Vision and the establishment of the Joint List. The authors see the formation of the Joint List as a beginning of such a process. They claim that these developments show a “*broad national consensus among the Palestinians in Israel about the fundamental issues,*” which ultimately can push for a solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, rather than waiting for it to be solved.

Al-Atawneh and Ali (2018) and Islam in Israel

The second book reviewed in this essay was written by Al-Atawneh and Ali (2018), *Islam in Israel: Muslim Communities in Non-Muslim States*. It is an outstanding contribution to an often less examined aspect of the status of the Palestinians in Israel. The book examines the evolution of Islamic religious identity in Israel while investigating the challenges of modernity on the Muslim minority in such as non-Islamic context (1). The book aims to “*elaborate on the various aspect of religious life and practices of the Muslim minority in Israel*” (2) while focusing on popular Islam and its effect on how Muslims perceive their religion, their Islamic identity, and their relationship with the Jewish Israeli majority. The authors achieved their goals through the six chapters.

The first chapter introduces Islam in Israel and the development of political Islam throughout Israel’s history. The authors start with a survey of the development of the Muslim Brotherhood in Mandatory Palestine (14-17) and present three chronological stages of Islamic history in Israel. In the first period, it was Islam under the Israeli military regime (1948-1966) imposed on the Palestinians in Israel (18-19). The authors present the challenges while mainly presenting it from the Islamic religious perspective and the drastic restrictions on Muslim religious life, Muslim institutions, and leadership. The second period proposed by the authors is the Islamic awakening in Israel (*Sahwa*), which started in the late 1970s (19-23). Several aspects were apparent in Muslim daily life, resulting in the emergence of a new religious community and various Islamic movements. The *Sahwa* resulted in establishing one of the most important Islamic movements in Israel- the Islamic Movement (IM). The authors then describe the

activities of the IM, both its religious aspect in preaching (Da'wa) and its national and civil proponents that included economic, social, cultural, welfare, and educational activities (23-26). The third and final period presented focuses on the entrance of the IM into the public and political arenas in the late 1980s (26-30). The authors presented political Islam in Israel and the different approaches of the two major streams manifested in the Northern branch (NIM) and the Southern branch (SIM).

The second chapter is devoted to Islamic religious authority in Israel while focusing on the interpretation of Islam. After a general introduction on the various schools regarding Islamic authority and interpretation in Islam, the authors describe Israel's status (33-38). The authors present the different authorities and their ties to the two political branches. The final part of the second chapter is devoted to a discussion of the unofficial Islamic Ifta' agencies in Israel (38-52): 1) The Islamic Council for Issuing Fatwas, Bayt al-Maqdis; 2) Ifta' Center (CIS) at the al-Qasemi College; 3) Ad Hoc Committees for Ifta': the Southern Movement (SIM). The authors present these agencies, their ideologies, the legal methodologies, and the interpretation of Islam for Muslims in Israel. The authors conclude that "*al-Qasemi Sufi order and the SIM demonstrate a pragmatic approach in their attempts to accommodate the Israeli socio-cultural and political arenas, the NIM takes a much harder line, seen not only in its national political participation, but also in regard to the socio-cultural and theological issues addressed in its fatwas*" (52). Additionally, they conclude that these agencies continue to rely on foreign Islamic and Arab religious authorities while seeing the Western fiqh al-aqalliyat as irrelevant to Muslims in Israel.

The third chapter focuses on the public perspective of Islam in Israel while considering Muslims' attitudes to their own religious affiliation, religiosity, and observance. The findings are based on the results of the survey conducted among Muslim participants in Israel. The chapter starts with an introduction to the *Madhhabs*, the Islamic schools of legal and theological thought, and the affiliation of Muslims in Israel to them (53-59). The authors provide a detailed presentation of the results on the affiliation of Muslims in Israel. They found that "*the majority of the Muslim public, 51.5 percent, declared its affiliation to the Sunni Shafi'i legal madhhab, while 14.0 percent are Hanafis, 11.8 percent are Hanbalis, 1.8 percent are Malikis and 15.6 percent are unaffiliated*" (54). Next, the authors presented their findings regarding religiosity and observance of Islamic norms (59-65). The results point out that Salafis and Salafi Jihadists

consider themselves the most religious among Muslims in Israel. When the authors examined the Muslims' support of the IM's ideology in Israel, they found a significantly high correlation. Interestingly, they found that "*higher average salaries correlate with less support of the IM ideology*" (64). The third chapter's final part tries to show the accessible and reliable sources for Shari'a rulings concerning daily practice and contemporary issues (65-72). The authors conclude that the Muslim community in Israel is affected in different ways due to geographic locations and the religious and socio-cultural characteristics of the residential community. In other words, "*when Muslims live in mixed ethno-religious neighborhoods or in heterogeneous geographic regions, they tend to become more religious and more observant*" (72).

The fourth chapter continues the task of the third chapter in completing the discussion on Islam and the public by focusing on the religious identity among Muslims in Israel as reflected by personal Islamic daily life practices. As in the previous chapter, the findings are based on the results of the survey. The authors examined the knowledge of Islamic identity by measuring ten items, which produced four subscales (73-78): 1) participants' positions regarding intra-religious marriage among Muslims; 2) daily observance in the personal sphere; 3) attitudes towards Islamic preaching in Israel and 'Pakistani attire' for men; 4) positions on visual identity, as manifested by Islamic attire. The chapter then delves into additional findings from the survey, such as the attitudes towards gender separation in the public sphere (78-82). The authors found that "*58.8 percent of the survey participants reported that they support the separation of men and women at public events.*" The final part of the chapter focused on the national and religious identities presented in a very detailed manner (82-101). The authors examined the importance of the religious identity as Muslims, the national identity as Arab and Palestinian, and the civil identity as Israelis. They found that "*nearly 70.9 percent agreed that their religion is more important than their state*" (82).

The fifth chapter is about the relationship between the Muslim minority, which wishes to maintain their Islamic socio-cultural norms and values, and the Israeli establishment, representing a modern, non-Islamic, Western-oriented public sphere. It delves into such challenges of Muslims in Israel, including their relationship to government authorities and the contradictions between Islamic law and Israeli law, among others. In addition to presenting the general results of the fieldwork (102-116), the authors give the results while controlling for different characteristics: by madhhab affiliation (116-117), by theological madhhab (117-118),

by Islamic ideologies (118-122), and by knowledge of Islam (122-126). In general, the findings of this chapter indicate that *“a majority of the respondents support the establishment of Islamic religious, social, cultural, and economic institutions in general, and most of them wish this to be done by the IM”* (102). The results indicate their support of the IM’s institutions over those official Islamic institutions established by the state. This *“foster the notion of forming an ‘autonomous [Islamic] society’ (mujtama‘ ‘isami) in Israel”* (102). Such Islamic institutions that are needed include Islamic religious institutions, Islamic cultural institutions, Islamic social institutions, Islamic economic institutions (such as banks). The authors conclude that the increasing religiosity of Muslims in Israel and observance of Islam are increasingly affecting the relations between the Muslim minority and the Israeli establishment.

The sixth and final chapter completes the picture as presented in the previous chapter, which introduced the institutional aspect of the relationship between Muslims and the state of Israel. Chapter six offers an outlook on the relationship between Muslims and Israeli society and how religiosity and observance affect such relations. The authors present the results of their survey with multiple characteristics (127-148). The authors conclude that their respondents have a *“sense of alienation as opposed to attitudes on Muslim–Jewish coexistence in the state of Israel”* (127). Even as Muslims feel rejected, alienated, or foreigners in their homelands, the authors found that the Muslim minority is generally open to the Jewish majority, which is evident in the mastery of Hebrew and frequent interaction and friendly visiting. The authors did not find support among Muslims for a desire to segregate from Jews in Israel. On the contrary, they found support for the openness of the Muslims community.

Recent Scholarship and the Reviewed books

Ghanem and Mustafa (2018) surveyed theories that explained the status of the Palestinians in Israel. Al-Atawneh and Ali (2018) surveyed the existing scholarship on political Islam in Israel. The following section is based on these surveys with some additions.

The status of the Palestinians in Israel is explained through a series of theories. First, the “Modernization Theory,” by Cohen (1990), Landau (1993), Rekhess (1993), who proposed that the Palestinians in Israel underwent rapid modernization, rise in the standard of living and education level, which led in turn to higher expectations. Second, from the “pluralism and conflict” theory emerged the “politicization model,” by Smootha (1992), Lustick (1980), and Al-

Haj (1993), which proposed that Palestinians in Israel gained a better understanding of the rules of the Israeli political system when they accepted the state and their status as a minority. The third is the Internal Colonialism model, suggested by Zureik (1979) and Nakhleh (1979), which analyzed the minority's development regarding the relationships among the economic, social, and cultural affiliations imposed on the minority by the majority. It frames Israel and its attitude towards Palestinian citizens within the framework of colonialism. The fourth model is the "Control Model," by Lustick (1980), which asserts that despite the reality of a divided society in Israel, the majority has implemented a monitoring system to police and control the minority. The control apparatus includes separation, dependence, and cooptation. The fifth is the "domination model," by Al-Haj (2006), which suggests multiculturalism as the theoretical framework for understanding Israeli society and the development of the Palestinian community in Israel.

In the recent two decades, there has been an influx of studies on the Palestinians in Israel. Some of them focus on internal processes while others on external ones, whether Israeli, Middle Eastern, or global. Yet others concentrate on the effect of internal vs. external processes.

Focusing internally, many scholars focused on the development of the identity of the Palestinians in Israel, such as Amara & Schnell (2004). Jamal (2011) argues that the rising politics of indigeneity is the primary source of the growing demand for collective rights for the Palestinians in Israel. Hitman (2016) focuses on internal processes and leadership to explain when the minority either negotiates with the government or turns to protest or violence. Scholars' growing attention is given to the status of the Palestinian localities in Israel while trying to explain their failure, such as Halabi (2014).

While looking at external processes to the Palestinians, Gelber (2013) explains the Israeli establishment attitude towards the Arabs as mainly a security threat due to the consequences of the 1948 war and the fear of additional war. Peleg and Waxman (2011) continue this pattern, and they frame the ongoing situation of the Palestinians in Israel in the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Pappé (2011) proposed the "Mukhabarat State" as an analytical framework for understanding the reciprocal relations between Israeli and Palestinian citizens. He argues that in this sense, Israel is another example of an autocratic Middle Eastern state. Rouhana & Sabbagh-Khoury (2015) further expands the idea of settler-colonial citizenship to explain the status of the Palestinians in Israel.

However, other scholars turned to examine the interaction between internal and external processes within the Israeli society. Haklai (2011) offers state-society models to explain the ethnonational political awakening among the Palestinians in Israel. Zeedan (2019) framed the discussion solely on identity and political behavior while examining the political integration vs. segregation of the Palestinians in Israel and the different internal-external problems on the local and national levels.

Other scholars expanded the discussion further to internal processes within the Palestinians in Israel or the external within the Israeli society. Turning to Middle Eastern processes, Khaizran and Khlaile (2019) suggested a fresh outlook. They framed the discussion in the context of the “Arab Spring.” They claimed that the deep disappointment in the Arab region has led to a more pragmatic and rational attitude of the Arab minority in Israel towards the state. Thus it has changed the internal discourse among the Palestinian citizens in Israel. This extends Bishara’s (2017) argument that the Arab Spring had not been successful in most Middle Eastern countries. Instead of building a national identity that unites the peoples towards their independent and more democratic country, it strengthened sub-national identities and the structures, including ethnic, religious, tribal, and clan, to increase control and achieve stability and security.

A few scholars suggested expanding the discussion to Middle Eastern and global processes, such as delving into the religious perspective. Since the majority of the Arabs in Israel are Muslims, our focus is given to the role of Islamic religion in societal and political changes among them. Although this is relatively a less explored aspect, there are a few publications worth mentioning. Hashem (2006) suggests that political Islam relies heavily on the global Islamic revival. Rekhess (1998) adds that political Islam in Israel is a branch of general Palestinian Islamic fundamentalism as they share the same characteristics. A few scholars introduced a different approach, such as Ali (2004), who focuses on the uniqueness of the IM in Israel and its historical evolution and ideological development. Smooha and Ghanem (1999) discuss how political Islam in Israel is influenced both by the democratic nature of the state and the Jewish control. Such control is at the core of the Israeli establishment's efforts to prevent the emergence of national Muslim leadership, as suggested by Peled (2012).

Building on this rich scholarship, the two reviewed books expand our knowledge significantly—however, each differently. Ghanem and Mustafa (2018) expand our theoretical perspective to offer a new model to understand the status and future of Palestinians in Israel. At

the same time, Al-Atawneh and Ali (2018) expand our knowledge on the role of Islam in understanding the situation and future of Muslims in Israel.

Stemming from the different theories on the status of the Palestinians in Israel, Ghanem, and Mustafa (2018) propose the model of “Politics of Faith.” The model successfully explained the political development of the Palestinians in Israel through the fundamental “faith” in this community’s ability to work in an organized fashion to achieve collective interests. The authors presented the six pillars of the politics of faith and empowerment and the current status of the Palestinians in Israel in each one of the pillars. This new model is innovative and further expands the existing theoretical framework to a new territory. In each of their six pillars, they develop on the other theories: the “modernization theory,” the “politicization model,” the “Internal Colonialism,” and the “Control Model.” More importantly, the authors offer a more comprehensive approach that collects the other theories into one model that explains a complex phenomenon.

While Ghanem and Mustafa (2018) proposed a well-defined model, they concluded that the Palestinians in Israel have not yet developed enough to satisfy four of the six pillars. The authors conclude that a diverse generation of political leadership has not been established yet. Similarly to the second pillar, the authors concluded that civil society, as in their suggested mode, has not yet reached a level to have a tangible impact on the empowerment of the Palestinian society in Israel. As for the fifth pillar, the Palestinians have not achieved a manifestation of their collective identity politics. In the sixth pillar, the authors conclude that the Joint List is an important step forward. However, further efforts are needed to consolidate the collective political actions among Palestinians in Israel. The book could have benefited from a further discussion of this status.

The second book on political Islam fits within one of the pillars suggested by Ghanem and Mustafa (2018), the fourth pillar: the politicization of Islamic activism in Israel. Nonetheless, the contribution of the second book reviewed is stemming from a different perspective. Al-Atawneh and Ali (2018) fill a gap in the existing literature. Most scholarships on Palestinians in Israel do not focus on the effect of religion and religiosity. Yet Al-Atawneh and Ali fill this gap by focusing on the role of Islamic religion in societal and political changes among Palestinians in Israel. Their contribution also adds to the growing scholarship on the challenges of modernity on Muslim minorities in non-Islamic contexts. The authors establish their claim that Islam became an important factor among the Palestinians in Israel in the last four decades. This affects their

religiosity, their observance, and their political behavior. Islamic religion and Islamic behavioral standards became the norm among Muslims in Israel. The authors propose that Islamic institutions have not developed as expected- similar to Muslim minorities in the West. Instead, Muslims in Israel still rely on Arab Middle Eastern authorities. However, Muslims in Israel supports the establishment of Islamic institutions in Israel, such as the ones led by the IM and not sponsored by the state. Regarding the effect of Islam on the relations with Jews and the state establishment, the authors contribute by concluding that Muslims support the idea of integration in Israeli society. They support participation in elections, they master Hebrew, and they have Jewish friends.

Al-Atawneh and Ali (2018) successfully delve into the various aspect of religious life and practices of the Muslim minority in Israel, as they aimed. They presented a detailed account of popular Islam and its effect on how Muslims perceive their religion, Islamic identity, and relationship with the Jewish Israeli majority. The book could have benefited from a further discussion of the meaning of the findings on political Islam and its context within the future of the Middle East after the Arab Spring, the fight between those supporting modernization and those traditionalists supporting sectarianism, and the formation of a state identity either based on a territorial state or ethnicity and religion.

The two books reviewed expand the pattern in the recent scholarship. They both regard internal and external processes when trying to explain the status of the Palestinians in Israel. The model by Ghanem and Mustafa (2018) attempts to include both internal processes, such as identity formation, leadership development, collective action, and external processes, such as the Israeli legislation, to deepen the Jewishness of the state. The investigation of Al-Atawneh and Ali (2018) into Islam in Israel tries to explain the processes within the Palestinians in Israel through an Islamic perspective. It describes the development of Islamic life in Israel and how it affects the political behavior of Muslims. This approach situates these processes within the context of the rise of political Islam globally. Yet another combined internal and external approach.

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