

TAMIR SOREK, *Arab Soccer in a Jewish State: The Integrative Enclave*. Cambridge Cultural Social Studies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007). Pp. 238. \$85.00 cloth.

REVIEWED BY PAUL A. SILVERSTEIN, Department of Anthropology, Reed College, Portland, Ore.; e-mail: silversp@reed.edu
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Palestinian citizens of Israel find themselves in a nearly impossible structural position. Subject to institutional discrimination and racialized as a threatening internal other, they cannot simply assimilate into a national body predefined through symbols of Jewishness. At the same time, they have great difficulty locating themselves in the more militant assertions of Palestinian nationalism emerging from the occupied territories and the diaspora, assertions that leave no room for the medial position in which Palestinian Israelis find themselves. In *Arab Soccer in a Jewish State*, Tamir Sorek explores how sports provide a privileged space for the negotiation of this predicament, as a site where contesting Palestinian-Israeli desires for Pan-Arab solidarity and civil rights within Israel find expression, and where tensions between Israel's liberal and ethnic state discourses are momentarily resolved in the field of play. Soccer, according to Sorek, operates as an *integrative enclave* that "permits a limited and well-bounded inclusion in Israeli citizenship" (p. 2) while providing an alternate framework for identity work. "Soccer provides many Arab men with a secure sphere of competitive masculinity, horizontal fraternity, and identification with flags and emblems; and at the same time, it avoids both Palestinian and Israeli national narratives" (p. 5).

Since the late 1980s, Arab soccer in Israel has achieved remarkable success. Teams from Palestinian-majority towns are disproportionately represented in the upper divisions of the Israeli Football League (IFA); in 2004 Ittihad Abna' Sakhnin upset powerhouse ha-Po'el Haifa to win the coveted Israeli State Cup, and Arab players 'Abbas Sawan and Walid Bdeir proved instrumental in Israel's near qualification for the 2008 World Cup. State leaders and media have greeted these heroics with untrammelled enthusiasm, treating them as proof positive of the ultimate success of Israel's liberal democracy and its integrating mission. Meanwhile, these same players continue to be victimized by racist slurs, chants, and threats—particularly by the infamous hooligans of Beitar Jerusalem. Yet, as Sorek amply demonstrates, Palestinian-Israeli soccer supporters have generally not responded by allying their teams with ethno-nationalist projects, as have Jordanian Palestinians with al-Wihdat, Algerian Berbers with the Jeunesse Sportive de Kabylie, or Spanish Catalans with FC Barcelona. Rather, they have insisted on their larger contribution to Israeli society, rallying their sides with songs and banners written in Hebrew, not Arabic, and waving Israeli—not Palestinian—flags.

Sorek deploys mixed methodologies to chart the development of this "integrative enclave." The second and third chapters trace the evolution of Arab soccer in Israel from the Mandate-era Arab Palestinian Sports Association through the establishment of a network of Arab teams under the aegis of the Histadrut labor union during the Military Government to their eventual professionalization, commercialization, and recruitment of non-Arab "reinforcement" players in recent years. Chapter 4 draws on the author's interviews with Arab mayors and statistical examination of municipal budgets to examine the disproportionate funding that sports in general and soccer in particular receive in Arab towns; soccer, the mayors assert, is a key element for releasing excess energy and filling the "black time" (p. 69) in Palestinian youths' lives that might otherwise be deployed in drugs, crime, or political extremism. The fifth chapter compares the soccer coverage in the Arabic and Hebrew press, noting how the articulations of Arab nationalism in the former operate through the various sports commentators' deployment of kinship and botanical tropes to represent translocal Palestinian ties.

The last three chapters of the book amount to case studies of specific sites of Palestinian-Israeli soccer support. These draw upon a medium-*n* countrywide survey instrument designed by Sorek to correlate soccer interest with political identification and voting tendencies, the technical details of which can be found in the book's appendices. Essentially, as he discovers, there is a statistically significant correlation between attendance of professional soccer matches, the use of Hebrew in daily life, and voting for Zionist candidates. Chapter 6 explores this relationship in terms of Palestinian support for non-Arab IFA teams—particularly Maccabi Haifa—and the Israeli national side. The exceptionally widespread fan base of Maccabi Haifa among Palestinian residents of the Galilee points to what Sorek calls “northern regional patriotism” (p. 107) and the projection of Haifa as an “extra-territorial island” (p. 105) of Arab–Jewish understanding and tolerance. In the meantime, Palestinian support for the Israeli national side has tended to be equivocal, and many have adopted the “surrogate nationalism” (p. 111) of rallying behind third-party teams from Europe or South America.

In Chapters 7 and 8, Sorek supplements the survey instrument with ethnographic participant observation in the terraces of various football venues. Chapter 7 traces the emergence of an Islamic soccer league as a parallel, nonprofessional sports wing of the Islamic movement in Israel that nonetheless nurtures many future Arab IFA professionals. Sports practice functions in the service of *da'wa* to discipline young Muslims in moral responsibility and bodily integrity. Although the overt rules of the game remain the same, the matches are framed by cries of *Allāhu akbar*, players dress and behave modestly, and supporters borrow religiously infused chants from Egyptian soccer stadiums. In Chapter 8, Sorek focuses on the case of Sakhnin, whose recent success in Israeli national competitions contrasts with the town's history at the center of land confiscations and the victimization of several of its residents during the 1976 Land Day massacre. If memories of such martyrs remain vivid, Sakhnin soccer fans eschew Palestinian symbolism from the stadia and instead have developed a “non-national local patriotism” (p. 163) around their club. In the end, soccer serves for Sakhnin residents as a means to participate in the modern Israeli civic sphere without espousing (Jewish) Israeli nationalism.

Sorek's “sociological–anthropological–historical project” (p. 11) thus makes a contribution well beyond the narrow sociology of sport literature to the emerging scholarship on Palestinian citizens of Israel. Alongside the writings of Azmi Bishara, Dan Rabinowitz, and Shira Robinson, Sorek's tightly argued and well-documented study provides the basis for understanding the political predicaments of a minority citizenry of a state that vacillates between ethnic Zionism and liberal-secular democracy. Deeply engaging and clearly written, the book should be a great boon to any number of Middle East studies undergraduate and graduate courses whether specifically focusing on Israel or about Middle Eastern politics and societies more generally. One can only hope that Cambridge University Press will see fit to quickly reissue the book in a more affordable paperback version.

YAACOV BAR-SIMAN-TOV, ED., *The Israeli–Palestinian Conflict: From Conflict Resolution to Conflict Management* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007). Pp. 303. \$70.00 cloth.

REVIEWED BY CONNIE LAMB, Middle East Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah;
e-mail: connie_lamb@byu.edu
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This book is the result of a group project conducted under the auspices of the Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies and was produced by that organization and the publisher Palgrave. The group of distinguished researchers, all Israeli academics, began meeting in 2003 on a regular basis to discuss and exchange ideas.