The Reproduction of Settler Colonialism in Palestine

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Abstract: Critical scholarship on Palestine/Israel tends to focus on conceptualising the settler colonial practices that characterise this conflict but have failed to account for how these practices are reproduced and sustained over time. To address this gap, rather than focusing on Israel's quantifiable strengths such as military might, the use of law, the economy, and diplomacy, this article investigates the reciprocal relations between the formation of Israeli modes of being or subjectivities, on the one hand, and the generation and distribution of settler colonial surplus, on the other. The examination of the processes of subjectivity formation in their settler colonial register on the side of the coloniser allows understating how the circuits of settler colonial power endure.

Keywords: Israel, Palestine, settler colonialism, subjectivity

Introduction

Images of Israeli aggression abound in the media: reports, photographs and video clips of Israeli soldiers and police officers beating and shooting unarmed Palestinians; airplanes indiscriminately bombing cities and towns in the Gaza Strip; Israelis uprooting Palestinian olive groves in the West Bank; army tractors using their blades to flatten Palestinian villages; Israeli politicians announcing new discriminatory laws against the Palestinian citizens of Israel, or threatening a new attack on Gaza or the West Bank; everyday harassment occurring at checkpoints; interviews with Israeli passers-by shouting out their hatred towards Palestinians, and more. These images manifest naked contempt and oppression, though the performances exposed in them are only the more observable fraction of the practices that define the settler colonial polity between the Mediterranean Sea and the Jordan River.[1] A gamut of less conspicuous routines of domination in everyday

1   This regime controls the lives of approximately 13 million people, of whom roughly half are Israeli Jews and the other half Palestinians. This one regime, which is structured as an apartheid that

life are at the heart of this case of settler colonialism.[2] The question this article asks is simple: how are these practices of oppression sustained over time?

The common answer to this question links visible oppression with Israel's measurable strengths: its military capabilities and global networks, its stable economy, and its privileged position in the international political arena backed by the world's only superpower. Pundits and commentators turn to this objectively powerful profile to explain why Israel can – and permits itself to – behave aggressively in the region, particularly towards the Palestinian people. As much as this array of strengths explains why Israel can oppress the Palestinian people at minimum risk, it does not explain why the perpetrators themselves – that is, Israeli citizens from all walks of life – fulfil that role on a daily basis. While common answers focus on the Israeli state, they neglect Israeli citizens. Israel's settler colonial dominance over the Palestinian people does not occur as if by some invisible hand. It is performed, day by day, by flesh and blood Israeli bodies across the two sides of the disappearing Green Line. To phrase it bluntly: the everyday discrimination against the Palestinian citizens of Israel needs supremacists in the same way that the occupation of West Bank Palestinians needs occupiers and the siege of Gazans needs besiegers. This is not to say that finances, diplomacy, the law, tanks, and fighter aircrafts are not important for maintaining Israel's settler colonial dominance. But these activities comprise established practices that must be animated. And to animate them, to operate them willingly and adeptly, a particular range of human modes of being and capacities need to be available, created by social forces.

This article tackles one of the relatively neglected dimensions in the study of settler colonialism: how the various mechanisms that shape

privileges Israeli Jews, is comprised of two interconnected sub-regimes: a regime of structural discrimination targeting Palestinians within the realm of citizenship, and another based on military control of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip; see Ariella Azoulay and Adi Ophir, *The One State Condition: Occupation and Democracy in Israel/Palestine* (Redwood City, CA: Stanford University Press, 2012); *The Palestinians in Israel: Readings in History, Politics and Society*, ed. by Nadim Rouhana and Areej Sabbagh-Khoury (Haifa: Arab Center for Applied Research, 2011). The historical domination of Palestine by the Zionist movement is conceptualised in this paper as a persistent case of settler colonialism. For a first introductory bibliography see Fayez A. Sayegh, *Zionist Colonialism in Palestine* (Beirut: Research Center, Palestine Organization Liberation, 1965); Maxime Rodinson, I*srael: A Colonial Settler-State?* (New York: Monad Press, 1973); Lorenzo Veracini, *Israel and Settler Society* (London: Pluto Press, 2006); Patrick Wolfe, *Traces of History: Elementary Structures of Race* (London: Verso, 2016).

2 See: Marcelo Svirsky, *After Israel: Towards Cultural Transformation* (London: Zed Books, 2014); Hagar Kotef, 'Violent Attachments', *Political Theory* 48 (2020), 4–29.

settlers as such subjects induce them into active roles in oppressing others, and how studying this production of subjectivity helps better understanding the endurance of settler colonial power. The corollary of this article, which not to imply over-generalisation I restrict to Palestine/Israel, is that the production of settler colonial subjectivity is not only directly productive for Zionism, but the modern-day modes of being of Israelis are Zionism's most vital artefact.[3]

Following this introduction, the article develops the argument in three sections. Taking the cue from the Marxian notion of social reproduction, the next section introduces the relevance of processes of subjectivity formation in perpetuating systems of oppression. In addition, I adopt the viewpoint that the study of subjectivity cannot ignore the economic dimension.[4] Consequently, settler colonialism is analysed as inexorably based on the logics of economic exploitation, as well as on the logic of elimination. To complement the conceptual framework, the article presents a theoretical approach to subjectivity-formation that draws on Deleuze and Guattari's collaborative work. In the second section I analyse early forms of subjectivation in the Jewish Zionist community in Palestine, and in the third section the article focuses on contemporary aspects of Israeli subjectivity by analysing a series of vignettes illustrating the centrality of subjectivity in the perpetuation of settler colonialism in Palestine/Israel. The raw materials for these vignettes derive from my past ethnographic work, previous publications, the analysis of contemporary events, secondary literature, and my personal experiences as an Israeli citizen for twenty-five years. The vignettes elaborate a larger plot, that of the dominant form of Israeli subjectivity. The article ends with a brief commentary on the main conclusions.

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3   Similarly, in his analysis of capitalism, Jason Read states, 'In contemporary capitalism […] it is not just commodities that are produced and consumed but "lifestyles" ways of perceiving, thinking, and acting'; see Jason Read, 'A Fugitive Thread: The Production of Subjectivity in Marx', *Pli* 13 (2002), 125–146.

4   Jason Read, 'The Age of Cynicism: Deleuze and Guattari on the Production of Subjectivity in Capitalism', in *Deleuze and Politics*, ed. by Ian Buchanan and Nicholas Thoburn (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008), pp. 139–59.

Social Reproduction and Subjectivity Formation

Settler colonialism is a mode of producing dominance and privilege capable of historical continuity and expansion.[5] In his analysis of Marx's conceptual apparatus, Étienne Balibar notes that the idea that seems to encapsulate historical continuity is that of social reproduction. The political significance of studying the circumstances of social reproduction cannot be underestimated, since 'reproduction appears to be the general form of permanence of the general conditions of production, which in the last analysis englobe the whole social structure, and therefore it is indeed essential that it should be the form of their change and restructuration, too'.[6]

In chapter six of volume 1 in *Capital*, Marx addresses the idea of social reproduction as follows: to see how capital is produced and circulates, one needs to look into 'the hidden abode of production',[7] that is, into the processes that create the human subjective conditions of possibility that shape workers fit to cast themselves as an essential part of the machines creating profit and exploitation. Though many have tended to understand 'hidden abode' narrowly in terms of the domestic sphere of life only, I adopt here the premises of Marxian feminism that investigates the whole of social processes forming people's particular modes of being in their society. Marxian feminists ask: if human labour is implicated in the capitalist production of wealth, profit, and exploitation, what then produces the worker's modes of being apposite for these relations of power? The answer provided by social reproduction feminists (SRFs) is that the familial and communitarian work invested in feeding, caring for, loving, educating, and entertaining people produce and sustain workers whose labour reproduces capital and society as a whole.[8] In explaining the continuity of capitalist privilege we should

5   According to Lorenzo Veracini, settler colonialism is a phenomenon of the present, and not just of the past; see Lorenzo Veracini, *The Settler Colonial Present* (London: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2015). Continuity relates as well to the impossibility of regime change, about which Patrick Wolfe famously claimed that 'settler colonialism is relatively impervious to regime change'; see Patrick Wolfe, 'Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native', *Journal of Genocide Research* 8 (2006), 387–409 (p. 402).

6   Étienne Balibar, 'On the Basic Concepts of Historical Materialism', in *Reading Capital: The Complete Edition*, ed. by Louis Althusser and others, trans. by Ben Brewster and David Fernbach (London: Verso, 2015), pp. 357–480 (pp. 437; 440).

7   Karl Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy* vol.1, trans. by Ben Fowkes (New York: Penguin Books, 1976), p. 110.

8   *Social Reproduction Theory: Remapping Class, Recentering Oppression*, ed. by Tithi Bhattacharya (London: Pluto Press, 2017); Lise Vogel, *Marxism and the Oppression of Women: Towards a Unitary Theory* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1983); Maria Miles, *Patriarchy and Accumulation*

take into account the instrumental role of the everyday investments constituting workers' modes of being. We can already see a glimpse of how this formulation can be extrapolated into the analysis of settler colonial power by importing the relation between the formation of subjective modes of being and the endurance of abusive power.

There is another reason to partially model the inquiry here in light of SRFs' premises. The approach advanced by SRF scholars is also critical of the predominant, gendered forms of knowledge production regarding how constituted power is reproduced. Rather than focusing on the more observable aspects of capitalist power, such as ownership, finances, technology, and the coercive force of the law to further the accumulation of capital, Tithi Bhattacharya explains that SRF 'seeks to make visible labour and work that are analytically hidden by classical economists and politically denied by policy makers'.[9] This view concurs with the opinion presented above that the measurable performances of Israeli oppression cannot provide sufficient knowledge of how the perpetrators find themselves apt and agreeable to perform oppression.

A few clarifications are needed. As far as it concerns workers in settler societies, the general processes of social reproduction create contradictory human capacities and modes of being that nonetheless are recorded conjunctly in the worker's body: some aspects of these processes compel bodies to become adaptable preys of capitalist oppression, while other aspects make them fit to oppress others – minorities and weakened groups. Further, capitalism and settler colonialism not only emerged and developed concurrently,[10] but their systems are connected by intertwined logics of dispossession that at times function in opposite directions.[11] On the one hand, in order to comply

on a World Scale: Women in the International Division of Labour (London: Zed Books, 1986); Encarnación Gutiérrez-Rodríguez, *Migration, Domestic Work and Affect: A Decolonial Approach on Value and the Feminization of Labor* (New York: Routledge, 2011); Silvia Federici, *Revolution at Point Zero: Housework, Reproduction, and Feminist Struggle* (Oakland, CA: PM Press, 2012); Isabella Bakker, 'Social Reproduction, Fiscal Space and Remaking the Real Constitution', in *New Constitutionalism and World Order*, ed. by Stephen Gill and Claire Cutler (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 219–232.

9   Tithi Bhattacharya, 'Introduction: Mapping Social Reproduction Theory', in *Social Reproduction Theory*, ed. by Bhattacharya, pp. 1–20 (p. 2).

10 Donald Denoon, *Settler Capitalism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983); Philip McMichael, *Settlers and the Agrarian Question* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

11 The idea of racial capitalism is one way to emphasise this connection; see Cedric Robinson, *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1983); Alyosha Goldstein, 'On the Reproduction of Race, Capitalism, and Settler-Colonialism', in *Race and Capitalism: Global Territories, Transnational Histories: Conference Proceedings*, ed. by Ananya Roy (Los Angeles: UCLA Institute on Inequality and Democracy, 2017), pp. 42–51.

with the requirements of capitalist exploitation, workers must be dispossessed from the control of productive resources,[12] whilst the nature of surplus distribution is designed to stand in an inherent contradiction with the social reproduction of labour.[13] On the other hand, the priorities of settler colonialism benefit workers' socio-economic prospects in settler societies as a result of the opportunities made accessible to them by dispossessing the colonised and distributing settler colonial profits and gains. Whereas the capitalist economy characteristically tends to generate divestment from the conditions of the life of the worker, in the persona of the settler the worker is endowed with the spoils of Indigenous dispossession.[14] As will be discussed in later sections, in Israel these opportunities and privileges are racially structured, differentially rewarding settler beneficiaries according to their background.[15]

The last paragraph deserves a qualification, since it assumes economic usufruct as part of the dynamics of settler colonialism. As a distinct interdisciplinary field of studies, settler colonial studies emerged by partitioning the study of colonies of settlement from that of colonies of exploitation, even if historically the two forms converged in certain cases, particularly in South America and Africa. The works of Patrick Wolfe and Lorenzo Veracini have been central to this direction of investigation.[16] As Wolfe rightly stressed, settler colonialism is premised 'on the evacuation of Native people's territory [that] requires that the peoples who originally occupied it should never be allowed back'.[17] Evacuated people cannot form a labour force to be exploited, at least not in their native land. Yet, the thinking that the elimination of the Native and its exploitation are two alternative historical models has

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12 Alan Sears, 'Body Politics: The Social Reproduction of Sexualities', in *Social Reproduction Theory: Remapping Class, Recentering Oppression*, ed. by Bhattacharya, (London: Pluto Press, 2017), pp. 171–91 (p. 176).

13 The capitalist 'drive to unlimited accumulation threatens to destabilize the very reproductive processes and capacities that capital – and the rest of us – need. The effect over time […] can be to jeopardize the necessary social conditions of the capitalist economy'; see Nancy Fraser, 'Crisis of Care? On the Social-Reproductive Contradictions of Contemporary Capitalism', in *Social Reproduction Theory*, ed. by Bhattacharya, pp. 21–36.

14 For a similar comment on settlers as workers see Sai Englert, 'Settlers, Workers, and the Logic of Accumulation by Dispossession', *Antipode* 52 (2020), 1647–66.

15 For the notion of 'beneficiary', see Bruce Robbins, *The Beneficiary* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2017).

16 Patrick Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology: The Politics and Poetics of an Ethnographic Event* (London: Cassell, 1999); 'Settler colonialism and the elimination of the native'; Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

17 Wolfe, *Traces of History*, p. 3.

been challenged not just by scholars,[18] but by the very social realities of settler polities. In *Traces of History*, Wolfe admits that different colonial regimes combine strategies of inequality in different ways.[19] Palestine is a case in point. Until after 1948, for the most part the Zionist movement embraced a strategy of colonisation that ideologically and de-facto excluded the exploitation of Palestinians. Racial self-segregation and the piecemeal dispossession of Palestinian farmers from their land comprised the leading dynamics of the Zionist Labour movement.[20] The pinnacle of this process manifested itself in the *Nakba*, the ethnic cleansing of close to one million Palestinians during 1948-1949 that paved the way to the establishment of the state of Israel on more than half of Mandatory Palestine.[21] Since then, and particularly after the 1967 war and the occupation of the West-Bank, the Gaza Strip and East-Jerusalem, Palestinian labour and Palestinian resources have been consistently exploited by Israel, whilst their displacement-replacement continued apace. In other words, while the seizing of Palestinian land and the expulsion of its Indigenous inhabitants is a *constant* in Zionist politics, this historical dynamic increasingly intertwines with practices of exploitation. From the viewpoint of subjectivity, Israelis attend to both types of colonial practices.

Subjectivity as an explanatory category of the reproduction of power needs to be complemented with a framework of analysis that helps to understand how subjective modes of being are produced. At this point I turn to Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari's collaborative work. For Deleuze and Guattari we are part of the social reality we live in, as much as this reality is part of us.[22] From a more microscopic viewpoint,

18 See for example Englert, 'Settlers, Workers, and the Logic of Accumulation by Dispossession'; Sarah Rotz, 'They Took Our Beads, it Was a Fair Trade, Get Over It': Settler Colonial Logics, Racial Hierarchies and Material Dominance in Canadian Agriculture', *Geoforum* 82 (2017), 158–169; Nicholas A. Brown, 'The Logic of Settler Accumulation in a Landscape of Perpetual Vanishing', *Settler Colonial Studies* 4 (2014), pp. 1–26.

19 Wolfe, *Traces of History*, p.139.

20 Gershon Shafir, *Land, Labor and the Origins of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict 1882–1914* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989); Marcelo Svirsky and Ronnen Ben-Arie, *From Shared Life to Co-Resistance in Historic Palestine* (London: Rowman and Littlefield International, 2017).

21 The Nakba, or catastrophe (Arabic), is the 1948–49 ethnic cleansing of close to 800,000 Palestinian people carried out by Jewish military forces; see Walid Khalidi, *All That Remains: The Palestinian Villages Occupied and Depopulated by Israel in 1948* (Washington, DC: Institute of Palestinian Studies, 1992); Ilan Pappé, *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine* (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 2006).

22 Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. by Robert Hurley, Mark Seem and Helen R. Lane (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1983); *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987). See also Ian Buchanan, *Assemblage Theory and Method* (London: Bloomsbury, 2020).

subjectivity arises as a result of the social interactions producing, developing, and restyling attachments to values, ideas, worldviews, feelings, relations, and concrete material possessions. These attachments take place mostly unconsciously, shaping our systems of perception and in turn organising our dispositions in the social world, creating what Guattari defined as our existential territories – namely the spaces of life defined by the range of our identities and habits.[23] Importantly, the relations between desire and the social are not a closed circuit; changing social circumstances can lead us to redefine attachments to things. In short, subjectivity is produced in a double movement: towards more fixed forms, and from binding existing formations to not-yet existing possibilities.[24] The remainder of this article will focus on the former type of formation as I have dedicated extensive work to the latter elsewhere.[25] I begin the investigation into the binding existing formations of subjectivity in the Israeli society by looking first into its genealogy.

Zionist Original Accumulation and the Early Axes of Subjectivation

Settler colonial regimes thrive on the accumulation of settler productivity that derives from a range of forms of dispossession. The displacement of the Native is one principal form that accompanies the dispossession of land and property (depending on circumstances one emerges as the cause of the other, and vice-versa). The imposition of colonial labour arrangements is another form of dispossession that necessarily involves exploitation. In the Palestine/Israel context, economic dispossession is also to be understood as de-development.[26] In addition, settler accumulation by dispossession has two inextricable historical dimensions: the settler society's original or primitive accumulation of land, social space, and other Indigenous assets during the pre-state period, and contemporary forms of Indigenous dispossession, the

23 Félix Guattari, *The Guattari Reader*, ed. by Gary Genosko (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996).
24 *The Guattari Reader*, pp. 215–217.
25 Marcelo Svirsky, *Arab-Jewish Activism in Israel-Palestine* (London: Routledge, 2012); *After Israel: Towards Cultural Transformation* (London: Zed Books, 2014).
26 Coined by Sara Roy, the term 'de-development' is defined as 'a process that forestalls development by depriving or ridding the economy of its capacity and potential to rational structural transformation and preventing the emergence of any self-correcting measures'; see Sara Roy, 'Foreword', in *Decolonizing Palestinian Political Economy*, ed. by Mandy Turner and Omar Shweiki (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2014), pp. ix–xv.

former being the precondition of the latter.[27] Contrary to the Zionist discourses of development, and despite the fact that during the pre-state period Zionist institutions seized only 7% of the total land surface in Palestine (approximately 190,000 hectares) through purchases mainly from absentee landowners, the socio-economic disruptions in Palestinian Arab society driven by Zionist colonisation prior to 1948 should not be underestimated.[28] Basically, the massive dislocation and uneven development that were characteristic of this period facilitated the collapse of Palestinian society during and after 1948.[29]

Following the *Nakba* and the extensive territorial conquests by Jewish military forces, the new state of Israel came in possession of 77% of the land surface of Palestine (22% more than the territory approved by the 1947 UN 181 Partition Resolution). As Abu-Sitta explains, '[t]he abandoned Palestinian fields, orchards, vineyards, homes, shops, factories and businesses provided housing for many of the 684,000 Jewish immigrants who settled in the country from […] 1948 to […] 1951 and provided employment and economic sustenance for them'.[30] Hadawi and Kubursi estimated the total value of Palestinian land and properties

27 Primitive accumulation should be distinguished from Patrick Wolfe's concept of 'preaccumulation', which points to the material and cultural conditions that facilitate colonisation; see Wolfe, *Traces of History*. A number of scholars have linked settler colonialism to the idea of 'primitive accumulation'; see for instance Glen S. Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014); Audra Simpson, *Mohawk Interruptus: Political Life Across the Borders of Settler States* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014); Robert Nichols, 'Disaggregating Primitive Accumulation', *Radical Philosophy* 194 (2015), pp. 18–28; Anna J. Willow, 'Indigenous Extractivism in Boreal Canada: Colonial Legacies, Contemporary Struggles and Sovereign Futures', in *Global Indigeneities and the Environment*, ed. by Karen Thomber and Tom Havens (Basel: MDPI, 2016), pp. 64–85; Jen Preston, 'Racial Extractivism and White Settler Colonialism: An Examination of the Canadian Tar Sands Mega-Projects', *Cultural Studies* 31 (2017), 353–375.

28 These transactions displaced thousands of Arab *fellaheen* (peasant) tenants by stripping their rights to use the land for their livelihood, eventually creating a crisis of landlessness, poverty, and unemployment. See Shafir, *Land, Labor*, p. 41; Michel F. Abcarius, *Palestine: Through the Fog of Propaganda* (London: Hutchinson, 1946), p. 156; Patrick Wolfe, 'Purchase by Other Means: The Palestine Nakba and Zionism's Conquest of Economics', *Settler Colonial Studies* 2 (2012), 133–71 (pp. 156–8); Issa Khalaf, 'The Effect of Socioeconomic Change on Arab Societal Collapse in Mandate Palestine', *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 29 (1997), 93–112. On Zionist development discourse, see Mark LeVine, 'The Discourses of Development in Mandate Palestine', *Arab Studies Quarterly* 17 (1995), 95–124.

29 The Shaw Commission report and the Hope-Simpson report extensively detail the negative economic impacts of favouring Zionist colonisation on Palestinian life; see Roger Owen, 'Economic Development in Mandatory Palestine 1918–48', in *The Palestinian Economy*, ed. by George Abed (New York: Routledge, 1988); LeVine, 'The discourses of development in Mandate Palestine'; Khalaf, 'The Effect of Socioeconomic Change'.

30 Salman Abu-Sitta, *Atlas of Palestine: 1917–1966* (London: Palestine Land Society, 2010), pp. 130–33; see also Shimshon Bichler and Jonathan Nitzan, *From War Profits to Peace Dividends: The Global Political Economy of Israel* (Jerusalem: Carmel, 2001) (Hebrew).

seized by the state of Israel as an outcome of the 1948–49 war to almost £1.2 billion (1948 prices).[31] Characterising the significance of the Palestinian land and property seized by Israel during and immediately after the war, American-Jewish scholar and activist Don Peretz wrote in 1958 that '[t]he abandoned [Palestinian] property was one of the greatest contributions towards making Israel a viable state'.[32] A recent work published by historian Adam Raz exposes the extent of the pillaging of Palestinian property during the *Nakba* and the widespread participation to it, from soldiers to civilians, to senior and junior figures in the establishment. According to Raz, the fact that the looting was openly tolerated by the political leadership played a role in shaping the character of Israeli society, turning the looters into people with a vested interest in preventing the Palestinians from returning.[33]

Cognisant of the material processes of settler-colonisation that took place from 1882 to 1948 and of the supportive Zionist political discourses that accompanied these processes,[34] the relevant question we must ask is what sort of human capacities and attitudes among the Jewish settlers in Palestine were favoured by the social circumstances of settler colonisation before 1948? Whilst a full-length historical analysis of Zionist subjectivity-formation is outside the scope of this article, it is worth briefly discussing some pre-state strategies emblematic of Zionist colonisation.

Early in the twentieth century jobless Jewish settlers were convinced that dispossessing Arab tillers of their labour was the only method to secure work for themselves and avoid having to leave Palestine. This is why in 1905 they developed the notion of 'Hebrew labour' with the intent of lobbying for the exclusive employment of Jewish workers instead of Arabs in the first Zionist colonies (*moshavot*).[35] Though the policy had limited success, its ideological motif was quickly internalised by the emergent colonial society as an organisational logic. By the 1920s, the *Histadrut* (the General Organisation of Hebrew Workers in the Land of Israel) was officially calling Jewish-owned industries

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31   Abu-Sitta, *Atlas of Palestine*, Table 4.9, p. 135.

32   Don Peretz, *Israel and the Palestine Arabs* (Washington, DC: Middle East Institute, 1958), p. 141, qtd. in Abu-Sita, *Atlas of Palestine*, p. 129 n. 389.

33   Adam Raz, *Looting of Arab Property During Israel's War of Independence* (Jerusalem: Carmel, 2020) (Hebrew). A less known aspect of the looting was the robbery of cultural treasures, particularly books and old documents and manuscripts; see *The Great Book Robbery*, dir. by Benny Brunner (2911 Foundation and Al Jazeera English, 2012), <https://bbrunner.eu/movie/the-great-book-robbery/>.

34   Nur Masalha, *Expulsion of the Palestinians* (Washington: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1992).

35   Shafir, *Land, Labour*, pp. 58–90.

and businesses to employ only Jews, thus increasingly fracturing the economy in Palestine into two separate entities.[36] It would be difficult to explain present-day discrimination of Palestinians in the Israeli labour market without factoring in the genealogy of labour segregation developed and practised since early in the twentieth century.[37]

Another influential self-segregationist Zionist strategy was the creation of the *kibbutz*. The cooperativist model was intended to reverse the anti-settler colonial tendency created by the first wave of Jewish immigration plantation-style (1882–1903), according to which a few Jewish families attracted hundreds of Palestinian peasants to whom work was offered. To make Jewish colonisation work, the *kibbutz* model aspired to address several issues at once: demography, agricultural labour, and settlement. From 1907 onwards, the Zionist settlement institutions (mainly the Jewish National Fund, JNF) successfully procured land placing it in Jewish national ownership, on which the cooperative settlements were established.[38] This settler colonial model provided permanent agricultural work for *kibbutz* members. Protected from the labour market, built on the exclusion of Arab-Palestinians and populated almost solely by Eastern European Jews, the *kibbutz* became an ethnically homogenous body and a prototype for future Israeli society.[39] Eventually, it also fashioned the Jewish-only gated communities that Israel began establishing from the 1970s on expropriated Palestinian land, both in the occupied territories of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, as well as within the pre-1967 borders.

The making of segregated racial spaces was undoubtedly the leading technology of settlement and development that characterised the expansion of Zionism in Palestine in the pre-state period.[40] Importantly,

36 See Zachary Lockman, *Comrades and Enemies: Arab and Jewish Workers in Palestine, 1906–1948* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), pp. 33, 104, 192, 214, 223–24, 235, 237; Tamar Gozansky, *Between Expropriation and Exploitation: Status and Struggles of Arab Workers in Palestine and Israel* (Tel Aviv: Pardes Publishing House, 2015) (Hebrew).

37 *Palestinians in the Israeli Labour Market: A Multi-Disciplinary Approach*, ed. by Nabil Khattab and Sami Miaari (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2013); Ahmad Sa'di, 'Incorporation Without Integration: Palestinian Citizens in Israel's Labor Market', *Sociology* 29 (1995), 429–51.

38 Zionist organisations that had purchased land imposed conditions preventing it from ever returning to gentile ownership; see Shafir, *Land, Labor*, p. 155.

39 Ibid., pp. 146–186.

40 The impact of British rule on the native-settler struggle and the economic and social bifurcation of Palestine cannot be underestimated. British governmental strategies helped Zionist institutions to marginalise Palestinian workers and the products of their labour by using methods such as levying protective tariffs favouring new Jewish industries, granting monopolistic concessions to profit from Palestine's resources that also amplified Jewish employment, instituting budgetary proportional spending that increased the economic autonomy of the Jewish settler community,

this racialised external relation of the Zionist activists and ideologues to Arab-Palestinians went hand in hand with their racialised internal relation towards Palestine's Oriental-Jews or Mizrahim.[41] As Ella Shohat rightly claims, one can only properly discuss Zionism in Palestine by tying 'the question of Palestine' to 'the question of the Arab-Jew'.[42] Alongside spatial partitioning in rural areas led by the *kibbutz* and similar forms of cooperative settlement, self-segregationism quickly expanded to urban housing, education and cultural institutions.[43] In 1924 a national campaign was launched calling Jews to buy only Jewish-labour made products sold by Jewish businesses, even when at a higher price for an inferior product, effectively restricting distribution for Arab agriculture and industries.[44]

It is in this phase of experimentation of Zionist colonisation that the foundational cultural politics of the Jewish sovereign nation were enshrined in visible social obligations. We may reflect on this by asking a series of questions: what form did exclusionary Zionist settlement practices take? What values and norms did these practices concur in strengthening? What sort of individual and collective social dispositions were manufactured to consolidate racial segregation as the prominent technology of settlement? What role did fifty years of engagement with the dispossession of land and of sources of livelihood play in facilitating

and allowing discriminatory employment policies that excluded Palestinians in Jewish workplaces; see Barbara Smith, *The Roots of Separatism in Palestine: British Economic Policy, 1920–1929* (London: Tauris, 1993); Charles Anderson, 'The British Mandate and the Crisis of Palestinian Landlessness, 1929–1936', *Middle Eastern Studies* 54 (2018), 171–215; Marcelo Svirsky and Ronnen Ben-Arie, 'The Socio-Historical Production of Partition in Palestine', in *Partitions and their Afterlives: Violence, Memories, Living*, ed. by Radhika Mohanram and Anindya Raychaudhuri (London: Rowman & Littlefield International, 2019), pp. 23–48.

41 'Mizrahim' is used today in the Jewish world for a number of Jewish communities that have in common a relation to Arab culture, Arab spaces and Arab history in their historical formation. These include the Sephardic Jews (Iberian descent), Maghrebi Jews (North African descent), and a range of Jewish communities from the Middle East. Other used denotations for Mizrahim are 'Oriental Jews' and 'Arab-Jews'. On the other pole of this divide, we find the white Ashkenazi Jewish communities from Western, Central and Eastern Europe who show no historical positive affinity with the Orient and were also detached from the Oriental Jewish communities in the Middle East until their encounter in Palestine. Ethiopian Jews are a community that developed separated from both Mizrahim and Ashkenazim until the second half of the twentieth century.

42 Ella Shohat, *On the Arab-Jew, Palestine, and Other Displacements* (London: Pluto Press, 2017).

43 Mahmoud Yazbak, 'Jewish-Muslim Social and Economic Relations in Haifa (1870–1914) According to Sijill Registers', in *Aspects of Ottoman History*, ed. by Amy Singer and Amnon Cohen (Jerusalem: Magness Press, 1994), pp. 114–23; Deborah Bernstein, *Constructing Boundaries: Jewish and Arab Workers in Mandatory Palestine* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2000), p. 207.

44 This campaign was named 'Tozeret Haaretz' (made in the country); see Margalit Toledano and David McKie, *Public Relations and Nation Building: Influencing Israel* (London: Routledge, 2013).

military and civil participation in the ethnic cleansing and looting of properties of Palestinians in 1948–49? What fantasies of sovereignty informed the mindset of Jewish settlers? In short: how did the continuous involvement in practices combining racial self-isolation and cumulative encroachment of the Other's space affect settlers' worldview? These questions point towards long-term patterns stretching into the present and influencing subjectivity-formation and life-organisation in present Israel, and which will be discussed in the remainder of this article.

Contemporary Aspects of Subjectivity Formation in Israel

The conceptual framework developed in the previous sections will inform the discussion of a series of vignettes that illustrate the processes of subjectivity-formation allowing Jewish Israelis to fulfill the role ascribed to them by settler colonial oppression. One important qualification before proceeding is that, even though a single unified Israeli mode of being does not exist, regardless of their different backgrounds most Jews in contemporary Israeli society *are committed de facto to settler practice* and to the historical project of nation building, even if some communities in this compound have been marginalised by Zionist priorities (such as the Mizrahim), and others reject Zionism as a Jewish ideology (such as the orthodox religious communities). In other words, implication in settler colonialism and dispossession of Palestinians is the common denominator uniting Jews into a dominant Israeli subjectivity, albeit fluid and in part even fractured.[45] Historically, different Jewish communities connected to the settler project in different ways at different points in time. For the Ashkenazi self-proclaimed pioneers of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century, the invention of Zionism was no less than a revolutionary form of life, whilst for the Sephardi small community in Palestine joining Zionism drew mainly on Jewish cultural

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45   On common denominators in colonial settings, see Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Thinking through Colonial Ontologies* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009), p. 4; on fractures within Israeli society, see Majid Al-Haj, 'Ethnicity and Political Mobilization in a Deeply Divided Society: The Case of Russian Immigrants in Israel', *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 28 (2015), 83–100; Sammy Smooha, 'The Mass Immigrations to Israel: A Comparison of the Failure of the Mizrahi Immigrants of the 1950s with the Success of the Russian Immigrants of the 1990s', *Journal of Israeli History* 27 (2008), 1–27; Meir Yaish, 'Class Structure in a Deeply Divided Society: Class and Ethnic Inequality in Israel, 1974–1991', *The British Journal of Sociology* 52 (2001), 409–37.

revivalism.[46] Others found their way into the settler project via more religious and traditionalist motivations in spite of Zionism's professed secularity or would join the project on more pragmatic grounds. Whatever the reasons for joining the settler project, participation in it has always been racially structured.[47] While we focus here on the unifying dimension of Israeli settler colonial subjectivity, it is important to acknowledge that a closer look beyond the scope of this article would reveal degrees of heterogeneity and differentiation.

The Palestinian Context of Intra-Jewish Orientalism

During the *Nakba*, not all Arab neighbourhoods in the cities were reduced to ashes. Most of the deserted houses were taken by Jewish families. Thousands of the most attractive Palestinian houses in depopulated neighbourhoods mainly in the cities of Haifa, Jaffa, and Jerusalem were occupied by military officers and high-ranking members of the then-dominant Ashkenazi Zionist political party Mapai and other members of the veteran Ashkenazi elite in the country. Houses were also used by the state to settle post-Holocaust Jewish refugees coming from Europe and handed over to, or occupied by, Mizrahim evacuees from the Arab world.[48]

One of the ruined depopulated neighbourhoods where Mizrahim took up abandoned Palestinian houses is Wadi Salib (Valley of the Cross), in Haifa. Yfaat Weiss provides an account of how Jewish Moroccan immigrants took the place of the former Palestinian residents in the lower and less affluent parts of the city, as well as at the bottom of the new state's

46 Moshe Behar, '1911: The Birth of the Mizrahi-Ashkenazi Controversy', *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies*, 16 (2017), 312–31 (pp. 319–25); Moshe Behar and Ben-Dor Benite, *Modern Middle Eastern Jewish Thought: Writings on Identity, Politics, & Culture, 1893–1958* (Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press, 2013); Yuval Ben-Bassat, 'Rethinking the Concept of Ottomanization: The Yishuv in the Aftermath of the Young Turks Revolution of 1908', *Middle Eastern Studies* 45 (2009), 461–75; Michelle Campos, *Ottoman Brothers* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2011); Hillel Cohen, *Year Zero of the Arab-Israeli Conflict: 1929* (Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press, 2015); Elie Eliachar, *Living with the Jews* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1983); Abigail Jacobson and Moshe Naor, *Oriental Neighbors: Middle Eastern Jews and Arabs in Mandatory Palestine* (Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press, 2016).

47 Ella Shohat, 'Sephardim in Israel: Zionism from the Standpoint of its Jewish Victims', *Social Text* 19/20 (1988), 1–35; 'Mizrahi Feminism: The Politics of Gender, Race and Multiculturalism', *News from Within* 12 (1996), 17–26; 'The invention of the Mizrahim', *Journal of Palestine Studies* 1 (1999), 5–20.

48 Adriana Kemp, 'State Domination and Resistance in the Israeli Frontier', in *Mizrahim in Israel: A Critical Observation into Israel's Ethnicity*, ed. by Hanan Hever, Yehuda Shenhav and Peninah Motzafi-Haller (Tel Aviv: Van Leer Jerusalem Institute and Hakibbutz Hameuchad, 2002), p. 39 (Hebrew).

Jewish society.[49] The thirty-five hundred Palestinians who remained in the city after the *Nakba* (representing only five percent of the original Palestinian population) were forced to resettle in Wadi Nisnas, about a kilometre away from the now Jewish Wadi Salib; between the two, Haifa's old town – another Arab residential quarter – was destroyed by the state in July 1948. As Weiss states, 'the residents of Wadi Salib lived not only alongside the Arab neighbour but also in his place. They lived in the neighbour's home', in the property that was robbed from them.[50] On June 1959 Wadi Salib residents would launch the first Mizrahi uprising in Israel, in a historic protest against their conditions of life and the ongoing discrimination in housing and employment of the Mizrahi Jews in Israel manufactured by the white Ashkenazi establishment.[51]

Addressing the erasure of memory in Israeli consciousness around the events of Wadi Salib, Weiss explains: 'Although it had retained its Arab name, when Wadi Salib became an icon in 1959 there was no trace of its former residents'.[52] Rooted in the reality of the preferential treatment that European Jewish immigrants enjoyed in Haifa and elsewhere in the country that Wadi Salib' Moroccan Jews were well aware of, the Palestinian past of the quarter was absent in the discourses of the protests, in the reports of the official inquiries that followed them, as well as in public memory of the events.[53] In a series produced by the Israeli Educational Television between 1997 and 2000, one episode discusses the role of the leading activist in the Wadi Salib protests, David Ben-Harush. Rich in its critique of the socio-economic background of the events and the aspirations of the Moroccan Jews from Haifa for integration in the Israeli society, the episode hushes the Arab-Palestinian history of the neighbourhood, as if it never existed.[54]

49 Yfaat Weiss, *A Confiscated Memory: Wadi Salib and Haifa's Lost Heritage* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011).

50 Ibid., p. 29.

51 Lev Luis Grinberg, '1959: Wadi Salib Riots: Culminating a Decade of Ethnic Discrimination', in *Mo(ve)ments of Resistance: Politics, Economy and Society in Israel/Palestine 1931–2013* (Boston, MA: Academic Studies Press, 2014), pp. 90–121; Sara Kahn-Nisser, 'Nationalism, Identity, and Rebellion: An Interpretation of the Wadi Salib Events', *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 16 (2010), 375–396.

52 Weiss, *A Confiscated Memory*, p. x.

53 On the issue of the differential treatment of the state towards Jewish European immigrants and those of Oriental descent see Yaron Tsur, *A Torn Community: The Jews of Morocco and Nationalism, 1943–1954* (Tel Aviv: Am Oved, 2001) (Hebrew); Avi Picard, 'The Beginnings of the Selective Immigration in the 1950s', *Studies in Zionism, the Yishuv, and the State of Israel* 9 (1999), 338–94 (Hebrew); Yehuda Dominitz, 'Immigration and Absorption of Jews from Arab Countries', in *The Forgotten Million: The Modern Jewish Exodus from Arab Lands*, ed. by Malka Hillel Shulewitz (New York: Cassel, 1999), pp. 155–184.

54 'Ben-Harush', dir. by Modi Bar-On and Anat Selzer, *People* (Israel's Educational Television, 1997–2000).

Engineering Spatial Purism

Following the creation of the Israeli state in May 1948, a new system of legal formulations and political institutions was set up to legalise the seizing of Palestinian property.[55] Land belonging to Palestinians who had become refugees and Palestinian citizens who had been internally displaced was declared to be 'absentee property' and usurped by the state. Until 1966 military rule was imposed on the around 150,000 Palestinians who remained while close to 1300 hectares of their land were confiscated.[56] This incompleteness of the ethnic cleansing brought the Israeli state to experiment with new settler technologies of dispossession. Land confiscation was complemented with the gradual growth of a structural system of 'compound discrimination' against the Palestinian minority that included, and still includes, discrimination in development and planning, municipal allocations, state employment, infrastructure, industrialisation, education, taxation, redistribution and social welfare, housing, and employment practices.[57]

As narrated in the previous vignette, the process of settling Jews on Palestinian property began as soon as 1948–1949. As Joel Beinin noted, 'by 1954 over one-third of Israel's Jewish population lived on absentee Arab property [and] 350 of 370 new settlements established between 1948 and 1953 were on absentee Arab property'.[58] The Palestinians who remained within the borders of the state of Israel after the *Nakba* – close to two million today – were perceived as a demographic threat to the Jewish integrity of the state, and settlement strategies were articulated to respond accordingly. From the mid-1960s onwards, this resulted in a series of Judaisation projects.[59] To meet Zionist nation-building goals, different regions of Israel – among them principally Galilee – became

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55 Geremy Forman and Alexandre Kedar, 'From Arab Land to Israel Lands: The Legal Dispossession of the Palestinians Displaced by Israel in the Wake of 1948', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 22 (2004), 809–830; see also Oren Yiftachel, *Ethnocracy: Land and Identity Politics in Israel/Palestine* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), pp. 103–10.

56 Adalah, 'Land Acquisition Law', *Discriminatory Laws in Israel Database*, <https://www.adalah.org/en/law/view/533> [accessed 28 May 2020].

57 Mtanes Shehadeh and Raja Khalidi, 'Impeded Development: The Political Economy of the Palestinians inside Israel', in *Decolonizing Palestinian Political Economy*, ed. by Mandy Turner and Omar Shweiki (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2014), pp. 115–137; Katie Hesketh, *The Inequality Report: The Palestinian Arab Minority in Israel* (Haifa: Adalah – The Legal Center for Arab Minority Rights in Israel, 2011).

58 Joel Beinin, *Was the Red Flag Flying There? Marxist Politics and the Arab-Israeli Conflict in Egypt and Israel, 1948–1965* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), p. 69.

59 Ghazi Falah, 'Arabs versus Jews in Galilee: Competition for Regional Resources', *Geo Journal*, 21 (1990), 325–36; 'Israeli 'Judaisation' Policy in the Galilee,' *Journal of Palestinian Studies*, 20:4 (1991), 69–85.

the targets of Judaisation through meticulous planning that included the erosion of land resources and the administrative manipulation of Palestinian villages boundaries, and their encirclement by new Jewish settlements. Supported by high levels of state investment and built as home and garden lifestyle to attract mainly Ashkenazi middle-class, these gated communities became a bone of contention with the Palestinian minority. To preserve the relatively homogenous social texture, these communities were allowed to implement informal screening committees that used the vague and unwritten standard of 'social suitability' which in practice was mainly tasked to keep out Palestinian families.[60]

Civil society organisations and activists began challenging housing segregation in the gated communities in the mid-1990s.[61] In March 2000 the Supreme Court endorsed the principle of equality and the prohibition against discrimination in housing and land allocation following a petition of a Palestinian family from Baqa al-Gharbiyye who had applied to live in the gated Jewish community of Katzir.[62] But the ruling changed neither the law nor the segregationist administrative practice; in 2003 Israel Land Administration (ILA)'s Resolution 987 amended the procedures for accepting new residents into the small communities, and rather than implementing the principle of equality it demanded as conditions for acceptance financial viability to build a house, as well as enshrining the principle of 'social suitability'.[63] At this point, a number of NGOs joined the struggle against housing segregation in these communities, while Jewish residents began organising to repel the tide of activism. In 2006, backed by an umbrella of NGOS, a Palestinian young couple from the city of Sakhnin appealed to the Supreme Court against the Misgav Regional Council in Galilee that had found them socially unsuitable to join the community of Rakefet.[64]

In Misgav, the topic generated intense responses and bottom-up grassroots counter-activism among the population, leading to the establishment of pro-segregation groups and the launching of local

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60 For a detailed account of the events in this vignette see Marcelo Svirsky, *Arab-Jewish Activism in Israel-Palestine* (London: Routledge, 2012), pp. 102–109.

61 Uri Davis, *Apartheid Israel: Possibilities for the Struggle from Within* (London: Zed Books, 2003), pp. 187–88.

62 See The Supreme Court of Justice, case no. 6698/95, Qaʿadan vs. ILA; Alexandre Kedar, 'A First Step in a Difficult and Sensitive Road: Preliminary Observations on Qaʿadan v. Katzir', *Israel Studies Bulletin* 16 (2000), 3–11.

63 ILA resolution 987 was updated on 1 August, 2004 (resolution 1015), and then again on 27 July, 2005 (resolution 1064).

64 Adalah, 'Challenging the ILA's Policy and Use of Admissions Committees in Allocating Land for Housing in Community Towns', <https://www.adalah.org/en/content/view/6572> [accessed 17 August 2020].

and regional activities. Concerned and panicked residents gathered and pushed for decisions in their General Assemblies. In a number of Misgav communities, internal codes to back the selective system of housing admission were sanctioned. As an example, on 12 November 2009, the Mitzpe Aviv' General Assembly agreed that the community purposes are, among other things: 'To promote settlement, Zionism, Jewish traditions, and the Jewish character of Israel', and anchored these as the criteria for acceptance of new residents.[65] The same year, this small and picturesque Galilean community also decided that even though for budget considerations children from outside the community would be admitted to its kindergarten, Palestinian children from the area would not be accepted. Again, these actions and decisions were the fruit of collective lobbying by residents. The state followed suit and on 3 August 2009 the Knesset legislated that ILA has the right to determine rules and regulations regarding how citizens should take up residence in small communities; one year later ILA enacted by-laws to reject applicants on the grounds that their acceptance 'will create another community within the present community in a way that would harm its character'.[66] Organisations of residents from gated communities across the country kept pushing for clearer legislation and on 22 March 2011 the Knesset approved amendment No.8 to the Order for Cooperative Societies, known as the 'Law for the Admission Committees'.[67] During the years that followed, debates about how to prevent the implementation of the principle of equality intensified, and in 2018 the Israeli parliament legislated the *Basic Law: Israel – the Nation-State of the Jewish People*. The Law states that the right to exercise national self-determination in Israel is 'unique to the Jewish people', it establishes Hebrew as Israel's official language (downgrading Arabic), and it establishes 'Jewish settlement as a national value' and mandates that the state 'shall act to encourage and promote its establishment and strengthening'.[68] As a result, the new law enshrines discrimination against Palestinians as a constitutional value.

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65 Mitzpe Aviv regulations 2009: Chapter a, section 2 and Chapter b section 4.

66 ILA Law, Amendment No7 subsections 4–18 to 4–22. In addition, the communities themselves were advised to issue their own criteria and submit them to ILA for formal implementation.

67 The law set a new composition for the regional committees of admission and introduced the new subsection 6–3 stipulating who can be admitted to housing on the basis of ILA regulations.

68 Basic Law: Israel – The Nation state of the Hewish People, passed on 19.07.2018, *Knesset*, http://knesset.gov.il/laws/special/eng/BasicLawNationState.pdf.

Colonial Exploitation

As Leila Farsakh notes, 'Israel's management of the West Bank and Gaza Strip has been colonial in so far as it expropriated Palestinian land and disarticulated the Palestinian economy, making it fully dependent on the Israeli economy, even after Oslo'.[69] This is done by means of expropriation of Palestinian land for Jewish settlement, military purposes, and the exploitation of natural resources – mainly land, water and minerals; exploitation of Palestinian labour; the use of the Palestinian space to relax tax and labour regulations for Israeli industries; restricting the Palestinian economy; profiting from the application of military technology and the experimental use of new weapons on Palestinian bodies.[70]

Although the settlements are illegal under the Fourth Geneva Convention and numerous UN resolutions, Israel began moving its population into the West Bank and Gaza in 1967. Today, there are more than 200 subsidised settlements in the West Bank housing close to 400,000 Israelis.[71] The settlement project in the West Bank is not just a housing enterprise. It comprises agricultural and industrial production, the exploitation of land to produce electricity consumed only by Israelis, large investments in the construction of settlements and related infrastructure on Palestinian land, the provision of services to settlements,

69 Leila Farsakh, 'The Political Economy of Israeli Occupation: What Is Colonial About it?', in *Commemorating the Naksa, Evoking the Nakba*, ed. by Leila Farsakh, *The MIT Electronic Journal of Middle East Studies* 8 (2008), 41–58 (p.43). See also: Sahar Taghdisi-Rad, 'The Economic Strategies of Occupation: Confining Development and Buying-Off Peace', in Turner and Shweiki, *Decolonizing Palestinian Political Economy*, pp. 13–31.

70 Clemens Messerschmid, 'Hydro-Apartheid and Water Access in Israel-Palestine: Challenging the Myths of Cooperation and Scarcity', in Turner and Shweiki, *Decolonizing Palestinian Political Economy*, pp. 53–76; International Labour Conference, *The Situation of Workers of the Occupied Arab Territories*, (Geneva, International Labour Office, 2018), <https://www.ilo.org/global/publications/lang--en/index.html> [accessed 28 May 2020]; Yehezkel Lein, *Builders of Zion: Human Rights Violations of Palestinians from the Occupied Territories Working in Israel and the Settlements*, trans. by Zvi Shulman (Jerusalem: BTselem, 1999), <https://www.btselem.org/sites/default/file/sites/default/files2/builders_of_zion.pdf> [accessed 28 May 2020]; Who Profits?, *Economic Exploitation*, <https://whoprofits.org/involvement/economic-exploitation/> [accessed 18 January 2019]; Gabriel Schivone, 'Gaza Laboratory Boosts Profits of Israel's War Industry', *The Electronic Intifada*, 05 October 2018, <https://electronicintifada.net/content/gaza-laboratory-boosts-profits-israels-war-industry/25636> [accessed 18 January 2019]; *The Lab*, dir. by Yotam Feldman (Gum Films, 2013); Eyal Weizman, 'Military Options as Human Planning', interview with Philipp Misselwitz, in *Cities without Citizens*, ed. by Eduardo Cadava and Aaron Levy (Philadelphia, PA: Slought Books, 2003), 195.

71 Ivan Levingston, 'Israeli Settlements', *Bloomberg*, 31 January 2020, <https://www.bloomberg.com/quicktake/israeli-settlements> [accessed 30 May 2020].

and employment for military professional personnel.[72] Moreover, hundreds of Israeli and international private corporations are involved in the control of the Palestinian population, profiting from manufacturing and providing specialised equipment and services for their everyday control, surveillance, and segregation, as well as managing the separation wall and checkpoints in the West Bank and the barrier around the Gaza Strip.[73] To be sure, the Oslo agreements reshaped, not demolished, the political economy of the Occupation.[74]

In sum, ever since 1967 the Occupation regime in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip has offered a range of resources to the Israeli economy, new socio-economic opportunities for Israelis, and it has created business opportunities for Israeli and international companies in the security industry.[75] At first, the settlements in these Palestinian territories were designed for Ashkenazi middle-class Israelis, but according to Dani Gutwein, particularly since the neoliberalisation of the Israeli economy during the last 30 years, the government marketed housing in these settlement to compensate lower-class Israelis who found in this new form of housing a chance to recoup what the Ashkenazi elites had deprived them of for generations.[76] The possibilities offered by the military occupation in the West Bank for thousands of Mizrahim and for religious-orthodox families who moved to the settlements also encapsulated symbolic capital, as they were joining what became perceived as a new settler elite.[77] Simply put, Mizrahim have rightly understood the Occupation as a means of social mobility. However, in the last decade the economic mechanism of compensation of the settler project in the West Bank has failed to keep up with the effects of

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72   Who Profits?, *Settlement Enterprise*, <https://whoprofits.org/involvement/settlement-industry/> [accessed 28 May 2020].

73   Who Profits?, *Population Control*, <https://whoprofits.org/involvement/control-of-population/> [accessed 18 January 2019]. This list does not consider the full impacts of the Israeli Occupation on the Palestinian economy, public health, and standards of living in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. For such a broad account see United Nations, *The Question of Palestine*, 'Economic and social repercussion of the Israeli occupation – ESCWA report', 2007, <https://www.un.org/unispal/document/auto-insert-187519/> [accessed 28 May 2020]; Institute for Middle East Understanding, 'Fact Sheet: Palestine's Occupied Economy', <https://imeu.org/article/palestines-occupied-economy> [accessed 28 May 2020].

74   Farsakh, 'The Political Economy of Israeli Occupation', p. 50.

75   Shir Hever, *The Political Economy of Israel's Occupation: Repression Beyond Exploitation* (London: Pluto Press, 2010); Shir Hever, *The Privatisation of Israeli Security* (London: Pluto Press, 2017).

76   Dani Gutwein, 'Notes on the Class Foundations of the Occupation', *Theory and Criticism* 24 (2004), 203–11 (Hebrew).

77   Gadi Algazi, 'Matrix in Bill'in: A Story on Colonial Capitalism in Israel', *Theory and Criticism* 29 (2006), 173–93 (Hebrew).

neoliberalisation, affecting in particular the lower socio-economic echelons of society. Thus, according to Gutwein, in order not to lose the political support of the masses, the political right have been developing a symbolic form of compensation shaped as anti-democratic legislation that conditions civil and social rights on loyalty to Zionism and the settler colonial project.[78]

Abrahamic Parenthood

An examination of how Israeli parents are involved in the recreation of the capacities, predispositions, and skills that serve the Zionist settler colonial project is not uplifting. The crux of what being a parent in the Israeli society means is crystallised in the idea of sacrificial parenthood. Parents are undoubtedly the main agents of mobilisation in the game of turning their children into soldiers-to-be in a military force that risks their lives and implicates them in actively depriving others of life. An event worth mentioning in the genealogy of this sacrificial relationship between parents and children is 'Operation Betzer'. On August 1948, as the newly declared state of Israel was ethnically cleansing Palestine and as the second truce with the Arab states was effected, the army launched a campaign calling on Jewish parents to yield their sons and daughters to the army. The Tel Aviv area was put under curfew, and roadblocks were erected.[79]

Operation Betzer was based on the assumption that parents were expected to dwell in the emotional territory wherein they could become informers against their own children. Today, their silence in the face of their children's intense military indoctrination at school, explains Rela Mazali, reflects the degree to which the military and war have become normal phenomena in Israeli society.[80] As Baruch Kimmerling writes, the military experience is the strongest, most continuous, and most widespread sociological common trait uniting Jewish-Israelis: 'Whether we like it or not – we are a profoundly militarist society, and this militarism is also the central organising principle around which the Israeli society moves, acts, defines its boundaries, its identity and

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78 The loyalty laws, as they are called, began in 2009 and aim at further degrading the rights of the Palestinian citizens, shrinking the space of action of left-wing civil society organisations, and limiting the power of the Supreme Court; see: Dani Gutwein, 'The Rule of Loyalty: The Settlements and the Institutionalisation of the Anti-Democratic Logic of the Regime of Privatisation in Israel', *Theory and Criticism* 47 (2016), 225–47 (Hebrew).

79 Tomer Gardi, *Stone, Paper* (Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz Hameuchad, 2011), p. 77 (Hebrew, my translation).

80 Rela Mazali, 'Recruited Parenthood', in *Militarism in Education*, ed. by Haggit Gor (Tel Aviv: Babel, 2005) (Hebrew).

its customary rules of the game'.[81] However, not all Jewish groups adhere to military service in the same way, to the same extent, or with the same passion. The ultra-Orthodox are exempted from military service in accordance with a deal struck between the ruling parties and the ultra-Orthodox leadership since 1948, and only lately has the military begun to accommodate ultra-Orthodox youth.[82] Though the military is thought to be the great equaliser of Israeli society, it is no secret that upper- and middle-class families – mainly Ashkenazim – heavily invest in having their children recruited into special combat units, intelligence, or the army radio. Mizrahim and Ethiopians, on the other hand, 'serve as the black labour at the bottom of the hierarchy', enlisting mainly in units involved in policing and fighting Palestinians in the West Bank.[83] Framed by a racial contract with the state, the enlistment percentage of Ethiopian Jews is higher than among the general population, as it is their proportion in military jails and their rate of suicide during service.[84]

Eminently a patriarchal institution, the civic commitment to the military has motivated a sort of Israeli sui-generis feminism:[85] in 1994 Alice Miller petitioned the Israeli Supreme Court against the Israeli Defence Forces (IDF) and the Ministry of Defence, demanding to be accepted to the pilots training course from which she was barred for being a woman.

81 Gabriel Sheffer and Oren Barak, *Militarism and Israeli Society* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2012); Baruch Kimmerling, 'Militarism in Israeli society', *Theory and Criticism* 4 (1993), 123–40 (p. 124) (Hebrew); see also Uri Ben-Eliezer, *The Making of Militarism in Israel* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998); Shulamit Carmi and Henry Rosenfeld, 'The Emergence of Militaristic Nationalism in Israel', *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society* 3 (1989), 5–49.

82 Yagil Levy, 'The Military as a Split Labor Market: The Case of Women and Religious Soldiers in the Israel Defense Forces', *International Journal of Politics, Culture & Society* 26 (2013), 393–414.

83 Orly Noy, 'The Price Mizrahim Pay for Serving in the Israeli Army', *+972 Magazine* 20 May 2019, <https://www.972mag.com/mizrahim-occupation-idf/> [accessed 25 May 2020]; Tom Mehager, 'Black Labor: How a White Elite Uses Black Soldiers to Enforce its Will', *+972 Magazine*, 25 September 2015, <https://www.972mag.com/black-labor-how-a-white-elite-uses-black-soldiers-to-enforce-its-will/112017/> [accessed 26 May 2020]. Similar dynamics take place with Druze and Bedouin citizens for whom the military service is compulsory to an extent.

84 Ofir Abu, Fanny Yuval, and Guy Ben-Porat, 'Race, Racism, and Policing: Responses of Ethiopian Jews in Israel to Stigmatization by the Police', *Ethnicities* 17 (2017), 688–706; Revital Iyov, 'Israel is a Racist Country. Take It From Me, an Ethiopian Israeli', *Haaretz*, 10 April 2018, <https://www.haaretz.com/opinion/.premium-israel-is-a-racist-country-take-it-from-an-ethiopian-israeli-1.5403332> [accessed 10 August 2020]; Mitch Ginsburg, 'Mixed Results for Army's Ethiopian Integration Program', *The Times of Israel*, 29 September 2014, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/mixed-results-for-armys-ethiopian-integration-program/> [accessed 18 October 2020]; Leah Shelef and others, 'Suicide Among Ethiopian Origin Soldiers in the IDF: A Qualitative View of Risk Factors, Triggers, and Life Circumstances', *Journal of Affective Disorders* 269 (2020), 125–133.

85 Galia Golan, 'Militarization and Gender: The Israeli Experience', *Women's Studies International Forum* 20 (1997), 581–586.

Miller won the case. Her court case paved the way for additional legisla-tion to allow women into combat units, and various training programmes were opened to women. In 2020, the IDF formed a committee to consider allowing women to serve in combat positions, beyond the mixed-gender, light infantry units in which they already do.[86]

How is the commitment to the military articulated in the domestic sphere? Ordinary chats at the dinner table about experiences in the military – generally initiated by the males in the family – are an almost everyday occurrence. These stories sow in the children a curiosity, enthusiasm, and eagerness to become protagonists in similar stories. It is the telling itself, as a speech act, that instils in the children the sense that they are the next in line – thus internalising a social obligation that was not previously theirs. A language of acronyms and slang characteristic of the Israeli army shapes children's vocabulary. In many Israeli homes, children see their fathers leaving almost every year for periods ranging from a week to a month to serve in the army reserve. They see them coming back with their uniform and weapon; they also see their mothers accepting the burden caused by the males' reserve duties. 'Patriotic mothering', to use Cynthia Enloe's expression, is part and parcel of the phenomenon.[87] Most secular Jewish women in Israel serve a period of two years in compulsory military service, conferring to it a layer of normalisation.[88] It would be a mistake to depict the parental relationship as coercive. Parents prepare their children for the army with love and care, and they experience huge anxiety related to their children's military service. But the fear about their child's fortune does not beget an act of refusal; nor does it cause them to reflect on the dangers to their children's spirit arising from soldiering in an occupation regime. Out of an imbued mythic commitment and piloted by a drive for generational repetition, parents do place their children on the altar, thus reaffirming society's *munus*, the 'substance that is produced by their union'.[89]

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86 Judah Ari Gross, 'IDF Weighs Full Gender Integration of Combat Units as Women Sue to Enlist', *The Times of Israel*, 13 August 2020, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/idf-weighs-full-gender-integration-of-combat-units-as-women-sue-to-enlist/> [accessed 18 October 2020].

87 Cynthia Enloe, *Manoeuvres: The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).

88 'Historically, the IDF is the only Western army that drafts women as part of an egalitarian ethos', states Yagil Levy. During the last two decades women have been introduced into fields units. Levy, 'The Military as a Split Labor Market', p. 394.

89 Roberto Esposito, *Communitas: The Origin and Destiny of Community*, trans. by Timothy Campbell (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010), p. 2.

Perverting Civic Virtues

Education is central to the business of constructing subjectivity. In transiting Israeli kindergartens and the school system, children's and youths' skills and emotional capacity to fit the roles of a settler society in arms are shaped through interconnected dimensions of subjectivation. The first is the experience of spatial segregation. Fifteen segregated years of schooling crystallise the 'us versus them' perception of the real, echoing the physicality of housing segregation in Israel – not only in relation to Palestinians but as a total constitutive experience. In other words, segregation is Israelis' first social experience, and it continues to mark their formation in adulthood. The official school system is segregated into streams: the Jewish secular, the Jewish national-religious, the Jewish Orthodox, the Druze, and the Arab-Palestinian. There is a further sphere of segregation determined by the intersection of Jewish descent, class and residence. Separated educational tracks for Mizrahim have their historical roots in the late 1950s, when the educational elite introduced lower-level educational programmes constructed specifically for Jews from Arab countries and designed to limit their scholastic achievements.[90]

Second, teachers from different disciplines (geography, history, civic education, and bible studies) are pivotal in the cultivation of patriotism in an all-pervasive nationalist curriculum and extracurricular educational activities. As Azoulay and Ophir state:

> The Israeli educational system denies young citizens elementary historical and geopolitical knowledge, nurtures forgetting and ignorance, and disseminates falsehoods. Whole chapters in the history and culture of the Jews that do not coincide with the Zionist meta-narrative are excluded from school curricula. The narrative of the founding of the State of Israel does not, for example, include the Nakba—the expulsion of the Palestinians, making them refugees. To the extent that it is known at all, the fact that refugee status is a central characteristic of the national existence of the Palestinians—including the internally displaced in Israel proper—is seen as a natural aspect of Palestinians' being in the world. Israel's contributions to the failure of various peace initiatives from the 1950s down to the present are not mentioned.[91]

90 Shlomo Swirski, *Not Backward but Made Backward: Mizrahim and Ashkenazim in Israel: A Sociological Analysis and Conversations with Activists* (Haifa: Mahvarot LeBikoret, 1981) (Hebrew); *Politics and Education in Israel: Comparisons with the United States* (New York: Falmer Press, 1999); Yossi Yonah and Yshak Saporta, 'Pre-Vocational Training and the Creation of the Working Class in Israel', in *Mizrahim in Israel*, ed. by Hever, Shenhava and Motzafi-Haller, pp. 68–104 (Hebrew).

91 Azoulay and Ophir, *The One-State Condition*, p. 230.

Part of these efforts are devoted to shaping the perception of Israel as a democracy. This is mainly, though not exclusively, performed through the civic-education curriculum. These efforts are geared towards disregarding 'what Jewish citizens do to others in the name of the state of Israel'.[92] A central aspect of this educational endeavour is to erase the significance and impact of controlling Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza by means of military occupation and of the structural discrimination of Palestinian citizens. Once these realities are ignored, the remainder can be portrayed as a vibrant Jewish democracy. In addition, the civic-education, geography and history textbooks systematically disqualify Palestinians as the Indigenous people of Palestine.[93] The effort to indigenise the settler goes hand in hand with construing the indigene as an existential threat.

Subjectivation also unfolds via the institutional cooperation between the official school system and the military, ranging from an official open-door policy for military officers to lecture in schools, to various forms of educational events and programmes, including military training in high school – all establishing the inevitability of soldiering. One striking programme is the *Gadna* (youth regiments), which is the compulsory paramilitary training that serves as part of schools' preparatory programme for mandatory military service in Israel. The *Gadna* was established in 1940. With military conscription just a year or so away, the *Gadna* prepares eleventh graders for army life by means of a five-day training programme at a specialist military base. This activity, which takes place away from home, simulates basic training.[94] The *Gadna* fills the experience slot, but the range of school activities inducing pro-militaristic sentiments is rich: watching military parades, attending lectures by high-ranking military officers and war-history classes, receiving incentives to take part in specialised training towards conscription, and more. The explicit goal is to secure commitment to conscription, and to raise the percentage of those who enlist in

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92 Azoulay and Ophir, *The One-State Condition*, 230.

93 Nurit Peled-Elhanan, *Palestine in Israeli School Books: Ideology and propaganda in education* (London: I. B. Tauris).

94 The Ministry of Education made implementation of this programme in schools obligatory through the General-Manager Ordinance 2007-8/3c, which in turn is detailed in a 300-page dossier, *Readiness and Preparedness for the IDF Service*. The activities are financed and accounted for in the annual state budget approved by the Knesset; see Ruth Hiller, 'As Natural as Mother's Milk: Impregnating Society with Militarism', *New Profile*, <www.newprofile.org/english/node/215> [accessed 26 May 2020]; Noa Harel and Edna Lomsly-Feder, 'Bargaining over Citizenship: Pre-Military Preparatory Activities in the Service of the Dominant Groups', in *Citizenship Education and Social Conflict: Israeli Political Education in Global Perspective*, ed. by Hanan Alexander, Halleli Pinson and Yossi Yonah (New York: Routledge, 2011), p. 192.

combat units. In Year 12, several homeroom sessions (educator hours) are devoted to conversations aimed at encouraging students to feel confident about their imminent recruitment. The psychological counselling service at the Israeli Ministry of Education (SHEFI) is also harnessed to prevent draft evasion, and school counsellors and mentors are tasked with persuading hesitant high schoolers to enlist. In November 2012, the Israeli Ministry of Education launched a package of financial incentives to pay bonuses to high schools for increasing the number of students who enlist in the military. Every school is profiled with a conscription index that identifies it in terms of its achieved conscription percentages, including the units to which its graduates were recruited, and the IDF annually publishes the ranking of localities and schools leading in conscription rates.[95]

Walking on Remains

Hiking has an almost mythological status in Israeli society. It is essentially a gregarious practice and the way many people spend time with friends and relatives. Institutionally, hiking has a strong presence in the school curriculum and youth movement activities in para-military forms, as well as in the army.[96] 'Hikes', explains Ben-David, 'are very popular in Israel; they are rooted in Israeli culture and began long before the creation of the state; every year many youngsters and families join in this activity throughout the country'.[97] As it transpires in research, hiking is a central sensory activity that instils the corporeal connection with the land and is always attended by a narrative that erases Palestinian history, where possession is claimed in walking.[98] A great deal of the hiking activities in Israel take place on trails and parks that the Jewish

95 Talia Nesher, 'Israeli Arabs Fume at Plans to Reward Schools for IDF Enlistment', *Haaretz*, 14 November 2012, <www.haaretz.com/news/national/israeli-arabs-fume-at-plansto-reward-schools-for-idf-enlistment.premium-1.477523> [accessed 22 May 2019].

96 Marcelo Svirsky, *After Israel*, pp. 67–77; Oz Almog, *The Sabra: The Creation of the New Jew* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000); Meron Benvenisti, *Sacred Landscape: The Buried History of the Holy Land since 1948*, trans. by Maxine Kaufman-Lacusta (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000); Rebecca Stein, 'Travelling Zion', *Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies*, 11 (2009), 334–51.

97 Orit Ben-David, 'Tiyul (Hike) as an Act of Consecration of Space', in *Grasping Land: Space and place in Contemporary Israeli Discourse and Experience*, ed. by Eyal Ben-Ari and Yoram Bilu (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1997), pp.129–146 (p. 143).

98 Noga Kadman, *Erased from Space and Consciousness: Depopulated Palestinian Cillages in the Israeli-Zionist Discourse* (Jerusalem: November Books, 2008) (Hebrew).

National Fund (JNF) have forested to cover the remains of Palestinian villages destroyed during the *Nakba*. As Noga Kadman describes:

> Travelling in Israel, it is nearly impossible to avoid piles of stones, ruins, remnants of walls and structures overgrown with almond and fig trees, rolling terraces crumbling with disuse, and long hedges of prickly pear. These integral parts of the Israeli landscape are all that remains of Arab communities that existed before the war of 1948.[99]

To help guaranteeing that these historical connections are absent in the pedagogical construction of subjectivity, in March 2011 the Knesset amended the Budget Foundations Law (1985) to prevent funding school activities that counter the Zionist principles of the state. The amendment was baptised as the '*Nakba* Law'. According to this amendment, the Finance Minister is authorised to reduce state funding or support to an institution (such as schools and NGOs) if it holds an activity that rejects the existence of Israel as a 'Jewish and democratic state' or commemorates 'Israel's Independence Day or the day on which the state was established as a day of mourning'.[100]

Conclusion: Subjectivity, Investments, and Settler Colonialism

We learn from the above vignettes that Israel's settler colonial power does not rely exclusively on high politics. In order to sustain the social roles that animate settler colonial power, human capacities and skills are not only to be internalised through education and social work but need to be exercised in specific social practices sanctioned and rewarded by institutions. Moreover, alongside discontinuities and fragmentations, values and social mores maintain a prolific affective exchange across different social spheres and resonate with each other,[101] thus imbuing modes of being with attitudes and dispositions that form a strong inclination to assume the oppressive roles animating the circuits of settler colonial dominance.

The circuit of settler colonial dominance involves three interconnected spheres of human activity: the pedagogies of subject formation, the performances of oppression producing settler colonial profits and

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99   Kadman, *Erased from Space and Consciousness*, p. 11.

100   See: 'Nakba Law', *Adalah*, <https://www.adalah.org/en/law/view/496> [accessed 28 March 2021].

101   Deleuze and Guattari noted that in social resonance 'several voices seem to issue from the same mouth'; *A Thousand Plateaus*, p. 97.

gains, and the activities focused on the distribution of these profits and gains. The material, affective, and symbolic interactions between these spheres create capacities to think, to feel, and to act that reproduce settler colonial dominance and privilege, albeit under constant pressure to adapt to the interruptions and modifications imposed by Palestinian resistance, by changes in settler colonial inclinations, and to a minor extent by the pressure of Israeli-led progressive activism.[102]

The corollary is that in ameliorating socio-economic opportunities for worker-settlers by distributing a share of the settler colonial surplus, settler colonial agendas sustain the social processes that create the human capacities involved in the performance of oppression. As Perry Anderson claims, 'nothing binds the Israeli community tighter than the fear of losing what it has made of what it has taken'.[103] Azoulay and Ophir suggest that this participation in the ongoing oppression of the Palestinian people is a form of civil recruitment to a 'national mission'.[104] This is affectively conveyed throughout the minutiae of sacrificial parenthood, the nationalistic education cultivating indifference towards Palestinian suffering,[105] the military ethos, the bodily experiences of segregation, the appeal of a religious-mythic attachment to the land, and in promoting collective narratives that semiotically hybridise victimhood with superiority. This is how the essential abilities required to dehumanise and oppress Palestinians are passed from one generation to another.

This model does not imply that a stoppage in settler colonial rewards, ideally deriving from some form of Israeli withdrawal, would necessarily lead to self-decolonisation and to the dissolution of settler colonial subjectivity. Such a process can only be triggered by large-scale self-introspection into the meanings and implications of existing in this world as perpetrators of oppression. And yet, the analysis offered in this article does not simply explain the ways in which settler colonial dominance makes itself a permanent project, but it also invites reflection on how these practices could be interrupted. This article advocates for conceptualising settler modes of being as a target of resistance and opposition. This involves focusing efforts on transforming settler

102 Marcelo Svirsky, 'Resistance is a Structure not an Event', *Settler Colonial Studies* 7 (2017), 19–39.

103 Perry Anderson, 'House of Zion', *New Left Review* 96:5 (2015), 5–37.

104 Azoulay and Ophir, *The One-State Condition*, pp. 225–248. I differ with Azoulay and Ophir in that in my view the citizens of Israel are not 'an arm of the Occupation', but the subjective matter that is necessary for the Occupation to exist. Yet, I agree with them that Israeli citizens 'are a key factor in understanding the Israeli regime' (p. 229).

105 This idea is developed in Fiona Probyn-Rapsey, 'White Closets, Jangling Nerves and the Biopolitics of the Public Secret', *Australian Literary Studies*, 26 (2011), 57–75 (57).

subjectivities; in other words, seeking a future that does not resemble the settler colonial identity of the present. In sum, to speak of decolonisation without transforming settler subjectivities would be an empty gesture.

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