The Jewish Works of Sayed Kashua
● ● ● *Subversive or Subordinate?*

Adia Mendelson-Maoz and Liat Steir-Livny
● ●

ABSTRACT: This article discusses the place of Hebrew and Jewish images and stereotypes in the works of the Israeli-Arab Hebrew writer Sayed Kashua. When describing his Arab protagonists, Kashua portrays both the stereotype of the oppressed Diaspora Jew, who is trying to blend in and hide his identity, and the stereotype of the Israeli Jew, the image that many of Kashua's protagonists aspire to imitate. The article argues that adopting those images and stereotypes has a dual function. On the one hand, it can be understood as an attempt to imitate and internalize the majority's gaze, creating a sense of brotherhood and familiarity with Jewish-Israeli readers. On the other hand, the same images and stereotypes can be understood as having a major subversive thrust that ridicules the Jewish-Israeli identity and its perception of the Israeli-Arab and criticizes the Israelization process among Palestinian citizens of Israel. This subversive dimension, typical of Kashua's sarcastic style, becomes sharper in his more recent works.

KEYWORDS: Arabs, Hebrew literature, Israelization, Jewish stereotypes, Palestinian-Israelis, post-colonialism, Sayed Kashua

In June 2009, in his column in the *Ha'aretz* newspaper, Sayed Kashua reflected on his works and the fact that he writes in Hebrew. In his signature sardonic style, Kashua describes the invitation he received to talk at Cambridge University. In his column, he tells how, because he does not speak English well, he searched for biographical material in English about himself, and found a book titled *Language Choice and Perception among Palestinians and Jews in Israel*.[1] Kashua (2009) writes:

> I learned about the role of language in building a nation, in defining identity and fueling nationalism. I learned that it is impossible to separate Hebrew

from Judaism, Zionism, and proof of ownership. I learned that Arabic is a form of a cultural pre-emptive reaction … which maintains identity and prevents assimilation. I learned that I'm not just writing little stories about life, but that I exemplify a process called "distorted Israelization" which is bound to fail … I understood that I would never be welcome, be accepted or become a permanent resident of the Hebrew language. "So?" my wife asked. "Do you know how to start your talk?" "Of course," I answered, and with a gentle flick of the finger, I straightened the imaginary spectacles on my nose and continued to scribble notes for my academic lecture. "I am going to rip that bastard Sayed Kashua to shreds."

Does writing solely in Hebrew reflect a process of Israelization? Does it automatically imply submission to the Zionist "establishment"? And does the fact that a writer chooses to write in a language that is not his mother-tongue necessarily make his writing less valid or worthwhile?

This article shows the place of Hebrew and Jewish images and stereotypes in the works of Sayed Kashua. Kashua, who defines himself as an Israeli-Arab[2] author, is not the first among them to write in Hebrew. Atallah Mansour and Anton Shammas did so before him, writing in Hebrew about the lives of Arabs in Israel. This article discussed the uniqueness of Kashua's work, which expresses the voice of the third generation of the Nakba and deals with contemporary currents of Israelization among Palestinian citizens of Israel.

The article's main goal is to show how Kashua's works use Jewish images and stereotypes to describe his Arab protagonists. Kashua avails himself both of the stereotype of the Diaspora Jew, typified as belonging to an oppressed minority trying to blend in and hide his identity, and of the Israeli Jew, which is often the image that his protagonists aspire to imitate, usually in a negative way. The article argues that adopting those images and stereotypes has a dual function. On the one hand, they can be understood as a way of donning a "white mask" (to use Fanon's phrase)— trying to imitate and internalize the majority's gaze. It creates a sense of brotherhood and familiarity with his Jewish-Israeli readers and audience, and explains the warm acceptance of Kashua's works by Jewish-Israeli readers. On the other hand, the same images and stereotypes also have a major subversive thrust that ridicules the Jewish-Israeli identity and its perception of Israeli Arabs, and criticizes the Israelization process among Palestinian citizens of Israel. This subversive dimension, which is often a part of Kashua's sarcastic style, becomes stronger and sharper as his work progresses, from the earliest to the most recent ones.

Sayed Kashua was born in 1975 in the Arab village of Tira. In 1990, he was admitted to a prestigious boarding school in Jerusalem, mostly attended by Israeli Jews, and later studied sociology and philosophy at

the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Kashua writes in Hebrew about the hyphenated identity of Palestinian-Israelis. He once said in an interview that because most of his education was in Hebrew, his literary Arabic is not good enough (Livneh 2004). He also pointed out that, given the Hebrew domination of Israeli printing houses, distribution, and marketing, it is preferable in Israel to write and publish in Hebrew, even though some of his readers are Arabs. Kashua is best known for his satirical columns in Israeli newspapers. He has published three books and co-authored a satirical sitcom for Israeli television. His writings have been praised in the Israeli press, and he has been awarded the Prime Minister's Prize for Hebrew writers. However, in the Arab world he is criticized harshly (Kershner 2008).

Ahmad Sa'di maintains that after the trauma of 1948, the "Palestinians have had to resort to different venues of identity reconstruction." Because they lack national institutions, and most of their archives and documentation were lost, they have to restore their identity by focusing on individual subjectivity, which means constructing a national identity through personal narratives (Sa'di 2002: 176). Kashua takes this path. He tells personal stories that depict three generations of Israeli Arabs: the grandparents' generation, which is deeply rooted in the land and fought in the 1948 War; the parents' generation, which lived under military rule; and the third generation, which grew up in the 1970s and 1980s, when Israeli-Arabs could move freely within Israel and were subject to currents of Israelization. Kashua's work reflects these generational changes, which led to a new kind of contemporary hyphenated identity.

Kashua's first book, *Dancing Arabs* (2004, first published in Hebrew in 2002) is a collection of stories with a comic-biographical dimension that describes the life of the protagonist from childhood to adulthood. In the book, he describes village life, the years spent at a Jewish boarding school and its influence on the protagonist, the return to the Arab village, and the inability to integrate into Jewish-Israeli society.

In *Let It Be Morning* (2006, first published in Hebrew in 2004), the protagonist is a journalist who works for a Jewish newspaper and whose status becomes increasingly unstable with the outbreak of the Second Intifada in 2000. The novel opens with the protagonist's decision to return to his home village. One morning, soon after his return to the village, the inhabitants of the Arab Israeli village wake up to discover that the Israelis have enforced a curfew on their village and nobody is allowed to enter or leave. Gradually the living conditions worsen, and the novel presents an apocalyptic, catastrophic vision.

Sayed Kashua's third book, *Second Person*, was published in 2010. In it, he returns to the identity crisis of Arab citizens of Israel by means of two

protagonists: one is an East Jerusalem attorney who tries to assume the markers of Jewish-Israeli status and to integrate into a society that marginalizes him. The other is a young social worker from the Arab village of Tira, employed as the caregiver of a young Jewish man who is in a vegetative state. The caregiver gradually assumes the Jewish man's identity, a step that eradicates his Arab identity.

Kashua's satirical TV sitcom *Arab Work* describes the life of an Arab family in Israel. It mocks the stereotypes of Jews and Arabs in Israel and their reciprocal perceptions. Here again, the protagonist—Amjad—is a thirty-five-year-old Arab-Israeli journalist who tries to fit into the Jewish-Israeli elite, but is torn between the Arab and Jewish worlds. *Arab Work* premiered in 2007. The second season was broadcast in 2010.

What's in a Name?

In Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*, Juliet asks "What's in a name?" to express its arbitrary nature, because love does not discriminate by name. However, Juliet's question has a clear answer: a name matters because it, as well as language itself, reflects one's origins and identity. It is therefore unsurprising that the protagonists of Kashua's three books do not have names. The absence of names is but one feature that emphasizes their hybrid condition, which ultimately causes the protagonists to lose their identity. Another feature, which is at the core of all Kashua's writings, is the use of Hebrew to describe Arabs in Israel.

Writing in Hebrew clearly positions Kashua at a post-colonial juncture. To speak a certain language implies acceptance of a particular culture and reality. In his discussion of negative stereotypes linked to the term "black", Frantz Fanon (2007: 2–3) elaborated on the occupation of language: "All colonized people … position themselves in relation to the civilizing language: i.e., the metropolitan culture. The more the colonized has assimilated in the cultural values of the metropolis, the more he will have escaped the bush. The more he rejects his blackness and the bush, the whiter he will become." Is it possible to articulate one's identity while adopting "white" language? Can Kashua wear a "white mask" but still remain faithful to his Arabness? Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (1988) posed this question in her article "Can the Subaltern Speak". Because the blacks or the subordinated are members of a cultural minority, they can write only in the white language, the dominant one. However, as Stuart Hall (1994, 1996) and Homi K. Bhabha (1990, 1999) maintain, while learning the major or colonialist language the subordinated develop a hybrid identity resulting from the loss of the original culture's authenticity.

The search for authenticity, the possibility of expressing the culture of a minority in the words of the colonizing culture, are all core issues for an author like Sayed Kashua who opts to write and describe his split identity in Hebrew.

In many of its aspects, Kashua's work exemplifies "minor literature," according to the definition proposed by Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari. It is the literature of a minority writing in the majority's language, and thus takes on its collective values and political significance (Deleuze and Guattari 1986: 16–17). When Rachel Feldhay Brenner (2001: 103–104) discusses the question of language in the writing of other Palestinian-Israeli authors (Anton Shammas, Emile Habibi, and Atallah Mansour), she argues: "The adaptation of the Hebrew language to tell an Arab story is … a relational act that accepts the status of second-class citizens and appeals against it, at the same time." She goes on to argue that writing in Hebrew targets the hegemony, and because Israeli Jews are usually illiterate in Arabic, only such writing can "liberate the Arab from reification imposed by the hegemony" (ibid.; on this point see also Brenner 2003; Kayyal 2008). Brenner mainly relates to the addressee—the Jewish-Israeli—who can show understanding, empathy, and a grasp of the historical experiences of the other. Though she does not deal with the consequences of the loss of the native language that these authors experience, her words clearly depict the tension that authors like Sayed Kashua must confront—writing in Hebrew is the only way to address the majority.

Adopting Hebrew clearly brings Kashua's body of work closer to Jewish-Israeli readers. This phenomenon can be explained by the educational process he went through, but his use of Jewish and Israeli images and stereotypes in his texts calls for a deeper discussion. Although the unconscious presence of Israeli culture that Kashua absorbed throughout his life is discernible in those images and stereotypes, he may well be using them intentionally. In an interview centering on the *Arab Work* sitcom, Kashua explained that he is "slowly, using a lot of humor and stereotypes to assure and convince the viewer that I'm with him, that I'm talking to him face-to-face. Everything I did was thought-out, and in full awareness of prime time. I had to develop characters that the average Jewish viewers would see and love" (Kashua in Zouabi 2007).

It is clear from these words that it would be a mistake to refer to Kashua as a passive subject who soaked up the culture and stereotypes that emerge from his work in an unconscious manner. As part of the attempt to approach the majority, Kashua consciously chooses to play the post-colonialist game, which features the adaptation of Jewish stereotypes and images. It is a form of softening-up and calming the audience, as Larry Gross (1998) remarks in his article on majority and minority

representation. As such, the interviews with Kashua that have appeared in the Israeli press can also be interpreted as part of this game. Particularly when it is performed in full awareness, adaptation of stereotypes has a deliberate subversive purpose. For beneath the attractive, ostensibly light-hearted, and inviting outer shell that Kashua creates, lies astringent criticism of Israeli society and the processes of Israelizing the Arab citizens of Israel which, as Alaa Hlihel (2008) suggests, has been developed gradually throughout Kashua's work.

Kashua and Jewishness

Kashua's writing is part of the Hebrew literary scene in Israel. It was influenced by the new generation of Hebrew literature that burst onto the Israeli scene in the 1980s and 1990s. Etgar Keret, Gadi Taub, Uzi Weill, and Gafi Amir adopted a "new style" of contemporary Hebrew literature, which strives toward the disintegration of a coherent worldview through a series of rhetorical devices. They include shifting from an authoritative to a non-authoritative and unreliable narrator; using pared-down language with a deliberately narrow vocabulary, a colloquial style, and basic grammar; and "flattening" the characters' psychological and emotional complexity (Balaban 1995; Taub 1997). Instead of building fully realistic pictures, their texts often use images and stereotypes from popular culture, television, and cinema.

During his adolescence and period of creative formation, Kashua was exposed to that new writing style, which would have an impact on his own writing. Like the authors who influenced him, Kashua is informed by images, myths, and motifs from the media, and dismantles them to present a critical stance toward Israeli society. Nonetheless, when depicting Israeli-Arabs, his use of Jewish stereotypes and images creates a highly distinctive mixture that elicits surprising reactions from readers and critics.

Ilana Elkad-Lehman identifies close connections between her family story and Kashua's stories in their common experience of minority groups attempting to survive in a hostile society. In her article about Sayed Kashua, Elkad-Lehman (2008: 122) writes about herself:

> I am the daughter of Polish immigrants, Holocaust survivors. I came to Israel with my family in 1957 … I grew up in Tel Aviv fully identifying with the Zionist ethos. My brother was a commander in the IDF [Israel Defense Forces] until he was shot during reserve duty in the First Intifada and died … It is easier for me to understand Kashua's choice of language, swapping his mother-tongue with the language of his school and the majority in the country. I did the same when I made aliyah, and so did many Jews during

many years of exile. I feel close to the spirit of the text because many mean-ingful elements in my own personal narrative come from stories of my par-ents about the period in which they were part of a persecuted minority in Poland before, during, and after the Holocaust.[3]

Elkad-Lehman provides an example of the familiarity and even intimacy that Jewish people feel toward Sayed Kashua and his Arab protagonists. Kashua himself is not surprised by that sort of critique; he declares that he was affected by Jewish history, and can see the resemblance between Jew-ish and Arab national problems and traumas. As he notes in an interview with Neri Livneh (2004):

> Primo Levi is among the writers whom I admire. He was very influential on me … My themes are the Holocaust, racism, and hatred of the Other. When I was overseas, I received very exciting reactions because of this. Italian Jews thought it was a book about them. They said I had created a wonderful description of the lives of a minority. Immigrants from Russia in Israel said that was why they identified with the book, because it was the way they lived in Russia. I also received moving reactions from East Berliners. Because a minority is a minority is a minority. A minority always suffers from racism and hatred of the Other, and ultimately turns into the same thing himself.

Elkad-Lehman's words and Sayed Kashua's remarks attest that the ties between Kashua and the Jewish tradition are neither local nor accidental. To examine these ties more thoroughly, we look at four pivotal images of Jewish figures and show how Kashua makes use of them.

Omer Bartov (2005) wrote one of the major studies on the image of Jews in cinema. He presents four main figures of the Jew: as a perpetrator, victim, hero, and anti-hero. Bartov analyzes these images in their histori-cal contexts: that is, the perpetrator reflects anti-Semitic images of the Jew prior to the Holocaust; during the Holocaust the image of the Jew is that of a victim; the Jew as a hero appears around the time of Israel's founding in the 1940s and 1950s; and the Jewish anti-hero is associated with the late twentieth century, mainly from 1967 onward. Bartov's images of the Jew in cinema are stereotypical, and associated with specific historical eras. They were shaped, specifically in the early stages, by non-Jews, and illustrate the ways in which Jews were perceived by others. These images depict general attributes and do not elicit complicity.

Bartov's categorization can provide insights into Kashua's Jewish ste-reotypes, although Kashua does not remain with a single figure, but rather taps numerous variations of Jewish images in his works, playing with familiar stereotypes and undermining them to reveal their shallowness.

The Perpetrator

One of the main attributes of the Israeli-Arab in Kashua's works resembles Bartov's first stereotype—the Jew as a perpetrator (an anti-Semitic character typical in European cinema, particularly before the Holocaust). Kashua's Israeli-Arab is an outsider who threatens the Jewish Israeli, and is often perceived as an anti-Semitic variant. In *Arab Work* the Arab characters are greedy and focused on money, while in other works the protagonist understands that his very existence is a source of threat, and tries to disguise his identity and blend in with the surrounding society. Kashua's protagonists learn that attempts at disguise allow them to survive for a while, but there will always be a moment of exposure when their secret is uncovered and their identity revealed.

The protagonist of *Dancing Arabs* first realizes that people are afraid of him when he goes home for his first vacation from boarding school and is taken off the bus at the airport for security reasons. Since then he has "become an expert at assuming false identities" (Kashua 2004: 91). When he goes to the movies for the first time, he is afraid: "The movie theater was bound to be full of people like the Polanski students [a Jewish high school]. They'd recognize me and I'd have nowhere to run" (ibid.: 83–84).

While studying at the Jewish boarding school, he meets Naomi, a Jewish girl; this is a forbidden relationship between a member of the minority and the hegemony. It is similar in some ways to the Diaspora Jew who falls in love with a gentile girl and considers her more liberated than the women in his relatively closed eastern European Jewish community. Kashua's protagonist's attraction to this girl stems from her open behavior and her pale skin: "White hands, freckled face. I loved those freckles" (Kashua 2004: 113), which are suggestive of a European look.

Kashua's protagonist does not want to represent a threat, so he tries to disguise himself. Kashua uses the word "assimilation" to describe the process.[4] Clearly, "assimilation" is not a neutral word here. Its roots lie in the Diaspora, when Jews tried to integrate into the non-Jewish majority and conceal their identity. After his peers poke fun at him at the boarding school because of his pink bed sheets and his different clothes, Kashua's protagonist dons a "white mask" by changing his outward appearance (e.g., shaving, buying trousers at "Jewish stores") and displaying cultural artifacts (records and books in Hebrew). He also tries to speak in a manner that will not attract attention to him as being different: "[W]e have to learn to pronounce the letter *p* properly … The Bible teacher gave me a tip: 'Hold a piece of paper up to your mouth. If the paper moves, you've said a *p*,' he said. Adel laughed at me, and when the paper moved, he said he couldn't tell the difference. He was convinced there was really no difference between *b* and *p*, that it was all in my head, and

that Hebrew is a screwed-up language. He didn't see why they had to have two different letters for the same sound" (Kashua 2004: 102).

Disguise prompts the Arab protagonist to internalize the perceptions of the majority to the extent it becomes self-hatred: he blames himself for his misery, and feels inherently inferior as an Arab: "I'm always pleased when Jews tell me 'you don't look like an Arab at all.' Some people claim it's a racist thing to say. But I've always taken it as compliment, a sign of success. That's what I've always wanted to be, after all: a Jew. I've worked hard at it, and I've finally pulled it off" (Kashua 2004: 91). By taking the Jewish point of view he becomes detached and even revolted by any trace of his original culture: "My parents have enormous pink sofas in their living room … Our house is ugly. There are electric wires sticking out of the living-room wall, and a bell that never rings … The ugliest tapestry in the living room was woven by my mother" (ibid.: 210).

When he takes his wife to the emergency room he prays: "Just don't let anyone think I'm one of them [Arabs] or that I'm like them." To be able to maintain the masquerade, he takes out the Hebrew book *Wittgenstein's Nephew*. When Arabs speak to him in Hebrew he answers them in the same language. "How should I know they're Arabs? True, you can tell, but if they didn't recognize me, maybe I could pretend not to recognize them either" (Kashua 2004: 205). The thought that he might be viewed as an Arab frightens him and leads to rejection: "Don't they realize how different they are, how out of place, how ugly? … There's no way I can look like them. If I convey what these Arabs convey, I'm in serious trouble. But it's out of the question. People aren't scared of me, and they're not put off by me" (ibid.: 173, 177).

These extreme efforts to assimilate into Israeli society also appear in Kashua's TV sitcom *Arab Work*. In the third and fourth episodes of the first season, Amjad tries to register his daughter at a Jewish kindergarten. He counts on his and his wife's western looks, but on arriving there, they discover that registering their daughter in "the Peace Kindergarten" is impossible. As soon as the kindergarten teacher realizes that they are Arabs, she tries to dissuade them in every possible way from registering their daughter. She uses religious reasons ("we have a Shabbat ceremony every Friday") and religious nationalism ("on Purim, the children like to dress up as soldiers and pretend to shoot Arabs"). The fact that Amjad, who does not understand where the kindergarten teacher is heading, expresses his happiness about his daughter contributing to a greater understanding of the Arab world, accentuates his poor grasp of the situation and ridicules his efforts to conceal his identity. As his father comments, when asked to purchase the *hametz* at Passover, "We've been here for thirty generations. It's just that my son came out slightly Jewish."

The second season of *Arab Work* provides harsher examples of that issue. In the opening episode of the second season, Amjad and his family relocate to a Jewish neighborhood in Jerusalem. He acutely wants to blend into Jewish-Israeli society, and hopes to achieve this goal through relocation. His wife, Bushara, is initially unhappy with the idea, but the excellent amenities in the apartment, particularly the powerful jet of hot water in the shower, convince her to set aside her principles. Throughout most of the episode, the seller is amicable and claims to see no problem in selling his apartment to Arabs. Yet once the transaction is concluded, he stands outside the building, making obscene gestures, and shouting at the Jewish neighbors "You refused to let me close off a balcony?? So now I've brought you an Arab!" and laughs vindictively. Although in each episode of the season Amjad does his best to please his neighbors, he is still considered a threat.

In episode three of the second season, Amjad discovers that "dogs bark at Arabs." Whenever he enters the building, the dogs bark at him, as if they have been trained to recognize Arabs. In the ninth episode of that season, Amjad volunteers for the Civil Guard. He patrols the streets with a rifle, but that does not appease his neighbors; on the contrary, it alarms them. One evening Amjad sets out with his Jewish neighbor Nathan, to patrol the streets. They approach a "suspicious" car and Amjad holds his rifle aimed at Nathan's back, saying "I'm covering you." Nathan feels the rifle-barrel of "the Arab" pressed against his back, and almost collapses. What transpires from this scene is that Amjad's good intentions will never be appreciated. Despite his attempts to blend in, he remains a potential threat to his surroundings and living evidence of the racist stereotype of Arabs, perceived as a collective "knife in the back of the state."

Assimilation as a means of concealing an Arab identity that might constitute a threat also features in *Let It Be Morning*. The protagonist appears to kowtow to Jewish Israelis, but his efforts are rejected and he continues to symbolize a threat (Kashua 2006: 21):[5] "I smiled when the secretary asked, almost every morning, 'So, did you throw any stones at the entrance?' I smiled at the guard who inspected my bags at the entrance to our office building … I laughed out loud, trying to conceal my discomfort, when we'd go out for a bite at the nearby restaurant and out of the others would invariably wink at the guard at the doorway and say cheerfully, 'Better frisk him. He's suspicious.'" Eventually the whole assimilation process is doomed to failure. "Camouflage efforts that had lasted for years were shattered in an instant" (ibid.: 148).

Attempts to assimilate and merge into Israeli society and concealment of the threatening identity are also found in Kashua's most recent book *Second Person* (2010), in the conduct of the two main protagonists. Both the attorney and the student are detached from their traditional families, and

live in Jerusalem among Jewish Israelis. The attorney hopes to merge into Jerusalem's social elite by adopting Jewish Israeli traits: fine wine, sushi, and expensive suits. Amir, the student from Tira, opts to completely abandon his identity. He is employed as the caregiver of an Israeli teenager, Yonatan, from the upscale neighborhood of Beit Hakerem. Yonatan was an amateur photographer, whose suicide attempt left him in a vegetative state. Amir gets to know Yonatan's personality by reading his books and looking at the photographs he took. Gradually Amir starts using Yonatan's identity card and assumes his lost personality. He registers for photography studies, as if continuing Yonatan's life, and eradicates every trace of his previous identity. "I want to be like them," he says explicitly, "without taking oaths of allegiance and admission exams, without fearing hostile faces. I want to feel part of them, not as if I've committed an offense" (ibid.: 280).

When Yonatan dies, Amir decides to kill off his own identity, buries Yonatan's corpse under his own (Amir's) name and thus performs self-effacement. His disguise echoes the anti-Semitic fear of the perpetrator: he can change his look, his identity, and blend into "us." Conversely, this erasure is tragic. Yonatan has come back to life, and Amir is doomed to hide his original identity forever. Thus, in his most recent book, Kashua presents a dark vision that charts the borders of Israelization.

The Victim

The second stereotype of the Jew in Bartov's classification is that of a victim, and is often associated with the Holocaust. As noted, Kashua is aware of the impact of the Holocaust and the literature and philosophy dealing with it (Livneh 2004). Thus, it is not surprising that Holocaust themes are evident in Kashua's work and produce a comparison between Jewish and Arab victimization and national traumas. This resemblance suggests that the Jews, who were once victims, have become the oppressors, and the new victims are the Israeli-Arabs. In *Dancing Arabs*, this is hinted when Kashua (2004: 26) describes how the Jews "mark out" the Arabs: "Once Father took us up to another village, Ta'bad, to meet some people who worked with him in the packing-house. They had a car with a green license plate, and Father said that was how the Jews marked them."[6]

In *Let It Be Morning*, the links to the Holocaust become clearer, and it may be Kashua's most "Jewish" book. The title refers to the Jewish Scriptures and it describes a change that takes place overnight, though in this book it is terrible events, rather than miracles, that unfold. In the Jewish novel *The Wanderings of Benjamin III* by Mendele Mocher Sforim (the pseudonym of Sholem Yankev Abramovich) (1878), Benjamin, the exiled

and defeated Jew, returns to his home town after unsuccessfully trying to break out of the Jewish ghetto and integrate into the general population. Just like Benjamin, the protagonist of *Let It Be Morning* returns to his childhood Arab village after discovering, to his dismay, that all his efforts to integrate into Israeli Jewish society are pointless. A realistic atmosphere dominates the first descriptions of the village; the text is written simply, with a focus on routine activities and everyday conversations. However, from the moment the curfew is imposed and practically until the end of the book, the apocalyptic atmosphere intensifies. The Arabs in the story are convinced that "they are citizens" and, just like the Jews in Europe before the Holocaust, refuse to read the writing on the wall. It is only later that they realize something is terribly wrong.

The curfew, the barbed wire fences and the systematic killing of anyone who tries to approach the border, the crisis inside the village, the hunger and corruption, all reach Holocaust-like proportions. The descriptions are also reminiscent of the debates over the *Judenräte* (Jewish councils in the ghettos during World War II often accused of collaboration): the village establishes a council that resolves to try to appease the Israeli authorities by handing over Palestinians from the Occupied Territories who are staying illegally in the village. The village people round up the Palestinians in the school, "load" them onto a truck, and start handing them over to the Israelis.

Even though they comply with orders, and the workers cross over bearing a white flag, the first one who approaches the fence is shot dead. Kashua combines a representation of Israeli soldiers as Nazis and criticism of the village people in their role as collaborators. The workers start to scream and try to run back, but their way is blocked by the villagers. The mayor yells into the megaphone: "Nobody is allowed to leave." His people strip the workers naked: "They … are slapped and clubbed and are made to line up again, wearing nothing but underpants … Trembling all over, practically naked, the worker climbs up onto the planks, carrying a flag in his hand. He tries to cross over, step by step, slowly, getting down on all fours and inching his way forward over the body of the first worker who was shot. Another shot is heard. The second worker doesn't move. He's lying on top of the first one. A great cry cuts through the air" (Kashua 2006: 159). Nevertheless, their efforts to be loyal to the country by rejecting their brothers from the Occupied Territories are to no avail. In the eyes of Israeli Jews, Israeli Arabs and the Palestinians from the territories are intrinsically the same. This is almost like the stereotype of the Jew from an anti-Semitic point of view: a Jew is always a Jew regardless of how well-assimilated he is in the foreign culture, or how disguised and detached he is from his roots. At the end of the novel, the Israeli-Arabs find out that they have become members of the new Palestinian state as part of a peace treaty between Israel and the

Palestinians, which included a territorial exchange. "I think we're Palestinian now" (ibid.: 266), says the protagonist to his wife. The protagonist who wished to be Israeli must now learn how to be Palestinian.

Kashua phrases this explicitly in an interview that demonstrates his full awareness of his use of the Holocaust context in this work: "What happens there, like in a ghetto, is that the law is not enforced. Power is the dominant factor and criminality is appalling. There are no infrastructures, of course, and there is one huge tribe that grows continually and the density is intolerable. The life of the Arabs in Israel is moving toward a known end" (Kashua in Livneh 2004). In *Let It Be Morning*, the outcome, which has political references in contemporary Israel in the form of the territorial exchange notion, is no longer treated humorously. As Hlihel (2004) asserts, in biting words, "This is the 'final solution' to the problem: you wanted to be Palestinians, be my guest, your wish is granted."

The Hero

In his article, "Mapa shel hol: Misifrut ivrit le'sifrut israelit" (Map of Sand: From Hebrew Literature to Israeli Literature), Hannan Hever (2002: 166) describes the historical-literary process in which Hebrew literature evolved into Israeli literature. The teleological hegemonic Zionist story that leads from exile to salvation has been conjoined with Hebrew literature since the late nineteenth century. From this point of view, Hebrew literature began in the Diaspora, where writing literature in Hebrew had an ideological meaning. Afterward, it went through the process of immigration to Israel and was later converted into the literature of the Israeli state. This literature acquired territory and sovereignty, and took on a new collective identity for a nation integrating into a new space, while building itself a new nationality.

In his writings, Kashua is aware that Hebrew literature is national-Zionist yet he manages to strip the ideological language of its Zionist myths through defamiliarization, while integrating it into the Israeli-Arab point of view. Kashua uses Zionist language and phraseology to describe his family history and his Palestinian identity. Searching through his grandmother's hiding place, he finds yellowed press cuttings with his father's picture: "All of them were in Hebrew, and in class we were still plodding through 'who is this? This is Father. Who is this? This is Mother.' I made up my mind: *I've got to learn Hebrew. I've got to be able to read a Hebrew newspaper*" (Kashua 2004: 8).

Through the newspaper, he learns that his father was imprisoned for more than two years and discovers the reason for the arrest: membership in Fatah and concealing a bomb in the Hebrew University cafeteria

(Kashua 2004: 36). Moreover, knowledge of Hebrew helped his father construct his militant identity. He rented a house in the Romema neighborhood of Jerusalem from "Gandhi's"[7] mother and borrowed books by Jabotinsky and other Zionist texts from her library. The Israeli-Zionist myths regarding carrying weapons, the prestige of pilots, and the importance of developing an Israeli atomic weapon, are put into the Palestinian context. "Father sent me to the Scouts and said when I grew up I'd be a pilot, that by the time I finished high-school we'd have our own state, and I could learn to become a pilot then. Grandma said I'd be a minister or a judge … They say I'll build the first Arab atom bomb" (ibid.: 31, 63).

Moreover, Kashua creates a stereotype of a hero that is based on Zionist vocabulary and values. For instance, the myths pertaining to the native-born Israeli—the *sabra*—and the 1948 War as described in *Dancing Arabs* are reversed. It is not the mythological sabra who works the land and cultivates the orange groves, but the protagonist's grandmother, "I can picture her now, young and strong. I can picture her working in the fields" (Kashua 2004: 43). The defeat, flight, and disintegration that were part of the Nakba vanish and are replaced by heroic stories. When the protagonist narrates the battle scene in Tira, the people of Tira are depicted in terms generally reserved for imagery connected to the sabra in the Zionist narrative: "All the men went out. Handsome, brave, unwavering, as if they were going to a wedding … They hardly had any guns. The held sticks and knives, stones and spades, and wouldn't let any Jew come near" (ibid.: 33–34). The sanctity of the Zionist men and women who were killed during the war, who died for the country and are considered as secular-national martyrs, is transformed into a Palestinian context: "Grandma says Grandpa is a *shahid*, and there are anemones growing in the spot where he bled. She says Abu Ziad was eaten by worms when he died, but they didn't go near my grandfather. That's how it is: a shahid's body doesn't rot. It stays just the way it was" (ibid.: 21).

The shahid, from the destructive vocabulary of Palestinian suicide bombers, correlates in this quotation with the Israeli-Zionist realm of bereavement. Evoking similarities to Chaim Guri's poem "Hineh mutalot gufoteinu" (Here Lie Our Bodies), where the dead return as "red roses," Kashua's shahid makes anemones grow. Annulling death is part of the myths of sacrifice and bereavement in the Zionist-Israeli culture, but here it becomes a characteristic of the shahid.

This critical process is powerfully described in episode eight of *Arab Work*'s second season. The episode deals with the Nakba, described as a vortex of identities to which the three characters—Amjad, his wife Bushara, and their daughter Maya—are subjected. It opens with Maya doing her homework, in which she must list "the reasons for the outbreak of

the War of Independence." Bushara is appalled by the very question, but Amjad dictates the Zionist narrative to his daughter. A quarrel erupts between Amjad and Bushara, which drives the whole episode. Bushara wants "the girl to learn somewhere she won't forget who she is, and where she comes from," while Amjad replies that "tomorrow every lousy cop in the Border Police will remind her who she is and where she comes from." Bushara wants her daughter to have respect for and be proud of her Palestinian identity, while Maya answers the question "What happened in 1948?" by writing "the Jewish state was founded in the Land of Israel, and it was named the State of Israel."

The argument regarding Maya's identity is further complicated due to the upcoming memorial ceremony for the IDF fallen. Maya sings in the school choir, but the teacher in charge of the choir believes it is inappropriate for her to participate in the ceremony. Maya is hurt: "Am I not like everyone else?" she asks. Amjad gives his consent for his daughter to take part in the school's ceremony, but the fact must be kept secret from her mother, and therefore Maya is brought to her grandmother's house, to spend the night before the ceremony there. Maya asks her grandmother "What was the Nakba?" and the grandmother opens an old album and sits with Maya, telling her the historical chronicles of the Nakba. At the end of the episode, the camera switches alternately (cross-cutting) between Maya and her grandmother sitting with the album, and Maya's active participation in the memorial ceremony in which she sings "Shir Ha'Reut" (The Song of Friendship), a definitively Zionist text dealing with Jewish heroes who fell for the sake of the nascent state.

The parallel scenes create a comparison between the Zionist text that Maya sings and the Palestinian memory. Maya sings the lines "But we know that a friendship like that/We are bound all our lives to remember/For a love that in battle is forged/Will endure while we live, fierce and tender," while the pages of the photo album look back at the tragedy of the Nakba and the Palestinians who died during it. A link is thus created between the powerfully loaded text in the context of Israeli memory, and the memory of the fallen Palestinians—imbuing it with sensitivity, understanding, and identification that undermine the Zionist context and create a new dimension of criticism.

The Anti-Hero

In the last few decades the impact of the sabra as hero in Jewish-Israeli culture has faded, and the macho-militaristic allusions of this model have become a source of criticism and parody. Often the sabra hero protagonist

is replaced by a passive, weak anti-hero, as seen in the 1960s in the prose of Oz and Yehoshua, and in the literature of the 1980s and the 1990s that produced non-authoritative narrators and characters who were primarily non-heroic protagonists, often unable to understand or control their environment. Parallel to this current in the Jewish-Israeli arena and unlike the mythological heroism of the fathers' and grandfathers' generations, many of Kashua's young protagonists are explicitly passive anti-heroes. Their Israeli identity presents a comic aspect that often leads to misunderstandings.

A good example of this type of character is Amjad, the anti-hero of the *Arab Work* sitcom. The fifth episode of the first season of *Arab Work* focuses on Passover Eve. Kashua presents two parallel situations: the first scene shows a meeting between Amal, the Palestinian feminist nationalistic lawyer, and Meyer, Amjad's Jewish photographer friend; the second one focuses on Amjad's family members who are invited to celebrate the Seder at the home of their Jewish friends. Meyer works all day to make Amal Arab food, but she accuses him of Orientalism ("Just because I'm Arab, does that mean I can't eat schnitzel and mashed potatoes? Only stuffed vine leaves and maqloobeh?"). When he speaks to her in the second person plural ("You are not OK, you carried out a suicide bombing on Passover"), she leaves his apartment furious. At the same time, Amjad is trying hard to celebrate the Seder properly with his Jewish friend's family. He wears a kippah, sings holiday songs, tastes the "strange" food, and almost chokes from the pungent horseradish and charoset that are piled on his plate.

In the second season of *Arab Work,* the anti-hero figure of Amjad is distinguished by his absurd fawning on his neighbors, his pathetic attempts to become an integral part of the residents by joining the house committee, and his inability to learn how to swim, all of which imbue his character with childish traits.

Amjad often seems like a neurotic Palestinian Woody Allen, an anti-hero unsuccessfully trying to appease his soul. He is eaten from the inside with self-hatred and struggles to belong although he is incapable of dealing with society. Like Woody Allen's Zelig (*Zelig* 1983)—a Jew trying to integrate into Christian society—he adjusts himself, chameleon-like, to the society he lives in. Similarly Amjad is willing to do anything to achieve Israeliness. And as in Allen's films, Amjad ultimately finds himself, more than once lying on his therapist's couch wondering about his Jewish ties.

Arab Work received very high viewing ratings: an average of 19.1 percent per episode and 24.9 percent for the last episode. This is very impressive for a sitcom, especially for a non-Hebrew speaking one, where 80 percent of the dialogue was in Arabic. The program received extremely good reviews from Jewish TV critics: "Amjad … is a young, educated,

furious, talented, frustrated neurotic, yearning to gather the broken pieces of his identity, and dying for some appreciation and love, trying to escape from stereotypes, but unable to make it. The Israeli Jewish society into which he is trying to integrate does not allow him … His writing combines the humor of the underprivileged with gazing with multi-view mirrors, the ability to mock people on both sides of the conflict, and the rare talent to produce emotionally touching characters out of this mockery … an excellent program" (Melamed 2007).

On the Arab side, this appreciation was not evident. In official surveys, as ratings for the program among Arab audiences increased, satisfaction decreased. In Arabic newspapers worldwide, the program and its creator were vilified. The general opinion was that Kashua had collaborated with the Israelis and betrayed his nation for a handful of shekels. An example of such criticism can be seen in an article in the daily newspaper *Al-Ittihad*, published in Haifa:

> The choice of a title such as this from the arrogant racist lexicon of the Israeli public (*Arab Work*) highlights the twisted vision of the program's creators. The program is not just a reflection of the complex reality of Palestinian Arab citizens living in Israel, but it also distorts and denies it … The characters of the Arabs in the program are predictable and superficial. It is understandable why it is easier for the average Israeli viewer to absorb a single-dimensional character of an Arab, since they are not being asked to deal seriously with prejudices, generated in general from ignorance and fear. For example, the hero of the program, an Arab journalist who works in a Hebrew medium, "is aware" of his personal and national inferiority. He dreams of gefilte fish in Rehavia, and all his aspirations in life can be summed up as being and looking less Arab and more Israeli. He internalizes, reproduces, recycles and chews his inferiority endlessly … *Arab Work* is indeed a funny program (because it is always funny to make fun of the oppressed and marginalized minority), but it is mainly pathetic. It is pathetic not only because of its unstable writer, with his identity conflict; but it is mainly pathetic because of the thousands of Jewish Israeli viewers who can only watch this program through humiliated eyes.[8]

As Melamed (2007) points out, *Arab Work* describes a classic stereotype of the Jew with neurotic features who searches for identity. Clearly, such a character is familiar and attractive to the Jewish Israeli audience, but elicits criticism among Arabs. This anti-hero, neurotic-comic character often develops in certain circumstances of prosperity (like the Jews in the United States), but cannot evolve or be justified by the oppressed community it is supposed to represent. Nor can it be justified during times of national struggle. Characters of that kind were not popular within Jewish-Israeli

society in the period when the State of Israel was being established. In that era of national struggle, characters had to comply with certain criteria and be portrayed as heroes.[9] This may explain why current Palestinian society cannot accept this type of character.

Epilogue

Many studies have described the Israelization process among Arabs in Israel. Although the process is firmly entrenched among them, and in fact has developed and flourished since the 1970s, in the 2000s—the decade in which Kashua wrote his works—Israeli-Arabs have harshly criticized it. Azmi Bishara (1993, 1999) is among its bitterest critics. During the 1990s, Bishara maintained that because "Israeli" and "Palestinian" are both nationalities, there is unresolved tension between being Palestinian by nationality and Israeli by citizenship. Bishara admits that Israelization has become part of the Israeli-Arab and his culture. Yet he does not see it as a solution, but rather as the element that perpetuates discrimination. He sees the Israeli-Arab identity as based on the imitation of an image created by Israeli Jews. Adopting this identity instills satisfaction derived from becoming part of Israeli culture. By being an "identity customer," the satisfied Palestinian-Israeli deludes himself that Israel is his home. However, this delusion is temporary, warns Bishara, for Palestinian-Israelis will never be fully accepted by Jewish-Israeli society.

And indeed, it seems that the twenty-first century embodies the dangers that Bishara cites. Sammy Smooha's (2010) survey of Arab-Jewish relations shows a deterioration of relations between Jews and Arabs in Israel. The collapse of the peace process in July 2000, the outbreak of the Second Intifada in September, and the riots in October of the same year—all reduced trust within Arab society; distrust that only intensified with the political changes and the determined position of political leaders against Israeli Arabs. In that period, the "third generation" of the Nakba became involved and became known as the "upright generation" (Rabinovich and Abu Bakr 2002).[10] Its members were responsible for a substantive change in the mindset of Israel's Arab citizens. They are an educated generation, and the Israelization process helped empower their Palestinian identity and make their voice heard within the Israeli discourse.

With a backdrop of political tension, the formation of a right-wing government and, especially, the proposed Law of Allegiance, Palestinian intellectuals stepped up their demands to make Israel either a bi-national state, or a state of all its citizens. They spearheaded an accelerated empowerment process, embodied in the battle for Palestinian nationalism and its

place in the private lives of every Israeli-Arab (Rabinovich and Abu Bakr 2002: 55). Kashua's work both reflects and criticizes the Israelization process, criticism that has intensified over time.

Influenced by new schools of thought in the fields of literature and culture that emphasize the fragility of the term "identity", Kashua shows that the dichotomy between "me" and the "other" is not as binary as was once claimed. In fact, most identities we know today are hybrid—composed of the tension between the identity that the social mainstream requires and other identities that do not fully comply with social dictates. Often they are on the personal, communal, ethnic, or national fringes.

The character of the Jew has always been hyphenated. The move from minority to majority, questions of origin and language, the transition from victim to hero, all create different and interesting variations on the idea of identity. Sayed Kashua chooses the imageries of the Jews to describe the fluid character of Arab-Israeli identity. Choosing this imagery is a kind of "white mask," but it does not mean that Kashua accepts his marginalization or has internalized his Israeli identity. On the contrary, adopting these images and stereotypes generates an original expression that highlights the dangers of Israelization for Israeli Arabs, and reveals the tension between the generations of the parents and grandparents, and the younger generation. Furthermore, the tension and criticism of the Israelization process are gaining impetus in his work, particularly in his two latest works of prose and in the second season of *Arab Work*. As such, one can see that the use of Jewish stereotypes and figures does not weaken the critical aspect of his work but, rather, provides a subverting lever that leads to expressions of a bitterly astringent position.

When writers like Mahmoud Darwish write furiously in Arabic about their lost land and identity, about their hatred and the necessity for national struggle, their words make a clear and emotional statement. When authors like Kashua, well acquainted with Jewish and Zionist content, write in Hebrew combining Jewish analogies and often with humor, the message is differently conveyed. Sometimes the message is convoluted as it wends its way through TV prime time and the foibles of consumer society. Sometimes the message is blurred because it adopts so much Israeliness that it almost flatters the Israeli Jew. Yet Kashua's strategy paints a pessimistic picture that emphasizes the tragedy of the Israeli-Arabs. The last line, according to Kashua, is written on the wall—in Hebrew letters.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

ADIA MENDELSON-MAOZ, PhD, is a senior faculty member and Head of the Hebrew Literature Section at the Department of Literature, Language, and Arts at the Open University of Israel. Her research focuses on Hebrew literature as it intersects with ethics, politics, and culture. She has published numerous articles in journals and books, including *Literature as a Moral Laboratory: Readings in Selected 20th Century Hebrew Prose* (2009, in Hebrew).

LIAT STEIR-LIVNY, PhD, is a lecturer in the Culture, Creation, and Production Department at Sapir College, Israel. She is also a lecturer in the Department of Literature, Language, and the Arts at the Open University of Israel and in the MA Cultural Studies program at the Open University of Israel. She has published numerous articles in journals and books and is the author of *Two Faces in the Mirror: The Representation of Holocaust Survivors in Israeli Cinema* (2009, in Hebrew).

NOTES

1. To the best of our knowledge, such a book does not exist.
2. In this article we use the term "Israeli-Arab", which is the term that Sayed Kashua uses to describe his heroes and himself.
3. Elkad-Lehman's description is but one example of the empathy and even identification expressed by Jewish Israeli readers. See, for example, Smith's remark (2002): "Estrangement is not only the strangeness of the Arab Other inside the Jewish majority. This estrangement is characteristic of sons of immigrants disconnected from the natives but also distant from their roots and culture." See also Nahum (2002: 15).
4. In the English translation, the neutral word "blend" is used (see Kashua 2004: 106).
5. See Herzog's (2004) discussion on the importance of the concept of "security threat."
6. This twisted imagery of Kashua has a basis in the history of Israeli literature. In the novella *Khirbet Khizeh*, the narrator, one of the soldiers but at the same time an outsider, empathizes with the Arab victims to the extent that he is able to internalize their feelings by using his own terms. One of the strongest examples of his unique gaze is his use of the loaded Jewish term "exile" (Heb.

galut), to describe the expulsion of Palestinian Arabs. In doing so the narrator creates a link between what he has learned about Jewish heritage—the terrible experiences of the Jewish exile—and the plight of the Arab villagers. Of course, he does so without spelling out the opposite side of the equation, which depicts the Jews as the cruel masters.

7. Nickname of assassinated right-wing minister Rechavam Ze'evi

8. "Sayed Kick," *Ma'ariv*, *NRG*, 22 November 2007, http://www.nrg.co.il/online/47/ART1/662/356.html (accessed 2 February 2011).

9. Vincent Brooks argues that this became possible in American sitcoms over the past two decades because of multi-cultural discourse in that it specifies an ethnic and cultural group but also derives from that group's assimilation into American society.

10. "The upright generation" is the antithesis of the "bowed generation" of their parents, who accepted the rule of the Israeli state.

REFERENCES

Balaban, Avraham. 1995. *Gal aher ba'siporet ha'ivrit* [A Different Wave in Israeli Fiction]. Jerusalem: Keter.

Bartov, Omer. 2005. *The "Jew" in Cinema*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Bhabha, Homi. 1990. "Dissemination: Time, Narrative, and the Margins of the Modern Nation." Pp. 291–320 in *Nation and Narration*, ed. Homi Bhabha. London: Routledge.

_____. 1999 "Preface: Arrivals and Departures." Pp. vii–xiii in *Home, Exile, Homeland*, ed. Hamid Naficy. London: Routledge.

Bishara, Azmi. 1993. "Al Sheelat ha'miut ha'palestini be'israel" [On the Question of the Palestinian Minority in Israel]. Pp. 203–221 in *Ha'hevra ha'yisraelit: Heibetim Biqortiyim*, ed. Uri Ram. Tel Aviv: Brerot.

_____. 1999. "Ha'aravi ha'yisraeli: Iyunim be'siah politi shasua" [The Israeli-Arab: Studies in Torn Political Discourse]. Pp. 169–191 in *Bein ha'ani la'anahnu—havnayat zehuyot ve'zehut yisraelit* [Between "I" and "We": Identities' Construction and Israeli Identity], ed. Azmi Bishara. Jerusalem: Van Leer and Hakibbutz Hameuhad.

Brenner, Rachel Feldhay. 2001. "The Search for Identity in Israeli Arab Fiction: Attalla Mansour, Emile Habibi, and Anton Shammas." *Israel Studies* 6, no. 3: 91–112.

_____. 2003. *Inextricably Bonded*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Deleuze, Gilles, and Félix Guattari. 1986. *Kafka: Toward a Minor Literature.* Trans. Dana Polan. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Elkad-Lehman, Ilana. 2008. "Mizvada ve'gader: Al aravim roqdim ve' vayehi boqer me'at Sayed Kashua" [A Suitcase and a Fence: On *Dancing Arabs* and *Let It Be Morning* by Sayed Kashua]. Pp. 119–154 in *Zhuyot yisraeliot—bein zar le'mukar* [Israeli Identities between the Familiar and the Foreign], ed. Ilana Elkad-Lehman. Jerusalem: Carmel.

Fanon, Frantz. 2007. *Black Skin, White Masks.* Trans. R. Philcox. New York: Grove Press.

Gross, Larry. 1998. "Minorities, Majorities and the Media." Pp. 87–102 in *Media, Ritual, and Identity,* ed. Tamar Liebes and James Curran. London: Routledge.

Hlihel, Alaa. 2004. "Ha'hatser ha'ahorit shel 'ha'demokratia ha'yehida ba'mizrah ha'tikhon'" [The Backyard of the Only Democracy in the Middle East]. *Ha'aretz mosaf,* 11 February.

_____. 2008. "Maa'dalat A'rab [Arabs' Dilemma]. *Mudawanat A'laa' Hlehel* [A'laa' Hlihel's Blog], 15 February. http://hlehel.blogspot.com/2008/02/blog-post_15.html (accessed 2 February 2011).

Hall, Stuart. 1994. "Cultural Identity and Diaspora." Pp. 392–403 in *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory,* ed. Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman. Hertfordshire: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

_____. 1996. "Ethnicity: Identity and Difference." Pp. 339–348 in *Becoming National,* ed. Geoff Eley and Ronald Suny. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Herzog, Omri. 2004. "Orwell/Kashua." *Ha'aretz Tarbut ve'sifrut*, 23 January.

Hever, Hannan. 2002. "Mapa shel hol: Misifrut ivrit le'sifrut israelit" [Map of Sand: From Hebrew Literature to Israeli Literature]. *Theoria ve'biqoret* 20: 165–190.

Kashua, Sayed. 2004. *Dancing Arabs.* Trans. Miriam Shlesinger. New York: Grove Press. [First published in Hebrew in 2002 as *Aravim rokdim*. Ben-Shemen: Modan.]

_____. 2006. *Let It Be Morning.* Trans. Miriam Shlesinger. New York: Black Cat. [First published in Hebrew in 2004 as *Vayehi Boqer*. Jerusalem: Keter.]

_____. 2009. "Ambassador of Embarrassment." *Ha'aretz*, 19 June. http://www.haaretz.co.il/hasite/spages/1093945.html (accessed 2 February 2011).

_____. 2010. *Guf Sheni Yahid* [Second Person]. Jerusalem: Keter.

Kayyal, Mahmoud. 2008. "'Arabs Dancing in a New Light of Arabesques': Minor Hebrew Works of Palestinian Authors in the Eyes of Critics." *Middle Eastern Literatures* 11, no. 1: 31–51.

Kershner, Isabel. 2008. "Straddling Cultures, Irreverently, in Life and Art." *New York Times*, 7 January.

Livneh, Neri. 2004. "Ha'aravi ha'noded" [The Wandering Arab]. *Ha'aretz,* 6 January. http://www.haaretz.co.il/hasite/pages/ShArt.jhtml?itemNo=380106 (accessed 2 February 2011).

Melamed, Arianna. 2007. "Aravit Meduberet" [Spoken Arabic]. *Ynet*, 25 November. http://www.ynet.co.il/articles/0,7340,L-3475223,00.html (accessed 2 February 2011).

Nahum, Rona. 2002. "Kol kakh mukar, kol kakh zar" [So Familiar, So Strange]. *Eiton* 77, no. 268: 15.

Rabinovich, Danny, and Hauula Abu Bakr. 2002. *Ha'dor ha'zakuf* [The Upright Generation]. Jerusalem: Keter.

Sa'di, Ahmad H. 2002. "Catastrophe, Memory and Identity: Al-Nakba as a Component of Palestinian Identity." *Israel Studies* 7, no. 2: 175–198.

Smith, Shoham. 2002. "Lehishtayekh la'giborim ha'amitiyim" [Belonging to the Real Heroes]. *Ha'aretz Sfarim*, 30 January.

Smooha, Sammy. 2010. "Ha'asor ha'avud shel yachasei aravim-yehudim b'yisrael 2003–2009: Madadei yachasei yehudim-aravim b'yisrael 2009" [The Lost Decade of Arab-Jewish Relations in Israel: The Israeli-Arab Relations Index, 2009]. Survey of Israeli-Arab relations 2003–2009, presented at the Jaffa Conference, 25 May.

Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. 1988 "Can the Subaltern Speak?" Pp. 271–313 in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture,* ed. C. Nelson and L. Grasberg. Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Taub, Gadi. 1997. *Ha'mered ha'shafuf: Al tarbut tzeira be'israel* [The Despondent Rebellion: On Young Culture in Israel]. Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz Hameuhad.

Zouabi, Raed. 2007. "Ha'aravim neged 'Avoda Aravit'" [The Arabs against "Avoda Aravit"]. *Achbar Ha'Ir*, 2 November. http://www.mouse.co.il/CM.articles_item,789,209,18223,.aspx (accessed 2 February 2011).