

Contents

Acknowledgement | 5

List of Figures | 11

1 Introduction | 13

I THEORETICAL-METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

2 The Grounded Theory Methodology | 23

2.1 The Grounded Theory Methodology as an
Alternative Approach | 23

2.2 Major Rifts and Developments | 25

2.3 The Tool Kit | 28

3 Theoretical Sensitivity I:

Pre-Concepts and Pre-Knowledge | 31

3.1 A Typology of Civic Engagement | 31

3.2 Motivation and Moral Values | 35

3.3 Resources for Civic Engagement | 37

3.4 Immigrants and Civic Engagement | 39

4 The Data Material | 41

4.1 Theoretical Sampling of the Data | 42

4.2 Descriptive Analysis of the Interviewees | 46

4.3 Codes and Categories | 49

5 A Coding Paradigm of Belonging | 53

5.1 Bourdieu's Cultural Theory of Action | 53

5.2 The Integrated Framework | 63

6 Theoretical Sensitivity II: Framing the Study | 73

6.1 Features of Israeli Society | 73

6.2 The Yisra'el Beitenu Party | 91

II A MATERIAL THEORY OF BELONGING

- 7 The Interviewees' Objective Position in Israeli Society: Jews, Russians, Israelis?** | 103
 - 7.1 The Objective Position of FSU Immigrants: Majority or Minority? | 104
 - 7.2 Analysis of Power Resources I: "Move Uphill" | 105
 - 7.3 Analysis of Discursive Practice I: "Sabras" vs. "Russian Whores" | 112

- 8 Talking about Civic Engagement: "The Dirty Game of Politics"** | 117
 - 8.1 Analysis of Power Resources II: Role Models | 118
 - 8.2 Analysis of Discursive Practice II: "It [...] Come[s] Naturally" | 121

- 9 Serving the Country: "The State of Israel Demands"** | 127
 - 9.1 Analysis of Habitual Dispositions I: "You Get [What] You Give" | 128
 - 9.2 Analysis of Habitual Dispositions II: "I Went Through Some Kind of Brainwash" | 130
 - 9.3 Analysis of Discursive Practice III: A Matter of Solidarity | 134

- 10 Loyalty to the Jewish State: "We are [...] a [...] Pitskalle"** | 139
 - 10.1 Analysis of Discursive Practice IV: "Every Israeli..." | 140
 - 10.2 Analysis of Discursive Practice V: "It Hurts" | 142

- 11 Palestinians as Quasi Non-Citizens: "They Will Stab Me in the Back"** | 149
 - 11.1 Analysis of Discursive Practice VI: "People from the Village" | 149

11.2 Analysis of Discursive Practice VII:
“Palestinians = Hamas” | 153

11.3 Analysis of Discursive Practice VIII:
Two Sides of the Same Coin | 159

12 The Claim of Citizen’s Rights:

“I Came Here to Live among Jews” | 161

12.1 Analysis of Discursive Practice IX: “Zionist Values” | 161

12.2 Analysis of Power Resources III: An Ideological Match | 163

12.3 Analysis of Discursive Practice X: Catchy Slogans | 170

12.4 Analysis of Discursive Practice XI: “Papa Lieberman” | 173

12.5 Analysis of Discursive Practice XII: “It Was Chemistry” | 175

12.6 Analysis of Discursive Practice XIII:
“Second-Class Citizens” | 176

13 A Grounded Theory of Belonging:

“All [Jewish] Israelis, Unite!” | 179

13.1 Citizenship | 181

13.2 Serving the Country | 182

13.3 Loyalty to the Jewish State | 183

13.4 Palestinian Citizens and Non-Citizens as a
Perceived Threat | 184

13.5 Citizen’s Rights | 185

13.6 Engagement with the Yisra’el Beitenu Party | 186

13.7 Citizenship as a Discursive Strategy:
The Interviewees’ Sense of Belonging | 187

Bibliography | 195

