

clear that geography plays an important role in shaping the tourism product. It reminds us of the centrality of 'space' to our understanding of contemporary society and therefore this book transcends the narrow bounds of tourism studies, or even human geography.

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THE GLOBALIZATION OF ISRAEL – MCWORLD IN TEL AVIV, JIHAD IN JERUSALEM, by Uri Ram. New York: Routledge, 2008.

Even to the most casual observer, virtually every significant aspect of Israel has changed in the 60 year period since its independence. Ram seeks to explain the multitude of changes that have occurred in the past 25 years using the concept of globalization as his conceptual framework. His argument is spread over a preface and eight substantive chapters: an introduction, six topical chapters— globalization, polarization, post-Fordism, Americanization, McDonaldization, and Postnationalism—, and then a conclusion. Each chapter is written with the same format: a general observation or thesis is presented in historical context, along with relevant definitions, and alternative theses, often based on the writings of Marx and/or Wallerstein; then the supporting data are described and analyzed employing what Ram refers to as a series of bifurcations, actually dichotomies; each chapter then ends with a recapitulation of the argument presented in the chapter. This format does result in some repetition of material from one chapter to another.

In the Preface, in addition to the usual acknowledgments Ram briefly outlines his major argument: under the impact of globalization, Israel is being divided into two polar "opposites," capitalism versus tribalism, or "McWorld" versus "Jihad." Chronologically, Ram traces the first signs of what will be a continuous process to the 1990s. Key events, processes, and policy initiatives are listed including the growth of the information revolution, the diffusion of neoliberal economic thinking, the expansion of Israeli pop culture ("McDonaldization"), the shifts in Israeli political culture ("Americanization"), Zionism and its critics, the Oslo Accords, the assassination of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin in 1995, the second Intifada, and the collapse of the Oslo Accords. In the introductory chapter Ram frames his material on globalization by explicitly rejecting Fukuyama's "end of history" and Huntington's 'clash of civilization' hypotheses in favor of Barber's "McWorld vs. Jihad" conceptualization. He justifies his approach by arguing that Barber's rubric allows for both universalist-neoliberal and particularistic-neofundamental processes to operate in a society in a way that involves both unity and contradictory complementarity, not just ordinary dichotomies. By the end of the introduction Ram concludes that Israel is undergoing two parallel sets of changes: socioeconomic marketization that ties it

to the global economy, and a cultural-political tribalization driven by the state of The Occupation, social disparities, and the lack of a clear separation between church (rabbinate) and state. These changes mark the transition from a 20th century centripetal modernization towards a 21st century centrifugal globalization.

In chapter 1, Ram provides the hard, statistical evidence that Israel is under-going two revolutions, a social-bourgeois one and an individualist-consumer one. Ram amply demonstrates that Israel has become a full player in a globalized economy due to the enactment by successive Likud-led governments of neoliberal economic policies known as the Washington Consensus that accompanied its abandonment of the socialist economic praxis that had dominated the state since its founding. The landscape effect of these changes alone is formidable, with the establishment of new industrial parks, the adoption of new approaches to designing cities, and the growth of gentrification. Equally compelling were the privatization and decline of the state sector and labor unions. Ram however argues that these changes were not merely the adoption of foreign, global innovations at the expense of old local institutions and safety nets. Rather, he posits that the new economic and administrative frameworks are a blend of both and are more accurately labelled “glocal.” This conclusion will be repeated in virtually every chapter of the book. In any case, as a result of new economic policies Israel was transformed into a consumer society complete with limited access highways, boutiques, and American style shopping malls.

Chapter 2 documents how the adoption of new economic policies has led to a polarization of Israeli society. The newly emerging upper class favors global cosmopolitanism, while the lower/laboring classes prefer expansionary nationalism. Ram documents how this polarization has resulted in a culture of hedonistic individualism and a sense of malaise as military service is no longer seen as an avenue of upward mobility and prestige, and the traditional corner stones of youth education—settlement, *aliyah* (immigration to Israel) and security—are rejected. Parallel examples from the arts, culture, and politics are discussed. The plight of labor, subject now to privatization, outsourcing, subcontracting, and a loss of meaningful minimum wages, is depicted especially well, as is the realignment of voting blocks.

Chapter 3, devoted to a description of post-Fordism, is the most general and theoretical of all the chapters and hardly deals with Israel at all. Rather the evolution of alternative economic approaches to economic management of firms and states in the 20th century is the main focus. In particular there is an emphasis on developing an understanding of the change in political mechanisms for dealing with economic cycles and whether and how governments might intervene to ameliorate them

Chapter 4 is devoted to the Americanization of Israel, especially in regards to politics and popular culture. In terms of politicization, Ram notes that Israeli politicians have not only taken on the demeanors, speaking styles, and thinking of their American counterparts, but in addition worked to narrow both public space and choices. The result is the transformation of the old amalgam of the western European liberalism and eastern European authoritarianism which dominated Israel into a

form of American postmodernism. Thus Israel has undergone, especially during the first administration of Benyamin Netanyahu, a commercialization of politics and policy with a much more broadly based mass media developing as a result. In terms of dealing with the Palestinian issue, this Americanization process resulted in a loss of palliatives when Israeli society badly needed them to foster peace and security.

Chapter 5 is devoted to answering the question of whether globalization leads to universal cultural uniformity or if it leaves room for particular habits and cultural diversity. Ram's answer is that globalization has two different impacts on culture: a homogenization at the structural level and heterogenization at the symbolic level. His main example not surprisingly is McDonalds. In the Israeli case the coming of McDonalds has had two major impacts. On the one hand the attempt of McDonalds' management to erect a restaurant with the traditional Golden Arches at the Golani Junction drew with protests. Architectural modifications were agreed to in the end, but the fact is that there is a McDonalds in very close proximity to one of the most sacred sites (a military memorial monument and museum) to modern Israel, thus shows the challenge of globalization to local history and traditions. On the other hand the challenge of McDonalds, with its efficiency, calculability, predictability, and control, to the existing fast food industry was such that instead of falafel stands going out of business, they upgraded their facilities and menus. The old greasy falafel stand still exists, but alongside upscale restaurants of every cuisine and culture one can desire. And there are McDonalds (and other American fast food restaurants and their Israeli knock-offs) that are kosher, a clear example of the merger of two cultures, or evidence of glocalization.

Chapter 6 evaluates the impact of globalization on Israeli national culture, especially in regards to the status of Zionism. Again there appears to be a clash of multiple dichotomies: there is postnationalism with its tilt towards global cosmopolitanism versus neonationalism with its tilt towards local tribalism. Then there is the development of post-Zionist thinking with its goal of creating a civic Israeli identity versus neo-Zionist thinking with its goal of creating an ethnic Jewish identity. As might be expected the clash of these alternatives involves the role of the Holocaust and its survivors in shaping Israeli national identity and the impact of Zionism on the Palestinians.

The concluding chapter summarizes the tensions and conflicts that have resulted from Israel undergoing the diametrically and dialectically opposed processes of marketization and tribalization. Old questions about Israel regarding how Jewish or democratic it is or should be have been given new answers by the two processes. Israel has also become a more polarized society as a result. And finally, the ideological challenges of McWorld versus Jihad have influenced how Israeli society is and will be studied, critiqued, and understood.

I found the book to be challenging and informative, despite a paucity of maps. This book is marketed as being part of a series devoted to the geography of globalization, hence my surprise in reading a book written by a sociologist and not a ge-

ographer. To be sure the author has cited all the relevant works by geographers, and especially Israeli geographers. But I cannot help wonder if the geographic literature is in place why it was not exploited by a geographer. One caveat as you read the book: take careful notes since the index contains only the names of individuals.

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PALESTINE – THE EMERGENCE OF A FENCED STATE by Elisha Efrat. Tel Aviv: Mednik Zvika Books, 2008.

Only four decades after Israeli occupation of the Palestinian territories and the extensive colonization of Palestinian space, we are witnessing a significant growth of Israeli writing that focuses on this subject as a defined category of study and critical analysis. Most of the scholars—from disciplines such as political science (Gordon, 2008), political philosophy (Azoulay and Ophir, 2008), planning and architecture (Weizman, 2007) and sociology (Grinberg, 2007)—contribute immensely to this emerging body of knowledge by aiming to analyze, concretize and conceptualize the Israeli model of colonization in the Palestinian territories. However, this important epistemological trend is largely unwelcome within Israeli academia, and one can hardly find courses or seminars that explicitly deal with Israeli Occupation Studies.

Against the above background, the book under review, Efrat's *Palestine – The Emergence of a Fenced State*, is an essential contribution to this new field. The contribution, I would suggest, does not stem solely from the data or the analysis that Efrat presents in this book, though this too is valuable. Rather, the book as a whole should be read as a sociological document that maps focal changes in the study of Israeli geography. These changes are embodied and expressed in the biography of the book's author, Professor Elisha Efrat, who is one of the senior geographers in Israel and a 2007 laureate of the Israeli Prize in Geography. Efrat's well-known traditional text books accompany every Israeli student of geography; his previous texts on Israeli geography are characterized by a descriptive approach that has overlooked the contested nature and often oppressive results of Israeli geographies and space construction. However, this Efrat's recent book marks a shift in his analysis towards Israeli colonial geography, as he notes in the introduction:

It seems that in the early days, the occupation of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip was full of good intentions and intended to be enlightened and possibly even temporary. However, history of the human race has no examples of an occupation of this type.... When all of the world's colonial states had left their colonies, Israel decided to renew the days of colonialism, as of old. Practically