

CHAPTER ONE

THE STUDY OF CRIME AND SOCIAL CONTROL IN ISRAEL: SOME THEORETICAL OBSERVATIONS

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Introduction

Crime and deviance have rarely been considered in Israel as social problems. Thus, issues relating to crime and control generated only scant debates in the parliament (Knesset) where political debate was mainly a response to waves of personal and national fears of specific crimes such as the use of illicit drugs and vandalism in schools (see Ben-Yehuda, 1990) and more recently to violence against women. The subjects of crime and control rarely appeared on the agenda of any political party in Israel. Unlike in the U.S., criminological debates hardly found expression in the public policy arena. They remained within academic circles.

This vacuum is rooted in the socialist pioneering perception, which had no room for the existence of social problems in Israeli society. The dominant belief assumed that through their pioneering activities a healthy social order would be created. When a concern about the existence of a specific social problem emerged, many tended to equate it with maladjustment mainly of Oriental Jews within Israeli society. Further the preoccupation of Israeli society with security problems reduced a whole range of social and welfare issues to the margin of public and political domains.

Recently, however, a slightly different approach to crime and control has begun to emerge. With the regaining of government by

the Labor Party in 1992, a public discourse focusing on various social problems began to be promulgated both within universities and state institutions. At this point, thirty-five years after the first Institute of Criminology was established in Israel, it is appropriate to review the history of criminology in Israel, and to suggest some lines for new investigations.

Historical Roots

Criminology was formed as an academic discipline in Israel as early as 1959 with the establishment of the Institute of Criminology at the Faculty of Law at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. The founder of the institute was Dr. Israel Drapkin, who was appointed the United Nations technical assistance administration expert in Israel for criminological studies and services. Drapkin imported to Israel the prevailing approach of the time, which saw criminology as a technique aiming to assist authorities to treat, punish, and discipline offenders. This approach emphasized the use of knowledge in the designing and operating of the social control apparatus. Drapkin's practical and academic career in Chile was the manifestation of this view, since he combined two enterprises established and institutionalized during the first half of the twentieth century: the "governmental project" (Garland, 1994:18) aimed to find ways to govern crime and criminals by strengthening the efficiency of crime control institutions and the "Lombrosian project" (*ibid.*). It endeavored to differentiate the deviant individual from the normal law-abiding citizen, developing an etiological-oriented approach, searching causes of crime within certain individuals.

Having been trained within the Italian model as a criminal anthropologist, Drapkin started his engagement with the study of physically and socially marginalized persons in the examination of lepers in Easter Island at the beginning of the 1930s. From this initial step he went on to investigate, categorize, and catalogue physical traits of the island's natives. He then examined segregated criminals in a penitentiary in Chile, searching for physical and psychological traits of criminals (Drapkin, 1979:10).¹

In 1936, Drapkin was appointed the director of a newly created Institute of Criminology located within the penitentiary of Santiago

in Chile. In this institute Drapkin's criminal anthropology had a practical orientation: on the one hand, he was in charge of the physical anthropological examination of the inmates. On the other hand, he had to report to the ministry of justice "on every serious breach of discipline; cases of homosexual behavior that might be discovered by the guards; or instances in which there were doubts as to the mental equilibrium of a given inmate" (Drapkin, 1979:11). The institute also offered courses to high-ranking officers of the Chilean police as part of their training.

Drapkin introduced this blend of practical and anthropological investigation to the Institute of Criminology at the Hebrew University. It shaped its academic and public activities during its early years. He saw the institute as a leading mechanism for public awareness to problems of crime and delinquency, searching in a scientific way for causes of crime and informing the authorities of efficient ways for crime control. Indeed this approach directed the institute's framework of analysis, the focus of substantive areas, and other academic activities. During its first years, the institute offered such courses as theoretical and clinical criminology, clinical criminology, social pathology, and forensic psychiatry, taught by scholars specializing in legal studies, special education, and psychiatry. Students attending these courses, leading to a diploma in criminology, were judges, attorneys, probation officers, and social workers. The graduates of the institute were expected to utilize their training in order to "recognize the motivations of the offenders . . . to prevent recidivism . . . and to recognize potential deviant behavior" (Drapkin, 1979:27). For several years, the institute, with the cooperation of the Israeli police, operated a criminalistic laboratory in which staff members could make various examinations of evidentiary material in order to arrive at "valid scientific conclusions" (Drapkin, 1979:23). In addition, a psychological laboratory was established where psychological tests evaluated the characteristics of criminals.

The Next Stage: The Institutionalization of Criminology

During the following years, Israeli criminology developed with the establishment of two new departments. The first was established

by Shlomo Shoham at Bar-Ilan University, where it functioned as an autonomous unit at the faculty of social sciences. The second department was formed, again by Shoham, at Tel-Aviv University as part of the faculty of law. In addition, several courses relating to the sociology of deviance were taught at the departments of sociology at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and Haifa University. Haifa University has recently opened a special unit of criminology as part of the sociology department. Finally, two colleges are also offering studies in criminal justice and criminology.

Moreover, professional journals such as: *Crime and Social Deviance* (Hebrew), *Israel Studies in Criminology* (English), and *Criminology, Criminal Law and Police Science* (Hebrew) were published by the various departments dealing with issues related to crime, punishment, and treatment. These journals have all ceased publication and relevant articles are published occasionally in welfare-oriented journals or in law journals published by the law faculties or in American or European journals. The courses dealing with crime, deviance, and control, the articles published in professional journals, and the research conducted by Israeli criminologists developed from the practical basis laid by Drapkin can be divided into five main analytical tendencies: the study of crime trends, the therapeutic model, the descriptive pragmatic approach, the critical evaluation of correctional practices, and the analysis of social dimensions.

The Study of Crime Trends

One set of works measures the phenomenon of crime in Israeli society. These studies survey crime trends during varying periods of time, assessing changes in the volume of crime in Israel (Fishman and Argov, 1980) and trace frequency of specific types of crime—such as the use of illicit drugs and the use of alcohol (Rahav et al., 1994; Teichman and Rahav, 1995). Other sets of studies investigate patterns of criminal careers (Hassin, 1989; Hassin and Haviv, 1989); patterns of crime among specific population (Hassin, 1985; Friedman and Peer, 1970) and conduct victimization surveys (Hassin, 1983; Fishman, 1979).

The Therapeutic Model

Some Israeli criminologists adopted a therapeutic model focused on the etiology and causation of crime. They perceived crime as a symptom of deep psychological problems that must be investigated and treated by trained professional psychiatrists and criminologists. Criminologists set out to examine individual offenders for the purpose of assessment, diagnosis, and treatment of their psychological and personality disorders (Silfen and Ben-David, 1979). They aimed to understand and classify the relations between personality profiles, inner psychological traits—such as the level of anxiety, risk taking, learning ability, sensation seeking, mental disorders—and involvement in criminal activity (Addad, 1988; Addad and Rahav, 1983; Shoham et al., 1979). Behaviors such as the use of illegal drugs, involvement in prostitution and homosexuality are explained as originating in personality disorders that should be scientifically differentiated by clinical criminologists trained to identify and treat disorders (Chigier, 1972; Rimmerman, 1976; Shoham et al., 1979). Emphasizing the significant role of science in the attitude of society to the offender, criminologists and other professionals presented various treatment techniques as a linear advancement from a primitive response to criminals to a human way based on knowledge enabling professionals to develop criteria classifying criminals and potential criminals according to personality disorders and other personal characteristics (Frankenstein, 1969; Spitzer and West, 1979).

The director of the Talbieh Hospital for the Mentally Insane in Jerusalem, Professor Winik, stated that psychiatry has become a central element in the treatment of offenders. This was a part of a larger process in which a basic change in society's attitude toward the criminal took place. "This change is combined with an increasing release of society from the remnants of the primitive Tabu system" (Winik, 1961:134). According to Winik, this change was informed by developments in psychiatry that produced new knowledge and techniques assisting professionals to understand the inner attitude of offenders. In order to utilize this knowledge, Winik calls for the establishment of psychiatric clinics to examine offenders, tracing their inner abnormality, and problems leading them to the commitment of crimes.

These evaluations would be submitted to judges, enabling them to evaluate the offense and the punishment in the "best scientific way" (Winik, 1961:135). Moreover, knowledge acquired by psychiatrists should be used by specialists to identify potential offenders among school children in Israel, who would be examined.

This psychological approach was accompanied by a biological explanation emphasizing physical traits leading criminals to break the law. The approach called for empirical, controlled, and systematic studies in order to search for the causation of crime. Nachshon (1988; 1990; 1991), for example, sets out to scientifically identify biological dysfunctions among violent offenders, and in particular to detect neurological processes leading to aggressive behavior. Shoham and his colleagues (1988) examined a combination of psychological parameters, societal attitudes toward prison regulations, and biological correlates that concerned neural and endocrinological structures among violent prisoners. They identified a profile of a violent prisoner who is "outwardly oriented and sensation seeker . . . [and his violence is] part of sociobiological development dynamics" (p. 285).

The psychological and biological approaches were taken up by Professor Silfen who was employed at the same time by the health institute and the prison administration. Silfen established a clinical criminology section at Bar-Ilan University where students were trained to become clinical criminologists working within prisons to identify and cure offenders' psychological pathologies.

The Descriptive Pragmatic Approach

Another line of inquiry taken by Israeli criminologists was a pragmatic, policy-oriented approach that focused on the description of control and care mechanisms and institutions. These studies portrayed certain correctional treatment and control techniques used by professionals in penal and correctional agencies. Some studies, for example, investigated the validity of the polygraph and other technical mechanisms, and the ways in which they can assist the police and the courts (Gorni, 1971–1972; Shoef and Silberman, 1971–1972; *Crime and Social Deviance*, 1978, vol. 6, nos. 1–2). Others evaluate the success of rehabilitative treatment and penal institu-

tions (Tehneh, 1974). This administrative direction has been taken up by both academics and correction officers, and by other specialists whose interests in criminology grew out of or were reinforced by practical concerns relating to their daily work with offenders, mainly young delinquents.

These studies focus upon the administration of rehabilitative institutions and at the same time emphasize the psychological disorders of the institutions' clients. In particular, these works highlight the social pathology of offenders treated by control agencies, describing the institutions' clients as members of dysfunctional families, suffering from inner psychological symptoms leading to their being in "distress" and at "risk" (Cohen, 1972). Various rehabilitative methods aiming to resocialize children to function in a "normal" way are being offered (Shoham and Shavitt, 1990 ch. 13; Weiss, 1986). Most of these rehabilitative methods draw upon a mixture of social work practices and psychological terms and notions encouraging children to behave according to an expected set of norms and behaviors: attending school, being employed, obeying their parents, acceding to control personnel and authorities. These studies, which contributed to the development of an "inner" professional language, helped to construct the "knowledgeable" area of probation officers, social workers, and other specialists.

The Critical Evaluation of Correctional Practices

Another set of studies examined the authority of professionals working in control agencies, the monopoly they gained over the area of mental illness, deviance, and criminality, and the definitions they use in their care and control of subjects of inquiry. While many criminological works focused on institutional practices in various treatment and rehabilitative settings, only a few studies examined the daily operation of the police. One such study concluded that neither ethnicity, sex, age nor neighborhood of residence significantly influenced the police decision to prosecute a suspect (Landau, 1979; 1978). Landau claimed that "the decision is made on the basis of the circumstances of the individual cases" (Landau, 1979:103).

Other studies focused on a critical analysis of the therapeutic model underlying the practice of those responsible for the provision of care and punishment in Israel. Examining mental health legislation, Aviram (1990) and Aviram and Shneet (1981) claimed that the civil commitment system in Israel as confirmed by the law of the treatment of the mentally ill gives widespread powers to psychiatrists, since this system operates as an autonomous agency exposed only to minimal intervention by external agencies such as the courts or other public institutions. Aviram (1990:167) maintains that while according to the law, involuntary commitment is warranted when a person is a danger to oneself or others, the law did not define the concept of dangerousness or describe specific behaviors as endangering society or individuals themselves. The responsibility and authority for the definition and decisions were given solely to the medical profession, which is not subject to any evaluation external to the medical profession. Such critical evaluation is significant to human rights in view of the growing sociological literature in Europe and North America indicating that the term *dangerous* and other diagnostic categories used by psychiatrists are socially and historically constructed. They can be influenced by attitudes toward members of marginalized social groups (Castel, 1991; Chunn and Menzies, 1990; Menzies, 1989).

Ajzenstadt and Steinberg (1985) discussed a similar vagueness of the definition of being *at risk* or *danger* as applied to young girls who attend the Unit for Girls in Distress (UGD). The treatment and use of law become part of a control mechanism disciplining girls to behave according to expected norms. In this way, psychiatrists and workers of the UGD act as agents of social control, aiming to maintain a specific social order.

The Analysis of Social Dimensions

Various studies conducted by Israeli criminologists examine social factors associated with crime, criminals, and social control. Differing in their "ideological" approaches, level of analysis, and the research methods they used, Israeli scholars studied crime, deviance, and societal response within a social context in order to understand the sociological dimensions of crime, punishment, and

control. These studies can be divided generally into two subheadings: the first identifies various social factors relating to crime and the second, emphasizing a broader social and political context, relates to crime and control.

Within the first subheading, some criminologists focus on the *family* as a unit of analysis, examining the impact of the bonds between family structure and delinquency (Shoham et al., 1987). Studying Israeli prisoners, Shoham and his colleagues, for example, found that attachment to the family restrains crime and violent behavior. In his study of Israeli adolescents, Rahav (1976) concluded that disruption of harmony in the family is not necessarily linked to delinquency. These findings contradict central conceptions among criminologists who saw the family as an etiological agent in delinquent behavior. For Rahav, this discrepancy originates in stresses and tensions characterizing Israeli society and overshadowing the "troubled family as causes of delinquency" (p. 268). In other studies, Rahav (1990) widens the analysis, measuring the correlation between modernization and property vis-à-vis violent offenses.

Other studies addressed issues relating to *women and crime*. Those studies examined the relations between battered women and the police (Avni, 1990), rates of offenses committed by women (Simon, 1975), and sentencing issues relating to rape (Sebba, 1979a; 1979b). Some works dealt with the promiscuous conduct of girls in distress, discussing their pathological disorders (Rahav and Ron-Menaker, 1970), their relations with their families (Shoham et al., 1983), and suggested treatments (Tehneh, 1974). Some scholars examined certain elements relating to female victimization. Analyzing rapes reported to the Philadelphia police department in 1958 and 1960, Amir (1971) identified characteristics of men charged with rape and those of women who reported the offense to the police. Examining the relations between rape victims and rapists, Amir maintained that the relations between the rapist and the victim and in particular the offender's interpretation of the victim's action, are central to our understanding the causes of rape.

Looking at particular responses to women's victimization, Avni (1991) analyzed police attitude toward battered women. Focusing on the rapists' attitudes to rape victims, Landau (1977) identified

certain techniques of guilt neutralization used by Israeli and American prisoners accused of rape. Most rapists blamed the victim and denied any harm caused to the victims and their families. Examining causes for women battering, Swirski (1993) claims that women battering is not segregated along ethnicity or social class lines, nor can it be explained solely by the pathology of certain males. Swirski (1993) calls for the extension of the analysis from the individual male, female, or social group to the sociopolitical status of women in Israeli society in order to understand the phenomenon and the societal reaction toward it.

Other Israeli criminologists focused on certain *social groups* found to be involved in crime, locating their criminality in a wider sociocultural context. The first general sociological statement was made by Ben-David (1963) searching for *macrosocial* factors influencing juvenile delinquency in Israel. He located crime among the young generation within a wider social and cultural context. He claimed that Israeli society had lost its traditional values between 1950 and 1960 as a result of political, economic, and demographic changes and developments occurring in a transitional society building its normative and social borders. These events led to the creation of a lawless situation or "moral confusion" (p. 220) manifested in a variety of activities and attitudes of Israelis. He lists such behaviors as criminality, high incidence of dangerous driving, embezzlement of public funds, and argues that they reflect a lack of clear normative guidelines. In order to clarify "proper" Israeli values and re-create a moral "public conscience," Ben-David calls upon the central institutions in Israeli society to undertake the making of individuals responsible for their own behavior, mainly by challenging the collective values that legitimize criminal behaviors by pointing to the "warlike" situation in which the country exists—a legitimation no longer relevant to Israeli society in the 1960s.

Other Israeli criminologists analyzed the involvement of certain social groups in crime as an indication of social pathology of mainly two socially marginalized groups in Israeli society: Jews who came to Israel from Asian and African countries, and Arabs. Various studies have indicated that juveniles born to families that immigrated to Israel from Asia and Africa during the 1950s were arrested, charged, and punished more than their proportional share

in the population (Amir, 1969; Amir and Shichor, 1975; Hassin, 1985; Landau, 1983; Rahav and Ron-Menaker, 1970). Criminologists addressing this disproportionality adopted "cultural conflict" theories, which interpreted crime and deviance as originating in a culture conflict between newcomers and the long-time residents of the country. Involvement in criminal conduct is seen as an inevitable by-product of the contact between traditional and modern societies. In particular, various researchers view criminality among newcomers to Israel as originating in a conflict between their traditional values and norms prevailing in Israeli society (Shoham, 1962). Moreover, family heads usually lost their status and authority in Israel, leading to the weakening of family cohesion and control over the second generation. Certain studies explained the high proportion of criminality among Sephardi Jews as resulting from frustrations from lost educational and job opportunities, and as being part of the lower ten percentiles of the socioeconomic strata and criminality (Hassin, 1985; Landau, 1983).

Some scholars who related to the high rates of criminality among newcomers to Israel saw this phenomenon as a natural outcome of the immigration process, which would be resolved with the absorption of these communities into Israeli society and their resocialization into Israeli values. For some criminologists, this macrosociological level of analysis was accompanied by a microlevel explanation, which saw criminals from Sephardic families as reacting negatively to cultural transformations due to their personal inability to internalize Israeli values (Shoham, 1962; 1970).

Criminological studies devoted only scant attention to criminality and societal response among the Arab population. Most of the works that set out to study crime, deviance, and control within the Arab population indicate that Israeli Arabs have a disproportionally higher crime rate than Jews and that their crime rate is higher relative to their proportion within the general population. These findings were observed in relation to juveniles (Hassin, 1986; Reifen, 1966), drug offenders (Drapkin and Landau, 1966) and homicide (Landau, Drapkin, and Arad, 1974). Adopting a Durkheimian approach, these works explained criminality among Arabs in terms of a "culture conflict" (Shoham et al., 1976). The authors concluded that Arab delinquency (mainly among youth) originates in the transitional state of Arab society, which was going

through the processes of urbanization and modernization. These changes undermine the cohesiveness of the Arab family leading to lack of social control among youth and weakening the patriarchal family authority. Moreover, as a result of changes in the economic structure of Arab society, juveniles who work in the Jewish cities were exposed to Western culture and thus would no longer adhere to their traditional norms. However, since they were not absorbed into the Jewish culture and its Western, modern values and norms, they suffered from confusion and felt socially disoriented. This led further to the involvement in crime and delinquency.

The issues of crime and its control among the Arab community was taken up in a broader context by Cohen (1989) in his substantive study of crime and control among Israeli Palestinians.² Cohen is among those Israeli scholars who emphasized the relations between crime, law, and politics. Cohen claims that the traditional model of the generic modernization thesis used to explain crime among members of the Arab community is one-dimensional to the realities of Arab crime, delinquency, and control. Cohen suggests instead that this phenomenon should be examined within a broad theoretical context of "economic dependency, proletarianization, domination and conflict" (p. 8). Such explanation focuses on the impact of both changes in internal and external controls within the many streams of Arab society and within the national conflict and the reality of the political situation of Arabs in Israel. Cohen presents a complex picture of Arab crime: on the one hand, we should see crime as resulting from the breakdown in traditional village and kinship-based controls—a breakdown that manifests itself in different ways in the various fractions of Arab society. On the other hand, Cohen directs our attention to the traditional inner controls exercised by the family and religious authorities functioning to maintain social norms and order within the Arab community restraining criminal behavior. Finally, Cohen claims that such a complex view of control mechanisms should be examined further within the wider context of the national conflict and its influence on crime, deviance control, and legitimation. In particular, all these points of view should be focused on understanding the marginality, political control, discrimination, and the limitation of resource allocation in education, welfare, and housing in the Arab community.

Other recently emergent studies in Israel aim to examine the *complex relations between crime, politics, and control*. These studies engage in sociological questions about structures of society and their relations to the creation of laws and attitudes toward crime, deviance, and control. One set of such works examines the social construction of the categories of deviance and criminalization, discussing the ways in which images of criminals and crimes are projected by interest groups such as the media (Cromer, 1979), the police, and the Knesset committees (Ben-Yehuda, 1982; 1989b; 1990). Ben-Yehuda, for example, claims that during May 1982 the police created a moral panic regarding illicit drug use and pointed to adolescents in Israel as being heavily involved in the use of drugs. The creation of such a scare was intended to generate the allocation of funds for the use of the police and to legitimize the arrest of seventy suspects for dope dealing—an operation that was opened to critical public debate. In addition, the then chairperson of the Knesset education committee had vested interests in inflating a scare of drugs as part of her ongoing attack on the ministry of education and as part of the political struggle between the two main political parties.

Other studies place the construction and the conceptualization of criminal behaviors within historical and cultural situations and examine their political context. Ben-Yehuda (1989a; 1993) located political assassination within the historical, cultural, and political matrix of Jews in Palestine and later in the state of Israel. For Ben-Yehuda, the assassination of Eliahu Giladi—a leader of an underground group—allegedly by his rival, Shamir, is explained as originating in a conflict over leadership, operation, and ideology, which cannot be separated from historical and political events of the prestate period. Ben-Yehuda also examined the murder of Bernadotte, the president of the Swedish Red Cross, who was appointed in 1948 the United Nations mediator in Palestine. The underground organization Lehi, which opposed Bernadotte's partition plan, decided to murder him—a decision carried out by members of a dissident organization set up under the aegis of Lehi. Ben-Yehuda claims that this murder, like other political forays, is to be located on the boundaries of clashes between different symbolic universes.

Weisburd (1989; 1991) and Weisburd and Vinitzky (1984) construe the vigilantism of Gush Emunim settlers in villages along

the Gaza Strip and the West Bank against both Arabs and the government as part of the settlers' political attitudes toward the Israeli-Arab conflict. This violent behavior is part of an organized strategy of social control calculated to maintain order in the West Bank. Though a minority of settlers actually participate in vigilante actions, they are not isolated nor are they considered to be deviant figures in the settlement movement.

Criminological Discourse in Israel

The dominant theoretical framework in Israel until the end of the 1970s adopted an empiricist approach to crime and control, aiming to develop a "positive" knowledge of offenders and crime. Focusing upon the criminal individual, most works aim at locating psychological, biological, and social characteristics that differentiate criminals from law-abiding citizens. This perspective usually saw criminals as suffering from a variety of psychological or social disturbances. They should be given treatment within state rehabilitative institutions. Recently, varied lines of examination were woven into this dominant criminological discourse, pointing to the complex relations between crime, politics, and control. While these studies do not constitute a definite cohesive discourse, these works adopt a more contextualized approach to the phenomenon of crime and social control in Israel. Differing in their theoretical approaches and level of analysis, these works investigate why certain behaviors are prohibited and what were the political, ideological, and social factors that shaped various legislation.

A large part of Israeli criminological discourse on crime and punishment has been influenced methodologically and theoretically by several major trends developed abroad, especially in America (see Cohen, 1990; 1988). Criminology was imported to Israel by Drapkin who was appointed the representative of the United Nations as part of a general mission to investigate crime situations in various places in the world and to inform authorities about ideas and techniques regarding crime, treatment, and punishment. Crafted mainly in the United States, these ideas emphasized the significance of scientific knowledge accumulated in connection with

the control of crime. Over the years, the discipline was not isolated from this analytical framework.

Israeli researchers did not focus upon crime, deviance, and social control among specific social groups. Thus criminality and the social response to its behavior among closed sectors such as the kibbutz, the religious communities, and the defense force were hardly discussed or studied.³ Moreover, some Israeli criminologists did not take fully into consideration various specific factors of the social context that could influence crime, and its control in Israeli society. Thus, issues such as the relations between war, crime and control, forms and structures of criminality, were not analyzed.

Suggested Lines of Inquiry

In the following, I should like to suggest a few lines of criminological inquiry, related to the opening up of discussions in public and official arenas as well as in academic circles regarding Israeli society. From the end of the 1970s on, certain paradigms have been challenged in Israel: the attitudes of Israeli society to Sephardi Jews became an issue of public concern; the relations between Israelis and Palestinians has become an issue of debate in the public and official arena as well as in academic disciplines;⁴ a feminist academic activity has begun to emerge; the relations between the army and civilian society are no longer taken for granted; issues such as police violence have become a matter of public debate, leading to the establishment of a commission to examine this phenomenon; human rights organizations and professional groups have begun challenging the domination of professionals in psychiatry. Israeli criminologists can now bring to the public and academic arenas a whole range of topics and engage in questions about criminals, crime, control, and the discipline of criminology. Based on the research that has already been taken up by Israeli criminologists in an array of issues, the discourse of criminology can be extended to include a wide range of issues and subjects that might be debated and theorized within Israeli criminology.

Such a criminological discourse can develop in two interrelated directions. Studies in the first direction would focus on crime, deviance, and social control among social groups specific to Israeli society.

Such studies could examine crime and control among religious sectors and kibbutz members. This examination should look at both the crime and deviant behavior of members of these groups and the various formal and informal controls operating within them. Special attention should be devoted to crimes committed by soldiers aged eighteen to twenty-one whose offenses are mainly judged and registered by the military criminal system, and thus are not represented in the official crime statistics. The societal response of the military authorities should be made available to criminological investigation.

Studies within the second direction would pay greater attention to broad political and cultural dimensions characterizing Israeli society. The major analytical issue of criminologists should be the wider ideological power context related to crime and social control. Such analysis would study the ways in which mechanisms of control are constructed and operate. In particular, these studies should examine the broad social attitudes and power relations among the various social groups within Israeli society as they are conducted outside and inside the social control apparatus. This examination would investigate the influence of extralegal factors such as race, social class, and gender on the working principles of social control agencies in Israel.

Within this analytical framework, studies would look specifically at two main issues: the structure of mechanisms of controls and the nature of attitudes toward those who are labeled as criminals, deviants, or as being "at risk." Studies examining the construction and operation of control mechanisms may look at the following issues:

The power of professional and control agents and the domination of the medical model regarding offenders in Israel. This inquiry would examine the rhetoric used by various professionals working within crime control circles, the classifications they designed to measure criminals and to predict their future behavior—a classification used as a basis for recommendation for further treatment or penal response to crimes committed by those offenders. This examination could pay particular attention to the various ideological, political, and social forces shaping the social construction of the various classification schemes. In other words, such research should focus on the specific characteristics of the evolution, operation, and influence of criminological knowledge in Israel. A critical inquiry of the medical model could expand beyond the criminal justice system and high-

light the relations between medical, welfare, and judicial strategies for managing clients who are cured and treated in various institutions. Also, in what ways these strategies function to shape, maintain, and reinforce the social order of Israeli society, examining the ways in which these agencies of welfare, medicine, and crime control operate as a normalizing apparatus.

Studies examining the wider political and ideological context influencing the operation of control should examine the following issues:

a. The wider political, ideological, and social context leading to the representation of special social groups such as Arabs and Sephardi Jews within a broader framework focusing on the fact that members of these groups lack—at varying levels—access to the reward system and at the same time are economically and politically dependent upon the dominant institutions in society. Such an inquiry should investigate the ways in which members of marginalized groups are considered offensive, threatening the community's dominant values and social stability. Perceptions such as these were revealed by Fishman et al. (1987) who concluded that Arab Israelis, followed by members of the Sephardic communities, were most likely to be perceived by respondents as criminals. Criminologists could analyze further how these attitudes affect court decisions and policies of social control agencies.

b. The influence of power structure in Israeli society affecting gender relations and the ways in which this structure is manifested and reinforced within the criminal system and the social control apparatus. Such an inquiry could trace the various aspects of influence: the Jewish religious laws, army service, familial structures, and the operation of medical and welfare agencies.

Further studies might examine the various forces shaping the social construction of definitions as "being in distress" or "behaving in a promiscuous manner" (see Ajzenstadt and Steinberg, 1995). For example, such analytical focus should examine the operation of a variety of social control structures such as the courts, penal welfare agencies, medical institutions, and the police regulating women's lives in Israel could be examined. The control and regulation over women's lives in penal and care institutions could be examined within a broader approach analyzing the marginal social position of women in Israel and the political, ideological, and social consequences

leading to such marginality in crime as well as in politics, religion, and finance.

The development of these lines of inquiry would highlight the specific parameters of Israeli context within which crime, deviance, and societal relations take place. While these studies would continue to address traditional questions of crime etiology, patterns of crime, as well as treatment and penal techniques, this inquiry would highlight the political and ideological context of these issues. Moreover, other questions, such as the origins of laws and regulations, the power of the medical profession, control over women's bodies and lives might be debated and theorized within Israeli criminological circles. These parameters should be further compared to similar political and cultural dimensions in other countries. Such a comparison would allow a varied examination of various cultural contexts.

Other research efforts focusing on the study of crime and control in the specific Israeli political, ideological, and social situation, would contribute to the development of a sociology of law and sociology of social control that would allow diversified and sophisticated discussions. These debates would be concerned with the state, its social structure, and the context of social control, paying special attention to the changing conceptions of gender and ethnicity in the social control apparatus in Israel. It is very likely that as Israeli criminology develops additional ways of examining criminological subject matter, the field of criminology will have a greater influence on public policy, as perhaps its forefathers aspired to.

Notes

1. A similar connection between criminology and anthropology characterizes Lombroso's work who utilized anthropological methods to measure physical traits of human subjects in his search for the "criminal type" (Gould, 1981).

2. See Zurick (1988) for a critical view of crime and control among the Palestinians under Israeli control.

3. It is important to mention that some criminologists did attempt to examine criminality within these sectors but were unable to receive relevant data.

4. See Kretzmer 1988 for an analysis of the legal status of Israeli Arabs.

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