

Putting Messianic Femininity into Zionist Political Action

The Race-Class and Ideological Normativity of Women for the Temple in Jerusalem



RACHEL Z. FELDMAN

ABSTRACT The movement to rebuild the Third Jewish Temple on the Temple Mount/Haram ash-Sharif in Jerusalem has grown significantly since 2000. The Orthodox Jewish “Women for the Temple” group has come to play a central role in this activism. Women for the Temple activists perform a messianic femininity that emphasizes maternal duties and women’s redemptive power in Judaism while challenging male religious authorities and religious law in other areas. Activists define themselves as guardians of domestic space and the House of God (the future Third Temple) and redeemers of the Jewish nation. This project simultaneously empowers women and enables state violence against Palestinians on Haram ash-Sharif. Scholarship that has examined Israel’s messianic right-wing women’s activism has overlooked their Ashkenazi whiteness and their middle-class privileged status in Israel. The race-class normativity of Women for the Temple allows them to access resources and police protection and facilitates the mainstreaming of the Third Temple movement.

KEYWORDS messianism, gender, race

The movement to rebuild the Third Jewish Temple on the Temple Mount/Haram ash-Sharif compound in Jerusalem has grown in numbers and momentum in recent years. Believing that rebuilding the temple will usher in messianic times, Third Temple activists are preparing sacred temple objects and architectural plans and leading weekly pilgrimages to the Mount. Palestinian activists and Islamic organizations have organized to resist this growing movement, which is understood

as a strategic attempt by the state of Israel to annex the compound (Larkin and Dumper 2012, 39–40; Reiter 2008, 105). Although the Israeli state does not formally endorse the Third Temple movement, the presence of visibly religious Jews entering the Haram ash-Sharif compound surrounded by armed police escorts signals that Temple activists have state support to annex the site in future.

Since 2010 religious women activists have played an increasingly important and public role in Third Temple activism. This article focuses on the ideologies and strategies of Women for the Temple (*nashim lema'an hamikdash*), the leading activist group of Orthodox Jewish women in the Third Temple movement. According to their mission statement, Women for the Temple is an “apolitical movement” striving to use the “feminine force” to “prepare hearts for the establishment of the Third Temple.” The group regularly offers Jewish women lectures and courses focused on the temple; trains them in “temple crafts,” such as sewing priestly garments; provides hands-on educational workshops for children; and guides women on weekly pilgrimages to the Temple Mount. Women in the organization cultivate and perform a messianic femininity that emphasizes maternal domestic duties and redemptive women’s power in Judaism. In the process, activists challenge the influence and teachings of male religious authorities and religious law that among other things require women’s purity and limit women’s public leadership and activities.

Women for the Temple activists, most of whom are mothers, define themselves as guardians of domestic space and the House of God (the future Third Temple) and caregivers who protect and redeem the Jewish nation through their spiritual labor. This project simultaneously empowers women, enables violence against Palestinians, and facilitates Zionist expansion. Israeli scholars have argued that right-wing Zionist activism has been feminized as Jewish women strategically use maternalist discourse to achieve goals such as land annexation (Aran and El-Or 1995; Ben Shitrit 2015, 81–82; Feige 2009, 212; Neuman 2004). This scholarship, while offering important insights on gendered activism, overlooks the race and class normativity of right-wing maternal activists. This omission is also characteristic of the pioneering historical and ethnographic literature focusing on Temple activism in Israel, which in addition underplays the impact of Temple activism on Palestinians (e.g., Chen 2007; Gorenberg 2000; Inbari 2009).¹ Women for the Temple activists are economically, racially, and politically privileged as predominantly lower middle-class to middle-class Ashkenazis² in a context of Ashkenazi political, economic, and cultural hegemony in Israel. Rather than being “extreme,” Women for the Temple activists are successful because they enact normative Ashkenazi standards of nationalism and religiosity, including as it is influenced by feminist currents. They use these resources to access the Temple Mount and normalize the presence of religious Jews there. This privileged positionality mainstreams the Third Temple movement and reinforces systemic state violence against Palestinians.

Methods

My ethnographic fieldwork with Women for the Temple between May 2014 and October 2015 included conducting fifteen oral histories (in Hebrew) with active members, observing six pilgrimages to the Temple Mount sponsored by the organization, and attending ritual holiday observances with members. I also attended one month of classes in a Jewish settlement in East Jerusalem that trained women to become pilgrimage guides (*madrikhot*), an initiative that began in September 2014. This project aimed to recruit and train guides already fluent in multiple languages, including English, French, Spanish, and Russian, to mobilize more Jewish women. Trainees were taught the geography and history of the Temple Mount/Haram ash-Sharif, religious laws regarding women and the Temple Mount, and methods for making the pilgrimage a meaningful spiritual journey for women. I studied with the women and read the religious source texts that have influenced their understandings of messianic times. I assign pseudonyms to all informants unless I refer to their published work or news reports in which their names appear.

Women for the Temple activists ranged in age from twenty-five to sixty years, with most in their thirties and forties and mothers of multiple children. A core group of about twenty women do the organizing, lecturing, publishing, and coordinating with the larger Third Temple movement and allied activist groups. I had access to the women because I am a white ritually observant middle-class Jewish woman from the United States familiar with the behavioral customs of my informants. Like my informants, I dress modestly and, as a married woman, I partly cover my hair according to the Jewish tradition. These practices allowed me to build cordial relationships, although I persistently struggled with how to relate to them given my objections to their ideological project. Attending pilgrimage trips to the Temple Mount was particularly uncomfortable. While I recognize the importance of the Temple Mount to the Jewish people, I do not condone entering the space with armed Israeli soldiers. I view such an act as a violent extension of Israel's military occupation. Still, I participated in these six visits because they represent the central activity of the Third Temple movement and Women for the Temple. During the visits I observed the experiences of women on the Mount and the work of the pilgrimage guides who narrate the visit for participants. The pilgrimages also proved a critical site where I could be introduced to high-ranking activists and recruit participants for future interviews.

During the interviews I discussed spiritual praxis with informants, encouraging them to elaborate on the unique role that women were coming to play within the movement, a subject about which they are deeply passionate. We theorized together the effectiveness of their activism; their relationships to the state, rabbinic authorities, and feminism; and the process of global redemption (*ge'ulah*). My eagerness to hear their life histories and theological interpretations helped establish a common bond of women interested in studying Torah and Jewish law. I believe

that my informants saw me as a strategic translator of their project, an academic from the same tribe who could explain and transmit their core spiritual beliefs to a larger audience. Although I do not condone their political aspirations, my goal from the onset was to disrupt simplistic characterizations of Third Temple activists as messianic “crazies” or “fundamentalists.” Women for the Temple are deeply spiritual, intellectually engaged, and committed activists whose desire for the Third Temple, I contend, emerges from the specificity of their place within the evolution of religious and nationalist Zionism.

Women for the Temple in a Zionist Expansionist Context

Women for the Temple was founded in 2000 by a small group of religious-nationalist Jewish women who primarily resided in Jerusalem and West Bank settlements. By October 2015 the group counted 129 women from many parts of Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territories as members, about half from West Bank settlements. Women for the Temple activists receive significant media attention and effectively gain sympathy for Jewish prayer on the Temple Mount from Israelis who are not necessarily far right on the ideological spectrum. Despite its apparent novelty, Women for the Temple activism developed in the wake of decades of “heritage projects” putatively interested in rediscovering or returning to a mythical Jewish past but in fact part of a long-term strategy for Jewish land annexation in Jerusalem. Just as Israeli archaeological projects are used ideologically to provide material evidence of a Jewish past by erasing a Palestinian present and legitimizing the state of Israel (Abu El-Haj 2001), groups like Women for the Temple actively produce the evidence of a messianic Jewish future unfolding. This authenticates and strengthens Jewish claims on the Temple Mount/Haram ash-Sharif and state projects that Judaize Jerusalem. For example, the Israeli City of David project in the East Jerusalem neighborhood of Silwan is an archaeological site ostensibly dedicated to uncovering the ancient city of King David, but it is also being used to settle Jews and evict Palestinians from their homes. Since 2014 the Third Temple movement has conducted their annual Sukkot ritual celebration in Silwan in collaboration with the City of David archaeological park.³ Third Temple supporters, including several members of Women for the Temple, are among the seventy families who have taken up residence in the City of David.

In 1984 members of the Jewish Underground plotted to blow up the Al-Aqsa mosque and the Dome of the Rock in order to build the Jewish Third Temple and ignite the messianic era. Since the 1990s, however, the Third Temple movement has distanced itself from violent action and focused instead on changing Jewish public opinion through education and propaganda. From 2010 onward the Third Temple movement’s educational approach has helped it gain more support from the religious mainstream. Organizations such as the Temple Institute, which is responsible for rebuilding Temple vessels and training priests, brand themselves national

"heritage projects" and "research institutions" to reach wider audiences in Israel and abroad. While plans to annex the Mount or rebuild the Temple are not officially sanctioned or sponsored by the Israeli state, the Temple Institute receives national service volunteers and substantial annual funding from the Ministry of Culture, Science, and Sports and the Ministry of Education to support its education programs (Ir Amim and Keshev 2013). Although the Third Temple movement had previously been written off as a fundamentalist fringe group in Israel, it has mainstreamed by taking advantage of state resources, building alliances, and diversifying its activist base in terms of age, gender, and level of religious observance.

There are at least twenty-nine temple activist groups affiliated with the movement. They work to bring Jews to the Temple Mount, lobby the Knesset for increased access, prepare plans for the Temple, develop educational programs for children, train *cohanim* (priests), and conduct outreach and raise funds abroad with evangelical Christian allies. There has been a dramatic increase in the number of religious Jews visiting the Mount with guides affiliated with the Third Temple movement. According to police reports, 5,658 Jews visited the Mount in 2009 and nearly 11,000 in 2014.⁴ Despite the Israeli government's insistence that it will not change the status quo, which forbids Jews to pray on the Mount, temple activists believe that they can influence government policy through sustained grassroots actions such as helping more religious Jews visit on a daily basis.

With the exception of a small number of high-profile activists and rabbis who are permanently banned by the police, Third Temple activists are almost always allowed entry to the Temple Mount/Haram ash-Sharif during specified visiting hours, including times of high political tension and during Islamic holidays. In addition, temple activists are always provided with heavily armed police escorts who "protect" them from Muslim worshippers. As is the case in many of Israel's hotspot military checkpoints in the West Bank, the Haram ash-Sharif is predominantly policed by Mizrahi Jews, Ethiopian Jews, and Druze, or Christian Palestinian soldiers. Mizrahi soldiers are often sent to do the "dirty work" of protecting an Ashkenazi elite in Israel (Mazor and Mehager 2016). Even though young temple activists are often arrested for attempting to pray or prostrate themselves on the Mount, they are usually released within a few hours. They may receive a temporary ban from the Mount/Haram that usually lasts between fifteen and thirty days. Meanwhile, Palestinian Muslims under fifty are regularly denied entry into Jerusalem and the Mount/Haram.

Jewish prayer and Jewish access to the Temple Mount/Haram ash-Sharif were pushed to center stage in Israeli media and political debates by frequent violent clashes and increased presence of Third Temple activists on the site in the 2010s. In 2014, moreover, Mutaz Hijaz, a Palestinian man from Jerusalem, attempted to assassinate the high-profile temple activist (and now Likud member of Knesset) Yehuda Glick. The emboldened Jewish presence on the Mount contributed to an



outbreak of violence in October 2015 that lasted through June 2016. Many Israelis and Palestinians referred to this uprising as the “Third Intifada” or the “Intifada of the Knives.” On June 30, 2016, Hallel Ariel, the daughter of Rina Ariel, a cofounder of Women for the Temple, was stabbed to death in her home in the settlement of Kiryat Arba by Mohammad Nasser Tra‘ayra, a Palestinian teenager from a nearby village. For Rina, the murder of her daughter reinforced the need for Israeli sovereignty over the Temple Mount and the rebuilding of the Third Temple. According to Rina, the state “exiling” of Jews from the Mount was effectively “giving a prize to Islam,” motivating Palestinians to continue their attacks.⁵ As my fieldwork overlapped with the Intifada of the Knives, Temple Mount activists often explained they were protesting Palestinian attacks against their communities or families. They would describe their pilgrimages as an important “response to terror,” a way to show Palestinians that they would fight for their holiest site no matter the cost. Despite public criticisms from the secular left wing that the higher numbers of Jewish pilgrims on the Mount provoked the wave of stabbing attacks during 2015–16, my informants saw pilgrimage as critical to ensuring Jewish safety and sovereignty. They believed their actions would ultimately unify the nation around the idea of rebuilding the Temple.

Many Israeli Knesset members and government ministers now advocate for Jewish prayer at the Mount or its annexation. They visit the site with Third Temple activists, donate to Third Temple organizations, and make Jewish prayer on the Mount part of their campaign platforms.⁶ This overlap between formal political institutions and the Third Temple movement illustrates the movement’s efficacy at strategically using civil or religious discourses depending on their audience. For example, activists increasingly frame their demand to pray on the Mount as a matter of “religious freedom” they are “entitled to by the democratic state.” This language appeared throughout my interviews and in the blogs, Facebook posts, and newspaper articles by Temple activists between 2012 and 2016. Glick is widely regarded as the first activist to popularize the Third Temple movement as a human rights struggle.⁷ This discourse is part of a larger trend by right-wing pro-settlement organizations in Israel, whereby the human rights language of the secular left wing has been co-opted to legalize and justify the annexation of Palestinian lands (Perugini and Gordon 2015, 105–28). According to such settler groups, they are the “natives” who are threatened by a Palestinian “occupier” and must protect their lands from a state that discriminates against them and favors Palestinians (105–7). Human rights discourses, whether used by groups on the left or the right, function as powerful “resources” that bestow moral legitimacy onto projects of occupation and domination (6–14). Human rights discourse also allows the Third Temple movement to underplay its messianic agenda, in the process appealing to wider sectors of Jewish and non-Jewish publics, including a small but increasing number of ultra-Orthodox Jews who ascend the Temple Mount/Haram ash-Sharif with Third Temple activists.

The mainstreaming of the movement is indicated by Students for the Temple Mount, which has a large secular membership and coordinates visits to the Mount, informational events, and debates on college campuses around the country. Recent surveys indicate that as many as one-third of Jewish Israelis support building a Temple on the Haram ash-Sharif, and 59 percent agree that there should be a change in the status quo, such as extending Israeli control over the site or establishing separate visiting hours for Jews and Muslims, as was done at Abraham's Tomb in Israeli-occupied Hebron.⁸ According to the women I interviewed, this increasingly favorable public opinion is due to the spread of a new Temple consciousness among Jewish Israelis and the success of the Third Temple movement's strategic campaign to normalize the presence of Jews on the Mount. By bringing more Jews every year, activists hope to create a situation where the state can no longer ignore their demands and will be forced to divide and annex this holy site.

While adult activist groups like Women for the Temple pride themselves on using peaceful activist strategies and working in collaboration with state authorities, a younger generation of Third Temple activists are turning to militant action in a group called "Returning to the Mount." These teens openly confront Israeli police and Muslim worshippers and are frequently arrested for provocative activities such as praying and attempting to sacrifice lambs on the Temple Mount/Haram ash-Sharif during the Passover holiday (Hasson 2016). Young women are among the most passionate and committed of the approximately one hundred active members of Returning to the Mount. These teenage girls see it as their job to provoke state responses. On Israeli Independence Day, May 12, 2016, fifteen of these activists were arrested for participating in an illegal protest and attempting to march to the Temple Mount through Palestinian East Jerusalem. The arrested included three young women who were carrying their infants while attempting to cross a police blockade (Ben Porat 2016). The majority of these young women activists grew up in West Bank settlements. For them, it is not enough to simply educate and raise awareness of the Temple. They see themselves as carrying on the Zionist settlement project of the West Bank to a new frontier: The Temple Mount in Jerusalem. Shira is a sixteen-year-old Mizrahi activist in the movement who lives in a settlement near Hebron and had been arrested three times when I interviewed her in April 2016. She explained: "We don't play by rules the way the other groups in the movement do. We aren't afraid to say openly that we want to destroy the mosques. Other groups talk about democracy and religious freedom on the Mount, but that is not our message. We play with the gray legal zone in order to push things forward, just like settlers who created new settlements in Judea and Samaria." According to my visual surveys, about half of the members of Returning to the Mount are Mizrahi ("oriental" Jews). The Ashkenazi elite of the Third Temple movement relies on the Mizrahi youth who are arrested for praying on the Mount or conducting illegal protests to push movement goals forward. As Shira explained with pride, her group is the *kav'esh*, or

fire line, that is willing to “push things forward” for the movement by confronting police and Palestinians.

Messianic Femininity as Putting Theory into Action

Fifteen years ago we met and began to think about the Temple, not just in theory, but in action. Slowly more women joined. . . . The power was waiting underground. Being breast fed and diapered . . .
— Women for the Temple on the organization's fifteenth anniversary (posted on Facebook on June 23, 2015)

The messianic femininity of Women for the Temple enacts a particular kind of womanhood that can be misrecognized if we simply focus on how women activists travel to the Temple Mount to pray or sew clothes for the *cohanim*. It includes a redemptive quality of women's divinity inspired by Jewish mysticism, which my informants seek to embody. At different moments in Jewish history, this feminine aspect of divinity and role of Jewish women more generally was elevated and emphasized in worship and theology, especially when connected to messianic desires. During the Sabbatian messianic Jewish movement of the seventeenth century, women were considered prophets and liberated from many restrictions in Jewish law (Rapoport-Albert 2011). Even the wife of Sabbatai Tzvi, the self-proclaimed messiah, was regarded as the earthly embodiment of the Shekinah, the feminine aspect of God, projecting mystical metaphors of divine femininity onto the actual body of a Jewish woman (Van der Haven 2012, 11).

This idea of the triumph of the feminine in Judaism evolved and gained importance in the second half the twentieth century. Jewish Renewal, often referred to as neo-Hasidism, is a transdenominational form of Jewish practice rooted in mystical traditions that arose out of 1960s counterculture movements (Weissler 2005, 55). Influenced by feminist and environmentalist movements, Jewish Renewal advocated for the full participation of women in Jewish rituals and a feminist reading of Jewish theology. Renewal worship placed a strong emphasis on the use of feminine God language and connection to the Shekinah, elevating and valorizing feminine qualities, which was critiqued for essentializing the feminine and holding in place a rigid gender binary (60). By the end of the twentieth century, feminist currents had permeated the strictly Orthodox world. In Israel and in religious settlements, women's seminaries for advanced Torah study flourished (El Or and Watzman 2002; Israel-Cohen 2012), greatly expanding the number of women religious teachers and spiritual leaders in the Orthodox world.

Despite being a women-initiated and women-led movement that often challenges male authorities and patriarchal restrictions on their behavior, only two of the fifteen Women for the Temple activists I interviewed were willing to identify as

“feminists” (the same word in English and Hebrew), and these two women did so with some reluctance given the negative connotations within religious circles. For example, Anat, a university-educated forty-eight-year-old mother of three from a settlement in the northern West Bank interviewed in September 2015, responded:

You ask me if I am a feminist. I don't really like the title, but yes. We are in the middle of a big change for women and it is part of God's plan. The feminine light is becoming more revealed in the world and it is a sign of the messianic era. Yes, feminism is coming for the Temple! But it is not about waving a flag and saying that I am feminist. The entire process of feminism is developing in order to bring the Temple.

Most women interviewed firmly rejected the term *feminist* and framed their leadership as a form of women's “empowerment” that capitalizes on the traditional domestic roles and inherent spiritual skills of Jewish women to further the Third Temple movement. For example, for Naomi, a forty-three-year-old mother of four children from a settlement near Hebron interviewed in October 2015:

the work we do is very empowering for women. As women we bring certain skills that men do not have. For example, we know how important the family home is so we understand how important the House of God is. But most women in our movement do not consider themselves feminists. Most will agree that the house and the family always come first. And then second is working outside [the home] for the sake of Israel. The house of Israel cannot be built unless the personal house is complete.

This emphasis on maternal care of the House of God is depicted in their logo, which shows a woman lovingly cradling the Temple Mount in her arms.

Women for the Temple activists explain their desire to rebuild the Temple as a “logical” move from theory to action for the Jewish people, part of reviving and deepening their spiritual practice. Miriam, a retired schoolteacher and a grandmother from a settlement in the northern West Bank, explained this concept when I interviewed her in August 2015: “Why should we continue to abstract the Temple and the animal sacrifices into prayers? We pray three times a day for the rebuilding of the Temple. Now that we have returned to Israel we can act. What is stopping us? It is the mental slavery, the mentality of exile [*galut*].” Miriam is now one of the leading pilgrimage guides and Third Temple educators. She believes that there are signs from God everywhere that the time has come for the Jewish people to build the Temple: “Now there is a country of six million Jews, museums, and hospitals. All the signs are here. The redemption is going forward, and whoever doesn't see that is crazy. There is an ingathering from all over the world. Jews are returning to Orthodox observance and the land is being settled. The Temple is part of this process. There is an awakening going on.”





Figure 1. The official logo of Women for the Temple. As depicted on the Women for the Temple Facebook page on September 13, 2016

Similarly, sixty-year-old Sarah, a college-educated mother of ten children who lives in an East Jerusalem settlement, believes that now is the right time to transform messianic dreams and theories through action, in the process materializing the future. She works as a pilgrimage guide and public speaker on topics related to the Temple. She instructs participants: “Create in your imagination a guided tour. See the Temple in its place. Erase the Mosque, the Arabs, the Waqf, the police officers — and pray. As if only you and God are in a private conversation in the heavenly Temple.” As she shared in an August 2015 interview: “It is convenient to sit in your synagogue and dream about the Third Temple

falling from the sky, like we waited, dreaming for the Messiah. But we know what happened in the end, they [European Jews] waiting so long so God had to push them. This is why we had the Holocaust. So it is our job as women to put the subject of the Temple into the air.”

As Women for the Temple ascend the Mount, they enact Jewish religious language that articulates the Temple as the site for pairing with God. Following this Jewish collective memory, twenty-five-year-old Tamar, a university student and daughter of French immigrants who currently lives in Tel Aviv, stated: “I go to the Temple Mount in purity . . . like a bride on her wedding night. It is the place I go to join in a union with the divine presence. When the Temple is rebuilt, the entire nation of Israel will have this new marriage with God.” Many young Jewish women today are also literally ascending the Temple Mount as brides. As part of their campaign to bring more Jews to the Mount, Women for the Temple offers special guided pilgrimages for brides on their wedding day. There was at least one young woman ascending in honor of her wedding day on all six of the pilgrimages that I attended. In many cases, this powerful emotional experience initiates a young woman into Women for the Temple or other Third Temple activist groups.

Challenging Masculinist Religious and Sexual Restrictions

In addition to articulating women’s redemptive importance as the guardians of the Jewish home and nation, Jewish messianic femininity is a lived embodied reality that transforms the participant and challenges religious norms. In crafting a culture of women’s pilgrimage, for example, Women for the Temple activists guide women through the proper purification ritual prior to ascending, including immersion in a ritual bath (*mikveh*). The bath is considered special and empowering for Jewish women, my informants explained. It is a godly commandment only to women,

putting it at the center of Jewish femininity. However, women's pilgrimage to the Mount is not uniformly approved of by the rabbinical establishment because the mikveh is not allowed for unmarried women. Jewish law requires married women to immerse themselves in a ritual bath after the monthly menstrual period in order to become pure for sexual relations. Single women are discouraged and often denied entry to a mikveh because rabbis consider this to enable premarital sex.

To circumvent these challenges, Women for the Temple launched a campaign to convince mikveh workers not to ask women their marital status or reason for taking the ritual bath. Idit Bartov, a member of Women for the Temple, used her expert knowledge of Jewish law to assist Women for the Temple in their mikveh campaign. Idit was one of the first Orthodox women to receive a special ordination from Midreshet Lindenbaum in Jerusalem, allowing her to assist both men and women with Jewish legal questions. The ordination program requires five years of intensive study and passing exams equivalent to those required for male rabbis (Meir 2013).⁹ Idit explains in a published interview how women's pilgrimage to the Mount is part of a larger effort by Orthodox women to study Jewish law, update it, and make it more relevant to women's experiences in the twenty-first century. She encourages women to study and take matters into their own hands rather than chase after male rabbinic authorities for halakhic decisions: "There is a war on the opening of the Temple Mount to women that begins and ends with the *mikveh*. . . . We are dealing with laws that have been frozen for two thousand years. . . . In the beginning, there were voices that wanted to go door to door and collect Rabbis who will give their approval and blessings. I am not in this game. I see how they belittle us" (Bartov 2014). Taking control of purity practices based on advanced religious training challenges a rabbinic hierarchy that traditionally excluded women from the interpretation of Jewish law.

On February 29, 2016, members of Women for the Temple argued against rabbinic mikveh restrictions before the Knesset's Committee on Gender Equality. Anat, the college-educated mother who lives in the West Bank, completed advanced seminary training in Jewish law and is a leader of the mikveh campaign. She explained that the mikveh matter is not only about women's rights in Israel. It is also about helping religious women have a more positive relationship to their bodies:

There are many single women who want to visit a *mikveh* so that they can go to the Temple Mount. But the official position of the rabbinate is that single women cannot go. They don't want single women using the *mikveh* to have sex. But I really support women going to the *mikveh* before marriage as a spiritual practice so that they can better connect to a positive body image. Many religious girls only learn about sex and their bodies right before the wedding. Your wedding should not be the first time you connect to yourself. There are a lot of problems here, women experience shame and fear. So going to the Temple Mount is something empowering for single women and young girls

who have to become aware of their periods and bodies in order to ascend. In the time of the Temple, women were more connected to spirituality and the body in a positive and empowering way.

By challenging rabbinic authority and taking legal decisions into their own hands, Third Temple activists believe that they facilitate women's spiritual empowerment. Studying the history and prophecies of the Temple Mount is part of studying what it means to be a Jewish woman and redefining the role of Jewish women messianically. Women for the Temple see themselves as active liberators with special roles that only women can fulfill. Women activists often compared their spiritual labor and pilgrimages to the experiences of the biblical matriarchs. The figure of Miriam the prophetess, sister of Moses and Aaron, for example, figures strongly in their accounts as a model of female spiritual power and inspiration. When I interviewed her in July 2014, Leah, a forty-five-year-old mother of three from a settlement near Hebron, compared the work of Women for the Temple to that of Miriam, who led Jewish women in song and dance with her tambourine after crossing the Red Sea. In her exegesis of the Exodus story, Leah shifted the focus away from Moses and emphasized women's importance in leading the Jewish people out of slavery. She positioned Jewish women, including Women for the Temple, as timeless guardians of the Jewish family and home, the initial site of redemption from exile.

The figure of Miriam is a symbol of messianic femininity in the larger world of Jewish Orthodoxy, including among Lubavitch Hasidic women who mobilize the account of Miriam and her tambourine. Following the death of the Lubavitcher Rebbe in 1994, a time of great messianic expectation, Lubavitch women began buying and decorating tambourines, preparing themselves to celebrate with music the day the Messiah will arrive, as Jewish women did in Egypt (Ochs 2007, 166–86). These ritual reinventions, like the creation of a new pilgrimage culture to the Temple Mount, illustrate the evolution of messianic femininity through practice and pedagogy, where specific “cultural resources” and “temporal strategies” are used to concretize the experience of messianic time (Bilu and Kravel-Tovi 2008). Women for the Temple creatively engage with textual resources to identify with biblical women in “comparable” situations in order to inspire their spiritual practice and messianic expectation in the present day.

The “Spiritual Weapons” of Messianic Zionist Femininity

Feminist scholars have challenged naturalizing connections of militarism with masculinity and pacifism with femininity (hooks 1995; Kaplan 1994). Representations of the “moral mother” are often enlisted to support violence or reinforce the subjugation of women (Di Leonardo 1985, 611–15). The conservative maternal activist is by definition empowered and constrained by a patriarchal logic that assumes and expects women to be naturally domestic and caretaking. Maternal

political activism often challenges and perpetuates existing patriarchal logic and institutions (Peteet 1997, 103–5). In nationalist movements around the world, women's gendered bodies play important roles as territorial markers and “reproducers of the narratives of nations” (Yuval-Davis 1997, 39). As right-wing maternal activists challenge male leaders and find empowerment in positions of political and religious leadership, they also enable racism and state violence by reinforcing the boundaries between the family/nation and enemy “others” (Bacchetta and Power 2002, 7–10).

Women for the Temple is a strategic extension of the militarist and expansionist Zionist order in Israel. Women for the Temple language affirms women as equal Jewish subjects with responsibilities for both domesticity and rebuilding the Third Jewish Temple, reinforcing and validating the normative gender order and mainstream expansionist Zionism. Despite calling themselves nonviolent and spiritual, they are also clearly “political” in the way they extend a racialized middle-class Ashkenazi supremacy over Palestinians. They rely on and expect the protection of the Israeli police and Israeli institutions to amplify their cause. Their white middle-class gendered positionalities allow temple activists to constitute themselves as harmless motherly “spiritual weapons” for an expansionist Jewish state that continues to Judaize Palestinian East Jerusalem. My Women for the Temple informants often reiterated their nonviolent intentions in rebuilding the Third Temple, arguing that they aim to “educate” the Jewish public and normalize the presence of religious Jews on the Temple Mount/Haram ash-Sharif. They are explicit in their hope to push the state of Israel to divide and annex the compound away from Palestinian control.

During the pilgrimage guide training courses I observed, women described their pilgrimages as transformative and cathartic experiences, even if they were allowed to remain on the Mount for only a few minutes and were surrounded by police escorts the entire time. They described pilgrimage guides as helping prepare a “spiritual revolution” that women are uniquely positioned to accomplish. It is women, they believed, who will normalize the movement for Jewish control of the Temple Mount/Haram ash-Sharif. As Naomi explained during the training:

Why are women leaders in the [Third] Temple movement? Because women are naturally more spiritual than men, much closer to divinity and the will of God. Men need the structure to pray three times a day to remember God. Women are naturally more connected to the temple. Men may be out in front and get into physical confrontations on the Mount but women are leading the spiritual revolution there. And when women come there to pray, society begins to see it as something normal.

The increased presence of Jewish women on the Mount as pilgrims has indeed contributed to the mainstreaming of the Third Temple movement and its wider

acceptance in the religious nationalist mainstream. Featured in Israeli newspaper articles and television reports, Women for the Temple activists are more commonly than their male counterparts portrayed as pious subjects rather than political provocateurs. Israeli media frames the women as victims, innocent religious pilgrims who are discriminated against when the state restricts their ability to pray (e.g., Ehrlich 2016). In the religious and right-wing media especially, the activists are represented as harassed by dangerous Muslims who riot and scream “Allahu Akbar” (God is the greatest) at them when they appear on the Temple Mount/Haram ash-Sharif (e.g., Ben Porat 2015; Soffer 2014).¹⁰ Rather than instruments of Zionist expansion and annexation, these representations depict the activists as pious mothers of the nation. As Tamara Neuman (2004) argues in regard to Jewish women activists who establish settlement outposts in the Palestinian territories, such representations facilitate the expansion of Israeli colonization and occupation by relying on stereotypes that cover violence with a facade of maternal care. Maternal discourses play on the notion of women belonging to the private realm, facilitating their appearance as apolitical protectors of children and family; thus they are less likely to be subject to police intervention (52–56). Israeli soldiers are less likely to evict a woman settler activist in the West Bank because she is seen as representing feminine ideals of peace and rootedness in the home (Feige 2009, 212–28). Likewise, still images and videos of women with children on the Temple Mount who are prevented from carrying food or breastfeeding during the pilgrimage frame them as victims, which appeals to Jewish publics beyond the religious right wing. The rise of social media and widespread use of smartphones has played an enormous role in spreading such videos and pictures of the “victimization.” Accompanying verbal or written accounts by Temple Mount activists depict the site as under the control of “foreign occupiers” protected by Israeli police who enforce an “apartheid” system that robs pious Jews of their religious and civil rights.

The Privileges of Ashkenaziness and Gender and Heteronormativity

The ability of Women for the Temple to be seen as pious victims of religious oppression hinges first and foremost on their ability to access white privilege within Israeli society and reproduce normative gender relations. All fifteen of the women I interviewed are the primary caregivers in their families. While many participants in Women for the Temple are university-educated and work at least part-time, they are nevertheless responsible for cooking, cleaning, and caring for multiple children. My informants are proud of their maternal roles and their ability to balance familial duties with activism outside the home. They often emphasized that they will participate in Temple activism only if it does not interfere with their ability to fulfill their essential role as Jewish women: to continue caring for the family and the home. While Women for the Temple have taken on spiritual and political leadership and challenged the rabbinic authorities on matters related to women's purity, they are

still careful to tread within the lines of acceptable womanly behavior. They reproduce the heteropatriarchal status quo, which allows them to access state privileges even as members of a messianic “fundamentalist” movement. Correct performance of women’s gender roles within patriarchal structures often plays an important role in the distribution of citizenship rights (Joseph 1996, 7).

The Temple Mount movement more broadly is legible within normative Ashkenazi standards of religiosity and nationalism,¹¹ facilitating their access to state resources and police protection for activities. The Third Temple movement is composed of predominantly middle-class Ashkenazi Jews who are racially and economically privileged. They control state religious institutions, Torah learning, and most political institutions and parties, even though they are only 30 percent of Israel’s population. Ashkenazim are the majority of Israelis in the upper and middle classes, and Mizrahi Jews who originate from North Africa and the Middle East make up most of the lower class. This racial divide is perpetuated and obscured by a pervasive Zionist ideology of Jewish unity that coalesces all Jews into one ethnic category positioned in opposition to the enemy Arab “other” (Lavie 2014, 80).

Instead of using the term *ethnic* to refer to divisions in Israel, I use *race* because the term reflects social and psychological realities on the ground in Israel/Palestine. Israeli scholars have illustrated how the Israeli state categorizes residents and citizens and distributes privileges and resources through racial frameworks (see, e.g., Lavie 2014; Madmoni-Gerber 2009; Sasson-Levy 2013; Shenhav and Yonah 2008) where Ashkenazi whiteness is attached to many symbolic and material forms of capital. The Ashkenazi privilege conferred on and enacted by activists in Women for the Temple enables them to be recognized as pious actors with authentic spiritual motivations, reinforcing Zionist expansion. Messianic femininity allows Women for the Temple to access the Temple Mount precisely because it is a *racialized* femininity, one that resembles Ashkenazi standards of religiosity and nationalism.

Most Mizrahim (“oriental” Jews) continue to follow the religious legal ruling of the late chief Sephardic rabbi, Ovadia Yosef, who forbade Jews to enter the Temple Mount/Haram ash-Sharif. The Mizrahi Jewish religious leadership has traditionally been staunchly against pilgrimages to the Temple Mount or using political action to rebuild the Temple, but Mizrahim now constitute about one-third of Temple Mount movement activists. I found Mizrahim largely absent from the leadership of the movement. Moreover, when they participate as activists, they do so in ways that conform to Ashkenazi standards of theological interpretation and ritual practice. Mizrahi participants in the messianic Third Temple movement might be viewed as part of “Ashkenazification,” whereby Jews of Mizrahi origin intermarry or obtain Ashkenazi privilege by assimilating into dominant social, professional, and political circles. “Ashkenaziness,” then, does not necessarily imply European descent but stands for an Israeli version of whiteness that functions as a kind of “symbolic capital” that can be learned or adopted (Sasson-Levy 2013, 29–34). All

five of the Mizrahi women activists with whom I conducted oral histories were married to Ashkenazi men and identified with Ashkenazi-run political parties and religious institutions. Four out of the ten Ashkenazi women I interviewed were married to Mizrahi men, and their husbands had studied in religious Ashkenazi-run institutions.¹²

These findings indicate the greater role of religion in incorporating Mizrahim into the nationalist project and making them proper Zionist subjects. An enhanced religious Jewish identity as defined and performed according to Orthodox Ashkenazi standards allowed Mizrahim to access Israel's public and political sphere while diminishing their Arab identity (Shenhav 2003, 73). The absorption of Mizrahim into Ashkenazi religious standards illustrates how Ashkenazi Orthodoxy has "become the yardstick for determining normative religiosity" in Israel (Nissim 2008, 23). Although the Third Temple movement is often labeled as "fundamentalist" or "exceptional," it must be viewed as part of the legacy of normative Ashkenazi religiosity and Zionism. The Third Temple movement is a somewhat exclusive club that requires proper connections and social circles for access. Pilgrimage trips to the Temple Mount are not advertised to the general Jewish public but organized through a network of religious nationalist yeshivas (religious seminaries), right-wing activist groups, and women's groups largely in West Bank settlements. Since only a few visibly religious Jews are allowed to enter the Temple Mount/Haram ash-Sharif each day and only during specific hours, individuals usually organize their trips with an established pilgrimage leader who may be a well-known rabbi affiliated with the Third Temple movement, a temple activist licensed as tour a guide, or any other member of a temple activist group. Pilgrimage leaders have built cordial relations with the police through frequent visits and can ensure that participants in their group receive preferential access.

When I pushed my informants to say whether they thought that the Third Temple movement was predominantly Ashkenazi, they insisted that building the temple was fundamentally about "Jewish unity." Even if Ashkenazim are overrepresented in the movement, in their eyes the project ultimately transcends all ethnic divisions between Jews. Building the Third Temple rectifies the Jewish division that caused the destruction of the Second Temple. As Jews were discursively condensed together into an ethnic unity through the Israeli Zionist account of the "ingathering of exiles," they were also gathered under an Ashkenazi universalist umbrella. While Mizrahim were marked as culturally particular in the early years of state formation, Ashkenaziness was de-ethnicized and came to stand for the entire Jewish collective (Sasson-Levy 2013, 36). This reality is reflected in the confusion expressed by members of Women for the Temple when I attempted to talk to them about race in Israeli society. "But we are all Jews," they would often insist, sometimes accompanied by a look of irritation. The race category simply did not make sense for them and they could not understand why this would be important information.

The messianic discourse employed by Third Temple activists helps conceal racial divisions in the present by promising the imminent arrival of a utopian existence that will make such divisions irrelevant. Palestinians are invisible and inconsequential in this vision. Such utopian visions are rooted in a particular reading of Jewish theology and prophecy that is guided by Zionist state discourses, which have always carried implicit messianic undertones. The Temple women activists draw on traditional mystical ideas of the Temple and secularized state discourses to form a unique ideological complex. They claim that the Third Temple will be a house of prayer for all nations that will teach the world true justice and peace.

Conclusion

Women for the Temple's messianic feminine activism supports Zionism and Palestinian displacement by reinforcing Israel's victimization narrative. Their increasing presence on the Temple Mount/Haram ash-Sharif authenticates and strengthens Jewish claims and state-sponsored Judaization and colonization of East Jerusalem. It is important to see Women for the Temple activists as partisans in another project of Zionist Jewish place making that erases Palestinians and their claims to community, land, and other resources. During pilgrimages, women are encouraged to literally practice erasing the Al-Aqsa mosque and Palestinian life, to use their imaginations to engage with a future Third Temple. In addition to receiving state funds, the Third Temple movement upholds the core mythological narratives of Zionism, thus representing hegemonic Zionism. Continuing to frame this kind of messianic Zionism as "fundamentalist" or "extremist" creates a moral high ground for so-called secular Israelis (Dalsheim and Harel 2009, 219–20). It also hinders a full understanding of the complex relationship between the state of Israel, Zionism, Ashkenazi privilege, and the messianic Third Temple movement.

As an anthropologist, I take seriously Women for the Temple's messianic femininity as a project of spiritual empowerment while recognizing that it perpetuates a legacy of violence and displacement against Palestinians. The case of Women for the Temple prompts us to evaluate how spiritual projects enable state violence and gendered and sexual dynamics mediate this relationship. As Women for the Temple ascend the Mount, they embody the traditional feminine and sexualized language used to refer to the Temple in the Jewish tradition, where the Temple is the bodily receptacle of the divine presence that comes to dwell within it. The activists reinforce the idea of the Temple Mount as a feminine body that is victimized and humiliated by police who prevent Jews from ascending and Muslims who "occupy" and "defile" the site. Messianic femininity as spiritual theory and embodied practice promises to undo this humiliation. Messianic femininity allows Women for the Temple to *care* for the Temple Mount, the house of God, just as they care for the private family home. As these women ascend the Mount in a state of bodily and

spiritual purity, they believe that they are helping redeem the nation by reestablishing a direct link between the Jewish people and God. Women for the Temple have played a critical role in mainstreaming the Third Temple movement because they cultivate their project as informed by values of piety, motherly caregiving, and feminine empowerment rather than violent colonial expansion. The gender of my informants, their Ashkenazi white privilege, and their integration into the patriarchal order have better enabled the Third Temple movement to access resources and operate symbiotically within the expansionist aims of the secular Zionist state apparatus. Although they belong to a so-called fundamentalist movement, Women for the Temple craft a pious womanhood in the service of state power. But they also empower religious women to move beyond traditional motherhood to take the interpretation of Jewish law into their own hands as they remain steadfast guardians of the Jewish home and nation. Messianic femininity in this case operates as a unique ideological complex that integrates secular and religious gender ideologies in the service of an expansionist state.

RACHEL Z. FELDMAN is a PhD candidate in the Anthropology Department at the University of California, Davis. Her forthcoming dissertation (2018) on the Third Temple movement in Jerusalem examines this messianic movement from intersecting gender, race, and class perspectives. Contact: rzfeldman@ucdavis.edu.

Acknowledgments

The research presented in this article was funded by a Graduate Research Fellowship from the National Science Foundation.

Notes

1. My forthcoming dissertation on the Third Temple movement (2018) elaborates the race and class normativity of the larger Third Temple movement as well as the impact of the Third Temple movement on Muslim Palestinians in East Jerusalem and the ways Palestinian activists have organized to resist the growing presence of Jews on the Haram ash-Sharif.
2. While I do not have income data for my informants, I characterize the majority of Third Temple activists as middle class because they are university educated and work in middle-class professional jobs. None of the women I conducted interviews with were working in the service industry or manual labor. Today about 40 percent of Israeli society is lower middle class, and the upper middle class accounts for 29 percent of the population. See Nisanov 2014. By "Ashkenazi" I refer to Jews who are descendants of European Jewish communities and make up the majority of Israel's upper class. They have the benefits of "white privilege" relative to Mizrahim, Jews of Middle Eastern and North African descent, and Palestinians.
3. See the advertisement for the Temple Institute's annual Sukkot reenactment taking place in the City of David in East Jerusalem (tinyurl.com/y7jd7sc9 [accessed May 3, 2017]).
4. See, e.g., Sharon 2015 and the following report citing these police estimates: the-temple.blogspot.fr/2015/01/blog-post_11.html (in Hebrew).

5. See Rina's comments during her interview with Channel 7 News (the-temple.blogspot.fr/2016/07/blog-post_95.html?spref=bl).
6. Ministers Uri Ariel, Moti Yogev, Moshe Feiglin, Tzipi Hovotely, and Yinon Magal, Zeev Elkin, and Miri Regev have come out explicitly in support of the Third Temple movement. Feiglin made the temple a central component of his political platform in 2014. In December 2015 it was revealed that Deputy Defense Minister Eli-Ben Dahan had donated 50,000 shekels (\$12,000) to the Temple Institute (see Blau 2015). In 2016 Glick became a member of the Knesset.
7. In 2015 Channel 7 News (the major media network of religious Zionism) named Glick "man of the year in the field of human rights" for his work fighting for Jewish prayer on the Temple Mount (Vitkon 2016).
8. For more information on recent surveys, see, e.g., Hasson 2013.
9. Jewish Orthodoxy does not ordain women with the title of rabbi. However, programs like the one offered at Midreshet Lindenbaum, while still controversial in the Orthodox world, allow women to undertake the same course of study as male rabbis and become arbiters of Jewish law.
10. See also the video coverage of Women for the Temple by Israel's Channel 1 news (www.youtube.com/watch?v=HEjfoVRZOgI#t=142 [in Hebrew]).
11. These normative standards of Ashkenazi religiosity, which dominate the religious nationalist demographic, were largely defined by the National Religious Party (known by its Hebrew acronym, Mafdal) and its educational institutions, which existed from 1956 to 2008.
12. In Israel mixed marriages have been shown to maintain socioeconomic gaps between Ashkenazim and Mizrahim (Okun 2004). Marrying an Ashkenazi spouse often provides the tools of upward mobility for Mizrahim. The more educated people from mixed marriages are, the more likely they are to marry an Ashkenazi (183).

References

- Abu El-Haj, Nadia. 2001. *Facts on the Ground: Archaeological Practice and Territorial Self-Fashioning in Israeli Society*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Aran, Gideon, and Tamar El-Or. 1995. "Giving Birth to a Settlement: Maternal Thinking and Political Action of Jewish Women on the West Bank." *Gender and Society* 9, no. 1: 60–78.
- Bacchetta, Paola, and Margaret Power. 2002. *Right Wing Women: From Conservatives to Extremists around the World*. New York: Routledge.
- Bartov, Idit. 2014. "In the Halakha of the Temple Mount, the Women are Leading the Men" (in Hebrew). Interview with Idit Bartov. *Mishelach*, July 30. www.mishelach.co.il/2014/07.
- Ben Porat, Ido. 2015. "Defense Minister Outlaws Temple Mount Screamer." *Arutz Sheva*, September 9. www.israelnationalnews.com/News/News.aspx/200493.
- . 2016. "Fifteen Right Wing Activists Were Arrested on the Way to the Temple Mount" (in Hebrew). *Arutz Sheva*, May 12. www.inn.co.il/News/News.aspx/321895.
- Ben Shitrit, Lihi. 2015. *Righteous Transgressions: Women's Activism on the Israeli and Palestinian Religious Right Wing*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Bilu, Yoram, and Michal Kravel-Tovi. 2008. "The Work of the Present." *American Ethnologist* 35, no. 1: 64–80.
- Blau, Uri. 2015. "Netanyahu Allies Donated to Groups Pushing for Third Temple." *Haaretz*, December 9. www.haaretz.com/settlementdollars/1.690821.
- Chen, Sarina. 2007. "Liminality and Sanctity: A Central Theme in the Rhetoric and Praxis of Temple Zealot Groups" (in Hebrew). *Jerusalem Studies of Jewish Folklore* 24–25: 245–67.
- Dalsheim, Joyce, and Assaf Harel. 2009. "Representing Settlers." *Review of Middle East Studies* 43, no. 2: 219–38.

- Di Leonardo, Michaela. 1985. "Morals, Mothers, and Militarism: Antimilitarism and Feminist Theory." *Feminist Studies* 11, no. 3: 599–617.
- Ehrlich, Yifat. 2016. "The Temple Mount in Their Hands" (in Hebrew). *Yediot Ahronot (Latest News)*, November 6.
- El Or, Tamar, and Haim Watzman. 2002. *Next Year I Will Know More: Literacy and Identity among Young Orthodox Women in Israel*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press.
- Feige, Michael. 2009. *Settling in the Hearts: Jewish Fundamentalism in the Occupied Territories*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press.
- Gorenberg, Gershom. 2000. *The End of Days: Fundamentalism and the Struggle for the Temple Mount*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hasson, Nir. 2013. "One Third of Israeli Jews Want Temple Rebuilt in Jerusalem, Poll Finds." *Haaretz*, July 12. www.haaretz.com/israel-news/.premium-1.535336.
- . 2016. "Ten People Were Arrested on the Eve of Passover for Attempting to Offer a Passover Sacrifice on the Temple Mount" (in Hebrew). *Haaretz*, April 23. www.haaretz.co.il/news/education/1.2924506.
- hooks, bell. 1995. "Feminism and Militarism: A Comment." *Women's Studies Quarterly* 23, nos. 3–4: 58–64.
- Inbari, Motti. 2009. *Jewish Fundamentalism and the Temple Mount*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Ir Amim and Keshev. 2013. "Dangerous Liaison: The Dynamics of the Rise of the Temple Movements and Their Implications." March 1. www.ir-amim.org.il/sites/default/files/Dangerous%20Liaison-Dynamics%20of%20the%20Temple%20Movements.pdf.
- Israel-Cohen, Yael. 2012. *Between Feminism and Orthodox Judaism: Resistance, Identity, and Religious Change in Israel*. Leiden: Brill.
- Joseph, Suad. 1996. "Gender and Citizenship in Middle Eastern States." *Middle East Report*, no. 198: 4–10.
- Kaplan, Laura Duhan. 1994. "Woman as Caretaker: An Archetype That Supports Patriarchal Militarism." *Hypatia* 9, no. 2: 123–33.
- Larkin, Craig, and Michael Dumper. 2012. "In Defense of Al-Aqsa: The Islamic Movement inside Israel and the Battle for Jerusalem." *Middle East Journal* 66, no. 1: 31–52.
- Lavie, Smadar. 2014. *Wrapped in the Flag of Israel: Mizrahi Single Mothers and Bureaucratic Torture*. New York: Berghahn.
- Madmoni-Gerber, Shoshana. 2009. *Israeli Media and the Framing of Internal Conflict: The Yemenite Babies Affair*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Mehager, Tom. 2016. "Terrorist Shooting in Hebron: The Syndrome of the Mizrahi Guard" (in Hebrew). *Haokets*, March 28. www.haokets.org.
- Meir, Tal Roitman. 2013. "A Rabbanit and Judge: Bartov Smashes the Halakhic Ceiling" (in Hebrew). *Yediot Ahronot*, July 8. www.ynet.co.il/articles/0,7340,L-4414750,00.html.
- Neuman, Tamara. 2004. "Maternal 'Anti-Politics' in the Formation of Hebron's Jewish Enclave." *Journal of Palestine Studies* 33, no 2: 51–70.
- Nisanov, Zoya. 2014. "The Middle Class in Israel." Policy Paper No. 2014.04, July. Taub Center for Social Policy Studies in Israel, Jerusalem. taubcenter.org.il/wp-content/files_mf/themiddleclassinisrael.pdf.
- Nissim, Leon. 2008. "The Secular Origins of Mizrahi Traditionalism." *Israel Studies* 13, no. 3: 22–42.
- Ochs, Vanessa. 2007. *Inventing Jewish Ritual*. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society.
- Okun, Barbara S. 2004. "Insight into Ethnic Flux: Marriage Patterns among Jews of Mixed Ancestry in Israel." *Demography* 41, no. 1: 173–87.

- Perugini, Nicola, and Neve Gordon. 2015. *The Human Right to Dominate*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Peteet, Julie. 1997. "Icons and Militants: Mothering in the Dancer Zone." *Signs* 23, no. 1: 103–29.
- Rapoport-Albert, Ada. 2011. *Women and the Messianic Heresy of Sabbati Zevi, 1666–1816*. Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization.
- Reiter, Yitzhak. 2008. *Jerusalem and Its Role in Islamic Solidarity*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Sasson-Levy, Orna. 2013. "A Different Kind of Whiteness: Marking and Unmarking of Social Boundaries in the Construction of Hegemonic Ethnicity." *Sociological Forum* 28, no. 1: 27–50.
- Sharon, Jeremy. 2014. "Orthodox Women Launch Book on Jewish Law." *Jerusalem Post*, June 26. www.jpost.com/Jewish-World/Jewish-News/Orthodox-women-launch-book-on-Jewish-law-360598.
- . 2015. "Jewish Visits to Temple Mount Increase by 92% since 2009." *Jerusalem Post*, January 27. www.jpost.com/Israel-News/Jewish-visitors-to-Temple-Mount-increase-by-92-percent-since-2009-389154.
- Shenhav, Yehouda. 2003. "How Did the Mizrahim Become Religious and Zionist? Zionism, Colonialism, and the Religionization of the Arab Jew." *Israel Studies Forum* 19, no. 1: 73–87.
- Shenhav, Yehouda, and Yossi Yonah, eds. 2008. *Racism in Israel* (in Hebrew). Jerusalem: Van Leer Institute; Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz Hameuchad.
- Soffer, Ari. 2014. "Temple Mount: Jews Harassed Ordered to 'Respect Ramadan.'" *Arutz Sheva*, June 30. www.israelnationalnews.com/News/News.aspx/182344.
- Van der Haven, Alexander. 2012. *From Lowly Metaphor to Divine Flesh: Sarah the Ashkenazi, Sabbatai Tzvi's Messianic Queen*. Amsterdam: Menasseh ben Israel Instituut Studies.
- Vitkon, Avinodav. 2016. "Back to Life, back to the Mountain: Man of the Year in Human Rights: Yehuda Glick Head of the Organization HaLiba" (in Hebrew). *Arutz Sheva*, September 9. www.inn.co.il/News/News.aspx/305995.
- Weissler, Chava. 2005. "Meanings of Shekinah in the 'Jewish Renewal' Movement." *Nashim: A Journal of Jewish Women's Studies and Gender Issues*, no. 10: 53–83.
- Yuval-Davis, Nira. 1997. *Gender and Nation*. London: Sage.

