Whose Terms?

Teaching review · 26 October 2026

The Common Fund source companion

A Whose Terms? investigation. Created by Yoav Duman.

The cards below reproduce the bounded teaching summaries and locators supplied in the game. They are not a substitute for the complete sources. Fictional voices and programmed outcomes are not historical testimony.

E01 A national project in an inhabited country

Historical context and authors' interpretation Late Ottoman Palestine; background to 1905

Shafir and Peled analyze Labor Zionism as a settlement movement seeking a Jewish demographic majority and institutions for a Jewish nation-state. Palestinian Arabs already lived, worked, and cultivated land there. Their resistance concerned control of their country, land, and livelihoods. Jewish migrants also sought refuge from poverty, oppression, and antisemitism.

Source locator: Printed pp. 37–39

E02 Employers and workers did not share one interest

Historical mechanism 1904–1914

Jewish plantation owners often preferred lower-paid Palestinian workers. Organized Eastern European Jewish workers sought higher wages and stable employment. Unable to secure their aims through ordinary competition, workers increasingly demanded a protected Jewish employment sector. This conflict helped turn labor organizing into national institution building.

Source locator: Printed pp. 38–41

E03 Open to purchase, closed afterward

JNF established 1901; practices developed during the pre-state period | Institutional rule and authors' interpretation

The Jewish National Fund bought land through the land market, then retained it as Jewish national property. In the institutional model examined here, its land could be leased only to Jews and could not employ non-Jewish labor. A purchase could therefore change future access rules as well as ownership.

Read here: Printed pp. 39–40, 46–47

Limit: A game rule that prevents later resale models a durable institutional commitment. It must not imply that all land in Palestine was owned by the JNF or that every sale had identical consequences.

Source: SP2002 · Being Israeli: The Dynamics of Multiple Citizenship

Optional primary-source counterexample · temporary cultivation

A 1931 administration report records a temporary JNF-land lease through the British government for displaced Arab cultivators. A general institutional restriction therefore does not describe every local arrangement. Temporary cultivation also does not establish permanent tenure or consent to displacement.

Report on the Administration of Palestine and Trans-Jordan for the year 1931

Open the dated primary record

E04 Subsidies made a protected sector possible

Historical mechanism 1905–1930s

The World Zionist Organization supplied resources that organized settlers could not raise from their earnings alone. Public land, cooperative organization, and financial support helped sustain settlements and employment outside ordinary market pressures. Dependence on these resources also made distribution rules and political organization powerful.

Source locator: Printed pp. 39, 41–42, 45–48

E05 Who gets credit for the common good?

Authors' republican citizenship mechanism Pre-state Labor Settlement Movement

Pioneering made agricultural labor, settlement, and defense signs of civic virtue. Those recognized as pioneers gained priority in national resources and institutions. The crucial issue was not simply effort: the movement defined which kinds of work and which people counted as making an especially valuable national contribution.

Source locator: Printed pp. 42–45, 70–73

E06 A union, employer, and provider

Institutional history Histadrut founded 1920; Workers' Society established 1924

The Histadrut developed much more than collective bargaining. Its institutional network linked employment, enterprises, cooperatives, health provision, and other services. Its Workers' Society owned and administered economic bodies. This helped create a separate Jewish society whose institutions performed functions later associated with a state.

Source locator: Printed pp. 40, 47–49

E07 Provision can also create dependence

Authors' institutional interpretation 1920s–1930s

An organization that distributes jobs, subsidies, and services can improve members' lives while making access depend on institutional loyalty. Shafir and Peled describe party machinery occupying the channel between national resources and workers. Participation and internal elections did not automatically produce equal influence or rights protected from arbitrary decisions.

Source locator: Printed pp. 48–53

E08 Shared Jewishness did not mean equal standing

Historical inequality and authors' interpretation Late Ottoman period; Jewish migration waves before 1920

Yemenite Jewish workers were recruited in attempts to replace Palestinian workers but received lower wages and smaller housing and plots than European Jews. Ashkenazi organizers were more successful in obtaining national resources. Racialized distinctions between supposedly idealistic and natural workers justified unequal recognition and access within the Jewish population. The 'idealistic' worker was credited with a qualitative national contribution, while the supposedly 'natural' worker supplied quantity without the same founding credit. Control of national land and finance made this racialized ranking materially effective.

Source locator: Printed pp. 74–76

E09 Work can sustain the institution yet bring little authority

Authors' gender analysis Pre-state foundations; analyzed across the longer twentieth century

Women participated in settlement and labor, yet the activities conferring pioneering prestige were coded as masculine. Care and reproductive work were treated as support for the national project rather than equal grounds for authority. This makes gender a question about how institutions recognize contribution, not whether women worked or participated.

Source locator: Printed pp. 71, 95–97 The dated 1927 organizing conflict is on printed p. 107; administrative privileges are discussed on p. 64. See also E20.

E10 A market opening is not an equal right

Conceptual distinction supported by the historical case Conceptual lens for every round

Liberal citizenship concerns individuals' equal rights and protection from arbitrary authority. An employer hiring across communal boundaries may instead be pursuing cheaper labor. The book distinguishes market incentives, republican rewards for recognized service, and ethno-national membership. The same policy can expand employment while preserving unequal power or wages.

Source locator: Printed pp. 4–6, 39–40, 47, 53–55

E11 Exclusion could serve organizational power

Historical finding and authors' explanation 1932–1936

The Histadrut campaigned against Jewish employers' hiring of Arab labor even during prosperity and declining unemployment. Shafir and Peled connect the campaign to competition with citrus growers and Revisionists (a rival Zionist political movement) as well as to national separation. Exclusion cannot therefore be explained only as an automatic response to job scarcity.

Source locator: Printed p. 41

E12 A growing Jewish population within a larger population

Contemporaneous administrative counts 1922 and 1931 censuses

Official censuses counted 757,182 people in 1922 and 1,035,821 in 1931. The Jewish religious category rose from 83,794 to 174,610: 11.1% to 16.9%. These categories do not directly count Palestinians versus settlers.

Source locator: Census of Palestine, 1931, vol. II, tables II(a) and III, printed pp. 6, 10–11; 1922 appendix p. 594

E13 Revolt and repression changed institutional capacities

Contemporaneous parliamentary admission plus scholarly institutional analysis 1936–1939; deportations in October 1937

The 1936–1939 Arab Revolt challenged British rule and the Zionist settlement project. British repression disrupted Palestinian leadership: in October 1937 five leaders, four from the Arab Higher Committee, were deported without trial. Shafir and Peled describe how the strike paralyzed public services and parts of the Jewish private economy; Jewish workers replaced strikers. The Histadrut's monopoly in supplying labor strengthened its position. As private capital declined, private enterprises increasingly sought national finance. These were unequal historical processes, not innate differences between populations.

Source locator: Hansard, House of Commons, 4 November 1938, vol. 340, cols. 541–542W; Being Israeli, printed pp. 69–70.

E14 A partition recommendation was not an implemented settlement

Primary UN resolution and distinction between recommendation and implementation 29 November 1947

UN General Assembly Resolution 181 recommended partition into Arab and Jewish states linked by economic union, with a separate international regime for Jerusalem. The plan included equal protection and minority rights. It proposed a transition and institutions for implementation; adopting the recommendation did not itself establish both states or automatically put those protections into practice.

Source locator: A/RES/181(II), opening recommendation; Plan Part I, A–C, especially B.10 and C, Chapter 2

E15 Institutions claimed the authority of a state

Primary declaration compared with scholarly account of institutional continuity 14 May 1948

Israel's establishment declaration announced a Jewish state and provisional government while promising social and political equality. Shafir and Peled identify statehood as a change from sectoral institutions to sovereign state authority, not a clean break with earlier hierarchies. A declaration's commitments did not by themselves determine everyone's effective rights, nationality status, or control of property.

Source locator: Declaration of the Establishment of the State of Israel, 14 May 1948, operative and equality passages; Being Israeli, printed pp. 17–18, 110–113

E16 Displacement could become administrative dispossession

Scholarly account plus primary contemporaneous property regulations and UN report 1948 displacement; property regulations issued 2 December 1948

During the Nakba, Palestinians fled and were expelled, losing homes and livelihoods. In December 1948, emergency regulations defined absentees and vested their property rights in a state custodian (an official administering the property), including in some cases people who had left their normal residence without leaving Palestine. Physical displacement could thus be reinforced by administrative classification and control of property.

Source locator: Being Israeli, printed pp. 17–18, 53, 110–113; UNCCP A/AC.25/W/10, 2 May 1949, introduction and annex regulations 1(a), 5, and 19(b); UN Mediator A/648, Part One VIII.3(e), VIII.4(i)

E17 Return and compensation remained political questions

Primary UN resolution; implementation is distinguished from stated entitlement 11 December 1948

UN General Assembly Resolution 194 addressed refugees as people with claims, not merely as a relief burden. Paragraph 11 called for allowing refugees wishing to return home and live peacefully with neighbors to do so, and for compensation for those choosing not to return and for qualifying property loss or damage. Recognition still required implementation.

Source locator: A/RES/194(III), paragraph 11

E18 Statehood did not end the frontier within

Scholarly institutional interpretation and dated historical regime Military administration began in 1948; continued until 1966

Palestinian communities remaining within Israel faced military administration beginning in 1948. It restricted movement and economic opportunities. Shafir and Peled connect this regime to control of labor, land, and political participation. Becoming a state therefore changed the instruments of exclusion and incorporation; formal promises of equal standing did not eliminate institutionally unequal access.

Source locator: Being Israeli, printed p. 18 and pp. 110–113

E19 A real right can still have a boundary

Authors' distinction between social citizenship, relief and patronage Pre-state foundations; pp. 60–65 also discuss later developments

The Histadrut provided substantial social protection for members through mutual self-help, including care, employment-related benefits and housing. These were not simply personal gifts for loyalty: many claims attached to recognized institutional positions. But their coverage and distribution were tied to the labor movement's national-colonial project. A social right for that community did not amount to an equal claim for every inhabitant.

Source locator: Being Israeli (2002), printed pp. 60–65, especially pp. 63 and 65.

E20 Votes, services, and independent women's authority

Historical organizing and authors' gendered-citizenship interpretation 1911–1930; playable focus 1927

The book describes women's organizing for equal participation in pioneering work and their 1925 achievement of unqualified voting and candidacy rights in the Yishuv's national institutions, while local suffrage remained uneven. In the Women Workers' Council, independent feminist and loyalist approaches competed. Ada Maymon's replacement by Golda Meirson in 1927 marked the defeat of the more independent leadership. Family-oriented services did not confer equivalent feminist authority. The authors link this pattern to a gendered distinction between masculine qualitative pioneering and supportive or quantitative care and motherhood.

Source locator: Being Israeli (2002), printed pp. 101, 106–109; gendered contribution pp. 96–98.

E21 Three grounds for citizenship claims

Authors' conceptual distinctions and their application Conceptual framework; applied to the pre-state institutions

The book distinguishes three grounds for citizenship. Liberal claims treat individuals as bearers of equal rights and constrain interference by authorities. Republican claims link standing to participation in a common good and can privilege recognized service. Ethno-national claims ground belonging in a national or ethnic community. These discourses can combine: a nationally bounded institution can rank members' contribution while also recognizing some individual rights. A social entitlement is not automatically liberal, and market access is not the same as an equal right.

Source locator: Being Israeli (2002), printed pp. 4–6, 42–45, 63–65, 96–98.

E22 Leadership can rest on achievements and unequal incorporation

Authors' account of hegemony and its limits Pre-state formation of Labor Settlement Movement hegemony

Shafir and Peled explain the labor movement's leadership through more than force or personal patronage. Valuable social provision and an effective strategy for building a Jewish nation-state drew support from groups with different interests. Control of national resources and institutions helped make that leadership durable. Yet the project preserved elitist, sectoral and national limits: it promised incorporation while ranking or excluding groups. Palestinian national aspirations remained outside its national project.

Source locator: Being Israeli (2002), printed pp. 66–73; resources and authority pp. 48–50.

E23 Unequal political recognition

1922 Mandate | Primary legal framework, summarized

The Mandate gave Britain legislative and administrative authority. It recognized a Jewish agency to cooperate with the administration and promoted a Jewish national home. It protected other inhabitants' civil and religious rights without granting Palestinians equivalent recognition as a national political body. These unequal positions shaped opportunities for organization; they did not determine every later decision.

Read here: Mandate for Palestine, 24 July 1922, Articles 1, 2, 4 and 6. Primary text reproduced by Yale Avalon.

Source: MANDATE1922 · Mandate for Palestine, 24 July 1922

Open the source

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Glossary

Incorporation regime: The linked institutions and rules through which groups receive membership, resources, status, obligations, and a capacity to make claims. It explains patterned differences in belonging, not just possession of a passport.

Republican citizenship: A political tradition connecting membership and standing to participation in a community's common good. In this book, pioneering service helps define whose contribution merits privileged standing. This is unrelated to the US Republican Party.

Ethno-national citizenship: A discourse that grounds belonging in membership of a national or ethnic community. Shared Jewish belonging can include people in one national category while other institutions rank their contributions unequally.

Liberal citizenship: A discourse emphasizing individuals' equal rights and limits on collective authority. It is not a synonym for employer discretion, privatization, or any particular political party. Civil liberty and a universal social entitlement are also distinct ideas.

Colonial republicanism: A form of collective membership in which recognized service to a colonial-national project supports rights and privileged standing for its participants. Collective benefits and exclusion are linked parts of the same institutional construction.

Pioneering / chalutziyut: The labor movement's ideal of contributing through labor, agricultural settlement, and defense to the Zionist national project. Its recognition distributed status and access to resources; it was not a neutral measure of everyone's actual effort.

Social entitlement: A defined claim to a service or material protection that covered people can demand as a right. Ask who is covered, what is promised, and what remedy exists when an official refuses.

Histadrut: The Jewish labor organization established in 1920 that combined labor representation with economic, social-service, and political functions. Its core institutions helped build a separate Jewish national society in Palestine.

JNF: The Jewish National Fund, established in 1901, acquired and held land for the Zionist national project. Shafir and Peled analyze how national landholding restrictions worked together with nationally restricted labor institutions.

WZO: The World Zionist Organization. National resources mobilized through Zionist institutions helped finance settlement and the labor movement, attaching institutional conditions to collective provision.

Yishuv: The Jewish community in Palestine before the establishment of Israel in 1948. Institutions of the Yishuv were not the sovereign government of Palestine.

Ashkenazi / Yemenite / Mizrahi: Ashkenazi refers here to Jews of European background; Yemenite Jews came from Yemen. Mizrahi is a broader, historically constructed category for Jews originating in the Middle East and North Africa. These labels do not explain unequal ability or need.

Palestinian tenant cultivator: A person cultivating land under a tenancy or similar arrangement. Ownership, tenancy, cultivation, residence, and consent are different claims; an owner's sale does not show that all users consented or had no rights.

British Mandate: The British colonial political order in Palestine following wartime occupation and the Mandate's authorization in 1922. A local cooperative lacked sovereign authority; British rule and coercive power set limits on its choices.

Institutional inheritance: An earlier rule continues to shape access, expectations, dependence, and the interests of incumbents. Later decisions operate on that inherited arrangement, even when new decision makers describe their aims differently.

Counterfactual: An explicitly invented alternative used to ask how changing a rule might alter an outcome. It is not evidence that the alternative happened, was equally feasible, or could remove wider structural constraints.

Patronage: Discretionary allocation connected to personal or political loyalty. Shafir and Peled warn against reducing the labor movement’s genuine, institutionally grounded social rights to patronage alone.

Voice: The effective capacity to obtain information, shape agendas, represent interests, and challenge decisions. Having a vote or a symbolic seat does not by itself establish equal authority.

Nakba: Arabic for catastrophe: the Palestinian mass expulsion and flight, dispossession, destruction of communities, and loss of homeland associated with 1948. Refugees’ blocked return is central to its enduring consequences. It is not a game outcome produced by the cooperative’s choices.

Claim and remedy: A claim asserts an entitlement, such as to employment, tenancy, ownership, or return. Documents may support it. A remedy is an action addressing a violation; preserving a record does not itself provide restitution or the power to enforce return.

UN partition recommendation: UN General Assembly Resolution 181, adopted on 29 November 1947, recommended partition into Arab and Jewish states. A recommendation must not be confused with a fully implemented settlement, final borders, or equal rights already realized.

Cooperative: An organization in which members pool resources and share some decisions. Its actual rules determine who can join, who receives benefits, and who has authority.

Collective: The community an institution treats as sharing a common good. Its boundary is a question to investigate; it does not automatically include everyone living in the country.

Standing: A person's recognized access to resources, benefits, status, and authority. Sharing national belonging does not guarantee the same standing.

Sovereignty: Authority to govern a territory and population. A fund can set its own service rules without possessing sovereignty.

Imperial or colonial rule: Government exercised by an outside imperial power. Ottoman and then British authorities held powers the fictional fund could not exercise.

Piece rates: Pay calculated per task or unit produced, rather than a common wage guarantee. Removing origin categories from this contract does not equalize bargaining power.

Qualitative / quantitative contribution: The book analyzes a hierarchy of recognized contribution. Some labor was credited as nation-transforming pioneering; other work or population growth was counted without equivalent founding status. These are classifications of worth by institutions, not facts about people's abilities.

Discretionary aid: Help an administrator may grant or refuse rather than a defined benefit that an eligible person can claim as an institutional right.

Remedy: A process or action that can address a denied claim, such as correcting an allocation. Preserving evidence of a claim is different from having the power to provide the remedy.

State custodian: An official or body administering property under state rules. In the December 1948 regulations discussed here, property rights vested in the custodian, but the custodian’s power to transfer immovable ownership onward was restricted; it was not an unrestricted power of permanent sale.

Sectoral institutions: Institutions organized around a particular social, political, or national community. A substantial benefit inside one network need not cover everyone outside it.

Revisionists: A rival Zionist political movement. In the cases here, competition with the labor movement concerns organization, resources, and authority; the label does not mean historians revising a text.

Aliya / aliyot: A Hebrew term used for Jewish migration to Palestine or Israel; aliyot is the plural. Historical accounts often group migration into named waves.

Zionism: The Jewish national movement seeking a national home and statehood in Palestine. The game examines how settlement institutions built a separate national society within an inhabited country; rival Zionist groups did not share every interest or strategy.