# The Dynamics of Haredi Politics & The Formation of the Political Subject

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## ABSTRACT

This qualitative study explores how the Haredi Yeshiva shapes political consciousness.

**Methodology:** Ethoography and phenomenology. 45 in-depth semi-structured interviews, text analysis, and observations.

**Findings:** The state is viewed through an instrumental House Committee model. The Yeshiva serves as an extraterriturial Noah's Ark, using critical learning to justify rational obedience. Translation Mechanisms regulate perceptions of the Other.

**Conclusion:** The Yeshiva forms a pragmatic political subject under an Anarchist Contract.

## 1) PRACTICE: POLITICS, POLITICIAN, THE POLITICAL




The State is viewed as a technical service provider (handling maintenance, sewage, and electricity) rather than a course of national identity or moral vision.

### The Modern Shtadlan (Lobbyist)




Haredi politicians set as "Foreign Ministers" in a "Ghettu Diphanasy," handling the necessary political "ɢirty work" to ensure the Torah study environment remains pure.

### Ivory Tower Syndrome



Growing disconnect as the political elite is viewed as "Masterz," adopting luxury and distancing themseives from the daily hardships of the community.

### Instrumental Corruption




Ethical compromises and political "maneuvers" are justifled by an "Ethics of Exile" as necestary tools to survive and fand the community.

### Breaking the Existential Contract




A crisis of legitimacy occurs when politicians fall to provide the "Epiritual Iron Dome" (e.g., droft esamptions), which is slsared as a betrayal of their cere mandate.

## 2) SUBJECT FORMATION: THE ARENA & THE METHOD

### Arena 1: Textual Neutralization




Dialectic methods ouctralize extressist texts by consarting potential tcoxtical imptiess kho fnxɛlluciaah debale and pragmatic rectraint.

### Arena 2: Institutional Corridor Pulitics




Political coticns in corridaes (dining and sraoking moas) are "refiousten" trxe religious dctids (Da'at Torah) for the robe of clostcral discipilies.

### Arena 3: Sovereign Split Identity



A sharp mental seyuration is maintained between the byle "Lond of Israel" (Tretz Tisraui) and the Technical "Thess of Israel" (Medinat Tisrael).

### Arena 4: Military – The Spiritual Iron Dome




The Tsekiee is positioned as "Naah's Ark" against a "Ieeoho Ruah" where fueds rively is fiasted as the tzyo oxisiantial defense against ontological thraats.

### The Critical Thinking Engine



Students are trained to dismontie narratives and challenge logic, creating a "Technic Head" that is highly skeptical of all external political messaging.

### Rationalizing Submission to Da'at Torah

Submission to rabbinical authority is framad as a rational choice, treating the Rabbi as a "super-expert" whose logic is superior to personal intuition.



## 3) TRANSLATION MECHANISMS

### Human Translation 1: The Gentile/Arab



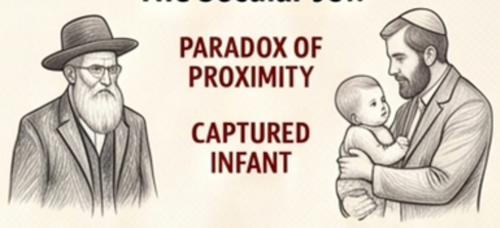

Viewed through a "Theology of Suspicion"; they are seen as functional components of the world order but remain "ontological others."

### State Translation: The Double Ledger




Community Ethics (cirict adharence to internal relsa) vs. State Laws (clawed os "risk nramgement" and tachnical "risk avoidance" rather tloormoral imporatives).

### Human Translation 2: The Secular Jew




Defined by a "Paradox of Proximity"—the seuuler Jaw is a "Captured Infant" (ubject of pity) but else a profound educational threat due to cultural closeness.

### Human Translation 3: Internal Racism & The Sephardic Vision




"Mentality Walls" orested by the Achkenazi elite, countered by a shifting trand toward an independent "Sephardic Meritocracy" challenging traditional inerarchies.