# מרם שלום

אני מצאתי שזה מאמר מעניין והאתנוגרפיה משכנעת. הוא כן צריך עריכה לשונית מקיפה וטיפול בכמה בעיות שקונדה העלה. לדעתי לא פתרת את הבעיות האלה בצורה מספקת.

קונדה העיר שיש להבחין בין המטרות של פעולת בניית זכרון לבין התוצאות. את צריכה להוסיף הסבר בדיון התאורטי לכך. ובדיון שלך בסוף להראות באופן ברור יותר מה היו התוצאות.

קונדה העיר בסוף שיש פער בין התאוריה והממצאים – הוא מתכוון שהקשר בין התיאוריה/מסקנות והממצאים הוא לא מפורש. חסר בהרבה מקומות איזשהו שלב ביניים בו את מקשרת בין הדיון התאורטי לסיפור הקונקרטי. אני מציעה לעבור על כל חלק בו יש דיון תאורטי (ויש נטיה לחזור על אותה טענה כמה פעמים בלי לפתח אותה) ולכתוב משפט או שניים שמקשר את הטענה באופן ישיר לממצאים.

מעבר לכך יש בעיה חשובה שקונדה העיר עליה הרבה פעמים ולא נראה לי שהצלחת לפתור – הנושא שלך בכותרת ובניסוח הוא "מערכת החינוך", אבל בעצם את מדברת על קבוצה של שחקנים שחורגים ממערכת החינוך עצמה. אפילו אם רובם מורים והרבה מהיוזמות קשורות לבתי הספר, הפעילות חורגת באופן ברור מהמסגרת הזו. לכן, הערת השוליים שהוספת לא מספיקה. אני לא יכולה לספק לך פיתרון סגור לבעיה הזו, אבל מציעה לחשוב מחדש על הצורה שאת מגדירה את מה שהוא בעצם ה"שדה" שלך. לי נראה שאת מדברת על איזושהי "אליטה" תרבותית/אינטלקטואלית מקומית (בדיוק אותם אנשים שגורשו ונעלמו עם הנאקבה!) – שאפשר להגדיר באנגלית אולי כ-cultural activists. מה שבולט בין השורות זה שזו קבוצה יחסית מגובשת אשר בוחרת לפעול דרך מערכת החינוך כי שם יש להם השפעה, אבל זה חורג מגבולות מערכת החינוך, לבטח הפורמלית. **לדעתי את חייבת להקדיש להוסיף הסבר הרבה יותר מפורט בגוף המאמר שמתייחס לכל זה**.

קונדה אהב את הקונסצפט של on cross generational transfer. והתאכזב כשלא הדגשת את זה במאמר. לדעתי זה בסדר – רק צריך לשנות את הניסות בהקדמה כדי שזה לא יטעה קוראים.

חוץ מזה – הרבה מהפעולות קשורות ליום הזיכרון לטבח – אני מציעה גם להזכיר ולהסביר את יום הזכרון ואת ההסטוריה שלו (כלומר כיצד הוא התפתח והשתנה לאורך השנים) לפני שאת נכנסת לפרטים של הפעולות השונות.

קונדה גם העיר על האיות של כפר קאסם – כתבת את השם בהמון דרכים שונות לאורך המאמר!

# Remembering our parents: Memory and commemoration of the kofur kassem massacre in the educational system

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**Abstract:**

Studies examining the reification of nationhood narratives in educational systems have typically focused on memories rooted in trauma, and on the tremendous role of memory and commemoration in schools (Trost, 2019, Apple,1979). This paper examines the ways in which the local education system has remembered and perpetuated the story of the Kufor Kaseem massacre. My main argument is that educational practices succeeded to examine the collective memory processes that occur simultaneously and in conjunction with the process of collective identity formation to help maintain the local community unity. Links between collective memory and collective identity are theoretically traced, and the concept of narrative commemoration is proposed to help explore two distinct processes that emerged in the analysis. The first process, collective memory creation, makes collective memories of traumatic events that occurred in the past of the local population. The Local community failed to process these events due to the sociopolitical circumstances that characterized the period in which they took place. In the second process, collective memory maintenance, he local education system plays a central role by teaching the story of the massacre as a collective memory of national culture .

 (Gongaware, 2003). Each process is important, as community members develop a unity around ends, means, fields of action, networks of relations, and recollections of these elements from

Their collective past.

 One of the main theoretical frames of this essay is collective memory. This term has been used by different scholars to describe different phenomenon. My use of the term overlaps with what was termed “historical memory” by Halbwachs’s(1992) and “cultural memory” by Assman & Czaplicka,(1995). And “popular memory” by the popular memory group (1998). I am depending on Halbwachs’s theory and definishion , which has dominated the sociology of commemoration, in sum, following Halbwachs’s Durkheimian formulation; sociologists have largely studied commemoration as a vehicle generating group solidarity and collective identity through the distribution and enforcement of shared mnemonic schemas and objects (Hiro, 2010)

**Keywords**[collective identity](https://journals.sagepub.com/keyword/Collective%2BIdentity), [collective memory](https://journals.sagepub.com/keyword/Collective%2BMemory), educational system, [narrative commemoration](https://journals.sagepub.com/keyword/Narrative%2BCommemoration), [social movements](https://journals.sagepub.com/keyword/Social%2BMovements), Kufor Kassem massacre

**Historical background**

From 1947 to 1948 almost all the Palestinian urban elites were exiled to neighboring Arab countries. Arab-Palestinian newspapers, libraries, theaters, colleges and other institutions of national knowledge-production disappeared with them (mana, 2016, sorek, 2015).

The Palestinians who remained in Israel were disproportionately villagers, with relatively low levels of education. Until 1966 this defeated population lived under the Israeli military government that severely restricted movement, work, education, political organization and freedom of speech. Furthermore, the Palestinian population was scattered in various isolated “pockets “that survived the Nakba: The Galilee, the Triangle and the Negev\ Naqab, and the various previously Palestinian cities that became mixed cities with Jewish majority (Sorek, 2015, Mana, 2016). On October 29, 1956, on the eve of the war Israel waged against Egypt in cooperation with Great Britain and France, the IDF decided to advance the curfew on the villages in the Triangle area to five o'clock. And the instruction given was to shoot anyone who violated the orders. This also meant shooting civilians who were in the fields at the time the order was given. The result of the order was a massacre that took the lives of 49 residents of the village of Kofur Kassem (Rosenthal, 2000, Sorek, 2015, Zertal, 2018). This in short is the story of the agreed upon events, without its most hideous details.

 From the late 1950s, a new phase in the Israeli establishment's policy towards the Palestinian population will also begin. When Mapai leaders and the military-settlement establishment recognized that the presence of the Palestinians was a permanent fact, new mechanisms of control should begin to be established. Not only military mechanisms, and not only tools of repression, dispossession, and close supervision, but institutional political and economic mechanisms - integration. Blocked economic development, strategic land expropriation, "integration out of subordination", re-education (Algazi,2009).

The state’s rigid policy of supervision of Arab society through the education system, and its contents led to the exclusion of politics and issues of identity within the system, and created fear and caution among the educators ( i'Mar & Amara, 2006).

 Palestinians carefully followed the official curriculum of the Israeli Ministry of Education and did not discuss any collective painful memory of the Palestinian people (Sorek, 2015). This rigid supervision continued until the late 1970s, when the level of supervision decreased and the educational framework in Arab society underwent a process of democratization and increase in the level of consciousness (Egbaria & Jabareen, 2014).

The exposure of the political, legal and social story of the massacre made it possible to deal with the memory of the massacre events within the education system compared with other traumatic events that had less or no legitimacy. Our research moves beyond the crime to examine how the massacre has been remembered and commemorated in the local educational system.

**Theoretical background**

 Collective traumatic memory entails a process of evolution that requires several generations in which to play itself out (Laub &Auerhahn, 1993; Connolly, 2011). There are deficits in our abilities to grasp trauma, name it, recall it, and, paradoxically, forget it. We know trauma because it thrusts itself upon us unbeckoned. Yet, one way to deal with collective trauma is the work of memory and commemoration ( [Connolly](https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/action/doSearch?ContribAuthorStored=Connolly%2C+Angela), 2011). By providing actors with objects and performances that narrate a past event as part of a shared group identity, commemoration constitutes social groups. Furthermore, because autobiographical memories are crucial to generating and maintaining individuals’ sense of personal identity, commemoration provides people with autobiographical narratives of their purportedly shared past as a group and induces them to feel and accept such narratives as authentic (Saito,2010). The felt authentication of a collective autobiography is made possible by the ritual nature of commemoration. As Randall Collins (2004: 42) has argued, rituals are “occasions that combine a high degree of mutual focus of attention, that is, a high degree of inter-subjectivity, together with a high degree of emotional entrainment …[which]result[s] in feelings of membership that are attached to cognitive symbols.” The collective eﬀervescence that commemoration generates by virtue of its ritual nature, mostly helps participants feel authentic about autobiographical narratives of their purportedly shared past. Alexander (2004a: 527; saito, 2010)

Schools are major sites where collective memory is created and transferred under the guidance of the state. They serve as agents of nationalism. Textbooks and history teaching in general are typically considered sites of "Hotnationalism", containing explicit ideas about the nation and ethnic identity, represented through national symbols, flags, maps, borders, and stories of who belongs to "us" versus "them". All these serve the explicit purpose of legitimizing the state's preferred narrative (Apple, 1979), and are the primary sites of nation-building myths: glorification of the nation, stories of victimization, persecution, unjust treatment, loss of territory, and perpetual enmity with neighbors. These nation-building myths serve as the "Essential building block of nations, a key feature of national identity" (Zubrzycki, 2011: 22)

Collective memory - the discussion of the collective aspects of memory - is closely related to the discussion of questions relating to the politics of representation. The study of collective memory focuses on representations of the past in culture and discourse. In this framework, memory is a product of social construction shaped by its economic, cultural, political and ideological contexts; it is a representation not only of the past, but also of the power relations and power structures in the society and culture of the present, that influence its design. Thus, collective memory is an arena in which struggles are fought over identity formation. The perpetuation of personalities and events in space and time is an important component of collective memory.

The memorial ceremonies held every year in schools in the modern world were created as part of the effort of the modern nation-state, which saw itself as an educating movement that seeks to shape a new person who is loyal to the values of the nation (Zhao,1998).

These constructions make a significant contribution to the establishment of defined subjectivity, and to the creation of other powerful socializing agents (Podeh 2002. 2010), such as the education system which plays a crucial role, much greater than passing core knowledge in the various fields. It carries ideological and moral messages, both overt and covert, that educate and legitimize social beliefs, self-perceptions, social values ​​and goals, relations with the "other" and its representations, and more. The education system assists in the construction of normalized individuals who are committed to the values ​​of society and are disciplined (Meyer 1986; Popkewitz and Brennan 1998).

In this paper I intend to explore the contribution and the place of the school in preserving the memory and commemoration of the massacre.

**Research Methodology:**

In this study, I used a qualitative research method for collecting data, so that I could explore deeply and in detail the workings of the memory of the massacre in the education system. We chose to utilize open, in-depth interviews to explore these educator’s experience of motherhood, analyzing it through qualitative inquiry. The open in-depth interview allowed us to understand and construct the meaning of the experience described by the interviewees. The goal in choosing this tool is to encourage the interviewees to disclose their story at length and talk about what it means to them, while recreating and constructing the experience being analyzed. This tool makes a significant contribution in helping the interviewee to forge an internal integration of the “self,” as she achieves a clearer understanding of what she has experienced and felt, and what it has meant to them (Seidman, 1991) this approach is concerned with understanding the meanings people attribute to behaviors and phenomena Social and interpretation of texts and actions (Marsh and Furlong, 2002).

 In order to examine the reasons that motivated the various actors in Kofur kassem local educational system, I conducted in-depth interviews between the years 2017-2018. I interviewed 28 educators, 20 local schoolteachers, 5 principals and 3 directors in charge of the education system of Kofur kassem.15 females and 13 males. They all have worked in the educational system of Kufor Kassem, from after the Massacre until today (1950s-present). All of them was born and raised in Kufor Kassem, except for two interviewees who worked in Kufor Kassem during the 70s and not resident of the place..

**כאן המקום להכניס פסקה שמסבירה מה היא מערכת החינוך שאת חוקרת – ולהדגיש שזה לא רק המערכת הפורמלית אלא גם כל הפעילות החינוכית שמסביב**

**Research Findings:**

**Commemoration of the memory and a memory to commemorate - the educational system as commemorating arena of the massacre**

The issues of commemoration and preoccupation with memory of the massacre have gone through many stages in the kufor Kassem education system, from absolute abstention to touch on any trace of the massacre in the first generation, to a situation in which the education system has become a central arena for memory and commemoration work.

לא בטוחה אם נכון לכתוב את הממצאים הללו, מכיוון שהפוקוס שלי אינו על הבדלים בין דוריים בהנצחה וזיכרון. מה אתה חושב?

מסכים---- הדגש לפי הפתיחה על ההעברה הבין דורית והקשר לזכרון. אז צריך להתמקד בהעברה

The results of this study point to a diverse and rich world of content regarding the memory work and commemoration of the Kafr Qasem massacre. The findings show that the educational[[1]](#footnote-1) system has succeeded in perpetuating the memory of this collective trauma in several ways. Such as street theater, the construction of an alternative curriculum, art, living testimonies, parades, and the panorama museum that tells the story of the massacre. In addition, memory and commemoration had a significant role in the construction and shaping of a local national identity.

**להזכיר בפסקה למעלה את יום הזכרון לטבח ולציין שהרבה מעבודת הזיכרון נבנתה סביב ליום הזה**

**An alternative curriculum:**

Children learn about and are socialized into national and ethnic events through a variety of channels, history textbooks and curriculum, have major role in Transferring of information and internalization of collective memory and demoralization, and it’s influence on how the past is remembered in the present (Trošt,2019). In the absence of reference to the story of the massacre in the formal curriculum, approved by the ministry of education in Israel, created a need of an alternative curriculum that brings the story of the massacre from a local perspective.

 In 2016 the education department in the village of Kufor Kaseem together with the Popular Cultural Committee for the 60th anniversary of the massacre in Kufor Kaseem initiated a writing project of alternative educational program that will serve the education system in its work on the story of the massacre, in preparation for the annual Memorial Day for the massacre. The program had the name ***Al Shuhadaa yowahedon Al watan - martyrs unite the homeland***and it was written by a group of educators from Kufor Kaseem consisting of one director, three school principals, and the director of the community center. The title of the program reflects the concept of Martyrlogical commemoration which became a tool of unity in the educational system. The program is/was designed for all levels: preschool, school through high school. It includes educational activities and lesson plans adapted to each age group. The overall goal of the curriculum as defined by its members is: "Raising awareness and assimilating knowledge of the Kofur Kassem massacre and preserving the work of commemoration." The program contains general historical knowledge, dealing with concepts related to the slaughter, such as: [[2]](#footnote-2)Sulha, the expulsion of [[3]](#footnote-3)Shadmi, a monument, "mow them down", curfew, olive harvest season, procession, photographs of the fallen, works of art that dealt with the massacre, photographs from the archive of the village and testimonies of survivors of the massacre (P.C. C. f. A, 2016:5).

The program was adapted to the different age groups according to the goals the authors agreed on. The program in early childhood education was: “raising the level of knowledge and deepening it with regard to the town of Kufor Kaseem, a general explanation that does include details of the massacre, visiting the monument, visiting the cemetery and visiting the museum” (P.C. C. f. A, 2016:5). The program designed for grades 1-3 aims at providing more details of the massacre, its victims, time and place. The program for the 4th and 5th grades intends to help pupils understand the historical background and socio-political reality of the village residents during the massacre. The program directed to the Middle School attempts to provide a deep understanding of the historical dimension, reasons, implications, political policy in the region, Israel's relations with Arab countries and the global political reality of those days. The program written for the High School pupils relates to the impact of the massacre on the past and future of the town’s residents the political, economic and social reality. (P.C. C. f. A, 2016:5).

One educator said:

"The Ministry of Education's curriculum ignores the story of the massacre, and after years of working on content in an unorganized and uncontrolled manner, we saw fit to initiate the writing of a curriculum that will serve as a basis for work on students in the"

Another teacher:

"The choice of content was a serious challenge, what you put in and what you choose not to put in. I think that in the end, the decisive factor is the goals of the program. Is the digestion what is the purpose for which we write the program.”

**Street theater:**

[[4]](#footnote-4)Political Theater was another tool used by the local education system. This could be ascribed to the theater school of the oppressed, with a variety of theatrical methods, such as street theater, political theater or invisible theater. This tool was used by the Kofur Kassem Student Council, in cooperation with the street theater [[5]](#footnote-5)"Tsaahal Maabtitsaahal".

The performance of the street theater in Kofur kassem and the demonstration of the harsh images of the massacre in the streets of the city have become a familiar performance in the past four years, from October 2014 to the current year. The play uses images, and instrument that have illustrated the story of the massacre with terrible sights. This aroused many feelings and emotions among the local citizens.

 One teacher described this:

“The play was unbearable. It was hard to see the sights, even though we knew it was a play, the story was emotionally revealing to all of us. It is not easy to think about what happened during those moments to the victims of the massacre”.

Another teacher said:

"As an educator, I was aware of this tool, and when I was approached by the street theater, I immediately thought that the younger generation had to be involved in the story, and who was better suited than the student association in Kufor Kaseem. So, I made the connection between the theater and the student union. They spoke about the connection between the massacre and what happened to the Palestinian people everywhere. They also said that they massacred 49 men, women and old people, a woman who was pregnant, people who had hopes and dreams like the rest of the people worldwide. "

The use of this tool as an arena for the revival of traumatic memory is a special and pioneering act in Palestinian society in Israel. Attests to the need to deal with trauma of this kind, since in the first years following the massacre, the society, including the education system, was forbidden to speak or deal with the trauma. This use has a dimension of discharging, liberation and a desire to deal with the collective traumatic event.

**Plastic Art and Creative writing:**

. Every year, competitions are held by the local educational system for creative texts dealing with the story of the massacre in various schools in Kofur kassem. Who took upon themselves the task of remembering by individuals With the changes that the education system has undergone since the 1970s until today (Sorek,2015), the use of art and writing gradually penetrated the education system until it became institutionalized in recent years in competitions of writing and painting.

 Thus, for example, one of the school principals' attests to this phenomenon, which in recent years has become an annual competition on the eve of the commemoration of the massacre.

"My model was the teacher of the Arabic language, who asked us as middle school students to write a personal letter to one of the massacre victims. He was a teacher with great awareness and a member of a generation of pioneers in those days. He was proud of me and of the essay I wrote. "I was so excited that I began to cry! To this day I have this composition........ So, when I became a school principal, I decided that I also wanted a creative writing competition on the subject."

In addition to free writing, painting and plastic art have an important place in the activities of the local education system to commemorate the massacre. Each year, drawing workshops are held in schools, some of which are directed by artists from the local community and others by the art teachers. The purpose of these workshops is expressing the feelings and thoughts of the pupils about the massacre.

One of the art supervisors of these workshops said:

“The brush is my weapon, I do not use real weapons or stones to express my anger, but I turn the brush into a tool through which I express this anger. In the past, I used to paint as a high school pupil. Years later, I was arrested for 22 months of administrative detention. Today I enjoy watching them paint and express their thoughts, without fear and apprehension. I enjoy seeing students who let the colors express their feelings."

The uses of plastic art have succeeded in emphasizing the emotional and personal experience and have made it an experiential experience accessible to all.

**The Panorama Museum for the Commemoration of the Massacre Victims**

Museums have been active in shaping knowledge and examine the relationship between museums, objects, and the creation of cultural and national identity (Kaplan, 1994). In the case of Kufor Kasem massacre the panorama Museum[[6]](#footnote-6) has a great role in the fixing 'our story,’ the story of the massacre, into a single formal narrative.

The museum is an initiative of the Cultural Committee in Kufor Kaseem and a local education woman who worked on its establishment, out of a belief in the importance of perpetuating the story and memory of the victims of the Kofur Kassem massacre, by using in a panoramic tool that captures the story of the massacre in full and illustrates it in its various details and stations.

In recent years, the museum has become a visiting arena frequented by local school students and guests, and sometimes groups of visitors come from nearby villages and communities. The group accepts a local guide who makes the tour in the museum. Towards the end of the tour, the students share their thoughts and feelings, insights and questions of the tour.

One educator told me:

"It was very important for me to show visitors and all those who do not know the story of Kofur kassem massacre that we will not forget what happened. It is very essential to be able to tell the story of the victims. We have to remember them and keep their memory alive. I think the museum have a very important role in that”

Creating a place equipped with technological means, bring the story of the massacre in an interesting Way that speaks to the younger generation. This made the museum significant site in Kofur Kassem in general, and in the education system in particular. Students from the community and visitors from all over the country come to hear and experience this experience every year.

One teacher

 said:

 “The museum has a stronger influence and constitutes a channel that combines the story by using aesthetic and contemporary tools and Modern technical means of lighting and sound

 That attracts the younger generation today. I fought hard to convince my superiors of the importance of investing in the museum, but their priorities were different. Yet, thank God I persisted and here is the result. "

**live and recorded testimonies in classrooms**

Another way that the local residents have worked for generations and adopted by the local education system is to collect testimonies from the survivors of the Kafr Qasim massacre, which number about 20 people. 13 of them were wounded and survived, and some managed to escape from the scene without any physical injury. Over the years, these survivors became the focus of researchers, journalist , human rights organizations that collected their testimonies, and, for the first time in the history of the State of Israel, became the first Arab citizens to testify at the witness stand during the 1956-1966 trial (Zertal, 2018; Rosenthal,2000).

The local education system has adopted these survivors, and over the past 20 years, more and more survivors have come to tell their personal stories and testify to what happened during the massacre. These survivors met the young generation who heard their testimonies firsthand and answered their questions. Since the generation of witnesses has been disappearing in recent years, some schools use recordings and photographs of survivors' stories of the massacre.

"The truth is that when I was a child next to my grandparents' home, one of the survivors lived, and I often heard him tell the story of the massacre by chance, until one day I dared to ask him something about the massacre, and every time he met me he asked me if I wanted to hear about the massacre, "When I became a teacher myself, I thought that my students would also hear his story. So I began to invite the survivors, when it was possible, or to read or show their recorded testimonies. "

**The procession of torches**

Another way of commemorating the massacre is through the procession of torches of the deaf and mute. An activist and prominent educator in Kofur Kassem, a self-defined

Black [[7]](#footnote-7)feminist who started the procession in 2003 on the eve of the Kufor Kasem Remembrance Day. The procession is led by deaf and dumb students who carry torches and pass through all the main stations of the Kofur Kassem massacre. In the past ten years, the city's residents have begun to join this procession, and today it is considered an important and significant procession in the education system in Kofur kassem.

The procession of torches has a double educational value, says the organizer of the procession:

"The procession is led by a population that was on the margins of the society in Kofur Kassem. I wanted to bring this awareness to the members of the community, there is a double protest here, one political, about the massacre that took place, and the other says: if you exclude us as a population with special needs, which is located on the margins of society

 From the social and the political map of Kufor Kassem, we will present our protest. We managed to put ourselves in a few years on the social map of Kofur Kassem."

One can say, that the social protest of this marginal population, joined of the political protest, and has succeeded in establishing a relatively new way of activism in the history of kufor kassem which succeeded companies the political and the social and managed To raise awareness of the issue of people at the margins of society, both in the political dimension (Palestinian in Israel) and in the social dimension (pupils with special needs).

**Memorial Day of the massacre**

The main goal that stands behind decision to close the education system in Kofur Kassem, was the protest against the massacre, and in order to preserve the memory of those who perished.

The decision to close schools and the educational institutions in Kofur Kassem,in the

 Memorial Day was accepted and executed when the Islamic Brothers Movement came to power in Kafr Qasem in 1990.

 The directors of the education departments who served in this position in the municipality unanimously gave full support to school principals, teachers and educators within the local educational system, work on assimilating the memory of the massacre and its victims within the education system, and accepted the decision to completely shut down the education system within the community.

One of the managers told me:

This is a decision of great significance, which mainly conveys a message to the education system, and to the authorities, we decide on ourselves, not you ... After all, we were in prisons and they - the government means our jailers - are not afraid of you anymore. Something.... "

**Discussion and conclusions**

**The educational system as Memory agent**

the educational system in Kofur Kaseem underwent lots of change, and, like the Russian Babushka, was influenced by many factors and elements, but also succeeded in influencing the design of the environment in its context in the context of memory and commemoration. The education system operated as a link between the environment and the school. We can argue that the educational system in kufor Kassem played tremendous role as a memory agent in the local community. The academic literature deal with “collective memory”, it routinely includes as agents of memory those who do not have ﬁrsthand experience of a past event.( Halbwachs ,1992) The relationship between collective memory and commemoration in terms of group solidarity and identity: collective memory emerges in the case of the educational system of Kufor Kaseem, all the educators that I have interviewed were without ﬁrsthand experience Of the massacre. Yet, they fully identified with the victims of the massacre, since they are Sharing membership of the same social group. The creation of this aﬀect-laden,

ﬁrst-person orientation to a past event is at the crux of commemoration—simply put, a

Ritual that transforms “historical knowledge “into “collective memory Consisting of Mnemonic schemas and objects that define meaning of a past event as a locus of collective identity. According to Halbwachs’s (1992), formulation, commemoration is a vehicle of collective memory. In this case, the education system in Kofur Kassem was district of memory activism whose purpose was to "remind" the future generation that is perceived as important and meaningful in the present. For the most part, it was necessary to practice the collective memory through rituals and practices. Thus, the local education system plays a central role in the process of socialization, which teaches the story of the massacre as a memory of national culture and collective memory. This encourages convergence around a common denominator (the story of the massacre), focuses on the human experience and circumvents ideological disputes.

The construction and design of educational activism around the story of the massacre led to an increase in the level of political awareness among the local population. Consciousness found itself in the walls of the school. Since the nineties until today, we can actually see the opposite trend, where the educational system becomes an important arena, which helped develop local consciousness. this process was influenced By the early 1970s the dramatic rise in the level of education of the Palestinians in Israel enabled the development of a new educated stratum that constituted the human potential for wider circles of political leadership (Sorek,2015). The Martyrlogical commemoration was the tool through which the educational system

 Shaped collective homogenous memory regarding the story of the massacre.

**Memory work and building political identity.**

the collective memory that was built around the Kufor Kassem massacre refers to a social phenomenon that connects stories from the past to one story and gives them meaning in the present. (Hinchman & Hinchman,1997). In this case, the memory serves as a useful tool for characterizing the unique identity of the community in Kufor Kassem vis-à-vis the Palestinian community in Israel, and against Israeli society, and in this case it delineates the boundaries of "us," because memory in this case is perceived as a central tool in shaping national and local identity, To situate itself along the course of time and to characterize the sources from which it emerged, while placing the massacre as a central point in time, in a formative and meaningful process in the construction of the identity of the local inhabitants.

It can also be argued that in this case, the collective memory surrounding the story of the massacre was built, developed and shaped at every stage of the short history of the place, according to the needs of the present, and thus it is actually a deliberate process of remembering and forgetting in Kufor Kassem. And its continued existence in my estimation will depend on the fact that the local residents will pass it on through Educational activism that works to preserve the work of memory and commemoration of the victims of the massacre, with the aim of bringing the younger generation into the political-religious identity, attachment to roots, attachment and respect for the cultural and social heritage. The process can be described as an interactive multi-stage process between the education system and the environmental society. We can see horizontal and transverse interaction between the society and political policy, and the education system. These systems were influenced by each other and influenced one another.

Collective memory was mobilized to shape national and local identity. In Kufor Kassem, as in other communities, the school was perceived as a central memory agent on its behalf in establishing a new identity, and served as a district of memory whose purpose was to "remind" the future generation that is perceived as important and meaningful in the present. For the most part, it was necessary to practice the collective memory through rituals and ceremonies. Thus, collective memory was mobilized to shape national and local identity. In Kofur Kassem, as in other communities, the local education system plays a central role in the process of socialization, which includes teaching the story of the massacre as both a memory of national culture and a collective memory.

The commemoration of Palestinian society constitutes a collective national identity in Palestinian society (Masarwi, 2015).

**Between social recognition and memory recognition**

One of the interesting phenomena that can be identified in the results of this study is the use of political memory as a double protest that includes memory work in addition to social work. The education system has generated social awareness aimed at raising a social issue that was not on the local social agenda in Kufor Kaseem. Involving people and students with special needs in memory work, the use of the torch parade has a presence and visibility in the public space. The type of activism we saw can be identified as the *politics of recognition* which is concerned with discovery and articulation of needs previously denied or ignored, especially the demand for social recognition of certain groups, for moral status, political and position (You-Tin & Ching Kwan, 2010). The use of memory as a means of social protest has an astrology that is less threatening and less objectionable among group members. Raising a social issue at moments of social and political unity can expand the boundaries of society and contain this complexity.

We can summarize, this essay oﬀers two messages. The ﬁrst is that commemoration is a vehicle of collective memory: commemoration is a ritual that emotionally induces people to experience past events vicariously and thereby imagine their secondhand knowledge of those events as living memory that they possess as members of a social group (Saito, 2010). The second address the role of commemoration as way to deal with problems of temporality and social.

SO OVERALL--- A GAP BETWEEN THE THEORIZING AND THE EVIDENCE. ALSO A NEED SHARPEB THE THEORIZING

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# Egbaria

Masarwi

1. The guidance in the education system is the local education system in Kafr Qasem. This system includes formal and informal education. Formal education, including the elementary, middle and high schools, the informal system, includes, community centers, the Panorama Museum located in one of the community centers, and the education department on behalf of the local council. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. Sulha, is an accepted ritual in Arab society, in which two parties involved in the conflict make a peace treaty. The ceremony is run by the mediators who have concocted between the parties and have clear rules. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. Issachar (Yashke) Shadmi 1922 - 2018. He was a commander in the Palmach and a brigadier general in the IDF. He commanded the Golani Brigade and the brigade in which the Kofur Kassem massacre took place. While he was in charge of the massacre, he was charged with 25 counts of murder and two counts of exceeding authority. Shadmi was acquitted of the murder charge and he was given a symbolic fine of ten pence for imposing a curfew without receiving an order from the military governor. Therefore, his name is associated with the term "groch shedmi- shedmis pence ". In an interview in 2017, Shadmi claimed that the trial was staged in which he was given the right to oppose the appointment of judges he does not trust. According to him, the goal of the line of defense dictated to him was to prevent the expansion of the affair toward the ranks above him in the army and in the government. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. Political theatre has associated with [cabaret](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cabaret) and folk theatre; it has offered itself as a theatre 'of, by, and for the people'. In this guise, political theatre has developed within the civil societies under oppressive governments as a means of actual underground communication and the spreading of critical thought. Often political theatre has been used to promote specific political theories or ideals.[[4]](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_theatre#cite_note-4) [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. Tsaahal Maabtistahal- Is a political theater project. With more than 60 young Palestinian artists and representatives from Israel participating in the project. The project employs innovative techniques that combine various types of arts, including installations, acting, dance, music and singing. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. The Panorama Museum in Kufor Kasem, located in the local cultural center, is considered part of the informal education system run by the Kufor Kasem municipality. The museum was established by the wife of the director of the Cultural Center and in collaboration with the municipality's education department [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. The Afro-Arab community is a group of people who came with the Bedouin tribes from Africa through the Sinai Desert, and for generations have served as slaves to the fictional tribal masters. This group of people was called in Arabic to Abid - our slaves and they carried it there for generations. A very small group of them came to Kassem about 100 years ago and were adopted by one of the local families in Kassem. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)