



Manufacturing Doves and Hawks: An Analysis of Israeli Educational Textbooks and their Divisive Socio-Political Impact

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Abstract: Objective: This study examines selected subjects presented in textbooks utilized by Palestinian schoolchildren in occupied East Jerusalem as well as those residing inside Israel, demonstrating how the dominant Israeli educational system conveys a narrative of tolerance to transform Palestinian children (the dominated group) into "dovish" individuals while providing Israeli children with a collective memory that fosters self-centric narratives to shape them into "hawkish" individuals. **Methodology:** To achieve this objective, the study utilizes Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to deconstruct ideological structures, alongside critical content analysis to identify recurring themes, linguistic patterns, and representations of historical and political narratives across explicit and implicit content. **Findings:** The results highlight that the intended outcomes of this dual strategy have largely backfired, contributing to heightened tension and unrest in the streets of Jerusalem and other cities. Additionally, the findings indicate that while this policy of alienating Palestinian culture may be intended to yield strategic benefits, its immediate implementation produces adverse repercussions for all parties involved. **Conclusion:** The findings suggest that the dual strategy of curriculum content and cultural alienation fails to produce the intended outcomes, instead resulting in immediate adverse repercussions and heightened tension across cities. **Recommendations:** As per the study, policy approaches regarding the presentation of Palestinian culture and historical narratives in textbooks should be re-evaluated to address and prevent the adverse repercussions and unrest produced by current educational strategies.

Keywords: Political socialization, Critical Discourse Analysis, Curriculum bias, Israeli-Palestinian conflict, Conflict memory, SDG 4

صناعة الحمام والصقور: تحليل الكتب المدرسية الإسرائيلية وآثارها المجتمعية والسياسية الانقسامية

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الملخص: الهدف: تتفحص هذه الدراسة موضوعات مختارة من الكتب المدرسية المعتمدة لطلبة المدارس الفلسطينية في القدس الشرقية المحتلة إضافة إلى المقيمين داخل إسرائيل، لبيان كيفية نقل النظام التعليمي الإسرائيلي (الفئة المهيمنة) لرواية تتسم بالتسامح وضبط النفس بهدف تحويل الأطفال الفلسطينيين (الفئة الخاضعة) إلى أفراد مسالمين ("حمام")، في مقابل ردف الأطفال الإسرائيليين بذاكرة جمعية تعزز الروايات المتمركزة حول الذات لتشكيلهم كـ "صقور" أَعَدُّوا للتعيش مع "الحمام". **المنهجية:** تُفحص عملية تشكيل الرؤى هذه عبر تطبيق تحليل الخطاب النقدي (CDA) لتفكيك البنى الأيديولوجية، إلى جانب تحليل المحتوى النقدي لتحديد الموضوعات المتكررة، والأنماط اللغوية، وتجليات الروايات التاريخية والسياسية ضمن المحتويين الصريح والضمني. **النتائج:** أظهرت النتائج أن الغايات المرجوة من هذه الاستراتيجية المزدوجة قد أنتت بآثار عكسية إلى حد كبير، مساهمةً في تصاعد حدة التوتر والاضطرابات في شوارع القدس والمدن الأخرى، وأن التطبيق المباشر لسياسة تغريب الثقافة الفلسطينية يولد تداعيات سلبية على جميع الأطراف المعنية. **الخلاصة:** تُظهر الدراسة أن الاستراتيجية المزدوجة في المضامين التعليمية وسياسة تغريب الثقافة تفشل في تحقيق غاياتها المرجوة، وتؤدي بدلاً من ذلك إلى تداعيات سلبية مباشرة وتصاعد في حدة التوتر والاضطرابات. **التوصيات:** توصي الدراسة بضرورة إعادة تقييم السياسات التعليمية المتعلقة بالطرح الثقافي والروايات التاريخية في الكتب المدرسية، وذلك للحد من التداعيات السلبية والاضطرابات الناجمة عن الاستراتيجيات التعليمية الحالية.

الكلمات المفتاحية: التنشئة السياسية، التحليل النقدي للخطاب، انحياز المناهج الدراسية، الصراع الفلسطيني الإسرائيلي، ذاكرة الصراع، الهدف الرابع من أهداف التنمية المستدامة (SDG 4)

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Introduction

For decades now, Israeli authorities have been attempting to erase Palestinian collective memory and corrupt the education of Palestinian generations of children, both inside the occupied Palestinian territories, namely East Jerusalem, as well as beyond the pre-1967 borders. Pappé argues that Israeli historical policies have been aimed at erasing Palestinian identity and historical narratives in his book, *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine*. He also sets this within the context of the broader repression of culture and education as part of a systematic effort to erase Palestinians, Chapters 4 & 6 (Pappé, 2006). He explains, for example, that the teacher education system in both Israel and the occupied territories neglects or misrepresents Palestinian history and stories. As such, in order to understand this Israeli policy, one has to situate it in the context of certain historical developments over the last 75 years.

Institutional and Legal Status of East Jerusalem Post-1967

In 1981, Israel annexed East Jerusalem, in violation of international law and without giving its Palestinian residents any citizenship. Its policy towards them has been to award them permanent residency at best. To date, more than 14,595 residents of Jerusalem have lost their residency rights because of this (B'Tselem, 2017).

Now, although Palestinians in Jerusalem possess blue identity cards similar to those issued to Israeli citizens, these are, in fact, distinguished by a different set of numbers and do not indicate any national or political significance separate from that of Jewish Israelis (Human Rights Watch, 2011).

Though they are officially classified as citizens of Israel, Palestinian residents in Jerusalem do not possess full citizen rights and

remain marginalized within Israel's social and political system. They are the bottom rung of "Israeli citizens," way down even below Ethiopian Jews (Yiftachel, 2006; Shabtay, 2001).

Curricular Modifications and Censorship Frameworks

Following the consolidation of municipal control, Israeli educational authorities implemented institutional measures to introduce modified curricula within East Jerusalem's Palestinian schools in the city. These textbooks took out everything related to Palestinian history, the occupation, land ownership or control - all of that was removed (Odeh, 2016). For example, on page 53 in the history book for the ninth grade, the entire first lesson that tackles the "Palestinian issue" was deleted. The images of the Palestinian soldier and the Palestinian flag were also removed from the oral expression exercise on page 20 in the Arabic book. The Palestinian national anthem was deleted from the national education textbook for the first grade. Many other omissions targeted Arabic language, history, Islamic education and national education.

Alayan (2018) reveals how these texts were doctored and reproduced based on three censorship categories on the part of the Israeli Ministry of education: erasing symbols, leaving out segments, and deleting the content of whole pages. The purpose of this censorship, Alayan (2018) argues, is to hinder the students from developing a positive sense of identity based on the Palestinian narrative. Transformations in school books to instill the intended narrative is characterized with deleting, substituting, combining or reordering a syntagm and its elements (Hodge & Kress, 1993). The procedures included, but were not limited to, the replacement of the emblem of the Palestinian Authority with that of the

Municipality of Jerusalem. The Palestinian flag was also removed altogether; the Israeli flag can be seen in different textbooks instead. Moreover, the textbooks issued by the Palestinian Ministry of Education to be used in East Jerusalem schools are regularly censored by the Israeli Ministry of Education.

In the same vein, most of Jerusalem's schools accepted funding since 2012, with the exception of four. In return, the occupation (referring to Israel) kept its unconditional support for eight years, until it became a source of 30 per cent of some of the schools' budgets. After that, a phase began where gradual conditions were imposed to Judaize the education system (Obeidat, 2011).

However, schools serving Jewish children in Jerusalem receive significantly more funding than those serving Palestinian children in the same city, reflecting systemic inequalities in the Israeli education system. On May 9, 2022, Education Minister Yifat Shasha-Biton announced a plan to allocate NIS 2.4 billion to schools (Shasha-Biton, 2022). These funds were supposed to be used at the discretion of school management (2022). However, this allocation does not address the longstanding disparities in funding between Jewish and Palestinian schools. For instance, a report by the Israeli nonprofit Sikkuy-Aufoq revealed that the average per-student funding in East Jerusalem schools was only 60% of that provided to schools in West Jerusalem (Sikkuy-Aufoq, 2021). This underfunding has led to overcrowded classrooms, a lack of basic resources, and inadequate infrastructure in Palestinian schools. Furthermore, a report by Ir Amim (2019), an Israeli NGO focused on Jerusalem, highlighted that only 54% of Palestinian children in East Jerusalem have access to public schools. Consequently, this measure forced many to attend private or unofficial institutions that lack government support (2019). These disparities underscore

the systemic neglect of Palestinian education in Jerusalem, despite the city's unified municipal status under Israeli law.

Palestinian schools in Jerusalem can receive a small part of that funding if, and only if, the latter agrees to adopt "Israelified" textbooks that align with the Israeli narrative. This conditional funding creates a coercive environment where Palestinian schools must choose between financial survival and preserving their cultural and historical heritage. For example, a report by Adalah, the Legal Center for Arab Minority Rights in Israel, documented cases where Palestinian schools in East Jerusalem faced severe underfunding and were pressured to adopt Israeli curricula as a condition for receiving basic resources (Adalah, 2020). Interestingly, this dynamic is reminiscent of the era of racial discrimination in South Africa. Not only were the education systems racially differentiated, they were also differentially funded. At the peak of apartheid, schools serving white students had more than ten times the funding per pupil than the schools serving African students (Fiske & Ladd, 2005). The parallels between the Israeli and South African systems underscore the broader implications of using education as a tool of control and oppression. In both contexts, unequal funding and curricula designed to suppress national identity serve to reinforce systemic inequality and deny marginalized communities the right to self-determination through education. As Peled-Elhanan (2012) demonstrates in her analysis of Israeli textbooks, the Israeli education system systematically erases Palestinian history and identity, perpetuating a narrative that justifies their subjugation and exclusion (Peled-Elhanan, 2012, p. 147). This ideological control, combined with the discriminatory funding practices, creates a dual system of oppression that mirrors the apartheid-era policies of South Africa.

Civic Erasure and Asymmetric Pluralism inside the Green Line

As for Palestinian students inside the Green Line, they undergo the same Israeli policy of erasing the remnants of whatever collective memory they have. Although Israel is a state with a segregated education system in that Arab and Jewish children learn in separate schools (Schwartz, 2016), it does not offer different subjects specific to its different national societies; the “other” Palestinian group learn the exact same Israeli culture (non-negotiable) which may be rooted in the Jewish religion while their own narrative is systematically excluded (Peled-Elhanan, 2012; Abu-Saad, 2006). This suggests without prejudice that Palestinian children inside Israel are dealing with an educational system that stresses, on a regular basis, the fact that they should be learning about Israeli culture. Thus, it shows unequivocally how this very educational system lacks pluralism when sidelining the Palestinian culture. The absence of pluralism within the Israeli education system is not simply an inadvertent omission; it constitutes a calculated policy designed to undermine Palestinian identity (negotiable). Rouhana & Sabbagh-Khoury (2015) contend that this methodology aligns with Israel's overarching strategy to uphold Jewish supremacy while sidelining its Palestinian citizens. By restricting Palestinian students' access to knowledge regarding their own history and culture, the Israeli education system perpetuates a cycle of erasure and inequality that reflects the experiences of other marginalized communities subjected to settler-colonial frameworks.

Literature Review

Israeli children learn patriotism and ethnocentrism

Before analyzing Palestinian children's self – perceptions under the Israeli education system, which runs a network of schools in both

East Jerusalem and within Israel proper, it is worth revisiting and considering the subjects delivered to Jewish peers of the same age.

Nurit Peled-Elhanan, a professor of language and education at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, has extensively studied how Israeli school textbooks shape the perceptions of young Israelis toward Palestinians. She contended in an interview with Harriet Sherwood (Sherwood, 2011) that “[p]eople ask how these nice Jewish boys and girls become monsters once they put on a uniform. I think the major reason for that is education. So, I wanted to see how school books represent Palestinians.” In her seminal work, *Palestine in Israeli School Books: Ideology and Propaganda in Education* (2012), Peled-Elhanan systematically analyzes Israeli textbooks and describes what she found as a form of institutionalized racism. She argues that these textbooks dehumanize Palestinians, portraying them as “threats, terrorists, or primitive figures, while erasing their history, culture, and national identity” (Peled-Elhanan, 2012, p. 89). This framing, she asserts, serves to prepare young Israelis for their compulsory military service by fostering a mindset that views Palestinians as enemies rather than as people with legitimate rights and aspirations. She further argues that “[t]he Palestinian collective never receives any positive attributes.... As a rule, Arabs and Palestinians don't do much in Israeli school books except for lurking, attacking, in all sorts of ways and multiplying” (Peled-Elhanan, 2012, p. 68).

Peled-Elhanan's findings are supported by other scholars who have examined the role of education in perpetuating systemic inequality and dehumanization. For example, Daniel Bar-Tal (2007) argues that the Israeli education system plays a critical role in shaping collective memory and national identity, often at the expense of marginalized groups like Palestinians.

In her work, Peled-Elhanan connected the dots and revealed a horde of shared assumptions on which Israeli school books are structured. One of the pervasive shared assumptions pertaining to Palestinian Arabs is that Palestinians in the occupied territories are a constant threat and “must be controlled otherwise they would slaughter us” (p.89). Peled, thus, demonstrates how education serves as a tool to normalize systemic inequality and prepare young Israelis to accept and participate in the structures of militarization and occupation.

Peled-Elhanan further argues that for Israeli school textbooks there is an ideological common ground. This common ground, according to Fairclough (2003), once established, enables the domination and hegemony required to maintain control over a society.

This hegemony is further reinforced through the negative representation of Palestinians in Israeli school textbooks. Peled-Elhanan (2012) identifies five distinct strategies used to portray Palestinians as the “other.” One of the most prominent strategies involves depicting Palestinians as agents of actions that are stigmatized, such as being subservient, deviant, criminal, or evil. Such representations inevitably shape the perceptions of Israeli children, leading them to view their Palestinian neighbors as a threat that must be preemptively confronted, often through violence. Even more troubling, these depictions contribute to the dehumanization of Palestinians, stripping them of their humanity and justifying their marginalization.

She also examines certain maps from Israeli school textbooks in which only Jewish cities are mentioned. Palestinian cities, on the other hand, are hidden so that Jewish children students will not even have this visual contact with the names of the Palestinian cities and

towns. As a result, many Israeli children are starting to view Palestinians as a threat rather than people living next door. This dehumanization is vividly captured by Dima Samman, a prominent Palestinian writer, who reflects on her experiences: “I’m no longer taken aback by the looks of contempt that a 20-year-old Israeli soldier, manning a checkpoint, gives me” (Samman, 2011). Such attitudes, shaped by years of biased education, underscore the profound impact of these exclusionary practices on intergroup relations and the perpetuation of conflict.

In contrast to the findings presented by Peled-Elhanan, Yael Teff-Seker (2016) posits in her research, *"Palestinians in Israeli Textbooks,"* that Israeli educational materials frequently acknowledge Palestinian towns and “settlements”, consistently incorporating them into political and geographical maps that delineate Israel's borders.

This tension highlights a foundational debate within contemporary Israeli curriculum politics and memory studies. Scholars generally divide into two major paradigms: a critical structural framework and an institutional/liberal modernization model. The critical paradigm, championed by education theorists like (Alayan, 2028; Peled-Elhanan, 2012), conceptualizes state-sanctioned curricular alterations as systemic mechanisms of identity erasure and minority containment. Conversely, alternative institutionalist perspectives, such as (Teff-Seker, 2016; Podeh, 2000), argue that the inclusion of Arab names or geographical entities on official maps reflects an incremental, bureaucratic evolution toward multicultural recognition within state systems. Rather than evaluating these frameworks as mutually exclusive, this study positions them as coexisting features of deeply divided educational structures, wherein elements of superficial civic integration are

analyzed alongside underlying narrative exclusions.

However, the way Palestinian students in East Jerusalem and Israel are supposed to see their Israeli peers should be entirely different: they are encouraged to perceive them as neighbors committed to peaceful coexistence. This curriculum shift can be interpreted as a strategic recontextualization wherein the state introduces its own foundational narrative to minority students to align their institutional education with state civic priorities. Why not instill into their minds that they are Israeli citizens with fewer rights? Why not utilize education as the means to inculcate acceptance of the injustices perpetrated against them? This article proposes to examine the manner in which this strategy has been implemented in the Israeli-mandated curricula in the Palestinian schools in East Jerusalem and Israel.

Methodology

Research Design and Sampling Rationale

This study utilizes a qualitative research design that integrates Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Critical Content Analysis (CCA) to examine the ways in which Israeli educational textbooks encode ideological frameworks, influence collective memory, and perpetuate power dynamics between dominant and subordinate groups. The corpus was selected using a purposive sampling strategy designed to capture the core civic and historical narratives mandated for Palestinian students under Israeli educational jurisdiction, contrasted against the parallel curricula delivered to Jewish-Israeli peers.

The corpus comprises the following core primary texts: 1. *Being Citizens in a Democratic Jewish State* (Official Civics Text, 2008, 2018 editions) 2. *Living Together in Israel* (Primary Civics Series, 2008) 3. *I and My Homeland* (Elementary Text, 2018) 4.

History: Required Material for the Two Units According to the New External System (2020–2021)

Rather than treating Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Critical Content Analysis (CCA) as distinct, sequential stages, this study operationalizes them as complementary analytical lenses applied simultaneously throughout the entire corpus evaluation. CCA serves as a macro-level diagnostic tool used to map recurring visual motifs, thematic distributions, and structural deletions across the textbooks. Once these macro-patterns are established, Fairclough's three-dimensional CDA framework is deployed as a micro-level lens to deconstruct the specific linguistic and semiotic mechanisms driving those patterns. In this integrated approach, the thematic categories derived from CCA directly inform the contextual boundaries analyzed in the advanced stages of CDA.

Analytical Procedures and Coding Categories

To ensure replicability, texts were systematically cataloged and coded based on Fairclough's dimensions of text, discursive practice, and social practice:

Textual Level (Micro-analysis): Coding focused on lexical choices (e.g., the use of bureaucratic or militarized euphemisms such as "operation" vs. "massacre"), structural omissions (e.g., deletion of national symbols, anthems, or historical chapters), and typographical features (e.g., the selective application of Arabic diacritical marks/ḥarakāt for aesthetic or ideological framing).

Discursive Level (Meso-analysis): Textual segments were coded according to Alayan's (2018) three categories of curriculum modification: (a) symbol erasure, (b) segmental omission, and (c) total page content deletion.

Social Practice Level (Macro-analysis): Findings were contextualized within broader sociopolitical power dynamics, drawing

structural parallels to institutional educational frameworks within settler-colonial and deeply divided societies.

The primary unit of analysis consists of discrete textual segments (paragraphs, sentences, and exercises) and accompanying visual elements (maps, illustrations, and photographs) that convey civic, national, or historical narratives. The specific analytical categories were operationalized as follows:

Erasure: The systematic omission of geographical titles, national symbols, or historically significant events relevant to Palestinian identity.

Substitution: The deliberate replacement of politically sensitive indigenous or national terminology with state-sanctioned bureaucratic or neutral descriptors.

Framing: The contextual positioning of texts or images to cultivate a specific ideological reading (e.g., placing minority narratives within restrictive sub-chapters to minimize their political weight).

Operationalization Examples

To demonstrate the transparency and rigor of this integrated approach, two examples illustrate how textual and visual data were processed through the three levels of Fairclough's CDA framework and linked to macro CCA categories:

Example 1: Textual Case (Category: Substitution)

Textual Level (Micro): The analysis isolates a paragraph in the history corpus where the historical Palestinian Arab community is lexically modified into 'non-Jewish minority sectors.' The linguistic unit lacks specific national or historical identifiers.

Discursive Practice (Meso): This choice represents a clear instance of the *Substitution* category. The text production process strips away historical sovereignty terms, altering how

readers process the sociopolitical landscape by framing indigenous status as a bureaucratic minority category.

Social Practice (Macro): At the institutional level, this linguistic substitution functions to align the textbook's narrative with broader state efforts to assimilate minority populations legally and culturally into a unified, state-managed civic hierarchy.

Example 2: Visual and Structural Case (Category: Erasure)

- **Textual/Visual Level (Micro):** The analysis isolates a structural chapter transition or map layout within the civics corpus where local regional boundaries are visually delineated, but traditional Palestinian geographical identifiers, historical village names, or national symbols are systematically absent from the layout.
- **Discursive Practice (Meso):** This visual and structural exclusion is coded under the CCA category of *Erasure*. The text production process organizes the visual space to minimize the geographical and historical footprint of the minority population, reshaping how young learners spatially conceptualize the civic terrain.
- **Social Practice (Macro):** Within the broader socio-political context, this structural erasure reinforces dominant institutional power dynamics. By socializing students using an educational layout where minority historical spaces are marginal or omitted, the textbook functions as a pedagogical tool for narrative containment.

Analysis and Discussion

Ideological Recontextualization and Value Inversion

As of the commencement of the 2016-2017 academic year, over 14 Palestinian schools in East Jerusalem began utilizing textbooks designed by Israeli authorities (Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of

International Affairs, PASSIA, 2016). It has been previously noted that Palestinian children are exposed to a range of social principles and ethical values, including tolerance, acceptance, and appreciation. Critical discourse analysts suggest that the emphasis on these particular values may systematically encourage political passivity and the internalization of a subordinate civic status among minority students and “cultural relativists” with the underlying assumption that this will lead them to diminish the significance of their own cultural identity.

Palestinian children learn tolerance and cultural relativism

The appeal for tolerance within Israeli society is abundantly clear in a secondary grade school textbook entitled *Summary of Civics*. On page 17, almost at the bottom of the page there is a subtitle that says *The Principle/ Value of tolerance*. The author elaborates on the points that would render a Palestinian student into the “dove” he/ she is meant to be:

1. Accepting disagreement by respecting and dealing with those who hold opposing views, representing their viewpoints fairly despite differences in opinion and stance.
2. Avoiding emotionally charged reactions during debate or disagreement.
3. Avoiding the escalation of personal sensitivities toward opposing viewpoints that might provoke anger.

Following the discussion of these general points, the author proceeds to examine the principles and values underlying political tolerance. In this context, the intended meaning specifically refers to political tolerance that should define and delineate the relationship between the Palestinians living in Israel and the Israelis.

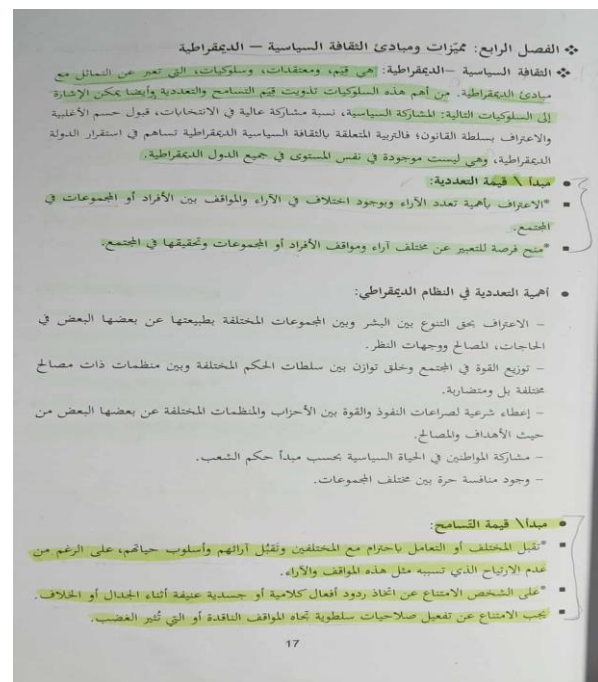


Figure (1): From *The Summary of Civics* (p.17) by J. Zaid, n.d.

Relativism – defined as “the uncritical acceptance of almost any behavior that can be justified in terms of the actor’s culture” (Cronk, 1999, p. 111) – is prevalent among undergraduates. Cronk (1999) further observes that many educators, including himself, have witnessed a steady shift in student values toward relativism.

Although the principle of cultural relativism gained prominence in the aftermath of World War I and II as a noble response to historical phenomena such as Nazism, colonialism, ethnocentrism, and racism (Prato, 2016), some analysts argue that its application within state apparatuses can have unintended consequences. However, this paper contends that proponents within the Israeli Ministry of Education have employed the concept of cultural relativism to “domesticate rather than liberate” (Lavender & Tuckett, 2022, p. 31) the population. In this context, cultural relativism has been utilized to suppress marginalized narratives rather than to foster genuine understanding and equality.

The Israeli educational system has relentlessly taken the relativist approach in

forcing Palestinian students, both in East Jerusalem and Israel proper, to accept uncritically whatever is deemed to be Jewish in nature. Eventually, Palestinian teens will have no basis for deciding whether the intertextual historical, biblical or political texts they are presented with in classrooms are true or false, or worse, manipulated for the purposes of weakening their cultural resistance.

Palestinian students will read these texts from a Jewish point of view and accept them simply because they are necessary for the Jewish identity. The cultural critic William Bennett declared, in the aftermath of September 11th terrorist attacks, that the spread of cultural relativism represented “one of the greatest dangers faced by American society” (Bennett, 2002). He further stressed that “[r]elativism implies that we have no basis for judging other peoples and cultures, and certainly no basis for declaring some better than others, let alone ‘good’ or ‘evil’” (Bennett, 2002). He contended that without such distinctions, Americans will be unable to resist terrorism. Likewise, in the case of Palestinian classrooms, the imposition of a Jewish-centric curriculum risks marginalizing Palestinian particularity and renders Palestinian students incapable of distinguishing between what is rightfully particular (Palestinian) and what is universal and neutral (Jewish).

People in Israel are enculturated during the early stages of their lives. The values of the dominant Israeli culture are perceived by members of a society as “uniquely satisfying and superior to all others – hence the universality of ethnocentrism” (Brown M. F., 2008). In his article *Zionism and Universal Ethics*, Akiva Orr, an outspoken Israeli activist, argues that Zionism runs against the Jewish code of ethics (Orr, 1972). The Zionist “national ethics”, not the Jewish “moral ethics”, are thought of in these textbooks as the norm or the culture that every Palestinian is

expected to embrace unquestioningly. Therefore, they are meant to be, at least for Palestinians, universal.

Leafing through *Being Citizens in a Democratic Jewish State*, a textbook authorized by the Israeli ministry of education, it is found out that most of the book is based on certain “axioms”. Although axioms do not need justifications, the axioms in this book come in the form of rationales and apologia for the establishment of a Jewish – only – state pp. 11–53. The moral justification for both the military and political acts in Israel is supposed to be deeply rooted in the Jewish culture. These very acts should be designed to conform to the ethics of Judaism – justice, compassion, holiness, and peace – which is not the case pertaining to what befell the Palestinians during the Nakba or catastrophe in 1948 at the hands of the Zionist groups. As Orr argues, moral justification is impossible for Zionism, simply because its basic assumption “[...] is reconciliation with and acceptance of immoral phenomenon,” such as the discrimination against and oppression of Palestinians, Chapter 10 (Orr, 1972).

Even the declaration of the establishment of the State of Israel, when proclaimed on 14 May 1948 reflects this dilemma. The committee responsible for drafting the text crossed out any reference to the “God of Israel” (Friedman, 2013) “Who ... will bring you to the land which your forefathers possessed, and you will take possession of it, and He will do good to you ...” (Deuteronomy 30:1-5). A stab of conscience amongst the founders of the State of Israel forced them to exclude God because He is moral. The God of Judaism (Yahweh) will not condone the acts of His children in 1948; the “Gods” of Zionism (Theodor Herzl, David Ben-Gurion, Golda Meir, and Moshe Sharett) will. It follows that all the rationalizations of mass killing of unarmed people, razing villages to the ground ...etc. are all based on Judaism

deliberately streamlined in the Zionist colonial culture or the “Grand Zionist Narrative”.

Palestinian students are thus required to absorb the Zionist values uncritically. They may well not seem right to the Palestinian students, but they need to be tolerant of everything mentioned in the textbook as part and parcel of their education. For example, Palestinian students in the upper grades who are preparing for the Bagrut examination – the Israeli Matriculation Certificate – are required to study and memorize the history of the Zionist movement and the factors contributing to its emergence, as outlined in the third chapter (p. 129) of *History: Required Material for the Two Units According to the New External System 2020 – 2021* (Watad, 2021). Moreover, they are instructed to learn about Jewish military organizations responsible for several massacres against Palestinians in 1948, including the Haganah and the Irgun. The author further notes that the Irgun “...in 1947 carried out operations against Arabs in Jaffa, Haifa, and Jerusalem. In 1948, they conducted the Deir Yassin operation...” (2021, p. 130). From a CDA perspective, the use of the term *operation* here is not linguistically neutral; it carries ideological baggage or weight. As a classic euphemism, it frames violent acts as legitimate military undertakings. It is reduced to a bureaucratic term that absolves the perpetrators of the crimes committed against human beings. This lexical choice reinforces a specific partisan power dynamic that normalizes violence and reproduces power relations within the educational context.

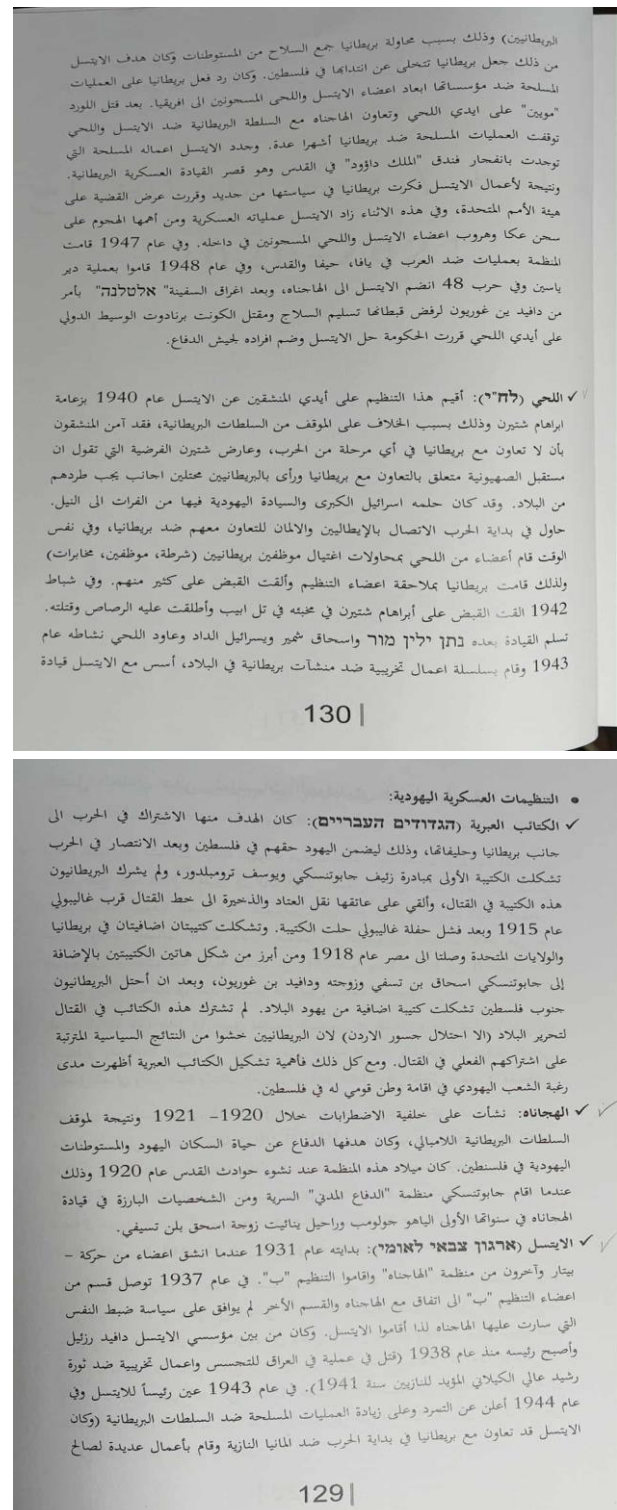


Figure (2): From *History: Required Material for the Two Units According to the New External System 2020 – 2021* (Pages 129 – 130), by Z. Watad, 2021.

Strategic Accommodation and Symbolic Concessions in Textbooks

Road signs, passports, banknotes, and identity cards in the West Bank and Israel are all bilingual. Netivei Israel, a national transport infrastructure company, makes sure that the position of Arabic is comparable to that of

Hebrew. This pseudo-inclusivity Piller (2016) stimulates equality while reproducing Hebrew's linguistic capital. Hebrew is always given precedence over Arabic in that it always comes on top of the Arabic equivalent. This practice is not only a matter of design but a manifestation of what Robert Phillipson (1992) terms *linguistic imperialism* – a system where one language is privileged over another to reinforce social and political hierarchies. Hebrew, and everything Jewish, is assigned a higher social standing whereas Arabic is given a subordinate position and assigned a lower social position (Amara, 2018; Suleiman, 2004).



Figure (3): A road sign in the West Bank showing Hebrew (top) and Arabic (bottom). Adapted from (Zochrot, 2015).

However, this is not quite the case when it comes to books imposed by the Israeli authorities on Palestinian students in Jerusalem and beyond the 1948 Green Line. In civic classes, Palestinian children are required to read an educational series book in Arabic published in 2008 called *Living Together in Israel*. Hebrew or everything Jewish-related for that matter takes a backseat to Arabic. This inversion (Arabic – first) is a recontextualization of dominance (Bernstein, 1990): by ceding linguistic priority, Israel frames itself as tolerant while masking systemic erasure of Palestinian narratives. This also mirrors Gramsci's (1971) 'hegemony': dominance sustained by conceding minor cultural spaces to manufacture consent. Throughout the book, *Living Together in Israel*, Hebrew is mentioned second after Arabic. Purim, a Jewish holiday which

commemorates the saving of the Jewish people from the Persians, comes after Muslim's Eid Al-Adha or Feast of the Sacrifice. Synagogues go down the list after mosques and churches as places of worship in Israel. From a structural perspective, this inverted presentation functions similarly to a strategic concession—reminiscent of a gambit in political discourse—where minor cultural or linguistic spaces are yielded to secure macro-level structural assimilation and institutional legitimacy. On the chessboard, in an aggressive move, black voluntarily gives up one of their central pawns (the queen's pawn) in order to make room for the knight to take up a position on the board where it can control all the white's smaller pieces. Similarly, in this textbook, the price gained from this sacrificial strategy is to transform Palestinian students into the cultural relativist 'pieces' they are, as mentioned earlier.

While institutionalist researchers might interpret the structural placement of Arabic terms or minority traditions ahead of Hebrew equivalents as proof of genuine civic pluralism and pedagogical progress, a critical discourse perspective yields a more nuanced reading. Drawing on Gramscian concepts of ideological hegemony, this structural accommodation can be interpreted as a strategic concession. From this analytical perspective, yielding localized priority to minority cultural features functions to build macro-level systemic legitimacy, encouraging minority compliance without unsettling dominant institutional hierarchies. This dynamic suggests that pedagogical modifications within deeply divided state apparatuses can simultaneously encompass elements of formal recognition alongside functional, systemic containment.

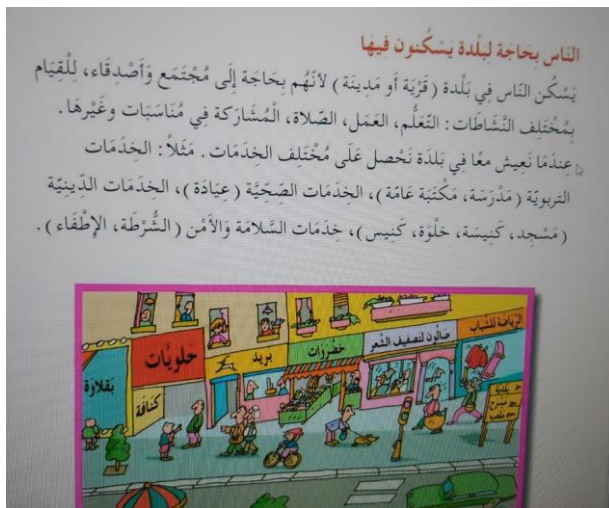


Figure (4): A text illustrates a town where people live in harmony and practice their religion in a mosque, a church, and a synagogue. From *Living Together in Israel* (Center for Educational Technology, 2008). Copyright 2008 by the Center for Educational Technology.

Enculturation and socialization result in tolerance

Schieffelin & Ochs (1986) discovered that enculturation and socialization do not occur apart from the process of language acquisition; children acquire language and culture together in what amounts to an integrated process. This notion is also posited by Duranti (1997), who suggests that language is intertwined with cultural practices and social interactions that would function as a basic medium through which children acquire both linguistic competencies and cultural conventions (Duranti, 1997).

In spite of the fact that this book is not designed to teach Arabic, *I and My Homeland* (2018) is presented to third graders, ostensibly, as a book that conforms to the rules of Arabic morphology, syntax and grammar. Each and every clause is grammatically well-formed. In fact, words in school textbooks, other than Arabic, are rarely diacritically marked. However, this civics book is remarkably characterized by Arabic diacritical marks. Only the Holy Qur'an and Arabic language textbooks apply such diacritics to suit the convenience of readers. Not only is this diacritic technique mainly used as a phonetic

guide, but also, *ḥarakāt* or diacritics might be used simply because their writing is considered aesthetically attractive. Arabic diacritics' role is to fill space in a word where there are specific diacritics, or they may be added for aesthetic reasons (Hssini & Lazrek, 2011). This is language overlapping with social structures of power. It can be used to create, change, and maintain power relations in today's society (Fairclough, 2001).



Figure (5): A text about tolerance discussing the convergence of Arab and Jewish cultures. Adapted from *I and My Homeland* (2018).

I and My Homeland is neither the Holy Qur'an nor a textbook that teaches Arabic orthography. Instead, it appears to be designed to emphasize the Jewish identity of the state at the cost of acknowledging the Palestinian heritage and culture to which these 8-year-old children belong. The extensive use of diacritics, used extensively in the book may facilitate smoother reading of the passages. It might well also encourage students to engage with texts more readily as if they are enjoying a literary masterpiece. However, this approach raises questions about the broader goals of the textbook, as it seems to prioritize the imparting of a specific national identity. Hence, enculturation occurs automatically and is subsequently assimilated into the collective unconscious or archetypes.

Linguicide and the Assimilation of Palestinian Youth

However, it is utterly interesting, but not surprising, to learn that many other textbooks used in Arab schools are riddled with mistakes in language and grammar. Neither do these books teach Israel's Declaration of Independence nor Jewish holidays. Ironically, they are fixated on the Arabic language and culture. According to an article published by the daily Israeli *Haaretz*, a report put together by the Arab Cultural Association uncovers around 16,255 mistakes in Arabic grammar and syntax in school textbooks. In math books for 8-15-year-olds there are at least 7,532 mistakes; in three geography and history books there are 3,939 mistakes. Hundreds of mistakes were also found in textbooks for the study of the Arabic language' (Khoury, 2011).

In spite of the fact that 64 per cent of Jewish Israelis think it is important for Arabic to be mandatory in schools (Lynn, 2022), it is being, to all intents and purposes, dealt with as a foreign language. Arabic is being attacked on almost all levels in Israel, the Palestinian occupied territories, and East Jerusalem. Speakers of Arabic are often chastised when using Arabic on checkpoints, on the street, and even in the Knesset.

"Disgraceful!" tweeted MK Miri Regev. "This morning in the Knesset of Israel, MK Walid Taha delivers his speech on the Electricity Law in Arabic. [Prime Minister Naftali] Bennett sits, amused in the plenum, allowing this shameful act in the Knesset to go ahead." (Sommer, 2022)

Putting speakers of Arabic to shame is intentionally motivated by the desire, on the part of Israel's policy makers, to limit its status and usage in the state in general and the Arab minority in particular. Israeli law makers have never been that invariable and consistent pertaining to their relationship with Arabic:

there are laws that give Hebrew the superiority and refrain from giving Arabic any status; there are other laws where Hebrew takes precedence over the Arabic secondary language. The evidence suggests that Arabic in Israel will eventually fade away and gradually die out. Then Arabs will unplug the life supporting machine out of mercy towards this dying language. This will result in the forced assimilation of the dominated communities of Arabs into the "larger" Hebrew language and thus into the Jewish culture.

The consequences of this framing is abundantly evident in my own teaching context. Palestinian students who arrive at An-Najah National University in Nablus, Palestine, often exhibit a limited proficiency in written Arabic. They even rely heavily on Hebrew when interacting with their peers. This code – switching illustrates the long – term effects of the educational policies that prioritize Hebrew at the expense of Arabic.

Framing the Kafr Qasim massacre in Israeli education textbooks

For Palestinian students the Kafr Qasim pogrom is framed as a "mistake" in the context of educational textbooks. In contrast, for Israeli students of the same age, it is perceived in terms of effect and utility for the emergent State of Israel (Peled-Elhanan, 2012). This dual narrative is evident in the state – sanctioned *Being Citizens in a Democratic Jewish State*, which acknowledges the massacre but frames it as an "unintentional but acceptable" mistake that was committed against a total of 47 people who lived in that village at the time. Although at first glance the inclusion of such events might appear as an act of transparency, the underlying message seems to incentivize the Palestinian teenagers (the dominated social group) to set aside historical injustices rather than engage with the historical and moral implications critically.

By presenting this massacre as an unfortunate but justifiable mistake, the textbook implicitly tries to legitimize the actions of the perpetrators and the surrounding circumstances that led to this massacre. It is the contention of this paper that such framing not only minimizes the gravity of the event, but also discourages Palestinian teenagers from questioning the broader structure of power and inequality that continue to affect their lives.

Again, for school books designed for Israeli teens, Peled-Hanan argues that the report of this massacre - and other massacres; namely, Qibya and Deir Yasin – presents the act of slaughter as necessary – tragic yet justified by their outcomes (Peled-Elhanan, 2012). This Israeli socially shared representation of the massacre serves as legitimation and naturalization to every practice that helps maximize Jewish control over the contested multiethnic territory. However, for Palestinian students, whose grandparents might have been amongst the killed, the report presents the exact same act as the mere following of military orders. The reproduction of this text in Arabic is yet another indication that the authors are appeasing the Palestinian students by chronicling and recounting the story of the massacre. It is a narration short of an apology. It is true that late President Shimon Peres apologized for the massacre (Stern, 2007), but in 2021 a bill to have the massacre officially recognized was turned down in the Knesset (Shpigel, 2021).

The linguistic reproduction of events in *Being Citizens in a Democratic Jewish State* tries to engrave in the collective consciousness of the Arab receivers that the Kafr Qasim massacre took place within the context of a battle between Nasser's Egypt and Israel. In other words, Israel was in the middle of a war, so this gave legitimate grounds for such an act. This position was then assumed and taken for granted. This narrative is presented as self-evident that leaves little room for any critical

examination. Fairclough (2003) argues that when the ground of an argument is there, one might consider the ideological work the text is doing. In this case, the textbook aims at naturalizing, force assimilating, and erasing the Palestinian collective memory of such massacres. Then and only then Palestinians will be brainwashed into docility. Any chance of arousing patriotic feelings or even sympathizing with the victims is lost and distorted in the travesty of legitimizing or delegitimizing the massacre. It also aims at transforming history into a collective memory of values and biases that are not Palestinian.

It is pertinent to make a brief observation on the accountability versus glorification dichotomy regarding the massacres committed against the Palestinians within the Israeli educational textbooks. In her book *Palestine in Israeli school books: ideology and propaganda in education* (p. 184, 2012) Peled-Elhanan included an image of a group of soldiers, some of whom rose to prominence, such as Ariel Sharon – future Prime Minister of Israel – and Moshe Dayan, who became Chief of Staff. In this photo the members are visually framed as national heroes. Strikingly, this same unit carried out the 1953 raid on the Palestinian village of Qibya where almost 69 Palestinians, most of them women and children, were killed. Even the lexical choices used in describing the image – presenting the massacre as a *pe'ulat tagmul* (reprisal action) and portraying the perpetrators as symbols of bravery – illustrates how educational discourse transforms acts of violence into acts of heroism. This aligns with van Dijk's (1998) observation that discourse often serves to reproduce dominance by controlling knowledge and shaping collective memory.



Figure (6): Soldiers of Unit 101, including Ariel Sharon (later Prime Minister) and Moshe Dayan (later Chief of Staff), portrayed as heroic figures in an Israeli textbook. Reprinted from *Palestine in Israeli School Books: Ideology and Propaganda in Education* (p. 185), by N. Peled-Elhanan, 2012, I.B. Tauris.

One last interesting point in the analysis of the Kafr Qasim report is the fact that the word “massacre” was replaced with the word “homicide”. In old editions of *Being Citizens in a Democratic Jewish State*, the authors referred to the incident that took place in Kafr Qasim as *Majzarah* (مجزرة) Arabic for massacre. In a revised edition of the same book (2018), the authors used another word to describe the event *Jareemat Qatel* (جريمة قتل) Arabic for homicide.

A “homicide” may result from accidental, reckless, or negligent acts even if there is no intent to cause harm (Melenik, 2015). The word “homicide” in this context is both detached from the gravity of the event as it lacks the emotionally charged connotations such as the mass killings of helpless and unresisting human beings in an atrocious way. The use of this word “homicide” risks minimizing the severity of the event. This choice of words might well

reflect an attempt to avoid directly implicating the perpetrators, as the term “massacre” carries a more accusatory tone.

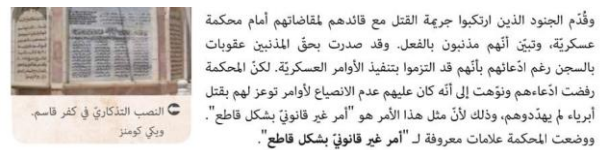


Figure (7): A paragraph containing the word “homicide” (جريمة قتل). Adapted from *Being Citizens in a Democratic Jewish State* (2018).

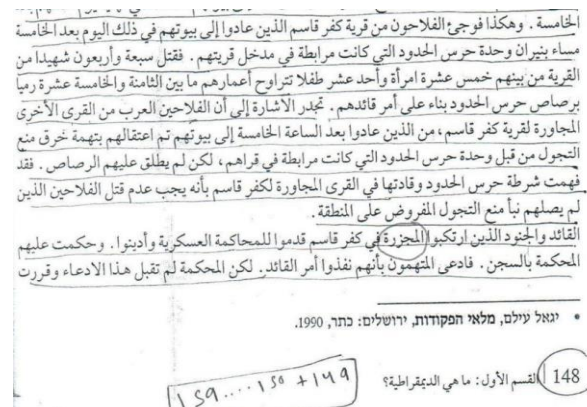


Figure (8): A paragraph containing the word “Majzarah” (مجزرة) Arabic for massacre. Adapted from *Being Citizens in a Democratic Jewish State* (2008).

Legitimizing Administrative Detention of Palestinians ex-cathedra

In books designed specifically for Israeli - Palestinian children, Israel’s practice of administrative detention – imprisoning people without trial or charge, is pedagogically legitimized through the use of authorization. Therefore, this educational material is meant to normalize this debatable issue by fostering acceptance among Palestinian students.

According to Van Leeuwen (2007) “legitimation” is based, among other things, on a very key element called “authorization”. By definition, authorization is performed by reference to the authority of tradition, custom and law, and of persons in whom institutional authority of some kind is invested. For example, on page 299 in *Being Citizens in a Democratic Jewish State*, the authors of the book depict the former Defense Minister Shaul Mofaz as a role model who endorses

administrative detention orders. Mofaz's authority is used to legitimize this measure which is used only in rare circumstances by the occupying powers according to the international law. However, this is completely at odds with the empirical evidence suggested by the Israeli Information Center for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories (B'Tselem, 2017). They stated that this has not stopped Israel from making extensive use of this measure in the Occupied Territories. Israel routinely uses administrative detention and has, over the years, placed thousands of Palestinians behind bars for periods ranging from several months to several years without charging them (2017).

شخص رهن الاعتقال الإداري لمدة لا تزيد على ستة أشهر. وهو يتيح بمزيد أوامر الاعتقال لمدة ستة أشهر أخرى في كل مرة، مع عدم وجود حد لعدد مرات التمديد. ومقدرة المعتقل في الدفاع عن نفسه والادعاء بأن الاعتقال غير مبرر محدودة. ذلك لأن الاعتقال ينقذ أحياناً على أساس أدلة المخابرات، والتي تبقى في طي الكتمان ومستورة عن عيني المعتقل ومحاميه، إلا أن المحكمة تتمتع فيها، وتقرّر كل ثلاثة أشهر ما إذا كانت تقرر استمرار الاعتقال.

هل الاعتقال الإداري هو الأداة المناسبة لمكافحة الإرهاب؟

تستخدم دولة إسرائيل أداة الاعتقال الإداري ضدّ الفلسطينيين المشتبهين بتخطيط أعمال إرهابية. الشيخ خضر عدنان، وهو فلسطيني من "حركة الجهاد الإسلامي"، اعتُقل عام 2012 وبقي في الاعتقال الإداري لمدة 70 يوماً. من المعلومات المكشوفة التي نُشرت، يبدو أنه عمل على الأقلّ في التحريض على تنفيذ تفجيرات انتحارية في إسرائيل. وقد شرع عدنان بإضراب عن الطعام. ونتيجة لذلك، تمّ إطلاق سراحه بعد تدخل منظمات دولية عشية جلسة النقاش في الانتعاش الذي قُدِّم إلى محكمة العدل العليا، بعد أن سادت حالته الصحية، في اتفاق تسوية بين محاميه والنيابة العامة للدولة. هذه العملية تكررت في عام 2015.

ووفقاً لمنظمة "بَيْسليم" (B'Tselem)، في نهاية عام 2014، أوقفت إسرائيل 400 معتقلاً إدارياً فلسطينياً. يبلغ متوسط مدة الاعتقال ستة أشهر. تستخدم الدولة الاعتقال الإداري ضدّ الإسرائيليين في بعض الحالات، بما في ذلك اليهود المشتبهون

Figure (9): A text that frames administrative detention as a lawful and exceptional measure, normalizing its application for its Palestinian student audience. From *Being Citizens in Israel: In a Jewish and Democratic State*, by Ministry of Education, Pedagogical Secretariat, 2018.

Aliyah as a form of "acceptable discrimination"

Again, in the Israeli – sanctioned textbook *Being Citizens in Israel: In a Jewish and Democratic State*, Palestinian students are supposed to learn about Aliyah - the immigration of Jews from the diaspora to historical Palestine. On page 366, the writer acknowledges why Palestinians, who were displaced in the 1948 Nakba, cannot make Aliyah and minimizes these "objections" into four short and superficial reasons. These reasons are not discussed in depth as valid positions with equal weight to that of Jews.

These reasons were immediately overshadowed by seven reasons why Jews can and have every right to return. These seven reasons tip the balance to legitimize the Israeli narrative and at the same time delegitimize the Palestinian narrative and exclude this group. It is intriguing to note that these seven reasons were introduced using the following revealing sentence: "Most Jewish Israeli citizens support the position that the Law of Return is discriminatory but is legitimate and acceptable" (2018). On face value, this sentence acknowledges that most Jews view the Right of Return as discriminatory. However, it is immediately counteracted and invalidated by stating that it is legitimate and acceptable. The text basically naturalizes the Jewish right of return while introducing the Palestinian narrative of expulsion as merely an unfortunate incident. Moreover, the text encourages the inculcation and assimilation of the core idea that Aliyah is a form of "acceptable discrimination" whereas the Palestinian return to their homes, farms, and shops is not. In fact, the expression "acceptable discrimination" is not a legal term; it sounds contradictory and unfair. However, in certain contexts "acceptable discrimination" is justified and legitimized when it touches upon specific biological and social conditions, such as maternity leave. A concrete example is provided by the Court of Justice of the European Union in *Hofmann v. Barmer Ersatzkasse* (1984), which held that maternity leave for women — but not men — is not unlawful discrimination because "the protection of a woman's biological condition following pregnancy and maternity, as well as the protection of the special relationship between a woman and her child, must be recognized as a legitimate objective" (*Hofmann v. Barmer Ersatzkasse*, 1984). Another societal example is the case of (*Indra Sawhney v. Union of India*, 1992). In this case

the Supreme Court of India ruled that reservation in education and public employment is not discrimination in the constitutional sense but an instrument of affirmative action to advance socially disadvantaged groups.

The Framing of History: Selective Remembering and the Erasure of Palestinian Narrative

What this educational system is trying to inculcate by reproducing and recounting such events in the minds of Palestinian children is the fact that there are things that never happened in the first place. Minor details of Kafr Qasim will inevitably be forgotten and erased altogether from the collective memory of these teens, while the framing of major events – the reasons behind the massacre – can shape their perception of history.

This recounting of the massacre falls under the category of “memory implantation.”

Information and misinformation play a major role in school textbooks. Israeli imposed curricula are no exception.

Several Studies on the effect of misinformation Loftus (2005) emphasize the fact that young children are especially likely to be vulnerable to peripheral memories and information that can shape their understanding of past events. Research shows that they are more affected by incorrect information when it is related to an existing memory rather than when it involves creating a completely new memory (Loftus, 2005). In the case of the Kafr Qasim massacre, the framing of this event as an “unintentional but acceptable mistake” may exploit this cognitive vulnerability. Moreover, presenting the massacre within the context of a conflict between Egypt and Israel, can distort children’s understanding of the event.

By way of illustration, under the section that justifies the establishment of a national home for Jews on the “land of Israel,” the authors of *Being Citizens in a Democratic Jewish State* claim: “In recent times, thousands of [Jews] started returning to their homeland. They *resurrected* empty lands, breathed life into their Hebrew language, and founded villages and cities [...]” (p. 15; emphasis added). The word

2. القانون قد يمسّ بكرامة مواطني إسرائيل العرب لأن الدولة تشترطهم أنهم ينتهون إلى مجموعة لا تشجع الدولة على زيادتهم عن طريق الهجرة من الخارج.
 3. القانون يميز في سياسة التوطين لأن اليهود الذين قدموا حسب قانون العودة يحصلون على المواطنة (الجنسية) بشكل تلقائي، وحسب قانون المواطنة الذي سنتعلم عنه لاحقاً، بينما لا يحصل أبناء الشعوب الأخرى على هذا الحق.
 4. حتى لو أعف قانون العودة لضمان أغلبية يهودية في دولة إسرائيل فإنه لم تعد هناك حاجة إليه بعد تحقيق هذه الغاية. من المفروض أن يكون التفضيل المصحح مؤقتاً، ويجب إيقافه طالما غُذلت حقوق المتضررين.
- معظم سكان إسرائيل اليهود يؤيدون الموقف الذي يقول إن قانون العودة قانون مميز ولكنه شرعي ومقبول. ويعلمون ذلك بما يلي:
1. قانون العودة يضمن وجود أغلبية يهودية ديمغرافية ثابتة في دولة إسرائيل، وبذلك فإنه يمكن الأغلبية اليهودية من تحقيق الحق الجماعي للشعب اليهودي في تقرير المصير في دولته، وحسنه في وجود ثقافة يهودية في الحيز الجماهيري في إسرائيل. القانون يحقق ذلك عن طريق ضمان الأغلبية اليهودية حتى بعد تحقيق هذه الأغلبية، لأن وجود هذا الشعب غير مضمون ما دامت الحدود النهائية للدولة لم تحدد بعد ولم تلغ المطالبة بحق العودة للفلسطينيين.
 2. القانون يضمن الفرصة لكل يهودي في العالم لتحقيق حقه الشخصي في الحصول على ثقافة يهودية قومية وتقليل احتمال انصهار أولاده (في ثقافة أخرى). هذا الحق الشخصي، بخلاف الحق الجماعي، متاح لكل يهودي في العالم، دون علاقة بالسؤال إن كانت هويته دولة إسرائيل اليهودية ثابتة ومحمية أم لا.
 3. القانون يعترف عن مبدأ التفضيل المصحح وتحقيقه بالنسبة لليهود الذين لم تكن لهم دولتهم الخاصة بهم. دولة إسرائيل هي تصحيح للغيث التاريخي الذي لحق باليهود.

عائلة عربية ليس لها حكاية كهذه، بينما يستطيع كل قادم جديد القدوم من خارج البلاد والاستيطان خارج البلاد (أراضي الضفة الغربية)، ويريد طردى إلى خارج البلاد.” (فرجانت، نوريت. “دولة جميع مواطنيها؟ أنا أعارض ذلك.” هآرتس، 15.3.2006).

هل قانون العودة قانون تمييزي أم مميز؟

قانون العودة آثار خلافاً: هل يعترف عن تمييز مقبول أو تفضيل مصحح أو تمييز مرفوض؟ هل إسرائيل، كدولة ديمقراطية ملتزمة بالحفاظ على حقوق جميع مواطنيها، مخولة بسن قانون يميز بين اليهود وغير اليهود بالنسبة للقدوم إلى إسرائيل والتوطين فيها؟

هناك من يعتبر قانون العودة قانوناً مميزاً للأسباب التالية:

1. قانون العودة يخلّ مبدأ المساواة، لأنه يعطي الأفضلية لليهود وعائلاتهم مقابل غير اليهود. أضف إلى ذلك، فإن قانون العودة يمكن اليهود الذين لم يعيشوا في إسرائيل من الدخول إليها، بينما يمنع هذا الحق من العرب الفلسطينيين الذين كانوا يسكنون هذه المنطقة قبل 70 عاماً.

366 // أن تكون مواطنين في إسرائيل

6. قانون العودة لا يميز بين مواطني الدولة. إنه يعنى المواطنة من هم ليسوا مواطنين في الدولة، والدولة غير ملزمة أن تسلك معهم بالمساواة. حتى الدول التي لا تميز بين المهاجرين على أساس وطني فإنها تميز على أساس غير مُصنّف آخر، مثل مستوى الدخل أو المهنة.

7. أقيمت دولة إسرائيل كدولة للشعب اليهودي – هذا ما أفتره الأمم المتحدة في التاسع والعشرين من كانون الأول عام 1947. وقد تمّ تحديد ذلك في وثيقة الاستقلال.



منازل اسمها قانون العودة

”مثل أي قانون للهجرة هذا [قانون العودة] التمييزي – يميز بين اليهود وغير اليهود. ولكن هذا هو المثال الأكثر نجاحاً للتمييز [التفضيل] المصحح: يصبح قانون العودة التمييزي الفطري الذي على منه اليهود قبل قيام دولة إسرائيل، لأنه لم تكن لديهم دولة خاصة بهم ولأنه إن كان الضيق كانوا يعتبرون غرباء وغير مرغوب بهم. وهذا لم يكن فقط في ألمانيا النازية، إنما أيضاً في إنجلترا والولايات المتحدة وكندا وفي كل دولة ديمقراطية في العالم. سوى إرائيل تروخيو، ديكتاتور جمهورية الدومينيكان، الذي كان على استعداد لتقديم المأوى لبعض اليهود لأنه تأمل في تطوير بلاده بهذه الطريقة...”

معظم سكان إسرائيل اليهود يؤيدون الموقف الذي يقول إن قانون العودة قانون مميز ولكنه شرعي ومقبول. ويعلمون ذلك بما يلي:

1. قانون العودة يضمن وجود أغلبية يهودية ديمغرافية ثابتة في دولة إسرائيل، وبذلك فإنه يمكن الأغلبية اليهودية من تحقيق الحق الجماعي للشعب اليهودي في تقرير المصير في دولته، وحسنه في وجود ثقافة يهودية في الحيز الجماهيري في إسرائيل. القانون يحقق ذلك عن طريق ضمان الأغلبية اليهودية حتى بعد تحقيق هذه الأغلبية، لأن وجود هذا الشعب غير مضمون ما دامت الحدود النهائية للدولة لم تحدد بعد ولم تلغ المطالبة بحق العودة للفلسطينيين.
2. القانون يضمن الفرصة لكل يهودي في العالم لتحقيق حقه الشخصي في الحصول على ثقافة يهودية قومية وتقليل احتمال انصهار أولاده (في ثقافة أخرى). هذا الحق الشخصي، بخلاف الحق الجماعي، متاح لكل يهودي في العالم، دون علاقة بالسؤال إن كانت هويته دولة إسرائيل اليهودية ثابتة ومحمية أم لا.
3. القانون يعترف عن مبدأ التفضيل المصحح وتحقيقه بالنسبة لليهود الذين لم تكن لهم دولتهم الخاصة بهم. دولة إسرائيل هي تصحيح للغيث التاريخي الذي لحق باليهود.
4. يهدف قانون العودة إلى حماية اليهود من الملاحقة والطرده والإبادة من قبل الأغلبية القومية في دول أخرى، وهي طواهر عانى منها اليهود على مر العصور.
5. القانون يعمل باسم القانون الدولي الذي يقبل بحق الدول في التحكم بسياسات الهجرة الخاصة بها كمرتب أساساً للسيادة. الكثير من الدول في العالم تصترف كإسرائيل وتبنت قانوناً مميزاً يسهل على أبناء القومية الموجودين خارج حدود الدولة عملياً العودة إلى وطنهم. لقد اعترفت مؤسسات دولية خاصة بحقوق الإنسان بهذه السياسات (مثلاً، الوثيقة

“قانون الهنغارين” (المجر) هو قانون يمنح حقوقاً خاصة لأبناء الأقلية الهنغارية القاطنين عارضها عند قدومهم إليها. القانون يمنح حقوقاً لأصاحب الأصول الهنغارية.

Figure (10): A text that frames Aliyah as discriminatory, yet acceptable, regarding the Palestinians. From *Being Citizens in Israel: In a Jewish and Democratic State*, by Ministry of Education, Pedagogical Secretariat, 2018.

“resurrected” carries the implication that this land was previously a wasteland. This framing minimizes the long – standing presence of Palestinians on the land and implies an absence of prior cultural or historical significance within Palestinian collective memory.

Another example of sanitized and implanted memories appears on page 18 of the same source: “...borders will be demarcated right after the 1948 war (also called the war of liberation or war of independence).” Palestinian children are not allowed to form their own collective memory about this “war,” which never truly happened. According to the history and collective memory of most elderly Palestinians, Palestine in 1948 was handed over to the Jewish militias without a fight except for some resistance pockets in certain areas. Consequently, Palestinian children within Israeli society are denied the opportunity to construct their own national identity.

A number of linguists assume that a text functions as a communicative occurrence. In this sense, authors of school textbooks are effectively addressing children as their audience. Selective remembering within such discourse can lead both speakers and listeners to forget the unmentioned memories (Brown et al., 2012). When teachers, Israeli students, and Palestinian students discuss in class the fact that “organizations such as Haganah, Etzel, and Lehi granted the long awaited [Israeli] army, which later became Israel Defense Forces, a priceless expertise” (p. 31), Palestinians, as time passes by, will forget the unmentioned but related massacres committed by these “Maquis-like” organizations in the lead – up to the establishment of the State of Israel. Neither the Jewish students [...] nor the Palestinian – Israeli students [...] are taught the Palestinian national narrative; instead, both groups learn the Zionist one (Nasser & Nasser, 2008).

Conclusion

In 1997 Peled-Elhanan's daughter, Smadar, was killed in a suicide Palestinian bombing. Shortly after the incident, Peled-Elhanan told Israel radio reporters that “terrorist attacks like this are the direct consequence of the oppression, slavery, humiliation, and state of siege imposed on the Palestinians. These attacks are the response to our acts. On this I have no doubt: they are the fruit of despair and the direct result of what we Israelis have done in the territories. This government does all it can to destroy peace” (Dennis, 1997).

Israel's ministry of education is no exception to this pattern. As mentioned earlier in this article, the system not only seeks to de-Palestinise textbooks that are designed for Palestinian students, but it also contributes to what has been described as an “unjust, undemocratic and unsustainable state” (Sherwood, 2011). Moreover, it reproduces historical events in a nationalistic and chauvinistic fashion for Israeli Jewish students and a liberal fashion for Palestinian students.

As discussed above, these tactics may, in the very long run, lead Palestinian school children to adopt elements of the dominant Israeli discourse. It should be noted, however, that curriculum packages that promote tolerance will have little impact if they are delivered within educational structures that are fundamentally intolerant (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000). In the short term, however, ethnocentrism and Palestinian patriotic feelings, on the part of Palestinian students, are evident in their culture and are inextricably linked to their consciousness.

The significant differences in government investments in schools between Arab Palestinian towns and Jewish towns contribute to the sense of inferiority experienced by Palestinian children. Consequently, Palestinian children tend to adopt a societal role that is

considered inferior. This feeling of inferiority can have severe psychological consequences for the youth within the community, leading to issues such as somatization, depression, anxiety, and fear, as pointed out by (Shen et al., 2011). This fear is eventually leading Palestinian children, in East Jerusalem and within the pre-1967 borders, to protest the discrimination they face in Israel as well as the occupation itself and Israeli brutality against Palestinians.

Whether relativism-oriented, forcibly assimilated, or enculturated, Palestinian children often demonstrate resilience. However, this miswiring of the brain and the persistent denial of their narrative are driving an entire generation of Palestinian teens into frustration and despair. This situation can only be addressed when Palestinian children in East Jerusalem and beyond the Green Line are granted full opportunities to learn their own narrative, history, and culture and safeguard their identity. Only then can their present sense of injustice be redressed. Until such opportunities are given, attempts to “tame” or assimilate them are unlikely to succeed. Granting such opportunities is essential not only for enhancing identity but also for creating conditions conducive to more equitable and constructive engagement.

Disclosure Statement

- **Ethical Approval and Consent to Participate:** Not applicable. This study utilizes Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and critical content analysis on publicly available educational textbooks and published document sources. No human subjects, field trials, or medical interventions were involved.
- **Availability of Data and Materials:** All data and textual evidence supporting the findings of this study are included directly within the manuscript. Any additional

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