



Bayan بیان ביאן The Arabs in Israel הערבים בישראל

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From the Editors' Desk

The current issue of *Bayan* contains two essays. The first, by Itamar Radai, discusses the alternative civics curriculum presented recently by the High Follow-Up Committee for Arab Citizens of Israel. The second, by Shlomi Daskal, surveys Bassam Beroumi's music and analyzes the social and political context of its content.

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The Editors

Itamar Radai * / Al-Madaniyyat:¹ A New Civil Agenda for Arabs in Israel?

In preparation for the opening of the current school year (2017-2018), the High Follow-Up Committee for Arab Citizens of Israel² and the Forum of Arab Civics Teachers,³ published an anthology in Arabic entitled "The Civics Booklet for Summer 2018."⁴ The three hundred-page reader is designed for Arab high school students who are about to sit for the official civics matriculation exams to be held in the upcoming summer. The anthology was published as part of an initiative that has been conducted in recent years under the supervision of the High Follow-Up Committee.

The initiative's debut was announced in a resolution adopted by the Follow-Up Committee in January 2016, which was publicized at a press conference and in a press-release issued in Arabic and Hebrew on October 10, 2016. The press release announced "the completion of the first stage of preparation of complementary and alternative materials for civics studies for Arab students. The materials will be posted on the Follow-Up Committee's website for the use of teachers, students, and parents in order to complete the deficiencies in the official curriculum." Later, the press release addressed the Israeli Ministry of Education in "an open proposal... and a demand to reform the civics curriculum so that it will reflect the aspiration [for the creation of] a citizenry that is democratic, dynamic and open to pluralism and equality. It is clear that this is a necessary step for all curricula (Arabic Language, Geography, History, Sociology, etc.)."⁵

The Arabic-language education system for Arab students in Israeli schools has long been a subject of considerable controversy as well as a subject of considerable research interest. The curriculum has been frequently described by Arab academics as

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¹ *Al-Madaniyyat*: Civics, in Arabic.

² The High Follow-Up Committee for Arab Citizens of Israel (*lajnat al-mutaba'a al-'ulya lil-jamahir al-'arabiyya fi isra'il*) was established in 1982 by the chairman of the national committee of Arab local councils, which was founded in 1974 as an umbrella for representing Arab citizens. The establishment of the High Follow-Up Committee is considered as the culmination of Arab political organization in Israel. The committee includes members of local councils and representatives of political parties that are active in Arab society, both parliamentary and ex-parliamentary (the committee has no representatives from Zionist parties). The committee hosts sub-committees on a variety of issues including health, education, sports, social services and agriculture. The Israeli government has not officially recognized the committee, however, over the years prime ministers have met with its members several times. In 2015 former Knesset member, Mohammad Barakeh of Hadash party, was elected chair of the committee and heads it since then. See: Itamar Radai, "Between Palestine and Israel: The Elections for Chair of the High Follow-Up Committee, Their Significance and Ramifications," *Bayan* 6, November 2015. The website of the High Follow-Up committee: <http://almotabaa.com>.

³ The Forum of Arab Civics Teachers (*muntada mu'allimay al-madaniyyat al-'arab*) was established at a conference held in Kafr Qara' in August 2016. See "The Establishment of the Forum of Arab Civics Teachers," *al-Sonara*, 29.08.2016.

⁴ *Kurasat Madaniyyat Sayf 2018* (N.P, N.D: The High Follow-Up Committee and the Forum of Arab Civics Teachers).

⁵ <http://www.sonara.net/full/286104اطلاق-كراسة-مصطلحات-المدنيات-البيدية-في-موقع-لجنة-المتابعة-العلمية>

old-fashioned, outdated, and irrelevant to the current reality of life in Israel for Arab citizens, especially in the aforementioned subjects. Among other things, there has been criticism of the paucity of resources invested in its creation, and of the fact that the curriculum was designed almost entirely without the participation of Arab citizens since the period of military government (1948-1966). Another claim is that the curriculum is suited to the needs of Jewish society but not the national, cultural, and religious needs of Arab students.⁶

Since the 1980s, partial reforms have been made to the system, including in the field of civics studies, which were aimed to make the curricula more relevant for Arab students. Within this framework, the Ministry of Education published an Arabic-language civics book that dealt with topics that had been considered almost taboo until that time, such as identity, the expropriation of land, civil rights, and discussion of the Palestinian national identity of Arab citizens in Israel.⁷ The Kremnitzer Committee (1996), appointed by Minister of Education Amnon Rubinstein, called for meeting “the other” in society and for the strengthening of the common denominator, along with open discussion of the bedrocks of the controversy. The results reinforced the trend expressed in textbooks intended for Arab students, including Civics texts.⁸

In recent years, there has been a growing call from Arab academics to have influence over the education of the Arab minority in the framework of the demand for equal rights. Jurist Dr. Yousef Jabareen (a Knesset member since 2015 representing Hadash within the Joint List) defined the situation thus: “The aspiration for transformation in Arab education is at the top of the Arab population’s agenda. At the core of this transformation lays the demand to substantially advance the Arab educational system so that it will be equal to that afforded to Jewish students. Equality, both on the individual and group levels, and on all planes: in infrastructure, achievements, qualities, organizational structure and in the **curriculum**⁹... we will focus on the extent to which the legal discourse in Israel ensures the right of Arab citizens to influence their education.”¹⁰ Through this discourse, the demand arose also to change the civics curriculum and to influence the presentation of the most sensitive issues in relations between the Arab minority and the state. And indeed, in 2005, an alternative book on concepts of identity and belonging, included in the civics curriculum, was published by leading Arab academics.¹¹

Amidst these developments, opposition arose from Arab political and academic circles to the new civics book, *Being Israeli Citizens*. Published in 2016 by the Ministry of Education, the book was intended to serve both Jewish and Arab students

⁶ See for example: *Khaled Abu 'Asba, Arab Education in Israel: Dilemmas of National Education* (Jerusalem: The Florsheimer Institute for Policy Studies, 2007), pp. 9-12, Hebrew.

⁷ Majid al-Haj, *Education Among the Arabs: Control and Social Change* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 2006), pp. 122-124, Hebrew.

⁸ See the summary of the Kremnitzer Committee’s report here: http://cms.education.gov.il/EducationCMS/Units/Mazkirut_Pedagogit/Mate/OdotHamate/ezrachim/BeEzrakh.htm

⁹ The emphasis is mine.

¹⁰ Yousef Jabareen, “On the Right to Influence Education Related to the Arab-Palestinian Minority in Israel,” in Ayman Aghbariyeh (editor), *Teacher Training in Palestinian Society in Israel* (Tel Aviv: Resling, 2013), p. 49, Hebrew.

¹¹ Mohammad Amara and Mustafa Kabha, *hawiyah wa-intimaa': mashru' al-mustalahat al-asasiyya lil-tulab al-arab* (Haifa: Ibn Khaldoun, 2005).

and was followed by a publication of a glossary of concepts. An appeal (which was rejected) was submitted to the High Court of Justice on the matter, and Arab representatives of the Civics Committee in the Ministry of Education resigned following their claim that the comments they gave on the glossary of concepts and on the book were disregarded.¹² Israel's Arab press reported extensively on the matter, and senior political leaders, including former Knesset member (MK) and incumbent chair of the High Follow-Up Committee, Mohammad Barakeh and MK Dr. Yousef Jabareen, harshly criticized the civics text and called for its boycott. They also insisted a new book be issued on behalf of the Follow-Up Committee.¹³

The initiative of the High Follow-Up Committee was designed to create an alternative curriculum for the study of civics for Arab schools in Israel. The involvement of senior leadership attests to the fact that this is not purely an educational issue, but at once an issue of both national and civil importance, as far as that leadership is concerned. At the press conference held on October 10, 2016, Barakeh emphasized their intention to take practical steps and not to settle for mere protest, as in the past. Professor As'ad Ghanem, of the School of Political Science at the University of Haifa, who was appointed the initiative's coordinator, stated at the same press conference, "We – the Palestinians in Israel – are a strong group with the ability to force change through an initiative of our own undertaking." The two statements were published in full on the Follow-Up Committee's website; the subject of "al-Madaniyyat" was posted in a central place on the website and various materials about the initiative were added to it. In addition, a series of meetings were organized by the initiative's activists with Arab Civics teachers, throughout which the materials were distributed. According to the initiative's organizers, the materials include four sections. The first section included commentary on the glossary of civics and "the presentation of a balanced and democratic viewpoint"; comments were appended to forty-six of the 126 terms in the original glossary, and thirteen new terms were added. The second segment includes supplemental lesson outlines prepared by the Association for Civil Rights in Israel. The third section contains a booklet intended for teachers entitled *al-Madaniyyat – Madamin Badila*, meaning *Civics: Alternative Content*, and the fourth section is a summary of the entire curriculum, which was published as a reader at the beginning of the current school year.¹⁴

The al-Madaniyyat booklet spans ninety-two pages and was published by Dirasat – Arab Center for Law and Policy, which was founded by MK Dr. Jabareen and directed by him until his election to the Knesset. The booklet has six chapters: historical background on the establishment of the state of Israel, the Jewish identity of the state, the Nakba¹⁵ and the Palestinian narrative, the minority in the shadow of the majority, Israeli democracy and lastly, the question of identity.¹⁶ Among the broad components of identity for Palestinian citizens of Israel, the booklet demarcates the following topics: belonging to the Palestinian nationality; steadfastness (*sumud*);

¹² Yarden Tzur, "Two Arab Representatives of the Civics Committee Resign Over Glossary of Concepts; High Court Rejects Petitioners' Claims," *Haaretz*, 20.7.2017.

¹³ "Jabareen Calls to Boycott the New Civics Book," *Al-Sonara*, 23.12.2015; "Barakeh: the Follow-Up Committee to Publish Alternative Civics Book if Ministry of Education Insists on Publishing its Book," *Al-Sonara*, 22.12.2015

¹⁴ <http://www.almotabaa.com/مواد-مدنيات/>

¹⁵ In Arabic: Catastrophe. The common term in Arabic to the 1948 Arab-Israeli war, or the Israeli war of Independence and its repercussions for the Palestinians.

¹⁶ *Al-Madaniyyat: Madamin Badila* (N.P: Dirasat, 2016).

attachment to the land; the discourse of indigenosity (*aslaniyya*) that emphasizes the historical connection of Arab citizens to the land; belonging to an Arab environment in the region; and the rejection of divisive ethnic and sectarian discourse, while emphasizing national identity. Alternatively, the centrality of the Israeli civil component to the identity of Arab minority in Israel is also highlighted.¹⁷

The booklet also includes messages that emphasize Israeli identity that are contrary to the common Palestinian narrative. For example, in the chapter that relates to the establishment of the State of Israel, which opens the book, depicts the emergence of the Zionist Movement in Europe as a national movement against the backdrop of Jewish enlightenment and the rise of national movements.¹⁸ This is contrary to the collective Palestinian narrative and memory of the conflict, which usually views Zionism as a colonialist movement which settled in Palestine at the behest of the colonial powers.¹⁹ This is not the only example of positions that are incompatible with the Palestinian national narrative in *Al-Madaniyyat* initiative. For example, in the reader *Civics Booklet for Summer 2018*, Israel's status as a modern nation-state and its Jewish and democratic identity are emphasized.²⁰ According to the reader, the Arabs in Israel belong to the Arab nation (*al-qawmiyya al-'arabiyya*), however they possess Israeli citizenship (*jinsiyya isra'iliyya*). The reader's authors compare their situation to being ethnically German while living in Austria or Switzerland.²¹

Last summer, the Konrad Adenauer Foundation (as a part of the activities of the Konrad Adenauer Program for Jewish-Arab Cooperation at the Moshe Dayan Center) conducted a comprehensive survey amongst Arab citizens of Israel which centered on the matter of citizenship. The survey, which included focus groups and a telephone survey with the Arab population, revealed the strengthening of Israeli civil identity amongst Arabs without compromising the Palestinian-Arab national and cultural identity. One of the striking observations that emerged from the focus groups was the lack of contradiction – in the eyes of the participants – between their Palestinian national identity and Israeli civil identity.²²

The launch of the al-Madaniyyat initiative of the High Follow-Up Committee shows on the one hand the increase in self-confidence and the willingness to challenge the narrative accepted by the Israeli establishment, and on the other hand it demonstrates a strong desire to shape and influence the civil identity to the point of attempting to create a new civil agenda without relinquishing national or cultural identity. This constitutes another proof of the transformation of Israeli civil identity into a central component in the self-perception of the Arab citizens in Israel.²³

¹⁷ Ibid, pp. 88-91.

¹⁸ Ibid, pp. 13-18.

¹⁹ Ronni Shaked, *Behind the Kafiyah: The Conflict from the Palestinian Point of View* (Tel Aviv: Yediot Ahronot, 2018), pp. 90-91.

²⁰ *Kurasat Madaniyyat Sayf 2018*, pp. 3-4.

²¹ Ibid, pp. 155-156.

²² Itamar Radai and Arik Rudnitsky, "Citizenship, Identity, and Political Participation: Measuring the Attitudes of Arabs in Israel," *Bayan*, Volume 12, December 2017.

²³ See also Shlomi Daskal's essay in this issue.

Shlomi Daskal * / Blending in, but not Necessarily Optimistic: Bassam Beroumi, Arab Rocker in Israel - Between the Personal and the Political

Bassam Beroumi (born in Akko, 1977) is a rock singer, artist, and creator from a family of musicians. His uncle, Samir Shukri, was one of the first Arab artists to sing in Hebrew and burst into the consciousness of Israel's Jewish population in the late 1980s (he is most remembered for his hit "Rona," which led him to perform a song about co-existence entitled "From Moshe to Mahmud" at a 1987 music festival).²⁴ Unlike his uncle, Beroumi does not sing in Hebrew, nor does he aspire to mix into the Hebrew radio market. At the same time, he does not try to integrate into the mainstream Arabic-language music commonly consumed by Arab society.

In the late 1990s, Beroumi founded Khalas, which was the first metal-rock band in Israel to sing in Arabic, an unusual phenomenon in the Arab music scene in that country. Despite its affiliation with a loud and rebellious music culture, the band did not rebel against accepted conventions, nor did it present any criticism of the society to which it belonged. In one article on the band Beroumi explained, "We live well, we have nothing to complain about."²⁵ Because of the band's limited success and the difficulty those in the music industry face in making a living in Israel, and in Arab music in particular, Beroumi temporarily retired from the music industry.²⁶ He also attempted working as an actor, but retired from that profession as well. His reasoning was because he was typically typecast, according to him, as "a waiter or a terrorist or a construction worker, or a construction worker that was a waiter that became a terrorist." He added, "The problem is that I'm in the middle – I'm not Arab enough because I don't have the accent, and I'm not Jewish – I'm Arab."²⁷

In 2016, Beroumi released his first solo album, *Sirc (Circus)*. Music critic Ben Shalev characterized Beroumi as "a minority within a minority" – a musical minority within a national minority, since he does not have many consumers - both because of its language and because of the musical genre.²⁸ Nevertheless, Beroumi is not entirely alone; recently there has been a considerable awakening in the Arabic-language pop-

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²⁴ Samir Shukri, "Rona" <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vu5H-0Osmeo>; "From Moshe to Muhammad," <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KQ2HuZjz0-Q>

²⁵ Inbal Shatawi, "Singing in Arabic Against The [Arab] Sector" (Hebrew), *NRG* 14.10.2004, <http://www.makorrishon.co.il/nrg/online/5/ART/796/943.html>. It's possible to assume that the editor couldn't resist the temptation to give the article this title even though it contradicts its contents.

²⁶ Pressure from Beroumi's family, who had witnessed his uncle's failed attempts to make a living in music and eventually chose to leave Israel in spite of his success in the eighties and nineties, also contributed to this decision. Eran Eldar, "I'm Going There, Rona" (Hebrew), *nrg*, 24.10.2008. <http://www.nrg.co.il/online/54/ART1/802/153.html>

²⁷ Amit Mizrahi, "The Prince of Arab Rock." <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fJe2DFgocK>

²⁸ Ben Shalev, "Refugee on His Land: Israeli Arab Rock Singer Is the Voice of the Minority" *Haaretz*, 10.09.2016.

rock scene in Israel. Shalev reminds us of Jowan Safadi and Luna Abu Nassar, and alongside them attention should also be paid to Maysa Daw (the daughter of actor Salim Daw), to Rasha Nahas, to the bands Ghazal and Maghnatis (in which Beroumi's brother Ghassan plays), and to others as well. With few exceptions, most of these works are not intended for Hebrew-speaking society, though occasionally it seems that precisely there they are gaining a wider response.²⁹

There are three kinds of songs in *Sirc*: humorous, personal, and political. While the songs are not arranged according to topic, their order is not coincidental and indeed makes a clear statement on Beroumi's part. The album opens with a restless instrumental interlude named "Indimaj" (Arabic for blending or fusion).³⁰ Music critic Tom Yogev finds in the opening a testimony to Beroumi's image, which combines various musical styles as well as personal and political statements.³¹

Among the humorous songs is "al Saha" ("On the Dancefloor), which describes the suffering of a man who yearns to dance but is embarrassed that he doesn't know how. The situation related in the song is reminiscent of Sayed Kashua's novel, *Dancing Arabs*, most especially in its sarcastic description of the connection of Arabs to dance, although Beroumi is more empathetic in his criticism than is Kashua. In another song, "ana rayeh" ("I'm Leaving"), he strikes a personal tone in telling about a woman who broke his heart. Another personal song, "erja'i" ("Come Back"), which is not included on the album,³² reveals the reason for his heartbreak - that romantic relations between Christians and Muslims hardly ever stand a chance. This point was already raised a decade ago in another cultural work, *Ajami*, a film co-directed by Yaron Shani and Iscandar Copti.³³

A character who is complex, struggling, and at times nearly lost emerges from the personal songs that appear on the album. This idea is reinforced in the song "btitdhakari" ("Do You Remember"), about a failed relationship, wherein the woman moves forward while the man is suspended in daydreams.³⁴ In the song "ma'ani" ("Meanings"), the personal and the political are joined when the singer implores his female partner: "Come, let's get away from all the customs and walls."³⁵ The last song in this category, "Jamila," ("Beautiful Girl") seems like a routine love song, but also serves a purpose - "Jamila" is placed after the album's most complex song, as we shall see below, in order to dispel the heavy atmosphere left in its wake. In the past, Beroumi had spoken about the superficiality of songs in Arabic, which deal only with romantic issues. In light of his comments, it is difficult to believe that he would fall into the same trap.³⁶

²⁹ There is a Wikipedia page for Beroumi in Hebrew but not in Arabic. This is also true for Luna Abu Nassar, Joan Safadi and others. See Wikipedia, "[Arab-Israeli Singers](#)" (Hebrew).

³⁰ Bassam Beroumi, "Fusion": <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6XPdz4PTKng>

³¹ Tom Yogev, "Blend in, Don't Shake Things Up" (Hebrew), *Columbus*, 7.08.2016, <http://columbusmusicmagazine.com>.

³² - رجعي - بسام بيرومي - https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sny_MCFC7TU

³³ Yaron Shani and Escander Copti, *Ajami*, 2009.

³⁴ The song's opening recalls the song "Fasatin" ("Dresses") by the Lebanese band Mashru Layla. The song is about an interfaith relationship, and in it the relationship fails as well.

³⁵ In this sentence it is unclear whether the meaning is walls (aswar) or voices (aswat). In either case, the general meaning does not change.

³⁶ "Qahwetna" ("Our Coffee"), *mix tv*, 3.10.2010

Three of the album's songs deal with distinctly political issues: "Sirc" ("Circus"), "kutub al-ta'rikh" ("History Books"), and "laji' ala ardi," ("Refugee on my Land"). "Sirc," the song that lends the album its name, describes a world that is run as a circus wherein the rich and powerful take advantage of everyone else. A grim and pessimistic picture of reality is presented in the guise of a jovial and exuberant rhythm. Beroumi defined "kutub al-ta'rikh" as "a political song with a hidden trick" in its lack of clarity on whether the song is written for a woman or for the homeland.³⁷ The fact that the word "land" is in the feminine form in Arabic contributes to the song's ambiguity.

Beroumi gives up on hiding behind wordplay in "laji' ala ardi," whose title and content undoubtedly refer to the Nakba. Among other things, the song mentions names of destroyed villages like Birweh and Tantura that became iconic symbols, as well as a characteristic motif in Palestinian poetry – the free bird flying the sky of her homeland.³⁸ The song's refrain relates the history of the Nakba from the personal viewpoint of the writer, and here Beroumi clarifies what refugeeism is to him: "I'm a refugee in my country/ I live on my land/ The air is not mine/ And not even the water/ I live in my country/ A refugee on my land/ The sun isn't mine/ And not even the moon." Here, Beroumi uses and at times confusing interchange of the words *arad* (country or land) and *balad* (village/town or country) to convey the message. However, this feeling is not accompanied by a desire to avenge or rebel, but rather by a sense of passivity or even helplessness. He says, "The history books labor over erasure/ the erasure of my address and the address of my children, I am the forgotten/ thrown out on my own land."³⁹ Heard as a song of lamentation, the music contributes to the sensation of mourning, built upon the accentuation of the bass guitar.⁴⁰ Beroumi has said of the song, "Most of the time I do feel that I belong, I feel unconflicted and everything is fine, but there are those places, there are those days, that I feel like an outsider." To this, he added: "The song recounted my experience, of being on land that is mine under a regime I did not choose. I was born to the land of Palestine, when the government and the state are Israel. I was born to an existing reality in which most of the time they [the government and the state] remind me that I am not the 'so-called' owner and [that I must] behave as [they] want and as [they] have determined. Therefore, there are impressions here that 'the sun, the water and the air aren't mine.'"⁴¹

The band Khalas did little to innovate in terms of content and therefore, the band's importance is affixed to the very fact of its existence and not to any particular content that it produced. Beroumi testified that in the days of Khalas they tried to move cautiously and avoid provocation.⁴² *Sirc* reflects the opposite situation – perhaps there are no musical innovations, but its content is more consequential. The album

³⁷ Yogevev, see citation 31.

³⁸ This motif appears in innumerable songs. It gained more strength in recent years following Gaza native Mohammed Assaf's 2013 "Arab Idol" victory. He chose to sing "Ya ter al-ta'ir" for the finale, a song that depicts a bird flying over Palestine who has been asked to say hello to her cities.

³⁹ Passivity is also expressed in the song "kutub al-ta'rikh" in which Beroumi speaks about the books of history that were erased, leading to the erasure of memory, all of which is given from a passive point of view.

⁴⁰ Shalev, see citation 28.

⁴¹ Yogevev, see citation 31.

⁴² Galit Adot "Arab Metal" (Hebrew), *Maariv*, 13.07.2016, <http://www.maariv.co.il/culture/tv/Article-549074>.

provides a window into a certain layer of Arab society in our time – the young generation in their forties, members of the middle class, who tend to place individualism alongside political consciousness.

In one interview given during the Khalas days, Beroumi explained that the band members don't see themselves as "anti-artists" like the rapper Tamer Nafar, for example.⁴³ Nafar tends to hit his listeners with all his intensity and strength in his songs. It sometimes seems that his intensity is so great and repetitive that it loses its meaning. Beroumi's way is different: he conveys his message in a more personal, subtle, and sophisticated way. He is not an uncompromising political activist, but an artist who wants to tell his story. The main angle of his writing is the personal line, and even the majority of his song lyrics are written in the first person (either singular or plural): "I'm leaving," "Leave me alone," "I want to dance as I please," "You burned me with your love," and so on. This personal is also expressed in his most nationalist song, in which his feelings are presented as refugees.⁴⁴ In so doing, he serves as an example of a phenomenon evident among Arab artists in Israel, who turn to personal writing and renounce committed political writing.⁴⁵ However, it cannot be denied that national consciousness is indeed present in his songs, as evidenced by the third of the album which do deal with national-political issues.

In *Sirc*, Beroumi is revealed as a creator who lives between the personal and the public, between the national and the civic, and between the desire to blend in and lead a routine life and the reality of belonging to a national minority in Israel. Beroumi states, "I am not against – I am in favor. In favor of connection, in favor of being together [...] the question is whether I want to live here and now in wars or in togetherness, and that's what I say to everyone who asks my political opinion. I don't want to waste time on blame and sacrifice, but to invest my day[s] in being together [...] I don't believe in working on coexistence, but in being in it."⁴⁶

And indeed, in his songs Beroumi does not view the state as an enemy or adversary as other artists do, and he concerns himself mainly with daily issues. However, he is troubled by the reality of life in Israel. In the survey "Citizenship, Identity and Political Participation" recently conducted by the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, it was found, among other things, that most respondents accord more importance to issues connected to routine aspects of their lives (like personal security against crime and violence, dealing with racism, the economy and employment) than they do to political matters (like issues connected to the Palestinians or the political process). Additionally, it was clarified that many of the respondents in the same age group as Beroumi hold positive attitudes toward their experience of living in Israel, even if they believe that things are not moving in the right direction.⁴⁷ This combination of optimism and pessimism is evident throughout Beroumi's work, with a slight tendency to lean toward pessimism, in my opinion. For him, as for many of his

⁴³ Shatawi, see citation 25.

⁴⁴ Khalas also had a nationalist song – "Biladi" ("My Country"), but in it Beroumi sang about the Palestinian people (and not of the individual Palestinian) in a pompous tone that is characteristic of the metal-rock genre.

⁴⁵ Janan Bsoul, "What Occupation? New Generation of Palestinian Writers Shifts Focus From Politics to 'Life Itself'" *Haaretz*, 04.06.2017,

⁴⁶ Adot, see citation 42.

⁴⁷ Itamar Radai and Arik Rudnitsky, "Citizenship, Identity and Political Participation: Measuring Attitudes of the Arab Citizens in Israel," *Bayan*, Volume 12, December 2017.

generation, life alongside Jewish society in Israel isn't just a slogan or a song about coexistence but rather a reality of life, for better or for worse.