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REIMAGINING
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THE FUTURE OF TEACHING ISRAEL'S PAST:

A HISTORIOGRAPHIC APPROACH TO ISRAEL EDUCATION

JONAH HASSENFELD

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Jonah Hassenfeld is the Director of Teaching and Learning for Schechter Boston. He received his PhD from Stanford University.

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Introduction

Like anything worth loving, Israel is worthy of deep study. But in studying anything in depth, one discovers that simple ideas fall apart under even the slightest scrutiny.

For decades, Israel educators have seemed to struggle to navigate the tension between heart and head. On the one hand, many want students to develop a love for Israel, and they strive to foster strong, positive feelings in students that can form a foundation for a lifelong connection. On the other hand, they want their students to be able to think critically about Israel. Such thinking entails acquiring deep knowledge and mastering the thinking skills necessary to become informed participants in pressing civic conversations about Israel and the future of the Jewish people.

Many communal (educators and philanthropic) efforts to cultivate positive emotions focus on experiential engagement with Israel. Students are told inspiring stories about the *halutzim,* the pioneers who founded the state of Israel. They are encouraged to dream about Israel's beautiful landscape and delicious food. They are supported to travel to Israel on trips such as Birthright Israel to form personal connections with Israel. These educational experiences can generate powerful, lasting feelings, often positive, but they can also leave students with simplistic and reductionist conceptions of Israel's history and culture.

Like anything worth loving, Israel is worthy of deep study. But in studying anything in depth, one discovers that simple ideas fall apart under even the slightest scrutiny. It is easy to find facts that don't fit an overly simplistic narrative, contradictions that challenge monolithic perspectives, and complexities that call for nuance and careful, critical thinking.

Herein lies the tension. A thorough examination of Israel's history and culture—along with the complexities often unearthed in such an examination—can undermine the positive feelings that educators work so hard to foster. For example, learning about Deir Yasin or the treatment of Mizrahi immigrants by the Ashkenazi establishment might raise questions that have answers that students aren't ready to hear.

To avoid this awkwardness (at best, and educational failure at worst), educators tend to focus on the heart to the exclusion of the head. Pomson et al. (2014) found that "The highest priority of schools and their teachers is to cultivate emotional states. Israel education is 'work on the heart'" (p. 1). More recently, a study of Israel educators' attitudes after October 7 found that most educators continue to focus on fostering positive emotions toward and solidarity with Israel (Kopelowitz, 2025).

But for decades, many researchers and educators have understood that Israel education requires space for both feeling and thinking. We can shelter our students from the complexity that is integral to any serious educational activity, but that approach has its own risks.

As I have argued previously (Hassenfeld, 2023, 2025), an exclusive focus on positive feelings can set students up to fail. When they do encounter information that complicates a simple love of Israel, they don't know what to do with it. They may either slip into knee-jerk advocacy or end up feeling like their teachers lied to them and abandon their connection to Israel altogether.

Israel educators have debated the right way to square this circle. They have explored how to "love Israel warts and all" (Eizenstat, 1990) or emphasized the need for "hugging and wrestling" (Gringras, 2004). Davis and Alexander (2023) described the need for pedagogical approaches designed to overcome students' feelings of "you never told me."

However, despite these efforts, the field has struggled to define precisely what this balance entails in practice. In this essay, I argue that ultimately, this tension between heart and head can be understood as a tension between two ways of writing our Jewish story: collective memory and history.

In teaching our students Jewish collective memory, we ground their Jewish identities in a shared story of the Jewish past. In teaching our students history, we train them in historical thinking, including sourcing, close reading, corroboration, and contextualization. We equip them to construct evidence-based arguments, engage in discussions with people with whom they disagree, and avoid the pitfalls of simplistic accounts. This larger student project of knowing history is more crucial now than ever. Recent years of turmoil—including the devastation of October 7 and also mass protests related to judicial reform even prior to October 7—has shown that the real test of our peoplehood comes not when we agree but in how we navigate our disagreements.

In what follows, I begin by reviewing collective memory's emphasis on stories that foster powerful feelings of belonging before turning to history's evidentiary stance. I then present the use of historiography to hold these two approaches in tension. Next, I show what the use of historiography looks like in the classroom by sharing a case study of high school students discussing the origins of the flight of Palestinians in 1948.

When it brings together collective memory and history, Israel education allows for the building of a shared Jewish future that relies not only on the intense feelings that sustain collective identity but also critical ways of thinking about the past that allow us to engage in productive discourse with people with whom we disagree. When we learn to evaluate competing perspectives on the past, we can think together about the future.

Collective Memory

> *Even if you weren't literally there, you get to claim that memory as part of your Jewish heritage. Jews draw on these stories to make sense of what is happening to us now.*

All peoples tell stories about the past. Ultimately, these stories form the foundation of collective identity and belonging. For Jews, the Exodus story is exactly this kind of story. It grounds our origins as a group of slaves who fought for our freedom, escaped to the desert, and built an identity rooted in shared values and principles. **Such stories are passed down from one generation to the next and serve as an educational tool. They answer the most important questions: Who are we? Where did we come from? Where are we going?**

The sociologist Maurice Halbwachs (1992) described such stories as "collective memories." He used the idea of memory to emphasize that just as individuals draw on their memories to make sense of their individual present, groups draw on collective memories to make sense of their collective present. Indeed, the stories of collective memory bind us together and form the foundation of our collective identity.

The rabbinic idea (Midrash Tanhuma on Deuteronomy 29) that every Jew was present at the giving of the Torah makes the figurative idea of a shared memory transparent. Even if you weren't literally there, you get to claim that memory as part of your Jewish heritage. Jews draw on these stories to make sense of what is happening to us *now.*

Building on Halbwachs, psychologist James Wertsch (2002) wanted to understand how it can be possible for a story to create such a claim. How exactly, Wertsch asked, can a story—even a very compelling story—persist across time and allow large and dispersed groups of people—many of whom will never meet each other—to understand themselves as part of the same collective? His key insight was that collective memories follow patterns. While studying Russian collective memory, he found Russians telling many different stories, all of which seemed to follow the same structure. Wertsch found that this structure operates like a mold, shaping contemporary events as they are experienced.

One structure of Jewish collective memory can be found in the famous joke that the story of every Jewish holiday is "they tried to kill us, we won, let's eat." This structure leaves space for different "theys": for the particulars of the different plots and plans to kill the Jews and for many different miraculous victories in which the Jewish people demonstrated their persistence and resilience.

Consider how this structure applies across the gamut of Jewish collective memories from the Exodus story, the Purim story, the Holocaust, the 1967 War, and many other seminal Jewish moments. The structure feels powerful because it fits numerous events across vast expanses of time and place.

Much of Israel education can be seen as the transmission of this collective memory. As I have previously argued (Hassenfeld, 2018), the core content of Israel education has been the conveying to students of inspiring stories that embody the structure of collective memory. These approaches can create potent feelings, but they leave little room for questioning or considering differing perspectives.

History

When the stories that sustain our collective identity cannot be corroborated by the historical record, the bonds that hold us together can fray.

Collective memory is passed down from generation to generation. It is presented—and usually accepted—as true. It is engaging, inspiring, and identity-forming. But by the 19th century, a different way of looking at the past had emerged. The founders of the discipline of history began to reconstruct the past on the basis of the wealth of traces the past leaves in the present: artifacts, documents, and testimonies.

Beginning with Leopold von Ranke (1887), who sought to describe the past as it actually happened (to paraphrase von Ranke), historians began to comb through records with skepticism. They asked not only "What happened?" but also "How do we know?" For a historian, it's not enough that everyone believes a story. There must be reliable documentation to support it. With the rise of the discipline of history, people had, for the first time, systematic ways to ask and answer questions about what really happened. The last 200 years of historical research have profoundly transformed our collective understanding of our past and offered us powerful new ways to think about ourselves.

But in their efforts to reconstruct the past on an evidentiary basis, historians found that the stories of collective memory didn't always hold up. The clean plot lines of collective memory must contend with evidence that suggests a messier and more complicated truth.

In his seminal exploration of Jewish history, *Zakhor: Jewish History and Memory,* Yosef Haim Yerushalmi (1982) argued that, in challenging collective memory, history can foment identity crisis. When the stories that sustain our collective identity cannot be corroborated by the historical record, the bonds that hold us together can fray.

Consider the 19th-century historians who used a new and vast archaeological record to challenge the collective memory of the Exodus story. They failed to corroborate many of the details of the biblical text, and some questioned whether Jews spent time in Egypt at all. If the Exodus never happened, what does that mean for Jewish collective belonging?

Yerushalmi acknowledged that history can sometimes corroborate memory. Indeed, regarding the example of the Exodus, other historians have pointed to historical evidence that does appear to corroborate some details of the biblical account. But, concluded Yerushalmi, once you start playing this game, the historical cat, as it were, is out of the bag. The terrain shifts from one in which the chain of tradition is enough to sustain the power of a story to one in which any story can be subject to critical scrutiny. Yerushalmi concluded *Zakhor* on a pessimistic note, diagnosing many of modernity's malaises as the collapse of memory in the face of history. He wondered whether, in a historical age, collective belonging is possible.

Yerushalmi feared history would corrode memory. For Yerushalmi, history and memory were opposites. He couldn't see his way out of the collision between the compelling narratives of memory and the critical skepticism of history. **But there is another way forward that understands memory and history as partners in a productive tension. This approach is called "historiography," and it assumes that historians themselves are shaped by collective memory.**

Historiography

To set history and memory against each other, as if one were truth and one were falsehood, misses the point. Instead, history and memory represent two distinct yet valuable ways of relating to the past. Collective memory begins with a story or a story template and fits the facts into that structure. History, on the other hand, begins with facts and, from these fragments, builds a story constrained by evidence and reason.

Starting, as it were, from opposite ends of the field, history and memory can live in productive tension.

History is not purely destructive. Historians do not pride themselves on tearing down memory. The ultimate goal of much historical scholarship is precisely to construct larger-scale narratives that invest the past with meaning and withstand critical scrutiny. Thus, historians do not somehow stand outside history as neutral observers.

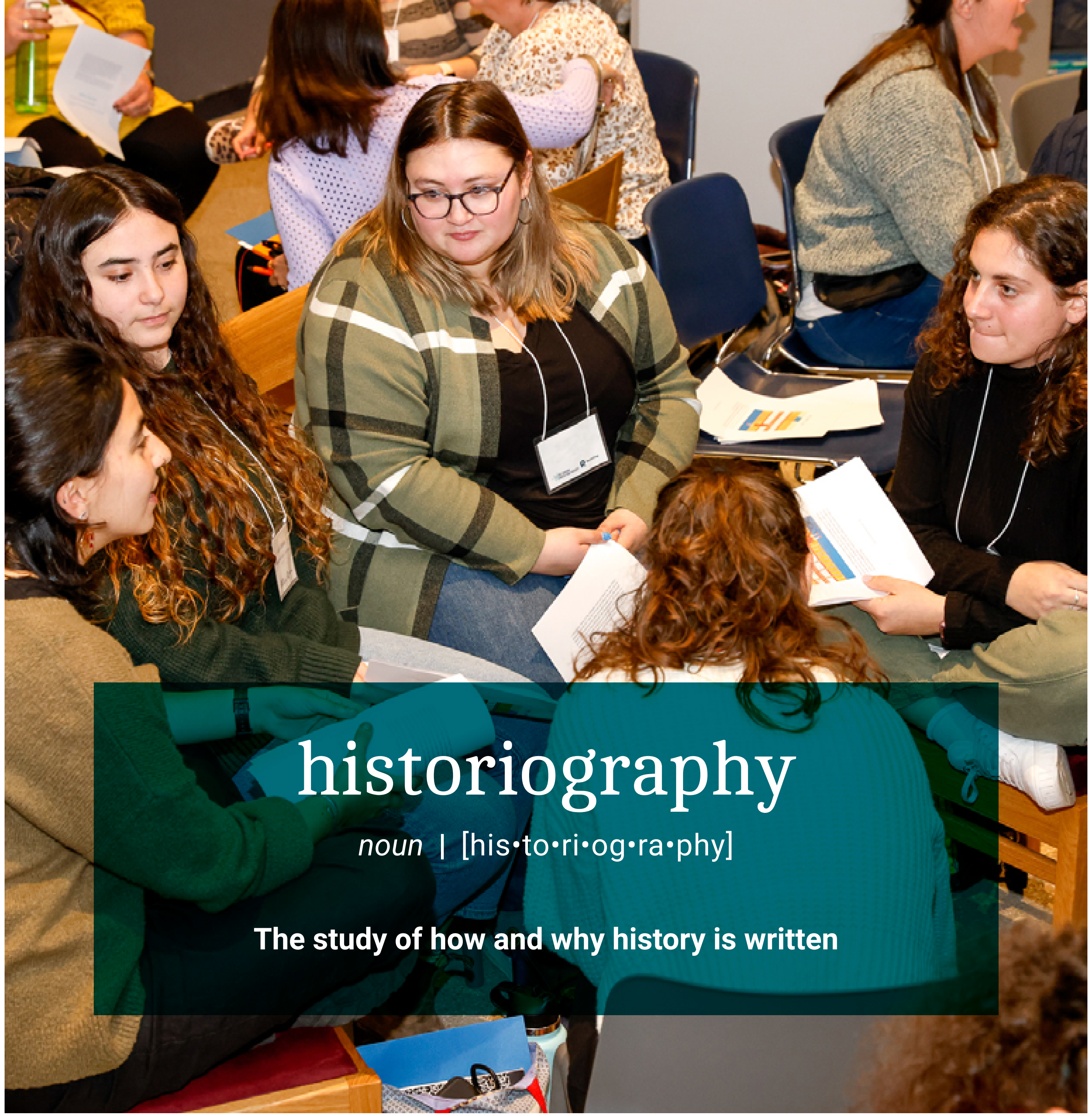
The very same forces that lead groups to construct their memories in particular ways shape how historians write their stories. As Frances FitzGerald (1979) pointed out in her history of American history textbooks, historians themselves are often shaped by and promote the narratives that circulate in society. The first generation of 19th-century historians set as their task the construction of powerful national narratives that could ground the new collective belongings of nationalism in solid evidence.

Having established history as being driven by facts, it would be comforting to think that careful historical thinking, pursued diligently, yields a single "right" answer. But even after careful historical thinking, we will still be left with more than one narrative that fits the evidence.

Mapping and analyzing these debates is called historiography—the study of how and why history is written. The fact that more than one narrative can fit the facts doesn't imply a kind of relativism or that "anything goes." Careful historical thinking helps us rule out claims and narratives that can withstand scrutiny, including sourcing, context, corroboration, and counterevidence. **Indeed, the central debates in historiography often revolve around which narratives can withstand criticism and analysis.**

The future of teaching Israel's past lies precisely in this direction. Israel educators must practice the discipline of history themselves and train their students to think historically about Israel's past. This approach prepares students to talk across differences and create shared frameworks with others. The shared historical data points provide a foundation for building collective meaning.

Collective memories, shaped by our individual and collective identities, generally operate below the surface and beneath our conscious awareness. A historiographic stance forces us to bring those commitments into the light. Historiography allows students to understand that when someone disagrees with you, it doesn't necessarily mean that he or she is ignorant or ill-intentioned. It helps students see why smart, well-intentioned historians can and do disagree. Historiography pushes us to ask ourselves, "Why do I believe what I believe?" It helps us make our commitments visible and to articulate explicitly and transparently what we notice, fear, and value.



historiography

noun | [his•to•ri•og•ra•phy]

The study of how and why history is written

Perhaps above all, historiography teaches students that they have the power to make informed choices among competing, evidence-based accounts: to consider which claims reach the bar and which do not, and to argue publicly about which narrative fits best.

Teaching Historical Thinking

> ***For students to blend history and memory—to articulate grand narratives that support collective belonging and then interrogate them—they need to be able to think historically.***

In his *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts*, Sam Wineburg (2001) argued that history, in its essence, is a way of thinking. The tools of historical thinking, including sourcing, corroboration, close reading, and contextualization, are the methods we use to construct accounts of the past rooted in evidence. For students to blend history and memory—to articulate grand narratives that support collective belonging and then interrogate them—they need to be able to think historically.

To illustrate that historical thinking represents a particular set of tools, Wineburg, a cognitive psychologist by training, compared how high school students and professional historians analyzed evidence about the beginning of the American Revolution. He asked them to think aloud as they read primary and secondary sources describing the Battle of Lexington.

The students in Wineburg's study related to sources as transparent windows into the past and accepted them more or less uncritically, like bedtime stories. They paid little attention to the authors or dates; instead, they read the sources as straightforward, accurate accounts of events. They ignored discrepancies across the texts and produced an overall summary.

The historians Wineburg studied, on the other hand, read the sources very differently—as evidence to be interrogated rather than as testimony to be accepted. Like lawyers in a courtroom, they cross-examined the documents and weighed and corroborated details until, little by little, they built a story that went beyond any of the individual accounts.

Historical thinking is easier said than done. As the second part of his book's title suggests, historical thinking is unnatural. Unlike the natural recollection of collective memory that organizes far-flung events into simple, meaningful templates, students will not simply think historically on their own. They need to be taught to do so.

The good news is that it can be taught. The Stanford History Education Group, founded by Wineburg, created the "Reading Like a Historian" curriculum—a series of stand-alone lessons focused on American and world history—with exactly this goal in mind (Stanford History Education Group, n.d.). The study of "Reading Like a Historian" has suggested that it successfully fosters historical thinking skills (Reisman, 2012).

A central challenge in bringing historical thinking to Israel education is scale. Historical thinking begins not with sweeping narratives but with narrow, concrete questions, such as, "Who fired the first shot at Lexington and Concord?" (Stanford History Education Group, n.d.). In these small-scale inquiries, students learn to weigh evidence, identify contradictions, and construct arguments from limited historical evidence. But if students spend their time on these questions, how will they ever move to the grand narratives that, while grounded in evidence, resemble the coherence of collective memory and hold the power to sustain collective belonging?

This is where a historiographic classroom comes in: it links the micro-level work of historical thinking with the macro-level task of constructing narratives. To see how, let's look at a case study.

Historiography as a Method for Israel Education

All teachers must make choices about how much scaffolding to provide their students. They ask, **"How much background knowledge should I provide?"** or **"How much room should I leave for authentic student inquiry?"** Here, I sketch in broad strokes an approach to Israel education that teaches students to think critically and ask tough questions about the past while still enabling them to construct a narrative of Israel's history that can sustain deep connection, sustained engagement, and shared civic responsibility.

A diversity of historical narratives already exists in the historical literature. Generations of historians have combed through the historical record and organized the evidence into compelling stories.

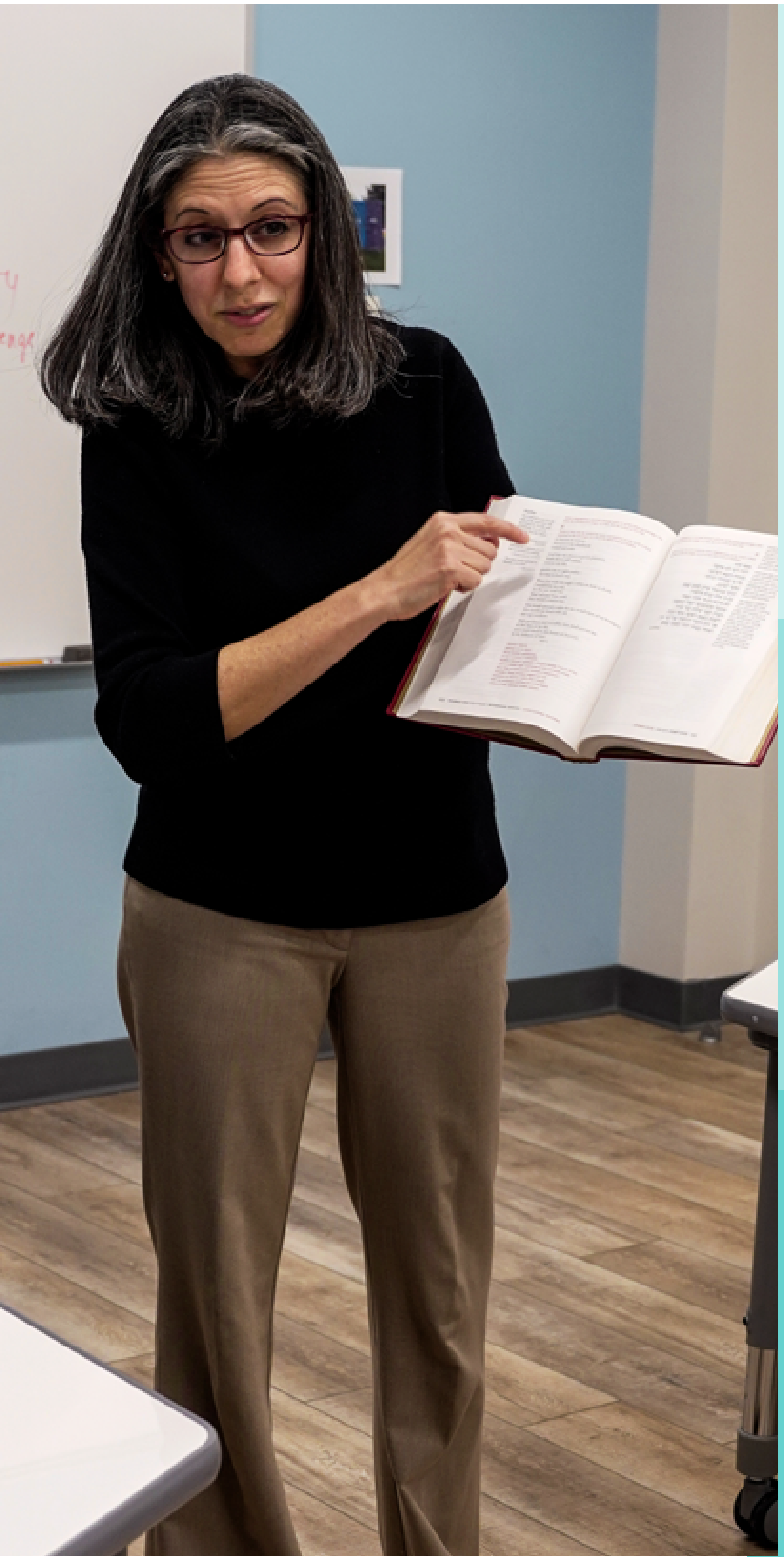
In a historiographic Israel education classroom, the teacher would draw on resources to identify a central historiographic question, the range of evidence-backed narratives that answer that question, and the key pieces of evidence on which those narratives stand or fall.

For me, the clearest example of this work is the historiography of the 1948 war and, specifically, the question of why so many Palestinian Arabs left their homes during that war.

In Zionist collective memory, the answer is simple: Arab leaders instructed them to leave and promised that they would return after the nascent Jewish state was destroyed. (Classically, this narrative follows the structure of Jewish memory: They tried to kill us, but we won.)

In Palestinian collective memory, the answer is just as simple: The Zionists, plotting to take over all of British Mandate Palestine, created a plan to expel Palestinians, which they executed in the catastrophe that came to be known as the *Nakba*.

These narratives, along with others, appear in the academic historical literature on the 1948 war:



Perhaps most famously, Benny Morris (2004) demonstrated that the Palestinian Exodus had multiple causes and unfolded differently in various locations. Morris—and the Israeli scholars who have come to be known as the "New Historians"—offered a meticulous account of what happened in the hundreds of Palestinian Arab villages, grounded in thousands of pages of archival material that were declassified in the 1980s. Morris deflated collective memory by demonstrating that, in some cases, Zionist forces did commit atrocities and did expel at least some Palestinian civilians; Morris constructed a fog-of-war narrative and suggested that during war, bad things always happen.

At the same time, Palestinian historians, such as Rashid Khalidi (2007) and Nur Masalha (1991), highlighted documents and testimonies that revealed the various expulsion plans articulated and considered by Israeli political and military leaders. Even as they acknowledged that there may not have been one comprehensive, explicit expulsion plan, there was enough "expulsion thinking" to support an expulsion narrative of the origins of the Palestinian exodus.

Finally, a group of revisionist Israeli historians, including Shabtai Teveth (1990) and Efraim Karsh (2014), sought to utilize the historical record to defend a narrative of voluntary flight that bore similarities to the Zionist narrative. They argued that while there may have been isolated cases of atrocities or expulsions, Israel was fighting an existential war, and the preponderance of evidence revealed the efforts Israeli leaders undertook to protect and preserve Palestinian communities.

These narratives can provoke strong reactions. They might even have provoked reactions in you, the reader, as you read them. **In a historiographic approach to Israel education, students are taught to move beyond their first reaction. They are taught to ask, "What evidence supports these narratives?" and "What evidence might challenge them?" Working from these narrative frameworks, with their questions, they can embark on a journey to unearth, debate, and evaluate evidence. Ultimately, they have the opportunity to decide for themselves to which account they subscribe and what this means for their future.**

I share here one example of this mix of historical thinking and narrative as it looks in the classroom. The example comes from a course I taught on the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict. The year-long elective course, taught at a community Jewish high school, met three times a week for one hour and fulfilled students' senior-year history requirement. This experience illustrates how the historiographic approach prompts students to engage in rigorous historical thinking and to construct an overarching narrative that shapes their sense of Jewish belonging.

We were engaged in discussing the exact question I described above: "Why did so many Palestinians leave their homes during the 1948 war?" We had already begun to explore the three alternatives described above: fog of war, expulsion, and voluntary flight. Some students, whom I thought of as my "revisionists," sought to defend the narrative of voluntary flight that they had learned their whole lives. Others, my "new historians," were troubled by the evidence of expulsions we encountered, but they weren't quite sure what to make of it.

One morning, Daniel (not his real name) entered the classroom with a triumphant expression on his face. All year, he had sought to defend the traditional Zionist account of Israel's history against accounts that he argued were unjustifiably critical of Israel.

Now, Daniel was glowing. He waited until class began, raised his hand, and announced that he could prove that Arab leaders had told Palestinians to leave. He had been doing some research, he told us, and he had discovered a United Nations committee report that quoted the Jordanian daily newspaper *Falastin* from February 19, 1949. The quote read as follows: "The Arab States, which had encouraged the Palestine Arabs to leave their homes temporarily in order to be out of the way of the Arab invasion armies, have failed to keep their promises to help these refugees" (United Nations General Assembly, 1981).

Daniel argued that the fact that an Arab newspaper was asserting something that absolved Israel from blame made it more reliable. “Why,” he asked, “would they spread an idea that harms their own cause?” I could have perhaps pushed back by pointing out that the source was actually a second-hand account written decades after the event. I refrained: He was doing exactly what I had asked him to do and was searching for traces of the past and analyzing them critically to draw conclusions.

The class was quiet for a moment, and I could see the students digesting what Daniel had told them. After 30 seconds or so, Maya raised her hand. “What if,” Maya asked, “I could find a Haaretz article from 1949 that talked about expulsions? Would that then convince you that Palestinians were expelled? Couldn’t I make the same argument?” As a class, we explored this concept of multiple, conflicting pieces of evidence.

We realized that Maya had discovered a way to test the strength of a piece of historical evidence. We began to ask, “What if we *flipped* the evidence? What if we could find an analogous piece of evidence that supported the opposite of my conclusion? Would I find it convincing?” In this case, Daniel had found one article in the Arab press that supported his narrative. Maya explored the flipped case—an article in the Israeli press that pointed to expulsions. At that moment, a test that we would come to call “the flip test” was born.

The flip test wasn’t an iron-clad tool for drawing conclusions. Instead, it allowed students, for the first time, to understand what history really is. Students realized that in casual debates about history, one person often seeks to win by highlighting one single, incontrovertible piece of evidence. Daniel held up a single piece of evidence as a sort of ace in the hole, as if his discovery *proved* which narrative about the origins of Palestinian refugees was true. Maya’s response highlighted that historical narratives rarely, if ever, stand or fall on one piece of evidence.

From that point on, we used the flip test as an entry point into the secondary literature we read. It became a heuristic we used to test the meaning and strength of different pieces of evidence. It allowed us to read a chapter and ask, “What are specific, concrete pieces of evidence each historian is using to build their account?” They moved from filling page after page with notes to identifying the core pieces of evidence on which the account *would* stand or fall. Students began to understand what historians do and how they think about the past.

This moment was a turning point for my students, and, to be completely honest, for me as well. We realized that historical thinking alone couldn’t force us to accept or reject a narrative. We learned that no narrative stands or falls on a single piece of evidence. Instead, we had to weigh the evidence in each account and decide which account best fit that evidence.

By the end of that unit, neither Daniel nor Maya had moved from their original positions. However, each of them had interrogated their own prior narratives, learned new evidence, and constructed sophisticated accounts of the origins of the Palestinian refugee problem that would withstand serious historical scrutiny. Neither of them would arrive on a college campus feeling like their Jewish education had pulled the wool over their eyes. Indeed, eventually, both of them became campus Israel leaders, and I felt like they did so with strong historiographic training.

The powerful feelings collective memory fosters have sustained the Jewish people for thousands of years, but they do not equip us to solve the problems we face today.

Conclusion

October 7 and its aftermath revealed how thin our shared frameworks have become. **Our Jewish communal conversation has evolved into a battle of collective memories that results in our talking past each other. Meanwhile, the stakes of the internal conflict over Israel’s future—between the left and the right and between the Bibi-ists and the opposition—have ratcheted higher and higher. Similarly, the stakes of the external conflict between Israelis and Palestinians seem more dire than ever.** And the stakes for American Jews—compounded by rising antisemitism and intensifying polarization on campuses—force us to face terrifying questions about our very future within the American polity.

Our hearts—the love for Israel that grounds our collective memory—will not be enough. The powerful feelings collective memory fosters have sustained the Jewish people for thousands of years, but they do not equip us to solve the problems we face today. We need to complement these with “head knowledge.” When we practice using the tools of historical thinking and the historiographic stance they lead to, we open the possibility of talking across differences that all too often feel unbridgeable. **The tools provide us with systematic and structured ways to put our different realities into productive tension with one another.** When we learn to think historiographicly–to listen to each other’s perspectives, ask questions, evaluate arguments, and hold multiple explanations and narratives simultaneously–we gain the tools we need to move beyond the moment and build a shared future in which we can all thrive together. **This approach does not abandon memory; it disciplines it. It allows love of Israel to be sustained by narratives informed by inquiry and evidence.**

Postscript on Dual-Narrative Approaches

Having explored in detail what one historiographic unit might look like, I want to briefly consider the relationship between this historiographic approach and "dual narrative" approaches, which have their roots in those that prioritize building shared empathy as a pathway to conflict resolution. Dual-narrative approaches in Israel education became increasingly common in the last two decades as an antidote to monolithic Israeli accounts. These approaches usually oppose the "Zionist narrative" to the "Palestinian narrative." The Palestinian narrative might be presented as a subunit within a larger scope of Israel's history or in more comprehensive treatments, such as Adwan et al.'s Side by Side: *Parallel Histories of Israel/Palestine* (2012).

On the surface, the dual-narrative approach appears to share many similarities with the historiographic approach. It would be easy to understand Karsh and Masalha as representing two narratives of the 1948 war's outcomes. Dual narratives suggest to students that history is open to interpretation, that the same facts can be viewed differently, and that there may never be a single correct answer.

However, despite surface-level similarities, the dual-narrative approach differs significantly from the historiographic approach. **First, dual-narrative approaches tend to reify groups and perspectives. Talking about the Zionist narrative or *the* Palestinian narrative suggests that there is only one of each.** Any sense that there could be diversity of narratives *within* these groups is discounted. Because of that, even as dual-narrative approaches try to suggest diversity and possibility, they often end up reinforcing homogeneity and necessity.

Second, labelling the narratives as "Zionist" or "Palestinian" suggests that the most important characteristic of a historical narrative is the ethnic, national, or political identity of the person who tells it. The grounding of a narrative in the *identity* of the teller limits the role of historical evidence. From the dual-narrative perspective, what matters most is that a Zionist or a Palestinian is sharing his or her perspective. Whether or not that perspective is grounded in historical evidence is secondary. The role of any interlocutor is to empathize but never to inquire. To be sure, building empathy can be an essential ingredient in conflict resolution, especially in the context of a history of dehumanization; however, it is a very different goal from those of a historiographic approach.

Ultimately, the opposition of two monolithic narratives grounded in the collective identities of different groups suggests that the two narratives cannot be reconciled even in principle. The Zionist and Palestinian narratives exist, as it were, encased in amber, destined to coexist without the possibility of resolution or consensus. This frame promotes a kind of relativism that can make students wonder why it is important to engage at all.

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