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Marioul

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ΠΑΝΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΙΟ ΘΕΣΣΑΛΙΑΣ ΒΙΒΛΙΟΘΗΚΗ & ΚΕΝΤΡΟ ΠΛΗΡΟΦΟΡΗΣΗΣ ΕΙΔΙΚΗ ΣΥΛΛΟΓΗ «ΓΚΡΙΖΑ ΒΙΒΛΙΟΓΡΑΦΙΑ»

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"Reunion with Marioul" participants

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Palestine,
For 12 years, I had worn it,
splitted equally;
6 in white and blue stripes,
6 in white and green.
Marioul,
its name;
A school dress, which has been worn by generations;
Grandmothers, mothers and young girls.
Now I am in Greece,
I do not see Marioul.
Here they do not even know what it is.
How?

How can I relive my past, make it a part of my future?

How can I merge what I had experienced there with what I am experiencing here?

Marioul,

will it navigate me through time and space?

In Palestine, where I was born and raise, girls at public schools and UNRWA schools from the first grade until the twelfth grade have a special dress to wear during the year, a partially unified dress called "Marioul".

The striped white and blue Marioul, which is made of a specific type of cloth only used for this sake, changes to become striped with the colours white and green by the time the girl reaches seventh grade. Marioul has not changed since it was adopted as a formal school-dress more than 70 years ago. We can say that Marioul goes beyond the typical representation of a school-dress to be more of a heritage as a generation of mothers, daughters and granddaughters has commonly inherited and shared it.

Marioul's design can be changed according to the era and the place, to adopt and to fit the taste and the conditions of the girl who wears it. It is flexible; in order to give the name Marioul to a dress, it sufficed to be designed from a specific kind of fabric with some parameters.

Under which term can "Marioul" be subsumed? School-uniform? School-dress-code?

What is school uniform and when was the first school uniform instituted? What was its purpose then and what does it serve now? And finally, what are the practical considerations and functional criteria for school uniforms?

Back again to Marioul, through all these years Marioul has been worn only by girls, how has Marioul been able to withstand the test of time and what is its impact on the Palestinian society?

If the day comes and school dress is cancelled or Marioul is replaced, would we lose its value? How Marioul can be shared with the upcoming generation and with non-Palestinians? Especially since there is no previous references that addresses the theme of Marioul.

Can Marioul cloth emigrate from the present and the past to a future in which Marioul as a school-dress may not exist? can we use it to manufacture various other products and in this way the Marioul's story is never lost? Even now, given that the Marioul as school dress still exists, how can Marioul cloth emigrate from its current reality to a new one, a one in which it can be used not only as school-dress? How can it emigrate from its feminine character to neuter one and from its homeland to the whole world?

In order to answer these questions, as a starting point, the subject of uniforms in general will be introduced through various quotations and readings. After that, the matter of Marioul as school dress will be examined and discussed. Then different procedures concerning Marioul will be put forward such as the Facebook page, the workshop, and the exhibition.

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Operational Definitions

collective [adjective] [before noun] of or shared by every member of a group of people:

a collective decision/effort collective responsibility/leadership

dress [noun]

[C] a piece of clothing for women or girls that covers the top half of the body and hangs down over the legs:

a long/short dress a wedding dress

[U] used, especially in combination, to refer to clothes of a particular type, especially those worn in particular situations:

The king, in full ceremonial dress, presided over the ceremony.

dress [verb]

to put clothes on yourself or someone else, especially a child:

He left very early and had to dress in the dark. to wear a particular type of clothes:

I have to dress in a suit and tie for work.

Patricia always dresses in black (= wears black clothes).

dress code [noun]

[UK] an accepted way of dressing for a particular occasion or in a particular social group:

Most evenings there's a party and the dress code is strict - black tie only.

[US] a set of rules for what you can wear: My school had a very strict dress code.

experience [noun]

[U] (the process of getting) knowledge or skill from doing, seeing, or feeling things:

Do you have any experience of working with kids? (= Have you ever worked with them?)

The best way to learn is by experience (= by doing things).

[C] something that happens to you that affects how you feel:

It was interesting hearing about his experiences as a policeman.

experience [verb]

If you experience something, it happens to you, or you feel it:

We experienced a lot of difficulty in selling our house.

It was the worst pain I'd ever experienced.

memory [noun]

the ability to remember information, experiences, and people:

a good/bad memory

After the accident he suffered from loss of memory/memory loss.

something that you remember from the past:

That tune really brings back memories (= makes me remember past events)

reunion [noun]

[C] a social event for a group of people who have not seen each other for a long time:

The college has an annual reunion for former students.

[C or U] a situation when people meet again after they have not seen each other for a long time: She had a tearful reunion with her parents at the

uniform [noun]

airport.

a particular set of clothes that has to be worn by the members of the same organization or group of people:

military/school uniform

a nurse's uniform

[C] a type of clothes that is connected with a particular group of people:

Photographs show him wearing the T-shirt and ripped jeans that were the student's uniform of the time

She recalled the humiliation of exchanging her clothes for the prison uniform.

I never wear grey because it reminds me of my school uniform.

uniform [adjective]

the same; not changing or different in any way: The office walls and furniture are a uniform grey. Small businesses are demanding that they receive uniform treatment from the banks.

workshop [noun]

a room or building where things are made or repaired using machines and/or tools:

a carpenter's/printer's workshop

an engineering workshop

a meeting of people to discuss and/or perform practical work in a subject or activity:

a drama/poetry/training workshop a workshop session/production

cambridge dictionary (http://dictionary.cambridge.org)

1.1. Introduction

School uniforms can be seen in cultural and material form the meeting point of two forces; the industrial revolution and the French revolution (or other similar revolutions of the same time), these two big transformations often work at cross-purposes. For the industrial revolution, a unified school dress symbolizes the person as a unit which can be interchange, while the French revolution supported self-determinism and individuality; values that can contradict with school uniforms. This tension between the economical and the political movements play an important role in the shaping of the debates and discussions around school uniforms; some believes that school uniforms are an essential element for social order while others argue that this kind of unification dresses violate a person's right of self-expression but to what degree school uniforms threaten self-worth and dignity is for sure debatable. At any rate, the argumentations about school uniforms give a big attention to its effect, if any, on social order, school safety, student behavior and performance and their relation to the state.1

¹ Brian J. McVeigh. School Uniforms and Fashion. [http://fashion-history.lovetoknow.com/clothing-types-styles/school-uniforms-fashion]. Accessed March 19, 2017.

School uniform/dress code

1.2. History/UK

The origin of the modern school uniform can be traced to 16th Century in England¹. School uniforms were firstly instituted not at the traditional English public schools* but at charity schools. Schools such as Christ's Hospital, in Horsham, West Sussex, which was founded in 1552 in London, took up orphans and poor children from the parish and provided education for them². Christ's Hospital uniform consists of a long blue coat, a belt worn at the waist, matching knee breeches, yellow socks and white neck bands. The girls wear the same coat but with matching skirt. The uniform is provided to all students for free³.

In the sixteenth century, administrators at Cambridge, an institute where by that time had been enforcing different forms of standardized dress for at least three centuries in attempt to keep within its halls an atmosphere where students are cut of the glamorous of fashion in the society outside. University students at that period greatly desired to express themselves by wearing lively designs of colourful silks and lace; this was highly contradictory to the required attire for students, which was a modified version of cappa clausa. Over time the dress codes at Cambridge has become stricter, aiming to control and characterize what was and was not acceptable. But still student throughout the sixteenth century, continuously resisted and dared the rules and definitions of acceptable school wear⁴.

In the 17 and 18 centuries, small changes were noticed; the charity hospital schools kept requiring uniforms while the private including public schools, did not. By the 19th century, uniform appeared among "public" schools in England, perhaps in an attempt to control student behaviour. And what would become the model for school uniforms among students in England and thus, among students at private parochial schools in the United States had been based on clothing worn by students at Christ's Church Hospital in the sixteenth century.

^{* &}quot;Public school, also called independent school, in the United Kingdom, one of a relatively small group of institutions educating secondary-level students for a fee and independent of the state system as regards both endowment and administration. The term public school emerged in the 18th century when the reputation of certain grammar schools spread beyond their immediate environs. They began taking students whose parents could afford residential fees and thus became known as public, in contrast to local, schools. By the late 20th century the term independent school was increasingly preferred by the institutions themselves."

¹ ProConEditors. Last updated on May25, 2016. School Uniforms, Background of the Issue. [http://school-uniforms.procon. org/view.resource.php?resourceID=006507]. Accessed February 5, 2017.

² Jenny Scott. Last updated on September5, 2014. School Uniforms: A History of 'Rebellion and Conformity. [http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-29047752]. Accessed February 5, 2017.

³ Christs Hospital Editors. History of the Uniform. [https://www.christs-hospital.org.uk/about-ch/history-of-the-uniform/]. Accessed February 5, 2017.

⁴ Brunsma, D. L. 2004. The School Uniform Movement and what it Tells Us about American Education. ScarecrowEducation, United States of America. 263 pp. Page 4,5.

⁵ Histclo editors. Last updated on August 29, 2011. [http://histclo.com/schun/country/eng/schunengc.html]. Accessed February 7, 2017.

⁶ Brunsma. op. cit. Page 5.

⁷ Encyclopædia Britannica Editors. Last updated on February 10, 2017. Public school: British Education. [https://www.britannica.com/topic/public-school]. Accessed February 12, 2017.

As it can be observed, uniforms as educational clothing were used as a social status marker—first of the lowest classes for students in charity school and later as a symbol of elite education (a badge signifying class status)⁸.

In general, we can say that the spread of uniforms coincided with the end of the Industrial Revolution (1760-1840⁹) which in my opinion played an important role in the shaping and spread of school uniforms through mechanical standardization and mass production. The fact that most of England was a working class required a powerfully fixed and solid system of education not only as a path into the hierarchy of the occupational world but also as a powerful boost against individuality and individual expression. The unsated message was: "You are a mass you are the same you will take your rightful place among the working mass in the industrial machine"¹⁰.

Throughout the history of school uniform it can be noticed that requirements of standardized dress can also include "a symbolic rhetoric of legitimate authority, a reservoir of institutional and organizational values of the school, and a method of social and cultural control over cohorts of students moving through the system. Those without a school uniform would feel left out"¹¹.

School uniform in England was believed to represent an "unseen, insidious, mode of social control" and not committing to school uniforms was considered straying from the institution values, thus punishable by sanctioning procedures. Building on that one can classified those who committed to the uniform as 'good' students and those who did not as 'bad' students¹². "The sanctioning procedures were highly influenced by the disciplinary techniques taken from the prisons. School is one of the four Foucaultian disciplinary sites along with the prison, the army barracks and the workshop"¹³.

It is worth mentioning that in England, school uniforms have largely stood the test of time. Over time there have been many changes to the regulations, especially in the 20th century, for different reasons; material, political, cultural, and social. An example of this, what happened during and after the Second World War, where school uniforms in England were postponed for a period of time due to the cost and scarcity of fabric¹⁴.

⁸ Sandra Mathison, E. Wayne Ross. 2008. Battleground: Schools. Greenwood Press, London. 737 pp. Page 124.

⁹ Encyclopædia Britannica Editors. Last updated on February 5, 2017. Industrial Revolution. [https://www.britannica.com/event/Industrial-Revolution]. Accessed February 12, 2017.

¹⁰ Brunsma. op. cit. Page 6.

¹¹ *Ibid.* Page 6.

¹² Davidson, A. and Rae, J. 1990. Blazers, Badges and Boaters: A pictorial History of School Uniform. Scope International, Horndean. 192 pp. Page 25.

¹³ Danaher, G., Schirato, T. and Webb, J. 2000. Understanding Foucault. Allen & Unwin, Australia. 172 pp. Page 61.

¹⁴ Brunsma. *op. cit.* Page 7.

School uniform/dress code

1.3. History/US

Although public schooling in the United States goes back to the middle of the nineteenth century, its foundation dates much farther. Since 1850 the Public schooling in the United States has witnessed a rapid growth especially when compared to other industrial countries. With a main purpose of preparing the young to take their roles in the society as citizens and workers, the public schooling in the United States emerged consistently with both the needs of industry and the religious and moral climate of the period. Even though it was labeled as public schooling, it was not available for everyone, since poor and minorities were denied it, and even when eventually schools were in principle available for them in fact inequalities of educational opportunities could easily be noticed¹⁵.

Uniforms in the United States came from Europe with a purpose of emphasizing the student's docility and obedience toward rightful authority. This purpose was also present at Catholic schools were established in the united states by European immigrants in the country. Since the private schools started adopting uniforms, gradually the school uniform as the school itself became a status marker; those who wore it could afford private schools¹⁶.

The economic status in the united states in 1950s and 1960s and the social revolution of 1960s as well as the fact that clothing designers began targeting generations of fashion-conscious students, all combined resulted in students challenging the traditional educational expectations regarding dress and clothes which became a way of individual and political expression. Consequent, educational authorities felt the need of dress codes, which have origins in English private schools and only by that period became common in American public schools, to implant their values upon the diverse student population. This entry looks at Court rulings that have been applied to student dress codes, looks briefly at their effectiveness, and provides guidelines for educators¹⁷.

Even though in The case, known as Tinker vs. Des Moines Independent School District the Supreme Court ruled in favor of the group of high school students who arranged for wearing black armbands to school as a way of protesting the Vietnam war, the Court essentially decided that schools have the right to limit student expression by enforcing dress codes if there is "a legitimate concern that such expression will be disruptive to the learning environment or violate the rights of others" and thus the first school dress code law was established in 1969¹⁸.

In the 1980 the increasing influence of conservatives as well as the rising public concern about disciplinary and safety in the schools, the courts became more amenable to strict school dress policies, such as school uniform policies. Aiming to keep the school environment from disruption and distraction, the courts have supported the necessary dress code regulations. President Bill Clinton added new prospective to the issue when, in 1996, he linked public schools uniform with reducing school violence,

¹⁵ *Ibid.* Page 8.

¹⁶ Marie S. Myers. November 16, 1963. Why Uniforms? [http://www.americamagazine.org/issue/100/why-uniforms.]. Accessed March 10, 2017.

¹⁷ Education Law Editors. Dress Codes. [http://usedulaw.com/257-dress-codes.html]. Accessed March 10, 2017.

¹⁸ FindLaw Editors. School Dress Codes. [http://education.findlaw.com/student-rights/school-dress-codes.html]. Accessed March 10, 2017.

before endorsing the school uniform polices¹⁹. He announced his support of that district's uniform initiative: "School uniforms are one step that may help break the cycle of violence, truancy and disorder by helping young students understand what really counts is what kind of people they are," Clinton said, With this presidential nod of approval, more schools and school districts began to adopt school uniforms and stricter dress codes²⁰.

Then shortly after that, the United States Department of Education sent every district in the nation a pamphlet on the subject, beginning with a section titled "School Uniforms: Where They Are and Why They Work."²¹. Below you can find an excerpt from it²²:

They observed that the adoption of school uniform policies can promote school safety, improve discipline, and enhance the learning environment. The potential benefits of school uniforms include:

- * decreasing violence and theft -- even life-threatening
 situations -- among students over designer clothing or
 expensive sneakers;
- * helping prevent gang members from wearing gang colors and insignia at school;
- * instilling students with discipline;
- * helping parents and students resist peer pressure;
- * helping students concentrate on their school work; and
- * helping school officials recognize intruders who come to the school.

Often controversial, school uniform policies have become popular with state-level policymakers. Currently, many states allow, or specifically encourage, local public school policymakers to implement school uniform policies. Much like the research regarding dress codes in general, the research on the effectiveness of school uniforms is inconclusive. Whereas dress code policies are often viewed as restrictive, detailing what may not be worn, school uniform policies are often viewed as directive, detailing what must be worn. This minor distinction can play a significant role in how the courts view the legality of uniform policies²³.

¹⁹ Education Law Editors. op. cit.

²⁰ Paul W. Bennett. August 21, 2013. School Uniforms: Do Uniforms Make Schools Better – or Something Else?. [https://educhatter.wordpress.com/2013/08/21/school-uniforms-do-uniforms-make-schools-better-or-some-thing-else/]. Accessed March 10, 2017.

²¹ Tamar Lewin. September 25, 1997. Dress for Success: Public School Uniforms. [http://www.nytimes.com/1997/09/25/us/dress-for-success-public-school-uniforms.html]. Accessed March 11, 2017.

²² U.S. Department of Education. March 5, 1996. Archived Information: uniforms manual. [http://listserv.ed.gov/archives/edinfo/archived/msg00086.html]. Accessed March 15, 2017.

²³ Education Law Editors. op. cit.

School uniform/dress code

1.4 Practical Considerations and Functional Criteria for School Uniforms

In his article "School Uniforms and Fashion", researcher and author Brian J. McVeigh asserts that there are many factors which the school uniforms advocates believe may lead to successful applying of school uniform; teachers, school administrators, parents, and students should all have a part in determining the school uniform; uniforms should be affordable, suitable for all sizes and weather conditions; include degree of adjustability; comfort enough so that students are not inhibited from engaging in typical school activities; while students are obliged to wear the uniform special exemptions should be allowed; programs for recycling, selling or trading of used uniforms are suggested²⁴.

Ideally schools should offer age or grade-specific uniforms and a variety of uniforms that are appropriate to gender. The materials used should take into consideration many factors: durability; washability; suitable colours; fits all shapes and figure types. Also, School uniforms should take into consideration special climatic conditions; Countries like Australia and New Zealand have applied "sunsafe" school uniforms polices; in other countries uniforms are loose enough for students to layer clothes underneath it²⁵.











School Uniforms around the World Reference: PROCON. last updated on August 28, 2014. Accessed May18, 2017.





²⁴ Brian J. *op. cit.*

25 Ibid.



image1: Schoolgirls in a classroom at Camp Jabaliya, one of the refugee camps on the Gaza Strip, in February, 1958. photo by Merle Hunter.

Reference: Robert J. Dunphy. March 9, 1958. Education on the Gaza Strip, Stars and Stripes. [https://www.stripes.com/news/education-on-the-gaza-strip-1.37098#gallery]. Accessed March 9, 2016.

image2: Morning lineup at UNRWA school in Gaza. photo by UN Photo-Shareef Sarhan. Reference: szananiri. November 27, 2013. The Bumpy Road to Learning the ABC's: UNRWA Schools. [https://dpimediatraining.wordpress.com/2013/11/27/the-bumpy-road-to-learning-the-abcs/]. Accessed March 9, 2016.

2.1. Introduction

In Palestine, where I was born and raise, girls at public as well as UNERWA schools from the first grade till the twelfth grade have a special dress to wear during the year, a partially unified dress called "Marioul". The striped white and blue Marioul, which is made of a specific type of cloth only used for this sake, changes to become striped with the colors white and green by the time the girl reaches seventh grade. Marioul has not changed since it was adopted as a formal school-dress more than 70 years ago*. Throughout these years, Palestine witnessed major political transformations, new political parties such as the left wing, Islamists, and the PA governed during this lifetime but Marioul still there.

*It is worth mentioning that the exact year of adoption Marioul as school-dress is unknown, in an effort to find an approximate year, I started searching for women who had wore Marioul before 1940 and I did find a woman who firmly stated that she had wore Marioul in 1938. Back then, Palestine was under the British Mandate; did British Mandate play a role in the emergence of Marioul? If we take into account that school uniforms have had a worldwide spread at the beginning of the twentieth century, could the compatibility between the Marioul's emergence and the British Mandate be considered just a coincidence?



In this part, firstly, we will discuss the characteristics and elements of Marioul, Marioul's design, and how its form can change according to the surrounding conditions, also we will address the subject of how should we consider Marioul; as school uniform or as school dress code? Then a criticism of Marioul and its impact on Palestinian society will follow; why only female students must wear Marioul? What do the colours of Marioul symbolize? How can Marioul define girl's age and thus the way she behaves? What is the relationship between Marioul and social control? And to what degree does Marioul eliminate economic differences between students? Finally, how did Marioul managed to stand the test of time? Does it go beyond the typical representation of school dress?

2.2. Marioul's characteristics, elements and design

*This section is based on an interview with human rights activist and principal of Bil'in Secondary Girls School, *Abeer Zarour*.

Marioul's design can be changed according to the era and the place, to adopt and to fit the taste and the conditions of the girl who will wear it. It is flexible; in order to give the name Marioul to a dress, it sufficed to be designed from the specific kind of fabric under some parameters:

• Type of cloth: There are two types of cloth dedicated for Marioul's tailoring; White/blue fabric which is used for girl students from first grades till sixth grade and white/green fabric which is used for grades seventh to twelfth. These fabrics are mostly made in Palestine; the oldest and most famous factory was in the city of Bethlehem which has been closed for the past few years. Its cloth bore the insignia of three sheep, and it was referred to as the "original tergal".



- Marioul's length: when the question about the length of Marioul is asked, the teaching staff
 usually refers to the term "to cover" which means that Marioul's short to not exceed a certain
 limit. This social measuring tool varies from place to place; in some schools Marioul should be
 knee-length, for other schools Marioul's length can be above the knee at 20 cm, and in others'
 it can be shorter or longer.
- Collar: Marioul must have Collar. In the past, it used to be separate from the main dress and made from white lace. Nowadays, the collar, is mostly sewn with the main dress, like shirt-collar, and sometimes its colour is not white but it is made from the dress' fabric. Only these three models are allowed; white lace collar, white shirt-collar, and Marioul's fabric shirt-collar.
- Buttons: there are buttons along the dress regardless its models or length and only white or transparent buttons are allowed. All Marioul has buttons, even though there is no rule that requires them. But apparently, buttons are practical technique for Marioul's wearers; buttons make Marioul more like a robe or a jacket which can be worn over other clothes such gymnastic clothes, so girls can take it off easily in the gymnastic lesson and wear it after it.
- Pockets: Marioul usually has two pockets.
- Sleeves: they have to be long and preferred to be wide to make it easier to wear other clothes underneath.
- Other clothes and stuffs that accompany Marioul: The students can only wear black, navy or
 jeans trousers. The jacket is preferably to be in such colors, while anything on the head like hair
 ties and Hijab is preferred to be white.
- Waistband: The Marioul design in the 1970s and 1980s used to follow the general dresses' and skirts' fashion of these periods, often Marioul was accompanied with a waistband, which continued to be commonly used until the end of 1990s. Now Marioul design is simpler.

Evidently, this school dress, which is called Marioul, proves to have adapted well to match with the conservative atmosphere long time ago, and the more liberal environment nowadays. In the past, the dress-like Marioul used to be longer, while nowadays; it is shrinking and getting shorter to be more of a shirt-like Marioul. It is also noted that Marioul is longer in conservative areas like villages while girls tend to shorten their Mariouls in more liberal areas like Ramallah city. Accordingly, the length of Marioul cannot be separated from the level of conservation in that area.

Though made of a thin material, Marioul matches different weather conditions. At summertime, girls tend to fold Marioul's sleeves, while a sweater can be worn on top of it when temperature drops in winter. The flexibility of Marioul's cloth, its ability to absorb sweat in summer and to warm the body during winter makes it very practical. Also, this special kind of cloth does not require ironing after being washed, and hence, suits the daily usage of the uniform and our rapid practical life.

If "uniformity" is a crucial component of any definition of uniforms we can say that Marioul is not a school uniform, since, as mentioned above, schoolgirls have to wear this piece of cloth, but they allowed designing it as they like within certain limits. A dress code is a strict outline of acceptable attire that isn't limited to one or two options. It serves as more of a guideline rather than a rigid rule, and provides more flexibility for students. Many view dress code as an attempt to create conformity as opposed to uniformity¹. But from the moment that students are required to wear this specific type of cloth only, in my opinion Marioul is also not school dress code, and could be described as school_unifabric_dress_code.



Blue/White Marioul, 27,9,2016

Blue/White Marioul, 27,9,2016

2.3. Dialogue with Marioul

The first thing that comes up to mind when questions for why is it necessary for students to commit with tradition of wearing Marioul are asked, is the fact that a Marioul may give students a sense of equality and similarity. All girl students are the same at the school; they share the same purpose that is of "education and knowledge". Marioul in this platform serves as a tool for equality and fairness. By dressing the same as your mate, students are not being judged based on their material or social status, and hence, part of the burden of being a student is dismissed. But what happen outside the school boundaries? Because, as has already been noted, girl students at public schools and UNRWA schools are these who wear Marioul, and concerning private schools, each school has its own uniform with an iconography that indicate the name of the private school. So, does Marioul play an opposite role outside the school borders, and instead of eliminating status distinctions between students, it works as a marker of social status? Does Marioul make the distinction among public and private schools' students clearer?

Nevertheless, if equality and similarity is the basis for this tradition, why male-students remained without a uniform/dress code till recently? Even when male-students were obliged to wear a uniform, the stripped (white and green) or (white and blue) cloth, was not the basic material used for this sake. A fair interpretation of this situation might be due to the fact that this material is perceived as feminine because only females were obliged to wear it over half a century. Obviously, Marioul becomes a tool for distinguishing between females and males students, and thus creates the feelings of inequality between the two genders because it acknowledges a difference between boys and girls.

Adding to the above-mentioned points, it is essential to note how Marioul becomes a tool for distinguishing a girl's age. When you see a girl with a white-and-blue Marioul, you instantly assume that she is between the age of 6-12 years old, a child who is still allowed to jump and laugh in the corridor and streets, she is not a teenager like her mate wearing the green-and-white Marioul, for those have to calculate their behavior as they are categorized as "adults", and society expects them to behave in a rational and grown-up manner. For example, they are not allowed to laugh loudly in public, their voice has to be kept down and so is their way of walking in the street. In addition, Marioul has not only succeeded at defining a girl's age, but also limiting her freedom to move. Whenever a girl wearing Marioul is seen, it is assumed that she is going to school or coming back from school. It is not socially acceptable to go shopping or have a lunch out while wearing Marioul, and hence girls shall change Marioul before going out so that they will not be judged.



#2 Marioul







Back in 1994, when The Palestinian National Authority's government body was established in Palestine, there were attempts to change the public schools dress, Marioul, which were severely attacked and refused. Some said that only economic reasons were behind the refusal, since it would have caused the closing of textile factories.

However, I believe that the reason for the refusal is more than that, Marioul itself has a sentimental value, it carries the memories of the girls who wore it before the Nakba, It is a witness to the obstacles the Palestinian students face, it is the shield the girls wear when march in demonstrations against the occupation; all of them with greenand-white dress marching as one.

image3: School girl students participating in school activities, Bil'in Secondary Girls School, Ramallah, Palestine. (from Marioul's Facebook page) image4: School girl students crossing gate the Apartheid Wall, West Bank, Palestine (from Marioul's Facebook page) image5: Purchasing Marioul's cloth, Debwani Fabric shop, Ramallah, Palestine. August, 2016. Photo by: Y.Mousa. image6: School girl students protesting, West Bank, Palestine. (from Marioul's Facebook page)

¹ Robert Kennedy. Updated May 10, 2017. Private School Uniforms and Dress Codes. [https://www.thoughtco.com/private-school-uniforms-and-dress-codes-2774037] Accessed January 10, 2017.

Marioul; Lived experience and collective memory

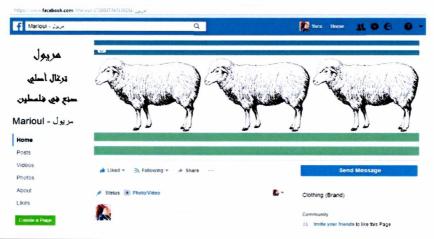
3.1. Introduction

One of the central topics of investigations in the 20th century, places particular emphasis on the involuntary return of long forgotten and unexpected reminiscence in the delineation of personal identity. Walter Benjamin, (1892-1920, one of the leading theorists of the first half of the 20th century¹), underlined this aspect of memory - the "mémoire involontaire" depicted by Marcel Proust (1871-1922, French novelist²) in A la recherche du temps perdu:

"We are only what we possess, we only possess what is really present, and so many of our remembrances, of our moods, of our ideas embark on voyages far away from us, and we lose sight of them! We are unable to account for them in that totality making up our being. But they find their secret paths to return within us.3"

Marioul to me is not just a school dress I had to wear for 12 years; Marioul is a part of my life and my special moments. Marioul is going with my mother to the tailor to choose my Marioul's design and size. Marioul is my last day at school, the only day we are allowed to take it off and wear any clothes we want. Marioul is sewn and made out of anamnesis; it is my window, a passage which bridges my present with experiences I had.

And because I am not the only one who had an experiance with Marioul, I started a page on Facebook asking people to search inside themselves, to find memories which may be have deeply buried and have never comeout, to try to retrieve a part of their past, a past which is related to Marioul, to capture there feelings, whether they are positive or negative, and to send me any piece they want to share either with me or with others. I received a lot of messages and there was a big interaction. Every woman has its own story with Marioul. Slowly, a group of people started to take a shape; Palestinian women who were born after 1929, and had attended a public school or UNRWA school, their identity is Marioul.



Encyclopædia Britannica Editors. Last edit on August 1, 2014. Walter Benjamin, German literary critic. [https://www.britannica.com/biography/Walter-Benjamin]. Accessed November 8, 2016

² George Duncan Painter. Last edit on April 4, 2016. Marcel Proust, French writer. [https://www.britannica.com/biography/Marcel-Proust]. Accessed November 12, 2016

³ Jeffrey Andrew Barash. 2016. Collective Memory and the Historical Past. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago. 268 pp. Page 65

Marioul; Lived experience and collective memory

3.1. Facebook page's messages

Here are some of the messages:

"This memory takes me 35 years back to tenth grade, during a demonstration, someone had to raise the Palestinian flag, which was forbidden by the occupation and considered a felony punishable by six-month jail. I covered my face with a Koufia climbed the school fence and placed the flag, then came back to the crowd. "Well done, heroine" some girls Whispered to me "How you figured it was me" I asked. "It's your Mariou!"

"It's your Marioul".

In our days, each girl had a unique handmade-designed Marioul."

3.4.2016 Abeer, 50 years old



احدى ذكرياتي مع المريول ترجعني لاكثر من خمس وثلاثين عاما ، كان لكل منا التصميم الخاص لمريوله، وكنا نلبس نفس المريول لاكثر من سنة، كنت حينها في الصف العاشر في يوم من ايام المظاهرات ، كنا بالمدرسة وكان يجب ان يرفع العلم(لم يكن نسموحا حينها رفع العلم وكانت تهمة يعاقب عليها الاحتلال بالسجن ستة اشهر) المهم انا كنت من سيرفع العلم تلثمت بالكوفية وبسرعة تسلقت سور المدرسة ورفعته ، وعدت للحشد في ساحة المدرسة ، واذ ببنات صفي يهمسن في اذني، بطلة، ما اجرأك، وكيف عرفتوا؟ من مريولك.

"The Marioul is the innocent stage for every girl school year, in those days; my main concern was how to match my cloths with the Marioul without offending the school policy regarding the dress code and being punished for it. I remember when I was at the eleventh grade, I had a new Marioul made, it was too tall and I didn't like how it looked on me. I decided to donate the new Marioul to charity, this way my mom won't force me to wear it specially after it was already made and paid for. I decided to wear my old Marioul, even though it was really old and short but I liked the fact that it was designed similar to a dress shirt. I loved the way it looked on me and I was comfortable wearing it, in fact, I liked it too much I wore it a year after as well.

In the last year of high school, my friends and I decided to sign each other Mariouls and keep it as a memory of our time and friendship together. I still have my Marioul with my friend's autographs on it and every time I see it, it takes me back 7 years and reminds me of all my friends and our great memories we shared together."

2.4.2016 Omayma, 25 years old



المريول هو مرحلة البراءة.. لما كان اكبر همي كيف أنسق بين لون البنطلون والجاكيت الي لابسته بدون ما اتعاقب من المدرسة

بتذكر لما صرت صف 11 رحت عملت مريول جديد بس طلع كتير طويل وما حبيت كيف كان شكله.. وعشان امي ما تجبرني ألبسه تبرعت فيه ورجعت للمريول القديم مع انه كان فعلا قديم بس كنت كتير احبه.. كان قصير وتفصليه بشبه القمصان ولبسته بعدها سنتين

آخر يوم بامتحانات التوجيهي (المدرسة) اتفقا نكتب على المراييل وفعلا كل وحدة من صاحباتي كتبتلي كلمتين حلوين وتحتهم اسمها.. مريولي لليوم عندي وكل ما بشوفه برجعني 7 سنين لورا!



last day of school autographs on Marioul "Maybe the most famous "Marioul" is the one belonging to the martyr Lina ALnabulsi. This Marioul had become a martyr itself witnessing the tragedy of Lina's death in 1976, who was shot dead from close range by Israeli soldiers at the age of 15 walking home from school, many others were killed in that same year in demonstrations against the occupation all over Palestine.

This drawing is of martyr Lina Nabulsi by the Palestinian artiest Sliman Mansour who wanted to embody the crime. The occupation authorities had confiscated the only picture in which Lina was lying in her blood."

4.4.2015 Emad, 55 years old



لعل اشهر المراييل مريول الشهيدة لينا النبلسي لينا النابلسي

انه : "المريول بشهد على لينا ذات الخمسه عشر عاما التي استشهدت عام 1976 وهي بمريولها الاخضر في طريقها من المدرسة إلى البيت، ومن بعدها الكثير ممن استشهدن في مظاهرات خرجت من المدارس ضد الاحتلال"





Rand

I have a different experience with the Marioul

Apr 4, 2016 · Sent from Mobile



Rand

I remember the first time when i went to buy a marioul for the high school I have always studied at private schools, the uniform was different and special. And at the age of 15 i had to go to another school And moving from a private school to a governmental school was not easy!

i postponed buying the maryiol for the last week, praying and hoping that something will happen and i will move to another private school. I did not like the marioul color and i did not like the material at all, i never liked the goats and sheep that were on it!

I remember i rejected all the styles the buyers offered.

I wore the marioul after that for 1 week I hated it! I hated the strips! And the color as well

Thankfully, i moved to a new private school and did not wear the maryoul ever again! I threw it away and was happy that i became free from the strips jail

Apr 5, 2016 Sent from Messenger



Rand

The Maryouil was a sign for a place i did not want to go to

Apr 5, 2016 · Sent from Messenger



Rand

It was linked to hundred of girls wearing the same outfit!

Not feeling special at all
All schools had the same outfit.

Where at private schools, each school has its own maryoul (outfit)
I think this was one of my major issues with the maryoul
I did not feel special, the identity of my school is not something will be recognized from my outfit.

Apr 5, 2016 - Sent from Messenger

5.4.2016

Rand, 24 years old

Marioul; Lived experience and collective memory

"In our days the Marioul was really long not like now. People were creative with its designs. I remember once in secondary school I was asked to go to the principal's office, I was nervous, I thought I might have done something wrong but I was surprised to see some guests in her office, she looked at me "come inside" she said, then looked back at them and said "this is the girl, look how nice here Marioul is". At that moment I felt so proud of my mother who insisted every year on making me a special handmade designed Marioul."

3.4.2016 Randa, 43 years old



Randa Zaarour

هاي يارة י احنا ايامنا كان المريول يكون طويل مش زي هالايام يا دوب مبين وكانو الناس يتفننو بموديله، بذكر مرة وانا بالاول ثانوي بعتت المديرة طلبتن على مكتبها، فرحت وانا محضرة حالي لبهدلة لذنب ممكن اكون عاملته،وهناك تفاجئت بضيوف عند المديرة، نادتني المديرة بكل لطافة:تعالي يارندة...وحكت للضيوف هيها البنت شوفو ما احلا مريولها نو بهديك اللحظة حسيت بفخر كبير بامي حبيبتي الله يرحمهالانها كانت بمحر انها تخيطلي مريولي بايدها وكل سنة كانت تصملي موديل مختلف

Apr 3, 2016 - Seen Apr 3 - Sent from Messenger

"Back to school days, how much I miss them! Me and my mom use to go shopping to get the new stationary for the new school year. My favorite part was the fabric shopping, my mom insisted on designing a new Mariouls for me every single year. We would go to a tailor (dress maker and designer) next to our house, my mom never believed in the already-made Mariouls, she says "they are plain and poor quality" and specially made Mariouls for me will be different than anything out there.

When I was at the sixth grade, I designed my Marioul myself. I asked the tailor to make me the Marioul with a skirt cut and to add 2 pockets on the front. I also asked her to decorate the upper side of the pockets and the neck area with a nice white fabric. I was so demanding and had too many requests for the design I imagined in my head. She was very nice and all she said is "okay, we will try to make this happen" with a smile on her face.

The Marioul came out so pretty and I was so fascinated by how it looked. I felt so happy and could not wait to show it off to my friends. The Marioul smelled so clean and fresh, it's like freshly baked bread coming out of the oven just for me to enjoy and that's why after 16 years, I will still recognize it."

4.4.2016 Wala', 25 years old



مريول - Marioul ا

Apr 4, 2016 at 06:50 · 8

مريولي يا مريولي : كان لفتوح المدارس عنا طقوس خاصه اولا شراء القرطاسية والشناتي والدفاتر والتجاليد والأقلام الجديده

وبالنسبة الي كان شرية القماش الي راح افصل في مريولى

كانت امي ما تحب تشتريلي جاهز (ما بتامن فيهم) ، كان في جنب بيتنا خياطه شاطره، اروح عندها وأضل احكيلها بدي هيك وبدي هيك ، وانا صف سادس خيطتلي مريول كان من تصميمي من تحت كان بدي يا متل التنوره وعلى الجنب في جيوب مزركشين بقماش القبه البيضه بالاضافة لا زنار بنربط من ورا والقبه الي من فرق طبعا وطبعا كان بدي يا زرار كباسات نفي كنت كتير مبسوطه عليه، وما كنت اصدق لما تبعت علي وتحكيلي مريولك جاهز ريحتو كانت كتير حلوه.



مريول - Marioul 🕨

Apr 4, 2016 at 21:40 · @

كانت امى تشترى قطعة قماش وارسالها الى الخياطة ولازم يكون المريول كسرات ولازم يكون لركبة وتيجيب النا قبة ابيض وكان المريول يلف على بنات العيلة ويرجع للاخت الاصغر بسبب الوضع الاقتصادى اللى كانت ناس تمر فية



زمان القبه كان لازم تكون منفصله . عن المريول 🎎 🎎 واللون ابيض . مع مرور الوقت صارت تخاط مع المريول باللون الابيض او من نفس قماش المريول . وشرط القبه كان لازم تكون قسمين . وتشبك . بشبر من الخلف او زر

Apr 3, 2016 · Sent from Messenger



اما الزنار كان مهم ومن اساسيات المريول . يربط 🚣 على الخصر والربطه على شكل وردة من الخلف . وياما مقالب كان الزنار بطلها . من مثل ربط طالبه بالدرج من دون ان تلاحظ حتى اذا سالتها العمله سؤالا عليها ان تقف لتجب . فتتعثر وتجلس . . وتاخد نصيبها من العزارة صاحبة هذه المشاكسه

> . حبيبتي ياره الله يوفقك ويسعدك بعدين الماركة الاصليه كانت ترجال الثلاث خرفان

> . اللى لا بتحل ولا بتشرب والمريول كان يخاط عند خياطة ولهذا كان موسم . كموسم الاعياد . ازمة وحجز دور وقياسات Apr 3, 2016 · Sent from Messenger



Somoud ► M Apr 2, 2016 at 23:45 • • • مريول - Marioul ﴿

لما بحكى عن مريولي بكون بحكي عن اشي مهم وملازم لحياتي ل12 سنة ، بحبه لانه هو الوحيد اللي بعرف قديش تبهدلت ، وهو الوحيد اللي بوقف معى وبعترفش على واحنا فى الإدارة وهو الوحيد المش فساد في المدرسة .. مين غيره شاهد ع كمية عجال السيارات اللي نفستهن ؟ ومين غيره عرف العدد الحقيقي للإنذارات اللي اكلتها ؟ ياما تبهدلت عشانه مرة قصير ومرة ملون ومرة مش عاجب شكله المس بس بحبه .. فانا لما بحكي عن مريولي ف بكون بحكى عن اطول فترة صحبة وارتباط خضتها بحياتي * مريولي هو الحب وباقى الاواعي



مريول - Marioul 🇸

Apr 3, 2016 at 18:20 · Ramallah · &

بغض النظر عن الأشياء اللي منضطر كمعلمات نحكيها ونعملها في المدرسة (طولى المريول وسكري القبة ووسعي البنطلون....)، إلا إنه قناعتي الشخصية، إنه لازم المريول يلتغى، وكل إشي منعمله في المدارس بيؤدي لانتاج نسخ متماثلة من مسوخ بشرية لازم يتغير، نظامنا التربوي نظام قمعي قهري، يعتبر الاختلاف نقيصة بدلًا من أن يحتفي به....

أمنيتى أن يختفى المريول، والزى الموحد لأنه من وجهة نظرى واحد من رموز تخلف نظامنا التربوى



مشاركة من صديقنا بشير "صوره الشهيدة منتهى الحوراني التي استشهدت في مريول المدرسه على ارض جنين ، في يوم الارض ، سنه ٧٦ .."







Marioul; Lived experience and collective memory



Wafaa

اشكرك جدا على المبادرة أجزم أن هناك مئات القصص في كل بيت فلسطيني لمريول المدرسة سأقوم بنبش ذاكرتي و كتابة بعضها لك تحياتي

Apr 3, 2016 - Sent from Mobile



Wafaa

عندما اشترت لي امي مريول المدرسة الأول كدت أطير من الفرح ... أذكر أنني كنت لا اكف عن تجريبه كلما سنحت لي فرصة ... كنت أنتظر اول يوم بالمدرسة بشغف حتى ارتديه .. شعرت أن عاما مضى قبل أن يبدأ الفصل الدراسي .. حتى أنني طلبت من امي فيما بعد أن ترسل صورة الني الله المريول ...لوالدي في السجن و انا ارتدي المريول ...لوالدي في السجن و انا ارتدي المريول ...لولار كور 4 2016 . Sept 4, 2016 . Sept from Messenger



Nagham ► Ma Apr 2, 2016 at 22:33 • ❸

مريول - Marioul ►

بتزكر كيف البنات كانو يقصروه بالعمدا ويتنوه وتكون التنيه شبر هههه... ويلبسو فوقه بلوزة بالشتا ويكون مش مبين كانهم لابسين بلوزة وياكلو بهادل هههه...مش عارفه ليش ما كانو يحبو يلبسوه والله



مريول - Marioul ♦ الورد

مريول ازرق ... مريول اخضر كسر واللا ... زم صحيح هو كم متر قماش ويمكن اللي صنعه ما كان يعرف القيمة المعنوية اللي راح يحملها هالمريول واجمل ذكريات المريول احنا نقصره والمديرة تفك التنية علشان يطول شوي اجمل مريول كان مريول الاعدادي باللون الاخضر يعني صرنا كبار اشتاقك يا مريولي المدرسي احبك جدا



Ashwaq

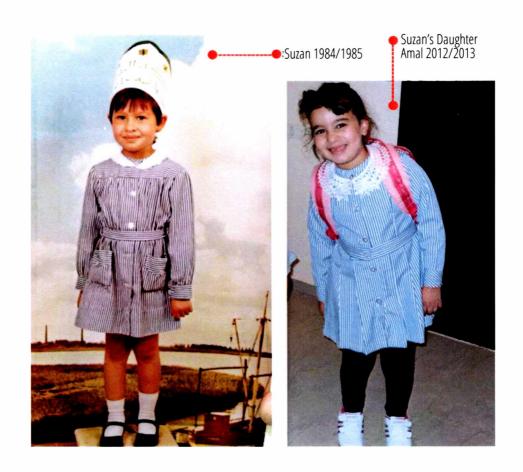
احلى شي في المدرسه المريول والتجليد البني،، الموحد ، من غير تمييز بين فقير وغني ، كلنا نفس الزي ، (المريول) والقبه البيضاء ، وياريت في الجامعه كمان في زي موحد ، بعد الدوام في المدرسه وفي الجامعه بنلبس الي بدنا ايا لكن وقت الدراسه خلينا مانفكر غير في الدراسه وبس ، درست جامعه في العراق العظيم وكان النا لباس موحد في الجامعه ، للبنات تنوره رمادي بطول معين لا يتجاوز بالقصر وقميص ابيض ، وللشباب بنطلون رمادي وقميص أبيض ، ولما رجعت على فلسطين وشفت الجامعات في فلسطين كانت عباره عن عرض أزياء وعبء مادي ونفسي على عباره عن عرض أزياء وعبء مادي ونفسي على

Apr 8, 2016 Sent from Messenger

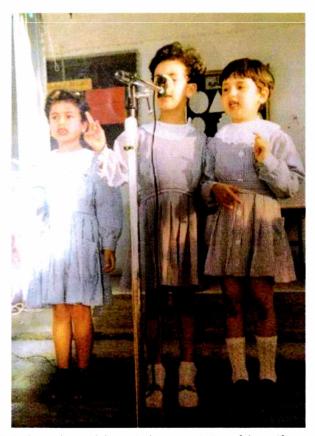








Marioul; Lived experience and collective memory



Seemingly, Marioul goes beyond the typical representation of the uniform to be more of a heritage as a generation of mothers, daughters and granddaughters has commonly inherited and shared this piece of cloth. Marioul is entrenched in the collective memory of every Marioul-girl, and almost nobody oppose this tradition, almost like a registered mark, an old building, or even a Romanian olive tree in a crowded city that no one dares to cut off.

Marioul becomes an identity like land, holy places and heritage, it needs to be protected and shared with the upcoming generation also with non-Palestinians. But how?

If the day comes and school uniform is canceled or Marioul is replaced, will we lose its value? Or can we use its cloth to manufacture various other products and in this way the Marioul's story is never lost? Even now, given that the Marioul as school dress still exists, how can we give its fabric a new character and different uses? how can Marioul cloth emigrate from its current reality to a new one, in which it can be used not only as school-dress? How can it emigrate from its feminine character to neuter one and from its homeland to the whole world?

Can Marioul cloth emigrate from the present and the past to a future in which Marioul as a school-dress may not exist?

4.1. Introduction

"Who controls the past controls the future: who controls the present controls the past"

The "past" is what people believe, it may have no concrete existence, has no basis in real events, but it has become the truth. The past can be treated essentially as a set of conditions that justify or encourage future goals, a "future" that will be the "present" of tomorrow.²

Mariouls' cloth was made in the "past" to serve certain use, namely the Marioul as a feminine public school dress, it has been used for this purpose for more than 70 years, and this justifies the fact that now in the "present" this cloth is associated only with this use.

But if we could travel through time to our Past, and to doubt our beliefs, would this cloth take another form or use in the "future"?

In order to search for answers, I decided to travel to Palestine, Mariouls' hometown.

On 13.8.2016 in the city of Ramallah, a workshop with the title "Reunion with Marioul" was held, in which fourteen women of different ages participated.

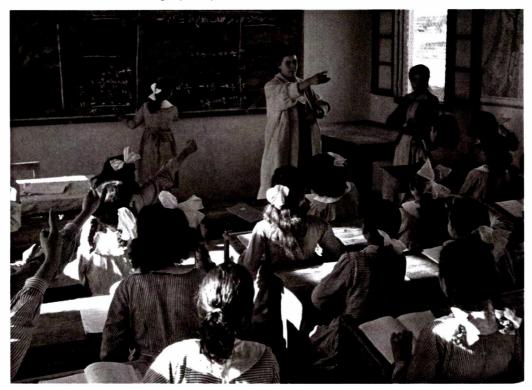
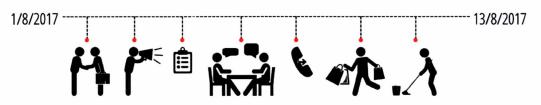


image1: Schoolgirls in a classroom at Camp Jabaliya, one of the refugee camps on the Gaza Strip, in February, 1958. photo by Merle Hunter. Referenc: Education on the Gaza Strip. *op. cit.*

¹ George Orwell. 1949. Nineteen Eighty-Four. Penguin Books, England. 336 pp. Book Three, Chapter II.

²SparkNotes Editors. Important Quotations Explained,1984 by George Orwell. [http://www.sparknotes.com/lit/1984/quotes. html]. Accessed April 8, 2017

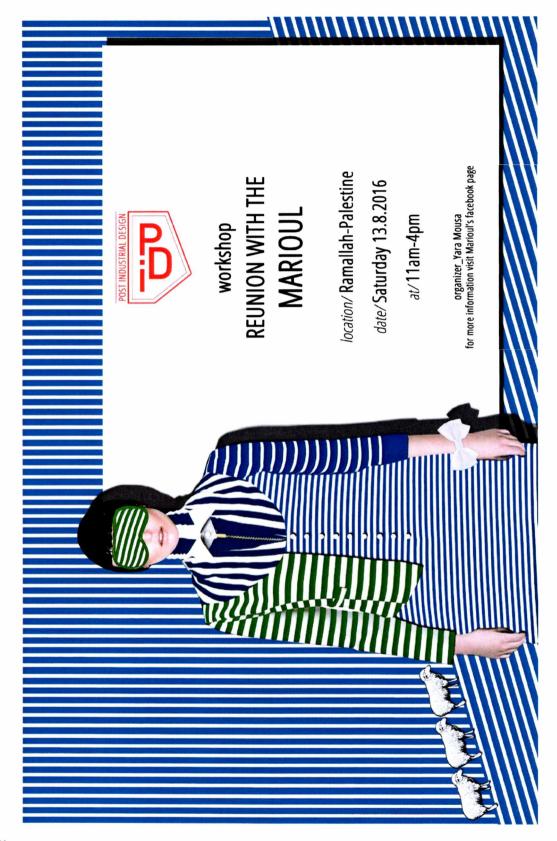
4.2. Workshop timeline



• The space where the Workshop will take place was located.



- A call for the workshop via posters and the Marioul's Facebook page
- The necessary information was gathered and the list of Participating was finalized.
- A briefing about the Workshop was given to all participants separately, where they were asked to think about the main theme of the workshop and what materials they may need.
- After gathering all the inputs, the materials were purchased from the local city market with the help of two of the participants.
- The hall was cleaned and prepared with facilities that might be needed.
- Arranged for a craftswomen to be present at the work shop
- The workshop took part on 13.8.2017

















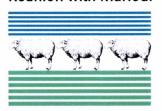




Reunion with Marioul

4.3. "Reunion with Marioul" schedule

13/8/2017



- Team building activity getting to know each other With Arabic coffee and black tea.
- Presentation of the concept of the workshop.
- Women will be asked to describe what come to their mind when they hear the word Marioul over a
 piece of cloth 12cmX12cm
- Open conversation; each participant will talk for about 3 minutes about her experience with Marioul, her memories with it, and her feelings towards it.
- Break Palestinian pastries
- The women will be asked to design anything they want using Marioul or Marioul's fabric and the materials that they already had ordered with the help of the craftswoman if needed
- Projects' Presentation and discussion.









4.4. 12cm*12cm

- Fourteen is the number of participants
- Twelve represents the 12 school years of wearing Marioul.
- The four kinds of cloth are:



- Blue-White Marioul's cloth
- Green-white Marioul's cloth
- Jeans cloth (because it is one of the most common fabrics which is related to Marioul as school dress)
- Colorful stripped cloth

On these pieces the women were asked to describe what comes to their mind when they hear the word Marioul. The fact that the workshop was done with women who had a pre-empire with Marioul, had a direct connection with answers they gave; Most of their answers were either flashbacks of them with Marioul as school dress or attempts to describe What they personally lack of Marioul and what they miss about it; as we will see in the following examples:

- a. Out of the ordinary; Red collar
- b. Morning assembly
- c. Get bored during the class; drawing with pencil on my jeans
- d. What is hidden under Marioul
- e. If each public school had in its Marioul one line in different color so that its students would be recognized.
- f. What if Marioul was carrying a famous brand mark? will people change their opinion about it?
- g. Last day of school; collecting autographs on Marioul.
- h. I used to wear long jacket above Marioul, in this way Marioul does not appear.
- i. Tergal, three sheeps, registered trademark.
- j. The intersection of the threads of Marioul played major role in the shaping my personality.
- k. & I. when I was school studen I liked wearing accessories but this was forbidden.





a.

#4 Reunion with Marioul





4.5. Objects

In the second part of the workshop, after the break, the participants were asked to study the features of Marioul's cloth and subsequently to use it to design new objects. Here we can note that most of these new objects have a non-consumer nature. Seemingly women gave greater attention to the moral aspect of Marioul's fabric rather than the practical aspect. In some products it is clear that they dealt with the Marioul's cloth in the same way that Palestinian women usually deal with their folk costume (Thoob) when they want to re-use it; even more, in other products they attend to combine Marioul's cloth with Thoob's cloth. According to their opinion, they tried to introduce Marioul's fabric in their daily lives by using it in the manufacture of products which do not devalue it, that's why most of them had made accessories, wall hangings or similar things. Although Marioul as school dress is worn daily, dried and washed continuously; it is practical and durable, most of the new items which were made from the same fabric are decorative.









Reunion with Marioul

In "Reunion with Marioul" workshop, I and Marioul's girls explored and found the meaning of Marioul. After those years, we wore Marioul, took pictures, expressed our feelings, and eventually we rebuilt and reformulated it.

We managed to create new products using Marioul's cloth, emigrating Marioul from its current reality to a new one, in which it can be used not only as uniform but as a kitchen apron or a necklace and emigrating it from its feminine character to neuter one. Marioul now will emigrate from its homeland to the whole world, these new products will travel across the world, and so Marioul's cloth will not be seen only in Palestine, but in Greece, Turkey and many other places. I aim to emigrate the Maroul's cloth from the present and the past to a future in which Marioul as a uniform may not exist, thus it can be shared with the next generations and its value is never lost.





ARTIST 2016, International Istanbul Art Fair

In September 2016 Istanbul Branch of Archaeologists' Association had invited me to take part in ARTIST 2016 International Istanbul Art Fair | Unexpected Territories to present my project Marioul as a part of the section "Nakil/Transfer". And indeed, Marioul participated in the exhibition, which was visited by more than 600 thousand visitors.

ARTIST 2016 International Istanbul Art Fair was held at TÜYAP Fair Convention and Congress Center, Beylikdüzü between 12 and 20 of November 2016 for the 26th year and featured more than a thousand works by hundreds of artists in two halls covering more than 12 thousand square meters for 9 days¹.

The main hall, no 7, featured 25 galleries along with an extended fair designed by multiple curators, titled "Unexpected Territories", which is an experiment organization of art; it is both product and an experiment on method, it is a collection of exhibitions, performances, panels, activities, ways and questions located around a common, deep problematic, an initiative departing from the need of protecting life spaces in today's conditions and opening new spaces².

"Unexpected Territories" aims to invite us to think about migration which all of us are somehow exposed to, either as a subject or a witness. The whole project was organized in a multi-curator model bringing together independent groups of artists, curatorial exhibitions, performances, nongovernmental organizations and social movements from such countries as Greece, Austria and Italy as well as galleries from Ankara and Istanbul, including istanbul Branch of Archaeologists' Association. in the next page you can find the curatorial statement translated from Turkish to English.



Image Referenc: Umulmadık Topraklar (Unexpected Territories) Facebook page. published: November13,2016

¹ NATURA Editors. November 16, 2016. ARTIST 2016/26th INTERNATIONAL ISTANBUL ART FAIR OPENS SOON. [http://www.naturadergi.com/?p=3919&lang=en]. Accessed November17, 2016.

² Ezgi Bakcay. 2016. Artist 2016-26th International Istanbul Art Fair, Unexpected Territories: "We, Who Dare To Get Lost In The Unexpected". 287 pp. page145.

Artist 2016 // Unexpected Territories

The wars, genocides, massacres, exiles, ecological catastrophe and traumas encountered left its mark on the experience of the 21st century. However, the events that encountered had been hidden, oppressed and hadn't been expressed. The memory transfer is interrupted due to the series of the disasters. What is left to the spirit of our age is the shadow of unmourned losses.

While we are still facing this catastrophe and while the ghosts of the past couldn't find peace yet, how and where are we going to breathe easily again? How and where are we heading forward with this heavy burden of our losses? For instance, how would it be if we build a ship with the intention of starting a new life after the flood? What would you take with you to the ship? Which memories, traces, images and emotions would you bring from the past that isn't grieved upon to the future? Hope? Love? An animal? A seed? Or a poem? Of course, this ship wouldn't have any route. However, it would float in the direction of the place where the histories and memories intersected, where these histories and memories become both untied and translated into the brand new and richer languages towards the horizon and limits along the route at the same time.

A boundary is not that at which something stops but, as the Greeks recognized, the boundary is that from which something begins its presencing. That is why the concept is that of horismos, that is, the horizon, the boundary³.

Time is running out. Floodwaters already came on the earth. The lands we had confidant foothold is a dark swamp now. We are setting off on a long journey that doesn't have homecoming, in the meanings of ecological, economic and political contexts. In the 21st century, millions of people are forced to leave their societal and mental worlds to become a part of a scenery that doesn't have any familiarity to them except the clouds⁴. We are sharing a discontinuous existence that doesn't have any scope. It's an experience of limit where identity, belonging, possession lose their validity. While identifying ourselves and others, we are learning to "tread softly ever" from this experience. We start to discover that there are other voices, other bodies, other worlds beyond our steps. Refugee becomes the only mutual identity that unites us. What will be the first and only human being's urgent and indeed need after the flood?

The exile knows that in secular and contingent world, homes are always provisional. Borders and barriers, which enclose us within the safety of familiar territory, can also become prisons, and are often defended beyond reason or necessity. Exiles cross borders, break barriers of thought and experience⁶.

Artist 2016 departs on a journey to record our exile from promises of liberal democracy and "ecos" on collective memory and invites you to reflect upon migration as our mutual experience, at Tüyap, between 12-20 November.

³ Heidegger, M., 1971, "Building Dwelling Thinking," in Poetry, Language, Thought, New York: Harper Colophon Books ⁴ Traverso, E., 2009, Geçmişi Kullanma Kılavuzu: Tarih, Bellek, Politika, translated by Işık Ergüden, İstanbul: Versus Kitap, p. 3; Löwy, M., 2007, Walter Benjamin: Yangın Alarmı, "Tarih Kavramı Üzerine" Tezlerin Bir Okuması, translated by U. Uraz Aydın, İstanbul: Versus Yayınları, p. 17.

⁴Carter, P., 1992, Living in a New Country, History, Travelling and Language, Londra: Faber&Faber

⁵ Said E., Reflections on Exile, Russell Ferguson (editor), Martha Gever (editor), Trinh T. Minh-ha(editor) and Cornel West (editor), Out There, Marginalisation and Contemporary Cultures, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1990, p.365.

Nakil/Transfer

In this context, the curator group saw Marioul as personal heritage object, which was carried along while migrating, going to the diaspora.



This compressed soil was made from three different soil types to tell the three different migration stories and bring them together in one archeological section.







ARTIST 2016, International Istanbul Art Fair

Nakil/Transfer

Istanbul Branch of Archaeologists' Association

Ali Taptık – Artist Aslıhan Demirtaş – Architect Elif Koparal – Archaeologist Suna Kafadar – Author Yara Mousa – Architect Yasemin Özcan – Artist Yiğit Ozar – Archaeologist

Design

KHORA (Ali Cindoruk & Aslıhan Demirtaş) Nazım Can Cihan Hüma Şahin Maral Müdok

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ARTIST 2016, International Istanbul Art Fair

Yigit Ozar (head of Istanbul Branch of Archaeologists' Association), did inform me that a significant number of people visited the exhibition and they particularly were touched by Marioul migration story. Some of them were touched by your interaction with Marioul and your efforts to give it new prospective, while others were interested in Marioul's story as well as its role and place in Palestinian history. A group of Syrian women were thrilled to see the Arabic writing at the margin of the cloth, who then asked for an interpreter to help them understand the whole story. Ozar then added that art critics were also impressed by the Marioul story; Its direct relation to the exhibition's general theme; the untold before Marioul adventure and Its ability to transport them to another place.





In the center of Thessaloniki city there is a refugee guest-house consisting of eleven rooms, shared kitchen, shared bathrooms, shared laundry and shared dining rooms. Each room is reserved for one family. These families have been transferred from Refugee camps around Thessaloniki to this temporary guest-house due to special circumstances until a semi-permanent residence is found for them.

With these vulnerable people I have contact on daily basis, because of the nature of my job.

After Ramallah workshop "Reunion with Marioul", I wanted to organize a similar workshop in Greece with non-Palestinians participants to see to what extent would the results vary, what would the cloth mean to people who did not wear it, see it or have an experience with it. Would they care about the characteristics of the cloth; its texture, thickness, degree of tolerance, etc.? What would their impression of it be?

The idea of organizing this workshop in the guest house seemed ideal to me; The fact that there are different nationalities (Syrian, Iraqi, Iranian, Kurdish, Moroccan, and Syrian-Palestinian), as well as the transitiona/Amphibianl character of this place, a bridge that is connecting the camp and the city, would enrich the subject

Before I put forward the idea of the project or discuss it with them, I had decided to meet them individually outside the framework, where most of them were talking about their homeland, their past and how they relate it to their reality/present.

Below, some of the key ideas/subjects of each person's conversation are briefly outlined:

- Kibbeh: its kinds; fried, grilled, with yogurt and so on, the method of preparation, with a sense of pride in her mother's recipe who makes the best Kibbeh. (35 years old)
- Barbering: His love for this profession, He was not a barber back home, but here he has learned this
 profession and became very skilled in doing it. (28 years old)
- Bus driving: the feel of freedom that comes with being a driver and not a passenger, his sadness
 over his lost pleasure, his longing for it, and his heart beats when he sees Thessaloniki buses. (44
 years old)
- Tailoring: "I love it but it is a very tiring profession which causes back problems", she said. Here she
 weaves wool, "my career as a tailor gave me the ability to create new things with wool", she added.
 (34 years old)
- Pictures of their tent in the camp: "is it like a house and not a tent?" she asked."Here you put everything that reminds me of my home in Syria" she continued. (24 years old)
- The art of shawarma: "making shawrma is an art and not profession, you have to be an artist so you can roast and cut the meat the right way", the Shawrma artist is looking for who will adopt his art in Greece now. (27 years old)
- Real Madrid FC: "in the Palestinian camp in Syria there was no playground we used to play football
 in the neighborhood street, I want to finish my university studies and become a sports announcer".
 (16 years old)

- Wooden handicrafts exhibition: a tent has been turned into an exhibition of wooden objects, "Where are these from?" he was asked, "I am a craftsman since I've in Syria, I Make them from dates' kernel and I sell them to foreigners" he answered.
- Bouzouki: He was a wedding musician there, here his friends gather every evening and he plays music to them. (20 years old)
- Longing for school: "when I was in the first grade, my school uniform was grey and pink, and then I went to another school with other uniform; I don't like it, I miss my school. Here I don't attend school. I'm waiting my decision in order to go to Germany" (9 years old)

I noticed that the people in, these meetings/conversations, described something physical or sensory which they took from their past and they are trying now in different ways to make it part of their present or future. These people have lived difficult conditions, they have lost a large part of what they had there and here they want to rebuild it.

But how many of us have personal experiences well-hidden in our minds and never imagined bringing them to the surface?

could this experience with the refugees make the idea of "Reunion with Marioul" take a form of a question; what do you want to bring up from your past and to make it part of your present or future? Especially that, In Arabic language, there is no clear term which indicates this kind of descriptions. Could "Reunion with Marioul" be an opportunity to listen to the other as he expresses this? Could "Reunion with Marioul" be done without referring the cloth or the school-dress, without these being the focus of the workshop, but part of it? In contrast to Ramallah workshop where Marioul (as school dress or fabric) was the central idea.

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- 2. the owner of Debwani cloth shop, Ramallah
- 3. Al Jazeera's Palestine bureau Chief, Walid Al Omari.

