**The Emergence of a Distinct Political Voice: Political Expression and Participation Among Urban Israeli Youth, 1965-1999**

1. **Scientific Background**

***Introduction***

This proposed study, in the field of history, bridges the domains of cultural history and history of education and aims to examine the dynamics of urban youth culture and its political expression between 1965 and 1999 in Israel. This period is marked by a significant transition away from the country’s founding rural ethos, challenging fundamental notions about citizenship and political trust (Ram, 2000). The period is also noteworthy for its shifts in youth political engagement – from a locus in rural to urban settings, and away from an emphasis on compliance with established norms and values. While previous studies have examined Israeli youth political engagement, primarily during the 1960s and early 1970s, no comprehensive study has systematically explored the evolving patterns of youth political activism throughout this entire period. Moreover, most previous studies have not explicitly accounted for the urban context in which these changes occurred, nor the influence that changing notions of citizenship had on youth activism.

To better understand the evolution of a distinct "political voice" among urban Jewish youth and its manifestations within Israeli society during this unique transitional period, we draw on and synthesize three different theoretical domains, each typically examined in isolation. These include: (1) theories and concepts pertaining to youth activism, encompassing youth culture, youth participation, and social engagement; (2) the body of research and theories concerning urbanism and adolescents’ place in it; and (3) concepts associated with citizenship, civic mindset, and civic education. Subdividing the study timeframe into three periods marked by significant national events, this research will use the methodologies of cultural history to facilitate an examination of cultural attributes within their historical and societal context. We will analyze a wide range of primary source documents reflecting both direct and indirect expressions of 14- to 18-year-olds as they relate to participation in various organizations and initiatives (mainly civil society and political), as well as written contributions by young individuals in various stages of their political and non-political engagement. While acknowledging their importance, this study does not encompass other social and cultural spheres, such as religious, rural, and gender-related contexts, which lie beyond the scope of this proposal.

***Youth Activism: Characteristics and action in theory and practice***

While recognizing extensive theoretical work exploring the concept of “generation” across cultures (Manheim, 1952; Bourdieu, 2005; Girsh, 2023), this research adopts a primarily Western-modern world definition of youth as those between the ages of 14 and 18 who are in transition between childhood and adulthood (Erikson, 1968) Previous studies on youth activism have sought to explain the characteristics of young people as they transform from participants in youth subculture to participants in political actions and protests (Muggleton, 2005; Schildt & Siegfried, 2008; Fowler, 2008). Much of the research in Israel adopts educational or cultural lenses (see, for example: Alon, 1986; Taub, 1997; Dror, 2007; Heilbronner, 2011, 2014; Graves, 2019). Further, a significant focus has been on the 1960s and the impact of what is often referred to as the Western “counterculture,” as well as explorations of intergenerational relations (Taub, 2003; Alon, 1986; Sheinblat, 2017).

In the first decades of Israel’s existence, the national perspective was woven into the educational-cultural context, through which Israeli youth activism is typically analyzed. In essence, youth activism has been assessed in terms of the extent to which youth engage or identify with the objectives, tasks, and values prescribed by the adult political establishment. This perspective draws from two dualistic references to youth: the emergence of Western sociological thought about the potential of youth as a disruptive or revitalizing force in society post-WWI (Coleman, 1961; Alon, 1986; Giroux, 2003), and the national-revolutionary ethos that envisaged youth playing a pivotal role as leaders and implementers of the national vision, with immediate and tangible manifestations for nation and state-building actions (Dror, 2007; Hammack, 2010).

These dualistic perspectives led to two research channels on youth culture, primarily within urban settings, where most of the Israeli population was concentrated. The first channel assesses the extent of active youth participation and the degree of alignment among youth and young adults with the values and objectives prescribed by the political establishment and defined as “national activism” (see, for example: Kahane, 1968; Levy & Gutman 1974; Zemach, 1987; Yuchtman-Ya’ar, 1998). The second channel, focused on examining expressions of youth activity outside the frameworks of youth movements or other institutionalized structures, has three distinct subareas. One subarea pertains to distinctions within various youth cultures, particularly the differentiation between youth defined as “boys from good families” (who were often part of the hegemonic group), and “marginal youth,” perceived as delinquent youth whose behavior was characterized by deviance and criminality (Heilbronner, 2024, Razi, 2009). The second subarea centers on cultural aspects of youth behavior, frequently diagnosed as manifestations of generational rebellion influenced by the Western counterculture (Eisenstadt, 1958; Adler & Peres, 1970). Urban dimensions of youth culture were prominent and seen as conflicting with the pioneering Zionist ethos and perceived as a threat to it (e.g., bourgeois desire for higher education and professional careers). These were presented in zeitgeist discourse and research as indicators of alienation, individualization, and Americanization, as well as being contrary to the Zionist national ethos (Cohen, 2003; Kabalo, 2009; Heilbronner, 2011).

The third subarea of investigation centers on direct aspects of political protest among youth outside institutional frameworks. Although initially limited in scope, these expressions gained momentum in the late 1960s under the influence of global events (Roberts, 2015). In a preliminary study focused on expressions of youth protest in Israel between 1967 and 1973, we found that the number of young people who participated in these activities was small, no more than a few dozen. However, they sparked an extremely broad public and institutional response (Kidron, 2025, forthcoming). The resulting waves of cultural and political protest were unprecedented in both scale and intensity (Sprinzak, 1973; Adler & Kahane, 1984; Wolfsfeld, 1988; Lehman-Wilzig, 1992; Almog, 2004). Although these changes prompted a growing trend to identify patterns of protest within the behavior of youth through the 1970s, most often, these researchers have not emphasized youth’s distinct voices in these protests.

Another approach to youths’ protest can be seen in the research on the political turmoil that preceded the assassination of Yitzhak Rabin in 1995 and its aftermath. It emphasizes the emotional and spontaneous response of large crowds of youth to the tragedy (Raviv et al., 1998; Klingman, 2001; Vinitzky-Seroussi, 2009), or it highlights the public commemoration rituals that were created by youth independently (Luzzatto & Jacobson, 2001; Gesser-Edelsberg, 2012) and from within the education system (Harrison, 2001). Both cases emphasize the age group's characteristics rather than their distinct political voice.

In recent years, studies of youth culture have increasingly considered the broader political context within which youth culture developed in Israel. These studies often explore youth protest as a holistic phenomenon, blurring the distinctions between the “youth voice” and the “young voice” (Elmaliach & Kidron, 2017; Chazan, 2022). Yablonka (2018) describes the political protest of those born after the establishment of the state in generational-historical terms, highlighting the impact of the War of Attrition (1967—1970) on the youth. Yes, while also discussing the political activism of high school students, she frames it as a derivative of the protest of the "State Generation" rather than as an independent voice.

*Youth activism* (ages 14-18) is often seen as a period of “moratorium” in which youth search for their identity and place within adult society, often with utopian aspirations. These characteristics encompass both legal and socio-cultural aspects, and they can vary from one society to another but are typically defined based on the societal roles attributed to individuals in certain age groups. Essentially, these aspects reflect the capacity of adult society to accommodate and permit this phase of youth development, which plays a significant role in how the establishment views and responds to youth activism, whether through educational, therapeutic, or disciplinary means. It is an essential factor in examining the relationship between adults and youth in society, differentiating between a more forgiving and educational approach towards those defined as “youth” and a more rigid stance towards more adult protests, often perceived as seeking fundamental societal change and, consequently, viewed as more threatening. Stitzlein (2011) suggests a more positive view of youth protest. She talks about “dissent” that “begins when a citizen openly ‘disagrees’ with the consensus of a community or the dictates of those in power” (74), suggesting that dissent can be interpreted either as opposition to the status quo or as a process for keeping societies adaptive and democratic (Stitzlein, 2022). This view offers a new way of thinking about the dominant dichotomy in Israeli research of conforming versus non-compliance (Mayseless & Salomon, 2003). This is important since in Israel, the age of 18 marks for most of the Jewish youth the beginning of the phase of young adulthood as they are recruited into the army. In addition to seeing historic youth activism through a dualistic lens (rebelling vs. conforming), the research concerning youth culture in Israel also emphasizes the social aspects of youth life (Heilbronner, 2011). More specifically, the research explores its ethnic, national, and religious identities as well as possible encounters or mutual alienation (Schnell & Bar-Tal, 2021; Ditlmann & Samii, 2016; Sherer, 2007).

***The Urban Context of Youth Activism***

Turning to our second theoretical domain, we note that while most of the research on youth activism reviewed above focused on urban youth, the specific context of urban culture has received limited attention. Adoni & Ben-Sira (1973) addressed the urban participation in youth movements, and Hasson (1993) referred to urban-social movements of young people in Jerusalem; however, neither viewed youth as part of an urban context. With a more historical perspective, Dror (2001) explored personal and national identity among secular urban Jewish youth in Palestine during the 1920s and 1930s; but, again, there was no explicit exploration of the connection between urban context and youth attitudes. Similarly, in Heilbronner's examination of youth’s counterculture during the 1960s and 1980s (2011), the urban space was explicitly referenced, but the study did not address how the behavior of young people was influenced by urban settings. However, in his latest research (2024), which examines the counterculture of middle-class youth of European descent in Tel Aviv, Heilbronner looks at the impact of urban built environment on youth culture.

The definition of urbanism regards the modern city as a force shaping civil society. Pioneers like Simmel, Park, Engels, and Marx laid the groundwork for understanding modern urban society, and researchers from the "Chicago School" furthered the field with the concept of “urban ecology,” seeking to establish connections between the physical and social aspects of cities and to uncover their underlying social logic. Since then, the study of urbanism has witnessed numerous developments.

In this study, we adopt a definition of urbanism that views it as an interpretive realm shared by a group of individuals living in a specific physical space, generating shared structures of meaning. From this perspective, the city becomes fertile ground for mutual dialogue and cultural struggles, a space in which new social categories are formed and cultivated in shared contexts (Aharon-Gutman, 2014). The city then serves as a spatial laboratory where constant class, racial, and cultural tensions give rise to new dynamics that continually reshape both group identities and the city itself (Machter & Machter, 2015).

Habermas (1989) emphasizes the dialogue between citizens and local government as an arena for shaping civil society. One particularly relevant definition for our study is rooted in research influenced by the neo-Marxist movement in urban sociology, starting in the mid-1960s. This research corpus examined the power and influence of protest movements, including ethnic and national organizations and gender dynamics, as they sought to advance their goals within urban spaces. Consequently, cities often emerge as catalysts for grassroots social change, activism, and advocacy (Tarrow, 1998; Castelles, 1983, 2012).

Studies on childhood and youth in the modern city primarily focused on examining how heterogeneous urban environments affected the maturation of children and youth or the impact of specific aspects of urban culture, particularly poverty and immigration (Lynch, 1977; Aitken, 2001; Bartlett et al., 2016). In recent years, a growing number of studies have explored the ways in which teenagers, children, adults, and urban culture exercise mutual influence (Chawla, 2002; Horschelmann & van Blerk, 2013). However, this research trend, while promising, remains relatively absent from Israeli studies on urbanism.

Eric Cohen's (1970) study on the complex relationship between the city and Zionist ideology remains one of the most significant works in this field. Shiftan (2000) and Troen (2013) also explored the anti-urban sentiments that emerged against the backdrop of Zionist spatial design ideology in the early years of the state. Alfasi & Fenster (2005) discussed the distinctiveness of the national city in comparison to the global city as a methodological differentiation. Numerous studies have examined the culture of Hebrew cities during the British Mandate period (see, for example, Azaryahu 2005; Helman, 2007; Shoham 2013; Etkin, 2020), while others focused on cities with mixed Jewish-Arab populations, seeing the urban space as an arena for interaction and struggle (see for example, Abbasi, 2021; Chenya, 2023; Gafni, 2018; Goren, 2016; Kidron, 2012; Kidron & Linder Yarkoni, 2022; Jacobson & Naor, 2016). Together, these studies offer valuable insights into the changing status of cities within Israeli society during the pre-state era. Given that urban culture has often been examined in contrast to pioneer-collective culture, previous research has adopted a class-based division that differentiates between economically and socially marginalized groups and the middle-class (bourgeoisie), frequently examined in opposition to the pioneer culture and essentially seen as a hegemonic class (Shapira, 1997; Ben-Porat 1999; Gutwein, 2012; Heilbronner, 2015, 2017).

Despite this body of work, research interest in the city began to emerge only in the early 1970s, in parallel with the changing status of cities within Israeli society and coinciding with the decline of the pioneering rural ethos (Arian, 1985). As in other Western democracies, increased education levels, rising income, technological advancements, and greater access to information contributed to a shift in ideals prioritizing self-realization and personal goals associated with the quality of life within communities in urban settings over national collective goals (Yishai, 1999). Noteworthy changes relevant to this research include the emergence of concepts tied to urban spaces, such as geographic-based social justice and participatory democracy (Gilboa, 2000).

While the initial decades of the country were characterized by limited public participation in local politics and centralized government control, the 1970s were characterized as a period of power decentralization and the ascent of localism. Hasson (1996) identifies a growing practice of civil partnership within urban spaces starting from the 1970s, along with a continuous proliferation in the number and diversity of community organizations and civil society NGOs in cities. Gilboa (2000) traces the early stages of urban democracy as emerging from the late 1980s onwards (Menachem & Spiro, 1989).

Despite limited research in Israel, the link between the urban environment (the city) and civic engagement (democracy) has historical origins predating contemporary discussions. According to Isin (2002), the connection between democracy and urbanism is profound, as it forms a space in which citizens are nurtured in the ideals of democracy through practical engagement, experiential learning, and educational processes. Isin contends that "individuals shape their civic identity within the city by actively interacting with others through everyday experiences" (Isin, 2002, 309). Despite these significant research trends, pointing to the urban context not merely as the backdrop for youth activism but as a dynamic setting in which youth activism develops has yet to be explored.

***Citizenship and Civic Education***

The final theoretical domain upon which our proposed study rests is that of citizenship and civic education as it relates to the social positioning – and ultimately to the political voice – of youth in society. Gibson & Levine’s basic definition depicts civic education as the means of “helping young people acquire and learn to use the skills, knowledge, and attitudes that will prepare them to be competent and responsible citizens throughout their lives” (2003, 4). However, the best way to fulfill this goal in formal and informal arenas is the subject of ongoing dispute worldwide. Scholars have identified an inherent gap between the consensus around the need to nurture democratic citizenship via civic education and the various, often contradictory, ways this goal may or may not be fulfilled in practice (Hoffman & Baron, 2023; Westheimer, 2019). While most studies focus on formal civic education within state education systems, others discuss civic education in informal settings (Allaste, Beilman & Reelika, 2021), which is increasingly recognized in the current age of social networks and globalization (Heggart, 2024).

Researchers have mapped onto formal and informal educational practices different conceptions of citizenship, mainly the paradigms of “republican” and “liberal” civic education (Cohen, 2010; Hoffman, 2023). Focused on the collective position rather than on individual interests, a republican discourse of civic education aims to foster feelings of belonging to and solidarity with the nation (Honohan, 2017). Research in Israel from the 1950s and 1960s (for example: Levy, 1956; Adar & Adler, 1965) postulates the republican paradigm of the “good citizen” in line with the hegemonic institutionalized conception of Israeli citizenship that was dominant in the state’s formative years (Peled, 2008).

In contrast, the liberal discourse on citizenship focuses on personal liberty, seeing “individuals [as] the bearers of universal, equal, and publicly affirmed rights” (Shafir & Peled, 2019, 410). This model emphasizes the importance of “procedural knowledge and individualistic values such as personal behavior, independence, and responsibility” (Cohen, 2010, 23) and the right of individuals to adhere to their choices and quality of life. Israeli scholarship of the late 1970s and onward began to gradually emphasize the dialectics between the two models of citizenship and their potential implications and challenges for civic education (Peri, 1977; Ichilov & Nave, 1979), as least among Israeli Jews (Agbaria, 2012).

Although the focus of this study is on Israel, an important study in the international arena examines the way civic education frames the preferred mode of citizenship for English and Japanese youth (Gifford et al., 2014). The study refers to a “civic stratification” that takes place in all areas of life and leads to a model of *“citizenship of being*” that promotes “passive and non-deliberative forms of citizenship based upon a set of fixed normative principles and static institutions into which young people have a responsibility to integrate” (Ibid, 93). Instead, the study argues on behalf of a *“citizenship of becoming*” that focuses on how youths are “actively creating new sources of belonging and recognition in response to globalized experiences and events” (Ibid, 93-94). This perspective pays attention to the activist and proactive potential of youths who are learning in formal and informal spheres about how to create and develop their moral stance in the world in critical and reflective ways.

***Confluence of Youth Activism, Urban Context, and Civic Education***

While a substantial body of research addresses youth activism, urbanism, and civic education in Israel and globally, few studies explicitly connect these three domains and explore the potential dialectical connections among them despite their explanatory promise. For example, Horschelmann & van Blerk (2013) emphasize the importance of acknowledging young people as significant social and political actors, especially within urban settings. Gordon & Taft (2011) suggest that the role of young people in socializing with each other to engage in political activism deserves more attention in research. Zerhouni & Akesbi suggest that Moroccan “youth do politics in a different way” (2016, 3), often outside formal arenas for youth participation. Against the backdrop of a transformational period in Israeli history, we will explore the ways in which Israeli youth perceived their political and civic potential, not only within their respective cities, but within society as a whole –shedding light on an important perspective that has traditionally been overlooked.

1. **Research Objectives and Expected Significance**

The proposed research aims to introduce an innovative interpretive historical framework for examining the evolution of political expression and participation (the "political voice") among urban Israeli youth from 1965 to 1999. During the timeframe, the dichotomies and concepts that defined earlier eras underwent processes of deconstruction and redefinition, with urban culture emerging as a significant force. The period closes with the assassination of Yitzhak Rabin (1995) and the formation of Ehud Barak’s government (1999), after which a significant shift in youth activism and attitudes towards the establishment occurred. Thus, the period designated for this study marks a transitional stage – between the formation of the state and the new millennia.

Using methods widely employed in historical research, we focus on the responses to and understanding of pressing national and societal issues among urban Israeli youth during this transformative period in Israeli history. We aim to answer the following questions:

1. How did urban Israeli youth manifest their "political voice" during the period under study, and what objectives did they aim to achieve?
2. In which arenas did politically-engaged urban youth operate?
3. What can we learn from youth’s reactions to the institutional (educational, municipal, and national) actions and policies regarding youth’s place in society?
4. How did their civic and political engagement methods change over this period, and what insights can we gain from these changes?

In addressing these objectives, our research makes several key contributions. It illuminates the evolving nature of historical research concerning the role and place of Israeli youth in society. In addition, it explores the role of both formal and informal civic education in informing the political voice of urban youth. Further, it sheds light on the often-overlooked role of urbanism and its dynamic place in Israeli identity. Finally, it extends the time horizon of Israeli research that has typically focused on the early years of settlement and founding of the state.

Serious study of this consequential transitional period offers a unique and valuable contribution to the field of modern Israeli history. It opens new avenues for understanding the role of Israeli youth, highlighting a dialectical blend of youth grassroots activism and its political voice within the dynamic urban environment where diverse social and cultural voices converge. This unique perspective on the role of youth in negotiating changes in Israeli society is also relevant for a better understanding of the development of collective civic identity in Israel and beyond.

1. **Detailed Description of the Proposed Research**
2. **Working Hypothesis**

Our primary research hypothesis posits that the proposed period witnessed the emergence of an underappreciated model of urban youth political activism, or “political voice.” We aim to show that this model was significantly influenced by the transformations occurring within Israeli society, especially in expanding urban development in the latter half of the 20th century, but also including increasing opportunities for urban civic participation and the establishment of an urban ethos as a central aspect of Israeli society, combined with shifts in the configuration of political authority within both supervised institutional frameworks and through informal and independent initiatives. The growing prominence of the global liberal civic discourse, transcending national discourse, alongside the increasing significance of the more locally relevant urban arena, also expanded the domain for identification and action among young individuals. We consider the ways in which these factors contribute to changing youth involvement in political affairs, exploring the premise they played pivotal roles in facilitating expressions of youth voices, including dissent, protest, and political activism, while simultaneously amplifying instances of civic integration.

**Research Design and Methods**

This study primarily constitutes a historical examination, but it is also based on theories of social history dealing with youth engagement, urbanism, and civic education. The research will utilize a variety of sources and, therefore, will employ multiple analysis methodologies, as detailed below (for the use of multiple methodologies in social history, see, for example, LaCapra 2014), and will be roughly divided into three sub-periods in which the evolution of urban youth political voice will be examined.

***Research Framework***

**1965-1977**: This phase represents the twilight of the political hegemony of the Labor movement and the emergence of direct and indirect political and social protest among youth. During these years, youth experienced three wars—the Six-Day War (1967), the War of Attrition (1967–70), and the Yom Kippur War (1973)—that shaped the national state of mind and spurred direct political protests that focused on democratic values of the Labor Movement, foreign and security issues, actions perceived as undemocratic by the establishment, and growing frustration over the government’s failure to pursue peace following the capture of territories during the Six-Day War. This discontent was fueled by the rising number of casualties in security-related incidents, all of which seemed to intensify teenagers’ direct political rebellion. While extensively studied (particularly from educational, cultural, and political-nationalist angles), our approach will focus on urbanism as the context for youth’s political activism. This is a period of significant urban expansion within the framework of a centralized government and an anti-bourgeois pioneering sentiment that typifies Israeli society from its inception.

**1977-1985**: This period was marked by shifts in the political and socioeconomic culture in Israel following the political upheaval of the Likud party's first rise to power in 1977. It saw the rise of a liberal civic ethos in both right-wing and left-wing circles, coupled with the gradual retreat from a “welfare state” to a free market, neoliberal policies that initiated privatization processes that led to accelerated urban development, and the reinforcement of local urban concepts. It also witnessed the beginning of a two-decade Israeli military presence in Lebanon (1982).

**1985-1999**: This phase commenced with an emergency government program for economic stabilization, representing a substantial consolidation of neoliberalism. It further witnessed an increase in the political and economic influence of local authorities and the empowerment of cities and municipalities. However, these were largely overshadowed by internal debate regarding Israel’s military presence in Lebanon.

Within each period, the methodologies of cultural history that combine an examination of cultural attributes within their historical and societal context will be used. Cultural history seeks to employ cultural tools for investigating issues related to politics, historical occurrences, and intergenerational dynamics (Burke, 2008; Arcangeli, 2011). Using this methodological approach, we aim to analyze a wide range of sources depicting direct and indirect youth expressions, such as leisure culture, participation in organizations encompassing cultural, civil society, and political entities—both institutional and independent, entrepreneurial and ad-hoc initiatives, as well as written contributions by young individuals in various stages of their political and non-political engagement.

Of particular interest is the exploration of self-fashioning among adolescents through these cultural and social aspects. “Self-fashioning” pertains to the proactive roles played by the youth who are the focus of the study and the significance they attribute to modes of group affiliation and self-characterization. This methodological framework will enable us to assess the dynamics of youth behavior in a flexible and dynamic context, as perceived from the perspective of the youth themselves, casting the young generation as active agents in the historical landscape (Sheinblatt, 2017).

To provide a comprehensive understanding, we will also examine the stance of the political and public establishment toward these young voices, with a focus on the points of convergence and divergence between their perspectives. The institutional viewpoint will be explored by analyzing records from official bodies, including governmental entities, local government bodies, political organizations, and references to contemporary publications. Emphasis will also be placed on youth responses to shifts in institutional approaches, as reflected in the establishment of the Youth Division within the Ministry of Education in 1972, which will include an analysis of strengthened informal frameworks within the Ministry of Education and under its supervision.

***Data Sources and Methods of Analysis***

The research relies on the collection and analysis of five different types of primary sources:

(1) State and municipal archives related to youth activities, youth behaviors, and institutional initiatives and undertakings

(2) Party and movement archives that pertain to youth and their involvement in partisan activities and ideological perspectives (Such archives primarily contain the institutional voice and response to youth activities.) Direct writings by youth (e.g., letters to municipal authorities) will likely be found only if letters received official responses. We will explore archives drawing on a vast literature that considers the impact on historical research of archives (Foucault,1972; Derrida, 1995; Manoff, 2004).

(3) Youth press and other public documents (in supervised platforms such as school journals or independent publications) from state, municipal, party, and movement archives, the Jewish education archive in Tel Aviv University, the National Library, and high school archives: These sources will provide insights into the perspectives of youth during the study period. One long-term goal will be to establish an accessible database containing this valuable material.

(4) Daily press: We will deconstruct the daily press, particularly focusing on the education sections and coverage of youth activities, as well as public opinion within the sector. The Historical Jewish Press Archive will serve as essential resources in this regard. In accordance with the historical discipline, the analysis of these texts will be conducted against the backdrop of the historical contexts in which they appeared through sorting, cross-referencing, and comparative analysis. Content analysis (Neuendorf, 2017) will address both the texts and visual images, such as illustrations, caricatures, or photographs. It will focus on three levels: explicit text, hidden and implied messages, and other characteristics such as target audience methods of publication, etc.

(5) To enrich and deepen our understanding, we will complement archival research with oral histories in the form of 10-15 in-depth interviews among individuals who were 14-18 of age during the years under review and were politically or socially active, and with former officials who worked during the period in education-related positions in municipalities. The interviews will enable us to present a nuanced and multifaceted portrayal of the significance of events and voices that may have been overlooked or downplayed in contemporaneous written records (Portelli, 1998; Thompson, 1988). Further, their retrospective points of view will add another layer of interpretation for the different forms of youth’s political voice manifestations. Potential interviewees will be identified from the archival material and the corpus of relevant research of the time. A snowball method will then be used to expand the interviewee pool.

The data analysis will follow the EMIC approach, which provides an insider's perspective of the research subjects (Headland, 1990). We will apply a "constructivist grounded theory" perspective emphasizing reflexivity and contextual understanding (Charmaz, 2017). To utilize all research data, including primary sources and interview transcriptions, we will receive the approval of the Institutional Ethics Committee. We will obtain voluntary, informed consent from all interviewees and private individuals willing to share their personal archives. We will provide them with a comprehensive explanation of the research objectives, the interview process, and the potential applications of the texts and transcriptions. Consent may be withdrawn at any time without any adverse consequences. Given the potential sensitivity of the data, it is crucial to adhere to ethical guidelines concerning data storage, access, and sharing (Dushnik & Tzabar Ben-Yehoshua, 2016). We will uphold the highest standards of data security to safeguard both the information and the identities of those involved in the research. These ethical considerations are paramount to maintaining the integrity of the research process while respecting the rights and privacy of the individuals and entities whose voices and documents contribute to the primary sources under analysis.

***Potential Pitfalls***

The proposed research approach presents several challenges concerning research sources. Firstly, the task of identifying primary sources authored by young people not found in organized archives poses a central challenge for our research. Certain materials may never have made their way into archives, and others may not have been preserved at all. Secondly, collecting these sources during the research period may introduce bias in representing different sources and time periods. Thirdly, the use of interviews, while constituting a peripheral rather than a central aspect of this research, presents two significant challenges: methodological limitations of oral history and the requisite methodological caution, as well as the difficulty in locating an adequate number of interviewees for each of the decades under investigation.

Considering these potential pitfalls, we will make an effort to search for references to private collections in school and youth movement archives. This effort will entail tracing key individuals who may have access to primary sources and serve as potential interviewees. Some of these key individuals have already been identified, and the process of broadening our accessibility networks is already underway. Further, we plan to locate people and sources through online social networks within relevant communities. Our preliminary sources (detailed below) exhibit well-founded perspectives and youths’ active involvement in a wide range of topics significant within Israeli society to ensure addressing the danger of bias.

***Preliminary Results***

As part of the feasibility study for the proposed research, we examined the archives of major cities, notably Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, and Haifa, covering our study period. Our focus was primarily on the departments of culture, education, and youth, with the aim of mapping the municipal activities within these domains and discerning the perspectives of city leaders as documented in the minutes of relevant committees. A preliminary review of these documents revealed two themes common to all three cities. Firstly, a concerted effort to establish and maintain extensive initiatives aimed at engaging youth in informal settings (mainly to prevent loitering and vandalism). Secondly, the development of urban mechanisms of civic involvement and supervised civic leadership (such as municipal student councils, movements such as “Youth for Youth,” and the recruitment of young instructors, among other endeavors). While we have made significant progress in analyzing the archival records of these cities, further research needs to be conducted analyzing the municipal archives in other cities.

We also conducted an initial review of the archives of two major political movements, the Labor Party archive at Beit Berel and the Jabotinsky Institute archive. Our examination of protocols dating from the 1970s and early 1980s reveals a notable concern in both archives centered on high school students' apparent avoidance of party structures, prompting efforts to engage this age group through their respective youth movements. This preliminary examination indicates an educational approach that strongly emphasizes harnessing youth involvement. Both movements expressed a desire to integrate young individuals into existing frameworks, primarily through recreational activities such as sports, excursions, and cultural events.

In an effort to uncover the authentic voices of youth, our preliminary investigation has located high school bulletins and other youth publications, independent publications with political themes (primarily from the Tel Aviv education archive, and to a lesser extent, from Jerusalem, mainly from the late ‘60s and early ‘70s), as well as some protest leaflets (from the Internet Left Archives, the Givat Haviva archive, and files of the Ministry of Education, ISA). Additional publications were identified in the National Library where we have made an initial inventory. It is worth noting that the archives we have explored mainly contain supervised publications, including school publications, materials from youth movements, and youth magazines (e.g., *Ma'ariv La'Noar* and *Haaretz Shelanu*). However, we assume it will be possible to locate additional publications that may have been kept in the educational institutions themselves, through individual contacts, or by private individuals whom we will locate using a snowball sampling approach.

***Resources for Conducting Research***

This research builds upon our previous studies on youth protests from 1948 through 1973, conducted within our respective research fields, in which we examined various aspects of youth activism across both political (led by Kidron) and civic education (led by Hoffman) dimensions. One article (Kidron, 2025, forthcoming) specifically addresses youth defined as radical during the years 1967-1973. These studies involved extensive data collection related to the political activism of high school students and the institutional responses to their activities. Some of this collected material will be reevaluated in the context of urban culture within the scope of this new work.

We have also made a collection of materials, including some already in our possession, consisting of letters independently composed by individuals or groups of teenagers addressed to key figures in the government, particularly the Ministers of Education, such as the proclamation of protest in the 1970's “Shaminists” (senior students') letter, and of dissent in the 1980's, regarding the Kach movement. This preliminary body of letters exemplifies the increasing degree of involvement of high school students from the 1970s on issues defined as national and political.

We have also initiated exploratory research through a series of four preliminary interviews with individuals who were politically active during their youth in our study years. Utilizing resources provided by the libraries of Tel Hai and Kibbutzim academic colleges, as well as the Haifa University (Kidron being a research fellow at the university), we will be able to access important databases related to the field. Hoffman, a research fellow at the Israel Democracy Institute (a policy research institution with long-standing access to a wide network of key figures in Israel’s political sphere for four decades), could initiate interviews with key figures who were active in the periods under study. In addition, we have access to several outstanding MA students in relevant studies whom we hope to employ as research assistants.

We plan to conduct this study in four phases, a year per phase. The initial phase will be dedicated to data collection of archive materials, as detailed above, covering primary data sources (1) through (4), as detailed above. The collected texts will be mapped and coded before being systematically analyzed. We will use two perspectives of investigation for this research – that of the youth and the institutional stance, specifically in its references to youth in general and its “voice” in particular. Toward the end of the first year, we will initiate the oral history interviews (source 5) to enhance our understanding.

The second phase will return to the research corpus described in the scientific background to contextualize the findings within the theoretical and global framework. This approach will enable us to explore the Israeli case as part of the broader international context, considering both historical-generational aspects and theoretical perspectives related to the socialization and engagement of young people in urban settings. By expanding our viewpoint, we aim to illuminate the unique characteristics of the Israeli experience while also highlighting its global relevance.

In the third stage, we will complete in-depth analyses of the empirical and primary sources that comprise the research, while focusing on the following research axes: (a) The diverse and dialectical perspectives of the younger generation's understanding of the concept of citizenship and civic identity; (b) Typologies of youth political activities and social-civic involvement; and (c) Manifestations of “political voice” of youth as an expression of dissent, of protest and activism in relation to their communal and urban setting. In this stage, we will initiate the publication of articles in academic journals.

 In the last year of this project, we will develop an inter-college hybrid course to be co-conducted in our teaching capacity and institutions, focused on youth activism with an emphasis on different types of urban settings (center, peripheral, and mixed population). We will also establish an online database of independent and supervised youth publications (with attention to copyright considerations). Our primary focus will be to prepare our findings for academic publications and a scholarly book.