**Scientific Abstract and the Application Title:**

לשבץ מסמך: תמי

**Research program and bibliography:**

כותרת

1. **Scientific Background**

**Introduction**

This study examines the dynamics of urban youth culture and the political expression of this youth during the years when urban culture rose to prominence in Israel, exerting a profound influence on the shaping of Israeli society. Thus far, examinations of youth political engagement have primarily focused on the 1960s and early 1970s, marking the beginning of the proposed time frame, as well as the event that demarcates the end of this study period – the assassination of prime minister Yitzhak Rabin and the reactions it elicited from youth and young adults. However, no comprehensive study has systematically explored the evolving patterns of youth political activism throughout this entire period, particularly within its urban context. This research project, bridging the domains of cultural history and history of education, is also situated at the confluence of three different theoretical domains, each typically examined in isolation or, at best, in relation to just one of the three. It seeks to synthesize (1) theories and concepts pertaining to youth, encompassing youth culture, youth participation, and social engagement; (2) the body of research and theories concerning urbanism and urban development; and (3) concepts associated with citizenship, civic mindset, and civic education. The primary aim of this research is to facilitate a dialectical and methodological exploration of the interplay among these concepts within the context of this study, in order to better understand the “political voice” of youth in urban spheres in Israel and its role in the development of Israeli citizenship.

**Youth Culture: characteristics and action in theory and practice**

The study of youth culture in Israel has predominantly relied on definitions of adolescence originating from the Western-modern world. These definitions are rooted in both psychological research, which views adolescence as a comprehensible transitional stage between childhood and adulthood (e.g., Avner, 1984; Erikson, 1968), and sociological research, notably Mannheim's generational theory (Mannheim, 1952). This grand theory conceptualizes youth as a generational or generational-class subculture (Clarke, 1982; Demos and Demos, 1986; Fowler, 2007). Additional studies seek to explain the transformation characteristics of young people in the transition from youth subculture to youth’s actions of protest (Muggleton 2005)

Much of the research in Israel adopts educational or cultural lenses (e.g., Alon, 1986; Regev, 1995; Taub, 1997; Heilbronner, 2011). A significant focus has been on the 1960s, particularly examining shifts in youth attitudes and the impact of what was often referred to as the Western 'Counter Culture.' Additionally, there has been exploration of intergenerational relations (e.g., Taub, 2003; Alon, 1986, pp. 63-96; 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, public, and educational 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, particularly following the First World War (Alon, 1986, pp. 17-37; Giroux, 2003), and the national-revolutionary ethos that envisaged youth playing a pivotal role as leaders and implementers of the national vision. This role had immediate and tangible manifestations in nation and state-building, including settlement, defense, and immigrant absorption (Hammack, 2010).

This perspective led to two research channels of youth culture, primarily within urban settings, where the majority of the Israeli population was concentrated. The first channel was monitoring and assessing the extent of active participation and the degree of alignment among youth and young adults with the values and objectives prescribed by the political and educational establishment as 'correct' and desirable. This form of participation was defined as 'national activism' (Lotan 1964; Kahana 1968; Shapira and Etzion Levy, 1973; Levy and Gutman 1974; Levy 1985; Tzemach 1987; Burnett, Agassi and Bover Agassi 1988; Fargo 1989; Ben Sira 1995; Yochtman-Yar et al., 1998; Shapira Ashler and Frey 1999);

The second channel focused on examining expressions of youth activity that occurred outside the established frameworks of youth movements and other institutionalized structures. In this context, three distinct areas of reference emerge. One area pertains to distinctions within various youth cultures, particularly the differentiation between youth defined as "boys from good families" or the "salt of the earth," who were often part of the hegemonic group, and 'marginal youth,' perceived as delinquent youth whose behavior was not characterized by protest and rebellion, but rather by deviance and criminality. In the Israeli context, the definitions of marginalized youth evolved to include immigrants, primarily from North African and Islamic countries, as well as youth growing up in disadvantaged neighborhoods and were referred to as 'suburban youth' (Razi, 2009). The second field of inquiry centers on cultural aspects of youth behavior. These aspects were frequently diagnosed as manifestations of generational rebellion influenced by the Western counterculture (e.g., Eisenstadt, 1958). Urban dimensions of youth culture, which were seen as conflicting with the pioneering Zionist ethos and perceived as a threat to it, especially in areas such as music, clothing, and the adoption of bourgeois characteristics, such as a desire for higher education and the pursuit of professional careers, were presented in contemporary discourse and research as indicators of alienation, individualization, and Americanization. These trends were also viewed as contrary to the Zionist national ethos (Zur, 2000; Cohen, 2003; Kabalo, 2003; Heilbronner, 2011; Kabalo, 2009).

The third area of investigation centers on direct aspects of political protest among youth outside institutional frameworks. These expressions, although initially limited in scope, gained momentum in the late 1960s under the influence of global events and the waves of cultural and political protest that swept through Israeli society during that period with an unprecedented scale and intensity (Weissbrod, 1981; Sheprincek, 1983; Wolfsfeld, 1988; Leiman-Wilzig, 1992, 41; Herman, 1995 (A), 21-34; Herman, 1995 (B), 105-121; Almog, 2004, 420-411).

Starting in the 1960s, there was a growing trend to identify patterns of protest within the behavior of youth, particularly in studies that referred to the emergence of active protest of the young generation during the late 1960s. Nevertheless, even within these studies, the distinction between the generational perspective was maintained. Studies addressing the rise of protest culture in Israel during this period rarely focus on youth’s role in it, and did not perceive youth culture as an autonomous facet of protest (Herman, 1995 (A), 21-34; Wolfsfeld, 1993, 8-9). An interesting example can be found in a 1984 special issue of the journal of Youth & Society, which exclusively explored the quest for the identity of young people in Israel and the expressions of youth protest in the country since the early 1970s. The issue's editors, Haim Adler and Reuven Kahane, indeed connected youth protest to the broader social and political transformations that adults went through, particularly the shift from the revolutionary phase of the state’s establishment towards societal consolidation. However, they did not draw a direct link between youth and political protest but rather characterized the cultural and political expressions of protest as a universal quest for identity among young people, which, in essence, led to radicalization, and usually was perceived as such (Adler and Kahane, 1984, 115-127).

In recent years, there has been a growing focus on the study of youth culture within the broader context of political developments in Israel, rather than in isolation from them. These studies often explore youth protest as a holistic phenomenon, thereby blurring the distinctions between the 'youth voice' and the 'young voice.' (Elmaliach and Kidron, 2017). Sociological distinctions define *young activism* (ages 18-35) as motivated by aspirations for social change, rather than a desire for mere integration into an existing society. This contrasts with *youth activism*, which is often seen as a part of a 'moratorium' phase, characterized by a search for one's identity, confusion, an aspiration for utopian ideals, and other features tied to the quest for one's place within adult society. These distinctions strengthen the educational-cultural perspective of youth research - and the blurring of its political dimensions.

The demarcation between youth and young people encompasses both legal and socio-cultural aspects, and it can vary from one society to another. It is defined based on the societal roles intended for individuals of a certain age group. Essentially, the distinction between youth and young people reflects the capacity of adult society to accommodate and permit a 'moratorium' phase. This distinction plays a significant role in how the establishment views and responds to youth activism, whether through educational, therapeutic, or disciplinary means. It's an essential factor in examining the relationship between the adults in society to its youth, differentiating between a more forgiving and educational approach towards those defined as 'youth' and a more rigid stance towards 'young' protests, often perceived as seeking fundamental societal change and, consequently, viewed as more threatening. Sara Stizlein (2022) suggests a more positive view on 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’” (Stitzlein, 2011; 74), what can be perceived as oppositional to status quo, whereas it should be seen as a venue to keep society adaptive and democratic (Stitzlein, 2022). This view of “dissent” can serve as a new way to think about the dominant dichotomy in Israeli research of conforming versus non-compliance (Myzels and Solomon, 2003). This is important since in Israel, the distinction between youth culture and young culture is also evident in military recruitment practices, which marks for the majority of Jewish youth, the beginning of the phase of young adulthood.

In most Western societies, the definition of youth extends until individuals achieve economic independence and start their own families. The United Nations, for example, defines youth as the age group between 15 and 24 years, while considering those under 18 as children in the context of children's rights (Horschelmann, Kathrin, and Blerk, 2011). In the Western world, student culture is generally seen as a part of youth culture. However, in Israel, youth is typically defined up to the age of 18, and student culture, which follows military service, is often perceived as a partial continuation of the moratorium phase and an initial step into adulthood (///). It's important to note that while these distinctions held true for the period under study, they are evolving and may not hold the same validity today. Sociological research from the 2000s, such as studies on Generation Y and Generation Z (e.g, McCrindle, 2010; Almog and Almog, 2016), explore the generational differences and acknowledge the blending of age characteristics across groups.

The research about youth culture in Israel focuses as mentioned in various areas of youth’s life, and also with emphasis on cultural and social aspects (Heilbronner, 2011) and specifically in relation to ethnic, national and religious identities of youth and their possible encounter or mutual alienation (e.g, Schnell & Bar-Tal, 2021; Ditlman & Samii, 2016; Sherer, 2007; Sagy, et al, 2001). However, research paid little attention to the urban setting of youth life and activities, as the theoretical context in which questions of youth activism in Israel is discussed. One of this research’s contributions is in this aspect.

# The Development of Urbanism in Israel

# While most of the reviewed research has focused on urban youth, the specific context of urban culture has received relatively limited attention. Dror (2001) explored personal and national identity issues among secular urban Jewish youth in Palestine during the 1920s and 1930s, but there was no explicit exploration of the connection between their urban context and their attitudes. Similarly, in Heilbronner's examination of youth’s counterculture during the 1960s and 1980s, the urban space was explicitly referenced (Heilbronner, 2011). However, the study of how the behavior of young people was influenced by urban paradigms and, conversely, how they influenced these urban paradigms remains an area that requires further investigation.

# The definition of urbanism is related to the study of urban society from sociological and cultural aspects, often regarding the modern city as a catalyst for the development of modern economy, culture and politics, and essentially 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 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 perceives it as an interpretive realm shared by a group of individuals living in a specific physical space, generating shared structures of meaning. According to this perspective (Aharon, p. 689), the city becomes a fertile ground for dialogues and cultural struggles, shaping and being shaped by them simultaneously. Aharon views the city as a space where new social categories are formed, cultivated within shared urban contexts such as neighborhoods and workplaces (Aharon, p. 703).

# Mechter and Mechter (2015, p. 23) argue that the city serves as a spatial laboratory where constant class, racial, and cultural tensions give rise to new dynamics that move within the urban space, thereby continually reshaping the identities of both groups and the city itself. 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 urban protest movements, including ethnic and national organizations and gender dynamics, as they seek to advance their goals within urban spaces. Consequently, cities often emerge as catalysts for social change, where activism, advocacy, and grassroots movements take root (Tarrow, 1998; Castells, 1978, 1983; Halevy, 1997, 1989; Castelle, 2015).

# 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 urban cultural aspects, particularly poverty and immigration (e.g., David Lynch, Roger Hart, Colin Ward, Aitken, 2001). In recent years, there has been a growing trend of studies exploring the mutual influences between teenagers, children, and urban culture. These studies investigate how young individuals contribute to urban culture through their activities and are influenced by the actions of adults (e.g., Chawla, 2002; Horschelmann and Blerk, 2012). However, this trend remains relatively absent from Israeli research of urbanism. To the best of our knowledge, Israeli research has yet to address the direct roles of youth in shaping urban culture.

# In Israel, research interest in the city began to emerge in the early 1970s, in parallel with changing status of cities within Israeli society. 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. Nitzan Shaftan (2000) and Troan (2013) also explored the anti-urban sentiments that emerged against the backdrop of Zionist spatial design ideology in the early years of the state. Numerous studies have examined the culture of Hebrew cities during the Mandate period (while others have focused on cities with a mixed population (Jewish-Arab) composition, where the urban space serves also as an arena for interaction and struggle. (e.g., Gafni, Cohen Hatev, Yanklewitz, Kidron, Jacobson, Naor, Montresco, Ya'akovi, and others).This area of study offers valuable insights into the changing status of cities within Israeli society during that era. 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. Nitzan Shaftan (2000) and Troan (2013) also explored the anti-urban sentiments that emerged against the backdrop of Zionist spatial design ideology in the early years of the state. Numerous studies have examined the culture of Hebrew cities during the Mandate period (Hellman Shoham, etc., Tana, Etkin 2021, Kabalo and Etkin 2022), while others have focused on cities with a mixed national (Jewish-Arab) composition, where the urban space serves as an arena for interaction and struggle. (e.g., Gafni, Cohen Hatev, Yanklewitz, Kidron, Jacobson, Naor, Montresco, Ya'akovi, and others). Given that urban culture has often been examined in contrast to pioneer-collective culture and in relation to it, previous research has predominantly adopted a class-based dichotomous division. This division differentiates between the middle -class (bourgeoisie), frequently examined in opposition to the pioneer culture and essentially seen as a hegemonic class (Ben Porat, and others), and the economically and socially marginalized groups. In the Israeli context, these marginalized groups often included new immigrants and economically distressed strata, characterized by their sectarian characteristics.

# The position of the city in Israeli culture began to undergo a transformation in the early 1970s, coinciding with the decline of the pioneering rural ethos (Glenor, 1985; Arian, 1990; Menachem and Shapiro, 1992). Changes akin to those in Western democratic countries, such as increased education levels, rising income, technological advancements, and greater access to information, contributed to a shift in ideals. This shift prioritized self-realization and personal goals associated with the quality of life within communities and urban settings over national collective goals (Herman, 1995; 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 control by the central government, the 1970s marked a period of power decentralization and the ascent of localism. Hasson 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 (Hasson and Salzberger, 1989; Hasson, 1996; Ben David and Tal, 1996). Gilboa traces the early stages of urban democracy, which he discerns emerging from the late 1980s onwards (Gilboa, 2000, p. 52).

However, 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, viewing the city as a space where 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" (p.309).

**Urban spheres as sites of citizenship negotiation and civic education**

In consideration of the above perspective, Horschelman and van Blerk (2013) emphasize the importance of acknowledging young people as significant urban social and political actors, especially within urban settings. Our study analyzes this concept against the backdrop of the political and societal changes that transformed Israeli society during the latter half of the 20th century. These transformations had a profound impact on how Israeli youth perceived their political and civic potential, not only within society as a whole, but also within their respective cities. Civic education is another area of research that examines the social positioning of youths in a society.

The field of 'civic education' is rich with theories and practices that are constantly under debate (Cohen, 2019b; Reichert and Print, 2018). Gibson and Levin’s (2003) 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 (Gibson and Levin, 2003: 4). However, the best way to fulfill this goal, in formal and non-formal arenas, is a subject for ongoing dispute worldwide (Schwille and Amadeo, 2002). Scholars have identified an inherent gap between the consensus around the need to nurture democratic citizenship via civic education and the various and often contradicting ways this goal may be fulfilled in practice (Westheimer, 2019; Abowitz and Harnish, 2006), if at all (Merry, 2020; Gillborn, 2006). Researchers have mapped different perceptions of citizenship that are rendered into educational practices. For example, the paradigms of 'republican, and 'liberal civic education, (Cohen, 2019b). These different conceptions of civic education represent diverse, and sometimes contradicting understandings of what 'good citizenship' means (Westheimer and Kahne, 2004), and the role of education in promoting it.

The republican discourse is focused on the collective position rather than on individual interests (Honohan, 2017, 93). A republican discourse of civic education aims to foster one’s feelings of belonging and solidarity to the national entity (Cohen, 2010, 22). Abowitz and Harnish (2006, 657), explain how 'civic republicans wish to promote a civic identity among young people characterized by commitment to the political community, respect for its symbols, and active participation in its common good'. Research in Israel regarding civic education in the 1950’s and 1960’s (e.g, Levy, 1956; Robinson, 1953; Adler and Adler, 1965) postulates the republican paradigm of the ‘good citizen’, in line with the hegemonic institutionalized dominant conception of Israeli citizenship in the state’s formative years (Peled, 2008).

The liberal discourse of citizenship focuses on personal liberty: “individuals are the bearers of universal, equal and publicly affirmed rights” (Shafir and Peled, 2019, 410). In civic education, this model emphasizes the importance of 'procedural knowledge and individualistic values such as personal behavior, independence and responsibility' (Cohen, 2010: 23). The liberal discourse of citizenship 'prioritizes the rights of individuals to form, revise, and pursue their own definition of the good life' (Abowitz and Harnish, 2006: 661). Israeli scholarship of the late 1970’s and onward emphasized gradually the dialectics between the two models of citizenship and the potential implications and challenges for civic education (Peri, 1977; Ichilov and Nave, 1981; Ichilov, 1988; 1995). However, the Israeli case often neglects a critical point of view regarding social injustices such as racism and inequality (Snir and Eylon, 2016; Banks, 2017), and especially regarding the Palestinians citizens of Israel and their conflicted identity (Hofman and Rouhana, 1974; Pedahzur, 2001; Peled, 2008; Agabaria, 2010). However, this negation is not unique to Israel. Gillborn (2006: 84) goes even further to state that 'in practice, citizenship education operates as a form of placebo: an activity that gives the appearance of addressing social justice issues but which [manifestly] fails to tackle the real problem'.

The way civic education frames the preferred mode of citizenship for children and youth, is examined also in Gifford et al (2014) work about English and Japanese youth's process of socialization towards adult citizenship. They refer to a 'civic stratification' that takes place in various spaces. This stratification eventually leads to what they call a model of *'citizenship of being*', a framework 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' (Gifford et al, 2014, 93). The model of *'citizenship of being*', they assert, 'denies young people’s autonomy and political agency', by focusing more on the collective shared values of a society. The 'integration of young people to a given society' (Gifford et al., 2014: 83) entails, in educational setting, students’ participation in national, cultural and communal arenas that establish their collective belonging to the specific society' (Gifford et al., 2014: 93-94). This corresponds with both the republican and the liberal paradigms presented earlier, for it combines the emphasis on shared values on the one hand and the importance of personal development on the other. As opposed to *'citizenship of being'*, Gifford et al. (2014) talk about a *'citizenship of becoming*' that 'shifts the focus away from how young people are to be integrated into a given society to how they are actively creating new sources of belonging and recognition in response to globalized experiences and events' (Gifford et al., 2014: 93-94). This perspective of *'citizenship of becoming'* pays attention to the activist and proactive potential of youths who are learning in formal and nonformal spheres how to create and develop their moral stance in the world in critical and reflective ways. Within this context, the question of urban youth activism is tested. In other words, in this research we’ll relate to the urban setting as a sphere where the Israeli youth political voice is shaped and there is a potential to become active and engaged citizens.

During the specified research period, Israeli society experienced significant changes across various aspects, ones that challenged fundamental notions of citizenship, religion, and political trust (Ram, 2000). While there is a substantial body of research addressing youth, urbanism, and civic education in Israel and on a global scale, there is a notable scarcity of research that interconnects these domains and explores potential dialectical connections among them. The proposed research aims to address this gap by focusing on the political activism and voice of Israeli youth in urban settings during crucial moments of social transformation, shedding light on an important perspective that has traditionally been overlooked.

# II. Research Objectives and Expected Significance

# Objectives and Expected Significance

The study of youth in Israeli society occupies a prominent place in various fields of academic research. During the pre-state period and the first decades of the state's existence, the attitudes towards youth were its function in the cultivation and actualization of the Zionist ethos. This emphasis was coupled with the need to mobilize young people for national tasks in the areas of settlement, defense, and political leadership. Typically, youth voices were examined in relation to the expectations of adults, focusing on their sense of belonging, participation, and engagement in tasks and values set by the hegemonic establishment and the broader society.

In the early years of the state and its formative decades, the emphasis was placed on national tasks such as nation-building. From the 1970s onwards, the focus shifted towards the ongoing development of civil society a democratic state. Subsequently, research on youth culture in Israel generally emphasized educational and cultural aspects, primarily rooted in the psychological and sociological concept of youth that developed mainly in the Western modern world. In this view, which prevailed during the years studied in research, youth was considered to have its own culture, one that did not have significant social or political implications on society at large, but rather an extension of dominant culture, or, otherwise was considered rebellious and oppositional. Since the youth of that era mostly expressed themselves in cultural contexts and were less visible in other spheres, the focus on youth ‘voice’ as a counterculture was accentuated, with minimal attention paid to the option of youth as a political entity, whose voice reflects a different way of understanding political and social changes. This way it becomes, in its own right, a civic agent that influences the shaping of Israeli society. The urban setting offers various spaces for youth voices to be heard and make a differnce.

While numerous studies focused on urban youth, there has been limited academic attention paid to the urban context of the studied youth culture. Even studies that emphasized urban nature did not acknowledge the unique place of urban culture in shaping Israeli identity. Similarly, research on the role of urban society in shaping Israeli identity concentrated primarily on the early years of settlement and the founding of the state. Most studies dealt with the bourgeois aspect of urban culture and its development in relation to or in opposition to the pioneering Zionist ethos. In recent years, more works have delved into the development of urban society in Israel from within, as a space of encounter and struggle among different neighborhoods and diverse population groups, and its role in shaping Israeli identity. However, this research is still in its infancy.

This proposed research aims to examine the activism of urban youth in Israel by addressing two aspects that have not received adequate scholarly attention: the political voice of youth and its urban context. To provide a comprehensive understanding, the research will also explore the various methods and exchanges that took place between the young generation and public institutions (social, political, and cultural) whose goal was to engage youth in different aspects of nation-building and civic society.

The research's time frame, from 1965 to 1995, refers to a period when urban culture in Israel increasingly assumed a central role in shaping Israeli culture. During these years, the dichotomies and concepts that characterized the early decades underwent processes of deconstruction and redefinition, with urban culture emerging as a central force. The culmination of this period was marked by the assassination of Yitzhak Rabin and the rise of the "Candle Youth" who represented a turning point both in youth activism and in the relationship between the establishment and youth. The research premise is that during this period, a profound change occurred in Israeli society, influenced by similar trends in Western societies, but with distinctive Israeli characteristics tied to the processes of consolidation of civil society. The traditional hegemony definition eroded before the political upheaval. The conflict between the political right and left was sharp, but differences in the economic and social realms remained, and most Israeli parties adopted capitalist-liberal language. Distinctions between old and new were altered by new waves of immigration and the entry of the second and third generation into the shaping of mature Israeli society. The definition of relationships between the center (political, public, and societal) and the secondary centers and other social forces changed.

In conclusion, this research seeks to depart from the institutional perspective and examine the issue from the standpoint of the youths themselves. The argument is that during the discussed period, various social, political, and cultural initiatives by youth, operating as individuals as well as in groups or organizations, emerged. This grassroot point of view which this research proposal focuses on, provides a new and original analytical perspective on the changes in Israeli society and the role of youth in negotiating with their adult surroundings regarding these changes and youth’s political role in shaping their implication, hence their future as adults.

# III. Detailed Description of the Proposed Research

# 1. Working Hypotheses

Our primary research hypothesis posits that the proposed period witnessed the emergence of an overlooked model of "youth political activism." This model was substantially shaped by the transformations occurring within Israeli society, particularly in the urban context, and gave rise to new dynamics in youth interactions with the political and public establishments.

Amidst the backdrop of escalating urban civic participation and the establishment of urban ethos as a central facet of Israeli society, coupled with shifts in the configuration of political authority, and the ascent of marginal voices to the forefront of the Israeli public sphere, a broad spectrum of new opportunities for political and social influence emerged for the youth. These opportunities manifested within both supervised institutional frameworks and through independent initiatives. The increasing prominence of the global liberal civil discourse, transcending national discourse, alongside the growing significance of the more relevant local-urban arena, extended the domain for identification and action for young individuals. These factors contributed to the strengthening of youth involvement in civic and political affairs. Our premise is that these conditions played pivotal roles in facilitating expressions of radicalism and political protest among the youth, concurrently amplifying instances of civic integration. What has sometimes been labeled as "activism" is, in actuality, a contemporary manifestation of channeling the energies of youth into the civic realm, which we term "civic entrepreneurship."

**2. Research Design and Methods**

This study primarily constitutes a historical examination, but it is also based on social theories (with a particular emphasis on generational aspects) dealing with youth engagement, democratic citizenship, social and civic education, the evolution of grassroots movements, and urbanism. The designated time frame, 1965-1995, will be divided into three sub-periods in which the perspectives of urban youth will be examined against the backdrop of economic, political and cultural transformation within urban and Israeli society.

**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 the youth. While these phenomena have been extensively studied, particularly from educational, cultural, and political-nationalist angles, our approach will offer a fresh perspective, focusing on urbanism as the context in which we examine 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 socio - economic culture in Israel following the political upheaval of the Likud party's rise to power for the first time. It saw the rise of a liberal civic ethos in both the right-wing and left-wing circles, coupled with the gradual retreat from the “well-fare state” policy to a free market policy. From now onward, neoliberal policies and privatisation processes led to accelerated urban development and the reinforcement of local urban concepts.

**1985-1995**: This phase commenced with an emergency government program for economic stabilization, representing a substantial leap forward in consolidating neoliberalism. It witnessed an increase in the political and economic influence of local authorities and the empowerment of cities and municipalities.

Within each period, this research will use the methodologies of cultural history, which combines an examination of cultural attributes within their historical and societal context. Cultural history seeks to employ cultural tools for investigating historical inquiries, including issues related to politics, historical occurrences, and intergenerational dynamics (Burke, 2008; Arcangeli, 2011, 2-3). From this methodological standpoint, we aim to analyze a wide range of direct and indirect youth expressions, such as leisure culture, participation in various organizations (both institutional and independent, encompassing cultural, civil society, and political entities), entrepreneurial and ad-hoc initiatives, as well as written contributions by young individuals in various stages of their political and non-political engagement, among other factors.

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 members of the study in question 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 (Brubaker and Cooper, 2000, pp. 1-47; 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 these two perspectives. The institutional viewpoint will be explored by analysing records from official bodies, including governmental entities, local government bodies, political organizations, and references to contemporary publications."

**Methodology**

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

1. State and municipal archives: mainly files related to youth activities, youth behaviors, and institutional initiatives and undertakings.

2. Party and movement archives: particularly files that pertain to the young generation and their involvement in partisan activities and ideological perspectives.

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’s archives. These sources will provide insights into the perspectives of young individuals during the study period. Our long-term goal is 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 Daily Press Archive – Haifa Index to Israeli Periodicals and the Historical Jewish Press Archive will serve as essential resources in this regard. (education sections, coverage of youth activity and public open opinion sector), (Daily Press Archive – Haifa Index to Israeli Periodicals and Historical Jewish Press Archive).

To enrich and deepen our understanding, we will complement our archival research with qualitative, in-depth semi structured interviews. These interviews will be conducted with individuals who grew up in the designated years, were 14-18 of age at the time and were politically or socially active during the specified years. Despite its inherent limitations, the use of oral history will provide valuable insights into the perspectives of those who experienced youth during this period. It will enable us to present a nuanced and multifaceted portrayal of the significance of events and voices. Additionally, oral history will illuminate aspects that may have been overlooked or downplayed in official documents or other contemporaneous written records (Portelli, 1998; Thompson, 1988).

**Research plan**

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. This stage will also include the mapping of: (1) policy and formal documents from state and municipalities’ archives; (2) extracts from youth and student magazines; (3) periodicals of political parties and local authorities and (4) documents (formal and non-formal) related to youth movements and organizations. The collected texts will be mapped and coded before systematically analysed. We’ll use two perspectives of investigation for this research. The first is the stance of the youth, the young individuals. The second perspective is the institutional stance, specifically in its references to youth in general and its “voice” in particular. Towards the end of the first year we’ll initiate the interviews 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’ll complete the in-depth analysis of the empirical and primary sources that comprise the research, while focusing on the following research axes:

• The diverse and dialectical perspectives of the younger generation understanding of the concept of citizenship and civic identity

• Typologies of youth political activities and social-civic involvement

• Manifestations of “political voice” of youth as an expression of protest, of dissent and of activism in relation to their communal and urban setting.

• The local and global context of the urban development in Israel

The last year of this research project will focus on the writing and publishing of this research on academic

will be dedicated to the completion and publication of our research findings in academic journals and other scholarly outlets. Additionally, we will develop an inter-college hybrid course, to be co-conducted in our teaching capacity and institutions.The course will focus on youth activism with an emphasis on different types of urban settings (center, peripheral and mixed population). We will also endeavor to establish an online database of independent and supervised youth publications, with attention to copyright considerations.

**3. Preliminary Results of the Research**

This research builds upon our previous studies, each conducted within its research field, where we examined various aspects of youth activism in both political (led by Anat) and civic (focused on civic education and led by Tammy) dimensions. The research concerning political aspects and youth protest primarily concentrated on the initial two decades of the state, up to 1973, which partially overlaps with the early years of the research presented here. (One article, specifically addressing youth defined as radical during the years 1967-1973, is currently in the final stages of preparation.) These previous 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.

As part of the feasibility study for the proposed research, we extended our examination to include archival materials from the late seventies, eighties, and nineties. In this endeavor, we examined the archives of major cities, notably Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, and Haifa. 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 various committees. A preliminary review of these documents revealed two themes common to all three cities: a concerted effort to establish and maintain extensive initiatives aimed at engaging youth in informal settings, mainly to prevent loitering and vandalism, and 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, there remains further research to be conducted in municipal archives in other cities. It is worth noting that the emphasis on civic leadership and involvement, with a focus on nurturing 'good citizenship' activism over national objectives and a conscious avoidance of partisan political aspects, also characterized the formal education system from the 1970s onwards.

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 shared by both movements, albeit more pronounced in the labor movement. This concern centered on high school students' apparent avoidance of party structures, prompting both movements to make efforts to engage this age group through their respective youth movements and youth branches. This preliminary examination indicates an educational approach with a strong emphasis on 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 the youth, we have undertaken a preliminary investigation to locate high school bulletins and other youth publications. We have gathered independent publications with political themes, primarily from Tel Aviv, and to a lesser extent, from Jerusalem, mainly from the late 60th and early 70th. Some protest leaflets were collected from Internet Left Archives and the Givat Haviva archive. a smaller number of leaflets were found in the files of the Ministry of Education, ISA. In the education archive in Tel Aviv a few publications were kept, mainly school bulletins. Other publications are in the National Library (an inventory list was made, but an orderly reading of them has not yet been done). It is worth noting that the archives we have explored mainly contain supervised publications, including school publications and materials from youth movements. However, we assume that it will be possible to reach additional publications, which may have been kept in the educational institutions themselves, through individual contact, or by private individuals whom we will locate using a snowball sampling approach.

We have also amassed a collection of materials, including some already in our possession, consisting of letters independently composed by teenagers or in concentrated efforts addressed to key figures in the government, particularly the Ministers of Education. These letters pertained to issues that were at the forefront of the national agenda. Notable among these are the letters sent by the 'Shaminists' (senior students) to Prime Ministers and Ministers of Education. These letters dealt with foreign policy and military recruitment matters. The first and most renowned of these letters, dated April 1970, ignited significant reactions and sparked a flurry of letters expressing both support and opposition. Some of these letters were authored by teenagers themselves and were featured in the reader-writer sections of daily newspapers, while others were directed to Prime Minister Golda Meir and the then Minister of Education Alon. Our possession includes a substantial number of these letters, retrieved from both the daily press and the state archive relevant files. The majority of these letters expressed opposing views to the letter.

A comparable corpus of letters, sent by high school students to the Minister of Education, Yitzhak Navon, was collected as part of a prior investigation focused on education policy for democracy. These letters relate to responses to the 'Kach' movement (lead by Meir Kahane) and its intention to run for the Knesset in 1988. These letters (and certainly there are others, which we hope to locate during the research) show the increasing degree of involvement of high school students from the 1970s on issues defined as national and political.They exhibit well-founded perspectives and an active involvement in topics that held significance within Israeli society. Notably, this involvement extended beyond issues strictly associated with education, culture, or intergenerational tensions.

However, it's crucial to acknowledge that this statement is preliminary, as the bulk of our research remains ahead of us, and only a limited number of sources directly reflecting the voices of youth have surfaced thus far. Gaining access to these sources is a central challenge of our research, as certain materials may never have made their way into archives, and others may not have been preserved at all.

We have also initiated exploratory research through a series of preliminary interviews with individuals who were politically active during their youth in the years encompassed by our study. To date, we have conducted four interviews with former youth activists who were involved in various parts of the political spectrum, including those associated with the Maki youth, signatories of the 24th letter, and Beitar youth. It is important to note that this aspect of our research is still in its initial stages, and we are actively working towards conducting a more extensive number of interviews. We plan to expand our interviewee pool through the snowball method, as well as by identifying additional names from the archival documents that we are in the process of locating.

**D. Research Conditions**

We have at our disposal the resources provided by the libraries of Tel Hai and Hakibbutzim academic colleges, as well as the Haifa University (Kidron being a research fellow at the university). These libraries provide access to important databases related to the field.

In addition, we have access to several potential research assistants (outstanding MA students in relevant studied, that we hope we will be able to employ as research assistants.

•Archives with potential relevant documents are located in Israel, and can be easily accessed.