NATIONAL IDENTITY - NATIONAL UNITY

THE INTEGRATIONAL ASPECT OF ADULT EDUCATION

IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MODERN STATE OF ISRAEL

1948 - 1973

by

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Department of Educational Theory

A Thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements

for the Degree of Doctor of Education

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ABSTRACT

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A qualitative, grounded theory methodology was used in this study to explore how selected adult educators in Israel, perceive and assess adult education as a strategy for the development of National Identity - National Unity (NI-NU) within the modern State of Israel: 1948 - 1973. The methodology is an inductive approach that relies heavily on the data from interviews and observation to build a theory 'grounded' in the data rather than to test a theory or merely describe empirical phenomena. The method required the use of theoretical sampling in data collection and analysis. The researcher collected data from thirty-one interviews with selected adult educators, who became the 'primary personnel' (ie policy makers); with some program implementers and participant evaluators included. The interviews (and related material from observations and publications) were recorded, transcribed, coded and categorized in related sections.

Fifteen primary factors were identified that connect modern Israeli Identity to traditional Jewish Identity. The study briefly describes the historical and philosophical background of adult education in Israel including a descriptive analysis of the contribution made to NI-NU by seven primary adult education agencies: 1) The Ministry of

Education and Culture (Department of Adult Education and Department of
Torah Culture); 2) Ulpanim (Hebrew language studies); 3) Israel Defence
Force (IDF); 4) Kibbutzim (collective farms); 5) Histadrut (Trades'
Unions);   6) Community Centers and 7) Moshavim (Co-operative farms).
An assessment of cultural pluralism and minority groups as each relates
to NI-NU is examined along with the contribution of religion in Israel
to NI-NU.

On the basis of the interviews with selected adult educators,
a substantive theory was inductively developed to explain the integrational
aspect of adult education among the Jewish citizens of Israel. It states
that the closer one moves towards an integration of Jewish Identity with
Israeli Identity, the stronger ones sense of National Identity -
National Unity will be with the State of Israel. The study shows that
the goal and direction of adult education in Israel (1948 - 1973) was
towards National Identity - National Unity.

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The adult educators in Israel, who willingly participated in the interviews from which such valuable data and personal understandings emerged of the development of adult education in Israel.

The personal friends who shared in this project with encouragement, financial assistance and prayers.

To each of you I offer my warm thanks for what you have done, and become, to me as an adult learner.

DEDICATION

This thesis represents the formal culmination of a three year learning project. I dedicate it with love and appreciation to my wife Rita, and our two sons David and Michael, who shared in it all the way to Jerusalem, and in Judea and Samaria and....

INTRODUCTION

In January, 1979, I introduced a visiting lecturer from

Haifa, to my wife Rita and our two sons, David and Michael.

As we shared dinner together, we gained new insights into

life in his homeland - Israel. At that time, I was mid way

through my doctoral studies in adult education at O.I.S.E.

(The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education) in Toronto.

Living in the rural community of Beamsville, in the picturesque

Niagara peninsula, we were a hundred kilometers by car from

Toronto - and the nearest major Jewish community. I confessed

to having an interest in Israel, as a practicing Christian,

having completed a comparative education term paper about

adult education in Israel. Our guest, after hearing of our

interest, asked if we had ever considered going to Israel,

to study what adult educators were doing in the development

of their nation. Our guest was Dr. Eitan Israeli. On

August 21, 1979 at 2:40 P.M. we landed in Israel.

Why Israel? That was the question I was asked whenever

I introduced my research topic. With a non koshered name

like Cunningham, they knew I was probably not Jewish. Why

then did I bring my wife and children and invest a year of

my life to study adult education in Israel? Apart from the

standard answers relating to 'the exciting things happening

in the land of Israel today', I found myself answering the

question in a somewhat Jewish fashion - with another

question: "Does a woman ever wonder what it is like to be
a man? Does 'coming from' as taught in Torah cause a woman
to wonder 'what it would be like' as part of her own under-
standing of self-identity?" If the answer to my question
was 'yes', I would then add, "Perhaps that is why I chose
to come to Israel!"

The late professor of adult education, Dr. Coolie Verner,
from the University of British Columbia, wrote in his letter
of reference for my acceptance into the doctoral program at
OISE, "...approaches his studies pragmatically and seeks
practical and useful knowledge that he can apply immediately..."
My goal was like that of the unknown philosopher who said he
tried to 'keep his education from interfering with his
learning'. How adult education in Israel is perceived as a
strategy for national identity and national unity became part
of my 'education'. The people, the sonic booms, the smells
of the Old City, the haggling, the tensions and the warm
hospitality, were part of my 'learning'. This paper is
presented as a blending of both.

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

This paper will present how selected adult educators in
Israel perceive and assess adult education as a strategy for
the development of National Identity - National Unity, (NI-NU)
in the modern State of Israel: 1948-1973.

Israel, as a modern developing nation, witnessed the
influx of Jewish immigrants from literally 'the four corners
of the earth'. They arrived from their 102 host countries,
with widely divergent cultures and a linguistic variety of
eighty-one mother tongues,[1] yet they had one point in common
- they were Jewish. Some were well educated, articulate
Jews from a western or European style 'Ashkenazi'[2] background.
Others arrived with a limited formal education, yet possessed
a rich heritage in the traditions of the North African
'Oriental' Jew.[3] Some were devoutly orthodox in their
religious observance, while others classified themselves
unashamedly as atheistic, with little knowledge of or interest
in Jewish religious teachings.[4] Some arrived alone as des-
titute refugees of the Nazi Holocaust or Muslim persecutions
in neighbouring Arab countries.[5] Others came as financially
independent family units from North American, European and
South African Jewish communities. Some professed an open
endorsement of the philosophy of Karl Marx and came to
pioneer a model socialist society. Others believed in the
spirit of free enterprise and saw in the building of Israel

an opportunity for entrepreneur initiative. Most came as

committed Zionists,[6] believing in the right of the Jewish

people to have a homeland under their full control. A few

believed that a formal nation should only be established

under Messiah, but came to prepare for His arrival. Such

was the portrait of Jewish immigrants arriving in Israel

after the formation of the State on May 14, 1948. These

new immigrants took up residence with the 600,000 Jewish

citizens living in the land, to accept the common task of

developing an acceptable expression of National Identity

that would lead to a bonding form of National Unity.

Israel is a 'new' nation, although the history of a

Jewish presence in Palestine,[7] records a 'remnant' surviving

in the land from the Destruction of 70 C.E. (Current Era)

until the time of the First Aliyah (1882-1903).[8] With the

establishment of the Jewish state,[9] came the responsibility

for feeding, housing, governing and protecting themselves.

These are established responsibilities for all societies, but

for the Jewish people after nineteen hundred years of dis-

persion, they became a reality.

Israel is a 'pioneer' nation. The land is a rugged land.

Mark Twain in 1854 referred to it as a "God forsaken land.[10]

The lowlands were covered with malarial breeding swamps. The highlands were rock strewn denuded hills - blistering hot in the summer, cold and wet in the winter. The Jewish poet Gouri described Palestine in the early 1920's as 'a deserted land conceived by disaster'.[11] This was to become the new Jewish homeland, the Zionist dream of Israel's vigorous pioneers. Sheer physical strength harnessed with increasing techno- logical skills, transformed wastelands into productive farms. The 'kibbutz' [12] and 'moshav',[13] developed the land with a lifestyle model that has made the words known beyond Israel's border.

Israel is a 'threatened' nation. Four major military confrontations have occurred during the first twenty-five years of nationhood: The War of Independence, 1948-49; the Sinai Campaign, 1956; The Six Day War, 1967; and the Yom Kippur War, 1973. The effects of these hostilities on the economic development of the nation and the individuals living within it are intense and deeply personal.

Israel is a 'zealous' nation. Study and learning are part of a Jewish tradition that dates back to the Patriarchs of the Jewish faith.[14] It has found expression in the modern nation through a humanistic view of man that says:

> We have faith in the ordinary citizen of our
> country whatever his origin...we believe it is
> possible to educate the adult human being, to
> bring out and strengthen the finest elements
> of his nature, to help him rise in stature and
> understanding, to equip him to contribute his
> gifts and capacities to the life of the community.(15)

To have such a zealous commitment to the individual human
worth, within the overriding socialist framework of the modern
state was Bezalel Shachar's mandate to adult educators.

Israel is a 'religious' nation. Apart from being the
physical 'homeland' for the world's three major monotheistic
religions - Judaism, Christianity and Islam - it is 'home' for
members of the Druze, [16] Samaritan, [17] and Ba'hai [18] religions.
Whether 'Orthodox-observant' or 'secular-atheistic' on the
spectrum of personal faith, each Jewish citizen of Israel
relates in some manner with the common ancestry held by the
Jewish people to 'Eretz Israel'. [19]

After interviewing ninety-six Israeli citizens, Epp noted:
"all - young or old, socialistic or capitalistic, Ashkenazi or
Sephardic, [20] European or Oriental, Russian or American, re-
ligious or non-religions, - all were Israelis." [21] How does
one encourage citizens of a country to identify with common goals
and to unite with common concerns? This is a challenge facing
many nations in the world today. It is one of the challenges
that adult educators in Israel have related to since its for-
mation as a State.

FOOTNOTES - BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1. Official statistics received from an interview with
    President Navon, May 1, 1980, (see Appendix C).

2. "The Ashkenazim consist of Jews of European origin
    and their descendants, including most of North and
    South American Jewry. Most Ashkenazi families spoke
    - or at least understood - Yiddish at some point in
    their history." (p.30 of Society. 'Israel Pocket
    Library' originally published in Encyclopedia Judaica,
    Jerusalem: Keter Books, 1974.)

3. "The Oriental Jews lived in almost all areas in the
    Middle East and North Africa after the destruction of
    the Second Commonwealth in 70 AD." (p.49 Smooha: 1978)

    The term today means primarily Jews from Muslim
    countries - i.e. from Morocco to Pakistan and all
    of North Africa.

4. Smooha quotes Rosenak (1971) who identifies five public
    attitudes regarding state and religion in Israel:

    (a) Jews who deny Israel's Jewish significance.
         Some ultra-Orthodox Jews, especially Jerusalem's
         N'ture Karta sect...hold the anti-Zionist idea
         that Israel is a manifestation of false Messianism.
         They see themselves as a Jewish community within a
         non-Jewish state.

    (b) Jews who consider the state a development of
         Divine Providence. Orthodox Jews who believe
         Israel is the dawn of the redemption. They seek
         to strengthen the Jewish character of the state
         by religious legislation.

    (c) Jews who seek new religious norms within a Jewish
         state. Semi-observant Jews, Conservative and
         Reform congregations, followers of Martin Buber,
         opposing both traditional Orthodoxy and secular
         nationalism. Israel is a new phase in Judaism.

    (d) Jews who view Judaism as a secular national culture.
         Secular Zionists. Israel is the carrier of the
         revived Jewish culture (Hebrew language, etc.)

(e) Jews who reject Judaism. Secularist non-Zionists who perceive Israel as the cradle of indigenous (Semetic' or 'Hebrew) culture.

The extreme two (a) and (e) are tiny fractions of the population. The two dominant groups are (b) and (d). (c) is still in a formative stage. (p. 78-79) (Smooha - 1978)

5. Roumani (1978) gives a detailed account in The Case of the Jews from Arab Countries: A Neglected Issue of the Displacement of Jews from Arab countries. p.2.

"In 1948, there were over 800,000 Jews living in the Arab countries of the Middle East and North Africa.

Estimated Jewish Populations in Arab Countries

	1948	1976
Morocco	265,000	17,000
Algeria	140,000	500
Tunisia	105,000	2,000
Libya	38,000	20
Egypt	75,000	100
Iraq	135,000	400
Syria	30,000	4,350
Lebanon	5,000	500
Yemen	55,000	1,000
Aden	8,000	0
	856,000	25,870

6. Zionism has many definitions. It is understood as the belief in the right of the Jewish people to return to Palestine and establish their own nation. Theodore Herzl writing in 1896 said:

"The Jews who want a State of their own shall have one. We are to live at last as free men on our own soil and die peacefully in our own home and the world will be freed by our freedom, enriched by our riches and made greater by our greatness."

Herzl: The Jewish State (1970) p.7.

Herzl's goal in the Jewish State was nothing less than
the regeneration of the Jewish nation as a political
entity. Zionism is the belief that this State is to be
formed in Palestine.

7. Samuel Katz in "The Jewish Presence in Palestine" Chapter
    four of the book: Battleground - Fact and Fantasy in
    Palestine. (1973), states: "the
    popular conception has been that all Jews who survived
    the Destruction of 70 C.E. went into exile and that their
    descendants began coming back 1,800 years later. This is
    not a fact. One of the most astonishing elements in the
    history of the Jewish people - and of Palestine, is the
    continuity in the face of circumstances, of Jewish life
    in the country." p.7.

8. 'Aliyah' means literally 'to come up', or to immigrate.
    The clusters of immigration to Israel were called 'waves'
    of aliyah and were grouped around key years. (prior to
    the formation of the State in 1948)
    1882-1903: First Aliyah - 25,000 Jews, mostly Russians.
    1904-1913: Second Aliyah - 40,000 Jews from Eastern
        Europe. They gave Jews in Palestine three in-
        gredients vital for its future independence. The
        kibbutz, the 'Hashomer' (Watchman) a Jewish defence
        organization, and Tel Aviv (1909) as a separate
        Jewish quarter from Arab Jaffa.
    1919-1922: Third Aliyah - 35,000 Jews from Europe and the
        USA. In 1920 the Histadrut was formed. It agreed to
        share responsibility for the Jewish communities self-
        defence thus linking the socialist and military move-
        ments from the beginning.
    1923-1928: Fourth Aliyah - 60,000 mainly Polish. In 1928
        emigration exceeded immigration due to depression and
        financial difficulties.
    1934-1939: Fifth Aliyah - 225,000 mainly Germans.
        Immigration was limited by Britain after 1939 to
        10,000 Jews a year.
    from:
    Segre, V.D. A Society in Transition. (1971), pp.58-61 (see
    also: Facts About Israel. (1980), pp. 40-50. Immigration
    and Settlement. (1973), pp. 13-34.)

9. That Israel was to be a 'Jewish State' is clearly described
    in the 'Declaration of the Establishment of the State of
    Israel'. Excerpts state: (researcher's underlining)

    "Eretz Israel was the birthplace of the Jewish people. Here
    their spiritual, religious and political identity was shaped.
    Here they first attained   statehood, created cultural
    values of national and universal significance and gave to
    the world the eternal Book of Books."

    "On the 29th November, 1947, the United Nations General
    Assembly passed a resolution calling for the establishment
    of a Jewish State in Eretz Israel."

    "The State of Israel will be open for Jewish immigration....."

    "We appeal to the Jewish people throughout the diaspora to
    rally round the Jews of Eretz-Israel in the tasks of immi-
    gration and upbuilding and to stand by them in the great
    struggle for the realization of the age-old dream - the
    redemption of Israel."

10. Quotes taken from personal notes made at the 30th Anniversary
    of Ulpan, in Tel Aviv, December 18, 1979.

11. Same as above.

12. Kibbutz (pl. kibbutzim) see footnote 113, chapter IV;
    a settlement in Israel based mainly on agriculture, but
    engaging also in industry.

13. Moshav, smallholder's cooperative agricultural settlement
    in Israel.

14. See detailed account of the importance of study to the
    Jewish tradition in
    Lifelong Learning Among Jews. Goldman, (1975), p.1
    "Beginning in Biblical times, going back to the days of
    Moses, the commandment of God imposed the duty of constant
    study upon every adult Jew...every male adult is obligated
    to study Torah in order to teach his sons...this book of
    the day shall not depart out of thy mouth, but thou shalt
    meditate therein day and night." (Joshua 1:8)

15. Shachar, (1962) p.4.

16. The Druze of Israel numbered under 38,000 people in 1973 (less than 1% of the total population). They are followers of a secret, monotheistic religion which split from Islam in the 11th Century. Reincarnation, meditation and code words make their neo-Platonic faith most mysterious. They are loyal to the State of Israel and serve in the Israeli Army. (from: "Liberation, Druse-style: A Secretive Society" Jerusalem POST Magazine, Friday, January 4, 1980, p.5.)

17. A remnant of ancient Samaritans - Jews who intermarried with Assyians and were subsequently rejected from Jewish worship services live in Israel. They developed their own form of sacrifice and traditions. Less than 500 live in Israel (1980) Mt. Gerizim (Nablus) is the site of their annual Samaritan Passover sacrifice. (Personal information obtained during visit to Annual Sacrifice, April 28, 1980).

18. The Ba'hai faith is an independent world religion founded by Baha'u'lah. He was exiled to Palestine in the late 1800's. The world headquarters is now located in Haifa, Israel.

19. 'Eretz-Israel' - Land of Israel: Palestine. (See Appendix E)

20. Sephardic Jews in the strict sense are those speaking Ladino (Judeo-Spanish) or their descendants. They have the longest continuous history in the land, dating back to the 15th century. Most today would identify Spanish, Bulgarian, Turkish or Greek immigrants as 'Sephardic'. (From: Society. p.33.)

21. Epp (1980) p. 173.

CHAPTER 1

METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

The Mode of Inquiry

The qualitative, grounded theory methodology was chosen for this study to permit interaction between the researcher and selected adult educators in Israel (herein called: 'primary personnel'). It was the desire of the researcher to meet the primary personnel on a personal basis in order that they could tell how they perceive and assess adult education as a strategy for the development of National Identity - National Unity (NI-NU) within the modern State of Israel. The researcher wanted the data to emerge from the primary personnel rather than from pre-conceived theories or ideas.

The development of grounded theory is an inductive approach to research that focuses on social interaction and relies heavily on data from interviews and observations, from which one builds a theory grounded in the data rather than to test theory or merely describe empirical phenomena. [1] Grounded theory is an in-depth analysis of social systems based on collection of data from major actors in an ongoing naturalistic system. [2] This method requires an entry into the investigation with a minimization of preconceptions. The emphasis is on building explanations of social processes from an in-depth study of naturalistic social situations, the frequent use of observations and interviews of people involved, collection of detailed qualitative data and comparative analysis. [3] The basic difference between an experimental study and a qualitative study lies in testing as

opposed to building a theory. Glaser and Strauss (1967)

state in The Discovery of Grounded Theory:

> In experimental studies there is an attempt to
> test a given theory, be it broad or specific.
> The experimental study uses basically quanti-
> tative methods to verify that the independent
> variable or variables account for the results
> of the experiment. In the qualitative method
> there is no pre-planned theory. (4)

It is the grounded theory which emerges from the comparative

analysis of the data that eventually explains and predicts

behavior in the substantive area under study. As Glaser and

Strauss go on to explain:

> The difference between an inductive exploratory
> method of research and the grounded theory
> approach is that the latter not only assembles
> data, analyzes it and crystallizes the emerging
> common patterns, but it also builds up a theory,
> grounded in the data, which explains and pre-
> dicts. (5)

As Darkenwald says, the grounded theory approach has special

problems for the researcher; however, it promises a rewarding

experience.

> Grounded theory research is more difficult to do
> than the typical descriptive or experimental
> study...there are special problems with grounded
> theory. Most vexing is the lack of easily under-
> stood, codified rules for the collection and ana-
> lysis of qualitative data and the construction
> of theory....Another practical problem is the
> amount of effort required. Much time must be
> spent in the field collecting the data, a wealth

of data must be transcribed and analyzed, and
writing grounded theory tends to be more onerous
than reporting the results of conventional re-
search. The caveats aside, grounded theory can
be a rewarding experience both personally and
professionally. Getting out of the library or
computer center and into the world of educational
practice can be exhilirating and enlightening, as
can the opportunity to attempt something more than
the often pedestrian study that passes for a 'con-
tribution to knowledge'. (6)

Data Collecting, Coding and Analyzing

Theoretical Sampling

Glaser and Strauss assert that "theoretical sampling is the

process of data collection for generating theory whereby the

analyst jointly collects, codes and analyzes his data and decides

what data to collect next and where to find them, in order to

develop his theory as it emerges...the initial decisions are not

based on a preconceived theoretical framework." [7] They dis-

tinguish between the theoretical and the statistical sampling by

stating:

> Theoretical sampling is done in order to dis-
> cover categories and their properties and to
> suggest the interrelationships into a theory.
> Statistical sampling is done to obtain accurate
> evidence on distributions of people ,among cate-
> gories to be used in descriptions or verifica-
> tions. (8)

Theoretical sampling is the 'heart' of the grounded theory

approach to collecting and analyzing the data. This researcher

collected data from interviews and personal observations. The

data was coded and placed in common categories based on content

analysis. As tapes were transcribed and data added to the coded categories, a concentration of material began to cluster around specific sections or topics. By continuous analysis of the categories it was possible to establish patterns of content development and where more data was required. Table 1 in Appendix A shows the agency/area of competency of the primary personnel and the number of interviews conducted with individuals from that agency/area of competency.

Data Collection

The techniques of data collection were relatively straightforward. The selection of the primary personnel was guided by Dr. Israeli, who served as a 'resident advisor' to the researcher on behalf of the OISE thesis committee. The decision was made by the researcher, after consultation with Dr. Israeli, to choose primary personnel who were able to fulfill the following criterion. First, it was desired that each one have a historical association with adult education as a contributing policy maker to the field through writing, pioneering programs or administrative leadership. Second, each one had to represent one or more of the primary historical adult education agencies in existence during the period of time under study. It was agreed that additional personnel would be considered as their names emerged from referrals by the initial contacts, or as a need arose to investigate their contribution to adult education.

Contact was made with the primary personnel by a letter of introduction or telephone call (often made by the advisor on behalf of the researcher) to explain the purpose of the project. The willingness with which the primary personnel participated in the project was a major factor in acquiring the necessary data. The majority of the interviews were scheduled at the office of the primary personnel. This permitted an occasion to view the facilities of the agency. Some interviews were conducted in the home of the primary personnel which is a symbolic evidence of the informality the researcher found in Israeli society. Such visits afforded a privileged vignette of the interviewee's home environment, family, and/or such personal values as hobbies, library etc.

A cassette-recorder with a built-in microphone was used to record the conversation. Later the tapes were transcribed along with personal notes taken at the time. Only one person requested no taping of the interview. A few of the meetings listed in Appendix A were conducted with personal notes made at a later time without a transcribed tape. After the meeting with President Navon, a request was made by his office that the entire interview be placed in the paper as an 'Appendix' rather than phrases being lifted out of context. (see Appendix C)

The time together ranged from under an hour to over two
hours. Depending on other factors such as interruptions, coffee,
or tours of the facilities, the time together may have been ex-
tended beyond the formal 'taped segment' portion. In a few cases
an invitation was extended to the researcher to meet with the
primary personnel at a future more informal occasion. Meetings
that included a visit to the program facilities of the adult
education agency, provided an opportunity to meet additional staff
members, observe adult participants in the physical setting of the
adult education programs, and meet participants on an informal
basis. Some of the primary personnel took the initiative to
suggest, "You must meet...." and offered to arrange a contact with
that individual on behalf of the researcher. A number made re-
sources available from their agency library for further investi-
gation. Some offered personal copies of agency publications or
personal articles.

The initial interviews evidenced that certain adult educators
in Israel were corporately regarded as the primary personnel for
the stated research question. Being a somewhat small nation, with
a close awareness of what is happening in one's field of speciali-
zation, the 'old-timers' in adult education (serving from 1948 on)[9]
tended to know one another quite intimately. This assured the
researcher that the primary personnel chosen for the study were
respected formulators of adult education policy in Israel in their
areas of specialty. Another observable phenomenon was that the
'height of the heirarchy' between policy maker, program implementer,

and participant evaluator was very low in Israel. Many of the policy makers evolved from being a one time participant, through the level of program facilitator, to become a policy maker. This gave added validity to the data received from these individuals. [10]

An inherent question in the qualitative methodology is when to stop collecting data or when 'theoretical saturation' has taken place. In this study it occurred when it was observed that comments being made by the primary personnel about factors related to how adult education was viewed as a strategy for the development of national identity and national unity began to 'repeat' in later interviews. Two further parameters of the study helped move the collection of the data to a 'saturation point'. First the study was limited to the first twenty-five years of the modern State of Israel: 1948-1973. Many of the one hundred and eighty-eight agencies registered with the Adult Education Association of Israel, [11] emerged in the later years of the study or after 1973. Since the primary thrust of the study was to connect with the 'historical' agencies and the primary personnel active in the first years of nation building, the study tended to focus on primary personnel with the following 'primary agencies': 1) The Ministry of Education - Department of Adult Education and Torah Culture; 2) Ulpanim (language schools for Hebrew);[11a] 3)Israel Defence Force-(IDF); 4) Kibbutzim; 5) Histradut - Labor Union; 6) Community Centers [12] and 7) Moshavim.

Secondly, the study specifically focused on adult education

within the predominately Jewish segment of the total population

in the Jewish State of Israel.[13] The primary personnel directed

the major portion of their comments in the taped conversations

to the role of adult education within the Jewish population.[14]

Analyzing the Data and Building the Theory

> According to Mezirow, a grounded theory, involves
> the development of conceptual categories, applicable
> to and indicated by the data and relevant to an ex-
> planation of the behavior under study. This approach
> means that the researcher would go into the field,
> free of predetermined theoretical constraints, to
> construct analytical categories out of the qualita-
> tive similarities and differences which emerge from (15)
> the study of situations.

Glaser and Strauss assert that the elements of grounded theory are

generated by comparative analysis and they are first, conceptual

categories and their conceptual properties; and second, they are

hypotheses or generalized relations among the categories and their

properties.[16]

The first phase in the analysis of the data was to gather

all the transcribed interviews and begin to code the responses

of the primary personnel into categories. This process

evolved through four phases from late 1979 to July, 1980. As

additional data was transcribed the overlapping content was drawn

together in related categories. (See Appendix F). Major 'sections'

of categories emerged that focused on aspects of the National Identity

National Unity question. These were: Adult Education in Israel
(general history). Forces contributing to National Identity.
The Contribution of Selected Adult Education Agencies to NI-NU;
The Relationship of Cultural Pluralism to NI-NU. The contribution
of Religion to NI-NU.   The Relationship of Minority Groups to
NI-NU.

The next phase of data analysis took place about mid-way
through the collection of data, with the formulation of a con-
ceptual model: 'A System of National Identity-National Unity
within the State of Israel, 1948-1973'. This model, described
in Chapter V   is not a substantive theory itself, rather
it is an attempt to visually portray the goal and direction of
adult education as a strategy for NI-NU as it relates to each
segment of the Israeli society. This conceptual model did per-
mit a recoding of the data that indicated a similarity between
the sections of the data and the thrust of the model. An im-
portant part of the project was to identify how the primary
personnel defined the terms National Identity - National Unity.
This was a crucial step as the emerging grounded theory required
the researcher to have a clear understanding of what these terms
meant in the data received from the primary personnel. How one
perceives and assesses adult education as a strategy for the
development of NI-NU will be affected by how NI-NU is defined.

Chapter III is a detailed exposition of the definitions of National Identity - National Unity and how the adult educators perceive and assess adult education as a strategy for the development of those defined terms. Chapter VI develops the integration of the categories into a substantive theory.

In the grounded theory methodology there is always the question of validity. This researcher suggeststhe following ways of validation: (a) reviewing and reconstructing the various phases of data collection and analysis. This can be done on the basis of the transcribed conversations, observations, interim reports, coded categories, and coded sections as they emerged. The 'conceptual model' and the theory chapters of this study are based totally on the transcribed and coded data. Such review and reconstruction will enable the reader to follow the phases of the study and judge its validity; (b) putting the theory into practise in the field and checking its applicability; and (c) assessing the theory on the basis of the prima facie explanatory power of the major categories and the logical validity of their integration. Verification of the hypotheses derived from the theory would provide the most powerful and convincing evidence of validity.

The researcher believes there exists a need to test the emergent theory from this study in the light of the post-1973 changes in the Israeli society. In 1979 the rate of emigration

from the country rose to a level near the rate of immigration
to the country. By the admission of government sources this
is an undesirable situation. [17] Rather than invalidating what
has been done, or the success of the historical effort of the
adult educators, the suggestion is made in the summary, that
the time has come to reflectively consider the valuable contri-
bution of adult educators during the first twenty-five years of
statehood, and how this foundation can be built upon to make
National Identity - National Unity an ongoing reality.

There are problems and rewards with the qualitative metho-
dology. This researcher wondered at first, if an English
speaking western Canadian Christian would be able to acquire
accurate data from the primary personnel and interpret it with
a minimum of personal bias. The warm encouragement from the
primary personnel helped alleviate these concerns. They noted
that for the same reasons, content could be given by the primary
personnel that might have less internal emotional bias for the
researcher. This was seen as a positive opportunity for the
research project to be beneficial for the adult educators and
agencies in Israel, as well as others seeking to understand the
role of adult education in the development of National Identity -
National Unity in the modern State of Israel. The investment of
time and energy to personally meet the primary personnel in their

national environment - and share that homeland with them for a
year - continues to pay rich dividends, that indicate the wisdom
of the methodology selected for this project.

1. Gordon G. Darkenwald, "Field Research and Grounded Theory."
    Published by the Adult Education Association of the U.S.A.,
    1973. (mimeographed) p. 1. (obtained from Dr. Israeli in
    his unpublished dissertation). Published also in: Huey B.
    Long, Roger Hiemstra and Associates. Changing Approaches
    to Studying Adult Education. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass,
    1980, pp. 65-77.

2. Alan B. Knox, "Criteria for Doctoral Dissertations in Adult
    Education," Cogito (Action and Knowledge in Adult Education),
    Teachers College, Columbia University, No. 2. November, 1971,
    p. 17.

3. Ibid, p. 17.

4. Barney G. Glaser and Anselem L. Strauss. The Discovery of
    Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research. (1967),
    p. 20.

5. Ibid, p. 20.

6. Darkenwald, op. cit., pp. 2-3.

7. Glaser and Strauss, op, cit., p. 45.

8. Ibid, p. 62

9. The 1978 Survey of Adult Education Personnel in Israel
    indicates that 76% of the adult educators have lived in Israel
    twenty years and more. "44.7% of the 'supervisors, directors
    and headmasters' (i.e. policy makers) had immigrated to Israel
    before 1948." The Henrietta Szold Institute: Research Report
    No. 194, Publication No. 554a, Jerusalem, 1978, p. 16.

10. It appears from the Szold's publication that many of the adult
    educators who 'evolved' to the policy positions also furthered
    their own formal education. "59.1% of the 'directors' (i.e.
    policy makers) were university graduates." Ibid. p. 22.

11. Statistics received by the researcher from the Annual Report
    of the Adult education Association of Israel, at their Annual
    Meeting, held in Tel Aviv, December 17, 1979.

11a. 'Ulpanim' were originally one of the major agencies within
    both the Ministry of Education and the Histadrut. Due to its
    special impact on the field of education in Israel it will be
    regarded as a 'separate' agency for this study.

12. The Community Centers in Israel began as a formal Corporation of Community Centers in 1969, with a small number of centers. However, their phenomenal growth to over 100 centers by 1979 is an evidence of their influential role as an adult education agency making a contribution to Israeli society towards the end of the study time period.

13. The Jewish population of Israeli Society in 1973 was 85.1% (see 1973 Government of Israel Handbook entitled 'Aspects of Israel', Jerusalem: Government Publication, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1974.)

14. The phrase 'I am only speaking of Jews' or 'I am only re-ferring to adult education within the 'Green Line' (pre-1967 borders) was a recurring comment or explanation, given by primary personnel. The reverse of this was experienced when a government official from Gaza studying Hebrew at Ulpan Akiva was asked by the researcher about 'Adult Education in Israel'. His reply was, 'I know nothing about adult education in Israel, I live in Gaza!'

15. Jack D. Mezirow, "Toward a Theory of Practice," Adult Education, (1971) p. 143.

16. Glaser and Strauss, op. cit., p. 35.

17. MacLean's Magazine, 'Exodus of the Disenchanted', January 5, 1981, p. 21.

    "Since Israel was founded 32 years ago, 270,000 people have left the country...Official government figure based on people who have remained away for four years. The real figure is much higher partly because the rate of emigration has in-creased in the past four years (1975-1979). Some estimates put the number of Israelis and dependents living in the U.S. alone as high as 500,000, and the total living abroad at 800,000, or 20% of the Israeli population."

CHAPTER II

AN OVERVIEW OF THE

HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY OF ADULT EDUCATION IN ISRAEL

The history of adult education in Israel is deeply rooted in the history of the Jewish people. The Torah says that "Moses assembled all the Children of Israel"[1] ...that they may hear and that they may learn."[2] The priests and the Levites were to teach the fathers, who in turn were to "teach them diligently to your sons."[3] Goldman (1975) notes that over the ancient 'ark of the covenant' was written the words 'know before whom thou standest.' Without knowledge a Jew cannot truly worship Jehovah.[4] He adds, "there are rewards for learning that are intrinsic within the exercise itself. It is the duty of the Jew to learn, or as their honored men have said: 'We all need a little Torah Lishmah', or study of the Torah for its own sake."[5] Learning for a Jew was to covet the Lord God Jehovah. The ancient Jewish King Solomon recorded "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of knowledge,"[6] and again, "the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom."[7] For the ancient Jew the acquisition of knowledge and the application of that knowledge (i.e. wisdom) were linked to a knowledge of and love for God Himself. Israel's destiny has been tied for centuries to a covenant with God. From Abraham onward the people believed their heritage began with a meeting between

Abraham and the living God. God and man spoke together. They

negotiated understanding and communicated truth in a meeting of

'spiritual dialogue'. In his article,'The Meaning of Israel in

Jewish Thought', Seymour Siegel says,

> Jewish self-understanding still rests on
> the doctrine of closeness and covenant.
> It affirms that the Jewish people is not
> an ordinary people like all other peoples,
> but one called into being by God to serve
> His purpose in the world... consciousness
> of uniqueness, persistence of trust, eternal
> hope - this is Israel's covenant with the
> God of us all. (8)

Whatever the present religious orientation of the individual adult

educator in Israel, he/she must acknowledge the unique and im-

portant foundation that historical Judaism has laid for the

modern adult education movement in Israel.

The Jewish poet Bialik is quoted by Goldman as saying in 1934

that Jewish education of adults living in Israel must serve two goals:

> First to draw streams of Jewish knowledge from
> the heights of Mount Scopus (where the Hebrew
> University was established in 1918) in order
> to have them flow down to the lowlands where
> the masses of the people live...everyone who
> wishes can possess the Torah...Second, to re-
> vive among us the practice of setting aside
> fixed periods of time for Jewish study. With
> us Jews there is no such thing as an end of
> learning. (9)

Adult education was a 'way of life' for many of the adult Jewish

immigrants to Palestine, long before the formation of the State in

1948. In most of the Diaspora, [10] adult learning had remained

a high priority in spite of difficulties. Settlement in Israel
brought new learning responsibilities to cope with the staggering
reality of the Zionist dream. Adult education became a weapon for
survival - a common language had to be spoken, food had to be grown
and lives had to be protected. Grabelsky notes that,

> Adult education flourishes wherever there
> is social change and upheaval, at times
> when there is a sense of urgency and new
> situations have to be faced. (11)

If 'survival' generates a high motivational force for adult
learning, Israeli adult educators had a nation of ready learners.
However, the 'educators' in this land were not theoretical practi-
tioners. They were often adults who had 'gone ahead, learned and
survived' and were now sharing what they themselves had experienced.
A leader of adult education in the kibbutzim expressed his philo-
sophy of adult education when he said,

> If you really want to help people, the
> content of adult education must be the
> personal life problems of the people.
> The system or the basic strategy used
> (in adult education) has to facilitate
> meeting between people as they face
> similar problems, to search for those
> solutions...the formal academic aspects
> only facilitate the means to help them
> struggle with their needs. (12)

As people met, they worked together to solve mutual problems.
Adult education became a means to 'struggle with their needs'.
In his book, The History of Adult Education in Israel: 1900-1975,

Bezalel Shachar, a pioneer of adult education in the Trades'

Union   ('Histadrut'), outlines how each wave of immigration to

Palestine had to overcome specific problems to become integrated

into the energing nation of Israel. [13]

Israel had many 'beayot' (problems) to overcome. Philosopher

Martin Buber noted that "the serious problem is that settlements

from the diaspora are extremely different from each other in

character, language and way of life." [14] One adult educator called

them 'differences'. He said, "An immigrant to Israel gets differences,

wonderful differences - like the love for milk in the morning, or for

water in the morning, to have a nap in the afternoon, or not to have

a nap. In New York nothing 'naps' but in Caracas it is dead in the

afternoon." [15] Buber perceptively noted that,

> The original plan meant to unite its
> pioneers in a new unity, a center of
> unification which would overcome the
> material and social differences
> existing among the various communities. (16)

However, the original 'plan' of the socialist Zionist pioneers was

swept away by the historical waves of destitute refugees who arrived

in Eretz Israel after 1948. Yet unifying the people remained a high

priority. Buber adds:

> We have no choice but to become, within
> a very short time, a real national unity
> with a uniform culture and a uniform
> economy. This unity will not be born by
> external means. Where is the spiritual
> factor able to create it? This factor is
> adult education and nothing else. (17)

This urgency to assimilate newcomers and 'old-timers' into one
nation was revealed in the founding Declaration of the State of
Israel in 1948. It was established that:

> The State of Israel will be open for the
> immigration of all the Jews from all
> countries of the Diaspora. (The Law of
> Return - 18) The State will guarantee
> freedom of religion, conscience, edu-
> cation and culture. (19)

The new Knesset [20] moved quickly on March 19, 1949 to approve
the formation of the Ministry of Education and Culture, with
the following stated aims:

> To assure a proper cultural level
> for every man and woman in Israel
>
> To impart the Hebrew language to
> all immigrants.
>
> To translate the cultural treasures
> of the world into the Hebrew language.
>
> To foster the cultural and social
> amalgamation of the people who come
> from all countries in the Diaspora. (21)

The magnitude of the challenge was succinctly expressed by a
former Director of Adult education in the Ministry of Education
and Culture when he said, "There were only 600,000 of us in 1948.
By 1950 we were a million and a half. Our population had doubled
and we had to build a country." [22] The absorption of new immi-
grants was an immense economic, physical, social and spiritual
task. This was acknowledged by the founding Prime Minister,
David Ben Gurion in 1950 when he said,

> A large proportion of the immigrants
> come to us illiterate, with no Jewish
> or general learning...they come from
> backward, remote, lowly and victimized
> countries. The difficulties of spiritual
> absorption of the immigrants are no less
> than those of economic absorption. It
> requires a gigantic moral and educational
> effort and a profound and pure love to
> unify these neglected people, to share
> with them our national treasures and
> values, to integrate these once remote
> and oppressed communities into our
> society, culture, language and
> creativeness. (23)

Such was the challenge facing the citizens of the new nation.

Fortunately, a spirit of idealism existed. "In 1948, many

immigrants wanted to come and contribute to the country, to

volunteer and build the country. Everybody was very idealistic.

We were certain that every Jew would want to come and build this

land." [24] Many did come, and brought with them their particular

educational needs. One of the developers of the community center

programs in Israel noted, "After we became a State we had Arabs

within the population, plus waves of immigration from Islamic

countries. We knew that a lot of them were incapable of signing

their name. They could 'read' the Bible by quoting it from memory,

but they did not understand it." [25] One Israeli-born teacher of

adults, suggested that it may have been these conditions that

prompted Ben Gurion as Prime Minister to state:

> We must have one education system for
> every child. This led to the Compulsory
> Education Act. (26)
> We must have one army, not isolated
> defence units. This led to the formation
> of the Israel Defence Force in 1948. (27)
> We must have one nation of Jewish people.
> This led to the Law of Return, guaranteeing
> citizenship for Jewish people from the
> Diaspora. (see 18)
> We must have one language to unite the
> people from seventy countries (1948).
> This led to the first Ulpan (28) being
> formed in 1949. (29)

Such publicly stated goals have value in that they identify the primary values of the new nation. Sociologist Sammy Smooha writes, "publicly stated, collective goals, ascertained from public statements or overall ideologies expressed by spokesmen for each group are important - even if contradicted by unofficial pronouncements, 'hidden intentions' or incompatible policies."[30] From his investigation of the historical goals of the State of Israel, Smooha identifies three interrelated ideologies which dominate Israeli society. They are nationalism (Zionism), Socialism and modernization. [31] Such national slogans as 'one people, one language, one culture', witness to the proclaimed goal of national identity and cultural integration. A former adult educator in the Israeli Army noted that "all our lives we were concentrating on the slogan, 'What are we doing to make the people ONE?' - to feel an identity with the land, to make people feel they have a link with the history of Israel."[32] Smooha verifies that this was the intended goal of the nation's policy makers by quoting the following government source:

> The government will work systematically
> for the merging of all communities,
> veterans and newcomers. All communities
> will be assured of equal opportunity
> for full integration in Israel's economy
> and society, in education, culture and
> social life, and the steps will be taken
> to remove the economic gaps between
> communities. (33)

Buber cautiously warned the people, that he saw no future for

Israel or 'oneness' unless there was a return to the 'attach-

ment to eternal values'.[34] He believed this attachment could

only be obtained "by a real integration with the Jewish and

Hebrew reality of the nation and the land...eternal values must

be drawn from the national traditional values. There is a need

to bind the human truth and the Israeli reality into a new unity."[35]

From Buber's perspective, it appears that unity was to be achieved

through identity with national traditional values, and identity

was to be attained through unity with eternal values. To assist

both in becoming realities, Buber offered what he called "a few

essential guidelines for the teaching of adults from the immi-

grating masses:

> The Hebrew language must be taught
> not only for its own sake, but also
> as a bearer of our share in the
> eternal values. The Bible should
> be taught not only as a prime asset
> of our national culture, but also as
> the entrance of the nation of Israel
> into the world of eternal values...
> (and)...the History of Israel...even

> Geography...in short we should teach
> the students the reality of life,
> but we should open their eyes and
> hearts to see that it is only a means
> to the spiritual truth and its way
> in the world. (36)

This was the historical and philosophical 'climate' of education

in Israel in 1948. From this background of history, policy and

human need, adult educators began their task of working together

with the citizens of Eretz Israel in developing a National Identity

and National Unity.[37]

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER II - OVERVIEW OF HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY OF
ADULT EDUCATION IN ISRAEL

1. Exodus 35:1.

2. Deuteronomy 31:9-12.

3. Deuteronomy 6:7.

4. Israel Goldman, Lifelong Learning Among Jews: 'Adult Education
    in Judaism from Biblical Times to the Twentieth Century."
    (1975), p. 31.

5. Ibid. p. 44.

6. Proverbs 1:7.

7. Proverbs 9:10.

8. Siegel's article published in Evangelicals and Jews in
    Conversation on Scripture, Theology and History. Marc
    Tanembaum (1978), p. 117.

9. Goldman, (1975), p. 315.

10. Diaspora meaning 'the dispersion'. After the Destruction
    in 70 C.E. the Jewish people were dispersed throughout the
    world. In 1880 the world Jewish population was estimated
    at 7,646,000. Of this number 99.7% lived in the Diaspora
    and 0.3% lived in Palestine. By 1945/46 the world population
    was 10,784,000 (down from a pre-Holocaust total in 1939 of
    16,173,000). Of the 1945/46 figure, 95.0% lived in the
    Diaspora and 5.0% lived in Palestine. In 1972, with a world
    Jewish population of 10,640,000 souls, 79.6% lived in the
    Diaspora and 20.4% lived in Israel.

    Figures taken from The Population of Israel, Bachi (1974), p.75.

11. Ora Grabelsky "Trends in Adult Education in Israel", in
    Lifelong Education in Israel, Kalman Yaron (ed). (1972), p.35

12. Yehuda Bien, personal interview (3-12 p.1.)

A further note, "The struggle with life problems was really
the college for people to promote themselves. It was an
informal way of gaining. understanding and gaining skills,
and achieving also levels of knowledge."

13. Bezalel Shachar, History of Adult Education in Israel:
1900-1975. (1975).
(Excerpts translated from Hebrew for researcher by Israel
Pekin - Psychology Graduate Student at Hebrew University)
"Talmud Torah (Bible) was studied by Jews in Israel on a
lifelong basis...on the one side individually every man was
a learner - and on the institutional basis it was used as a
social experience for organization and being together for
the social value ...Here the Jew found his friends. He found
his society...Adult education was based on values of that
society   used as an identity card for its own existence."
(p. 50-51)

In 1886 another society was formed in Jerusalem called the
'Israeli Revival'. Their aims were to 1) revive the nation
of Israel; 2) raise it from its lowest point and build its
soul/pride; 3) to renew the Hebrew language and put it in
the mouth of the people and 4) to have the people speak Hebrew
in the market/streets etc. (p. 64)

During the Second Aliyah (1904-1917) adult education was ex-
pressed in the combination of a general Hebrew education, plus
a technical, agricultural or professional education...A special
committee of workers put their aims of cultural activities to-
gether as 1) to spread the Hebrew language as the main means
for cultural education; 2) to spread agricultural education in
the workers' groups; 3) to enlarge the historical, geographical
knowledge of the country; and 4) to increase understanding of
the settlement needs and social problems related to settlement
in Israel...for many there was 'no time' due to war and the
difficulties of living and surviving in Israel i.e.draining
swamps etc.

In 1917 attempts were made to organize libraries and clubs for
intellectual pursuits, but the social needs prevailed...the
goals of cultural education had to be blended with agricultural
and professional education.

During the Third Aliyah (1924) the influence of the English
made it difficult to revive the Hebrew language. Books were
printed by the Histadrut at a low cost for workers to en-
courage reading in Hebrew...Cultural activities grew during
the Third Aliyah pragmatically as a response to immediate
needs...Travellimg groups were formed called 'Yedyat Haretz'
- 'to know the country' which studied geography, history,
economics together.

During the Fourth Aliyah (1924-1929) the emphasis was again
on the learning of Hebrew.

National image is not so different from the development of a
personal identity. Jews develop their self image up to a
crisis, but then need rehabilitation (therapy, help etc.)
to repair the self image. In times of a national crisis there
has to be a time of evaluation of values from the past and pre-
sent behavior. After the crisis of the Holocaust unity became
important. National identity follows a process like an in-
dividual's development. To have a national identity you need
1) a group of people; 2) a territory; and 3) a language. Simi-
larly a self image requires 1) peer concepts of self image;
2) a family or heritage; 3) language - and expression of our
inner self.

During the Fifth Aliyah (1929-1948) the Hebrew University
began 'People Education'. This education of the people justi-
fies the existence of the University, not only for education
in the sense of an inventory of knowledge, but the public
university must create the 'mental unity' that we miss in this
country because we come from various countries. (p. 160.)

From 1948 on the needs of the clients of adult education were
1) the Hebrew language, 2) to fight illiteracy, 3) job re-
orientation and professional completion. There was direction
towards Bible learning, knowing your land, and antiquity re-
search, (archeology). These items strengthen your resources
in the land and look for the Jewish Israeli identity. Na-
tional identity was concerned with rehabilitating the self-
image of the Jews from the Holocaust. Newcomers could feel
rejected and lonely and depressed without a knowledge of
Hebrew. One of the major roles of Ulpan was to give back
self security to the immigrant.

14. Martin Buber, Adult Education, (1972), p. 10.

This brief pamphlet (17 pages) is an excellent review of
the development of adult education philosophy in Israel,
and the impact of Buber on the whole Israeli adult education
movement.

15. Shlomo Kodesh - personal interview (10-1-K)

16. Buber, op. cit., p. 10.

17. Ibid. p. 10.

18. "The Law of Return was the first law of the newly established
    country. It states that every Jew is entitled to return to
    Israel (with full citizenship) if he wants to...."from personal
    interview with Shlomo Kodesh (7-2-K).

19. Government Year Book, 5711 (Year 1950 C.E.) (1950), p. 44.

20. Knesset (meaning literally 'House') is the Parliament of Israel,
    the supreme Legislative Assembly, composed of 120 members.

    Israel is a secular, parliamentary, democratic republic.
    Elections to the Knesset are universal, countrywide, secret
    and proportional. Every citizen man or woman, is eligible
    to vote from the age of 18 and to be elected to hold office
    from the age of 21. The voter casts his ballot for the party
    of his choice, the country forming a single 120 member par-
    liamentary constituency, (from: Facts About Israel, (1980),
    p. 113.)

    Prime Ministers during the period of this paper:

          David Ben-Gurion - 1948-1954
          Moshe Sharett   - 1954-1955
          David Ben-Gurion - 1955-1962
          Levi Eshkol   - 1962-1968
          Golda Meir   - 1968-1974

21. Government Year Book, (1950), op. cit., p. 52.

22. Shlomo Kodesh personal interview (17.1-K)

    The official government census, November 8, 1948 listed 782,000
    inhabitants in Israel. 713,000 Jews and 69,000 'others' -
    Government Year Book, (1950), p. 59.

23. Government Year Book, (1950), op. cit., p. 35.

24. Ora Grabelsky - personal interview (84.1-OG)

25. Chaim Zippori - personal interview (84.5-CZ)

26. The Compulsory Education Law (1949) obliges every child
    up to the age of 14 to attend elementary school. Special
    Compulsory Schools are provided for boys who have not com-
    pleted their elementary studies at the proper age, new
    immigrants...and the culturally disadvantaged.

    (From Illiteracy to Literacy, Ora Grabelsky, (1970), p. 4.)

    "When we issued the Compulsory Education Law, we said each
    child shall get an education until the age of 14. But...
    we had no teachers, no buildings, no books. I was a super-
    visor. I remember that we sometimes had three shifts in one
    room. From 8 to 12 in the morning, from 12 to 4 in the
    afternoon and from 4 to 8 at night! Yet we had thousands
    come out with a basic education."

    (Shlomo Kodesh - personal interview (18.1-K)

27. The Israel Defence Forces (IDF) was established on May 26, 1948
    by the Provisional Government...Its first officers were drawn
    from para-military volunteer units created in the Mandatory
    period (British control 1917-1948): the Haganah and its
    spearhead, the Palmach; the Irgun Tz'vai Le'umi and Lehi, and
    men of the Jewish Brigade of the British Army...The IDF has
    three main elements: a regular army of officers and non-coms,
    the basic professional nucleus; national servicemen - all
    citizens from their 18th year - men serving for three years
    and unmarried women for two, and a reserve of all able-bodied
    men up to the age of 55, and women up to the age of 34.

    (Facts About Israel, (1980), p. 125.)

28. Ulpan means literally 'the studio' in Hebrew. It is a word
    derived from the root 'alef' - to teach or instruct. With the
    stated national goal that of making Hebrew the national language
    and the spoken vernacular of the Jews in Eretz Israel - the Ulpan
    was established in 1949 as a formal vehicle to provide teachers,

textbooks, terms of studies and a given syllabus for aiding
adult immigrants in the learning of their new 'mother ton-
gue'.

(Excerpts taken from 'The Diffusion of Hebrew' by Shlomo
Kodesh in Lifelong Education in Israel, edited by Kalman
Yaron, (1972), pp. 87-92)

29. Ora Grabelsky - personal interview (84.4-OG)

30. Sammy Smooha, Israel: Pluralism and Conflict. (1978),
    p. 76-77.

    Smooha's book was a helpful resource for this project from a
    sociological perspective.

    Dr. Smooha distinguishes five major plural divisions:
    Palestinian Arabs in the occupied territories vs Israeli
    Jews (a demographic ratio of 29:71), Israeli Arabs vs Jews
    (13:87), Druze vs Christian vs Muslim Arabs (9:16:75) re-
    ligious vs non-religious Jews (30:70) - (1977 ratios)

    From this range of plural divisions, Dr. Smooha selects
    three for close analysis - the Oriental-Ashkenazi division,
    the religious-nonreligious division (both within the Jewish
    population) and the Israeli Arab-Jewish division. (from the
    Forward, pp. xiv-xv by Leo Kuper).

31. Ibid. p. 76.

32. Abraham Tsivion - personal interview (25.4-AT)

33. Smooha, op. cit., p. 77.

34. Buber, op. cit., p. 11.

35. Ibid. p. 12.

36. Ibid. p. 12.

37. Researcher's observation from personal journal:

    "The adult educators I meet in Israel are from many walks of
    life and different ages,but I receive the impression, es-
    pecially from the older educators,that they are an 'embodiment'

of their own philosophy. ...they are sold on their way of
developing adult education. They are not saying 'ours is
the only way', yet they are all contributing in some manner
to the development of National Identity-National Unity.
(97.6-YB-p. 9)

CHAPTER III

FORCES CONTRIBUTING TO NATIONAL IDENTITY - NATIONAL UNITY

"The value of Judaism
is the spirit of the Jews"

- Moses Hess to Leopold Leff (1862) [1]

Israel is the world focal point for 'the spirit of the Jews'.
Whether one is a Jew in the narrowest sense of Orthodox definition:
'born of a Jewish mother',[2] or in the broader context of a convert
to Judaism, there is some sense of identity with the historical land
of Palestine. Placing religious-political persuasions aside for a
moment, one will still hear a worldwide community of Jewish people
say "Next year in Jerusalem' as part of their annual 'Pesach'
(Passover) celebrations. For the Jew living in the Diaspora, his
primary identity is his Jewish Identity. There might be a secondary
identity with Israel as 'a-nation-over-there', but National Identity
for the diasporic Jew is with the nation in which he resides. For
the Jew living in Israel the situation is different. His primary
identity is with Israel. He is Jewish and Israeli. His Israeli
Identity and his Jewish Identity become his National Identity. The
three terms appear to merge into one for the Jewish citizen of
Israel.

Appendix F contains selected responses to 'Seven Primary Questions' that relate to this chapter. They are: Who is a Jew? What is Israeli Identity? Who is an Israeli? What is Israeli Identity? What is Zionism? What is National Identity? and What Affects National Unity? The responses are randomly presented to offer a sample of the wide range of opinions presented by the primary personnel and other sources (readings, literature review, etc). The code that follows each quote is the researcher's identification code. The names of the 'sources' are coded to maintain the 'impression' value rather than adding weight to the comment by identifying the spokesperson.

The intent of this chapter is to present how the primary personnel perceive and assess adult education as a strategy for National Identity and National Unity. It will be necessary for the primary personnel to first 'speak for themselves' in terms of how they understand the terms 'national identity and national unity'.

Ben Sason, Head of Torah Culture, Ministry of Education and Culture, in Jerusalem, has developed a definition of 'national identity' in his book entitled, Israel, Jews and Judaism.[3] He offers the following definition for the purpose of discussion, without any intention that it should be recognized as a scientific definition.[4] The meaning of National Identity is:

* The character of the nation and its essence.

* Identifying characteristics which define
  membership in it.

* Conditions for the nation's existence and
  its continuity as a social identity. (5)

These three texts define national identity from several aspects.
"First from its general features and its uniqueness, second from
the viewpoints of the individuals and groups of which it is com-
posed and third, from the viewpoint of historical existence." [6]
To rephrase these ideas in the form of questions would be to ask:
'What is the character of Israel - and what makes it unique?',
'What constitutes membership in the nation?' and 'What attachment
must one have to Israel's historical existence - and continuity
as a social reality?' The answers to these questions would move
us towards an understanding of how a Jewish citizen might consider
himself identified with the nation. To recall the phrase used by
one of the primary personnel, 'I am speaking only about Jews'.[7]

Before examining these questions in greater detail, this
chapter examines how the primary personnel view the concept of
National Identity. The following is a series of component factors
within a definition of National Identity. The first phrase of
each statement identifies one of the component factors under ob-
servation, as it related to Israel Identity. The second phrase

in each statement links this factor to a broader identification

with Jewish Identity. The intent of this coupling is to show how

National Identity for the Jewish citizen living in Israel is a

merging of the concepts and terms found within Israeli Identity

and Jewish Identity. The coded comments come from the primary

personnel.

* The Land of Israel is named after the Jewish patriarch Israel

(Jacob). National Identity requires a geographical identity with

the land promised by God in the Torah to the descendants of

Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and purchased, tilled and lived upon

today by the Jews.

"...there is a physical and meta-physical aspect to identity,
which is a combination of land and people. People came to this
land from 102 countries of the world. Twelve tribes were dispersed,
but the goal upon their return was to have the people living in
Israel today, identify with the people who lived here 4,000 years
ago. As our slogan said, the returning of the people was called
'The Ingathering of the Exiles'." (32.13)

"...we Israelis are a continuity of Judaism. We are at a new stage
which is 'sovereignty'. For this the land has a very important
element - much more than in any other nation - the land symbolizes
the nation." (32.31)

"...to be a Jew without Israel would have no meaning. I would have
no identity, or else my identity would shrink to almost nothing..."
(32.36)

"...our goal was to have people identify with the land, the history
and the people. It is insufficient to identify yourself only with
the land for the land can be adjusted..." (32.12)

* The Flag of Israel bears the emblem of the Jewish Star of David.

National Identity requires an allegiance to a State whose flag bears

a historical Jewish symbol.

"...the flag has the Star of David. The identity of the citizens
of Israel is with the values of that State." (32.21)

   * The People of Israel have a majority identity as Jewish

people. National Identity requires a personal identification

with the past, a concern for the present and a support for the

future of the Jewish people.

"...Israeli Identity is the belief of a Jew in Israel as the only
solution to the Jewish people. There are Jews who are born in
Israel as Jews who are not necessarily Zionists, nor are they re-
ligious, but they carry with them their Jewish Identity." (32.24)

"...it is easier to come to National Identity with Israel as Israel
within the Jewish population, than with the Arab population." (32.3)

"...the war strengthened my identification with Judaism and Zionism
...'this country is the only country I would fight for'...I am
committed to the people. To me, the heart of Judaism is the
Jewish people." (32.37)

   * The Citizenship rights (post 1948) in Israel are granted al-

most exclusively to Jewish immigrants returning to Israel under

'The Law of Return'. National Identity in post 1948 Israel re-

quires a Jewish Identity to be recognized for citizenship.

"...Israel is not the name of a place or a State. It is the name
of a person. It is the name of Jacob and the name of a community
of men, the people of Israel. Call it 'Eretz Israel' - the land
of Israel. Call it the 'Holy Land', or Palestine or Canaan but not
Israel...A Muslim can be a citizen of the Jewish State but 'Israeli'
is a special category." (32.17)

   * The Language of Israel that is recognized as the primary

official language is the Jewish historical language of Hebrew.

National Identity requires a linguistic identification with the

language of the Jews.

    * The History of Israel is an extension of Jewish history,

traditions and culture. National Identity requires a historical

identification with the History of the Jews.

"...they (the Jewish immigrants) need to identify with the History
of the Jews. It is the history of a small nation having to struggle
to be one." (32.32)

"...National Identity for a Jewish citizen living in Israel is an
identification with his past...ours is a long history and one
must identify with it..." (32.33)

"...Israeli Identity is the identity of the citizens of Israel with
Israel. But the Jewish identity of the Jewish people is an identity
with Jewish civilization and the Jewish people. Israeli identity
when you take the Arabs and the Jews together, only goes back to
1948 with the formation of the State of Israel, but Jewish Identity
goes back 4,000 years to the beginnings of the Jewish civilization."
(32.27)

"...all our life we have been concentrating on the slogan, 'What
are we doing to make the people ONE?'. to make them feel identi-
fied with the land, not only today, but in the past with the
history of Israel." (32.11)

    * The Ideological beginnings of Israel is Zionism. National

Identity requires a philosophical identity with Zionism as the

framework for the Jewish solution.

"...Zionism is the possibility to fulfill ourselves as a group."
(45.1)

    * The Future of Israel is seen as the Jewish home for survival

and independence in the world. National Identity requires a

visionary identification with the future of the Jewish people,

and a commitment identity with the State of Israel being the

solution for the Jews.

"...Israeli Identity is the belief of a Jew in Israel as the only solution to the Jewish people." (32.24)

"...anyone who believes that Israel is the ultimate solution to the existence of the Jewish people, has a different view than the ones who see the existence of the Jewish people being possible throughout the world. I believe Israel is the only solution to the existence of the Jewish people. Therefore Jewish Identity (the existence of Jews outside of Israel) and Israeli Identity are not identical. Anyone who believes in Jewish Identity outside of Israel does not believe in Israeli Identity." (32.23)

"...I identify with a people who were put into exile in 70 AD and 138 AD and who have been persecuted...If Jews are going to be treated that way in countries where they are called 'citizens', then a State of their own is the only thing possible." (32.18)

* The Israeli Defence Force (IDF) is open only to Jewish

citizens, plus some Druze and volunteers. National Identity

requires an acceptance of the Army in Israel as an exclusive

Jewish army.

"...there are some stereotypes of what is this Israeli Identity. Some say the Israelis are vigorous, they are courageous, they are noisy, they are 'chuzpadic'. Such are the stereotype images that would come into an overall self-image of what an Israeli would think of as his National Identity. The IDF is important because it fits into all of that. It is a modern entity. There is 'kashrut', there are Jewish holidays, (people do drive on Shabbat) so it is a Jewish army in a somewhat declaratory way. The land is important to the army - it defends it!" (32.31)

* The Civil Law in Israel controlling the 85% Jewish segment

of the population is the Jewish Halachic Law (ie for marriage

and divorce). National Identity requires an adherence to or re-

cognition of the control of Halachah over all civil aspects of

life for a Jewish citizen - and for a recognized conversion to

Judaism - regardless of their own personal religious persuasion.

* The Religion of Israel is overwhelmingly Judaism. National

Identity requires a traditional identity with the Jewish religion.

"...I cannot see Israel becoming a State in which the religious
views of the Orthodox are forced on the great majority of the
citizens, but rather a modis operandi has to be worked out in
which we will have a religious pluralism among the Jews." (32.20)

"...I think the people who stay in this country are religious."
(32.8)

"...for Jewish people, religion and nationality are identical.
These aren't major sectors of religion in Israel as in India,
therefore national identity is complete in that Jews identify
with Judaism and with Israel as a solution." (32.22)

"...I am religious. People who are religious know more about why
they are here. For other people, what is there to connect them
to the country?" (32.25)

* The Archeological discoveries in Israel tie the Land to a

Historical Jewish presence. National Identity requires an acceptance

of the Jewish claim to the land as the primary historical claim.

"...there is in Israel a society for the Bible and an archeological
society...thousands of people take part. In other countries Bible
societies are for the religious and archeological societies are
for the academic world but here thousands of ordinary people come
to hear about the latest archeological discoveries...I think this
is looking for one's roots in this country." (48.4)

"...some are interested in archeology because it is the 'in thing'.
But in Israel there is a connection between seeing what this soil
tells us about the past and our present national identity with
the land."   (32.7)

"...When the Dead Sea Scrolls were found this was almost a national
event. It was a national event. It was announced in the Knesset
(and a special museum called the 'Shrine of the Book' was built).
Here is a symptom of national identity." (32.6)

Although not a quote from a primary personnel, the researcher

found the following admission by an Israeli government publication

to be humorous - and insightful.

"...It has been said that, of the two national sports topping the Israeli's list, archeology is second only to talking; by uncovering the artifacts of his ancestral past the contemporary Israeli constantly relives the history of his people in the Land."   (Facts About Israel, 1980, p. 146).

   * The Day of Rest in Israel is the Jewish 'Shabbat' or Sabbath

(Saturday) from sundown Friday to sundown Saturday. National

Identity requires an acceptance or recognition of Shabbat as a

Jewish day of rest.

   * The National Holidays in Israel are primarily the Jewish

Holy Days. National Identity requires an observance, under-

standing and or commitment to the Holy Days of the Jewish religious

'year'.

"...in Israel, each holiday has its own sign and is part of the geography and the history and is in some way connected with the land. "(When asked by the researcher if adult educators were consciously trying to develop that identity in their interaction with adults, the respondent who is a prominent author and prac- titioner in literacy programs said, 'Yes, especially in the Ulpanim'.) (32.10)

"...the festivals of Israel have a double significance. They are not only religious and cosmic, but also historical and national." (32.40)

   * The Food prepared in Israel in most public places and all

government cafeterias is prepared according to the Jewish 'halacha'

(dietary laws) ie 'kashrut' (English: 'koshered'). National

Identity requires a public observance of 'halacha' in most major

hotels, government and public eating establishments. (ie no milk

served with meat, no unapproved foods such as pork etc.)

These fifteen component factors suggest an answer to the
questions asked earlier in the chapter. First, 'What is the
character of Israel - and what makes it unique?' Israel is a
Jewish State. The essence of its National Identity is found in
its Jewish Identity. This makes it unique among the nations of
the earth. David Ben-Gurion is quoted as saying:

> America has adopted the convenient solution
> of separating church from State, not for
> antireligious reasons but on the contrary
> because of a deep attachment to religion
> and the citizens - but this would not
> solve the problem if it were to be
> applied in Israel. (8)

On the contrary, it appears that a separation of synagogue and State
in Israel would complicate the problem for the Jewish people.
While many admit to being 'non-religious' [9] few of the Jewish
citizens of Israel are ready to 'open the doors' of the land to
anyone desiring citizenship - be they Muslim or Christian - and possib-
ly have the country controlled by a non-Jewish majority. This is an
unacceptable option for the Israeli-Jewish citizen to consider. The
alternative is an ongoing corporate commitment to a National
'Jewish' Identity - under the oversight of the Orthodox Jews and
'Halachah'. The commitment of the overwhelmingly majority of the
Jewish citizens of Israel to maintain the State of Israel as a
Jewish homeland establishes its character and makes it truly unique.
The second question is 'What constitutes and identifies membership

in the nation?' To answer this question requires a brief recall

of the historical facts of the period 1947-1948. No one is able

to look back and say they 'know the mind' of the leaders of that

day. But we have their words to review and their actions to

assess. Prime Minister Ben Gurion recognized that a solution to

living in peace with the Arabs had to be discovered. He noted:

> These two semitic peoples, Jew and Arab
> share one mission in this corner of the
> world. The Jew will not budge, neither
> will the Arab change his place. History
> has pronounced us neighbors and it is not
> merely a geographical proximity. There is
> a nearness in language, culture and history.
> Cooperation between the Jewish people in its
> land and independent Arabia is a historical
> necessity. (10)

Peace was and is a pre-requisite for the full development of the

State of Israel. Whether the early founders thought this would

be achieved by all Arabs in Palestine 'exchanging places' with

all the Jews in Islamic Arab countries; or with Arabs remaining

in Israel as well treated but 'limited' citizens is unknown.

Two things are known. One, the founders of Israel were deeply

aware of the problem. Ben Gurion said in an address delivered

to the Executive of the Palestine Worker's Party (Mapai) on

December 3, 1947 - before the formation of the State, "A great

problem - perhaps the greatest - is the problem of the Arabs and

without a persistent effort to win them over to mutual trust and

bonds of reciprocity there will be no security." [11] Secondly,

the decision was made to make Israel a 'Jewish State' regardless

of Arab support or presence in Israel. Israel defines itself as "a secular, parliamentary, democratic republic," [12] but with limitations that make it different from Canada or the United States where immigration and citizenship are unrelated to one belonging to the State religion. In Israel, 'membership' in the fullest sense of citizenship requires a Jewish identity. The third question is 'What attachment must one have to Israel's historical existence and continuity as a social identity?' To belong to Israel, one must believe in Israel. Only a Jew, an Israeli-Jew can have that attachment of commitment. A Muslim Arab, a supportive Christian, even a sympathetic Diaspora Jew can only observe National-Jewish-Israeli Identity as a spectator - he is not part of the 'team'. Perhaps Ben Sason summarized a definition of National Identity in the title of his book. National Identity is 'Israel, Jews and Judaism.'

For this paper National Identity will be defined as :

> Endorsement of the right for the de-
> scendants of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob
> to establish an independent self-
> governing Jewish State on land
> apportioned to their forefathers and
> purchased, tilled and lived upon by
> their fathers. (13)

Two emergent questions from this definition will remain beyond the scope of this study. First,'Who is a Jew?' will be left for the religious and non religious leaders to debate. (See Appendix E)

Secondly, 'What constitutes the land apportioned to their fore-
fathers' will remain for politicians and international lawyers
to decide.

The term National Unity is more complex to define. Dispersion
of the Jews from Palestine in the First Century, meant that the re-
gathered exiles brought with them certain assimilated cultural
distinctives of language, dress, customs and values from their
102 host countries. To achieve a 'oneness' certain factors must
be prevalent. They are:

> the readiness to defend the Jewish
> homeland.
>
> the ability to communicate in modern
> Hebrew.
>
> the willingness to contribute one's
> strength and resources for the develop-
> ment of an independent, self-sufficient
> Jewish nation.
>
> the understanding of historical and
> geographical root attachments that
> Jewish people have to the land, and
>
> the acceptance of all Jews as 'brothers
> in a common cause' regardless of
> physical appearance, historical back-
> ground, economic prosperity or degree
> of religious observance. (14)

Appendix E lists comments of primary personnel offered in answer
to the question 'What Affects National Unity?' Two categories
emerge from the list, first the positive factors that tend to
build national unity, and second the negative forces that tend
to reinforce national unity. Included in the first category

would be the following factors:

* A strong corporate identity:"...whether the Jew is from Russia or Morocco - he is Jewish..." (39.5)

* The collective 'I': "...all of us as Jews have a common memory of a common past...that is 'part of us...' (39.6)

* A common language: "...Hebrew is not an 'innocent' language ---it is a blending of culture, history and religion." (11.16) "...Hebrew is the first uniting factor, because without Hebrew we cannot communicate..." (5.4)

* The land: "...National Unity for Jews can only occur in Israel..." (5.11)

Included in the second category are:

* The 'struggle for survival': "...with the population doubling and tripling within a few years there was pressure on the people to survive..." (39.5)

* Arab neighbors: "...as long as we have pressures from the outside (from Arab neighbors) part of our problems will be over-shadowed by the security problems..." (39.2)

* Muslim attitude: "...they try to put a wedge between the Oriental and Ashkenazi Jews by calling the Oriental Jews, 'Arab Jews' and therefore part of the Arab people..." (5.13)

* Common hardships: "...like common suffering in the cold in the army."

* War and its economic results: "...the victories of 1948
and 1956 and 1967 were due to moral and spiritual consequences..."

Both the positive and negative factors in some manner in-
fluence National Unity. Whatever one's personal philosophy of
life as a citizen of Israel, there is a 'national faith' required
for the development of National Unity. This faith is more of a
'trust', than a religious or spiritual faith. It is a trust or
faith in the leaders of the nation in their development of the
country. It is a faith in the ability of the Israeli people to
overcome their difficulties and find appropriate responses to new
challenges. For some it is a faith in the ongoing personal in-
terest of the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, in the current
activities affecting the 'Children of Israel' today. The greater
the development of this National Faith, the greater the sense of
National Unity. For this paper, National Unity will be defined
as:

> A oneness in purpose and direction with
> the development of the Jewish homeland,
> the Jewish History, the Jewish people,
> the Jewish Language and the Jewish
> Religion. (15)

The closer one moves towards the acceptance of both definitions,
the greater one's sense of National Identity and National Unity
with the modern State of Israel.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER III

1. Forum, Fall 1978, No. 32-33, p. 78.

    Forum is the quarterly publication of the World Zionist Organization,
    Department of Information in Jerusalem. It has numerous topics on
    the Jewish people, Zionism and Israel.

2. Yeheskiel Cohen - personal interview (31.7-YC)

    "...the logic behind the Law (of Return) is that you can know or
    determine the child's mother, but you may not know who is the father."

3. Y. Ben Sason, and A.A. Orbach. Israel, Jews and Judaism. Published
    (in Hebrew) by the Department of Torah Culture in the Ministry of
    Education and Culture, 1977, p. 11.

    The researcher appreciates the assistance of Dr. D. Epstein from
    the Department of Torah Culture (Jerusalem) for his assistance in
    translating segments of the book into English.

4. Ibid, p. 11.

5. Ibid, p. 11.

6. Ibid, p. 11.

    "The return to Zion comes after two thousand years of wandering over
    the entire world. Therefore the cut is deep and the renaissance is
    wondrous, almost 'something from nothing'. But any creation of
    something from nothing entails a danger. With something from
    'something' it is possible to imagine the 'something'. We must
    therefore decrease the 'nothing'. This generation must increase the
    Jewish 'something' in Israel. The connection between religion and
    nation, between natural membership and spiritual membership is the
    root and foundation of the Jewish 'something' which we have inherited
    from our ancestors." - (Ben Sason quoting M. Meisels from "Who is a
    Jew?" p. 15.) Ben Sason, (1977), p. 31.

    In reference to Jewish Identity, Ben Sason quotes Rabbi Soloveitchik
    who defines it thus: "Jewish Identity can only be understood under
    the aspect of singularity and otherness." (from J.B. Soloveitchik,
    "Confrontation", Tradition, 1967, p. 67.)

    "This is the essence of the fate of Jewish existence at present.
    The 'something' - that is the religious identity - must be preserved.
    The 'nothing' that is expected for Jewish existence in the future is
    unknown, therefore people of this generation today are commanded to
    guard and increase the Jewish 'something' and to establish Jewish
    partnership. Tomorrow, when the 'post-modern' period will shine in
    actuality, it will find, already prepared, the Jewish society in

partnership, as it searches for its paths, when it is lighted by the light of generations of values of history and values of belief. In this lies the hope for a new era." (Ben Sason, p. 31.)

7. Appendix C - page 7, line 16.

8. Amran Ducovny, (ed.), David Ben Gurion: In His Own Words. (1968), p. 99.

9. The figure of 70% is used by Sammy Smooha from his definition of the term 'nonreligious'.

   Smooha (1978), Israel: Pluralism and Conflict, p. 3

10. Ducovny, op. cit., p. 113.

11. Forum, Winter, 1979, No. 34. Quote from front cover.

12. Facts About Israel, (1980), p. 113.

13. Researcher's definition of National Identity.

14. Researcher's list of 'Evidences of National Unity'.

15. Researcher's definition of National Unity.

CHAPTER IV

THE CONTRIBUTION OF SELECTED ADULT EDUCATION AGENCIES

TO NATIONAL IDENTITY - NATIONAL UNITY

To perceive and assess adult education as a strategy for the development of National Identity and National Unity requires a framework of practice to evaluate. The primary personnel in this study identified certain adult education agencies as historical models that evidence an 'identity-unity' strategy within their educational activities. This chapter will focus on seven agencies that are corporately respected by the primary personnel as major contributors to National Identity - National Unity through their adult education programs. They are: 1) The Ministry of Education (Department of Adult Education and the Department of Torah Culture); 2) Ulpanim (Hebrew language/Literacy programs); 3) I.D.F. (Israel Defence Forces); 4) Kibbutzim; 5) Histadrut (Trades' Union);6) Community Centers and 7) Moshavim (Agricultural education). A brief description will be given of the agencies historical contribution to the field of adult education, with an assessment made from comments of the primary personnel and information obtained by the researcher in a review of related literature.

The Ministry of Education (Department of Adult Education and the Department of Torah Culture)

The Ministry of Education and Culture - formed by the Knesset on March 9, 1949 - is the national government's 'umbrella' agency for

overseeing education and culture in Israel. The country is governed as
a single constituency, therefore the Ministry, as a national agency, is
responsible for programs, inspection, training, appointment and paying
of teachers, while the local authorities look after facilities and
maintenance. Encylopedia Judaica states that the main functions of the
Ministry are:

> To maintain and develop the educational system,
> to ensure suitable educational standards, to
> train and guide teachers, to inspect educational
> establishments, to develop educational programs
> and curricula, to improve teaching conditions,
> and to organize and encourage educational and
> cultural activities for adults. (2)

The 1971/72 budget for the Ministry indicates that an overwhelming
proportion (81.8%) was allocated for primary education (67.8); school
meals (1.9); post-primary education (10.3) and supplementary education
(1.8). [3] Two of the primary personnel noted that the adult education
portion of the Ministry budget was only 1% even though the Department of
Culture and Adult Education received 4.3% of the educational budget. [4]
Within the Ministry there are two departments that relate specifically
to adults. They are the Department of Adult Education and the Department
of Torah Culture. To understand how these two departments contribute to
NI-NU it is necessary to note the principles upon which all education
among Jewish people is to be based within the Ministry:

> (1) The imparting of Jewish knowledge and
> values and the deepening of identification
> with the Jewish people in the Diaspora...
> and measures to foster 'Jewish consciousness'
> as an essential part of the curriculum and
> the educational aim of all the schools.
> (2) Education for citizenship based on a
> knowledge and love of country and a readiness
> to give pioneer service...Civic education is
> an important factor in the integration of the
> various elements of the population.

(3) Education in universal human values and
international fraternity...through a balance
between Jewish and general education. (5)

The three primary programs of adult education through which the ministry sought to impart the above principles in the mid 1960's were:
1) the adult literacy programs, 2) Hebrew training programs for adults and 3) further education for adults. [6]

The Ministry of Education and Culture, primarily through its Department of Adult education has been a significant force in encouraging or coordinating numerous adult education activities in Israel. In 1949, the Ulpan program was established by the Ministry as a means of fulfilling the national goal of Hebrew becoming the language of the people. Campaigns to eradicate illiteracy were conducted by the Ministry along with programs of elementary education for all (adults) who needed it. The aim of these programs, as noted by Grabelsky, was "to further the social and cultural integration of scores of thousands of Jews...who were deprived of opportunities for education in their countries of origin." [7]

A number of these campaigns were coordinated with the IDF to use Girl Soldiers in the literacy programs (see later section of the IDF). Close cooperation was established between the Ministry of Education and Culture and the Histradut's Center for Culture and Education. In an address to the Eighth Convention of the Histradut in 1956, David Ben-Gurion expressed this view:

> During the period of the British Mandate the
> Histradut fulfilled governmental functions in
> the consciousness of a historic function and
> in the absence of Jewish governmental organs.
> On the founding of the state, the continuation
> of these functions is a superfluous burden on
> the Histradut and a serious injury to the state
> ...The Histradut is not a rival or competitor of
> the state but its faithful helper and devoted
> supporter. (8)

Recognizing that the Ministry of Education and Culture would by nature

of its mandate, be assuming many of the functions previously fulfilled

by the Histadrut, Ben-Gurion called upon the Histadrut to fulfill a

dual additional aim after the rise of the state:

> (a) to mold the character of the state and
> make it fit to carry out to the full the
> mission of national and social redemption,
> and to strengthen and organize the workers
> for this purpose; and (b) to initiate
> pioneering activities in the educational,
> economic, and social spheres which cannot be
> carried out by compulsion, law and the
> government machine alone. (9)

The Israeli Government Yearbook (1971) lists the following

activities as being under the control of 'the government machine' through

the Ministry of Education and its related Departments. (10)

> Cultural Institutions
> Theaters
> Literature
> Music - Orchestras
> Museums and Archives
> Plastic Arts
> Scientific Institutions
> Artistic Films
> Drama
> Popular Art (11)
> Mobile Exhibitions of Paintings (12)
> Ulpanim
> Popular Education (13)
> Further Education for Adults (14)
> Folklore of Israel
> Public Libraries (15)
> Cultural Centers
> Public Council for Culture and Arts

Some Ministry activities have involved the establishment of an agency

or Department within the Ministry for a specific adult education task.

For example: 1) The Martin Buber Center for Adult Education on the

Mt. Scopus Campus of the Hebrew University, offers programs for adult

educators to study and meet adult educators from Israel and other
countries; 2) The Department of Bible Education organizes Bible study
groups for the study of Jewish thought, religion, history and Jewish
philosophy; 3) The Department of Art Education developed 'Culture to
the People' programs, plus studies in communal folk art and music;
4) The Association of Adult Education (AAE) was established in 1958,
primarily to serve as a meeting place for people who work in the field
of adult education. The Secretary-General of the AAE described it for
the researcher as:

> A place to meet, discuss, exchange views and
> present information. The main goal of the AAE
> is to serve as a professional organization for
> people who work in some way in adult education. (16)

5) The Israel Corporation of Community Centers was chartered by the
Ministry of Education in 1969 to fulfill a unique service to adults
living in development towns and poverty neighborhoods. A special
program in Social work was introduced into the curriculum of the Baewald
School of Social Work at the Hebrew University to prepare workers for
these centers; [17] 6) Vocational training projects for adults were
initiated by a cooperative project of the Ministry of Labor and the
Histadrut working with the Ministry of Education and Culture. [18]

A second Department within the Ministry of Education and Culture
that relates to adults in a more specific manner is the Department of
Torah Culture. The researcher met Dr. Ben-Sason, who has served as the
Head of Torah Culture since 1954. He made the following observations
about the role of Torah Culture as an integrational factor for adults in
Israel.

> Adult education is one of the requirements of
> a Jew as part of his religion. It is perhaps
> the central requirement. The study of Torah is
> to be valued against all other values. There-
> fore the area of culture that the Department
> is dealing with is much older than the formation
> of the state or the Ministry of Education and
> Culture. The study of Torah is not the learning
> of specific information but it is part of an
> entire value experience. Therefore learning is
> attached to other experiences. For example
> learning is connected to prayer. People would
> pray before learning - after learning they would
> sit and pray. Between the afternoon and evening
> prayers were times of study. The holiness of the
> place where one studies was attached to the
> place where one prays. The Jewish legal system
> makes the place where one learns more holy than
> the place where one prays. That is the
> 'centrality of study' to the Jewish adult.
> Studying Torah is considered eternal while prayer
> is temporal. The commandments are compared to the
> candle while study is the light which the candle
> gives - which is more effective than the candle
> by itself. (19)

Ben-Sason described for the researcher how the Department of Torah

Culture functions within the Ministry of Education as an integrational

factor in developing NI-NU. The Department (of Torah Culture) was in

existence before the Ministry was formed under the Jewish National

Council. Its primary goal was to increase the knowledge of Torah which

was part of the ministry's goal to increase 'Jewish Consciousness'

Classes for adults began first in synagogues, then expanded into schools,

culture and community centers, as adults increased their interest in

Torah culture. Modern methods of audio-visual materials, exhibitions

and correspondence courses were added to the traditional lectures and

texts. Levels of understanding were developed thereby permitting an

adult to progress at his own speed through basic, intermediate and

advanced levels of Torah knowledge. Ben-Sason notes,

> There is a Jewish Identity, which is common
> to all Jews besides the land and the language.
> These common strands of the basics of Judaism
> will produce a unity, regardless of their cul-
> tural differences - or differences of religious
> observance. We cannot force people to follow a
> particular religion. We work with adults in a
> voluntary manner to get them to identify with
> Jewish ideas. (20)

The Ministry of Education - working through its Departments of Adult

Education and Torah Culture has clear goals that involve helping an

adult identify with the Jewish State of Israel - and become one with

the Jewish people. One of the primary personnel who is the current

Head of the Department of Adult Education acknowledged that the slogan

'What are we doing to make the people ONE' was overworked in the early

days of the State. Becoming 'one' may not involve giving up one's

cultural distinctives as much as learning how to integrate those dis-

tinctives into a unique Jewish/Israeli National Identity. The Ministry

of Education and Culture is committed in its adult education activities

to that goal.

Ulpan (Hebrew Language Programs)

For the 'People of the Book' [21] to communicate with one another in

the 'Language of the Book' - they must have a knowledge of modern Hebrew.

In 1948, some 80 percent of the Jewish community in Israel spoke Hebrew.

But with the Jewish population doubling between 1949 and 1951:

> There was an urgent need to discover some shorter
> method to impart to the masses, and particularly
> to members of the free professions, a familiarity
> with the Hebrew language as a means of communication
> in order to facilitate their integration into the
> labor market and their cultural absorption as
> citizens of new Israel.

> It was resolved, therefore to attempt an
> intensive system of study, with Hebrew, basic
> Jewish cultural values, and an education
> towards good citizenship as its core. The
> first such institution for intensive tuition
> came into being in 1949; it was called 'Ulpan'
> (plural: 'Ulpanim') a unique school in
> Israel intended for adults. (23)

The word Ulpan (Plural: 'Ulpanim') is derived from the root word 'alef',

(meaning to teach, instruct). One of the pioneers of the Ulpan said, "It

was established to teach people who came to Israel, the Hebrew language

and integrate them into the life of Israel, the history, the geography,

help them find work and integrate them into the country." [24] The

declared aim of the Ulpan was, "to impart a knowledge of the Hebrew

language, disseminate Jewish cultural values, and educate towards good

citizenship." [25] One adult educator acknowledged in a newspaper inter-

view that "the Berlitz school is perhaps better at teaching the language

exclusively but the Ulpan method prepares its pupils for the milieu

outside and teaches them how to function better as citizens later on." [26]

Preparation for 'the milieu outside' and 'functioning as citizens' are

two distinctives of the Ulpan system.

"Hebrew is not a 'second language' for a Jewish citizen of

Israel - it is the framework for one's Jewish Identity." [27] This was

expressed to the researcher by one Hebrew Ulpan instructor who added that

Hebrew makes you feel at home. It is the language in which you buy your

bread. But it is much more. Hebrew is not an 'innocent' language. It

is a blending of culture, history and religion! [28] Another adult educator

noted: "Hebrew is the first uniting factor, because without Hebrew we

cannot communicate." [29] Learning Hebrew is viewed by a former Director

of the Adult Education Department as a front line opportunity to change

attitudes. "Adult Education in Israel, more than in other countries, means changing attitudes through what is classically called the 'teaching of Hebrew'. Hebrew is not a second language for a Jew - it is more - it is adult education." [30]

The Ulpan was designed to give a foundational Hebrew language of 2,000 words. [31] But as the Head of the Adult Department used to tell his staff, "If you teach 1,000 words, make certain you teach 100 ideas." [30] An adult education leader in the kibbutzim said,

> The aim of Ulpan is not only language and culture, but integrating (absorption) and identification with a new society. It is a relation to past (history) and present (geography) and to a system of values which creates a national identity and a personal responsibility. (33)

The effectiveness of Hebrew in communicating this 'national (or Jewish) identity' was described by the French ambassador to Israel who studied Hebrew in an Ulpan and lived in Israel for ten years. He said, "Forget about understanding Jewish life, Jewish identity, the Bible and Jewish politics, without an understanding of Hebrew." [34] Professor Nir, from the Department of Hebrew Language at the Hebrew University told the 30th Anniversary celebrants of the Ulpanim Movement, "Since language is related to social behavior, the goal of Ulpan was and is to give the immigrant to Israel a tool for everyday life." [35] In reality, the Ulpan was to "teach as many people as much Hebrew in the shortest period of time. Along with this came the question of social integrity - to unite the people in a common culture - which raises the study of Hebrew beyond that of an academic science." [36] The Ulpan was first set up as a 'studio' [37] where a small group of people sat together and learned together. The

system had a fixed period of study (usually five to six months) with a printed textbook and syllabus designed to aid adults and bread-winners who have interrupted their normal routine for a non-compulsory course to master a foreign language. [38] (Fluency in Hebrew is not a requirement of citizenship).

The traditional Ulpan format was the residential dormitory type, supervised by the Ministry of Education and Culture and maintained by the Ministry of Immigrant Absorption and the Jewish Agency. [39] "This course normally extended over five months based on a six day, thirty hour academic week. A 'hostel ulpan' branched out into settings where the entire family learned together. This relieves the parents of the responsibility of caring for children while they concentrate on their Hebrew studies." [40] Some 'Daily Ulpan' exist in larger urban centers where the student may work and take morning or evening classes. Some kibbutzim offer Hebrew Ulpans where six months of 'half a day of work' is exchanged for 'half a day of language instruction'. [41] Summer school Ulpanim permit refresher courses for adults and students. [42] In examining the motivation of adults to learn Hebrew, Grabelsky developed six categories. [43] First were those adults who wanted a job promotion or career continuation in an area of specialty. Second were those who had social motives such as economic gain or upward mobility. A third group were motivated mainly by the desire to be better informed, or 'a thirst for knowledge' in and of itself. The fourth group wanted to help their children or keep up with their children. The fifth category wanted to make use of their leisure time, and the sixth group wanted to be more integrated into the life of the country. She quotes one student who says, "I must learn Hebrew so that I shall have a common

language with all the Jews of Israel because everybody must know Hebrew,
in order to work etc...I want to understand the history of the Jewish
people and our culture." [44] Whatever the individual's motivation, the
government of Israel recognizes that "the dissemination of the Hebrew
language is an important element in the never ending effort to achieve
social and cultural integration and national cohesion." [45] For
motivations that were likely factor three, six and occasionally four on
Grabelsky's 'scale', the researcher and his wife attended a three day a
week 'Ulpanit' [46] at the Mitchell Building (Histadrut) in Jerusalem.
It was a somewhat typical heterogeneous mixture of men, women, 'olay
haddash' (new immigrants) 'tiyarim' (tourists), Jews and non Jews from
approximately ten countries. The class began with a larger number of
participants than we anticipated but over the six months the attendance
began to decline. A number were working full time and took a 'leave' to be
at the classes. Attendance was voluntary and tended to be irregular. Fees
were minimal due to a subsidy by the Ministry of Education and Culture.
Diverse social activities such as trips, tours, festivals, parties and
social gatherings helped friendships begin to bond between class members.
When questioned why she remained in Hebrew classes for over eight months,
the researcher's wife replied, "The language (Hebrew) was a minimal part
of it. I learned facts about the culture and the geography and the
history of Israel that gave me a better understanding of the country and
the people. Plus Davora (the instructor) explained in detail the
significance of each Jewish Holy Day and holiday." [47]

The 1961 population census showed that within the Jewish
community there were 156,500 illiterates [48] above the age of 14. This

comprised 12% of the population which then numbered 1,985,500 souls. [49]

This led to a dramatic campaign in 1963 to teach Hebrew to the 120,000

women and 50,000 men who were classified as totally or semi-illiterate.

"Professional teachers (700) who taught small groups twice a week on a

salary basis (usually in development towns) were assisted by volunteer

teachers (500) who gave lessons once a week without payment. Girl

soldiers - conscripts who gave 20 months of national service teaching

illiterates - were sent primarily to the frontier areas." [50] Apart from

organizational problems associated with scheduling classes, providing

transportation, books etc, there were many benefits in the classes, as the

teachers were able to do more than teach Hebrew. They were able to

"provide guidance in problems of hygiene, home economics...plus social and

cultural activities...tours etc..." [51] Although the thrust of the girl

soldiers literacy program dissipated into new programs for eradicating

illiteracy in the late 1960's, the impact of mixing soldiers and civilians,

young and old, urban and frontier, created a new national awareness of the

variety of socio-economic cultural groups in the country. Ulpanim programs

throughout Israel brought people of diverse backgrounds together to study

Hebrew. In an interview with the Jerusalem POST, Kalman Yaron (of the

Martin Buber Adult Education Center) said, "I believe this project (an Old

City Ulpan attended by Arabs and Jews) and the meeting of the two peoples

brings about a meeting of minds and of hearts...they deepen understanding

and foster goodwill." [52]

An example of this 'goodwill' is found in "one of the most

dynamic adult education institutions in the country", a residential Hebrew

school called Ulpan Akiva. [53] The researcher was a guest at the Ulpan for

three days, and came away with an overwhelming amount of data that matched

the enthusiasm and vitality of the staff and students. At the eye of the 'activity hurricane' is the founder and Director, Shulamit Katznelson. [54] Ulpan Akiva is a thirty year (1981) embodiment of Katznelson's "labratory of good will, where various cultures and ideas are expressed and developed." [55] Since Ulpan Akiva is an independent organization which does not receive Jewish Agency funds, it can open its doors to Jewish immigrants, to Christian tourists, to Muslim Arabs from the administrated territories, to Israeli Druse who want to improve their Hebrew and to visitors on a year's sabbatical. [56] Using the catch phrase, 'Hebrew is your key to Israel', Ulpan Akiva has attracted over 22,000 students from 118 countries searching for that 'key'. Dr. Yeheskiel Cohen in presenting the Adult Education 'Torch Award' to Ulpan Akiva in recognition of its unique and original approach in the field of adult education and for its creative educational methods and techniques said:

> Ulpan Akiva has gained a distinguished reputation
> both in Israel and all over the world for its
> special character in fostering Hebrew humanism
> and brotherhood among nations. (57)

One graduate described it as 'A Very Special Place'; "We have seen Arab festivities in a Yemenite village, visited the kibbutzim, had a Purim party, studied the Bible together, visited the graves of Abraham and Isaac in Hebron, the Western Wall in Jerusalem, an Arabic Ulpan in Gaza, and a Christian monastery in the Wadi Kelt, planted trees in Golan, took dancing lessons and discussed paintings with Israeli artists." [58] According to one Jerusalem POST article,

> The immigrant at the average residential Ulpan
> or absorption center spends most of the time
> among the other immigrants. Efforts are made to
> bring the Israeli community to the Ulpan and to
> take the immigrants out into the community, but many

> people at the absorption centers complain that
> they are more 'absorbed' in their own problems
> than into Israeli society. (59)

Such is not the case at Ulpan Akiva. A former Minister of Education,

interviewed by the researcher, noted in an address made at Ulpan Akiva,

"This Ulpan exudes a great deal of human warmth. It is not their methods

of teaching, although these are important and unique - but the soul, the

simplicity and the enthusiasm with which all its endeavors are permeated." [60]

From conversations with the Director, the following insights emerged about

the philosophy of adult education - and Schulamit Katznelson - that lies

behind Ulpan Akiva. (61)

> Jews are known for having a 'Messianic' element
> within them. Almost every Jew is in someway a
> messianic. Every adult educator has a sense of
> 'mission' but in Jews this is stronger! The
> potentiality in the individual and the destiny that
> was determined beyond us - and if you call it 'God'
> then in the covenant with Abraham and the land, it
> was decided that we shall be one.
>
> We have a wonderful saying in the Mishnah, "It is
> not up to you to accomplish the work, but that
> does not free you from giving your share."
>
> Many of the adult educators from the 'older
> generation' did not have the psychological slogans
> of the universities. Intuitively they did some
> wonderful things. Some of these people did not
> call themselves adult educators but they confronted
> the problems of the adult immigrants and carried on
> programs that affected thousands of adults.
>
> Ulpan Akiva is based on a philosophy of 'give and
> take' . Unity between the Arab and the Jew, the
> religious and the nonreligious, the Oriental and
> the Ashkenazi will be achieved by true love and a
> sincere thanking of God for the differences.
>
> I am learning that life is stronger than what we try
> to put in writings and keep. Jews are born
> individualistic and over sensitive, and over aggressive.
> It is a fact. But if you allow that over sensititivity,
> creativity, aggressiveness full existence then you will

> see what can happen (to unity)...I was called
> a fascist for bringing Arabs here but love can
> overcome!
>
> Israel is like a World International Congress on
> Adult Education - all from different backgrounds
> but one common point - their Jewishness. People
> can change. This place is proof.

The Israeli Ulpan system in general - and Ulpan Akiva in particular has

gained a recognition for achieving identity and unity that can best be

summed up by the mayor of an Arab town in the West Bank. He visited

Ulpan Akiva and saw Jews and Arabs living, studying and learning together.

This sight prompted him to send a cable to the Minister of Defence that

said, "Come, see what is happening - a lesson in action!" [62]

Israel Defence Forces (IDF)

From the moment of its inception under the Military Service Act

(August 15, 1949), the Israel Defence Forces (IDF) have been assigned the

task of security - and education. The Act stated in part:

> The most vital task of our generation has been
> imposed on the Army, to safeguard the security
> of the State of Israel...But it is not the Army's
> only task...it is to be a pioneering, educative
> force: builder of the nation and redeemer of the
> wasteland. (63)

Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion, speaking to the General Staff and Commanding

Officers of the IDF (1950) identified technical education (weapons) and

personal education (physical and spiritual) as two significant facets of

the educational task in Israel that is common to all the armies of the world.

He then added:

> The Israel Defence Army however has a special
> educative function which is not needed and has
> no place in other armies...it requires in

addition a particular education towards the
historic dedication of its people, and the
mission of our times.

When I say 'historic dedication' I mean the
ideological and moral struggle in which our
people have engaged against all their neighbors
from the moment they became a nation to this day.

When I say 'mission of our times' I mean the
ingathering of the exiles (a mission) which will
affect our entire future, our security, our
national position and our international status. (64)

In an article entitled 'Israel Defence Forces as Adult Educator',

the author recognizes the dual service of the IDF as a means of defence and

a framework for the education of Israeli youth. He says in part:

The IDF is a powerful force for the integration
of classes and the shaping of character. It is
not satisfied, however,.merely with this indirect
education resulting from a military service rich
in national and humanistic values: it also devotes
considerable efforts and resources to providing
scholastic instruction aimed at widening a soldier's
cultural horizons, deepening his attachment to
national values and training him for civilian life
in a modern, technological society. (65)

In the words of a former IDF Education Officer, "though it does not deal

with economic and political affairs, the IDF is accepted as the main

socializer in the educational and social field." [66] (researcher's

emphasis). This assessment of the IDF as a recognized and respected adult

education agency was echoed in numerous interviews with the primary

personnel of this study. Their accolades ranged from simple words of

commendation to high regards and praise. In their words:

"The army is a wonderful teacher of adult
education." (67)

"The army is the school of the nation.
The army is a significant factor for NI-NU.
The army unites people from different countries.
The army teaches cooperation and experiences
together." (68)

"The army is one of the main integrating adult
educational forces in Israel. The army is
preparing people to take their place in society.
The Israeli army is the best adult educator in
the country.
    * everyone goes in the army (see 69)
    * everyone must get a basic education.
    * everyone is together in the army.
    * everyone must meet people they would
      not normally meet.
    * everyone is given the same opportunities
      in the army - a chance to succeed.
    * everyone is taught things about Israel
      its history, their roots, field trips.
    * everyone who does not know how to read or
      write is given a change to learn in the
      army. (70)

"The army is a strong homogenizing factor not so
much because it includes cultural activities, but
by the common 'language' spoken and memories
engendered by the service: "I was in the Six Day
War in '67" is a very important compcnent of
your naturalization into the country." (71)

With the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, almost

90% of the resident Jewish population was of European or 'Western'

descent. As political analyst Maurice Roumani notes,

> The new state received a large number of
> immigrants whose cultural experience and
> social standard were traditional and whose
> economic skills and educational level were
> much lower than those of the Jewish
> population already present. (73)

IDF Education Officer Col. Mordechai Bar-On explains the impact this

social change had on the nation.

> The State and all its institututions, its
> parties, its economy, its industry, its
> educational system and the remainder of the
> social and educational development is
> comparable to some of the highest levels in
> the West. On the other hand, nearly half
> the population (1966) still lives to a large
> extent in conditions of social deprivation.

> These families belong in their orientation
> to the pattern of undeveloped societies. (74)

Being a plural society, Israel has two major divisions that affect the
national building role of the IDF. The one is the division between the
Ashkenazi and Oriental Jews, a demographic ratio of (45:55) and the
religious versus the nonreligious Jews (30:70). [75] It is
beyond the scope of this paper to explore the sociological ramifications
of these differences. However Roumani notes that,

> It is a peculiarity of the Jewish people that
> in spite of their diverse origins and the
> differences of national languages, they have
> maintained throughout their dispersion, a bond
> which kept their Jewish Identity (vertical
> integration) alive and which was the very
> reason which brought them back to their old
> homeland...the problem of 'horizontal identity'
> integration in Israel does not take the form
> of conflicts of 'language, locality, blood,
> race or religion' ... but the problem between
> the Western and Oriental Jews, from their first
> encounter, was based on their different cultural
> and social, experiences. (76)

The pre-State Zionist Jews tended to be from a Western culture, secular,
nuclear families, educated in technological developments and the recipients
of 'mass benefits'. The arriving masses of North African/Asian Jews tended
to be from a religious, traditional, synagogue centered, extended family with
less formal education. [77] There were many differences, yet unity was
considered essential for the survival of the nation. Therefore "to combat
the growing problems presented by the influx of these new immigrants all
agencies of the state, including the army, were mobilized to integrate them
within the new State." [78] Roumani says that "Given the length of Army
service in Israel, the age of the recruits and the Army's vast resources for
education, the IDF is perhaps the best-equipped agency for the task of
integration." [79]

It should be noted that the majority of the primary personnel (key policy makers in adult education in Israel) are from an Ashkenazi background. Their perception and assessment of adult education in the army and in other agencies will undoubtedly be representative of the 'western' position. Few Oriental adult educators have risen to the level of policy maker in the field of adult education during the time period of this study. [80] One adult educator in the IDF told this researcher very honestly,

> Every Friday we used to gather the soldiers for
> half an hour, to sum up the week and to play some
> music. It was complicated to decide what type of
> music to play. Most of the soldiers were Oriental
> (it was a literacy training Camp) and I didn't
> want to play Oriental tunes because at that time
> and even today, I insist that after all we would
> like to stick to the western world - not the
> Oriental way - or at least get a balance. (81)

Another army education officer said in a personal interview "We are a Jewish army, there is kashrut etc, but only in a declaratory way. It is there, we cherish it, but let's forget about it. Let's start to live. The real life is western, modern, progressive." [82] It appears that the policy of the socialistic-Zionist Western Jews, 'who were the undisputed founders of the new State and its first leaders,' [83] was to make the people One. For the Oriental-(and most often religious) Jew in the IDF with an Ashkenazi-(and most often nonreligious) environment, the alteration of his lifestyle was intense and long reaching.

With this awareness of the IDF's role and goal in developing NI-NU the next section will briefly examine the educational activities conducted by the IDF for military personnel.

Hebrew Language Courses

Hebrew was necessary to prevent misunderstandings in the military operation. "Until 1956, Hebrew remained the most important and only formal subject which soldiers were required to take in addition to some instruction in Jewish History and the Study of the Land." [84] Until 1962 they were sent to Camp Marcus to learn Hebrew based on their initial entry ability (ie. generally illiterate, illiterate in Hebrew, or lacking proficiency in the language). Camp Marcus was appropriately named after an American Colonel who had volunteered to serve in the War of Independence (1948) but was killed by one of his own sentries for failing to respond to a warning in Hebrew, which he did not understand.

Elementary Education

In 1962 a law was passed stipulating that no soldier be discharged from the IDF without having completed a course of Elementary education. It was first given at the beginning of the recruit's military service but later postponed to the last three months (without it being time 'added on' to his service time). [86] The aim of the Basic Studies was to:

> 1) Raise the cultural level of the soldier by deepening his attachment to national values, and enriching his knowledge of Jewish culture and the culture in general.
>
> 2) Train the soldier for a better life by supplying the rudimentary information and capacities needed for acceptance to any vocational course or for the aquisition of a trade.
>
> 3) Help bridge the social gap by changing the soldier's attitude to education itself. (87)

The curriculum consisted of the following subjects: Bible, Study of the Land, History and Civics. This program consisted of 500 hours of classes

plus seventy-five hours of field trips, etc. [88] For those who have finished elementary school education abroad, they must now complete the 'Israeli portion' of their education - "for the socialization and absorption of the new immigrant into Israeli society." [89]

Secondary Education

Secondary education is optional in the IDF, designed to assist students for the Ministry of Education matriculation examinations. Classes began in 1954 as evening classes as most officer positions require ten years of formal schooling. [90] Both pre-academic and pre-vocational secondary courses are available to the student. A very high percentage of those who complete the pre-academic courses enter local universities upon their discharge from the IDF. [91] Arie Fink, Director of the Rehabilitation Department (Ministry of Defence) is quoted in a newspaper interview as saying, "We see these courses as a function directly connected with the defence of the country - because our resources are human, and our numbers are few." [92]

Secondary School By Correspondence

"In 1965, another program was instituted by the IDF to provide secondary school education by correspondence for staff members and men who are remote from urban centers." [93]

University Preparatory Programs

"The first program is for candidates interested in pursuing academic studies in Institutes of Higher Learning...The second is to help matriculation students raise their grade to the minimum requirements, ...and the third is to help officers continue their studies a) to prevent officers from leaving the army to pursue studies, b) to raise the

standards of the professional soldiers...and c) to equip officers before their retirement with a civilian career." [94]

Vocational Training

Col. Bar-On classifies three categories of vocational training:

1) Short training courses given during army service to soldiers who have no knowledge of any trade.

2) 'Adaptation' courses for the conversion of civilian vocational training for army use.

3) The army's own pre-military, vocational schools. (95)

Each of the above educational activities are taught by qualified IDF instructors who have been trained to make the time together with the adult students more than an academic exercise. Roumani documents numerous IDF policy statements to show that a socialization in Zionist idealogy, and the inculcation of a national-secular identification is the contribution made by the army in order to develop NI-NU. The first identity is with the State. The soldiers oath of allegiance says in part:

> The IDF requires of its soldiers unlimited allegiance to the State of Israel. The soldier in the IDF recognizes the rights of the Jewish people to have its own State in the Land of Israel and is ready to participate personally in the defence and the security of the State, its sovereignty and its ability to fulfill its social and cultural missions. The soldier in the IDF loves his country and aspires to the integration of the Jewish communities and the fraternity of the Jewish people. (96)

The second identity factor is with the land, or Patriotism to the Land of Israel. The study of the land and history of the Jewish people is second only in importance to the study of the Hebrew language. [97] Soldiers become acquainted with their country 'through the belly' [98] "In the

study of the land courses, the IDF emphasizes the heroes of Israel, the location of their battles, and their place in the history of the Jewish people...soldiers are not only given detailed knowledge of their common historical roots, but also shown that they are the most recent link in the chain of history and self-sacrifice."[99] The third identity factor is one of solidarity. It exists in the IDF as a result of the allegiance they share to their state and land.[100] The fourth identity factor is secularism. "Israel is neither a medieval theocracy, nor a secular state...The State however is clearly bent on giving Judaism national and secular relevance apart from a divine revelation of indisputable laws."[101] The IDF as an agency of the State, contributes in this direction. "In IDF schools the Bible is presented as a social, economic and political history of the Jews."[102]

In conclusion, it appears that "the army by definition is the most nationalistic element in society. They are there to protect the nation."[103] The people and the IDF itself, tend to view the IDF as a socializer. "It was highlighted by the fact that in 1964-65, an annual award given by the State for outstanding recognition in the field of adult education was given to the army! Where else has an army received an award of recognition as an Education Agency?[104] It only demonstrates that the State of Israel has a conscious pride in the educational role of the Israel Defence Forces."[105] To slightly rephrase Roumani's words, "For successful national integration, it is necessary not only that the individual Jewish citizen be absorbed in the economic, educational and ideological spheres, but also that he be accepted as an equal in the social and

cultural life of the country." [106] The power of the army to in-
fluence the minds of men should not be underestimated. [107] It
is perhaps fitting that the final words about the role of the IDF
as an adult education agency promoting NI-NU should be given by a
former IDF Education Officer. "True Patriotism is the moral
strength which turns the IDF into one of Israel's most important
instruments for social development, national unity and progress." [108]

The Kibbutzim

In May, 1948 there were 159 Kibbutzim settlements in Israel
with a total of 54,208 inhabitants. [109] This figure represented
approximately 8.4% of the estimated 1948 population of 649,600
people. By 1972 the number of Kibbutzim settlements had risen to
235, comprising 2.8% of the population. [110] The kibbutz (from the
word 'kvutza' meaning group) is the only voluntary form of collective
living in Israel. From a modest beginning of eight members at Degania
at the juncture of the Jordan River and Lake Kinneret ('Sea of Galilee')
in 1909, [111] the search began for the perfect utopian society. [112]
Over seventy years later the development of the Kibbutzim society
has led to what some might regard as the world's most respected and
unique experiment in adult education.

The researcher and his family were guests of Kibbutz Sasa
in northern Israel for seven days during the Pesach ('Passover')
holiday in March, 1980. Dr. Lawrence Kohlberg, the writer of
'Stages of Moral Development' theory, visited this kibbutz during a
sabbatical in Israel. An unpublished paper by one of Dr. Kohlberg's
team members was located in the kibbutz library in which were listed

six common features held by the majority of kibbutzim. [113] The
primary philosophy upon which the kibbutzim collective society has
been built is that of 'shitui veshivion' - co-operation and equality -
'from each according to his ability, to each according to his need.'
This commitment to the development of the individual member of the
kibbutz has made 'lifelong learning' an integral part of the kibbutz
philosophy of education.

The early kibbutzim began as youth groups, some of which
were formed outside the country. Yehuda Bien, author of Adult
Education in Kibbutzim in Israel, (1966), state, "The members were
trained with the idea of coming to Israel and realizing the ideals
of a cooperative society inspired by socialist and Zionist ideas -
compressed together and integrated into their life." [114] They had
to struggle with the life problems of the members - and develop
personal life programs and community life programs to build up their
society and overcome these problems. Adult education became a 'fact
of life' in the kibbutzim based on the philosophy that "you must
consider the whole arena of life needs...by helping adults to promote
their own life style, to establish a society and then promote and
improve the life of that society." [115] This led to three specific
areas of influence where the kibbutzim affected the development of
adult education in Israel. [116] 1) The Histadrut was formed in 1920
as a country wide labor union movement. Members of the kibbutzim were
founding members of the Histadrut. Programs of social and educational
development pioneered by the kibbutzim were extended through the
various departments of the Histadrut. This made the Histadrut more
than a 'labor union'. It was a worker's education movement from its

inception. [117] 2) The kibbutzim united to form specific political parties to help achieve corporate political and philosophical goals. "The policies of these parties became a source of inspiration and contribution to the wider adult education movement in Israel." [118] 3) Regional community colleges were established to provide advanced educational training for children of kibbutz members, without extended periods of time at residential universities. Evening classes, seminars and short courses permitted adults to participate in credit/non credit courses while remaining an active member of the kibbutz community. The success of these colleges led to their affiliation with the major universities as regional extension colleges.

The above examples evidence reasons for the respect kibbutzim receive as a pioneering force in establishing new directions for adult education in Israel. Bezalel Shachar in his Ph.D. dissertation (uniquely completed after his 65th birthday) states, "the kibbutz village has been a visible symbol of adult education in Israel since the Second Aliyah (1904-1914)." [119] In the early days of the Kibbutzim "a special adult education program was established to educate leaders, but all of these developments were legitimized by ideologies which stressed mainly the auxillary function of adult education as a social technique of acculturalization." [120] It is the stated policy of the Kibbutzim that, "To be a successful social, cultural and economic unit, the kibbutz has to have its own highly educated and qualified people and it has to encourage all its members in their efforts at self-improvement." [121] By 1972 it was estimated that 36 percent of the adult kibbutzim population was

involved in some form of educational activity. [122] With adult education

being such a high priority for the development of the kibbutzim, there has

been considerable pressure exerted on the government to provide courses

for teacher training, agricultural studies and domestic science. [123] The

establishment of agencies and programs to meet these requests (ie. the

Agricultural College in Rehovot) has provided opportunities for adults

throughout Israeli society and from foreign countries, to participate in:

these programs.

Each kibbutz offers cultural and educational activities for

adult members that are designed, "to broaden horizons, to stimulate social

and intellectual involvement and to clarify, examine and develop the system

of values." [124] These activities include art festivals, libraries, [125]

films, lectures, drama workshops, study circles, seminars, musicals and

tours. This commitment to adult learning is symbolic of the kibbutzim

commitment to building a 'new society'. As Bien notes:

> Kibbutz society sees man as its center and
> faithful to the traditional Jewish emphasis on
> learning has translated this approach into a
> social system in which each person is able to
> express his needs and designs in numerous aspects
> of work and leisure...work is a 'creative
> activity'...the border line between labor and
> leisure has almost disappeared. (126)

It would appear that the identity and unity of the individual kibbutz

member is first with the socialist-Zionist ideals of the founding of the

Marxist pioneers, while still participating in the broader social and

national struggles of the country to preserve those ideals.

The Histadrut

The General Federation of Labor, usually knows as the Histadrut,

was formed in 1920. It is Israel's largest labor organization and unlike

any other labor organization in the world. [127] It is open to all workers including members of the kibbutzim and moshavim, and of the liberal professions who join directly as individuals. Adult membership rose from 180,000 in 1948 to 1,259,000 in 1973 (42% of the population). [128] The Histadrut is, after the Government, the largest owner of economic enterprises that account for 17% of the national product and employ 22% of the labor force. [129] The Director-General of the Histadrut's Center for Culture and Education (1972) wrote that,

> Before the establishment of the State of Israel,
> the Histadrut was the most central factor in
> the organization of cultural, social and
> educational activities in the country. It was
> thus responsible for most of adult education...
> learning the Hebrew tongue, of creating a new
> way of living, of adaptation to the harsh
> exigencies of a new environment and so on. (130)

The workers who came to Palestine prior to 1948 were primarily from the middle class in their 'host country'. Thus a great part of the labor class in Israel was from the middle class. [131] With the 'Ingathering of the Exiles' and the formation of the State, came many refugees and poorer people who had to learn to become producers. The philosophy of the Histadrut was that 'you must work yourself and not profit from the work of others'. [132] Adult education was important to communicate that philosophy, for Israel's labor movement was not patterned after the classic Marxist belief that "the labor class does not have a means of production". [133] The all embracing Histadrut included physical and non-physical workers, wage earners and independent laborers, kibbutzim and moshavim laborers who have their own means of production, employees of government agencies, teachers, clerks, workers from Histadrut owned industries, professionals and self-

employed individuals. The former editor of 'Devar' (a labor newspaper)

noted, "we needed some means of joining these different types of workers

together, which led to cultural activities from the beginning." [134]

In the Hebrew language the word 'hasbarah' is half way between

the English words 'propaganda' and 'information', almost like

indoctrination. The Histadrut saw a need for adult education and

'hasbarah', "that presents information to those concerned, with the

entire scope of the problems, and the merits and shortcomings of the

opinions proposed." [135] In this manner the Histadrut would be

fulfilling its philosophy of 'faith' in the individual worker. This was

referred to earlier in the Introduction to this paper, but the full text

as written by Shachar says,

> The Histadrut cultural and educational activities
> are based on 'faith'; faith in the ordinary
> citizen of our country whatever his origin...We
> believe it's possible to educate the adult human
> being, to bring out and strengthen the finest
> elements of his nature, to help him rise in
> stature and understanding, to equip him to
> contribute his gifts and capacities to the life
> of the community. (136)

He goes on to describe how the Histadrut will seek to fulfill these goals

within their philosophical framework.

> The programs of the Histadrut are guided by the
> ideas of Zionism and socialism. They are:
> agricultural pioneering; simplicity in personal
> life; respect for every kind of work; equality
> of the sexes and a readiness to treat all human
> beings as equals. They include an appreciation
> of liberty and democracy, a strong emphasis on
> mutual aid and mutual responsibility. And they
> maintain a positive relationship to Israel in
> itsVarious aspects - landscapes, fauna and
> flora. (137)

The vividness of the above description evidences explicitly that the

Histadrut is much more than a 'labor union'. It is a multi-faceted Labor

Economy, that includes mutual aid enterprises, cultural, educational and
expository activities as part of the 'norm' of its operation. [138] One of
the primary personnel said, "If you analyze the Histadrut in the Israeli
arena of adult education, their contribution is unique...there is a
fulfilling of culture as an educational function that was incorporated in
the whole system of services for adults - not as a separate function." [139]
Two of the major 'task-goals' of the Histadrut relate specifically to ∴
national identity and national unity. "First, to combat illiteracy and
ignorance of the Hebrew language, and secondly, to encourage the social and
cultural progress of people from more backward communities." [140]
In Shachar's words,

> We regard adult education and worker's education
> as practically one and the same thing. We have
> now adapted the view of lifelong integrated
> education. We consider education not as a part of
> life but as commensurate with life itself - a man
> should learn and develop all his life. (141)

The Histadrut and the Kibbutzim, as socialist Zionist organizations have
as their primary goal the building of a "cooperative society". [142]
Prior to 1948 this led both groups to develop programs together for
culture, education, higher education and vocational training. These were
linked with the industrial plants and the agricultural units served by
the people themselves to build up the life and the work of the people.
'Making a living' was viewed in tandem with cultural and spiritual
enrichment. After 1948 many of the Histadrut's primary adult education
functions were united in cooperation with other adult education agencies. [143]
One of the primary personnel acknowledged, "More and more since 1948,
adult education in the Histadrut has been identified only with the
cultural aspect. It has been the goal of the Histadrut and the Kibbutzim

and to a certain extent the Moshavim, to view the fulfilling of culture

as an educational function that is not a separate function of the

establishment but incorporated into the whole system of services for

human beings." [144]

The following list shows adult education activities that remained under

the leadership of the Histadrut:

* Labor Studies College to train adults in
  economics, social science administration
  and legislation.
* An Afro-Asian Institute, 'Ohalo' meaning
  'His Tabernacle' - a school for teaching
  the social and spiritual values of
  Moshavim and Kibbutzim.
* Lectures, Discussions and Excursions,
  Study Days, Films, and Publications.
* Language Studies and Correspondence Schools.
* Radio University of the Air (1962)
* Absalom Institute - tours for geographical
  and topographical studies.
* Development of programs in the Sciences, the
  Arts, Music, Folk Dances, Drama.
* Culture Centers (250 in 1968) plus Libraries
  (145 in cities and 260 in moshavim kibbutzim
  and development towns).
* Voluntary social and cultural activity
  ie. vacations, rests, and studies.
* Medical programs, Higher Education, Vocational
  Training and Senior Citizens Homes.
* Reserve Training in "NAHAL' (Hebrew
  abbreviation for 'Combattant Pioneer Youth') a
  separate formation of the IDF for members
  of the Kibbutz and Moshav oriented Youth
  Movements.
* Department to give guidance for religious
  needs.
* Education for Worker's Children, research and
  study grants.
* Arab Department in charge of cultural and
  educational activities (see footnote 145).
* Publications, 'Am Oved' (1942) 'The Working
  Peoples' Publishing House.
* Ha-Sadeh ('The Field') Agricultural Monthly
  since 1920.

* Urim ('Lights') and Urim le-Horim ('Lights
  for Parents') Educational Monthlies.
* Midot ('Diemensions') Technical bulletin.
* 'Al-Yaun' ('Today') Histadruts Daily Arabic
  Paper in the Arabic language (since 1948).
* Labor Archives and Daily Newspapers (Devar).
* Monthly publications for women and children.
* Kibbutzim Publications.
* Training Programs for Education Workers.
* Joint projects with other public institutions
  in Higher Education, UNESCO, cultural
  cooperation and research. (146)

Shachar stated (1970) that, "In Israel we are returning to an

old Jewish concept namely to study all our lives." [147] This could be

interpreted as how he 'perceived' adult education. In his doctoral

dissertation (1974) he acknowledged that,

> Despite its obvious success in various fields
> (particularly in the field of imparting the
> knowledge of the Hebrew language) adult
> education as an organized activity is still
> operating within the context of a minority. (148)

His 'assessment' as interpreted by this researcher is that organized

formal adult education activities (ie. the institutionalized activities)

are many and varied, but they need to be "converted into a complex of

normative patterns of life and behavior." [149] Shachar saw life as a

'total learning process'. He wanted adult education to be regarded as

'normal' to adults as watching television, reading a newspaper or

listening to the news on 'Kol Yisrael' ('The Voice of Israel'). As he

suggested, "There is a historical precedent for this (challenge) grounded

in the Jewish tradtion - 'noblesse oblige'." [150]

Community Centers

The Israel Corporation of Community Centers was established

by the Ministry of Education and Culture as an autonomous body in 1969. [151]

From its entry into the field of adult education in Israel, the

Corporation has experienced rapid growth. In 1970 there was one center,

in 1973 (the limit of this study) there were 26 centers, and in 1979-80

the year of this research project, there were 103 centers. [152] Mr.

Haim Zippori, Director-General of the Corporation, and Esther Alon,

Director of Planning and Evaluation, shared their perceptions and

assessment of the contribution of Community Centers (CC) to NI-NU in

Israel, with the researcher in separate personal interviews. Zippori

recalled that in 1969,

> Zalman Aran, who was the Minister of Education
> wanted to develop something similar to the
> Russian model of the 'School of the Laborers'
> (pioneered in Kiev in the early 1900's). It
> was an opportunity for adult workers during the
> early days of the Russian revolution to try to
> help people raise their standard of education
> and living - a form of Second Chance Education. (153)

The first CC were patterned after the Regional Colleges begun by the

Kibbutzim based on observations of American Community Centers and

Community Colleges. They were called 'Mishlaloh' (meaning 'college')

and later name 'Merkazim Kehilatiim' ('Community Center'). From their

inception they were seen as a place for community 'learning'. Aran's

plan, was put into operation by Dr. Yael Pozner and Haim Zippori in

Development towns and among the disadvantaged adults in lower socio-

economic levels of society in urban centers. It was the intention of

the Ministry of Education and Culture that the independent agency once

established, would meet the needs of the community directly - according

to the needs of each community.

Specific goals and objectives were to be established by the

local Community Center as determined by the local Board of Directors.

The following guidelines established by the Corporation show the philosophy of the CC as an adult education agency. [154]

1) The programs are to be derived from the needs of the people within the local community. Not all the needs can be met, but the CC is to work with the 'norm' of the community. Some of the needs were immense. As one CC brochure states:

> With the establishment of the Jewish State enormous waves of immigrants poured into Israel from camps in Europe, Cyprus and the Muslim countries. The difficult task of trying to integrate people from over a hundred different lands was intensified by the fact that many of these newcomers had undergone great suffering, many were ill or disabled, and still others had no occupational skills and little education. Those who settled in the cities often felt separated from the veteran population; and those who were settled in development towns suffered a feeling of being isolated from the rest of the country. (155)

Many of the large families in a given community lived in small apartments with no where to go and little to do in the evenings. It was a characteristic of the CC in the early stages that it was primarily involved in leisure-time activities. [156] As the needs and problems of the community were examined, the programs of the CC began to expand into programs for all ages.

> First formed for informal activities in adult education and culture the CC has now grown to include sports, cultural events, recreational and social activities, organized celebrations of national and religious holidays, welfare programs, day care, programs for handicapped, aged, and health services. (157)

Individuals in the community are encouraged to make the CC meet the needs of their community.

2) The CC is to be 'universal' to the community. The needs of one
group are not to take priority over other groups. Religious, non-
religious, rich, poor, are all made to feel welcome in the CC. The motto
of 'A Place for Everyone' is a philosophical concept that affects adult
education policy and programming.

3) The services of the CC embrace all areas of life within the
community. The CC is designed to serve not only individuals but also
families, groups, and the community itself. "Some of the CC have taken
on the responsibility for the information, education, recreation, culture
and social activities for a whole town, others work primarily in a
neighborhood." [158]

4) The CC is to interact and coordinate activities with other adult
and educational agencies in the community. Dr. Pozner states, "We have
not come to replace or supplant other institutions which came before us
and initiated activities, nor to do the work of other bodies." [159]

5) The CC must involve the citizens of the community in planning services
and activating them. The challenge for the Board of Directors in each
community is to get full participation by the adults in directing and
participating in programs for their community.

6) The CC must be flexible in the use of their resources. Manpower and
resources must be easily moved from one target area to another. Needs
must be met by moving resources into programs designed to meet those
needs.

7) The CC must utilize the resources economically. A CC is more than
'just a building'. It can move its programs to wherever the people are
located. The CC has the potential to be adaptable and resourceful to the

changing needs of the community.

8) The CC must have local autonomy. Although the CC are part of the Israel Association of Community Centers, each CC has its own Board of Directors. This board may include representatives of the Association, local authorities, local membership, and the Jewish Agency.

These eight guidelines offer the local CC a great deal of autonomy in establishing programs to meet the needs of the local community. In the words of the Director,

> The CC is the 'mainstream of adult education in
> a local community. In the educational and social
> activities, the local CC deals with whatever they
> want to deal with. They have a choice and a
> freedom and a variety in their programming. I
> believe this is the only way to do adult education.
> (160)

Zippori also indicates that "most CC are becoming the common local agent for departments and agencies dealing with adult education in that community." [161] The Open University [162] which has to meet once every two weeks to give professors an opportunity to meet students, often meet at a CC and share the books. As Zippori notes, "The Open University which began in 1973, has introduced a whole new era of adult education in Israel. Adult education has moved from campaigns to fight illiteracy (until the late 60's) into education at a higher level through Regional Colleges, Open Universities and Community Colleges." [163] The CC is a model of local initiative and local involvement in adult education, to accelerate the social and cultural activities of the community in far off places and in poorer sections of the cities. "The whole approach of the CC is the family approach. We try to deal with the adult in the community as a person, as a parent and as a worker." [164] This emphasis

on the individual and the family pushes the goal of the CC beyond

'integration' per se. Alon expressed in the interview,

> In this country we are beginning to be
> afraid of the idea of 'integration'.
> There are two attitudes we must work on.
> First we must get the various segments
> of the population to meet. This is a
> challenge.
> Higher socio-economic groups do not want
> to meet lower groups. Some believe that
> if they are just 'together' and have common
> experiences this will build unity. But it
> is not just meeting that brings integration.
> Others believe that you must strengthen the
> self-image of the individual in the lower
> socio-economic areas. (165)

She stated that the goals of the CC included strengthening the self-

image of the adults and providing common experiences for the people.

But with regard to 'integration' and phrases such as 'National Identity'

and 'National Unity' she added:

> Many adult agencies are 'doing it' without
> necessarily being conscious of what they
> are doing! They conduct their programs and
> their activities but rarely stop to say,
> 'Now we are integrating' or 'Now we are
> causing people to identify with one another
> and with the country! (166)

Zippori and Pozner's philosophy of adult education in the CC, has

contributed significantly to it being "one of the most innovative

developments in Israeli communal life." [167] In some ways the CC is to

the families in poverty neighborhoods and development towns what the

'common meeting/dining room' is for the families of the kibbutzim - a

focal point for living and learning. The communities surrounding a CC may

not have visible fences but there are boundaries to every community. The

Community Center in its own unique way allows members 'within' the

community, to become part of those 'without'. Former Minister of

Education, Aharon Yadlin, expressed his view of the contribution of the

Community Centers to the people of Israel, when he said:

> In my opinion, if our public institutions are
> to succeed, they must learn to reach out to
> people and involve them in the activities of
> their community. In this respect, one of the
> most vital institutions we have created - and
> this is a success story in itself - are the
> community centers which are a shining example
> of how community and individual needs should
> be met. They are at once a social and
> educational focus serving all strata of the
> population. In a very real sense, they
> represent a movement rather than an
> institution. (168)

Moshavim

Encyclopedia Judaica (1973) states that before 1948 most of

the immigrants who were of European origin intended from the first to be

farmers - primarily in the Kibbutzim movement. By May, 1948 there were

159 kibbutzim established with over 54,000 inhabitants. [169] During this

same period a second form of 'cooperative agricultural settlement' was

established called Moshav, (plural: 'moshavim'). [170] By 1948 there were

99 Moshavim with a total membership of over 30,000. After 1948 through

to 1972 the settlement patterns began to change. During this period the

moshavim developed 325 new settlements while the kibbutzim established

140 new settlements. The following explanation is given for the shift

in settlement patterns.

> The later arrivals, over half of whom came
> from Asia and Africa, were placed on the
> land without any prior practical or
> ideological preparation. The collective
> structure, making as it does much greater
> ideological demands on the individual,
> hardly suited their social background. They
> preferred the moshavim, which are closer to
> the ordinary village. (171)

A former Minister of Education, himself an active member of an established kibbutz, told the researcher that the extended family, traditional religious position of the 'Oriental' Jew, made it difficult for them to accept the socialist/Marxist ideology of the kibbutzim, (ie. children sleeping in separate children' homes, a secular/atheistic philosophy of life etc.) thereby finding the moshavim more suited for their cultural/ lifestyle expectations. [172] Whatever the philosophical reasons one chooses for living on a moshav (or an urban area) the reality remains: people must have food! This fact prompted one adult educator to comment that "agricultural development is most important in the development of a nation." [173]

The magnitude of skills required to train and equip the first immigrants to prepare land, grow crops and manage farms was beyond any similar experience in the Diaspora. In many countries the right to own land had been denied to Jewish 'citizens'. In 1950, Prime Minister Ben-Burion described the situation.

> Two major undertakings are required to absorb
> the thousands of immigrants coming to Israel.
> They are: land settlement and education.
> The great majority of the immigrants have
> nothing. They have no capital or property;
> all was taken from them. They have been
> cheated of education and deprived of culture.
> They are forced to come without means, without
> trade, without learning, without training,
> without a language and without knowledge of
> this country or the values of their nation. (174)

The 'old timers' of the Moshavim had to now become agricultural advisors, to integrate new moshavim families into the 'movement', and make them part of the nation. "Members of veteran moshavim would go to new settlements and teach the people agricultural techniques, how to till the ground, one step at a time. 'Today you do this, tomorrow you do

that...'" [175] Up to 1952, the Movement of Moshavim received assistance
from agricultural workers supplied by the Histadrut. One of the primary
personnel (a member of a moshav for 46 years) joined the Histadrut
cultural development department in 1952. He notes,

> In 1952 the Moshavim joined forces with the
> Histadrut to upgrade the education and the
> culture of the moshav people and help them
> adapt to the realities of life in Israel.
> Until 52 there was little emphasis on the
> cultural level. After 1952, local moshav
> leaders were selected to work on developing
> the economic and cultural areas. Choirs and
> orchestras and artists were brought to the
> Moshavim while tours and outings were
> organized for Moshavim members. (176)

Life in Israel had many adjustments for newcomers to the Moshavim that
choirs and 'culture' did not always overcome. In a number of the North
African communities, the rabbi was consulted, to gain his approval of
community actions. On the moshavim authority was vested in a central
committee. This altered the traditional rabbi/family head authority over
many affairs related to family and community. It also created a
resistance to learning among the adult members. It was discovered that
"attempts to work through elected leaders rather than recognized leaders
of these non-egalitarian societies were failures." [177] It was found
that moshavim leaders participation behaviour was similar to that of
younger people. This was explained by their more rapid self-identification
with the surrounding Israeli society and by their greater accessibility to
outside sources of communication. [178] In reflecting on the contribution
of adult education within the Moshavim to NI-NU, one adult leader of
cultural development for adult members of Moshavim, stated:

> We have many failures to look back on in
> the things we have tried...but there is one
> achievement that is significant. The
> youngsters of the moshavim families have
> become very attached to the land. They are
> not planning to leave. They want to be
> absorbed. So in effect we took 'uprooted
> people' who did not have any identity with
> the land or the people and 'planted' them
> on the land. They are now part of the
> country. Thousands of them now identify
> with the land. (179)

The 'Movement of Moshavim' is relatively small in membership with 4 percent of the population in 1972. [180] Yet the contribution of adult educators within the movement has aided NI-NU among the members, while bringing agricultural development to the nation.

CHAPTER IV: FOOTNOTES

<u>Ministry of Education</u>

1. <u>Education and Science</u>, (from: Encyclopedia Judaica)
    (1973), p. 19.

2. Ibid, p. 22.

3. Ibid, p. 26.

    "The budget of the Ministry of Education and Culture for
    1971/72 was 6.5% of the total national budget, second only
    to the allocation for defence. (Money for school buildings
    was apart from the 6.5%)"   pp. 23-24.

4. Yeheskiel Cohen, personal interview -- (66.1)
    Sammy Smooha, personal interview ---- (66.3)

5. <u>Education and Science</u>, op. cit., pp. 26-27.

6. Randolph Braham, <u>Israel: A Modern Education System</u>,
    (1966), p. 85.

7. Ora Grabelsky, 'Trends in Adult Education in Israel'
    from: <u>Life-Long Education in Israel</u>, (ed) Kalman Yaron,
    (1972), p. 38.

8. <u>Society</u>, (from: Encyclopedia Judaica) (1973), p. 122.

9. Ibid, p. 122.

10. <u>Government Year Book, 1971</u>, (1971), pp. 136 - 137.

11. Popular Art is a joint concern of the Ministry of Education
    and Culture, the America-Israel Cultural Foundation and the
    Histadrut. In 1971-72 it arranged nearly 700 performances
    (theatrical, musicals, ballets) in development towns, villages
    and border farmstead. Over 190,000 enthusiasts observed.
    Performances are for outpost communities and border villages
    and is part of their 'social integration' for all new arrivals.
    (Ibid, p. 136.)

12. These paintings were viewed by over 90,000 people in over
    32 locations throughout Israel, (Ibid, p. 136.)

13. Popular Education is a means to dispel illiteracy and instill
    basic schooling - in town and village, in class and at home,
    embracing over 10,000 'pupils'. It involves 425 civilian part
    time teachers and 160 service women who are trained for the task.
    (Ibid, p. 137.)

14. These are regional post secondary schools and colleges for adult
    students. Fourteen hours a week with 56,000 students in 450
    locations. (Ibid, p. 137.)

15. There are 80 public libraries in Israel with over 90,000 readers,
    plus courses for librarians. (Ibid, p. 137) - (by 1980 it had
    risen to 750 libraries with 21%   the Jewish population registered·
    as a member of a library. From: Facts About Israel, (1980),
    p. 155.).

16. Ofra Meiri, personal interview, (54.2)

    The Association defines adult education as "everything that can
    help an adult develop as an adult - including proper education,
    training illiterates, professional education, cultural education
    etc." (Ibid, 54.2)

17. Life-Long Education in Israel, (1972), p. 43.

18. Richard Mikton, Israel: Training of Vocational Instructors,
    Supervisors, and Technicians, (1967).

    "Education and training is viewed in Israel as an indispensable
    instrument for welding the native-born, the earlier immigrants
    and the recently arrived into a united nation. Vocational
    training is an important part of the country's educational
    establishment since a cotinuous flow of skilled workers into
    industry is essential to Israel's economic prosperity." p. 22.

    In a booklet entitled, Manpower Training and Development Bureau.
                                 (1978), a description is given of
    the various vocational training activities within the Ministry
    of Labor.

    "The Department for Adult Training includes units dealing with
    the following areas: Adult Training, On-the-Job Training, Training
    of Women, Retraining of University graduates.   Vocational
    Training for the handicapped population, Guidance for pensioners
    and The Arab sector."

Researcher's Note:

The Ministry of Labor is a significant adult education agency in
Israel (especially in the area of vocational training programs).
Many of the Ministry's programs are oriented to the direct
application of a skill learned. This could account for why this
Ministry was rated lower than the selected seven agencies as an
adult education agency that is making a primary contribution to
NI-NU. Some within this Ministry might question the validity of
the perception and assessment of the primary personnel. However
with the limitations of the study, the researcher would ask Dr.
Daniel Millin (whom he interviewed) Director of Manpower Training
and Development Bureau, to accept this possible explanation.

19.   Yonah Ben-Sason, personal interview, (114. 1-6; 116.1; 75.2)

20. Ibid, (5.15)

Ulpanim (Hebrew Language Programs)

21. "In traditional Jewish society" means that society which 'regards
     its existence as based upon a common body of knowledge and values
     handed down from the past.' From the historical point of view this
     is 'the whole of world Jewry, at least from the talmudic era
     (200 C.E.) up to the age of European Emancipation' - from:
     Jacob Katz, Tradition and Crisis, Jewish Society at the End of
     the Middle Ages. (1961), p. 3). The
     Book refers of course, to the Holy Scriptures and the body of
     rabbinic literature that was built upon them throughout the ages.
     The Jews came to be called the 'People of the Book; by virtue of
     living according to the rules of THE Book with which they were so
     preoccupied."
     from: 'Functions of the Book for Society and Self, A Study in
     Secular Transformation', Elihu Katz and Hannah Adoni, Life-Long
     Education in Israel, (1972), p. 50.

     "The people of the Book" is one of the few national characteristics
     which finds a place both in the self-image of the religious public
     and of the secular public." Ibid, p. 54.

     In a 1970 Reader's Digest 'Survey of Europe Today' it was found
     that three quarters (77%) of the Israeli population read one
     book in the past year. A book was defined as a non-periodical
     printed publication of at least 49 pages, exclusive of the cover
     pages. The number of 'active readers' (8 or more books a year)
     was 42% of the entire population. Both figures outranked ten
     Western European countries. Ibid, p. 55.

22. Facts About Israel,(1980), p. 145.

    The decision to make Hebrew the national language of Israel
    materialized through the efforts of pioneers such as
    Eliezer Ben-Yehuda, who arrived in Jerusalem in 1881 and
    became famous as the creator of the first Hebrew dictionary.
    In 1892, the Jewish teachers of the country resolved to
    adopt Hebrew as the language of instruction: the first high
    schools were opened in Jaffa (1906) and Jerusalem (1908)...
    In 1922 Hebrew, Arabic and English were recognized as official
    languages. (from p. 145.)

23. School Comes to Adults, (1965), p. 32.

24. Shlomo Kodesh - personal interview - (11.10).

    Ora Grabelsky added in a personal interview:

    "Those who were educated were sent to Ulpanim in the early 50's
    to learn the language. Doctors or engineers were given help
    in special classes to learn the language. Those who were not
    educated were not sent to Ulpanim, because their problem was
    not language. Their problem was a lack of a basic education."
    (16.4)

    This supports the government document which states: "Originally,
    the ulpan was intended for people with a higher education and
    members of the free professions only. Today (1965) however, it
    opens its doors to graduates of elementary schools as well...
    non-Jews who have come with the view to learning the language
    quickly, be they scholars of Hebrew, the Bible, or Semitics,
    clerics or diplomats." (School Comes to Adults, op. cit.,
    pp. 33-34.

25. School Comes to Adults, op. cit., p. 32.

26. Yaacov Ardon, "Adult Education as a Community Tool', Jerusalem
    Post, 26 February, 1976 (quoting Dr. Eitan Israeli, Chairman
    of the Adult Education Association of Israel, northern branch.)

27. Haim Hutner - personal interview - (11.14)

28. Ibid, (11.16)

29. Shlomo Kodesh, op. cit., (11.1)

30. Ibid, (11.3; 11-5)

31. Ibid, (11.6)

32. Ibid, (16.3)

33. Yehuda Bien, Adult Educators in Face of Societies Distresses, (1976), p. 135.
    (translated into English for the researcher by Israel Pekin).

    The researcher asked one adult educator, 'Is there a hidden agenda in Ulpan? The response was "It better not be hidden' (27.2). "When we teach Hebrew to new comers, it is not just language as a practical means of communication. Hebrew is a channel to understand culture, philosophy, the ideals and the history of the people throughout the generations." (Avraham Tzivion - personal interview - 27.3).

34. Haim Hutner, op. cit., (11.18)

35. Personal notes from the 30th Anniversary of Ulpan Meeting in Tel-Aviv, December 19, 1979.

36. Ofra Maheri - personal interview - (16.4)

37. The word 'ulpan' can mean 'studio' in Hebrew. ie. On Kol Yisrael, 'The Voice of Israel' radio station they will say (transliterated) 'Now back to the ulpan.'

38. Shlomo Kodesh, 'The Diffusion of Hebrew', in Life-Long Education in Israel, (1972), p. 89.

39. Ibid, p. 90.

40. Ibid, p. 90

41. School Comes to Adults, op. cit., p. 34.

42. Ibid, p. 34

43. Ora Grabelsky, From Illiteracy to Literacy, (1970), pp. 58-64.

44. Ibid, p. 64.

45. School Comes to Adults, op, cit., p. 4.

46. Ulpanit (plural: 'Ulpaniyot') is a non-residential language class for adults, which meets two or three times a week. They mostly convene in the evenings or during the morning hours.

    In 1965 the number of Hebrew Language adult pupils was distributed as follows:

		No. of Institutions	No. of Classes	No. of Teachers	No. of Pupils
1.	Ulpaniyot	215	659	460	10,500
2.	Residential Ulpanim	10	98	107	4,900
3.	Popular Ulpanim	15	67	67	1,450
4.	Youth Centers	10	20	20	700
5.	Kibbutz Ulpanim	69	120	120	3,800
	Total	310	964	774	21,350

from: School Comes to Adults, op. cit. pp. 36-37.

47. The researcher's Ulpanit experience lasted three months. The pace of the class was such that those with a Jewish background, and the high motivation of making 'aliyah' (immigration to Israel) were able to 'keep up'. Non Jews, and the Jews who were visitors to Israel found the course required one to 'break ones teeth' to maintain the pace.

From an article in The American Jewish World, September 28, 1962, entitled: "To Ulpan Akiva They Come from Everywhere', Bess Frisch describes the 'shock method' of teaching Hebrew.

"...words and phrases are literally flung at students. No time to do otherwise than catch and absorb. If one did not know the alphabet, one had to learn it on one's own time. From the beginning there was dictation from the teacher which the student transliterated in his own language into a notebook...then into Hebrew...there was singing...and skits with two or three people dialoging in front of the class..." (p. 22.)

48. The word 'illiterate' means "anybody who can not read and write at all in any language." from: Ora Grabelsky, op. cit., p. 9.

Grabelsky refers to a five-stage scale of Literacy developed by A. H. Robinson in Basic Education for the Disadvantaged Adult: Theory and Practice, Boston: 1966, (Lanning F. W. and Manny, W. A. (eds.), p. 300.

1. Complete Illiteracy - unable to read at all.
2. Low-Level Literacy - able to read at a grade 1-4 level.
3. Partial Literacy - able to read at a grade 5-6 level. (essential)
4. Variable Literacy - able to read many kinds of materials at a variety of levels.
5. Complete Literacy - able to read effectively suiting reading rate and approach to purposes and difficulty of material.

49. <u>School Comes to Adults</u>, op. cit., p. 4.

50. Ibid, p. 13.

51. Ibid, p. 14.

52. Kalman Yaron, 'Seeing Israel - From an Old City Ulpan' article in Jerusalem <u>Post</u>, Friday, June 28, 1968, p. 11.

53. Ulpan Akiva takes its name from Rabbi Akiva.

    "What are Rabbi Akiva's beginnings? He had reached the age of 40 and had not learned anything. Once he happened to be standing near a well in Lod, he asked who made the groove in this stone? They said to him: Akiva, know thee not the verse 'The water wears the stone' (Job 14:19). The water had made the grooves in the stone by falling continuously, day after day. Whereupon Rabbi Akiva said, 'Is then my heart harder than a stone?'" - Midrash (Compendium of Jewish Legend)

    "Rabbi Akiva's awakening resulted from his realization that one cannot possibly know which drop of water makes grooves in a stone." - Talmudic tradition.

    from: 'The Ulpan and Its Students', <u>Life-Long Education in Israel</u>, op. cit., p. 93.

54. Newspaper clippings in the Ulpan Akiva archives refer to Schulamit Katznelson as, 'a fanatic', a 'tiny dynamo', a woman of compact and abrupt energy', 'a rebel', 'a non conformist',

    The researcher identifies with the description offered by Mr. Aharon Yadlin...(see footnote 60) "...she knows how to demand; how to encourage; how to propogate ideas; how to constantly take new initiatives." (p. 1.)

55. Bess Frish, The American Jewish World, op. cit., p. 22.

56. 'Hebrew Without Tears', Jerusalem <u>Post</u>, September 7, 1973. page unknown.

57. 'Hebrew is Your Key to Israel', Information Brochure prepared by Ulpan Akiva, POB 256, Natanya, 42100, Israel.

58. 'Its a Very Special Place', <u>Jewish Voice</u>, Friday, May 11, 1973 p. 3.

59. 'Hebrew Without Tears', op, cit. page unknown

60. from an address by Mr. Aharon Yadlin at the Opening Ceremony

of the Course for the Study of Arabic at Ulpan Akiva, April 16, 1978.   Copy on file in Ulpan Akiva Archives. p. 1.

61.   Schulamit Katznelson - from personal interviews, see transcribed pages of interview, pp. 5-11.

62.   Ibid, p. 11.

Israel Defence Forces (IDF)

63.   Government Year Book, 5711 (1950), p. 36.

64.   Ibid, p. 7.

65.   'Israel Defence Forces as Adult Educator', from: Life-Long Education in Israel, (1972), p. 98.

66.   Col. Mordechai Bar-On, Education Processes in the Israel Defence Forces, (1966), p. 9.

Col. Bar-On was the Chief Education Officer in the IDF when this book was written.   He acknowledges that most of the activities in which the IDF engage are similar to other armies of the world (ie. schools, study circles, institutes for leadership training, publications, lectures, theater groups, choirs, etc.)   The paper if based on the assumption that in the IDF there occur educational processes which are of great significance for the country and its citizens.   (from Preliminary Remarks, pp. 3-6.)

67.   Shlomo Kodesh - personal interview - (19.1)

68.   Kalman Yaron - Personal Interview - (19.2)

69.   "all citizens from their 18th year - men serving three years and unmarried women for two."
Facts About Israel, (1980), p. 125.

"There are a number of people who are not recruited.   8-10% of the men do not qualify (physically handicapped, lack of education, low intelligence standards, lack of knowledge of Hebrew, criminal record etc)   (from personal interview with Col. Bar-On 119.1)
See also Bar-On (1966) pp. 22-23.
Roumani quotes a source (Ha-Aretz Supplement, March 31, 1972, p. 8.) which puts the 'exception' rate for men at only 3.5%.   See Roumani (1978), p. 38.

"Less than fifty percent of women who reach the age of eighteen
actually enlist in the IDF. Military service law exempts
married women. Girls who marry during military service are
discharged...girls are exempted for religious reasons (most
Oriental women regard military service as an intolerable
departure from their sacred vows)...Girls are exempt for
health handicaps which would be insufficient to release men."

In a personal interview Bar-On added:

"The army is not a blessing to a very crucial part of society -
the 50% of the mothers of the future generation." (119.2) "They
were deprived of receiving the positive aims of the army." (119.6)

70. Ora Grabelsky - personal interview - (19.5)

71. Col. Mordechai Bar-On - personal interview - (121.7)

72. Maurice Rounmani, From Immigrant to Citizen, (1978), p. 5.

Born in Benghazi, Libya, Dr. Roumani is a political scientist
Lecturer at Ben-Gurion University of the Negev. The researcher
visited him and his family at their home in Omer, near Beersheba.
Roumani is one of a growing number of articulate and well
educated Oriental Jews, who are beginning to question the
feasibility of a program of national integration aimed at
cultural homegeneity in a democratic society where the goal in
their estimation ought to be pluralism.

73. Ibid, p. 5.

74. Bar-On, op, cit., p. 9.

75. Sammy Smooha, Israel: Pluralism and Conflict, (1978), p. 3.

76. Roumani, op. cit., p. 26.

77. Ibid, Chapter 1, 'Israeli Society', pp. 13-23.

78. Ibid, p. 5

Professor of History, Henry Huttenbach (The City College of the
City University of New York) in writing the Preface to Maurice
Roumani's book, From Immigrant to Citizen states: (p. 5.)

Every state confronted by a diverse population,
multi-ethnic and multi-cultural, strives towards
social homogeneity according to pre-conceived

criteria reflecting the values and needs of the
ruling elite. Modernization and assimilation of
the masses are the twin goals and ideals of all
contemporary nation states: the former assures
optimum competitive power with rival states;
and the latter guarantees the broadest popular
support for government policy.

79. Ibid, p. 33

80. One notable exception among the Primary Personnel (listed in
     Appendix A) is President Yhitzak Navon. Sociologist Sammy Smooha
     (born in Iraq) has written much about this cultural division
     between Askenazi and Oriental Jews in his book Israel: Pluralism
     and Conflict. (1978).

81. Avraham Tzivion - personal interview (59.8)

82. Col. Mordechai Bar-On - personal interview - (32.31)

83. Roumani, op, cit., p. 19.

84. Ibid, p. 52.

85. Ibid, p. 52.

86. Ibid, p. 54

87. Ibid, p. 54. (see also, Life-Long Education in Israel,
     Yaron, op. cit., p. 100.)

88. Ibid, p. 55

89. Ibid, p. 54 and 55.

90. Ibid, p. 56. (see Yaron, op. cit., p. 101.)

91. Lea Levavi, 'Second Chance at the Center'
     Jerusalem POST Newspaper, December 10, 1971.

92. Ibid, (same article, page unknown).

93. Roumani, op. cit., p. 59. (see Yaron, op. cit., p. 101.)

94. Ibid, pp. 60-61.

95. Bar-On, op. cit., p. 54. (see Roumani, op. cit., pp. 62-63.)

96. Roumani, op. cit., p. 95.

97. Ibid, p. 98.

98.   Bar-On, op. cit., p. 75.

99.   Roumani, op. cit., p. 101.

100. Ibid, p. 104

101. Ibid, p. 105.

102. Ibid, p. 105

103. Col. Mordechai Bar-On - personal interview - (121.5)

104. An award presented each year to the individual or agency recognized
      by the Israel Adult Education Association for making a significant
      contribution to adult education in Israel.

105. Ibid, (121.4)

106. Roumani, op. cit., p. 129.

107. Ibid, p. 129.

108. Bar-On, op. cit., (1966), p. 78.

The Kibbutzim

109. Immigration and Settlement, (1973), p. 96.

      For a detailed account of Kibbutzim see Society,
      (1974), pp. 75-94.

110. Aspects of Israel, (1974), p. 18.

      "The Kibbutz movements were at the center of the ideals that
      led to the rebirth of Israel. They saw the return to Zion as
      much more than establishing a national homeland; they saw it
      mainly as a means of building a Socialist society based on
      the principle of a 'return to the soil'." (p. 18.)

111. The Kibbutz, Rosenfeld, Hanegbi and Segal, (1973), p. vii.

112. Alexander Barzel (a member of Kibbutz Kfar Hahoresh and a senior
      lecturer at the University of Haifa) states in an article
      entitled 'Judaism and the Kibbutz' Forum, Spring. 1980, No. 37.
      pp/ 37-52 the following:

      "The kibbutz is not a random collection of people whose way of
      life, principles and goals are formed in the course of its

existence in a changing reality, but a social entity constituted
on the basis of principles and directed toward a goal." (p. 37.)

"The kibbutz does not see itself as an isolated cloister of 'noble
souls'. It is a social movement grounded in reality, utilizing
the tools furnished by the civilization within which it exists and
the achievements of progress in order to bring about a better
world." (p. 45.)

"The kibbutz is a manifest Jewish Utopia, a summons to rebellion
against evil and a struggle to improve man's world." (p. 49.)
(with the author's footnote: "In the words of Buber, the kibbutz
is a 'topia' and not a U-topia; it takes place in the here-and-
now and not in some realm beyond time. See: Paths in Utopia,
Buber, Beacon, 1958, p. 52.)

113. Although the kibbutz we visited stressed a Marxist ideology,
(Kibbutz Artzi shel Hashomer Hatzair') Kohlberg suggests six
common features held by the majority of the kibbutzim. They are:

1. Common Value Assumption. The principle of 'shitui veshivion'
- co-operation and equality. Every Kibbutz member is expected
to co-operate fully in the maintenance of the social and economic
life of the kibbutz. "From each according to his ability, to
each according to his need". No member of the kibbutz receives
a salary, or any form of direct monetary reward for his labor.
All the property used and produced by the kibbutz is owned
collectively by members of the kibbutz. Private property is
kept to a minimum. The house in which the member lives, the
food he eats, the equipment he uses and the crops he grows are
owned by the kibbutz. Another common value assumption is the
"moral primacy of the group", meaning that a member's personal
feelings are kept in balance with or subjection to the goals
of the group. Great stress is placed on the value of physical
labor and 'avoda atzmit' - self labor.

2. Collective Economic Organization. All members are employed
on a year-round basis in an economically organized manner to
make maximum efficient use of the labor and the capital available.
Both productive (income generating tasks) and service tasks are
rotated among members for their 6:30 a.m. to 3:30 p.m. 'average
day'.

3. Communal Living Arrangements. A communal dining room for
meals, meetings, mail and memos is the focal point of the kibbutz.
Nearby are communal service facilities (laundry, etc.) and members'
apartments (living room and bedroom). Most kibbutzim children
sleep in children's houses with others the same age. On the
perimeter are garages, agricultural facilities, possibly a school
or light industry depending on the size of the kibbutz - all
surrounded by barbed wire fences for security.

4. Democratic Rule. Members have a weekly 'sicha kallalit' or general meeting. Various committees run all aspects of kibbutz life while the general membership has the final authority.

5. Collective Education. Classes are held for children of the kibbutz or a group from nearby kibbutzim.

6. Cultural Celebrations. Major Jewish-Israeli holidays are celebrated as well as marriages and funerals but most remain secular in tone.

Shabbat, from sundown Friday to Saturday, serves as a day of rest.

Researcher's notes taken from an unpublished paper written by a member of Dr. Kohlberg's team. Located in the library of Kibbutz Sasa, March 1980.

114. Yehuda Bien - personal interview (69.2)

115. Ibid, (90.1)

116. Ibid, (69.3)

117. Ibid, (69.4)

118. Ibid, (69.4)

119. Shachar, "Social Changes in Adult Education in Israel" Thesis submitted for the degree, Doctor of Philosophy, Hebrew University, October, 1974. From Summary in English, p. 1.

Shachar defines adult education in his paper as:

"activities undertaken in an organized way, with the intention to add to the adult person, knowledge, competence and the capabilities of understanding and appreciation." (p. 1.)

120. Ibid, p. 1

121. Yehuda Bien, "The Kibbutz - A Working and Learning Society" from Lifelong Education in Israel, (ed) Kalman Yaron, (1972), pp. 129-135. (p. 134.)

122. Ibid, p. 135.

123. Ibid, p. 135.

124. Ibid, p. 132.

125. Ibid, p. 132.

126. Ibid, p. 133.

    see also: Yehuda Bien, <u>Adult Education in Kibbutzim in Israel</u>,
             Kibbutz Movement, Authority for Education and
             Research, 1966.

The Histadrut

127. <u>Aspects of Israel</u>. (1974), p. 39.

    The other labor organizations in Israel are, Histadrut Ha-Ovdim
    Ha-Leumit (founded in 1934 by the Revisionist Zionists) and
    Hapoel Hamizrachi and Poalei Agudat Israel (both religious
    organizations). In 1973 their total membership was 135,000. They
    are engaged in trade union activities, absorption of immigrants,
    housing, employment, co-operation, education, social work and
    settlement on the land.

    (see also <u>Facts About Israel</u>, (1980), p. 178.)

    For a more detailed account of the history of the Histadrut, see
    <u>Society</u> (from Encyclopedia Judaica) Jerusalem: Keter Publishing
    House, 1974, pp. 102-141.

128. Ibid, p. 39

129. Ibid, p. 39.

130. Bezalel Shachar, 'Workers' Education' from <u>Lifelong Education In</u>
    <u>Israel</u>, (ed) Kalman Yaron, (1972), pp. 125-128.

    "From an early period, the labor movement was aided in their task
    by the extra-mural department of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem
    (established in 1918). This partnership was sometimes called an
    alliance between the mountain (the university) and the valley
    (the village, with particular reference to the cooperative
    settlements in the Valley of Jezreel where famous men of science
    would come and lecture.)"

131. Yehuda Gothelf - personal interview (68.6. p. 1.)

132. Ibid, (68.7.p.1.)

133. Ibid, (68.8.p.2.)

134. Ibid, (68.9.p.2.)

135. Ibid, (68.10.p.2.)

136. Bezalel Shachar, <u>Culture and Education in the Histadrut</u>, (1965),
    p. 5.

137. Ibid, p. 5.

138. Ibid, p. 8.

139. Yehuda Bien - personal interview - (68.5.p.5.)

140. Shachar, op. cit., (1965), p. 15.

141. Bezalel Shachar, 'Aspects of Education in Israel' The Role of The Histadrut, (1970) p. 44.

142. Bien, op. cit., (68.1.p.2.)

143. Shachar, op. cit., (1970), p. 45.

    "In Israel we have a broad common denominator for work, cooperation and harmony among the various (adult education) agencies: The Government (Ministry of Education and Culture); The Israel Defence Force; Municipal authorities; and the Universities."

144. Bien, op. cit., (68.4.p.2.)

145. Shachar, op. cit., (1970), p. 74.

    An activity of the Histadrut's Arab Department is "the effort to foster Israeli-mindedness among the Arab inhabitants, ie. the best way to crystallize in them an awareness of themselves as Arabs who are Israelis and Israelis who are Arabs."

    The researcher asked one Histadrut primary personnel "If Zionism and socialism are the goals of the Histadrut, are there conflicts with these goals if we include the 400,000 plus Israeli Arabs? (1973)" The answer was 'No'..."What we demand from the Arab is that he be loyal to the State. Because if we reach our larger goal, then Israel will be part of a large corporation, we will be the majority in Israel, but they (the Arabs) will be the majority in the Arab-socialist camp." (68.11)

146. Shachar, op. cit., (1970), p. 23. (researcher's summary)

147. Ibid, p. 47.

148. Bezalel Shachar, 'Social Changes in Adult Education in Israel, (1974), p. 1. (Summary in English)

149. Ibid, p. 1.

150. Ibid, p. 1.

Community Centers

151. Israel Corporation of Community Centers: Summaries and Objectives, 1969-1979, (eds) Michal Cohen and Elisheva May, (1979).

This Decennary Convention booklet has numerous articles related to the historical growth of the Community Centers - and future directions being considered. (ie. para-professionals, day-nurseries).

152. Haim Zippori - personal interview - (55.12)

There are over 800 Jewish Community Centers worldwide with over 2 million members. Of the 103 (1980) Community Centers in Israel 8 are in Arab communities, (pre-67 borders). The Israel Community Centers are dependent on financial contributions primarily from Jews in the United States, and as such 'are obligated to work with the people the finances support' (ie the Israeli-Jewish communities).

153. Ibid, (55.10)

154. Esther Alon - personal interview - (78.1)

155. Karen Hoffman, Community Centers in Israel, (1976), p. 2.

156. Haim Zippori, 'Trends of Development for the Coming Decade', from: ICCC: Summaries and Objectives, op, cit., p. 11.

157. Hoffman, op. cit., p. 5.

158. Ibid, p. 4.

159. Zvi Lavi, 'A Venture by a Twosome', from: ICCC: Summaries and Objectives, op. cit., p. 8.

160. Haim Zippori, personal interview, (55.14)

161. Ibid, (55.14)

162. The Open University for Adults began to function in 1976. It does not have academic requirements for admission.

163. Haim Zippori, op. cit., (17.1)

164. Ibid, (55.14)

165. Esther Alon, personal interview, (55.5)

166. Ibid, (55.9)

167. Hoffman, op. cit., p.2.

168. Ibid, p. 16.

Hoffman identifies five ways the Community Centers in Israel can be distinguished from Jewish Community Centers in North America.

1) In Israel the community center serves the total population of the town or neighbourhood, not just part of it.
2) In Israel the community center focuses mainly on the disadvantaged population with less emphasis on serving the middle and upper class.
3) In Israel the community center activities are supported primarily by public funds, and not chiefly by membership fees or Jewish federation subsidies.
4) In Israel the community center primarily provides basic education, welfare and social services, with understandably, less programs to enhance Jewish identification.
5) In Israel the community center in many ways is similar to the settlement houses of the 1890's and the multi-service Centers of the poverty program of the 1960's. (p. 13.)

Moshavim

169. Immigration and Settlement, (1973), p. 98.

Table 9, p. 96., and Table 10, p. 97. detailed figures for each year 1900-1972.

170. The Moshav is a co-operative village where each family maintains its own household and works its own plot of land. Marketing and supply are handled co-operatively, and to a varying degree, capital and means of production are jointly owned. The average moshav has a population of 60-100 families. (from: Aspects of Israel, (1974), p. 19.)

171. Immigration and Settlement, op. cit., p. 98.

The 1980 Handbook, Facts About Israel, op. cit., p. 100. adds:

"Attempts were made at the beginning - in the spirit of the Ingathering of the Exiles - to install new comers from very different backgrounds - such as Romanian and Moroccan Jews (Ashkenazi and Oriental) on the same moshav, but community resistance was strong. Since then the policy has been to settle only a single group or a number of similar ones, on each moshav.

There are signs that the merging of the different cultures is easier with the second generation of moshav members."

172. Aharon Yadlin - personal interview, (98.10)

173. Ora Grabelsky - personal interview, (95.3)

174. Government Year Book: (1950), p. 34.

175. Ora Grabelsky, op. cit., (95.1)

176. Gershon Gilad - personal interview, (98.1)

177. Yehiel Admoni, 'Extension Methods in Agriculture', <u>Life-Long Education in Israel</u>, (1972), p. 141.

178. Ibid, p. 142.

A study of the efficiency of various extension methods showed that the settlers give highest evaluation to individual instruction methods through the local advisor. (p. 142) This evidenced that "the most efficient channel of communication in traditional societies is by way of the <u>recognized</u> leaders. Even if the process takes longer, because it is really a double process - from advisor to leader, and from leader to settler - it is still more efficient." (p. 141)

179. Gershon Gilad, op. cit., (98.9)

180. <u>Aspects of Israel</u>, op. cit., p. 19.

CHAPTER V

AN ASSESSMENT OF CULTURE, RELIGION AND MINORITY GROUPS AS THEY RELATE
TO NATIONAL IDENTITY - NATIONAL UNITY

The parameters of this study include three distinct
sociological factors that affect the development of National Identity-
National Unity. They are 1) Forces within Israeli culture affecting
NI-NU; 2) The contribution of Religion to NI-NU; and 3) The
relationship of Minority Groups to NI-NU. The comments of the primary
personnel will be presented within the context of related literature
reviewed by the researcher.

Forces Within Israeli Culture Affecting NI-NU

In interviews with two of the primary personnel the
statement was made, "Israeli culture is a mixed culture." [1] One, a
prominent author in the field of adult literacy programs, went on to
explain, "People came to Israel from many different cultures. First we
tried to give them all the good things we had developed, to make them
'like us'. Then we found that you cannot change people by giving them
material things." [2] This supports what a former Director of Adult
Education (in the Ministry of Education) said: "It is very hard to say
we have a whole culture, or a pluralistic culture. It is only 30 years!
We can only trace what we call 'Israeli culture' to a historical
traditional Jewish culture. And that traditional Jewish culture is very
deeply rooted in religion." [3] Another adult educator concurred by
saying, "I see religion as part of our culture - our way of life. It

was for many generations a religion, but it has also become a culture." [4]

A fourth said: "For me it is very simple, the Bible is our culture." [5]

Sociologist Sammy Smooha defined culture for the researcher as "the rules of the game - how people relate to one another and compete with one another." [6] He added:

> The Israeli culture is a mixed culture. It is
> not exactly a western country although it has
> some western elements and some Jewish traditions
> and some local sabra elements mixed together.
> There are very few western Jews in Israel. Most
> of the Ashkenazi Jews are from Eastern Europe...
> the Jewish traditions of Israel in the public
> domain are more accustomed to Ashkenazi styles
> (ie. in worship, dress etc.) than to Oriental.
> Also the majority of the local traditions of the
> sabras are Ashkenazi traditions. If you set the
> rules of the game according to Ashkenazi values,
> you make it easier for them to compete and
> harder for the Oriental Jews." (7)

The Director of the Israeli Community Centers noted that "prior to 1948, Israel was a predominently western culture built on the ideology of socialism, the labor movement, modernism and a society built on achievements. Those who lacked this knowledge were not able to keep up or manage." [8] The majority of the newly arrived immigrants, admitted to what a Histadrut leader called "the cultural supremacy of the resident Israeli. The ones who came from Yemen or Kurdistan, sensed the supremacy of the 'old timers' in Israel but did not understand, nor know what it was." [9] Two of the factors creating this situation of cultural supremacy by the Ashkenazi Jews in the early days of the state were:

1) the Zionist pioneers living in Israel were accepted as 'leaders';

2) the newly arrived immigrants were economically dependent on the veteran settlers. One leader of adult education within the Moshavim

noted,

> It is a complex job to get people to absorb
> within a new culture. Adults carry with them
> both positive and negative cultural heritage
> factors. The culture of an adult is his 'I',
> his Identity. An adult does not want to give
> up his 'I'. (10)

The same leader tried to sum up the feelings of the new immigrants he

worked with by the following observation:

> It was difficult in 1948 for the newly arrived
> immigrants to understand the European local
> culture. They emulated only the margins of it.
> Yet twenty-five years later in 1973, these
> immigrants began to straighten their backs. They
> and their second generation children are now in a
> position to select what they want. They are not
> on the edges any more as mere emulators or
> newcomers. They can now speak for themselves and
> express their desires. (11)

This view would support a quote Frank Epp received in his interviews with

96 Israelis.

> The policy of the government now is not to press
> for immediate cultural integration into the
> country. And therefore we encourage the immigrants
> to have their own newspapers in their own languages
> and to set up their own folklore groups thus
> allowing the gradual formation of a new culture in
> Israel. It will take at least two or three
> generations until there is an Israeli culture. (12)

Grabelsky, as an adult educator, sees a danger in this 'theory of slow

natural integration'. She says,

> Adult education is important in Israel because we
> don't have time...if someone can say, 'I didn't get
> the job because I'm from Morocco and I am not
> educated,' then we must close the (educational)
> gap if we are to have unity. And we must close it
> quickly. We cannot wait. (13)

It appears the early thrust among adult educators contained a sense of

urgency for integration. However, one of the 'veterans' of adult

education commented, "Many good people thought naively that the job of

cultural absorption was an easy job, but it was a difficult job - a

complex job - it takes time to help people absorb." [14]

Smooha commented to the researcher that Oriental Jews feel

their cultural heritage is being overlooked, thus causing an alienation

towards the emerging Israeli (ie. Ashkenazi) culture. In the early 1960's

there was the beginning of an organized attempt by the Israeli government

to maintain an 'Oriental heritage' of Oriental traditions. Smooha

affirms that "the national dream is to mix all Jews into one culture" but

admits that since 1960 there has been some relaxation of the cultural

dominance of the Ashkenazi Jew. [15] He identified for the researcher three

problems related to developing an Israeli culture. They are: 1) The

problem of participation. How can the Orientals be full partners in the

development of a truly Israeli culture? 2) The problem of paternalism.

In the mind of the Ashkenazi, the Oriental is perceived as under-

developed. This was noted in detail by one adult educator who said:

> You notice that I use the word developed and
> under-developed and deliberately avoid the
> word Ashkenazi and Sephardic. It is not
> correct to use the word Ashkenazi to define a
> group for the word only means those
> immigrants who came from Germany. There are
> many who came from Holland and from Spain in
> 1492 who would be classified Sephardic. The
> word Sephardic means 'from Spain'. So you have
> Jews who came from South America who are partly
> Sephardic and partly Ashkenazi. If you say
> 'east' and 'west', these terms are incorrect for
> Morocco is both West - and East. The only
> correct term is to say a person came from a
> very developed or from an under-developed
> country. And even when you say a Jew came from
> an under developed country he was often among
> the most highly educated people in that country
> because of the needs of the synagogue. When

> they came here and found they were 'under
> developed' it was a shock for they had been
> among the highest in their country. (16)

Smooha notes that a stereotype of the Oriental Jew exists that causes

him to be regarded as less talented than the Ashkenazi. Whenever the

dominant culture defines the remaining portion of the population as

'culturally deprived', that is what Smooha refers to as 'paternalism';

3) The problem of class structure. The stereotype of the Orientals is

that they have less education, less skills, a lower standard of living

and larger families. While this may be partially true it underestimates

the severity of what Smooha calls 'The Institutionalization of Ethnic

Stratification'. This is developed in more detail in Appendix H, but

it is noteworthy that certain adult educators, verified Smooha's

observations in their interviews. They said:

> There is a certain division within society according
> to these lines (Ashkenazi-Oriental). Unfortunately
> the socio-economic division is also characterized by
> the 'origin' division. (17)

> The most severe and critical problem in adult
> education in Israel is the difference in ethnic
> backgrounds between the Ashkenazi: (mainly
> European and American Jews who spoke Yiddish) who
> represent the elite Jews in Israel, the economic
> leaders, army, politicians, who are on the top
> of the pyramid, and the Sephardic/Oriental Jews:
> mainly from Muslim countries who speak Arabic or
> Spanish or Ladino who represent the 'working
> class majority' at the bottom of the pyramid -
> one level above the Israeli Arabs and the Palestinian
> Arabs. (18)

> There is among the Sephardic Jews a lot of adult
> education that is not aimed at NI-NU but rather
> in terms of cultural depravation or disadvantaged.
> The Sephardic Jews are regarded economically and
> socially as being at the bottom of the ladder. (19)

Social worker Bernard Resnikoff sees the cultural disparity between

Ashkenzai and Oriental Jews as a fact of history - during a period of

transition. He is quoted by Epp as saying:

> With respect to Jews from Oriental countries
> it is true that they are second-class
> citizens, but...The 'but' has to do with
> moderation, it has to do with legislation, it
> has to do with intent. I don't know of any
> formal or institutional design to make the
> Jews of Oriental countries second-class
> citizens. They are the majority in the country...
> and if there are any ways in which they are
> second-class citizens, it's a function of
> history. By this I mean that the Jews of Oriental
> countries have come to a highly technological
> society, twentieth century in its orientation,
> political system and technology, a society which
> requires a sophisticated knowledge of how to live
> in a democratic pluralistic system. These
> people have come from underdeveloped countries,
> and they have never acquired the technical skill to
> make their way in a technological society. They
> are thrust, overnight, from the sixteenth century
> into the twentieth. This is a pretty tough
> assignment. If you find more Jews of Western
> origin in seats of power than Jews of Eastern
> origin, I think it is a consequence of the
> historical fact more than anything else. (20)

Centuries of Jewish dispersion is the historical fact that has caused

the ethnic evolution of three branches of Jews - each tending to

resemble the Gentiles of their country of residence - Orientals,

Sephardim and Ashkenazim. Adult educators since 1948 have been seeking

out the common Jewish elements from which to forge a unique Israeli

culture.   Kodesh kept repeating to the researcher, "It is only 30

years!" Canada is over 100 years old. The United States is over 200

years old. Traditional Jewish culture is over 2,000 years old. [21] It

is most likely that Israeli NI-NU will be built upon that ancient

culture. It takes time - but the process is under way.

The Contribution of Religion to NI-NU in Israel

'Religion and its Role in National Integration in Israel' is
the title of an article written by Emanuel Gutman, in the Fall, 1979
issue of Middle East Review. [22] Religion was a topic that frequently
emerged in conversations with the primary personnel, as they sought to
assess its contribution to NI-NU. There is a continuum of religiosity ·
within Israel, from the extreme secular/atheistic/Marxist/non-observant
Jew - who might still talk about the 'religion of work' or 'faith in
the people', to the opposite extreme Toraic/ritualistic/ultra-Orthodox/
observant Jew - who seeks to 'sanctify the name of G-D'. Gutman
observes:

> In terms of modern national idealogy based
> on the secular conception of national
> Jewish Identity...one would have to say
> that the Jews have always been a mono-
> religious people...and it implies that most
> Israelis today accept the notion that being
> Jewish (including Israeli Jewish) has at
> least something to do with the Jewish
> religion. Only a tiny minority claim that
> in the totality of Judaism, religion has -
> or ought to have - no part at all. (23)

The researcher asked Ben-Sason, what terms best describe the
variation of approaches to religion by Jewish people in Israel. He
replied, "The obvious division is 'religious' and 'non-religious'
although there are other divisions within each term (ie. the Orthodox
divide into Ultra-Orthodox and the National Religious Jews)." [24] His
two-fold division will be referred to in this section but as Gutman
notes:

> It may be a gross over-simplification to
> speak of two population sectors, the

> religious and the non-religious, in Israel
> (just as it is wrong to reduce all social
> problems to the Ashkenzai-Sephardi
> cleavage), for in both sectors, the
> religious and non-religious, there are ample
> internal divisions, fissions and
> dissentions. (25)

By Smooha's definitions of the terms 30 percent of the Israeli Jews are classified as 'religious' and 70 percent are 'non-religious'.[26] He states:

> Religious Jews in the Israeli context, are
> Orthodox Jews; namely Jews who accept the
> authority of halacha as divine law and do their
> best to observe it in their daily life. This
> definition of who is a religious Jew in Israel
> turns all non-religious Jews into a residual
> category of atheists, secularists, traditionalists,
> Conservative or Reform Jews, and others who reject
> the authority of halakha...As a rough estimate,
> people who maintain a non-secular lifestyle
> consitutute 75 percent of the Jewish population,
> people who observe Orthodox practices 30
> percent, and people who are organizationally or
> politically affiliated with the religious sector
> only 15 percent. (27)

Epp discerned from his interviews, "(When) a specific interpretation of religion is understood, it becomes quite evident that even so-called non-religious Jews are actually religious...the new expression of Judaism is Israel for many Jews. Nationalism is itself a religion."[28]

Given the wide spectrum of religious belief in Israel, the question that relates to this study is "What constitutes the 'religion' of National Identity-National Unity?" Many of the adult educators who became the primary personnel for this study would identify themselves as 'traditional' or 'secular' Jews. A few were 'Orthodox'. This may account for the wide variety of views about the role of religion in NI-NU as seen in the following quotes:

Extreme religious Jews have always existed in
Israel, reading in the same material, studying
in the same manner as they have for centuries
in their closed communities. They look upon
their presence in the land of Israel as
fulfilling for them their 'career of study' -
to study Torah. Until the state was formed,
the 'State' was the Jewish educational system
from nursery to Yeshiva...Learning contributed
to survival and identity as a Jew. (29)

Jewishness is more than a religion. In Israel
people live together with their common roots.
In the USA they asked me if I was religious.
I said, 'I think more than every one of you. In
Israel I do not have to have a synagogue to
identify myself as a Jew, because my holidays
are Jewish, and my language is Jewish, and my
literature is Jewish and my history in every stone
in Jerusalem tells me stories about my fathers.
When we have 'succoth' (30) everyone keeps part
of succoth, even the non-observant Jew. On
shabbat, everyone keeps shabbat. (31)

The Jewish religion is not 'just a religion'. It
has national connotations. It is sometimes very
difficult to separate the 'religious' from the
'national'. It is the 'Jewish way of life'. (32)

Nearly all adult education departments have a
religious department. These religious policy
makers try to encourage National Identity in
their studies, but they are mainly interested
in 'quality of life' rather than in National
Identity. (33)

I see Jewish Identity in the Bible and the
scriptures and the Jewish culture. The Bible is
a source of our culture. I see religion as part
of our culture - our way of life...we teach the
Bible in a humanistic way, not in a
nationalistic way nor a religious way. (34)

The Bible is studied in this country in many
cases not as a religious document but as a
historical document...The Bible seems destined to
become a common denominator for Jewish history
and historical development. (35)

The Bible is a valid factor in building both
Identity and unity...it is part of the

'symbol system'. All Jews identify with the
Bible. Most of the symbols which unite people
are religious symbols, holy days etc. The
symbols have been secularized however and
perceived differently by the non religious
Jew. (36)

The basic religious foundations of all the
Jews is the same but the customs of the Jewish
people may be different...it is our desire to
be fair to the different cultural backgrounds
in the development of a religious or cultural
pluralism. (37)

Religious Jews will emphasize the 'Jewish'
aspect of National Identity. The non-religious
Jews will emphasize the 'Israeli' aspect of his
National Identity. The Israeli element is
secular, and local and indigenous. The Jewish
element is religious and traditional and
worldwide. The secular Jews have failed to
produce a secular National Jewish Identity. So
the National Identity of the country is more of
a religious identity. (38)

Religious people - and this is my personal view -
have less problems identifying with Israel. They
do not have to adopt a Jewish Identity. They
know what to do and what not to do. They have
the book of commands. The problem of Identity is
for the secular Jews. (39)

In many ways it is easier for a Jew to be
Orthodox and be practising abroad. Here he has
to run a modern state. How do you run an
electric company on Shabbat? - or an Air Force? (40)

There are thousands of Jews who come to Israel,
who know little about Judaism (ie Russian immigrants)
They are called 'secular', but they are Jewish.
The world calls them Jewish and they have a sense
of Jewish Identity but little background in
Jewish religion or culture. How to embody their
Jewish Identity with content so they feel
integrated is our challenge. (41)

This selection of comments by the primary personnel indicates that NI-NU

requires some form of 'Jewish consciousness'. A former Director of the

Department of Adult Education said:

> The base point is the 'Declaration of
> Independence' that says Israel is a Jewish
> State...even though there is freedom of
> religion without discrimination...while
> wanting to be a democratic, modern, free
> society, pluralistic in the sense of making
> it possible for various cultures and religions
> to survive, and live along side one another,
> but at the same time clearly recognize that
> the state as a state should have an obvious
> Jewish character so there is purpose in
> creating the state and a purpose to the
> Zionist endeavor. (42)

Building that 'obvious Jewish character' presents a formidable challenge

for non religious Israeli adult educators. They must develop a secular

substitute for the religious aspects of Jewish identity. While

'Jewishness' is admittedly 'more than a religion', it must first be

recognized for what it is as a religion. When the ancient Psalmist,

King David, said "Blessed is the nation whose God is the Lord"

(Psalm 32:12) he entwined Jewish National Identity with Jewish Religious

Identity. This may be why some of the primary personnel felt 'religious

Jews' have an easier time identifying with Israel.

Adult educators in Israel could be likened to a mid-wife assisting in

the 'birth' of a Jewish/Israeli National Identity. Whether the 'child'

is born religious or nonreligious is left to a 'higher power' to decide.

The Relationship of Minority Groups to NI-NU in Israel

Within Israeli Society there are two classifications of

'minority groups': Jewish minority groups and non-Jewish minority groups.

Jewish minority groups are recognized citizens of Israel who possess

views or act in a manner that is considered by many to be a direct

challenge to National Identity-National Unity. Two of these groups

actively oppose the idea of a Jewish state. At the one extreme are

the Canaanites ('the quintessential secularists') and at the other

are N'ture Karta ('the quintessential religionists').[43] Herman notes:

> When the Jewish and Israeli subidentities are
> perceived as overlapping and consonant as a
> 'wholeness' in Erikson's terms, the Jewish
> subidentity is strong and so is the Israeli
> subidentity. When there is this overlap,
> the Jewishness is suffused with Israeliness,
> and the Israeliness is suffused with
> Jewishness. The one gathers strength from
> the other. Where they are separated, a
> weakening of the Jewishness becomes evident.
> Taken to its extremes, the sundering of
> Jewishness and Israeliness leads into the
> paths pursued by two small fringe groups -
> at opposite poles from one another - in the
> life of Israel. The one group are the so
> called Canaanites who wish to see an
> Israeliness completely divorced from the
> Jewish people and from the Jewish past in the
> Diaspora. The other group are the N'ture
> Karta ('Guardians of the Walls') who see
> themselves only as Jews and not as Israelis,
> and who do not 'recognize' the existence of
> the 'profane' State of Israel. (44)

The Canaanite Movement is composed of primarily writers and

intellectuals who declare an attachment to the land of Israel, but

disavow any connection with Judaism, Zionism and World Jewry. The

Director of the Martin Buber Center for Adult Education described them

in the following manner:

> In short it is a group of people who say,
> consciously or unconsciously, "We are a nation.
> We are not Jewish. We are a new people -
> Hebrew or Israeli. We want to go back to our
> roots in the time of the Bible and develop the
> 'Land of Canaan'. If Jews want to come back to
> this land, that is fine, but anybody can come.
> All people living in Israel should be regarded
> as Israelis. Religion is a component of our roots
> but not that important. Religion should be a
> personal and a private manner. (45)

The Canaanite Movement is particularly attractive to Israeli born
citizens ('sabras'), especially young people. A former Head of the
Department of Adult Education referred to the movement as 'extremists'
but noted, " a bit of the Canaanite philosophy will be found in other
segments of society - Ben-Gurion was a supporter of the Canaanite
Movement." [46] By 1972, 20.4 percent of the total world population of
Jews lived in Israel, 79.6 percent lived in the Diaspora. [47]
Although the Canaanite Movement can be viewed by some as an internal
identity crisis by Israeli born 'extremists', it must be recognized that
after 24 years of extended invitations, and 'Laws of Return', almost 80
percent of the world Jewish community have chosen to live outside of
Israel. This has prompted some Israeli born citizens to forget the
Zionist goal of a Jewish state, and seek to build a new society of Jews,
Christians and Muslims together in a secular, democratic society. For
the Canaanites, National Identity and National Unity is to be found in a
new Israeli society.

At the other extreme are the N'ture Karta (meaning: 'Guardians
of the Walls'). These are a thousand or so Ultra-Orthodox Jews in
Jerusalem who believe in a Messianic redemption only. They believe you
cannot have a state without a Messiah and - since Messiah has not yet
arrived - they consider the secular Jewish state an aberration. [48]
A poster (in English) painted on a wall in Mea Shearim (an ultra-
Orthodox community in Jerusalem) states unequivocally, 'Judaism and
Zionism are diametrically opposed.' [49] This minority group regards
National Identity as a spiritual identity with historical Judaism until
the coming of Messiah. Only then will there be true NI-NU. Although

both of these extremist groups are tiny in number, their presence
indicates the range of political-religious attitudes in which adult
educators seek to achieve NI-NU.

A third minority group, different in nature from the previous
two, are the Israeli Jewish citizens who emigrate from Israel. From
1948-1975 it is estimated that 215,000 Jews emigrated from Israel. [50]
Although the rate of emigration was low between 1969 and 1973 (1.6 per
1,000) it was higher after the waves of immigration in 1949-1951 when
the conditions in the land were somewhat primitive and difficult for the
new immigrants. Statistics were not available up to the end of the
period under study (1973) so the above statistics include the years
immediately after the Yom Kippur War, when emigration again increased.
One of the primary personnel offered the following reasons for why there is
a flow of people out of the country.

> 1) We are not educating people in the meaning
> of Jewish values or Israeli values. Education
> is not a strong factor. If we are convinced
> that proper values were being taught then people
> would be convinced and would not be leaving.
> Israel has been an agricultural 'pioneer' society
> for many years. Now it is becoming a
> materialistic society.
>
> 2) We are under constant pressures in our
> society. The fact that an adult male must
> serve 40 days of the year, year after year, in
> reserve duty is a pressure on the family and
> the economy.
>
> 3) The borders are more open to consider the
> possibilities that exist outside of Israel.
>
> 4) There are always some who will be attracted
> to leave because they think the quality of
> life will be better somewhere else. (51)

When a former leader in the Histadrut was asked for his explanation of

the emigration rate, he said:

> Some youth are very idealistic. They serve
> in the army for three years and then they want
> to make money and be rich - or greedy. Maybe
> some start here, went abroad for studies, fell
> in love with a girl or a career and must now
> make a choice. The teacher Heroda said, "Each
> nation has its own mission or purpose. So each
> man needs a purpose in life." For some there
> is a period of searching...People have a
> tendency to immigrate (to Israel) when they
> suffer...the ability to defend yourself is
> very important. (52)

Smooha notes that the original vision of the Ashkenzai Jews saw that the path

of development and unity necessitated the Oriental Jews becoming 'like

them'. He added "What they do not realize is that many of the Israelis

who are leaving the country are Ashkenzai Jews and the percentage of the

Oriental community is increasing - and may go as high as 75 percent of

the population within 20 years unless offset by new immigration patterns." [53]

National Identity and National Unity requires a minumum commitment that

all three Jewish minority groups omit: A personal choice to physically

live in Israel - as it exists - a secular, Jewish state.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to examine the relationships

of the non-Jewish minority groups to National Identity-National Unity. The

conceptual model following   indicates the primary non-Jewish minority

groups within the pre-1967 Israeli borders are:

1) Druse - 42,000

2) Christians - 116,200 (including 36,00

    in the 'West Bank') primarily Arabs.

3) Muslims - 411,400 - Israeli Arab citizens

TABLE 1

THE STATE OF ISRAEL: 1948-1973 - A 'SYSTEM' OF
NATIONAL IDENTITY-NATIONAL UNITY   131

The 'Inner Core': Jewish Citizens

1	'Dati' im'	:	Religious	-	(Observant	- Orthodox)	Jews
2	'M'sorati'im'	:	Traditional	-	(Reformed	- Conservative)	Jews
3	'Lo dati' im	:	Non-religious	-	(Secular	- Atheistic)	Jews

The 'Outer Shell': Non-Jewish Citizens

4 Israeli Arabs (mainly Muslims)
5 Druze
6 Christians (mostly Arabs)

7 Arabs in 'Administrated
   Territories'
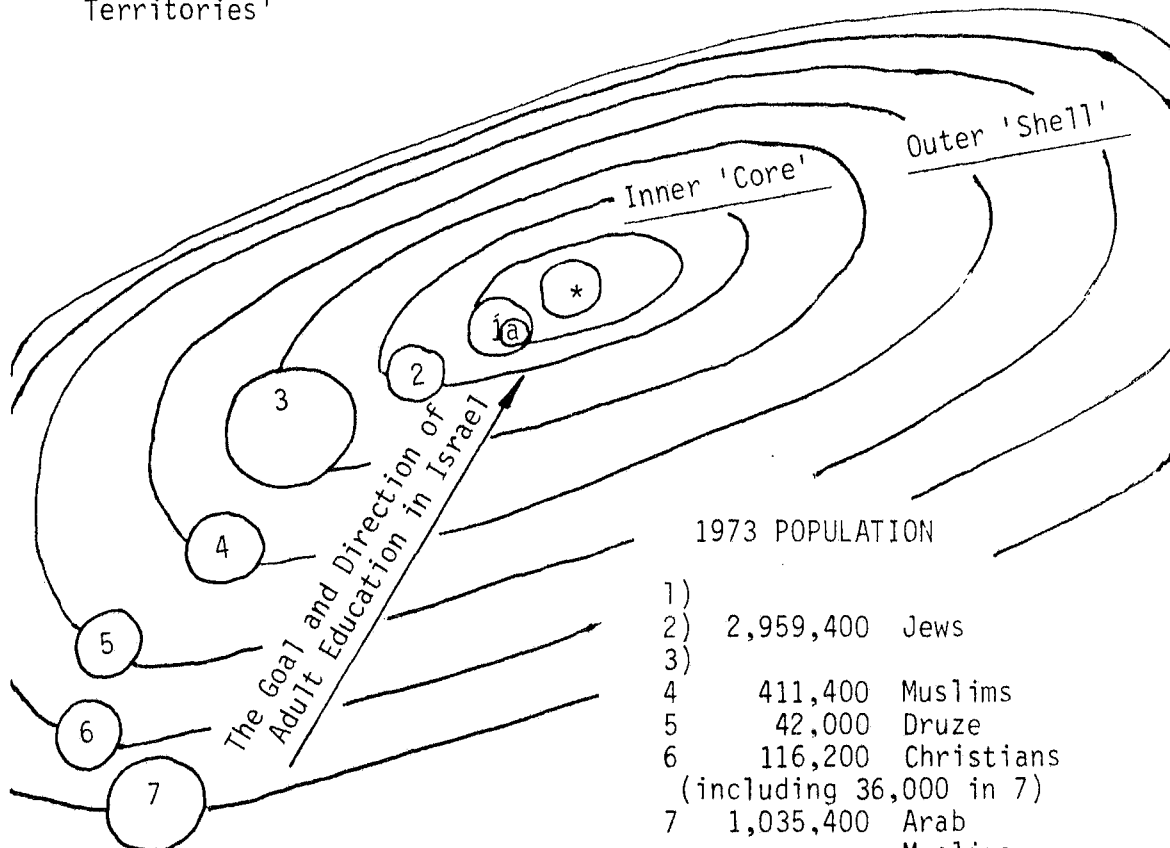
1973 POPULATION

1)
2)   2,959,400   Jews
3)
4   411,400   Muslims
5   42,000   Druze
6   116,200   Christians
(including 36,000 in 7)
7   1,035,400   Arab
                Muslims
_____
4,568,400   Total

The closer to the 'core
the greater the tendency
to be 'one' in NI-NU

(a) a tiny group of religious
    Jews oppose the State of
    Israel (N'ture Karta)

A Conceptual Model
Prepared by J. Cunningham.

A fourth and larger group of Palestinian Arabs (1,035,400) live in the Administered Areas of Gaza and the West Bank of the Jordan River (see Appendix D). The researcher travelled to Gaza, Hebron, Nablus, Nazareth and the Golan and met a variety of individuals within the Muslim, Christian and Druse communities. It became apparent that the immensity of the topic of National Identity-National Unity, as viewed from the perspective of the non-Jewish minority groups, would require a separate dissertation. A decision was made, upon the recommendation of Dr. Eitan Israeli, with supportive endorsements by many of the primary personnel, to limit this study to the Israeli Jewish adult educators within the time period of 1948 to 1973. This decision was also approved by the OISE thesis committee.

In the accompanying model, Israel is likened to a solar system. Within such a 'system' there are unique component 'planets', represented as groupings or clusters of individuals with a strong central common element. This 'common element' holds the grouping together as it moves about and functions within the system. Factors such as nationality, or historical ties might have been chosen as a common element, but for this system the religious component will be considered the crucial unifying factor within a grouping. Each of the planets or groupings are in some manner associated, or identified with the focus of the larger system - the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948. The outer limits of the system will 'geographically' be considered as the 1973 ceasefire lines.

Observations

       The 'Inner Core' of Jewish citizens (1-2-3) represent the largest population group in Israel, and the ones with the strongest attachment to the on-going successful development of the Jewish State of Israel. Since Jewish immigrants are by constitutional decree the only ones permitted to move to Israel and obtain citizenship (The law of Return: 1950) - the Inner core is one segment of the system that has potential to in some manner 'legally expand'. The pattern of life and laws within the system are strongly, almost disproportionately affected or controlled through political coalitions by the 'religious-observant-Orthodox' segment of the Jewish population. For example, buses do not operate on Shabbat, Saturday is the national 'day off' (although it is also the religious holy day for the Jewish faithful), the emblem of the national flag is the Star of David, the national holidays follow the pattern of religious 'holy days', and the national language of Israel is the historical language of the 'People of the Book' - Hebrew.

       The Bible is a popular book for all segments of Jewish society in Israel. For the 'dati'im' in group one (1) it is 'The Word of God'. For the 'm'sorati'im' in group two (2) it is the base of religious 'traditions' and for the 'lo dati'im' in group three (3) it is a source of history. (1a) represents the N'ture Karta, who oppose the formation of the State of Israel. However the overwhelming majority of the Jewish people are 'Zionists' in full support of the formation of the modern State of Israel in 1948.

       The non-Jewish section of the system that are Israeli citizens includes: (i) Israeli Arabs, living in the State of Israel who gained citizenship as permanent residents of the land in 1948; (ii) Druze

and (iii) Christians - mainly Christian Arabs living within the State of Israel; 1948 borders. The Israeli Arabs (4) have strong 'legal' ties to the State of Israel as Israeli citizens. Being primarily of the Muslim faith they have a weaker pull towards identification with the Jewish traditions and observances within the State of Israel. The Druze (5) have a strong loyalty to the State of Israel, serving in the army (IDF) and exercising their full privileges as citizens. Yet they remain somewhat isolated and removed from the mainstream of Jewish life. Their physical settings in Golan and Mount Carmel keep them geographically isolated from most Jewish centers and activities. The Christians (mainly Arabs) are citizens 'between the hammer and the anvil'. Subscribing to a religious faith in a Jewish Messiah, Rabbi Jesus of Nazareth, they are in abeyance with the Muslim community for having accepted a 'western religion'. However by their coloring and heritage as Arabs, they are viewed with suspicion - as part of the larger 'Arab world' by the Jewish segment of the Israeli society. The Christian Arab is likely to have an emotional attachment to the State of Israel as the homeland of his Christian faith. The Muslim has stronger attachments to Mecca, Saudi Arabia and the wider Muslim 'community'.

The closer one moves to the 'core' of the system, the greater the tendency to become identified and united with the State of Israel. The further one moves away from the 'core' of the system, the greater the tendency to want to 'pull away' from the weakened gravitational pull of identification and unity with the State of Israel. The underlying goal and direction of adult education in Israel, within the Jewish community directly, and in the non-Jewish communities indirectly, is to

draw the individual citizen into a stronger identity and unity with the Jewish State of Israel. It appears from this model that a person's sense of identity and unity is in proportion to his/her: religious attachment to the land; acceptance of the historical Jewish claims to the land; and a sense of 'religious duty' or obligation to be 'on the land'.

The purpose of this chapter has been to review the contribution made to NI-NU by culture, religion and minority groups within the Jewish sector of Israeli society - as perceived and assessed by the primary personnel - and to set in focus certain dynamic factors within these areas, that impinge on the adult educators as they seek to develop National Identity - National Unity within the modern State of Israel.

CHAPTER V - Footnotes

Forces Within Israeli Culture Affecting NI-NU in Israel

1. Ora Grabelsky, personal interview, (57.3).

2. Ibid, (57.2).

3. Shlomo Kodesh, personal interview, (14.1).

4. Kalman Yaron, personal interview, (57.1).

5. Haim Hutner, personal interview, (57.4).

6. Sammy Smooha, personal interview, (57.9).

7. Ibid, (57.8).

8. Chaim Zippori, personal interview, (34.6).

9. Gershon Gil'ad, personal interview, (103.1).

10. Ibid, (103.3).

11. Ibid, (103.4).

12. Frank Epp, The Israelis: Portrait of a People in Conflict, (1980), p. 24.

 Schmuel Adler is a civil servant. His parents were born in Poland, lived in Nazi Germany, and were among a select number admitted as immigrants to the USA in 1938. Schmuel was born in America, and arrived in Israel in 1960. He works for the Ministry of Immigration and Absorption. (p. 23.)

13. Ora Grabelsky, op. cit., (3.10).

14. Gershon Gil'ad, op. cit., (103.3).

15. Sammy Smooha, op, cit., (110.5).

16. Ora Grabelsky, op. cit., (59.7).

17. Yeheskiel Cohen, personal interview, (59.6).

18. Kalman Yaron, op. cit., (59.1-59.4).

19. Yeheskiel Cohen, op. cit., (59.5).

20. Epp, op. cit., p. 117.

   Bernard Resnikoff is a social worker and spokesman of the American Jewish Committee in Israel. (p. 116).

21. Elihu Katz and Hannah Adoni, 'Functions of the Book for Society and Self', from: Life-Long Education in Israel, (ed) Kalman Yaron, (1972), p. 50. (see footnote ** at bottom of page 50.).

The Contribution of Religion to NI-NU in Israel

22. Emanuel Gutmann, 'Religion and its Role in National Integration in Israel', Middle East Review, Fall, 1979, pp. 31-36.

   Gutmann concludes his article by saying: "Religion plays a major role in nation-building and national integration in Israel, despite all the problems involved. Partly by accident of numbers (electoral strength) and the play of party politics based on it...religion is one of the elements of everyday politics...thereby levelling religion with other aspects of public life. And parallel with its integrative function, religion also serves as one more cleavage in Israeli society, with all the political implications of such a situation." p. 36.

   see also: Charles S. Liebman, 'Religion and Political Integration in Israel', The Jewish Journal of Sociology, Vol. 17(1), 1975, pp. 18-23.

23. Ibid, p. 31

24. Dr. Ben-Sason, personal interview, (108.3).

25. Gutmann, op. cit., p. 35.

26. Sammy Smooha, Israel: Pluralism and Conflict, (1978), p. 3.

27. Ibid, p. 73.

   Simon Herman, Jewish Identity: A Social Psychological Perspective, (1977), states:

   "Jews in Israel may be described as 'dati'im' (religious), 'm'sorati'im' (traditional) or 'lo dati'im' (nonreligious). In the Israeli context the terms relate to the degree of religious observance. 'dati' implies a strict observance of religious obligations; 'm'sorati' indicates a positive orientation to Jewish tradition accompanied by varying degrees

of laxity and selectivity in regard to observance, 'lo'datum'
means non-observant, although customs may be honored." (p. 32.)

"Religious students are the most frequent proponents of the
view that their Israeli subidentity is a reinforcement of the
Jewish subidentity and that an Israeli Jew is the more complete
type of Jew." (p. 45.)

28. Epp, op. cit., p. 122.

29. Jack Cohen, personal interview, (uncoded personal notes)

30. 'succoth' or the 'Feast of Booths' is a time when the observant
Jews build 'booths' of live branches, myrtle branches, palm branches,
and other leafy trees to recall the time when the Children of
Israel came up from the land of Egypt and lived in 'tents' in the
desert on their way to the land of Israel. Certain fruits and
special meals are to be eaten in the 'booth'. It is one of three
major celebrations when representatives of each 'tribe' were to
go up to Jerusalem, to present sacrifices at the Temple.

31. Ora Grabelsky, personal interview, (8.5).

32. Yeheskiel Cohen, personal interview, (8.3).

33. Kalman Yaron, personal interview, (49.1).

34. Ibid, (44.2).

35. Cohen, op. cit., (44.6-44.7).

36. Sammy Smooha, personal interview, (44.8).

37.   Yona Ben-Sason, personal interview, (75.2).

38. Smooha, op. cit., (108.1).

39. Yaron, op. cit., (46.1).

40. Cohen, op. cit., (46.3).

41. Ibid, (47.3).

42. Ibid, (62.1).

The Relationship of Minority Groups to NI-NU in Israel

43. Smooha (1973), op. cit., p. 359.

44. Simon Herman, Jewish Identity: A Social Psychological Perspective,
(1977), p. 61.

45. Yaron, op. cit., (56.1).

46. Cohen, op. cit., (56.2).

47. Roberto Bachi, The Population of Israel, (1974), p. 75.

48. Smooha (1973), op. cit., p. 359.

49. Researcher's personal observation while visiting Mea Shearim.

50. Bachi, op. cit., p. 116.

    Rates of emigration are difficult to accurately determine. The
    Israeli government takes the excess of departures over arrivals,
    and adjusts the figure to offset the return of emigrants even after
    a very long sojourn abroad. (p. 116).

51. Kalman Yaron, op. cit. (58.1).

52. Yehuda Gothelf, personal interview, (58.7. p. 9.).

53. Smooha, op. cit., (112.2).

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Toward the Development of a Grounded Theory

This chapter begins with a moment of reflection by the

researcher. For the past two years - since the decision was made to

begin the project - a sense of personal identity and personal unity with

Israel has accompanied the researcher - and his family! Memories flash

'through the computer' of meeting key Israeli adult educators,

transcribing and coding valuable data gained from those interviews,

reviewing related literature and attempting to resolve conflicting ideas

within the blended impact of a total immersion in Israeli society for a

year. A partial sense of being an 'ole hadash'('new immigrant') was

experienced while trying to function in the Israeli market place with a

rudimentary knowledge of Hebrew. It caused the researcher to wonder

on a personal level what it was like to have immigrated to Israel between

1948 and 1973 to become one with the people of this 'resurrected nation'.

Such impressions are part of a moment of reflection.

Darkenwald's assessment of the challenge of the grounded theory

methodology (quoted in Chapter I) said in part:

> Grounded theory research is more difficult to do
> than the typical descriptive or experimental
> study...the lack of easily codified rules for
> the collection and analysis of qualitative data
> and the construction of theory...

The assistance of Dr. Israeli in working through the procedures for

collecting, coding, and analyzing the data is deeply appreciated by the

researcher. The material presented to this point in the paper represents

the primary findings of that content analysis. Chapters II and III (The

History and Philosophy of Adult Education in Israel, and The Forces

Contributing to National Identity - National Unity), produced a
'working definition' of the terms National Identity - National Unity,
as they emerged from an analysis of the data. Chapter IV summarized
the primary personnel's assessments (and the researcher's review of
related literature) of the contribution made by seven selected adult
education agencies to the development of NI-NU.   Chapter V
presented an assessment by the primary personnel of the impact made on
NI-NU by Culture, Religion and selected Jewish Minority groups. Within
the grounded theory methodology, this background of material from the
conceptual categories, permits the formulation of hypotheses or
generalized relations among the categories and their properties,
leading to the integration of the categories into a substantive theory.

The foundational question for the study has been, "How
selected adult educators in Israel perceive and assess adult education
as a strategy for the development of National Identity - National Unity
in the modern State of Israel: 1948-1973". Based on the data received
from the primary personnel (through interviews and materials written by
the primary personnel) - combined with a review of related literature -
the following generalized relations emerge from the content analysis of
the categories.

1) The selected Israeli adult educators, at the level of policy maker,
tend to represent an Ashkenazi, secular, socialist-Zionist background or
orientation.

2) The selected Israeli adult educators tend to perceive National
Identity as being synonymous with Israeli-Jewish Identity.

3) The selected Israeli adult educators tend to perceive Jewish citizens as the primary citizens of Israel.

4) The selected Israeli adult educators tend to perceive the need for identification with 'traditional Jewish culture' as a necessary component in the development of an Israeli-Jewish Identity.

5) The selected Israeli adult educators tend to perceive adult education programs in Israel as a natural ongoing extension of the historical Jewish tradition of lifelong learning.

6) The selected Israeli adult educators tend to perceive National Identity-National Unity as a commitment to the national reality of the Zionist goal - a Jewish State, for Jewish citizens, governed and controlled by the Jewish people.

7) The selected Israeli adult educators tend to assess the Histadrut, Kibbutzim and Moshavim as the primary 'historical' adult education agencies; the Ministry of Education, Ulpan and IDF as the primary 'contemporary' adult education agencies; and the Community Centers as a primary adult education agency for the 'future'.

8) The selected Israeli adult educators tend to assess the Ulpan and the IDF as two primary integrative adult education agencies for developing NI-NU.

9) The selected Israeli adult educators tend to assess a limited progress towards the national goal of cultural integration (i.e. "Making the people ONE"). They tend to perceive adult education as a 'consciousness raising

agent' which brings about an atmosphere of acceptance and respect while promoting national unity with cultural diversity.

From the preceeeding generalized relations of the perceptions and assessments of the primary personnel, there emerges a substantive theoretical statement. While inductively developed, the following statement is grounded in the data and seeks to explain the integrational role of adult education among the Jewish citizens of Israel. It states:

WHENEVER ADULT EDUCATION INTEGRATES ISRAELI

IDENTITY WITH JEWISH IDENTITY, IT FULFILLS

A STRATEGY FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF A STRONGER

SENSE OF NATIONAL IDENTITY AND NATIONAL UNITY

AMONG THE MAJORITY OF THE CITIZENS OF THE

MODERN STATE OF ISRAEL.

This theoretical statement, while derived from the data presented by the primary personnel is based upon four major perceptions of the primary personnel. 1) The primary personnel perceive 'Israeli-Jewish Identity' as somewhat synonymous and interchangeable with Israeli-National Identity'. 2) The primary personnel perceive adult education in Israel as having an 'open agenda' to increase each adult participant's sense of National Identity and National Unity, by blending the current, operative Israeli Identity with the traditional, historical Jewish Identity. 3) The primary personnel perceive that Israeli-Jewish citizens who integrate their Israeli Identity with their Jewish Identity, share a stronger sense of personal commitment to National Identity and National Unity. 4) The primary personnel perceive and assess adult education as having fulfilled a strategy for the

development of National Identity and National Unity among the citizens

of the modern state of Israel between 1948 and 1973.

These four major perceptions are supported by authors in

fields other than adult education. Herman Kelman of the Department of

Social Relations at Harvard University states: "Jewish ethnic Identity

(with its religious component) has been a major tool of political

integration in Israel, and of mobilizing the entire Jewish population

with all of its cultural diversity." [1] Simon Herman in his publication,

Israelis Jews: Continuity of an Identity (1971), notes:

> Into the making of Israeli society there enter a
> number of ingredients which remain essentially
> Jewish. 1) The festivals of Israel are the
> ancient Jewish festivals; 2) The day of rest is
> the Jewish shabbat; 3) The language is Hebrew;
> and 4) The 'raison d'etre' of the state is
> conceived in the declaration of Israel's
> independence, in the statues of the Knesset and
> in the minds of the people as inherent in its
> function as a Jewish homeland gathering in its
> sons and daughters from the lands of the
> Dispersion. (2)

Herman and Kelman observed that the integration of Israeli Identity with

Jewish Identity is a fact of life and national goal. This is supported

by the theoretical statement that emerged from the primary personnel in

this study. Herman adds: "Israel sees itself entitled and obliged in its

role as a Jewish state to act as a representative of the Jewish people." [3]

Adult educators in Israel perceive this 'obligation' as one to which they

are 'entitled'. In a later book entitled, Jewish Identity: A Social

Psychological Perspective, Herman states: "In Israel, Jews have been free

to shape their identity in whatever way they will." [4] The spirit of this

'identity' has been strongly affected by adult educators such as Martin

Buber who writes:

> What is the spirit of Israel? I will tell
> you. It is the spirit of realization...
> realization of the simple truth that man
> has been created for a purpose...unity is the
> purpose of creation...our purpose is the
> great upbuilding of peace. Israel accepted
> the charge to perfect our own portion of the
> universe - the human world, not as an inchoate
> mass of individuals, but as a nation - that
> is its spirit, the spirit of Israel. (5)

That 'spirit of Israel' requires National Identity and National Unity

for growth. Even if Israel had the external threats to its existence

removed, the Jewish citizens would have to face the reality of their

internal struggles, (Ashkenazi vs Oriental; religious vs nonreligious

etc.) and work towards resolving these hindrances to Identity and Unity.

The core of common Jewish heritage that exists among all Jews in

Israel enables them to identify and unite with one another - as Israeli

Jews.

In tying National Identity to Israeli Identity and Jewish

Identity, Herman notes: "National Identity for an Israeli Jew is viewed

from an unusual position. As an Israeli his past time perspective is

relatively short (ie. back to 1948); as a Jew, he may look backward to

a past spanning thousands of years." [6]   Eliezer Shmueli, Director-

General of the Ministry of Education (1970) refers to education as "a

means of social and cultural integration." [7] After noting that in

1970 more than one-third of Israel's population of three million were

students, he added: "The Jewish population of Israel has a common

historical, cultural and religious background. This helps considerably

in the struggle towards integration." [8] Adult education in Israel has

established itself as an integrating agent to connect these two links -

modern Israeli Identity, with historical Jewish Identity. It is perceived

'internally' by the primary personnel of this study - and assessed
'externally' by the researcher, that the integrative role of adult
education is being fulfilled. Learning how to live and how to live with
one another is a lifelong learning process. In Israel, adult education
is returning to a historical Jewish concept of lifelong learning -
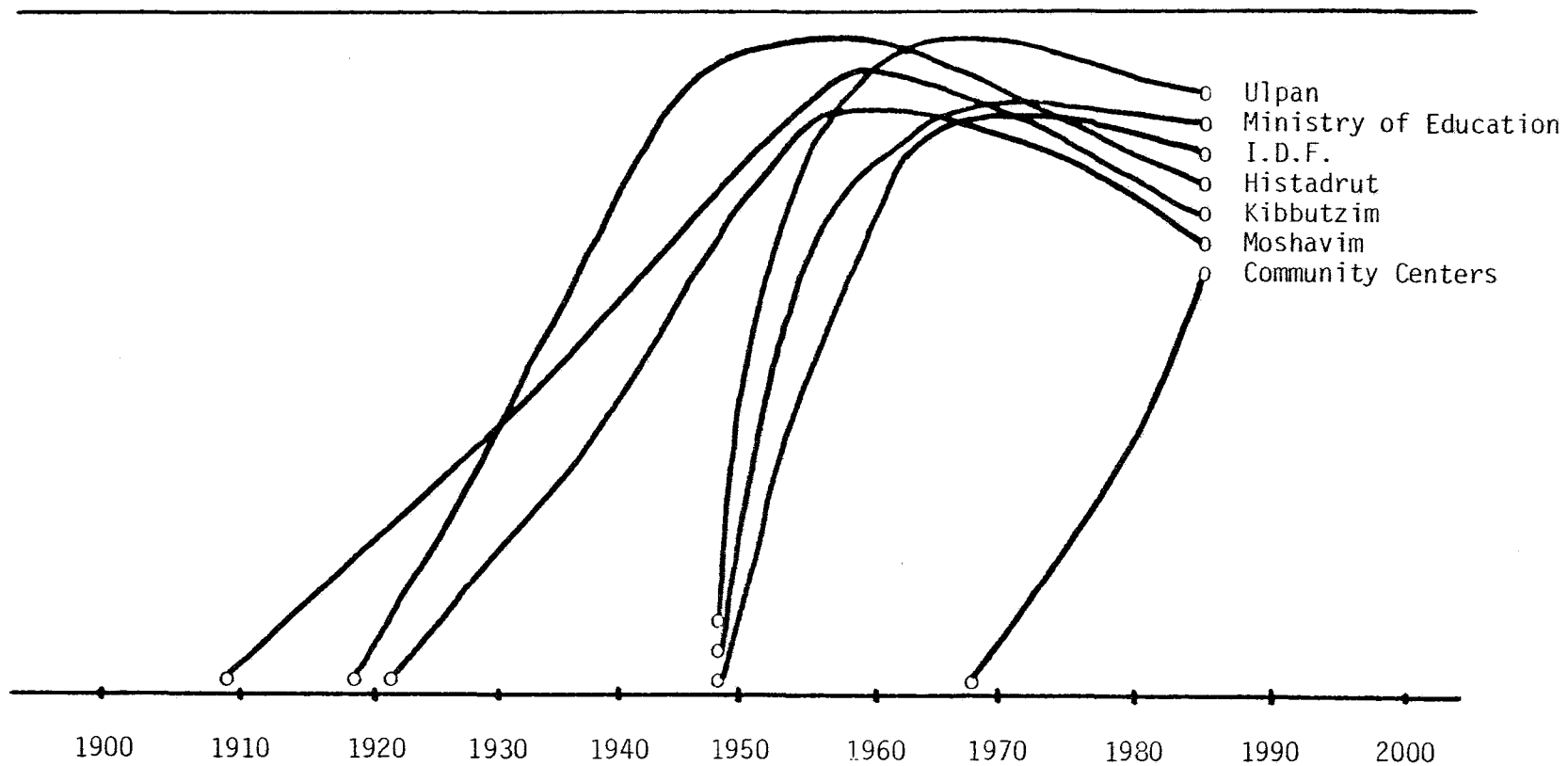learning for living - namely 'to study all our lives'. [9]

Implications of the Study

Three items from the preceeding discussion appear to warrant a brief
expansion as part of the conclusion to this study. The first is related
to the uniqueness of the Israeli model. In the section entitled 'Background
to the Study', Israel was described as a 'new, developing (pioneer),
threatened, zealous and religious nation'. These descriptors can also
apply to other nations of the world. For example: recently established
African states could be identified as 'new'; certain Third World countries
would be regarded as 'developing'; civil disturbances or border conflicts
would classify some nations as 'threatened'; political ideologies brand
some as 'zealous' and numerous nations could be regarded as 'religious'.
It might be a challenge to find nations that combine all these categories
in the same manner they are found in Israel. However, other nations have
received large numbers of immigrants, possess two or more cultures, and
have more than one major language. The uniqueness of the Israeli model
is that it adds a 'Jewish' component to its development of NI-NU.
Language learning programs are sponsored by many governments in other
immigrant receiving nations. Such programs often include both language
training and 'citizenship' instruction, plus basic cultural 'survival'

skills. The Ulpan in Israel uniquely connects the new immigrant to the modern state of Israel with the historical-religious heritage of the Jewish land and the Jewish people of the past. In Israel the Hebrew language is not a tool for survival only but a conscious focal point to introduce Jewish history, Jewish culture and traditional Jewish religion blended with modern Israeli society. A comparison to Canada helps accentuate the uniqueness of the Israeli model. When a Vietnamese refugee, a German immigrant and a Chilean student choose Canada as their home, they have virtually no historical 'connection' to the native Canadian Indians nor to the early French-English colonial ties. English, as the language of the 'majority' (or in some areas French) is learned primarily as the language of convenience and economic survival. If the Canadian model were to totally parallel the Israeli model, every Canadian would be asked to learn English as the 'language of unity' and accept the Church of England as the primary national religion. [10] An additional rider would be the requirement that our hypothetical Vietnamese, German and Chilean 'new Canadian' have an English mother in order to qualify for citizenship in Canada. The unique common Identity/Unity factor that ties virtually every new immigrant to Israel with over 85% of the population is their 'Jewishness'.

The second item is identified in Table I as, 'The Cycles of Influence of Selected Adult Education Agencies in Israel: 1948-1973'. [11] This chart identifies apparent cycles of influence that seven primary adult education agencies in the study appear to have progressed through from 1948 to 1973. Nation building began in a somewhat rudimentary form under the British Mandate (1917-1947) as the 'crystallization of the Zionist dream'.

TABLE 2

THE CYCLES OF INFLUENCE OF SELECTED ADULT EDUCATION AGENCIES

IN ISRAEL (1948-1973)

Ulpan
Ministry of Education
I.D.F.
Histadrut
Kibbutzim
Moshavim
Community Centers

1900 1910 1920 1930 1940 1950 1960 1970 1980 1990 2000

The leaders of the Kibbutzim (after 1909), the Histadrut (after 1920)
and the Moshavim (after 1921), provided adult education for the Jewish
people living in 'Eretz Israel'. After the transfer of power to the new
central government (Knesset) in 1948, new agencies were established to
oversee tasks previously administrated by the 'initial' adult education
agencies. Prime Minister Ben-Gurion expressed the appreciation of the
Israeli people for the services of the Histadrut which he said had
fulfilled governmental functions in the consciousness of a historic
function and in the absence of Jewish governmental organs. His
statements made it unequivocally clear that the Ministry of Education
and Culture - Department of Adult Education and Torah Culture - plus the
Ulpanim and the Israel Defence Forces would be assuming responsibility for
the direction and policy of government programs related to NI-NU. By the
mid 50's and early 60's each agency had established programs for adults
that had as a goal the integration of the immigrant with the people and
nation of Israel. Programs of language instruction previously conducted
by the Histadrut and the Kibbutzim were now under the control of the
Ministry of Education and Culture plus the Ulpan. As children of the
immigrants learned Hebrew and the massive immigration influx of the
early 50's began to subside, so the need for adult Hebrew classes began
to decline. Ulpanim began to offer their services to short term visitors,
students from abroad and non-Jewish adults interested in learning Hebrew.
This meant an altering of the Ulpan's influence as a primary force in
dealing with the adult Jewish immigrant. The challenge of providing adult
education activities and indirectly the integrational role of NI-NU for
established immigrants and adult native born Israeli 'sabras', was

accepted by the Corporation of Community Centers. This challenge included the development of NI-NU among adults who in many cases now spoke a common language (Hebrew), had served in the IDF and likely possessed at least an elementary school level of education.

This study indicates that adult educators in Israel during the formative years of 1948-1973, fulfilled their mandate to teach a common language, history, geography and Biblical traditions to the Jewish immigrants arriving in Israel. They did influence adults towards the two-pronged goal of NI-NU. That is the historical fact of 1973. It appears however that a new phase of adult education has begun in Israel after 1973. New adult education agencies will likely emerge in the next decade that will carry on the task of integrating Israeli and Jewish Identities into a stronger sense of National Identity and National Unity. Two examples of post-73 agencies that are increasing in size and influence (after the terminal date for this study) are the Yeshivas (religious study centers for adult students) and the Open University for adults. These agencies are going beyond language and history and geography as the base for NI-NU and struggling with the realities of the cultural, social and religious pluralities that exist in Israeli society. A new Israeli-Jewish Identity is emerging that is increasingly distinct from Diasporic Jewish Identity. The distinctions between the two will likely increase with time.

The third item relates to the implications revealed from the study that relate to the future of adult education in Israel and its strategy to integrate Israeli Identity with Jewish Identity. Attempts have been made (ie the 'Exeter Papers', [12] to examine adult education in a country as part of a larger system. Such classifications reveal

certain features, but as   Roby Kidd notes in <u>Comparative Adult</u>
<u>Education: The First Decade</u>, "they also tend to obscure or distort
others." In the Exeter Papers, Israel is defined as a 'new system' -
unlike any other models in the world. Being 'unique' or 'one-of-a-kind'
raises questions that come from this study for further investigation by
researchers in the future. 1) The first twenty-five year foundational
stage of taking new immigrants and teaching them a common language,   ˙
plus understanding of Jewish history, geography, culture and religious
traditions has been rated by many as 'successful'. How will adult
educators in Israel now build upon that foundation to further integrate
Israeli and Jewish Identities into a stronger sense of National Identity
and Unity among citizens who now share this common foundation?
2) Adult education has a role to play in bridging the immense gap
(socio-economic and ethnic) between the Jews of Asian/African origin and
the Jews of European/American origin. The Ashkenazi Jews wrote the
'rules of the game' called 'culture' for the incoming Oriental Jews.
That is now changing. A growing number of Oriental Jews are beginning to
question the feasibility of a program of cultural integration aimed at
cultural homogeneity in a democratic society where the goal in their
estimation ought to be pluralism. Henry Huttenbach notes:

> Every state confronted by a diverse
> population, multi-ethnic and multi-
> cultural, strives towards social
> homogeneity according to preconceived
> criteria reflecting the values and
> needs of the ruling elite. Modernization
> and assimilation of the masses are the twin
> goals and ideals of all contemporary
> nation states: the former assures
> optimum competitive power with rival
> states; and the latter guarantees the
> broadest popular support for government
> policy. (13)

How will the differences of 'Identity' between the Ashkenazi Jews and the Oriental Jews - and the Religious Jews and the Non-Religious Jews - be resolved? 3) The impression could be gained from this study that Israel has a 'super' or 'elite' minority imposing their view of National Identity and National Unity over a subordinate majority, (ie. see Appendix H on 'The Institutionalization of Ethnic Stratification'). The common core of Jewish Identity has held the nation in a structural balance or 'unity', but further investigation needs to be made into the post-73 strength of that core to hold the nation together. Now that the foundational challenge of creating a new state has been faced and to a considerable degree overcome, the question must be asked, 'Is the core of NI-NU which has been created strong enough to withstand the strain of increasing tension along ethnic and social class lines, and between 'sects' within Israeli Judaism?' The researcher noted in his year of residence in Israel a strong polarization of opinion between the political positions of groups such as 'Peace Now' and 'Gush Emunim' regarding the West Bank settlements. The former advocates returning 'administered territory' to the Palestinian Arabs, the latter regards all the 'conquered' land as part of the Biblical land allotted to Moses as part of the 'Promised Land'. [14] 'Unity with diversity' may be considered by some as a worthwhile goal - but diversity must be held within a nucleus of agreed limitations to be most effective.

A related question is 'Why has immigration ('aliyah') to Israel decreased since 1973, while emigration ('yerida') from Israel increased?' After thirty-three years of having an Independent Jewish nation, almost 80 percent of the world Jewish community choose, for the

most part, to live in the Diaspora - while repeating 'Next year in Jerusalem' as part of their annual Passover seder ceremony. If the essence of National Identity and National Unity is to remain in the country of one's Identity and Unity, apart from short term assignments abroad, what motivates a large number of Israeli citizens to live outside of Israel? When these questions are investigated they will help the Israeli adult educators determine if NI-NU (ie. 'Israeli-Jewish-Identity') within Israel is in some manner restricted to a certain segment of the worldwide Jewish community. Is Israel to be - and become - a homeland for all Jews, or only a certain kind of Jew? Given the uniqueness of the Israeli situation, and the relative success of adult education in contributing to NI-NU during the nation's formative years, these questions are important theoretical challenges for the field of adult education. They also represent the next generation of challenges to Israeli adult educators.

One of the traditional Israeli folk songs the researcher heard while living in Israel is entitled, 'Am Israel Chay' ('Israel Lives'). That Israel 'lives' is a fact of modern history. How that 'life' - and the quality and development of National Identity and National Unity - is to be developed, is up to the individual adult and adult educators to decide. The 'veteran' long term 'pioneers' of adult education that I had the privilege of meeting in Israel were 'sowers' of National Identity and National Unity. They had consciously chosen to be in Israel and to be an Israeli. An adult educator may have National Identity and National Unity as a personal goal for all the citizens of Israel, but the individual adult learner has his/her own timetable of readiness and

willingness for assimilating these goals. We could liken an adult

educator in Israel to a farmer who desires a good crop, but must work

with the conditions of the soil he has been given. The soil of Eretz

Israel is very similar to the degree of readiness of adult learners to

receive 'seed thoughts' of National Identity and National Unity.

I would like to conclude this work by using a traditional

Jewish method of communication - a parable. This story was told long

ago by a Jewish 'rabbi' (teacher) who lived in Israel and knew the kinds

of soil found in the Galilee district. Here is his story: A sower went

forth to sow his seed; and as he sowed, some fell beside the road; and

it was trampled under foot, and the birds of the air devoured it. And

other seed fell on rocky soil and as soon as it grew up it withered away,

because it had no moisture. And other seed fell among the thorns; and

the thorns grew up with it and choked it out. And other seed fell into

the good ground and it grew up and produced a crop a hundred times as

great. [15] This ends the story.

Adult educators in Israel could be likened to 'a sower'. They

disseminate concepts about National Identity and National Unity, to the

adults who hear, but the birds of pride and prejudice carry the desire

from their mind; so they fail to accept those with different customs and

become 'one' in spirit with them. Those on 'rocky soil' are the adults

who when they hear about National Identity and National Unity, receive

the idea with joy; but they have no root of commitment, so when they

realize the work and sacrifice required to build a nation, they give up.

The seed which fell 'among the thorns' are the ones who desire identity

and unity with the people of their land, but as they progress towards it,

they are choked off with worries and fears and the desire to 'look after number one'. So they give up and are choked out by the selfish pursuit of personal pleasures - now! And the seed in the good ground? These are the adults who accept the goal of National Identity and National Unity with an honest and loving heart. They hold fast to it, and bear much fruit in the lives of others through their perseverance.

FOOTNOTES: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

1. Herman Kelman, from a Symposium, referred to by Simon Herman in an
   article: 'Education Towards Zionism', Forum, Jerusalem: World
   Zionist Organization, January, 1962, p. 8.

   Kelman also notes: "The close link between Jewish Identity and
   Israeli Identity - the strong tendancy to define Israel as an
   almost exclusive Jewish society...creates difficulties for the
   political social and economic integration of ethnic minorities,
   particularly the Arab population." (p. 8.) "The close
   correspondance between Jewish ethnic Identity and the (Israeli)
   political identity of the State probably introduces severe controls
   in the search for political settlements." (p. 8.)

2. Simon Herman, Israelis Jews: Continuity of an Identity,
   (1971), p. 197.

3. Ibid, p. 197.

   Israelis are not an entirely new people. The majority of the people
   in Herman's study (1970) see themselves linked to the Jewish people
   and its past. (p. 197.)

4. Simon Herman, Jewish Identity: A Social Psychological Perspective,
   (1977), p. 6.

   Herman quotes Cahnman and Boskoff's study when they say:
   "Reinforcing national identity becomes even more important after
   independence. Independence revives the centrifugal tendencies which
   had been suppressed during the struggle for independence.
   Independence in 1948 evidenced to Jewish people that they must now
   make their new nation 'work'." (p. 5.)

5. Nahum Glatzer (ed.), Martin Buber on Judaism, (1967), p. 182

6. Herman, (1977), op. cit., p. 23.

   "National Identity involves two sub-identities (the Jewish and the
   Israeli) co-existing side by side and interacting with one another."
   (p. 26.)

7. "Aspects of Education in Israel'; The Role of the Histadrut,
   Discussions of the Study Group on Education and Youth, The Assembly
   of American Friends of Histadrut, June 26 - July 9, 1970
   (mimeographed), Histadrut Library, Tel-Aviv, p. 24.

8. Ibid, p. 27.

9. Ibid, (quote by Bezalel Shachar), p. 47.

10. After the War of Independence (1948) the Jewish people
    installed Hebrew as the national language (with Arabic
    recognized as a legal alternative language for the judicial
    system and parliament-Knesset). The Jewish religion
    (ie Orthodox Judaism) became recognized as the legal 'state'
    religion - although 'no-religious-belief', plus the Christian
    and Islamic faiths were allowed to exist in Israel. In the
    Canadian situation, after the Battle of the Plains of Abraham
    (1759) the British people would have had to install English
    as the national language (with French recognized as a legal
    alternative language for the judicial system and parliament).
    Likewise the British religion (ie. Church of England) would
    have been recognized as the legal 'state' religion, although
    other faiths would have been permitted to exist. All civil
    law (ie marriage, divorce etc) in Canada would have then been
    under the control of the Church of England. This comparison
    is presented to help build an 'image' for the Canadian reader
    of the Israeli model.

11. This chart is the researcher's rough approximation of the
    'cycles' as he perceived them. It is not based on any
    precise, measured data and is presented in more of a
    condensed conceptual form.

12. A.A. Liveright and Noreen Haygood, (eds.) The Exeter Papers.
    "Chapter Five: National Report: Israel". (1968).

13. Harry Huttenbach, in preface to: From Immigrant to Citizen:
    (The Contribution of the Army in Israel to National
    Integration: the Case of the Oriental Jews), (1978), p. 1.

14. The researcher viewed a film at Ulpan Akiva that had a rather
    dramatic ending. The film was a series of dialogues
    ('arguments') between two men: one a member of the 'Peace
    Now' Movement - the other a settler in the West Bank with the
    "Gush Emunim". They strongly disagreed over items such as
    government policy, settlements on the West Bank, religion etc.
    But in the final scene the Gush Emunin settler was called up
    for reserve duty. He is shown being inspected by his reserve
    duty sergeant officer. The officer is the Peace Now member.
    Together they mount a half-track and begin their patrol
    through the Jordan valley!

15. The Gospel According to Matthew, Chapter 13: 1-9; 18-23.

APPENDIX A

SCHEDULES OF INTERVIEWS IN ISRAEL

Abulkadar, Mr. Abu Salim, Ministry of Interior Affairs, Gaza.
February 14, 1980.

Alon, Mrs. Esther, Director of Planning and Evaluation, Israel
Corporation of Community Centers, Jerusalem.
January 16, 1980.

* Bar-On, Col. Mordechai (retired), former Chief Education Officer, Israel
Defence Force. Author of: Education Processes in the Israel
Defence Forces. Jerusalem. April 11, 1980.

* Bein, Mr. Yehuda, former Director of Adult Education in the Kibbutzim
Movement, Kef r Masaryk. Author of: Adult Education in
Kibbutzim in Israel. January 22, 1980.

* Ben Sasson, Dr. Yona, Director of Torah Culture Department, Ministry
of Education and Culture. Co-author of Israel, Jews and
Judaism. April 25, 1980.

* Cohen, Rabbi Jack, Hillel Foundation, Hebrew University, Mount Scopus
Campus, Jerusalem. May 2, 1980.

* Cohen, Dr. Yeheskel, Director of National Academy of Science and
Humanities, former Head of Adult Education, Ministry of
Education and Culture and Chairman of the Israeli Adult
Education Association. Coordinator of: A Survey of Adult
Education Personnel in Israel. Jerusalem, September 20, 1979.

Epstein, Dr. D. Department of Torah Culture, Ministry of Education and
Culture. Jerusalem. April 25, 1980.

Erdstein, Mr. Bert, Manager of the Adult Education Section of the Haifa
Municipality, Haifa. April 22, 1980.

Faganbaum, Captain Avi, Camp Commander of Camp Ze'ev Haifa Literacy Camp
(I.D.F.), Haifa. April 22, 1980.

* Gil'ad, Mr. Gershon, former director of Cultural activities for the
Movement of Moshavim, Histadrut, Rehovot. March 11, 1980.

* Gothelf, Mr. Yehuda, former Editor of 'Davar', (Histadrut Labor
Newspaper). Tel Aviv. May 9, 1980.

* Grabelsky, Mrs. Ora, Jerusalem Teacher's College, Author of: From
Illiteracy to Literacy. Jerusalem. January 21, 1980.

Herman, Professor Simon, Professor of Sociology, Hebrew University,
Givat Ram. Author of Jewish Identity. Jerusalem, May 26,
1980

Hutner, Mr. Haim, Instructor of Hebrew at Ulpan Akiva, Netanya. January 7, 1980.

* Katznelson, Mrs. Schulamit, Founder and Director of Ulpan Akiva, Netanya, January 6 & May 22, 1980.

* Kodesh, Dr. Shlomo   Director of the Ashdod Evening School for Adults. Former head of Department of Adult Education, Ministry of Education and Culture. Editor of 'Hed Haulpan' (Echo of the Ulpan), Ashdod. September 10, 1979.   *85 - Retired July 88*

Me'iri   Ms. Ofra, Secretary-General of the Adult Education Association: of Israel, Jerusalem. September 13, 1979.

Millin, Dr. Daniel, Director of Manpower Training and Development Bureau, Ministry of Labor, Jerusalem. June 30, 1980.

* Navon, President Yitzhak, former Head of Division of Culture, Ministry of Education and Culture, Jerusalem. May 1, 1980.

Roumani, Dr. Maurice, Lecturer at Ben-Gurion University of the Negev. Author of: From Immigrant to Citizen 'The Contribution of the Army in Israel to National Integration: The Case of the Oriental Jews'. Beersheba. June 11, 1980.

Roushey, Mr. Deputy Master of the Arab Jewish Community Center in Haifa. April 22, 1980.

Shkhadem, Farouk, Adult Educator within the Druse Village of Issfya, near Haifa. October 13, 1979.

Shapiro, Moshe, Machon Meir Center for Jewish Studies, Adult Student, dialogued on behalf of the Administrator, Jerusalem. January 30, 1980.

Smooha, Dr. Sammy, Senior lecturer in Sociology at Haifa University, author of: Israel: Pluralism and Conflict, Haifa. May 22, 1980.

Srour, Ms. Samira, Hebrew-Arabic Adult Education Instructor, Gaza. January 6 & February 14, 1980.

* Tzivion, Mr. Avraham, Head of the Department of Adult Education, Ministry of Education and Culture, former Director of Camp Marcos Adult Education Camp (I.D.F.) Haifa. January 28, 1980.

* Yadlin, Mr. Aaron, former Minister of Education with the Labor government. Kibbutz Hazerim, (near Beersheba). June 11, 1980.

* Yaron, Mr. Kalman, Director of the Martin Buber Center for Adult Education, Hebrew University, Mount Scopus, Editor of: Lifelong Learning In Israel. Jerusalem. September 17, 1979.

Young, Dr. Douglas, founder of American Institute for Holy Land Studies,
Director of 'Bridges for Peace', Jerusalem. January 24, 1980.

* Zippori , Mr. Haim, Director-General of the Israel Corporation of
Community Centers, Jerusalem. January 30, 1980.

* Initial 'Primary Personnel'

Table 1: Survey of Primary Personnel

Ministry of Education

a)	General	3
b)	Universities	3
c)	Department of Adult Education	2
d)	Department of Torah Culture	2

Ulpan	3
I.D.F. (Israel Defence Force)	3
Kibbutzim	1
Histadrut (Labor Union)	1
Community Centers	3
Moshavim	1
Yeshiva	1

Minority Groups

a)	Arabs	1
b)	Druse	1
c)	Christians	1

Sociologists	2
Adult Education Association	1
Municipalities	1
Ministry of Labor	1

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APPENDIX B

SCHEDULE OF ISRAELI ADULT EDUCATION

AGENCIES VISITED, PROGRAMS OBSERVED

OR MEETINGS ATTENDED

Agricultural Adult Education

* Toured the Faculty of Agriculture, Rehovot.
  December 4, 1979.

Army Adult Education (Israel Defence Force - I.D.F.)

* Toured Camp Ze'ev, Literacy Camp, Haifa. April 22, 1980.

Community Centers

* Toured Mandel Community Center, Kiriyat Yam, near Haifa.
  October 11, 1979.

* Toured Arab-Jewish Community Center, Haifa.
  April 22, 1980.

Ministry of Education - Department of Adult Education

* Participant in 'Bakitah Alef' Ulpan class, Sundays,
  Tuesdays and Wednesdays, Jerusalem. September 2 to
  November 22, 1979.

* Attended 30th Anniversary Program for Ulpan in Israel,
  Tel Aviv. December 19, 1979.

* Guest at Ulpan Akiva, Netanya. January 6-8, 1980.

* Observed classes at the Adult Learning Center Haifa
  Municipality, Haifa. April 22, 1980.

Histadrut

* Visited Histadrut headquarters and Library Tel Aviv.
  May 9, 1980.

Israel Adult Education Association

* Visited Head Office in Jerusalem. September 13, 1979.

* Attended Annual Meeting of the Israel Adult Education
  Association, Tel Aviv. December 17, 1979.

Kibbutzim Adult Education

* Toured Kibbutz HaZorea   near Haifa. October 13, 1979.

* Guest at Kibbutz   Ginnosar, near Tiberias.
  December 19-20, 1979.

* Visited Kibbutz Ma'barot, near Netanya. December 31, 1979.

* Visited Kefar Masaryk, near Akko. December 31, 1979.

* Resident at Kibbutz Sasa, N.W. of Safed. March 26 to
  April 2, 1980.

* Visited Kibbutz Hazerim, near Beersheva. June 11, 1980.

Universities and Museums

* Toured Hebrew University, Mount Scopus Campus, Jerusalem.
  September 3, 1979.

* Toured Haifa University, Haifa. October 10, 1979.

* Toured Hebrew University, Givat Ram Campus and National
  Museum, Jerusalem, December 11, 1979.

* Visited Weizmann Institute of Science, Rehovot.
  January 3, 1980.

* Visited Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Beersheva.
  June 11, 1980.

* Visited Bar-Ilan University and the Museum Nathan Goldman
  Museum of the Jewish Diaspora, Tel Aviv. July 20, 1980.

Immigration Absorption

* Toured Immigration Absorption Center Kiryat Yam, north of
  Haifa. October 11, 1979.

Yeshiva

* Toured Machon Meir Institute of Jewish Studies, Jerusalem.
  January 16, 1980.

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW WITH PRESIDENT YITZHAK NAVON - May 1, 1980.

(transcribed from taped interview in the President's
Office)

J.C. I am studying the beginning of the State of Israel, the first 25 years, from 1948 - 1973, and how adult educators in Israel saw adult education as contributing to national identity and national unity.

My interest in you is related to your years as Head of the Ministry Department of adult education literacy programs, and I am trying to get you to go back and reflect and assess what a.e. was trying to do in those days...We so often get caught in the news of today that we forget to go back and reflect on what has been done and what were our goals and where have we come from, especially programs to help new immigrants identity with the land and the people, and the history...and were they successful?

Y.N. I speak maybe without notes, maybe a monologue to give expresion to what I think was my idea of the general background of adult education in Israel - as I saw it then and as I see it now.

Today we have in Israel 3.2 (roughly) million Jews. I am not going to speak about the Christian, Druse, Muslim communities.
I am limiting myself only to the Jewish population. The non-Jewish population is almost half a million. I will speak only about the Jewish population. The non-Jewish population is a more or less homegenous culture.
Almost all of them speak Arabic, although in religion they may be different.
The Jews who came to Israel, come from 102 countries, speaking 81 languages. When we say 'language' it is not just 'the mother tongue' it is a whole world of emotion, and culture, and meaning associated with it.
They had to learn Hebrew. Like one of our scholars said, to read the Bible through a translation is like kissing your sweetheart through a handkerchief!
They (the immigrants) came, not only from distances of geography but from distances of time. Some of the new comers belonged to the 20th Century, some belonged to the 21st Century.
Some sociologists like to compare the situation in Israel to the early days of the United States. Some call it the 'pressure cooker', others call it the 'melting pot' in that you had the resemblance between the WASP and the Ashkenazi Jews, and the Black, Chicano, Peurto Rican with the Sephardic Jew.
But the situation is not the same.
All those who came to the United States did not have anything in common except maybe the first ones who came on the Mayflower. They all came because they were fleeing from somewhere and they wanted freedom...
I use the term used by the Hebrew writer 'Ha Hade' - He wrote an article called 'Past and Future' - his name became a nickname - Haanadan Street in Jerusalem, etc. - he said more or less the following "a great philosopher was the first man Adam when he uttered for the first time the word 'I'. When we use the word 'I', we do not refer to the hair of our head, the nails of our feet, but to the combination the synthesis of your memory of the past, the present and the future."
The same goes with the collective 'I'.

If we take this definition, I would say, "All the people who come to Israel from 102 countries, have a collective 'I'. Unlike those who went to the United States.

Whether we come from Finland or Kurdistan, Mexico or Afganistan (we have 15,000 people here from Afganistan) from America or Shanghai, you name it, all of us have a common memory of a common past. Of Moses and the Exodus, King David, First Temple, Second Temple, all the joys, all the feasts, the mourning, that is 'part of us'. All of us have the same aspirations for the future. Not just to return to our ancient homeland as a free independent people....pause....
...our problem is to bridge the gap of 2000 years that separates the memory of the past with the realization of the aspiration for the future.

From this day, to sum up after 32 years from the day the State was born, I would say, the elements of the memory was much stronger in the beginning.

In the beginning we were frightened..."What is going to happen?"...
Our consciousness was of ourselves...you must remember that when the state was formed we were 600,000 people. Within four years time it had increased by 120%.
During the War of Independence, which lasted more than 8 months, we received more than 100,000 new immigrants!
In the next three successive years we had received 650,000 new people.
And we had different languages and different customs.
We developed Ulpanim to teach the people Hebrew.
But what we had developed here had been preceded by 60 - 70 years of Zionist activity within the country. One would see posters saying "you are a Hebrew, learn Hebrew!" and "Fight Against the Enemy of Illiteracy"...
So the reaction in the beginning was, 'you came to a new country, will you please forget everthing that went in the past!" You are coming to a new country, your ancient homeland.
Your language is Hebrew and you have a new culture in your new homeland.
It was a big undertaking. We had to absorb 650,000 new people in four years, and they kept coming in later years 100,000, 70,000, 60,000.
Those who were the 'veterans', they worked very hard and very quickly to teach the newcomers.
So the army became a school. You find this in the writings of Ben-Gurion, the army is not only to defend, but to teach and the commander is not only a military type, but he is an educator, and is instructing.
Long discussions came about when it came to money for defence. The armor units wanted money and the air force, but there was no cut in budgets in the education services of the army. This was seen as a chance where you have the soldier, whether a boy or a girl, within your reach for a certain period of time. Then it was 18 months and then developed into 2 years and now it is 3 years.
So, for those years apart from military and instruction in equipment, the soldier was given an orientation to the country ...

J.C. I have visited Camp Marcos and met Mordechal Bar On and Mr. Tzivion ...

Y.N. So you know what they did and how they developed. The concept was "here they are within your reach for their military service. Use this time to teach them the language, the country, the history and civics."

J.C. From the agencies formed for a.e....how do you rate the agencies as the ones who contributed to national identity and national unity the most...
i.e. my wife has been attending Ulpan for the past 6 months and has enjoyed learning along with the Hebrew, the history of the country, etc. etc.
Ulpan is more than language...

Y.N. Certainly....dance and songs....
All of the agencies wanted national identity and national unity.

J.C. You feel that all of them....

Y.N. All of them, that is what they wanted!
Let's say a man comes to Israel and he wants to be a doctor. If he is a doctor he is given a short course in the language to help him but if he is not a doctor he must have training in the areas related to medicine. So there would be some technical subjects taught...but generally speaking the aim of adult education was - and I know this from personal experience - to help him identify with the land and the people.

Now, let's jump and come to 1963-1965...
You have statistics, if I can remember of 202,000 illiterates. 2/3 were total illiterates. 1/3 were what we call functional illiterates, (up to maybe four years of school) but for all practical purposes the adults were illiterate.
Some 80,000 of them came from Eastern European countries. And we said how come? We thought Jews were among the best educated etc. in their country. But these had had their education interrupted by the war, so I would say: "Listen, it is the conditions that make a man. And if the Jews in Morocco had been given different conditions they would function equally as well. That is another aspect.
Usually it was considered that Jews who came from Eastern countries that it was them who had the problem because they were illiterate. They were called the Oriental Jews.
When I was assigned to this task we found that the total numbers of the amount of illiterates in the city and the country was different, but that the total percentage of illiterates in a city like Tel Aviv was smaller than in some of the development towns. For example in Tel Aviv there may have been 30% of the population illiterate, but in a town or village in the frontier areas it may have been 50% illiterate. So we did not develop the program on the basis of the numbers available in a given area but on the basis of their size in a given area or place.

We found there were 120 places, villages, moshavims, etc. where there was a very high percentage of illiterate people.
So I decided in 1964 to start programs in the cities, they tended to be more defensive about learning Hebrew. In Tel Aviv there was the pressure of the concerts and the theaters, signs on the shops, (etc.)...the city

was overwhelming, the pressure, of the schools etc. but in the villages
it was different. When Literacy becomes the normal thing in a village
then everyone wants to be a part of it, and it affects the second
generation. Whether a child learns or not often depends on the pressure
or encouragement received from the parents. If the parent is learning
a language then the child will see a value to learning. If not the
child says, why should I learn.
The whole system of habits and way of conduct is affected by the adults.
So we brought in the girl soldiers to teach the adults...from secondary
schools who were beginning their military service   I met these girls
before they went to the villages and told them:

1. This is a humanistic endeavor you are entering. If an adult cannot
read and write he is a slave to other people. Always dependent on other
people..."What is the number of this bus coming?" He gets a cheque and
does not know what is written on it. Gets a bill and must have someone
read it to him. It is up to him to learn to read and write and become
independent, so you are helping him widen the scope of his universe.

2. Secondly, we worked on the assumption that 'this was the generation
of the desert'. And we had questions like: "Why shouldn't we wait",
"Why should we make an effort", "Why shouldn't we wait 20-30-40 years and
all of these people will be gone". Then comes their children and we will
have no problem, but it has been shown that we must enhance the family
relationships by helping the adults learn. This gives more respect for
the parents, and a change in attitude toward the parent by the child.
This has been proven.

3. The children will have more respect for their parents. Thus educating
the adults will enhance the relationships within the family. In the
country of origin, education may not have been a norm, but here there is
a different norm, and the children have an opportunity to go to school
and learn, but the parents may say, 'Don't go to school. I am a
self-made man. I made it without learning and going to school'...so
we have to change the attitudes of the parents, for the benefit of the
child.

4. Many of these Jews were living on the frontier, the border of
Lebanon or with Gaza or Jordan. You had incessant incursions of
terrorism. They shoot, throw bombs, injure and kill people. In a time
like this people need strength. They need to know that we as a people
are concerned about them. They needed to identify with Israel to have
some spiritual substance with the people, not that they had just been
deserted somewhere.

J.C. These are Jewish communities that you are talking about?

Y.N. I told you at the beginning, I am speaking ONLY about JEWS!

J.C. I know but the statistics about the illiteracy are also including
the Araɔs...

Y.N. I am speaking about Jews...

5. Now in the next area, they needed to identify with the History of
the Jews. It is the history of a small nation, having to struggle to
be one. Having to struggle for survival against neighbors who showed
animosity and hated. Their intention was to annhilate Israel...
That was their goal in '62 - today it is the same. The question is
whether we can have peace with our neighbors. We will never be able
to compete with the Arabs in natural resources, oil, money, population,
territory. The victorys of 1948 and 1956 and 1967 were due to moral
and spiritual superiority. The Arab lands outnumbered us in oil and
territories and money and numbers. Only the quality of our men and the
quality of our armament (technology) helped us gain victory.

J.C. Did these immigrants volunteer to go to these towns?

Y.N. They were brought from the ship and went down and that was it. They
had no choice. Thousands and thousands went through places like Damona
and Kiryat Schmonna. They were put there and that was it (in Development
Towns). Today they want a house and a car and a choice and a job. In
those early days there were no houses, they had no jobs. They were just
glad to be here! Especially those from Europe and North Africa. They
suffered the loss of everything to come here. They worked the land and
felt very rooted on that land. They became part of the nation!

J.C. That is the impression I received from the members of the moshavim
and the kibbutzim...They were willing to defend their land and homes...

Y.N. You could move from Tel Aviv to another area, but on the Moshav you
were committed to defending your area. So, on the one hand we had the
language. And in spite of the variety of languages and cultures etc.
they lived together and worked together...
They had a tenacity and they stuck to it. They had a task.
So we started in 1965. Put one or two girls in each village and they
began to teach, especially women. They were very warmly received and
the women appreciated the help.
We began in the moshavim and the north to the border line, then to the
development towns.
I told the girls in the programs not to bury the cultures of the women
they are working with but try to learn their values, their history, their
past. There is not one single Jewish person who has not given something
to the Jewish heritage. So I began publishing and editing some of the
local stories of each culture. Every month there was a feature of
people from a particular culture or group.
In the second Phase we had teachers teaching those who were instructors...

J.C. Was this coordinated with the Histadrut?

Y.N. Yes. These girls were not professionals. I told them the best
course you can have is a course in loving people! They had short courses
to help but I told them to take an interest in the women. Ask them

about their homeland, their culture. Learn a few words in their native language. These women are under much pressure. They have to get their children off to school, then have their house in order and look after their younger children. Then in the afternoon the children come from school. Some days you would have two women, some days five, and the class would vary considerably! Some of the husbands were upset because their wives were learning Hebrew and how to express themselves and read.

J.C. The impression I have from my interviews is that I am talking to men and women who are the pioneers. They were and are enthused about what they are doing and do not need or did not need to be highly coordinated to accomplish their task. These people were committed to : the land, to the history etc. You did not have to tell them to introduce identity and unity as a subject. It came naturally. Masada was a real place with special meaning. No one had to coach them to stress the importance of this place.

I have enjoyed meeting these men. They have a sense of urgency and commitment and vision - 45 years on Mashavim, 45 years on the Kibuttzim, 45 years of working with adults. You did not have to tell them to identify. They were sold on Israel and the future of the people in Israel.

I have chosen in my research to restrict my research to the 3.3 million Jewish people. I have not gone into the Arab community, Muslim, Druse... etc.

Y.N. If you take the situation in 1948 you will see why the study is most significant with the Jewish people.

Take the Arabs who lived here in 1948 (there were only about 100,000). These Arabs could communicate with one another. They were of the same culture, the same religion and the same language. They were not swamped with Muslims arriving here from 102 countries, all speaking different languages...No. These Arabs already had their national identity and unity. They were Muslim. They spoke Arabic. They remained in their same homes. They kept their same culture.

So you ask, can the Arab express himself, even if he is illiterate? My God, all of those, they tell you stories, they are first rate story tellers. Even if they cannot read and write Arabic, they can understand the radio and the television, and they can communicate with one another. They had no problem of understanding each other or their culture. It was not so urgent for them to learn to communicate with the new immigrants because they remained in their own area!

We went to the Arabs too, but not with the same scope. We began compulsory education for the Arab children. And we worked on helping the parents change their attitudes towards education. But no one had to tell the Arabs 'forget your background, forget where you came from, this is now your new home'. No. They were in the same country where they had been before. The first stage we as Jews had was to defend

ourselves from the onslaught of these new immigrants. There was no problems for the Arabs. They did not have to defend themselves from newcomers.
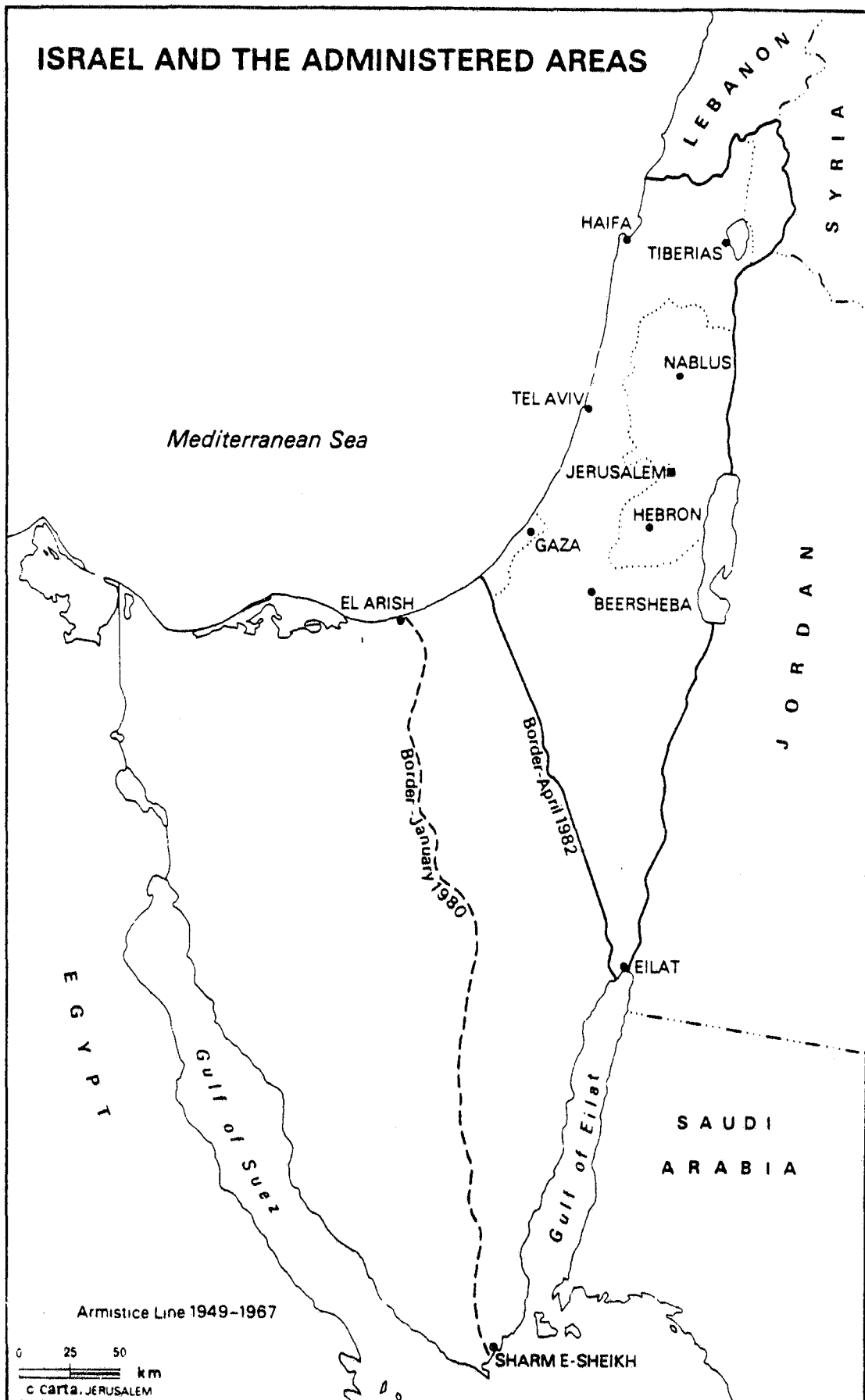
In the second stage where we developed a pluralistic society, and a pluralistic culture, we did not have to preach to the Arabs, to keep their customs, keep their culture, keep their dances. They kept them and developed them and did not have to forget them.

Over the centuries the Arabs have rejected the idea of learning much more than the Jews. Learning is a value that has been transmitted as part of the Jewish heritage. It took time, but I think today that all Arab girls are part of that educational system. So, as a result ⁺ the attitudes of the parents has changed toward education because of the Jewish society and because of the law! - Compulsory education helps the Arabs - we had courses for the women and the children, but the Arabs were demanding of us not that we teach their children to read and to write but to sew etc. If she has a skill and a machine she can help the family, economically. For example; in Abu Gosh near Jerusalem we had courses for the women. I went there, spoke with the people, and we started to plan our campaign against illiteracy. And I cannot tell you what an effect this had on the people. I have studied Islamic studies and I speak Arabic.

J.C. What is National Identity for the Jewish citizen?

Y.N. It is an identification with your past, a concern for your present and problems and a support of the future in all its stages. Ours is a long history and one must identify with it. One cannot take the pages he likes and take out the pages he does not like. One has to find a common ground with the present...

end of tape....

ISRAEL AND THE ADMINISTERED AREAS

LEBANON

SYRIA

HAIFA

TIBERIAS

Mediterranean Sea

NABLUS

TEL AVIV

JERUSALEM

HEBRON

GAZA

BEERSHEBA

EL ARISH

JORDAN

Border January 1980

Border April 1982

EILAT

EGYPT

Gulf of Suez

Gulf of Eilat

SAUDI

ARABIA

Armistice Line 1949–1967

0   25   50
km

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SHARM E-SHEIKH

APPENDIX E

SEVEN PRIMARY QUESTIONS

* Who is a Jew?

* What is Jewish Identity?

* Who is an Israeli?

* What is Israeli Identity?

* What is Zionism?

* What is National Identity?

* What affects National Unity?

Who is a Jew?

* "A Jew is a fact. The Bible tells a Jew that he is a 'chosen person'."
  (31.1-SC)

* "A Jew is one born of a Jewish mother. You may not be able to prove
  who was the father, but you can establish who was the mother."
  (31.7-YC)

* "A Jew - a true Jew - is one who was not a proselyte Jew." (71.6-SK)

* "A Jew remains a Jew as long as he does not profess any other faith or
  baptize into another faith." (71.5-SK)

* "A Jew may deny his religious traditions and become an atheist, but he
  is still regarded as a Jew." (71.7-SK)

* "A Jew prays three times a day (morning, afternoon and evening) 'and
  to Jerusalem your holy city you will return and you will live...' A
  Jew who did or does not believe in coming to Zion is not a Jew."
  (31.2-SC)

* "A Jew belongs to the Jewish people." (31.22-Epp (1980). p. 54.)

* "I know that I am a Jew. Jewishness is something in the mentality.
  I am not a religious Jew. I am an atheist." (31.25-Epp (1980), p.31.)

* "A Jew is the definition given in the Book of the Prophet Jeremiah
  (chapter 34, verse 9) for the word 'Hebrew'. A Hebrew was in this
  place defined as a Jew. The literal meaning of Jew from the Hebrew
  tongue is: 'Praiser of God'; in the biblical sense one who has
  devoted himself to please God and so to be a blessing to mankind."
  (71.4-JC)

* "A Jew (in Israel) considers himself both Israeli and Jewish."
  (32.28-SH)

What is Jewish Identity?

* "Jewish Identity is rooted in the Bible and the scriptures and the Jewish culture." (31.4-KY)

* "Jewish Identity and Israeli identity are not necessarily congruous or identical." (31.5-YC)

* "Jewish Identity can be defined by what a person says he is. If a person says he is a Jew, he identifies himself as a Jew." (31.6-YC)

* "Jewish Identity is more than a religion." (31.10-OG)

* "Jewish Identity is not a race." (31.11-AT)

* "Jewish Identity finds its framework in the Hebrew language." (31.13-UA-HH)

* "Jewish Identity was originally a religious identity." (31.14-GG)

* "Jewish Identity is not just a religious identity, but it is a culture, a language, a way of life. Judaism is the civilization of the Jewish people." (31.15-SH)

* "Jewish Identity in its essence is an identification with the love of God, the love of mankind, and the love of study." (31.19.Epp (1980) p. 123.)

* "Jewish Identity is a unique experience. It involves penalties and it involves hardships." (31.20-Epp (1980), p. 105.)

* "Jewish Identity is a 'feeling' for being Jewish - and that is something that is hard to explain. It's a feeling. It is not a territory, not a political frame, not even any economic interests. Its not a religious feeling. Jewish identity and unity is based on that feeling and on those institutions which are operating in Jewish life. (31.26-Epp (1980), p. 33.)

* "Jewish Identity and Israeli Identity are not identical. Anyone who believes in Jewish Identity outside of Israel does not believe in Israeli Identity. Jewish Identity sees the existence of the Jewish people throughout the world. Israeli Identity is anyone who believes that Israel is the ultimate solution and only solution to the existence of the Jewish people." (32.23-GG)

* "Jewish Identity is the identity of the Jewish people with the Jewish civilization and the Jewish people." (32.27-SH)

* "Jewish Identity goes back 4,000 years to the beginnings of the Jewish civilization." (32.27-SH)

* "Jewish Identity involves Jewish history, Jewish sources, Jewish religion etc as part of his Jewish heritage - regardless of whether or not he is religious - that is immaterial." (32.31-MB)

* "Jewish Identity is evidenced when an individual is
  a) prepared to work together in the Law of Return
  b) willing to assist in the absorption of new immigrants
  c) willing to defend the Jewish State.
  d) willing to make a contribution to the continuation of Jewish history. (5.12-SH)

* "Jewish Identity is a common element which is common to all Jews and, goes beyond the land and the language." (5.15-BS)

* "Jewish Identity was an exclusive identity which made possible the absorption of hundreds of thousands of immigrants." (102.1-SH)

Who is an Israeli?

* "An Israeli is one who has chosen to come to Israel." (9.1-SC)

* "An Israeli is one who sees his past, and present and future in this country and who is accepting the facts of life as the price he has to pay." (9.6-AT)

* "An Israeli is identifying with the Jewish people. Not only is he identifying with the present phase of Jewish history or Jewish belief but he is identifying with himself as a Jew. He is accepting the destiny of the Jewish people and he is prepared to make an effort to , improve that society." (9.6-AT)

* "An Israeli, to be a true Israeli, would have to be Jewish. A non-Jewish person could identify with Moses, or David, or the Jewish past or the people and make a real contribution to the international life - as a phenomenon of History, but to be a true Israeli, he would have to be Jewish." (9.7-AT)

* "An Israeli is a citizen of the State of Israel." (9.9-DY)

* "An Israeli was anyone living in Israel in 1948 when the State of Israel was formed - be he Jew, or Muslim or Christian." (9.9-DY)

* "I'm an Israeli. I don't feel Jewish." (9.11-Epp (1980), p.111.)

* "An Israeli is one who is willing to examine himself to see what it means to be a better Israeli, to integrate himself with others, to be learning things he didn't know, to be faithful to the country, and to endure the opportunity to emmigrate and get more money in Canada and yet stay in Israel because he wants to stay in Israel." (26.1-SC)

* "In Israel, a Jewish nation came into existence, a Jewish Israeli nation. Israeli Jews are a national entity in themselves..." (9.10-Epp (1980), p. 141.)

* "An Israeli sees himself and his nation as a continuation of the old thing of 4,000 years of Jewish history." (32.31-MB)

* "An Israeli, religious and perhaps nonreligious conceives himself as not 'disporic', not 'exilic' and not antiquated. The early Israeli. would view the Jew with the curl locks in Me'a She'rim as an abberation, or at least as a 'kind' of outdated model of himself, therefore having no relevency." (32.31-MB)

What is Israeli Identity?

* "Israeli Identity is where we are now. Jews were once upon a time in
  the Diaspora, and there are still Jews in the Diaspora. But we came
  back to Israel to create an Israeli image or identity." (31.5-YC)

* "Israeli Identity borders on a secular Jewish identity, with a heavy
  respect, if not an endorsement for the traditions of the Jewish
  religion." (31.8-JC)

* "Israeli Identity was once taught that only those who came to Israel
  were the Jews. We ignored the Diaspora. After 1973, there were many
  changes in our thinking about that..." (31.12-CZ)

* "Israeli Identity is to live for the country, whether Jews or non-
  Jews, to do something for Israel." (31.23-Epp (1980), p. 63.)

* "Israeli Identity is believing that Jewish identity can only find its
  fulfillment in Israel. Anyone who believes that Israel is the ultimate
  solution and only solution to the existence of the Jewish people has
  an Israeli Identity." (32.23.GG)

* "Israeli Identity is the identity of the citizens of Israel with
  Israel. Israeli Identity when you take the Arabs and Jews together
  only goes back to 1948 with the formation of the State of Israel."
  (32.27-SH)

* "Israeli Identity is also a National Identity." (32.27-SH)

* "Israeli Identity is a mixture of 'some-sort-of Jewishness'!"
  (32.31-MB)

* "Israeli Identity is 'something different'. It is wrong to say that
  Israel wants to be just another western society. That is against the
  principles of Zionism. This society wants to be Jewish. Not west.
  Not Oriental. They want to be a Jewish Zionist society."
  (112.1-SS)

* "Israeli Identity is Jewishness. Israel is Jewishness. Here in
  Israel a child doesn't have to worry about feeling his Jewishness."
  (32.39-Epp (1980), p. 22.)

What is Zionism?

* "Zionism is the possibility to fulfill ourselves as a group."
  (45.1-KY)

* "Zionism is the opportunity to live our own life, in our own way, and
  not have to wonder what other people are thinking about us."
  (45.1-KY)

* "Zionism is in certain ways a revolt against Judaism. Zionism wanted
  to get rid of the mentality of the ghetto. Zionism wanted the Jew to
  be a 'new human being'. Zionism wanted the Jew to go back to the land
  to work and to get rid of the complexes." (45.1-KY)

* "Zionism was a revolt against traditional Jewish orthodoxy that said,
  'you live your life your own way and you wait for Messiah to come and
  than you go back to Israel, but not on your own." (45.1-KY)

* "Zionism is the drive within Judaism to establish a Jewish State."
  (45.5-DY)

* "Zionism was seen as the solution for the Jewish people." (45.5-DY)

* "Zionism is the religious idea and political program to provide an
  answer to the prayer, 'Next year in Jerusalem'. (45.8-Epp (1980), p.32.)

* "Zionism was identified as a political movement with the first World
  Zionist Congress in Switzerland in 1897, but it existed long before
  that time as a religious and spiritual ideal connected to the
  Messianic hope of historic Judaism." (45.6-Epp (1980), p. 13.)

* "Zionism is not the solution to the problem of Judaism. The one and
  only problem solved by Zionism is the political and national
  independence of the Jewish people." (45.9-Epp (1980), p. 35.)

* "Zionism is self-expression for the Jewish people. There are many
  interpretations of Zionism because there are many sources of Zionism:
  religious sources (religious Zionism) political sources (political
  Zionism). People have their own conceptions." (45.11-Epp (1980), p.32.)

* "Zionism is the normalization of the Jewish people. The Jewish
  people should be somewhere in the world a people sovereign over a
  certain piece of land. Normalization allows the Jewish state to give
  personal security to the Jew, a feeling of equality with others
  without any need to move through assimilation and self-denial."
  (45.12-Epp (1980), p. 37.)

* "Zionism as the Jewish national liberation movement was to bring the
  majority of the Jewish people who were dispersed all over the world to
  their own historic country, the land of Israel." (45.7-Epp (1980), p.23.)

What is Zionism? (continued)

* "Zionism is a political movement organically associated with
  international imperialism and antagonistic to all action for liberation
  and to progressive movements in the world. It is racist and fanatic
  in its nature, aggressive in its methods. Israel is the instrument
  of the Zionist movement, and a geographical base for world
  imperialism placed strategically in the midst of the Arab homeland
  to combat the hopes of the Arab nation for liberation, unity and
  progress." (Palestinian Liberation Organization, 1973: clause 22).

* "A sign on wall near the market in Mea' Sher'im - an ultra-Orthodox
  religious section of Jerusalem says: "Judaism and Zionism are
  diametrically opposed!"

* In an article entitled 'Education Towards Zionism' (Forum, January,
  1962, pp. 10-14.) Sociologist Simon Herman lists and describes what
  he entitles 'Elements of a Zionist Ideology'.

  One people with common history and destiny. Zionism sees Jews as one
  people, bound together by a common history and destiny.

  Israel as the Jewish national center. Zionism regards Israel as the
  homeland of the Jewish people. It seeks equality of national status
  for the Jew through the establishment of Israel as the Jewish State.

  The precariousness of Gaulut (exile). Wherever Jews live as a
  minority, where they are not politically or socially independent,
  where they rely on the good graces of the non Jewish majority and are
  subject to the everyday pressures of its civilization and mode of
  life - such a place is galut.

  Aliyah. The encouragement of aliyah (immigration) is the primary task
  of a Zionist movement.

  Continuity and Change. It is the essence of the Zionist credo that
  Jews themselves can and should control their destiny.

  Land and People. The ultimate aim of Zionism may be broadly defined as
  the redemption ('geulah') of the Jewish people. A wide spread
  tendancy exists to define Zionism as the upbuilding of the Jewish State,
  but this is only the means to the achievement of a goal which relates
  to the Jewish people in its entirety.

  Pertinence to all facets of communal life. Zionism represents a proud
  unabashed expression of "Jewish Identity'...in accord with its concern
  for the creative survival of the Jewish people. Zionism stimulates the
  cultural distinctiveness of the Jewish community ie, the use of
  Hebrew which has become the symbol of the Jewish national revival.

What is National Identity?

* "National Identity is the character of the nation and its essence.
  It is identifying the characteristics which define membership in it.
  It is the conditions for the nation's existence and its continuity as
  a social identity." (32.34-BS)

* "National Identity is an identification with your past, a concern for
  your present and its problems and a support of the future in all its
  stances. Ours is a long history and one must identify with it. One
  cannot take the pages he likes and take out the pages he doesn't
  like. One has to find a common ground with the present." (32.33-YN)

* "National Identity could be defined by what a person says he is. If
  a person says he is a Jew, he is identifying himself as a Jew. It is
  also defined by what others say he is." (32.9-YC)

* "National Identity in Israel is to be an inclusive identity. That is
  one that allows within its framework, the existence of other
  identities. An identity may be exclusive or inclusive." (102.1-SH)

* "National Identity among the Jewish people is a 'feeling'. It is not
  a rationale factor. It is more or less a new concept (since 1948).
  I think National Identity among the Jewish people was created as a
  result of the pressure of the outside world on the Jewish people."
  (32.4-KY)

* "National Identity is to be in control of ourselves." (32.5-KY)

* "National Identity means to be aware of my heritage, to be devoted to
  my present tasks of the nation, to struggle for the realization of
  common goals." (32.14-YB)

* "National Identity is being shaped by the way of life in the kibbutz.
  The kibbutz life is the modern realization of the basic approaches
  to Judaism in that you are considering the needs of others, you are
  contributing an important part to their real family life, you are
  building up a connection with the land, you are giving preference to
  aspects of education and spiritual life, and you are transforming
  religious tradition and interfacing it in a modern way of life."
  (32.14-YB)

* "National Identity causes me to think in terms of Israeli Identity.
  The identity of this particular national group in terms of their
  identity, their 'ethnic identity', which is much more complex, be
  they Jew or Arab...there is just not an Israeli Identity without
  something affixed to it...One must strengthen the identity of the
  Israeli Arab community and the Israeli Jewish community and the
  elements they have in common. You cannot deal with it as a simplified
  phrase, 'How do we strengthen National Identity?'" (32.26-SH)

What is National Identity? (continued)

* "National Identity must be viewed on two levels. First the cognitive
  level. What is the national purpose? Why are we here? How well do
  I view the State? The second level is in terms of culture, that is
  what am I indeed? What is my lifestyle, how do I react to things that
  represent national terms, holidays, language, what kind of stories do
  I tell my children? (32.31-M.B.)

* "National Identity is a difficult term, because in many ways there is
  a national identity, but it is an evolving national identity that is
  mostly Jewish." (32.29-SS)

* "National Identity and Jewish Identity may not be exactly synonymous -
  but National Identity is overwhelmingly Zionist." (32.30-SS)

* "National Identity may have to be defined on two levels. The 'Legal-
  Cognitive-Physical' Level ie. pre-1948 Arabs are citizens, have the
  right to vote. Druze are citizens and can serve in the army. Arabic
  is a recognized official language etc etc etc. These are the things
  done to recognize National Identity and unity on the 'visible' level.
  But along with this is The 'Secondary-Emotional-Reality' Level that
  says 'we have two distinct groups, Jews and Arabs, that we cannot mix.
  Therefore National Identity is Israeli Identity is Jewish Identity.'
  The Arabs are a 'special category' within that National Identity.
  (32.30-JC)

* "National Identity requires a personal internalization or self-acceptance
  of the goals of the nation. National Unity requires a personal
  integration or commonality with the members of the nation." (32.41)

What Affects National Unity?

* "National Unity is affected by the 'struggle for survival'. With the
  population doubling and tripling within a few years produced a
  tremendous pressure on the people to survive." (39.5-DY)

* "National Unity is affected by the very strong feeling of 'family
  relationship' or 'corporate identity' whether the Jew is from Russia
  or Morocco - he is Jewish." (39.5-DY)

* "National Unity is affected by the 'collective I'. All of us (Jews)
  have a common memory of a common past. Of Moses, and the Exodus, King
  David, First Temple, Second Temple, the joys, the defeats, the mournings
  that are 'part of us'. All of us have the same aspirations for our
  future...to bridge the gap of 2,000 years that separates the memory of
  the past from the realization of the future." (39.6-YN)

* "National Unity is affected by the tensions with Arab neighbors. As
  long as we have pressures from the outside, part of our problems will
  be overshadowed by the security problems." (39.2-KY)

* "National Unity is affected by more inter-marriages between the
  different cultural groups today than in 1948. The educated wanted their
  children to marry only educated. The same with the ethnic groups. Now
  there are many more inter-marriages." (39.3-GG)

* "National Unity is affected by the learning of Hebrew. The French
  Ambassador who studied Hebrew at Ulpan Akiva said, 'Forget about
  understanding Jewish life, Jewish history, the Bible or Jewish politics
  without an understanding of Hebrew." (39.4-UA-HF)

* "National Unity is affected by Hebrew. Hebrew is the first uniting
  factor, because without Hebrew we cannot communicate." (5.4-SC)

* "National Unity is affected by a) the land, b) the language, c) the
  roots of tradition and d) the religion. (5.7-OG)

* "National Unity is affected by the influence of one culture on the other
  in music and literature. This is part of unity. (5.8-OG)

* "National Unity can be talked about only in Israel. Outside of Israel
  there are so many variations of and understandings of Judaism.
  National Unity for Jews can only occur in Israel." (5.11-GG)

* "National Unity is affected by - or evidenced by -
  a) a readiness to stand together against a common enemy.
  b) a readiness to accept the others as part of the Israeli society.
  c) a willingness to participate in the democratic process.
  d) a willingness on the part of the Jewish people to work for the
      fulfillment of the goals of the Jewish State." (5.12-SH)

* "National Unity is affected by our Jewishness - of course! The only thing that can bring the Ashkenazi and the Orientals together is their Jewishness - not the western elements. If you strengthen the Jewish common factor then you achieve more ethnic integration." (5.13-SS)

* "National Unity is affected by Muslim literature which tries to put a wedge between the Oriental and Ashkenazi Jews by calling the Oriental Jews 'Arab Jews' and therefore part of the Arab People." (5.13-SS)

* "National Unity is affected by 'hardships' - common hardships in the army like route marches, hard training and encampment in small tents in the winter. You are doing this because you are the soldiers who must defend the nation. Suffering in the cold, you curse, but it is nice - two days later you have the memory and you will be in the eyes of the people the ones who are doing this for the purposes of the family man." (5.14-MB)

* "National Unity is affected by strengthening as much as possible the common strands and basics of Judaism." (5.15-BS)

* "National Unity is affected by religion and Zionism. ...another thing that ties them (the Israeli Jews) together is the rest of the world... and there's the physical tie. People who are in the same place are automatically tied together." (5.18-Epp (1980), p. 42.)

* "National Unity is affected by nationalism. Israeli nationalism is the new Judaism; that consummation of Zionism which for the present at least, makes the most sense and is worthy of every sacrifice." (38.3-Epp (1980), p. 173.)

* "National Unity is affected by the Bible. "Rabbi Solomon Rashi in the 11th Century opened his commentary on the Bible by saying, 'For all practical purposes the Bible need not have commenced until the 12th chapter of Exodus...for the Bible is a book laying down the duties of the Jew and of men and the first commandment is found there. Why then does the Bible begin with the story of Creation? Because the time will come when the nations of the world will say to Israel, 'Ye are robbers, Ye are thieves, Ye have conquered the land, which belongs to other nations.' and the Jewish people will answer them, 'the whole world belongs to almighty God. He created it. He decides to whom it should be allotted and it was He who allotted the Land of Israel to the Jewish people and gave to other people their territories." (114.9-LR)

* "National Unity is affected by Religion. "Religion plays a major role in nation building and national integration, in Israel...by accident of strength in electoral votes (the religious party often holds a balance of power in a coalition government) - ...in addition to a process of politicization of religion, ie tendancies to introduce religious matters into politics...religion also serves as one more cleavage in Israeli society...(between the religious and non-religious Jews)." (8.1-EG-Middle East Review, p. 31-36)

What Affects National Unity? (continued)

* National Unity is affected by:
    1) the Army.
    2) intermarriage between Orientals and Ashkenazi, religious and nonreligious Jews.
    3) cultural groups who maintain pride in their identity and do not try to hide it.
    4) Heritage programs (ie for the Orientals etc).
    5) Nature and time - the Orientals are gaining ascendancy ie. Yhitzak Navon as President. (SK-p. 10.)

1. The nature of the question.

2. Adult education and adult learning.

3. The importance of a.e. in Israel.

4. Nation building.

5. Thoughts on unity.

6. Beliefs of the immigrants.

7. The law of return.

8. Israelis and religion.

9. Who is an Israeli?

10. Differences between immigrants in Israel.

11. The learning of Hebrew.

12. What is adult education?

13. The Israeli sabra.

14. Traditional Jewish culture.

15. The programs of a.e.

16. Ulpan.

17. The early days of a.e. in Israel (1948).

18. The compulsory education law.

19. The Israeli Army as an a.e. agency.

20. The educational level of adult immigrants.

21. The city of Ashdod (as an a.e. center).

22. What makes an adult participate in a.e.?

23. Dr. Kodesh's philosophy of a.e.

24. One adult's tangle with Dr. Kodesh (monologue).

25. Stated goals of a.e. in Israel.

26. Thoughts on being a 'better Israeli'.

27. The teaching of concepts in Hebrew/Ulpan.

28. The influence of Dr. Kodesh on a.e. in Israel.

29. The Jewish way of adult education.

30. Historical example of beginning days in Ulpan.

31. Jewish identity.

32. Comments on national identity.

33. The Arab 'minority' population.

34. Cultural pluralism in Israel.

35. Arab education.

36. Arab-Jew dialogue - (Co-existence).

37. The Druse in Israel.

38. Jewish 'nationalism'.

39. Forces or pressures creating national unity.

40. Jewish assimilation into other cultures.

41. Characteristics of 'minority' groups.

42. References to the life/works of Martin Buber.

43. Effect of a crisis on adults.

44. The Bible - its effect on the people of Israel today.

45. Zionism - views and definitions.

46. The Orthodox Jews - relationship to national identity.

47. The secular Jews and their relationship to NI NU.

48. Archeology and its significance in Israel.

49. Religious policy makers in a.e. (Adult religious education).

50. The key agencies that set policy in a.e. in Israel.

51. The Martin Buber Center.

52. The 'Arab problem' as it relates to NU NI.

53. The Palestinians (PLO).

54. The Israeli Adult Education Association.

55. Community centers.

56. The Canaanite movement.

57. Israeli culture - possibilities for a definition.

58. Israelis leaving Israel - suggested reasons.

59. The Ashkenazi-Sephardic 'situations'.

60. Social pressures affecting NI NU.

61. Culturally deprived adults - 'disadvantaged adults'.

62. A 'Religious-Political Dichotomy' in the State of Israel.

63. Civil law in Israel.

64. 'Models' of adults to be integrated into the modern state of Israel.

65. Shachar - The man and his work.

66. The Ministry of Education - Department of Adult Education.

67. The Ministry of Labor.

68. The Histadrut.

69. The Kibbutzim.

70. Schools for Girl Soldiers.

71. Who is a Jew?

72. Kiriyat Gath Model (Lakhish Development Town).

73. Christians in Israel.

74. Douglas Young.

75. Religious pluralism among Jews.

76. Christian-Jewish relations.

77. Evidences of hate.

78. Principles of action for community centers.

79. 1961 census.

80. Theater for the people.

81. Literacy programs.

82. 1967.

83. 1973.

84. 1948.

85. Ulpan Akiva.

86. Hebrew University.

87. Yeshiva.

88. Humanism meaning and comments.

89. Pre 1948 history of Israel and a.e.

90. Philosophy of Kibbutzim a.e.

91. 1950s.

92. Volunteerism.

93. 1960s.

94. Integration.

95. Agricultural adult education.

96. Illiteracy.

97. Philosophy of a.e.

98. Moshavim.

99. Visit to Gaza.

100. Jewish religious a.e.

101. Immigration to Israel.

102. Forces contributing to national identity.

103. Cultural absorption supremacy.

104. Holocaust.

105. Relationship of the Israeli 'model' to other countries.

106. Israelization vs Palestinization.

107. Arab-Israeli identity.

108. The religious - non religious 'conflict' in Israeli society.

109. Ethnic stratification in Israel.

110. The Oriental Jew.

111. Attitudes of Ashkenazi towards Oriental Jews.

112. Comments on Israeli identity.

113. Mixed marriages.

114. Torah Culture.

115. Ministry of Education - Department of Torah Culture.

116. Methods of teaching adult religious education - Torah Dept.

117. Philosophy of a.e. in the I.D.F.

118. Educational process in the I.D.F.

119. A.E. "failures' in the I.D.F.

120. A.E. "successes" in the I.D.F.

121. The I.D.F. as a "nation builder".

122. The social structure of the I.D.F.

123. History of immigration to Israel.

124. Why research restricted to Jewish adult educators.

125. Cultural pluralism.

126. Gush Emunim.

127. Anti-Semetism.

APPENDIX G

THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF ETHNIC STRATIFICATION

The Institutionalization of Ethnic Stratification

Transcript of a presentation to the Canadian Professors for Peace in
the Middle East by Dr. Sammy Smooha, at the Haifa University, May
22, 1980.

The researcher attended this seminar at the invitation of Dr. Smooha,
prior to a personal interview in his office. The following transcript
is presented almost verbatim so the reader might follow the flow of
Dr. Smooha's address.

        The Jewish community in Israel is 3.2 million people (1979).
The Orientals are the majority of the Jewish community - 55 percent -
and the predictions are for a higher percentage in the future...despite
the Russian immigration...

        Who are the Orientals? They are Jews from Islamic North
Africa - Libya, Iraq etc. plus Sephardic Jews from the Balkans, Turkey,
Bulgaria, Greece - plus 25 percent of the Russian Jews are Oriental or
the 'mountainous Jews'. Though a diverse community, it is much more of
a heterogeneous community, than the Ashkenazi Jews. Ashkenazi Jews are
being assimilated in to Israeli society very rapidly, ie. from Russia,
Romania, Poland, Germany.

        Within the Oriental communities there are deep divisions. There
are Oriental and Sephardic - 48 percent Oriental - 7 percent Sephardic -
for a total 'Oriental' community of 55 percent of the total population.

        The Sephardic Jews have three primary groups: 1) those that
spread into North Africa are called the Mediterranean Sephardic; 2) those
who went into Holland became the European Sephardic; and 3) those who
went to Canada/United States became known as the western Sephardic. Most
Sephardic in Israel came from North Africa and most came to Israel after
the formation of the State in 1948. The word Sephardic means descendents
of the 'Ladino' language from Spain, Portugal in the 14th Century.

        In the years before the Mandate, the 'Oriental' population of
Palestine was 40 percent of the total Jewish population. By 1947 (due to
increased Ashkenazi immigration from Europe) the Oriental population was
down to 20 percent. After 1948, the majority of the immigration was
from the Oriental communities and by 1964 it was up to a majority of the
population.

        What exactly is the problem? First, the Israeli culture is a
mixed culture. It is not exactly a western country although it has some
western elements and some Jewish traditions and some local sabra elements
mixed together. There are very few Western (American) Jews in Israel.
Most of the Ashkenazi Jews are from Eastern Europe. Many of these
Ashkenazi Jews are being assimilated into western traditions under the
influence of a strong American orientation. The Jewish traditions of

Israel, in the public domain, are more oriented to Ashkenazi style
(of worship, dress etc.) than to Oriental. And the majority of the
local traditions of the sabras are Ashkenazi traditions. The Oriental
feel their cultural heritage is being overlooked, therefore they feel
an alienation towards the emerging Israeli culture (an Ashkenazi culture).

By culture we mean the 'rules of the game' - how people relate
to one another and compete with one another. If you set the rules
according to the Ashkenazi values, you make it easier for them to compete
and harder for the Oriental Jews.

In the 1960's there was the beginning of an effort to maintain
an 'Oriental heritage' of the Oriental traditions. Most Orientals do
not participate in the cultural routines of this society, in fact most
Orientals have been assimilated into the Ashkenazi culture.

In Israel the 'National Dream' is to mix all Jews into one
culture - but since the 60's there has been some relaxation of the
cultural dominence of the Ashkenazi Jews. But there has been little
progress because of the lack of participation by the Orientals. The
problem is one of participation. How can the Orientals be full partners
in cultural development.

This brings us to the problem of 'Paternalism'. In the
Ashkenazi mind, the Orientals are perceived as under-developed, backward
and in need of improvement - to prove and improve themselves. They are
not treated as people who are equally as talented as the Ashkenazi.
Therefore there is less trust of the Orientals. And this is more than a
stereotype of the Oriental. It goes much deeper. It is in the
subconscious, with a long, long background. It takes a long time to
change it. When part of the dominant culture is in control it is easy to
see why 50 percent of the people can be defined by the state as
'culturally deprived'. The state wants to make them (Oriental Jews) equal
(to Ashkenazi Jews) culturally, - but only 5 percent of the Ashkenazi
Jews are defined as culturally deprived. Thus more money goes to the
Oriental schools which in turn breeds an ideology that supports the
superior-inferior stereotypes. If a project fails with the Orientals,
that's OK. That is explainable because their parents are poor etc etc.
Paternalism provides a ready made answer for failure!

The third problem is the problem of class structure. The
stereotype of the Orientals is that they have less education, less skills,
lower standard of living and larger families. This may be partially true
but it underestimates the severity of the problem. The problem is really
one of the 'Institutionalization of Ethnic Stratification'.

In Israel you have a class structure that parallels an ethnic
proportion - not just based on a disparity of income or differences of
standards of living - between Ashkenazi and Oriental Jews. The problem
since the formation of the state has been a crystalization of class
structure forming around an ethnic characterization.

For purposes of discussion we can divide Israeli Society into six class levels.

1. <u>Marginal Status</u> - Mostly Orientals

   People who are unemployable, disabled, single parents, criminals, or who do not work or study. Not totally Oriental as some Ashkenazi are subject to misfortune.

2. <u>Lower Class, Poor or Distressed Strata</u> - Virtually Oriental

   The 'working class' but they live under the poverty line. Tend to have large families, poor paying jobs, live in development towns, or urban slums. Lack elementary education but may have strong religious tradition.

3. <u>Working Class/Lower Middle Class</u> - Overwhelmingly Oriental

   Ashkenazis within this class are escaping by upward social mobility. Those who remain are often older workers who may have lacked education or opportunity. Not 'poor' but just making a living - found in production, service, and government jobs.

4. <u>Middle Class</u> - Mixed Ethnically - Ashkenazi/Oriental

   Teachers, clerks, businessmen.

5. <u>Upper Middle Class</u> - Overwhelmingly Ashkenazi

   Managerial, professionals.

6. <u>Elite</u> - Virtually Ashkenazi

   Decision makers, business, arts, science, political.

Each class is in a process of crystallization - and is reproducing itself. Israel is an aging society - now 30 years old - and is building its societal image. The repercussions of this 'Ethnic Stratification' are: 1) Orientals at the lower end view themselves as low achievers and develop a negative self-image; 2) Ashkenazis in the elite position have developed the image that 'we are the smart guys, we are the able leaders and decision makers'etc. Both sides are perpetuating the image.

By 'institutionalization' I mean a phenomena that becomes permanently established as a fact of life - however justified - but becomes a form of ethnic stratification which is being reproduced in each generation. In the sabra population this stratification is no less pronounced than in the foreign born. Israel appears to be developing some kind of tolerance for this mentality.

The question must be asked, "How is this mentality transferred to the next generation? It is done by:

1) Class Heritage

If you are a middle class person with two kids and content with your way of life, you transfer your way of life on to them. You socialize them, train them and invest money to perpetuate your values. This is the Ashkenazi pattern. The minimum you seek to transfer is your present class position - if not up! The Ashkenazi have the resources to do this. They are the 'old timers'. They are pre-state. They have more housing, more land, more reparations from Germany. In short they have more opportunity.

For Orientals to change they must move from a lower to a higher level, but they lack the resources to transfer their children as they have larger families etc, so to change their situation they must do something special - they must MOVE - geographically to a better location. This takes money and effort but they lack the resources. Ashkenazis are already in their location for transferring class heritage.

2) Community Development

Many people are locked into a community. You are born in an area, ie an urban slum, or development town, so you are socialized in that area and live there. But most of the 'areas' in Israel or 'communites' are ethnic communities. Over the past 30 years, as these communities have stabilized the children that have been born into these communities have maintained the traditions and class level of the community.

With Urban Renewal projects - even if successful - it makes the Oriental more stable, but we continue to isolate the communities where they are with the same people, in the same class. We may 'raise the floor' of class structure, but it does not lower the gap!

3) A Process of Default

The 'Establishment' does not intervene. In fact it practises a policy of non intervention. It lets the situation stabilize believing in time that the situation will clear itself through education, economic opportunities etc...The establishment is not taking the ethnic situation as a prime project. The government is making decisions that perpetuate the ethnic stratification and perpetuate the ethnic groups.

The Ministry of Education and Culture only budget 1 percent for adult education. But intervention is a component in the improvement of ethnic situations especially where achievement and equality is the goal. It is not a pre-meditated plan by the Ministry (of Education and Culture) to say, "I am going to discriminate against Orientals," but when you analyze the outcome, you can see the connection between their decisions and ethnic stratification. Many institutions have arisen in Israeli society that are not ethnic at face value...

...(question asked about the affect of mixed marriages on ethnic stratification)...

If an Ashkenazi and an Oriental marry, that is what I call a 'mixed marriage'. If an Arab and a Jew marry, I would call that 'Inter-marriage'. However...

People who mix marry tend to go to someone in their own level. One third of the population is in the middle class, so most mixed marriages are in the middle class. 19.5 percent of all marriages are mixed marriages. This has tended to stabilize in the past five years. If you are in the Lower class, your chances for a mixed marriage are very slim because you do not have Ashkenazi at this level. And if you are in the upper class/elite, you rarely marry an Oriental. The 'dangers' of a mixed marriage in the middle class are quite good!

Many of the wealthier Oriental Jews from North Africa, did not come to Israel. They went to Europe or Montreal (where French was spoken) or to the USA. They heard about the paternalism in Israel and they avoided it. They did not want it! We are all Zionists, but we know that people can live better elsewhere!

In 1965, about 15-18 percent of the population of students were Oriental (in Universities) but the Oriental percentage of the population was the same as the Ashkenazi (50%). Even if more Orientals get their B.A., this is not all that significant as the B.A. in the last 20 years has become common to many.

...a question was asked about Arabs in Israel and where they fit in the class structure...

Arabs are in the lower two classes - and inter-marriage with them is regarded as bad from both sides.

...a question was asked about the role of the army in 'integration'...

The army (IDF) has a special program whereby every soldier has an opportunity to receive an elementary school certificate. Before he is discharged he is sent to school for three months to work on his diploma. The army provides trades, mechanics, drivers etc with skills for later living. Israel is a Zionist society, an immigrant society, but the majority of the immigrants since 1965 are middle class and are streamlined into the middle class, thereby perpetuating the class stratification even further.

The problem in Israel is not class distinction per se but 'ethnic stratification'.

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