The Social Aspects of Education in Israel

Haim Y. Ormian, Ph.D.

Editor and Educator, Israel

The social background of education in Israel, especially of the socially and culturally deprived children, will be systematically presented, with particular reference to: (1) The social polarity between pre-modern and modern sectors in Israel; (2) The educational tasks resulting from this situation; (3) The social and educational measures adapted to overcome difficulties of socialization among the deprived population.

The Two-Fold Structure
of the Israeli Society

The Israeli society has been neither strictly modern nor strictly pre-modern. Two sociologically discernible sectors exist in Israel: a developing, pre-modern, traditional and pre-industrial one and a developed, modern, industrial one, with transition stages from the first to the latter. A process of "modernization" goes on in which the traditionalism becomes less esteemed, and modernity is increasing.[1]

The Modern or Developed Sector

This sector is labelled the Western and Euro-American (EA) community. Idealistic Zionists, religiously motivated groups, people expelled by hostile powers, those pragmatically minded or motivated by more than one drive, are the components of this sector.

These EA modern immigrants established modern urban and rural settlements, political, cultural, religious, scientific and art institutions, private and cooperative industry, trade and transportation. They were very alert to social and political problems. They formed particularly the labor wing and, eventually, they became the prevailing political force.

Many former members of Zionist "pioneering" youth movements established two patterns of agricultural settlements: collective villages (kibbutzim) and smallholders' cooperative ones *(moshavim)*. These people also founded the Israeli labor movement.

[1] S. Eisenstadt, *Modernization: Protest and Change.* Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1966, pp. 7-8 and 20.

After the establishment of the State of Israel in May 1948, and, much more, after the Six-Day War, a pragmatically-minded, affluent society arose, and the "pioneering" spirit decreased. Nevertheless, the political and social involvement of the population was not neglected.

The Pre-Modern or Traditional Sector

This sector is labelled the Oriental or Afro-Asian (AA) community. It consists of some subgroups:

(1) Descendents of Jews expelled from Spain (1492) and Portugal (1496). The minority of them, "pure Sephardim," is an urban middle-class, whose formal schooling is based on religious tradition and secular culture. The majority of them is a low-class traditional group, sometimes educated in schools of the *Alliance Israelite Universelle.*

(2) Most AA Jews are descendents of native Jews who lived in the Middle-East and in North Africa prior to the Iberians, and intermingled with them in the course of time. Today they "call themselves," Syrian, Egyptian, Moroccan, etc. Jews.

(3) The Yemenites, a consolidated entity which maintains its uniqueness and a high level of traditional learning.

Early marriages, inferiority of women, remarkable fertility and strong kinship ties were significant traits of the family life of these subgroups. The family imparted traditional ways of life as well as feelings of belonging and of security.

The great majority of the AA Jews grew up in a kind of ghetto, isolated also from Jewish Western communities. They had little opportunities to experience democracy and secular instruction. In general, they were lower-class small tradesmen or craftsmen. Only in late 19th century, did some modern socio-economic and cultural changes occur in a significant minority of this sector. These influences prepared the basis for modern Hebrew or bilingual European-styled schools founded by Jewish organization (mostly from abroad); sometimes Jewish children attended State schools. And indeed, among the AA immigrants, after 1948, there were socio-culturally higher leveled people who easily found their place within the developed sector.

The new AA immigration to Palestine-Israel (from about 1880) was motivated by discrimination, poverty, religious mystical yearning for redemption, the national movements in the Middle East, and lastly the very establishment of Israel.

Comparative Statistics of the Two Population Sectors*

(1) Immigration, 1919-1977.

Years	1919-48	1948-68	1969-77	1948-77
Thousands	452.2	1,290.6	320.5	1,611.1
AA	10.4%	54.5%	20.3%	47.0%
EA	89.6%	45.5%	79.3%	51.7%

(2) Population, 1948-1978 (by birthplace).

Year	1948	1950	1960	1970	1977	1978
Thousands	716.7	1,230.0	1,911.2	2,561.4	3,077.3	3,135.0
(Is) Sabra	35.4%	26.2%	37.5%	46.2%	53.3%	—
AA	9.8%	22.2%	27.6%	26.3%	20.9%	—
EA	54.8%	51.5%	35.0%	27.5%	25.8%	—

(3) Economic Status

(3.1) Employed Persons by Occupation

	Scientific Workers	Other Professionals	Skilled Workers	Service Workers	Other
Is	27.0%	18.5%	19.9%	8.4%	26.2%
AA	10.1%	8.0%	31.8%	18.8%	31.3%
EA	24.0%	13.6%	21.6%	9.1%	31.7%

(3.2) Registered Unemployed

Is	47.7%
AA	31.2%
EA	21.1%

(3.3) Percent of Households
Employing Domestic Help

Is	19.3
AA	4.3
EA	15.4

(3.4) Percent of Ownership of

	private car	telephone
Is	43.1	64.2
AA	18.4	42.7
EA	30.9	67.6

Similar proportions hold for ownership of electric refrigerators, cooking stoves, sewing machines, TVs, tape recorders.

(4) Convicted Juvenile Offenders in Pro-Mille of Juveniles

Is 3.7   AA 9.1   EA 2.8

Education and Youth Until 1948

The socio-economic and socio-cultural situation of both sectors shaped Jewish education in Palestine until 1948. The EA population was anxious to renew the Hebrew language, to build a modern, rather secular, culture, and to provide their offspring with modern education, but they were not adequately sensitive to the educational needs of the AA youth generation.

The Ottoman Period

In the modern era and until about 1917, Hebrew schools were founded by organizations abroad, such as, "Ezra" (Relief Association of the German Jews), the Jewish-French/Alliance Israelite Universalite and the Jewish-Russian Hovevey Zion (Lovers of Zion). These schools functioned relatively efficiently although no compulsory education law existed. Additionally, the "Hebrew Teachers Association," founded in 1905, was both a trade union and a manysided de facto central educational agency.

The Interwar Period

The high cultural aspirations of the EA immigrants strengthened their educational activity, including adult education. But, because of very insufficient governmental financial support, an enormous burden lay on the Jewish authorities and parents. The results were: many AA parents failed to enroll their children; only about one-half of all children aged 5 attended kindergartens (1938/39), only 35% of AA children continued to attend after the 8th grade; the graduates of the secondary schools were only five percent of their age group, and only 40% of them continued in any higher school.

Many young parents were anxious to grant their children free education, and many indeed secondary and agricultural school pupils were involved in pioneering youth movements and youth groups. All this tended to weaken the ties within urban families and therefore their effectiveness in socialization.

The "common education" in the kibbutz was a unique socialization phenomenon. The separate children homes outside the family,

practical learning methods, communal activity of the youth, and the combining of intellectual and physical work were strongly adapted to the socio-cultural and socio-economic structure of the kibbutz.

Since the early thirties until the late forties, the modern sector has had to solve difficult problems of socialization connected with new types of young immigrants: partially expelled Oriental children, young refugees from Germany and Nazi occupied territories, East-European children who reached Palestine during the war, and young Holocaust survivors.

The AA Children
in the Interwar Period

The educational level of most of these children was a function of their parents' low social and cultural level, as exemplified by some instructive Jerusalem data:

In the thirties, 25 percent of the AA girls were not enrolled even in the first elementary school grade, and the number of drop-outs of elementary school pupils was immense. In 1944, only one percent of the AA female graduates of the elementary schools passed on to post-primary schools (vs. 24% of the EA). At the same time, the majority of the neglected and delinquent youngsters were of AA origin, and 45% of them were illiterate. In 1944, elementary school AA and EA graduates displayed an inverse proportion between their achievements in Hebrew and the density of housing and the size of the family. The rather externalized "simple adolescence" was the prevailing pattern of growth.

Participation of AA youngsters in modern youth movements was practically nil. Some of them were affiliated with the "Working Youth Movement" which dealt primarily with trade union activities, but also maintained youth clubs and organized some groups to join kibbutzim.

Problems of Absorption in the Fifties

Almost one-half million AA immigrants in the period, May 1948 to 1957, changed the Israeli scene radically. In 1948-68, they made up 54.5% of all immigrants, and in 1951-56 alone they represented 70-90%. For the AA newcomers it was a sudden introduction to an entirely unknown reality, and this demanded an immense communal activity to help them adapt.

They were settled in temporary camps, suburbs and abandoned settlements, later also in agricultural ones (the latter absorbed about 65,000 AA newcomers). These settlements were initially islands of poverty which needed much attention.[3] And indeed, the State, municipalities, the General Federation of Labor, the Teachers Association, women's organizations, youth movements, and individual volunteers participated in this work at absorption in the "Second Israel."

The relatively large number of public workers and volunteers was, however, necessarily dependent on improvisations. Not a few of the "helpers" lacked the necessary experience, empathy and patience. They were hardly able to perform their duties, in spite of their sincere intentions. Moreover, sometimes, they didn't properly understand "these primitive people." On the other hand, many AA newcomers were not satisfied with the hard physical work and the inevitable proletarianization.

The results were misunderstandings, the newcomers' insecurity and self depreciation, disintegration of families and deteriorated relations between the old-timers and the newcomers.

The Children's Schooling

The most difficult problem resulted from applying Western ways of socialization to children reared in an entire different atmosphere. Most AA parents believed that the school has "to teach," i.e. to expect children to memorize texts, and not to waste time on "speaking" with children, playing, singing and physical training; even utilitarian courses like cooking, hygiene or handicraft were often rejected. Many parents were not ready to cooperate with young, not yet married, smiling

female teachers (most of them soldiers in uniform) who didn't exercise strong discipline.

The scholastic achievements of the children were insufficient, what with shortage of teachers, their instability and lack of qualifications; some of their improper reactions to the parents' attitudes and manners; inconvenient buildings; lack of textbooks and equipment; vagrancy and severe drop-out; resistence to co-education which was in contradiction to the strong separation of sexes at home; often rejection of attendance itself by girls in any school. All this alienated the children, influenced as they were by two simultaneously exercised and antagonistic socializing agencies—the school and the family. No wonder their behavior was unrestrained.

Little by little it became certain that the conventional way of education could not be adapted to these children. This was convincingly exemplified by grave failures in imparting reading skills, often despite a number of years of schooling. It became evident that not the "backward" children and their "primitive" parents had to be blamed, but the social and cultural deprivation of the children. Thus, other ways of socialization proved to be necessary.

New Data, Problems and Views

The Controversial Issue:
Westernization or Ethnic Differences

Already in the early fifties, doubts arose whether it was desirable to compel "Westernity" on the AA newcomers and their children. Seven scientists and philosophers (all of them of Western origin!) discussed problems like: ethnic differences and their value, primitivity and social mobility.[2] They agreed that absorption of AA newcomers required clear purpose and goals. Most authors believed attention had to be paid to the ethnic attitudes, ways of thinking and values of the new-

comers. They had to be treated with much empathy. Others projected as primary the need for a defined nationalism and social ideology as the basis of absorption provided that the newcomers' personal needs would not be neglected at the same time.

Educational and Social Changes

The initial factual improvements in AA newcomers' life began in the late fifties and early sixties. In general, their standard of life slowly improved, and the density of housing thinned. This strengthened disposition toward change and it drew the AA closer (consciously or unconsciously) to modern ideas. It also raised their self-estimation and tendency to self-help and promoted indigenous leadership.

A beginning socio-economic and socio-cultural mobility was promoted by the educational authorities in some ways, as pre-service and inservice teacher training adapted to the AA children's needs; establishment of kindergartens for aged 3-5; widening the age range for compulsory schooling; instituting a broad system of scholarships; educational work in the pre-military Youth Corps and during the regular army service; courses for illiterates.

Sociologists and educators agree that there is an interaction between improved socio-economic circumstances and educational advancement. And, indeed, the improved socio-economic conditions influenced the AA parents to prolong their children's school attendence. And vice versa, the prolonged school attendance created opportunities to improve their economic life and social status.

The school frequency increased in the sixties and seventies: (1) In 1972/73, 73% of AA aged 3 and 90% aged 4 attended kindergartens and day-nurseries; in 1977/78, these proportions rose to 80% and 94% respectively. (2) In 1976/77, AA children comprised 56% of the elementary school population and 57% of the intermediate classes (grades 7-9). (3) In the post-primary schools their percentage rose from 26% in 1963/64 to 51% in 1977/78, but they were more concentrated in technological

---

2 *Megamot (Trends),* Quarterly, Vol. 1-3, (1950-2). Jerusalem: The Henrietta Szold Institute (Hebrew).

and agricultural schools than in academic ones (one opposite is true in the EA sector). The number of AA students in the teacher-training colleges increased from 33% in 1966/67 to 39% in 1977/78.

The percentage of enrollment in higher school of those aged 20-25 rose among the Israeli-born from 8.1% in 1964 to 9.5% in 1974/75, among the AA-born from 0.8% to 2.1%, and among the EA-born from 5.3% to 8.1%.

The percentage of AA teachers in all grades increased steadily, although at a lower rate in the higher school grades.

Intermarriages between AA and EA increased from 9% in 1952 to 19% in 1976, and are increasing even today.

The average birth rate of AA women drew nearer to the "Western" norms; it decreased from 5.7 in 1955 to 4.6 in 1965 and to 3.4 in 1977.

In the later sixties and in the seventies, leaders of AA origin became an active factor in trade unions, political parties, parliament, state and municipal authorities, and even in the government.

Auto-emancipation and self-help have been increasing. AA newcomers founded three world-wide associations of their own as well as unions of newcomers from particular countries. In the early seventies, a group of higher school students and young professionals (named Oded—Encouragement), most of them Morocco-born and French educated, decided to help AA youth in some areas: such as, encouraging them in preparation of home work and in informal educational activities; in preparing youth leaders and in taking care of neglected youth.

The feeling of belongingness encouraged a tendency to raise opinions of the AA culture heritage and to make it a base for their children's education. Politicians and educators demanded the introduction into the school curricula of the history, literature and folklore of the AA Jews, and the "Centre for the Integration of the Oriental Heritage" in the Ministry of Education and Culture published appropriate textbooks and anthologies.

Despite the above positive changes, however, islands of poverty among certain parts of the AA population did not disappear. To the present day, this sector is overrepresented in "lower" occupations and underrepresented in the "top" ones.

Inter-ethnic Relations

Many politicians, social workers, educators and sociologists believed that the tension between the AA and EA is not rooted in difference of ethnicity as such, but in the wide socio-cultural and socio-economic gaps between the populations. Thus, they believe the problems are soluble, although mutual prejudices are deep and solving historically rooted social and educational problems will need much patience, much understanding, much time and immense financial resources.

The slow pace of progress in the sixties and seventies and lingering inequities intensify the reactions and agitation of some. This is especially so for Israel-born youngsters, new leaders, graduates of secondary and higher schools, in the age group 20-25, and discharged army veterans. They are frustrated and anxious to accelerate the general advancement of the AA sector.

A militant reaction occurred in July 1959 when a group of unskilled and unemployed North African young men in a Haifa slum (and then in other localities) came into violent conflict with the police. This outburst was recognized as a significant symptom of unrest. A governmental inquiry commission was set up. Nevertheless, the inter-ethnic conflict sharpened steadily, becoming more and more overt. Especially touchy was the situation of adolescents and young adults neither working nor learning nor affiliated to any community center. They constituted embittered youth cliques and a core of more serious outbursts.

In January 1971, one of these groups which labelled itself Israeli "Black Panthers," held many violent demonstrations, clashing often with the police. But in the second half of the seventies, this vehement movement ceased to

be an active factor. The militance of their demands and their active agitation aroused and deeply shocked both sectors of the population. As a result, a "Prime Minister's Commission," which had been established in July 1971, recommended changes in the public welfare services and improvements in education. Perhaps its most important product was the "Educational Welfare Project" initiated in 1974 by the Ministry of Education and Culture. Its task has been to cultivate the social and educational services for the sake of children and youth living in especially distressful conditions.

School Integration

The inter-ethnic relations called for nationwide changes. Many believed that the educational integration of pupils of different origins and status would enhance educational opportunities for the disadvantaged, improve their school achievements and encourage their social mobility. The school integration was proclaimed as the cardinal task of the school reform in 1968 and it became a challenge to educational experimentation and scientific research. Nowadays it is a forthcoming process, and for the time being some ideas and results can be only tentatively posited:

a. Educators and psychologists advocate that integration start in the kindergarten.

b. True integration is not only co-instruction, but common formal and informal education with accompanying social contacts. In general, social integration is more desired than improved academic achievements. In daily life, however, it is easier to realize the latter aim.

c. Children of all age-groups in integrated classes initially prefer contact with mates of their own origin. By deliberate effort, however, it is possible to draw children of different origin into some social closeness.

d. Integration in conventional elementary schools provides good opportunities to improve the school achievements of disadvantaged children without impairing those of the advantaged, provided that the class composition is balanced; a lack of balance impairs the achievements of middle-class children. The appropriate ratio to attain this balance is itself a subject for discussion; some advocate an optimal percentage of 70, advantaged.

e. A pioneering experiment in integration has been carried out in Jerusalem from 1961 onwards. In the integrated classes, 30-40% of the children come from some quarters populated by parents of AA origin, the others from a middle- and higher-class quarters. The applied educational measures are: a flexible curriculum, individualized and informal teaching, spontaneous work, especially trained teachers, psychologists and social workers. Indeed, the level of the lower-class children is steadily increasing. Their self-image is more positive, and the middle-class children are not negatively affected. The social relations within the classroom are satisfactory. Parents, in both groups, however, don't encourage their children to maintain outside contacts with children of the other group.

f. The 1968 integration-oriented school reform introduced "intermediate classes." In general, this encounter has no significant negative influence on the intergroup relations. The EA children are more popular in both groups, the AA children approach Western norms, their level of aspiration increases, but sometimes their self-image decreases.

g. Some regular secondary schools are attended also by "gifted disadvantaged," i.e. the upper third of the socio-culturally deprived, whose potential is superior to their achievements in the elementary school. In such classes the integration increases slowly, and conscious fostering of inter-ethnic relations improves the scholastic achievements of the disadvantaged.

h. The comprehensive secondary school in most "developmental towns" is factually disintegrated, in spite of the founders' intention, because these towns are populated primarily by parents of AA origin. The same situation is frequently found in "Youth Villages" and in agricultural boarding

schools where pupils are primarily of AA origin. Also the kibbutzim schools remain, in general, segregated as a result of an inverse factor—their prevailing population is of EA origin.

i. In the State-religious elementary and intermediate schools the percentage of disadvantaged is much higher (73% of the pupils) than in the State-general ones (33%). Therefore, the integration in these schools has very limited chances, whereas the *Talmudic* secondary boarding schools remain unintegrated because they contain primarily advantaged population.

j. Disadvantaged youngsters, dwelling in boarding institutions and studying outside of them in integrated secondary school, are not rejected by their mates of higher social level. Members of both social classes, however, in general, prefer in-group contacts.

k. The majority of elementary school teachers accept the school integration as a means to raise the level of the underachievers. Intermediate class teachers are in this respect more pessimistic than their comrades in the elementary and secondary schools—perhaps because the intermediate classes are less balanced.

l. Some parents of higher social level are afraid that integration is liable to lower their children's educational level and stimulate bad behavior; others evaluate the leveling as a desirable social phenomenon. Some socially lower parents are indifferent in this respect; some are afraid that the competition between children of uneven levels will frustrate their children, and some believe the integrated school imparts better education.

Disadvantaged Children and Their Education

The preferred Hebrew term for disadvantaged children is *teuney tipuah* ("needing nurture"). It stresses the dynamic effort to solve these children's problems, whereas the American term "socially or culturally disadvantaged" reflects a static social situation.

After some experiences and deliberations, the Ministry of Education and Culture defined

for practical purpose the term *teuney tipuah* as follows: the individual is classified as disadvantaged according to his level of education, his father's African or Asian origin and his family size. These factors are considered as limiting his experience, language and cognitive ability.

An elementary school is classified as "needing nurture" according to the following criteria: the percentage of AA pupils, their father's level of education, the average achievement of the students in the school, the ratio of uncertified teachers and the number of teachers-commuters.

Statistics of the disadvantaged school population (1976/77) exemplify that educational disadvantaged is primarily a social problem: (1) 42% of the elementary school pupils are classified as disadvantaged; in turn, 90% of them are children of AA fathers. (2) 5% of the children of Israeli-born fathers, 54% of the children of Asian fathers, 80% of the children of African fathers, and 11% of the children of EA fathers are disadvantaged. (3) 25.3% of the fathers of Israeli-born elementary school pupils, 4.4% of the fathers of children of Asian origin, 3.2% of the fathers of children of African origin and 24% the fathers of EA children are graduates of post-secondary or academic institutions. Arranged in the same order of ethnic origin, the percentage of fathers lacking any schooling is: 0.9%, 10.4%, 13.1%, 1.5%.

The Beginning of Educational Nurture

Initially, the public believed that the egalitarian Israeli education would overcome the deprivation, and indeed, the school system did grow quantitatively. In the course of the fifties, however, it became evident that the seemingly equal educational opportunities of EA and AA pupils and many of the "Western" educational methods had failed and needed to be revised.

Compensatory Education

During the sixties compensatory unconventional methods were introduced. A govern-

mental "Centre for Elementary Schools Needing Nurture" was established (1963), and the Szold Research Institute as well as University Schools of Education established centres for studying the disadvantaged. The most important compensatory innovations were:

a. Enrichment courses for parents and centers devoted to educational questions were opened in order to prevent their children's retardation; exhibitions of books and games for children were organized.

b. Public kindergartens and day-nurseries free of charge for those aged 2-4 were established; intensive enrichment methods were experimented to raise the I.Q. level; preparatory teaching of reading was introduced.

c. Elementary schools tried limiting the number of pupils per class; remedial teaching in small groups or individual help; intellectual enrichment and advancement in science and art; reinforcement lessons for 2-5 graders; grouping for 6-8 graders; preparatory courses prior to enrollment in post-primary schools; a "prolonged education day;" a "prolonged school year;" informal educational activities; pre-service and in-service special preparation of teachers for the disadvantaged children.

The "grouping" is one of the most frequent (and controversial) methods. Pupils from some parallel classes in the grades 6-8 are concentrated in possibly homogeneous groups together learning Hebrew, English and arithmetic; other subjects, skills and social activities are left to the heterogeneous "mother class." This method, however, arouses much controversy between socially minded opponents with a primary interest in social integration and achievement-minded adherents interested first of all in academic advancement. The first argue that grouping exaggerates the ethnic inequality, whereas the latter advocate the improved learning in the homogeneously grouped population.

d. In the senior high school classes (grades 10-12), non-compulsory and not free of charge, the individual is the problem, not the school. For the "gifted disadvantaged" partial or even full exemption from school tuition is provided and some educational assists are introduced:

(1) Tutoring: Disadvantaged pupils learning in regular secondary academic schools enjoy auxiliary lessons, additional informal activities, and, if necessary, an additional school year.

(2) Boarding institutions: "youth villages" and agricultural schools, which are both educational homes and learning institutions, are intended for adolescents coming from localities without post-primary schools. Another kind of a residence is an educational dwelling home for the same kind of disadvantaged who, however attend regular secondary schools outside of the boarding home. Tutorial facilities are applied in both cases.

(3) Rehabilitation of intelligence impaired by unfavorable conditions: After the 8th grade, the pupils spend two years in segregated classes within a regular secondary academic school, guided by an ad hoc trained staff of teachers, psychologists and social workers. The last two years they spend in heterogeneous classes.

The School Reform

The next stage of nurture was primarily a result of the view that the problem of the disadvantaged school population cannot be isolated from the entire school system. Thus, the main aim of the educational reform enacted in 1968 was to accelerate the integration.

The most important novelties were: non-compulsory, free-of-charge kindergartens for those aged 3-5; compulsory and free-of-charge integrative schooling until the age of 16; reform of the inscription—"zoning" to avoid in advance creating homogeneous schools; a new educational ladder: a six-year elementary school (grades 1-6) followed by a six-year post-elementary one subdivided in a three-year non-selective compulsory and free of charge intermediate unit (grades 7-9) and an integrated three-year upper high school (graded 10-12), non-compulsory with graded school

tuition; intensified scientific emphasis in the curriculum; further revision of curricula and textbooks; higher academic requirements in the teacher training.

This reform, which had to be applied gradually during the seventies, aroused both enthusiasm and opposition. However, because of financial and organizational obstacles, the reform didn't reach the foreseen level until 1978/79, and it still requires intensive attention.

National and Religious Minorities

The number of non-Jewish population has increased to 595,000 (15.9% of the total Israeli population) in 1978. In 1977, 64% of them dwelled in towns, and 36% in villages. The great majority of this population are Arabs, but also there are others who speak Arabic. The three main religious groups grew asymmetrically from 1948 to 1977. The Moslems—from 69.7% of the total non-Jewish population in 1948 to 77.5% (446,500 people) in 1977, the Christians—slipped from 21.2% to 14.6% (83,800), and the Druze and others—from 9.14% to 7.9% (45,600).

The 30-year contact of these populations with the developed Jewish society stimulated a continuous process of modernization in some important areas; such as mechanized agriculture and modernized villages; working of urban and rural people in industry, building, hotel and restaurant services; much improved economic resources and a higher standard of living; interest in mass communication media; involvement in municipal activities, in political life and in trade unions; emancipation of the youth; raised level of education; diminution of prejudicial attitudes toward women and of the average number of childbirths for women. The latter decreased from 7.1 in 1955 to 6.5 in 1977; the highest average is among the Moslems (7.2) and Druze (7.1), and it is much lower among the Christians (3.1).

Many significant changes occurred in the position and life of the student and working young generation, most of them born or at least educated in Israel; such as feeling of independence, creation of peer-groups, involvement in political thinking and activity, changed relations between the sexes, more personal ways of marrying, wearing western clothing, etc. All this to some extent has impaired the traditional family and leadership.

However, in spite of the achievement of civic equality and the improved economic situation, a clash has sometimes been felt between two loyalties: the national Arab identity and the Israeli citizenship. Some of the Arabs are ready to find a balance between these two loyalties; others prize so much more their belonging to the Arab nation. Lately, the latter values are increasing in strength, especially among the young generation, as an echo of the political situation in the Middle East.

Some Educational Problems

a. The State schools for the minorities, including those for disadvantaged children, are an integral part of the whole school system. Thus, they are run according to the general educational laws, and stress is laid on introducing modern teaching methods. The means of instruction is Arabic as is the teaching staff. In principle the identical curricula are adapted to the minorities' life; thus, the position of the Arabic studies is parallel to that of Hebrew studies in the Jewish schools. Hebrew language and culture and Israeli civics are taught as well as the religion of each denomination.

The quantitative achievements of these schools are impressive. The total number of pupils in State and supervised schools was raised from 11,129 in 1948/49 to 164,717 in 1977/78; in the kindergartens from 1,124 to 17,460; in the primary schools from 9,990 to 115,591; in the post-primary ones from 14 to 18,244 (the majority being in secondary academic school, only a small number in technological and agricultural ones), in teacher training colleges from 0 (42 in 1957) to 604. As a result of this heightened school attendance, the extent of child labor diminished. A special success is the advancement of the girls

school attendance, although even in 1977/78 only 89.6% girls are enrolled in elementary schools (vs. 95.2% of the boys).

The number of unqualified elementary school teachers decreased significantly, from 90% in 1948 to about 50% today, but in the post-elementary schools their percentage is higher. The number of prospective and active male teachers is much higher than in the Jewish sector.

b. Special groups: (1) The Druze are loyal to Israel, and their sons serve regularly in the Army; later on they often work in the "Frontier Guard." The process of modernization has reached them but nevertheless they oppose co-education, and Druze girls comprise only 6% of the secondary school population. The Druze esteem highly their cultural heritage, and this heritage, their customs and history are being taught in their schools. (2) About 2,000 Circassians are living in Israel. They are loyal to the State, and their sons serve in the regular Army and some of them in the "Guard." Recently, they strove to renew their national identity and language (in the schools too); but because there is a lack of teachers who know the language, for the time being, the Druze prefer Hebrew as the language of instruction.

Looking to Future Development

Toward the eighties new and renewed ideas have to be crystalized in planning the entire formal and informal education program. A committee of seniors at the Ministry of Education and Culture, educators, and psychologists, is necessary in order to draft suggestions for a base of legitimate cultural pluralism. One of the most important aims is to improve as much as possible the socio-economic and educational situation of the disadvantaged and to pay special attention to youth who are neither students nor at work. Democratization, modernization and scientific educational experimentation have to be accelerated. Special attention has to be paid to individualize education, to apply activity methods and to raise the level of training teachers and youth leaders.

Bibliography

Adiel, S. et al., (eds), *A Decade of the Nurture Enterprises (Aso Lemif'aley Hatipuah):* Jerusalem: Minis. of Educ. & Cult., 1970. (Hebrew)

Adler, Ch. 1974a "Social Stratification and Education in Israel: *Comparative Educ. Review,* Vol. 18, No. 1 (February 1974), p. 10-23. *id. et al.,* "A Master Plan for Research in the Educ. of the Disadvantaged in Israel." Jerusalem: The Hebrew Univ., School of Educ., 1974. *id. et al., The Education of the Disadvantaged in Israel.* Jerusalem: The Hebrew Univ., School of Educ., 1975.

Bensimon-Donath, D., *L'education Israel.* Paris: Editions Anthropos, 1975.

Bentwich, J., *Education in Israel.* London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1965.

Borrie, W., (ed), 1959 *The Cultural Integration of Immigrants.* Paris: UNESCO, 1959. (ch. XI—in Israel).Buber, M. & Ormian, H., (eds), 1959-1971 *Educational Encyclopedia (Entsiklopedia Hinukhit).* Jerusalem: Minis. of Educ. and Cult. & Bialik Institute, 1959-1971.

Chen, M. & al., (eds) *"Integration and Education in Israel" (Integratsia vehinukh beIsrael").* Megamot, Vol. 23, Nos. 3-4 (December 1977), 264 + 29 (Hebrew; p. I-XXIX—English summaries).

Cohen, A. *Arab Border—Villages in Israel.* Manchester: The Univ. Press, 1965.

Curtis, M. & Chertoff, M., (eds), *Israel: Social Structure and Change.* New Brunswick, 1977.

Egozi, M. *Pupils in Primary Education—by Fathers Origin and Level of Education and by Family Size in Israel (1976/77).* Jerusalem: Minis. of Educ. and Cult., 1977.

Eisenstadt, A., *Modernization: Protest and Change.* Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1966
id. Israeli Society. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1970.
id. et al., (eds), *Integration and Development in Israel.* Jerusalem: Israel Univ. Press, 1970.
id., (ed), *Post-traditional Societies.* New York, Norton & Co., 1972.

Frankenstein, K., "The social and educational situation of the Jewish oriental youth in Jerusalem" *(Die soziale und padagogische Lage der orientalisch-Judischen Jugend in Jerusalim). Palestina (Palestine).* Vol. 20, No. 8/9, 1937, p. 1-28 (German).
id., Between Past and Future. Jerusalem: The H. Szold Foundation, 1953.

id., They Think Again . . ., Jerusalem: The Hebrew Univ., 1972.

id., (ed), *Teaching as a Social Challenge.* Jerusalem: The Hebrew Univ. & Minis. of Educ. and Cult., 1976.

Galbraith, J., *The Affluent Society.* New York and London: Penguin Books, 1975.

Geraisy, S., *Arab Village Youth in Jewish Urban Centres.* Ann Arbor: Michigan U. Press, 1975.

Glickson, M., *Some Aspects of Non-conventional Methods of Education in Israel.* Jerusalem: The H. Szold Institute, 1969.

Gordon, M., "Assimilation in America," *Daedalus,* Vol. 90, No. 2 (Spring 1961), p. 263-285.

Haley, A., *Roots.* London: Hutchinson & Co., 1977.

The Hebrew Univ. in Jerusalem *Merging of Exiles (Mizug Galuyot).* Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, 1969, (Hebrew).

Kaniel, Sh., 1971 *The Social Background of Students and Their Prospect of Success at School.* Jerusalem: Minis. of Educ. & Cult.—Israel National Commission for UNESCO, 1971.

Katz, Y., (coordinator), Prime Minister's Commission for Children and Youth in Distress. Jerusalem, H. Szold Institute, 1973.

Klein, Z. & Eshel, Y., *A Study of an Integration and Special Intervention Project in Elementary Schools.* Jerusalem: Hebrew Univ., 1972. Further researches: (Hebr. Univ.) 1976, *(Amer. Educ. Res. J.,* Vol. 15, No. 2 (1978).

Kleinberger, A., *Society, Schools and Progress in Israel.* Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1969.

id. "Social integration as a main purpose and justification of the educational policy in Israel" *(Integratsia hevratit keyaad merkazi ukhetsiduk shel mediniyut hahinukh beIsrael). Beminhal hahinukh* (In School Administration), No. 7, (January 1973), p. 11-24 (Hebrew).

Landau J., 1969 *Arabs in Israel.* London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1969.

Mar'i, S. & Dahir, N., *Facts and Trends in the Development of the Arab Education in Israel (Uvdot umegamot bahinukh haaravi beIsrael).* Haifa: Univ. of Haifa, 1976.

Megamot (Trends), Quarterly, Vols. 1-24 (1950-1978). Jerusalem: The H. Szold Institute (Hebrew).

Minkovich, A., *The Pupil in Need of Nurture (Hatalmid Teun Hatipuah).* Jerusalem: Ministry of Educ. & Cult. 1969, (Hebrew).

id. et al., An Evaluation Study of Israeli Elementary School. Jerusalem: The Hebrew Univ., 1977.

id., "Quatre schemes d'adolescence en Israel." Enfance, Vol. 6, No. 1, Janvier-Fevrier 1953, p. 53-60.

Ormian, H., "Results of an achievement test in Hebrew language" *(Beikvot test livedikat hahesegim beivrit). Urim (Lights),* Vol. 2, No. 8 (July 1945), p. 11-21; No. 9 (September 1945), p. 22-32 (Hebrew).

id., (ed), *Education in Israel (Hahinukh beIsrael).* Jerusalem: Minis. of Educ. and Cult., 1973 (Hebrew).

Peled, A., 1976 *The Education in Israel in the Eighties (Hahinukh beIsrael bishenot hashemonim).* Jerusalem: Minis. of Educ. and Cult., 1976, 2 Vols. (Hebrew).

Peres, Y., *Some problems of educating a national minority: Israel Education of Arabs.* Jerusalem: Hebrew Univ. 1971.

id. Ethnic relations in Israel (Yahasey edot beIsrael). Tel Aviv: Sifriyat Poalim & Univ. of Tel Aviv, 1976 (Hebrew).

Rabin, H. & Hazan, B., (eds), 1973 *Collective Education in the Kibbutz from Infancy to Maturity.* New York: Springer Publishing Co., 1973.

Shumsky, A., *The Clash of Cultures in Israel.* Westport (Conn.): Greenwood Press, 1955.

Simon, A., (ed), *Educational Problems in Schools for Newcomers' Children (Beayot hinukh bevatey sefer leyaldey olim).* Tel Aviv: Otsar Hamore, 1960.

Smilansky, M. et al., (eds) *Child and Youth Welfare in Israel.* Jerusalem: The H. Szold Institute, 1960.

id. & Nevo, D., *The Gifted Disadvantaged.* New York: Gordon & Breache, 1979.

Stahl, A., 1978 *Disadvantage and Nurture* (Hebrew and English) Bibliography of Writings about the Pupil Needing Nurture (in Israel) *(Kipuah vetipuah).* Jerusalem: Ministry of Educ. and Cult., 1978.

Statistical Abstracts of Israel. Jerusalem: Central Bureau of Statistics, vol. 29, 121 (1978). 810 p.

Weller, L., 1974 *Sociology in Israel.* Westport (Conn): Greenwood Press, 1974.