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 -
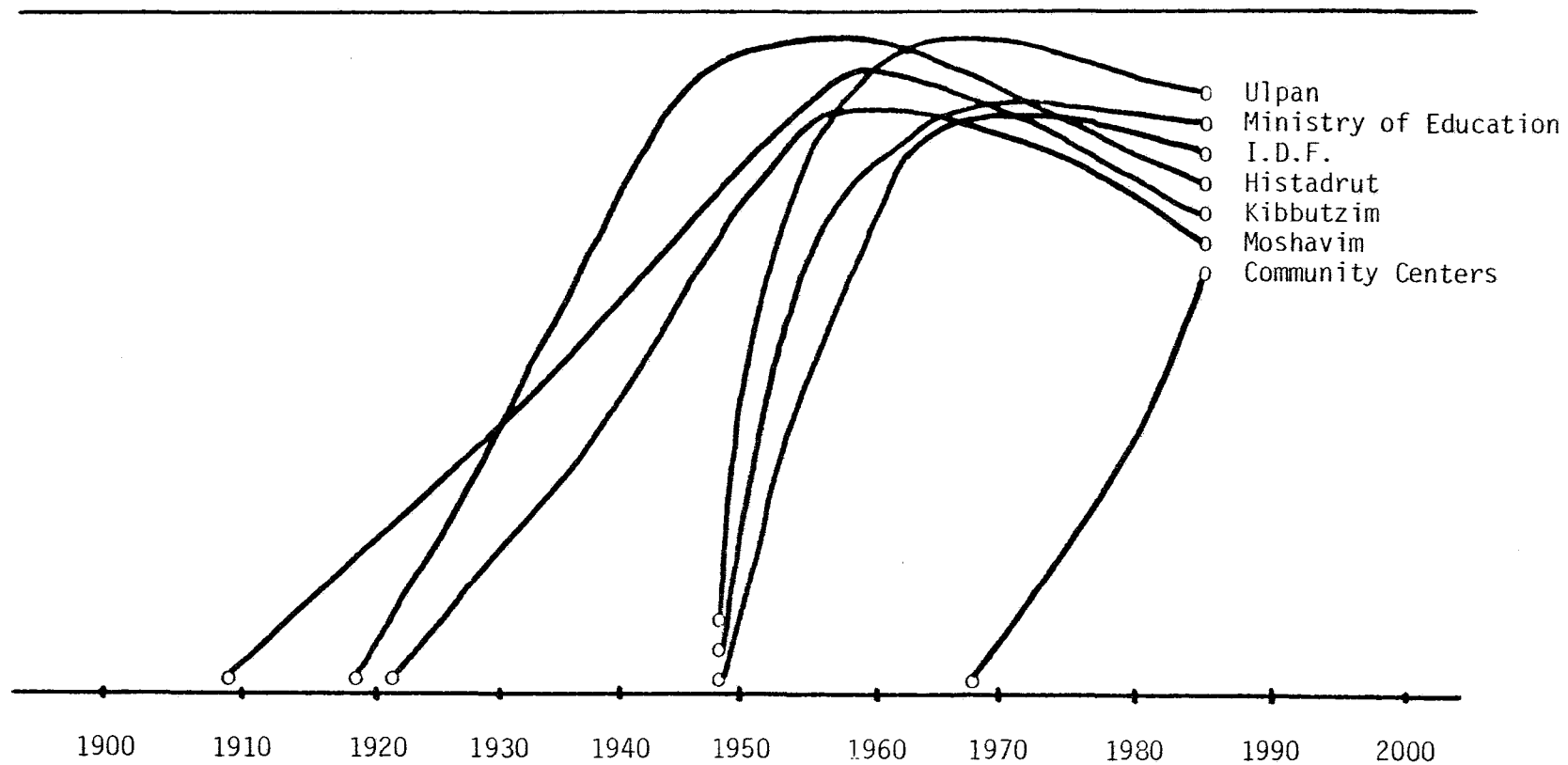learning for living - namely 'to study all our lives'. [9]

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

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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.