

**UNCOVERING NEW PARADIGMS OF ROLE MODELING:
THE CASE OF ALIYAH**

**AN EXPLORATION OF SIGNIFICANT OTHERS AS AGENTS OF SOCIALIZATION
ON THE IDEOLOGICAL DECISION TO MIGRATE TO ISRAEL**

Thesis submitted for the degree of
“Doctor of Philosophy”

By

Daniel J. Rose

Submitted to the Senate of the Hebrew University

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This work was carried out under the supervision of:

Prof. Gabriel Horenczyk

Dr. Alex Pomson

To my wonderful wife Jacqueline and our beautiful children

Orli, Keren, Aryeh and Eliya.

For their love and support.

In memory of Marc Weinberg z"l (1975-2010)

A friend. A visionary leader. A role model par excellence.

My role model.

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Abstract

In this research the phenomenon of role modeling is explored through the study of significant others as role models in life transformative decisions, in this instance, the case of "ideological migration" to Israel. Although ideology is not the only motivation bringing immigrants to Israel, it has traditionally been seen as central to the concept of Jewish migration to Israel, as indicated by its colloquial Hebrew term – aliyah. The term aliyah, which is employed throughout this research, has “ascension” as its core meaning, and expresses the traditional motivation for Jewish immigration to Israel. The act of aliyah and the Zionist beliefs that motivate it can therefore be seen as one of many competing value systems available to young Diaspora Jews in the marketplace of ideas.

Research Question

This study is grounded in the assumption that young people are socialized through interaction with significant others as role models, into competing value systems, each existing as a plausibility structure. The institutions in the life of an adolescent, such as family, school, or youth movement, provide plausibility structures (Berger 1967, 1969) that in certain cases may be strong enough to instill their values in the young adult. Significant others functioning as role models provide the interface between young adults and these belief systems. This research explores the roles that models play in the ideological decision of an adult to immigrate to Israel.

Theoretical Framework

The conceptual home for this research is found in the processes by which individuals are socialized into systems of belief and values. This is most commonly seen in the family context (Francis & Brown 1991, Hoge *et al* 1982) where parents inculcate religious and moral beliefs through modeling (Kelley & de Graaf 1997, Okagaki 1999, Scheepers & Van Der Slik 1998). This process is not limited to the parent-child relationship, but may exist within any relationship between an individual and a significant other (Mead 1934) or a reference group (Beeghley *et al* 1990, Berger 1963, Kemper 1968). These may include peers (Carr & Weigand 2001), teachers (Cohen 1980, Hoge *et al* 1982, Kelley & De Graaf 1997), other family members, parental friends (Mead 1935), spouses and other associates (Berger 1967).

The phenomenon of socialization can be defined as a process in which specific convictions, notions, beliefs, practices, values, and norms, are transmitted to future generations to enable them to participate in the prevailing social life (Kelley & De Graaf 1997) through interacting and identifying with others (Berger & Berger 1972). The child primarily experiences this socialization, and acquires knowledge of the social world, through observation of and conversation with significant others (Berger 1967, Berger & Luckman 1966). The significant other is central to this process, modeling values and beliefs in order to transmit them to the individual (Berger 1963, 1967, Berger & Berger 1972, Cornwall 1987, Kelley & De Graaf 1997, Scheepers & Van Der Slik 1998).

Berger furthers our understanding of the processes of socialization with his concept of plausibility structures. Belief systems are socially constructed and socially maintained. The plausibility of a belief is dependent on the social support this belief receives. This is its plausibility structure. We obtain our notions about the world originally from interaction and conversation with other human beings (Berger 1967, 1969). In other words, if personal beliefs are to remain plausible, one must participate in social networks of individuals who share these beliefs. The significant others from these social networks form micro-plausibility structures for us to observe and emulate; in essence these significant others function as role models (Cornwall 1987, Petersen & Donnenwerth 1997, Smith 2003).

While there have been studies exploring the effect of the socialization into beliefs on life decisions, such as religious commitment (Cornwall 1987, Okagaki *et al* 1999, Smith 2003, Welch 1981), religious conversion (Long & Hadden 1983, Pilarzyk 1978), and sexual beliefs and life style (Petersen & Donnenwerth 1997, 1998), the focus of this research is on the role played by significant others as role models in life decisions. This research specifically examines the influence of role models in life decisions related to "ideological migration", this being, emigration from one country to another for reasons identified by the émigré as ideological. The underlying assumption of this research is that through interaction with role models from the institutions in the life of an adolescent, such as family, school, or youth movement, socialization will occur. Each institution operates as a plausibility structure that in certain cases may be strong enough to instill its values in the young adult. Ideological aliyah as an example of one competing value is considered in this study, and the role that models play in the decision of an adult to immigrate to Israel is explored.

Methodology

The empirical research for this study was conducted through the use of qualitative methodology designed to investigate the perceived influence of individual personalities as role models in the life-transforming decision to make aliyah. Data was collected through multi-subject (Bogdan and Taylor 1975) in-depth open-ended interviews (Johnson 2001), allowing the generalizability of theory to be tested on a maximum variation sample (Maykut & Morehouse 1994) through the identification of patterns and commonalities in the data.

In order to explore the influence of role models on the ideological decision to immigrate to Israel, a sample of immigrants to Israel who had taken the life decision to emigrate based on the values inherent in the general ideology of Zionism was assembled. It was assumed that migration to Israel from western countries is an act of downward economic mobility most likely driven by values and ideology, and therefore the sample was populated with 19 immigrants to Israel from the United States, Canada, Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. The sample was assembled through purposeful sampling, where particular subjects are included in the sample because they are believed to facilitate the expansion of the developing theory (Bogdan & Biklen 2006). Purposeful sampling was achieved using techniques such as snowball sampling and maximum variation sampling (Bogdan & Biklen 2006, Maykut & Morehouse 1994). Maximum variation sampling denotes a sample populated by subjects with the greatest differences in the phenomenon being explored (Maykut & Morehouse 1994). In this study, this led to a sample containing a broad mix of gender, age at time of aliyah, economic status and profession, marital status, country of origin, and religious background.

The methods of data collection aimed to be consistent with the logic and theoretical perspective embodied in the methodology of qualitative research (Bogdan & Biklen's 2006). In order to understand how the subjects thought about their world, accessibility and intimacy was vital, in order to hear their perspective first hand. Therefore, the method of data collection chosen was individual, semi-structured, in-depth interviews, in that there was a loose interview guide containing broad topics and probing follow-up questions (Maykut & Morehouse 1994) that was followed in order to create somewhat comparable data across the multi-subject research (Bogdan & Biklen's 2006). In order to maintain the integrity of the data, capturing the subjects' own words and then allowing the analysis to emerge from the data (Bogdan & Biklen's 2006), the interview questions were all open-ended and flexible, apart from the initial demographic fact

finding questions. Each interview typically lasted between forty-five and ninety minutes. Interviews were digitally recorded using an MP3 recorder and later transcribed.

Summary of key findings

The focus of this research, the impact of significant others as role models in a life transforming decision, provides a compelling case of the process of socialization into a plausibility structure of belief, in this instance, the decision to emigrate to Israel for reasons identified by the émigré as ideological, and this has not been previously explored in any depth.

The key original findings of this research can be summarized in the following way: The research exposes two paradigm modes of role modeling, the inspirational and the practical, a distinction not previously identified in the literature. Sometimes these processes can operate with the same role model, but invariably they are presented by different personalities engaged in different kinds of relationship with the observer. “Practical role modeling” is found to be more prevalent in the context of aliyah role modeling, the presenting case for this study, but there is also sufficient evidence in the case of what is identified as “inspirational role modeling”. Similarities between observer and role model are vital for the processes of role modeling to occur, especially for practical role models to have influence, but also for inspirational role models to avoid the possible pitfalls of what has previously been termed the “mastery role model” (Vesico *et al* 2005). This explains the frequency of peer and near-peer aliyah role models in the data, who have more similarities to the observer than non-peer role models; this is a finding that corresponds with the *similarity hypothesis* (Karunanayake & Nauta 2004), based on Bandura’s theory of enhanced self-efficacy from observing role models with significant similarities (Bandura 1977, 1986). This study adds nuance, however, to our understanding of such relationships, and their limitations and hazards. Non-peer role models often function as mastery role models and peer or near-peer role models are more likely to have an influence as coping role models, but significant exceptions to this pattern were found. Mastery role models are more likely to have an inspirational impact on observers, and coping role models are more likely to be practical role models; nevertheless significant exceptions to this pattern were also found. The data in this study show that the coping role model especially could function both as a practical role model and yet also have an inspirational impact, modeling perseverance and determination.

The underlying assumption of this work was that it would be found that aliyah role models would create a plausibility structure of “aliyah values” into which others were socialized through a process of emotional inspiration, and evidence of this was found. However, practical role modeling was found to be more prevalent as a mode of aliyah role modeling in the data; this mode of modeling did not create a plausibility structure of values for the observers because practical role modeling is largely independent of values. However, it is argued that practical aliyah role models create a different type of plausibility structure, a plausibility structure of belief in aliyah self-efficacy. While not a conventional example of socialization, practical aliyah role models influence the belief in the feasibility of overcoming the practical challenges in immigrating to Israel, a core belief in an ideological Zionist community.

Discussion

Exploring the case of aliyah role modeling, a heretofore unexplored example of role modeling, brought new aspects of the process of role modeling to our attention. This particular case of role modeling involves ideological values that call for emotional inspiration and intellectual cognition, as well as practical skills that necessitate a functional modeling. This results in observers searching for both inspirational role models and practical role models. These two modes of role modeling should be considered new paradigms of role modeling not previously identified in the literature. This study can contribute to the field the original terms “inspirational role modeling” and “practical role modeling”, and a clear presentation of these two paradigm modes of role modeling.

Practical aliyah role models were found to have a more frequent and more profound impact on observers than inspirational aliyah role models. Modeling the practical skills and coping strategies of aliyah, practical aliyah role models had a more extensive enabling impact, enhancing the observer’s aliyah self efficacy. This occurred through demonstrating the achievability of aliyah, and representing the future potential of the observer, and what their aliyah may look like some years down the line. This process was found to be enhanced the more similarities there are between the observer and the model, lending support to the similarity hypothesis (Karunanayake & Nauta 2004), based on Bandura’s theory of enhanced self-efficacy from observing role models with significant similarities (Bandura 1977, 1986).

Theorists who argue for the similarity hypothesis in role modeling have until now examined this in the context of practical role models, such as career role models (Hackett & Byars 1996, Gottfredson 1981), and academic role models (Erkut & Mokros, 1984, Zirkel 2002). With the role modeling paradigms I have identified, we can conclude that similarity is also important in the case of inspirational role modeling. It became clear from the data of this research that similarity between observer and model would make it less likely that the inspirational role model, as an exemplar, would have the negative impact of the mastery role model, leading to frustration and disillusionment.

A key discussion point that emerged from the data not considered anywhere in the literature was whether observers approach their role models holistically or whether observers can approach their role models in a compartmentalized way. Those who argued for a holistic approach saw their role models as a pure holistic representation of a system of values and were therefore influenced by every aspect of the model's life. This approach leads to the dangers of the flawed role model where the role model fails to live up to this ideal. Those who argued for the more realistic compartmentalized approach to their role models allowed specific aspects of the model's life to influence the observer, while rejecting others. While there were those who believed the role model is holistic and influences the observer by modeling in every area of their life, most interviewees were able to approach their role models in a compartmentalized and selective way, allowing specific aspects of the model's life to influence the observer, while rejecting others. Many interviewees also expressed the opinion that, with maturity, observers develop the confidence and in turn the autonomy to be selective about which aspects of a role model's life they were influenced by.

Interesting patterns of role modeling with regards to age-specific role models were identified in the data. Adult role models and vicarious "heroic" inspirational aliyah role models may have a disabling impact on the observer, acting as mastery role models. By contrast, peers will often function as coping role models, whereby they can operate both as inspirational role models modeling values such as perseverance and commitment, as well as the practical skills to overcome the challenge at hand. Peer aliyah role models are more likely to function as practical coping role models, and inspirational aliyah role models are more likely to be non-peer mastery role models.

When considering the time frame when the two paradigms of role modeling operate it became apparent that inspirational aliyah role modeling often occurs during adolescence, while practical aliyah role models are sought in adulthood as observers approach the time in their lives when they plan to immigrate. There were several examples emerging from the data of observers changing their attitudes to the role models over time as they matured and developed a more complex and mature approach to the world. This tempered the fallout from negative role models and encouraged a selective compartmentalized approach to the role model.

Four different types of negative aliyah role modeling emerged from the data, but the dangers predicted in the literature by critics of role modeling did not materialize. Israelis and returning immigrants encountered in the Diaspora did not seem to make any kind of real impact on the subjects. The struggling or coping aliyah role model had the opposite effect from that predicted in the literature, inspiring through perseverance and determination. The most frequently cited failed aliyah role model was the educator who had invested time and effort trying to convince the observer of the virtue of making aliyah, yet failed to fulfill this ideal herself. While there were those that described their feelings of resentment at this failed aliyah role model, most observers dismissed the impact as negligible as they developed their own understanding of the complexities of life as they grew older. Finally, a more marginal mode of negative aliyah role modeling that emerged from the data was the anti-Zionist educator who operates as an anti-aliyah role model. This too had the opposite impact from what seemed likely, encouraging a strengthening of Zionist commitment and ideology in the Zionist students exposed to such individuals.

There is disagreement in the literature whether aliyah is a unique ideological migration phenomenon (Neuman 1999) or indistinct from the larger global picture of migration (DellaPergola 1998). Some argue that aliyah has always been more about economics than ideology, with the vast majority of immigrants to Israel during the early periods of Israel's history being considered refugees, and more recent waves of aliyah during the 1990s motivated largely by economic opportunity. It is argued that proof that ideology is not central to aliyah can be seen in the abject failure of Israel to attract western aliyah to any significant extent (Shuval 1998). While aliyah is of course far from a heterogeneous phenomenon with many different motivating factors powering it, this study proves that aliyah motivated by Zionist ideology still exists, as the sample of this research were all making downwardly mobile moves by migrating from western countries with stronger economies and higher standards of living. While many of

those interviewed were mainly concerned with practical aliyah role models and did not explore in depth during the interview the ideology often at the center of inspirational aliyah role modeling, it seems clear that the basis of each aliyah narrative was ideology, and even in those narratives that focused mainly on practical role modeling, a process of inspiration was still evident.

There has been some study of the characteristics of a would-be migrant to Israel, attempting to further our understanding of the decision process to immigrate to Israel. For example, it has been found that those who have been exposed to a Zionist environment, including membership of a Zionist organization (Bermen 1979, Goldberg 1985) and those who had been exposed to Israelis or had an Israeli reference group (Bermen 1979, Goldberg 1985) will be more likely to make aliyah (Musher 1999). The vast majority of the sample in this study had significant exposure to Zionist environments during childhood and adolescence, therefore lending support to the findings mentioned above. More significantly, this study has uniquely presented the Zionist environment as a plausibility structure, and explored the role and influence of the role model within the socialization processes of the plausibility structure of the Zionist environment.

Conclusion

It was the underlying assumption of this research that a young person is socialized through interaction with significant others acting as role models into various competing value systems, each existing as a plausibility structure. The Zionist ideology that motivates aliyah is an example of one such value system, and this research aimed to explore the impact of aliyah role modeling as a plausibility structure that has the power to socialize would-be immigrants into that value system, influencing their decision to make aliyah.

The phenomenon of role modeling was found to be a profound factor influencing young people's life transformative decision to immigrate to Israel. Almost without exception, each subject from the sample was able to describe the impact of this phenomenon on their decision to make aliyah. For some, aliyah role models created a plausibility structure of "aliyah values" into which they were socialized through a process of emotional inspiration. Values were central to the message modeled by inspirational aliyah role models.

However, the more prevalent mode of aliyah role modeling in the data was the practical aliyah role model, which is a phenomenon largely independent of values, modeling practical skills and strategies to approach the challenges aliyah entails. It cannot be argued that practical aliyah role models created a plausibility structure of values for the observers, and it cannot be claimed that a process of socialization into a value system occurred. However, I believe that practical aliyah role models create a different type of plausibility structure, albeit one that is not values based. Central to practical aliyah role modeling as an example of observational learning is the enabling impact caused by a heightened sense of self efficacy achieved by observing role models who represent a perceived homophily. This is a belief of sorts, the belief that the task ahead is achievable for “someone like me”. Practical aliyah role models create a plausibility structure of belief for the observer, belief in aliyah self-efficacy. Perhaps this is not a conventional example of socialization, but it can be argued that this is socialization nevertheless, a socialization of a different type. If socialization is a process whereby an individual learns the norms and beliefs of society, then practical aliyah role models influence the belief in the feasibility of the practical challenges in immigrating to Israel, a core belief in an ideological Zionist community.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Role modeling is an ancient educational process, recognized as such by Plato. He mentioned the impact of role models in forming moral consciousness, and warned of the destructive power of negative role models, such as the gods and heroes in Homer's epic poems (Bucher 1997). Aristotle differentiated between professions that require skills and aptitudes, and the profession of teaching, which also requires virtue beyond these requirements, in order that students learn from the teacher's person and personality (Brown 2002). The Talmud proclaims the power of observational learning when it relates the story of Rabbi Akiva who followed his teacher into the latrine, and hid under his marital bed, in order to observe appropriate etiquette in those locations, rather than conduct a cognitive discussion on these matters¹.

Various educational thinkers have also considered the impact of teachers as persons on their students. For example, Buber speaks of the teacher "with his whole being" affecting the "whole being" of the pupil, by "communicating himself directly" (Buber 1955b). Palmer writes about teaching with one's identity (Palmer 1997). Heschel calls for *textpeople* rather than text books in education; that is, teachers from whose very being students can learn no less than from the literary materials they bring into their classrooms (Heschel 1972). Schwab explores the interpersonal relationship between student and teacher and the role of *Eros* – "love and respect" for the teacher as a vital component in the learning process (Schwab 1978).

¹ Talmud Bavli, Berachot 62a

1.1 The research question

This research aims to explore the phenomenon of role modeling, through examining the role of significant others as role models in life decisions, in this instance, the case of "ideological migration" to Israel. Although ideology is not the only motivation bringing immigrants to Israel, it has traditionally been seen as central to the concept of Jewish migration to Israel, as indicated by its colloquial Hebrew term – aliyah - which will be employed throughout this research. The term aliyah has “ascension” as its core meaning and expresses the traditional motivation for Jewish immigration to Israel. The act of aliyah and the Zionist beliefs that motivate it can therefore be seen as one of many competing value systems available to young Diaspora Jews in the marketplace of ideas.

Given the extreme upheaval inherent in the process of uprooting oneself from one’s country of origin, relocating to a second country, not for reasons of upward mobility and economics, or escaping persecution, but rather for other reasons such as ideology, it seems likely that role models may play some part in this critical life decision. The exploration of this phenomenon is the motivation behind this research. It is the assumption behind this research that a young person is socialized through interaction with significant others as role models, into competing value systems, each existing as a plausibility structure. The institutions in the life of an adolescent, such as family, school, or youth movement, provide plausibility structures (Berger 1967, 1969) that in certain cases may be strong enough to instill their values in the young adult. Significant others functioning as role models provide the interface between young adults and these belief systems. This research explores the role that models play in the ideological decision of an adult to immigrate to Israel.

1.2 Literature Review

1.2.1 Theoretical Framework

The conceptual home for this research is found in the processes by which individuals are socialized into systems of belief and values. This is most commonly seen in the family context (Francis & Brown 1991, Hoge *et al* 1982) where parents inculcate religious and moral beliefs through modeling (Kelley & de Graaf 1997, Okagaki 1999, Scheepers & Van Der Slik 1998). This process is not limited to the parent-child relationship, but may exist within any relationship between an individual and a significant other (Mead 1934) or a reference group (Beeghley *et al* 1990, Berger 1963, Kemper 1968). These may include peers (Carr & Weigand 2001) or near peers (Murphey 1996a), teachers (Cohen 1980, Hoge *et al* 1982, Kelley & De Graaf 1997), other family members, parental friends (Mead 1935), spouses and other associates (Berger 1967).

The phenomenon of socialization can be defined as a process in which specific convictions, notions, beliefs, practices, values, and norms, are transmitted to future generations to enable them to participate in the prevailing social life (Kelley & De Graaf 1997) through interacting and identifying with others (Berger & Berger 1972). The child primarily experiences this socialization, and acquires knowledge of the social world, through observation of and conversation with significant others (Berger 1967, Berger & Luckman 1966). The significant other is central to this process, modeling values and beliefs in order to transmit them to the individual (Berger 1963, 1967, Berger & Berger 1972, Cornwall 1987, Kelley & De Graaf 1997, Scheepers & Van Der Slik 1998).

Berger furthers our understanding of the processes of socialization with his concept of plausibility structures. Belief systems are socially constructed and socially maintained. The plausibility of a belief is dependent on the social support this belief receives. This is its plausibility structure. We obtain our notions about the world originally from interaction and conversation with other human beings (Berger 1967, 1969). In other words, if personal beliefs are to remain plausible, one must participate in social networks of individuals who share these beliefs. The significant others from these social networks form micro-plausibility structures for us to observe and emulate; in essence these significant others function as role models (Cornwall 1987, Petersen & Donnenwerth 1997, Smith 2003).

While there have been studies exploring the effect of the socialization into beliefs on life decisions, such as religious commitment (Cornwall 1987, Okagaki *et al* 1999, Smith 2003, Welch 1981), religious conversion (Long & Hadden 1983, Pilarzyk 1978), and sexual beliefs and life style (Petersen & Donnenwerth 1997, 1998), the focus of this research is on the role played by significant others as models in life decisions, specifically those related to "ideological migration", this being, emigration from one country to another for reasons identified by the émigré as ideological. The underlying assumption of this research is that through interaction with role models from the institutions in the life of an adolescent, such as family, school, or youth movement, socialization will occur. Each institution operates as a plausibility structure that in certain cases may be strong enough to instill its values in the young adult. Ideological aliyah as an example of one competing value is considered in this study, and the role that models play in the decision of an adult to immigrate to Israel is explored.

This literature review will begin by exploring the concepts important to gaining an understanding of the role modeling process, in educational thought and literature. This will include a

consideration of where role models are found, an overview of previous research on role modeling, an exploration of the mechanisms behind the phenomenon of role modeling, and a critique of role modeling as an educational methodology. The literature of aliyah will then be explored in order to better understand the context of this research on the influence of the role model on life transforming decisions.

There is a wealth of literature exploring who young people choose as role models (for example Anderson & Cavallaro 2002, Biskup & Pfister 1999, Bucher 1997, Vesico *et al* 2005, White & O'Brian 1999) and how the mechanisms of role modeling account for the impact of the model on the life of the young person (for example Bandura 1977, Berger 1967, Erikson 1968, Horton & Wohl 1956, Levy 1979) but what the impact of role models is on a young person's life has rarely been considered. Researchers have written about the effect of role models on the character and personality of the young person (for example Buber 1955b, Lickona 1993, Rosenak 1983, Sanchez 2000, White & O'Brian 1999) and also the function of role models in the socialization of the young person into the norms of society (for example Biskup & Pfister 1999, Bryant & Zimmerman 2003, Garrahy 2001, Hendry *et al.* 1992, Kelman 1961).

There is also research that explores how role models can have a direct influence on critical life transformative decisions, such as religious commitment to pre-existing faith (Okagaki *et al.* 1999) and religious conversion to a new faith (Snow & Machalek 1984), health and lifestyle decisions (Brown *et al.* 2003, Cardinal 2001, Payne *et al.* 2003, Wium *et al.* 2006), decisions of sexual orientation and sexual activity (Basow & Howe 1980, Pearson *et al.* 2006), and gender roles (Stephen & Corder 1985), and academic and career decisions (Flouri & Buchanan 2002, Hackett & O'Halloran 1989, Karunanayake & Nauta 2004, Nauta & Kokaly 2001, Nixon & Robinson 1999, Quimby & DeSantis 2006, Speizer 1981).

A critical "life transformative" decision that has not been explored in relation to the power of role modeling is the elective decision to make aliyah, to immigrate from one's country of origin to Israel, especially when this decision is taken for ideological reasons². Although it can be argued that this form of migration motivated by ideology is unique to Israel, there is previous research into the impact of personalities and models on migration decisions (Levitt 2003, Stimson & Minnery 1998). There are also those who have discussed the provision of aliyah role models in Israel programs, such as one-year post high school programs, with a view to encouraging aliyah (Berger 1997, Lichtman 2000, Segal 1987).

1.2.2 Literature on role modeling

1.2.2.1 Defining Terms

In a variety of academic fields different synonyms are used for the term "role model". In business and academia people like to speak about "mentors", social scientists refer to "idols", while scholars of culture and the popular media will often refer to "heroes". Although these terms are often used interchangeably, each one has specific connotations and probably refers to different processes. It is important to clarify which of these terms is most appropriate for studying the impact of individuals on the decisions of others, and furthermore which aspects of these processes shed light on how role modeling has influence.

Pleiss and Feldhusen (1995) differentiate between three terms. They define a "mentor" as an adult who introduces a young person to ideas, theories, tools, activities, and careers from their

² Although it is possible that role models could influence immigration decisions that are taken for other reasons than ideology, such as economic decisions or migration to escape persecution, it seems more likely that role models would play a larger role in migration decisions based on ideology.

own field. A "hero" they argue, is admired from afar with little or no direct contact between them and the young person. A "role model" is somewhere in between, with less intense interaction but more familiar to the young person and more interaction than with a public figure.

The term "mentor" is usually distinguished from "role model" because of a perceived difference between the explicit nature of the mentor/mentored relationship and the more implicit and passive nature of role modeling. The passive nature and implicit impact of a role model is much documented, being someone that the adolescent wishes to be like and emulate, without necessary cognizance on the part of the role model, or an active interaction between the two. This is in contradistinction to a mentor, who must directly and actively guide and nurture, in a relationship which is recognized and organized explicitly from the outset (Vesico *et al* 2005, Weaver *et al* 2005, Yancey 1998).

Perhaps due to the passive and implicit quality of the relationship, role models can be considered as having impact even if they are distant from the young person. For instance a media celebrity, whose relationship is more likely to be a vicarious one, can have impact on lives in a profound way, in contrast to intimate and local personalities who interact with the young person on a regular basis (Vesico *et al* 2005, Yancey 1998).

In contemporary times, the role models that have an influence on young people have to compete more than ever with alternative models of lifestyles and values expressed via the mass media. These "popular models" are often termed (by the media itself) as "heroes" (Gash & Conway 1997, Melnick & Jackson 2002). Sometimes they may not even exist in reality. They might come from the world of fiction to which young people are exposed via television, film, and literature. Often they are constructed by the media to express national and societal values (Melnick &

Jackson 2002). "Idols" are worshiped by adolescents when their talents and achievements, as well as status and physical appearance, are recognised and appreciated, often to the point where those who are influenced form secondary attachments based on fantasy and a desire to "be like" or "be with" (Yue & Cheung 2000). An "idol" can be distinguished from a "hero" in that while heroes are admired for their achievements and ability, idols constitute images to be worshipped (Gash and Conway 1997).

The concept of "role model" refers to qualities that are not captured either individually or collectively by similar concepts. "Mentor" represents an explicit and imposed relationship, something lacking in a role model relationship. A "hero" is a personality to be admired, but not necessarily emulated. An "idol" is worshipped with an emotional adulation that is beyond critical assessment, whereas a role model is intellectually chosen after thought and reflection. The combination of facets that are unique to role modeling, in distinction to these other terms, are the voluntary choosing of a role model by the young person, the desire to emulate the role model and the unique impact the role model can affect on the life of the young person. For the purposes of this study a role model will be defined as *any person who an adolescent chooses to emulate, and who because of this, has an impact on the young person's life, influencing behavior and in some cases life decisions.*

1.2.2.2 Where role models are found

Young people procure their role models from numerous sources. These may be local and/or intimate personalities with whom they interact on a day to day basis, such as family members (Bryant & Zimmerman 2003, Okagaki *et al* 1999, Singelmann *et al* 1999), teachers (Langgulang 1983, Tatar 1998), youth leaders (Chazan 2003, Cohen *et al* 2002) peers (Carr & Weigand

2001), and near peers (Murphey 1996a). In addition, distant role models with whom only vicarious relationships are possible may also be chosen. These include media celebrities from the world of sport (Biskup & Pfister 1999, Vesico *et al* 2005) and entertainment (Giles & Maltby 2004), including from film or television (Anderson & Cavallaro 2002, Pena *et al* 1990), governmental personalities (Street 2004), and even characters from literature (Helper 2006), both historical (Deitcher 2000, Rosenak 1991) and fictitious (Hoffner 1996, Sanchez 1998).

As compared to previous times, the adolescent today is exposed to many more influential figures via the mass media than ever before, especially as popular media use by teenagers is continually increasing over time (Gash & Conway 1997 and Giles & Maltby 2004). Despite no direct interaction with media stars, the adolescent can be profoundly influenced by vicarious personalities to whom they are attracted (Bandura 2003, Bush *et al* 2004, Chung 2003). For example, adolescents are often dependent on the popular media for the process of socialization (Hoffner 1996), especially in cases where other intimate role models are absent from their lives (Melnick & Jackson 2002, Steinke 1999). The popular media, through celebrities, transmits implicit societal and anti-societal messages (Chung 2003, Whannel 1999) and is a prime conduit for the transmission of national values and culture according to its own interpretation of what these should be (Melnick & Jackson 2002, Nalapat & Parker 2005, Phelps 2001).

In the sports arena two types of role model are often identified - the mastery model and the coping model (Vesico *et al* 2005). The mastery model is an individual who achieves the highest standards and levels of achievement in a field, and as a consequence will inspire, but at times also demoralize or cause frustration as the young person experiences difficulty relating to the super-levels of achievement that the model represents (Lockwood & Kunda 1997). The coping model is an individual who struggles at times, yet refuses to give up. The coping model thereby

represents values such as perseverance and the nobility of losing with dignity, and can have a more profound impact, especially on the young person's sense of self-efficacy (Manz & Sims 1981, Sanchez 2000).

The frustration caused by mastery models can also be found in the business world where employees can experience difficulty relating to their highly successful superiors, (Moberg 2000, Weaver *et al* 2005). This frustration also has ramifications in an educational context. If exposure to flawless, saintly personalities can lead to frustration, perhaps exposure to "struggling" flawed religio-ethical models would be equally appropriate for young people, despite the inherent dangers in providing what some may consider negative role models. This is reflected in the perceivable trend away from elevating heroes from history and text as role models, and replacing them with local "heroes" who demonstrate piety and religious commitment in their everyday lives (Ingall 1998) despite their possible flaws (Brown 2002).

1.2.2.3 Empirical research on role model choice

Various studies have explored what are the most frequently chosen role models for adolescents. Biskup and Pfister, while exploring whether athletes function as role models for young people, report that only 10% of their participants identified role models from their immediate environment (friends and family) while 40% mentioned personalities from TV and film, 20% athletes, and 19% personalities from the music and entertainment world (Biskup & Pfister 1999).

Their findings however, conflict with most other studies, which found that local or intimate role models are more likely to be of significance in the lives of adolescents (Vesico *et al* 2005, White & O'Brian 1999), often with parents as the primary role model identified (Bucher 1997).

Anderson and Cavallaro (2002) found 34% of their participants choosing parental role models, while only 31% chose their role models from media celebrities (from both the worlds of entertainment and sports). Local role models include parents, grandparents, and even siblings (Bryant & Zimmerman 2003) with some adolescents choosing friends as their role models (Anderson & Cavallaro 2002).

Teachers were mentioned as significant adults in the lives of young people in some studies such as Hendry *et al* (1992) who asked for a list of significant non-family persons, with teachers mentioned by 17%, friends by 35% and youth group leaders by 50% of participants. This was echoed in the work of Tatar (1998) who found that adults rather than adolescents were more likely to identify teachers as their role models and as significant adults when reflecting on their adolescence. He suggests this is because adults can more easily identify with the teacher as an adult figure, and the perspective of age allows the adult to perceive the importance of future impact. Gender also plays an important part in the choice of role models. Same sex role models are more frequently chosen, but girls are more likely to choose cross-gender role models than boys (Wohlford *et al* 2004). Boys are also more likely to choose masculine sportsmen and girls feminine entertainers (Vesico *et al* 2005).

Studies have shown time and again that adolescents search for their role models primarily from among those with whom they have more intimate and local relationships, such as family members, teachers and youth leaders (Anderson & Cavallaro 2002, Bucher 1997, Cohen *et al* 2002, Tatar 1998, Vesico *et al* 2005, White & O'Brian 1999). Some in fact argue that only models possessing "social nearness" can impact on the adolescent (Bucher 1997). This discounts a conventional expectation that popular media celebrities serve as powerful role models.

The role model with the most social nearness would be the peer role model. Studies exploring peer role modeling have found examples in many diverse contexts, such as sports performance (Payne *et al.* 2003), physical education (Vesico *et al.* 2005, Weiss *et al.* 1998), high risk behavior (Huba & Bentler 1980, Lieberman 2001 , Maxwell 2002), psychological wellbeing and development (Bryant & Zimmerman 2003, Hendry *et al.* 1992, Yancey 1998), health education (Sherman 1998), the learning of cognitive skills (Schunk & Hanson 1985), communication and language skills (Murphey 1996a, Sonnenschein & Whitehurst 1980) moral development (Brody & Henderson, 1977; McManis, 1974), as well as in the adult world, for example in the workplace (Manz & Sims 1981, Moberg 2000, Weaver *et al.* 2005) and during professional and academic training (Bahn 2001).

There are those that argue that peers are more likely to impact adolescents through the modeling of behavior than adults who generally influence adolescents through the expression of normative standards (Biddle *et al.* 1980). This they assert is because our institutions are often age-segregated, allowing peers to become an omnipresent influence as behavioral models, while the prime parental influence is the imposition and support of consistent norms. Parental norms, as opposed to parental behavior, have more significance to the adolescent than peer norms. While peers may have more access to the adolescent during adolescence, adults have had a longer time to influence the adolescent, and are expected to represent the standards of the adult world to the adolescent. Peers, in contrast, would be shunned were they to attempt to impose standards on their adolescent friends. Parents often become models for behavior once the child leaves home to join the adult world, a time when the parent is unable to continue their support of normative standards, even while continuing to provide an important source for the modeling of adult behavior.

1.2.2.4 Focus on the educator as a role model

Research on role modeling has tended to focus on formal educational settings. Educational settings provide many overt and covert messages and employ many methods to impress these messages on their clients (for examples see Buber 1955a, Hanson 1993b, Hutchinson 2003, Noddings 1993). Many of these influences are indirect or covert and are not immediately obvious to the student and perhaps even to the educator. While majority influence tends to exert more public influence at the manifest level, inducing compliance, a minority influence, such as exerted through individual role models, tends to have a more private latent impact leading to conversion behavior (Nemeth 1986). That is not to say that covert influences necessarily have a lesser long term impact than the overt educational curriculum and pedagogical methodology employed by the educator. A central element in the educational environment is the educator him or herself. The educator, conscious of this, will pay close attention to the educational environment, in its physical and social aspects, and will make well thought through decisions based on the educational values intended to be imparted.

The educator's own person is one of the most significant influences on the adolescent. More than merely creating and managing the educational environment, educators embody and transmit values and messages to their students through personality and modeling (Buber 1955b, Noddings 1993, Rosenak 1983 & 1997). This can take the form of charisma (Rosenak 1983, Weber 1968a), enthusiasm and passion (Jeffs & Smith 1996, Pomson 2005, Schwab 1978), educational practices and policies (Noddings 1993), the student-teacher relationship (Schwab 1978), identity (Palmer 1997) or personal lifestyle (Palmer 1997, Pomson 2002). Shkedi and Horenczyk also explored the impact of "teacher ideology" on the texts and content presented to students, most of their

respondents agreeing this influence was unavoidable (Shkedi & Horenczyk 1995). The impact of the teacher as a role model is not always positive, and negative characteristics can have an equally profound impact on the student (Schiff & Tatar 2003).

The phenomenon of the educator as a role model is one that transcends the fields of formal and informal education alike, and can be considered a universal element in all modes and forms of education. However, practitioners within the field of informal education seem far more aware of and comfortable with the concept of educators as role models (Chazan 2003, Cohen *et al* 2002). This is apparent from the central place assigned to the development of awareness of the responsibility to be a role model in training programs and manuals preparing youth leaders for their calling in informal educational organisations, such as youth movements and clubs³. Perhaps the educator's potential and responsibility as a role model is missing from the agenda of many formal schooling systems due to a widespread commitment to "pedagogic neutrality" (Noddings 1993) that the pluralism of liberal school systems necessitate, a concern at odds with the values-based education that role modeling represents.

There is empirical research that supports the claim that teachers are powerful influences on their students' lives as role models (Cardinal 2001). Teachers model various values important to the educational process, such as the values inherent in their field (Brown 2002, Cardinal 2001, Payne *et al* 2003), universal values (Noddings 1993), enthusiasm and passion for their subject (Jeffs & Smith 1996, Pomson 2005, Schwab 1978), motivation for learning (Hutchinson 2003), professional choices (Mendez-Morse 2004) and their own personal lifestyle (Palmer 1997, Pomson 2002). Palmer also reflects on a holistic approach to education where the educator

³ For example www.moshava.org/staff/smanual.asp and www.fzy.org.uk/veida/old/2002/bogrim.htm and www.hadracha.org/files/vw.asp?id=29&t=rate&n=2

teaches his or her own identity (Palmer 1997) and Buber describes how the educator transmits his very essence and personality when he wrote “Only in his whole being, in all his spontaneity can the educator truly affect the whole being of his pupil. For educating characters you do not need a moral genius, but you do need a man who is wholly alive and able to communicate himself directly to his fellow beings" (Buber 1947b)”⁴.

In an informal educational context, the youth leader's function as a role model has been seen as central to the educational process. Chazan identifies the holistic educator as one of eight critical factors contributing to the efficacy of informal Jewish education. He describes the *madrich* as a "total educational personality", educating by words and deeds alike. The *madrich* in Chazan's view, must embody and be committed to the values s/he educates, because "commitment can only be learned if one sees examples of it up close" (Chazan 2003). Cohen *et al* suggest that the authority of *madrichim* to influence young people comes from their capacity to present themselves as an archetype or prototype for emulation, whereby their behavior is authentic and congruent with the program and the overt messages they are delivering (Cohen *et al* 2002).

Little has been written on the conscious self-awareness of the educator as a role model. There are those that feel that the process of role modeling is subconscious from the perspective of the role model (Garrahy 2001) while others believe that the more conscious the model is of his/her impact as a model, the more effective they become as a role model (Cardinal 2001).

⁴ Noddings is wary of this transmission of values when arguing for “pedagogic neutrality” in the pluralistic classroom, showing concern that the teacher’s beliefs will still be indirectly transmitted (Noddings 1993).

1.2.2.5 *The mechanisms of role modeling*

There are various psychological and sociological theories available from which to draw in order to understand the phenomena of role modeling. A foundational text is Bandura's *Social Learning Theory* (Bandura 1977). Bandura suggests that learning would be a long and painful process if individuals had to rely only on the trial and error of their own direct experience. Instead, most learning is from observation and dependent therefore on modeling and role models. Bandura divides observational learning into four components or sub-processes: the attentional, retention, motor reproduction, and motivational processes.

The *Attentional Process* is where the learner pays close attention to the model, in terms of both character and behaviour. The *Retention Process* is where the learner recalls these characteristics and behaviours with the aid of symbols, such as words and images. The *Motor Reproduction Process* is where symbolic representations are converted into behavioral actions, where success depends on the observer's capacity to reproduce the behaviour. The *Motivational Process* refers to the desire to commit to enacting the modeled behaviour and depends on the perception of positive and negative outcomes from the behaviour, i.e. the consequences of the behaviour being deemed by the learner to be valuable or rewarding rather than negative in outcome (Bandura 1977).

In a later work Bandura develops this theory further with his *Self-Efficacy Theory*. Self-efficacy is the self-perception of one's capacity to organize and implement actions in specific situations (Bandura 1977, 1997). Here, Bandura suggests that there are three mediating factors governing the extent of the influence of the model to influence learners to carry out particular behaviors. These are *self-efficacy expectancy* - the learner's perception of their capacity to reproduce the

modeled behaviour, *outcome expectancy* - the learner's belief that the modeled behaviour will result in the desired outcome, and *outcome value* - if the outcome of the behaviour is desirable then there is a greater likelihood that the behaviour will be undertaken (Bandura 1997). People acquire information about their level of efficacy from four sources: self-performances, vicarious experiences, verbal persuasion, and physiological indices (Bandura 1981, 1982). Vicarious experiences here refer to the observing of others modeling the performance of tasks, conferring a vicarious sense of efficacy (Schunk 1984).

A heightened sense of self-efficacy from observing role models is more likely to occur if significant similarities are perceived in the model by the observer (Bandura 1977, 1986, Weiten *et al.* 1991). Karunanayake & Nauta (2004) call this the *Similarity Hypothesis*. Individuals seek out role models who they perceive as similar to themselves because they assume that the experiences of those role models will apply to their lives as well (Bell 1970, Lockwood & Kunda 1997, Wohlford *et al* 2004). Observing the success of role models who have significant similarities to the observer will lead to an enhanced sense of self-efficacy and greater motivation (Bandura 1977, 1986, Vesico *et al* 2005). This view is supported by research on minority influence that has found that the greater the number of shared social categories, the greater the minority influence (Mugney 1982). In these terms, ingroup minorities are more influential than outgroup minorities (Clark & Maass 1988).

By the same token, gender also plays an important part in the choice of role models, indeed, this pattern has inspired extensive research (Lockwood 2006, Nixon & Robinson 1999, Spiezer 1981, Steinke 1999, Wohlford *et al* 2004, Vesico *et al* 2005). There has also been extensive examination of the impact of ethnicity in role modeling and its effect on feelings of self-efficacy among ethnic minorities (Karunanayake & Nauta 2004, Lockwood 2006, Lockwood & Kunda 1997, Payne *et al* 2003, Tatar 1998).

The process of the enabling of the observer by increasing disinhibition in a task through an increased perception of self-efficacy from observing competent models with significant similarities (Bandura 1977, 1986, Schunk & Hanson 1985) has also been identified in the work of Weber exploring the impact of charisma (Dow 1978). Weber's original formulation of charismatic authority is when others acknowledge specific gifts of body and mind in another as a valid basis for their participation in an extraordinary program of action (Weber 1968b). The follower must abandon herself to overcome the external and internal limits of daily existence by identification with the charismatic leader, seeing in the leader forces that exist within her (Dow 1978).

It has been suggested that role models are important in adolescent development, especially in the realm of identity formation. According to Erikson, adolescence is a period of stress and turmoil due to identity crisis, where the primary task is the consolidation of ego identity. A critical means to achieving this outcome is through experimentation with roles and identities. Identification with adult or peer "models" or "idols" allows adolescents to experiment with new values and identities, thereby preparing themselves for adult roles. This identification with and attachment to, is often described as "secondary attachments" (Erikson 1950, 1956, 1968) or "parasocial relationships" where the adolescent can experiment with occupational, social and emotional functions within a low-risk context (Horton & Wohl 1956, Levy 1979). Boys prefer identificatory attachments, identifying with idols, wanting to 'be like them', while girls will more often prefer romantic secondary attachments, wanting to be 'with them' (Adams-Price & Green 1990).

As previously indicated, role models are also an integral component of the process of socialization of the young person into the norms of wider society and parent communities (Biskup & Pfister 1999, Bush *et al.* 2004, Garrahy 2001, Vesico 2005). Jewish institutions such as the home, synagogue and the school, and informal Jewish educational contexts such as camp and youth groups, provide Jewish children with exposure to Jewish role models. These institutions act as socializing agents, helping the process of socialization into Jewish society and community (Sales & Saxe 2003). In their study of Jewish socialization at summer camps, Sales and Saxe find Kelman's ideas about social influence central to this process. Kelman identifies three levels of influence whereby one person can influence another to adopt new behaviours, attitudes and values (Kelman 1961). The first, compliance, is where one hopes to achieve rewards and avoid punishments and depends on the power of the influencer to mete out rewards and punishments. Compliant behavior will only last as long as this power is operative. The second stage, identification, is based on the desire to be like the model, impelling one to take on behaviours or opinions in the hope of entering a satisfying relationship with the influencer. The third stage, internalization of values and beliefs, is driven by our desire to be right and will depend on one's perception of the influencer as credible and trustworthy. This is the longest lasting and most deeply rooted of the three stages.

Berger's concept of "plausibility structures" further contributes to our understanding of the processes of socialization of adolescents into the norms and beliefs of the society in which they live (Berger 1967). Plausibility structures are the widespread beliefs and values which impact on behaviour, that are held by individuals around us and society as a whole. These structures ultimately define what we think and how we behave. According to Berger, role models are central to the influence that structures exert, acting as the interface between us and the society in which we live. If the people who surround adolescents hold a belief, it is more likely that

adolescents will also come to hold this belief too. Plausibility structures are not only important for adolescent socialization into mainstream society, but are also critical in socialization into particular communities, such as a religious or faith communities (Smith 2003).

The 'Total Institution' described in the work of Goffman can be considered an extreme or ultimate plausibility structure. Goffman defines the total institution as 'a place of residence and work where a large number of like-situated individuals cut off from the wider society for an appreciable period of time together lead an enclosed formally administered round of life' (Goffman 1961, p.11). An institution is total when it surrounds the person at every turn, producing the normalcy of life inside the institution – however abnormal it might seem from outside (Deleuze 1988). Although total institutions may have several goals, central to the agenda of many is socialization, or more often *re-socialization* into the values of the larger society (McEwan 1980, Davies 1989). The aim of the total institution is to become a total and infallible plausibility structure. While Goffman's work on total institutions focused mainly on more closed and extreme examples such as mental asylums, monasteries, convents, prisons, and warships, many other examples of total institutions with varying degrees of openness are also found in the literature, such as internment camps, sanatoria, the army, the kibbutz, the merchant navy (Davies 1989), slave plantations, nursing homes, (McEwan 1980), recreational camps, rehabilitation centers, and boarding schools (Mouzelis 1971).

The literature describing the influence of total institutions as immense plausibility structures is supported by traditional approaches to social influence which have concentrated almost exclusively on the influence of the majority (Allen 1965, Darley & Darley 1976, Kiesler & Kiesler 1969). However, empirical evidence has demonstrated that minorities can be successful in modifying majority norms (Allen 1975, Moscovici *et al* 1969, Moscovici & Lage, 1976). In

fact, the minority's smaller size may indirectly increase the influence it exerts by fostering attributions of confidence and commitment (Latane & Wolf 1981) and conviction and coherence (Moscovici & Lage, 1976). For this reason, behavioral consistency is critical for minority influence (Moscovici *et al* 1969, Latane & Wolf 1981).

Although role modeling has always been a phenomenon associated with adolescence, due in the main part to the psychological and sociological processes operating during this time highlighted above, there is also a wealth of literature exploring role modeling at later stages of life. These include in the workplace (Rich 1997 and Manz & Sims 1981) including gender role modeling in the workplace (Javidan *et al* 1995, Lockwood 2006, Speizer 1981), medical education (Fawcett 2002, Reuler & Nardone 1994), medical practitioners (Wright & Carrese 2002, Rush *et al* 2005), attitudes to sex and sexuality among college students (Basow & Howe 1980) and college students and career decisions (Nauta & Kokaly 2001, Perrone *et al* 2002). Ethnic role modeling and gender role modeling has also frequently been the subject of research, for example in terms of the impact of ethnic role models on career choices (Karunanayake & Nauta 2004) and gender roles (Steinke 1999). There has also been some discussion of the impact of role models on post-high school Israel program participants (Amsel 1990, Berger 1997, Goldmintz 1991, Lichtman 2002).

1.2.2.6 Peer role modeling

Familiarity with the *Similarity Hypothesis* will also further our understanding of the phenomenon of peer and near-peer role modeling. The emulation of role models is more likely to occur when similarities between the observer and the model are perceived by the observer (Karunanayake & Nauta 2004, Weitan *et al.* 1991). The more similarities that are perceived by the observer, the

greater the chance that observation of the modeled behavior will lead to an enhanced sense of self-efficacy, and the self-perception of one's capacity to implement actions. Observing peers perform a task can convey a vicarious sense of efficacy (Schunk 1984), leading in turn to a process of disinhibition (Bandura 1977, 1986, Schunk & Hanson 1985). In this respect, peers may prove more powerful role models for young people than adults displaying many more similarities (Vesico *et al* 2005, Weiss *et al.* 1998).

Peers are similar in age, generation, and experience to the observer, and are generally facing similar challenges at any given time. A peer who has faced and overcome identical struggles can have a particularly inspiring effect as a role model on the observer, who is likely to be prone to profound influence from models who have faced the same challenges and overcome them (Moberg 2000). The research of Sherman *et al.* (1998) on the provision of peer role models as paraprofessionals for pregnant or post-partum women in recovery considers the success of such programs as being optimized when peer counselors who share race and gender, live in the same neighborhood, and have survived the same life experience that the client is currently confronting. This paraprofessional, who may herself be in recovery, functions as a peer role model, encouraging the learning of new healthy behaviors, providing the opportunity for vicarious experiences, leading to an increased sense of self-efficacy in the client (Sherman *et al.* 1998).

In a review of research on peer modeling and children's behavioral change Schunk (1987) suggests that the eighteen studies he reviewed lend indirect support to Bandura's (1986) contention that the age of the model is less important to the observer than the functional value of the behavior. Children are more likely to emulate modeled behavior that they believe is successful or will lead to rewarding outcomes, irrespective of the model's age. In Bandura's *Self-Efficacy Theory*, the second of the three mediating factors governing the extent of the influence

of the model as an enabler is *outcome expectancy* - the learner's belief that the modeled behavior will result in the desired outcome (Bandura 1997). Schunk believes this is the critical factor in the understanding of role model impact, rather than age and similarity. However, even according to Schunk, peers may still have greater influence as models of behavior. Not because their age is a similarity, but because a peers behavior represents greater functionality than the behavior of an adult. Children believe that actions taken by their peers have greater functional value for them in that they are more likely to lead to success or rewards (Schunk 1987).

Weis *et al.* (1998) provide a cogent example in support of Schunk's position on the advantages of peer role modeling over adults for young people in their research on the influence of peer models on swimming skill performance. Their research found that peer models result in higher cognitive skill learning, self-confidence, and motivation in children, as compared with adult models (Weiss *et al.* 1998). In the potentially overwhelming and intimidating context of learning to swim, the adult model will often function as a mastery role model and the peer as a coping role model (Vesico *et al.* 2005). Although the mastery model may have an inspirational effect modeling the highest levels of achievement and success, a demoralizing impact may also be felt as the observer experiences frustration from feeling overwhelmed and intimidated by the modeled achievement (Lockwood & Kunda 1997). In the case of learning to swim, the adult may function as a mastery role model, having mastered the art of swimming many years previously, demonstrating a level of proficiency that observers find difficult to imagine ever achieving themselves. This may in fact have the opposite effect from the intended outcome of increasing self-efficacy.

The coping model, in the case of swimming, is an individual who struggles at times, yet refuses to give up. The coping model thereby represents values such as perseverance and the nobility of

losing with dignity, or in this case competing at a level less than outstanding, yet still with determination and grace. This can have a more profound impact, especially on the observer's perception of self-efficacy (Manz & Sims 1981, Sanchez 2000). These modes of role modeling are often found in the context of sport (Vesico *et al* 2005) the workplace (Moberg 2000, Weaver *et al* 2005) and educational frameworks (Ingall 1998).

Murphey has developed a further category of role model that bridges peer role models with conventional older role models, calling it near peer role models. Near peer role models are peers who are close to the observer's age, part of the observer's social circle and/or profession, and a person whom one may respect and admire (Murphey 1996a). Near peer role models combine characteristics of both conventional older role models and peer role models, engendering admiration for achievement yet at the same time personifying the similarities of a peer role model. This potent combination presents an attractive model for emulation. The excellence of the near peer role models seems more achievable and easy to replicate because they are within the observer's zone of proximal development (Murphey, 1996b). The observing learners compare themselves with their potential future selves as represented in their near peer role model and become excited about that potential and motivated to achieve it (Murphey & Arao 2001).

Older siblings are a salient example of a near peer role model, generally being close in age and coming from a similar social milieu, yet still embodying skills and achievement not yet attained by the observer, and therefore worthy of admiration and emulation. Bryant & Zimmerman (2003) while exploring role models among African American adolescents found that while significant adults involved in adolescents' lives are most likely to be familial, and more often than not parents, siblings often also function in this role. Older siblings will often become

supplemental attachment figures in the lives of adolescents, especially where they have been unable to form these bonds with their parents (Ainsworth 1989).

Most of the literature on peer role modeling studies the impact of peers as models in the lives of adolescents. However, the phenomenon of peer role modeling can and does exist outside of this specific developmental stage. A notable example of research on non-adolescent, in this case adult peer role modeling, is observational learning from models in the workplace. Some of these studies have concentrated on the impact of the manager as a model of organizational behavior in the workplace, arguing that employees are more likely to emulate manager behavior than behavior of a co-worker, because of the status experience and prestige of their position (Manz and Sims 1981). It can be argued that even if the manager and worker are of the same age group and/or social circle, these factors prevent the manager from being considered a peer of the worker, therefore functioning as a conventional role model parallel with other non-peer role modeling contexts. However, when it comes to ethical role models in the workplace a distinction is rarely drawn between managers and co-workers. In fact, it can be argued that employees are often influenced most by those closest to them, those co-workers they work with everyday rather than more distant managers (Weaver *et al.* 2005).

Many of the same processes central to conventional role modeling are also found in adult peer role modeling in the workplace. Moburg (2000) and Weaver *et al.* (2005) both have written on organizational socialization, the role model providing on-the-job training through presenting opportunities for observational learning, socializing new employees into the culture of the workplace by modeling “the unique behaviors that are considered moral and virtuous in organizational life” (Moburg 2000). Moburg also described the profile of the co-worker most likely to inspire the observer to emulate their behavior: someone the observer perceives to be

similar to themselves, to be struggling with similar moral issues to those they face, and who demonstrates a level of morality perceived to be attainable (Moburg 2000). The distinction between mastery and coping role models was also found in this role modeling context. Manz and Sims (1981) describe a worker who when faced with a difficult task displays apprehension and difficulty and yet completes the task having a greater effect than one who models extraordinary achievement that may be perceived as unattainable. This mastery role model may not be considered a reasonable reference point for the observer.

1.2.2.7 Vicarious Role Modeling

Vicarious role modeling is where identification with distant role models leads to observational learning through “parasocial relationships” with distant role models (Horton & Wohl 1956). It is a natural human instinct to remember the exemplary people who have impacted on our lives, and learn from them as role models to determine what is right, honorable, and just in the world (Bonneville et al. 2006). The observer consciously or unconsciously recognizes him or herself in the role model, and vicariously participates in the life of the model through a parasocial relationship, which in turn leads to the motivation to emulate behavior and values held by the vicarious role model (Feilitzen & Linne 1975). Parasocial relationships function through mediums such as film, television, literature as well as various other forms of mass media. Parasocial relationships will often resemble interpersonal relationships in many ways, such as decreased uncertainty leading to increased attraction over time and relationship growth (Rubin and McHugh 1987). For most observers parasocial relationships are complimentary to interpersonal ones, but for those with few or weak social ties they may function as an alternative (Levy, Rubin & Rubin 1985).

The literature examining the locations where adolescents are exposed to role models differentiate between local and distant personalities. Local role models, with whom young people are more likely to have an intimate relationship, and with whom they interact on a day to day basis, include family members (Bryant & Zimmerman 2003, Okagaki *et al* 1999, Singelmann *et al* 1999), teachers (Langgulung 1983, Tatar 1998), youth leaders (Chazan 2003, Cohen *et al* 2002) and peers (Carr & Weigand 2001). Distant role models, personalities with whom only vicarious relationships are possible, may also have an impact. These include media celebrities from the world of sport (Biskup & Pfister 1999, Vesico *et al* 2005), entertainment (Giles & Maltby 2004), including from film or television (Anderson & Cavallaro 2002, Pena *et al* 1990), governmental personalities (Street 2004), and even characters from literature (Cohen 1980, Helper 2006), both historical (Deitcher 2000, Rosenak 1991, Silberman 2003) and fictitious (Hoffner 1996, Sanchez 1998).

In comparison with previous times, the adolescent today is exposed to many more influential figures via the mass media than ever before, especially as popular media use by teenagers is continually increasing (Gash & Conway 1997 and Giles & Maltby 2004). Despite no direct interaction with media stars, the adolescent can be profoundly influenced by vicarious personalities to whom they are attracted (Bandura 2003, Chung 2003). For example, adolescents are often dependent on the popular media for socialization (Hoffner 1996), especially in cases where other intimate role models are absent from their lives (Melnick & Jackson 2002, Steinke 1999). The popular media, through celebrities, transmits implicit societal and anti-societal messages (Chung 2003, Whannel 1999) and is a prime conduit for the transmission of national values and culture according to its own interpretation of what these should be (Melnick & Jackson 2002, Nalapat & Parker 2005, Phelps 2001).

Ingall (1998) differentiates between distant vicarious role models and local intimate role models in Jewish education, calling distant role models from Jewish history and literature “Heroes” with a capital ‘H’ and intimate local role models “heroes” (or mitzvah heroes) with a lowercase ‘h’. These two modes of role modeling will often, though not always, parallel the mastery and coping role models found in the sports arena (Vesico *et al* 2005) and the business world (Moberg 2000, Weaver *et al* 2005). Vicarious-mastery role models represent the highest standards and levels of achievement in a field, and as a consequence will inspire, but at times also demoralize or cause frustration as the young person experiences difficulty relating to the super-levels of achievement that the model represents (Lockwood & Kunda 1997, Moberg 2000, Weaver *et al* 2005). It is unlikely that these models will be local to the observer and available for an intimate relationship. However, models that are local and accessible for intimacy will often provide a coping model, an individual who struggles at times, yet refuses to give up. The coping role model represents values such as perseverance and determination, and can have a more profound impact, especially on the young person's sense of self-efficacy (Manz & Sims 1981, Sanchez 2000). In an educational context, Brown believes that teachers who model their own struggles and flaws may show their students more about personal growth than the mastery model can (Brown 2002). This may explain the perceivable trend noted by Ingall away from elevating distant Heroes from history and text as role models, and replacing them with local "heroes" who demonstrate piety and religious commitment in their everyday lives (Ingall 1998).

Opinions are divided in the literature as to which of these two modes of role modeling have the greater impact on adolescents. In a review of studies examining the exemplars who adolescents admire and wish to resemble, Harris found that between 60% and 80% of the sample in those studies chose a public figure (Harris 1986). Biskup and Pfister, while exploring whether athletes function as role models for young people, report that only 10% of their participants identified

role models from their immediate environment (friends and family) while 40% mentioned personalities from TV and film, 20% athletes, and 19% personalities from the music and entertainment world (Biskup & Pfister 1999). These findings, however, conflict with more recent studies which found that adolescents search for their role models primarily from among those with whom they have more intimate and local relationships, such as family members, teachers and youth leaders (Anderson & Cavallaro 2002, Bucher 1997, Cohen *et al* 2002, Tatar 1998, Vesico *et al* 2005, White & O'Brian 1999).

The psychological theories that underpin role modeling further contribute to an understanding of this aspect of the phenomenon. Building on his initial theories about observational learning in *Social Learning Theory* (Bandura 1977), Bandura's *Self-Efficacy Theory* (1997) presents a useful description of observational learning in the context of vicarious experiences observing models. Bandura believes that people acquire information about their level of efficacy from, among other sources, vicarious experiences. While this can also apply to local and intimate role models, vicarious learning is no less applicable to distant role models.

Role models are also significant agents in the process of identity formation during adolescent development. A vital means to achieving the consolidation of ego identity during adolescence this outcome is through experimenting with roles and identities (Erikson 1950, 1956, 1968). While identification with significant others from the adolescent's immediate vicinity, such as adult and peer models, is also an important part of this process, the focus here is on experimentation with new values and identities. It is more likely that these "secondary attachments" will happen within vicarious and distant relationships or "parasocial relationships" where the adolescent can experiment with new and diverse occupational, social and emotional functions within a low-risk context (Horton & Wohl 1956, Levy 1979).

It is generally accepted that the greater number of perceived similarities between the observer and the model in the parasocial relationship, the greater the attraction and identification to the vicarious model (Feilitzen & Linne 1975, Maccoby & Wilson 1957, Turner 1993). This echoes the similarity hypothesis discussed earlier in the context of the general phenomenon of role modeling. Feilitzen & Linne (1975) highlight the centrality of similarity in the parasocial relationship when describing the process from the perspective of the observer: “an individual consciously or unconsciously recognizes him/herself in, or wishes to be, another individual so that he/she becomes involved in that individual and vicariously participates in his/her activities, feelings, and thoughts” (p. 52). This in turn leads to a greater motivation to accomplish similar activities and thoughts to those of the model (Feilitzen & Linne 1975). Turner (1993) applies to parasocial relationships a term borrowed from Lazarsfeld and Merton that describes friendships based on similarity – homophily (Lazarsfeld & Merton 1954). Rogers and Bhowmik (1970) define the term homophily as “the degree to which pairs of individuals who interact are similar with respect to certain attributes, such as beliefs, values, education, social status, and the like” (p. 526). McCroskey, Richmond, and Daly (1975) add to this list attitude, background, value (morality), and appearance. Turner’s study exploring parasocial interaction with television performers found “attitude” homophily to be the strongest predictor among the independent variables of parasocial interaction (Turner 1993).

Feilitzen & Linne qualify the central role played by homophily in parasocial relationships by explaining that the observer may also be attracted to the model because they represent values the observer aspires to. This they term “wishful identification” (Feilitzen & Linne 1975). This idea can also be found in the work of Maccoby & Wilson exploring identification and observational learning from characters in films, where viewers were more likely to be influenced by the

protagonist whose social class corresponded with the viewer's *aspired* social class, rather than the reality of their current objective status (Maccoby & Wilson 1957).

1.2.3 Education through role modeling – a critique

When considering role modeling as an educational strategy, there are those that emphasize the heavy burden of responsibility carried by the role model. This critique brings into focus the teacher's lifestyle, and whether they can be expected to live a life embodying the values they are teaching. This is where the life of the teacher becomes the text that is being taught, asking of the teacher to make their life available to their students to this end (Pomson 2002). This places the teacher under tremendous stress, not only bringing their private life into the classroom, but the classroom into their private life, where they must continuously be concerned with their behaviour even outside of their professional environment. Are these reasonable expectations? Or is this an unavoidable burden? Will these expectations lead to a feeling of suffocation by the profession even outside of the job, and lead potential practitioners to be scared away from their vocation? Should a school be allowed to base hiring policies on a teacher's private lifestyle? These questions all probe the ethical implications of the teacher's responsibility as a role model and must be considered when evaluating role modeling as an educational strategy.

The role model as holistic educator also presents the practitioner herself with a pedagogic dilemma. How much access and disclosure to the educator's private life should be presented to the student? Brown self-reports on her own struggle to maintain a balance between being an exemplar and allowing herself realistic space so as to present a more realistic coping model: "I struggled to find the right balance, to look beyond the superficiality of *mar'it ayin* [the rabbinic obligation to avoid the appearance of prohibited behavior in Jewish law] and locate a more

genuine self in the classroom. I returned to adult education because I found in that setting a greater respect for the varied shades of individuality and an ability to admit the complexity of religious life in the setting of modernity” (Brown 2002).

This burden of serving as a holistic role model, on duty even outside of the professional context, can also be found in the medical professions, where practitioners may also feel uncomfortable and even threatened by the lofty expectations made on their personal lives. The nurses in a study by Rush *et al.* (2005) felt that the idealized image of the health role model imposed “expectations that maybe we’re not going to live up to”. They felt highly visible in both formal and informal settings, and experienced tremendous pressure to meet the expectations of others. This description of the emotions of medical practitioners reflects the language Brown (2002) employed to describe the pressures felt by educational practitioners.

The implications of this blurring of the private and professional lives of medical practitioners have been explored in several studies. For example, Appel (2009) examines the right of the State to protect its citizenry from the impact of negative health role modeling by doctors who smoke in public spaces. The nurses in Rush *et al.*’s study (2005) asserted the right to differentiate between their personal and professional lives. The question remains whether we give teachers the same right. In making his argument for prohibiting doctors from off-duty behavior that is incongruent to their profession, Appel (2009) highlights that professional sportsmen are often held up to a higher level of moral conduct by their employers and regulating bodies due to their undeniable role as models to young people. By the same token, he sees grounds for State regulation proscribing teacher-behavior that is unbecoming or immoral, even if this ultimately leads to the termination of employment.

A critique from a different direction is the argument that role modeling is a form of values based education. When an educator functions in the capacity of a role model, the values and ideals of the educator are the messages that are transmitted both directly and indirectly to the student through modeling, encouraging the integration and emulation of those messages. Cohen *et al.*, in their exploration of the educational tour guide as a role model, suggest that the very authority and credibility of the *madrach* as an educator who has influence on young people comes from his capacity to present himself as an archetype or prototype for emulation, modeling behavior that is authentic and congruent with the program and the overt messages being delivered (Cohen *et al* 2002). The tour guide as role model makes a clear and intentional, if indirect, transmission of values that is consistent with the ideology of the organization. However, if the organization is not ideologically driven, but is rather an open educational institution, then the *madrach* transmits through modeling his own ideals and values within that open context.

If, as has been argued above, the education of values through role modeling has a socializing impact on the adolescent, where significant others transmit specific convictions, notions, beliefs, practices, values, and norms, to future generations, thereby socializing them into society, and allowing them to participate fully in the prevailing social life (Kelley & De Graaf 1997), then it must be conceded that role model education is values based. With the immersion of the observer into “plausibility structures”, environments where the plausibility of values is reinforced through interaction with people who embody them in a social network. (Berger 1967, 1969) there is little space given for other ideas. Despite those who identify a new trend towards educating absolute values and using models to educate them (Lickona 1993, Resnick 2002, Sanchez 1998), it is still often argued that the modeling of an educator's personal beliefs has no place in a liberal educational setting, some suggesting that this is a form of indoctrination (Shkedi & Horenczyk 1995).

It has long been argued that the intentional modeling of an educator's personal beliefs, or the central placing of the educator as a role model in a pedagogic system, is antithetical to the spirit of open education at the heart of liberal educational settings. Some even go so far as to argue that this is a form of indoctrination (Shkedi & Horenczyk 1995). In the pluralistic educational systems of most western countries, "pedagogic neutrality" is encouraged in all educational contexts, especially when it comes to the education of values and faith systems (Nodding 1993). If teachers model personal beliefs and personal value systems, and allow these to contribute to their pedagogic style and content, pedagogic neutrality becomes untenable. It can also be argued that role modeling in education will, rather than lead to the development of moral autonomy and an independent moral identity, dissuade independent thought and instead lead to moral dependency (Bucher 1997). This presents a risk of potential abuse, where the charismatic teacher may use the power of the role modeling relationship for propaganda and indoctrination (Schwab 1978). This last point is further explored below.

1.2.3.1 Mastery and coping role models

Two types of role models were considered earlier, the "master role model" and the "coping" or "struggling" role model. Critiques of role modeling argues that there is a danger that the master role model can cause unrealistic expectations, leading to shock, stress, disappointment, and even demoralization, by highlighting deficiencies among young people and representing unattainable yet desirable achievements (Lockwood & Kunda 1997, Silberman 2003). Typically, examples of mastery role models causing frustration have been found in the sporting and business fields (Lockwood & Kunda 1997, Moberg 2000, Weaver *et al* 2005). Lockwood & Kunda also describe this phenomenon existing in the family context, with demoralization occurring, for

example in a younger sibling because of a gifted older sibling, or in mothers' feelings of inadequacy because of their exposure to "superwoman" exemplars, whether in real life or fiction, who have successful careers but are also dedicated mothers. The negative impact of the mastery role model can also be found in an educational setting, especially in the realm of religious education, where saints and religious exemplars can also have a frustrating and disheartening effect, leading to shock, stress and disappointment (Silberman 2003). This may explain the trend away from presenting distant exemplars as role models for students and replacing them with local "real" models (Ingall 1993).

However, the mastery role model may also have an inspiring impact on observers, encouraging them to aspire to similar characteristics and achievements. The outcome of exposure to the mastery role model will depend on the relevance of the model and the perceived attainability of the model's success. If the observer deems them as relevant and their success attainable, then the mastery model will provide an inspirational impact, and if not, demoralization and disillusionment will result.

Chosen role models who do not provide sufficient perceived similarities or attainable levels of success may also adversely impact self-esteem in the observer (Wohlford *et al.* 2004). Demoralization is also caused when the observer is threatened by the exemplar, for example a peer or colleague who represents superior attainment on the same career level. However, if exemplars are somewhat senior in age or experience, they may instead represent an attainable future success that the observer is on track to achieve. This will then inspire rather than demoralize (Lockwood & Kunda 1997).

The coping model presents a totally different role model type, being an individual who struggles at times, yet refuses to give up. While there may be something paradoxical viewing the coping role model as an ideal, due to the fine line between coping and failing, the coping model also represents values such as perseverance and the nobility of losing with dignity. This may have a more profound impact, especially on the young person's sense of self-efficacy (Manz & Sims 1981, Sanchez 2000), by encouraging a sense of potential achievement despite the difficulties incurred with perseverance. Often the observer will find it easier to relate to the model who displays apprehension and difficulty yet overcomes the difficult task than the mastery model who seems not to encounter any difficulty with the task at all (Bandura 1969, 1971, Mahoney 1974). A mastery model may not be a reasonable reference point for the observer (Manz & Sims 1981). To avoid these potential pitfalls, Sanchez believes that the presentation of heroes should relate to positive as well as negative aspects in the model's life to ensure that students understand that human imperfections are an inevitable part of a hero's character (Sanchez 2000). Brown (2002) considers coping role models more powerful influences over young minds than mastery role models when she writes: "Role models who are not afraid to show their own struggles are no less role models; they may, in fact, show the student a good deal more about personal growth".

Coping role models were also found in the medical professions. Rush *et al.* (2005) found that while nurses often felt tremendous pressure to live up to their role as an ideal health model, the importance of the coping role model as an alternative to the mastery role model was also articulated when a participant stated, "Everybody seems to think it is the best model, and yet a role model [may demonstrate] that maybe we aren't perfect and we do have the same struggles and frustrations as everybody else in the public and in the community. And how we cope and manage without our health and with our problems is as much a role model as just being totally perfect."

1.2.3.2 *Negative role models*

A third type of potentially destructive role model, the negative role model, displays character traits, beliefs, or behaviors that society holds in contempt and would discourage young people from emulating. Plato warned against bad models, especially gods and heroes in Homer's epic poems. He was concerned that young people would imitate their immoral behaviour such as adultery, trickery, and violence, and adopt their immoral values and attitudes (Bucher 1997). Today, negative role models are often found in the popular media, but can also be present in educational contexts (Cardinal 2001, Lines 2001, Payne *et al* 2003 Sales & Saxe 2004). Negative role models are also frequently found as a phenomenon in the peer group (Huba & Bentler 1980, Maxwell 2002, Lieberman 2001). A widely documented form of negative role modeling is in the sports arena where the athlete's on-field as well as off-field behavior is scrutinized by the adolescent, whether the athlete is aware of this or not (Globus 1998, Payne *et al.* 2003). Today's sports role model is scrutinized more than ever due to increased media intrusion into celebrity life. This, together with the escalating commercialization of sports, has led to increasingly wealthy sportsmen leading increasingly hedonistic lifestyles, with sports personalities having a greater impact as negative role models than ever before (Lines 2001).

However, even negative role models can have a positive impact on the adolescent as "avoidance role models" (Lockwood *et al.* 2002, Melnick & Jackson 1998) whereby the modeling of negative behaviors has an inhibitory affect (Bandura 1977, Manz & Sims 1981) leading to negative identification and negative emulation (McEvoy and Erikson 1981). Lockwood *et al.* (2002) provide a salient example of the intentional provision of negative role models in public service announcements, such as smokers suffering with lung cancer, or motorists injured as a

result of drinking and driving, in the hope of motivating people to take the necessary steps to avoid similarly undesirable outcomes.

Absolute negative role models, sometimes termed “global negative role models”, or “anti-models” are generally rare (Bucher & Stelling 1977) and it is more likely that role models encountered have both positive and negative attributes (Gibson 2004). However, Walker (2007) in her study on near peer role models found that while there was often a dearth of positive role models available for adolescent males, there was no shortage of negative role models. She concluded that these may be just as important as positive role models, operating as an effective disincentive for unhealthy and destructive behavior. Negative identification with negative role models may also be a vital component in the formation of ideological orientation for the adolescent (Melnick & Jackson 1998).

The relative impact of positive and negative role models may depend on the goal orientation of the observer. Those who are more focused on promotion goals and who are motivated by success and achievement will be more likely to be influenced by positive role models, while those observers who are focused on prevention goals and who are motivated by avoiding undesirable outcomes will be more likely to be influenced by negative role models (Lockwood *et al.* 2002). In a later study building on this theory, cultural patterns were found among those who had a prevention orientation and those who had a promotion focus. It was found that those who came from collectivistic cultures have a stronger prevention orientation and are therefore more likely to be influenced by negative role models, whereas those who come from individualistic cultures are more likely to be promotion focused, and therefore more likely to be influenced by positive role models (Lockwood *et al.* 2005).

A further mode of negative role modeling is the failed role model, where the model is in a position to directly transmit specific values but indirectly models a failure to live up to those values instead. This phenomenon is particularly striking in an educational framework where the scope for adolescent disappointment in role models is great. Silberman (2003) highlights the damaging and hurtful impact of self-appointed spiritual exemplars who then disappoint with their personal immoral behavior. She provides a recent example, when the spiritual leader of a Jewish Reform congregation was found guilty of having arranged his wife's murder in order to continue an adulterous affair. A less dramatic and more commonly found example of a failed role model is provided by Melville and Maddalozzo (1988) who investigated whether the physical appearance of a physical educator impacts on their ability to teach and instill a healthy lifestyle in high school students. Their findings concluded that the physical educator with a healthy appearance is more likely to have a positive educational impact on their students. Jacobson and Kulling (1989) also describe physical education role models who fail to model the values they are educating in their schools, choosing instead to opt for the "do as I say not as I do" approach to physical education, and therefore become negative role models. Failed health role models have also been well documented in the field of medical practitioners (for example Appel 2009, Rush *et al.* 2005).

1.2.3.3 Role modeling and power abuse

The sharpest critique of role models in education emphasizes the potential abuse of the power inherent in the teacher-student relationship. This may begin merely with the danger that the teacher rather than the student becomes the focus of the educational process (Brown 2002, Schwab 1978). However, more dangerous evils can stem from unhealthy role modeling relationships, such as the abuse of sexual tensions in a student-teacher relationship (Schwab

1978), role models capitalizing on their influence over young people for immoral ends, whether only in the realm of ideas or also action, or intentional manipulation for financial, sexual, or political gain (Silberman 2003). Examples are often reported in the media, such as child-sex abuse cases involving spiritual leaders in the Catholic Church.

While exploring the impact of spiritual role models, Silberman (2003) pays great attention to the possible negative outcomes of such modeling, and their use towards achieving evil ends. She brings several examples to illustrate this point such as the influence of charismatic personalities over the perpetrators of the September 11th 2001 attacks on the United States, historical Christian anti-Semitism during the period of the Inquisition, the Crusades, and the Holocaust, and the role of negative spiritual role models in religious conflicts in various conflicts around the world, including the Middle East, Northern Ireland, former Yugoslavia, and in the Indian sub-continent.

In order to maintain the abusive relationship, the negative role model may abuse the emotional and physical well-being of the follower, by encouraging negative self-beliefs or negative beliefs about the world. This may also include the encouragement of self-destructive behavior and isolation from support networks that would challenge the manipulative relationship (Silberman 2003). This manipulation and abuse can also occur on a societal level where such relationships have been abused by totalitarian systems, such as National Socialism (Bucher 1997). Even with the best intentions, spiritual role models who allow or encourage their followers to relate to them as demagogues, can become unintentionally abusive, sometimes through bad judgment and human error (Silberman 2003). For example, the Hassidic spiritual leaders encouraged their followers to remain in pre-Holocaust Europe on the eve of the Second World War rather than escape, while they themselves ultimately did escape at the very last opportunity (Zuroff 2000).

In the case of total institutions, Goffman (1961) describes the inherent mortification processes as the ‘tyrannization’ of everyday life. While it can be rationalized that these are instrumental in achieving the desired re-socialization of the inmate, it can be argued that a more realistic and practical explanation exists for them: degraded and demoralized human beings are more pliant and easier to administer than those with a high degree of self-autonomy and initiative (Mouzelis 1971). However, the utilization of mortification in the process of socialization in an institution is dependent on a caste-like power structure of extreme social distance between staff and inmates (Ben-David 1992, McEwan 1980), which is not necessarily the case in all total institutions (Mouzelis 1971) and unlikely to be so in those relevant to this study where the role modeling relationship is central.

Although a rebuttal of these critiques in any depth is beyond the remit of this study, there are some brief responses that may contextualize this criticism. Those who are uncomfortable with role modeling due to its value based nature must consider whether modeling can be turned off, allowing for true pedagogic neutrality. Many of the above critiques highlight the power latent within role model relationships that can be used to benefit the student, but also to harm them. It is this power that provides the latent potential for good as well as bad, and without the risk that this entails, there would also be no potential for positive educational ends. These concerns do however highlight the need for the supervision of the provision of role models and role modeling relationships.

If role models have an impact on the lives of young people as the literature clearly implies, then it is also most likely that they have impact on critical life-decisions in general. A life-decision of particular interest is the ideological decision to emigrate. I intend to explore the impact of role models through exploring what is known about the impact of individuals in ideological migration

decisions. One such ideological migration is the aliyah of Jews from western countries to Israel, and it is this phenomenon that will provide my research context.

1.2.4 Literature exploring the phenomenon of aliyah

This research has utilized the significant life-transforming decision to make aliyah as an opportunity for the exploration of the phenomenon of role modeling. There has been little academic research on the motivations behind the ideological decision to make aliyah, especially in relation to the influence of role models on this life transformative decision.

Aliyah has been studied in various different disciplines. Traditionally research on migration in Israel has been demographic (DellPergola 1984, 1989, 1998) and economic (Hartman & Hartman 1995, Neuman 1999). According to Leshem & Shuval (1998) sociology has occupied a minor role in aliyah research until more recent times. Early sociological research in Israel utilized migration theory based on the widespread "individual relocation" approach (Leshem & Shuval 1998) central to which is the process of rational decision making based on "push" and "pull" factors (Bogue 1969). This theory, sometimes termed the "deficiency model" (Tartakovsky & Schwartz 2001), posits that "every migratory movement is motivated by the migrants feeling of some kind of insecurity and inadequacy in his original social setting" (Eisenstadt 1954, pp. 1-2), i.e. "push" factors, or that an individual may simply become aware that their desired goals in life are more easily obtainable in a different society (Richardson 1959, Weinberg 1961), i.e. "pull" factors.

More recent theories of migration have gone beyond the deficiency model. Some have classified motivations to emigrate according to their links with dynamic personality variables, such as

Winter-Ebmer (1994) who links "optimistic" and "pessimistic" migration motives to personality tendencies to seek success or to fear failure, and Mirsky (1995) who explain emigrants' motivations for migration by locating the emigrant along a "separation-individuation" continuum of personality development. Tartakovsky & Schwartz (2001) suggest that migration motivations should be seen as expressions of more basic and general human motivations. They formulate a "values theory" whereby values are desirable trans-situational goals that serve as guiding principles in people's lives, cognitively representing people's motivations. When life in a potential migrants' native land frustrates or endangers the fulfillment of their goals and the expression of their values, the would-be migrant adapts by emigrating. In this theory, four distinct types of motivation to emigrate are identified, *preservation*, *self-development*, *materialism*, and *idealism*. *Preservation* refers to physical, social and psychological security for self and family. *Self-development* refers to personal growth, developing abilities, acquiring new ideas and knowledge, and mastering new skills. *Materialism* is financial wellbeing, wealth, and control over material resources as motivation for emigration. Finally *idealism* is a motivation to emigrate in order to build a better, sometimes utopian, society for one's community, even if self-negation and personal hardship are by-products.

There is debate whether aliyah is a unique migration phenomenon. There are those who have historically asserted that the powerful ideological motivation to immigrate to Israel distinguishes aliyah from other migrations (Neuman 1999). It has traditionally been accepted in Israeli society that aliyah is one of the central goals of the State of Israel, and that the essence of migration to Israel is ideological. This is apparent in the value laden terminology of "aliyah" (literally "ascent") and "yerida" (literally "descent" - the term for emigration from Israel). This reinforces the concept of aliyah as unique in the context of other migrations, where migration to Israel is seen as "homecoming" rather than a refugee movement (Leshem & Shuval 1998, Sherrow &

Ritterbrand 1970). However, there are demographers who consider aliyah indistinct from the larger global picture of migration (DellaPergola 1998). Others argue that aliyah has always been more about economics than ideology, with the vast majority of immigrants to Israel during the early periods of Israel's history being considered refugees, and more recent waves of aliyah during the 1990s motivated largely by economic opportunity. Proof – it is said -that ideology is not central to aliyah can be seen in the abject failure of Israel to attract western aliyah to any significant extent (Shuval 1998).

Scholars that do see ideology as central to aliyah motivations have explored the nature of the ideology that motivates a person to migrate to Israel. In his study of Canadian immigrants to Israel, Brown (1986) found that the main attraction to Israel was the possibility of achieving the fulfillment of Zionism. He attempts to prove this by referring to the large waves of immigration in 1950, the first opportunity for free immigration, and in 1968 following the Six Day War, when it seemed that the forces threatening the destruction of Israel seemed to have been permanently beaten. He also draws attention to the higher aliyah rates from western countries with stronger Zionist traditions, such as Argentina and South Africa, and lower rates of aliyah from countries with weak Zionist traditions, such as the United States. Engel, when considering aliyah from North America, affirms that there is widespread agreement that aliyah is motivated by ideological "pull" factors. There is according to him, however, disagreement as to whether there are also "push" factors present (Goldberg 1985). Tabory & Lazerwitz (1977) in comparing the motivations of academic migrants from the US and the USSR, discovered not only ideological "pull" factors attracting US academics to Israel, but also evidence of "push" factors, due to a feeling of uneasiness in a foreign, predominantly Christian American culture. They suggest that this may prove Eisendstadt's original push-pull theory correct, proving that even a migration predominantly motivated by "pull" factors will still have "push" factors operating at the same

time (Eisenstadt 1954). Antonovsky & Katz (1979) suggest that if the migrant is only attracted to one place then the motivations for migration are "pull" factors. They claim that American immigrants fall under this category.

Other research focuses on the phenomenon of return migration to Israel, that is Israeli citizens who have left (made "yeridah"), and have since decided to return to live in Israel. Although this phenomenon is not categorized as aliyah, it has many of the same "push" and "pull" factors associated with aliyah (Toren 1976), just as return migration back to countries of original residence after a "failed aliyah" also is governed by "push" and "pull" forces (Levitt & Saffir 1990). One study found that the main reason for "yeridah" was economic, and ideology was still the central motivation for return migration to Israel (Toren 1978).

Two methodological difficulties encountered when studying migration motivations will have a bearing on this research. The first is the difficulty in distinguishing between "push" and "pull" factors (Antonovsky & Katz 1979, Toren 1978). Something that attracts a migrant to a society can be considered a "pull" factor, but the lack of that thing in the home society can at the same time be considered a "push" factor. The second difficulty to consider is the reliance on subjective data when studying personal motivations, i.e. there may be a divergence between what an individual *says* is their motivation, and what may really be their motivation (Toren 1978). This may be due to confusion on the part of the subject, or the presentation of what the subject wishes to be thought of as their motivation, rather than the real reason.

Various attempts have been made to describe the ideological motivations for aliyah. These include the fulfillment of Zionism (Antonovsky & Katz 1979, Berman 1979), Jewish and religious reasons (Antonovsky & Katz 1979, Goldsheider 1974, Tabory & Lazerwitz 1977), and

the desire to live in a Jewish society or a Jewish homeland (Engel 1970, Leshem & Shuval 1998). Some claim that religious ideological reasons to make aliyah have become more important than the classical Zionist ideological motivations over time (Goldsheider 1974, Musher 1999) and Bermen argues that rather than religious reasons replacing Zionist motivations, the two motivations have converged into a Jewish-religio-Zionist ideology (Bermen 1979).

The characteristics of a would-be migrant to Israel are the focus of many studies attempting to further our understanding of the process of deciding to make aliyah. By examining the people who have made this decision, it is hoped the decision making process will become clearer. It has been found, for example, that those who have been exposed to a Zionist environment during their upbringing will be more likely to make aliyah (Musher 1999). This includes those who were members of a Zionist organization (Bermen 1979, Goldberg 1985) and those who had been exposed to Israelis or had an Israeli reference group (Bermen 1979, Goldberg 1985). Although role models were not explicitly mentioned in this context, it is possible that role models played a part in the influence of these characteristics. A strong Jewish identity, background and education have also been correlated with a propensity to make aliyah (Goldberg 1985, Goldsheider 1974). Evidently there have been a high percentage of committed Orthodox Jews among those who had made aliyah, especially post-1967 (Bermen 1979, Tabory & Lazerwitz 1977).

More recent sociological migration research in Israel, during the 1980s and 1990s, has explored issues of migrant absorption. This can be divided into two areas, problem oriented research and research focusing on the relation of the migrant to Israeli society (Leshem & Shuval 1998). Problem oriented research is concerned with employment, social welfare, including health and healthcare provision, housing, education, and return migration. Research focusing on the relation

of migrants and migration to fundamental structural and cultural features of Israeli society, such as host attitudes to immigrants and immigration (Horenczyk 1996, 1997, 2000, Horenczyk & Tatar, 1998, Jasinskaja-Lahti *et al.* 2003, Roccas *et al.*, 2000) and the exploration of identity, ethnicity, and group membership (for example Phinney *et al.* 2001). There is also literature that examines alternative theories of integration, such as the assimilationist melting pot model, dual ethnic division model, and the accommodation theory of cultural pluralism (Leshem & Shuval 1998).

There is also debate centered on the role of Israel and aliyah in American Jewish education, with many educational thinkers of the opinion that the best way to educate Israel and encourage aliyah is through Israel experience programs (Dinin 1968, Levine 1980). Some even argue that the issue of aliyah should only be broached post high school, being an issue impossible for school age children to relate to (Dinin 1968). Some of those involved in post-high school ideology-driven Israel experience programs call for the provision of aliyah role models on program staff in order to encourage participants to consider aliyah (Amsel 1990, Berger 1997, Lichtman 2000, Segal 1987). Some explain that the impact of post-high school Israel experience role models is due to the intimate nature of the teacher-student relationship, where teachers open their lives to their students, something that is not replicated in the high school context presenting the gap-year program as a rich and fertile landscape for role modeling (Amsel 1990, Goldmintz 1991).

None of the studies exploring the motivations behind the aliyah decision process make any kind of reference to the impact of role models. However, when considering the evidence for the impact of role models on the lives of young people in general, and on life-changing decisions in particular, it is possible to conclude that it is likely that there is a correlation between role model impact and the decision to make aliyah. Although strictly speaking this is not limited to

ideological migration, it seems more likely role models play a more significant role in ideological aliyah decisions, and this is the direction taken by this research. Aliyah as a critical life-changing decision has been employed to investigate the influence an aliyah role model may have on the lives of those that are exposed to them as a personality exploring if role models as significant others have a socializing influence in the life of a person contributing to their decision to make aliyah.

1.3. Structure of the dissertation

Following a chapter outlining the methodologies utilized for this research, the next four chapters present the primary data exploring the phenomenon as set out in the research question, exploring what the socializing influence of role models is within plausibility structures. The first of these chapters defines the term role model and presents the phenomenon of role modeling as found in the data. Then the specific phenomenon of aliyah role modeling is explored and presented. The next two chapters explore the participants of the role modeling relationship; the role model and the observer. The two following chapters present unexpected themes recurring in the data, namely peer aliyah role modeling and vicarious role modeling. A critique of role modeling emerging in the data and found in the literature is then presented. The concluding chapter provides a summary of findings, implications for the literature, educational implications of the findings, limitations of the dissertation, and questions remaining for future research.

Chapter 2: Methodology

Empirical research for this study was conducted through the use of qualitative methodology, designed to investigate the perceived influence of individual personalities as role models in the life-transforming decision to make aliyah. Data was collected through multi-subject (Bogdan and Taylor 1975) in-depth open-ended interviews (Johnson 2001), allowing the generalizability of theory to be tested on a maximum variation sample (Maykut & Morehouse 1994) through the identification of patterns and commonalities in the data.

2.1 The Sample

The larger aim of this study has been to investigate the phenomenon of role modeling. If role modeling is largely a values driven phenomenon, then in order to explore the phenomenon and the role that significant others as role models can play in the ideological decision to immigrate to Israel, it was necessary to assemble a sample of immigrants to Israel who it could be presumed had taken the life decision to emigrate based on the values inherent in the general ideology of Zionism. It was decided that, while not without exception, migration decisions that are ostensibly acts of downward economic mobility are most likely driven by values and ideology. Again not without exception, most immigration to Israel from western English speaking countries is an act of downward mobility. It was therefore decided to populate the sample for this study with immigrants to Israel from the United States, Canada, Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa.

2.1.1 Populating the sample

This is an example of purposeful sampling, where particular subjects are included in the sample because they are believed to facilitate the expansion of the developing theory (Bogdan & Biklen 2006). This method of sampling in analytical induction was based on Robinson's (1951) five stages: (1) Early in the research a rough definition and explanation of the phenomenon was developed; (2) The definition and explanation was held up to the data as it was collected; (3) The definition and explanation was modified as new cases were encountered that did not fit the definition and explanation; (4) Cases were actively sought that it was thought would not fit into

the formulation; (5) The phenomenon was redefined and the explanation reformulated until a universal relationship was established. This strategy of purposeful sampling reflected a balance in sampling objectives between gaining a deeper understanding of the phenomenon and exploring the extent of generalizability of the theory (Patton 1990).

The sample was assembled through purposeful sampling using techniques such as snowball sampling and maximum variation sampling (Bogdan & Biklen 2006, Maykut & Morehouse 1994). Maximum variation sampling denotes a sample populated by subjects with the greatest differences in the phenomenon being explored (Maykut & Morehouse 1994). In this study, this led to a sample containing a broad mix of gender, age at time of aliyah, economic status and profession, marital status, country of origin, and religious background. The thread linking the subjects in the sample is that their aliyah was voluntary in nature, not to escape persecution or other undesirable influences in their country of origin, and for the most part was an act of economic downward mobility. This made it more likely that the motivation behind the decision of each participant to immigrate to Israel was ideological, which it was hoped would bring in to view the possible impact of role models.

2.1.2 Sample size

The sample was limited in size to nineteen subjects in order to achieve the required depth of data collection (Bogdan & Biklen 2006). The research plan initially was to interview fewer participants based on the conventional wisdom that a data saturation point, when newly collected data is redundant because of previously collected data (Glaser & Strauss 1967, Guba 1978), can be reached with as few as twelve participants (Lincoln & Guba 1985). However, more interviews were needed to reach this point. The initial participants in the study were people known to the researcher who would fulfill the requirements of the research under the objectives of purposeful sampling. Through the snowballing method of sampling where participants were asked to provide appropriate subjects for further research, a broader sample was arrived at, achieving maximum variation sampling that was an emergent and sequential (Lincoln & Guba 1985). This allowed theoretical insights to be built and broadened during the ongoing process of data collection and analysis (Glaser & Strauss 1976).

2.1.3 Maximum variation sampling

Figure 1 illustrates the broad age range of interviewees, with the youngest participant being 20 years old and the oldest age 57. While the vast majority of the sample was aged between 20 and 39 (73%), 27% of participants were older than this range. The main reason behind the predominately young population of the sample was the feeling that those who had made aliyah more recently would have less difficulty self-reporting the factors that led to their decision. This also explains the fact that while 31% of those interviewed had lived in Israel for more than ten years, the vast majority (69%) of those interviewed had immigrated to Israel less than ten years ago, as seen in figure 2.

Fig. 1: Age range

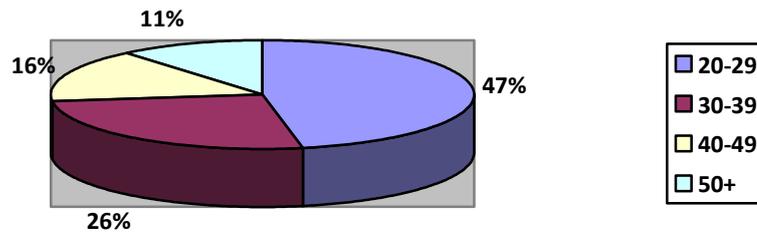


Fig. 2: Years since aliyah

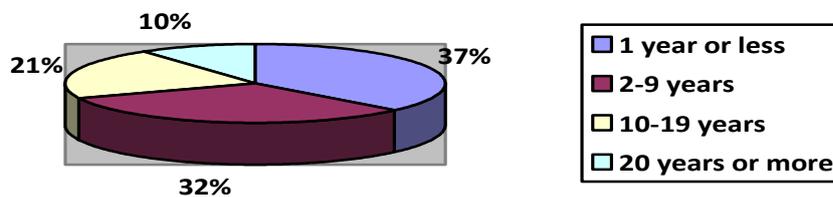


Fig. 3 shows the countries of origin of all the participants in the sample. The ratio between these four regions is an accurate reflection of the absolute numbers of immigrants found in Israel from these countries of origin. While the percentage per capita rate of aliyah from the non-US

countries is far higher than the US, because the United States Jewish community is so much larger, there are far more Jews of American origin in Israel than any other English speaking country. This is clearly reflected in the sample. Figure 4 shows the gender split, with 11 female and 8 male participants, a ratio that is random.

Fig. 3: Country of origin

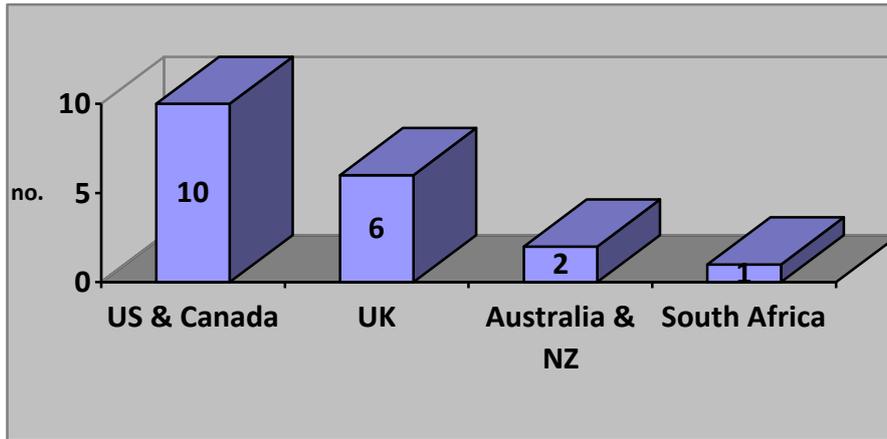
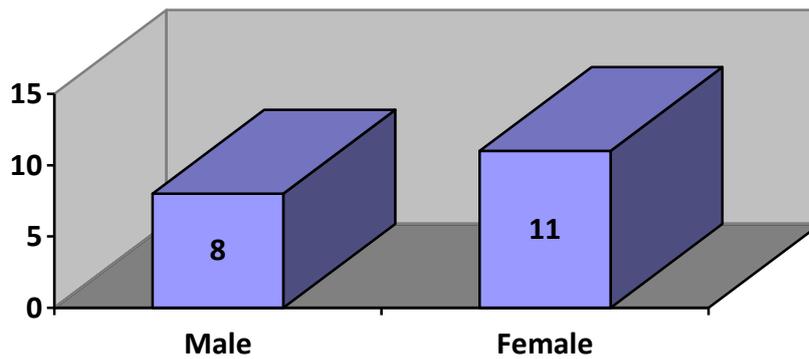


Fig. 4: Gender



2.2 Method of data collection

The methods of data collection aimed to be consistent with the logic and theoretical perspective embodied in the methodology of qualitative research (Bogdan & Biklen's 2006). In order to understand how the subjects thought about their world, accessibility and intimacy was vital, in order to hear their perspective first hand. Therefore, the method of data collection chosen was individual, semi-structured, in-depth interviews. These interviews were conducted with Bogdan and Biklen's (2006) definition of an in-depth interview in mind, that is, a purposeful conversation between two people that is directed by one in order to get information from the other. The interviews were used to gather descriptive data in the subjects' own words in order to discover insights on how the subject saw the impact of role models on their life and their decision to migrate to Israel. Each potential participant was contacted and asked if they could spare some time to help with the research of aliyah narratives. Almost everyone contacted responded in the affirmative, supporting conventional wisdom that suggests that people like to talk about themselves, are pleased that someone is showing interest in them, and gain satisfaction that meaning and value is being extended to their ideas and experiences (Rubin & Rubin 1995). A mutually agreeable date time and location was then decided. The location of the interviews was always a comfortable location of the interviewee's choice, often their home or place of work. It was important to choose a safe environment where the interviewee felt confident expressing themselves and developing the narrative of their life in a climate of trust (Maykut & Morehouse 1994).

2.2.1 In-depth interviewing

In-depth interviews are an ideal medium to build an atmosphere of mutual trust and intimacy necessary for mutual disclosure due to their relatively long duration and because they involve one-on-one, face-to-face interaction (Johnson 2001). At the outset of the interview the interviewees were reminded that their anonymity was guaranteed, and they were asked if they would mind if the interview was recorded. None had any objection to this. Therefore, all names contained in the data found here, including peripheral personalities, are pseudonyms. Interviews were digitally recorded using an MP3 recorder and later transcribed. Interviews typically lasted between forty-five and ninety minutes.

The interviews were semi-structured, in that there was a loose interview guide containing broad topics and probing follow-up questions (Maykut & Morehouse 1994) that was followed in order to create somewhat comparable data across the multi-subject research (Bogdan & Biklen's 2006). In order to maintain the integrity of the data, capturing the subjects' own words and then allowing the analysis to emerge from the data (Bogdan & Biklen's 2006), the interview questions were all open-ended and flexible, apart from the initial demographic fact finding questions. The early interviews in the study had the expressed aim of exploring the phenomenon under consideration.

The data produced from these interviews is a first person narrative (Helling 1988) comprising a limited life history (Bogdan & Biklen 2006) focusing on the period of the subject's lives during which the decision was taken to immigrate to Israel. In-depth open-ended interviews can be described as the telling of the subject's story (Bogdan & Taylor 1975) and are an appropriate means for the collection of narrative data (Reissman 1993). Narrative data can illuminate the intersection of biography, history, and society (Reissman 2001) and in this case was found to do so, providing enlightening data for the exploration of the role of significant others in the plausibility structures found in society. Often, a fascinating evolution of ideas took place in the interview as self-report turned into self-reflection. The meaning given to autobiographical narratives from life stories are not fixed or constant, but are constantly evolving as they are accessed at future times in different contexts and after different life experiences (Mishler 1999). This provided an exciting dynamic in many of the interviews where following the self-reporting of the narrative, the meaning given to the narrative by the interviewee evolved during the interview itself, providing further data that often had more clarity for interviewee and interviewer alike, helping greatly in understanding the phenomenon under consideration.

2.2.2 Interview structure

Each interview began with small talk, ice breakers, a general explanation of the research study, and the gleaning of basic demographic information, all intended to begin the interview slowly in order to create a good rapport and build an appropriate atmosphere for intimate self-disclosure (Johnson 2001). A good rapport between the interviewer and the subject is a vital stage of the process, as common ground is explored in order to lay the foundations for the building of a relationship (Bogdan & Biklen 2006), necessary for the creation of a safe and trusting

environment. In the small number of cases where the subject previously had a relationship to the interviewer this was unnecessary as this relationship and trust was already present.

The interview then transitioned to the initial more focused stage of data collection with the asking of an initial open-ended question asking subjects to share the story of their aliyah, with particular focus on the factors that led to their initial decision to migrate to Israel. Most subjects spent some time narrating the story of their lives that led to the decision to migrate to Israel. A small number of interviewees found it difficult to narrate this story at any length until they were encouraged to lengthen their narrative with further probing open-ended questions. The interviewer refrained from moving the interview to the next stage until a rich narrative had been produced exploring in some depth the story of the subjects' aliyah. At this stage, some narratives already contained explicit references to the phenomenon under consideration, the impact of significant personalities as role models, and others had no such references.

This stage was then followed with probing questions (Bogdan & Taylor 1975, Maykut & Morehouse 1994, Reissman 1993) aimed at the exploration of the role and perceived impact of individuals in the decision process to migrate to Israel. These questions were also open-ended encouraging the subject to add to her narrative. In instances where the factors leading to the decision to migrate had not been clearly expressed, these probing questions asked the interviewee explicitly to explore the factors that had led to the decision. Where specific people were mentioned, the probing questions asked the subject to explore the impact these people had made. Where role models had been mentioned in explicit terms, the interviewee was asked to explore the phenomenon itself in general terms and in particular in relation to aliyah. Finally, the subject was asked to re-examine the story of their aliyah in light of the narrative produced from these probing questions. This was a means of taking the initial data collected in the first stage back to the subject for verification in light of the new data collected from the probing questions (Reissman 1993).

2.2.3 Grounded theory

Grounded theory is a general methodology for developing theory during the actual research, through continuous interplay between analysis and data collection (Strauss & Corbin 1994). At the core of this analytical approach is a general method of constant comparative analysis, and it

is often referred to as the *constant comparative method* (Glaser 1967). Initially general broad research interests and questions are chosen, and data collection begins. During early data collection and analysis, research directions are narrowed and research questions refined. Theory may then be generated from the data or from previous research where existing grounded theories are available, and elaborated and modified as incoming data is matched against them. As the data is collected and interpreted, the original hypotheses are tested and modified, and then tested again on the next round of data. Throughout the process, the researcher continues to ask questions of the data, deriving answers from a wider and deeper search of literature and from subsequent data collection and analysis (Strauss and Corbin 1990).

The methodology of grounded theory guided the data collection and analysis throughout this study. The initial area of research interest was the phenomenon of role modeling, and it was hypothesized that a young person is socialized through interaction with significant others as role models, into various competing value systems, each existing as a plausibility structure. It was expected that this phenomenon would be described in inspirational terms, with the focus largely on the impact of more senior, older, role models modeling the values that motivate aliyah decisions. However, through a process of constant comparative analysis during data collection, new research directions were embarked upon as the data led to a more practical model of the phenomenon of role modeling with a greater frequency of peer role modeling than had initially been expected. This necessitated revisiting the literature, executing a wider and deeper examination of the literature exploring these aspects of the phenomenon. While this did not call for a radical overhaul of the hypotheses underlying the research, it placed the hypotheses in a different context and influenced the conclusions of the research considerably. These conclusions became consistently clearer during the data collection and analysis due to the application of grounded theory.

2.3 Personal role of the researcher

The context of the phenomenon researched here is one that I am familiar with and intimately involved in, having made an ideological aliyah myself. I would in fact qualify to be a participant in this study. The influence of the socio-cultural and historical circumstance of the researcher cannot be overestimated in any research (Denzin & Lincoln 1994). There are those that feel that a researcher who is intimately involved in a setting will find it difficult to distance himself both

from personal concerns and from his own understandings and interpretations of what is going on in the light of his own experiences, and that conducting a study with people one knows can be confusing and upsetting (Bogdan & Biklen 2006).

However, intimacy with the setting and even with the subjects can bring its own advantages. For instance, this facilitated the sampling process, as I had more access to appropriate subjects than otherwise likely. Bogdan and Taylor (1975) believe that while it is important to be sufficiently detached from the research setting and subjects, it is also fundamental that the researcher is able to identify and empathize, understanding the subject from within their own frame of reference. They conclude that it is possible for a researcher to research the setting that she lives or works in. It is also vital that a researcher understands the language and culture of the informants (Fontana & Frey 1994), and the “web of meaning” that subjects weave to express and communicate their inner world (Maykut & Morehouse 1994). It is also vital that the researcher gains access and trust, and a researcher who has cultural similarities and shared common experiences with the subjects will be more likely to achieve these (Fontana & Frey 1994, Punch 1994). It is my distinct impression that coming from a similar socio-cultural and historical background to my subjects allowed the creation of a comfortable, safe, and open environment for interviewees to express themselves as they narrated their life stories.

A researcher’s intimacy with the research setting will also have a direct influence on the data, especially when the method of data collection is in-depth interviews. The interview is a joint product of what interviewees and interviewers talk about together and how they talk with each other (Mishler 1986). In-depth interviews tend to involve a greater expression of the interviewer’s self than other types of interviews. To progressively and incrementally build a mutual sense of cooperative self-disclosure and trust, the interviewer must offer some sort of reciprocity. Strict reciprocity is better communicated if the interviewer is a former or current member of the group under study, and will often take the form of the interviewer sharing his own thoughts and ideas. (Johnson 2001). My understanding of the processes and phenomenon under discussion, derived from my own experiences, allowed me to move beyond the role of passive conduit for the data emanating from the subject, to an active participant in the process of exploring and expressing life experiences.

While there are those that believe the interviewer should play the role of a disinterested catalyst (Fowler & Mangione 1990) and “merely soak up information like a sponge without giving any back” (Backstrom & Hursh 1963), Holstein & Gubrium (1995) describe an alternative model of researcher, the “active interviewer”. While the active interviewer does not tell respondents what to say, she does offer them pertinent ways of conceptualizing issues and making connections. The interviewer strives to maintain a balance, managing the interview process and ensuring that the required topics are covered to the required depth, without influencing the views articulated. It is all too easy to fall into the trap of asking leading questions, and to avoid this, questions should be left as open as possible (Legard *et al.* 2003). The active interviewer may find background knowledge an invaluable resource for assisting respondents to describe and explore their circumstances, actions and feelings. For example, citing shared experiences is often a useful way of providing concrete referents on which inquiries and answers can focus (Holstein & Gubrium 1995). I made every effort to achieve the delicate balance between avoiding the use of leading questions and allowing my background knowledge of the subject, which sometimes was intimate, and personal shared experience of the phenomenon under consideration, to guide the interview.

Chapter 3: Defining the Role Model and Role Modeling

3.1 Defining the Role Model

To fully explore the phenomenon of role modeling, terms must first be defined. Some of the subjects found themselves defining a role model so as to clarify in their minds what the term means. This helped them explore the influence of role models on their decision to make aliyah. Before turning to the data, let us reacquaint ourselves with the definition of the role model that was previously generated from the literature. That is, the role model is *any person who an adolescent chooses to emulate, and who because of this, has an impact on the young person's life, influencing behavior and in some cases life decisions.*

3.1.1 Data generated definitions

The key words found in this definition, *emulate*, *impact on life*, and *influencing behavior and life decisions*, were found often in the data, but not in the context of the interviewees own formal definitions. Rather, other key words emerge to define the term role model. For instance, for Danny the key active word he used was “*aspire*” when considering his own definition of a role model: “What is a role model for me? Someone you aspire to be like.” Matthew’s definition of a role model introduces further important terms:

Someone who you identify with, want to follow, you're inspired by, connect to, listen to. It changes over the years, as you become more sophisticated, grown up, mature, the definition may change. But certainly as a youngster in a youth movement, it's more the wow factors.

Matthew brings us “*identification*”, “*desire to follow*”, “*inspiration*”, “*connection*”, and “*listening*” as key terms and concepts when considering role models and their impact. By avoiding descriptive statements about the personality of the role model him or herself, and instead describing the processes that occur when one interacts with this person, Matthew refrains from limiting the role model to specific personality types or contexts. From his perspective, you know you have encountered a role model when you feel these things happen. Josh also struggles to arrive at a clear definition of a role model in response to being asked what it takes to be considered an effective role model:

Sincerity. Passion. Authenticity. Experience. Knowledge... maybe those things are how I would define a role model that would appeal to me. You know, that's what I say because those are the things that I personally value but that's not necessarily what a role model is. If there is a... a role model is somebody who inspires someone to something. I was talking about something very specific. Maybe that's something that jives with me, but it's not... a role model is... that's what I was looking for in a role model. Maybe it's what I wanted to be as well.

In a similar way to Matthew, who when grappling with the definition of a role model instead identified the processes that occur to the observer during a relationship with the role model, Josh begins his search for a definition by delineating the values embodied by the model. However, he soon realizes that these may be subjective and only relevant to those whom he perceives as a role model. Finally Josh settles on one of the same processes outlined by Matthew – inspiration. According to both Matthew and Josh a role model is one who inspires. This function of the role model, to inspire, will be further explored in following chapters.

3.1.2 Emulation

The attempts to define the role model in the data have produced the following nomenclature: *Aspiration, identification, following, connection, and inspiration*. Although none of these terms that emerged from the data were found in the definition generated by the literature, there is unquestionably a close relationship between the term *aspire* that was present in the data and *emulate*, a term that was found in the literature (for example Kristjánsson 2006, and Pleiss & Feldhusen 1995) and is central to the psychological underpinning of the phenomenon described as observational learning in Bandura's *Social Learning Theory* (Bandura 1977).

Josh ends his description of the values inherent in all role models with the admission that that is “what I wanted to be”; suggesting that the role models that influenced him embodied the values he had already internalized. He aspired to embody those values just as his role models embodied them, and would observe those role models and emulate their behavior in order to achieve this. This process, which resulted in the realization that these are the values he wished to one day embody, echoes Kelman's second and third stages of social influence, whereby an individual initially identifies with another from a desire to be like them, compelling them to take on their behaviors and opinions, ultimately arriving at the internalization of their values and beliefs (Kelman 1961).

The process of emulation found in Kelman's second stage, that of identification with the model, is also found in the exploration of the educational tour guide as a role model in Cohen *et al* (2002). They posit that the authority of the *madrich* to influence young people comes from their capacity to present themselves as an archetype or prototype for emulation, whereby their

behavior is authentic and congruent with the program and the overt messages they are delivering (Cohen *et al* 2002).

While emulation, an essential component of our definition from the literature, was not overtly found in the interviewees own attempts at role model definition, the concept was found explicitly in other areas of the data, and proved to be central to understanding the process of role modeling. For example, when considering the reasons why he decided to make aliyah, Robert spoke of how his realization that the people he wanted to be like were all making aliyah was the biggest influence for his own personal decision:

I mean the simple answer is because it feels right. If I had to categorize why exactly I think... certainly religious reasons are probably top of the list followed as I said by social reasons, in terms of friends, and getting married, which... both... as I say, a lot of my more like-minded friends in England were all making Aliyah, that was the biggest influence, people that I wanted to be like back home, they were the ones making Aliyah.

Robert's decision to make aliyah is a significant act of emulating those of his peers who he considers people that he aspired to be like. Similarly Sally began her description of the process that brought her to the decision to make aliyah with the experience of living in Israel for a year many years previous to finally arriving in Israel as an immigrant. She describes interacting with personalities during that year who were the role models that lived a life that she aspired to for herself:

I have to say, meeting people, even when we were in Motza, meeting people who we could relate to in the same role model type of thing as well... oh here are people who I can relate to who live here, they were neighbors, living side by side with them and watching the choices and the sensibilities and the values that they had that were really close to mine... it's the role model power. But I can't tell you that it was a particular person, it was just the general impact of living side by side with people who spoke to my heart and my soul and who

reflected... who lived a life that I found accessible and worthy of emulation, you know... That had, that had an impact and the people in Motza, not that I would live... stay in Motza, but I really loved them and they really took us in and, I want to... I want to live this kind of life.

Sally saw the people she interacted with during that year as worthy of emulation. She saw their lives and life decisions as ultimate goals to strive for in her life, and so she was deeply influenced by these people. These people did not set themselves up to be her role models and, therefore, worthy of emulation, as in the *madrich* for Cohen *et al* (2002) but she chose them as role models because she saw them as worthy of emulation, and ultimately she emulated their lives by choosing to make her life in Israel.

In fact, emulation can even occur without any direct social interaction with the model, such as the identification with and emulation of media personalities, where the observer forms “secondary attachments” or “parasocial relationships” with “vicarious role models”. Aron described this phenomenon from his adolescence when he referred to an athlete that he idolized and aspired to be like: “I idolized Robbie Fowler. My era, a few years younger than me, local lad made it big. I want to be that.” This aspiring to be like and to emulate a vicarious role model can be attributed to the identity crisis that occurs in adolescence and corresponding need for identity experimentation. Vicarious role modeling will be considered in more depth in a later chapter.

3.1.3 Relationship as central to role model choice

While much of the literature and Aron’s experience suggest that adolescents can and do form meaningful parasocial relationships with vicarious role models, in the context of aliyah role modeling, the data found that direct and intimate relationships with the role model was important. Earlier we saw Matthew use the term “connection” when describing a role model.

Yonatan also used this language when he explored the difference between exposure to ideas and values from a text and seeing them modeled by a person:

Without that personal touch... you can sit and learn like Rav Kook all day long, but if you don't have that kind of... it's not really true. Some people can. But I think other people need that personal contact. It's enough to say, oh, 2000 years we've wanted to come back, that makes sense. No. And it's not just about that. It's also about connecting that person to this... this is part of you. And you can't do that without... you can do it textually, but I don't know if you get that same *regesh* [emotion], and this and that. And I think that's why, as you say, you have to have that personal interaction.

For Yonatan, the connection to the personality and relationship with the role model was vital in forming a true connection with the ideas. He distinguishes between an intellectual association with a concept and an emotional connection to it. The deeper emotional connection must be through a real relationship with the person who models that value⁵. Sally also explored these two dimensions of engagement, the emotional and the intellectual, believing that both are central to role modeling, when she verbalized the impact of her aliyah role models:

I think the impact that they had on me was that they provided an emotional need that I had at the time coming here as a newlywed with no connection and no family... what did I need? I needed love, you know, I needed a love that centered me and grounded me that made me feel that I could have a home here. Is that a role model? Maybe. There are different kinds of role models. That's one kind of role model. And not only did they give me love but I... I admired their life. So it was a combination of the emotional and the intellectual, I mean I saw, I saw their life and... they weren't even *dati* [religious], which was very interesting... I just realized that now. But that didn't matter at the time because they were Israeli, they were very patriotic and very... they were just real Israelis, I don't know, it was just *amcha* [everyday Israelis], they were very intelligent and smart but very patriotic and loved the country. So, now, if they also didn't love me, I don't know if it would've had an impact. It was really the *shiluv* [combination] of an emotional attachment along with this... more admiration for what they did and so I... I could really see living here because I, through their... through our relationship to them. But it was both, so what's a

⁵ While not exactly what Yonatan and Sally are referring to, Buber (1947a & 1958) and Smith (2003) consider the impact of the relationship itself on the participants as a distinct phenomenon separate from the impact of the role modelling.

role model? That's why I went back to the beginning. I think if you don't touch a child in his heart as well as in his brain then I think influence goes much less deep. And that's exactly what I said at the very beginning. So it comes around to that with the Bermans, they touched my heart and my mind and my brain and my soul and that's why they had such an impact on me.

For Sally it is important that a role model has both an emotional connection with the observer, a connection she refers to as love, as well as an intellectual connection, something she terms her "admiration for what they did", a conscious cognitive process where she intellectually recognizes values and achievements as desirable. The power of role modeling is the intersection between these two processes, the emotional and the intellectual. The data was replete with other examples of terms of affection towards the role model, such as 'fell in love with', 'worship', 'idolize', 'look up to', and 'like'. This is echoed in the work of Schwab who explores the interpersonal relationship between student and teacher and the role of *Eros* – "love and respect" for the teacher as a vital component in the learning process (Schwab 1978).

3.1.4 Holistic role modeling vs. compartmentalized role modeling

In several of the narratives a tension emerged between accepting the role model in their entirety as a model to aspire to be like, and emulating specific aspects of the model's life or lifestyle as an ideal to strive for while rejecting others. Danny expressed just such a struggle when considering his uncle as a role model:

What is a role model for me? Someone you aspire to be like. I aspire for my Aliyah to be like his, but I don't think I aspire to be *like him* necessarily, not in a bad way, just... He's a sort of role model in the way he's brought up his family. Just being there on a Shabbat and it's just a wonderful atmosphere and just seeing the way the kids, they're older now, from 18... well from 16 to mid 20s, just seeing how they all interact with each other and the bond in the family, so maybe in that respect he's a role model, but Aliyah role model is a nice way of putting it. I've said before... his Aliyah is an inspiration to me. In

that respect he's a role model. Would I like to be like him? I've never thought of him as a role model, let's put it that way.

While Danny certainly saw his uncle's aliyah as something to aspire to, he was clearly uncomfortable bestowing the title of role model on to his uncle, because in Danny's mind a role model seems to be someone one aspires to be like in their entirety. Through reflecting on aliyah role modeling, Danny came to terms with a selective conception of role modeling, perceiving one aspect of a role model's life as attractive, and aspiring to emulate just that aspect of their life, while rejecting other aspects. While this tension was found in many of the narratives, for others it was more natural and comfortable to relate to their role models in a selective 'pick 'n' mix' manner. Sally rejects the notion that the observer wishes to be like the model entirely:

No, I don't want to be any of the people I see. No, but just, you find a common... a piece of yourself that is... that does want to be like a part of what they're doing. You know... You don't want to be them. I don't want to be them. I just want to be who I am, authentically who I am, and people can help you see more authentic... awaken parts of you... you don't have to take the whole picture, that's fine with me. I don't take the whole picture. Doesn't even matter. Because then you have to take their whole picture and there are plenty parts of their life that I don't want.

She relates to the role modeling process in a highly cognitive analytical way. Those aspects of the role model that she does not wish to incorporate into her life she simply rejects. Where she sees herself and the latent potential she feels she has, fulfilled in the model, she makes a conscious decision to observe and engage. A growing sense of awareness of self-efficacy will then develop through observation of fulfilled potential in the model.

There were far fewer examples of the all-or-nothing approach to role modeling as advocated by Josh. In response to the interviewer's question probing his opinion of the occurrence of role modeling in adulthood, Josh remarked:

J: With my boss, certainly. I would certainly see him as an absolute role model. He is someone that I aspire to be like in many ways. In all ways actually.

I: In all ways?

J: Religiously... he is an amazing physicist. He is an absolute genius. He is an amazing person, *mamash a ben adam* [a real gentleman]. He is a *Talmid Chacham* [scholar]. He is an incredible Zionist.

I: Can role modeling be compartmentalized? Can you take a role model and say there are some aspects of his life that I am inspired by but I disagree with his life style in other areas?

J: I would say in my case with my role models, no. They were all... it was everything. If there was something I didn't admire in a role model I think it would be... if there was something bad in one field it would ruin it for the others as well. There is something about sincerity or integrity; it makes it less authentic...

For Josh, if there was an aspect of a person's life that he found disagreeable or reprehensible, this would form a barrier to that person functioning as a model for any aspect of his life. This holistic approach is commonly found in the youth movement context where Josh first formulated his ideas on role models, as he explores elsewhere in his narrative. In this context, *madrichim* are considered powerful educational resources as role models, and they are expected to model the ideology of the movement in every aspect of their lives. In contradistinction to Josh, David espouses a more compartmentalized approach to role modeling. After providing an account of who his aliyah role models were, David was encouraged to further develop his previous description of these role models as representing an established life-path that he was also on:

D: Yeah, but again I think there were other people who were role models for me that were not on that path. At the university there were professors who I admired greatly. And my parents also I saw as role models. There were a lot of people that I saw as role models who were not at all connected to this particular... within that path there are role models but there are lots of other role models.

I: So can we differentiate between lifestyle role models and other role models who can still have an impact?

D: Yeah. People tell lots of different stories. If one is looking at a story of aliyah then the main characters that pop up have to do with aliyah.

I: And they can still be role models, like your professors or parents, just because you haven't chosen their life path.

D: Well I have. That's the thing. It depends what narrative you want to explore. The narrative of social change and involvement is my parents... when I think of the important role models I think of my parents without a doubt. And I think that they are probably the most influential role models period. When I think of my sister and my brother and they are still... I think of my younger brother as well... it is interesting because I don't think of him as a role model but he is in a helping profession and we all got that very strongly. So I think it is a question of which narrative we are talking about.

David's distinctive approach to role modeling conceives of a person at any given time on various "life-paths", each one with a distinctive narrative. Different role models can be drawn upon to nourish each of these narratives. People may be exposed to various role models in their lives and choose to relate to each as a model for the varying distinct and even competing narratives in their lives. For David, the two dominant narratives that came to the fore during the interview were his aliyah and his profession, which he termed one of "social change and involvement". He found aliyah role models from among his *madrachim* in the Zionist youth movement in which he grew up; and his parents, as people who were active in issues of social concern, had a strong influence over him in terms of his profession. His siblings he suggests provide further evidence of his parents' role model influence over their children. In fact, he also relates to his siblings as having a role modeling influence on him in their own right.

3.2 Defining the process of Role Modeling

3.2.1 Data-generated definitions of the process of role modeling

There were diverse and rich descriptions in the data exploring the actual process of role modeling. Josh approached role modeling from an all-encompassing perspective describing it as a form of experiential learning. Following an exploration of the impact of the social environment of the Zionist youth movement in which he grew up on the formation his ideas during adolescence, Josh was challenged to explain whether the same results could have been achieved by encountering these ideas in text:

I. Would you have got to the same point if someone would have given you a reading list for those ideas?

J. No. That's never... I think experience... I would say in yeshiva as well, it wasn't like a... for example in *the Gush* [Yeshivat Har Etzion] it talks about... how their *mussar* [Jewish ethical teachings] is taught very... very... taught formally in a yeshiva setting, and they teach it from books and things like that. And if *the Gush* doesn't... but it doesn't mean *the Gush* doesn't teach *mussar*. The Yeshiva itself is a *mussar* book. But the people all around you... you see *mussar* all around you... so in other words, in that sense, I wouldn't get that sort of conclusion from just reading. It's more experiential...

I. From the people?

J. From the people, and from the education. Education isn't just reading. From role models and *madrachim*... Our *madrachim* had a very profound influence.

In much the same way that Yonatan argued earlier that text alone lacks the emotion and personal connection necessary to put across complex ideas, Josh argues that for ideas to become internalized, in this case the ethico-philosophy of the *Mussar Movement*, an intellectual engagement via text alone is insufficient. Rather the experience of seeing these values and ideas lived by the people surrounding Josh while he was in the yeshiva had a profound impact on him, allowing him to internalize them into his own life. Josh terms this experiential education.

There was some disagreement among interviewees as to whether the phenomenon of role modeling occurs just in adolescence or in adulthood as well, and this will be further explored in a later chapter. Emphasis was often given to adolescence as a time of identity experimentation and searching for direction in life, and therefore a time of life when role models may have the greatest impact. Alan described gap-year programs as an ideal time for young Jews to begin thinking about aliyah for this reason:

It's like, oh this is cool, and this is fun, and this is something... because you know they are at such an age... such an impressionable age that you are looking for some direction, and why not? This is there at the right time, at the right place, it does the job.

At this age, the later years of high school and early post-high school age, young people are impressionable and searching for identity and direction. This makes the experiences of a gap-year program, and exposure to role models all the more profound and affective. Shoshana suggests that this searching will lead the young person to seek out models for behavior and lifestyle:

But I think you do look to your madrichim for... I don't know. Like, what do they do... you know, that is what kids do. I think that is probably just what I did also... they influence you... they... I don't know... everyone does it. Teachers, madrichim, all these kind of people. I think everyone does it. I definitely did. As a role model I suppose. I don't remember a particular madrich that I looked to as a role model, but I just think generally because they were in the same kind of life path that I was in let's say... not exactly the same, you know, live in Finchley, go to HGSB, whatever it is. That is sort of just how you see your life progressing. Oh in 3 or 4 years time... I think everyone looks to like older people, teachers also... that's why they always say set a good example. Because people will look up to you.

She suggests that generally speaking these models will be older, as everyone looks up to older people as more experienced and wise. They represent future stages on a similar life path and are a useful resource for the searching adolescent as models of identity. With this Shoshana enriches our understanding of the goal of the observer in searching out role models: to understand how to progress on their desired path of life. She also related to this process from the perspective of the model, and the responsibility this comes with, knowing that young people are observing her behavior. For Shoshana, the enterprise of being a role model was a conscious act which entailed certain pressures and responsibilities.

Not everyone agreed with this perception of the process. Molly, when describing the role modeling relationship she has with her brother, expressed an opinion that role models are generally unaware of the importance and depth of impact that their decisions have on observers:

I. Do you think the sibling relationship is at all similar to the role modeling relationship?

M. Definitely. Yes. Especially with the age difference that we have, I think it's very... I don't think in general older siblings realize what an important impact they have on their younger siblings. Definitely. I think siblings have huge impact on things like aliyah especially. But just in general in decision making. I see so many of my friends who are older siblings, and they make so many decisions they don't realize the influence it is having on the younger sibling. You watch the younger sibling going on the exact same path. I know it from myself. I know that I wanted to do certain things because I knew my brother did them, and I knew I didn't want to do certain things because I knew my brother didn't do them, and I knew I didn't want to do certain things because I knew *davka* [specifically] my brother would be disappointed. That was all when I was much younger, a teenager.

For Molly younger siblings look to older siblings for guidance in life, and therefore observe every act and every decision with close scrutiny, while the older sibling is oblivious of this and of the impact that their decisions are having in the life of their sibling. She suggests that the

sibling relationship could be a paradigm for other role modeling relationships and expand our understanding of them.

3.2.2 The educator as an instrument of holistic education

Molly described a situation where the role model, in this case an older sibling, transmits messages and values, often indirectly and implicitly, which the observer through close scrutiny absorbs and internalizes. Every act, every decision, and every conversation, transmits the values and ideas of the model and should be considered an educational resource for the observer. This implicit transmission of values makes the role model the ultimate embodiment of a set of values and an instrument of holistic education as identity and personality become educational tools. A holistic approach to the educator resonates in the writings of Buber (1947b), Heschel (1971), and Palmer (1997). This approach democratizes the process of education, removing it from the sole domain of the specialist teacher, transforming all significant others into potential educators. Laura describes the impact she felt she had at camp as a role model in a place as unlikely as the camp kitchen.

And they are always around you. 100%. And that's the thing. You can definitely do the job of *Rosh Mitbach* [Head of Kitchen] without having any influence at all whatsoever from a religious Zionist aliyah point of view. You could. And I am sure that there are definitely people who have held that position who... you know, they have had influences whatever type of influence they were, but it wasn't about like... what you are chit chatting with the kids... I think sometimes that is more... you have more impact on the kids than a... sometimes a *shiur* [formal Torah class]. It's like the whole combination of this guy, this rabbi, was talking about this and that and whatever, but here is this random person, and it's not my job, I am just chatting with them, and telling them about my life, and telling them about my experiences, and they are asking me questions. Definitely, I know that some of them made aliyah and some of them have not, but they all know me being the one who was in the kitchen wearing my Israeli flag. They joked about it, but I definitely had an impact on those lives.

Laura was not employed as head of the kitchen at the camp because of her potential as an educator and making an educational impact on the campers was not a part of her official job description. However, she saw herself, and every other member of the staff at camp, as an educator, modeling personal values and the values of the camp. Sometimes the educational experiences were more explicit, through conversation for example,⁶ and sometimes less explicit, such as something as subtle as the wearing of an Israeli flag. This latter example is somewhat reminiscent of Ingall's exploration of the physical environment of the educational institution as a transmitter of educational messages (Ingall 1998). For Laura, exposure to these experiences can have more influence and impact than more formal educational experiences such as classroom instruction. Laura continues her description of this educational process with the follow-up that often took place sometime later, and in a completely different context:

I mean the other thing in terms of being the aliyah role model, after you are here kids come for *shana aleph* [first-year student in seminary or yeshiva during gap year between high school and college], and they used to come to my house. All these kids, I was their madricha for many years, and I would say for four years, for four solid years I had *shana aleph* kids coming to my apartment for shabbat and having them live my experience with me, and staying with me, and sometimes having meals with 20 or 30 kids, and you know, just like seeing my life and experiencing my life with me. And had they not had a positive experience with me in the *mitbach* then they wouldn't have been so interested in coming to my house for *shabbes* lunch, and then they wouldn't have maybe been here today.

Later Laura had the opportunity to reinforce the ideas that she had modeled at camp when her campers spent Shabbat with her in Israel. Her description of this process as "experiencing my life with me" is telling. This takes us back to Josh's description of role modeling as experiential education. Laura's campers experience the values and concepts through her, and this explains

⁶ see Jeffs & Smith 1996 for the role of conversation as a medium in and of itself for the transmission of educational messages

why she believes this can have a more profound impact than a cognitive interaction with ideas in a text or a formal class.

Sally also eloquently expresses the impact of the role model outside of the formal educational context:

It was definitely a combination of the fact that there were people there who were modeling not only what they were like when I was in their classroom, but I saw them eating, I saw them playing basketball, I saw them on their day off, and they were *davening* [praying] on their day off, you know, and it was the minutia of their life more than even whatever it was that they taught that was so powerful. It was living beside them and watching and being, you know, intersecting with them as a witness and as a participant that helped... and I could connect with it, and that was tremendously powerful... usually a role model or usually a teacher, you see them in the confines of the classroom, so for... I definitely think it was the combination of being immersed in a world, in a mini universe of camp amongst people who I was really taken with and impressed with and watching them all the time... it wasn't, I don't think it would have happened if I had just had a teacher in a classroom... I just think the impact is greater when you can play basketball with them and baseball and... sport is a really interesting way to watch people... but just watching how people manage stress and conflict and competition... but not only that but walking around, you know, walking on the *migrash* [field/yard], and just the way they interact with people... It was both. Certainly teachers can be role models or I wouldn't... I believe in that completely, but I think *kal vchomer* [all the more so] when you see them all the time or see them in little moments that tell you much more than when they teach you.

Sally implies that outside of the classroom is the place to really gain access to the educator. It is there on the basketball court, or walking in the yard, or how they behave on their day off, that the observer can really see the essence of the personality and which values are central to the educator. The classroom is a highly controlled environment where the educator can transmit a very clear and well prepared educational message. However, when the educator leaves this sterile context and is forced to deal with “stress and conflict” in the “minutia of their life” a clearer picture can be gained. Again, just as Laura had suggested, Sally believes that these

moments can have a more profound impact than more formal educational contexts, and “tell you much more [about the educator] than when they teach you”.

This total access to educators and the impact from this that both Laura and Sally are describing took place at overnight camp. Many of the barriers that are placed around the educator in more conventional contexts, preventing true access, are removed during camp due to the informal nature of the camp environment leading to the building of more intimate relationships (Sales & Saxe 2003). For Laura and Sally, educationally speaking, this is the quintessential camp experience. This informal relationship between educator and educated is also common in post-high school Israel programs where teachers open their lives to their students. A parallel role modeling impact has been observed in these gap-year programs, and it has been similarly suggested this is due to the intimate nature of the teacher-student relationship (Amsel 1990, Goldmintz 1991). There are those that have therefore recommended the provision of role models as an educational policy as a means of furthering the educational goals of the program (Berger 1997, Lichtman 2000, Segal 1987).

3.2.3 Immersion and Plausibility Structures

The role of significant others in the process of socialization into the beliefs, values, and norms of a community through immersion into plausibility structures was clearly evident in the data. This was especially so when interviewees described the function of the counselor as a role model in the context of overnight camp. For example, both Laura and Sally describe camp as an immersion experience into an almost parallel society of counter-cultural values. Sally identifies the role model as central to this immersion:

It wasn't just them it was camp because there's something very particular about camp, it's... what do you call it...its immersion. Camp is immersion and so you can affect... I've been at Camp Ramah for 20 years, and after that I continued... I became a teacher, and I ran the educational program there, everything... but you can seep into people's lives much more because there's this... you're immersed, every minute you're breathing it and so... It's a combination of being immersed in a society and having role models there... it was that combination.

Sally describes an immersion into a micro-society with separate values and norms to the parent culture in which the campers live throughout the rest of the year. The campers are immersed into these new values which surround them everywhere, every minute of the day. This may be from the formal programming to the everyday nomenclature, from the physical environment of the camp to the menu in the food hall. The values and ideology of the camp permeate every aspect of the camp and are communicated at every opportunity. As Sally described, so also Laura includes the staff of the camp as central to this immersion, each one embodying these values with their very persons and behavior:

So I would say, to me... you know, I think before I really lived in Israel, to me Moshava was my little like mini-Israel in America. Like you have... and even though I am not a big kibbutz person in general, just from a... like not my lifestyle point of view, it seemed like that to me. You had everyone working together, and it was like this whole little kibbutz society, and it wasn't... you know it wasn't like everybody going off and living in their very fancy summer homes and you know, it wasn't that type of camp. It was everybody working together, everybody had jobs, everybody had you know this unity of... you know to me what I thought kibbutz life would be on, and you had all these people who were in Moshava who a lot of them hoped to make aliyah, or where very pro-Israel, and were telling you these stories about these wonderful experiences they had in Israel, and you had a lot of Israelis coming and telling you how great Israel was, and you know you were just surrounded by that on a constant level every summer. So you know it just... and you would see movies and you would hear stories, and people's experiences, and you know this experience at the *kotel*, and this experience in the army, and this experience in the desert, and you know being able to like walk the lands where like you know where *Tanach* is. Like living *Tanach*. It's just... to me that was just amazing. Like how could you listen to like... I guess listen to the Torah every *shabbes* and think like I could be living where that happened. Like and I am not.

The staff of Laura's camp carries with them their experiences which are integral to their personalities. These experiences have formed them as people, and together with the values and beliefs that are central to their lives, form the educational message that is embodied and modeled by each individual staff member as a role model. It is this total educational package that was taken into account when the decision to employ them at camp was taken. Together with many other factors and educational processes that contribute to the environment of the camp, the staff creates a micro-society in which the campers are immersed for the duration of the summer. Educational camps with a central ideology are clear examples of 'total institutions', albeit more open examples where campers enjoy more autonomy than the subjects of Goffman's original research (Goffman 1961). Laura provides an example from the experience of interacting with staff members who live in Israel, the land of the Tanach, which infuses Tanach study and the reading of the weekly Torah portion with new Zionist meaning. Laura reflects on the impact that this had on her, leading her to the realization that she wanted to live in the land where the stories from Tanach happened, just like her madrichim.

The micro-society of camp is an example of a plausibility structure aiding in the socialization of adolescents into a belief system of values. To maintain the plausibility of a belief system the adolescent must participate in social networks of individuals who share these beliefs. The significant others from the social networks of camp are the counselors (madrichim), who form micro-plausibility structures for participants to observe and emulate, and in essence function as role models. However, in the case of camp, the counselor need not function alone as a micro-plausibility structure, but rather creates together with his or her colleagues a mini society that as a whole functions as a plausibility structure.

In fact, the strength of camp as a plausibility structure is the lack of interference from the outside world. Plausibility structures are generally fallible due to exposure to other values and beliefs, as modeled by competing significant others. Camp provides an almost hermetic plausibility structure as the campers are isolated from the outside world for the duration of the camp. Molly describes her camp experience in South Africa:

We all joke that apart from the Old City... or not even the Old City, apart from the *Kodesh*... the Holy of Holies, Bnei Akiva *machaneh* [camp] is the second holiest place on earth. It honestly feels like that. I can't explain it, but it's just something amazing that goes on. It's 800 people go down onto a camp site in the middle of *Afrikaansville*... really, like... and we set up camp on this random site of land and everybody is living in tents, it's not like we are living in cabins. Everyone is living in tents and they are eating like... they are eating in a tin shack, and literally it's the best vibe. I think that is what it is. It's that you are taken out of everything, you are taken out of the world. You are not meant to have cell phones, and you don't have that access... it's changed over the years, but at least when I was a *chanicha*, no one had cell phones, no one had... you didn't have laptops, you didn't have any of these things. You are taken completely out of the world, and you are just... it's really... it's summer, and it's *B'noach* [comfortable] you are there... I don't know, it's just something very special about it,

While camp is perhaps the most intense example of a plausibility structure, resembling a total institution, according to Berger they exist in any and all social networks and role models are central to the influence that these structures exert, acting as the interface between people and the society in which they live. If the people who surround the adolescent hold a belief, it is more likely that the adolescent will also come to hold this belief too. Robert described his home community in these terms:

I think, when you talk about influences, the one thing that popped into my mind is that Kenton is a very Zionistic community and a lot of people have made Aliyah over the years and increasingly all of my best of friends have done so which I think was quite a big trigger to go when I did. And I think, I think a greater perception of Israel in the news, and the more contacts I had there the more I heard about it, the more I knew about it and it was those

perceptions that I got from that how it's not so difficult to live here, how it's beneficial, how it's all these things and that was backed up when I came here to visit people and I spoke to them in person having made Aliyah, so I know quite a lot of people's Aliyah stories myself and thought well actually it can't be that bad. From a tech... from a practical point of view, it would be a good idea, technically.

Robert saw models of commitment to Zionism and aliyah in the wider community in which he lived, and he described the effect that this had on his own commitment to Israel. Shoshana also saw examples of Zionism and aliyah in the wider community all around her, and felt, like Robert, that this normalized it for her:

I think it is also one thing, when you are a kid and you know people who have done it, it's not like the strangest thing in the world. It's like, oh, so they made aliyah... it's almost a path that you could possibly take. I can't explain... we all did the same things, we went to the same schools, we did this, we did that, it just makes it like a possibility I suppose. Not necessarily something I would have done... it definitely didn't influence me to do it either way, but it just makes it more of a, oh people do that. Otherwise who do I know that made aliyah? I don't know anyone. From Finchley, I just remember there were a lot of people who would make aliyah. Their kids when they would get married, or before they got married. They were all older than us, they weren't my age.

Laura also described a social network of peers in the seminary that she attended in Israel after high school that formed a plausibility structure for aliyah:

When you went to *Orot* you knew it was in the *shtachim* [the territories] off the beaten path. These are people who are seriously interested in making aliyah that you are going to be surrounded with. You are going to be surrounded with people that have the same Zionistic values as you do, and not necessarily just coming for a big party. I mean, clearly it's not a party school, or anything like that. I think that it was... definitely important to me to be surrounded by people who had... you know they weren't going to hear and after this year in Israel I am actually staying here and living here for the rest of my life. Are you insane? This was a lot of fun and everything, but like, come one, you know, we are not really going to live here. It was very important to be surrounded by people who had the same values that I did...

I. Are you talking about your peers, or the teachers?

L. My peers, definitely. I mean, I assume that the teachers at most schools would have had the same view since they were the ones living in the country. But it was definitely the peers that I was concerned with, I think.

While Laura took for granted that the teachers in her seminary would espouse and embody the ideology of the institution, she focuses more on the importance of being surrounded by a peer reference group that is in synch with her ideals, which will ensure the creation of an environment within which she will be comfortable and encouraged to develop her ideas. While she does not describe her peers as role models, it can be argued that they functioned in that role. Peer role modeling will be further explored in a later chapter.

Later on in her narrative she also refers to the aliyah organization Nefesh B'Nefesh having a similar impact on the adult community, whereby aliyah is now something that people are exposed to more than ever before:

I think now because of Nefesh B'Nefesh I think it has brought out... you know into the communities... like I don't remember people making aliyah... I don't remember families making aliyah when I was growing up, ever. I just remember like singles making aliyah. I remember people like who were just finishing college or just finishing high school, and were deciding that they wanted to go and live in that crazy place Israel. And they were all very involved in Bnei Akiva and Moshava and that's why they made aliyah. But I don't remember families making aliyah. I don't remember having like *kiddushes* in communities where you are sending off three families, four families, and I think that, even something small like that, could be huge to somebody. Like seeing in a community where oh well we made a *Kiddush* this *shabbes* for four families who were our neighbors, they are picking up their families and they are moving to Israel.

Laura describes the impact on the adults in her community caused by families making aliyah in similar terms to Robert and Shoshana's description of the normalization of aliyah caused by being surrounded by individuals making aliyah. However, Laura suggests that this is a new

phenomenon caused in some part from the excitement generated by the activities of Nefesh

B’Nefesh. Laura continues:

I think that in some ways it’s the same way that you are... that’s what I am trying to... the parallel being in Moshava and seeing these people, and maybe you don’t know them, but you know that they are doing it and you know that they came in the same path that you did, they used to be your neighbors and now they are living in Israel. But now you have as an adult like... Israel is in the back of your mind, or maybe it is a place you would like to live, or you have been there a few times. But then all of a sudden you have all this hype. This Bnei Akiva hype. Sorry, this Nefesh B’Nefesh hype. This aliyah hype. And you see, even if it is a huge community, if your *shul* makes a *kiddish*, to send off these three families. Or even if it is just one family. And you are around them, and you see them. They are getting their things together. And they are sending their lift. Everyone drives by the street to see their lift being packed up. Even something as little as that I think could have a tremendous affect on a family who is thinking a little bit... I think there needs to be something there, but a little bit. No but it’s too difficult, and we’re not... oh, like they did it. They were talking about it for fifteen years, and they did it.

Laura sees the momentum of families making aliyah with Nefesh B’Nefesh as a parallel plausibility structure to that which the *madrichim* of Bnei Akiva provide for young people at Moshava camp. At one point in her narrative she even makes the telling mistake of confusing the two organizations. While most research on socialization focuses on the adolescent and pre-adolescent, this suggests that processes of socialization in general and specifically plausibility structures are active in adult society as well.

In summary, the critical terms found in the data to describe role models and role modeling include aspiration, identification, connection to and relationship with, inspiration and emulation. Disagreement was evident between interviewees over whether role models should be approached as holistic models representing an all-or-nothing approach to role modeling, or compartmentalized models where one aspect of a role models life could impact the observer. Finally, role models were described in terms of the critical interface between the observer and

plausibility structures. Immersion into plausibility structures provides opportunities for socialization into the values and beliefs of a community, in this case the values inherent in Zionism and aliyah. In the next chapter the process of the phenomenon of aliyah role modeling will be explored from the data, building on the general understanding of role models and role modeling presented in this chapter, and two paradigm modes of role modeling will be considered.

Chapter 4: The Process of Aliyah Role Modeling

Having explored the general notion of the role model and the process of role modeling, the phenomenon of aliyah role modeling will be examined in more depth. In considering the role of significant others in the process of making the life changing decision to migrate to Israel, a deeper understanding of the general phenomenon of role modeling can be achieved, and the formulation of paradigm modes of role modeling will occur.

4.1 Modes of Aliyah Role Modeling

In the previous chapter, the key word that appeared in the narratives of those subjects who endeavored to arrive at a definition of the process of role modeling was *inspiration*. For example, Matthew described a role model as “Someone who you identify with, want to follow, you're inspired by, connect to, listen to” and for Josh a role model is “somebody who inspires someone to something”.

This conventional conception of the phenomenon of role modeling, where the significant other inspires the adolescent to achievement and the aspiration of lofty goals is present in popular culture, school policies, and government legislation (Vesico et al 2005). Inspirational role models can be both vicarious and distant role models as well as from more intimate local role models. Observers can find inspiration in mastery super-role models who model the highest level of achievement as well as coping or struggling role models. Evidence was found in the data of all of these types of inspirational role models in the context of aliyah role modeling.

However, when it came to aliyah role modeling, the inspirational impact of the role model was not the only influence found in the data. In much the same way as Bandura suggests that observational learning will lead to a heightened sense of self-efficacy (Bandura 1997) Laura described the self-empowering influence of seeing ones contemporaries making a successful aliyah. This influence points to qualities that go beyond or are different from the inspirational:

I think when you have someone who actually lives in Israel going back and telling their story, it has a different impact on a kid. It's also... it doesn't become a place to visit, it's like, oh, you, you're like me, you live there, and you had the same experiences growing up, and you went to the same school that I went to, but here you are and you did it, and you live there, and you're happy, and your parents are like my parents and you lived a block away from me, and now you are just telling me about this amazing experience and granted everyday is not an amazing experience, but you know... wow, that's great. You live there, and maybe I could do that. Because you are telling me real life. You are telling me I woke up and I took the bus, and I went to the *shuk* [market], and I bought my vegetables and... you know, some days are just are real life days. And some days are these amazing days.

Every day events such as taking the bus and going to the market become important opportunities for observational learning that lead to a heightened sense of self-efficacy in using the skills that it takes to live in Israel. This second form of aliyah role modeling, “practical aliyah role modeling”, will be explored more fully as a paradigm further on.

However, Laura also provides a hint towards the notion of “inspirational aliyah role modeling” when she mentions that some days are “amazing days”. These inspirational aspects of living in Israel can also be modeled. For Laura, there are days living in Israel that are inspiring and days that are “real life”. The role model brings both “amazing days” and “real life” days with them when they model aliyah. The “amazing days” inspire aliyah, and the “real life” days model the practicalities of how life in Israel can be achieved by someone “like me”.

This interesting dialectic within Laura's narrative, presenting as it does two different modes of aliya role modeling, the practical and the inspirational, was also present in other narratives, such as with Shoshana:

It is a different type of role model, I think. Because the problem is I am thinking of role models as Bnei Akiva *madrichim*, but now I think like... I wouldn't necessarily think oh because Rav Miller made aliya, it doesn't necessarily become possible for me to do it. Because already it felt like, oh he did it ages ago, things were different, he is different also, it's not like exactly the same...

...He kind of gives... that's the word - inspiring. Talks and stuff like that about why you should live in Israel... it's hard to think in my head the reasons and stuff like that... I can't put it into little boxes. But he does, he gives inspiring talks about why you should live here, and he makes it sound like it's the right thing to do...

When considering the respective influences that her aliya role models had, Shoshana reflects that her *madrichim* in Bnei Akiva had an empowering influence on her, showing her how it could be done and that she could also make aliya. However, her Rabbi in seminary had a different impact on her. He inspired her to make aliya, encouraging her to realize that it was "the right thing to do" in ideological terms. This process of inspiring to influence aliya decisions from an ideological perspective has been written about extensively (for example Antonovsky & Katz 1979, Brown 1986, Leshem & Shuval 1998, Musher 1999, and Tabory & Lazerwitz 1977) and it is generally accepted that this is the primary factor explaining aliya from western countries, where there are few material reasons for relocating to Israel.

Shoshana was exposed to an inspirational aliya role model during her gap-year studying in a Zionist seminary in Israel. This is an example of the provision of aliya role models on the staff of post-high school ideology-driven Israel experience programs, as called for by some educational thinkers in order to encourage participants to consider aliya (Amsel 1990, Berger

1997, Lichtman 2000, Segal 1987). The gap-year program is a particularly rich and fertile landscape for role modeling impact due to the unprecedented access to teacher's lives that is typically granted to students and the intimate nature of the teacher-student relationship, which is not replicated in other educational contexts.

4.1.1 Inspirational aliyah role modeling: the case of Annabel

As became apparent from the data presented in the previous chapter, the conventional approach to role modeling is its potential for inspirational affect, whereby the role model inspires towards ideals and values. Annabel provides a clear example of exposure to and influence from inspirational aliyah role models. However, she proved to be somewhat atypical, not gaining this exposure during participation in educational programs and institutions previous to her aliyah. The majority of the subjects for this research had been exposed to some form of Jewish and/or Zionist education at an institution or program of Jewish education, whether formal or informal. Annabel was different and conjectured on a number of occasions that she would prove to be an anomaly to this research.

Annabel was born and raised in New York in a committed reform family, regularly attending synagogue and supplementary school until after her Bat Mitzvah. She describes her family as the quintessential American Jewish family. Her grandparents were raised in Orthodox households but at some point made the switch to more liberal forms of Judaism, and with every passing generation her family became less religious. She did not grow up in a Jewish or Zionist youth movement, and while her grandmother was very active in the Zionist women's organization Hadassah, Israel was not at all central in her home. She describes her family as "friendly towards Israel but not particularly Zionist".

During her university years she met and fell in love with a young Russian *refusenik* called Alex who she would later marry. During his experiences as a *refusenik* in Russia Alex had become a very committed and passionate Zionist, and while he had wanted to immigrate directly to Israel from Russia, his parents received a family visa to immigrate to the United States and so he had no choice but to immigrate to America first. Alex introduced Annabel to a radically new approach to Zionism from the liberal American approach of the Jewish community that had surrounded her during her childhood. She describes this new approach as “exciting and romantic and old world”. He was a refugee escaping anti-semitism and saw Israel as a safe-haven, the answer to the age-old Jewish problem. He convinced her to spend the early months of their relationship in Israel with him, while he studied for his doctorate. It is here where her journey towards Zionism and aliyah as a young adult began and she cites Alex as her first and most profound influence in this respect. In response to being asked to consider if there were any personalities she came across during her initial time in Israel before she had made the decision to stay and make aliyah that had had an influence in terms of aliyah and Zionism, she began with Alex:

Sure. Several people. And first of all, it may sound strange but Alex was definitely a role model. I mean he was definitely like I said one of the main reasons I came, and I had tremendous awe and admiration for him and what he had gone through... first of all it was my first real experience with anyone that had experienced serious anti-semitism in their life. And someone who had really suffered major difficulties in life, to the point of actual physical threat to his existence merely because he was a Jew, when he had suffered this kind of anti-semitism his entire life in Russia and his reaction to that was just so... much to fight back. And that was just an amazing thing to me. To this day you can tell I am very much... I have tremendous respect for those qualities. And that opens for me the whole *Exodus*⁷ style viewpoint of Israel, which somehow

⁷ This is either a reference to the clandestine ship that sailed from France to Palestine in July 1947 with illegal immigrants or the novel by Leon Uris (1958) based partly on the historical story which later became a film by the same title (1960). Either way, Annabel is making a reference to the classic Zionist narrative of pre-state Palestine and Zionism.

I had missed before. The whole idea of Israel being a country of pioneers, people who had escaped and gone and built something up with their own hands.

During her childhood Annabel had been surrounded by a Jewish community displaying various degrees of assimilation and little or no connection to Israel. For her, Israel had always been the long distant relative that lived abroad and sometimes made the news for their accomplishments, but more often than not made the ‘wrong’ kind of headlines, and had caused some discomfort and even embarrassment. Suddenly and dramatically, Alex had introduced Annabel to a new perspective on Israel, one that had been largely hidden to her until now. This new Israel was replete with pioneers and heroes escaping persecution and existential threat, and against all odds building a miraculous alternative world for the Jewish people. Annabel saw these heroes in history and in her partner, and was inspired to be part of this historical narrative just as she believed Alex was.

During the early years of her stay in Israel, which eventually led to the long-term decision to make aliya, Annabel met various personalities that made a profound impact on her, inspiring her and intensifying her growing feelings of love and commitment to Israel and Zionism. It is these personalities and their life stories that influenced Annabel’s ideas and passion for Israel and Zionism, and ultimately led to her making the final commitment to stay in Israel as an immigrant. Annabel begins with relating the story of her distant cousin Nicola:

So around the time that we came here there were a couple of other people who I think reinforced that kind of idea for me. One of them was... I have a very distant cousin who lives here who is a Holocaust survivor. One branch of my family is from Greece and she survived the war. She was in Auschwitz. But she lost most of her family there, and she was not able to have children afterwards because of what she had been through in the camps. And so she was very... she still is... today is her 86th birthday... she was very very preoccupied with her extended family and distant relatives. Although she has two sisters who

survived the war, she lost most of her family. And those two sisters both married Greeks and converted in order to protect themselves. Even though they remained Jews in secret until now, there was a certain tear between her and her sisters because of that. She is very preoccupied. And she had found my grandmother at some point and when I came here when I was thirteen my grandmother took me to see her and her husband who was still alive at the time. And they are you know your true hardcore Israeli success story. People who came, they survived the camps, their stories also during the war... her story in particular, is truly incredible. She also could have escaped with her sisters but she accompanied her parents to the camps because she didn't want to abandon them, and then of course her parents were immediately exterminated along with her younger brother, and she was left to survive the war. She survived and she fought in the resistance afterwards, and she met her husband and they came here, and they built this country from nothing. She never tires of telling me stories over and over and over again. And she is my relative! So that was for me the first personal connection to somebody who was... even though she is a very distant cousin obviously, she is my third cousin once removed... oh no, my second cousin once removed.

In *Geni* [the family history website] we recently figured it out. Somebody put that whole side of the family on to *Geni* because her... our common relative... ancestor, is from Jannina [*Ioannin*]). And the whole Jewish community in Jannina was wiped out during the war, so there is a project, a charity project that is funded to preserve whatever is left of that community, which is totally in Diaspora now. And interestingly most of them went to New York. So there is somebody in New York who started putting the whole family tree up on *Geni* and at some point somebody got to me. And so now I have met a whole bunch of distant cousins through that branch of the family, some of whom are in Israel. That's just an interesting aside.

But anyways, she was definitely a role model for me. Like wow, I came here and as difficult as my aliyah is, look... it's nothing compared to what they went through. And you know they made... and it also made it very real for me why you need a Jewish state and how this history you know is something that happened really just a few years ago in the lifetime of these people. That was very motivational.

The dual narratives of overcoming adversity and existential threat to emerge into a new world rebuilt by her own hands are the concurring themes found in Annabel's account of her cousin's life-story, themes also found in her description of her husband Alex's life. Nicola survived the camps during the Second World War, losing almost her entire family. Annabel intimates that this partly explains why Nicola is so adamant to maintain a relationship with distant family such as

Annabel and her grandmother, and perhaps the reason why they remained close upon Annabel's arrival in Israel.

Unprompted Annabel uses the term role model to describe her cousin as she narrates her inspiring aliyah story. The tense relationship between Nicola and her two sisters is central to understanding the nature of the inspirational impact of the story on Annabel, contrasting Nicola's decisions that embodied her values with the decisions made by her sisters based on different values. Annabel describes her cousin as full of resentment due to the manner in which her sisters escaped deportation by the Nazis and their lifestyle after the war, while she chose to remain by her parent's side refusing to abandon them and her younger brother, all of whom were immediately exterminated upon arrival at Auschwitz. While her sisters were living in relative security, she chose to place herself in further danger, escaping Auschwitz and joining the resistance, fighting the Nazis as a proud Jew.

The same values continued to guide Nicola's decisions after the war, furthering their impact on Annabel as an immigrant to Israel. Nicola traveled to Palestine with her husband, who she met in the resistance during the war, to help build the fledgling Jewish state "from nothing" with their own hands. Annabel even seems to contrast her valiant cousin with the remaining survivors from their hometown in Greece who immigrated to New York while Annabel's cousin decided to take the more challenging route of becoming a pioneer in Palestine.

While Annabel admits that the relationship is a distant one (so distant she is not even sure exactly how they are related), she finds this story tremendously inspiring, considering Nicola as one of the original builders of the State of Israel, next to the personalities from the history books. This has an even deeper inspirational impact on her because they are in fact related. The story

made Annabel realize the importance of Zionism and the Jewish state, in much the same way as she experienced the story of her *refusenik* husband and his ideas on Zionism.

What is most interesting about Annabel's testimony here is that one could imagine that someone like Annabel, who had largely lived a privileged life, would feel disconnected and distant from such a heroic story of survival and the over-coming of adversity, as is sometimes the case with mastery role models (Lockwood & Kunda 1997). However, Annabel finds that she can relate to Nicola's narrative on an intimate level, and considers her cousin a role model, someone who she would like to model herself on. She uses the word "inspiring" on several occasions and suggests that the story is inspirational in a motivational sense. Nicola's story motivates Annabel to model herself on her cousin, and while she admits that her aliyah was "nothing compared to what they went through", Annabel sees some similarities, and therefore aspires to similar achievements, albeit in a different historical context and perhaps on a different level.

Annabel also gives a further example of an aliyah role model from a similar personality type, an older lady she and her husband met during their early years in Israel who adopted them:

We also had another person who was very helpful to us who we are still friends with also, is a woman who made aliyah from Bulgaria in the early fifties after the communist takeover in Bulgaria. They made it through the war but then she and her family came here. And she is also just a friend of a friend of a friend that someone introduced, but she also had no children and she sort of adopted us. And she also has an inspiring story. Someone who came here more or less on her own, and built up a life for herself at times that were much much harder than [the] ones that we were here [for]. And made such a terrific life for herself. Such a wonderful person. So that was also inspiring.

While Annabel's Bulgarian friend Lily made aliyah later and did not participate in the pre-state building of Israel as Annabel's cousin Nicola had, she nevertheless represented a life of hardship

and struggle, and provided an equally inspiring aliyah narrative for Annabel, proving to be an inspiring aliyah role model for her. Unlike the practical aliyah role model, who as we will see must reflect similarities to the observer in order to function as a practical model, these aliyah role models neither reflected Annabel's age nor her socio-cultural upbringing, coming from European countries rather than her native United States. Their stories differ both pre- and post-aliyah and one would be hard pressed to find any similarities between them and Annabel. However, what these two women do have in common with Annabel is that they have left their lives behind them to make aliyah, and while their journeys to reach Israel were full of hardship and adversity, every aliyah story has hardship and adversity at its core, although perhaps on a lesser scale. In which case, Annabel can relate to the extreme hardship and adversity experienced by these two models in a personal way, and it inspires her. She reasons that if they can do it under these circumstances, then her aliyah, which is a much easier one comparatively speaking, should also be achievable. "I came here and as difficult as my aliyah is, look... it's nothing compared to what they went through". While we will shortly see many examples of practical role models functioning in the capacity of enablers, increasing the observer's sense of self-efficacy, here we also have an example of an inspirational role model performing this role. These themes are further developed in Annabel's narrative:

You know, I guess I was inspired by people who had made aliyah in what I perceived to be a heroic way. And they were certainly people who were able to... in totally unique and totally different ways. I mean Lily my friend from Bulgaria is totally Bohemian, completely non-conformist woman, who chose never to get married and have children because she didn't want to be tied down. She is a totally anachronistic person... and not... something completely different from my 86-year-old cousin who is very traditional and... but each in their own way they made for me the whole ideal of Zionism into something very concrete and real. These were people who had actually made sacrifices and had lived through very tumultuous times and had come here and made something terrific and fantastic. Also can you imagine... to me also... I can't imagine... my 86 year-old cousin is actually terribly depressed and an unhappy person, but what an incredible sense of achievement to look back on your life

at 86 and say I did this. I came here out of nothing, literally out of the ashes, and I created a new country, and I built it up with my own two hands and look at what we have today. I did that. That's just amazing. So for me today, even to be able to say... for me, I can only ever contribute the tiniest little piece of that, but since those people and since those days, I feel that every mundane thing that I do here because I do it here I am building something. I am building a country for my people so that my children and their children, they'll have a country of their own, and they will survive, because apropos my father's statement... having a place to run to. And you know just... I remember when I was in my twenties I was very much preoccupied with the meaning of life kind of questions, and I remember thinking through and really battling with this, and thinking how you know yeah, I am just working as a technical writer in a hi-tech start-up, but if... and if I was doing this somewhere else, maybe this would be meaningless, but I am doing this here. Israel didn't have a hi-tech... a modern economy before this. You know, I am a pioneer, one of the first companies building a modern economy in Israel, and this is the future of our country, software. And this is an amazing thing. The fact that we are able to bring all this investment, employ all of these people... it gives you a totally different perspective on everything you do. And I think I got that partly from these people, these earlier *olim* because of my admiration for what they had created. It enabled me to see that mundane things that I do here also have that element, even though on a far more modest scale obviously, as dictated by the times.

Annabel in fact stresses the dissimilarities between these two role models and herself. For example, while family is a priority for Annabel, neither of her models had children. However, they both represent the actualization of the Zionist ideology that she calls her own and Annabel does see aspects of her own aliyah in their heroic stories. Lily and Nicola built the country that Annabel sees around her. She marvels at their ability to reflect on their achievements and say "I came here out of nothing, literally out of the ashes, and I created a new country, and I built it up with my own two hands and look at what we have today. I did that."

Annabel yearns to give a similar meaning to the personal sacrifices that she made when she made aliyah. She sees aspects of the aliyah narratives of her role model's retroactively in her own story. She feels that she is also making a vital contribution to the country and its society, just as her role models had done years previously. While they may have built settlements and fought in

wars, she is building a modern economy based on high-tech, and she wonders who is to say that this is less important to the future of the State of Israel and to the Jewish people. While her career in this field may have been meaningless were she located in her native America, she feels it is infused with Zionist meaning here in Israel, and her role models and their stories help her to understand that. While history may relate to Annabel's role models as pioneers, Annabel can now see through their stories that she should also be considered a pioneer, if on a more modest scale as she readily admits.

4.1.2 Practical Role Modeling: the cases of Molly and Robert

While the conventional account of role modeling may be of the inspirational role model as in Annabel's story, an unexpected finding from this research was that practical role models were far more commonly cited as influential in making this life decision. While many subjects approached role modeling in an abstract and general sense, as a process that provides an inspirational impact, when it came to considering aliyah role models in particular, it was practical aliyah role modeling that was most prevalent in the data. This practical modeling is an example of Bandura's observational learning of skills and behavior in his *Social Learning Theory* (Bandura 1977), as well as the *self-efficacy expectancy* stage of Bandura's later work *Self Efficacy Theory* (Bandura 1997) where role models are instrumental in the learners' perception of their capacity to reproduce the modeled behavior. In the words of Matthew:

[W]ell, number one, it makes it a doable thing to do. So it's not *bashamayim* [lit. in heaven - unachievable]. It's not going to live in Zimbabwe, or to live in Africa to save children, where maybe you have to be a real special type of person... So that was number one, that they normalized it.

Special people modeling special lifestyles may be inspirational role models, but aliyah role models for Matthew were of more practical use and had an enabling impact. They showed Matthew that aliyah was an achievable endeavor for someone like him⁸ which had the affect of enabling him, developing his sense of self-efficacy when it came to aliyah. They modeled the practical achievability of aliyah in its most general sense.

Another interviewee, Jane, referred to practical aliyah role models who showed her the potential life she could lead if she made aliyah:

My parents have some very good friends here that live in Rishon. They also gave me a sort of a view of what life could be like here. Maybe a little more rosy... they are Weizmann professors and what not. Gorgeous apartment and you know that was sort of my view of real life... Like upper-middle class, the good life in Israel. I could see that it wasn't just like kibbutz living, or moshav living, or living on campus or something. It was... this was the real Israel, but in a nice [light].

For Jane it was important to see “the real Israel” of upper-middle class life, a lifestyle similar to the one she had experienced growing up in suburban America. It was more likely that her life in Israel would reflect this lifestyle, rather than the Israel she had explored while on educational programs when visiting Israel during her adolescence, which consisted of unrealistic modes of life that she was unlikely to choose for herself as an adult. Her aliyah role models gave her a view of the potential she had as an immigrant.

Molly, also, saw her own potential for a successful aliyah when observing her cousins as practical aliyah role models:

⁸ This assumes that the models were in fact “like him”. *Similarity hypothesis* (Karunanayake & Nauta 2004, Weiten *et al.* 1991) posits that models must have sufficient similarities to have an influence as a role model. This will be further discussed in the following chapter.

Yeah, I knew I had cousins in Israel. I think from the point of view when I was here on my year off, seeing them, and seeing how successful they were helped. Like I have a cousin who is a speech and hearing therapist in Bet Shemesh, and she learnt the language, and she is settled, and she is happy, and married to an English guy. I used to go them for *shabbatot*. A lot of the time when you hear about aliyah, you hear about how people have to down-grade their lives, and you can't be successful, and there's no money, on and on and on. And I think being here, and seeing my cousins who you know, they came from the same thing as I was coming from. The same kind of community, the same kind of professions and they really have good lives here. And maybe... they are not living in what they would be living in South Africa, but they are all happy, and they are not living behind a big fence either. But to see that they can be successful, and that it can be done, also had an effect.

While the aliyah role models of Matthew, Jane and Molly model a generic, albeit relevant and practical, empowering vision of what their aliyah could look like, with Molly one gets the impression that she is also looking at her cousins for more concrete practical skills and coping-mechanisms. She shares the same profession as her cousin as well as cultural similarities, and not only can Molly perceive the achievability of her aliyah through the success of her cousin's aliyah, but her cousin also modeled for her practical skills on how to cope as a single South African woman in Israel, establishing a career and a family, despite the disadvantage of English as her mother tongue rather than Hebrew. Molly also identified a second practical aliyah role model, this time her friend Tanya:

Being here two years ago, my one friend, Tanya, made aliyah. Our year program was in 2004. In 2005 we all came back and did our first year in South Africa, and my friend Tanya made aliyah in 2006. Rena in 2007, Sivan in 2008 and me in 2009. Tanya was there, so I went to go visit her in the beginning of 2007, and I like saw her living in Israel. I saw her studying in Israel. I saw her taking buses. We had huge security problems on our year off. I saw her taking buses. I saw her just living in the country, cooking her own food and everything. And it was like, oh my god, it is really possible. And then, because I have this picture of it, what it was, when my other two friends came, you know, I was so jealous of them, I could like picture their lives.

Again, Molly saw her own potential aliyah in the aliyah of her peer. But here she expresses the concrete skills that Tanya also modeled for her, which had an important impact on her. Molly was not exposed to people performing these everyday tasks while on her gap-year program, and for her it was vital she observed a model performing them for her to consider aliyah attainable.

In the previous chapter we saw Robert and Shoshana describe their home communities as plausibility structures normalizing the decision to make aliyah. But if we revisit Robert's narrative we can understand this now in the light of practical aliyah role modeling:

[T]he more contacts I had there the more I heard about it, the more I knew about it and it was those perceptions that I got from that how it's not so difficult to live here, how it's beneficial, how it's all these things and that was backed up when I came here to visit people and I spoke to them in person having made Aliyah, so I know quite a lot of people's Aliyah stories myself and thought well actually it can't be that bad. From a tech... from a practical point of view, it would be a good idea, technically.

Robert came to Israel to visit friends who had made aliyah and not only felt empowered and enabled in terms of his own aliyah plans through observing his friends living here, but he describes this process as learning this from a "practical" and "technical" perspective. While he did not refer to the specifics of the practicalities that he observed, the terminology that he uses unmistakably refers to skills and techniques to prosper in Israel as an immigrant. He did continue to express why this was so important for him:

Yeah, it kind of brought it more down to earth, because as I said from all the other influences in my life, it was still a bit abstract. It wasn't so clear how you do it, how you survive, what it is... beyond moving. And it was just the fact that I was... I had people that I could ask, people that I could rely on that said it was OK, that it wasn't a difficult process. It gave me a lot of confidence to do it.

Aliyah can be an overwhelming and somewhat abstract challenge until it is translated into the concrete of the practical, or until it is normalized to borrow Matthew's term. Robert's immigrant friends translated aliyah from the conceptual to the tangible by modeling the skills and strategies necessary to survive and cope as an immigrant in Israel. This resulted in the growing consciousness of self-efficacy in terms of aliyah described by Robert as the "confidence to do it". Robert continues to be influenced by the model transmitted by these practical aliyah role models as the dynamic of his own aliyah develops and changes:

But also... because it's been an ongoing process, it wasn't just that they made Aliyah, it's like five or six years down the line how they're getting on and it's like some of my friends have been here some as long as seven or eight years already. So, it's a question of... well I mean I can see now how they've changed as people, which is actually really interesting.

As time proceeds the challenges immigrants face living a successful life in Israel change. Robert was cognizant that while the impact of inspirational aliyah role modeling may wane as the years pass by, the observational learning of practical aliyah role modeling continues as the dynamic of the aliyah experience changes. Robert is continually observing and learning from his practical aliyah role models who are some years further down the aliyah-experience line, helping him to prepare for the years ahead.

Practical aliyah role models have had an enabling and normalizing affect on Robert, Shoshanah, Molly and Matthew, who each faced the daunting prospect of aliyah in the comfort that there were those they knew who had successfully tackled it head on. This impact can be considered an opposite phenomenon to inspirational aliyah role models, who perpetuate aliyah as abstract and challenging, yet inspire those observing by the manner in which they have achieved it. Sometimes inspirational aliyah role modeling can also be enabling, as in the case of Annabel,

who felt that if her inspiring aliyah role models succeeded under more challenging circumstances, then she should also be able to succeed as an immigrant. However, there was no evidence suggesting that this was a common approach to inspirational aliyah role modeling.

4.1.3 Negative aliyah role modeling

Also appearing in the literature is a further, quite different type of role model, a negative role model, who fits into neither of the aliyah role model categories so far considered. Negative role models display character traits, beliefs, or behaviors that society frowns upon and encourages young people to avoid at all costs rather than emulate in anyway. Negative role models can be found in the popular media as well as the educational context. Exposure to negative role models can also have positive outcomes if they assume the function of "avoidance role models" where the modeling of negative behaviors can have an inhibitory affect leading to negative identification and negative emulation.

Does this construct appear in our field of enquiry? Is there a negative aliyah role model of any kind? One could argue that Aliyah represents the enactment of a set of values, and, therefore, those that model conflicting values, say a decision not to immigrate to Israel or even to emigrate away from Israel, would be a negative aliyah role model. Besides the difficulty in defining the values inherent in the act of aliyah, and the further difficulties encountered in identifying the counter values, this obtuse conception of the negative aliyah role model did not emerge from any of the aliyah narratives. However, there were other more refined examples of negative aliyah role models occurring in the data with varying degrees of subtle impact on the subjects.

Yonatan had difficulty relating to people who showed first an ultimate commitment to Zionism by fighting for the State of Israel and then later left Israel to live in the Diaspora. His uncle fought in the pre-state underground movement, Lechi, yet lived most of his life in Australia:

I had an uncle. They lived in Melbourne. He's no longer alive, but my auntie still lives there. He was originally Israeli, and he was in Lechi. And there was this amazing photo of him. He used to teach weapons during that period of... before *hakamat hamedina* [the establishment of the State of Israel]. And he was obviously in the army. And if I am not mistaken... this is my theory... these are my memories, that he was in the paratroopers. I don't know if that is necessarily true, anymore, but that's what I had in my mind, and that's why, when I made aliyah, that's all I wanted to do. I wanted to be in the paratroopers, and that's why I still am, and that's why they call me every five minutes to the army. So that was another influence, he was very influential...

... Well I never really realized what that was, I guess, until the past couple of years, trying to understand. How is someone who was in Lechi, and was one of the *Tzionim* [Zionists], he was someone who wasn't very clear to understand. Like, I can't understand that, I don't understand it. And it's totally illogical to me, I don't understand it. But there are lots of people like that, who like came and fought in Machal [volunteers in the IDF from abroad] and this and that, and then they go back. I don't get that, but all right, *beseder* [OK], each to their own.

Yonatan's uncle clearly had a profound effect on his decision to make aliyah and serve in the army, to the extent that it influenced the unit he volunteered to serve in. He admits to finding it difficult to relate to someone that can value Israel and Zionism to such an extent as to serve in an underground paramilitary organization fighting to establish the state, yet abandon that state after its establishment. Yonatan seems to demonstrate great resolve to avoid this paradox in his own life, inspired by his uncle as a negative aliyah role model *not* to leave the country having served the country in a similar way.

Colette also describes meeting Israelis who had left Israel to make a life for themselves in the Diaspora, yet seems to find less difficulty relating to them:

I think meeting Israelis in America, often made me feel like that. Like the personality of the *sabra* [native Israeli-born]. It's a much more organic... and I am taking that word actually from someone that Richard met with recently who used that, and I think it is an accurate term. I think life in Israel is more organic at present... we'll see what happens. But it's more organic, and I feel like... I feel like interacting with Israelis in America always made me feel like 'oh my gosh, that's like a real person, and like a real person who says what they are feeling'.

Rather than confusion or resentment, Colette feels affection towards Israelis who have left, and is attracted to their personality stereotype and the image of Israeli society that they reflect. She is neither turned away from aliyah, nor inspired to make aliyah *despite* their emigration from Israel, but merely approaches them as representative of the society that she yearns to join. She also encountered a second negative aliyah role model, the failed migrant, Americans who had attempted aliyah and failed, returning to the United States:

And on the flip side we encountered a lot of people who said 'uch I made aliyah and it was terrible, I came back' or 'it was so hard on my kids, we came back' or 'it was so hard to make a living, we came back', and I totally get that, I mean, I can see how people could come back. I just... on the flip side, those people... like, I think that they were trying to be helpful, but it was super annoying. Because, I kind of feel like you... the thing you're supposed to say to people is 'I wish you the best of luck'

Again Colette displays understanding and refuses to allow this negative model to sway her from her commitment to aliyah, yet she does admit to experiencing some annoyance when this failed migrant inexplicably feels the need to describe in detail the hardships that got the better of them leading to their migration away from Israel. Perhaps we can sense a certain amount of resolve in Colette's aliyah plans despite these encounters.

A third form of negative aliyah role modeling, one that was more common in the data, appearing in several of the narratives, was the *madrich*-counselor of the Zionist youth movement who had invested time and energy encouraging and educating *chanichim* [educatees] towards aliyah, yet ultimately failing to take this step themselves. Shoshana admits to significant resentment caused by this failed role model:

I am not... it's not really going to bother me, people who don't make aliyah. Because... also I am a bit older, and I do realize that it's not so easy. But I am not going to pretend that let's say five years ago I didn't necessarily think why hasn't that person made aliyah, or why didn't they... not necessarily with aliyah, but with a lot of things *dugma* [lit. example – a term often used to signify role modeling] wise... you do sometimes think, you know, you listened to that person so much, and actually they... it's a load of rubbish.

A buzz word in youth movements is *dugma ishit* [personal example], the term used to describe the responsibility of the *madrich* to model the values of the youth movement. Shoshana suggests that her *madrichim* had the responsibility to fulfill aliyah, in the same way that they had a responsibility to model the other values central to the ideology of the youth movement that she grew up in. She intimates that when it becomes apparent to the *chanich/a*, sometimes many years later, that they did not live up to the ideas that they preached, a retroactive negative and destructive fall-out can occur. Molly, who grew up in the same youth movement, Bnei Akiva, although on a different continent, shows the same deep resentment:

I was very judgmental when I was in South Africa, I really was. And I was like, look if you want to be part of Bnei Akiva you have to be religious and you have to be Zionist and you have to make aliyah as well. It is the same thing as if you don't wear skirts you can't be a *madricha*, if you don't plan to make aliyah you can't be one. I was very *charif* [severe] with it, and just towards the end I was like - it's such rubbish, at the end of the day it is such a huge huge decision. I was very judgmental and very harsh on them at the beginning, and at the end of the day, it's not for everybody, and especially now having come and seen how it's been for me, and I came at the right time, and I am really happy that I came, it was the right decision, but I also understand that once you

have settled down... like once you are married and you have kids, it is really difficult to leave. And I also understand that it's not for everybody. I don't want to be one of those people that convinces everyone to make aliyah even if it's not good for them. So I have cut them some slack. It was only one or two that was like *Rosh HaMachaneh*... people who were... if you are *Rosh Hamachaneh* [head of camp], national chairman, Jo-burg chairman, Cape Town chairman, anything like that, I believe that you shouldn't have been in your position if you weren't going to make aliyah. So I am kind of like still disappointed in them... I feel like the head of a movement has to stand for everything that movement stands for. That's really my feeling. Even if somebody personality-wise is perfect for the job, but they don't ever want to make aliyah, then they can't be... then they can't take the *tafkid* [job] on... [T]his mentality was first brought to my attention by Bnei Akiva Olami. On my year off, it was like listen, go back to South Africa and be part of Bnei Akiva, but don't necessarily listen to them, regarding Israel, because it's not good enough.

Molly and Shoshana both reflect on this conundrum from the perspective of maturity and having finally made aliyah themselves, and both admit to being less tolerant of these *madrichim* while they were still in Bnei Akiva in their native countries. Over time and with maturity they have come to terms with the complexities of life, yet still struggle with the dilemma whether they have the right to resent their *madrichim* who have not made aliyah. Molly draws a distinction between a regular *madrich* and someone who is in a position of leadership, showing less tolerance for negative aliyah role models within the leadership of a Zionist youth movement. She also describes a tension between the South African and Israeli branches of Bnei Akiva over this very issue. While she was in Israel on *Hachshara* [Bnei Akiva's gap-year program], she was warned not to become influenced by the less committed Zionistic role models that she will encounter when she return to South Africa.

A fourth negative aliyah role model type was encountered by two students of the same London Jewish day school, albeit on separate single-sex campuses. While the official ethos of the school is neither ultra-orthodox nor anti-Zionist, there are several teachers found in both the boys' and

girls' campuses that are considered by the students to be anti-Zionist. Shoshana describes how this pushed her towards Zionism and aliyah:

The one thing also in HGSB... not necessarily the school was anti Israel, but the kids were, because they learnt it in... actually I suppose some of the teachers were and stuff like that. And I am like... I like to be different. Not on purpose, I don't do it on purpose, it just happens. So I think that made me even more strong... I was definitely never going to be anti Israel, but because all these people were, I became more pro.

The gravitation towards counter-cultural movements as adolescents explore and experiment with identities is well documented. Shoshana describes her reaction to anti-Zionist teachers in these terms. Alan had similar experiences on the boys' campus of the same school:

[S]chool, as you know, was an influence on us... you know what... yes. It made me more pro-Israel, because they were very anti-Israel. As you know... like *Beryl the Schmerel* [a specific teacher's nickname] and stuff like that... and how they all would be so anti on *Yom Ha'atzmaut* [Israel's Independence Day], and there would always be the hardcore sixth formers of the Bnei Akiva crowd who would go around and put the flags out, and run around with them, and do things to the cars, moving them outside... and that sort of stuff... remember? I don't think I was one of them, but it definitely had an influence on you. And then always in Jewish Studies, with Beryl... and we would like... "your Israel"... all the real anti-Zionist stuff, and we would enjoy being the other way. So that may have had an influence on me to be more Zionist, more pro-Israel when these guys were so anti.

The excitement of being counter-cultural led students in the school towards confrontation with the anti-Zionist teachers and made commitment to Israel and Zionism all the more attractive. These feelings among the students were accentuated on days such as *Yom Ha'atzmaut*, where the sense of membership to a clandestine movement was strengthened as the celebrations were confined to out-of--school hours, only being permitted before the start of the official school day.

A final negative aliyah role model was found in the narrative of Colette, and this can be associated with the struggling or coping role model (Vesico *et al* 2005). There are those (for example Ingall 1998, Sanchez 1998, 2000) who believe presenting role models and heroes in a more realistic light will increase their affect avoiding the demoralization and frustration of the observer caused by the modeling of an unattainable vision as represented by the mastery role model (Lockwood & Kunda 1997, Schunk and Zimmerman, 1996; Weiss *et al.*, 1998). Colette's coping aliyah role models were her friend Tamar who modeled a difficult childhood aliyah and her parents Helen and Alex who modeled parental aliyah coping strategies:

Helen and Alex Hartman. I would say one of the reasons that they really influenced us is because they have a really similar America story to us, and their kids ages in terms of aliyah, and we are really good friends with their daughter Tamar. She married one of Richard's best friends. So we've always kind of followed a little bit of their story, and we've always been in touch with them just through Tamar, even though Tamar's aliyah was miserable. She came at age 13 and she hated it here... she hated it here until she was in the army. And they've always... they have been so helpful and honest about that, and Tamar also, and you know, her parents and her sisters, everyone has been so honest and helpful through that, and saying like 'ok, and so you came and you hated it blablabla, but you know that ultimately you would rather be here, even though you had a terrible experience here as a child, and I think that was really influential on us, because we thought, ok, so what, even if our kids come.. I mean, please god don't let our kids have a terrible time, but like, ultimately when she became an adult she realized it's important to be here even if it's harder.

While Colette heard about the trauma of a childhood aliyah from her friend Tamar and her parents Alex and Helen, and fears for her own children and their aliyah experience, she has the advantage of the Hartman's hindsight, where things turned out well. Despite the trauma, Tamar realizes now in adulthood that the difficulties and hardship were worth it and that her parents were right to have made the decision that they did all those years ago, even though as a child she could not have understood it at the time. Colette hopes that this is how her own children will be able to reflect on their aliyah stories, even if they experience similar trauma. She sees Tamar's

family as a model for her own. While their aliyah story is not without hitch or flaw, and does not represent the dream aliyah that Colette would wish for her own family, it does have a happy ending and on some level is even more inspiring because the Hartman's overcame adversity to make their aliyah work.

In this chapter two paradigms of role modeling emerged from the data exploring aliyah role modeling. Inspirational aliyah role modeling, where the role model's aliyah story inspires and motivates towards the challenging endeavor of aliyah, was seen in contradistinction to the paradigm mode of practical aliyah role modeling which has an enabling affect, normalizing the otherwise overwhelming feat of aliyah. While the more conventional mode of inspirational aliyah role modeling did appear in the data as a process active in aliyah role modeling, practical aliyah role modeling was far more prevalent. A further type of aliyah role model was found, the negative aliyah role model. There were five forms of negative aliyah role modeling emerging from the data. These were the failed migrant, the Israeli migrant overseas, the madrich who failed to make aliyah, and the anti-Zionist, and the struggling immigrant. In the following chapter the profile of the aliyah role model will be examined in more depth.

Chapter 5: Profile of the Aliyah Role Model

Having explored the process of aliyah role modeling, in this chapter the aliyah role models themselves will be considered. Drawing from the data, a profile of the aliyah role model will be formulated and the role of the aliyah role model on the process of aliyah role modeling will be explored. The profiling of the aliyah role model will begin with investigating where observers find their aliyah role models.

5.1 Where aliyah role models are found and the impact they have

Young people procure their role models from numerous sources. These are usually local and/or intimate personalities with whom they interact on a day to day basis, such as family members, teachers, peers and near peers. In addition, distant role models with whom only vicarious relationships are possible may also be chosen. These may include media celebrities from the world of sport, entertainment, and government, and could even be fictitious. Empirical research has found that adolescents generally search for their role models primarily from among those who possess social nearness, and with whom they have more intimate and local relationships.

The data confirmed similar patterns with regards to the location of aliyah role models. The most commonplace aliyah role model was the family member, usually a sibling or another relation in the less immediate family of the immigrant such as cousin, uncle or aunt. Teachers from both high-school and post-high school programs were also commonly cited as a formative influence on aliyah, as well as *madrichim*, almost always from Zionist youth movements. A primary

example of this was Matthew, who began his aliyah narrative by immediately referring to the influences he was exposed to from the Zionist youth movement in which he was highly involved:

Well at *machanot*. It was always kind of *madrachim* and *roshim* were making aliyah. And I was a bit of a geek. So I was like... I could mention all the themes of *machanot*. And ultimately aliyah was spoken about quite a lot at *machaneh*. Probably... I mean I started going to *machaneh* around '85... '86, and Israel was very much part of *machanot*. Also going to *sniff* each week.

For Matthew, the very first factor that came to mind as influencing the growth of his Zionist feelings and that ultimately led to his eventual decision to make aliyah were his experiences at Bnei Akiva camps. Central to those experiences were the interactions with his *madrachim* who later made aliyah. He describes the value of aliyah as being promoted explicitly - "aliyah was spoken about quite a lot", as well as implicitly, through example - "*madrachim* and *roshim* were making aliyah". Each had a lasting impact on him, to the extent that he is conscious of the impact they had on a decision that was made some twenty years later. While Matthew did not term these significant others role models at this point in the narrative, when this was probed later in the interview he confirmed that he would describe them as his role models. Indeed the tendency to refer to *madrachim* as "dugmaot Ishiot" [personal examples or role models] is highly common in the Zionist youth movement context.

While initially one might expect that distant vicarious role models were irrelevant to the process of aliyah role modeling, Aron proved to be an interesting exception to this assumption. The more common aliyah role models were not found in his narrative, but instead he refers to personalities from the history of Israel and Zionist thought as having a profound influence on him:

I think the people who I ... before I actually got deeper into the history, there were various... especially like Begin and "The Revolt", it's such a powerful book with regards to how he talks about life before he came back to the

Mandate. With the Polish army, and... and also I just like... you read about... I always felt that my *neshama* [soul] wise I don't belong to this era, I am very much someone who likes to get his hands dirty, and like a *chalutz* [pioneer] mentality. And I saw these people, and they want to build... their goal was to build something that they would never live to... they would never reap the benefits of what they did. It would all go to the next generation. And I just... in a way I find myself like relating to this passion, to this love of something that they didn't have but they wanted. And to an extent it's what we all go through. We have this passion that we love and we don't have it, we want it. And they became in a way role models... and also Netanyahu. I was big into Entebbe when I was younger. I watched Entebbe when I was 6 years old with my grandfather, and I remember the first time I cried, I didn't understand why Yoni had to die. And he was like a role model to me. And also I read *Michtav Yoni* [the Letters of Yoni Netanyahu] later on in life, but again these kind of things are an influence. Both of them are to me, both Begin and Netanyahu I look up to as... not as I guess role models... I never met them. So I guess like as people who I admire. Whose love of Israel was something that I want mine to be and always be.

Aron had gained an intimacy with personalities from Zionist history through literature and film, and had become deeply influenced by these personalities and their life achievements. While he seems to struggle with the use of the term role model in the light of never having met these personalities in his life time, he uses classic role model terminology when relating to them. He related to their passion, commitment and love. He admired them and wanted to be like them, achieve like them and embody the same values as they did. This identification with, and attachment to, a distant role model from history or literature, echoes Erikson's "secondary attachments" (Erikson 1950, 1956, 1968) or "parasocial relationships" (Horton & Wohl 1956, Levy 1979). This anomalous form of aliyah role model will be considered in greater depth in a following chapter.

An interesting and somewhat unexpected phenomenon was the number of subjects that cited their peers who had made aliyah as having a role modeling influence on them. For most of those that did describe their peers as aliyah role models, these friends represented the practical mode of aliyah role modeling, demonstrating practical skills and the potential to make aliyah "work". In

the previous chapter Molly described observing her peers living everyday life in Israel as impactful on her sense of self-efficacy when it came to aliyah. For Molly, seeing her friend performing routine tasks in Israel was critical. Her friend, who had the same upbringing and came from the same social milieu as herself, demonstrated that the potential of aliyah was not out of Molly's reach, on the one hand, and the practical skills and coping strategies necessary to make a successful aliyah on the other. Through living a normal life in Israel, a life that Molly would wish for herself, Molly's friend modeled a successful aliyah, and made that aliyah a practical possibility for her. She continued her narrative in response to the question of whether peers could be aliyah role models:

Absolutely. Because there is a huge huge thing... I think this is also why so many people did Ulpan... Etzion specifically. When you are going through something at the same time as someone else, and somebody is your contemporary, then you can relate to it. Like my brother, who made aliyah four and a half years ago, was busy saying, yeah, but no... I was freaking out about finding an apartment. And he is like, oh, it'll be fine. You'll find one, and you'll pay rent, and da da da da. He knows that because he did it already. So it's easy to say that, but he can't put himself back in that position of freaking out about it. And then there is really something important about going through it at the same time as somebody. So yeah, it's all very helpful to have Itai Oren, and all these rabbis, and all the people who have established themselves, and have been here for ten years, and have made aliyah ages ago, and they all have their support system. There is something about watching my own friends do it at this age, and seeing them making it to know that I can make it. Because even though Itai is doing it, he did it at a much later stage of life than me...

While older teachers and *madrichim* such as Itai can function as practical aliyah role models, peers prove to have the most impact according to Molly, because they are easier to relate to, as they are contemporaries and going through the same experiences at the same point in time. When it comes to feelings of self-efficacy, Molly intimates that this process has a more profound effect with a peer than a teacher or *madrich* who may maintain an aura of superiority and thereby create an alienation that prevents the same conclusions being drawn.

While peers appeared in the data largely as practical aliyah role models, Elisheva provided an instance where a peer had an inspirational impact as an aliyah role model:

My best friend moved to Israel when she was 1 and moved back to America when she was 12 and she, she just never adapted to American life. She never fully picked up English, even though, you know, her whole family is American. And she knew... freshman year of high school that she was going back to do the army. And so she was just so pro-Israel. So... and she actually did. She went back and she joined the army. That was a huge thing for me that she actually went and did that, in the middle of the Lebanon war, she still went back.

Elisheva's best friend had the option to remain in America enjoying the quality of life and security offered there to her contemporaries, yet instead chose to return to Israel and serve in the army. In fact, she did this at a time when Israel was involved in a war, presumably risking her own involvement in the war. For Elisheva, this had a profound and inspirational impact on her and her Zionist ideas and she described it as an influence on her decision to make aliyah. Inspirational aliyah role models often represent formidable personality types that are distant and heroic, found in both historical and fictional literature. Local aliyah role models, with whom observers have a more intimate relationship with, such as madrichim and peers, often function as enablers providing practical aliyah role modeling. However, here was a contemporary with whom Elisheva had intimacy acting in a heroic way and having the same inspirational affect more commonly seen with vicarious role models.

5.2 Formulating the profile of an aliyah role model

From the data, the formulation of a profile of an aliyah role model becomes apparent as certain themes repeatedly emerge. The most prevalent theme concerns the importance of perceived

similarities between observers and their model. While the most commonly cited similarities were cultural and social background, importance was also given to current age (peers were often described as the most important aliyah role models), stage of life at the point of aliyah, and the time elapsed between the aliyah of the observer and of the model.

5.2.1 Similarity hypothesis: the cases of Molly and Shoshana

Many theorists have argued for a *similarity hypothesis* in role modeling where individuals seek out role models who they perceive as similar to themselves because they assume that the experiences of those role models will apply to their lives as well. Observing the success of role models who have significant similarities to the observer will lead to an enhanced sense of self-efficacy and greater motivation. Those who argue for a *similarity hypothesis* would assume that gender and ethnicity would also be a critical factor in the choice of role models. While ethnic role modeling is irrelevant to this study, and gender did not appear as a factor in the narratives explored here, there were many instances where it became apparent that similarities between the role model and the immigrant were important to the process of role modeling.

Support for the *similarity hypothesis* emerged especially strongly from the narratives of Molly and Shoshana. As we have seen, Molly described observing her cousin making a life for herself in Israel, and the impact on her in light of the many similarities they shared:

Yeah, I knew I had cousins in Israel. I think from the point of view when I was here on my year off, seeing them, and seeing how successful they were helped. Like I have a cousin who is a speech and hearing therapist in Bet Shemesh, and she learnt the language, and she is settled, and she is happy, and married to an English guy. I used to go them for *shabbatot*, a lot of the time when you hear about aliyah, you hear about how people have to down-grade their lives, and you can't be successful, and there's no money, on and on and on. And I think

being here, and seeing my cousins who you know, they came from the same thing as I was coming from. The same kind of community, the same kind of professions, and they really have good lives here. And maybe... they are not living in what they would be living in in South Africa, but they are all happy, and they are not living behind a big fence either. But to see that they can be successful, and that it can be done, also, had an effect.

Molly and her cousin both experienced a similar childhood in the same location. They were immersed in the same social milieu, growing up in the same community in the same country. It just so happened that they even shared the same profession. All of these factors contributed to the powerful impact on Molly of observing her cousin's successful aliyah. Evidently, the more similarities one finds in a role model, the greater the sense of self-efficacy achieved when observing their achievements. Shoshana also spoke in these terms when describing her *madrichim* who had attended the same schools and camps and had been exposed to the same influences as her, and then made aliyah:

I think it is also one thing, when you are a kid and you know people who have done it, it's not like the strangest thing in the world. It's like, oh, so they made aliyah... it's almost a path that you could possibly take. I can't explain... we all did the same things, we went to the same schools, we did this, we did that, it just makes it like a possibility I suppose. Not necessarily something I would have done... because they were in the same kind of life path that I was in let's say... not exactly the same, you know, live in Finchley, go to HGSB, whatever it is. That is sort of just how you see your life progressing. Oh in 3 or 4 years time...

Shoshana refers to the aliyah models that had an influence on her aliyah, having graduated the same life-path during their childhood and adolescence. They attended the same institutions and had the same social experiences. Aliyah became for her the obvious next step on a well-trodden life-path. She found it easy to identify with and relate to these models. When they made aliyah, this demonstrated to her that this was a possibility in her life as well, because she saw herself in

those models. In fact, she says that without exposure to practical demonstrations of aliyah, she wonders if she would have in fact been influenced towards aliyah at all.

Shoshana furthers our understanding of the importance of similarity in role models when she responded to questions probing the impact of her teachers and Rabbis in the seminary she attended in Israel after graduating high school:

Less so, actually. Because they were like teachers already. Which is like... I suppose it is a role model in a different sense. It's kind of... you know, they are like these rabbis and whatever, and I was never going to go down the path of becoming a rabbi, obviously. But it was already different. It wasn't like really an exact role model. It is a different type of role model, I think... I wouldn't necessarily think, oh because Rav Miller made aliyah, it doesn't necessarily become possible for me to do it. Because already it felt like, oh he did it ages ago, things were different, he is different also, it's not like exactly the same...

While many of her teachers from this institution had made aliyah, some even from her native Britain, Shoshana seems to have difficulty relating to and identifying with them as aliyah role models. She failed to find the same similarities between their lives and hers as she did when it came to her *madrichim* from Britain. She attributed this both to their age and the amount of time that had elapsed since their aliyah, as well as something that was intrinsically different about them which formed an obstacle to her identification with them. As was seen earlier in the context of the discussion of peer aliyah role models, Molly also found it harder to relate to her older *madrichim* and the rabbis who taught her while she was studying in Israel because their aliyah did not reflect hers. Molly's *madrichim* and rabbis made aliyah some time ago and at a different stage of life. This limits the relevance of their modeling and therefore the feelings of self-efficacy engendered. For this same reason, Shoshana struggled to find aliyah role models in her

seminary despite being exposed there to many adults who had made aliyah. She did however refer to Rav Miller having an inspirational effect on her:

He kind of gives... that's the word, inspiring. Talks and stuff like that about why you should live in Israel... it's hard to think in my head the reasons and stuff like that... I can't put it into little boxes. But he does, he gives inspiring talks about why you should live here, and he makes it sound like it's the right thing to do... almost. And that life here... I can't explain... the problem is now I am five years later I can kind of see, he does also paint it in a pretty picture, and it's not like that necessarily, life isn't... I think he made it sound ideologically that this was the best thing to do. I definitely left with that impression, and it was a lot to do with Rav Miller and his... he gives a lot of shiurim, and always things like living in Israel come up.

In a similar way to Laura's description in the previous section, Shoshana saw a dichotomy between inspiring aliyah in an emotional sense, and practical aliyah role modeling which can only be achieved with models that have similarity. Rav Miller was an inspiration to Shoshana, but not an "aliyah role model", because for Shoshana, aliyah role models model practical aspects of aliyah. The *similarity hypothesis* is less important for inspirational aliyah role models.

Many other interviewees also pointed to the importance of finding similarities between themselves and their aliyah role models for the process of aliyah role modeling to engender a sense of aliyah self-efficacy. In the previous chapter the Hartman's were described as struggling role models for Colette and her family, finding the aliyah process challenging, especially in terms of the less than smooth absorption of their thirteen year old daughter Tamar. Although the Hartman's emigrated many years ago, the fact that they emigrated at a similar stage of life to Colette and her husband Richard made them an obvious choice as aliyah role models. The Hartman's became aliyah role models to Colette and her family because of the many similarities Colette saw in their pre-aliyah lives, as well as in their aliyah itself, especially the difficulties encountered with their children settling into life in Israel. Most important for Colette was her

hope that her own children's aliyah would ultimately be similar to the aliyah of the Hartman children, who while suffering hardships, eventually settled into what Colette would term a successful adolescent aliyah.

In his narrative, Yonatan provides a unique perspective on the *similarity hypothesis* from the perspective of the model rather than the observer. He describes the impact he felt he had on students in Australia when he returned as a *madrich* on a Jewish Agency educational program to the school he attended as a child:

But yes, there is definitely that because of who we are especially for me, because coming from the same school, for one of the years I did it, the following year I did it in a different school. Coming from the same place, knowing like where they are coming from, and saying like, look, you can do this, things can be different if you will, or you can also make aliyah if you want to or whatever it may be, I definitely think it was very *mashpia* [influential].

Yonatan believes he had a powerful impact on the students from the school where he graduated when he returned because of his unique position of similarity, being an alumnus of the school. He modeled the possibility of aliyah in a way that only a graduate could. This perhaps could lead to a persuasive argument for purposefully employing alumni.

Shoshana and Molly both intimated that cultural background and upbringing was an important factor in explaining who became an aliyah role model for them. Danny provided a poignant example of this, presenting his uncle when asked for any significant others in his life who had made aliyah and influenced his own decision to make aliyah. He related to his uncle as an aliyah role model, despite having made a very different aliyah to his own, and despite the fact that he made aliyah many years ago:

Yeah, my uncle, so my dad's brother, he made Aliyah to Ma'alot just after the Yom Kippur war... within days of the Yom Kippur war, he went to help out on a kibbutz, things like that. In fact, I've just realised it now, I didn't think about it, but our stories are very very similar, very similar. He finished university, he started working, I don't remember what he did here, in London, in his early/mid 20s he started working, and again Aliyah was never an option for him, he didn't really think about it. He was a Zionist, I don't know, because his parents were Zionists, his friends were Zionists, but he didn't go to any youth movement like I did, but a passive Zionist, let's call it that. And he very quickly started thinking about Aliyah, from nothing, maybe things that happened in his childhood, maybe there were things that happened that he didn't really think about at the time, but I think the Yom Kippur war really kind of hit home and there was also... I think there were holidays on kibbutzim. And after the Yom Kippur war there was a call out for volunteers for the various helpers on kibbutzim went to join the army so they needed help for picking fruit, things like that. So suddenly he kind of just told his boss he's leaving, this is what he's doing, he's going to give it six months, I can't remember how many months it was, but he was going to give it a certain number of months to see how it goes, and can he still have his position when he gets back, and his boss said yes, which was quite a surprise, and he went... and he made Aliyah, simple as that. We've been thinking about it for a number of years but it still seems quite new to us. Yes, he was an influence, because you know, he's got four kids, my first cousins, we used to spend holidays with each other and I used to love the experience of them, going to Ma'alot and staying with them for Shabbat and things like that, and when he came to London and talking about Israel. So maybe actually... yeah, maybe talking to him, even when I was younger when I was a kid when he used to come to London or when we used to go there for holidays, I always used to like seeing him and looked forward to our meetings and I think... yeah he was certainly an influence. Nothing he did necessarily, it was just his story and the fact that he was so English but yet he made it in Israel.

For Danny, despite the many differences, his uncle's aliyah still had an impact on him because of the many similarities between their stories, such as the stage of life in which their aliyah occurred, the way they both came to make the decision to come to Israel, and their professional situation at the time of migration. Danny also introduces us to another dimension of practical aliyah role modeling. An essential component of the similarities that Danny sees in his uncle is his *Englishness*, caused by his up-bringing in the same social milieu that Danny also experienced growing up. Danny also sees himself as very English. This troubled Danny while he contemplated aliyah. Can someone who was very English really survive as an immigrant in

Israel? Through observing his uncle as an aliyah role model, he came to the conclusion that despite this aliyah was a realistic possibility. Danny thus provides a clear example of the strengthening of aliyah self-efficacy through role modeling. In his case the *similarity hypothesis* seems central to the process. Understanding the importance of the aliyah role model's cultural background to the process of aliyah role modeling leads to a prevalent debate among *olim*. Can Israelis function as aliyah role models despite not having made aliyah?

5.2.2 Can Israelis be aliyah role models?

In light of the data supporting the *similarity hypothesis* one could be forgiven for dismissing Israelis as aliyah role models from the outset. Not only can it be argued that there is a significant culture gap between Israeli society and the western societies in which immigrants to Israel have been immersed until their aliyah, but in the context of aliyah a certain dissonance between the experiences of the *oleh* [immigrant] and the *sabra* [native born Israeli] can be argued. By definition a *sabra*, born and raised in Israel, will not have made aliyah. One can assume that this will prove a considerable obstacle to an Israeli functioning as an aliyah role model, whether as an inspirational aliyah role model or a practical aliyah role model. However, the data suggests this was not so clear cut.

When faced with the question of who he thinks will have a more profound impact on aliyah decisions, immigrants or Israelis, Alan answered in expected fashion:

It depends on the person. It depends on that person and it depends on the person being influenced. I think a lot of people will say it is someone who has made aliyah. You are more like them, therefore you can see, if they have succeeded then I can succeed.

As far as Alan is concerned, generally speaking, an immigrant will find more in common with a fellow immigrant than a native Israeli, and while he doesn't rule out the possibility of an Israeli functioning as an aliyah role model, he suggests it is far more likely that aliyah role models will be found among immigrants. He emphasizes that this will be especially true in terms of practical aliyah role modeling and the development of a sense of aliyah self-efficacy. This phenomenon will be absent from a role modeling relationship with a *sabra*.

Annabel expands on the same idea in her narrative. She compares the nurturing she and her husband experienced during the early years of their life in Israel in their relationship with three older couples. The first two couples she describes as inspirational aliyah role models, while the third couple, who are Israeli, in Annabel's mind cannot function as aliyah role models for her:

[B]oth of our other oldest friends and certainly influential people in our lives... because we studied at the *ulpan* [Hebrew language immersion program]... And the woman who just started working as the administrator of the program she also adopted us. And she is a very very sweet person and we are very good friends today still. But she and her husband are *sabraim* [pl. Sabra – native Israelis]. So even though they were incredibly wonderful to us and we are still close friends until today, I wouldn't say exactly they are role models because they represented something unattainable. We could never be *sabraim*... They were incredibly... they were tremendously supportive and like I said I love them dearly and I am extremely grateful to them but they weren't role models because I guess... I guess... I don't know why. On that level I couldn't relate to them. Or I didn't see myself becoming them. I don't know why. Not that I see myself becoming my 86 year-old cousin, or I see myself becoming Lily... You know, I guess I was inspired by people who had made aliyah in what I perceived to be a heroic way...

Annabel struggled and ultimately failed to relate to the *ulpan* administrator and her husband as aliyah role models on any terms. Despite having a largely identical relationship with them as with her aliyah role models Nicola and Lily and their husbands, she finds that they represent for her an unattainable vision. Despite the "heroic" nature of the aliyah stories of Nicola and Lily,

Annabel can still find aspects of her own aliyah in their narratives, demonstrating once again the importance of finding similarity in role models. This notion is further developed in the narrative:

I think also you have experienced this yourself. As an ex-pat you have something huge in common with anyone else whose ever been one before. Even though they weren't from my country. We were young, and most of our friends were foreigners, but by no means where they Americans. They were everything. First of all Alex was Russian, so right away that opens a whole world for us. But so many of them were... there were South Americans, and they were south African, and they were European, and they were... we had friends from all over the world. So even if you meet as an *oleh* an Argentinean... you already have something tremendous in common because you have made aliyah. Making aliyah is going to be up there in the top 3 or 4 of the most formative experiences in your life after having kids, right? So, it's something you have in common with someone. Anyone who hasn't been through that by definition you have less in common with them. So there are *sabraim* today we are good friends with who we have made a connection with over the years just on a personal level, on an individual level, but by default you have something in common with another person who has made aliyah. Even when it is not from your country. And I don't know, I guess I just couldn't relate to them well. And also... I don't know, like I said, this is all retrospective, I am trying to think if I had any role models my own age during those years or at least of my own generation. I can't think of any. I really can't think of any. Which is bizarre...

Despite the obvious similarities being largely absent when it comes to the *olim* from various countries that Annabel meets on her travels in Israel, such as culture and language from childhood, she still finds it easier to relate to someone who has had the experience of making aliyah, than an Israeli who has not. She equates aliyah with other life transforming life-events such as childbirth, and suggests that there is a fundamental link connecting all *olim* that can never be replicated in a relationship between a *sabra* and an *oleh*.

Annabel provides a fascinating theory in explanation of the essential barrier preventing true understanding between a *sabra* and an *oleh*:

... And like I said, most of the Israelis of my own age who I met in those first few years were... I did start to make friends with Israelis, and I became friends with them, but you know, most of them couldn't have been role models for me, because they were so different from me. I mean I remember thinking when I was at Mercury my friends at work were... I was... I remember thinking that they couldn't put me in context because they were all good kids. They were the good kids, who did everything right, and they were in the right units in the army, and all went to university, and they did very well, and then they... most of them did advance degrees, and now they were working at a really prestigious start up, and they were on the major major career success tracks. These were people who when they had spouses or boyfriends and girlfriends who were the same, just like them. And these were people who had done everything right. They had done everything by the book in their lives. So I could be friends with them because they were very very bright, and many of them were extremely urbane, many of them had lived abroad at various times in their lives and they were very cosmopolitan and I made many friends. But they couldn't possibly put me... they couldn't understand where I was coming from. Someone who had... in their minds someone who had made aliyah was also a good Jewish boy or girl who had done everything by the book and then came and sort of merged with them. Whereas the reality is very untrue. In order to break away from your life, your comfortable life in the west and come here, you have to be an exceptional... not necessarily in a good way, but certainly an unusual person. It is not a normal thing to do. And so my Israeli contemporaries, they couldn't be role models for me because we were just so inherently different. And if those people were my role models I wouldn't be here in the first place apparently. So maybe that's... I am trying to think it through, but maybe that's the reason why people like Lily or Nicola would be role models to me. Because obviously I am the kind of person who picks up, marries a Russian who is 7 years older than she is at an unacceptable age for a non-religious American girl from New York, and moves to Israel, during a war. This is not a normal thing to do. So clearly my role models were not going to be my contemporary Israelis who had done everything by the book. And I often thought about it during those years about how those people couldn't really understand Zionism, they couldn't understand why they were here, they were so distant from Alex's experiences, or even my own.

The Israelis that Annabel mixed with both professionally and socially, that she had the most in common with in terms of socio-economic station, represented Israel's best and brightest. However, Annabel, while reflecting their educational and professional experiences, and socio-economic backgrounds, represented a paradigm shift away from the values of her parent society. This created a deep cultural fissure between these two groups. While not a total barrier to social interaction, and clearly does not preclude the possibility of a full and meaningful relationship,

this lack of shared experiences and cultural language may lead to a strained relationship, and according to Annabel, certainly prevents Israelis from serving as aliyah role models.

However, this position was far from consistent across the data. It became clear that the approach to this issue depended on the perception of what it was that the aliyah role model was actually modeling. Laura felt strongly that Israelis could model the Zionist values inherent in aliyah:

There are definitely Israelis who are... they have the same Zionistic love for Israel that you do. That's one of those things that I come here to these... again there are a lot of Americans here in Chashmanaim but you know on Yom Ha'atzmaut, the first year, even though it didn't change the second year... I am a very emotional person. You go to these Yom Ha'atzmaut programs the kids are doing, and especially the first year you are seeing your kid... my children were chosen to dance with the flag because they had just made aliyah, and you have this amazing feeling, and I sometimes feel bad for my kids that they are not going to have that in the same way that you will. They are not going to... ok, maybe Meira will remember landing, but they are not going to have... are they going to have that same oh my God I have left my family, I have left everything and I moved to Israel. They live here. On the one hand that is amazing, but on the other hand are they going to have that same experience? But then you see these Israelis, and they are just as gung-ho sitting there and inspired by what's going on as you are. I think yeah, you definitely... whereas I know Natan, sometimes he lives in a different world than I do, because he works in Tel Aviv and that is where he is all day. And he is surrounded by different people than I am surrounded by. And when you meet people and they are like why? Why would you live here? Isn't it so much better in America? Why are you here? Those are clearly not your aliyah role models. Whereas when you see these people who are still in love with Israel for the same reasons you are, it doesn't matter whether they were born here or not. They still have that same... and you hear it. And I think in some ways it's important, because if you came here and you moved here and everybody... wherever it is. If you moved to England and you are surrounded by people that hate England, well what are you going to stay there for? If the people that were born here don't like it here then what am I going to do here? I think that that is definitely going to impact you.

Laura expressed a fear that her children would not grow up with the same passion for Zionism that she had because they would take too much for granted growing up in a Jewish state. But she reflects on a profound realization she had on her first Yom Ha'atzmaut following her aliyah.

While not all Israelis are good aliyah role models, especially those that question the concept and act of aliyah from America, Laura says that she and her children are exposed to good Israeli aliyah role models in her home town of Chashmanaim. These Israelis model passion and commitment to the Zionistic values that are central to Laura and her Zionist philosophy, the ideology that brought her to Israel. This is inspirational aliyah role modeling, and for Laura Israelis can function just as well as *olim* in this realm.

There were those that went further with respect to Israeli aliyah role modeling, suggesting that an Israeli can function not just as an inspirational aliyah role model, but as a practical aliyah role model too. Josh looked to his Israeli boss as a role model in this way:

J. I would say that my boss has been a particular role model since I made aliyah. I have known him since... he was my first boss. He like brought me to my first company, and he is now the inventor of the technology where I work. He was my reference of what Israeli life could be.

I. That's interesting because he is Israeli, he never made aliyah, right?

J. I don't see aliyah as the ideal. I see living in Israel as the ideal. I don't see the actual act of aliyah as the be all and end all. My aliyah is in the bag. The fact is that when I got here I got straight into Israeli society and I saw all around me the people who it wasn't easier for because they grew up in Israel. In many ways, I had a good qualification, I had a decent job, I was on the same level as them already, and it was about making a go of it. It wasn't about making aliyah, it was about living here.

Josh seemed less concerned with the intrinsic values of aliyah and more about the practicalities of living and being successful in Israel. For Josh, aliyah was a means to the ultimate goal, which was to live in Israel. Perhaps Israelis are more qualified to model the practical skills necessary for a successful life in Israel than an immigrant, and so Josh saw no reason why he couldn't observe his Israeli boss as a role model to this end. In much the same way, as was seen in the

previous chapter, Jane saw her parent's Israeli friends model "real life" and more importantly they also modeled "what life could be like here".

The phenomenon of potential *olim* encountering Israelis before their aliyah also presented itself in the data. This often resulted in the forming of an emotional connection to Israel and Israeli society through the emotional connection they formed with the Israelis they were exposed to. As we have seen, Colette found the Israeli personalities that she met in America a romantic representation of the Israeli society that she was attracted to:

I think meeting Israelis in America, often made me feel like that. Like the personality of the *sabra*. It's a much more organic... and I am taking that word actually from someone that Richard met with recently who used that, and I think it is an accurate term. I think life in Israel is more organic at present... we'll see what happens. But it's more organic, and I feel like... I feel like interacting with Israelis in America always made me feel like 'oh my gosh, that's like a real person, and like a real person who says what they are feeling'.

Encountering the *sabra*, especially in the context of American society, highlighted to Colette many of the reasons why she was interested in making Israel her home. They modeled the prevalent values in Israeli society, the values Colette looked forward to immersing her family in. Yaffit also developed an affectionate and emotional relationship with Israel through an emotional relationship that she formed at camp with a group of Israeli co-counselors:

[T]hey have a *mishlachot* [delegation] that comes, and basically I just was friends with the *mishlachot*, to points where like other staff members would come over to me and be, like, wait you're not part of the *mishlachot*? You're not Israeli? Because I would just be with them all the time and it was very... when there was something about Israel, related to Israel, any kind of *tekes* [ceremony] they would do, like I was just crying, I became very emotional about it and that was really... I really wanted to make Aliyah after that, but my parents were more like, get your Master's degree in social work, get experience and then do that... and then make Aliyah, so I did... Because the way they spoke about Israel. The way they spoke about Israel, the stories that they told,

just their energy in general. I remember just thinking, oh wow, Israelis are so cool, you know, I just love that energy and their passion. I've never been a particularly patriotic person for America. It was just kind of the place where I lived, you know... I mean that's not the best thing in the world to say because it's a wonderful place to live, but growing up I always felt much more connected to Israel than I did in America. Didn't really mean that much to me. Um, and I think just really being with them just impacted that greatly, seeing their spirit and their energy.

Yaffit was inspired by the energy and excitement for Israel that she saw among the group of young Israelis, and she began her own love affair with Israel through her relationship with them. In her new friends she observed their commitment, passion and love for Israel. These young Israelis are a further example of a form of aliyah role modeling. They modeled a relationship with their country that Yaffit began to emulate herself.

5.3 Aliyah role modeling from the perspective of the model

Few theorists have considered exploring the conscious self-awareness of the educator as a role model. While there are those that feel that the process of role modeling is subconscious from the perspective of the role model, others believe that the more conscious the model is of his/her impact as a model, the more effective they become as a role model. The subjects of this research were all *olim*, and therefore potentially aliyah role models themselves. This provided the opportunity to explore the role modeling process from the perspective of the model as well, and perhaps shed some light on this largely unexplored angle of the phenomenon of role modeling.

There was some disagreement among the interviewees seen in the data as to whether the process of role modeling was a conscious one on the part of the role model or a subconscious phenomenon where the model was unaware of its incidence or impact as a phenomenon. Josh,

while reflecting on the reasons why his *madrichim* had the impact on him as role models suggests that he was aware of functioning in the same capacity for his *chanichim*:

[I] don't know. Maybe their charisma. Their charisma, and maybe also the fact that they were the kind of people that I can be, and they had a message which struck a chord I suppose. And I like to think that I tried to be that kind of thing for my *chanichim*.

While charisma is not something one can consciously develop or plan to impress on the people around you, Josh reflects on his *madrichim* representing to him the potential he had in himself and having an attractive message and consciously modeling it. Josh juxtaposes the impact of his *madrichim*'s charisma, and the enabling impact they had by modeling achievements that Josh felt he could achieve. This echoes Dow's description of the observer as she identifies within the charismatic leader a potential that is also within her, allowing her to overcome external and internal limits of daily existence (Dow 1978).

Josh relates that as a *madrich* himself he was aware of this role and influence. Shoshana also relates of her awareness that she served as a practical aliyah role model for her peers:

People always ask, whenever I am in England people are always asking me about this and that, and anything. They want to know the best place to live, even, just like sometimes practical things. How do you do the Nefesh B'Nefesh stuff, whatever. And also like... I was actually with a friend yesterday who always wanted to make aliyah, and she is here now, visiting, and she... they bought a place in Israel, they are serious about living here. But she just can't stand Israelis, or whatever it is. And she was really asking me like what's it like, how do you deal with it, and just all the things you don't think of when you are a kid. You know, when you are on your year off and they don't tell you that you don't earn money in this country, and suddenly when you are a bit older and you think about it, and she was asking me all these questions about it.

Shoshanah realizes that she models the practicalities of an aliyah from a western country, dealing with various cultural differences, coping with bureaucratic processes, and general aliyah decisions. She is cognizant of modeling all of these things to her friends and acquaintances as they consider their options and make their own aliyah plans, and this leads them to utilize her for aliyah guidance.

However Molly, when considering her relationship with her brother as a role modeling relationship, reflects on his obliviousness to the impact he continuously has on her as a role model:

M. My brother is definitely one of my role models. I don't know. I guess in a sort of *madrach* way, because, he definitely like... in the literal sense of the word, guided me through... and still does. I love him to bits, so... and he definitely is like... you know... he has been a *madrach* in my life but not in the same way as a *madrach* from Bnei Akiva has.

I. Do you think the sibling relationship could be a model for what the role modeling relationship could be?

M. Definitely. Yes. Especially with the age difference that we have, I think it's very... I don't think in general older siblings realize what an important impact they have on their younger siblings. Definitely. I think siblings have huge impact on things like aliyah especially. But just in general in decision making. I see so many of my friends who are older siblings, and they make so many decisions [where] they don't realize the influence it is having on the younger sibling. You watch the younger sibling going on the exact same path. I know it from myself. I know that I wanted to do certain things because I knew my brother did them, and I knew I didn't want to do certain things because I knew my brother didn't do them, and I knew I didn't want to do certain things because I knew *davka* [specifically] my brother would be disappointed. That was all when I was much younger, a teenager.

Molly feels that older siblings function in a similar capacity as role models, and that we can understand facets of the phenomenon of role modeling from the sibling relationship. She posits that older siblings are generally unaware of their influence as role models, and perhaps this can

be extrapolated to the general phenomenon of role modeling. Matthew however, felt that this depends on the age and maturity of the role model. Upon being asked if he was aware of being a role model, he responded:

Certainly not when I was a young *madrich*. So I was already a *madrich* in the 4th year... until the upper sixth. Certainly not then. Once again, the sophistication levels of questioning yourself as a *madrich* developed over the years of being a *boger* [lit. graduate – senior madrich]. And ultimately being a *mazkir* [General Secretary]... And even after Bnei Akiva I still was part of the community, and I taught a lot of people, and I think I developed my ideas of what it meant to be a teacher and a role model, it became more sophisticated, to the level where I am today, where I am still connected with old *chanichim* [participants] who are coming to Israel who I am much more open and frank with.

Matthew suggests that younger *madrichim* have less awareness of their impact as role models, and this changes over time, where their consciousness of this process grows with maturity. He uses his own career as a *madrich* in Bnei Akiva as an example of how his cognizance developed from being a junior *madrich*, to a *boger*, to *Mazkir* and beyond, as a teacher in the community after his involvement in Bnei Akiva had ended.

Self-awareness as an aliyah role model and a belief in the potential influence of the role model can often lead to a sense of responsibility. Molly, for example, shared some thoughts about her sense of responsibility:

It's funny, none of my *madrichim* made aliyah. *Madrichim* that were once... all my brother's year, were all meant to be the *madrichim* to take us, they were Shevet Achdut, they all finished school and made aliyah straight away. And all the other ones settled down into Ohr Sameach in South Africa, so... it's funny because we didn't actually... it was a big problem in Bnei Akiva for a long time was that there were no good *dugmaot*. It is one of the things for me now, that I always go and visit... and say look, there are *bogrim* that make aliyah. Because that did lack for a while.

Molly was always sensitive to a lack of aliyah role models in her youth movement back home in South Africa, mainly due to the scarcity of *bogrim*-graduates from Bnei Akiva making aliyah. This led her to have a sense of responsibility to return to the movement in South Africa whenever she could to indirectly make the statement “look there are *bogrim* that make aliyah”. Laura also expressed her awareness of this role and its potential impact on young people, also in Bnei Akiva, but this time in North America:

And to me it was important... even when I was younger, to be a *madricha*, and then instill those ideas in younger children. And even for me, when I decided to make aliyah, one of the big things for me was when I stopped coming back to Moshava, was I felt a little bit that it was my responsibility to do that, and then if someone like me who is really pro-aliyah, if we keep making aliyah, and stop coming back to the camps, and stop coming back to Bnei Akiva, who is going to tell the kids of the next generation like how great Israel is, if we stay in Israel and don't bring them here... But that was one of the difficult decisions for me, because I thought it was important to, you know, for the *chinuch* point of view of the younger kids, it's like if the people running the camps now are not people who are planning to make aliyah, so even though they are definitely going to give the kids the same Bnei Akiva Zionist sense of how important it is, it might be more checkbox Zionism for these kids.

Laura expressed her feelings of responsibility to keep returning to camp in order to give her campers exposure to an aliyah role model. She distinguished between someone who could transmit the importance of aliyah within Bnei Akiva's Zionist ideology, and someone who had actually made aliyah. The former she felt was not sufficient to achieve the educational aims of the camp. Campers need to be exposed to someone who embodies the fulfillment of the value of aliyah in order to truly understand it and be impacted by it. She further distinguishes this educational mode with the formal pedagogy of a class:

You can definitely do the job of *Rosh Mitbach* without having any influence at all whatsoever from a religious Zionist aliyah point of view. You could. And I am sure that there are definitely people who have held that position who... you know, they have had influences whatever type of influence they were, but

it wasn't about like... what you are chit chatting with the kids... I think sometimes that is more... you have more impact on the kids than a... sometimes a *shiur*. It's like the whole combination of this guy, this rabbi, was talking about this and that and whatever, but here is this random person, and it's not my job, I am just chatting with them, and telling them about my life, and telling them about my experiences, and they are asking me questions. Definitely, I know that some of them made aliyah and some of them have not, but they all know me being the one who was in the kitchen wearing my Israeli flag. They joked about it, but I definitely had an impact on those lives. I mean the other thing in terms of being the aliyah role model, after you are here, kids come for *shana aleph*, and they used to come to my house. All these kids, I was their *madricha* for many years, and I would say for four years, for four solid years I had *shana aleph* kids coming to my apartment for Shabbat and having them live my experience with me, and staying with me, and sometimes having meals with 20 or 30 kids, and you know, just like seeing my life and experiencing my life with me. And had they not had a positive experience with me in the *mitbach* then they wouldn't have been so interested in coming to my house for shabbes lunch, and then they wouldn't have maybe been here today.

The experience of interacting with a living embodiment of a value has a more profound effect than the intellectual engagement with that value as an abstract concept in a class. She also refers to the added impact from the fact that this educational experience comes from an unexpected source – the *Rosh Mitbach* (head of the camp's kitchen). While the Rabbi or the teacher is there to educate the ideology of the institution, one would assume that the *Rosh Mitbach* is employed to manage the logistics of the camp's kitchen. However, according to Laura, not to employ someone who embodies the values and ideology of the institution even in this “non-educational” position would be a missed opportunity.

Laura also made a passing reference to “wearing my Israeli flag” and exposure to other indirect educational messages while “chit chatting” with her campers, sharing her life and experiences. Josh would agree that every moment in an educational setting has educational potential and demonstrated his awareness as such as he functioned as a *madrich*:

That was the job. My job was to be a *madrich*... my job was to be a *madrich* and educate about Religious Zionism so everything I did was that. I think that was all part of the education that Bnei Akiva was. We tried to lead by example.

The ideology of the institution can be expressed in every act of the educator, those that are explicitly educational as well as those that are implicit and indirect. This was something not only clearly apparent to Josh, but central in guiding his career as an educator. An educator's awareness of this on an executive educational level was also expressed in the data, when Sally, a supplementary school principal, articulated how this awareness guided her in faculty recruitment:

[C]ertainly teachers can be role models or I wouldn't... I believe in that completely, but I think *kal vchomer* [all the more so] when you see them all the time or see them in little moments that tell you much more than when they teach you... Even more limiting though in a Hebrew school. In a Hebrew school they see them six hours a week...well, I hire people that I... that I identified with, that I felt were exhibiting... was a model of the kind of people that I wanted my kids to be exposed to only.

For Sally, the power of the role model is in the "little moments" where you learn from the educators themselves, as models, and this is more powerful than the intellectual processes that occur inside the classroom. This was central to Sally's policies and vision as a supplementary school principal.

In this chapter the profile of the aliyah role model was explored. The sources from which aliyah role models were taken were examined, and a profile of the aliyah role model was formulated, with evidence for the *similarity hypothesis* providing a central consideration. The potential for Israelis to function as aliyah role models and the model's consciousness of the process of aliyah role modeling were also discussed. In the following chapter the profile of the observer, the *oleh*, will be examined in more depth.

Chapter 6: Profile of the Observer

There is scarce literature considering the profile of the person impacted by role modeling - the observer in the role model relationship - unlike the abundance of literature that explores the profile of the role model. While there are studies that examine the psychological processes associated with role modeling during adolescence, there has been limited research concerning the observer and the factors necessary for role modeling to occur in terms of the observer's developmental readiness and general profile. In this chapter, a profile of the observer will be formulated. The question of which developmental life stages the phenomenon of role modeling is operative will be taken as the starting point. The self-perception of the interviewees in this respect will provide the basis for this exploration and discussion.

6.1 What ages are affected by the phenomenon of role modeling?

While role modeling has always been a phenomenon associated with adolescence, due in main part to the psychological and sociological processes operating during this time such as ego identity consolidation and the socialization of the young person into the norms of parent communities and the wider society, there is also a wealth of literature exploring role modeling at later stages of life. These include in the workplace and tertiary educational contexts, and explore the impact of role models on various aspects of adult life, such as attitudes to sex and sexuality, career decisions, and ethnic and gender role modeling. In some instances, the processes of adult role modeling observed were similar to those affecting adolescents, for example socialization and the transmission of values in the workplace (Moberg 2000, Weaver *et al* 2005).

Generally, the interviewees in the sample for this research who described the impact of role models in general and aliyah role models in particular referred to processes taking place during their adolescence. Notable exceptions were Annabel and Colette who only spoke of an awareness of aliyah role models influencing them as adults. Several other interviewees, including Sally, Laura, Matthew and David, also explored the impact that aliyah role models could have on adults, whether from a personal perspective or in theoretical terms. There was also a significant number of interviewees, most noteworthy being Molly, Josh and Robert, who spoke of peers as aliyah role models during adulthood.

The interviewees were expressing their understanding of the phenomenon in terms of their own personal experience, and there is value in comparing their testimony – drawing as it does on their lived experience – with empirical research and with theoretical insights found in the literature. Shoshana, for instance, who did not relate to any aliyah role models during her adulthood, but could cite many examples from her youth, suggested that looking up to older significant others as role models during adolescence is a natural and common phenomenon:

[But] I think you do look to your *madrichim* for... I don't know. Like, what do they do... you know, that is what kids do. I think that is probably just what I did also... They are meant to be... they influence you... they... I don't know... everyone does it. Teachers, *madrichim*, all these kind of people. I think everyone does it. I definitely did. As a role model I suppose. I don't remember a particular *madrich* that I looked to as a role model, but I just think generally because they were in the same kind of life path that I was in let's say... not exactly the same, you know, live in Finchley, go to HGSB, whatever it is. That is sort of just how you see your life progressing. Oh in 3 or 4 years time... I think everyone looks to like older people, teachers also... that's why they always say "set a good example". Because people will look up to you. I just think it puts the idea in your head.

Shoshana seems to be suggesting that all adolescents look to older significant others for guidance in life, and relate to them as role models, whether consciously or subconsciously. She reflects on

this process in her own youth and assumes that all adolescents go through similar processes. Echoing the work of Erikson, Alan suggests from experience as an educational practitioner working with adolescents over many years that this is a time of life when young people search for direction and are therefore open to the influence of role models:

[B]ecause you know they are at such an age... such an impressionable age that you are looking for some direction, and why not? This is there at the right time, at the right place, it does the job.

As an educator, Alan is aware of the potential impact of role models and therefore considers the provision of role models as vital for the transmission of values and ideology in an ideologically driven institution. The combination of young people experiencing adolescence and exposure to dynamic significant others, during a period when the adolescent is searching for guidance and direction in life, constitute a potent educational combination.

However, there are those that feel that while adolescence may be a period in life that is especially fertile for role model influence, there is no stage in life where the phenomenon of role modeling is not active. Sally, among others, found examples in her own life of role modeling during adulthood, and expressed this opinion strongly while bringing one such example from her own experience:

I don't think it stops... as a teacher, it never stops as a teacher. My kids are my role models on many levels, absolutely they are. Every time I have a challenging kid I have to find something else in myself that can help me connect with this kid and they're helping me find these things in myself that I didn't know I even had or that... I worked so hard at trying to find that common ground with a kid especially who's marginal and who... you work so hard at that... I mean, that's part of what a role model is, finding something in another person that helps you be better, so, yeah, the fact that it's not... definitely it doesn't stop at adolescence...not for me.

As a teacher Sally has always been open to learning from others, which is the basis of her definition of role modeling: “finding something in another person that helps you be better”. She even cites her students as potential role models, perhaps trying to show that the traditional perception of an older wiser significant other impacting on the life of a younger impressionable person is not the only formula for the process of role modeling. Here instead she presents a radically different view of role modeling where the older more experienced teacher can be influenced by her younger students as role models. Her bottom line is that role modeling can take many shapes and forms at any stage of life.

6.1.1 Changing perceptions of role modeling from adolescence to adulthood

If the process of role modeling does operate beyond adolescence, is the phenomenon consistent across ages or differentiated between developmental stages of a person’s life? Shoshana felt that her approach to role models had changed over time. When she reflected on negative aliyah role modeling in her life, such as *madrichim* who failed to make aliyah themselves despite having educated her about aliyah and encouraged her to take this step, she believes that with age fall-out from this disappointment had been tempered by her own maturity and development:

I am not... it’s not really going to bother me, people who don’t make aliyah. Because... also I am a bit older, and I do realize that it’s not so easy. But I am not going to pretend that let’s say five years ago I didn’t necessarily think why hasn’t that person made aliyah, or why didn’t they... not necessarily with aliyah, but with a lot of things *dugma* [lit. example – a term often used to signify role modeling] wise... you do sometimes think, you know, you listened to that person so much, and actually they... it’s a load of rubbish... I just don’t really care anymore. Also, like I am old enough to know now that the *madrichim* aren’t perfect.

With the perspective gained by with age and adulthood Shoshana now has a better understanding of the complexities of life in general and of the factors that influence the decision to make aliyah in particular. This has a strong mediating effect on the disappointment she experienced from failed role models when she was younger. She feels she is no longer prone to the destructive impact from the disillusionment caused by imperfect role models. This suggests that adults have a more sophisticated approach to role modeling than adolescents, having the ability to understand more fully the complexities of life, which comes with the ironic stage of development (Egan 1997). The ability to understand the world through an ironic disposition is to look at the world with the mental flexibility to recognize how inadequately flexible are our minds, and the languages we use, to the world we try to represent in them, including the ability to consider alternative philosophic explanations. This engenders a more realistic and complex attitude to the world in general and to the role model in particular, enabling the observer to enjoy more autonomy in the role modeling relationship.

A significant part of Matthew's narrative was dedicated to weighing the differences in the processes of role modeling between the developmental stages of adolescence and adulthood. Matthew articulated a clear distinction between the process of role modeling during adolescence and the corresponding process during adulthood, one he describes as closer to mentoring:

I. Do you think role modeling accompanies you to adulthood, or only adolescents are impacted by role models?

M. I still have mentors and people I look up to, but I think there is a certain [expectation] of role model perfection, unquestioning... but I think that's the stage of life. It's also the stage of the *madrachim's* life, where they set themselves up for perfection as well. If you were probably their age and had a discussion with them and got a bit deeper into it, they might not think they were so perfect, but when they are sat in front of teenagers it's easy to show perfection. You're very unquestioning at that age.

Matthew begins by describing his own role models in adulthood as mentors. He further explores this below. However, he depicts role modeling during adolescence as based on an unquestioning acceptance on the part of the observer, where the observer accepts the role model as somehow perfect, without critical reflection. However, Matthew also reflects on the adolescent *madrich* who he feels subconsciously if not actively contributes to this perception, again due to a lack of comprehension of complexity during adolescence. The adolescent *madrich*-role model is complicit in constructing a model of perfection and allowing it to be placed on a pedestal. Matthew continues to develop this theme of differentiating between the two phenomena:

I. Is the term 'mentor' just an easier word to use when you are an adult, or is it a different relationship to role modeling during adolescence?

M. No, I do think it is different. I need to think why. Well, there's a series of factors where it is different. You're more questioning. You know the world is more complex than one idea or one theme. You also see people's faults. You are more... you have been through different experiences in life. You are more forgiving of people as well. And therefore a mentor I suppose is less all-encompassing. A role model has a view of being very stark, all-encompassing... a figure head where you take everything. Whereas a mentor can be [for] elements of life. It is also more wisdom orientated as opposed to inspiration orientated. Less of the razzamatazz, less of the emotion, less of the experience, and more of the intelligence, the insight, the wisdom, and a basic understanding... a better understanding of what it is to live life. The question is, is that an age issue, or... is age or... yeah, it is experience.

Matthew sees adulthood as a time of questioning, when one is more critical, and more aware of people's faults. It is a time when one can look back on a broader experience of life and reflect on a greater awareness of the complexities of life. This perspective leads to a more realistic and forgiving approach to people in general and to one's role models in particular. Matthew then shares his approach to the debate presented earlier in chapter three between holistic and compartmentalized role modeling. For Matthew, the answer to this question depends on the age of the observer. Adolescents are more likely to take an all-encompassing holistic approach to

their role models accepting them in their entirety as a model for life, while adults are more likely to take a compartmentalized approach to their mentor-role models, where specific aspects of the role model's life are considered as a model for the observer, while feeling confident in rejecting other areas of the mentor's life as a model for themselves. During adolescence, according to Matthew, the process of role modeling is largely emotional in nature and leads to "inspiration", as opposed to mentoring during adulthood which is based more on intellectual processes where aspects of the mentor's life are considered on an intellectual basis and consciously chosen because they are seen as "insightful" and represent "wisdom and understanding".

The dichotomy between these two phenomena found in the thoughts of Matthew is also echoed in the literature. Role modeling and mentoring are often distinguished from one another because of a perceived difference between the explicit intellectual nature of the mentoring relationship and the more implicit, passive, and emotional nature of role modeling. The observer passively observes the role model in order to emulate, without a necessary cognizance on the part of the role model, or an active interaction between the two. This is in contradistinction to a mentor, who must directly and actively guide and nurture, in a relationship which is recognized and organized explicitly from the outset (Vesico *et al* 2005, Weaver *et al* 2005, Yancey 1998). Lockwood (2006) describes the process of role modeling in emotional inspirational terms: "By identifying with an outstanding role model, individuals can become inspired to pursue similar achievements". She goes on to describe a mentoring relationship in the workplace in more intellectual terms, defining mentors as "individuals at a more advanced career stage than their protégés who provide professional support, guidance, information, and advice".

Matthew testifies to the progression towards this more complex view of role modeling by tracing his own journey through a youth movement, in this case Bnei Akiva in the United Kingdom:

... when do you first start to argue with your *madrichim*? *Gimmel machaneh* [camp for 15 year olds]. You can see the progression. You know, *aleph* [10-11 year olds], *aleph chalutzi* [12 year olds] kind of age... wow! You know, *Gimmel, Israel machaneh* [camp ion Israel for 16 year olds], *Torani* [17 year olds], questioning... Israel, year off, being a *Boger* [post gap-year graduates of the movement], you know, certain doubts maybe. And then... I mean let's talk in an Israel context here... and after that you know, more reality of life.

During the more junior camps of *Aleph* and *Aleph Chalutzi* where campers are between ten and twelve years old, they are more accepting and trusting of the information they receive, including information implicitly modeled by their *madrichim*. In the words of Matthew, the impact of role models at this stage of development is “razzamatazz” and “Wow”. By the time a *chanich* reaches *Gimmel machaneh* at the age of fifteen and then on to *Israel machaneh* and *Torani machaneh* at sixteen and seventeen respectively, the older adolescent begins to be more questioning of the ideas and information to which they are exposed to. This increases through late adolescence and early adulthood, during the gap-year between high school and university, and then on to the university years, where one is considered a *boger*-graduate of the movement, when critical thinking really begins. During this stage, the observer, having lost some of the innocence of childhood, equipped with a more realistic approach to the world, is more critical of the messages and ideas they are exposed to, including those modeled by their role models.

Again Matthew relates to a similar process of intellectual coming of age on the other side of the role model relationship, that is, from the perspective of the role model. Reflecting on whether he was aware of serving as a role model, he described a process of developing increased intellectual sophistication:

Certainly not when I was a young *madrich*. So I was already a *madrich* in the 4th year... until the upper sixth. Certainly not then. Once again, the

sophistication levels of questioning yourself as a *madrish* developed over the years of being a *boger*. And ultimately being a *mazkir* [General Secretary]. You are not going to go round telling... as a *mazkir* saying you know what? Maybe aliyah is not for you. That... already as a *mazkir*... I was a yeshiva guy, remember I wasn't a *hach* [*Hachshara* - Bnei Akiva's gap-year program] guy, so there was already a level of critique that I was making a stand within the movement. And even after Bnei Akiva I still was part of the community, and I taught a lot of people, and I think I developed my ideas of what it meant to be a teacher and a role model, it became more sophisticated, to the level where I am today, where I am still connected with old *chanichim* who are coming to Israel who I am much more open and frank with. And wouldn't necessarily... you know, it's come to the time now where I would say to some people Israel may not be for you. So there is a progression there.

Matthew, while reflecting on his career as an educator within Bnei Akiva, and then afterwards outside the movement, says he developed an ability to question himself as an educator and the messages he was transmitting both explicitly and implicitly as a role model. He constructs this progression as similar to the parallel journey towards critical thinking that his *chanichim* were experiencing. When he was a junior *madrish* at the age of fourteen and perhaps until the end of his high school career, he was unaware of the impact he had as a role model, and was therefore unquestioning of his potential impact as a holistic role model. Later on, as his consciousness of these issues grew, and his own ability to question himself and his previously accepted ideas developed, he became more open as an educator, willing to share doubts and questions with his students and *chanichim*.

With this new openness and objectivity, that he continues to expand on in the continuation of his narrative, Matthew describes what he would call the transformation of the role model into the mentor:

I. Would you still consider the relationship you have with those *chanichim* a role model relationship?

M. Yeah, to an extent I imagine I am some... whatever one defines as a role model, I am some kind of... let's call it mentor to them. And I am more subtle, and critiquing and objective and trying to look... I think maybe [when you are] a role model, one of the differences is when you are a pure role model you think about yourself and you don't think about the other person. And when you are a mentor or a coach, I think you need the sophistication to try and put yourself into the other person's shoes. And understanding that life is more complex than just your own view point.

With the emotional and psychological development of the role model comes a new sense of awareness of others. While up until this stage the adolescent has focused on their own self-identity, with an awareness of the other comes a concern for the other. This is reflected in Matthew's approach to role modeling and mentoring. With role modeling during adolescence, the focus and emphasis is on the model, giving the model the power within the relationship, while the observer is passively impacted by the role model. However, with mentoring, the mentor-role model focuses more on the observer and their needs, and with this comes an openness and objectivity typical of this relationship.

Matthew has defined two parallel systems of role modeling, each typically found operating at specific stages of the observer's life, each with unique characteristics and processes at play. He also posits that these systems of role modeling can be considered pedagogic systems applied in different educational contexts:

There are organizations like Aish [HaTorah] who I believe are still those "role model" kind of organizations... you know, wow, emotion, power, yeah, you know I totally disagree with that kind of philosophy. Yes, so you are right. If I was a teacher or in that kind of educational environment I don't agree anymore with that role model kind of structure. I don't think it is long lasting, I don't think it is totally honest, or truthful, and I think it is irresponsible if you are an older person with wisdom and experience. I think you... I can condone it amongst youth, and there's power in it, and it's inspiring, but I can't condone it among adults. And Gush [Yeshivat Har Etzion] also taught me about that, life is more complex, there were subtleties and it wasn't black or white... That's another distinction. Role model education is often black and white. So it's a key

message. Whereas, let's call it mentor education, is subtle, sophisticated, more... thinking for yourself on the other side. Trying to bring out from the person, let's call it -bad word- beneath you, their own ideas and thoughts, which role model education doesn't take into account. The person beneath you is more of a modeling tool, you can do what you want with it.

Institutions of education may choose to base their programs pedagogically around one of these two systems of role modeling. Matthew sees Aish HaTorah, the Jewish Orthodox outreach organization, as an example of an organization which he feels focuses on the charismatic role model, a pedagogical system based on the emotion and power of the role modeling relationship. Matthew emphatically disagrees with what he terms the misapplication of role modeling to a context outside of adolescence. He considers this “irresponsible” and not “totally honest”. An educational system based on role modeling he suggests does not take into account the observer’s own ideas or encourage critical thinking, and rather imposes new ideas, the ideas of the role model, onto the observer. This maintains a power imbalance within the relationship, the observer clearly disempowered. Mentoring however, constitutes a more empowering approach, bringing out latent ideas already found within the life of the mentored, empowering the observer by awarding their own ideas with legitimacy, maintaining a more equal share of the power in the relationship. While Matthew condones role modeling as a legitimate approach to education during adolescence, he thinks practitioners of adult education have a responsibility to be more open and critical in their educational messages, presenting the subtleties and complexities of real life.

Having reached the conclusion that role modeling is illegitimate during adulthood, Matthew then reconsiders, suggesting that perhaps there are situations when role modeling in adulthood is appropriate:

It's not necessarily age and experience. There are people with my age and experience who still might think role model education is the only way. I think it's a bit dishonest, and I think... listen, horses for courses, without being rude, it could be a question of people's intelligence. So I always taught people, for some reason, of quite high caliber intelligence, both teens and perhaps the people I surround myself with. Maybe if I was more exposed to people who had more black and white experiences in life, I might turn round and say you have just got to wow them. I don't think so, but it is possible... Yeah, but the question is the power of influence that you wish to exert. That's an important thing. I remember when I was teaching, especially when I got older in my mid-twenties, I was teaching up to thirty, it was my view when my students would ask me philosophical questions I wouldn't necessarily give my opinion or my answer, or there was no one answer. A student had to understand that. Now some of them understood that straight away, but some of them needed to be coached by me, just to understand that philosophy. So yeah, as a teacher, or as someone with more experience, you always exert more influence, the question is how you exert that influence. Some students would understand that idea of not wanting to hear an answer, and some students took a year or two to understand that, and then they got it. It very much depends on factors like intelligence, their make-up, their family experience...

On reflection, Matthew now considers that perhaps there are those, even during adulthood, for whom role modeling is a more appropriate educational method. He concedes that he has generally found himself teaching a higher caliber of intelligent student, who would have been reticent to accept the over-simplified "black and white" single truth offered by role modeling. These are the students that could appreciate why Matthew refused to be drawn into giving his own opinion on some issues that were not black and white. In those cases he preferred to encourage his students to come to their own informed conclusions rather than risk the imposition of his own ideas on them. However, now he reflects that perhaps there are other types of students who may thrive in a different pedagogic system and that there is room for role modeling in adult education after all.

6.2 Receptiveness in the observer to role modeling

Up until this point the influence of the age and developmental maturity of the observer has been examined to gain a greater understanding of the process of role modeling from the perspective of the observer, but what other factors are necessary from the perspective of the observer for role modeling to occur? Not everyone is overtly affected by role models and role modeling and it would seem that receptiveness to role models is a critical pre-requisite for role modeling to occur. Sally feels that while most people are open to being influenced by models, there are those that are not:

I. Do you think some people are never open to role models?

S. Yeah, I think... I don't know, sometimes I guess there are people who don't feel they have much to learn from other people, I guess, that's a sad thing, but yes. I think that's a sad thing because... or they see most of what they have to learn from books or experts... I don't know. I guess there are people like that.

Sally identifies people in her experience of life who find it difficult to be influenced by other people. She does not expand on why this would be, but suggests that they are only comfortable learning from "books or experts". This implies that she thinks there is a personality type who is only prepared to learn from those deemed to have more expertise than they have, and are reluctant to learn lessons for life from regular everyday people. They are only prepared to consider experts as worthy sources of information and therefore, whether consciously or subconsciously, place barriers to the influence that other 'non-experts' could otherwise have made on their lives. According to Sally, for role modeling to occur, a basic openness to the process must be present, and this is only found in a specific personality type.

For Yaffit, when role modeling does happen, it only occurs when a certain lack of direction in the life of the observer is apparent:

I think that it also depends if you look for a role model. I think people who might be more confused about the direction they want to take, you know like ... are looking for people to talk to, are looking for role models out there so they can help them in that decision. I was never really confused about it. You know, I didn't really feel like I needed more convincing or less convincing to do it. It was just kind of like I want to do it and this is what I want to do, this is how I want to develop myself. So I very much think it has to do with the person and what they're looking for. If they have a clear goal in mind then that's what they wanna [*sic.*] do. If they're not sure, they might need a role model to kind of push them in that direction.

According to Yaffit, those who are looking for direction will be open to role models to influence them in that specific area of their life. Those who are focused and have a clear idea of where they want to go in life will not need or look for role models. Yaffit therefore did not feel that she was influenced by aliyah role models because she was always clear that she wanted to make aliyah. Sally would agree with Yaffit on this, and suggested that, what she calls, timing in life is also important in receptiveness to specific role models:

Because this is also a time thing. Timing, you know. I was at a certain place in my life where I was open to this kind of person. It's all... I think timing is another really important piece. There are kids that will pass through my classroom you know, they'll pass through literally, they'll just pass through. There will be other kids, I touch something in them because they're going through something now and it's that confluence of me and my struggles and them and their struggles and where I've gone and where they want to go to. It's, you know, it's so much... it's like falling in love. Yeah, I think it's sort of like falling in love. Yeah, seriously, I've never thought of it that way but I think it sort of is, because there are some people I would have met them at another time in my life, I wouldn't have been open to it, you know, and they would've passed through, you know... I am meeting this woman now, this incredible widow. She's a widow, she's in our shul and she's a role model for me because she is, modeling being on your own and... and, thank G-d I'm not a widow but I'm needing her now when I have a lot of alone time, and this woman, she's like befriended me and I really admire her and she... we really have a very big connection, she's role modeling for me, you know, how you

find yourself and how you find... how you be alone and all this stuff, but it's now. Had I met her, I don't know, if Dan was here all the time I don't know if she would've touched my heart the way she has now, and so much of it is timing

For Sally timing is everything when it comes to role modeling. She says that the observer needs to be open to the role model and this will depend on the stage of life that they are at and the challenges encountered at that time. She brings two examples of this from her own life, one from her perspective as a role model-teacher and one as an observer in a role model relationship. As a teacher and potential role model, Sally reflects on the impact she has and sometimes not had as a role model for her students. There have been students who have found her hard to relate to, while others have related to her directly as a role model, because of the things that they were dealing with in their lives at the particular time that she was their teacher. If her life and her struggles are relevant to a particular student then she may become a role model for that student, while another student at the very same time will “pass through” without having experienced the impact of Sally as a role model. The second example that she brings is from her present stage of life. She has found a role model in a widow from her community who models coping strategies for loneliness as Sally's husband is abroad traveling for work. If she had met this woman ten years earlier or ten years later, she perhaps would not have related to her as a role model, because she would not have felt the need to find a way to deal with her loneliness. Role modeling for Sally is a matter of timing.

The role modeling that Sally describes in her own life, both in her adolescence and from her adulthood, vividly depicts her having a conscious and active part in the relationship. When she speaks of timing as an important factor in the occurrence of role modeling, she is saying that at the wrong time a certain significant other will be consciously rejected as a role model, while

another will be accepted. This can be seen clearly in a part of her narrative previously considered:

I have to say, meeting people, even when we were in Motza, meeting people who we could relate to in the same role model type of thing as well. I can't tell you there was a specific person because I remember the people but it was really - oh here are people who I can relate to who live here. They were neighbors, living side by side with them and watching the choices and the sensibilities and the, values that they had that were really close to mine... it's the role model power. But I can't tell you that it was a particular person, it was just the general impact of living side by side with people who spoke to my heart and my soul and who reflected... who lived a life that I found accessible and worthy of emulation, you know... I want to live this kind of life.

Sally has examined the potential role models around her and has consciously considered them to be "worthy of emulation". Among the immigrants interviewed she is not alone in this approach. Many described their observation of role models in active and conscious ways. Josh's approach to holistic role modeling and David's role models impacting on competing life-path narratives in chapter three, as well as Molly's decision making in light of her brother's life-decisions and the close attention she paid to her peer aliyah role models, are all examples of the conscious aspect of the role modeling process from the perspective of the observer.

However, not all the immigrants interviewed described playing such a conscious or active part in the process of role modeling, and many, as Matthew argued above, seemed to play a passive role in the relationship. For example, only through the process of being asked to reflect on his aliyah role models did Danny seem to become more aware of the role models in the narrative of his aliyah. Only in response to being asked explicitly if there were significant others in his life who may have had an influence on his aliyah did he mention his uncle who had made aliyah many years previously, showing evidence that he had not considered his uncle in this way before. As he began explaining the influence that his uncle had on his aliyah, he admitted that he had never

thought about him in this role and quite how similar their stories were: “I’ve just realized it now, I didn’t think about it, but our stories are very very similar, very similar.” Danny provided a further example of his obliviousness to the process of role modeling in his life when he was asked if his brother’s aliyah and subsequent return migration to the United Kingdom had an impact on how own aliyah:

You know what? Interesting that. Jonathan’s my role model. Jonathan’s a big role model for me. Um, yes, yeah, you know what, I didn’t even think about that actually. Well no, I have always thought about Jonathan being my role model. Jonathan’s certainly a role model of mine. Um, his Aliyah, yes, I think it was. Yes, it certainly was. I didn’t even think about that. But then he came back, you could say it’s a negative.

Again Danny may not have arrived at an appreciation of his brother as an example of an aliyah role model independently without the chance to reflect on this in the interview. The interview provided the opportunity for him to make explicit a process that may have previously been obscure to him. Danny seemed to be aware of his brother’s role as a role model, but did not seem to have any grasp on what that meant until he was asked to reflect on it. Only then did he begin to consider the aliyah and subsequent return migration of his brother as meaningful in his own life. For Danny, role modeling seems to have been a subconscious process in his life.

Many interviews provided inconclusive data for the exploration of whether the process of role modeling was an active one on the part of the observer or not. As we saw previously, Shoshana for example, claimed that young people naturally look up to older significant others for guidance, but she failed to clarify whether this is a conscious or sub-conscious process. Laura’s indirect approach to role model education as head of the kitchen at camp is another example where it is unclear how explicit the process of role modeling is to the observer. Annabel eloquently described the impact that her inspirational aliyah role models had on her, which she was clearly

very aware of some twenty years later. However, conclusions about her conscious awareness of this process at the time cannot be made with certainty. Perhaps her present awareness of the influence of her aliyah role models is the product of several years of reflection and self-introspection. Of course, awareness of the process could differ from person to person, some being more self-aware and therefore sensitive to the occurrence of this phenomenon in their lives, while others becoming aware only over the course of time. Perhaps there are those that never become conscious of the role models in their lives, despite their existence. An interesting follow-up study to this research would be an exploration of the phenomenon of sub-conscious role modeling.

6.3 Drawing conclusions from the data

This research has utilized qualitative methodologies with a limited sample of nineteen interviewees, and one should be wary of drawing conclusions from quantitative patterns in the data collected. However, there may be validity in drawing some limited speculative conclusions about the sample interviewed. Those participants that could describe their aliyah role models with the greatest clarity, a group of eight interviewees, represented a broad demographic. This group contained both men and women, an age range of 23 to 54, both single and married, various countries of origin, including the US, the UK, and South Africa, and varying religious affiliations including secular, Conservative and Orthodox. They were also representative of the sample as a whole when it came to attendance in Jewish and Zionist educational institutions.

The overall impression gained from the members of this sub-group were that they are all personality types who are self-aware and reflective, demonstrating self-analytical skills not present in the rest of the sample. They seemed more aware of the people and processes that were

impactful in their lives. This could either mean that this personality type shows more receptiveness to role modeling, or simply that these people were more aware of and sensitive to the processes that operate in the lives of all people, or at least all people who are exposed to the type of role models that this sample was.

There was one more noticeable factor present in the lives of all members of this sub-group bar one⁹ that could help with our understanding of those who were most affected by role models. While there was a good mix in this sub-group of those who attended Jewish day schools and those who didn't, the sub-group of those who seemed most attuned to their own self-development largely consisted of the most active members of Zionist youth movements. They showed the deepest commitment to their youth movements and the largest number of years involved both as participants and staff. They therefore had the most exposure to the youth movement culture which places great emphasis on role models and role modeling, and represents a plausibility structure for the Zionist and Jewish values central to the ideology of the youth movements with the critical influence of role models within this structure. This may mean they were exposed to more role models than others, or that they became more sensitive to the process of role modeling, acquiring the language to appreciate the phenomenon in this environment, and therefore able to be more eloquent in describing it than others.

In this chapter an attempt was made to formulate a profile of the observer of role models. The data suggested that role modeling operates particularly during adolescence, but many examples

⁹ As discussed in chapter five, Annabel is an anomaly to the sample, having found her way to Zionism and aliyah without any exposure to Jewish or Zionist education, but yet still enumerating meaningful access to aliyah role models and describing significant influence from them. Aron, was similar to Annabel in this respect, not having attended any Jewish or Zionist educational institution previous to his aliyah. Aron was not a member of this sub-group, not having been significantly influenced by aliyah role models. He put his aliyah down to negative anti-semitic experiences on campus in North America and vicarious aliyah role models that he accessed from historical literature.

of role modeling during adulthood were also found. Differences between the processes during these two stages of life were also explored. It was found that receptiveness to role models and role modeling was necessary for the process to operate effectively. It was suggested those who were most exposed to environments where the culture of role modeling was explicit were more likely to be open to role modeling and influenced by role models. In the following chapters some further supplementary issues surrounding role modeling such as peer role modeling, vicarious role modeling, and the dangers inherent in role modeling will be considered.

Chapter 7: Peer Aliyah Role Modeling

An unexpected trend emerging from the data was the frequency of peers cited as aliyah role models. Generally these peer role models represented the practical mode of aliyah role modeling, functioning as enablers increasing aliyah self-efficacy through demonstrating practical skills and modeling the achievability of aliyah. However, it also became apparent from the data that peers can also function within the second noted mode of aliyah role modeling, as the inspirational aliyah role model, although far fewer examples of this were found in the data.

Many examples of peer aliyah role modeling were already encountered in the analysis of the data in previous chapters. Molly in chapter five described the impact of observing her peers living everyday life in Israel. Seeing her friend who had the same upbringing and who came from the same social milieu as her performing routine tasks in Israel had an empowering influence on her aliyah plans; it demonstrated both that aliyah was not out of reach and the practical skills and coping strategies necessary to achieve it. Robert also described similar processes operating in his life in chapters three and four, where he was encouraged to think about making aliyah upon observing the peers that he most wanted to be like taking that decision. They then became peer-aliyah role models for him, again modeling both the practical aspects of aliyah as well as its general achievability.

However, not only practical peer aliyah role models were described in the data as influential. There were also examples of inspirational peer aliyah role models. Elisheva recounted in chapter six how her best friend made aliyah with her family from America as a young child only to return with them when she was twelve. Her friend knew that if she chose to return once again to

Israel after high school to live she would have to serve in the army like her Israeli contemporaries, rather than enjoy the more comfortable and secure option of remaining in America. Elisheva described the inspiring impact of seeing her friend choose to return to Israel and serve in the army, despite the war that was being fought in Israel at this time, influencing her in turn towards aliyah. In chapter four Annabel provided another interesting example of this, describing her *refusenik* husband Alex as an inspiring aliyah role model for her. He represented for her the classical Zionist narrative where Israel provides a safe haven for the Jewish refugee fleeing from persecution who then ultimately becomes a new breed of strong and dignified Zionist Jew.

In this chapter the phenomenon of peer role modeling will be further explored, including near peer and adult peer aliyah role modeling.

7.1 Peer role models and the similarity hypothesis

In chapter five, while formulating a profile of the aliyah role model, an argument was made for the similarity hypothesis, whereby the emulation of role models is more likely to occur when similarities between the observer and the model are perceived by the observer. The more similarities that are perceived by the observer, the greater the chance that observation of the modeled behavior will lead to an enhanced sense of self-efficacy, and the self-perception of one's capacity to implement actions. Peers are similar in age, generation, and experience to the observer, and are generally facing similar challenges at any given time. A peer who has faced and overcome identical struggles can have a particularly inspiring effect as a role model on the

observer. Peers therefore, may have a more powerful impact as role models for young people than adults as they display more similarities and convey a greater vicarious sense of efficacy.

This was evident in the data, seen in the narrative of Molly. In chapter five Molly introduced us to the impact of practical aliyah peer role modeling. Revisiting her story in light of Schunk's ultimate conclusion on the importance of the functional behavior of the peer role model helps us to understand why she finds it more difficult to relate to older aliyah role models. She begins by responding to the question of whether peers can have influence as aliyah role models:

Absolutely. Because there is a huge huge thing... I think this is also why so many people did Ulpan... Etzion specifically. When you are going through something at the same time as someone else, and somebody is your contemporary, then you can relate to it. Like my brother, who made aliyah four and a half years ago, was busy saying, yeah, but no... I was freaking out about finding an apartment. And he is like, oh, it'll be fine. You'll find one, and you'll pay rent, and da da da da. He knows that because he did it already. So it's easy to say that, but he can't put himself back in that position of freaking out about it. And then there is really something important about going through it at the same time as somebody. So yeah, it's all very helpful to have Itai Oren, and all these rabbis, and all the people who have established themselves, and have been here for ten years, and have made aliyah ages ago, and they all have their support system. There is something about watching my own friends do it at this age, and seeing them making it to know that I can make it. Because even though Itai is doing it, he did it at a much later stage of life than me...

Molly places great significance on the experiences she shared with her new contemporaries in ulpan [a Hebrew language immersion program for new immigrants], placing them in the perfect position to function as peer aliyah role models. She confirms that the things she had in common with them, including age and the challenges they were facing as new immigrants to Israel, made them easier to relate to, and so when they modeled a successful aliyah, and the skills and strategies necessary to achieve a successful aliyah, this was of great significance to her, leading to a heightened sense of her own aliyah self-efficacy. She contrasts this with her madrich Itai, as

well as various other teachers and rabbis, who had less impact on her as practical aliyah role models, because they did not model an aliyah that was sufficiently similar to her own, having made aliyah when they were older, and during a different time period.

7.2 Adult mastery role models and peer coping role models

The two modes of role modeling encountered in the literature known as mastery role models and coping role models also appeared in the data. The mastery model is an individual who achieves the highest standards and levels of achievement in a field, and as a consequence will have an inspirational effect, but at times also demoralizes and causes frustration as the observer is overwhelmed by the modeled achievement and often may be intimidated by it (Lockwood & Kunda 1997). The coping model, is an individual who struggles at times, yet refuses to give up. The coping model thereby represents values such as perseverance and the nobility of losing with dignity, or in this case competing at a level less than outstanding, yet still with determination and grace. This can have a more profound impact, especially on the observer's perception of self-efficacy (Manz & Sims 1981, Sanchez 2000).

Peer aliyah role models often functioned as coping role models tackling the struggles and difficulties involved in aliyah. By contrast, examples were found of observers relating to rabbis, teachers, and madrichim as mastery role models, representing an almost immaculate aliyah achieved by older inspiring role models. Molly testified to this above, describing the impact of her peers making aliyah as greater than that of her madrichim or teachers because “[t]here is something about watching my own friends do it at this age, and seeing them making it to know that I can make it”. Only Molly's peers' struggle to cope with the everyday challenges of aliyah

could increase her sense of aliyah self-efficacy, bringing her to the realization that she “can make it” too.

Shoshana also found it difficult to relate to her teachers as aliyah role models because they represent an unattainable model of aliyah, achieved in a different age by a different personality type. When asked if she had teachers from the Midrasha in which she studied who she related to as aliyah role models, she responded:

Less so, actually. Because they were like teachers already. Which is like... I suppose it is a role model in a different sense. It's kind of... you know, they are like these rabbis and whatever, and I was never going to go down the path of becoming a rabbi, obviously. But it was already different. It wasn't like really an exact role model. It is a different type of role model, I think... I wouldn't necessarily think, oh because Rav Miller made aliyah, it doesn't necessarily become possible for me to do it. Because already it felt like, oh he did it ages ago, things were different, he is different also, it's not like exactly the same...

Rav Miller is insufficiently similar to Shoshana that he failed to have the impact that her other aliyah role models have, which is an increasing sense of her self-efficacy. She found Rav Miller and his aliyah hard to relate to, and therefore he failed to have a role modeling impact. However, Shoshana admitted later on that Rav Miller was influential on her aliyah:

... He kind of gives... that's the word, inspiring. Talks and stuff like that about why you should live in Israel... it's hard to think in my head the reasons and stuff like that... I can't put it into little boxes. But he does, he gives inspiring talks about why you should live here, and he makes it sound like it's the right thing to do... almost. And that life here... I can't explain... the problem is now I am five years later I can kind of see, he does also paint it in a pretty picture, and it's not like that necessarily, life isn't... I think he made it sound ideologically that this was the best thing to do. I definitely left with that impression, and it was a lot to do with Rav Miller and his... he gives a lot of shiurim, and always things like living in Israel come up.

Shoshana describes Rav Millar as having an inspirational impact on her aliyah. While he failed to have an impact on her level of aliyah self-efficacy through practical aliyah role modeling because he was a mastery aliyah role model, he did inspire Shoshana towards aliyah. In chapter four two modes of aliyah role modeling were identified, the practical and the inspirational. A pattern has now emerged that indicates the difference between peer role models, coping role models, and practical aliyah role modeling on the one hand, and non-peer, mastery role models, and inspirational aliyah role modeling on the other. That is not to say that peers cannot be inspirational aliyah role models, and non-peer aliyah role models cannot increase self-efficacy through practical role modeling, but it is possible to conclude that peer aliyah role models are more likely to function as practical coping role models, and inspirational aliyah role models are more likely to be non-peer mastery role models.

7.3 Near peer role models

A further category of peer role was found in the literature, termed “near peer role models” (Murphey 1996a). Near peer role models combine characteristics of both conventional older role models and peer role models, engendering admiration for achievement yet at the same time personifying the similarities of a peer role model. Near peer role models embody the most potent aspects of both older role models and peer role models, presenting an attractive model for emulation. The excellence of the near peer role models seems more achievable and easy to replicate because they are within the observer’s zone of proximal development. The near peer role model serves as a point of reference for the observer’s potential future self, heightening the observer’s sense of self-efficacy and motivation to achieve it.

7.3.1 Counselors as near peer role models

In the data from this study, counsellors from youth movements have frequently emerged as playing a prominent role as aliyah role models. Until this point counselors have been presented as conventional, older role models, normally significant others a few years older than the observer. However, perhaps Murphey's near peer role model category is a more appropriate way to relate to counsellors as aliyah role models. Shoshana describes her counselors as similar to her in many ways, and a few years further along the same life path that she is on:

[W]hen I was a kid we had a lot of neighbors and they all made aliyah... our madrichim as well. [Neighbors] that lived in our street and our madrichim in Bnei Akiva, they had all made aliyah... they were 5 or 10 years older than us, something like that. I don't know, and they would also just talk about Israel, and... I don't... the truth is I can't think where exactly it came from, but they did always used to talk about Israel, and this and that, and the importance of living in Israel... I think it is also one thing, when you are a kid and you know people who have done it, it's not like the strangest thing in the world. It's like, oh, so they made aliyah... it's almost a path that you could possibly take. I can't explain... we all did the same things, we went to the same schools, we did this, we did that, it just makes it like a possibility I suppose... But I think you do look to your madrichim for... I don't know. Like, what do they do... you know, that is what kids do. I think that is probably just what I did also... they influence you... they... I don't know... everyone does it. Teachers, madrichim, all these kind of people. I think everyone does it. I definitely did. As a role model I suppose. I don't remember a particular madrich that I looked to as a role model, but I just think generally because they were in the same kind of life path that I was in let's say... not exactly the same, you know, live in Finchley, go to HGSB, whatever it is. That is sort of just how you see your life progressing. Oh in 3 or 4 years time...

Shoshana's madrichim attended the same school as her, grew up in the same or similar neighborhoods, and came from a similar social background. Murphey would describe them as near peer role models, displaying many similarities to Shoshana, yet being older and sufficiently accomplished that they were worthy of admiration and therefore emulation. They represented to her what her life could or would probably be like a few

years down the line, and critically, many of them had made aliyah. They made aliyah an attractive and achievable proposition, because in the words of Murphey, they were in Shoshana's zone of proximal development (Murphey, 1996b).

In justifying the importance of bringing back to camp each year staff from Israel who have made aliyah, Laura describes a similar process, but from the perspective of the counselor as a near peer role model:

I think when you have someone who actually lives in Israel going back and telling their story, it has a different impact on a kid. It's also... it doesn't become a place to visit, it's like, oh, you, you're like me, you live there, and you had the same experiences growing up, and you went to the same school that I went to, but here you are and you did it, and you live there, and you're happy, and your parents are like my parents and you lived a block away from me, and now you are just telling me about this amazing experience and granted every day is not an amazing experience, but you know... wow, that's great. You live there, and maybe I could do that.

For the camper the impact of hearing someone tell their aliyah story is all the greater if the counselor has had the same experiences growing up as the camper. The counselor went to the same school and camp, grew up on the same block, and has similar parents who will probably react in the same way to the camper's parents. The empowering and enabling impact of the near peer role model when modeling their aliyah is intensified the more perceived similarities the counselor has to the observer, strengthening the observation "you live there, and maybe I could do that".

Robert related to his actual peers in a similar way to Murphey's near peer role models, seeing them as further along his own life path, because they had been ready to make life decisions such as aliyah more quickly than he was:

It was taking the things about them that I could apply to me and, and seeing how Aliyah affected that side of them... That it was achievable. That was the significant bit. But also... because it's been an ongoing process, it wasn't just that they made Aliyah, it's like five or six years down the line how they're getting on and it's like some of my friends have been here some as long as seven or eight years already. So, it's a question of... well I mean I can see now how they've changed as people, which is actually really interesting... I think the truth is that they're where I should be seven or eight years later but I'm a bit behind because of not having come. That's how it seems to me. Which is a bit depressing.

The aliyah of Robert's peers impacted him in a similar way to a near peer role model, displaying all the necessary similarities, as well as the achievement and success worthy of admiration and emulation. These people functioned in this capacity despite being his actual peers of exactly the same age, because they embarked on their aliyah sometime before Robert. Just as Shoshana's counselors had this effect on her, Robert's peers gave him a peek into a potential future of successful aliyah. This engendered in him a heightened sense of self-efficacy, enabling him to see both that he could replicate their achievement, and what he needed to do to achieve it.

Molly eloquently expressed how the successful aliyah stories of her counselors, as modeled by them when they returned home to South Africa, had an enabling impact on her:

A lot of my brother's friends who had been my madrichim for literally one year when I was like 12, made aliyah as well. And that was also... I was very close to my brother's friends as well, like a lot of them were like brothers to me. I knew that I had that, and it was amazing to see them, and whenever they came back to South Africa on holiday I would see how successful they were. That helped. Well, the success part of it, because I knew I wanted to make aliyah I was just worried about whether I could not... struggle through it.

While this is another clear example of the processes of near peer role modeling, what distinguishes Molly's counselors is how she blurs her relationship with them and with her

brother. She relates to them as siblings as well as role models because they are part of the same social group as her brother. This leads us to explore the sibling as a near peer role model.

7.3.2 Siblings as near peer aliyah role models

Older siblings were found in the literature as a salient example of a near peer role model, generally being close in age and coming from a similar social milieu, yet still embodying skills and achievement not yet attained by the observer, and therefore worthy of admiration and emulation. Several interviewees mentioned siblings as role models in general, and singled them out as important factors in their decision to make aliyah. When Josh was asked if he was exposed to any significant others in his life who had made aliyah and who may have influenced his own aliyah, his first example was his sister:

Well my sister made aliyah. It wasn't such a foreign thing for me because my sister made aliyah... when I was in yeshiva. She made aliyah when I was about 18. And my parents made aliyah when I was in yeshiva still, so it wasn't such a foreign idea... my sister probably would have been my aliyah role model. She certainly was in my younger life.

The recurring themes seen in other narratives such as the normalization of aliyah and aliyah role models as enablers were also found in Josh's narrative. His sister made aliyah at a critical stage of his adolescent development, influencing his approach to aliyah. This was also while he was in Israel studying in yeshiva, allowing him greater access to her life and her aliyah story. For Josh, his sister became a near peer aliyah role model. Danny also had an older sibling who made aliyah during his adolescence. For Danny it was clear that his older brother Jonathan was a role model for him in many areas of his life:

You know what? Interesting that. Jonathan's my role model. Jonathan's a big role model for me. Um, yes, yeah, you know what, I didn't even think about that actually. Well no, I have always thought about Jonathan being my role model. Jonathan's certainly a role model of mine. Um, his Aliyah, yes, I think it was. Yes, it certainly was. I didn't even think about that. But then he came back, you could say it's a negative... Daniel's certainly a role model of mine, you know, everything from just being a brother to education-wise helping me with homework, I don't know, everything, being my eldest brother probably.

Although Danny clearly related to his older brother as a role model in many areas of his life, he did not immediately describe his brother Jonathan as an aliyah role model for him, and needed to be encouraged to consider whether his brother had had this impact on him. This may be because his brother ultimately returned to Britain, and Danny admits that Jonathan may have thus become a negative aliyah role model. David also describes his siblings as role models, and also related to his brother as a negative role model at a specific stage of his childhood:

I definitely had people, role models if you are interested in that... including my brother who was very involved... I mean another role model was my sister who was very active, and decided not to go on Year Course. She was also active in Young Judaea, she went on junior-year-abroad and it was clear that she wasn't ever really considering making aliyah. I think I was always very non-judgmental about it... My older brother and sister I think I looked up to both of them at different points. With my older brother I think I sort of stopped a bit during... viewing him as a role model. He had a strong influence on me, but I think I in some ways saw him as a negative model for... in terms of some difficulties that I had with... in high school. You know, very bright and just sort of stopped studying. And at some point I remember looking at my brother and my sister and said she seems to be doing much better... she seems much more settled and happier. This was when I was a younger kid and thinking why don't I take a look at what she seems to be doing. My brother didn't have a bad high school experience but there were things that were harder for him than others in school. We are all very close. It wasn't a lack of closeness, but it was a sort of he is going off in a way that is not helping him.

During David's high school years, when he needed his brother to be a positive role model influence, his brother was making bad decisions in David's opinion, when facing

his own difficulties, and was not modeling the values that David in retrospect realizes he was searching for. He therefore turned to his sister as a role model at that time. David is conscious that his brother at this time functioned as a negative role model, modeling undesired behavior, which had an inhibitory affect (Bandura 1977, Manz & Sims 1981) on David leading to negative identification and negative emulation (McEvoy and Erikson 1981). His brother also provided a similar influence on David's aliyah plans:

And that explains some of the caution I had about not going to say this idealism is going to solve all my life's problems, I think. But my brother basically when he decided not to... this is while I was on Year Course. He decided that he wasn't going to make aliyah. He was supposed to be coming the following year. Then instead he was going to go off and teach English in china and then after that from China after a year he went to Japan where he was... so basically during the period when I was deciding whether to be or not be here, I think... he wasn't part of the equation in terms of direct influence about Israel. Where I think he was a role model is the courage to pick up and take an adventure or something, which I think I really... I have done a bit, and I have come to appreciate... And then my sister I don't think she ever really considered aliyah in a serious way, but she was a very significant role model in terms of studying, her idealism, also she went on the peace corps, I think that's a family thing.

None of David's three siblings made aliyah, but each influenced David in many other ways, including his youth movement activity in Young Judaea, which indirectly did lead him towards aliyah. His sister's active membership in Young Judaea encouraged him to become a member which ultimately influenced him to make aliyah, despite not having the same impact on her. While she cannot be described as an aliyah role model she certainly was a role model to David, and indirectly influenced his decision to make aliyah. David's brother on the other hand was a negative aliyah role model of sorts, having decided to make aliyah, and then encountering difficulties changed his plans. This made David wary of allowing the fervor of his Zionist ideology to cloud his decision making, ensuring that he was fully and realistically prepared for

aliyah, mistakes that he feels his brother made in the months before his proposed aliyah. However, as far as David is concerned, he factored out his brother's influence on Israel when he finally did decide to make aliyah.

We saw Molly relate to her counselors who were also friends of her brother as if they were her own siblings, and she also described her close relationship with her brother, borrowing many classic terms usually found in the context of role models:

I remember when my grandma was very very sick when I was 12, she had cancer, and we needed to go visit her, and it was like, but how am I going to go if I don't drive? And my brother was like, I'll walk you... like he was also... by that stage... and that has a lot to do with it, because I worshipped my brother so much. We fought at this stage a lot still, but like, anything he did was like godly to me. And at the age of about 15 or 16 he started being very interested in not wanting my mother to buy non-kosher meat anymore, and really requesting things like that, like not to drive as much on shabbat, so then I was kind of taking on... But I think on some level all younger children worship their older siblings. Everything he did I wanted to do. I was always annoying him, and I was always... we started to become close after that first camp because he felt really responsible for me. The truth is now we are just really really close. There is a very different dynamic now... [I am] very very close to him, respect him so much, definitely don't... I mean I don't like to use the word worship... whereas before I saw myself being on the exact same path as him, everything that he does I am eventually going to do, we are not there anymore. Religiously, and Zionisticly [*sic*], all those things, we are in similar places, but I have very much got my own direction... My brother is definitely one of my role models. I don't know. I guess in a sort of *madrich* way, because, he definitely like... in the literal sense of the word, guided me through... and still does. I love him to bits, so... and he definitely is like... you know... he has been a *madrich* in my life...

Molly's "worshipping" of her older brother, describing him as "godly", is an intense form of admiration often seen with role models, and her older brother, close enough to her age to be considered a peer, yet sufficiently accomplished to model as yet unattained potential, is an example of Schunk's near peer role models. She is aware of the parallel impact that her brother

has as a role model to the impact of her counselors as role models, and is comfortable comparing her brother to those counselors as role models. During her adolescence Molly emulated her brother whenever she could, relating to his life path as her own future life. Because of this, when it came to her brother's aliyah, this had an enabling effect on her own decision to make aliyah.

7.4 Peer pressure or peer role modeling?

There is a danger that the effects of peer role modeling could be confused with other processes of societal influence, such as pressures of peer acceptance. In their review of literature on sports role models and their impact on physical activity, Payne *et al.* (2003) examined two studies on the influence of peer acceptance and friendship and increased physical activity (Asher *et al.* 1996, Smith 1999) and came to the conclusion that "peers are important role models to encourage physical activity in young students" (p.23, Payne *et al.* 2003). However, a close reading of those two studies reveals that the specific process of modeling and observational learning was not explored, and instead it was the phenomenon of peer acceptance pressures and social acceptance that was a factor in increased adolescent physical activity.

Bandura in his *Social Learning Theory* (1977) does consider the impact of societal acceptance of behavior on the observer's inclination to adopt modeled behavior, and concludes that reinforcement influences such as approval of modeled behavior by a peer group will increase the likelihood of adoptive behavior, and conversely, disapproval will likely inhibit similar behavior. In considering the application of Bandura's *Social Learning Theory* in nurse education, Bahn (2001) notes the considerable power of social or peer acceptability in influencing people for the good or for the bad. However, it is clear that peer acceptance is a distinct process from role

modeling, constituting a reinforcement influence that accompanies the process of observational learning.

Of all the subjects interviewed, Robert was the only one to describe social pressures encouraging him to consider aliyah. At the same time, these references were interspersed with typical language describing processes of role modeling:

I think, when you talk about influences, the one thing that popped into my mind is that Kenton is a very Zionistic community and a lot of people have made Aliyah over the years and increasingly all of my best of friends have done so which I think was quite a big trigger to go when I did... And I think, I think a greater perception of Israel in the news, and the more contacts I had there the more I heard about it, the more I knew about it and it was those perceptions that I got from that, how it's not so difficult to live here, how it's beneficial, how it's all these things and that was backed up when I came here to visit people and I spoke to them in person having made Aliyah, so I know quite a lot of people's Aliyah stories myself and thought well actually it can't be that bad. From a tech... from a practical point of view, it would be a good idea, technically.

Robert describes a situation where all of his best friends have left the community to migrate to Israel. This he admits was a “big trigger” pushing him to make the decision to leave for Israel himself. From this section of Robert’s narrative it would be easy to conclude that his motivation for making aliyah were largely social. If all of his best friends had left to make their lives in Israel, then it would seem to be the correct move for him as well. Once he had arrived at that decision, he then related to his peer group as practical models of aliyah, modeling from a technical and practical point of view that “it would be a good idea”. When Robert was probed to think of any earlier aliyah influences in his life he could only think of his peers during his twenties:

There wasn't anyone so early on that I was actually close to that made Aliyah. I mean, I was aware of a lot of people... it was only when my closest friends started moving, most of them got married first and then moved. at 22, 23, something like that. So, I think that was why I made the decision to stay there to get some work experience because I was forced to justify why I wasn't going then in my mind. So yeah over that period of time there's been some influence from them. I think... I think, yeah, different reasons, a range between religious reasons and social reasons for those people, both of which are high on my list I think.

Although Robert had grown up in a very Zionist community, it wasn't until his friends in their early twenties began to make aliyah that he was exposed to people making aliyah, and because they were his peers, he experienced pressures to make aliyah himself and to justify why he had yet to make that decision. Although aliyah was an attractive proposition for him in a religious and ideological sense, it wasn't until his closest friends began taking this step that he actively considered it for himself. He continued to expand on the impact of his friends leaving:

At the time it happened it upset me from the point of view that they weren't going to be where I was. And ... I mean looking back now that was one of the things that made me want to come here because they certainly weren't coming back and I wouldn't hold that against them... And as I say it wasn't the biggest factor because it wasn't something that made me say, ok, I'm going to go now, there were other things that played a... that made me wait a little bit but I did get the process going when I decided I wanted to.

Robert experienced sadness that his friends were leaving, and while he understood their decisions, from a selfish perspective, this left him living in England without his closest friends. This wasn't enough on its own to force him to make aliyah, but these social processes were significant enough to initiate the process of evaluating the decision whether to make aliyah or not, and clearly they were a factor when it came to his final decision to emigrate. This can be seen in his response to the request to share his rationale for making aliyah:

I think, I mean the simple answer is because it feels right. If I had to categorize why exactly I think certainly, religious reasons are probably top of the list followed as I said by social reasons, in terms of friends, and getting married, which... both... as I say, a lot of my more like-minded friends in England were all making Aliyah, that was the biggest influence, people that I wanted to be like back home, they were the ones making Aliyah. Maybe I've answered a previous question more clearly now.

Among religious and ideological factors, including the intangible “it just feels right”, Robert cites his friends making aliyah as the biggest influence on his decision. He mentions marriage, and it is unclear if he is referring to his friends getting married, or his own wish to settle down. Either way, this would be a further social pressure, whether self-imposed or an externally imposed pressure, that encouraged him to consider aliyah as a solution to both social problems; his desire to live near his closest friends and his desire to be married.

An important theme then emerges in Roberts's narrative. The peers that he most wanted to be like were making aliyah. He wished to be like them, and so he decided to emulate their decision. He realizes at that point in the interview that he has clarified for himself the nature of the influence of his best friends, something he had begun tentatively to articulate earlier in his narrative. Robert expands on this in the continuation of the narrative:

Well, I was the first time we explored this I said it was the thought of losing them as close friends that made me move here but I guess there's more to it than that. It was the fact that they showed me that, that, that's what I should be doing. The fact that I could be like that and still be successful, I think there is a positive side to that as well.

Initially Robert presented the fear of losing the intimacy of his peer group and perhaps acceptance into this group as the significant social reasons for his aliyah, but having reflected on this further he realizes that in fact they were modeling ideologically attractive behavior. His peers were functioning as role models, significant others who Robert “wanted to be like”, modeling the values inherent in aliyah, and through this modeling Robert became influenced to conclude that aliyah was what he “should be doing”. Once he had come to this conclusion, he related to his peers as models of what aliyah could be for him. They became practical aliyah role models for him, demonstrating how to achieve a successful aliyah, acting as enablers for Robert, increasing his sense of self-efficacy when it comes to aliyah. The pressures from his peer group and subsequent peer acceptance he experienced after making aliyah were in Bandura’s words a reinforcement influence that took place parallel to Robert’s observational learning. Robert has thus described a process where the social influence of his peers led to peer role modeling, which at first was inspirational, consisting of ideologically attractive behavior, and finally practical, consisting of the modeling of skills and techniques.

7.5 Adult peer role modeling

It is usually assumed that processes of peer influence in general occur during adolescence. However, the phenomenon of peer role modeling during older developmental stages was found to exist in both the literature and this data. A frequent area of research on non-adolescent role modeling is the workplace, where research has explored observational learning, organizational socialization, and the modeling of values and ethics. The distinction between mastery and coping role models was also found in this role modeling context.

Many of the examples of adult peer role modeling emerging from the data, in the cases of Robert, Molly, and Elisheva for example, were from early adulthood. It could be argued that the lines are blurred between this life stage and late adolescence, with many of the same developmental processes at work during both stages. However, there were various interviewees who spoke about peer role modeling occurring well into their adult years. For example, we saw previously that Sally shared in her narrative the significant impact in her life of a new friend that she has made in her community since her aliyah, while her husband Dan commutes back to America for work:

She's a widow, she's in our *shul* [synagogue] and she's a role model for me because she is, modeling being on your own and... and, thank G-d I'm not a widow but I am needing her now when I have a lot of alone time, and this woman, she's like befriended me and I really admire her and she... we really have a very big connection, she's role modeling for me, you know, how you find yourself and how you find... how you [can] be alone and all this stuff, but it's now. Had I met her, I don't know, if Dan was here all the time I don't know if she would've touched my heart the way she has now, and so much of it is timing and in that it definitely doesn't stop. I don't think it stops [at adolescence].

Sally sees the need for role models throughout her life, and is grateful that she has found a role model in her new friend to help her through the challenges of being on her own while her husband travels for work. At other times in her life she needed different role models who would help her through different challenges through modeling coping strategies and the possibility of overcoming. In this case it was a peer role model, a widow, who modeled how to cope alone.

An example of a kind of adult socialization was described by Laura when she suggested that Nefesh B'Nefesh, [an organization that promotes and facilitates aliyah from North America]

exercised an impact on adults considering aliyah similar to the influence of Bnei Akiva's madrichim on adolescents:

I think now because of Nefesh B'Nefesh I think it has brought out... you know into the communities... like I don't remember people making aliyah... I don't remember families making aliyah when I was growing up, ever. I just remember like singles making aliyah. I remember people like who were just finishing college or just finishing high school, and were deciding that they wanted to go and live in that crazy place Israel. And they were all very involved in Bnei Akiva and Moshava and that's why they made aliyah. But I don't remember families making aliyah. I don't remember having like *kiddushes* [post-prayer synagogue celebrations on the Sabbath] in communities where you are sending off three families, four families, and I think that, even something small like that, could be huge to somebody. Like seeing in a community where oh well we made a *Kiddush* this *shabbes* [Sabbath] for four families who were our neighbors, they are picking up their families and they are moving to Israel... I think that in some ways it's the same way that you are... that's what I am trying to... the parallel being in Moshava and seeing these people, and maybe you don't know them, but you know that they are doing it and you know that they came in the same path that you did, they used to be your neighbors and now they are living in Israel. But now you have as an adult like... Israel is in the back of your mind, or maybe it is a place you would like to live, or you have been there a few times. But then all of a sudden you have all this hype. This Bnei Akiva hype. Sorry, this Nefesh B'Nefesh hype. This aliyah hype. And you see, even if it is a huge community, if your *shul* makes a *kiddush*, to send off these three families. Or even if it is just one family. And you are around them, and you see them. They are getting their things together. And they are sending their lift. Everyone drives by the street to see their lift being packed up. Even something as little as that I think could have a tremendous affect on a family who is thinking a little bit... I think there needs to be something there, but a little bit. No but it's too difficult, and we're not... oh, like they did it. They were talking about it for fifteen years, and they did it.

Analogous to adult organizational socialization through peer role modeling in the workplace, Laura described the influence on adults considering aliyah of seeing families pack up their lives and move to Israel. Nefesh B'Nefesh has been successful at publicizing the phenomenon of family aliyah, providing unprecedented exposure to this new phenomenon, which has had a sort

of socializing effect on those considering aliyah. This is a good example of the impact of adult peer aliyah role modeling.

In conclusion, there were many examples of peer aliyah role modeling emerging from the data. This can be explained as support for the *similarity hypothesis* that posits the more similarities there are between the observer and the role model, as perceived by the observer, the greater the attraction to the role model and the more heightened the resulting sense of self-efficacy, leading, in turn, to a greater likelihood that this will engender a desire to emulate behavior. A pattern emerged where it became clear that peer role models often act as coping role models, and in the context of aliyah, as practical role models, while non-peer role models often functioned as mastery role models, inspiring aliyah rather than acting as practical aliyah role models. Finally, counselors and siblings were frequently cited as important aliyah role models, and these should be seen as near peer role models.

Chapter 8: Vicarious Role Modeling

Vicarious role modeling is where identification with distant role models leads to observational learning through “parasocial relationships” with distant role models. This is where the observer vicariously participates in the life of the model through a parasocial relationship, which in turn leads to the motivation to emulate behavior and values held by the vicarious role model. Vicarious role models can be found in various forms of mass media such as film, television, literature, sport, and government. In contemporary times the adolescent is exposed to many more influential figures via the mass media than ever before, and despite no direct interaction with media stars, the adolescent can be profoundly influenced by vicarious personalities to whom they are attracted. Popular media will often function as an agent for socialization, especially in cases where other intimate role models are absent from their lives, where implicit societal and anti-societal messages are transmitted through celebrities.

8.1 The mechanisms of vicarious role modeling

People acquire information about their level of efficacy from, among other sources, vicarious experiences. Vicarious experiences here refer to the observing of others modeling the performance of tasks, conferring a vicarious sense of efficacy (Schunk 1984). While this can also apply to local and intimate role models, vicarious learning is no less applicable to distant role models. Role models are also significant agents in the process of identity formation during adolescent development. The adolescent will experiment with roles and identities during this period of identity crisis in order to achieve the consolidation of ego identity. Parasocial

relationships with vicarious role models present the adolescent with an opportunity to experiment with new values and identities within a low-risk context (Horton & Wohl 1956, Levy 1979).

Much the same as the *similarity hypothesis*, the greater number of perceived similarities between the observer and the model in the parasocial relationship, the greater the attraction and identification to the vicarious model. When the observer recognizes herself in another individual and vicariously participates in their activities, she becomes motivated to accomplish similar activities and thoughts to those of the model. Some refer to this in the context of parasocial relationships as *homophily* (Lazarsfeld & Merton 1954, Turner 1993). The observer may also be attracted to the model because they represent values the observer aspires to, and is referred to as “wishful identification” (Feilitzen & Linne 1975).

While exploring the phenomenon of aliyah role modeling, the incidence of vicarious role modeling was not expected to appear in the data. While vicarious role modeling is both interesting and integral to understanding the general phenomenon of role modeling, the expectation was that, because examples of vicarious aliyah role models were sparse, and largely limited to the medium of historical literature, they would not prove to be an important factor in aliyah decisions, and would not emerge from the data in the aliyah narratives explored. However, not only did vicarious aliyah role modeling appear prominently in one narrative, it has helped in the evolution of a better understanding of the two paradigm modes of aliyah role modeling that commonly do appear in most of the other narratives - the inspirational and the practical.

8.2 Vicarious aliyah role modeling: the case of Aron

Aron, together with Annabel, were conspicuous among the sample in that neither of them experienced the classic Zionist upbringing apparent in the other narratives, including significant time in a Jewish day school setting or Zionist youth movement. Aron was born in South Africa to parents from Zimbabwe (then Rhodesia) and the Congo (then Belgian Congo). He only lived in South Africa for two and a half years, moving to Israel until he was five. From this age onwards he moved from country to country every few years because of his father's career as a journalist. Among other places during this period his family lived in Turkey, Italy, and England. When he was 14 years old his family finally settled in the United States where he completed his high school education and then university in upstate New York. Besides the time when his family lived in Israel when he was a young child he had spent no significant time in Israel previous to his decision to immigrate.

For Aron, the journey towards making the decision to migrate to Israel began much later in his life than most of the other immigrants interviewed:

[S]traight after high school I went to university. Then the intifada [the second Palestinian uprising, also known as the Al-Aqsa intifada, in the year 2000] started. It was in September; with Sharon's visit to the Temple Mount... we'll blame him for it, as everyone does anyway. And there was a lot of anti-Semitism on my campus. There were swastikas, and it was Barak... was Hitler... just before the whole hoopla started... this was all in the toilets. There was graffiti scrawled in feces about Jews, and a lot focused against Israel. And basically it lit the fire. First of all it pissed me off. I didn't understand what was happening. I wasn't educated enough with regards to Zionism, the history etc., to figure out what was happening. So I became very... I started reading books. [Menachem] Begin, [David] Ben-Gurion, [Ze'ev] Jabotinsky... just to try and figure out what it was about. And it lit... I won't lie about it, it lit an extremist fire. A lot of anger, and like I want revenge... they do things to me I am going to do it back. I became very active in all the protests for Israel. I became very very loud at these protests. I was one of the guys who would like go up to the

Arabs and scream at them “you wanna go? Let's go” and just very provocative, I was very provocative. There was a lot of anger on my side, because when you see anti-Semitism you either react with fear or if you feel confident in your surroundings you act with anger. So you know what? Let's go. And I think then and there I had already decided that I was going to move. I wanted to go to the army, I wanted... if I have to live with this kind of stuff in this country I might as well go and do what I was supposed to do.

The catalyst that began Aron's journey towards aliyah was clearly the anti-Semitism that he experienced on campus during his university years in a north-eastern American university. Aron describes the emotions he experienced while being exposed to this anti-Israel sentiment that he describes as anti-Semitism. These include anger and revenge. This also led to a frustration at his lack of knowledge and education when it came to Zionism, so this led him in turn to Zionist literature, beginning a process of self-education to supplement the emotions that he was experiencing. This combination ultimately led to his decision to immigrate to Israel. The literature that Aron refers to consists of Zionist personalities and thinkers, and presumably he exposed himself to their biographies and to their thought.

While at this stage no conclusions can be drawn as to the nature of the relationship Aron had with these personalities, whether simply intellectual or emotional as well, and whether this can be termed a parasocial vicarious relationship. Aron was clearly deeply affected by these personalities, and, it can be assumed, by their ideas. It is possible to hear the ideas of Begin, Ben-Gurion and Jabotinsky echoed in Aron's words when he describes his newfound determination to identify with Israel and to stand up as a proud Jew, and if necessary fight for his right to be a Jew and to be a Zionist. Central to the Zionist thought of these personalities is the creation of a New Jew, who displays dignity and self-esteem and is a proud warrior fighting for his rights and his ideals. This is in contrast with the stereotypical exile Jew who lacks dignity and self-determination, subject to the wishes of the non-Jew and to the forces of history that determine his

fate. At this stage it is unclear whether Aron already has an affinity to these ideas and therefore this can be said to be a case of “attitude homophily” in a parasocial relationship (Rogers and Bhowmik 1970, Turner 1993) or wishful identification (Feilitzen & Linne 1975) where Aron aspires to fulfil the call of these Zionist leader’s to become a “New Jew” and embody these values.

When asked to name any specific people that he had exposure to during his life that had immigrated to Israel and to describe the impact they may have had on his own decision to migrate, he began by describing his own parents:

Well, they [my parents] were Habonim. It was part of their Zionist ideals. I am not sure they really showered me with it, but when I was making aliyah my mum didn't want me to at first, and my dad said how can you not want him to, we did this, it was something that was so important to us, so obviously in some ways it is going to be ingrained in him, even if we didn't teach him par se about those values. I guess the fact that I always spoke good enough Hebrew even after we left, and I very much loved Israel as a home... I guess I was like a typical Israeli... Its home but I don't want to live there. I have money to make... I had Israel as a part of me, I just needed something to reignite the importance of it, and that's what I got, so...

Aron did not relate to his parents as aliyah role models, probably due to his young age at the time when they lived as a family in Israel. He could also have had reason to relate to them as negative aliyah role models, having left Israel to migrate to the US, again when he was still a young child. However, he fails to relate to his parents as aliyah role models in anyway, either positive or negative. He does however assume that they had managed to implant latent Zionist values in him waiting to be awakened. His experiences on campus during his undergraduate studies were the catalyst to his Jewish and Zionist reawakening. He also described exposure to other people he encountered in his formative years that had chosen to live in Israel, but again did not consider them aliyah role models:

Most likely I had friends, but I don't think there was anyone who was a major factor in my life. I knew a lot of Israelis who had left, like at Carmel, who had left, like us who had left Israel, but I didn't know people who had gone. I mean the Blooms... yeah, I guess the Blooms our friends in Kochav Yair, they... I knew that they had left Zimbabwe to go back to Israel and stuff... but there was never an important like figure. As I grew older my grandmother wanted to live in Israel, she wanted to... my mum's mum wanted to live in Israel, but it just never worked out, and also my dad's aunt, they had moved to the Mandate in '44, leaving Rhodes before the Holocaust, and there's things like that, I knew the stories of, but it wasn't like a Zionist aliyah type of thing.

None of the people Aron listed and their stories seemed to have made a deep impact on Aron in terms of his aliyah. Perhaps he lacked an affinity or likeness to these people, and seemed not to be inspired by their lives, or aspire to be like them in anyway. However, he did relate to the personalities that he encountered in his reading in just these terms:

I think the people who I... before I actually got deeper into the history, there were various... especially like Begin and *The Revolt* [the memoirs of Menachem Begin in pre-state Palestine], it's such a powerful book with regards to how he talks about life before he came back to the [British] Mandate [in Palestine]. With the Polish army, and... and also I just like... you read about... I always felt that my *neshama* [soul] wise I don't belong to this era, I am very much someone who likes to get his hands dirty, and like a *chalutz* [pioneer] mentality. And I saw these people, and they want to build... their goal was to build something that they would never live to... they would never reap the benefits of what they did. It would all go to the next generation. And I just... in a way I find myself like relating to this passion, to this love of something that they didn't have but they wanted. And to an extent it's what we all go through. We have this passion that we love and [when] we don't have it, we want it. And they became in a way role models... and also [Yoni] Netanyahu. I was big into Entebbe when I was younger. I watched [Raid on] Entebbe when I was 6 years old with my grandfather, and I remember the first time, I cried. I didn't understand why Yoni had to die. And he was like a role model to me. And also I read *Michtav Yoni* [The Letter's of Yoni Netanyahu] later on in life, but again these kind of things are an influence. Both of them are to me, both Begin and Netanyahu I look up to as... not as I guess role models... I never met them. So I guess like as people who I admire. Whose love of Israel was something that I want mine to be and always be.

Aron is inspired by the stories of Menachem Begin and Yoni Netanyahu. He sees them as the embodiment of values that are important to him, such as bravery and passion, selfless sacrifice for the good of future generations, and love for the people and land of Israel. These are values that he aspires to embody himself, values that when “we don’t have it, we want it”. Aron is demonstrating wishful identification within a parasocial relationship with his heroes from Jewish history (Feilitzen & Linne 1975). However, he also makes a clear reference to an attitude homophily (Turner 1993) when he describes a strong sense that his soul belongs to an earlier era, and that he has a pioneering mentality rarely seen in contemporary times. He admits that while today he may not embody these values to the same extent as his heroes, he certainly aspires to do so one day, and he has a strong sense that these values are already at his core, which explains why he feels a deep affinity with these personalities.

Aron expresses some confusion as to whether the personalities with whom he has this vicarious parasocial relationship can be considered role models in the normative sense. He wonders if one needs to have an intimate relationship with someone for them to be considered a role model. When this was probed further by the interviewer, Aron gave another example of a vicarious role model, but one for whom Aron felt at ease describing as a role model:

Well just because they [Begin and Netanyahu] were such different eras. Like for example when I was in Carmel I idolized Robbie Fowler [the footballer]. My era, a few years younger than me, local lad made it big. I [used to] want to be that. When you look at say Begin, who basically led the opposition, etc. or Netanyahu, who gave up Harvard to fight in wars and stuff... it makes me realize that these people... they're bigger than you. Fowler was obviously bigger than me too, but like I could dream about that, to play football, because it was something I did every day. But to build a country... to be stuck in another country and to decide not to come back to it... it's a different level.

Aron found it easier to identify with Robbie Fowler, because he represented more homophily in terms of age and background. For Aron a role model had to have basic similarities to himself to function in that role. Begin and Netanyahu seem to represent personae that are larger than life and are difficult to identify with. It is hard for Aron to imagine ever being able to accomplish their achievements. However, on reflection Aron was able to see that one doesn't need actual intimacy with the personality for them to be a role model, but rather an intimacy with the values they represent and with their ideas:

When I came to Israel I came to the Begin museum a few times. To me he was a role model. Maybe I didn't realise so at the time... I didn't see it at the time because I was so involved in activism I guess, in being angry, but I guess unbeknownst to me their passion and their values were already being imprinted to an extent on my dreams. I would [have] loved to have gone to kibbutz and worked the land... I mean I wouldn't have been successful... financially... but that is a life that I looked up to, a good role model... and I guess it shows you that... let's say a proper Zionist Jewish education is not necessary to come here. It's an ideal I think, it's something we should be asking for, but if you value the words of people you respect, with regards to role models, it can also be the same sort of force on you. For example, have you ever read *A Psalm in Jenin*? I read that book when I was in the army. And... what am I doing at this level, I should be going to like real combat unit, I want to really fight. Those people are my role models now. A lot of people actually who are mentioned in that book who fought, I do miluim [reserve duty] with them. All the heads of Golanchikim [members of the Golani infantry brigade in the IDF] are with me. And every time I go there I talk to them, they're my role models now. They were then when I was... and I am still in Israel, but they like... these guys gave more than I did. And I have to be able to give the ultimate sacrifice. Not *chas veshalom* [God forbid] see your friends die or whatever, but going as far as you can to succeed here. I have done as much as Begin and as much as Netanyahu, I just haven't done on the level which people see.

An intimacy with the ideas and values of a person, in Aron's case with Menachim Begin, can be a substitute for the more classic role model focused education that is provided by attendance in a Zionist youth movement, where intimacy with madrichim is the trademark of the pedagogy found there. In the duration of the interview, Aron came to his own self-realization that the accomplishments of his role models from Jewish history are not unachievable for him, and in

fact, in his own context and on a different level, he has achieved similar accomplishments, and so he decided he is comfortable describing Begin and Netanyahu as his role models after all.

Aron's description of the impact of serving in the army with the subjects of a book documenting a harrowing military campaign in the city of Jenin could be seen as an example of identity experimentation through secondary attachments. Aron reevaluated what kind of a soldier he wished to be in the light of reading the gripping and heroic story of the Golani Brigade in the book *A Psalm in Jenin*. As a result, he chose to volunteer for the Golani Brigade, when he could have chosen a non-combat unit instead. This demonstration of the inculcation of the values embodied by Aron's role models bring his narrative full circle, beginning with his anger and passion on campus inspired by Begin and Netanyahu, to his volunteering in a combat unit in the army, and finally with Aron stating the importance of ideas which he first learnt from the parasocial relationship through the writings of his role models:

People will tell you that Begin was some sort of... well obviously because of... That he was [a] *manhig* [leader] of the *Irgun* [pre-state para-military organization], there [were] issues with it. But if you look at the way he writes, and the passion of his words, he is not about killing, he is very much about a powerful... a Jew... about having the *zechut* [right] to be on this land, making this land work. And that in a way motivated me to do that. In a way, I feel very much like a... more of like a Begin... They strengthen you. And then you read about the people that came before you and they strengthen you. It's all about strengthening our position in this country. That's what these boys want to do. That's why they are different from the people that are now making aliyah. Because they don't stop. Once they make aliyah they are still there. They are still your... I guess of what you can strive to be. And I... with Michael Oren. the same thing. He is an American oleh, who has now become... he has reached the pinnacle in a way... or even Golda Meir, because she wasn't Israeli, she was also American, and you say look... they got this high! Now I know that I can get even higher. It's a continuous cycle.

According to Aron, the central motif of the writings of Menachem Begin is Jewish power and rights, and the dignity of the Jew in the world. It is these ideas that inspired Aron to make aliyah,

and to serve in the army, and they continue to inspire him to this day. He continues to aspire to embody these values in every aspect of his life just as he believes his role models do.

He ends his narrative with a new and vital piece of the vicarious role modeling puzzle; vicarious experiences leading to a sense of self-efficacy. Aron ends with two further examples of his vicarious role models, Michael Oren, Israel's current ambassador to the United States, and the previous Prime Minister Golda Meir, both American immigrants to Israel. They represent to him the possibility of Zionist achievement that is open to him, and they also have the same values as his other role aliyah models at their core. Through vicariously experiencing their accomplishments, he can learn about his own efficacy, which will motivate him to achieve similar accomplishments.

8.3 Using vicarious role modeling to further understand aliyah role modeling

Although Aron provides the only fully-formed example of vicarious aliyah role modeling, and is evidently an exception to the norm with respect to this phenomenon, there are aspects of vicarious role modeling as exhibited by other interviewees that can help to refine our understanding of aliyah role modeling. In previous chapters two paradigms of aliyah role modeling were found to be present in the narratives of those interviewed - inspirational and practical aliyah role modeling. Inspirational aliyah role models took on several different forms, including rabbis and teachers (Shoshana and Molly), peers (Elisheva), madrichim (Laura, Matthew and Josh) and a spouse (Annabel). However, practical aliyah role models were more commonly cited as impactful in the decision to make aliyah, examples of whom include family members, especially siblings (Danny and Molly), madrichim (Laura and Shoshana), and peers

(Robert). The concepts of wishful identification and homophily, borrowed from vicarious role modeling, can augment our understanding of these respective modes.

8.3.1 Inspirational aliyah role modeling and wishful identification

According to Feilitzen & Linne, while perceived similarities between observer and model can be critical to the parasocial relationship, wishful identification, where the observer aspires to be or be like the model, is often the motivation underlying a parasocial relationship (Feilitzen & Linne 1975). Wishful identification, a concept more often found in the context of vicarious role modeling, can be helpful in furthering an understanding of inspirational role modeling in general, and inspirational aliyah role models in particular. There were several examples in the data of interviewees describing wishful identification as the catalyst for inspirational aliyah role modeling. At the center of Danny's definition of a role model is the word "aspire". A role model according to Danny is "someone you aspire to be like". When Josh attempted to define a role model, he found himself listing values such as sincerity, passion, authenticity, experience, and knowledge, concluding that these were the values he looked for in a role model because they were the values he himself aspired to embody. Sally observed her aliyah role models and concluded "I want to live this kind of life". Robert described the biggest influence on his decision to immigrate to Israel was that the "people that I wanted to be like back home, they were the ones making Aliyah". Although it would later become clear in the narratives that some of these role models in fact functioned more as practical role models than inspirational role models, for example Robert's peers, in these examples of wishful identification the observer is clearly relating to the model as an inspirational role model. From this it can be concluded that an aliyah role model who primarily functions in the capacity as a practical model can at first

function as an inspirational role model, inspiring a particular life path due to wishful identification, subsequently modeling the practicalities of how this can be achieved.

8.3.2 Homophily, similarity hypothesis, and practical aliyah role modeling

A clear relationship exists between the theories of similarity hypothesis as found in the context of general role modeling and the homophily of parasocial relationships. Both theories are based on the assumption that the greater number of perceived similarities between the observer and the model, the greater the attraction and identification, and therefore the greater the impact of the role model on the observer. Each theory can enrich an understanding of the other. The term homophily, defined as friendships based on similarity (Lazarsfeld & Merton 1954), was originally applied to parasocial relationships by Turner (1993). Several researchers have explored homophily, expounding possible examples of the similarities between the participants in the relationship. These examples of homophily can be used to strengthen the application of similarity hypothesis to role modeling. These similarities include beliefs, values, education, social status (Rogers and Bhowmik 1970), background, morality, and appearance (McCroskey, Richmond, and Daly 1975) and the overarching concept of “attitude” (Turner 1993).

Many of these examples of similarities between observer and model were found in the data. These include educational similarities between Shoshana and her madrichim and Danny and his uncle; social status and background between Molly and her cousin, Shoshana and her madrichim and Danny and his uncle; and values, beliefs and attitude between Josh and his boss, Laura and the Israeli parents at her children’s school, and Aron and his vicarious aliyah role models from Jewish history. Other similarities important to the participants in this research not mentioned by the studies on homophily include age (Shoshana and Molly felt that the age difference between

themselves and their teachers was an obstacle to their consideration as aliyah role models), experiences (Sally felt the parallel experience of loneliness she experienced while her husband travelled for work and the loneliness experienced by the widow she met through her synagogue led her to consider the widow as a role model, and Colette's relationship to her aliyah role models, the Hartmen family, who had a similar aliyah experience bringing teenage children to Israel from America) and similarities in career path (between Molly and her cousin).

Studies examining the phenomenon of role modeling have found that a significant outcome from the observing of role models who embody similarities to the observer is a developing sense of self-efficacy where observing the success of role models who have significant similarities to the observer leads to an enhanced sense of self-efficacy in and a greater motivation in that task. There were many examples of similarities between observer and aliyah role model leading to a perception of increased aliyah self-efficacy in the data, providing evidence for *Self Efficacy Theory* (Bandura 1977, 1986, Vesico *et al* 2005). These include Molly, Robert and Danny observing the success of their peers and family as they build a life for themselves in Israel. Theorists exploring the phenomenon of homophily could well find the correlation between the existence of similarities in a relationship and enhanced self-efficacy enlightening for their research.

8.3.3 Identifying patterns in the data

As noted, Aron's vicarious aliyah role models from Jewish history present an exception to the patterns of aliyah role modeling found in the data. For different reasons, Annabel relating to her husband and Elisheva to her peer as inspirational aliyah role models are further exceptions to the general pattern of aliyah role models. Generally, the more intimate the relationship, the less

likely it is that the aliyah role model will have an *inspirational* impact. All *practical* role models however were local and intimate in their relationship with their observer, mostly peer or near-peer role models. Apart from the noted exceptions of Annabel's husband and Elisheva's peer, all inspirational aliyah role models, although not necessarily distant and vicarious role models, were less intimate and more distant than the corresponding practical aliyah role models. The distant nature of the relationships was generally down to age and perceived accomplishments. Examples include Shoshana and Molly's teachers and senior or older madrichim and Annabel's older friends and family.

Interviewees often related to their inspirational aliyah role models as mastery role models, drawing many parallels between this relationship and parasocial relationships of vicarious role models. On some level, a semi-distant inspirational aliyah role model such as a rabbi or teacher can often function in a similar way to a distant vicarious role model. In contradistinction, practical role models, even when they are senior in age and aliyah accomplishments, are still related to as coping aliyah role models by the observer, with whom they feel they have a more intimate relationship.

In this chapter, Aron's relationship to vicarious aliyah role models from Jewish history was explored as an exception to the general pattern of inspirational aliyah role models. However, aspects of the vicarious role modeling relationship sharpened our understanding of both inspirational aliyah role modeling and practical aliyah role modeling, through applying the concepts of wishful identification and homophily to this context. Similarities were drawn between vicarious role models and inspirational aliyah role models who were generally more distant and senior in age and accomplishments, while practical aliyah role models were more

local and intimate in their relationship with the observer. In the following chapter, a critique of aliyah role modeling will be presented.

Chapter 9: A Critique of Role Modeling in Education

Both in the literature and in the data generated by this research, reservations have been expressed about role modeling as an intentional pedagogy. In this chapter these critiques will be considered.

9.1 The unreasonable burden of responsibility on the educator as role model

The role model has been described previously as an agent of holistic education. Every act, every decision, and every conversation, both in the professional and private lives of the educator, transmits the values and ideas of the model and should be considered an educational resource for the observer. This is poignantly expressed by Buber when he states “Only in his whole being, in all his spontaneity can the educator truly affect the whole being of his pupil” (Buber 1974b). The life of the teacher becomes the text that is taught as the teacher is asked to make her life available to her students (Pomson 2002). However, with this, a heavy burden of responsibility is incurred by the role model as a holistic educator. This incumbency brings into focus teachers’ lifestyle, and demands that they live private lives, in addition to professional lives, that embody the values both of what they teach and where they teach. This places teachers under tremendous stress, bringing their private lives into the classroom and the classroom into their private lives, requiring that they continuously be concerned with their behavior even outside of their professional environment.

This presents many dilemmas for practice and policy. Are these reasonable expectations? Are there ways to avoid or limit this burden? Will these professional expectations beyond the

classroom lead to a feeling of suffocation, and scare potential practitioners away from this vocation? Should a school be allowed to base hiring policies on a teacher's private lifestyle? The role model as holistic educator also presents the practitioner herself with a pedagogic dilemma. How much access and disclosure to the educator's private life should be presented to the student? These questions all probe the ethical implications of the teacher's responsibility as a role model and must be considered when evaluating role modeling as an educational strategy.

The narrative of Shoshana illustrates how adolescents experience difficulty perceiving the complexities of real life and the challenges of religious commitment in the modern world. As we saw in chapter four, Shoshana eventually came to terms with her failed role models because, as she says, "I am old enough to now know that the *madrichim* aren't perfect... It's not so easy." This awareness of her own cognitive development, and Brown's broader argument about adolescent development more generally, reflect Egan's influential thesis (1997) that adulthood brings with it a capacity for "irony", that is an awareness that life is full of inconsistency and contradiction.

Matthew also demonstrated an understanding of how the cognitive development of adolescents influences their approach to role modeling over time, both from the perspective of the observer and of the model. He described the adolescent's approach to the role model as "unquestioning", considering the role model in terms of perfection. According to Matthew, this adolescent view of the perfect role model also affects the way adolescents present themselves as role models, as seen when young *madrichim* "set themselves up for perfection". When adolescents reach more advanced stages of cognitive development they become "more questioning", understanding that "the world is more complex than one idea or one theme", being able now to "see people's faults". This, Matthew believes, is because adults "have been through different experiences in life" and

“are more forgiving of [other] people as well”. Matthew also reflects how this has had an impact on the way he, as an adult, educates and models aliyah, explaining that today he is “much more open and frank” and confesses that he would even find himself saying to some people “Israel may not be for you”.

The burden and stress of being both a role model and holistic educator did not emerge from the data, even from those interviewees who spoke of their consciousness of their calling as a role model. However, an awareness of the impact of the educator as a holistic role model did. These included Laura’s influence as an aliyah role model in the camp kitchen, and Sally’s experience of her madrichim at camp. Sally describes the role of the madrich at camp as a holistic educator when she described the impact of the madrich as a role model outside of the classroom: “It was definitely a combination of the fact that there were people there who were modeling not only what they were like when I was in their classroom, but I saw them eating, I saw them playing basketball, I saw them on their day off, and they were *davening* [praying] on their day off, you know, and it was the minutia of their life more than even whatever it was that they taught that was so powerful”. The madrich as a holistic educator, modeling the same values outside of the classroom that they educate inside it, had a profound impact on Sally that she can articulate many years later.

9.2 Role modeling education is values based¹⁰

There is an argument to be made that role modeling is a form of values based education. Despite some identifying a new trend towards educating absolute values and using models to educate

¹⁰ While values based education is highly contested, many consider the content of such education to be worthwhile but are concerned about the potential for a heavy-handed pedagogy to achieve the education of values.

them, it is still often argued that the modeling of an educator's personal beliefs has no place in a liberal educational setting where "pedagogic neutrality" is encouraged. Critics of the modeling of personal beliefs in education fear at best this will dissuade independent thought and lead to moral dependency, and at worse is a form of indoctrination open to abuse.

It has been argued above that the education of values through role modeling has a socializing impact on the adolescent, where significant others transmit specific convictions, notions, beliefs, practices, values, and norms, to future generations, thereby socializing them into society. Role models provide a plausibility structure for the observer, who is immersed into an environment where the plausibility of these values is reinforced through interaction with people who embody them in a social network. By definition, a plausibility structure is a value-laden educational environment, with little space for other ideas.

Several interviewees made references to being influenced by the values they felt their role models were transmitting through modeling. For example, in exploring his own definition of a role model and role modeling, Josh began by listing several values, concluding that for him an ideal role model would embody these values and inspire him to strive to do the same. Sally also described the direct and explicit communication of values from her role models, in this case the aliyah role models she found herself surrounded by once she arrived in Israel. She described these role models as "people who I can relate to, who live here, they were neighbors - living side by side with them and watching the choices and the sensibilities and the values that they had". Molly expressed a similar awareness, but this time from the perspective of her own influence as an aliyah role model:

[I]t's easier to give over the *messer* [message] when you have already done it. It's easier for me to say 'make aliyah' now that I have made aliyah than to go back home and be like 'make aliyah, I am going to do it eventually'.

Molly understands that she is clearly conveying messages and values through modeling, and if they are in conflict with the ideas she is delivering overtly, then this will weaken her message. Her chanichim will be less convinced to make aliyah, despite her persuasive arguments, if she herself has yet to make aliyah.

The role of models in the immersion of the observer into plausibility structures is something that clearly emerged from the data and has been explored extensively above. The most frequently cited instances were in the context of sleep away camp experiences, such as Laura and Sally's description of camp as an immersion experience into an almost parallel society of counter-cultural values. Sally describes the potency of camp to educate values which "seep into people's lives" because the camper is "immersed - every minute you're breathing it and so... It's a combination of being immersed in a society and having role models there". While Sally is not totally clear on the part played by the role model in the creation of the plausibility structure, Laura describes the impact of the staff as central to this immersion, each one embodying the values of the camp with their very persons and behavior, when she describes the counselors at camp: "you had all these people who were in Moshava [Bnei Akiva Camp] who a lot of them hoped to make aliyah, or were very pro-Israel, and were telling you these stories about these wonderful experiences they had in Israel, and you had a lot of Israelis coming and telling you how great Israel was, and you know you were just surrounded by that on a constant level every summer".

Matthew spent a great deal of time talking about the dangers of role modeling as a pedagogic system that discourages critical and open thinking. He contrasted role modeling during adolescence, a pedagogy that often sees the world in “black and white”, with what he calls “mentor education”, a pedagogic system more appropriate for older students and adults, that is more “subtle [and] sophisticated”, encouraging “thinking for yourself” and advocating mentees to bring “their own ideas and thoughts” to the relationship. For this reason he is uncomfortable using role modeling as an educational strategy for older students, although he admits the power of role modeling to inspire in adolescence may be more appropriate. In his narrative Matthew also mentioned an educational institution, Aish HaTorah, that he felt consciously based their message on the “emotion [and] power” of role modeling. He expressed his clear discomfort and disagreement with this approach to adult education. He felt that the pedagogy employed in this organization was not totally honest, lacking in integrity. He even described it as irresponsible. He contrasted it with the more opened minded education he received at Yeshivat Har Etzion, which, he says, allowed him to realize that “life is more complex... there were subtleties and it wasn't black or white”.

9.3 The impact of the failed and the negative role model

9.3.1 Mastery role models

Two types of role models were identified in the literature, the "master role model" and the "coping" or "struggling" role model. Critics of role modeling argue that there is a danger that the master role model can create unrealistic expectations, leading to frustration, disappointment, and even demoralization, by modeling unattainable achievements and highlighting deficiencies in the observer. Typical examples of mastery role models causing frustration are found in the sporting and business fields as well as educational and religious contexts. For this reason a trend away

from presenting distant exemplars as role models for students has been identified, replacing them with local “real” models instead. (Ingall 1993). However, the mastery role model can have a positive inspiring impact on observers, encouraging them to aspire to similar characteristics and achievements. If the observer can identify with the model and perceives the attainability of the model’s success then the mastery model will provide an inspirational impact, and if not, demoralization and disillusionment may result.

Mastery aliyah role modeling emerged from the data in several narratives. For instance, Shoshana struggled to relate to her Rabbi-teacher in seminary as an aliyah role model because he represented an inspiring mode of role modeling that she found hard to relate to in an intimate way, because she “wouldn’t necessarily think, oh because Rav Millar made aliyah, it doesn’t necessarily become possible for me to do it... Because already it felt like, oh he did it ages ago, things were different. He is different also”. Rav Millar represented an exceptional aliyah irrelevant to Shoshana’s potential aliyah, due to his personality type, his older age, and the years since he made aliyah. Shoshana expands on the difficulties she experienced in relating to the personality-types found on the faculty of her seminary as aliyah role models when she describes her thoughts on a second teacher, Rav Schwartz:

Personally I thought he was a complete lunatic. I really thought he was mad, but I liked what he taught us. I actually remember from one of the first days in Midrasha [seminary], when Rav Millar was telling us who all the teachers were, and his one thing about Rav Schwartz was how wonderful he is because he went to *chutz l’aretz* [the Diaspora] with the sand of *Eretz Yisrael* [the Land of Israel] in his shoe. I thought he was a complete lunatic... Actually that class really had a thing to do with me making aliyah... also not necessarily making me make aliyah, but really making me to want to make aliyah... That was intellectually I think. That was what he... that was the material. What he taught, and not him. It’s not that I didn’t like him, it was just so extreme, and so... [he] wasn’t a role model. It was too far away from my... like where I was from.

While Shoshana does not claim that the aliyah or ideas of Rav Millar and Rav Schwartz demoralized or frustrated her, she does indicate that it was hard to relate to their personalities, because they modeled an extreme approach to living in Israel that she could not see herself fulfilling. While they both may have had an inspirational impact on her decision to make aliyah, in her mind they were “extreme” and even resorted to using a derogatory moniker to describe one of them, as she struggled to understand the lifestyle and approach to aliyah that he modeled. For Shoshana, these people provided a type of mastery aliyah role model.

Annabel also described the impact of her inspirational aliyah role models in terms of mastery role modeling. She related the story of her cousin who survived the Holocaust in Europe and then came to build the fledgling State of Israel after World War II, describing the story as putting her own aliyah into great perspective: “Like wow, I came here and as difficult as my aliyah is, look... it’s nothing compared to what they went through. And you know they made [it]... That was very motivational”. While Annabel’s cousin, with her exceptional and inspiring aliyah story, can be considered a mastery role model, Annabel does not described the story as having a demoralizing or frustrating impact on her in anyway. Rather, both Annabel and Shoshana were inspired and motivated by their respective mastery aliyah role models. So while the potential for these negative repercussions of mastery role modeling cannot be denied, they did not emerge from this data.

9.3.2 Coping role models

The coping model is an individual who struggles at times, yet refuses to give up. While there may be some understandable reluctance to uphold the coping role model as a model for emulation due to the fine line between coping and failing, the coping model also represents the

inherent values of perseverance and determination, and sometimes dignity in failure. It can be argued that this can have a more profound impact than the mastery role model. The observer will experience an increased sense of self-efficacy through sensing the potential for achievement despite the difficulties incurred with perseverance. The observer may find it easier to relate to the model who displays apprehension and difficulty yet overcomes the difficult task than the mastery model who seems not to encounter any difficulty with the task at all.

Coping aliyah role modeling emerged from Collette's narrative as she looked to the experiences of the Hartmans as a family who made aliyah with teenage children. The Hartman's aliyah story is not without hitch or flaw, yet ultimately it can be considered a success. Collette admits that despite her friend Tamar's "miserable" aliyah as a teenager, "we've always kind of followed a little bit of their story, and we've always been in touch with them". She describes Tamar's aliyah as miserable because "she came at age 13 and she hated it here... she hated it here until she was in the army". But despite this traumatic experience, Tamar and her family all agree that "ok, and so you came and you hated it, but you know that ultimately you would rather be here, even though you had a terrible experience here as a child." For Collette, this narrative was "really influential", as she hopes that this is ultimately how her own children will be able to reflect on their aliyah stories, even if they experience a similar trauma migrating as teenagers. While their aliyah story is not the dream aliyah that Collette would wish for her own family, it does have a happy ending and on some level is even more inspiring because the Hartman's overcame adversity to make their aliyah work. Again, while there was a danger that the trauma experienced by the Hartmans would have a negative impact on Collette and her family, indicative of the inherent danger in coping role models, in this instant Collette and her family have found it inspiring. The case of Collette and the Hartmans is an example of the potentially inspiring impact of the coping role model.

9.3.3 Negative role models

A third type of potentially destructive role model, the negative role model, displays character traits, beliefs, or behaviors that society holds in contempt and would discourage young people from emulating. Negative role models are often found in the popular media, and can also be present in educational contexts and in the peer group. However, even negative role models can have a positive impact on the adolescent as "avoidance role models" whereby the modeling of negative behaviors has an inhibitory affect leading to negative identification and negative emulation. Absolute negative role models, sometimes termed "global negative role models", or "anti-models" are generally rare and it is more likely that role models encountered have both positive and negative attributes.

For aliyah role models to be considered an absolute negative aliyah role model, they would have to model the polar-opposite values to an aliyah role model, earning the term "anti-aliyah role model". It is beyond the scope of this work to explore fully what the opposite values to aliyah would be or what exactly an "anti-aliyah role model" would look like, but there are documented systems of belief that are generally acknowledged as the opposite of a Zionist world view. These would include Post-Zionist thought, the political thought of anti-Zionism and a religious anti-Zionist theological philosophy. The only examples of exposure to models from these systems of thought that emerged from the data were the ultra-Orthodox anti-Zionist models reported by Shoshana and Alan.

Alan and Shoshana were exposed to religious anti-Zionist negative aliyah role models in the context of their high school experiences, both attending the same ultra-Orthodox run Jewish day

school in London. Shoshana felt that these ideas were modeled both by the teachers and some of her peers, and Alan described the impact of one particular teacher who was vocal and vociferous with his anti-Zionist views. They both described these models in terms of "avoidance role models" (Lockwood *et al* 2002, Melnick & Jackson 1998), where exposure to the ideas modeled by their teacher or friends had an inhibitory affect (Bandura 1977, Manz & Sims 1981) and lead to negative identification and negative emulation (McEvoy and Erikson 1981). Shoshana felt that this exposure made her "even more strong" in her commitment to Zionism and aliyah. During her adolescence, while she was developing her ideas on Zionism, she was sure that she "was definitely never going to be anti-Israel", and she found that "because all these people were, I became more pro". Alan agreed that "it made me more pro-Israel, because they were very anti-Israel. We would enjoy being the other way. So that may have had an influence on me to be more Zionist, more pro-Israel when these guys were so anti". These are both strong examples of negative avoidance role modeling.

9.3.4 Failed role models

A further mode of negative role modeling is the failed role model, where the model is in a position to directly transmit specific values but indirectly models a failure to live up to those values. This phenomenon is often found in educational and religious contexts where the scope for adolescent disappointment in role models is great. Failed health role models have also been well documented in the field of medical practitioners.

In contrast to the other forms of negative role models, failed aliyah role models were frequently found in the narratives of those interviewed. They can be categorized into three types; the failed and returning immigrant, the Israeli migrant to the Diaspora, and the hypocritical educator, who

had espoused Zionist and pro-aliyah views, but ultimately failed to migrate to Israel themselves. Collette experienced both the failed immigrant and the Israeli emigrant in the Diaspora, and did not allow either to sway her conviction to make aliyah herself. She showed understanding for both, admitting that “I totally get that, I mean, I can see how people could come back”. But while she empathized with their difficulties in living in Israel, she showed frustration at their need to share these experiences with her. She felt that it was “super annoying” when this happened, because she felt “the thing you're supposed to say to people is 'I wish you the best of luck'”. It seems that these failed aliyah role models did have some negative impact on her resolve, and led to frustration.

Collette did not experience the same frustration when it came to meeting Israeli immigrants in the United States. In fact, on some level she still related to these emigrants as aliyah models, as they modeled aspects and values of an Israeli society to which she was attracted. She describes Israelis as “more organic” and when she met them she felt that “interacting with Israelis in America always made me feel like 'oh my gosh, that's like a real person, and like a real person who says what they are feeling’”. However, Yonatan displayed tremendous difficulty relating to Israelis in the Diaspora. He expressed resentment towards his uncle, who was Israeli born, and who influenced him to make aliyah and serve in the paratroopers in the army, yet had left Israel and immigrated to Australia, remaining there until his death. Yonatan failed to understand how “someone who was in Lechi [the pre-State underground movement], and was one of the *Tzionim* [Zionists]” could “then... go back”.

The most frequently reported failed aliyah role model was the *madrich* of the Zionist youth movement who had invested time and energy encouraging and educating *chanichim* towards aliyah, yet ultimately failed to take this step him or herself. Shoshana reflected on the feelings of

resentment she experienced when she realized that the messages her madrichim were delivering lacked integrity as they failed to fulfill them and make aliyah themselves. Molly felt very strongly that there is no room in a movement for madrichim who cannot fulfill the ideology of the movement in their personal lives when she admits “I was very judgmental when I was in South Africa, I really was. And I was like, look if you want to be part of Bnei Akiva you have to be religious and you have to be Zionist and you have to make aliyah as well.” However, both Molly and Shoshana admit that as they matured and understood more fully the complexities of life and the difficulties involved in making aliyah, they both admit to having become more tolerant of these failed aliyah role models. While the question of the true impact of these failed aliyah role models remains, they both seem to suggest that when considering the larger picture, neither of them was affected negatively by them in any meaningful way, and they both of course have since made aliyah.

9.4 Role modeling and power abuse

The sharpest critique of role models in education emphasizes the potential abuse of the power inherent in the teacher-student relationship. When the teacher rather than the student becomes the focus of the educational process this can lead to unhealthy role modeling relationships, and ultimately more dangerous evils. These have included the abuse of sexual tensions in a student-teacher relationship, role models capitalizing on their influence over young people for immoral ends, whether only in the realm of ideas or also action, or intentional manipulation for financial, sexual, or political gain. In order to maintain the abusive relationship, the negative role model may abuse the emotional and physical well-being of the follower, by encouraging negative self-beliefs or negative beliefs about the world.

No obvious examples of extreme power abuse in role modeling relationships were found in the interviewee's aliyah narratives. However, many of the themes that help understand the potential for power abuse did emerge. For example, the concern that the model may become the greater focus of the relationship rather than the observer (Brown 2002, Schwab 1978) was found in the distinction that Matthew drew between role modeling and mentorship:

I think maybe [when you are] a role model, one of the differences is when you are a pure role model you think about yourself and you don't think about the other person. And when you are a mentor or a coach, I think you need the sophistication to try and put yourself into the other person's shoes. And understanding that life is more complex than just your own view point.

For Matthew, a real danger of role modeling is that the model may forget that the basis of the relationship is the growth of the observer. When this happens, the relationship becomes more focused on the ego of the model rather than the needs of the observer.

The foundation of the role model's power in the relationship is the attractive qualities found in the model, encouraging the emotional process of eros towards the model and the message that the model conveys (Schwab 1978.) There were many examples of this language found in many of the narratives. Sally described her counselors at camp as "attractive" and "charismatic" and as people she was drawn to. Her narrative was also replete with the use of the word "love" to describe the mutual affection she shared with many of her aliyah role models. Molly and Yonatan also used the term "love" to describe their feelings for the role models, and Josh also explored the importance for a role model to have charisma. The terminology of "worship" and "idolize" were also common, with the clearest examples from Molly, who described her relationship with her brother as a near peer role model and Avraham explaining the impact that his vicarious role models had.

9.5 Concluding remarks

In this chapter several critiques of role modeling were presented. The first critique related to what some see as the unreasonable burden of responsibility placed on the educator as a holistic educator. By definition, holistic educators must embody, both in their professional and personal lives, the values they are asked to educate, as role models. Whether this burden is fair and reasonable may be of less practical relevance than the question of whether such demands may scare away potential practitioners from the vocation of education. Another practical question for the practitioner concerned the consequences in providing access to an educator's private life, including any number of complexities and flaws. This is essentially the same discussion encountered when the pros and cons of the coping role model are considered. Those interviewees who described the phenomenon of the coping aliyah role model largely felt that they were an inspiring rather than a negative influence as a role model

Other forms of negative role models were also considered, including the absolute negative role model, or the anti-model, and the failed role model. The data suggested that in the context of aliyah role modeling, these forms of negative role models either had positive inhibitive impact as avoidance role models, or were largely irrelevant. The only real example of a destructive influence caused by a negative aliyah role model was the failed aliyah role model of the hypocritical madrich. However, the impact of even this mode of negative aliyah role modeling was found to be tempered over time with the maturing of the observer.

Finally, the critique was made that the intentional modeling of an educator's personal beliefs, or placing the educator as a role model at the center of a pedagogic system, is a form of values

based education and is antithetical to the spirit of liberal democratic education. Similar concerns emerged from the data, especially when role modeling was contrasted with mentoring, which was described as a more open exchange of ideas, and therefore more appropriate for open educational systems. The question of whether there are developmental stages where it can be more justified to employ role modeling as a central pedagogy was also considered, as well as whether role modeling can really ever be turned off, and whether true pedagogic neutrality is ever honestly attainable.

Many of the above critiques highlight the power latent within role model relationships that can be used to benefit the student, but also to harm them. It is this power that provides the latent potential for good as well as bad, and without the risk that this entails, there would also be no potential for positive educational ends. These legitimate concerns do however highlight the need for supervising the provision of role models and role modeling relationships. It seems appropriate to end with the words of Joseph Schwab, who, while sensitive to the potential for abuse in the teacher-student relationship, encouraging regulation of the profession to avoid this at all costs, believed that we should have more confidence in the integrity of the educator:

But these possibilities do not constitute an argument against the use of affective interpersonal relations in education. The neurotic teacher will use them in any case. As for others, any device or means is capable of misuse, and a powerful means toward a good end is likely to be almost as potent in misuse as in a defensible function. The physician-patient relation is susceptible of a similar corruption. So is that of father and son. In the last analysis we must depend upon the integrity of the men *selected* for the task. The teacher-student relation, at any rate, is accessible to a control which cannot reach parent and physician: the rule of *caveat administrator*. (Schwab 1978)

Chapter 10: Discussion and Conclusions

What we need more than anything else is not textbooks but textpeople. It is the personality of the teacher which is the text that pupils read; the text that they will never forget (Heschel 1972).

I think when you have someone who actually lives in Israel going back and telling their story, it has a different impact on a kid (Laura).

The first quotation above captures my initial interest in the phenomenon of role modeling, the second, from an interview early during the data collection phase of this study, cemented my conviction that this phenomenon has an impact on life decisions, and specifically the decision to immigrate to Israel. From the data collected and analyzed I have arrived at a clearer understanding of the phenomenon and more importantly have explored new and as yet uncharted aspects of role modeling through the exploration of the phenomenon of aliyah role modeling.

10.1. Summary of findings

The focus of this research, the role of significant others as role models in a life transforming decision, provides a compelling case of the process of socialization into a plausibility structure of belief. In this instance, the life transformative decision is the decision to emigrate to Israel for reasons identified by the émigré as ideological, and this has not been previously explored in any depth.

The key original findings of this research can be summarized in the following way: The research exposes two paradigm modes of role modeling, the inspirational and the practical, a distinction not previously identified in the literature. Sometimes these processes can operate with the same role model, but invariably they are presented by different personalities engaged in different kinds of relationship with the observer. “Practical role modeling” is found to be more prevalent in the context of aliyah role modeling, the presenting case for this study, but there is also sufficient evidence in the case of what is identified as “inspirational role modeling”. Similarities between observer and role model are vital for the processes of role modeling to occur, especially for practical role models to have influence, but also for inspirational role models to avoid the possible pitfalls of what has previously been termed the “mastery role model” (Vesico *et al* 2005). This explains the frequency of peer and near-peer aliyah role models in the data, who have more similarities to the observer than non-peer role models; this finding corresponds with the *similarity hypothesis* (Karunanayake & Nauta 2004), based on Bandura’s theory of enhanced self-efficacy from observing role models with significant similarities (Bandura 1977, 1986). This study adds nuance, however, to our understanding of such relationships, and their limitations and hazards. Non-peer role models often function as mastery role models and peer or near-peer role models are more likely to have an influence as coping role models, but significant exceptions to this pattern were found. Mastery role models are more likely to have an inspirational impact on observers, and coping role models are more likely to be practical role models; nevertheless significant exceptions to this pattern were also found. The data in this study show that the coping role model especially could function both as a practical role model and yet also have an inspirational impact modeling perseverance and determination.

The assumption behind this study was that aliyah role models create a plausibility structure of “aliyah values” into which others are socialized through a process of emotional inspiration.

Evidence of this process was indeed found in the data, yet practical role modeling was found to be more prevalent as a mode of aliyah role modeling in the data. In conventional terms, then, practical role models did not create plausibility structures of values for the observers because practical role modeling is largely independent of values. However, I argue that practical aliyah role models create a different type of plausibility structure, a plausibility structure of belief in aliyah self-efficacy. While not a conventional example of socialization, practical aliyah role models influence the belief in the feasibility of overcoming the practical challenges in immigrating to Israel, a core belief in an ideological Zionist community.

10.1.1 Generating definitions

Interviewees were at no point asked explicitly to define role models or role modeling. However in several of the narratives, while exploring the phenomenon of role modeling in general, some subjects felt the need to generate personal definitions of both the role model and the process of role modeling.

10.1.1.1 *The role model*

The following nomenclature was produced from attempts to define the role model in the data: *Aspiration, identification, following, connection, and inspiration*. In attempting to define a role model, rather than focusing on the model, subjects felt it was more important to focus on the relationship between the observer and the model. These terms were not typically found in the relevant literature, which focused more on emulation and influence (for example Kristjánsson 2006, and Pleiss & Feldhusen 1995). The data-generated definition focused more on the relationship aspect of role modeling, with subjects describing their feelings towards the model

rather than the influence of the model on their lives. However, there was some crossover between the literature and the data definitions, with the terms *aspire* and *emulate* clearly conceptually related. Subjects who used this term aspired to attain the same achievements as their models, embody the same character traits as their models, and to live the same lives as their models. These are all examples of emulation.

Emulation is central to the psychological processes involved in observational learning (Bandura 1977, Kelman 1961). In fact, the identification with the model which emerged as important in the data can also lead to aspirations to be like the model and then to tangible emulation (Kelman 1961, Cohen *et al* 2002). Focusing on the relationship between observer and role model when considering the definition of the role model demonstrates that the observer relates to the model both emotionally and intellectually, and indeed this emerged explicitly from the data.

In various narratives a perceptible tension existed between two different ways to approach the role model; the role model as a pure holistic representation of a system of values where the observer is influenced by every aspect of the model's life, and the more realistic compartmentalized approach to the role model, allowing specific aspects of the model's life to influence the observer while rejecting others. The dilemma facing an observer between these two approaches was not found in any previous research or literature and can be considered a unique contribution of this work. Its emergence here may be due to the high exposure of subjects to the environment of the youth movement where the power of the role model to influence, whether positively or negatively, from every area of their life is often discussed and debated. It is often presented in the youth movement context that role models are holistic educators modeling a complete system of values. The belief that observers are highly perceptive to the flaws of the role model is often communicated in that context, and considerable pressure is placed on the

counselor to conform in totality to the ideology and values of the youth movement. This has important repercussions for staffing policies and guidelines for staff behavior and supervision.

A cursory attempt to explore the inter-relationship between the paradigms of inspirational and practical role modeling and the two approaches towards role models identified in the data can lead to the following conclusions: Inspirational role models are more likely to be approached as holistic role models and practical role models are more likely to be considered only in the realm of the skills modeled and observed, allowing the observer to relate to the practical role model in a compartmentalized way. Practical role models did not create conventional plausibility structures of values because practical role modeling is largely independent of values, and this precluded the opportunity to relate to them as holistic role models. However, if practical aliyah role models can create a plausibility structure of belief in aliyah self-efficacy as previously argued, they too can be seen as socializing agents, and can also be related to in terms of holistic role modeling.

While there were still those that struggled with the appropriateness of holding up flawed significant others as role models, it was generally apparent that most of the subjects' approach to role modeling had developed since their days spent in the environment of the youth movement. Most of the interviewees felt that with maturity observers develop the confidence and with this the autonomy to be selective of which aspects of a role model's life they were influenced by.

10.1.1.2 *Role modeling*

Building on the emotional and intellectual approaches to the role modeling relationship that were identified in the data, there was evidence to suggest that the process of role modeling functions

as an emotional foil supplementing the intellectual relationship between the observer and the values and ideas modeled. Several subjects expressed opinions in the data concerning whether the process of role modeling is a conscious one, where participants in the role modeling relationship are cognizant of the process as it occurs, or in fact where either or both observer and observed are unaware of their role or of the process while it operates. This may depend on many factors, most important of which is the general awareness and nature of the particular personalities involved.

Role modeling transforms the educator from a mere conduit of cognitive information to an instrument of holistic education embodying and transmitting values with every action, in and outside of the classroom. Camp, as an informal setting with almost total access to educator-models afforded to observers, is a paradigm environment for holistic education through role modeling, and can be considered an example of a total institution, albeit a more open one than the examples generally researched in the literature. In several narratives the camp setting together with the powerful impact that camp staff often have on campers was described in similar terms to those found in the literature of the conceptual home for this research. The theoretical framework for this study is socialization into belief systems through the interaction with role models who operate as an interface between the observer and the values of the institutions, allowing for immersion into a plausibility structure. While camp was the most lucidly expressed example of a plausibility structure and total institution found in the data, there were several others, including school, home community, and seminary.

10.1.2 Two paradigms of role modeling

The key original finding emerging from this study is two paradigm modes of role modeling; the practical and the inspirational. Inspirational role models provide inspiration, influencing observers to consider making commitment to the values modeled, in this case the values inherent in aliyah and in migrating to Israel. Practical role models demonstrate practical skills and aptitudes, in this case the skills necessary to immigrate to Israel. Practical role modeling leads to a heightened sense of self efficacy and self empowerment in the observer, in this case when it came to the challenges of aliyah.

10.1.2.1 Inspirational role modeling

Inspirational role models inspire observers to aspire to live by the values they are modeling. In the case of aliyah these values may be expressed as love and commitment to Israel and Zionism. Those who immigrate to Israel are making a deep commitment to these values. Inspirational aliyah role models can inspire observers through ideas and values communicated in a convincing manner by charismatic personalities. However, a second more emotional aspect to inspirational aliyah role modeling was also found, both with intimate aliyah role modeling and vicarious distant role modeling. People that make a “heroic” aliyah, immigrating to Israel under adversity and conditions of extreme difficulty, and despite this make a vital contribution to the fledgling Zionist movement and later to the State of Israel, embody the values of self-sacrifice and commitment to an ideal. This will often have an inspirational effect on observers, motivating them to make similar commitments and contributions.

While there is a danger that this mode of aliyah role model could engender the frustration and disappointment of what the literature calls the mastery role model (Lockwood & Kunda 1997, Vesico *et al* 2005), this was not found in the data. Instead this kind of inspirational aliyah role model was found also to empower the observer in a somewhat similar way to the increased self-efficacy resulting from practical role modeling. The inspirational role model may encourage thoughts of positive reinforcement, such as “if this inspirational personality can immigrate to Israel under those conditions at that point in history then I should be able to make a successful aliyah today”. In fact, it also emerged that inspirational aliyah stories can extend meaning to a “regular” aliyah, transforming it also into a “heroic” aliyah. On some level all migration stories are heroic, and every immigrant to Israel can be seen as making an important contribution, even if just demographically. When faced with an inspiring narrative some observers are able to focus more on the similarities rather than the differences between themselves and the inspiring personality.

10.1.2.2 *Practical role modeling*

An unexpected finding in the data was that practical aliyah role models were more often cited as influential in making this life decision rather than the predicted inspirational aliyah role models. It was assumed that aliyah, as an expression of commitment to ideals and values, would engender the need for inspirational aliyah role models. However, it emerged from the data that a more pressing need facing the observer in this context is to locate practical role models. Aliyah is first and foremost a technical process with many challenging and daunting tasks and stages to navigate. While a moment of inspiration may have occurred previous to this point, at this time, interviewees were more focused on the practical demands of aliyah. Practical aliyah role models assist in this journey, modeling practical skills and coping strategies. Practical aliyah role models

have an enabling impact, enhancing the observer's aliyah *self efficacy* as they demonstrate the achievability of aliyah. The practical aliyah role model represents the future potential of the observer, and demonstrates what their aliyah may look like some years down the line. This process is enhanced the more similarities that are found between the observer and the model. This is because the more the observer identifies herself in her practical aliyah role model, the more intense the feelings of aliyah self efficacy, and the greater the impact of enabling.

10.1.2.3 Negative role modeling

There were five different modes of negative role modeling in the case of aliyah that emerged from the data. The first, Israelis who have emigrated away from Israel, represent the opposite from commitment to Israel and Zionism found in the act of aliyah. The second negative aliyah role model, the immigrant who decided to return to live in the Diaspora, can be considered a failed role model. The struggling aliyah role model was a third mode of negative aliyah role model also found in the data. This is an immigrant to Israel who models a less than totally successful aliyah, and can also be considered a kind of failed aliyah role model. This negative aliyah role model corresponds to the coping role model found in the literature (Manz & Sims 1981, Sanchez 2000), and is the opposite of the mastery role model. A fourth and most frequently cited kind of failed aliyah role model is the educator who invested time and effort in trying to convince the observer of the virtue of making aliyah, yet failed to fulfill this ideal themselves. For some observers, especially those that interpreted this mode of negative aliyah role modeling as hypocrisy rather than mere failure, this had the greatest negative impact. Finally, a more marginal mode of negative aliyah role modeling emerging from the data was the

anti-Zionist educator who invests time and effort in trying to convince the observer of the iniquity of Zionism.

10.1.3 Formulating a profile of the role model

A conceptual discussion of role models and role modeling did not occur in every interview. However, the case of aliyah role modeling provides rich data with which to explore the profile of the role model.

10.1.3.1 Where role models are found

The most common aliyah role models were family members. These included siblings, cousins and uncle/aunts. Madrichim and teachers were also prominently featured in the data as aliyah role models. While only appearing in one narrative, vicarious aliyah role models also emerged from the data as a form of inspirational aliyah role model, in the shape of personalities from the history of Zionism and Israel. An unexpected phenomenon that emerged was the prevalence of peer aliyah role models in the data. On the whole peers functioned as practical role models, which can explain the prevalence of peers as aliyah role models. As discussed, observers considering aliyah searched primarily for practical role models to assist with the practical challenges of aliyah. Peers possess more similarities than their more senior counterparts which better qualifies them as practical role models, maximizing the enabling impact on the observer.

10.1.3.2 *Confirming the similarity hypothesis*

It emerged that similarities between the observer and the model were crucial for the process of practical role modeling to take place, lending support for the similarity hypothesis (Karunanayake & Nauta 2004, Weiten *et al.* 1991) that argues individuals seek out role models who they perceive as similar to themselves because they assume that the experiences of those role models will apply to their lives as well (Bell 1970, Lockwood & Kunda 1997, Wohlford *et al.* 2004). Practical role models have an enabling impact on observers, heightening their sense of aliyah self-efficacy. The more similarities between the observer and the model, the more enhanced the enabling effect. As the observer identifies herself in the model through the similarities present, and observes the demonstrated achievability of aliyah as modeled by the role model, a powerful enabling impact occurs. Similarity between the observer and the model, termed homophily in the literature (Feilitzen & Linne 1975, Maccoby & Wilson 1957, Turner 1993), is therefore of great importance in the profile of the role model. Similarities expressed in the data that made an impression on the observer include age, gender, country and community of origin, education, profession, and other socio-cultural similarities, as well as similarities in their aliyah narratives, such as the stage of life at the point of aliyah. By contrast, because inspirational aliyah role modeling does not have an enabling effect to the same extent, similarities between observer and model are less important.

The differences between inspirational and practical models are highlighted by a debate found between interviewees about whether a native Israeli can function as aliyah role models. Generally it was felt that a native Israeli who has not had the experience of aliyah lacks the all-important similarities necessary for them to function as an aliyah role model. However, there were those who are willing to consider native Israelis as both inspirational aliyah role models

modeling passion and commitment to Zionism and Israel, and as practical aliyah role models, demonstrating practical skills necessary for living in Israel.

While the view that most role models were not conscious of their impact was expressed, many of the interviewees were able to reflect on their own role as aliyah role models, and the influence they may have on other potential immigrants. These include an awareness of indirect educational influence as a role model even while performing non-educational tasks such as the management of the kitchen at camp, and an awareness of the importance of providing role models as a policy when in the position to employ educators, such as when acting as a school principal.

10.1.4 Profile of the observer

Using the data and demographic details of the sample, an attempt can be made to formulate a profile of the typical observer of aliyah role models.

10.1.4.1 During which ages does the phenomenon operate?

While the actual self-fulfillment of immigrating to Israel for ideological reasons by definition must be taken at the earliest during early adulthood, the earliest time that the practical act of ideological aliyah can be self-fulfilled, the influence of aliyah role models may have happened many years previously, during adolescence. This was verified in the data, with general agreement among those interviewed that adolescence was the age when influence from role models was most likely to be felt, as this is the time when young people are searching for direction, looking to build identity, and are most vulnerable to influence from external sources. Many subjects testified to their exposure to important aliyah role models during their adolescence. These often

included madrichim or family members who had made aliyah. However, this was by no means the only life stage that emerged from the data during which the process of aliyah role modeling was active. Subjects were also influenced as adults by adult aliyah role models. This was often, but not exclusively, with peer aliyah role models.

People may also change their perception of and approach to role models over time and with different developmental stages. For instance, adults are more equipped to deal with flawed role models, having a better understanding and experience of the complexities of life. Adolescents may quickly become frustrated by flaws they find in their role models, sometimes with disastrous results. Role modeling relationships in adulthood allow the observer to maintain autonomy while filtering which aspects of a model they are to be influenced by. This is not the case with the adolescent who is more likely to be influenced by the model in their entirety. There were those that expressed unease at this aspect of adolescent role modeling, describing the process as more emotional and less intellectual than its adult counterpart.

10.1.4.2 Which types of people are influenced by role modeling

While psychological processes during adolescence make this a time when role modeling is most likely to impact most people, when it came to adult role modeling the data suggested that those who were more open to learning from others were more likely to be influenced by role modeling. Not all personality types are capable of allowing themselves to be influenced by other adults, especially when those models are peers. Those who look to learn from those around them will become influenced by modeling even during adulthood. Those who are only prepared to learn from professionals and experts will be reluctant to be influenced by the potential role models that surround them. Timing also emerged as vital for role modeling to occur. Those who are open to

role modeling will search for influences in specific areas of their lives at specific times. If they find appropriate role models then all well and good and will benefit from the opportunity. This is particularly relevant to aliyah role modeling, which may be considered a specific need at a specific time.

Using the demographic details and general impression of those participants who could describe their aliyah role models with the greatest clarity, some initial conclusions can be drawn about those most likely to be influenced by role models. From out of these details the process of formulating a profile of the observer of role models can begin. The sample represented a broad demographic range including men and women of various ages from various countries of origin. The overall impression gained from this group of those most able to express with clarity the process of aliyah role modeling in their life, was that they are generally self-aware and reflective personality types who demonstrated good skills of self-analysis and self-expression. Either this personality type shows more receptiveness to role modeling and was therefore more influenced by role models, or these people were more aware of and sensitive to the processes that may operate in the life of anyone who is exposed to role models.

10.1.5 Peer role modeling

While peer role modeling is not considered the most conventional mode of role modeling, there is a wealth of literature that focuses on the impact of peers as role models (for example Payne *et al.* 2003, Schunk & Hanson 1985, Sherman 1998, Vesico *et al.* 2005, and Weiss *et al.* 1998). At the outset of this study it was expected that this would have only a marginal importance in the context of aliyah role modeling. This was because it was assumed that aliyah role modeling

would generally occur at a time previous to the decision to immigrate, influencing that decision perhaps some time before it was taken, and most likely aliyah role models would be older personalities further along their life track modeling future possibilities to the observer, including aliyah. However, the data contained a plethora of examples of peer aliyah role models that operated near to or even after the decision was taken by the observer to immigrate¹¹.

10.1.5.1 *Peer role models*

Generally peer role models appeared in the data as practical aliyah role models, functioning as enablers who increase a sense of aliyah self-efficacy through demonstrating practical skills and modeling the achievability of aliyah. However, there was evidence from the data that peers can also function as inspirational aliyah role models, although far fewer examples of this were found in the data. The power behind the phenomenon of peer role modeling lies in the high incidence of similarities found between the observer and the peer model. The more similarities that are perceived by the observer, the greater the chance that observation of the modeled behavior will lead to an enhanced sense of self-efficacy, and the self-perception of one's capacity to implement the action modeled. The daunting prospect of migrating to Israel is perceived as that little bit more attainable when there is exposure to peer aliyah role models who have achieved a successful aliyah, and can model the skills and strategies to succeed.

Adult role models can have the opposite effect, often being perceived as mastery role models modeling unrealistic success. This may lead to a disabling impact on the observer. However, peers will often function as coping role models, whereby they can operate both as inspirational

¹¹ The aim of this research was to explore the role of significant others as models in the decision process of immigrating to Israel. It is important to note that while the actual physical act of aliyah takes place at a specific time, aliyah should also be considered a process which continues after that date has past. The influence of aliyah role models can also last beyond the date of aliyah.

role models modeling values such as perseverance and commitment, as well as the practical skills to overcome the challenge at hand. Examples of all of these modes of aliyah role modeling were apparent in the data. It emerged from the data that peer aliyah role models are more likely to function as practical coping role models, and inspirational aliyah role models are more likely to be non-peer mastery role models – although the distinction, as indicated above, is not completely clean.

10.1.5.2 Near peer role models

A further mode of role modeling, near peer role modeling, has been identified in the literature (Murphey 1996a), and also emerged from the data. Near peer role models combine characteristics of both conventional older role models and peer role models, engendering admiration for achievement yet at the same time personifying the similarities of a peer role model, thereby presenting an attractive model for emulation. The excellence and success of the near peer role models seems more achievable and easy to replicate because these people are within the observer's zone of proximal development (Murphey 1996b), as the observer compares herself with her potential future self as represented in the near peer role model and becomes motivated to achieve it (Murphey & Arao 2001).

In the data, a frequently cited aliyah role model was the youth movement counselor, the madrich, especially in the context of Zionist youth movements. The position of the madrich is an example of a near peer role model, normally discharged by young adults or older adolescents just a few years older than their charges. Most importantly, these near peer role models came from the same socio-cultural backgrounds often having almost identical upbringings, and more than likely are graduates of the youth movement themselves. They represented to the observer what life

could be like just a few years down the line, and often in Zionist youth movements that included the decision to immigrate to Israel.

Siblings were also cited as a near peer role model, generally being close in age and coming from a similar social milieu, yet still embodying skills and achievement not yet attained by the observer, and therefore worthy of admiration and emulation. In several interviews siblings were indicated as influential role models in general, and in some narratives they were acknowledged as important aliyah role models. This reflects the literature on peer role models. For example, Bryant & Zimmerman (2003) found that siblings also function in the role of significant adults for adolescents, often as supplemental attachment figures in the lives of adolescents, especially where they have been unable to form these bonds with their parents (Ainsworth 1989).

10.1.5.3 *Adult peer role models*

The phenomenon of role modeling has also been documented during the adult years, especially in the context of the workplace (for example Manz and Sims 1981, and Weaver *et al.* 2005). In the data, there were many examples of adult aliyah role modeling, and while many such people were identified during early adulthood where it can be argued the psychological processes of adolescence are often still operating, there were also several examples of adult peer aliyah role modeling well into the adult years. A particularly interesting phenomenon reported in one narrative was the plausibility structure provided for adults by Nefesh B'Nefesh, the aliyah organization. This it was suggested was a plausibility structure that can socialize adults into a system of values and beliefs in much the same way as plausibility structures found in organizations for youth such as camp and school.

10.1.6 Vicarious role modeling

Vicarious role modeling, where identification with distant personalities leads to observational learning through “parasocial relationships”, was not expected to feature in aliyah narratives. It was assumed that, because the possibilities for vicarious aliyah role models were sparse and largely limited to the medium of historical literature, they would not feature in the data as an important factor in aliyah decisions. However, vicarious aliyah role modeling did feature, and in turn helped to deepen our understanding of the general phenomenon of aliyah role modeling.

10.1.6.1 Vicarious aliyah role models from literature and history

Vicarious distant aliyah role modeling only appeared in one aliyah narrative. In that interview, the subject described his exposure to the lives and thought of several personalities from Zionist history, mainly through literature, both historical and philosophical in nature. He demonstrated wishful identification within a parasocial relationship with his heroes from Jewish history, experiencing a deep affinity to them, and identifying many of their personality traits within his own. Their ideas and accomplishments had a profound influence on his own ideas, and he explained that his ultimate decision to immigrate to Israel was deeply influenced by these personalities.

10.1.6.2 Using vicarious role modeling to further understand general role modeling

The phenomenon of vicarious role modeling can be a useful way of deepening our understanding of the wider phenomenon of role modeling. Wishful identification, where the observer aspires to become the model or at least to be like the model, is often the motivation underlying a parasocial relationship, and is a concept that is often found in the context of vicarious role modeling (for example Feilitzen & Linne 1975 and Maccoby & Wilson 1957). However, this concept can be helpful in furthering an understanding of inspirational role modeling in general, and inspirational aliyah role modeling in particular. There were many cases documented in the data of observers aspiring to be like their models. From understanding more about vicarious role modeling we can see that central to inspirational role modeling is the process of wishful identification, a term borrowed from vicarious role modeling to help understand inspirational role modeling.

Another term encountered primarily in the context of vicarious role modeling is homophily (Lazarsfeld & Merton 1954). This term can enrich our previous understanding of the importance of similarity between the observer and the role model. Homophily is friendship based on similarity. Similarities can include beliefs, values, education, social status, background, morality, and appearance. Where similarities are found between observer and model, self-efficacy is more likely to be increased. This is generally vital to practical role modelling, where the observer sees the model demonstrate efficiency in a task, and concludes that due to the similarities between them that the task is achievable for them as well. However, if similarities of this kind are necessary for vicarious role modelling, a form of inspirational role modelling, then similarities may also be important for inspirational role modeling in general. If the observer sees no

similarities in the model, the frustration of the mastery model is more likely encountered, and not the sense of being inspired. However, if sufficient similarities are perceived, an inspirational impact can occur.

The following patterns found in the data suggest a congruity between vicarious role modeling and inspirational aliyah role modeling. Inspirational aliyah role models were generally more distant and less intimate. Semi-distant inspirational aliyah role model such as a rabbi or teacher can often function in a similar way to a distant vicarious role model. The distant nature of the relationships was generally down to age and perceived accomplishments. Interviewees often related to their inspirational aliyah role models as mastery role models, drawing many parallels between this relationship and parasocial relationships of vicarious role models. In contrast, intimate relationships almost always provided practical rather than inspirational role modeling. All practical role models who emerged from the data were local and intimate in their relationship with their observer, mostly peer or near-peer role models. Practical role models, even when they are senior in age and their aliyah accomplishments some time ago, are still related to as coping aliyah role models by the observer, with whom they feel they have a more intimate relationship. Vicarious role modeling can therefore enhance our understanding of inspirational aliyah role modeling.

10.1.7 Negative role models

In addition to the positive impact of role modeling there were also potentially negative outcomes found resulting from the phenomenon. These can be generally grouped together under the term

“negative aliyah role modeling” but that is not to say that in all of these situations negative traits or behaviors are modeled, rather the outcome of the role modeling may be negative.

10.1.7.1 *Master role models*

Mastery aliyah role models are personalities who model an exemplary aliyah that is perceived as beyond the reach of the observer. The literature suggests this may lead to the observer experiencing feelings of demoralization or frustration (Vesico *et al* 2005, Lockwood & Kunda 1997) but this did not emerge from the data in the context of mastery aliyah role models. This was perhaps because they modeled an extreme aliyah that was unattractive and largely irrelevant to the observers. Mastery aliyah role models did however have some positive influence on their observers, ultimately providing aliyah inspiration. Because their observers did not relate to them as practical aliyah role models, they were not disheartened by the extreme aliyah they modeled. However, they were still able to relate to them as inspirational aliyah models, finding the modeled aliyah motivating, if not something to aspire to themselves. This challenges much of the conventional thought on role modeling from the literature which sees role modeling primarily as a process of inspiration, and therefore warns of frustration caused by mastery role models.

10.1.7.2 *Coping role models*

The coping role model is familiar in the literature (Manz & Sims 1981, Sanchez 2000, Vesico *et al* 2005) as a person who models coping under duress, struggling at times, yet refusing to give up. The coping role model functions both as a practical role model, modeling skills and coping strategies, as well as an inspirational role model, modeling values such as perseverance and commitment. In the case of aliyah, the coping aliyah role model is an individual who struggles

with life in Israel as an immigrant, yet refuses to give up. She models a far from ideal aliyah, yet also represents values such as determination and dedication. It can be argued that all practical aliyah role models are in essence coping role models due to the difficult challenges that aliyah entails. However some aliyah stories are filled with more challenges than others. While there is a clear potential for negative repercussions for the observer closely watching the difficulties experienced by the model, it largely emerged that coping aliyah role models functioned both as inspirational aliyah role models, modeling the values necessary to succeed such as persistence and resolution, and as practical aliyah role models, modeling the practical skills and strategies to overcome the difficulties encountered.

10.1.7.3 *Failed role models*

Three types of failed aliyah role models emerged from the data. The failed and returning immigrant, the Israeli migrant to the Diaspora, and the “hypocritical educator”, who had espoused Zionist and pro-aliyah views, but ultimately failed to migrate to Israel themselves. Observers who were exposed to these failed aliyah role models spoke of the reasons why they were not dissuaded from making aliyah despite exposure to this negative modeling. This is not to say that failed aliyah role models do not have a negative influence on potential immigrants to Israel. However, the subjects of this research were all immigrants to Israel and therefore by definition even if they were exposed and influenced by these negative aliyah role models, they managed to overcome this influence and therefore marginalized it in their narratives. The most potent example of failed aliyah role modeling was the “hypocritical madrich” who had not made aliyah. There was strong resentment expressed towards these negative aliyah role models, yet at

the same time an understanding in hindsight that came with development and maturity was achieved.

10.1.7.4 A special case: *Anti-aliyah role models*

A unique type of negative role model to the case of aliyah emerged from the data - the anti-aliyah role model. Anti-aliyah role models are those who model the values opposite to those inherent in aliyah. The anti-aliyah role models appearing in the data were religious anti-Zionist teachers encountered in high school. However, these negative aliyah role models did not push observers further away from the values of aliyah, but rather had the opposite impact, functioning as avoidance role models. They had a disinhibitory affect, leading to negative identification and negative emulation. Once again potentially negative influence of negative aliyah role models in fact encouraged observers towards aliyah.

10.2 Implications for the literature

The theoretical framework for this research is concerned with the socialization of young people into belief systems. For commitment to a belief system to occur beliefs must be perceived as plausible. This perception is achieved through participation in plausibility structures; social networks of individuals who share these beliefs. The significant others from these social networks function as role models, forming micro-plausibility structures for observation and ultimately emulation. There have been studies exploring the effects of socialization into belief systems on life transforming decisions such as religious commitment, religious conversion, sexual beliefs and life style. There has also been some research into the impact of role models on critical life transforming decisions, such as religious commitment to pre-existing faith and

religious conversion to a new faith, health and lifestyle decisions, sexual orientation and sexual activity, and gender roles and academic and career decisions. However, the specific focus of this research, which has been the impact of significant others as role models in the life transforming decision to emigrate for reasons identified by the émigré as ideological, has not been explored in any depth. As well as finding support for pre-existing theories and approaches to role modeling and further refining them, this research is in a position to contribute to the literature several key findings and original thought.

10.2.1 Defining Terms

The literature often uses various terms interchangeably when referring to features of the phenomenon of role modeling, such as mentor, idol, and hero. While there are aspects of role modeling found in the relationships with all these personalities, role modeling is a unique process not captured by any other term. From the literature the following general definition of a role model was generated: *any person who an adolescent chooses to emulate, and who because of this, has an impact on the young person's life, influencing behavior and in some cases life decisions.*

From the nomenclature found in the data, a variant definition can be formulated which will deepen our understanding of the phenomenon of role modeling. The terms *Aspiration, identification, following, connections, and inspiration*, were generated when interviewees attempted to define a role model. Rather than focusing on the model, or even the impact of the model on their lives, the interviewees chose instead to describe their own feelings towards the model and the processes that they felt were active during the role modeling relationship. The

description of these processes in the data demonstrates that the observer is more focused on the relationship rather than the role model per se. This focus on the relationship demonstrates that the observer relates to the model both emotionally and intellectually. This emotional and intellectual connection may lead to a process of inspiration, which in turn may result in the observer aspiring to be like their role model, and ultimately emulating them. Therefore, from the data in this study, the following definition can be contributed: *role modeling is where the observer emotionally and intellectually identifies with aspects of the personality and life of a significant other, which leads to inspiration, aspiration and ultimately emulation.*

10.2.1.1 Two paradigm modes of role modeling

Exploring the case of aliyah role modeling, a heretofore unexplored example of role modeling, brought new aspects of the process of role modeling to our attention. This particular case of role modeling involves ideological values that call for emotional inspiration and intellectual cognition, as well as practical skills that necessitate a functional modeling. This results in observers searching for both inspirational role models and practical role models. These two modes of role modeling should be considered new paradigms of role modeling, not previously found in the literature. This study can contribute to the field the original terms “inspirational role modeling” and “practical role modeling”, and a clear presentation of these two paradigm modes of role modeling.

Inspirational role models inspire observers to aspire to live by the values they are modeling. They can be found among intimate local personalities and distant vicarious characters with whom observers have no direct contact. Two forms of inspirational role models were found; those that can inspire observers through cognitive ideas and values communicated in a

convincing manner by charismatic personalities, and those that make a “heroic” aliyah, immigrating to Israel (or pre-state Israel) under adversity and extremely difficult conditions, embodying the values of self-sacrifice and commitment to an ideal. Both of these types of inspirational role models may inspire aspiration and emulation.

Inspirational aliyah role models are a form of mastery role model, exemplars who it may be thought could engender frustration and disheartenment. However, it was found that inspirational aliyah role models often empower the observer, motivating them to achieve similar feats in their own relatively easy context rather than frustrate and dishearten. Inspirational aliyah stories were found to extend meaning to a “regular” aliyah, transforming it also into a similarly “heroic” narrative, because all immigrant stories contain challenges, and all immigrants to Israel contribute something, even if just demographically. When faced with an inspiring narrative, observers tended to focus more on the similarities rather than the differences, and therefore avoided any possible negative ramifications of the mastery role model. While it is practical role modeling that usually has an enabling impact, in the case of inspirational aliyah role models, a heightening sense of aliyah self efficacy was also noted.

However, practical aliyah role models were found to have a more frequent and more profound impact on observers. Modeling the practical skills and coping strategies of aliyah, practical aliyah role models had a more extensive enabling impact, enhancing the observer’s aliyah self efficacy. This occurred through demonstrating the achievability of aliyah, and representing the future potential of the observer, and what their aliyah may look like some years down the line. This process was found to be enhanced the more similarities there are between the observer and the model, lending support to the similarity hypothesis (Karunanayake & Nauta 2004), based on

Bandura's theory of enhanced self-efficacy from observing role models with significant similarities (Bandura 1977, 1986).

Theorists who argue for the similarity hypothesis in role modeling have until now examined this in the context of largely practical role models, such as career role models (Hackett & Byars 1996, Gottfredson 1981), and academic role models (Erkut & Mokros, 1984, Zirkel 2002), with the help of our new paradigm modes of role modeling, we can conclude that similarity is also important in the case of inspirational role modeling. It became clear from the data of this research that similarity between observer and model would make it less likely that the inspirational role model as an exemplar would have the negative impact of the mastery role model, leading to frustration and disillusionment.

10.2.1.2 Two approaches to the holistic role model

A key discussion point that emerged from the data not considered anywhere in the literature was whether observers approach their role models holistically or whether observers can approach their role models in a compartmentalized way. Those that argued for a holistic approach saw their role models as a pure holistic representation of a system of values and were therefore influenced by every aspect of the model's life. This approach leads to the dangers of the flawed role model where the role model fails to live up to this ideal. Those who argued for the more realistic compartmentalized approach to their role models allowed specific aspects of the model's life to influence the observer, while rejecting others.

While there were those who believed the role model must be considered in a holistic way, influencing the observer by modeling in every area of their life, most interviewees were able to approach their role models in a compartmentalized and selective way, allowing specific aspects of the model's life to influence the observer, while rejecting others. Many expressed the opinion that with maturity observers develop the confidence and in turn the autonomy to be selective about which aspects of a role model's life they were influenced by. This may also be due to the more frequent occurrence of practical role models rather than inspirational role models in the context of aliyah role modeling. Observers are more likely to relate to practical role models in a compartmentalized way. However, it was also apparent in the data that observers of inspirational aliyah role models also managed to relate to their inspirational role models in a compartmentalized way.

10.2.2 Where role models are found

There was some disagreement in the literature as to where young people find their role models, whether in local and intimate relationships such as the family or school, or in distant and vicarious relationships through various media. There has also been some limited research exploring the peer as a role model. In the case of aliyah, the most common role models were family members such as siblings, cousins and uncles/aunts. Madrichim and teachers were also prominently featured in the data as role models. Vicarious aliyah role models emerged only as a marginal form of inspirational aliyah role modeling. However, peer role models appeared profusely throughout the data, functioning almost exclusively as practical aliyah role models.

These patterns are indicative of the importance and prevalence of practical aliyah role modeling. Those observers who were interested in immigrating to Israel were in need of practical aliyah role models. They were already convinced through other experiences or factors, perhaps including influence from inspirational aliyah role models, but central to most aliyah narratives was the practical aliyah role model, which may explain the paucity of inspirational aliyah role models in the data.

The similarity hypothesis is central to understanding the impact of the practical aliyah role model. The practical aliyah role model demonstrates practical skills and strategies for coping with aliyah. This has an enabling impact as the observer's sense of aliyah self-efficacy is increased as these skills are modeled and observed. The more similarities between the observer and the model the greater the sense of self-efficacy and the greater the enabling effect. More intimate role models such as family members and peers generally have a greater number of similarities, and therefore function effectively as practical aliyah role models.

10.2.2.1 Adult, peer, and near peer aliyah role models

Interesting and as yet uncharted patterns of role modeling with regards to age-specific role models were identified in the data. Adult role models and vicarious "heroic" inspirational aliyah role models may have a disabling impact on the observer, acting as mastery role models. By contrast, peers will often function as coping role models, whereby they can operate both as inspirational role models modeling values such as perseverance and commitment, as well as the practical skills to overcome the challenge at hand. Peer aliyah role models are more likely to function as practical coping role models, and inspirational aliyah role models are more likely to be non-peer mastery role models.

Near peer role models were identified in the literature as combining characteristics of both conventional older role models and peer role models (Murphey 1996a, 1996b). They engendered admiration for achievement and at the same time personify the similarities of a peer role model, thereby presenting an attractive model for emulation. The excellence of the near-peer role model seems more achievable and easy to replicate because they are within the observer's zone of proximal development. The observer compares herself with her potential future self as represented in the near peer role model and thus becomes motivated to achieve the same state. There were two frequently occurring near-peer aliyah role models apparent in the data; the madrich [counselor] in the Zionist youth movement and the sibling. These near peer aliyah role models came from the same socio-cultural backgrounds and had a similar upbringing. They represented to the observer what life could be like just a few years down the line, and in this instance, this included the decision to immigrate to Israel.

Adult peer aliyah role modeling was also apparent in the data, and the activities and services provided by the aliyah organization Nefesh B'Nefesh can be considered as providing plausibility structures for adults, socializing prospective immigrants into a system of values and beliefs in much the same way as plausibility structures exist in organizations for youth such as camp and school.

10.2.2.1 *Vicarious role models*

Vicarious role modeling, where identification with distant personalities leads to observational learning through "parasocial relationships", was a marginal phenomenon in the context of this study. Aliyah role models from Zionist history and thought occurred in only one narrative.

However, two terms introduced in the literature of vicarious role modeling can be applied to aliyah role modeling as well as to role modeling in general. Wishful identification (Feilitzen & Linne 1975) is a concept that reverberated throughout all the descriptions of inspirational aliyah role modeling, not just with distant vicarious models. Homophily (Lazarsfeld & Merton 1954), friendship based on similarity (Rogers and Bhowmik 1970), is a second concept found in the literature of vicarious role modeling, and is an important aspect of practical aliyah role modeling, where observers observe the demonstrated proficiency in a task, and conclude that due to their similarities, they too can achieve success in the same task. However, if similarities of this kind are necessary for vicarious role modelling, then they must also be central to inspirational role modeling in general. If the observer perceives no similarities in the model, then the frustration of the mastery model is more likely encountered, without the process of inspiration occurring. However, if sufficient similarities are perceived, the frustration encountered from the mastery role model is avoided and an inspirational impact can occur.

10.2.3 When role modeling occurs

While the majority of research on role modeling has focused on the phenomenon during the adolescent stage of development, there are several studies that have explored adult role modeling in various contexts such as the workplace, the medical practitioner, and the university. In the case of aliyah role modeling, inspirational aliyah role modeling often occurs during adolescence, while practical aliyah role models are sought in adulthood as observers approach the time in their lives when they plan to immigrate. There were several examples emerging from the data of observers changing their attitudes to the role models over time as they matured and developed a more complex and mature approach to the world. This tempered the fallout from negative role models and encouraged a selective compartmentalized approach to the role model.

10.2.4 The mechanisms of role modeling

Practical aliyah role modeling is a cogent example of the observational learning in Bandura's *Social Learning Theory* (Bandura 1977). Here, operative skills and strategies are learnt through the vicarious experiences of practical role modeling, (Bandura 1981, 1982) which lead to an increased sense of self-efficacy. This phenomenon emerged explicitly from several narratives. The phenomenon of aliyah role modeling was seen to encourage the socialization of the observer into the norms of the ideological Zionist community and therefore can be considered a compelling illustration of socializing agents functioning within plausibility structures, acting as the interface between the observer and the ideological community or institution.

10.2.5 Critiquing role modeling in education

The existence of negative role modeling is leveled as a critique at those proponents of role modeling found in the literature. Dangers from negative role modeling include negative influences and the disappointment caused by failing and hypocritical role models. There were four different types of negative aliyah role modeling emerging from the data, but the dangers predicted in the literature by critics of role modeling did not materialize. Israelis and returning immigrants encountered in the Diaspora did not seem to make any kind of real impact on the subjects. The struggling or coping aliyah role model had the opposite effect from that predicted, inspiring through perseverance and determination. The most frequently cited failed aliyah role model was the educator who had invested time and effort trying to convince the observer of the virtue of making aliyah, yet failed to fulfill this ideal herself. While there were those that described their feelings of resentment at this failed aliyah role model, most observers dismissed

the impact as negligible as they developed their own understanding of the complexities of life as they grew older. Finally, a more marginal mode of negative aliyah role modeling emerging from the data was the anti-Zionist educator who operates as the anti-aliyah role model. This too had the opposite impact from what seemed likely, encouraging a strengthening of Zionist commitment and ideology in the Zionist students exposed to them.

10.2.6 The literature of aliyah

There has been little research on the motivations behind the ideological decision to make aliyah, and none at all exploring the impact of significant personalities and their influence on this life transformative decision. Tartakovsky & Schwartz (2001) suggests that migration motivations can be classified into four categories: *preservation*, *self-development*, *materialism*, and *idealism*. The ideological aliyah explored here would seem to fall under the categories of *self-development* which refers to personal growth, developing abilities, acquiring new ideas and knowledge, and mastering new skills, and *idealism* which is where the migrant decides to relocate in order to build a better, sometimes utopian society for one's community, even at the cost of self-negation and personal hardship. These themes were present in this data, serving to deepen our understanding of them.

There is disagreement in the literature whether aliyah is a unique ideological migration phenomenon (Neuman 1999) or indistinct from the larger global picture of migration (DellaPergola 1998). Some argue that aliyah has always been more about economics than ideology, with the vast majority of immigrants to Israel during the early periods of Israel's history being considered refugees, and more recent waves of aliyah during the 1990s motivated largely by economic opportunity. It is argued that evidence that ideology is not central to aliyah

can be seen in the abject failure of Israel to attract western aliyah to any significant extent (Shuval 1998). While aliyah is of course far from a heterogeneous phenomenon with many different motivating factors powering it, this study proves that aliyah motivated by Zionist ideology still exists, as the sample of this research were all making downwardly mobile movements by migrating from western countries with stronger economies and higher standards of living. While many of those interviewed were mainly concerned with practical aliyah role models and did not necessarily explore during the interview the ideology often at the center of inspirational aliyah role modeling, it was obvious that the basis of each aliyah narrative was ideology, and one can assume that even if a process of inspiration was not described in the interview, it still occurred, whether through role modeling or not.

There has been some study of the characteristics of a would-be migrant to Israel, attempting to further our understanding of the decision process to immigrate to Israel. For example, it has been found that those who have been exposed to a Zionist environment, including membership of a Zionist organization (Bermen 1979, Goldberg 1985) and those who had been exposed to Israelis or had an Israeli reference group (Bermen 1979, Goldberg 1985) will be more likely to make aliyah (Musher 1999). The vast majority of the sample in this study had significant exposure to Zionist environments during childhood and adolescence, therefore lending support to the findings mentioned above. More significantly, this study has uniquely presented the Zionist environment as a plausibility structure, and explored the role and influence of the role model within the socialization processes of the plausibility structure of the Zionist environment.

This study is also in a position to make a further unique contribution to understanding the needs of the potential immigrant to Israel. Ideological immigration often revolves around inspiration.

While ideological aliyah in theory could be a purely intellectual decision based on a cognitive understanding of a philosophy and a framework of values, it seems more likely that a decision of this magnitude will also involve some moment or moments of inspiration. Inspirational role modeling as documented in this work is only one possible source of ideological inspiration, but it is reasonable to assume that if an aliyah decision can be described as ideological, a process of inspiration was in operation at some point in time.

However, a more important contribution to the literature of aliyah can be identified here and that is the importance of practical aliyah role modeling. Practical aliyah role models were more often cited as critical to the process of aliyah, suggesting that while ideological moments of inspiration may have a profound and long lasting impact, they are less important as the would-be immigrant approaches the daunting task of immigration. For this they are in need of practical role models to provide evidence that first and foremost aliyah is an achievable feat, and secondly to demonstrate the skills and strategies necessary to master if a successful aliyah is to be achieved. While aliyah may be an ideologically driven decision, it is ultimately a practical life decision that needs great planning and effort, and potential immigrants experience a great need to plan for the pragmatic needs this entails.

10.3. Implications for the research question

It was the hypothesis of this research that a young person is socialized through interaction with significant others acting as role models into various competing value systems, each existing as a plausibility structure. The institutions in the life of an adolescent such as family, school, or youth movement, each constitutes a plausibility structure that in certain cases may be strong enough to instill their values in the young adult. The Zionist ideology motivating aliyah is an example of

one such value system, and this research aimed to explore the impact of aliyah role modeling as a plausibility structure that has the power to socialize would-be immigrants into that value system, influencing their decision to make aliyah.

The phenomenon of role modeling was found to be a profound factor influencing young people's life transformative decision to immigrate to Israel. Almost without exception, each subject from the sample was able to describe the impact of this phenomenon on their decision to make aliyah. For some, aliyah role models created a plausibility structure of "aliyah values" into which they were socialized through a process of emotional inspiration. Values were central to the message modeled by inspirational aliyah role models.

However, the more prevalent mode of aliyah role modeling in the data was the practical aliyah role model, which is a phenomenon largely independent of values, modeling practical skills and strategies to approach the challenges aliyah entails. It cannot be argued that practical aliyah role models created a plausibility structure of values for the observers, and it cannot be claimed that practical role models were agents in a process of socialization into a value system. However, I believe that practical aliyah role models create a different type of plausibility structure, albeit one that is not values based. Central to practical aliyah role modeling as an example of observational learning is the enabling impact caused by a heightened sense of self efficacy achieved by observing role models who represent a perceived homophily. This is a belief of sorts, the belief that the task ahead is achievable for "someone like me". Practical aliyah role models create a plausibility structure of belief for the observer, belief in aliyah self-efficacy. Perhaps this is not a conventional example of socialization, but it can be argued that this is socialization nonetheless, a socialization of a different type. If socialization is a process whereby an individual learns the norms and beliefs of society, then practical aliyah role models influence the belief in the

feasibility of the practical challenges in immigrating to Israel, a core belief in an ideological Zionist community.

10.4 Limitations, questions remaining, and directions for future research

The findings of this work present an in-depth exploration of the phenomenon of role modeling. However, due to the qualitative nature of the data, there are limitations to this exploration. This study achieved its expressed aims within its limited sample, and within a limited case – the case of aliyah - but this left many possible areas of the phenomenon unexplored.

10.4.1 Applicability of aspects of aliyah role modeling to other role modeling

The motivation behind exploring aliyah role modeling was to understand more about the general phenomenon of role modeling, aliyah functioning as a case study to explore role modeling in general. During the research, as the two paradigm modes of role modeling – practical and inspirational - became crystallized, it became apparent that aliyah called for both paradigms. The importance of homophily in role modeling and the frequency of peer role modeling also stem from the practical aspects of aliyah role modeling. These particular observations about role modeling may only apply to role modeling contexts that also have practical and ideological aspects to them.

10.4.2 Problems of identifying role models in narrative

There were interviews where role models were not identified as important or operating in any meaningful way in the decision process to make aliyah. This clearly does not threaten the

conclusions drawn from the many other interviews where role modeling was meaningfully explored. However, a limitation in the findings of this research is the inability to conclude whether role models operate universally for all people, which suggests that there were external factors preventing some subjects from self-reporting the impact of role modeling, or that this is a selective phenomenon that occurs only with specific personalities who are exposed to appropriate role models at the time when they are most open to being influenced by role models. If any of these factors is not present, then influence from role models fails to occur. If this is true, then more time is needed to be invested in interview strategies to find the right techniques and questions to encourage interviewees to identify the role models they have been exposed to and the influence they have had.

10.4.3 Directions for future research

This research has uncovered several areas of possible future research to further explore role modeling. While this study has presented an extensive exploration of practical role modeling, inspirational role modeling remains somewhat unexplored, featuring less in the data collected here. It would also be interesting to investigate how important moments of inspiration are, whether from inspirational role modeling or other sources of inspiration, in ideological life transforming decisions. For example, when considering the narrow field of aliyah decisions, an interesting research direction to take would be to consider whether there are immigrants to Israel who take this decision based purely on an intellectual decision, or is there always some emotional inspirational trigger. If the latter is accurate, it would also be important to discover how often these moments of inspiration involve significant others and role modeling.

A specific type of inspirational role model that warrants further investigation is the distant vicarious role model. In this study this phenomenon appeared in only one narrative, and further research would help to gain a deeper understanding. A more contemporary technological version of vicarious role modeling could be role modeling through the medium of social networking media. Often role model relationships are short-term, for example during a specific educational program. Can the role modeling relationship continue over distance with a role model with whom one has had intimate exposure, through the medium of social networking such as Facebook?

Interesting to explore other cases types of life transformative decisions

It would also be of value to investigate the influence of significant others as role models in non-ideological immigration to Israel. The hypothesis that non-ideological immigration would still require practical role modeling could be proposed. However, would the phenomenon of inspirational role modeling also operate in this context?

The profile of the observer formulated in this research is underdeveloped and needs to be explored further. Formulating a more extensive profile of those that are affected by role models and contrasting this profile with those that do not seem to be influenced by role models would be a worthwhile avenue for future research.

Other tangential aspects of the phenomenon appearing in the data that warrant further consideration include; the impact of the various forms of negative aliyah role models such as the failed immigrant, hypocritical educator, and anti-Zionist educator; changing perceptions of the role model by the observer over time and personal development; the impact of mastery and coping aliyah role models; and adult peer role modeling. As previously mentioned, the

operations of the aliyah organization Nefesh B'Nefesh may be considered a plausibility structure for adults, socializing adults into a system of values and beliefs in much the same way as plausibility structures found in organizations for youth such as camp and school. This would be an interesting area for further research on aliyah.

10.5 Implications for educational practice and policy

The educator as a role model has been described here as a holistic educator. Role modeling transforms the educator from merely a medium for the transmission of cognitive information to an instrument of holistic education embodying and transmitting values with every action, in and outside of the classroom. The implications for educational policy and practice are far-reaching.

Various educational researchers have made recommendations for practice and policy, such as Cohen (1980) who formulates a long list of recommendations for practitioners and policy makers in formal educational settings. These include encouraging teachers to see themselves as role models, providing students with exposure to exemplary role models through extending invitations to role models to visit, enhancing opportunities for peer role modeling through positive social reinforcement and encouraging the best from all pupils, engaging in conversation with students evaluating vicarious role models from the media, both positive and negative, and urging administrators to make faculty employment decisions based on the criteria of exemplary role modeling. Cohen goes even further, demanding that schools take responsibility to encourage students' exposure to role models outside of the school context, such as encouraging responsible parental role modeling, encouraging students to participate in institutions where they will be exposed to positive role models such as scouts and other youth organizations. Bonneville *et al.* (2006) call for the explicit inclusion of role models into the curriculum. Bricheno & Thornton

(2007) documents the British government's initiative to actively promote the use of footballers as role models for literacy in the 'Playing for success' after-school scheme as part of the National Reading Campaign.

I would add the following suggestions to these ideas for developing the teacher's potential impact as a role model in school. Role modeling as a concept is more a part of the culture of the institution of informal education, but this should not necessarily be so. Teacher's need to be made aware of the power and impact of role modeling, and this should occur during formal opportunities for professional development. For the teacher to maximize her potential as a holistic educator, opportunities must be found to provide students with exposure to their teachers outside of the classroom. Camp is a paradigm informal setting providing the greatest impact from holistic education through role modeling and has been explored here in some depth. The power of role modeling in the camp environment is due to the considerable access observers have to their educator-models. Efforts can be made in a school setting to recreate a similar environment to that of camp. There are many opportunities for informal education within the formal setting of school, such as weekend retreats, day trips, and trips aboard to name but a few. These initiatives will provide opportunity for students to access their teachers as holistic role models.

An educational institution that has a clear ethos or ideology should see its staff and their potential to model the values and ideology of the institution as integral to the educational processes they provide for. This should not be limited to formal educational staff such as faculty, but ideally all staff would model the values of the institution. Laura took her responsibility seriously as head of kitchen at camp to model the ideology of the youth movement and understood her own potential

to impact her campers in this way. While this may be a demanding imperative to make of camp or school alike, the educational potential must not be underestimated, as well as the potential for negative role modeling when this is not achieved.

In the context of the specific educational ideology central to this research, the provision of aliyah role models should be considered imperative for Zionist educational organizations. This may be more challenging for educational programs in the Diaspora, but the financial investment may well be worth flying aliyah role models over from Israel to summer camp for example. Programs that provide Israel experiences for youth from the Diaspora in Israel should be staffed with aliyah role models, a recommendation that has been widely accepted (Berger 1997, Lichtman 2000, Segal 1987). The biographies of Zionist personalities from history and literature should be considered for inclusion into the curriculum of Zionist educational institutions, providing opportunities for inspirational vicarious aliyah role modeling. For programs designed for younger people, inspirational aliyah role models should be provided, for it is too early for observers of this age to consider the practicalities of aliyah. However, post-high school programs should consider providing practical aliyah role models, as this is the age when concrete thought on the possibility of aliyah begins, and decisions are sometimes made at this time.

Aliyah role models ideally should have as many similarities with their observers as possible to maximize the enabling impact they have. This is increased when aliyah role models come from the same community, and especially when they are graduates of the same institutions such as camp and school. There was some debate among those interviewed here whether Israelis can function as aliyah role models. I believe that while Israelis can model many of the values inherent in Zionism and even the practicalities of living in Israel, they cannot be true practical

aliyah role models because they have not made aliyah. The youth movement model of madrichim operating as near peer role models is an effective system as it maximizes both similarities between observer and model, as well as the enabling impact of observing near peer role models representing the observers potential future just a few years down the line. This model can be introduced to schools in general, with alumni functioning as counselors in programs of informal education within the school.

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חשיפת פרדיגמות חדשות של חיקוי מודל: מקרה ה"עלייה"

**סקירה של "האחרים המשמעותיים" כסוכני חיברות לקבלת ההחלטה
האידיאולוגית להגר לישראל**

תזה מוגשת לקראת תואר

"דוקטור לפילוסופיה"

מאת

דניאל ג'. רוז

הוגש לסנאט האוניברסיטה העברית

יולי 2010

מחקר זה התבצע בהנחייתם של:

פרופסור גבריאל הורנצ'יק

דוקטור אלכס פומסון

תקציר

מחקר זה סוקר את תופעת חיקוי מודל דרך צפייה ב"אחרים המשמעותיים" המשמשים מודלים לחיקוי בקבלת החלטות הרות גורל, במקרה זה, ה"הגירה האידיאולוגית" לישראל, העלייה לארץ. למרות שהאידיאולוגיה אינה הגורם היחיד המניע מהגרים להגיע לישראל, היא נחשבה באופן מסורתי כמרכיב מרכזי בהגירה היהודית לישראל, כפי שמרמזת עליה המילה העברית המדוברת - "עלייה". המונח "עלייה" נמצא בשימוש לאורך המחקר כולו והוא מבטא את האמונה בעליונותה של ארץ ישראל ואת המניע המסורתי להגירה היהודית לארץ ישראל. אקט העלייה והאמונות הציוניות המניעים אותה יכולים, לפיכך, להיראות כאחת ממערכות הערכים הרבים שאליהן חשופים צעירים יהודים בגולה בתוך שפע של דעות מתחרות.

השערת המחקר

מחקר זה מבוסס על ההשערה שאנשים צעירים עוברים תהליך חיברות דרך אינטראקציה עם האחרים המשמעותיים שלהם המשמשים כמודל לחיקוי, אל תוך מערכות ערכים מתחרות, שכל אחת מהן מתפקדת כמציאות מובנית מקובלת. המוסדות בחייו של מתבגר, כדוגמת משפחה, בית-ספר או תנועת נוער, מספקים מבנים מקובלים (Berger, 1967), שבמקרים מסוימים יכולים להיות חזקים מספיק על מנת להחדיר את ערכיהם בנער הצעיר. "אחרים משמעותיים" הפועלים כמודל לחיקוי מהווים גשר בין הצעירים לבין מערכות האמונה הללו. מחקר זה עוסק בתפקידים שהמודלים לחיקוי ממלאים בהחלטה האידיאולוגית של אדם בוגר להגר לישראל.

מסגרת תיאורטית

בסיסו הקונספטואלי של מחקר זה נמצא בתהליכים בהם אינדיבידואלים עוברים חיברות אל תוך מערכות אמונה וערכים. תופעה זו נצפית במיוחד בהקשר המשפחתי (Francis & Brown, Hoge et al 1982) כאשר הורים מחדירים אמונות דתיות ומוסריות באמצעות הדגמה (Kelley & de Graaf 1997 Okagaki 1999, Scheepers & Van Der Slik 1998). תהליך זה אינו מוגבל ליחסי הורה-ילד בלבד אלא יכול להתקיים בכל מערכת-יחסים בין אינדיבידואל לבין "אחר משמעותי" (Mead 1934) או "קבוצת התייחסות" (Beeghley et al 1990, Berger, Carr & Weigand 2001), מורים (Cohen 1980, Hoge et al 1982, Kelley & De Graaf 1997), בני משפחה אחרים, חברים של ההורים (Mead 1935), בני זוג ומכרים אחרים (Berger 1967).

ניתן להגדיר את תופעת החיברות כתהליך בו היכרות, תפיסות, אמונות, מנהגים, ערכים ונורמות מסוימים, מועברים לדורות העתיד על מנת לאפשר להם לקחת חלק בחיים החברתיים הרווחים (Kelley & De Graaf 1997) דרך

אינטראקציה והזדהות עם אחרים (Berger & Berger 1972). בראש ובראשונה, הילד חווה חיברות זו ורוכש ידע על העולם החברתי דרך תצפית ושיחה עם "האחרים המשמעותיים" (Berger 1967, Berger & Luckman 1966). "האחר המשמעותי" הנו מרכיב מרכזי בתהליך, המדגים ערכים ואמונות על מנת להעביר אותם לאינדיבידואל (Berger 1963, 1967, Berger & Berger 1972, Cornwall 1987, Kelley & De Graaf 1997, Scheepers & Van Der Slik 1998).

ברגר מעמיק את הבנתנו בתהליכי החיברות באמצעות המושג "מציאות מובנית מקובלת". מערכות אמונה עוברות הבניה חברתית ונשמרות בחברה. קבילותה של אמונה תלויה בתמיכה החברתית שאמונה זו מקבלת. זוהי המציאות המובנית המקובלת שלה. במקור, אנו רוכשים תפיסות לגבי העולם דרך אינטראקציה ושיחות עם בני אדם אחרים (Berger 1967, 1969). במילים אחרות, אם אמונות אישיות אמורות להישאר קבילות, על האדם להיות חלק מרשת חברתית של אינדיבידואלים החולקים את אותן האמונות. "האחרים המשמעותיים" מאותן רשתות חברתיות מעצבים עבורנו מיקרו-מציאות מובנית מקובלת שנוכל לצפות בה ולחקות אותה; במהותם, "אחרים משמעותיים" אלה מתפקדים כמודלים לחיקוי (Cornwall 1987, Petersen & Donnerwerth 1997, Smith 2003).

בעוד שהיו מחקרים שחקרו את השפעת החיברות לאמונות על החלטות הרוח גורל, כגון מחויבות דתית (Cornwall Long & Hadden 1983, Pilarzyk 1987, Okagaki *et al* 1999, Smith 2003, Welch 1981), ואמונות סקסואליות וסגנון חיים (Petersen & Donnerwerth 1997, 1998), מחקר זה מתמקד בתפקיד אותו מגלמים "האחרים המשמעותיים" כמודלים לחיקוי לקבלת החלטות הרוח גורל. מחקר זה בוחן במיוחד את ההשפעה של מודלים לחיקוי על קבלת החלטות הרוח גורל הקשורות ל"הגירה אידיאולוגית", דהיינו, הגירה ממדינה אחת לאחרת מתוך סיבות שהוגדרו בידי המהגר עצמו כאידיאולוגיות. השערת היסוד במחקר זה אומרת שתהליך החיברות יתקיים דרך אינטראקציה עם מודלים לחיקוי ממוסדות חיי של המתבגר, כדוגמת משפחה, בית-ספר או תנועת נוער. כל מוסד פועל כמציאות מובנית מקובלת שבמקרים מסוימים יכולה להיות חזקה מספיק על מנת להחדיר את ערכיה בבוגר הצעיר. מחקר זה לוקח בחשבון את העלייה האידיאולוגית כדוגמה אחת לערך מתחרה, ובוחן את התפקיד אותו ממלאים המודלים לחיקוי בהחלטתו של הבוגר להגר לישראל.

מתודולוגיה

המחקר האמפירי בעבודה זו התבצע באמצעות השימוש במתודולוגיה איכותנית הבוחנת את השפעתם המובחנת של אישיות אינדיבידואליות כמודלים לחיקוי לקבלת ההחלטה הרת הגורל לבצע עלייה. הנתונים נאספו באמצעות ראיונות עומק בעלי נושאים רבים (Bogdan and Taylor 1975) ושאלות פתוחות (Johnson 2001), שאפשרו לבחון את יכולת ההכללה של התיאוריה על מדגם בעל סטיית תקן מקסימלית (Maykut & Morehouse 1994) דרך זיהוי דפוסים וקווי דמיון בנתונים.

בכדי לבחון את השפעתם של המודלים לחיקוי על קבלת ההחלטה האידיאולוגית להגר לישראל, הורכב מדגם של מהגרים לישראל שהחליטו לקבל את ההחלטה הרת הגורל להגר בהסתמך על ערכים המושרשים באידיאולוגיה הציונית הכללית. ההנחה הייתה שהגירה לישראל ממדינות מערביות הנה פעולה של ירידה בניידות הכלכלית, שכנראה הונעה מערכים ומאידיאולוגיה, ולפיכך, המדגם כלל 19 מהגרים לישראל מארצות-הברית, קנדה, בריטניה, אוסטרליה, ניו-זילנד ודרום-אפריקה. המדגם היה "מדגם מכוון", כאשר נחקרים מסוימים נכללו במדגם מכיוון שישנה סברה האומרת שבאפשרותם לעזור בקידום התיאוריה המתפתחת (Bogdan & Biklen 2006). "מדגם מכוון" הושג תוך שימוש בטכניקות "מדגם כדור-שלג" ו"מדגם בעל סטיית תקן מקסימלית" (Bogdan & Biklen 2006, Maykut & Morehouse 1994). מדגם בעל סטיית תקן מקסימלית הנו מדגם הכולל נחקרים שהנם בעלי השוני הרב ביותר לתופעה (Maykut & Morehouse 1994). במחקר זה, הדבר הביא למדגם הכולל מגוון נרחב של מגדר, גיל בזמן העלייה, מעמד כלכלי ומקצועי, מצב משפחתי, ארץ מוצא ורקע דתי.

שיטות איסוף הנתונים נבחרו מתוך כוונה להיות עקביות עם הפרספקטיבה הלוגית והתיאורטית המגולמת במתודולוגיה של מחקר איכותני (Bogdan & Biklen's 2006). על מנת להבין מה חשבו הנחקרים על עולמם, היה צורך בנגישות ואינטימיות, בכדי לשמוע את השקפת עולמם ממקור ראשון. לפיכך, שיטת איסוף הנתונים שנבחרה הייתה אינדיבידואלית, מובנית למחצה, בעלת ראיונות עומק, ובנוסף, היה קיים מדריך גמיש לראיונות שהקיף נושאים נרחבים וכלל שאלות מחקר עוקבות (Maykut & Morehouse 1994) ואשר השתמשו בו על מנת שניתן יהיה לקבל נתונים ברי השוואה במחקר מרובה המשתתפים (Bogdan & Biklen's 2006). בכדי לשמר את שלמות הנתונים, להנציח את הנחקרים במילותיהם ואז לתת לניתוח לעלות מתוך הנתונים (Bogdan & Biklen's 2006), שאלות הראיון היו כולן פתוחות וגמישות, זולת השאלות הדמוגרפיות העובדתיות הראשונות. כל ראיון נמשך בין ארבעים וחמש דקות לתשעים דקות. הראיונות הוקלטו בצורה דיגיטלית באמצעות נגן MP3 ולאחר מכן תומללו.

סיכום ממצאי מפתח

המוקד של מחקר זה, השפעתם של "האחרים המשמעותיים" כמודלים לחיקוי בקבלת החלטות הרות גורל, מספק הסבר משכנע לתהליך החיברות אל תוך מציאות מובנית מקובלת של האמונה, במקרה זה, ההחלטה להגר לישראל מסיבות אותן זיהה המהגר כאידיאולוגיות, דבר שטרם נחקר לעומק.

ניתן לסכם את ממצאי המפתח של מחקר זה באופן הבא. המחקר חושף שתי פרדיגמות של חיקוי מודל: מעוררת ההשראה והפרקטית, הבחנה שטרם זוהתה בספרות. לעתים, תהליכים אלו יכולים לפעול עם אותו המודל לחיקוי, אך הם תמיד ייוצגו בידי אישיות שונות המקיימות מערכות יחסים שונות עם הצופה. נמצא כי "חיקוי מודל פרקטי" שכיח יותר בהקשר של חיקוי מודל עלייה, שהוא המקרה המייצג במחקר זה, אך קיימת גם עדות מספקת למקרה שזוהה כ"חיקוי מודל מעורר השראה". קווי-דמיון בין הצופה ומודל החיקוי הנם הכרחיים על מנת שתהליך החיקוי יתרחש, במיוחד כדי שלמודלים לחיקוי פרקטי תהיה השפעה אך גם כדי שמודלים לחיקוי מעוררי

השראה יימנעו ממלכודות אפשריות של מה שכונה קודם לכן "מודל לחיקוי נעלה" (Vesico et al 2005). הדבר מסביר את שכיחות הופעתם של מודלים לחיקוי עלייה של קבוצת השווים וכמעט שווים בנתונים, שחולקים יותר קווי דמיון עם הצופה מאשר מודלים לחיקוי שאינם מקבוצת השווים; ממצא זה הולך בד בבד עם היפותזת הדמיון (Karunanayake & Nauta 2004), בהתבסס על התיאוריה של בנדורה אודות חוללות-עצמית מוגברת מתצפיות על מודלים לחיקוי בעלי קווי דמיון משמעותיים (Bandura 1977, 1986). עם זאת, מחקר זה, מוסיף ניואנס להבנתנו את מערכות היחסים מסוג זה, ומגבולתיהן והסכנות הגלומות בהן. מודלים לחיקוי שאינם מקבוצת השווים פועלים לרוב כמודלים נעלים לחיקוי וקיימת סבירות שמודלים לחיקוי מקבוצת השווים ומקבוצת כמעט השווים ישפיעו באופן זהה למודלים לחיקוי מצליחים, אך לדפוס זה נמצאו חריגות משמעותיות. סביר יותר שלמודלים נעלים לחיקוי תהיה השפעה של השראה על הצופים, וסביר שמודלים לחיקוי מצליחים יהיו מודלים לחיקוי פרקטי; למרות זאת, נמצאו גם חריגות משמעותיות לדפוס זה. הנתונים במחקר זה מראים שבמיוחד מודל לחיקוי מצליח יכול לשמש גם כמודל לחיקוי פרקטי ועדיין להיות בעל השפעה של השראה, תוך הדגמת התמדה ונחישות.

השערת היסוד בעבודה זו הייתה כי יימצא שמודלים לחיקוי לעלייה ייצרו מציאות מובנית מקובלת של "ערכי עלייה" שלתוכה האחרים יעברו חיברות דרך תהליך של השראה רגשית, ואכן נמצאה לכך עדות. עם זאת, בנתונים נמצא שחיקוי מודל פרקטי היה שכיח יותר כצורה של חיקוי מודל לעלייה; צורה זו של חיקוי לא יצרה מציאות מובנית מקובלת של ערכים אצל הצופים מכיוון שחיקוי מודל פרקטי נשען ברובו על ערכים. עם זאת, ניתן לטעון, שמודלים לחיקוי פרקטי לעלייה יצרו סוג שונה של מציאות מובנית מקובלת, מציאות מובנית מקובלת של אמונה בחוללות העצמית שבעלייה. למרות שהם אינם מהווים דוגמה שגרתית לחיברות, מודלים לחיקוי פרקטיים לעלייה משפיעים על האמונה בישימות ההתגברות על האתגרים הפרקטיים שבהגירה לישראל, שזו תמצית האמונה בקהילה הצינונית האידיאולוגית.

דיון

סקירת נושא המודל לחיקוי לעלייה, דוגמה של מודל לחיקוי שלא נחקרה עד כה, הביאה לידיעתנו היבטים חדשים של תהליך חיקוי המודל. מקרה ייחודי זה של מודל לחיקוי כרוך בערכים אידיאולוגיים הקוראים להשראה רגשית וקוגניציה אינטלקטואלית, כמו כן יכולות פרקטיות המצריכות לימוד פונקציונלי. הדבר גורם לכך שהצופים מחפשים גם מודלים לחיקוי מעוררי השראה וגם מודלים לחיקוי פרקטיים. שתי צורות אלה של מודל לחיקוי צריכות להיחשב כפרדיגמה חדשה של מודל לחיקוי שטרם זוהו בספרות. מחקר זה יכול לתרום לתחום את המונחים המקוריים "מודל לחיקוי מעורר השראה" ו"מודל לחיקוי פרקטי", וכמו כן פרזנטציה ברורה של שתי צורות הפרדיגמה החדשות למודל לחיקוי.

נמצא גם שלמודלים לחיקוי לעלייה פרקטיים קיימת השפעה תכופה יותר ועמוקה יותר על הצופים מאשר למודלים לחיקוי מעוררי השראה. בהדגמה של יכולות פרקטיות ואסטרטגיות מתאימות, למודלים לחיקוי פרקטיים לעלייה הייתה השפעה מעודדת נרחבת יותר אשר חיזקה את החוללות העצמית לעלייה אצל הצופה. הדבר התרחש דרך הדגמת

אפשרות ביצועה של העלייה, והצגת הפוטנציאל העתידי של הצופה, וכיצד העלייה שלהם יכולה להיראות כמה שנים מאוחר יותר. נמצא שתהליך זה היה חזק יותר כאשר קיימים יותר קווי דמיון בין הצופה לבין המודל לחיקוי, דבר שתומך בהיפותזת הדמיון (Karunanayake & Nauta 2004), בהתבסס על תיאורית חיזוק החוללות העצמית של בנדורה מתצפית על מודלים לחיקוי בעלי קווי דמיון משמעותיים (Bandura 1977, 1986).

תיאורטיקנים התומכים בהיפותזת הדמיון כמודל לחיקוי, בדקו זאת עד כה בהקשר של מודלים לחיקוי פרקטיים, כגון מודלים לחיקוי לקריירה (Hackett & Byars 1996, Gottfredson 1981), ומודלים לחיקוי אקדמיים (Erkut & Mokros, 1984, Zirkel 2002). בעזרת צורות הפרדיגמה החדשות למודל לחיקוי שזיהיתי, נוכל להסיק שקווי דמיון חשובים גם כן במקרה של חיקוי מודל מעורר השראה. היה ברור מהנתונים במחקר זה שדמיון בין הצופה לבין המודל לחיקוי יפחית את הסבירות שלמודל לחיקוי מעורר השראה, בתור דוגמה למופת, תהיה ההשפעה שלילית של המודל לחיקוי הנעלה, המוביל לתסכול והתפכחות מאשליה.

נקודת דיון חשובה שהתגלתה בנתונים ולא נלקחה בחשבון באף מקור ספרותי אחר הייתה האם הצופים ניגשים למודלים לחיקוי שלהם באופן הוליסטי או האם הצופים יכולים לגשת למודלים לחיקוי שלהם באופן ממודר. אלו התומכים בגישה ההוליסטית ראו את המודלים לחיקוי שלהם כייצוג הוליסטי טהור של מערכת ערכים ולפיכך היו מושפעים מכל היבט בחייו של המודל לחיקוי. גישה שכזו מובילה לסכנות הטמונות במודל לחיקוי לקוי כאשר המודל לחיקוי לא מצליח להיות בהתאם לאידיאל הזה. אלו התומכים בגישה יותר מציאותית וממודרת למודלים לחיקוי שלהם, מאפשרים להיבטים מסוימים בחייו של המודל לחיקוי להשפיע על הצופה תוך שהם דוחים אחרים. ובזמן שהיו כאלה שהאמינו שמודל לחיקוי הנו הוליסטי ומשפיע על הצופה בכך שהוא מעצב כל תחום בחייו, רוב המרואיינים היו מסוגלים לגשת למודלים לחיקוי שלהם באופן ממודר וסלקטיבי, ובכך לאפשר להיבטים מסוימים מחייו של המודל לחיקוי להשפיע על הצופה, תוך דחיית אחרים. מרואיינים רבים גם הביעו דעה שעם הבגרות, הצופים מפתחים את הביטחון, ולאחר מכן, את האוטונומיה להיות סלקטיבי לגבי היבטים מחייו של המודל לחיקוי שישפיעו עליהם.

בנתונים נמצאו גם דפוסים מעניינים של חיקוי מודלים ביחס לגילאים מסוימים של המודלים לחיקוי. מודלים לחיקוי מבוגרים ומודלים לחיקוי ייצוגיים "הרואיים" של עלייה יכולים להיות בעלי השפעה מחלישה על הצופה, כשהם פועלים כמודל לחיקוי נעלה. בניגוד לכך, קבוצת השווים תמיד תפעל כמודלים לחיקוי מצליחים, וכתוצאה מכך הם יכולים לשמש גם כמודלים לחיקוי מעוררי השראה המציגים ערכים כגון התמדה ומחויבות, וגם את היכולות הפרקטיות להצליח להתגבר על האתגר הקרוב. סביר יותר שמודלים לחיקוי לעלייה מקבוצת השווים יפעלו כמודלים לחיקוי מצליחים, ומודלים לחיקוי לעלייה מעוררי השראה יהיו יותר מודלים לחיקוי נעלים שלא מקבוצת השווים.

כאשר אנו לוקחים בחשבון את מסגרת הזמן שבה פועלות שתי הפרדיגמות של חיקוי המודל נעשה נהיר שחיקוי מודל מעורר השראה מתרחש לרוב בתקופת ההתבגרות, בעוד שהחיפוש אחר מודלים לחיקוי פרקטיים מתרחש בתקופת הבגרות כאשר הצופים מתקרבים לתקופה בחייהם בה הם מתכננים להגר. מספר דוגמהות עלו מהנתונים של צופים

שעם הזמן שינו את יחסם כלפי המודלים לחיקוי במקביל לכך שהתבגרו ופיתחו גישה מורכבת ובוגרת יותר כלפי העולם. מה שריכך את הנפילה ממודלים לחיקוי שליליים ועודד גישה ממודרת וסלקטיבית כלפי המודל לחיקוי.

ארבעה סוגים שונים של מודלים לחיקוי שליליים לעלייה נמצאו בנתונים, אך הסכנות שחזו בספרות אלו שמבקרים את חיקוי המודל, לא התממשו. היה נראה שלישראלים ומהגרים חוזרים שנתקלו בהם בגולה, לא הייתה שום השפעה ממשית על הנחקרים.

למודל לחיקוי הנאבק או המתגבר הייתה השפעה הפוכה מזו שחזו בספרות, והוא עורר השראה באמצעותה התמדה והנחישות. מודל החיקוי לעלייה שנכשלה שצוטטה בתכיפות הרבה ביותר הייתה המחנכת שהשקיעה זמן ומאמץ בניסיון לשכנע את הצופה בערך של עשיית העלייה, ועדיין נכשלה במימוש האידיאל בעצמה. בעוד שהיו כאלה שתוארו תחושות של תרעומת כלפי המודל לחיקוי לעלייה שנכשלה, רוב הצופים פטרו את השפעתה כאפסית כיוון שהם פיתחו הבנה אישית על מורכבות חיים תוך התבגרותם. לבסוף, צורה שולית יותר של מודל לחיקוי לעלייה שלילי שהתגלתה בנתונים הייתה ההשפעה של המחנך האנטי-ציוני הפועל שמודל לחיקוי אנטי-עלייה. גם לזה הייתה השפעה הפוכה ממה שהיה נראה סביר, ועודד התחזקות של מחויבות ואידיאולוגיה ציונית בקרב סטודנטים ציוניים שנחשפו לאינדיבידואלים אלה.

בספרות קיימת אי-הסכמה האם עלייה היא תופעה של הגירה אידיאולוגית ייחודית (Neuman 1999) או אינה מופרדת מהתמונה הכוללת של ההגירה העולמית (DellaPergola 1998). יש הטוענים כי העלייה תמיד הייתה קשורה יותר לכלכלה מאשר לאידיאולוגיה, כאשר רוב המהגרים לישראל בתקופות הקדומות יותר של ההיסטוריה של ישראל נחשבו פליטים, וגלי עלייה שאירעו לא מכבר במהלך שנות ה-90 הונעו בעיקר בגלל הזדמנות כלכלית. טוענים שההוכחה לכך שאידיאולוגיה אינה מרכיב מרכזי בעלייה טמונה בכישלון המביש של ישראל למשוך עלייה בשיעור משמעותי ממדינות המערב (Shuval 1998). בעוד שעלייה, כמובן, רחוקה מאוד מלהיות תופעה הטרוגנית וקיימים בה גורמים מניעים רבים, מחקר זה מוכיח כי עלייה המונעת מאידיאולוגיה ציונית עדיין קיימת, כיוון שהמשתתפים במדגם במחקר זה ירדו כולם ברמת החיים בכך שהיגרו ממדינות מערביות בעלות כלכלה חזקה יותר ורמת חיים גבוהה יותר. בעוד שרבים מהמרואינים התייחסו בעיקר למודלים לחיקוי לעלייה הפרקטיים ובמהלך הריאיון לא חקרו לעומק את האידיאולוגיה בתור מרכז החיקוי של מודל לעלייה מעורר השראה, היה ברור שבבסיס של כל נרטיב של עלייה שכנה אידיאולוגיה, ואפילו באותם נרטיבים שהתמקדו בעיקר בחיקוי מודל פרקטי, עדיין נראה בבירור תהליך של השראה.

מספר מחקרים נערכו על אפיונו של המהגר לעתיד לישראל, המנסים להעמיק את הבנתנו על תהליך קבלת ההחלטה להגר לישראל. למשל, נמצא שאלו שנחשפו לסביבה ציונית, כולל חברות בארגון ציוני (Bermen 1979, Goldberg 1985) ואלו שנחשפו לישראלים או לקבוצה הקשורה בישראל (Bermen 1979, Goldberg 1985), היה סביר יותר שהם יעשו עלייה. רוב המשתתפים במדגם במחקר זה היו חשופים באופן משמעותי לסביבה ציונית במהלך ילדותם התבגרותם, לפיכך הם תומכים בממצאים שצוינו לעיל.

באופן מובהק יותר, מחקר זה הציג בצורה ייחודית את הסביבה הציונית בתור מציאות מובנית מקובלת, וחקר את התפקיד וההשפעה של מודל לחיקוי במסגרת תהליך החיברות של המציאות המובנית המקובלת של הסביבה הציונית.

סיכום

השערת היסוד במחקר זה אומרת שאדם צעיר עובר תהליך חיברות באמצעות אינטראקציה עם "האחרים המשמעותיים" הפועלים כמודלים לחיקוי לתוך מערכות ערכים מתחרות, כל אחת פועלת כמציאות מובנית מקובלת. האידיאולוגיה הציונית המניעה את העלייה הנה דוגמה למערכת ערכים כזו, ומחקר זה שאף לחקור את ההשפעה של חיקוי מודלים לעלייה כמציאות מובנית מקובלת בעלת כוח ליצור חיברות למהגרים לעתיד לתוך מערכת ערכים זו, ולהשפיע על החלטתם לעשות עלייה.

נמצא כי התופעה של חיקוי מודלים הנה גורם מהותי בהשפעה על קבלת החלטה הרת גורל אצל אדם צעיר להגר לישראל. כמעט ללא יוצא מן הכלל, כל נחקר במדגם היה מסוגל לתאר את ההשפעה של תופעה זו על החלטתו לעשות עלייה. לחלק מהם, מודלים לחיקוי לעלייה יצרו מציאות מובנית מקובלת של "ערכי עלייה" אליהם הם עברו חיברות דרך תהליך של השראה רגשית. ערכים היו מרכזיים למסר שעיצבו מודלים לחיקוי לעלייה מעוררי השראה.

למרות זאת, הצורה השכיחה יותר של חיקוי מודל בנתונים הייתה המודל לחיקוי לעלייה הפרקטי, שהיא לרוב תופעה החופשייה מערכים, ומדגימה יכולות פרקטיות ואסטרטגיות איתן יש לגשת לאתגרים הכרוכים בעלייה. אי אפשר לטעון שמודלים לחיקוי לעלייה פרקטיים יצרו מציאות מובנית מקובלת של ערכים עבור הצופים, ואי אפשר לטעון שהתרחש תהליך של חיברות לתוך מערכת ערכים. למרות זאת, אני מאמין שמודלים לחיקוי לעלייה פרקטיים יצרו מציאות מובנית מקובלת שונה, דהיינו, כזו שלא מבוססת על ערכים. מרכיב מרכזי בחיקוי מודלים לעלייה כדוגמה של למידה דרך צפייה היא ההשפעה המחזקת שנגרמה בעקבות עידוד התחושה של חוללות עצמית שהושגה תוך צפייה במודלים לחיקוי שייצגו תחושה של "הומפיליה". זוהי אמונה מסוג זה או אחר, אמונה שהמשימה שלפניך הנה ברת השגה עבור "מישהו כמוני". מודלים לחיקוי לעלייה פרקטיים יוצרים מציאות מובנית מקובלת של האמונה עבור הצופה, אמונה בחוללות העצמית שבעלייה. יתכן שזו אינה דוגמה שגרתית לחיברות, אך ניתן לטעון שלמרות הכול, זוהי חיברות, חיברות מסוג אחר. אם החיברות הנה תהליך בו האינדיבידואל לומד את הנורמות והאמונות של החברה, אזי מודלים לחיקוי לעלייה פרקטיים משפיעים על האמונה בכך שהם מדגימים את יכולת היישום של האתגרים הפרקטיים הכרוכים בהגירה לישראל, שהיא תמצית האמונה בקהילה האידיאולוגית הציונית.