

Research Report:

The Question of Success in New Zionist Education: A Look at the Work of Short-Term Israeli Shlichim in Summer Camps and Day Schools

Introductory Chapter

**Between *Mifgash* and *Shlichut*
Paradigms in Contemporary Zionist Education and the Question of the Ideological
Relationship between Israel and Diaspora¹**

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Coming Chapters (to be published over the course of 2003)

- **Chapter 1: What Constitutes Success? Three Educational Paradigms and the Case of Identity Change Among Israeli-Jewish Youth Who Work in American Jewish Summer Camps** (Author: Dr. Ezra Kopelowitz and Mr. Pablo Markin) Release: June 2003.
- **Chapter 2: What is "Shlichut?" An Analysis of the Way Summer Camp and Zionist Seminar Shlichim Understand their Work.** (Authors: Mr. Lior Rosenberg, Dr. Ezra Kopelowitz and Ms Keren Elkayam). Release: April 2003.
- **Chapter 3: Israeli Shlichim in American Summer Camps: The Social Experience.** (Authors: Mr. Chen Bram and Mr. Eran Neria). Release: March 2003.
- **Chapter 4: Israeli Shlichim in American Summer Camps: The Religious Experience.** (Authors: Mr. Chen Bram and Mr. Eran Neria). Release: May 2003.
- **Chapter 5: Clash of Ideology over Israel Education in American Jewish Summer Camps: Comparing the Opinions of Camp Directors and Israeli Summer Shlichim** (Authors: Dr. Ezra Kopelowitz, Ms. Minna Wolff and Mr. Eran Neria). Release: September 2003.
- **Chapter 6: A Point of Comparison. Cultural Differences, Administrative Practices and Hidden Ideologies in *Mifgashim* between Israeli-Jewish Youth and Jewish Youth from Abroad.** (Authors: Jackie Feldman and Neta Katz).
- **Conclusion: Some Thoughts on the Tension between the Concepts of Center and Diaspora and the Relationship between American and Israeli Jews** (Author: Dr. Elan Ezrachi) Release: December 2003.

In September 2000 I began working as director of research activities at the Department of Jewish Zionist Education of the Jewish Agency. While overseeing the various research and evaluation projects [see: <http://www.jajz-ed.org.il/moriya/rp.html>] I've realized that there is a tremendous need for a clear conceptual framework against which to evaluate educational projects. This paper provides a first contribution towards the debate that must occur if we are to develop such a framework.

Unfortunately, the question of educational success is normally reduced to purely quantitative terms – did the number of participants in a program grow, are participants satisfied with the travel schedule and food, did they enjoy a particular program, and have we managed to generate the publicity necessary to attract additional funding. In contrast, a qualitative conception of “success” and “failure” must begin with the question, “Why” do we want to create an educational program in the first place? Only after we know the answer to the question of “why,” does it become possible to discern educational goals and then to measure the degree to which a program accomplishes the goals set by its managers. This paper argues that there are at least three answers to the question of why in the area of Diaspora-Israel education. Each answer represents a distinct understanding of the relationship between Israel and Diaspora, each with very different expectations regarding success and failure.

I. Decline of Classical Zionism

Until recently “Classical Zionism,” an ideology that divides the world into Jews who live in Israel and Jews who do not, enjoyed hegemonic ideological status in Israeli-Jewish society. As such, it served as an educational paradigm that guided Israeli educators who worked to strengthen the connection between Jews in Israel and the Diaspora. Since the early 1990s two

competing paradigms, labeled here “Jewish Peoplehood” and “New Zionism,” have emerged to increasingly inform the logic of Israel-Diaspora education.

Please note that the term “Classical Zionism” is used here in an anthropological, rather than historical understanding of the term. Historians generally use the term Classical Zionism to refer the forms of Zionist ideology that viewed Jewish life outside of Israel as “Galut” (exile). This aspect of Zionist ideology began weakening as early as the 1960s (Liebman and Don-Yehiya 1983), if not before, and today most Israeli Jews refer to Jewish life outside of Israel as *tfusot* (diaspora). The term Diaspora evidences a greater willingness on the part of Israeli-Jews to view Jewish life outside of Israel as legitimate. However, despite the semantic changes that are seen in the terms *Galut* or Diaspora, and all they represent, Israeli’s who use either term continue to divide the world into two distinct Jewish entities. From the anthropological perspective, whether the term is Galut or Diaspora, the basic idea is that there are Jews who live in Israel and there are Jews who live outside of Israel. This dichotomous logic is what we mean when we use the term “Classical Zionism.”

Classical Zionism is an ideology built on the axiom: “Israel is Center.” The defining feature of Classical Zionism is its emphasis on the “Israeli nation-state”. All individuals are classified according to the nation-state in which they live. There are Jews who live in the State of Israel and Jews who live elsewhere. Israel as a political entity is charged with returning all Jews to live in the Land of Israel, and Israeli Jews are expected to act as agents of the State.

Classical Zionism is very much a “modern” ideology in that its focus is the nation-state. Modern ideologies offer different understandings of the rights and obligations of individuals to state institutions (Tilly 1998). For Jews, the rise of the modern state and its citizenship policies meant the disintegration of the medieval Jewish community (the *Kehilla*) (Birnbbaum and

Katznelson 1995; Eisenstadt 1992; Ettinger 1976; Katz 1993 (1958)). As the Kehilla weakened, Jews were forced to ask, “What does it mean to belong to the Jewish group?” One answer to that question was provided by the Zionist movement,² to the effect that “one can best belong to the Jewish group by living in a sovereign Jewish state” (Laquer 1972; Shimoni 1995).

The paradigms that are now challenging Classical Zionism deemphasize, or even dismiss, the centrality of living in the State of Israel and as such they can be thought of as “post-modern”. Instead they stress what Cohen and Eisen (2000) in the American context call “the Jew within.” Accordingly, much contemporary Jewish Education is not about convincing the individual to express loyalty to the Jewish State, but rather education is about “the individual.” From the perspective of the new educational paradigms educators must respond to the increasing “quest for meaning” on the part of individuals. Educational success depends on individuals viewing belonging to the Jewish People as meaningful. The stress on the individual leaves us with the question of the relationship of Jews to the State of Israel. What role does the State of Israel play in the new educational paradigms and what work must be done in order to preserve Israel as a central component?

II. Measuring Success – The Connection between Ideology and Educational Practice

Clearly understanding the nature of contemporary Zionist ideology is a precondition to creating standards by which to evaluate the “success” or “failure” of Jewish-Zionist educational programs. To create evaluative standards we must begin with the ideological reasons “why” an educator educates. Diverse ideological lenses generate very different answers to such basic questions as: What forms of identity change should occur as the result of participation in an educational program? What is our conception of the “ideal Jew”? What types of organizational

² For background on the various 19th century Jewish ideological movements see Mendelsohn (1993) Luz (1988) and

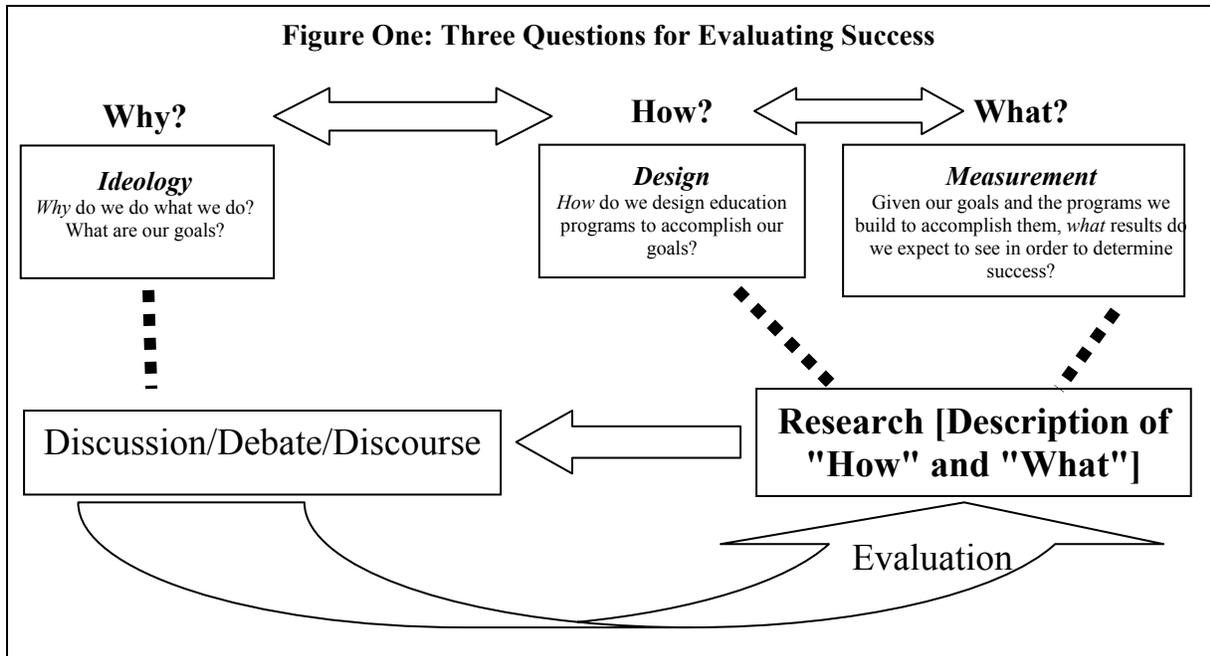
support, and what inter-organizational cooperation are required in order to “succeed” in an educational mission?

The purpose of this paper is not to argue that one ideological paradigm is better than another (although the author does personally identify with the goals of what is labeled below “New Zionism”). Rather, our focus is a situation in which Jewish-Zionist educational personnel speak in the language of one of the newer educational paradigms, but in reality they often build programs rooted in the logic of Classical Zionism. Our goal is to avoid a situation in which we intend one outcome and receive another. For this reason we need a conceptual framework for discussing the goals of educational work and to assure that educators use appropriate training and teaching methods vis-à-vis the stated ideological goals of their programs.

If we know “why” we want to create educational programs, then we can begin to build measures to evaluate “how” we go about designing those programs to accomplish our goals. Given our goals and the programs we build to accomplish them, “what” type of organization do we need to support the program, and “what” results do we expect to see in order to determine success? In combination, the “why,” the “how” and the “what”³ allow us to grapple with the question of educational success.

Bartal (1998).

³ I wish to acknowledge Dr. Victor Friedman for introducing me to the three questions that serve as the conceptual basis of this paper.



III. Ideological Change and the Rise of the New Zionist Paradigm

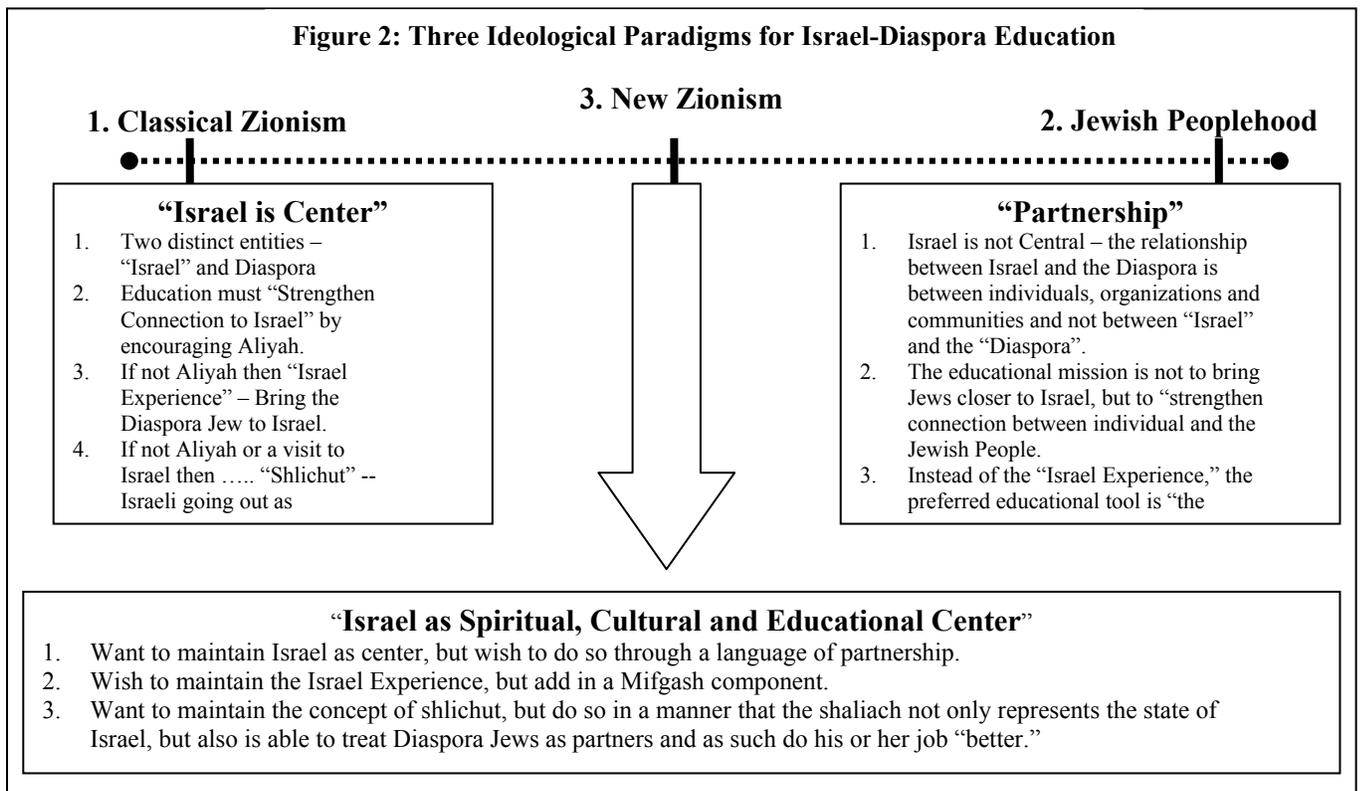
The term paradigm is used here to capture the idea that there is a strong connection between ideology as a form of “belief”⁴ and the way that educators build educational programs. For example, if there is such a thing as a Classical Zionist paradigm, then an educator working according to the logic of the paradigm, not only believes in certain values that guide the way he or she builds an educational program, but also uses that logic to create and run the educational program, and then for evaluating the success and failure of that program.

Paradigms are very demanding on those who use them. Kuhn (1996) argues that people working within the logic of one paradigm are unable to simply switch to a “new” or “competing” paradigm without abandoning the logic of the “old” one. For the educator, Kuhn’s insight is important - he is telling us that a “successful” educational program will follow the logic of the paradigm it claims to implement. When the claims of one paradigm are mixed with the practices of another, failure is the likely result.

The following chart (see figure two below) depicts the ideological spectrum along which each of the three educational paradigms discussed in this paper are located. We will now elaborate the defining characteristics of each paradigm in order to focus the reader on the educational consequences of each of the ideological positions.

Paradigm One: Classical Zionism

As stated above, the defining feature of the Classical Zionist position is the axiom: “Israel is Center.” Those working within the paradigm assume the existence of two distinct entities called “Israel” and “Diaspora” with the declared educational goal being to strengthen the connection of Diaspora Jews to Israel.



Diaspora (particularly American) and Israeli educators take the Classical Zionist paradigm in two different directions. From the perspective of Israeli educators there is a clear order of

⁴ For different approaches to this idea of “ideology as belief” see Geertz (1973, pp. 193-233) and Burns (1996).

preference, starting with Israel as the “Home of the Jewish People.” By the logic of this paradigm, educational programs should encourage Diaspora Jews to make Aliyah (to return home). If Aliyah is not attainable, then Diaspora Jews should visit Israel. If not Aliyah or a visit to Israel, then there is a need for “shlichim” (emissaries) to bring “Israel” to the Diaspora – a situation in which Israelis are sent to the Diaspora to work as representatives of the State of Israel with the ultimate aim of creating the conditions in which Jews will make Aliyah.

While variants of the Classical Zionist paradigm exist among Israeli educators, the dominant one for many years divided the world into Israel vs. *Galut* (exile). Within this paradigm problems of “Jewish identity” exist in the Diaspora only, with the Jewish identity of Israeli Jews taken for granted. Overtime “*Galut*” became “Diaspora,” a shift in terminology which symbolizes for Israelis the existence of an independent Diaspora.

Diaspora educators also use the logic of the Israel vs. Diaspora Zionist paradigm. The common assumption of both Israeli and Diaspora educators who draw on the paradigm is that a meeting of Israeli and Diaspora Jews is a situation in which the Israeli Jew represents the State of Israel to Diaspora Jewry. From the Israeli perspective, the “shaliach” [emissary] perceives him or herself as an ambassador whose role it is to educate the Diaspora Jew about Israel. There is no expectation on the part of the Israeli that he or she will learn about what it means to be Jewish from the Jews they meet during their time abroad. Likewise, Diaspora educators who use the Classical Zionist paradigm are not interested in learning how to be Jewish from Israelis. Rather than *learning* about Jewish life in Israel, the Diaspora educator wants to receive a *representation*⁵ from Israelis of mythical and heroic Israel.

⁵ I wish to thank Chen Bram and Alick Isaacs for introducing me to the theoretical tension between “learning” and “representation.” For a developed discussion of this idea see Bram and Neria (2003).

For many Diaspora educators the educational priority is not Aliyah, but rather the positive function that knowledge of “mythical Israel” has for strengthening the local identity (i.e., “American-Jewish,” “Australian-Jewish” etc.) of participants in an educational program. The concept of “Israel as Center” is defined as “Israel as a Source of Mythological Inspiration,” rather than “Israel as National Home.” From the view of the Diaspora, Israel is the “exotic other”. For example, the pictures covering the walls of a classroom, an “Israel Day” at a summer camp, ceremonies in honor of the state of Israel, or a trip to Israel are all predicated on an encounter with “mythic Israel” that presents the Israel of heroic history, whose modern creation is viewed as a miracle. Along these lines Diaspora participants on Israel programs meet heroic Israel, the Israel of the bible and modern warfare, rather than encountering everyday practices and knowledge that Israeli Jews use to build their connection to the Jewish People.

From the perspective of the Diaspora educator who uses the Classical Zionist paradigm, the success of an educational program is predicated on ripping the participants out of the hum-drum context of everyday life and injecting them with the feeling of partaking in a larger historical narrative. The hope is that after "The Israel Experience" the participant in an educational program returns home with heightened motivation to become part of, and contribute to the local Jewish community, the State of Israel and the Jewish People.

In summation, both the Diaspora and Israeli educator working within the Classical Zionist paradigm tend to view the “Jewish other” as a means to attain a larger goal. Israelis travel to the Diaspora, not to learn from Diaspora Jews but to bring them closer to Israel. If an Israeli group does travel for the purpose of learning, then they are more likely to visit a concentration camp or historic Jewish buildings in a former ghetto or shtetl than to meet members of the contemporary Jewish community (Feldman 2000). Likewise, a Diaspora group

traveling in Israel is more likely to visit the sites of ancient and modern battles, than meet with their contemporary Israeli counterparts.

Paradigm Two: “Education for Jewish Peoplehood”

Over the past decade, significant ideological change is occurring among educational policy makers, in both the Diaspora and Israel. As described above, the changes are part of a larger shift taking place in developed industrial societies in which individual “meaning needs,” rather than taken for granted “ethnic, religious and/or national values,” are seen as the basis for motivating individuals to learn. The change is best summed up by comparing the assumptions of the Classical Zionist paradigm to those of a new paradigm that is often referred to in the field as “Education for Jewish Peoplehood.”

The goal of educators working within the Peoplehood paradigm is to strengthen the Jewish identity of individual Jews by connecting them to other Jews. The individual, not the “Diaspora” is the educational problem. The purpose is not to strengthen the connection between "Israel" and "Diaspora," but rather to combat the weakening connection of Jewish individuals the world over to the “Jewish People.”

A foundational claim of the Jewish Peoplehood paradigm is the “need to strengthen the connection between the individual Jew and the Jewish collective *in both* Israel and the Diaspora.” The educational process is conceptualized as a Jew entering an educational program with a narrow identity (Israeli, American, Brazilian, Orthodox, Secular, Reform etc.) or an assimilated identity and coming out with a broader sense of belonging to a collective that includes other types of Jews.

There are two clear examples of the educational practices that accompany the new paradigm. The first is found in the dramatically increased use of physical meetings (*mifgashim*)

between Israeli and Diaspora Jews, and between Diaspora Jews themselves, as an educational tool. This stands in direct contrast to the logic of *Israel Experience* programs whose primary goal is to introduce the participant to mythical Israel. The *mifgash* is now being introduced as a component in many of the Israel Experience programs, and it is often the organizing principle of programs involving Diaspora Jews coming to Israel, or Israeli Jews traveling to the Diaspora (Bar-Shalom 1998; Cohen 2000; Feldman and Katz 2002). If an actual physical meeting is not involved, then at least there is an expectation that Israeli and Diaspora Jews learn about the realities of everyday Jewish life on the other side, rather than receiving a totalizing portrait of the other.

A formative event in the life of the Jewish Peoplehood paradigm occurred when the concept of the *mifgash as an educational tool* was institutionalized in 1994 with the creation of *Mifgashim* by the Charles R. Bronfman Foundation. *Mifgashim* was an organization that dedicated itself to furthering the idea of the physical encounter between Israeli and Diaspora Jews as a basic educational tool. *Mifgashim* was closed as an independent organization in 2001, but the concept of the *mifgash* as an educational tool seems to have taken firm root as a basic component in many of the educational venues that include Israeli and Diaspora Jews.

The second example of an educational practice that embodies the logic of the “Jewish Peoplehood” paradigm is found in the creation of programs using the concept of “partnership” (*shutafut*). Israeli and Diaspora institutions such as schools and community centers are brought into a relation with one another through correspondence and meetings between their personnel and students. A major framework for furthering the concept of Partnership is the “Partnership 2000” project [see: <http://www.partner.org.il/>] that attempts to match educational and other

institutions in Israel with equivalent institutions in the Diaspora for the purposes of funding and cultural exchange programs.

In both the *mifgash* and partnering programs, the educational logic is predicated on direct personal contact and an intimate encounter with the Jewish other. Of significance is the fact that the language of “Peoplehood,” “meeting” and “partnership” tends to deemphasize the centrality of Israel and Israeli Jews in favor of a more egalitarian conception of cooperation between individual Jews the world over.

Among Israeli educators and institutions concerned with Israel-Diaspora education there is a significant move currently taking place along the ideological spectrum from Classical Zionism towards the Peoplehood paradigm. However, among it is unlikely that we will find many Israeli educators embracing the Peoplehood paradigm in its pure form, as most (including this author) seek to preserve the centrality of Israel in the Jewish experience. The question that we pose in this paper is: To what extent are educators trying to mix the Classical Zionist and Peoplehood paradigms to create a third paradigm that we describe below as New Zionism; or, to what extent do the paradigms stand in a zero-sum relationship to one another, with some holding onto the old paradigm, and others embracing the new one?

What is clear is that Israeli institutions as diverse as the Jewish Agency, the Educational Ministry, the Diaspora Museum, the Community Center Association and even the Army are beginning to adopt a language that mixes the language of Peoplehood and Partnership into the Classical Zionist paradigm. Is the move towards the Peoplehood paradigm replacing the Israel-Diaspora paradigm, or is the mixing of ideas and practices from the two paradigms producing a third paradigm that we call below, “New Zionism”. Within the past five years, the Educational Ministry of the State of Israel created an administrative unit devoted to the topic of “Jewish

Peoplehood;” and, the Diaspora Museum decided to balance its focus on the “Dead Diaspora” with a focus on the living Diaspora communities, with the hope of becoming relevant to the mission of strengthening awareness among Israeli Jews of their connection to the Jewish People. The Community Center Association (*Hevrat HaMatnasim*) is now creating partnerships with Jewish Community Centers in the United States, and the Army is allowing soldiers on active duty to work in Diaspora Jewish communities and participate in meetings with Diaspora Jews who visit Israel. What is the significance of these changes?

We may take as a case study, the ideological changes taking place at the Department of Jewish Zionist Education of the Jewish Agency - the major Israeli actor in the area Israel-Diaspora Education. The Jewish Agency is a large public organization charged by the State of Israel with the mission preserving and nurturing ties between Jews in Israel and the Diaspora. The Department of Jewish Zionist Education of the Jewish Agency is charged with creating programs in the area of Israel-Diaspora education. Until 2000, almost all the educational programs sponsored by the Department of Education of the Jewish Agency focused exclusively on work among Diaspora Jews, with an emphasis on *representing* Israel to the Diaspora. There was little attention paid to the possibility that Israeli Jews could strengthen their own connection to the Jewish People by *learning from* Diaspora Jews.

An important signal of the ideological shift taking place appeared in 2001 when the Deputy Director of the Department of Jewish Zionist Education, Hasia Israeli presented a strategic initiative, entitled: "A Plan for Working with Israeli Society and Israeli Youth: Strengthening the Connection between the Jewish People and Israeli Society, from an

Educational Perspective (dated: 25/03/2001).⁶ In that paper, Israeli argues that the challenge for the Jewish Agency is education for Jewish Peoplehood.

The Jewish Agency can and needs to stimulate among the younger generation of Israeli Jews the dimension of belonging to the entire Jewish People – as an essential component of an individual's Jewish identity. Dealing with Jewish identity demands touching the inner person by way of substantial experiences. The educational experience needs to be accompanied by understanding and continuity for internalization to occur. This is our entry point as educators dedicated to topic of Israel-Diaspora relations (p. 2).

Whereas previously, Jewish Agency educators were exclusively concerned with the Jewish identity of Diaspora Jews, today Israeli Jews are also viewed as an “educational challenge.” In this vein, the Department is now reshaping old programs or creating new ones whose educational logic is based both on the meeting of Israeli with Diaspora Jews, with the addition of an explicitly stated goal of influencing the Jewish identity of the Israeli participants. Amongst others, programs include, the rapid growth of veteran programs that send young Israelis to work and participate in Diaspora summer camps and to teach in Diaspora educational institutions; the creation of the Budapest and other Eastern European programs (in which Israeli educators travel with the specific purpose of meeting the local Jewish community); the increasing use of a *mifgash* component during the one year programs sponsored by the Department, and in-service training programs for Israeli educators who travel to the Diaspora to meet their Jewish counterparts.

Paradigm Three: “New Zionism”

In all likelihood,⁷ many of those involved at the level of Jewish-Zionist educational policy are at the early stages of synthesizing elements of Classical Zionist and Jewish Peoplehood paradigms in order to produce a new paradigm: “New Zionism”.

⁶ Original in Hebrew: תוכנית לעבודה עם החברה הישראלית וצעיריה: לחיזוק הקשר בין כלל העם היהודי והחברה הישראלית, מנקודה: מבט הינוכית (25/03/2001)

The drive for the creation of a new paradigm stems from the fact that most Israelis want to preserve the notion of “Israel as Center.” The key dilemma is how to maintain the concept of "Israel as Center" without giving up on the logic of "meeting and partnership" that comes with the Peoplehood paradigm. When the concepts of meeting and partnership are taken seriously, they challenge Israeli educators to revise their claims regarding the centrality of Israel. The following perspective of Varda Rafelli, responsible for implementing Jewish Peoplehood programming in Israel on behalf of the Department of Jewish-Zionist Education, illustrates well the synthesizing process taking place in the creation of the New Zionist paradigm.

In the past three years we are beginning to develop a conception of “journey” – an intensive emotional and intellectual experience that pulls the participants out of the reality of the everyday Israeli experience. We call this process “window and mirror,” a window to look outwards that becomes a mirror to look inwards – the opportunity to look at things differently from different angles. The journey occurs along different dimensions: the personal journey, the group journey, the journey to a different world, and the journey to a different Jewish community. This process of reflection and introspection is almost impossible to achieve within the reality of Israeli life. The groups that participate are diverse and the Jewish discourse [within each group] changes from group to group. Our goal is to create a different type of discursive space that is not black and white or religious vs. secular. We can thus soften the dichotomies of Israeli life and create space for constructive discourse.

Rafelli is trying to balance the individual’s search for meaning (the personal journey) that characterizes the Peoplehood paradigm, with the group journey in which the individual search for meaning occurs within the context of a group of Israelis who grapple with the place of Israel vis-à-vis the “different [Jewish] world” that they meet. In her words, the result is the creation of an educational experience that combines “mifgash” and “shlichut.”

Many of the participants talk about the process as a transformative experience. There is a component of Jewish Peoplehood here that Zionism gave up on. We are not sending them to lecture about Israel. We are now trying to develop a discussion about a different discourse that is located between the mifgash and shlichut. The *mifgash* is an eye to eye encounter with the ability to give and to receive. We are trying to create a balance

⁷ There is no existing research on the ideological opinions and educational strategies of Jewish educators concerned with Israel-Diaspora relations.

between shlichut and mifgash. A shaliach needs to go with the expectation of meeting and receiving....⁸

The key phrase in the above quotation is the declared intention to “create a balance between mifgash and shlichut.” In the quotation we see a strong critique of the Classical Zionist notion of the Israeli as shaliach to the Diaspora, but at the same time an attempt to preserve the concept of shlichut. The Israeli should not only go to teach and represent Israel to the Diaspora, but must also go to receive and learn.

In the New Zionist paradigm, the concept of “Israel as Center” is retained, but the nature of the meaning of a Jewish center is open for examination and discussion through a meeting between Israeli and Diaspora Jews structured along the logic of the Jewish Peoplehood paradigm. The result is the creation of a host of questions that Israeli Jewish educators are now asking in order to interrogate the meaning of concepts such as “Israel as Center” and “Shlichut.” The questions in turn generate a search for educational tools that will induce Israeli Jews to problematize taken for granted “truths” about the relationship between Israel and Diaspora that were part of the Classical Zionist paradigm but at the same time maintain the concept of Israel's centrality in the Jewish World.

Obviously, the “New Zionist” paradigm is not so new.⁹ Zionist thinkers such as Ahad Haam espoused the core principles that are labeled here as New Zionism. These early Zionists argued for the need to conceptualize Israel as a “spiritual center,” rather than a national home that negates the legitimacy of Jewish life elsewhere. What is new is the fact that a discourse about the need for Israeli-Jews to take seriously the nature of Jewish life outside of Israel and to actively debate the nature of Israel’s place in the Jewish world is only now becoming a mainstream position among those shaping Israeli educational policy.

⁸ As cited in Bar Shalom (2003).

IV. Challenges and Possibilities in the Implementation of the New Zionist Paradigm: The Case of Summer Camp Shlichim

The New Zionist educational paradigm is the place where we are likely to find most Israeli educators who are concerned with the connection between Israel and the Diaspora. The goal of the following chapters in the report of which this paper serves as an introduction, is to ask: Are we witnessing the creation of a new paradigm, or alternatively, is this simply an attempt to cut and paste elements of the Classical Zionist and Jewish Peoplehood paradigms? If the latter is true, then will we find more cases of educational failure than success? To date we are unable to answer this question, as most of the changes in educational policy remain at the level of implicit, rather than explicit discourse. The goals of the programs are rarely explicit and as such appropriate standards are not being developed to evaluate success and failure. Do the old and new paradigms now exist side by side in an uneasy and often unproductive relationship, or is there a new and productive synthesis of educational goals and methods occurring?

In the coming chapters of this research report we will use quantitative and qualitative data to examine the nature of educational paradigms. Our case study is the work of young Israel-Jews between 20 and 30 years of age who are sent by the Jewish Agency to work as shlichim in North American Jewish summer camps. The rapid growth of the Summer Camp program is seen as a jewel in the crown of the Department of Jewish-Zionist Education of the Jewish Agency. The number of Israeli Youth being sent to work in Diaspora summer camps (mostly in North America) is rapidly rising each year and the Department leadership has come to view the Summer Camp program as one of its most prominent means for influencing the Jewish identity of Israeli Youth (see Hasia Israeli's position paper cited above). Within the logic of the New Zionist paradigm, the declared goal is not only to educate the Diaspora Jewish campers about

⁹ I thank Yossi Goldstein and Alick Isaacs in particular for their comments on the issue of New Zionism.

Israel, but also the Israeli shaliach about Diaspora Jewry, and in so doing engender a greater understanding and empathy with Diaspora Jews and an increased interest in issues having to do with the Jewish People. The commitment of the Department to the Israeli-Jewish identity of the summer shlichim is such, that frameworks are now being created to pull “the more successful” shlichim into Jewish educational frameworks upon their return from the Diaspora.

We will see that what often happens is that Agency personnel often speak the rhetoric of Jewish Peoplehood and/or New Zionism, but in reality continue to institute educational practices that reinforce the Classical Zionist paradigm. The result is the unintended educational consequence of reinforcing a sense of “us” vs. “them” (Israel vs. the Diaspora) rather than creating a feeling that “we all belong to one Jewish People.” Again, this outcome is not a problem if the policy goal is to implement an Classical Zionist educational program. However, there is a problem if educators think they are implementing one paradigm, but in reality are working according to the logic and/or achieving results that are in line with another paradigm.

Our research is showing that in moments of uncertainty, both the *madrichim* and participants in educational programs revert to the representative educational posture that is the main characteristic of the Classical Zionist paradigm. The use of Classical Zionist logic as a fall back position occurs because “that is what we grew up with, and is what we know how to do.” Our conclusion is, unless there is proper planning and investment on the part of administrators and educational planners, *madrichim* and program participants will not implement or experience the logic of the New Zionist and/or Jewish Peoplehood paradigms, even if it is their stated intention to do so.

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