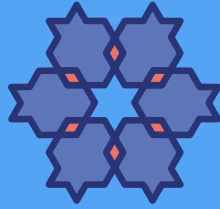


Kislev 5779
December 2018



SAPIR CENTER
JEWISH EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Israel-Diaspora Encounter Programs

A Mapping and Analysis

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Executive Summary

»» Background, Goals, and Mapping Instruments

Recent years have seen increasing attention to the relations between Israel and the Diaspora. In the looming shadow of the claims of an emerging crisis between Israel and world Jewry (with the emphasis on Progressive Jewry in North America), and the debate about the very existence of such a crisis, many individuals and organizations have launched diverse programs that deal with these relations. This awakening has made the need for a mapping and analysis of the current programs more acute.

The present mapping is a quantitative analysis of the programs that sponsor planned encounters between Israeli Jews and Diaspora Jews. The classification and analysis of the programs revolve mainly around the conceptual frameworks or paradigms about Israel-Diaspora relations that inform the programs: the Classic

Zionist paradigm and the Jewish Peoplehood paradigm. The *Classic Zionist paradigm* sees Israel as the center, and categorizes Jews into those who live there and those who live elsewhere. Its fundamental axiom is that a full, meaningful, and long-term Jewish life is possible only in the Land of Israel. Consequently, the Jews who reside in Zion must help their brothers and sisters in the Diaspora cope with their identity challenges. This can be done by means of a range of activities that includes encouraging them to make aliya; bringing Diaspora Jews to Israel for an inspirational booster; and sending out emissaries to brand Israel as a major resource in the fields of education, history, religion, and culture and to consolidate Israel's place in the Jewish experience of Diaspora Jewry. By contrast, the *Jewish Peoplehood paradigm* revolves around the idea of reciprocity and partnership. It focuses on shoring up the Diaspora Jewish communities and sees value in the existence of a vital and vibrant Jewish presence in many places in the world. One of its main educational goals is to strengthen the individual's bond to the Jewish people, in a process that can and should take place among Jews across the world, including Israel.

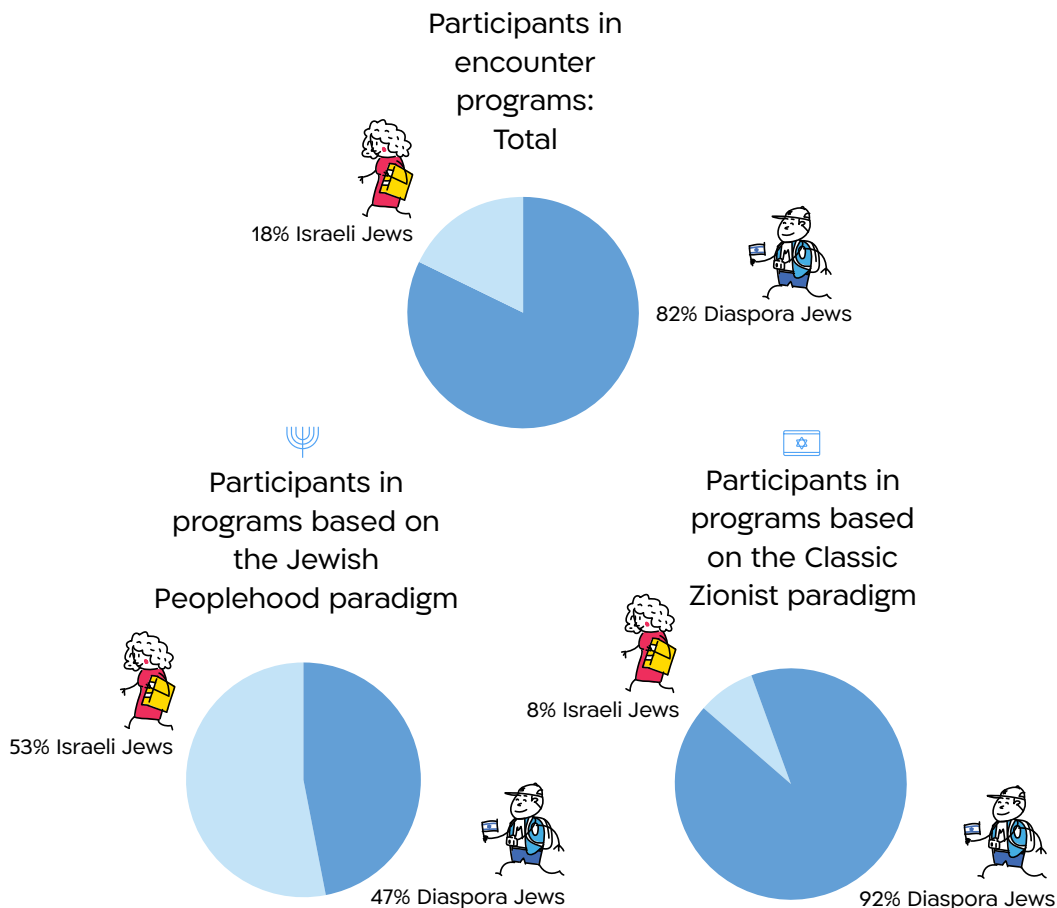
This mapping is quantitative only and ignores the quality of the encounters or any measurement of their impact on participants. In addition to the comparative survey of the existing offerings for Diaspora Jews and Israeli Jews, the mapping analyzes the programs meant for Israelis.

The data were collected from interviews with policymakers, key figures, and organizational representatives, organizational documents, and various evaluation and research studies.

The present mapping is a quantitative analysis of the programs that sponsor planned encounters between Israeli Jews and Diaspora Jews.

»» Main Findings

- There are many more encounter programs for Diaspora Jews than there are for Israeli Jews; *more than 80% of all participants in programs that include an encounter are from the Diaspora*. This disparity remains significant even when we consider the sizes of the respective target groups. In Israel, each birth cohort from age 15 to 35 numbers between 85,000 and 95,000 Jews (according to the Central Bureau of Statistics); the figure for Diaspora Jews is 100,000–150,000 (as estimated by professionals in the field). This means that the proportional coverage of Diaspora Jews is much higher than that for Israeli Jews. The classification of the programs by paradigm yields a very different picture for those that promote the Classic Zionist paradigm (in which Diaspora Jews constitute more than 90% of the participants) and the Jewish Peoplehood programs (where there is parity between the two groups).

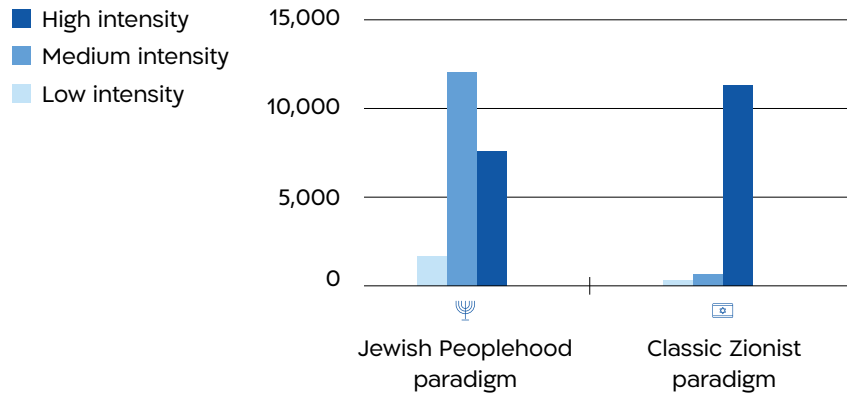


- In general, the programs based on the Classic Zionist paradigm (including Taglit-Birthright and the Israeli emissaries enterprise, which involve thousands of Israelis each year) view Diaspora Jewry as their main target audience. This means that they do not focus on encouraging Israelis to learn about and from Diaspora Jews; even when this takes place, the programs do not provide optimum conditions for such learning. The secondary status of the Israeli target group is manifested in part by the fact that there has been no systematic measurement of how these programs affect it.
- The majority of Israeli participants take part in Jewish Peoplehood programs. There is however, a significant difference in the nature of the programs: *most of the intensive encounter programs (such as Taglit-Birthright) are rooted in the Zionist paradigm, whereas the lion's share of those based on the Peoplehood paradigm take place mainly online (twinning schools).*
- The number of peoplehood-paradigm programs that take Israelis as their primary target group has increased in recent years. Some of the older programs, too, have introduced cautious conceptual changes, with a gradual transition from the Classic Zionist paradigm towards the Peoplehood paradigm (this includes Taglit-Birthright and the Jewish Agency's Shlichut (emissaries) Department).



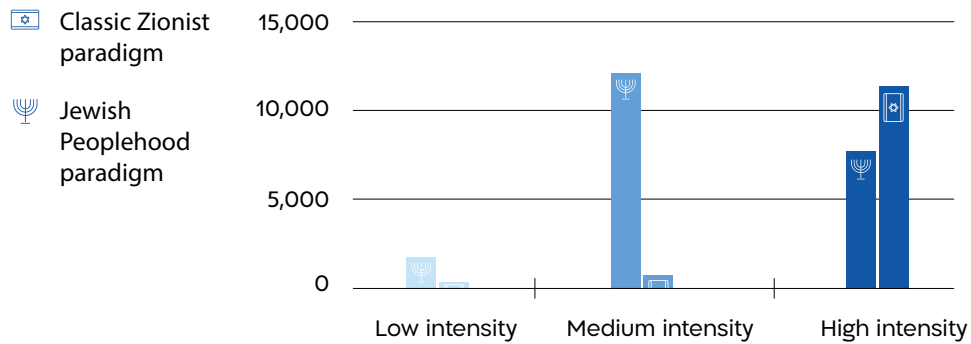
Israeli participants by the program's paradigm and intensity

(The presented numbers are the average of the detailed range in the tables below)





Israeli participants by the program's intensity and paradigm

(The presented numbers are the average of the detailed range in the tables below)






The table summarizes the situation.



Paradigm	Primary/secondary target group	Diaspora participants	Israeli participants
 Classic Zionist	Primary	100,000–170,000	--
	Secondary	--	10,000–15,000
	Pct. of participants in Classic Zionist Paradigm	91.5%	8.5%
 Jewish Peoplehood	Primary	15,000–25,000	16,000–27,000
	Pct. of primary target group in Jewish Peoplehood paradigm	47%	53%
	Secondary	50–100	700–2,000
	Pct. of secondary target group in Jewish Peoplehood paradigm	6%	94%
Total	Total	115,000–195,000	27,000–44,000
	Total (%)	82%	18%

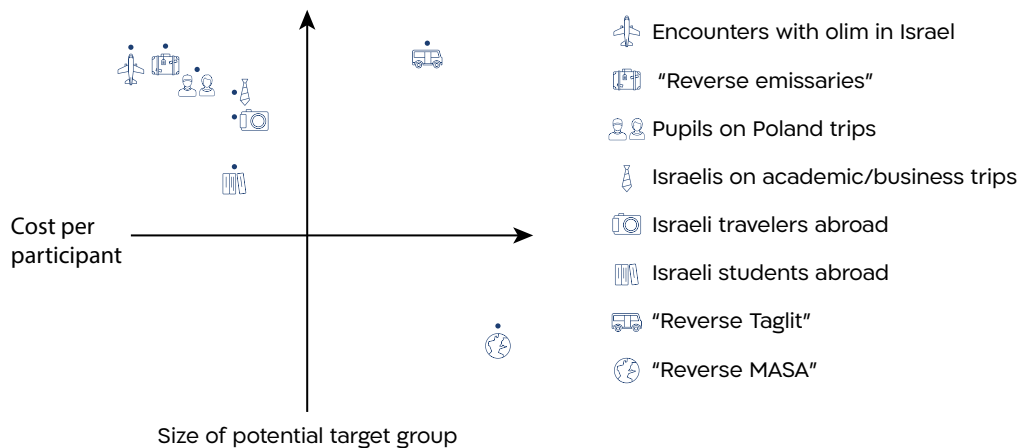
The next table displays the programs for Israelis, by categories and intensity.



Paradigm and primary target group/secondary	Main category and intensity	Examples	Estimated annual participants
 Classic Zionist [secondary]	Close contact [A]	Taglit-Birthright; Chetz v'Keshet (Scouts); Bnei Akiva European Summer Camp	8,000–11,000
	Close contact [B]	NFTY-EIE; Alexander Muss; Onward Israel	400–1,000
	Close contact [C]	Some MASA programs	100–500
	Emissaries	Short emissary assignments; long emissary assignments	2,000–3,000
 Jewish Peoplehood [primary]	Work relations [A]	Twinned schools; partnerships; Community connections	800–1,200
	Close contact [A]	Premilitary academies and mixed service years; mixed summer camps in Israel; reciprocal delegations; JWPR	4,000–8,000
	Close contact [C]	Educational trips to the Diaspora	200–500
	Online [A]	Project ZUG	200–300
	Online [B]	Twinned schools	10,000–15,000
	Online [C]	Community connections	50–500
	Emissaries	Programs for former emissaries	800–1,200
 Jewish Peoplehood [secondary]	Close contact [A]	Mixed camps abroad	500–1,000
	Close contact [C]	Family trips and other visits through partnerships	200–1,000

Proposals for Future Research and Action

Drawing on the analysis of the current situation, the discussion section will offer several possible directions for expanding the Peoplehood paradigm to new types of programs. These models include exploiting existing opportunities (targeting potential participants who are already in Israel or the Diaspora), as well as models that require sending the participants to Israel or the Diaspora. The diagram below is a schematic representation of these possible directions, depicting the size of the potential target groups and the cost per individual participant.



In addition, in order to promote the overall field of the encounter programs, *there is a need for additional research on how they influence participants, with the emphasis on filling in the current lacuna in measuring their influence on Israelis.* To make it possible to compare effects and reach intelligent decisions on this basis, research on the various programs has to employ a common language of concepts and measurement. Similar measurements must also be performed on those programs that we designate the “second circle” and that are not covered by the present mapping: courses for Diaspora Jews about Israel and vice versa, with no encounter between the two groups.

Finally, as we performed this mapping, we were confronted by the difficulty of obtaining precise figures from the organizations about the scale of their activities; especially conspicuous was the absence of common concepts and a shared database (at least for the largest ones, such as the Jewish Agency and Taglit-Birthright). From a research perspective, these gaps make it difficult to acquire an accurate picture of the number of participants, to identify overlap among them, and to analyze the data on the basis of uniform parameters. With regard to activity in the field, this may impede the effectiveness of working with the Israelis who have been through the various programs. Better links among the organizations, the pooling of resources, and coordination could significantly advance both research and educational activity in the field.



Introduction

This mapping deals with programs that run structured encounters between Jews from Israel and from the Diaspora. These encounters are part of the broader fabric of Israel-Diaspora relations. Israel defines itself as the nation-state of the Jewish people, and as such, maintains extensive formal ties with Jewish communities all over the world. It extends the right of immigration and naturalization to every Jew, their offspring, and spouse; accords official standing to the national institutions (such as the Jewish Agency, Keren Hayesod, the World Zionist Organization, and the Keren Kayemet/Jewish National Fund); spends Israeli taxpayers' money to fund organizations and institutions operating in the Diaspora; provides security where required; acts through diplomatic channels on behalf of Jews who live in other countries, and so on. In the other direction, over the years, world Jewry has provided public, financial, political, and other forms of support to Israel, and sees the country as a major focus of its Jewish identity. In Jewish communities all over the world, activity related to Israel holds an honorable place in educational and cultural programs. Relatively speaking, and for reasons that will be addressed below, over the years Israel has invested less in educational and cultural activities to expose Israeli Jews to Jewish communities and Jews all over the world than occurs in the other direction.

The relations between Israel and the Diaspora have encountered serious pitfalls in recent years, including political crises related to the intersection of religion and state. This issue has especially emerged regarding these two topics: the rights of the non-Orthodox religious movements at the Western Wall (following the collapse of the “Kotel arrangement”) and Israel’s refusal

to recognize many conversions (following the Ultra-Orthodox submission of a conversion bill, in reaction to a ruling by the High Court of Justice). Given these issues, many assert that there is a growing crisis between Israel and American Jewry, while others doubt that such a crisis exists.¹

Even if we put the crisis rhetoric aside, many feel that some change is imperative. First, the recent events have made those troubled by these issues even more aware of the need to improve the mutual understanding and dialogue between

Over the years Israel has invested less in educational and cultural activities to expose Israeli Jews to Jewish communities and Jews all over the world than occurs in the other direction.

1. The sense of crisis has been expressed in countless publications in both popular and research forums. See, e.g., Reut Institute 2017. For the opposing position, see, e.g., Klein 2018. For further analysis, see Pinkas 2017.

the two sides. Second, Israeli Jews' failure to react to these events may reflect apathy about (at best) or alienation from (at worst) issues of concern to Diaspora Jewry. As a result, the need to acquaint Israeli Jews with Diaspora Jewry has become more acute.

The surge in attention to Israel-Diaspora relations in recent years has been manifested in diverse ways: public conferences, a stronger media presence in the form of news items and backgrounders, and a sharp increase in the number of agencies and organizations in different sectors that evince interest in developing projects in this domain.²

»»» The Goal of the Mapping

In light of the processes described above, it seems to be essential to map what is currently being done in this domain, in order to provide a basis for future discussion and planning. *The mapping presented here focuses on Israeli Jews and the opportunities for them to encounter Diaspora Jews.* It seeks to answer the following questions:

1. What types of programs make it possible for Israeli Jews to have an encounter with Diaspora Jews? What types of encounters are involved?
2. What do these encounters hope to do for Israeli Jews?
3. How many Israelis participate in these programs?
4. How do the program offerings and the number of Israeli participants compare with the programs and number of participants among Diaspora Jews?

The mapping is *quantitative* only and ignores the *quality* of the encounter in the various existing programs.

»»» Data Collection and the Limits of the Mapping

The data were collected from interviews with policymakers, key figures, organizational representatives and documents, and various evaluation and

2. Some examples out of many: In 2017/18 alone, there were at least three conferences in the pluralistic Jewish identity space in Israel that addressed this topic (the Hartman, Schechter, and Panim conferences), in addition to the annual JFN conference, held in Israel, and the GA assembly. See also the series of special reports on Diaspora Jewry in Makor Rishon; and the field of educational missions to Jewish communities in the Diaspora, which has begun to gain momentum in recent years.

research studies.³ It is important to note that the mapping does not seek to evaluate or judge the quality of the programs and takes no account of the extent of their success or impact.

From the earliest stages of the mapping we ran into *difficulties in obtaining a clear picture and detailed data about the participants in the programs*. We believe this stems from the interplay of several factors: First, not all of the organizations collect and store information in sufficient detail; second, not all of the organizations are interested in sharing the information they do have; third, the major organizations do not maintain a common database (which would make it possible, for example, to identify those who participate in multiple programs); fourth, there is no uniform language that could facilitate such sharing and comparison. *Consequently, the mapping data to be presented here are general estimates - rather than precise figures - about the situation on the ground.*

This also applies to the definition of the programs' goals and metrics. The organizations' inability to share their programs' goals and metrics may stem from a lack of clarity about, or even an absence of, an adequate definition of the goals, or perhaps from other reasons unknown to us. Consequently, further research focused on the following goals would be of clear benefit:

1. Precise information about participants.
2. A mapping of programs in which Israeli Jews are exposed to the Diaspora and vice versa, but without an encounter (what we call below the "second circle").
3. A common set of concepts for evaluation and influence studies that would permit comparison and intelligent decision-making.

»» Demarcating the Field

The present mapping concentrates on programs that bring Jews from Israel together with those from the Diaspora. *It includes programs with deliberate encounters that last several hours or longer. A "deliberate encounter" is one whose structure reflects the goal of allowing the participants to get acquainted with one another, their stories, and their positions. In other words, it is planned rather than coincidental, and provides an opportunity for two-way interchanges (and not frontal lectures, for example).* In addition to this essential condition, the mapping classifies encounters as a function of the symmetry of the participants, mainly

3. The interviewees and written sources are listed in Appendix A.

distinguishing encounters among peers from those in which there is some difference of status (such as youth group counselors and members, emissaries and rank-and-file members of the community, and so on).⁴ We have totally ignored the participants' own goals (such as meeting people, professional networking, and fundraising). The mapping refers to encounters that take place anywhere in the world (in Israel, in a Diaspora Jewish community, or some other place) and focuses on those that exist today.⁵

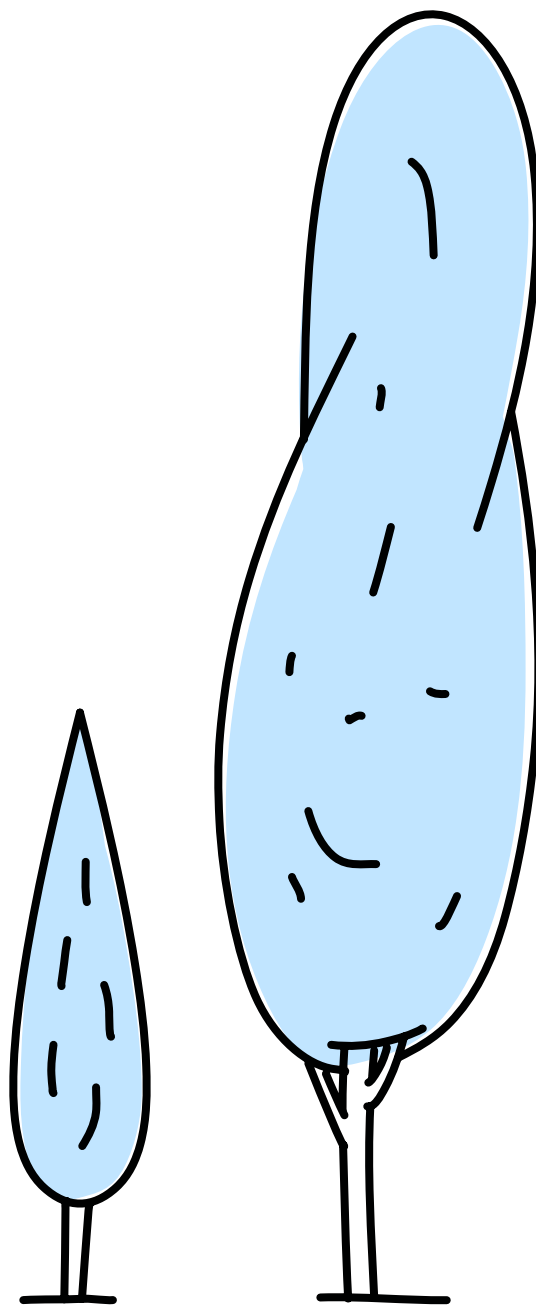
We define programs that satisfy these criteria as belonging to the “first circle;” as stated, the mapping focuses on them. To provide the broader context, one can think of a “second circle” that exists around it, with diverse interfaces that allow Israeli and Diaspora Jews to learn about each other, but with no direct interaction or with a form of interaction that does not satisfy the criteria noted above. The second circle includes Israelis who learn about Diaspora Jews without meeting them; Israelis who meet Diaspora Jews in Israel, but not as part of an organized program; Diaspora Jews who study about Israel, but with no encounter with Israelis; or Jews in the Diaspora who are exposed to Israel or Israelis but not in an organized program.⁶ As emphasized previously, this mapping does not consider the quality of the encounter or its impact; hence there is no empirical claim about the relative importance and standing of the first circle vis-à-vis the second circle. Naturally, second-circle programs have the potential to reach much larger audiences. As future research looks into the quality of the encounters that take place in each circle, decisions about investment in them can be made on a more solid basis.

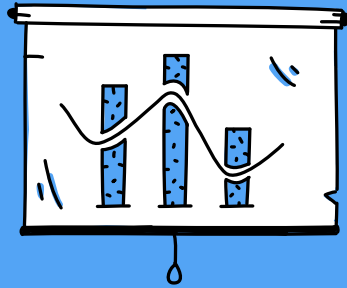
4. Playing on the common phrase “Israel Experience,” one could call programs that focus on a meeting with a peer group an “Israel Expeerience.”

5. For a historical survey of the field, see Ezrachi, 2018.

6. There is a certain complexity, in the context of this mapping, in classifying programs for the Hebrew-speaking children of Israelis who live abroad (such as the Tzabar Scouts). Empirically speaking, they cannot always be isolated as a distinct group in activities for Jews in the Diaspora, so as to estimate their share among them. From the conceptual standpoint, they fall on the seam between “Israeli Jews” and “Diaspora Jews.” On the one hand, they speak Hebrew and are often familiar with Israeli culture; on the other hand, their current life situation is that of Jews in the Diaspora (and sometimes that is all they know). As a rule, the present mapping places such programs in the first circle.

There is also a problem in classifying programs for potential immigrants. On the one hand, before they come on aliya they are an integral part of Diaspora Jewry, and it is not always possible to draw a clear-cut distinction between aliya candidates and their friends. What is more, even after they reach Israel they continue to bear the story and past of those who grew up in the Diaspora. All these factors support their inclusion here among Diaspora Jewry. On the other hand, as the aliya and absorption process advances, their location on the Israel-Diaspora axis changes, until calling them “Diaspora Jews” is problematic. In general, the present mapping does not treat aliya programs as part of the first circle. Note that these individuals are potential intermediaries in this relationship; see below in the section on potential future directions.





Conceptual Framework: Key Parameters of the Mapping

Four key parameters were identified and defined on the basis of the goals of the mapping, and then employed to analyze the programs surveyed, as follows:

1. The Paradigm: Classic Zionist or Jewish Peoplehood

Many elements of the relations between Israel and the Diaspora have changed significantly in recent decades and influenced the nature of these relations. Notable among these are Israel's growing economic, political, security, and cultural strength; the progressive weakening of major institutions in the Diaspora (such as community federations); ideological and political disagreements, especially on the political and security axis and the issue of freedom of religion for Jews in Israel; the relative comfort and security of Jewish life in the Diaspora; and the growing number of expatriate Israelis. As a result of these changes, a number of attempts have been made to conceptualize the paradigms that underlie these relations in the past and in the present.⁷



The *Classic Zionist paradigm* sees Israel as the center and categorizes all Jews into those who live in Israel and those who live elsewhere. As analyzed by Avraham Infeld, this paradigm assigns Diaspora Jews one of three possible future scenarios, all of which begin with the letter 'A': Aliya, Assimilation, or Antisemitism.⁸ Those who adhere to this paradigm believe that the Jews who reside in Zion must help their brothers and sisters in the Diaspora cope with the challenge to their identity. This can be done by means of a range of activities that includes encouraging them to make aliya, bringing Diaspora Jews to Israel for an inspirational booster, and sending out emissaries to brand Israel as a major resource in the fields of education, history, religion, and culture and to consolidate Israel's place in the Jewish experience of Diaspora Jewry.

The *Classic Zionist paradigm* sees Israel as the center and categorizes all Jews into those who live in Israel and those who live elsewhere. The *Jewish Peoplehood paradigm* revolves around the idea of reciprocity and partnership.





The *Jewish Peoplehood paradigm* revolves around the idea of reciprocity and partnership. It focuses on shoring up the Diaspora Jewish communities and

7. See, e.g., Beilin 1999; Kopelowitz, 2003 (his key terms are Classic Zionism, Jewish Peoplehood, and New Zionism); Reut Institute 2009 (where the key terms are from nationalism to peoplehood and from classic Zionism to New Zionism); Hartman 2011.

8. Infeld 2017: 64–65.

sees value in the existence of a vital and vibrant Jewish presence in many places in the world. One of its main educational goals is to strengthen individuals' bonds to the Jewish people, in a process that can and should take place among Jews across the world, including Israel. In pursuit of this goal, extensive use is made of encounters between Jews from various places in the world. The terms "Jewish peoplehood," "encounter," and "partnership" all express reciprocity and reduce or challenge Israel's central status. Encounters between different communities in the Diaspora, not necessarily with the participation of Israelis, are one possible derivative of this paradigm.⁹

The table summarizes the differences between the two paradigms.

		
Criterion	Classic Zionist Paradigm	Jewish Peoplehood Paradigm
Attitude towards Jewish life in the Diaspora	Various degrees of negation of the Diaspora; the three-A's forecast: Aliya, Assimilation, Antisemitism	Aspiration for vibrant Jewish life
Nature of relations between Israel and the Diaspora	Israel as the destination for aliya, as a refuge, and/or a source of identification and inspiration; the Diaspora's role is to provide Israel with economic and political support	Partnership, reciprocity, Israel as a spiritual center that conducts a dialogue with other centers of Jewish life; the Diaspora supports Israel and Israel supports the Diaspora
Main target group of identity-related activities	Diaspora Jews	All Jews
Principal goals of the educational and identity process	Reinforcing the Jewish identity of Diaspora Jews, especially by means of the bond to Israel	Reinforcing the Jewish identity of all Jews (wherever they live), by strengthening the individual's bond to the people
Main educational methods	Educational and experiential tours of Israel; learning about Israel in the Diaspora; Israeli emissaries	Meetings between equals; reciprocal visits; exchange of professional know-how and materials

9. Many advocates of the Jewish Peoplehood paradigm still assign Israel a central place, but see Israel and the Diasporas as partners. Others assert that if one follows the internal logic of peoplehood all the way, one cannot see the Jews as split among Israel and the Diaspora. Some add that in addition to the Jewish Peoplehood paradigm, which advocates full reciprocity, a new and third paradigm is emerging as a synthesis of the two, that of New Zionism, which preserves the centrality of Israel but in a perspective of partnership. In any case (whether as Jewish Peoplehood that sees Israel as a special place, or as New Zionism), this approach can be seen as a return to early Zionist thinkers who took a more moderate stance with regard to the negation of the Diaspora, such as Ahad Ha'am (Kopelowitz, 2003: 13–15; Cohen, 2011: 230–231). For discussions of different Zionist takes on the negation of the Diaspora, see, e.g., Schweid 1984; Gorny 1997; Shimoni 2000; Shapira 2007.

In the current mapping, we assigned programs to one of the paradigms on the basis of the following criteria:

- Declared goals
- Main target audience
- Setting (where it takes place, the identity of the staff, etc.)
- The content transmitted
- The sponsors and funders

Obviously this conceptualization is binary and envisions “ideal types,” in Max Weber’s terminology. In the real world there are many different shades along a continuum between the paradigms.

2. Primary and Secondary Target Audience

We also analyzed and classified a program’s primary target audience. Some programs view both Israeli Jews and Diaspora Jews as their primary target. For others, one of these groups is primary and the other secondary. This categorization was based in part on the following variables:

Parameter	Primary target group	Secondary target group
Breakdown of participants	Significant majority of participants	Small minority of participants
Preparatory activity	V	Little or none
Follow-up activity	V	Little or none
Evaluation studies	V	Few or none
Is the target group the sponsoring organization’s main focus of activity?	V	X

In most cases, when we designate a primary target group of some program, we mean the primary audience of the entire program, and not only of the encounter.¹⁰ Frequently this is a complex determination, as in the case of programs that were originally devised for Diaspora Jews but today view Israeli

10. The decision to relate to all aspects of the program, and not just the encounter, derives from the fact that most of the programs do not manage or are not interested in isolating a single element from their overall concept. What is more, the program’s characteristics taken as whole provide an important setting for the encounter, in that they shape the mindset that the participants bring to the encounter.

participants as target group as well (such as Taglit-Birthright or JWRP). In each case, the classification is based on all of the parameters listed above, tempered by the realization that in practice there is a continuum running between the two extremes, rather than a dichotomous opposition.

With regard to the first parameter (paradigms), programs based on the Jewish Peoplehood paradigm frequently define Israelis as the primary target (along with Diaspora Jews), whereas those based on the Classic Zionist paradigm define Israelis as a secondary objective.

3. Intensity of the Encounters

We classified the programs into three groups based on the intensity of the encounters, derived from how long the encounter lasts (each individual session and the overall duration of the program). This produced the following three categories:

Intensity	Characteristics
A	Several days running, or a series of encounters over a protracted period
B	Encounters lasting half a day to two days
C	Encounters lasting up to half a day

These three levels facilitate an internal division within the following categories, as we will see later.



4. Main Categories

We identified four top-level or main categories of programs: close contact, online, work relations, and emissaries. Each of these will be described briefly below. Some of them are further divided into subcategories, as detailed in Appendix B.



»» Close Contact

This is the broadest top-level category, with respect both to the number of participants and the diversity of the programs. Most of the programs in which there is a face-to-face meeting that is not in the context of work relationships fall here. The internal breakdown by intensity, mentioned above, is especially conspicuous here.

The first category, “Close Contact A,” comprises programs that satisfy one of the following conditions: the participants are together throughout the duration of the program; the face-to-face encounter is part of an ongoing connection; the face-to-face encounter lasts for three straight days or longer. These programs range from summer camps for school-age children (lasting for a week to a month, in both Israel and the Diaspora), through premilitary academies and other frameworks for those aged 18–19 (lasting six months to a year), and finally programs for young adults aged 20 to 30, with the emphasis on social action and tikkun olam. Both paradigms are represented among the programs in this group.

The second category, “Close Contact B,” consists of programs in which the encounter lasts for between half a day and two days (and is not part of a longer-term connection). These programs range from a group visit to Israel to longer stays in the country for internship or studies. Most of them fall into the Classic Zionist paradigm.

The third group, “Close Contact C,” comprises programs in which the encounter lasts no more than half a day. Like those in the previous group, they range from a group visit to Israel to longer stays in the country for internship or studies; once again, most of them fall into the Classic Zionist paradigm.

The table sums up the classification scheme.

Category and Intensity	Defining Characteristic	Usual Paradigm	Examples
Close contact [A]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Close contact throughout the entire program/ The encounter is part of an ongoing connection/ Three straight days or longer 	Classic Zionist + Jewish Peoplehood	<p><u>Classic Zionist</u>: Taglit-Birthright; Chetz v'Keshet (Scouts); Bnei Akiva European Summer Camp; NFTY in Israel.</p> <p><u>Jewish Peoplehood</u>: JWRP; Nesiya; summer camps in Israel and abroad; premilitary academies; Service Year; Diller; Bronfman.</p>
Close contact [B]	Half a day to two days (not part of an ongoing connection)	Classic Zionist	Ramah Seminar; Onward Israel; some MASA programs ¹¹
Close contact [C]	Up to half a day (not part of an ongoing connection)	Classic Zionist	BBYO-ILSI; some MASA programs



»» Online

Online platforms can reach larger circles and create a basis for getting acquainted at minimal cost. Such connections generally take place in an institutional setting, mainly twinned schools, but also in other contexts, such as batei midrash for adults, mass-participation conference calls between partner communities, and so on. With regard to the previous parameters, they fit into the Peoplehood paradigm, and here, too, there is an internal breakdown by level of intensity:

Category and Intensity	Defining characteristic	Examples
Online [A]	Ongoing personal connection	Project ZUG
Online [B]	Short personal connection or Ongoing group connection	Twinned classes; group study programs
Online [C]	Short group connection	Community conference calls

11. For more on the main programs in this category (Birthright, MASA, and Onward Israel), see Appendix C.



»» Work Relations

For the current mapping, we refer only to work relations created around the programs studied here, and not of those between Jews from Israel and the Diaspora in other fields (such as business and diplomacy). Hence the mapping refers to work relations among employees of the various partnerships and organizations (such as the faculty and administration of twinned schools, content personnel and junior managers responsible for the partnership-sponsored programs, and so on), who work together on a long-term basis and create parallel layers of leadership in Israel and the Diaspora.¹² In many cases they work together remotely throughout the year, with an annual in-service course in Israel or abroad. With regard to the previous parameters, they belong to the Peoplehood paradigm and Intensity A.



»» Emissaries

The inclusion of encounters that involve Israeli emissaries is a borderline case for the present mapping, because of the difference in the two sides' status and the inherent aspect of representation. Encounters of this sort take place in many institutions—youth movements and summer camps, Jewish schools and communities, and college campuses. This category is included here not only because of its historical central role in Israel-Diaspora relations, but also and chiefly because in addition to the emissary's role as a representative of Israel, there is also human contact: The emissaries listen and learn as they participate, and in at least some of these interactions there is mutual exposure to stories, positions, and life situations. The emissaries' activities fall into the category where Diaspora Jews are the main target audience; the emissaries themselves are a secondary target. We related separately to programs for former emissaries, where the Israelis themselves are the main target group. The emissary enterprise falls under the Classic Zionist paradigm; the encounters are of varying levels of intensity, but always inherently asymmetrical.

12. For more on the partnership and twinning programs, see Appendix C.



Findings

The programs can be characterized and presented, in keeping with their respective focus of interest, in diverse ways: by the age and other attributes of the target group; by the duration of the encounter; by the length of the visit to Israel or abroad; by the nature of the visit; by the goals of the program; by the organizers, and so on. *Given the goals of the present mapping, the findings are presented in a way that highlights the relative weight of each of the paradigms of Israel-Diaspora relations.* Consequently, the findings are arranged first by paradigm (the Classic Zionist paradigm and the Peoplehood paradigm), subdivided by the program's main target group. Each of these cross-sections is presented in a table that lists the relevant programs. Programs are displayed by categories and intensity, along with an estimate of the annual number of participants in each category.





What follows is a concise presentation that provides an overall quantitative view of the field. Further details can be found in the appendices: Appendix B offers a more detailed presentation of the various programs by subcategories and estimated number of participants; Appendix C offers an expanded description of some of the main programs; and Appendix D details programs according to a different scheme: a main category of Israel or the Diaspora and a breakdown by age. This makes it possible to see the offerings for each age group in each of the target populations in concentrated form.



The Classic Zionist Paradigm



»»» Diaspora Jews as the Primary Target Group

Category and Intensity	Examples	Estimated participants each year ¹³
 Close contact [A]	Taglit-Birthright; NFTY in Israel; USY-pilgrimage; Chetz v'Keshet (Scouts); Bnei Akiva European Summer Camp; World Tanakh Camp; Bonim Camp in Israel (MBI); Taglit-Birthright Excel internships	50,000–55,000
 Close contact [B]	Ramah High School in Jerusalem (TRY); NFTY-EIE; Alexander Muss; Ramah Seminar; Onward Israel; some MASA programs	5,000–10,000
 Close contact [C]	BBYO-ILSI; some MASA programs	3,000–7,000
 Encounter with an emissary	Summer camps, communities, youth movements, campuses, schools	50,000–100,000

13. For more detailed estimates of the number of participants, see Appendix B.



»» Israeli Jews as the Secondary Target Group

Category and Intensity	Examples	Estimated participants each year
Close contact [A]	Taglit-Birthright; NFTY in Israel; USY-pilgrimage; Chetz v'Keshet (Scouts); Bnei Akiva European Summer Camp; World Tanakh Camp; MBI; Taglit-Birthright Excel internships	8,000–11,000
Close contact [B]	TRY; NFTY-EIE; Alexander Muss; Ramah Seminar; Onward Israel; some MASA programs	400–1,000
Close contact [C]	BBYO-ILSI; some MASA programs	100–500
Emissaries	Short emissary assignments; long emissary assignments	2,000–3,000



The Jewish Peoplehood Paradigm










»» Diaspora Jews as the Primary Target Group

Category and Intensity	Examples	Estimated participants each year
Work relations [A]	Twinned schools; partnerships; Community connections	800–1,200
Close contact [A]	Mixed premilitary academies; mixed service-year programs; volunteering programs; mixed summer camps in Israel; mixed camps abroad; Nesiya; professional networking programs; reciprocal delegations (Diller Teen Program; Bronfman Youth Fellowship; twinned school delegations; college student delegations etc.); rabbinical student programs; JWRP; mixed trips to Poland	8,000–12,000
Online [A]	Project ZUG; partnership programs for adults and youth	800–1,000
Online [B]	Twinned schools; partnership-sponsored programs	3,000–6,000
Online [C]	Community connections	50–500
Close contact [C]	Family trips and other visits through partnerships	2,000–4,000



»»» Israeli Jews as the Primary Target Group

Category and Intensity	Examples	Estimated participants each year
 Work relations [A]	Twinned schools; partnerships; community connections	800–1,200
 Close contact [A]	Mixed premilitary academies; mixed service-year programs; volunteering programs; mixed summer camps in Israel; Nesiya; professional networking programs; reciprocal delegations (Diller Teen Program; Bronfman Youth Fellowship; twinned-school delegations; college student delegations, etc.); programs for rabbinical students; JWRP; Hillel ITF-Israel; mixed trips to Poland	4,000–8,000
 Close contact [C]	Educational trips to the Diaspora (Gvanim, Maoz, Ruderman, Kollot, Wexner, Gesher, Hillel, Shaharit, Tali, Ami-Unity, etc.)	200–500
 Online [A]	Project ZUG; partnership-sponsored programs	200–300
 Online [B]	Twinned schools; partnership-sponsored programs	10,000–15,000
 Online [C]	Community connections	50–500
 Emissaries	Programs for former emissaries	800–1,200



»»» Diaspora Jews as the Secondary Target Group

Category and Intensity	Examples	Estimated participants each year
Close contact [A]	Premilitary academies that are not officially mixed	50–100



»»» Israeli Jews as the Secondary Target Group



Category and Intensity	Examples	Estimated participants each year
Close contact [A]	Mixed camps abroad	500–1,000
Close contact [C]	Family trips and other visits through partnerships	200–1,000

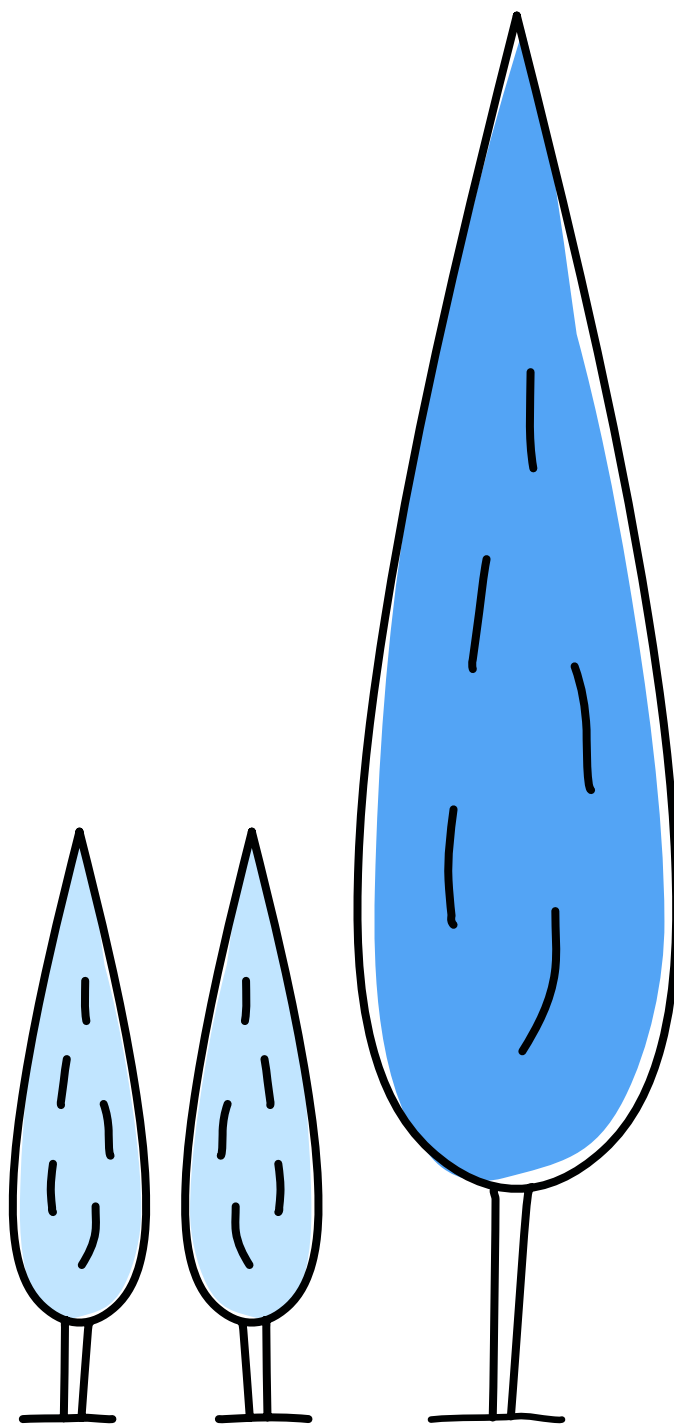
To sum up, and from a comparative perspective:

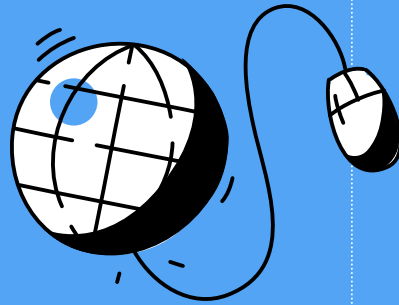
Programs that fit the Classic Zionist paradigm have between 100,000 and 170,000 Diaspora Jews as their primary target group each year, and between 10,000 and 15,000 Israeli Jews as a secondary target group.

The programs in the Jewish Peoplehood paradigm have a primary target audience of 15,000 to 25,000 Diaspora Jews each year and 16,000 to 27,000 Israelis. In addition, they have a secondary target audience of between 50 and 100 Diaspora Jews and between 700 and 2,000 Israelis each year.



Paradigm	Primary/secondary target group	Diaspora Jews	Israeli Jews
 Classic Zionist	Primary	100,000–170,000	--
	Secondary	--	10,000–15,000
 Jewish Peoplehood	Primary	15,000–25,000	16,000–27,000
	Secondary	50–100	700–2,000

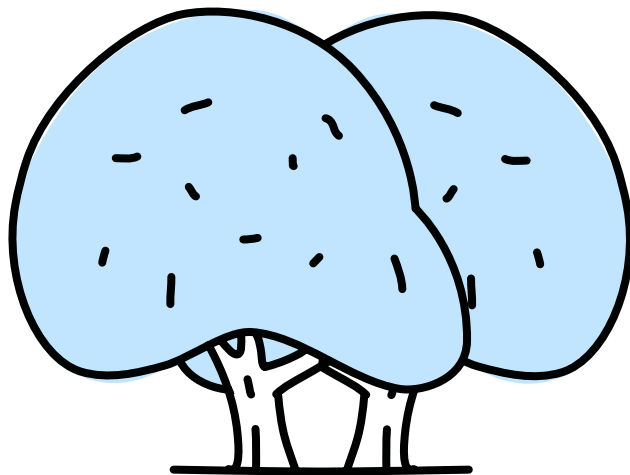




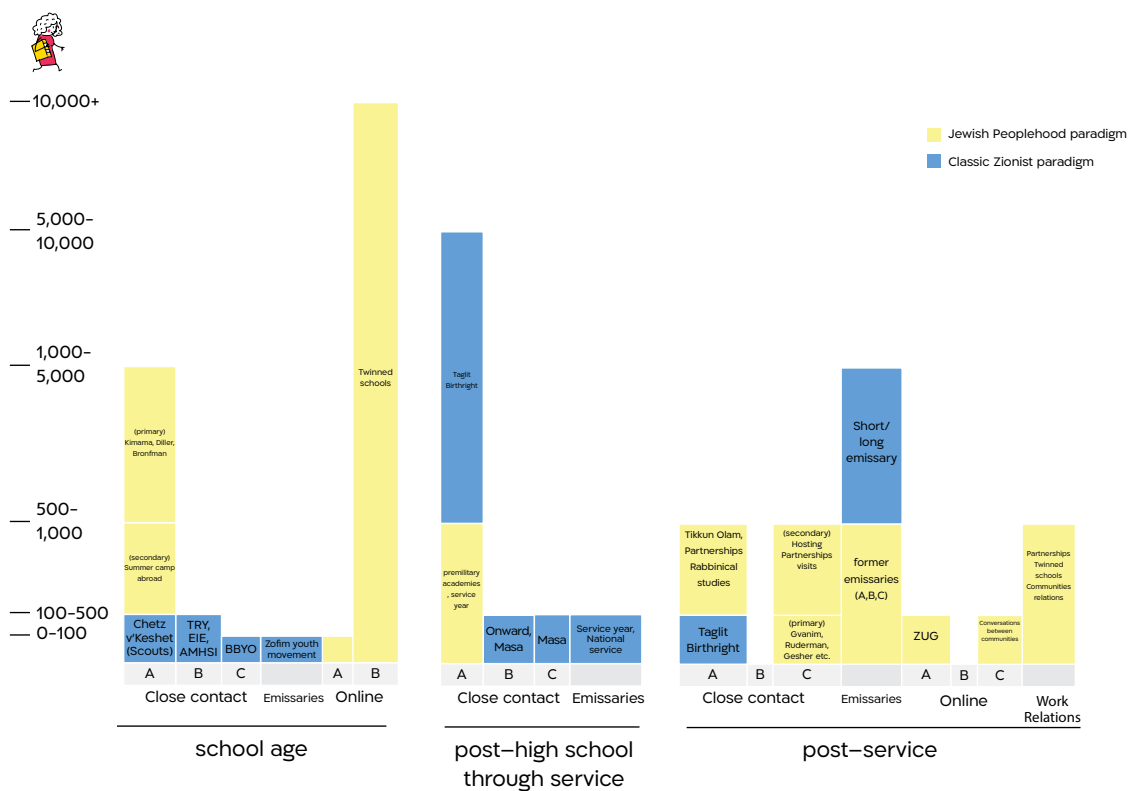
Discussion, Conclusions, and Directions for Future Action

The Gulf between the Two Directions

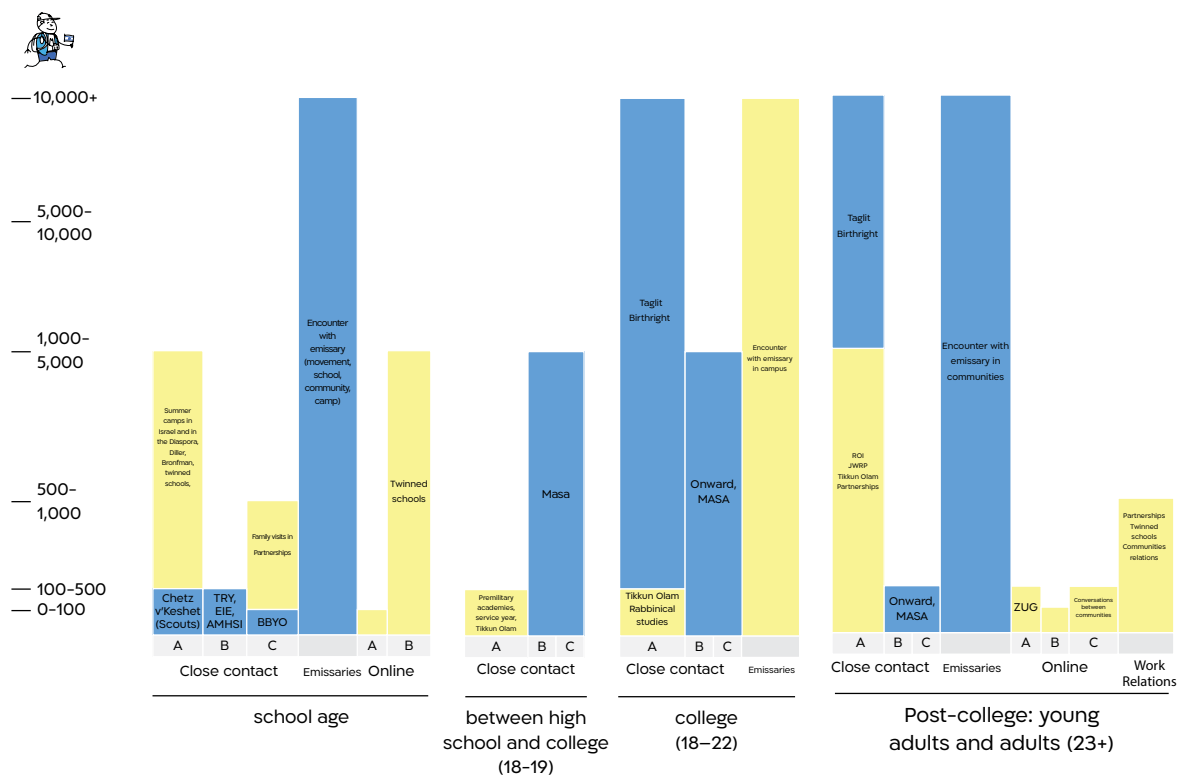
The finding that stands out immediately from our survey of the programs, and that might be considered obvious by some of those engaged in the field, is the wealth of programs intended for Diaspora Jews as compared to the scarcity of those for Israelis. This means that *the average Israeli has fewer opportunities to learn about and from his counterparts in the Diaspora. Even when they meet, the context will usually be one in which the Jews from the Diaspora are visiting Israel to learn about the country and its people. This meeting may be important for the Israelis as well, but in this configuration the conditions for them to learn about Diaspora Jewry are not the best.* The program offerings for Jews from the Diaspora and Jews from Israel in different stages of life can be illustrated as follows:



Israeli Participants by Age Range

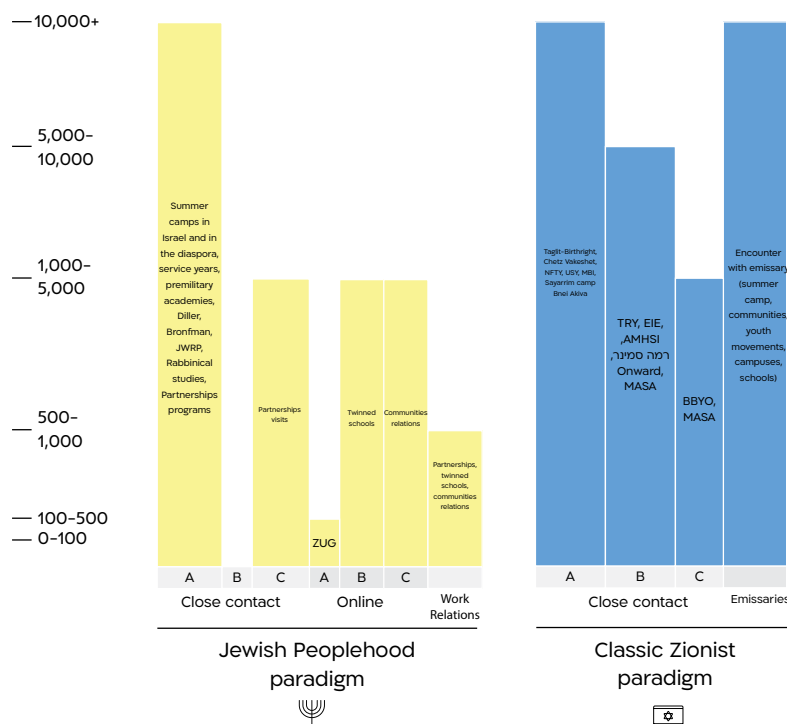


Diaspora Jews Participants by Age Range

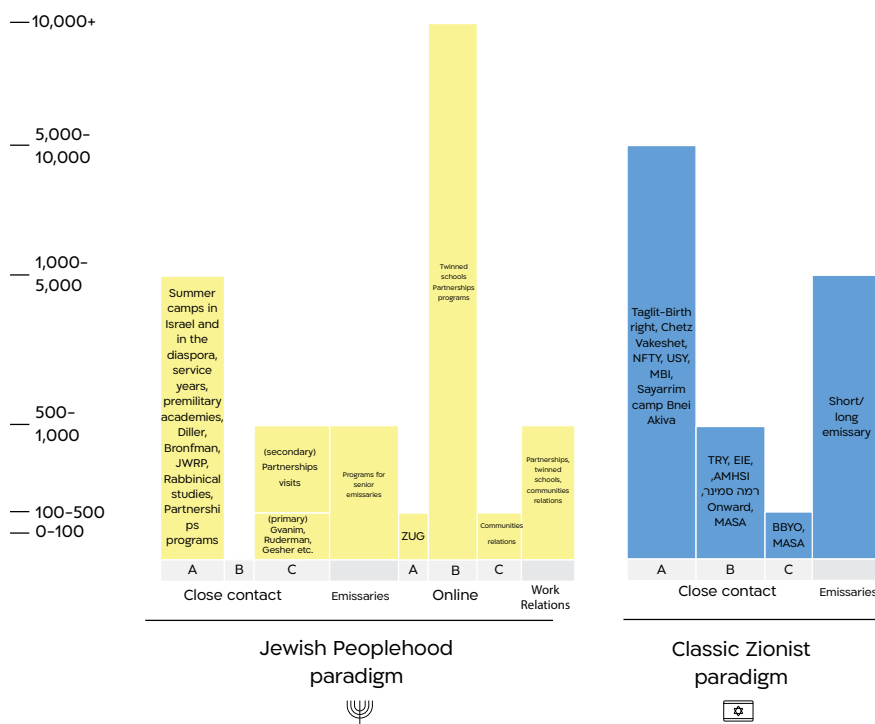




All in all, each year between 100,000 and 200,000 Diaspora Jews take part in programs that bring them into contact with Israeli Jews. Most of them do so in programs that fit into the Classic Zionist paradigm.



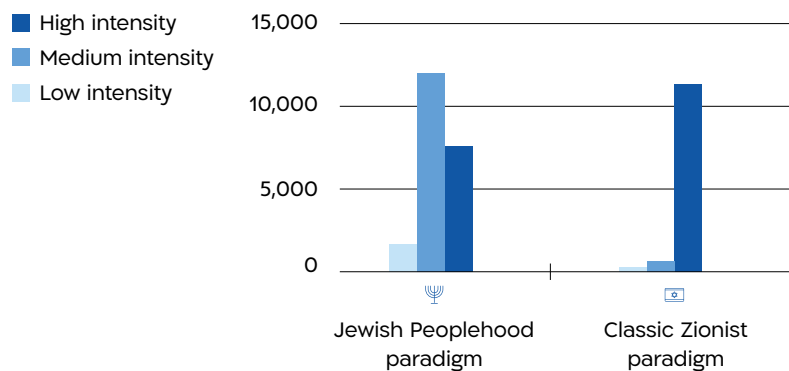
In the other direction, each year between 25,000 and 45,000 Israelis take part in programs that bring them into contact with Jews from the Diaspora. More than half of them do so in Jewish Peoplehood programs, but still many are a secondary target audience in programs that adhere to the Classic Zionist paradigm.



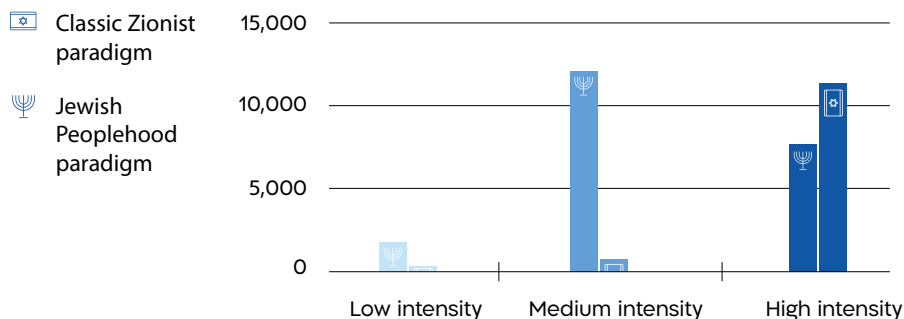
Although in total there are more Israeli participants in Jewish Peoplehood paradigm programs, a comparison of the number of participants by the programs' intensity yields a significant disparity of Intensity A programs in favor of the Classic Zionist paradigm. This is mainly due to the size of Taglit-Birthright, and the emissary project. The largest set of participants in programs under the Peoplehood paradigm are in online encounters run by twinned schools (Intensity B).



Israeli participants by the program's paradigm and intensity
(The presented numbers are the average of the detailed range in the tables above)



Israeli participants by the program's intensity and paradigm
(The presented numbers are the average of the detailed range in the tables above)



Without entering into a deep or exhaustive analysis, we can suggest a number of reasons for this disparity, including: responding to the perceived reality that preserving Jewish identity is more challenging in the Diaspora; the culture of philanthropy in Israel is not developed, and many of these programs depend on philanthropy; the prevalent perception among Israelis is anchored in the Classic Zionist paradigm, which fosters the attitude that they do not need to learn anything about world Jewry (except in the negative aspect: the history of persecution), and certainly have nothing to learn from them; and other reasons. A proper discussion of the deep reasons for the situation goes beyond the scope of the present document.

The Goals of the Programs in which Israelis Participate

The mapping indicates that a substantial proportion of the Israeli participants in the encounter programs (and a majority of those in the high-intensity encounters) do so today in programs rooted in the Classic Zionist paradigm. That is, the programs' main goal is to influence the Jewish identity of Jews abroad and not to work on Israeli Jews; and/or they seek to bolster positions compatible with this paradigm among Israelis. However, there is increasing awareness that Israelis, too, need to experience a process, with an emphasis on the hope that they will learn about and from Diaspora Jewry and strengthen their bond to the Jewish people.

Even when programs are interested in switching to the Peoplehood paradigm, the transition does not always take place, or at least not completely. Nearly two decades ago, Erik Cohen (2000) observed that programs that bring teenagers together are designed with the goal of influencing those from the Diaspora, and not the Israelis. Many of those who are active in the field report that Israelis are changing their attitude about the process, but given the lack of adequate research about the experience for Israelis—a lack that itself teaches us about its perceived importance—it is hard to know to what extent their outlook has actually changed.

Below we will take a brief look at how Israelis fit into several of the most important models available to them: Taglit-Birthright, the emissaries project, meetings as part of partnerships, and educational missions.

»» Taglit-Birthright

In one of the few published studies about how Taglit-Birthright affects its Israeli participants, which dates to a decade ago, the Israelis' function as representatives of the country was obvious, along with the accent on influencing and less on being influenced.¹⁴

This is evident in the Israelis' motives for taking part, which were focused exclusively on the experience of the overseas participants and not on any expectations about their own experience.¹⁵ in the preparatory session, which did include an explanation about aspects of Jewish life in the Diaspora but in which more time was spent on teaching them how to represent Israel;¹⁶ and in the participants' feeling that they were expected to represent the IDF and the state.¹⁷ The researchers note that the Israelis came to the program with the assumption that the Jewishness of the young people from North America was fragile, and that this impression was not always modified in the wake of the program. Some did report that they had learned about various aspects of Jewish life in North America and had been exposed to new approaches to Judaism; but others said that their previous ideas had been corroborated, or that they had not learned anything about the way in which Judaism is observed in North America,

14. Sasson et al. 2008: 9–34. Extensive studies are conducted about Taglit-Birthright participants from the Diaspora on a regular basis.

15. As the researchers put it: "In interviews, Israeli participants elaborated on their motivations for joining the program. Echoing Taglit's core mission, they emphasized their desire to help Diaspora visitors develop a personal sense of connection to the Jewish state and Jewish people" (ibid., 11–12). Note that none of the statements about participants' motives quoted in the survey referred to how the process affects the Israelis (at most, "get to know young Americans" or "improve my English"). This may be a reflection on the researchers themselves, but because they conducted interviews to supplement the questionnaires, responses not stated in the latter could have been volunteered.

16. Ibid., 13.

17. In a survey conducted after the visit, 80% of the Israel respondents agreed "very much" that Taglit-Birthright wanted them to represent the State of Israel; 56% similarly agreed that the program wanted them to represent the IDF. In comparison, only 20% felt that the program wanted them to express their own personal opinions. Nevertheless, when asked, the vast majority said that in practice they did feel free to express their own views (ibid., 14). It should be noted here that many of the Israeli participants are sent to the program because they are "outstanding soldiers" or as a bonus; this is already evidence of their commitment to the system, but also fosters such a commitment out of gratitude to it. Instructive is the researchers' conclusion that the participants' "own views and motivations were, in large measure, in accord with those of the IDF and program. Thus, when speaking freely, such participants tended nevertheless to express views consistent with their roles as soldiers and representatives of the Israeli public. [...] According to [one] Israeli participant, because he is part of 'the system,' his own personal worldview largely correlates with that of the military, the state, and the broader Israeli public" (ibid., 20).

and that this had never been one of the program's explicit or implicit goals.¹⁸ What can be learned from the Israeli participants' reports is that the program augmented their pride in their Israeli identity, in their service in the IDF, in the state, and in their Jewishness. To a much lesser extent there was an increase in their feeling of being part of the Jewish people around the world and their desire to learn more about Judaism.¹⁹ The researchers explain this by the fact that the Israeli participants (all of whom were serving in the IDF) saw themselves through the eyes of the Americans, and in this context the overarching Zionist narrative of the program (which is "Mi-Shoah L'Tkuma" [from Holocaust to renewal]) resonated powerfully.

They summed up as follows:

"From the standpoint of [the Israeli participants], the mifgash [encounter] was a vehicle for teaching North Americans about Israel, and not for mutual exchange between Israelis and Americans. [...] To be sure, some Israeli participants described the mifgash with North Americans as reciprocal and reported learning a great deal about their North American peers. However, given the program's emphasis on Israel, the guidelines provided during the orientation sessions, and the pre-trip motivations of many of the Israeli participants, it is hardly surprising that many Israelis perceived the mifgash as tilted asymmetrically toward exchanges about Israel rather than between Israelis and North Americans."²⁰

18. Ibid., 32. In the words of one Israeli participant, "They bring them here ... They connect them to our world and not us to their world, so we are not really exposed to new things that we can learn from and change our opinion and our trajectory. On the other hand, we do, explicitly, try to do that to them" (ibid., 32). This strongly one-way approach is also evident in the remarks by another Israeli participant: "It's not like I'd go and ask them questions so that I can learn from them to implement in my life. [...] And their answers can't really make a change in my life because this is not the goal of the question. [...] [The conversations] helped us perform our mission better. Based on their answers [we could better] connect to them, talk to them, questions and answers that build the conversations in which we better connect them and attach them to Judaism and to the [Jewish] people, and build the conversation. The goal is not to get the [Jewish] concepts from them" (ibid., 33).

It is interesting to look at this from the perspective of Martin Buber's dialogic philosophy (Buber 1937). The instrumental attitude conveyed by these remarks fall into his "I-It" pattern. That is the instrumental attitude towards the Israelis, whose participation is intended to work on the identity of Diaspora Jews. The same applies to the Israeli participants' desire to influence their peers from abroad and not to be influenced by them. An "I-Thou" relationship appears when the participants encounter one another in a full and authentic way and in search of a mutual influence.

19. Ibid., 27–29.

20. Ibid., 33.

Developments within Taglit-Birthright reflect a conceptual change and a shift in the direction of the Jewish Peoplehood paradigm, with a definition of the Israeli participants as a primary target group and an emphasis on mutual learning (see, for example, Raviv 2018). But these are long-term processes, and by the nature of things time will pass before they are fully reflected in the program's main attributes.

»» Emissaries ("Shelihim")

A similar question about where Israelis are located on the influencing-influenced spectrum arises with regard to various categories of emissaries. Many of those involved in these programs emphasize the conceptual change that has taken place and is still occurring in the concept of the emissary's role, as described at length by Erik Cohen (2011). For example, the website of the Jewish Agency's emissaries unit formulates the goals of community emissaries as follows: "Community Shlichim, who have an educational orientation, [work] in the heart of the Jewish community in many fields and diverse age groups with the goal of strengthening and expanding the bond *between Israel and the community*. [...] We are looking for emissaries who can serve as an inspiration, with the capacity to be at the center of Jewish communities all over the world and *to be the voice that links and the shared story of the Jewish people in the Diaspora and Israel*."²¹

Note that the bonds to be strengthened are not those of the community to Israel, but those *between* the two. Similarly, "the voice that links and the shared story" express a more dynamic and reciprocal concept.²² What is more, the increasing awareness that the emissaries, too, learn from their experience is reflected in the emergence of programs that encourage them to continue the process after their mission is over and even "to bring their emissary status back home," that is, to bring back to Israeli society what they learned from Diaspora Jewry.²³ But the website is still dominated by phrases

21. <http://shlichut.org.il/shlichut/shlichut2/> [emphasis added].

22. In this context see the study by Friedman and Liss (2002) about the training of Jewish Agency emissaries. Among other things, they highlight that emissaries must have the capacity to adapt to their work environment and its needs. This is in addition to facets that are more clearly reflections of the Classic Zionist paradigm.

23. These are the various programs for former emissaries, such as under the slogan, "bring the emissary mission back home." See the former emissaries' website, <http://shlichut.org.il/רשת-בוגרי-השליחות>, and the group's Facebook page. Based on these programs and conversations with those involved in them, our impression is that this is not only a leveraging of the professional and managerial know-how they acquired during their service, as noted minimalistically on the website, but also the consolidation of an echelon of change agents in Israeli society who know Diaspora Jewry from the inside.

rooted in the Classic Zionist paradigm, such as: “connecting the community to Israel,” “connecting the young people in the Jewish community to Israel and their Jewish identity,” and “reinforcing the bond between the members of the youth movement and the State of Israel and their Jewish identity.”²⁴

What is more, whatever the magnitude of the change in the conception of the emissary’s role, as long as the emissaries are always sent from Israel to the Diaspora and are designated by that title, the Classic Zionist paradigm will remain the center of gravity. The following thought experiment corroborates this: Should, some day, the emissaries’ main mission be defined as learning the deep elements of Jewish community identity in the Diaspora in order to come home and implement them in Israel, would the funders continue to invest the resources they do today? We do not think so. Accordingly, we distinguish those emissary programs whose primary target audience is Diaspora Jewry and that operate in the Classic Zionist paradigm from the programs for former emissaries after their return to Israel, whose primary target is Israeli society and which fall under the Jewish Peoplehood paradigm.

»» Encounters between Partner Communities²⁵

Many of the encounters that are part of community partnerships reflect the goal of getting to know each other and learning from each other. The vision of the Jewish Agency’s Partnership2gether Peoplehood Platform (whose name already says it all) refers to “a global and united Jewish people composed of a web of individuals, families, and strong communities full of vitality, flourishing and linked among themselves, who work together to ensure Jewish continuity, Jewish identity, and cultural understanding between Jews in Israel and their counterparts all over the world.”²⁶

According to Jewish Agency data, each year around 1,700 Israelis go abroad in delegations to partner communities; many others meet with the 6,600 visitors to Israel each year from their partner communities in the Diaspora.²⁷

24. From the emissaries’ organization webpages. See below, Appendix B.

25. This refers to the ties between communities in Israel and Jewish communities around the world—most of them through the Jewish Agency’s Partnership unit. For more on the subject, see Appendix C.

26. Jewish Agency 2017.

27. Ibid. The data include delegations of pupils and teachers to partner schools, program steering committees and leaders, participants in youth programs, service-year groups, etc. At present, however, there is no way to segment the data by program. Nor do they include participants in partnership programs that are not affiliated with the Jewish Agency, such as Haifa-Boston and Baltimore-Ashkelon.

»» Study Missions

The goals of the study missions to learn about American Jewry were summarized by Ezrachi (2017) as follows:

- Placing the issue of Israel-Diaspora relations at the center and clarifying the concept of “Jewish Peoplehood.” Acquaintance with the American Jewish community as a central component in the discourse on Jewish Peoplehood. This discourse is a significant component of contemporary Jewish and Zionist discourse.
- Reflecting on the American Jewish community as part of an internal Israeli discourse on issues of Jewish-Israeli identity; the tour to the United States is an opportunity to expand the discourse and create a basis for comparison to the Israeli story.
- The need to familiarize ourselves with the Jews of the United States, the largest Jewish community outside of Israel, as a component of Israel’s national security and as part of the required literacy for senior leaders.
- Reflecting on the American Jewish community as part of a process of professional development in areas beyond Jewish identity and Jewish Peoplehood.²⁸

We can focus on the difference between the second goal in the list and the others, especially the first and third. Several organizations (a minority) proclaim that they do not see the encounter with the ‘Other’ in the Diaspora as focused on learning about it or from it, but first and foremost as a catalyst for intra-group process and internal Israeli dialogue. Hundreds of Israelis take part in these delegations and study missions every year.



We rarely find a program that proclaims that its goal is to attract Israelis to positions identified with the Classic Zionist paradigm. However, it does seem that this is the main outcome sought by some, which evidently stems from the fact that their initial goals regarded the participants from abroad. *Nevertheless, the present mapping highlights that a number of these programs are already operating according to the Peoplehood paradigm and endeavoring to teach Israelis about the world of Diaspora Jewry, motivated by a belief in mutual responsibility, and sometimes with the aspiration of reinforcing Israelis’ Jewish identity by connecting them to a broader Jewish story. But when it comes to face-to-face encounters, the number of participants in such programs remains smaller than in the programs rooted in the Classic Zionist paradigm.*

Directions for Future Activity: Several Ideas for the Jewish Peoplehood Paradigm

In light of the changes taking place in Israel-Diaspora relations, some of them gradual and long-term and other rapid and sudden, it is important that all those engaged in the field clarify, for themselves and others, their goals and the paradigms by which they operate. The slow changes gradually influence the long-established programs, while the rapid changes spawn new programs to respond to the needs of the hour. In both cases it seems that the goals and paradigms are not always articulated.

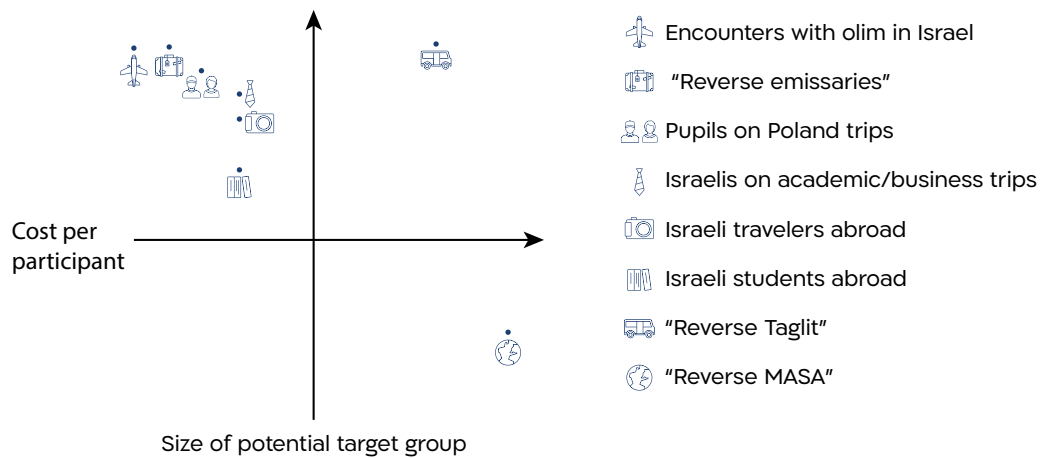
What emerges from the present mapping is that a significant proportion of the programs that address Israelis fall under the Classic Zionist paradigm. Without seeking to decide between the paradigms, we can note diverse reasons why the Peoplehood paradigm is important. These include the need to promote Israelis' Jewish identity (for our purposes, one way to do this is encounters with Jews from the Diaspora); the advantages of exposure to the model of a conscious choice of a Jewish way of life; the organizational, community, cultural, and creative know-how that has been created and flourishes in Jewish communities around the world; and the basic commitment derived from the shared responsibility for all the Jewish people. Programs that adhere to the Peoplehood paradigm will aspire to pay greater attention to Israeli society as their target audience, and to present (also) the latent opportunities and strong points of this form of Jewish existence.

In addition to the broad options offered by several of the current models, we will sketch out in general terms a number of possible directions for programs in the future, which emerged from the results of the mapping.²⁹

In keeping with the focus of the mapping, all these programs include encounters. The proposed directions fall into two categories: programs that take advantage of the presence, in Israel or Diaspora, of potential participants (so that the specific cost per participant is relatively low), and programs that require bringing potential participants to the Diaspora or to Israel (and which are consequently more expensive). The diagram below locates these directions

29. See Appendix D, which lists current programs by their participants' ages. Among other benefits, the mapping makes it possible to identify which program models exist for which age groups, and thus also where there are lacunae, so that current models can be applied to new target groups.

schematically, depicting the size of the target potential target groups and the cost per individual participant



Just as the present mapping does not measure the quality of current programs' impact on participants, it does not forecast the expected impact of these possible future directions. The classification by the size of the potential target group and cost per participant can serve only as a preliminary basis for decisions about which directions should be emphasized.

»» Exploiting Opportunities: Programs for those Already in the Diaspora or Israel



High school pupils on the trip to Poland (and Eastern/Central Europe in general)

The high-school trip to Poland is a rite of passage for many Israeli teens and has a significant impact on their attitude towards the Jews in the Diaspora, directly or indirectly. Today it serves mainly the Classic Zionist paradigm, but the very same instrument could be used for a paradigm shift. If the trip included an encounter with aspects of the lives of contemporary Jewish communities in eastern and central Europe—such as Jewish community centers, the colorful Jewish festival in Cracow,³⁰ and cultural institutions—it could illuminate the possibilities for Jewish life in the Diaspora in a totally different light. Some of the trips sponsored by the Education Ministry already include an encounter with Polish teens; some delegations not affiliated with the ministry attempt to include visits to active community centers.³¹ With regard to magnitude, today more than 30,000 Israeli pupils travel to Poland each year, out of between 90,000 and 100,000 in each high-school age cohort.³² The bureaucratic apparatus for the trip already exists, so the added costs would be minimal; what is more, because the pupils constitute a captive audience, it would be relatively easy to reach a larger percentage of the target group than voluntary programs could.

30. <http://www.jewishfestival.pl/en/>. Young Israelis and artists have been attending the Cracow festival in recent years. Evidence of the paradigm shift this represents is found in the reports by participants, such as a journalist who covered the festival: “Yes, it’s the same Poland, and the first connection the average Israeli makes to it is the Holocaust, war, extermination, pain. For 27 years now, for 10 days each year, this festival has been held here, full of music, lectures, workshops, exhibitions, installations, encounters, and diverse events that are intimately linked to Jewish culture in general, and to Israel in particular. [...] A friend who was with me at the festival put it this way: ‘Fifteen years ago, when I was here on the high-school trip to Poland, I encountered a dead town. Today what I see is a living city’ (Rif 5777). See also the link that one participant drew between the festival and contemporary Israeli society (Brudnik 2016).

31. Report by the Office for Missions to Poland, the Society and Youth Administration of the Ministry of Education. On the second category, see, e.g., the MASA mission to Poland as part of the Global Leadership Institute, which includes a visit to the Jewish Community Centers in Warsaw and Cracow. See <http://www.masaisrael.org/events/delegation-poland>.

32. Data of the Society and Youth Administration of the Ministry of Education; Central Bureau of Statistics data for 2017 (see, e.g., Table 2:19, “Population, by Population Group, Religion, Age and Gender, District and Subdistrict,” pp. 1, 3).



Israeli travelers abroad

Tens of thousands of Israelis travel abroad each year, for periods lasting from several days to several months, including many young adults after their compulsory military service.³³ While abroad some of them come in contact with various Hebrew-speaking organizations (notably Habad houses). With a relatively small investment it would be possible to establish programs and incentives for these tourists to visit Jewish communities in the countries they are visiting and spend various periods of time with them, including in the homes of host families and in community centers, and to create opportunities for direct encounters between Israelis and Jews from all over the world.



Israeli students abroad and in exchange programs

The picture is similar for Israelis who go abroad to study for longer periods (several months or more), in exchange programs or degree programs such as medical school. According to the Central Bureau of Statistics, around 15,000 Jewish Israelis are enrolled in foreign universities each year.³⁴ Like other Israeli communities around the world (expatriate Israelis), they do not usually mingle with the Jewish communities that live close by.³⁵



Israelis on academic or business trips

One could think about hosting programs and incentives for getting Israelis to pay visits to local Jewish communities during shorter stays abroad, too, such as for academic conferences and business trips. Here, as with the previous two categories, it is a question of exploiting the opportunity of travel that is taking place anyway, so no airfare is involved. Research remains to be done in profiling this group and estimating its size.



Encounters in Israel with visiting groups from abroad and with new immigrants

Logistically speaking, the simplest way for Israelis to get to know Diaspora Jews is to encounter them in Israel. Current programs are still very far from exhausting the potential for meetings between Israelis and Jews from abroad who are visiting the country. This refers not only to groups in the programs covered in the mapping (such as MASA and Onward), but also the possibility of

33. See, e.g., the website of an organization that targets recently discharged soldiers who are about to go abroad, so that they will improve Israel's image (<https://www.israel-is.org/about>).

34. Central Bureau of Statistics 5774: 5–6; idem 5775: 5–6. The overall figure is 18,000, of whom 3,000 are studying in Jordan. More than 3,000 are enrolled in institutions in North America, and a similar number in Europe (Germany, Italy, France).

35. See the discussion and research about Israelis in North America, and about communities of ex-Israelis in Europe: e.g., Cohen and Veinstein 2009; Reut Institute 2013; Dimenstein and Kaplan 2017.

getting to know new immigrants. On the one hand, it is clear that olim cannot be seen as Diaspora Jews; on the other hand, they certainly can tell the story of Diaspora Jewry firsthand. What is more, it is possible that, as compared to Diaspora Jews who are in Israel for a brief visit, olim have more of a common language with veteran Israelis. To estimate the size of the potential pool here, we note that there were around 26,000 olim each year between 2014 and 2017. The size of the potential target group among veteran Israelis, the primary audience for such programs, remains to be determined. It should also be considered that the age range of new immigrants is broader than that of participants in programs to visit Israel; this would make it possible for them to be in contact with wider circles of Israelis. Such meetings can take place in the format of “Diaspora in the living room,” as is the case in several partnerships (Rehovot-Minneapolis and others).

»» Programs that would Require Bringing the Participants to the Diaspora or to Israel



Reverse Taglit: Short missions of Israelis abroad

The term “reverse Taglit” has been around for a while in the discourse of Israel-Diaspora relations. It reflects the desire to acquaint Israelis with Diaspora Jewry, to give them a positive feeling for its communities, and even to draw inspiration from it, as happens today in the other direction. The target audience for such a program could be very large, because we are talking about a short trip that many would be happy to take. On the other hand, the costs would be very high. One possible way to increase the influence of a program of this type would be to develop a model that makes it possible to reach additional groups in the second circle via those who actually take part in the programs.³⁶



Reverse emissaries: Educators and cultural figures from abroad who come to work in Israel

Just as the idea of reverse Taglit takes an existing model and turns it around it to suit the Peoplehood paradigm, so does the concept of reverse emissaries, what Zohar Raviv terms “mutual emissaries.”³⁷ If, in adherence to the Peoplehood paradigm, Israelis believe they have something to learn from Diaspora Jewry, one way to facilitate this learning is to bring over Diaspora Jewish professionals with experience in organizing Jewish programs, Jewish education, Jewish

36. A model like this one, aimed at change agents and shapers of public opinion, is now under development by Belong.

37. Raviv 2016.

culture, and Jewish communities to work in Israel for a year or more. Such emissaries could contribute of their expertise to Israeli professionals as well as to the public at large.³⁸

The potential Israeli target audience is of course a function of the number of emissaries and their circles of influence; the multiplier factor can be estimated as between several dozen and several hundred. That is, a network of dozens of emissaries could reach thousands of Israelis, while a network of hundreds of emissaries could reach tens of thousands of Israelis.³⁹ The cost of such a program depends on the Diaspora emissary's activity vis-à-vis the Israeli target group, and is thus relatively lower than the cost of sending Israeli delegations abroad as the primary target group.

Harbingers of this model exist today in several forms: the Israel Teaching Fellows; the assignment of participants in Habonim Dror's Workshop, a gap-year program, to serve as coordinators for local groups of the HaNoar HaOved veHaLomed youth movement; in the volunteering periods included in gap-year programs such as Nativ-USY; and in programs for adults such as Skilled Volunteers for Israel.⁴⁰ This past year, as part of an Education Ministry campaign to encourage the study of English, about a thousand adjunct teachers were recruited, some of them from MASA programs (along with Israeli volunteers with a good command of English).⁴¹



Reverse MASA: Professional internships for Israelis abroad

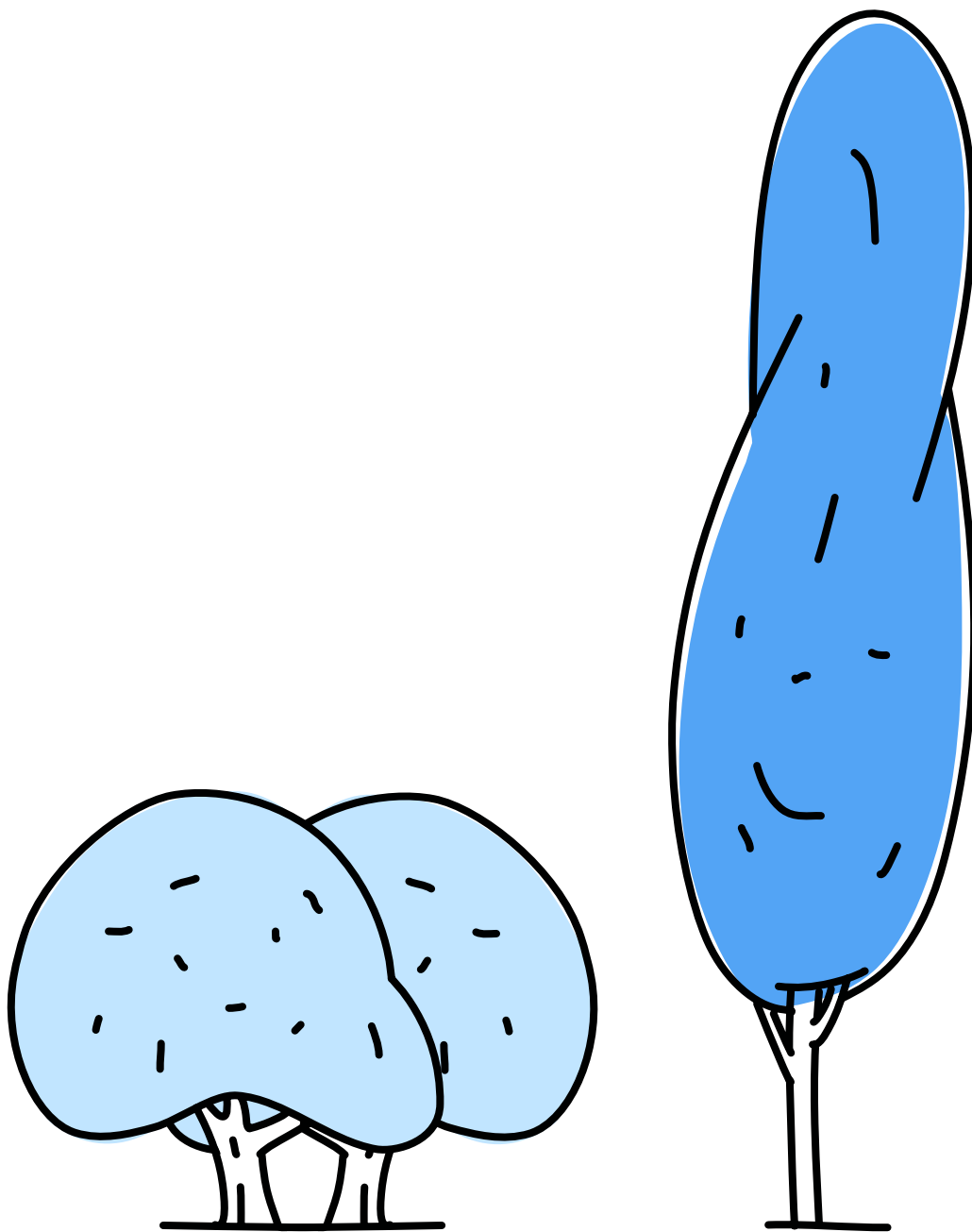
A third reverse program based on an existing model builds on MASA and Onward, that is, a period of academic studies or professional internship, and would send Israelis to live in Jewish communities abroad. In order to derive the most from such a program, the internships should be limited to those related to the world of Jewish content (rather than multiple programs in every branch of the economy, as is the case of existing programs in Israel). Here the potential target group is smaller than that for reverse Taglit, because fewer people can allow themselves to spend the longer period abroad that would be required. In addition, the operating costs of such a program would be high.

38. One of our interviewees noted that there used to be a "Serving the People B" program that sent staff from community centers in the United States to work in community centers in Israel.

39. The figure published by the Jewish Agency is between 100 and 300 "engaged participants" per emissary. See Jewish Agency 2016, 2017, 2018.

40. <http://www.hdnaisrael.org/workshop>; <https://www.nativ.org/>; <https://skillvolunteerisrael.org/>.

41. <http://edu.gov.il/owlHeb/Pages/english-speaking.aspx>.





Summary

This mapping has presented a quantitative analysis of the program offerings for planned encounters between Israeli and Diaspora Jews. Because of the difficulty of obtaining precise figures from the organizations, the findings are only an estimate. The classification and analysis of the programs revolve mainly around the conceptual frameworks or paradigms about Israel-Diaspora relations. The mapping ignored the quality of the encounters and any measurement of their impact on participants. The key findings are as follows:

- There are many more encounter programs for Diaspora Jews than there are for Israeli Jews; more than 80% of all participants in programs that include an encounter are from the Diaspora. In the programs informed by the Classic Zionist paradigm, Diaspora participants outnumber Israeli participants tenfold; in those based on the Jewish Peoplehood paradigm there is relative parity between the two groups. This finding is compatible with one of the main themes of the Peoplehood paradigm.
- In total, the majority of Israeli participants take part in Jewish Peoplehood paradigm programs. There is however, a significant difference in the nature of the programs: most of the intensive encounter programs (such as Taglit-Birthright) are rooted in the Classic Zionist paradigm, whereas the lion's share of those based on the Peoplehood paradigm take place mainly online (twinning schools).
- The number of programs based on the Peoplehood paradigm that take Israelis as their primary target group has increased in recent years.

In order to continue to promote the field of Israel-Diaspora relations, and especially the encounter programs, *there is a need for additional research on how they influence participants, with the emphasis on filling in the current lacuna in measuring their influence on Israelis.* To make it possible to compare effects and reach intelligent decisions, the research on the various programs has to employ *a common language of concepts and measurement.* Similar measurements must be performed on those programs that we designate the “second circle” and that are not covered by the present mapping—courses for Diaspora Jews about Israel and vice versa, with no encounter between the two groups. The present mapping did not deal with such programs.

In addition, as we performed the present mapping, we were confronted by the difficulty of obtaining precise figures from the organizations about the scale of their activity; especially conspicuous was the absence of common concepts and a shared database (at least for the largest ones, such as the Jewish Agency and Taglit-Birthright). From a research perspective, these gaps make it difficult to acquire an accurate picture of the number of participants, to identify overlap among them, and to analyze the data on the basis of uniform parameters. With regard to activity in the field, this may impede the effectiveness of working with the Israelis who have been through the various programs. Better links among the organizations, the pooling of resources, and coordination could significantly advance both research and educational activity in the field.



Appendices

Appendix A: Sources

Interviews

(arranged in alphabetical order)

Prof. Gur Alroey, dean of the faculty of the humanities, University of Haifa

Andrea Arbel, head of the Partnership Unit, the Jewish Agency for Israel

Sigal Arieli, executive director, Baltimore-Ashkelon Partnership

Gia Arnstein, education staff, Taglit-Birthright

Smadar Bar-Akiva, executive director, JCC Global Israel

Ayelet Barak-Medina, head of the Returning Emissaries program, the Jewish Agency for Israel

Michal Ben-Dov, founder, Camp USA

David Bernstein, vice-president for resource development, the Israel Movement for Progressive Judaism

Ofra Bino, head of the Encounters Department, Taglit-Birthright

Sara Bogen, former director of overseas relations for the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, member of the board of JCC Global Israel

Rabbi Dr. Eitan Chikli, executive director, Tali Education Fund

Rabbi Shoshana Cohen, Fuchsberg Center

Liat Cohen-Raviv, executive director, Diller Teen Program

Tamir Dotan, CEO, Big Idea

Udi Dvorkin, founding director, Mechadshey Kedem

Avital Elfant-Filler, director of educational projects, MASA Israel

Hagay Elitzur, deputy director general, Ministry of Diaspora Affairs

Dr. Elan Ezrachi, researcher and consultant on Israel-Diaspora relations

Alon Friedman, executive director, Hillel Israel

Ilan Geal-Dor, executive director, Gesher

Ofer Glanz, former director of operations in the former Soviet Union, JDC

Deborah Goldman-Golan, president, Atid Bamidbar

Devorah Greenberg, head of the Rav Siach program, the Masorti Movement

Michal Gutman, Belong

Dan Herman, head of the International Department, BINA

Shaun Hoffman, director of global operations, JDC Entwine

Assaf Horn, project manager, Pnima

Vered Israely, executive director, Haifa-Boston Connection

Shelley Kedar, director, School for Overseas Emissaries, the Jewish Agency for Israel

David Keren, director of Israel youth programs, USY

Naama Klar, executive director, Reut Institute

Meir Kraus, executive director, Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies

Nir Lahav, executive director, Project TEN

Mimi Lax, director, Kol Ami Jewish Peoplehood Leadership Academy

Jacqui Levi-Attias, coordinator of the education and Jewish identity committee, Haifa-Boston Connection

Rabbi Na'ama Levitz-Appelbaum, executive director, Ramah Seminar

Avishai Nachon, CEO, Camp Kimama

Mor Nadler, director of education, World Tzabar

Momik Nevo, director, Garin Tzabar North America

Rabbi Avi Novis-Deutsch, dean, Schechter Rabbinical Seminary

Reut Noyman, head of Yachdav, the Jewish Peoplehood Education Center, Israel Movement for Progressive Judaism

Ravit Ohayon, Partnerships Unit, the Jewish Agency for Israel

Na'ama Ore, Belong

Dr. Alex Pomson, researcher

Dr. Zohar Raviv, vice-president for education, Taglit-Birthright Israel

Orit Rome, co-principal, Alexander Muss High School in Israel

Yael Rosen, director of international programs, Beit Hatfutsot–The Museum of the Jewish People

Danny Rosner, former head of the Society and Youth Administration, Ministry of Education

Hagit Schwarzman, Dror Israel

Dana Sender-Mulla, director of Israel office, JWRP

Merav Shani, head of the Twinned Schools Network, the Jewish Agency for Israel

Shira Sherez-Zik, executive director, Gesher Leadership Institute

Nati Sperber, vice-president for content development, Hillel Israel

Yehuda Setton, head of the Emissaries Unit, the Jewish Agency for Israel

Freda Surki-Baram, head of Educational Experiences in Israel Unit, the Jewish Agency for Israel

Meir Vanhotzker, the Jewish Agency for Israel

Leebat Weiss, director of DOMIM – aLike, Israel Movement for Progressive Judaism

Daphna Yizrael, Israel director, Bronfman Youth Fellowship

Emil Zeidman, Atid Cadre advisor, Israel Scouts

Yael Zigelstein, director of educational projects, Onward Israel

Rabbi Mishaël Zion, former director of the Bronfman Youth Fellowship

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Appendix B: The Programs, a List



In the main text, the findings of the mapping were presented in concise form in order to facilitate an impression of the overall picture. In this appendix we offer more detailed information: first the main methods employed (which were mentioned, without details, in the “Findings” chapter), followed by the programs that employ that format, but this time with closer attention to specific programs. There is a wealth of programs in the field surveyed by this mapping, and it makes no pretense to note every existing program. Rather, it seeks to provide an overall picture (as displayed in the chapters of the findings and discussion). The details in this appendix are the basis for the conclusions in the body of the report, as well as more detailed information about the various types of programs. Note, too, that the estimates are based on conversations with professionals, official documents, and organization websites, as well as previous research studies. In light of the difficulty of obtaining participant data for some programs (as noted in the introduction), these figures must not be treated as precise numbers but only as general estimates.

Subcategories

In the first chapter, we described the four main categories; now we turn to the subcategories. The Close Contact programs were classified by duration into three groups: short (up to two weeks), intermediate (two to six weeks), and long (six weeks and longer).

Main category [+ paradigm and intensity]	Subcategory	Explanation
 Work relations [Peoplehood, A]	Civil society and executives (excluding official representatives)	Steering committees and management echelons in community partnerships; congregational rabbis in community partnership projects such as Domim and Rav-Siach; teachers and department chairs in twinned schools. In general they work together online, with one or more reciprocal visits each year.
 Close contact [duration, paradigm, and intensity in next column]	Summer camp in Israel [short; Peoplehood, A]	Generally 1 to 2 weeks. Usually private organizers. In a few cases teens come to Israel from the Diaspora as part of ties between youth movement (e.g., the Scouts, the religious youth movements)

Main category [+ paradigm and intensity]	Subcategory	Explanation
	Summer camp in Diaspora [short–intermediate; Peoplehood, A]	Summer camps are a widespread phenomenon in the Diaspora, and some of them include Israeli participants. These generally last for two weeks to a month.
	Mixed gap year programs at premilitary academies or in service-year groups [long; Peoplehood, A]	A few of the gap-year programs are strongly integrated with Israeli programs—post-high school service-year groups or premilitary academies. In some of the models the encounter is a main agenda, and both the content and ratio of Diaspora and Israeli Jews is set accordingly. In other models there is only partial integration, with some mixed activities alongside separate ones, or full integration starting only in the middle of the year.
	Volunteering [long; Peoplehood, A]	Various sorts of Tikkun Olam or volunteering programs. These programs tend to last for several months, with both Diaspora and Israeli participants. They may take place in Israel or somewhere in the Third World. In addition, some of the gap-year programs include a period of extended volunteering in Israeli communities.
	Experiential [short–intermediate; different paradigms, A–C]	Many programs offer an “experiential” visit to Israel, lasting between week and two months. The shorter ones travel around the country by bus; the longer ones include a period of living in a particular place (to attend an ulpan, engage in volunteer work, Gadna, etc.). In addition, many Israeli tours abroad fall into this category.
	Educational [intermediate–long; Classic Zionist, B–C]	This category includes programs that offer a semester in Israel for high-school students (organized by schools, organizations, and youth movements); gap-year programs with an educational character, mainly in yeshivot and midrashot; and college programs such as one or two semesters at an Israeli university
	Internships [long; Classic Zionist, A–C]	This category includes all of the programs falling under Onward Israel and some of those of MASA in the internship track. Generally the participants are college students or recent graduates seeking to acquire professional experience. These programs necessarily involve daily contact with Israelis on the job, in addition to the directed encounter.
	Reciprocal delegations [short–intermediate; Peoplehood, A]	This category includes reciprocal trips to Israel and the Diaspora, generally as the culmination of a long-term online interaction. Sometimes each group (in Israel and the Diaspora) meets separately several times during the year. These generally take place in the framework of partnerships.
	Rabbinical studies [long; Peoplehood, A]	In many cases, rabbinical students from the Progressive streams in the United States and elsewhere come for a year in Israel as part of their studies. Part of the time they are in classes with their Israeli counterparts and have internships and mentoring. In Israeli congregations affiliated with their movement. Among the Orthodox it is very common to attend a yeshiva in Israel, but this is not necessarily as part of preparation for the rabbinical ordination.



Main category [+ paradigm and intensity]	Subcategory	Explanation
	Professional [short–intermediate; Peoplehood, A]	Conferences to facilitate professional networking and/or create working groups that include Jews from Israel and the Diaspora (who do not work together on a regular basis)
 Online connection [Peoplehood, A–C]	Twinned schools	Most of the online interactions among schools take place exclusively online, with no mutual visits. The online interaction includes the exchange of written and/or pictorial materials.
	Batei midrash and groups for adults	This category includes online pair studies and programs for parallel learning by a group in Israel and a group in the Diaspora, with joint online study.
	Community connections	The twin community projects include community conference calls several times a year.
 Emissaries / encounter with an emissary [Classic Zionist]	Short-term emissary assignments (up to 3 months)	The most central program in this category involves the emissaries sent to summer camps—around 1,500 each year, mainly to North America but also to Eastern Europe. The Israeli emissaries introduce the campers to Israeli life and culture and interact with tens of thousands of children and teenagers.
	Long-term emissary assignments (1 to 3 years)	The emissaries' spectrum of activities is diverse, as a function of the capacity in which they serve. The overall goal is to represent Israel and reinforce the bond to the country. These emissaries come into contact with tens of thousands of Jews or many more.

Detailed List

Classic Zionist Paradigm



»»» Diaspora Jews as the Primary Target Group

Main Category	Subcategory	Examples (and in some cases numbers) ⁴²	Estimated participants each year ⁴³
 Close contact [A]	Experiential	Taglit-Birthright (50,000); NFTY in Israel; USY-pilgrimage; Chetz v'Keshet (Scouts); Bnei Akiva European Summer Camp; MBI ⁴⁴	50,000–55,000
	Educational	World Tanakh Camp ⁴⁵	80
	Internships	Taglit-Birthright Excel internships ⁴⁶	40
 Close contact [B]	Educational	TRY; NFTY-EIE; Gann Academy, Golda Och Academy and other high schools, Alexander Muss High School in Israel ⁴⁷	800–1,500
	Experiential	Ramah Seminar ⁴⁸	250
	internships	Onward Israel (2,000); some MASA programs ⁴⁹	5,000–10,000

42. In specific cases—those that account for a large proportion of the category in question—we note the size of specific programs.

43. As noted, the estimates in the tables are based on conversations with professionals, official organization documents and websites, and previous research. In light of the difficulty in obtaining figures on the number of participants in some cases (as noted in the Introduction), these should not be treated as precise figures but as general estimates. In some cases our estimate employed a 1:4–5 ratio between Israeli and Diaspora participants (or vice-versa, depending on the program), with a weighting of the program's specific features. This is the ratio generally employed for Taglit-Birthright and in previous research (see Ezrachi 2018: 61–62).

44. <https://www.birtherightisrael.com/> (for more on Taglit-Birthright, see Appendix C); <https://nftyisrael.org/>; <https://usy.org/escape/israel-europe/>; <http://www.hdnaisrael.org/mbi-program>; <http://www.israelscouts.org/chez-vkeshet>; https://www.zofim.org.il/troop_info.asp?item_id=703778377225&troop_id=434388964; <https://www.worldbneiakiva.org/sayarim>. In the case of the Bnei Akiva European summer camp, the assignment to the Classic Zionist paradigm relates chiefly to the participation of Israelis, who are viewed as “emissaries.” Leaving that group aside, the program could have been assigned to the Jewish Peoplehood category, because it produces an encounter in the Diaspora of teens from many Diaspora Jewish communities.

45. <http://www.jewishagency.org/he/bible-quiz/program/28611>

46. <http://www.birtherightisraelexcel.com/#/positions>

47. <https://try.ramah.org.il/>; <https://hellerhigh.org/>; <https://www.gannacademy.org/page/academics/curriculum/myisrael>; <https://www.goldaochacademy.org/page/goa-experience/israel-education>; <https://www.amhsi.org/>



48. <https://seminar.ramah.org.il/seminar/>

49. <http://masaisrael.org>. Some of the 200 programs that fall under the MASA umbrella (see Appendix C) include a stay in an Israeli community, host families, and other elements that fall into Category A of this mapping (such as Bnei Akiva's Hachshara year, Nativ-USY, and others). Other programs include only short one-time encounters, and these fall into Category B: <https://onwardisrael.org>.

Jewish Peoplehood Paradigm



>>> Diaspora Jews as the Primary Target Group

Main Category	Subcategory	Examples	Estimated participants each year
 Work relations [A]	Civil society and executives (who are not official representatives)	Twinned schools; ⁵⁵ Partnerships; ⁵⁶ Community connections ⁵⁷	800–1,200
	Mixed premilitary academies	Kol Ami; Havruta; BINA; Artzi ⁵⁸	100–150
 Close contact [A]	Mixed service-year programs	Habonim Dror Workshop; Garin Atid, Year course; Tzabar ⁵⁹	200
	Volunteering programs	Project TEN; Global Jewish Service Corps; Tevel be-Tzedek; BINA Tikun Olam ⁶⁰	20–40
	Mixed summer camps in Israel	Kimama; Big Idea; Tzababa ⁶¹	1,000–1,500
	Mixed camps abroad	JCC camps such as NJY and others; religious streams and youth-movement related camps such as Ramah, Moshava ⁶²	3,000–4,000
	Professional	Taglit-Birthright Excel Ventures; ROI ⁶³	100–150

55. <http://www.jewishagency.org/he/school-twinning/program/17126>; <http://www.reform.org.il/Heb/Education/education-center.asp>; <https://tali.org.il/projects/friends-overseas/>

56. <http://www.jewishagency.org/he/partnership2gether/content/48836>; <http://jccglobal.org/what-do-we-do/develop-global-jewish-leadership/amitim-2-0-fellows/program-goals/>

57. <http://www.domim-reform.org.il/>; <https://www.masorti.org.il/ravsiach>

58. <http://www.jewishagency.org/he/mechinot/program/5498> (Kol Ami); <http://hevrutagapyear.org/>; <https://www.binainternational.org/bina-gap-year-program>; <https://artzigap.org>



59. <http://www.hdnaisrael.org/workshop>

60. <http://tevelbtzedek.org/he/>; <http://www.tenprogram.org/>; <http://www.jdcentwine.org/volunteer/jsc/>

61. <https://www.campkimama.org/he/>; <https://bigidea.co.il/en/homepage-2/>; <http://www.israelscouts.org/tzababa>

62. When it comes to “regular” summer camps in the Diaspora, we refer here only to the Diaspora campers who have an encounter with Israelis. See the references in the parallel section on Israelis as the target group.

63. <http://www.birtherightisraelexcel.com/#/ventures>; <https://www.schusterman.org/jewish-community-and-israel/signature-initiatives/roi-community>. Participants in the ROI conference are considered as having joined the “ROI community” and are offered diverse follow-up activities.

Main Category	Subcategory	Examples	Estimated participants each year
	Reciprocal delegations	Diller Teen Program; Bronfman Youth Fellowship; twinned school delegations (600–1,000); college student delegations; other youth programs run by partnerships; adult programs run by partnerships ⁶⁴	1,000–2,000
	Educational	JWRP (2,500); Nesiya; Joint Scouts mission to Poland ⁶⁵	2,500–3,000
	Rabbinical studies	Diaspora institutions: Reform, Conservative, and Reconstructionist seminaries; host institutions in Israel: Israel Movement for Progressive Judaism, Masorti Movement, Hartman Institute, Mechadshey Kedem ⁶⁶	80–100
 Online [A]	Batei midrash and adult groups	Project ZUG (800); adult /youth programs run by partnerships ⁶⁷	800–1,000
 Online [B]	Twinned schools	Twinned classes	3,000–6,000
	Batei midrash and adult groups	Adult/youth programs run by partnerships ⁶⁸	0–100



64. Examples of twinned-school delegations: <http://www.jewishagency.org/he/school-twinning/program/34786>; <http://www.jewishagency.org/he/ofakim>; <http://www.haifa-boston.com/>; an example of Hillel Israel's programs: <http://hillelisrael.org/technion/קונקט/בטכניון-ההלל-בטכניון>; an example of adult programs run by partnerships: <http://www.jewishagency.org/he/israel-your-community/partnership2gether/ofakim-merchavim-and-metrowest/של-נגבה-של>; examples of programs for teen leadership: <http://dillerteenfellows.org/en/>; <http://bronfman.org.il/>; <https://www.jfedgmw.org/camp2gether-program-details>; other programs for young people: Mekorock, <https://www.mekorock.co.il/-global-mekorock>; Zamir, <http://www.jewishagency.org/he/karmiel-misgav-and-pittsburgh/program/21856>; basketball: <http://www.jewishagency.org/he/israel-your-community/partnership2gether/ofakim-merchavim-and-metrowest/קשרי-כדורסל-של-שותפות-אופקים>.

65. <https://jwrp.org>. The assignment of this program to the Peoplehood paradigm stems in part from the one-year follow-up programs for participants from the Diaspora, where each group is based on geographic regions in order to facilitate the creation of enduring community ties among the participants. For more on the Israeli side of the program, see below, note 73; <http://nesiya.org/he/>.

66. https://hartman.org.il/Programs_View.asp?Program_Id=13&Cat_Id=289&Cat_Type=Programs (Hartman Institute, Rabbinical Leadership Initiative); <http://www.mkedem.org>.


67. <https://www.projectzug.org/>. Here partnership programs means those that include a series of online encounters. They exist, for example, in the Philadelphia-Netivot partnership and as part of Hillel.

68. This refers to programs with one-off online encounters, sometimes as part of a series of separate meetings of the parallel groups in Israel and the Diaspora, such as the program established in 2018/19 as part of the Haifa-Boston Connection.

Main Category	Subcategory	Examples	Estimated participants each year
 Online [C]	Community connections	Community conference calls	50–500
 Close contact [C]		Family trips and other visits organized by partnerships ⁶⁹	2,000–4,000





»»» Diaspora Jews as the Secondary Target Group

Main Category	Subcategory	Examples	Estimated participants each year
 Close contact [A]	Premilitary academies	Premilitary academies that are not officially mixed ⁷⁰	50–100




»»» Israeli Jews as the Primary Target Group

Main Category	Subcategory	Examples	Estimated participants each year
 Work relations [A]	Civil society and executives (excluding official representatives)	Twinned schools; partnerships; community connections	800–1,200
 Close contact [A]	Mixed premilitary academies	Kol Ami; Havruta; BINA; Ruah Nachon; premilitary academies that are not officially mixed	400–800
	Mixed service-year programs	HaNoar HaOved veHaLomed (Israeli local group coordinators along with Habonim Dror Workshop); Garin Atid; Scouts (Israelis along with Tzabar service year)	50–100

69. This line refers to Israel visits by Diaspora families, including an encounter ranging from several hours to two days in the twin community (100 or more from a community each year), as well as other visits as part of various programs. The JAFI Partnerships Unit reports that there were some 6,600 visitors from the Diaspora as part of partnerships, of whom 2,000 came through Taglit-Birthright (Jewish Agency 2017). According to a sample we ran, about half of the visitors arrive through the main programs noted separately in the mapping (such as Taglit-Birthright, JWRP, the Diller Teens Programs, twinned schools, MASA, Onward, and steering committees), and the other half on family visits and other programs. For the Israeli side, see note 80 below.

70. <https://mechinot.org.il/en-us/yachad>. In 2018/19, there are 70 Diaspora participants attending 11 different premilitary academies. The classification of Diaspora Jews here as the secondary target group is because these programs were established and designed for Israelis, and the Diaspora students must fit into the regular program; this is to be distinguished from the institutions that were planned from the ground up as mixed or that made significant structural and programmatic adjustments to accommodate the overseas students.

Main Category	Subcategory	Examples	Estimated participants each year
	Volunteering programs	Tevel be-Tzedek; Project TEN; BINA Tikun Olam ⁷¹	15–50
	Mixed summer camps in Israel	Kimama; Big Idea; Scouts	2,000–2,500
	Professional	Taglit-Birthright Excel Ventures; ROI; Hillel Israel–Israel Teaching Fellows ⁷²	80–150
	Reciprocal delegations	Diller Teen Program; Bronfman Youth Fellowship; Twinned schools (600–1,000); college student delegations; other youth programs run by partnerships; adult programs run by partnerships	1,000–2,000
	Experiential	JWRP (200) ⁷³ ; Nesiya ⁷⁴ ; Joint Scouts mission to Poland (200–300)	400–500
	Rabbinical studies	Institutions: the Israel Movement for Progressive Judaism, Masorti Movement, Hartman Institute, Mechadshey Kedem	100
 Close contact [C]	Experiential	Educational trips to the Diaspora (Gvanim, Maoz, Ruderman, Kollot, Wexner, Gesher, Hillel, Shaharit, Tali, Ami-Unity etc.) ⁷⁵	200–500





71. <https://www.bina.org.il/tlv/israeli-tikkun/>

72. <http://www.birthrightisraelexcel.com/#/israelisExcel>

73. The assignment of this program to the Peoplehood paradigm and definition of Israelis, too, as the primary target group stems in part from the existence of preparatory courses for the Israelis (three sessions, of which the first includes a lecturer from the Reut Institute about the changing patterns of Israel-Diaspora relations, which nudges the participants away from their preconceived ideas and encourages them to discard the Classic Zionist paradigm); as well as the follow-up activities conducted throughout the year. See also the reference to the Diaspora segment of the program, note 65 above.



74. The assignment of this program to the Peoplehood paradigm and definition of Israelis as the primary target group derives in part from the central status it gives Israelis, as reflected in their full participation throughout the five-week visit, the percentage of Israelis (a third, at least some years), and their follow-up program (volunteering for a year, shabbatonim, study encounters).

75. <http://gvanimsf.org/>; <http://ajs.haifa.ac.il/index.php/he/>; <https://www.kolot.info/>; <http://gesherleaders.org/>; <https://www.tali.org.il/development/haleli-program/>; <http://www.shaharit.org.il/>; <https://www.wexnerfoundation.org/programs/wexner-israel-fellowship/>; <https://www.maoz-il.org/>

Main Category	Subcategory	Examples	Estimated participants each year
 Online [A]	Batei midrash and adult groups	Project ZUG (200); adult/youth programs run by partnerships ⁷⁶	200–250
 Online [B]	Twinned schools	Twinned classes	10,000–15,000
	Batei midrash and adult groups	Adult/youth programs run by partnerships ⁷⁷	0–100
 Online [C]	Community connections	Community conference calls	50–500
 Emissaries		Programs for former emissaries ⁷⁸	800–1,200



»» Israeli Jews as the Secondary Target Group

Main Category	Subcategory	Examples	Estimated participants each year
 Close contact [A]	Mixed camps abroad	JCC camps such as NJY and others (run by organizations such as such as Camp USA and the Summer of Your Life, as well as through partnerships); religious stream and youth-movement related camps such as Ramah, Moshava, URJ, Bnei Akiva; Szarvas ⁷⁹	500–1,000
 Close contact [C]		Family trips and other visits through partnerships ⁸⁰	200–1,000

76. Here partnership programs refers to those that include one-time online encounters.

77. This refers to programs se that include one-time online encounters.

78. <http://shlichut.org.il/רשת-בוגרי-השליחות>. Note that generally there is no encounter as part of the programs themselves. However, the programs are based on the significant encounters that the participants had when they served as emissaries abroad.

79. <https://www.camp-usa.co.il/>; <https://www.camp.co.il/>. The difficult of estimating the number of participants in such camps stems in part from the fact that the data are not collected by a single actor, but must be obtained from each organization separately. In general, the decision that this method takes Israelis as the secondary target group derives in part from the fact that the camps were established and designed in order to satisfy the needs of Diaspora Jews and continue to be run this way today. The Israeli campers are in the minority. To the best of our knowledge, there are no formal follow-up programs for them in Israel.

80. This line refers to Israelis who play host to various groups (families, professional delegations, and other programs) for a brief encounter (several hours up to two days) as part of community ties run by partnerships and not as part of other programs listed separately in the mapping. See at length in note 69.

Appendix C:

Central Frameworks

This appendix provides some additional background for readers who are not familiar with the field covered by the mapping. It offers brief descriptions of several of the most central programs mentioned in this document.

Partnerships and Twinning

»» Community partnerships and connections

A number of projects link communities and/or organizations in Israel and the world. The oldest and most central is the Jewish Agency's Partnership Project, which has 46 partnerships involving hundreds of communities.⁸¹ There are also a number of active partnerships not affiliated with this project, such as Haifa-Boston, Ashkelon-Baltimore, and those of the United Israel Appeal of Canada. In recent years, the progressive wings of Judaism have launched their own twin community projects, such as Domim by the Reform/Progressive Movement (120 member communities in the world and 40 in Israel) and Rav Siach by the Conservative/Masorti Movement (70 communities throughout the world and 25 in Israel); and there are others.⁸² Additional programs that link community centers in Israel and the world are JCC Global's Triangle Project and the same organization's Amitim-Fellows Project.

These partnerships support a great variety of programs and activities for different age groups and various types of encounters:

- In many cases, a group from a specific geographical region abroad that participates in programs such as Taglit-Birthright, Onward, and JWRP visits the twin community in Israel as part of its tour. Its members meet local representatives, may be hosted by families, volunteer in the community, and so on.
- Some youth leadership programs (such as Diller) and adult leadership programs (such as Negba) operate within partnerships.

81. <http://www.jewishagency.org/he/partnership2gether/content/48836>

82. <http://www.domim-reform.org.il>; <https://www.masorti.org.il/ravsiach>

- There are local initiatives, such as joint online encounters or batei midrash for adults, which involve both face-to-face meetings by the corresponding groups as well as joint online study. (For example, as part of the Netivot-Philadelphia and Haifa-Boston partnerships).
- Some fellowship projects send Israeli teenagers to visit the twin community abroad, sometimes to attend a summer camp.
- In the new *Shinshinim* service-year program, some Israelis from a region that is partnered are positioned in the twin community in the first place.
- Some programs focus on specific interests, such as the Zamir Choir project and the Mekorock music project.
- Community leadership delegations pay reciprocal visits each year.
- Many of the links between twinned classes (see below) are in the framework of partnerships.

»» Twinned schools / twinned classes

The idea behind twinned classes or twinned schools is to create an ongoing connection between Jewish pupils in Israel and abroad. The most central such program is the Twinned Schools network that emerged from the Jewish Agency's Partnership Project.⁸³ Today it includes some 300 sets of twins, and attempts are being made to enlarge the project significantly. Other organizations, too, offer twinning projects, such as that run by the Yachdav Center of the Movement for Progressive Judaism, which has 50 classes in Israel and 45 classes in the Diaspora, and the Tali school network.⁸⁴

For most of the schools involved in this project, the connection involves technological platforms, part offline (an exchange of written or visual materials) and part online, through streamed video (several conference calls between the two classes during the year). Very few schools also hold face-to-face meetings, whether through visits by one side to the other or even mutual visits (as in the Tel Aviv–Los Angeles, Boston–Haifa, and Ofakim–Merhavim–MetroWest partnerships). The frequency of activity varies from once a week to once a month or less often.

83. <http://www.jewishagency.org/he/school-twinning/program/17126>

84. The Yachdav programs work mainly with pupils in supplementary schools who do not attend a Jewish school but attend a Sunday school several hours a week. Their profile is very different from children who attend a Jewish school full-time. See the program's website: <http://www.reform.org.il/Heb/Education/education-center.asp> The Tali network uses the book *Friends Across the Sea*. The Tali program did not operate in 2017/18.

Taglit-Birthright

Taglit-Birthright is the largest program of short visits to Israel, for young adults aged 18 to 26. The program's classic model includes a 10-day stay in Israel, with Israelis joining the group for much of it (5 to 10 days). Taglit-Birthright currently brings some 50,000 persons to Israel each year, about two-thirds of them college-age (18–22). A pilot for those aged 27–32 or even older was launched recently; it has involved only a few hundred persons to date but may be expanded in the future. Taglit-Birthright may arrange additional activities in Israel for its participants, through Taglit-Birthright Extension. There is also a shorter one-week model and an Academic Taglit-Birthright that lasts for two weeks and provides college credit (dozens of participants each year). Taglit-Birthright Excel offers college students and young adults a ten-week entrepreneurial or internship program in Israel. Dozens of Americans and a similar number of Israelis take part in these tracks each year.

Some 8,000 to 10,000 Israelis participate in Taglit-Birthright each year, of whom 80% are serving in the IDF. In the usual pattern, a few Israelis join the bus of an overseas group for several days, take part in all of its activities, and are encouraged to talk about their lives as Israelis. From a numerical standpoint, this is the most central program that exposes Israelis to Diaspora Jews. Some of the internal processes in Taglit-Birthright are intended to give greater weight to the Israelis' experience, and especially what they learn from Diaspora Jews from their encounter (Raviv 2018).

MASA

MASA is the umbrella organization for hundreds of programs that last from several months to a year in Israel. Today its various programs enroll between 10,000 and 12,000 participants each year, most of them aged 18 to 26 (officially the program is for ages 18 to 30). About half of them take part in the various gap-year programs, lasting for several months to a year, after they complete high school. There is diversity among the programs with regard to the nature of the encounter they provide with Israelis: some of the groups are largely closed and homogeneous; some involve a period of living and volunteering in Israeli communities. There are also fully mixed programs, such as the mixed premilitary academies (Kol Ami, Havruta, BINA), or inclusion in Israeli service-year programs (such as the Habonim Dror Workshop and Garin Atid as part of

the yearlong course of Young Judea and FZY). The members of the Tzabar cadre, who make aliya in advance of enlistment in the IDF, also come under the aegis of MASA; other programs, too, find it to be a convenient home. Some MASA programs are for college students: exchange programs (a semester or year at an Israeli university), summer programs such as TEN in Israel, and others.

The organization reclassifies the vast diversity of the programs under the MASA umbrella from time to time. Today it divides them into career development programs and leadership programs. In recent years, more detailed breakdowns included a division into segments: academic, internships and career development, yeshivot and Jewish studies, gap year, the former Soviet Union. Another classification distinguished Category A, for those with a background of strong Jewish involvement, including yeshivot, religious seminaries, and youth movements; Category B, for those with a less intensive Jewish background and with an emphasis on professional development (universities, internships, etc.); and Category C, or preparation for aliya (chiefly for those from France and the former Soviet Union).

Onward Israel

Onward Israel was established on a model similar to that of MASA and encompasses diverse professional internships that last for six to eight weeks. Today it brings around 2,000 people a year to Israel, most of them college students who use their summer vacation to acquire professional experience. During their time in Israel they come into close contact with Israeli society at their workplace where they have their internship and in their independent lives, as well as through the program's educational axis. Onward currently runs the latter on a centralized basis, unlike MASA, where each organization run a wholly autonomous program (although an encounter with Israelis is defined as mandatory). Onward's educational axis includes one-off seminars with service-year volunteers, students at premilitary academies, and National Service volunteers. In some cases Israelis run the activities, while in others those from abroad are also involved.⁸⁵

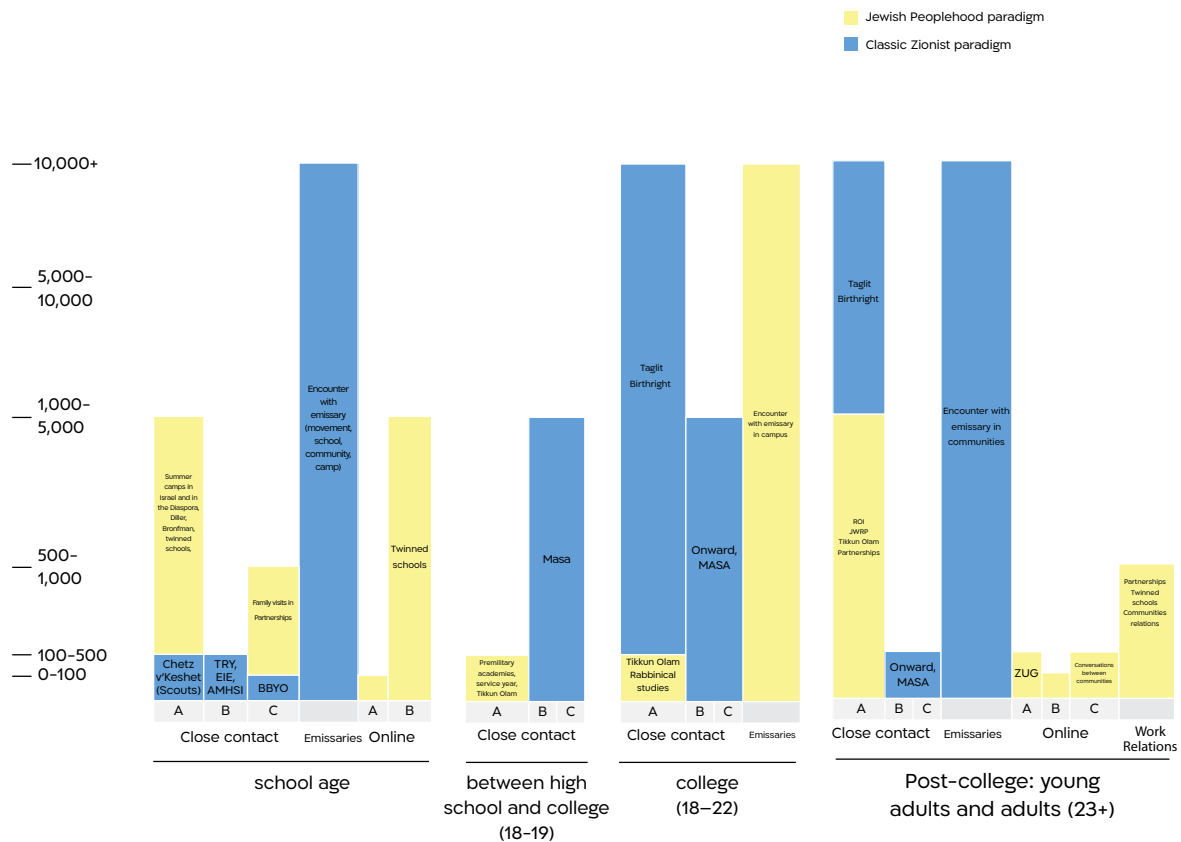
85. In 2017/18 there were collaborations with several Israeli programs: in Nitzana and in Hava&Adam the Israelis ran activities for Americans; in Aharai! and Hashomer Hehadash they all participated together. There were dozens of Israelis and hundreds of Americans in the activities.

Appendix D: The Programs broken down by Target Group and Age

This appendix displays separately the programs for Diaspora Jews (broken down by age groups) and those for Israelis (broken down by age groups). It does not add any information to what was presented in the previous chapters and appendices. As noted above, there is a wealth of programs in the field covered by this mapping, and it makes no pretense to note every existing program. Rather, it seeks to provide an overall picture (as displayed in the chapters of the findings and discussion). The details in this appendix are intended to provide a taste of the variety and to help identify which target groups enjoy many offerings and which have fewer choices; but it does not pretend to cover all existing programs.



Programs for Diaspora Jews



Programs for Diaspora Jews

»» School Age

Paradigm + primary/ secondary target group	Main Category	Subcategory	Examples (and in some cases numbers) ⁸⁶	Estimated participants each year
Classic Zionist [primary]	Close contact [A]	Experiential	NFTY in Israel; USY-pilgrimage; Chetz v'Keshet (Scouts); Bnei Akiva European Summer Camp; MBI	1,000
		Educational	World Tanakh Camp	80
	Close contact [B]	Educational	TRY; NFTY- EIE; Gann Academy, Golda Och Academy and other high schools, Alexander Muss High School in Israel	800–1,500
		Experiential	Ramah Seminar	250
	Close contact [C]	Experiential	BBYO-ILSI	40
	Encounter with an emissary		Summer camps, communities, youth movements, schools	30,000–60,000
Jewish Peoplehood [primary]	Close contact [A]	Mixed summer camps in Israel	Kimama; Big Idea; Tzababa	1,000–1,500
		Mixed camps abroad	JCC camps such as NJY and others; religious streams and youth-movement related camps such as Ramah and Moshava	3,000–4,000

86. In specific cases—those that account for a large proportion of the category in question—we note the size of specific programs.

Paradigm + primary/ secondary target group	Main Category	Subcategory	Examples	Estimated participants each year
		Reciprocal delegations	Diller Teen Program; Bronfman Youth Fellowship; twinned school delegations (600–1,000); other youth programs run by partnerships	1,000–1,700
		Experiential	Nesiya; joint Scouts mission to Poland	150
	Online [A]	Batei midrash and adult groups	Adult/youth programs run by partnerships	0–100
	Online [B]	Twinned schools	Twinned classes	3,000–6,000
		Batei midrash and adult groups	Adult/youth programs run by partnerships	0–100
		Close contact [C]	Family trips and other visits through partnerships	~1,000–2,000

»»» Between high school and college (18–19)

Paradigm + primary/ secondary target group	Main Category	Subcategory	Examples	Estimated participants each year
Classic Zionist [primary]	Close contact [B–C]	Internships / educational	Some MASA programs	~4,000–6,000
Jewish Peoplehood [primary]	Close contact [A]	Mixed premilitary academies	Kol Ami; Havruta; BINA; Artzi	100–150
		Mixed service- year programs	Habonim Dror Workshop; Garin Atid, Year course; Tzabar	200

Paradigm + primary/ secondary target group	Main Category	Subcategory	Examples	Estimated participants each year
		Volunteering programs	Project TEN; Global Jewish Service Corps; Tevel be- Tzedek; BINA Tikun Olam	20–40
Jewish Peoplehood [secondary]	Close contact [A]	Premilitary academies	Premilitary academies that are not officially mixed	50–100

»» College age (18–22)

Paradigm + primary/ secondary target group	Main Category	Subcategory	Examples	Estimated participants each year
Classic Zionist [primary]	Close contact [A]	Experiential	Taglit-Birthright	~35,000
		Internships	Taglit-Birthright Excel internships	40
	Close contact [B–C]	Internships	Onward Israel (2,000); a few MASA programs	~3,000–4,000
	Encounter with an emissary		Campuses	10,000–20,000
Jewish Peoplehood [primary]	Close contact [A]	Volunteering programs	Project TEN; Global Jewish Service Corps; Tevel be-Tzedek; BINA Tikun Olam	20–40
		Reciprocal delegations	College student delegations	30–100
		Rabbinical studies	Diaspora institutions: Reform, Conservative, and Reconstructionist seminaries; host institutions in Israel: Israel Movement for Progressive Judaism, Masorti Movement, Hartman Institute, Mechadshey Kedem	80–100

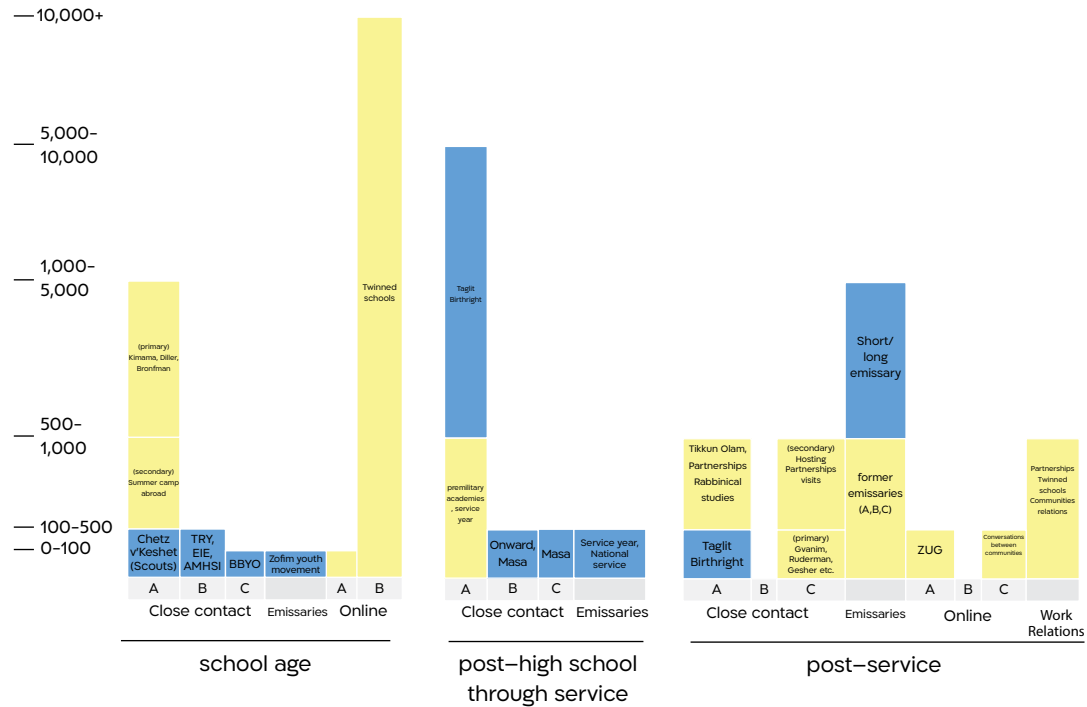
»» Post-college: young adults and adults (23 and over)

Paradigm + primary/ secondary target group	Main Category	Subcategory	Examples	Estimated participants each year
Classic Zionist [primary]	Close contact [A]	Experiential	Taglit-Birthright	~15,000
	Close contact [B–C]	Internships / educational	Some MASA programs	~3,000–4,000
	Encounter with an emissary		Communities	10,000–20,000
Jewish Peoplehood [primary]	Work relations [A]	Civil society and executives (excluding official representatives)	Twinned schools; partnerships; Community connections	800–1,200
	Close contact [A]	Volunteering programs	Project TEN; Global Jewish Service Corps; Tevel be-Tzedek; BINA Tikun Olam	20–40
		Professional	Taglit-Birthright Excel Ventures; ROI	100–150
		Reciprocal delegations	Adult programs run by partnerships	100–200
		Experiential	JWRP	2,500
		Rabbinical studies	Diaspora institutions: Reform, Conservative, and Reconstructionist seminaries; host institutions in Israel: Israel Movement for Progressive Judaism, Masorti Movement, Hartman Institute, Mechadshey Kedem	80–100
	Online [A]	Batei midrash and adult groups	Project ZUG (800); Adult/youth programs run by partnerships	800–1,000
	Online [B]	Batei midrash and adult groups	Adult/youth programs run by partnerships	0–100
	Online [C]	Community connections	Community conference calls	50–500
	Close contact [C]		Family trips and other visits through partnerships	~1,000–2,000



Programs for Israeli Jews

Jewish Peoplehood paradigm
Classic Zionist paradigm



Programs for Israeli Jews

School Age

Paradigm + primary/secondary target group	Main Category	Subcategory	Examples	Estimated participants each year
Classic Zionist [secondary]	Close contact [A]	Experiential	NFTY in Israel; USY-pilgrimage; Chetz v'Keshet (Scouts); Bnei Akiva European Summer Camp	150-250
		Educational	MBI (100); World Tanakh Camp	100-150

>>> The scales in these charts are not interval.

Paradigm + primary/ secondary target group	Main Category	Subcategory	Examples	Estimated participants each year
	Close contact [B]	Educational	TRY; NFTY-EIE; Alexander Muss; high schools	100–300
		Experiential	Ramah Seminar	50
	Close contact [C]	Experiential	BBYO-ILSI	10
	Emissaries	Short	Friendship Caravan	30
Jewish Peoplehood [primary]	Close contact [A]	Mixed summer camps in Israel	Kimama; Big Idea; Scouts	2,000–2,500
		Professional	Taglit-Birthright Excel Ventures; ROI; Hillel Israel– Israel Teaching Fellows	80–150
		Reciprocal delegations	Diller Teen Program; Bronfman Youth Fellowship; twinned schools (600–1,000); other youth programs run by partnerships	1,000–1,500
		Experiential	Nesiya; joint Scouts mission to Poland	200–300
	Online [A]	Batei midrash and adult groups	Adult/youth programs run by partnerships	0–100
	Online [B]	Twinned schools	Twinned classes	10,000–15,000
		Batei midrash and adult groups	Adult/youth programs run by partnerships	0–100
Jewish Peoplehood [secondary]	Close contact [A]	Mixed camps abroad	JCC camps such as NJY and others (run by organizations such as such as Camp USA and the Summer of Your Life as well as through partnerships); religious streams and youth- movement related camps such as Ramah, Moshava, URJ, Bnei Akiva; Szarvas	500–1,000
	Close contact [C]		Family trips and other visits through partnerships	~100–500

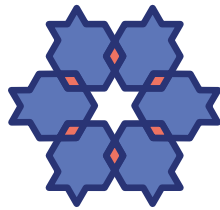
»»» From end of high school to completion of military or national service

Paradigm + primary/secondary target group	Main Category	Subcategory	Examples	Estimated participants each year
Classic Zionist [secondary]	Close contact [A]	Experiential	Taglit-Birthright	8,000–10,000
	Close contact [B]	Internships / educational	Onward Israel; some MASA programs	50–200
	Close contact [C]	Internships / educational	Some MASA programs	50–200
	Emissaries	Long	National Service; service-year groups	200–350
Jewish Peoplehood [primary]	Close contact [A]	Mixed premilitary academies	Kol Ami; Havruta; BINA; Ruah Nachon; premilitary academies that are not officially mixed	400–800
		Mixed service-year programs	HaNoar HaOved veHaLomed (Israeli local group coordinators along with Habonim Dror Workshop); Garin Atid; Scouts (Israelis along with Tzabar Service Year)	50–100

»»» After military/national service

Paradigm + primary/secondary target group	Main Category	Subcategory	Examples	Estimated participants each year
Classic Zionist [secondary]	Close contact [A]	Experiential	Taglit-Birthright	50–500
		Internships	Taglit-Birthright Excel internships	40
	Emissaries	Short	Summer camps (1,200–1,500); the Zionist Seminars	1,500
		Long	Campuses; communities; youth movements; teaching	500

Paradigm + primary/ secondary target group	Main Category	Subcategory	Examples	Estimated participants each year
Jewish Peoplehood [primary]	Work relations [A]	Civil society and executives (excluding official representatives)	Twinned schools; partnerships; community connections	800–1,200
	Close contact [A]	Volunteering programs	Tevel be-Tzedek; Project TEN; BINA Tikun Olam	15–50
		Professional	Taglit-Birthright Excel Ventures; ROI; Hillel Israel–Israel Teaching Fellows	80–150
		Reciprocal delegations	College student delegations; adult programs run by partnerships	100–300
		Experiential	JWRP	200
		Rabbinical studies	Institutions: the Israel Movement for Progressive Judaism, Masorti Movement, Hartman Institute, Mechadshey Kedem	100
	Close contact [C]	Experiential	Educational trips to the Diaspora (Gvanim, Maoz, Ruderman, Kollot, Wexner, Gesher, Hillel, Shahrarit, Tali, Ami-Unity etc.)	200–500
	Online [A]	Batei midrash and adult groups	Project ZUG (200); Adult/youth programs run by partnerships	200–250
	Online [B]	Batei midrash and adult groups	Adult/youth programs run by partnerships	0–100
	Online [C]	Community connections	Community conference calls	50–500
Jewish Peoplehood [secondary]	Emissaries		Programs for former Emissaries	800–1,200
	Close contact [C]		Family trips and other visits through partnerships	~100–500



SAPIR CENTER
JEWISH EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Kislev 5779
December 2018



ISBN 978-965-92735-2-2

