The Connection of Israel Education to Jewish Peoplehood

A Research Brief for the Consortium for Applied Studies in Jewish Education

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The Salience of Peoplehood and Israel Education

Jewish Peoplehood and Israel education have become increasingly prominent subjects on the agenda of Jewish life in the last decade. Academics, educators and organizational leaders have begun to utilize the concept of peoplehood in their discussions of the nature of Jewishness and its meaning for contemporary Jews. Jewish educators, philanthropists and academics have increasingly focused on the practice of Israel education, creating new organizations in North America and Israel, increasing resources and funding and developing a growing literature concerned with educating the young to understand and care for Israel.

In line with the CASJE guidelines for writing this policy brief, we ask: 1) To what extent is the growing interest in peoplehood relevant to contemporary Jewish concerns in general and to Israel education in particular? 2) What might be useful researchable questions to guide the development of a systemic policy for peoplehood and Israel education?

Our purpose, then, is not to define “peoplehood” but rather to reflect on its diverse articulations and potential relevance for contemporary Israel education. In order to proceed with this task properly, our approach begins with an analysis of classical and contemporary theories and perspectives on peoplehood. We believe that this analytic, reflective approach is critical since major contemporary educational issues – in theory and in practice – are rooted in larger “prior questions” of words, meaning, assumptions and context. Our task is to unravel some of the core historical and reflective issues concerning peoplehood in order to suggest relevant research questions for Israel education today. This paper is rooted in the belief that peoplehood is a sufficiently salient topic to warrant this attention. There are those who believe that peoplehood is irrelevant since it is not part of the lingua franca of 21st century “postmodern” adolescents or young adults. We are not in a position to judge the veracity of that claim but note that the concept of peoplehood has been relevant for Jews for thousands of years and is finding new resonance in Jewish thought today. The task of Jewish education is surely to speak the language of the contemporary people, but when called for, it also is mandated to present and advocate for words, ideas and a language that Jews and Judaism hold important. Education must speak the language of its charges while also challenging them to hear alternative languages and ideas.

A Legacy of Peoplehood

Peoplehood is not a new concept in the Jewish experience. Indeed, it can be argued that it is one of the primary building blocks of Jewish existence. The Hebrew Bible is the original text of Jewish peoplehood. It records the evolution and fruition of this concept, depicting bna’i yisrael נבי ישראל as a group with a “covenental” relationship to God, with the Torah and Land of Israel as integral parts of that agreement.

Abram is renamed “Abraham,” as the father of a multitude of nations (בנו שלם נגושים [бэ вин негушим], Genesis; 17:1-9); Jacob is renamed “Israel” after wrestling with an angel (Genesis 32:29); “bna’i yisrael בני ישראל journey to Egypt for a forty-year sojourn in the wilderness (Exodus 12:38); they receive the Law and enter into a covenant at Sinai and become God’s am segula עם סגולה – treasured or chosen people (Exodus 19:3-8). Centuries later, perhaps the most famous statement of peoplehood is expressed by Ruth, a Moabite...
woman, to her Israelite mother-in-law: “Wherever you go, I will go, and wherever you live, I will live; your people will be my people and your God my God” (our italics; Ruth 1:16).

The world of these Biblical Israelites was to undergo remarkable metamorphoses over the ages – from sacrifice into study and prayer; from the Temple into synagogues; and from bna𝑖 yisrael [בנעי ישראל] into ‘Jews.’ While the historical evolution is not our topic, it would seem that, with all the transformations, core elements of peoplehood (in consciousness as well as language, values, customs and land) remained a prominent component of Judaism – in Babylon, Spain, Poland, North Africa, The Americas and beyond through the ages.

In modern times, the idea of peoplehood assumes a new formulation with the emergence of Zionism, which takes many forms – political, religious, socialist, as well as cultural and people-centered, popularly associated with Ahad Ha’am (1856-1927). He envisioned a homeland in which Jewish culture would flourish, serving as a national, spiritual and cultural center for Jewish people everywhere.

Ahad Ha’am’s cultural Zionism finds a uniquely American formulation in the thinking of Mordecai Kaplan (1881-1983). Kaplan presents a version which advocates replacing ‘nationhood’ with ‘peoplehood’ or ‘civilization’ as the essence which binds the Jews. Kaplan enabled contemporary Jews to explore novel ways to engage and find meaning in a richly lived Jewish life.

The founding of the State of Israel, with its vibrant society and culture, profoundly changed Jewish life in the contemporary era, with direct implications for both peoplehood and Israel education. Indeed, some claim that the concept of peoplehood was organically entwined with the core vision of some of the pioneers of the “Zionist Project.” Attempts to bring Jews from Yemen, North Africa and the Middle-East, the Former Soviet Union and Ethiopia have epitomized peoplehood in practice. Efforts by federations, Keren Hayesod and world Jewry as a whole on behalf of Israel in times of war, danger and need reflect concern for fellow Jews – i.e., unfailing commitment to Israel – as a defining component of contemporary Jewish life. Youth travel on one-year programs, summer teen programs and in the last decade, the massive Birthright Israel project, have cast Israel as a setting for the meeting of young Jews from Israel and abroad in direct and unmediated ways. People-to-people exchange was the basis of the Partnership 2000 model that continues today. The creation and dissemination of Israeli novels, poetry, music, art and academic works have been powerful expressions of the cultural dimensions of a people rooted in its own land. In short, whether by design or by chance, the very dynamics of the life of the contemporary state exude peoplehood.

The New Peoplehood Literature

By the end of the 20th century, thinkers and educators in Israel and abroad began mobilizing around peoplehood as a potentially fruitful new paradigmatic concept. This in turn led to the emergence of a new and constantly expanding peoplehood literature. Some attribute this proliferation to an ideological and ideational vacuum in Jewish life, necessitating the comfortable and perhaps non-binding concept ‘peoplehood’ as a popular, “middle-of-the-road, ideological vision.” This notion of peoplehood may be suited to the sensibilities of Jews less oriented to religion, and of younger, “post-ethnic” Jews who may be less inclined to identify with a particularistic, normative or exclusionary approach to Judaism. The trend may further reflect the impact of globalization, shifting patterns of identification with Israel and a readiness to move beyond a well-worn focus on continuity and intermarriage.

What does the new peoplehood literature say? It encompasses an uneven body of literature spanning multiple disciplines, a potpourri of topics and a diversity of terminologies:
1. Descriptive and normative commitments: Peoplehood is at the heart of Judaism in the descriptive sense of “covenant of fate” – contents, concerns and fate shared by Jews. To the extent that the people exist for the sake of the covenant of Judaism, commitments go beyond ethnicity to a more prescriptive “covenant of destiny” based on commandments and halakha. Peoplehood, therefore, is at the nexus of the inherent tension between these core elements in Judaism and the Jewish experience.

2. Boundaries: Amidst covenantal, national, cosmopolitan and hybrid Jewish identities, there is no consensus regarding boundaries (e.g., citizenship in a state, membership in – and conversion as a means of joining – the people). In light of this, it has been posited that pluralism must prevail and the state should assume the role of helping Judaism flourish in its many forms.

3. Post-modern identity: Classical particularisms such as territory and religion no longer serve as a foundation that defines a people, binds them together and creates a sense of peoplehood. In the absence of such boundaries, peoplehood depends on nurturing pluralism (that is inclusive of Jewish diversity) and awareness of a shared past (as a foundation for cultivating collective identity).

4. Conflicting loyalties: Jewish peoplehood may pose conflicting loyalties for Diaspora Jews and for Israeli citizens. Acceptance of Jews into the body politic following emancipation was contingent upon renunciation of Jews’ status as a distinct collective. Today, the Jewish people and the State of Israel (i.e., its majority Jewish population) represent different, overlapping expressions of the Jewish collective. Characteristics of peoplehood (religion and relationships with the Jewish people) present challenges for Israel as a nation; and transcendent ties to Israel can be disturbing for the citizenship of Jews in the Diaspora.

5. A strategy for building identity: Peoplehood can be a source of substance and depth, particularly with emphasis on connections to other Jews. An awareness of peoplehood accrues from experiences integrated into a rich Jewish life, and therefore can be viewed on a continuum rather than as an all-or-nothing proposition.

6. Cross-cultural differences: Jewish identity differs among Jews in Israel and the Diaspora. Israelis live in an explicitly Jewish majority society and culture (which they may sometimes take for granted), seemingly exempt from the kind of proactive efforts required to create Jewish life elsewhere in the Jewish world. Jews in different parts of the globe must each build upon and transcend different “building blocks” of Jewish life to become mindful of and connect to the other. In principle, peoplehood should be an essential part of Judaism for each but different paths may lead to it. Because of this, it may afford unique contexts for connecting Jews to their local Jewish communities, to Israel and to world Jewry.

7. Next steps should include establishing a common language, identifying core practices, incubating tools and programs, creating a professional learning infrastructure, promoting research, setting communal priorities; developing standards, sharing knowledge and defining measures of success.

What emerge from these nascent ideas are two themes. While some emphasize the links between the contemporary concept and classical Judaism, others have attempted to create a new Hebrew term – עמיות (amut) – as an expression of a modified or alternative relationship to past origins and links. The emergence of peoplehood as a primary focus of attention in recent years – illustrated inter alia by this very debate – bespeaks its relevance to contemporary Jewish concerns and its ability to offer promising paths to richer Jewish discussion, understanding, engagement and living.

Peoplehood and Israel Education

This brief review suggests that the new literature is expansive, uneven and sometimes better at posing questions than answering them. At the same time, it addresses a broad range of issues with differing degrees
of relevance to Israel education: The emergence of peoplehood as a primary focus of attention in recent years does bespeak its relevance to contemporary Jewish concerns and its ability to offer promising paths to richer Jewish discussion, understanding, engagement and living.

As an overarching, conceptual framing of what binds the Jews, peoplehood provides a comprehensive curricular commonplace for Israel education that transcends frequently compartmentalized categories. Peoplehood suggests that Israel education is about more than the Mid-East conflict, national politics, nationality, history, geography or theology and rather incorporates them in the context of the larger collective – the Jewish people. It affords Israel education a formative rubric that integrates its various contents – land, people, state, language, arts, culture, the Israel experience, etc. – and makes sense out of heretofore often disparate topics. It actually implies an integrating principle for Jewish educational curriculum, addressing the often confusing sense that Jewish schools teach a disparate group of “subjects.”

Peoplehood helps to contextualize Israel within the past, present and future. It combines the notion of “lineage” of Jews, referring to a shared history and narratives throughout the generations,23 with the notion of “linkage,” which encompasses the connections among Jews across space and throughout communities in the present.24 It makes sense of the Jews as an historical entity and an ongoing, extended family. It helps to respond to the central query posed by the young: “What does all this have to do with me and what is my connection to it?” Peoplehood begins to introduce an answer to that critical shaping question of young people.

Peoplehood is unquestionably linked to identity and identity-formation. It encompasses parameters such as attitudes, beliefs, values, language, culture and practices reflecting who Jews are and what they do – in Israel and around the world – offering an identity framework that in turn shapes the life of a Jew. It has been argued that Jewish education essentially operates without a shaping psychology of identity development.25 The notion of peoplehood opens the educational door to an operative psychology in support of the developmental processes of Jewish education.

Peoplehood is powerfully connected to community. It invites a shift in the focus of discourse from the radical individualism which some find prominent in contemporary life to shared and unifying commonalities expressed in diverse ways, both in Israel and the Jewish community. Peoplehood highlights what Jews have shared – and what they have argued about – over time and across space. In that sense, it directly confronts the crisis of conflict and dissonance in Jewish life, and helps in the search for unifying components rather than divisive ones that threaten Jewish life and education.

Thinking about these terms supports the post-modern claim of narrative diversity and pluralism; viewing the multifariousness of contemporary Jewish life less as what Yehuda Amichai once called “a complicated mess” and more as a thousand rays of light. It highlights the richness of pluralism and its place throughout Jewish history, and implies it can be an advantage rather than a threat.

These models of peoplehood potentially mitigate the constraints of externally imposed “oughts” or “musts” to which some may take exception. It does not argue that “anything goes” or that “Jewish” is a grand smorgasbord of “pick and choose,” but is rather inclusive of many interpretations of “ought.” Its understanding of normative Judaism is broad and elastic. For some this is a great virtue of the concept, for others its Achilles heel. With due deference to boundaries, peoplehood perhaps suggests a large, inclusive tent.

**Researchable Questions**

What are implications of the new peoplehood literatures for research in Israel education? It must be noted that there are numerous other implications for research in this field beyond the questions on which we have
chosen to focus below. For the purpose of this paper, we shall mainly address the issues of: conceptual clarity and curriculum theory; what Joseph Schwab calls linkage and lineage – the threads of vertical and horizontal connection between Jews today and other Jews from the past and present; and compatibility with the zeitgeist – the fit between the peoplehood construct and the contours and content of contemporary Jewish life in North America. We do not explore questions concerned with Hebrew language, evaluation and the Israel educator since these matters are covered in great detail in separate CASJE briefs.

The first topic that must be addressed is in fact the question, “What is peoplehood?” Educators are inhabitants of a world shaped by ‘subjects’ or spheres of knowledge that have tightly delineated parameters and contents. A “subject” or a theme must have conceptual clarity. Educators want to know towards what end they are teaching/educating. What is the nature of the phenomenon they are entrusted to convey? Peoplehood often remains either hazy or overly diverse for many of those in the front line of education, and deserves conceptual clarity.

Curriculum Theory – studying purposes: The conceptual paradigm shift implied by the peoplehood literature suggests the field of curriculum theory as a critical area of research. As William Pinar has indicated in his encyclopedic study of 20th century curriculum,26 this field underwent a dramatic shift in the 1970s from ‘curriculum development,’ a focus on creating instructional units for classrooms, to ‘understanding curriculum,’ the analysis, deconstructing and reconstructing of curricular frameworks for educational settings.27 In the case of Israel education this suggests that the priority is not another new unit about Israel, but an overall conceptualized framework. Indeed, steps in this direction have begun28 and the field is ripe for much more. This work would include historical, philosophical, sociological, psychological and economic studies accompanied by “thick description” from practice. It would incorporate a historical dimension, making visible changes in how Israel has been taught, and it would also include a discourse and document analysis of materials from the practice of Israel and peoplehood education. This approach requires sophisticated researchers in the field of curriculum theory and most likely a team of academics, Jewish educators, teachers and general educationists. What might a conceptualized framework for the curricular development of Israel education rooted in a vision of peoplehood look like, and what team of academics, Jewish educators and general educationalists needs to engage in this process? Our approach to this subject certainly implies that the notion of “someone writing a curriculum” greatly simplifies what is a most complex field today.

The groundwork laid by curriculum theory will help conceptualize forms of attachment to peoplehood. These forms or models will provide coordinates for the study of practice; they will make explicit what has been and might be attempted in this field – what have been enacted concepts of peoplehood – before turning the attention of any program of research to the study of impact and engagement.

Lineage and Linkage – studying practices and experiences: Peoplehood helps to contextualize Israel across time and space. It links Jews “vertically” – past, present and future – through narratives of a shared past and awareness of a shared fate; and “horizontally” in communities around the globe in our time. To use Schwab’s terms, this lineage with past Jewish history and narratives, and linkage with the contemporary Jewish people suggests a research focus on educational practices that include travel, technology and mifgash [מפגשים, or people-to-people encounters], as well as other significant new methodologies in Jewish education. As the world increasingly becomes a global village (through travel and social media), there are new opportunities for members of a people scattered throughout the world to interact with one another. The study of existing educational media, of linkage among global Jews, and of the evolution of new models is a fruitful new realm of research. It highlights, for example, the centrality of mifgashim [מפגשים] in Israel travel. It puts the spotlight on ways to harness the revolutionary breakthrough of technology and social media as methodologies of Jewish peoplehood education, and it raises the central question: What role do ‘out of school frameworks’ (such as youth travel, cross-denominational youth groups and retreats) play?
A program of research focused on these concerns will be grounded in tourism studies, a field that has proliferated in recent years. We envisage a program of research informed by this developing field of inquiry that builds on recent studies of different forms of Israel experience and that is directed towards understanding the physical and virtual contexts within which Jews encounter Israel and also encounter one another. We also expect that this research program will be informed by social psychological studies of interpersonal encounter and communication, and of entitativity (the sense of belonging to a group), so as to understand how and through what kinds of experiences young people develop a sense of belonging to the Jewish people.

Research oriented in this way can shed light on what is currently the black box of the mifgash – an experience whose dynamics have not yet been systematically explored. It will make it possible to ask how such experiences work; what are their impacts and outcomes; and how might different contexts color these encounters. We can ask, for example, why does mifgash work in some but not other settings? Who is changed by this experience and how? What do they learn?

This research can also bring a powerful developmental lens to how a sense of peoplehood takes form. We can productively ask how different is the encounter with Israel and with other Jews of a 14-year-old on an 8th grade trip from that of a 12th grade student or a MASA or Birthright participant? Against the backdrop of a program of research anchored in conceptually grounded models of peoplehood, these heretofore unexplored questions will become eminently researchable.

**Compatibility with zeitgeist – studying the contemporary moment:** As a last primary focus of a program of research, attention must be paid to sociological questions regarding the extent to which the peoplehood construct fits the zeitgeist of contemporary North American Jewish life. Is North American Jewry – still very much organized around denominations and synagogues (at least for adults) – open to increased emphasis on peoplehood? How do we characterize the relationship to peoplehood among the new generation of North American Jews, and how do we ensure that the field remains responsive to these evolving patterns? If, as is commonly claimed, younger generations of American Jews do not share the same synagogue-centered perspective of their parents, to what kinds of Jewish engagement are they attracted? This last question prompts consideration of whether we have the economic, human and ideological resources for the significant re-engineering of contemporary Jewish education if peoplehood emerges as a shaping paradigm.

These questions call for a sociological research component that can help clarify the receptiveness of North American Jewry to a reorientation of Jewish life and the place of Israel within that orientation. This research can also try to uncover the social and communal forces that shape the ways in which Jews conceive of their relationships with one another. In more purely theoretical terms, these concerns activate the question of the extent to which social change depends on the dominant spirit and culture prevailing in society at a given time and to what extent it can be submitted to intentional engineering? This, for example, is a way of asking whether Israel travel and an encounter with the Homeland can shift concepts of peoplehood among a plurality of young North American Jews.

**CODA**

The emergence of a new peoplehood literature coupled with the new world of Israel education may constitute a new era for Jewish educational research and practice. It will allow researchers, funders and practitioners to have an opportunity to connect to a field as it grows and develops over the next decade. Researching the questions above (and others that will emanate from them) affords an opportunity to shape the field as it evolves in “real time.” Rather than being a postscript to the development of Israel education, research in this area should take place as the field develops, thereby playing an integral role as it blossoms.

For example., the iCenter was established in North America 2009, and Makom, was established in Israel in 2006.

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“Peoplehood and Its Role and Significance in Jewish Life,” Shalom Hartman Institute, 2012.

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religion in the minds of non-religious Israelis and that a term was needed that would capture the idea of belonging to the Jewish Peoplehood in a manner transcending religion. A representative of the Academy answered the query of Kopelowitz and Engelberg as follows: “The Academy did not approve the word Amiut. The reason for the negative response: Not every English word should occasion the creation of new words, when there are already existing words in Hebrew that can be used.” Cf. Menachem Revivi and Ezra Kopelowitz, eds., Jewish Peoplehood: Change and Challenge, Boston: Academic Studies Press, 2008, Editors’ Note, p. xvi.


27 This change was called the “reconceptualization movement and was sparked by the Tyler rationale and the Schwabian commonplaces. This model was to have important ramifications in Jewish education for several decades through the significant work of the late Professor Seymour Fox and his disciples. See: Mordecai Nissan and Oded Schremer, editors. Studies in Education Dedicated to Shlomo (Seymour) Fox. Two Volumes. Jerusalem: Mosad Bialik, 2005.


