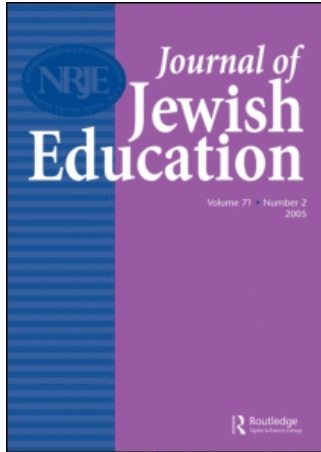


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"univocal" and the "dialogic" aspects of a text. James Paul Gee, in his article, "The Legacies of Literacy: From Plato to Freire through Harvey Gray," offers another critique and notes that we cannot define good pedagogy as a "pedagogy of questions" that may not have answers (209-210). Although we feel that Gee's comments need to be explored further, we do feel that teachers must be prepared to see questioning (even if the answers are not known) as an important part of a student's engagement with difficult material.

57. For more on this, see Jeffrey S. Kress & Maurice J. Elias, "Social and Emotional Learning in the Jewish Classroom: Tools for a Strong Jewish Identity," *Journal of Jewish Communal Service* 77 (2001): 182-190. Also for a discussion of Vygotsky and the impact his theory has had on research in spiritual development, see James Riley Estep, Jr., "Spiritual Formation as Social: Toward a Vygotskian Developmental Perspective," *Religious Education* 97 (2002): 141-164.

58. Christopher M. Hoadley & Marcia C. Linn. "Teaching Science through Online, Peer Discussions: SpeakEasy in the Knowledge Integration Environment," *International Journal of Science Education* 22 (2000): 839-857.

59. E.g., Elizabeth Kasl & L. Yorks, "Collaborative Inquiry for Adult Learning," *New Directions for Adult and Continuing Education* 94 (2002): 3-11.

60. Donald A. Schon, *The Reflective Practitioner* (New York: Basic Books, 1983).

61. The authors thank Dr. Stuart Schoenfeld for raising this issue at a panel at the Association of Jewish Studies, Los Angeles, 2002.

The Structure of Attitudes Towards Israel-Diaspora Relations Among Diaspora Youth Leaders: An Empirical Analysis

Erik H. Cohen and Gabriel Horenczyk

(Erik H. Cohen is from Bar Ilan University and Gabriel Horenczyk is from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.)

The State of Israel-Diaspora Relations

Almost all policy makers and educators dealing nowadays with Israel-Diaspora relations report on a sense of "crisis" or of a "widening of the gap" between the Jewish communities in the Diaspora and the Israeli Jewish population and some of its institutions. In a recent summary, Shefer (1998) describes a profound incompatibility between the central issues on the public agenda of Diaspora Jews on one hand, and of Israelis on the other. Israeli Jews are mostly concerned with the peace process and with internal conflicts, whereas issues of Jewish continuity, assimilation, and integration are central to the agenda of most Diaspora Jewish communities.

Sociological studies provide evidence to this detrimental process. Cohen (1991) reports that young American Jews show weaker attachment to Israel as compared to their parents and grandparents. In a recent survey conducted among New York Jewry,

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Horowitz (1999) found that Israel is largely irrelevant to the Jewish identity of the respondents:

"... 'Supporting Israel' was seen as a much less personally meaningful component of being Jewish across all groups, ranging from 8% among the 'really indifferent' to 57% among the 'Orthodox intensively engaged.' For most of the identity patterns, supporting Israel' ranked between eighth and tenth among the 15 possibilities, and *last* [italics in original] among the 'Orthodox intensively engaged'... This pattern of responses lends support to the growing impression about the weakening hold of Israel on the inner lives and imagination of (younger) American Jews." (p. 2-31).

As to the attitudes held by Israelis toward Diaspora Jews, less empirical data is available. In a survey commissioned by the Israeli newspaper *Yedioth Aharonot* in 1998, 43% of the respondents indicated that they see the relationship between American Jewish communities and Israel as "worse" than in the past. A similar finding was obtained in a study conducted in 1993 among a representative sample of adult Jews in Israel (Levy, Levinson and Katz, 1993): When presented with the statement "Israel will not be able to survive without strong relationships with the Jewish people around the world," 68% expressed agreement with it — 9% less than in a survey conducted in 1975.

The widening gap between Israel and Diaspora is clearly explained by Helkin (1999: 110): "In the final analysis Israel is ceasing to be central to the Jews of the world for the simple reason that they have chosen not to live in it, and no community can exist indefinitely by means of a vicarious identification with life lived elsewhere."

The changing nature of Israel-Diaspora relations is reflected in a growing trend among scholars to redefine Diaspora and Diaspora-homeland relations. (For a comprehensive review, see Anthias, 1998). One spokesman of these new voices is Boyarin (1995), who suggests, "...Diaspora, and not monotheism, may be the most important contribution that Judaism has to make to the world. Assimilating the lesson of Diaspora, that people and lands are not naturally and organically connected, could help prevent bloodshed...." (p. 335).

All these developments call for an empirical examination of attitudes towards Israel-Diaspora relations. Such an investigation should be aimed at mapping the realm of these attitudes, in order to gain a data-based understanding of people's perceptions, and of subgroup variations in the attitudes. The present study is a first step in this direction. With the use of multivariate statistical analyses, we explore the structure of attitudes towards Israel-Diaspora relations among a particular group of respondents — namely, leaders of Jewish youth and student organizations throughout the Diaspora. Results from this initial study will enable us to propose a conceptualization of the object under investigation (in terms of a preliminary "mapping sentence") that can serve as the basis for future research to be conducted with other groups of respondents both in Israel and in the Diaspora.

Method

Respondents: The present survey was conducted during summer 2000 in the framework of a research evaluation on youth groups from the Diaspora visiting Israel.

416 youth leaders answered the questionnaire. 54% of the respondents were female and 46% were male; 27% came from the USA, 8% from Canada, 35% from UK, 14% from France and 16% from several other countries. 70% classified themselves as Ashkenazim, 17% as Sephardim, 11% as both Ashkenazim and Sephardim, 2% as "other." The parents of 83% of the respondents have visited Israel; 80% of these youth leaders have themselves been in Israel previously in the framework of Israel Experience programs. The questionnaire was anonymous and it was distributed at the end of the sojourn in Israel, in the last 48 hours of their stay.

Questionnaire: The section of the questionnaire dealing with Israel-Diaspora relations included nine statements designed to cover the gamut of various possible attitudes towards Israel-Diaspora relations. Respondents were asked to indicate the extent of their agreement with each of them on a five-point scales ranging from one ("definitely disagree") to five ("definitely agree"). Following is the list of statements.

1. Jews in the Diaspora and in Israel are brothers / sisters that live separately.
2. Israel is the world center for Jewish life.
3. Israel must be a "light unto the nations" from a moral standpoint.
4. The continued existence of a Diaspora is important for the existence of Israel.
5. Jews in the Diaspora want Israel as an "insurance policy."
6. We (all Jews) are one nation.
7. Non-orthodox Jews in the Diaspora will eventually assimilate.
8. True Judaism does not require a state.
9. Israel does not have to be a Jewish state but rather should be a state for all its citizens (Israeli Jews and Arabs).

Data analysis technique: The responses obtained from the youth leaders were submitted to Smallest Space Analysis (SSA). Based on Louis Guttman's (1968, 1982) Facet Theory Analyses, SSA is a specific multidimensional scaling procedure developed to "...portray the data's structure in a spatial fashion easily assimilated by the relatively untrained human eye. [Researchers] construct a geometric representation of the data. The essential ingredient defining all multidimensional scaling methods is the spatial representation of data structure," (Young and Haber 1987:3). SSA analyzes a matrix of correlations between n items by graphically representing them as points in a Euclidean space called the "smallest space." The points are plotted according to an intuitively-understood principle: the higher the correlation between two items, the closer they are on the smallest space map and, conversely, the lower the correlation, the further apart they are on the map (Guttman, 1968; Levy, 1994).¹ A number of researchers, including Guttman, have used this procedure to study the attitudes, values and well-being of people in a variety of organizational contexts (see: Borg and Lingoos, 1987; Cohen, 1995, 1999, 2000a, 2000b, 2001, forthcoming; Cohen and Rein, 2000; Cohen, Clifton and Lance, 2001; Horenczyk and Bekerman, 1999; Levy, 1985; Levy and Guttman, 1975; Schwartz and Bilsky, 1987, 1990; Shye, 1978).

Results

The MONCO (Monotonicity Coefficient) matrix (see Table 1) shows the interrelations between the variables. Immediately striking is that in a table of 9x9 item correlations, every correlation but one is positive or null. The single negative correlation is barely so, only -.2. This result shows that the relations between these

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attitudes is in line with Guttman's "First Law of Attitude" (Gratch, 1973): "If any two items are selected from the universe of attitude items towards a given object, and if the population observed is not selected artificially, then the population regressions between these two items will be monotone and with a positive or zero sign" (Guttman, 1981). The fact that all correlations but one in the present study are positive or null is a strong indicator of the relevancy of this type of examination and the strength of the data. The various items are part of a conceptually integrated universe of attitudes.

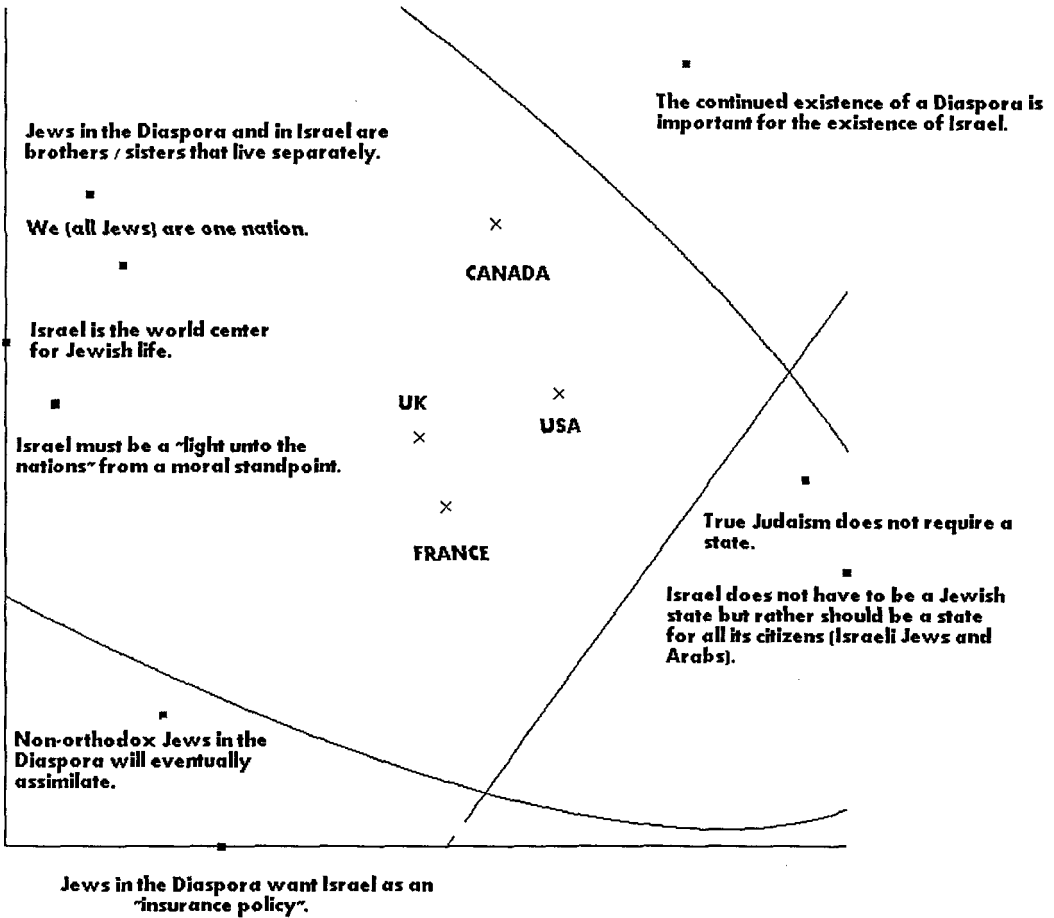
Table 1: Matrix of MONCO Coefficients Among Variables

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Brothers that live apart	1	100	74	71	40	62	76	49	19	1
World center for Jewish	2	74	100	68	35	58	75	54	-2	2
Light unto the nations	3	71	68	100	33	66	74	54	17	25
Diaspora important for me	4	40	35	33	100	28	48	10	22	25
Insurance policy	5	62	58	66	28	100	55	68	5	29
We are one people	6	76	75	74	48	55	100	56	2	3
Non-orthodox will assimilate	7	49	54	54	10	68	56	100	9	22
Judaism does not require	8	19	-2	17	22	4	2	9	100	62
Israel for all its citizen	9	1	2	25	25	29	3	22	62	100

In the matrix of correlations, values range from -100 to +100, 0 representing no relationship.

With the help of the SSA procedure, a map has been constructed where each of the nine variables appears as a point (see Figure 1). The structure of the configuration is particularly significant. We can recognize a double partition of the map. Two major columns of variables may be seen. The right-vertical region contains the two variables which are in opposition to basic "classic" Zionist principles: "True Judaism does not require a state" and "Israel does not have to be a Jewish state but rather should be a state for all its citizens." Judaism and Jewish nationalism are divorced from each other according to this viewpoint. Here Israel and Diaspora are not and cannot be related in the political sphere, but may be better expressed by spiritual, symbolical and historical links. On the left-vertical region appear all the other variables, which in one way or another assign to Israel, as a state or even as a collective entity, a Jewish character.

Figure 1: Smallest Space Analysis of the Nine Variables (Dimensionality Two) of the Israel-Diaspora Relationships



Similarly, a spiral crossing the two vertical columns can also divide the map, conceptually or semantically. In the external part of this second partition, "instrumental" or "utilitarian" variables are located. At the top, the continued existence of a Diaspora is perceived as instrumental for the existence of Israel. Similarly, but just in the opposite direction, "Jews in the Diaspora want Israel as an 'insurance policy'" and "non-orthodox Jews in the Diaspora will eventually assimilate." This last sentence assumes implicitly that the existence of Israel is for the non-orthodox the key for Jewish continuity. The internal part of the spiral included all the remaining variables, which emphasize the ideological commonalities between the Jews in the world and the specific role of Israel, as a world center and "a light to the Nations."

The four national sub-groups were introduced into the map as external variables. External variables are added, one by one, into the fixed map so that their placement is determined only by each variable's relationship to the original variables. The relationship between the external variables is not considered, and the external variables are not considered in the placement of the original variables (Cohen and Amar, 1993, 1999, 2002). All four of the national sub-populations — i.e. youth leaders from the US, Canada, France and the UK — were placed in the same general region of the map. They are all on the "Zionist" side of the map in the central region, not the peripheral "utilitarian" region. In many other studies done on Israel Experience participants and counselors on subjects such as intermarriage and attitudes about Israel, distinct differences were found between national sub-populations (Cohen and Cohen, 2000). The similarity between the attitudes expressed by these Diaspora youth leaders towards such an emotional and controversial subject as the nature of Israel-Diaspora relations is, in itself, an interesting result.

Discussion

Smallest Space Analysis

What kind of interpretation can we formulate? What is the meaning of such a map? The SSA technique has been repeatedly proven as successful in mapping in-depth a field of knowledge or activity. On the basis of the relative location of the various variables, we can formulate hypotheses about their meaning for the population covered. When we consider for example the three variables: (1) Jews in the Diaspora want Israel as an "insurance policy," (2) non-orthodox Jews in the Diaspora will eventually assimilate, and (3) Israel does not have to be a Jewish state but rather should be a state for all its citizens, we found very low correlations between the first two and the third. The SSA program, therefore, located them at opposite ends of the space. Nevertheless, although the placement of variables within the space is objective, set by the computer program according to the correlation matrix, the result has to be interpreted by the researcher. The interpretation is not bound by physical proximity. Items on opposite ends of the map may be seen to form a specific and continuous conceptual region, as in the utilitarian region we identified in this map. The two at the bottom of the map are instrumental for the Jews in the Diaspora; the third is instrumental for the whole population of Israel, without distinction of ethnicity or religion.

Schematic Diagram of the Results

The results can be further explored through the creation of a schematic diagram of the map (Figure 2). In this diagram we have six conceptual regions. First, the

Figure 2: Schematic Diagram of Attitudes Towards Israel-Diaspora Relations

	Zionist view	non-Zionist view
Diaspora-focused attitudes	(utilitarian item) The continued existence of a Diaspora is important for the existence of Israel.	
Jewish people-focused attitudes	Jews in the Diaspora and in Israel are brothers / sisters that live separately. Israel is the world center for Jewish life. Israel must be a 'light unto the nations' from a moral standpoint. We (all Jews) are one people.	True Judaism does not require a state.
Israel-focused attitudes	(utilitarian items) Jews in the Diaspora want Israel as an "insurance policy." Non-orthodox Jews in the Diaspora will eventually assimilate.	Israel does not have to be a Jewish state but rather should be a state for all its citizens (Israeli Jews and Arabs).

diagram is divided vertically into two regions described above — those on the left, which reflect some basic ideals about the relationship between Judaism and the State of Israel, and the two on the right, which are in opposition to such ideals. The space is then divided into three horizontal slices, which cross the vertical division, giving us a total of six regions. Not all the regions contain actual items from the survey. These gaps are instructive in and of themselves. They can be used as guidance in making more complete questionnaires for future surveys. In the upper-left-hand corner is a region containing the single item "The continued existence of a Diaspora is important for the existence of Israel." This item, while it links the fate of Jews in the Diaspora to those in Israel, places the emphasis on the Diaspora. There is no corresponding item in the upper-right-hand region. One potential item, which could possibly fill this gap, would be something along the lines of "Jews in the Diaspora should be concerned primarily with their own communities." This would be a Diaspora-centered ideal not

linked to Israel or to Zionism. These two regions across the top of the diagram could be labeled "Diaspora-focused attitudes."

The center-left-hand region contains four items, the most in any single region. The four items are "Jews in the Diaspora and in Israel are brothers / sisters that live separately," "Israel is the world center for Jewish life," "Israel must be a 'light unto the nations' from a moral standpoint," and "We (all Jews) are one people." The viewpoint represented by these items, while recognizing a central role for Israel, seems to put the emphasis on *Am Israel*, the people of Israel, both those in Israel and those in the Diaspora. In the corresponding center-right region is the item "True Judaism does not require a state." This also can be seen as emphasizing the People of Israel, while negating the centrality of the State of Israel. These two central regions could be labeled "Jewish People-focused attitudes."

At the bottom of the diagram, on the left-hand side is a region containing two items: "Jews in the Diaspora want Israel as an insurance policy" and "Non-orthodox Jews in the Diaspora will eventually assimilate." In the parallel bottom-right region we find "Israel does not have to be a Jewish state but rather should be a state for all its citizens (Israeli Jews and Arabs)." The attitude represented by the two items on the left emphasizes the importance of Israel for the physical and/or spiritual survival of the Jewish people. The attitude represented by the item on the right is concerned with Israel, but as a multi-cultural democracy, not as the Jewish Homeland. These two regions can be labeled "Israel-focused attitudes."

The Mapping Sentence

We are therefore confronted with an issue, which is simultaneously characterized by complexity and clarity (as reflected in the well-organized, multifaceted map and schematic diagram). The other central feature of Facet Analysis — namely, the mapping sentence (Donald, 1995) — can help us conceptualize the realm of attitudes towards Israel-Diaspora relations. The mapping sentence technique for designing a definitional system for observations has several uses. A properly defined set of m facets provides an m -way simultaneous classification of variables, mapping the "universe" or field under investigation. Each facet is specified as having a certain formal role in interpreting aspects of the observed empirical data. (Guttman, 1959, 1965; Levy, 1976, 1985). The mapping sentence also provides guidance in suggesting test items for the empirical research survey. The items included should reflect as many combinations of the facet elements as possible. Following is a preliminary and exploratory mapping sentence (Figure 3).

The mapping sentence can guide future research aimed at further mapping of attitudes toward Israel-Diaspora relations. The more rich and elaborate our understanding of this complex issue, the better will be our educational work in this troubled area. Our research thus can be seen as a first step in a long road, which may assist in the planning, implementation, and evaluation of educational interventions. We can see that this mapping sentence shows many issues that were not treated in the questionnaire. For example, the sentence "True Judaism does not require a state" has no Zionist correspondent: "True Judaism does not require a Diaspora" or "The State of Israel negates the necessity for Jews to live in the Diaspora."

Figure 3: Mapping Sentence of the Israel-Diaspora Relationships (exploratory)

Jewish Diaspora activist and young leader assesses the nature of Israel-Diaspora

relationships as a {end in itself} {Jewish }
 { } in relation to the {non-Jewish } character of the
 {means } {general }
 {religion}
 {history } {Israel } {low }
 {culture } domain as related to {Diaspora} → the {↓ } assessment of the nature
 {general } {high }
 {society }
 {general}

of Israel-Diaspora relationships

Educational Implications

This exploratory research emphasizes the complexity of the Israel-Diaspora issue. The mapping shows a clear delineation of the approaches towards the issue. Interestingly, the ideological dimension appears at the center of the general perception of the issue. We may ask why the utilitarian dimension is relegated to the peripheral region of the map. As we described the surveyed population, we are dealing with leaders and young people involved in their respective communities in the Diaspora. For them, Israel represents a significant entity in their activism. The regionality of the map may, therefore, represent their specific in-depth perception of Israel-Diaspora relationships.

Future research may address other populations from the Diaspora, but with a less marked involvement in their community and a weaker commitment to their Jewishness. Subsequent studies should also address differences between populations from various countries in the extent of endorsement of the various types of attitudes. These will have also to include Israeli educators and other Israeli samples; it is quite probable that Israeli and Diaspora respondents will differ in their patterns of structure as well as in the levels of endorsement of the various types of attitudes.

The well-organized aspect of the map suggests a relatively clear perception of the Israel-Diaspora relations issue by the respondents. The surveyed population seems well aware of the parameters and implications of the debate. This result is interesting, particularly as we tend to define the area of Israel-Diaspora relationships as rather vague and amorphous. The youth leaders from four Diaspora countries share a basically unified view of the Israel-Diaspora relationship. They see the collective entity of the Jewish people as the heart of the relationship, yet consider Israel the spiritual center for the Jewish people. Identifying this perspective can be helpful in understanding the educational systems (both formal and informal) in these Diaspora Jewish communities. Since these youth leaders are likely to be among the core of the

Jewish leaders in the coming generations, it will be possible to track the ways in which this perspective will, in turn, influence the evolving character of the Israel-Diaspora relationship.

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