### IT'S ISRAEL, CHOCHEM!:

## Factors Affecting Participation of Youth in Israel Experience Programs

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This article presents an example of how results of evaluation research have had a powerful impact on a community's decision making regarding Israel experience programs. Findings from the evaluations provided insights that led to questioning the basic assumptions underlying Israel programs and to a more nuanced understanding of the obstacles and incentives to participation in Israel experience programs by teens and college youth. Those findings suggest that deterrents to participation in Israel experiences for teens and college youth are much more complex and deep-seated than originally assumed, and derive from the very relationship between North American Jews and Israel. Consequently, reducing or removing cost and information obstacles was not a sufficient catalyst for participation.

# THE PROBLEM: JEWISH IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT IN NORTH AMERICA/ DIASPORA

Years ago, connection to the State of Israel Y was a major factor contributing to the Jewish identity of North American Jews. Some attributed Israel's importance in this regard to the fact that Jews were less at home in their local communities and felt the need for an identified sanctuary. Others suggested that the "endangered" economic and defense status of Israel aroused the protectiveness of Diaspora Jews. Ironically, now that North American Jews experience total acceptance and less uniqueness in their lives as Americans, and as perceptions of Israel's vulnerability decline as she approaches peace and economic security, both Jewish identity and connections with Israel have become more tenuous for many North American Jews.

Nevertheless, based on an understanding of the close interrelationships between the

Jewish identity of American Jews and their connection with Israel, it is conventional wisdom that strengthening ties to Israel, will also strengthen Jewish identities. Israel experiences have been proposed as a key mechanism for achieving these related goals.

## A SOLUTION: THE ISRAEL EXPERIENCE AS A FORM OF JEWISH EDUCATION

As Barry Chazan points out in his monograph, The Israel Trip: A New Form of Jewish Education (1994), it is only recently that the Israel trip has been viewed in the context of Jewish education and identity building. Until the early 1990s, the Israel trip was most often seen as a philanthropic mission designed to express solidarity with Jews in need and to stimulate support of Israel by Diaspora Jews.

The notion of the Israel trip as a form of Jewish education is a new vision which dramatically changes the terms of reference. It views the Israel trip not in terms of what it does to ameliorate the situation of the visited, but

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rather what it does for the visitor. Indeed, in many ways it regards the visitor rather than the visited as the one truly in need. It sees the Israel trip within the context of the profound journeys that human beings have made in search of self, meaning, and personal identity (Leeds, 1991).

This new conception of the Israel trip places it squarely within the context of the great twentieth-century search for methods and structures for teaching Jewish values and developing Jewish identity. According to this conception, the trip is a new Jewish educational framework for affecting the Jewish personality and identity of the young person who visits Israel.

## THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ISRAEL EXPERIENCE CENTER AT UJA-FEDERATION OF NEW YORK

Based on anecdotal and empirical evidence suggesting a connection between Jewish identity development and visiting Israel (Chazan, 1994; Hochstein, 1986; London & Frank, 1987) the UJA-Federation of New York, like many other communities across North America, has strived to increase the number of teens and youth participating in quality Israel experiences in order to strengthen Jewish identity and commitment.

In 1992, the UJA-Federation developed a Strategic Plan that identified the need for increased resources in the area of Jewish identity development in the New York Jewish community. The Jewish Continuity Commission was established as UJA-Federation's primary vehicle to reinvigorate Jewish life in New York by serving as a resource and catalyst for change and growth within the New York Jewish community.

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The Israel Experience Center was the first of three initiatives funded (in part) by the

'The other projects funded by the Continuity Commission were a competitive grants program to support innovative programs and efforts by institutions to enhance their ability to strengthen Jewish identity

and ensure Jewish continuity and a research study to better understand the variety of connections and journeys

resulting in Jewish identity development.

Continuity Commission. The specific programs launched by the Israel Experience Center were based on prevailing conventional wisdom that the chief obstacles preventing participation in Israel by teens and youth were lack of money and insufficient information about the myriad of existing programs. It was assumed that, if these barriers were reduced by providing financial and informational resources, enrollment in the programs would increase dramatically. initiatives supported the belief that if Israel were made more accessible, people would go-that Israel had tremendous appeal, not only for the more involved New York Jews but also for those less involved.

The four basic programs and activities of the Israel Experience Center designed to reduce these barriers were the following:

- 1. The Information and Referral Hotline (1-800-64-ISRAEL), a service administered Monday through Thursday from 9:00 AM-8:00 PM and Friday 9:00 AM-3:00 PM by trained and supervised college and graduate school interns to provide easily accessible information and counseling about the full range of Israel experience trips and programs available to teens and college youth from the New York metropolitan area
- The Awards/Scholarship Program, to provide need- and merit-based financial scholarships and awards for teens and college youth
- The Gift of Israel Program, a joint venture with 57 local congregations providing matching funds and other educational and promotional incentives to encourage families of B'nai Mitzvah to plan for their teen's future participation in an Israel experience
- 4. IsraelBreak, to provide free round-trip airfare to college students either studying or permanently residing in New York who had not previously participated in a teen Israel experience or a college-level Israel experience

### EVALUATION OF THE ISRAEL EXPERIENCE CENTER PROGRAMS

From the start, monitoring and evaluation were central components of the Jewish Continuity Commission's efforts. Therefore, an outside evaluator was engaged to conduct formative evaluations of each of the Israel Experience Center's programs during their second year of operation. The evaluations were designed to ensure continuous learning about the incentives and disincentives to participation in Israel experiences, to assess the effectiveness of each of the initiatives, and to provide the Commission with data to inform their decision making regarding successful ventures, areas needing strengthening/ growth, and flawed programs. Specifically, the evaluations were designed to assess the effectiveness of the programs relative to the underlying assumptions. Were the programs designed and administered effectively? Did the programs reduce financial and informational barriers? Did reducing the barriers result in higher enrollments? If not, why not?

### Methodology

The three formative evaluations<sup>2</sup> were as follows:

1. The Gift of Israel: Individual and group interviews were conducted with 82 respondents from 22 congregations in the Greater New York area. Respondents included "gatekeepers" (rabbis, educational directors, and Gift of Israel coordinators), participating and non-participating parents, and students. The overall goal of the evaluation was to discover and describe the achievements and efficiencies of the program to date, as well as to identify key strategies, people, and/or approaches that are critical to the contin-

- 2. The Israel Experience Information and Referral Hotline and The Awards/Scholarship Program: Thirty-four pairs of one teen and one parent participated in separate semi-structured interviews to assess the effectiveness of the Information and Referral Hotline and The Awards/Scholarship Program in reducing or eliminating financial and informational barriers. In addition to evaluating parents' and teens' satisfaction with these programs, the interviews provided a better understanding of the family decision-making process as it affects the child's visit to Israel and how the services affect these decisions
- 3. IsraelBreak: The evaluation was designed to determine the factors influencing college students' participation in IsraelBreak, the extent to which the program succeeded in encouraging college students to participate in Israel experiences, and the short-term effects of participation in the programs. A multifaceted methodology that included written surveys and interviews was utilized to gather data from participants, non-participants, and staff. Data were collected from 56 of the 236 recipients of the IsraelBreak awards (25%) and 131 college students who received information about the program but did not apply or go.

### **EVALUATION FINDINGS**

All findings relating to the programs of New York's Israel Experience Center are based on data from the first one to two years of each of its programs. Because the evalua-

ued development of the program. The interviews revealed important findings regarding attitudes about travel to Israel, incentives and obstacles to families' participation in *The Gift of Israel* program, the role of gatekeepers in encouraging participation in Israel experiences and *The Gift of Israel*, and the relationship between *The Gift of Israel* and other congregational initiatives, plans and priorities.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Evaluations of *The gift of Israel* and *IsraelBreak* were conducted by The Jewish Education Service of North America, Inc. (JESNA). Evaluation of *The Information and Referral Hotline* and *The Awards/Scholarship Program* was conducted by Jill Markowitz & Associates, Inc. in consultation with JESNA.

tions were formative in nature, recommendations that emanated from the evaluations formed the basis for mid-course corrections. Therefore, in many cases current outcomes vary from those reported.

The evaluations revealed several administrative and organizational aspects that needed revision, as would be expected from any novel project at its inception. More profoundly, however, the findings provided deeper insights that led to questioning the basic assumptions upon which the programs were founded and to a more nuanced understanding of the obstacles and incentives to participation in Israel experiences by teens and college youth. These findings suggest that deterrents to participation in Israel experiences for teens and college youth are much more complex and deep-seated than originally assumed and derive from the very relationship between North American Jews and Israel.

In many cases, New York's findings were consistent with other research on Israel experiences, including local and national studies conducted by the Alexander Muss High School in Israel (Isaacs, 1997), Greater Hartford (Isaacs & Schwartz, 1997), Los Angeles (Franklin, 1996), Rhode Island (Page, 1996), and Israel Experience, Inc. (Chazan with Koransky, 1997).

### Did the Programs "Work"?

As aptly described by the first Chair of the Israel Experience Committee, achieving the programs' goals was not a "slam dunk." Despite extensive efforts, enrollment in Israel experiences did not increase significantly during the first two years of operation of the Israel Experience Center. Furthermore, the majority of students participating in the first year(s) were "likely suspects." The programs did not attract significant numbers of participants who would not have gone to Israel without the various forms of assistance. Most participants evidenced moderate to high levels of Jewish education and affiliation and were already inclined toward participating in Israel experiences prior to receiving the financial and/or informational resources provided by the Israel Experience Center.

Studies of other Israel Experience initiatives echoed New York's findings that most participants in Israel Experience programs were moderately to highly involved in Jewish activities prior to their trips. For example, the evaluation of Los Angeles' efforts reports that "all of the participants had been active in Jewish life for some time preceding the trip. For some it had been their synagogue; for others, their youth group.... Most of the IEP (Israel Experience Program) grant recipients thus far are those who were already highly motivated to go to Israel, but had the financial need" (Franklin, 1996). Similarly, a report by Israel Experience, Inc. notes that "when participants were asked if they were involved in Jewish activities (prior to participating in an Israel experience), 80% of the total noted they were currently involved in Jewish activities" (Chazan with Koransky, 1997).

## Obstacles and Factors Leading to Participation in Israel Experiences

Through the evaluations, UJA-Federation sought to discover why programs that had a great deal of intuitive appeal were not achieving their goals and to identify obstacles and factors leading to participation. Taken together, findings from the three evaluations (which were entirely in sync with the thinking of Israel Experience Center staff) suggest that the underlying barrier to increasing participation of teens and college youth in Israel Experiences is the tenuous connection of many New York Jews (and perhaps North American Jews) with many, and sometimes all, components of organized Jewish life, one of which is Israel. Even for those who are and feel committed to organized Jewish life, as yet there is no empirical evidence that a connection with Israel necessarily followsthere are many ways to connect to things Jewish, Israel being only one conduit.

The attitudes of many of the non-participants and their parents might be summarized by the statement that "Israel is not even a blip on the radar screen of most New York Jews." Findings from all three studies indicated that many of the non-participants and their parents express feelings ranging from apathy to antipathy and do not see Israel as a critical element in forging Jewish identity.

These results contradict other recent survey findings that the majority of North American Jews express strong positive feelings toward Israel (e.g., Tobin, 1995). differences might be attributable to idiosyncratic characteristics of New York Jews, a large body of social science literature documents significant discrepancies between responses to attitudinal surveys and actual behaviors when those attitudes are called into play (e.g., Crosbey et al., 1980). In the case of reported results regarding attitudes toward Israel, survey respondents may be more likely to express positive attitudes toward Israel when actions are not demanded and little effort is involved. Their actual behaviors, however, may be constrained by underlying concerns and doubts.

Logical analysis suggests that all of the other obstacles to participation in Israel experiences identified through the evaluations—cost, lack of information, competing programs and activities, ignorance of potential benefits of participation, lack of peer group support, and even concerns about safety and security—follow from the basic deterrent of lack of connection to Israel.

### Cost

For many, the extent to which cost constitutes a preventive barrier to participation in Israel experiences is related to the perceived value of those experiences. Although it is true that Israel experiences are relatively expensive activities for teens and college students, they are comparable in cost to many other popular discretionary summer educational and travel activities for New York teens and college youth, such as residential and sports camping, other foreign and domestic travel programs, and campus-based college preparatory programs.

Many of those surveyed and interviewed provided first- and second-hand evidence that

it is not so much the absolute cost in dollars of the programs as the value of the experience relative to the cost that constitutes the most formidable barrier to participation. For those who do not value Israel or appreciate the value of an Israel experience, the cost is too high, no matter what the price. As one college student responded to a recruitment effort for IsraelBreak: "If I had \$2,000 to spend on travel, Israel is not the place I would go!"

Large numbers of non-participants in IsraelBreak indicated that additional "costs" are associated with Israel experiences beyond the trips themselves. These include the loss of income during the period they are away or conflicts with summer school and internships that might delay completion of school programs or might interfere with professional advancement opportunities.

For high-school students, the benefits of participating in an Israel experience are often weighed against competing opportunities, such as long-standing commitments to summer camps, drivers' training, or activities perceived to have importance for college acceptance. On the other hand, for those who feel a strong connection to Israel and value the benefits of an Israel experience, extensive efforts are made to overcome the cost barrier. Jews of moderate means who believe that sending teens and youth to Israel is a priority regularly find ways to overcome these obstacles.

Los Angeles' evaluation of the Israel Experience Program squarely revealed that financial and motivational issues were frequently confounded, particularly by "gatekeepers" (such as rabbis), who can play a key role in supporting participation in Israel Experience programs. The Los Angeles study (Franklin, 1996) found that rabbis were most attuned to enabling access for those who were already motivated to go to Israel, but who needed financial support. They were unprepared to meet

the challenge to dig deeper to find those who need to be motivated. In the opinion of the evaluator, this requires further investigation. Few rabbis made the distinction between those who need assistance from those who need motivation; some were uncomfortable helping to support families who are otherwise considered "wealthy." Still, others did not see their role as, as one put it, "running after people trying to give them money."

Recent research indicates that "a majority of Jewish families who view a \$5,000 price as unreasonable for a teen trip view \$2,500 as the approximate price ceiling that they would be willing to pay" (Tobin, 1995). In response, several community and nationally sponsored Israel experience programs are exploring mechanisms to reduce program costs, including shorter trips. However, there are no empirical data yet to indicate whether such shorter experiences will, indeed, have comparable educational impact to the more traditional six-to-eight-week experiences.

### Information

The availability of information is a barrier for some, but not for others. Findings from the evaluation of the Hotline demonstrated that for many, the decision to participate in an Israel experience is often linked to a specific trip related to camp or youth group loyalties. These parents and young adults neither need nor seek information about the variety of trips available. Once the decision to participate in an Israel experience has been made, the type of information needed and sought related to specifics about programs to make sure that the teen and the program are a "good match." Some callers, who have already decided to go to Israel, seek guidance from the Hotline to choose an appropriate trip. Still others call the Hotline because they are considering an Israel trip among other choices for summer experiences. Learning more and being counseled about the availability of quality programs suiting their needs and interests can sway them to go to Israel.

### Safety and Security

Regardless of whether specific incidents arise, safety and security concerns are almost

always obstacles to participation in Israel experiences. Parents are often ambivalent about sending their teenagers so far from home. It seems that the geographic distance and concerns about supervision are sometimes as significant as the destination. Those who care about Israel, however, acknowledge their ambivalence, deal with it, and move on. Thus, it is not safety and security concerns alone that deter participation in the programs; rather, they combine with other disincentives resulting in a decision against participation. As one Gift of Israel coordinator explains, "It's not just because of this spring [1996 bus bombings]. There is a fear for their safety, a fear of Israel ... especially on the part of people who've never been. They don't want kids to go so far without them. Some don't see why their children should go aloneespecially if they plan to go with the family. There are more separation and security concerns if you talk about teenagers going apart from their families."

Interestingly, these concerns are not usually expressed by teens, but rather by parents and college students.

### Awareness/Ignorance of Potential Benefits

Participating in an Israel experience trip provides many positive benefits related both to Jewish and general components of personality development and growth. Parents who enroll their teens in Israel experiences typically express acute awareness of the benefits related to Jewish identity development and bonding with/reestablishing a Jewish peer network. Others do not even see the benefits in terms of maturation and development or preparation for college life. Even when these positions are seen, the parents often see no particular benefit about sending their teen to Israel per se.

### Absence of Social Pressure from Peer Group

As with any non-normative experience, support or pressure from the peer group is a potential influencing variable. This holds true for the teen, the college student, and the parent. Unfortunately, for most Jewish popu-

lation segments, as of yet there is no significant snowball effect. There are a few places, however, where an Israel experience has become a rite of passage (e.g., Orthodox congregations and Yeshivot, some confirmation classes, and day school trips).

Factors Leading to Successful Recruitment

Along with revealing the obstacles to participation, the evaluations also provided insights into factors leading to successful recruitment. Although several general principles were discovered, it is important to recognize and respect the individual characteristics and dynamics of each involved institution/community.

The most successful model is one in which the focus is not solely on Israel experiences, but rather where Israel is a part of every aspect of the institution/community (i.e., social and religious activities, school and adult and family education curricula, experiential and family opportunities), and where consciousness is raised through a synchronized team approach, by both the professional and volunteer leadership, to elevate the Israel agenda.

Based on the experiences described in the evaluations of the *Gift of Israel* and *IsraelBreak* programs, even in institutions/ communities where this synergistic model is followed, mass marketing and recruitment tactics are not sufficient. Individualized, one-on-one approaches are necessary in almost every case. To do this effectively, the institution/community needs one or more point people who are both knowledgeable about Israel experiences and passionately committed to the larger Israel agenda. These people can be Jewish communal professionals or volunteers.

For example, findings from a recent largescale study of a national program, the Alexander Muss High School in Israel (AMHSI), strongly support the invaluable power of peer-to-peer recruitment conducted by program alumni (Isaacs, 1997). Most alumni responding to the survey had learned about the program and were convinced to participate by teen alumni. Based on these findings, AMHSI is currently seeking ways to train, mobilize, and systematize alumni recruitment efforts.

### IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE ACTION

In the 1992 American presidential campaign, much credit for President Clinton's success was given to his continued reference to the aphorism. "It's the economy, Stupid!" This phrase served to maintain the campaign's focus on its core issue. Those convinced of the value of Israel experiences for identity building might adopt a similar slogan, "It's Israel, Chochem!" Living by this adage would have significant implications for the Jewish education of youth and the preparation of participants for Israel experiences.

There is much to be done to enable Diaspora Jewry to send more high-school and college students to Israel, so much, in fact, that both an international Israel experience entity *and* local entities for communities or clusters of communities are needed.

On a *local level*, there are several key functions to be fulfilled:

- Promotion of the Agenda: Without the public support of both professional and volunteer leadership of the local federation (and agencies and congregations), promotion of the Israel and Israel experience agenda will not be fully successful. For that reason, it is critical that a group of committed, high-level professionals and volunteers be identified to advance this agenda on behalf of the community.
- Relationship Building and Consultation with Local Institutions: Building relationships and consulting with local institutions, including those already involved as well as those not yet involved with Israel programming and Israel experiences, is also critical. The evaluation revealed that the personal connection between Israel Experience Center leadership (professional and volunteer) and their counterparts at local congregations and agencies really

made the difference in the way the individual "communities" approached the agenda of Israel and Israel experiences. Better understanding of the specific needs and characteristics of congregation and agency communities is critical to further the agenda effectively. In addition, strong relationships with local Israel program offices result in greater effectiveness in working with clients (the prospective participants and their families) and in promoting related agendas (e.g., program standards and post-trip programming).

Pre-and Post-Israel Experience Programming: One long-term goal for the Israel Experience Center is to ensure that the participating teens and their families are appropriately prepared for the Israel experience by providing mailings, guides, maps, cultural information, and gift certificates to teens, as well as manuals for families about how to prepare their teen for the trip and what to expect from their teens when they return. Certainly much of this material could be prepared on an international level and could then be personalized and circulated from the local entity. would strengthen the connection between the local community and the teen both prior and in follow-up to the Israel experience.

Most experts agree that quality followup programming is critical. Unfortunately, many program sponsors do not provide the follow-up that their program alumni want and need. For that reason, New York's Israel Experience Center has tested different models of follow-up. While we certainly believe that primary responsibility for providing quality follow-up should belong to the program sponsors, we recognize that this is not currently a high priority for many of them and we believe it is our responsibility to elevate this issue on their agendas. Further, we feel that there might be a role that a community-based entity should be playing in this arena, though we have not, as yet, identified that role.

- Funding: Funding of Israel experiences (scholarships, promotion, etc.) requires significant amounts of money. Certainly, much of this should come from an international entity. In order to maximize buy-in and commitment to the Israel and Israel experience agenda, however, local community entities should be funded at least in part by local community campaigns.
- Grant Making: In the coming year, New York's Israel Experience Center plans to further explore the provision of grants to test whether Israel can be provided a far more significant role/place within the ongoing life of an institution (congregations, Jewish Community Centers, campus Hillel, etc.). Making such opportunities available is a shared responsibility of both local entities who best know the institutions and leadership within their communities and of international entities that have the ability to raise more money.
- Community Israel Experiences: While the New York community has not to date run its own programs or sponsored trips for teens, many communities appropriately embrace this opportunity. They report that sending their teens with known local professionals on a program developed for their particular population provides parents with both a greater sense of security and positive feelings about the quality of the program. Such programs further provide greater opportunities for pre-trip preparation and post-trip follow-up.
- Further Research: The fundamental question that remains as yet unanswered is the role of Israel in North American Jewish life. It would be instructive and illuminating to learn more about the role of Israel in Jewish identity development and to test the assumption that a connection to Israel is a natural and/or automatic consequence of other aspects of strong Jewish identification.

On an *international level*, an Israel experience entity should be directly involved in the following activities:

- large-scale marketing, both to help bring Israel "back on the radar screen" and to confront images of Israel as portrayed in the media
- providing information about and referrals to Israel experiences
- networking for professionals and volunteers
- evaluating Israel experiences as well as communal efforts
- producing educational resources for schools and for prospective participants and their families, and promotional materials (e.g. a newsletter) that could be personalized by individual communities
- creating and maintaining an interactive and exciting web site
- facilitating ongoing interaction between North American teens and their Israeli peers
- coordinating seminars in Israel for professionals and volunteers to learn first hand about the various Israel experiences (New York's Israel Experience Center facilitated such seminars in 1995 and 1996)
- creating and distributing Israel Program Guides listing high-school, college, and post-college Israel programs that meet certain standards.

#### CONCLUSIONS

At the 1992 General Assembly of the Council of Jewish Federations, Charles Bronfman launched a major campaign to send 50,000 North American teens to Israel by year 2000. In 1997 we have not made much progress toward that goal. Certainly, marketing mechanisms can be improved and greater efforts can be made to publicize Israel experiences. The aggregate data from evaluations of New York's Israel Experience Center Programs, however, suggest that such efforts will not be sufficient if the community does not address the fundamental underlying obstacle, "It's Israel, Chochem!"

Our research and experience have revealed that the most profound and fundamental obstacles to participating in Israel experiences are weak Jewish identity, inadequate knowledge, and negative climate of opinion regarding Israel. Needless to say, this is a painful realization, especially since these obstacles prevail not only among members of the populace but also among many institutional and communal leaders. The practical implications are that the Jewish community must acknowledge and respond to two related issues:

- 1. The most basic assumption that Israel has tremendous intrinsic appeal for all Jews is faulty. Reducing or removing cost and information obstacles is not a sufficient catalyst for participation.
- Therefore, attempting to recruit young adults to participate in Israel experiences without educating them, their parents, and their Jewish role models to the central role of Israel in Jewish identity and in organized Jewish life is, in effect, putting the cart before the horse.

Based on findings from the evaluations, the Israel Experience Center has identified new directions to be pursued. The Center is working in partnership with institutions and segments of the New York Jewish community to promote the Israel agenda, each in their own way and on their own terms. Suggestions have been offered for ways that an international entity might further advance these efforts. It is hoped that by addressing the fundamental barriers to Israel Experience participation the numbers of young adults will increase significantly.

Six years after the establishment of the State of Israel, Professor Mordechai M. Kaplan z"l provided a series of lectures at the Jewish Theological Seminary, and subsequently published them in his book, A New Zionism (1954). His conclusion focused on the well-known phrase: "For out of Zion shall go forth the Torah." Rabbi Kaplan pointed out that before the Torah can go forth from Zion, it will have to enter Zion.

The parallel is obvious. Before a love for and connection to Israel can go forth from our youth, it will need to enter our youth. Ours is

the challenge to foster that love and connection within our youth and their families.

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