

STRUCTURAL CHANGES OF THE KIBBUTZ COMMUNITY

by

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## INTRODUCTION

The kibbutz community has been systematically investigated by social scientists since World War II<sup>1</sup>, and rightly so, since it is one of the most significant sociological phenomena of our time. It may be assumed that the kibbutz is an organization of democracy and collectivism mixed.<sup>2</sup> As such it needs further investigation.

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<sup>1</sup>The significant works on the kibbutz published after World War II are Melford E. Spiro's Kibbutz: Venture in Utopia (1956); Children of Kibbutz (1958); "Is the Family Universal," American Anthropologist, 1954; "The Education in Communal Villages in Israel," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 1955; "The Sabras and Zionism: A Study in Personality," Social Problems, 1957; Murry Weingarten's Life in Kibbutz, 1955; Waldo Frank's The Drama of Israel, 1957; A. I. Rabin's Growing up in the Kibbutz, 1965; and hundreds of research papers published in the journals and periodicals by sociologists such as Yonima Talmon-Garber, S. N. Eisenstadt, Amitai Etzioni, Eva Rosenfeld, Samuel Koenig, Richard D. Schwartz, and some other sociologists and social scientists.

Social Problems, Vol. 5, No. 2 (Fall, 1957) is a special issue on Kibbutz. It contains four articles from a field study of a number of Israeli kibbutzim conducted during 1948-1953 by five American social scientists. Three anthropologists (Melford E. Spiro, Stanley Diamond, and one who has chosen to remain in Israel, and now is living in the kibbutz in which he did his field of study) and two sociologists (Richard D. Schwartz and Eva Rosenfeld). See Stanley Diamond, "Introduction," Social Problems, Vol. 5, No. 2 (Fall, 1957), pp. 68-70. About 1955 another team of social scientists conducted a field research in kibbutzim. They are Richard Karpe, Richard D. Schwartz, Eva Rosenfeld, Melford Spiro, Marilyn Winograd, and some others. Their research results were presented in a special issue on kibbutz by American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, Vol. 28 (1958). See Richard Karpe, "Editorial Statement," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, Vol. 28 (July, 1958), pp. 547-548.

<sup>2</sup>In discussion of the relationship between collectivism and democracy, Richard D. Schwartz made a conclusion based on his findings that democracy can exist in a collective society. "Democracy and Collectivism in the Kibbutz," Social Problems, Vol. 5, No. 2 (Fall, 1957), pp. 137-147.

Before proceeding to the analysis of the kibbutz community, some general information about the background of the kibbutz movement and the institutional features of the kibbutz must be presented.

Kibbutz, in Hebrew, means "a gathering" or "a company." The term used in Israel is to refer to a collective settlement. The kibbutz is one of the most extensive applications of collective living on a purely voluntary basis to be attempted in contemporary time. This is a unique social experiment. At present there exist throughout Israel over 277 separate kibbutzim with a total population of 77,209 persons.<sup>3</sup> This comprises four percent of the settled Jewish population in Israel. In 1956 there was twenty-one percent of the rural population living in the kibbutzim.

The movement towards a kibbutz type of community began quite some time before it became a reality. For over nineteen centuries the Jewish people were without a country and were persecuted and suffering in many parts of the world, especially in Russia and Nazi Germany. In the early 1900's and at the end of the 19th century, Zionism began as a movement of the Jews over the world for return to Palestine to build up their home land. It became an active movement in 1897. The reconstruction of the national state in Palestine was its goal, and socialism was considered the best means for a new nation dedicated to the

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<sup>3</sup>This figure is of 1961. See Joseph Ben-David, "The Kibbutz and Beyond," Agricultural Planning and Village Community in Israel (Paris: UNESCO, 1964), p. 55.

principles of social equality and justice. The kibbutz community was organized in these terms. The kibbutz settlers were drawn from a most varied background; they came from many parts of the world with a variety of culture, formed themselves into groups for the common goals. Primarily they were drawn from Eastern European Jewry holding in common vision of a utopian community organized on democratic pattern. Thus the first kvutza<sup>4</sup> was founded in 1909. For several reasons, the kibbutzim were considered the only hope for extensive colonization in Palestine. First, most of the immigrants were inexperienced in farming and would scarcely be willing to undertake settlement on an individual farming basis. Second, most of the settlers were poor; they could not finance a farm. Third, there was also the matter of defense against the hostile neighbors; a single household could not defend itself in case of attacks. Fourth, the natural conditions, such as the stony deserts and marshes, gave an individual farm little chance of success, because the stone must be cleared and the land must be irrigated before farming. But by pooling their knowledge and efforts a collective group

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<sup>4</sup>The kibbutz actually is kvutza. It served as the prototype of the kibbutz generally. It was originally distinguished from the kibbutz by its smaller size, its early antagonism to industrialization, and its relative unconcern with formulating a political systematic point of view. However, in recent years, the distinctions between kibbutz and kvutza have been largely obliterated. Since 1921, the name of kibbutz began to be used. Stanley Diamond, "Kibbutz and Shtetl: The History of An Idea" Social Problems, Vol. 5 (Fall, 1957), pp. 71-72; and William Aenkel, The Family in Perspective (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1960), p. 167.

might succeed.<sup>5</sup>

The features of the kibbutz are as follows:

Collective ownership. All property and means of production in the Kibbutz are owned by the collective, except a few small personal effects. Members who leave the kibbutz have no claim on any part of it. The collective ownership is believed to prevent the development of economic classes and the inevitable social inequality that seems to characterize stratified societies. In other words, the founders of the kibbutzim believed that a just and equal society could be implemented by a collective project.

Direct democracy. The kibbutz vests the highest authority in the general assembly both in its written constitution and to a large extent in practice as well. The general assembly is composed of all adult members of the community and most decisions are made by a majority of all members present at a given meeting. The meeting is usually held once a week to solve the general (such as admittance of new members, election of the management to authorize the annual budget, etc.) and specific (such as finance, labor, education, health, etc.) problems.

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<sup>5</sup>Melford E. Spiro, Kibbutz: Venture in Utopia (New York: Schocken Books, 1965), pp. xxii, xv, 11-37; Renkel, op. cit., pp. 166-168; John Hersey, "Our Far-Flung Correspondents: the Kibbutz," The New Yorker, April 19, 1952, p. 97; Eva Rosenfeld, "Social Stratification in Classless Society," American Sociological Review, Vol. 16, No. 6 (December, 1951), pp. 766-767; Herbert A. Harboch, "Social Stratification in the Collective Agricultural Settlement in Israel," Rural Sociology, Vol. 18 (March, 1953), pp. 25-26; and Samuel A. Hirs, "The Crisis in Israel's Collective Settlements," Jewish Social Studies, Vol. 14 (July, 1952), pp. 145-147.

Shared distribution. Money has been abolished within the kibbutz both as a medium of exchange and a symbol of wealth. The distribution of goods is by the principle of "to each according to his needs." Consumer goods and services are provided by the community to each member. The main meals are taken in the communal dining room, and the communal stores supply the other needs of the members.

Collective upbringing. Children's upbringing is a collective responsibility of the community. They live not with their parents, but in special children's home, where they are cared for and educated by special nurses and teachers. Parents have no direct responsibility for the economic needs of their children.

Self-labor. In kibbutz, the ideal of work is an ultimate value. All works were done by the kibbutz members themselves; no hired labor was permitted. In the early years, all jobs were rotated to emphasize the goodness and importance of the least skilled and menial jobs as well as more demanding ones.

Equalitarianism. In kibbutz, all people are equal. The equality means that all members have equal responsibility to serve both as leaders and as ordinary laborers. The equality encourages the horizontal patterns of relationship and discourages the vertical social differentiation.

Group primacy. The interest of the kibbutz is always paramount. When the needs of the individual and the needs of the kibbutz conflict, the individual is expected to abdicate his needs in favor of the kibbutz. This applies to vocational



interests as well as to ideological convictions.

A second aspect of the ethical value of the group is the assumption that the individual's motivation will always be directed to the promotion of the group's interest, as well as his own. This means that every member is responsible for the welfare of every other member and for the welfare of the kibbutz as a whole, just as the kibbutz is responsible for the welfare of each individual.<sup>6</sup>

These features of the kibbutz articulated the central values of daily life in the kibbutz community. Although the kibbutz has successfully played the role of building up the country, today, it is facing a crisis which threatens the original ideology in its initial stage. The factors which led to the crisis<sup>7</sup> derived from changed conditions without, as well as within the kibbutz.<sup>8</sup> The proposition underlying this study is that the alteration of the kibbutz ideology is related to changes in the structure and function of the task-subsystem, as well as that of the maintenance subsystem.

Students of the kibbutz community have shown concern for the specific subsystems or particular aspects of the organization.

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<sup>6</sup>Schwartz, op. cit., p. 137; Spiro, Kibbutz: Utopia in Ventura, op. cit., pp. 12-19, 29-30; Rivkah Bar-Yoseph, "The Pattern of Early Socialization in the Collective Settlement," Human Relations, Vol. 12, No. 4 (1959), pp. 345-346; Spiro, Children of the Kibbutz, op. cit., pp. 4-5; and Kenkel, op. cit., pp. 165-168.

<sup>7</sup>The crisis here is referred to the alteration of kibbutz original ideology.

<sup>8</sup>Koenig, op. cit., p. 148.

Their efforts have been concentrated on investigating the arrangements within the kibbutz, the direction of change, and its contacts with the rest of Israeli society.

In analyzing the crisis of the kibbutz, an understanding of the external and the internal aspects of the kibbutz and the broader implications of the community are necessary. Warren generalized Parsons' and Homans' theory of social systems as follows:

It has both external and internal aspects relating the systems to its environment and its units to each other. It can be distinguished from its surrounding environment, performing an equilibrium in the sense that it adapts to changes from outside the system in such a way as to minimize the impact of the change on the organizational structure and to regularize the subsequent relationship.<sup>9</sup>

As yet we do not have definitive answers as to the patterns of the external and the internal factors which caused the crisis of the kibbutz community. The purpose of this study is to investigate the structure and function of the kibbutz in order to analyze its crisis. External and internal aspects related to the crisis will be further analyzed in terms of subsystems, social stratification, and the relationship between the kibbutz and Israeli society.

So far sociologists have not made much use of the external and the internal patterns of a social system<sup>10</sup> in reference to

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<sup>9</sup>Roland L. Warren, The Community in America (Chicago: Rand-McNally & Company, 1966), p. 136.

<sup>10</sup>The theory of social system can be applied to the community analysis. See Warren, op. cit., pp. 46-51, 151-161; and Irwin T. Sanders, The Community: An Introduction to Social System (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1966), pp. 25-55.

the community analysis. However, the systematic linkage between various subsystems in the community and their respective extra-community relationship are of special relevance to this study.

Homans did make a systematic analysis of the external and the internal patterns of the system in "The Human Group." He defined the external system as a set of internal relationships that solves the survival problems of the group in its environment. If the group is surviving in its environment, the behavior of the group must be such as to allow it to survive in the environment.<sup>11</sup>

Homans defined the internal system as follows:

. . . We call the system "internal" because it is not directly conditional by the environment, and we speak of it as "elaboration" because it includes forms of behaviour not included under the heading of the external system. . . . We think of the internal system as group behaviour that is an expression of the sentiments towards one another developed by the members of the group in the course of their life together.<sup>12</sup>

Parsons has made little use of the external-internal concept in the analysis of a social system. He develops a set of concepts associated with the pattern variables:

(1) Goal-attainment is concerned with the selection, ordering and attainment of the collective goal rather than the maintenance of solidarity. (2) Adaptation is economy, privacy, and manipulation of the environment in the interests of goal-attainment. (3) Integration concerns the adjustment of conflicts and direction of motivation to fulfillment of institutionalized expectations. In the narrower sense, it is primarily a

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<sup>11</sup>George C. Homans, The Human Group (New York: Harcourt Brace and Company, 1950), pp. 60, 93; and Warren, op. cit., p. 138.

<sup>12</sup>Homans, op. cit., pp. 109-110.

mechanism of social control. (4) Tension-management has the expressive function. The first two are primarily concerned with the task-function of the system which parallels Homans' external system; the last two are concerned with the maintenance function of the system which parallels Homans' internal system. In his external system, Homans included both the task the group performs in relation to its environment and the formal aspects of the group's organization for these tasks. In his internal system, he included the sentiments and spontaneous relationships which arise among members as they perform the group's tasks.<sup>13</sup>

The distinction between the external-internal and the task-maintenance is "the formal aspects of structure through which the group is organized to perform its tasks, although included by Homans in his external structure, are customarily considered as part of the group's maintenance function."<sup>14</sup>

In an analysis of a community as a social system, Warren uses the concept of vertical-horizontal instead of Homans' external-internal, because he thought that the vertical-horizontal pattern is more applicable than that of Homans'. Warren defined the community's vertical pattern "as the structural and functional relation of its various social units and subsystems to extracommunity systems," and horizontal pattern "as the structural-functional relation of its various social units and subsystems to each other . . . on the same level."<sup>15</sup>

The kibbutz is a unique type of community; its normative

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<sup>13</sup>Talcott Parsons, Structure and Process in Modern Societies (Illinois, The Free Press, 1960), pp. 44-57; Parsons, Societies: Evolutionary and Comparative Perspectives (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, 1966), pp. 18-19, 25, 29; Warren, op. cit., p. 140.

<sup>14</sup>Warren, op. cit., p. 140.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., pp. 161-162.

pattern is different from that of the Israeli society. The kibbutz subsystems are not vertically related to extracommunity systems as in the United States. Thus Warren's vertical pattern of the community cannot be applied here.

The similarity between the external-internal pattern and task-maintenance is that "task performance often related community subsystems to extracommunity system. While maintenance activities have to do more with relation of different subsystems to each other on the local level."<sup>16</sup>

While analyzing the change in the original ideology of the kibbutz, we first consider the relation between the kibbutz and Israeli society through its task-subsystem; second, we consider the interrelation of the subsystems and the subsystems themselves within the kibbutz. However, the differentiation between the external and the internal patterns, and on the other hand, between the task and maintenance patterns is rough. Structurally, the patterns are closely interdependent. It will not be useful to deal with them independently; it will be necessary to interweave them. But for the convenience of analysis, it is necessary to make the distinction between these two types of structures and at the same time to show their interdependence.

We must have a point of reference for the analysis of the kibbutz subsystem. Parsons' approach to formal organization can be applied here:

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<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 163.

(1) Cultural-institutional point of view uses the values of the system and their institutionalization in different contexts as its point of departure. . . . The main point of reference for analyzing the structure of any social system is its value pattern. This defines the basic orientation of the system to the situation in which it operates; hence, it guides the activities of the participant individuals. (2) The "group" or "role" point of view which takes suborganization and roles of individuals participating in the functioning of the organization as its point of departure.<sup>17</sup>

The data being employed in this paper are mainly from recent research done by sociologists, anthropologists, psychologists, and a few economists. Most of the works are field research, which emphasize specific aspects of single subsystems. Some other social scientists focus more or less exclusively on one narrower aspect of social life in the kibbutz community. From a review of literature of the kibbutz, no social scientist using the sociological approach to analyze the whole kibbutz community was found. The writer hopes to examine the question whether the ideal experimental community could be maintained as well as its original ideology.

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<sup>17</sup>Parsons, Structure and Process in Modern Societies, op. cit., pp. 19-20.

## THE SUBSYSTEMS OF THE KIBBUTZ--STRUCTURE AND FUNCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to analyze the structure and the function of the subsystems of the kibbutz and their interrelations in order to find out the changes within the kibbutz. Four subsystems will be analyzed here: the commission of the kibbutz, the economy, the family, and the education. The commission of the kibbutz directs the activities of the kibbutz towards its collective goal and also makes contacts with its external environment. But the structure and the role relationship of the commission are changing in terms of the structural differentiation and functional specialization of the economy. The economy performs the adaptive functions. It is the instrumental system of the kibbutz and the main stream of bringing the changes from without. The family and the education perform the process of socialization; their functions for the kibbutz community are expressive and normative rather than operative. The structure of the family and the structure of the education are changed in terms of the structure of the task-subsystem.

### The Family

The family in the kibbutz community is different from that of Israel. The kibbutz family is non-familistic.<sup>1</sup> But according

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<sup>1</sup>Mrs. Talmon-Garber, in order to analyze the kibbutz family, did develop a typology of the "non-familistic" and the "familistic" structure of community to indicate the differences of the kibbutz family from that of Mashev.

In the "familistic" type the family is the basic unit of the division of the labor and a major structural principle. The

to Talmon's study of the kibbutz family, there is a tendency of "non-familistic" social toward "familistic."<sup>2</sup> The changing trend can be observed from the structure and function of the family, which will be discussed in the following pages.

The kibbutz family plays an expressive role for the attainment of the collective goals of the kibbutz community. During the early revolutionary stage,<sup>3</sup> husband and wife had independent jobs, roles were allotted to individuals by the community work-committee. Some functions of the family had been delegated to other subsystems, such as economy and education. But recently, some of its lost functions have been resumed because of the need of the community for its own survival. As we have mentioned, the kibbutz community is a group and equalitarian-oriented community; all the activities and units within the community focus on these values. When the family relationship has weakened, the primary group characteristics of the community and

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household unit is an extended family. It is largely self-sufficient. To the extent that it is not self-sufficient, it established relations as a family unit with similar family units within a framework of kinship units of varying range. Predominantly "familistic" societies are of the common type.

The main characteristics of the "non-familistic" type, on the one hand, are delegation of functions to other institutions, discontinuity between familial and social roles and automatization of the nuclear family. Predominantly "non-familistic" societies are of the associational type. Mrs. Y. Talmon-Garber, "The Family in Israel," Journal of Marriage and Family Living, Vol. 16 (1954), pp. 343-349.

<sup>2</sup>Y. Talmon-Garber, "The Family in Revolutionary Movement" in Meyer Nischoff, ed., Comparative Family System (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1965), pp. 259-266.

<sup>3</sup>While describing the development of the kibbutz community, Talmon-Garber divides the stages in revolutionary and routinization. All the kibbutzim go through these two stages.



family tends to become a competing focus of intensive primary group relations. The community orientation checks this to a certain degree to prevent hindering the cohesion of the community. While analyzing the internal function of the family, it is necessary to consider the external ties between the family and other subsystems.

Family Functions. According to Murdock's cross-cultural study of kinship, the nuclear family is universal, and the functions served by it are universal prerequisites for the survival of any society.<sup>4</sup> In order to analyze the family, Murdock's model of four functions (reproduction, sexual regulation, economy, and socialization) can be applied here. The degree of performance of these functions is different in terms of social structure.<sup>5</sup> In the kibbutz, two of these four functions are distributed to other subsystems such as economy and education. The kibbutz family now is regaining some of its lost functions. We shall look first at reproduction and sexual regulation, which are assumed to be unique to the family in the community, and then examine some of the other functions in which the family plays partially.

1. Reproduction and Sexual Regulation. The family is institutional locus of reproduction in the kibbutz. "All kibbutz couples eventually get married in accordance with

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<sup>4</sup>George Peter Murdock, Social Structure (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1955), (tenth printing), p. 10.

<sup>5</sup>E. E. Schattschneider, "Social Structure and Family Size," Human Relations, Vol. 12, No. 2 (1959), pp. 121-146.

marriage laws of the state, because children born out of wedlock have no rights according to state law."<sup>6</sup> The sexual relationship between men and women is not confined to the marriage situation, but the kibbutz has a norm attempting to guarantee that reproduction shall take place within family framework. Premartial relations are considered legitimate and are not censured.<sup>7</sup>

The emphasis on free love and the emphasis on restraint and reticence simultaneously check each other. There was hardly any promiscuous and indiscriminate mating or wild irresponsible experimentation.<sup>8</sup> The findings of Talmon-Garber are contradictory to that of Spiro's. Spiro maintained that there are no sanctions against sexual relations among the young people in the kibbutz.<sup>9</sup> But actually there is a taboo among the peer-group; because the children of a peer group are grown up together like brothers and sisters.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>Talmon-Garber, "The Family in Revolutionary Movement," op. cit., p. 265; and Melford E. Spiro, "Is the Family Universal," American Anthropologist, Vol. 56 (October, 1954), pp. 841-842.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 265.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 266.

<sup>9</sup>Spiro, op. cit., p. 841.

<sup>10</sup>Talmon-Garber, "Mate-Selection in the Collective Settlements," American Sociological Review, Vol. 29 (August, 1964), p. 502.

It should be noted that the kibbutz described by Spiro is affiliated with a Federation that pursues much more extreme and more rigorous policy of sexual disgregation than the federation in which Talmon-Garber conducted his research. Kibbutzim affiliated to the Orthodox religious Federation practice considerable segregation between sexes.

In recent years, the recruitment of membership has shifted from outside the kibbutz to natural increase within the kibbutz. The reproduction role of the family has become more significant than before. Consequently, a more feminine prototype for women emerged, and the family is partially emancipated. The average number of children in the kibbutzim was for years one of the lowest in the country. In 1941-1942 the birth rate per family in the kibbutzim was 0.8 as compared to 1.2 for the country as a whole. Now the average birth rate of the kibbutz is higher than in town. In 1953-54 the birth rate per family in the kibbutzim was 1.75 as compared with the urban rate of 1.64.<sup>11</sup>

What kind of ideology is behind the reproduction? There are four ideological patterns related to the reproduction of the family as follows:

<u>Distribution of ideological pattern</u> <sup>12</sup>	
	% (N=445)
Collective-oriented limitation	12
Collective-oriented expansion	39
Family-oriented expansion	24
Individual-oriented limitation	25
	<u>100</u>

The ideology of expansion of family size is at present much stronger than the ideology of limitation. The attitude of the kibbutz members toward the size of family is that forty-eight percent of the people prefer the medium family size

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<sup>11</sup>Talmon-Garber, "The Family in Israel," op. cit., p. 347.

<sup>12</sup>Talmon-Garber, "Social Structure and Family Size," op. cit., p. 130.

(3-4 children); twenty-four percent prefer large family size; 5.5 percent prefer small family size (1-2 children); and only 9.6 percent reject the collective norm.<sup>13</sup>

Owing to the change of the reproduction role of the family, the relationship between husband and wife, parents and children, and the family position in the community are also changed.

2. The Economy. In general, economic cooperation is one of the main family functions in Western societies. The economic unit in the kibbutz is the community, not the family. Family does not have any property; and, of course, there is no inheritance. Husband and wife are independently participating in work in the community; the meals are taken in the communal dining hall; and children are cared for by the community nursery. The kibbutz community is run as a single economic unit. The economic cooperation between husband and wife does not take place in the family, because of the social structure of the kibbutz precluding the necessity for such cooperation.<sup>14</sup>

The role of both men and women required a wholehearted devotion to the work and active participation in communal activities outside of the family, and the masculine prototype prevented an intense identification with the role of mother and curbed the desire for children.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>13</sup>Ibid., pp. 127-128.

<sup>14</sup>Talmon-Carber, "The Family Revolutionary Movement," op. cit., pp. 260, 263; and Spiro, op. cit., p. 841.

<sup>15</sup>Talmon-Carber, "The Family in Revolutionary Movement," op. cit., p. 263.

Recently, owing to the change of patterns of distribution of certain consumption items and the development of sex-role differentiation in work assignment, the position of the family and relationships of the husband-wife have been altered. Many kibbutzim have abolished the allocation of certain goods according to fixed and specific standards and have introduced a more flexible distribution system. The family has some of the responsibility for the planning in this sphere. As the sex-role differentiation, men are doing productive labor and administration, and women are allied to housekeeping and child care not far from their apartment or the nursery; thus, it is easier for them to cope with their tasks at home.<sup>16</sup>

3. Socialization. The role of socialization in the kibbutzim is played by the nurses, instructors, teachers, and parents. Only the parents will be discussed in this section. The parent-role in socialization is an expressive one. In the kibbutzim children live apart from their parents. From birth they sleep, eat, and, later on, study in the special children house. Each age group has its own life and its autonomous arrangements. Children meet their parents in off-hours and spend early evenings with them. On Saturdays and holidays they stay most of the time with their parents. During the revolutionary stage, it was feared that deep attachment to one's children might take precedence over the task-oriented relations

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<sup>16</sup>Ibid., pp. 265, 271-276.

with comrades.<sup>17</sup> Therefore, the community limited the close attachment between the parents and the children.

In the routinization stage of the kibbutz, the parents' role in socialization is to minister to their children's needs for security and love. The mother is more concerned with the bodily well-being of the children and takes care of them while they are at home. She usually has more contact with the nursery and the school and sees the upbringing of her children. The father's main responsibilities are outside the home, in the yard, on the farm, in dealing with communal affairs which concern the kibbutz as a whole. According to Talmon's study, in the eyes of the growing children, the figure of the father emerges gradually as the representative of the kibbutz, while the mother is the representative of the family.<sup>18</sup> The children spend a certain amount of time with both parents, and the father is expected to join in this intimate expressive interaction. This could suggest minimization of specific sex-role determined differentiation, particularly in family related instrumental and expressive role.<sup>19</sup>

4. The Affectional Function. This function is not included in Murdock's four functions of the family. During the revolutionary stage, the privatization of the family life was

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<sup>17</sup>Ibid., pp. 261, 263-264.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., p. 276.

<sup>19</sup>Sol Engelmann and Shlomo Leshnits, "Perception of Parents by Kibbutz Adolescents: a Further Test of the Instrumentality-expressive Model," Human Relations, Vol. 19 (Fall, 1966), pp. 117-118.

made almost impossible, because the attachment relationship of the family members is considered to threaten kibbutz cohesion. Consequently, there was little regard for the family relationship in work allocation. Husband and wife were assigned to jobs with different timetables and did not see each other. In the routinalization stage, a subtle transformation of informal relationships and leisure-time activities for husband and wife, less free time is spent in public; husband and wife spend much of their free time together at home. The frequency of contact between parents and children is also increased,<sup>20</sup> especially in the care of aged parents.<sup>21</sup> The aged parents live together, either in separate rooms, or in a semi-detached little flat adjoining their children's flat. Relatives who live in the same community maintain close contacts through frequent visits and mutual help. This situation leads the relatives to cluster in blocks and this arrangement has a considerable influence on communal affairs.<sup>22</sup>

As it is now, kibbutz parents and children are greatly attached to one another and derive satisfaction. This relationship cannot be gained from outside the family. The parents' room becomes a sort of psychological need of the child.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>20</sup>Talmon-Barber, "The Family in Revolutionary Movement," op. cit., pp. 267-276-277.

<sup>21</sup>Y. Talmon-Barber, "Aging in Israel," American Sociological Review, Vol. 67 (Nov., 1961), pp. 288-289.

<sup>22</sup>Talmon-Barber, "The Family in Revolutionary Movement" op. cit., p. 261.

<sup>23</sup>Melford E. Spiro, Kibbutz: Venture in Utopia (New York: Schocken Books, 1965), third printing, pp. 125-126.

According to Talmon-Garber's study, in many cases interaction of family members with one another is less frequent than interaction with outsiders, but internal ties within the family are continuous and more intense. The emotional ties that bind husband and wife and parents and children are much more intimate and more exclusive than the ties with other members of the kibbutz.<sup>24</sup>

Marriage and Mate Selection. By a definition of marriage by Murdock, "marriage exists only when the economic and the sexual are combined in one relationship."<sup>25</sup> By such a definition, there is no marriage in the kibbutz community, because the economic factor does not exist in the kibbutz marriage. However, there is a patterned relationship between adult members of the two sexes that resembles marriage.<sup>26</sup> Marriage in the kibbutz does not change the status of women; she retains an independent status in her own right.<sup>27</sup>

As for the mate selection among the second generation, there is a tendency toward out-group. Members of the same peer-group develop an incest taboo that neutralizes their sexual interest in each other and that prohibits sexual rela-

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<sup>24</sup>Talmon-Garber, "The Family in Revolutionary Movement," op. cit., p. 269.

<sup>25</sup>Murdock, op. cit., p. 8.

<sup>26</sup>William F. Kenkel, The Family in Perspective (New York: Appleton-Century-Croft, Inc., 1960), p. 169.

<sup>27</sup>Talmon-Garber, "The Family in Revolutionary Movement," op. cit., pp. 264-265.



tions and marriage within the peer group. This taboo extends somewhat to all children born and reared in the same kibbutz.<sup>28</sup> They choose their marriage partners from a nearby group.

According to Talmon-Garber's study of mate-selection in the kibbutz community, the second generation tends to marry (1) members who join their kibbutz at later stages of its development, (2) members of other kibbutzim, (3) members of training groups of prospective settlers organized by the youth movements, and (4) outsiders who are not affiliated with the collective movement. In the sample of 125 couples, the distribution of marriage patterns is as follows:

	<u>Percent</u>
(1) Intra-second generation	
Intra-peer group	0
Inter-peer group	3
(2) Intra-kibbutz	31
(3) Inter-kibbutz	23
(4) Intra-movement	27
(5) Extra-movement	16
	<hr/>
	100 (125)

Most marriages are concentrated in the intermediate range of this typology. Eighty-one percent are of the intra-kibbutz, inter-kibbutz, and intra-movement types. Both intra-second generation marriages and extra-movement marriages are less prevalent than the intermediate types.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>28</sup>Y. Talmon-Garber, "Mate-Selection in Collective Settlements," American Sociological Review, Vol. 29 (August, 1964), p. 491.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., pp. 494-495.

The exogamous tendencies are further enhanced by the ambivalent attitude of the second generation toward local continuity. Most of the members of the second generation have a strong loyalty to their native kibbutz, but at the same time they are often hemmed in and isolated. The out-group marriage expresses their craving for new experiences and for new contacts.<sup>30</sup> Thus, "Marriage brings about a rearrangement of the social structure by segregating and interlinking sub-group within it. It bears directly on cohesion and continuity of the system."<sup>31</sup>

Strain and Restoration. In the early revolutionary stage, the kibbutz de-emphasized the family relationship which was considered detrimental to the collective cohesiveness and loyalty. The kibbutz tried to limit the family by all means. Consequently, the performance of the reproduction role was inevitably restricted, and the birth rate of the kibbutz was the lowest in the country. Since the new members from outside the kibbutz decreased, another agricultural cooperative "Moshav"<sup>32</sup> was established, and the labor for industrialization

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<sup>30</sup>Talmon-Garber, "The Family in Revolutionary Movement," op. cit., p. 291.

<sup>31</sup>Talmon-Garber, "Mate-Selection in Collective Settlements," op. cit., p. 495.

<sup>32</sup>The Moshav established in 1921 is a cooperative whose land is divided into equal farmsteads, each of which is worked without hired help by a family acceptable to the members' General Assembly. Since the establishment of Moshavim, the kibbutzim have confronted the competition with the moshav for the recruitment of members. The position of the moshavim has been radically changed; 75 percent of all settlements founded

and expansion was needed, the kibbutz has confronted a problem of recruitment; i.e., the recruitment has shifted from outside of the kibbutz to the natural increase within the kibbutz. Thus this change makes the women more feminine and the partial emancipation of the family, and the relationship between the family members more close and more intensive. Deep attachment to one's spouse and children may decrease the relations with comrades. The effectiveness of informal collectives over the members will be reduced. In recent years, the birth rate has increased, and the age of marriage has decreased.<sup>33</sup> This implies that the function of the family is changing in terms of the internal and the external effects of the family.

### The Education

The subsystem of education in the kibbutz community is divided into two parts: children-rearing and collective

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in the Negev in the post-State period are Moshavim. Since 1952, their relative weight has increased to about 85 percent of all new settlements in the Negev. See Y. Talmon-Garber and E. Cohen, "Collective Settlements in the Negev," in Joseph Ben-David (ed.), Agricultural Planning and Village Community in Israel (Paris: UNESCO, 1964), pp. 58-59; and Richard D. Schwartz, "Functional Alternatives to Inequality," American Sociological Review, Vol. 20 (August, 1955), pp. 425-426.

<sup>33</sup> The main trend of change of demographic standard in the kibbutz is a considerable decrease in the age at marriage and small increase of fertility. Average age at marriage in 1949 was 26.4 for males and 23.5 for females as compared with 30.7-25.1 for the whole country. The birth rate was 30.1 as compared with 29.3 in towns and 31.9 in the whole country. Mrs. Talmon-Garber, op. cit., p. 349.

education.<sup>34</sup> In the kibbutz community the upbringing of children is mainly by the nursery and partly by the family. The primary objective of the educational framework is trying to mould the kibbutz members emotionally, intellectually, and socially into pioneers prepared for the collective and democratic living. It is not only conditioning them for this form of life, but also fostering in them a primary loyalty to the community. It would also make the mother free from the responsibility of child-rearing in order to participate in the communal and economic activities. At the same time it would remove the child from the traditional patriarchal authority of the father. The collective upbringing also gives the children the advantage of the expert mentors.<sup>35</sup>

The main concern of this section is to examine how the social structure of a kibbutz community shapes the socialization processes and the arrangements of collective education.

The Children-rearing. In the kibbutz community the earlier socialization of the children is a simultaneous operation of two institutions: the communal nursery and the family. Thus

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<sup>34</sup>Welford E. Spiro, Children of Kibbutz (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1958); and A. I. Rabin, Growing up in the Kibbutz (New York: Springer Publishing Company, Inc., 1965).

<sup>35</sup>Elizabeth E. Irvine, "Observation on the Aims and methods of Child-Rearing in Communal Settlements in Israel," Human Relations, Vol. 5, No. 3 (1952), pp. 249-250; Yaacov Morris, On the Soil of Israel (The Association of American and Canadian in Israel, Tel Aviv, 1965), pp. 50-51; and David Rapaport, "The Story of Kibbutz Education and Its Bearing on the Theory of Development," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, Vol. 28, (July, 1958), pp. 589-591.

while analyzing the ~~circumstances~~ and the processes of the socialization, the role of nurse, the role of parents, and the role of peer-group should be considered. The nurse-role is different from the mother-role, because the former is task-oriented and the latter is affective.

1. The Role of a Nurse. The nurse is the most important socializer for young children. During the child-rearing period, the nurse has four major duties: "(1) She is responsible for the physical care and well-being of the children; (2) she gives love, affection, warmth, and comfort; (3) she transmits the kibbutz values to the children; (4) she trains them in the basic discipline--such as feeding, toilet-training, and independent training."<sup>36</sup>

The nurse takes over all the duties of the parents in western societies. She performs these four duties for the children from birth through primary school. The duty changes in terms of the developmental stages of a child's life. For instance, "the nurse who works with infants and toddlers spends a greater part of the time as caretaker than as trainer."<sup>37</sup>

In the first year of the children's life, "the nurse-child relationship is perhaps associated with the feeling of security, of being looked after, of being not left alone."<sup>38</sup> After the

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<sup>36</sup>Spiro, Children of Education, op. cit., p. 34.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., p. 35.

<sup>38</sup>Howard Halpern, "Alienation from Parenthood in the Kibbutz and America," Journal of Marriage and Family Living, Vol. 24 (Fall, 1962), p. 42.

wearing the nurse takes over the duty of feeding children from the mother.

After the first year the children are moved to the toddlers' house where the new nurse looks after them, teaches them how to feed themselves, toilet trains them, teaches them social do's and don'ts, helps them to master the difficulties of group living, comforts them, and leads them to be increasingly independent.

During the second year, the nurse-child relationship changes into a nurse-child-peer group relationship. There are two types of relationships in this stage: (1) the continuation of the former taking-care situation; (2) the children's new needs and the nurse's demands on the children.<sup>39</sup>

"The attachment of nurse or teacher to the children reveals intense ego-involvement" that betrays the principle of the task. While the nurse plays the socializer role in the kibbutz community, sometimes she is in a dilemma. She should pay equal attention to every child in her group. If there is any special attention given to anyone, he might suffer hostility from his peers; the latter could become hostile to the nurse. For instance, there might be a problem child who needs special attention; the nurse cannot handle it without danger of creating hostility.

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<sup>39</sup> Rivkah Bar-Yoseph, "The Pattern of Early Socialization in the Collective Settlement in Israel," Human Relations, Vol. 12, No. 4 (1959), pp. 353-364.

From the very first day of birth the infant lives among the peer group. All the patterned activities are connected with the daily routine; they are simultaneous and equal for all the children and are guided by the nurse. Group life is trained in this way, because they are of the same age, and their needs of love, comfort, and caretaking are competitive rather than complementary. Thus, open and violent aggression between children is inevitable.<sup>40</sup>

2. The Role of the Parents. The role of the parents in the early socialization is one of the focal socializers. Their duties are changing in terms of the growing stages of a child's life. They, as well as the nurses, have four duties--care-taking, nurturing, training, and transmitting the values of the kibbutz; but the parents are assigned to play an expressive role of socialization in the kibbutz, and are formally responsible for nurturing and caretaking only. The parents' duty of transmitting the kibbutz values to the children is merely being a good member of the kibbutz.<sup>41</sup> The training or disciplining is also limited to certain aspects.

The mother is the main source of gratification during the first three months. She has the responsibility to feed him on a rigid schedule six times a day. For the first three to six months the infant is not permitted to leave the infants' ward, but he is visited by parents for an hour in the evening. After

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<sup>40</sup>Freud, *op. cit.*, p. 268.

<sup>41</sup>Spiro, Children of Education, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-42.

this period ~~as~~ is taken to the parents' room for the evening visit. As the baby grows up, the frequency of the feeding periods decreases and part of the feeding is taken over by the nurse.<sup>42</sup>

In the weaning period, a great change in the relationship between the mother and the child is that from the breast-feeding to the bottle-feeding, and from being fed by the mother to being fed by the nurse. In this period, "the mother relinquishes her feeding role, and her activities in the nursery shrink to a minimum."<sup>43</sup>

In the second year period there are two types of role relationship--parents-child relationship and sibling-child relationship. Both the mother and the father are very affectionate, permissive toward the child, protect him, and play with him. The role of the parents in this period is to give love and affection to their child.<sup>44</sup> There is a norm for the child-rearing. If there is any deviation (deep involvement and neglect) from this pattern, the parents would be strongly criticized by public opinion.<sup>45</sup>

Comparing the father-child relationship with the mother-

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<sup>42</sup>Bar-Yoseph, op. cit., p. 350; and A. I. Rabin, "Attitude of Kibbutz Children to Family and Parents," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, Vol. 29, (January, 1959), p. 172.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid., p. 352.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid., p. 356.

<sup>45</sup>Marilyn Winograd, "The Development of the Young Child in a Collective Settlement," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, Vol. 28 (July, 1958), p. 558.



child relationship, Bar-Yoseph found that the former is much more harmonious than the latter; because the mother is responsible for the disciplining of the child at home, and the father pays much attention to the occupational role, which is very significant to the socialization of the small child also.<sup>46</sup>

3. The Relation Between the Mother and the Nurse. The nurse and the mother are playing different roles at different times and in different places. The former is playing an instrumental role, and the latter is playing an expressive role.<sup>47</sup> Sometimes the nurse serves as the mother's teacher and guide because the mother lacks experiences in child-rearing and some other qualities. In exchange of ideas about the children's education and care, the contact between the parents and the nurse is very frequent.<sup>48</sup> The result of Irvine's research about the relation between the mother and the nurse is "the more evenly the child's affection is divided, the greater the degree of potential conflict in him." In a kibbutz, while the nurse concentrates on the physical care of the child and no affection is involved with the child, there is no conflict with the mother; on the other hand, while a more maternal nurse plays two roles at the same time, there is a conflict with the mother.<sup>49</sup> The writer's opinion is that if the mother and the

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<sup>46</sup>Bar-Yoseph, *op. cit.*, pp. 356-357.

<sup>47</sup>Halpern, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

<sup>48</sup>Spiel, *Children of Situation*, *op. cit.*, 41-47.

<sup>49</sup>Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 264.

nurse simultaneously play two roles, instrumental and expressive, there will be a conflict between them. If they play the assigned role, they are complementary.

The Collective Education. Under the collective education the kindergarten, the children's society (Primary school), and the youth society (high school) will be dealt with.

1. The Kindergarten. The kindergarten is a part of the children's society. It consists of sixteen to eighteen children ranging in age from four to seven. The duties of the nurse and the teacher during this period are the caretaking, disciplining, and fostering of group spirit and intellectual development. Children visit their parents in the evenings and on holidays. Children are encouraged to act spontaneously and to learn to concentrate on the experience in their immediate environment. Their daily routine is divided between a few hours of organized collective activities and several hours of individual spontaneous activities.<sup>50</sup>

After spending a year or two in the kindergarten, there is a "transitional class" which is a preparation for the grammar school. The children receive the first formal intellectual training in this class.

2. The Children's Society. The children's society is composed of several age groups ranging from seven to twelve.

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<sup>50</sup> Spiro, "Education in a Communal Village in Israel," American Journal of Anthropology, Vol. 25 (April, 1955), p. 255; and M. Golan, "Collective Education in the Kibbutz," American Journal of Anthropology, Vol. 28 (July, 1958), pp. 549-550.

Each group of no more than twenty children has its own teacher and nurse. The relation between the teacher and the students is informal; passing to the next grade is automatic. They begin learning how to practice democracy from the discussions of the current problems arising in their group. Public opinion begins to develop, and a collective superego becomes a most valuable educational instrument. They begin to learn farming one hour a day on their own small farms.<sup>51</sup>

3. The Youth Society. The children come to the high school at the age of thirteen. The group is enlarged to twenty-five members and includes children from other kibbutzim and from cities. This is a very significant transition in their lives for at least three reasons in addition to the intellectual one:

(1) This is the first time for the children to encounter an important male figure other than their fathers. The teachers are youth group leaders and advisers to each kevtza (group),<sup>52</sup> moral and ideological mentors.

(2) The kevtza is split up, and the children form new groups comprised of children from cities and other kibbutz as well as local kibbutz. This is the first time that the children must interest intimately with strangers.

(3) The children begin to work in the kibbutz economy from one and one-half to three hours a day. Hence by the time they graduate from the high school they have experiences in every branch of the economy and can elect to work in the branch which most interests them.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>51</sup>Spiro, "Education in a Communal Village in Israel," op. cit., p. 285.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid., pp. 285-286.

<sup>53</sup>ibid., literally, groups, used in the kibbutz to refer to the age-graded peer groups into which the children are organized. Spiro, Kibbutz: Venture in Utopia, op. cit., p. XXI.

What sort of people will be moulded under this educational framework? The obvious impression is that the kibbutz-reared individual is better prepared to function in the service of group goals, less so in one-to-one relationships. But according to Dr. Rabin's and other psychologists' studies of the kibbutz education, the findings are that the ultimate value of the kibbutz rearing is for the overall emotional and social development of the individual.<sup>54</sup>

(1) The kibbutz children are generous with their possessions, willing to share their experiences immediately. But the non-kibbutz children appear more reserved.

(2) The kibbutz adolescent reveals more complexity of ideas and broader scope of pursuit. Although there is significant absence of long range occupational goals in the kibbutz group, the interest in education and self-improvement is distinctive when contrasted with the village-reared control group.<sup>55</sup>

(3) There is no significant difference among the adolescents in these two groups in self-concept and in concept of ideal-self. Also there is no marked general differences among ten-year-old children in personality, but the kibbutz children may have a superior perception of reality.<sup>56</sup>

From the study of recent withdrawals from the kibbutzim, the sabras<sup>57</sup> are less than the first generation of kibbutzim members. The kibbutz can survive only if the members are

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<sup>54</sup>A. I. Rabin, "Infant and Children under Conditions of Intermittent Mothering in the Kibbutz," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, Vol. 28 (July, 1958), pp. 577-586.

<sup>55</sup>A. I. Rabin, "Research Findings to Date," Journal of Marriage and Family Living, Vol. 21 (May, 1959), p. 193.

<sup>56</sup>Larry D. Barnett, "The Kibbutz as a Child-Rearing System," Journal of Marriage and Family Living, Vol. 27 (August, 1965), pp. 343-349.

<sup>57</sup>Any person born in the kibbutz.

highly motivated to work for the welfare of the group. The sabras seem to have acquired this drive. The main value of the sabras is to establish a new society; economic progress, self-preservation, and self-defense are the basis for Zionism.<sup>58</sup> It is very clear that collective education has inculcated in the sabras the values of the kibbutz with respect to personal development.

According to Talmon-Garber's study, the relationship between parents and children has become intimacy, which eventually effects the value of collective upbringing.

#### The Commission

The kibbutz is an equalitarian and collective community; all of the communal living is managed by an organized group. The main concern of this section is intended to find out the changes of the kibbutz commission by examining its structure and functions. In general, every kibbutz has a general assembly. Under the general assembly there are the secretariat, several committees, the branch, and the work-group, as shown in Fig. 1, page 35.<sup>59</sup>

In fact, a single kibbutz is not entirely independent and

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<sup>58</sup>Melford E. Spiro, "The Sabras and Zionism: A Study on Personality," Social Problems, Vol. 5 (Fall, 1957), pp. 100-109; and A. Warner, "The Sabras: Jews With Roots," The New Republic, December 18, 1950, pp. 14-15.

<sup>59</sup>Amitai Etzioni, "Functional Differentiation of Elites in the Kibbutz," American Sociological Review, Vol. 64 (March, 1959), p. 485; and Amitai Etzioni, "Solidaric Work-Groups in Collective Settlements," Human Organization, Vol. 16 (Fall, 1957), p. 2.

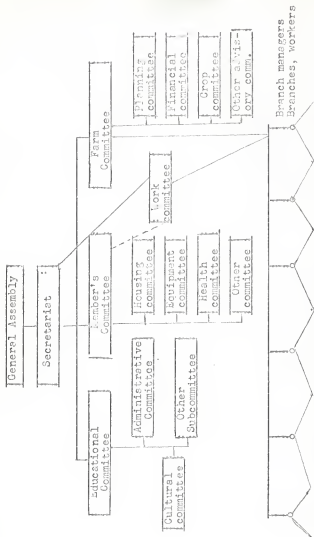


Fig. 1. Model of the organizational structure of an older kibbutz. 60

self sufficient. There are inter-kibbutz organizations called federations. The federations serve as the guide of the individual kibbutz community development. This is the inter-kibbutz interrelation which will be dealt with in a later chapter called "The Relationship Between the Kibbutz Community and Israeli Society."

The General Assembly. Each kibbutz community governs itself through a general assembly, in which all members participate equally. This assembly is composed of all adult members of the community, and the decisions are made by a majority of the members present at a given meeting. Assembly meeting is held once to three times a week.<sup>61</sup> Most of the important things concerning the community, internal or external, are discussed. Decisions are made such as the annual budget, new building program, the selection of officers, intellectual level of the children, application for membership, the expulsion of members, and the stand to be taken on a political issue.<sup>62</sup>

The Secretariat. It is the collective-oriented role like a cabinet of the kibbutz. All major functions are represented in it. The secretariat usually includes the treasurer, the general farm manager, the chairman of the members' committee, the chairman of the educational committee, the work assigners,

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<sup>61</sup> Spiro, Kibbutz: Venture in Utopia, op. cit., p. 92; and Richard D. Schwartz, "Democracy and Collectivism in the Kibbutz," Social Problems, Vol. 5 (Fall, 1957), p. 141.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., pp. 91-92; and Bar-Yoseph, op. cit., p. 347.

and a secretary.<sup>63</sup> The secretary is responsible for preparing the agenda for the general assembly, in charge of all official correspondences, serving as liaison between the kibbutz and the kibbutz federation.<sup>64</sup>

The secretariat controls the whole organizational structure and is responsible to the general assembly for the operating of the various committees and functionaries. In cases of conflict among various committees, the issue is often decided by the secretariat. The agenda of the general assembly is prepared by the secretariat, and one of its members is the chairman of the general assembly in most kibbutzim.<sup>65</sup>

The Committees. The committees in the kibbutz community coordinate the working of all the units towards the attaining of an equalitarian and collective society. The task of the committees is policy-making rather than executive work.

1. The Work Committee. It consists of the general economic manager, the general secretary, and the work assignment manager. The task of this committee is to draw a plan for a long-range program for labor.<sup>66</sup> The committee is also to work out a plan for the assignment of works, which will not undermine the work system and the integration of the community. The term of service in the work committee is three months, because it is a difficult task.

<sup>63</sup>Etzioni, "Functional Differentiation of Elites in the Kibbutz," op. cit., p. 486.

<sup>64</sup>Spiro, Kibbutz: Venture in Utopia, op. cit., p. 94.

<sup>65</sup>Etzioni, "Functional Differentiation of Elites in the Kibbutz," op. cit., p. 486.

<sup>66</sup>Spiro, Kibbutz: Venture in Utopia, op. cit., pp. 79-80; and Schwartz, "Democracy and Collectivism in the Kibbutz," op. cit., p. 144.



The work committees and work assigner are not clearly subordinated to any committee and are often directly represented in the top committee, the secretariat. While the work assigner often works in close cooperation with the general farm-manager and is under considerable influence from managerial demands, he is also under pressure of the members' committee and secretary to take into account the "human factor."<sup>67</sup>

2. The Members' Committee. This committee is concerned with the problems of individual needs, material and social, such as provision and distribution of housing and furniture, the arrangement of annual vacations, all matters dealing with health and illness, and the assistance of members' relatives outside the kibbutz.

3. The Educational Committee. The task of this committee is to deal with all matters concerning the communal education and socialization of children from infancy to high school.

4. The Cultural Committee. This committee is concerned with the cultural programs of the community, arrangement for performance, public ceremonies, and the acquisition of reading matter.<sup>68</sup>

The Branch and the Work-Group. A kibbutz is the mixed farming type, and therefore, it contains various branches of production and of consumption. The branches are subordinate to the work committee. In practice it belongs to the general farm manager of the secretariat. The branch managers assigned to authoritative roles are appointed by the general assembly of

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<sup>67</sup>Lezoni, "Functional Differentiation of Elites in the Kibbutz," *op. cit.*, pp. 465-486.

<sup>68</sup>Spiro, Kibbutz: Venture in Utopia, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

the kibbutz. The task of the branch manager is to serve as the main channel of communication between the kibbutz and the particular work-group, and the director of the work-group.

The work-group is the basic level of the kibbutz organization. It is subordinate to the branch manager. The task of the work-group coordinator is to accept the applications of members desiring leave, transfer to a different branch, sick leave, etc. Generally speaking, there is little differentiation between the work situation and other social situations. As Etzioni studied the "Solidaric Work-Group in Collective Settlements," the findings are that the gaps in the channels of communication between the community and the work-group do not arise. The workers are under the formal and informal control of the whole kibbutz. Every significant event in the system of work is known to the whole kibbutz soon after it has taken place.<sup>69</sup>

Membership. Recruitment of the membership in the kibbutz is in two ways: The first is that the children brought up in the kibbutz automatically become members when eighteen years old if they choose to. The second is the person who is outside the kibbutz applies for a membership in the kibbutz. The application must be approved by the general assembly, and such candidate must be accepted on probation period for six months. During this period the candidate lives and works as a member

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<sup>69</sup> Etzioni, "Solidaric Work-Group in Collective Settlements," *op. cit.*, p. 2; and Etzioni, "Functional Differentiation of Elites in the Kibbutz Community," *op. cit.*, p. 485.

except that he lacks the privilege of voting and keeps his personal belongings to himself.<sup>70</sup> Even when he becomes a full-fledged member after the probation period, there is still a difference between the old-timers and the newcomers in discussion of the community matters in the general assembly and work assignment.<sup>71</sup>

The duties of kibbutz members are:

- (1) To work according to ability which is based less on the rate of production than on the quality of work and responsibility.
- (2) Participation in the internal politics of the kibbutz.
- (3) Showing an interest in the problems of the kibbutz.
- (4) Conformity to the consumption standards and the ways of allocation of facilities and goods.
- (5) Maintenance of relations with fellow members.
- (6) Acceptance of the decisions of the general assembly.<sup>72</sup>

These duties are not formally defined. Their relative importance varies from kibbutz to kibbutz. If a member disregards his duties there are no formal sanctions, except the expulsion.

The rights of the kibbutz members are:

- (1) Each receives according to his needs.
- (2) He has the rights for the education and care of his children.
- (3) He has the right for care in case of illness.
- (4) His special needs and personal problems are dealt with and satisfied if possible.

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<sup>70</sup>Henry F. Infield, Cooperative Communities at Work (London: Kegan Paul, Trench Trubner & Co., Ltd., 1947), pp. 120-121.

<sup>71</sup>Schwartz, "Democracy and Collectivism in the Kibbutz," op. cit., p. 112.

<sup>72</sup>Bar-Yoseph, op. cit., pp. 346-347.

(5) he has the right to the security given by membership in a large community, to human interest and affection.<sup>73</sup>

Because of the division of labor and specialization in the economy, the kibbutz community required the general management to have skill, experience, and specialized knowledge. Consequently, the management becomes a kind of hierarchy. The development of a small managerial group tends to form a concentration of decision-making power within the general assembly. The findings of Landshute's study postulate thus: "The larger the number of members, the less use is made of the general assembly. . . . Responsibilities are shifted here to the committees or the executive bodies."<sup>74</sup>

There is marked inequality between the old-timers and the newcomers as well as between the full-fledged members and the probational members. The old-timers are viewed as the more privileged and offered better accommodations, more desirable work assignments, greater opportunities for leadership positions, etc. Women holding the managerial positions are very few, and they do not speak too much in the communal meetings.

Because the formation of a hierarchical organization in the kibbutz community is inevitably detrimental to the basic principle of ideological equality, the morale of members may be

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<sup>73</sup>Ibid., p. 347.

<sup>74</sup>Schwartz, "Democratic and Collectivism in the Kibbutz," op. cit., pp. 142-144; and Samuel Lomig, "The Crisis in Israeli Collective Settlement," *de la Social Studies*, Vol. XIV (July, 1959), pp. 162-164.

undermined and their faith in the kibbutz way of life may be weakened. Koenig pointed out that the inequality discourages potential recruits and causes the members to leave the kibbutz.<sup>75</sup>

### The Economy

The economic organization and activity exists in the kibbutz community because it is sanctioned by the communal values and norms and consistent with them. Man's effort, which is not to satisfy the individual wants but rather the group's, has risen to a primary goal through an interrelationship of many factors, the personal motive, equality, specialization, and bureaucracy.

The emergence and rise of economic activity through and from these factors have constantly redefined and reshaped the communal norms and organizational structure of the kibbutz community. The reciprocal relationships between economic activity, communal norms, organizational structure, and the group setting within the community are manifested.

The Personal Motive. The people in the kibbutz community do not have any private property, except a few small personal belongings, since the children inherit nothing from their parents' position. Everything for daily life is provided by the kibbutz community.<sup>76</sup> In the absence of private property,

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<sup>75</sup>Field, pp. 132-136.

<sup>76</sup>Infeld, *op. cit.*, pp. 127-129.

it is obvious that the private and profit motive does not operate in this community. Then what supports the kibbutz economic activities? According to Spiro's study, there are four personal motives for the economic activities:

1. The Motive of Economic Improvement. As in the democratic society, the harder you work, the greater economic returns you will have. The returns from labor do not accrue to you directly, but everyone's living is dependent on the community, so that everyone is aware of the fact that if anyone is lazy the other will suffer.

2. The Intrinsic Satisfaction From Work. The kibbutz members have deliberately chosen to work in an agricultural economy and to have a rural life. Consequently, pleasure is derived from the work itself as well as from the end products.<sup>77</sup>

Labor is not a mere economic necessity, it is a social and psychological necessity. It is the prime and creative force in the life of man and nation; without it, man is sterile.<sup>78</sup>

3. Competitive Pride. Members' immediate attachment and identification is with their branch; they take pride in its success and become depressed by its failures. And though they wish to see the kibbutz prosper, they receive great satisfaction from knowing their branch contributed its share to this prosperity.

4. Prestige. Labor is one of the chief values in the

<sup>77</sup>Spiro, *Kibbutz: Venture in Utopia*, op. cit., p. 84.

<sup>78</sup>M. Schwartz, "Communal Settlement in Palestine," *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, Vol. 9 (Jan., 1950), p. 200.

kibbutz, and hard, efficient labor is necessary. Since there is no profit motive, the respect of one's fellows has become a significant motive in this community. Consequently, a highly important factor in work motivation is derived from the public opinion.<sup>79</sup>

The personal motive which the writer suggests is "self-expression." Since the kibbutz community which evaluates its members' position puts emphasis on the quality of work and the readiness for the assigned tasks, the members cannot use the accumulation of wealth for attaining prestige. The best way to obtain prestige in the kibbutz is through self-expression in community work. In recent years, the individualism is developing and will affect the personal motive of the economic activities in the kibbutz.

The Economic Equality. The economy of the kibbutz used to play an instrumental role in attaining the democratic and equalitarian society. The principle of "from each according to his ability, and to each according to his needs," is the original ideology of the kibbutz economy. "To work according to his ability" means "less emphasis on the rate of production than on the quality of the work and responsibility. Readiness to do any kind of job as needed is taken for granted." "To each according to his needs" means that member has the right to expect the community to satisfy his needs. Everyone's needs may differ from the needs of other members as long as the needs

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<sup>79</sup> Spiro, Kibbutz: Venture in Utopia, op. cit., pp. 84-85.

remain within the framework defined by the community. With rising standard of living the framework changes and with it, additional needs may be satisfied. The member's duty and responsibility is within certain fixed limits, but unstructured relationship remains and necessarily creates conflict of values.

Everyone has to decide according to his own value whether he is contributing enough, or whether he is asking too much; but at the same time the outcome of his decision is known to everyone and is judged according to their values. Of course, the judgment of his fellows has an important function only if the members have some feelings of identification with the community or if he is able to maintain a neutral attitude toward people.<sup>80</sup>

Since the development of light industry and mechanization of the farms, it needs a complex division of labor, specialization, and efficient management. Thus the inequality is developing. It is inconsistent with the ideology of a just and equal society.

The Specialization. Specialization and division of labor are inherent in technological advance and increasing emphasis on economic activity. In the beginning of the kibbutz community, workers were shifted from one job to another in order to preserve the extreme equalitarian ideal; but more recently, as the economic organization of the kibbutz grows increasingly complex and specialized, the standards for assigning members to occupational roles are modified. The work preferences of the

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<sup>80</sup> See Yoram, op. cit., pp. 346-348; and Eli Schwartz, op. cit., pp. 185-187.



members are increasingly subordinated to the instrumental requirements of the production program. Priority is increasingly placed on the members' differentiated skills, special training, and general performance capacity.<sup>81</sup> In the revolutionary stage, the task assignment did not consider sex differences. But at present, women usually are taking the light work such as nursing, teaching, laundry and kitchen work, and the heavy and rough work is undertaken by men.<sup>82</sup> The specialization has made the differentiation between members in the kibbutz.

The Bureaucracy. Bureaucracy is the logical outcome of increased specialization and division of labor. Specialization and its accompanying complex relations inevitably evolves some types of "chain demands" or "chain of action." "In the kibbutz ideology all members are equal. This equality means that all members have equal responsibility to serve both as leaders and as ordinary laborers." However, the elite roles and managerial positions are developing because of the demand for leadership and management. Committee members and office holders of the economic organization are elected in the general assembly. The authority of committees derives from the general assembly. The general economic manager is responsible for the execution of

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<sup>81</sup>Irvine Vallier, "Structural Differentiation, Production Imperatives and Communal Norms: The Kibbutz in Crisis," in Richard L. Simpson, (ed.), Social Organization and Behavior (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1964), p. 25.

<sup>82</sup>Barthel A. Kurbach, "Social Stratification in the Collective Agricultural Settlements in Israel," Rural Sociology, Vol. 18 (March, 1953), pp. 28-29; and Eli Schwartz, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

kibbutz economic policy, and allocation and supervision of manpower and resources. In the old and large kibbutzim, the general manager is freed from other work because of the hard work of his office. Furthermore, since the technological knowledge required for this job is extensive, he usually holds office for a longer period than others.<sup>83</sup>

The Retirement. In kibbutzim, work and productivity have become a compelling drive. Anyone who is absent from work, even for good reasons, creates a feeling of discomfort and a sense of guilt; and an individual who neglects his responsibility would be severely criticized. The position of any member in the kibbutz is determined by his devotion to his work and the excellence of performance.

When people are getting old, they are gradually relieved of their major social functions and gradually decline in occupational status. Inevitably, as they lose their capacity for hard work and find it increasingly difficult to perform their tasks, they transfer to light work and part-time work. Aging members thus gradually cease to be self-supporting and grow more dependent on communal institutions and require more services. Even though most have earned their keep in many years of hard and devoted work, they cannot face declining productivity without misgivings.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>83</sup>Opiro, Kibbutz: Venture in Utopia, op. cit., pp. 79-80.

<sup>84</sup>Falmon-Gerber, "Aging in Israel," op. cit., pp. 284-295.

## SOCIAL STRATIFICATION AND SOCIAL CONTROL

## Social Stratification

The kibbutz community is assumed to be a model of equality and justice. In the revolutionary stage, all people had equal social economic status that eliminated social stratification. In the routinization stage, the specialization, the development of occupational hierarchy, the emergence of the age of hierarchy, the inequality, the external impact, and the internal readjustment of the community need have caused the failure to fulfill the idealistic model. Consequently, stratified relationships have been established by the result of the abovementioned factors. Also the social strata emerge as a result of the initially differentiated groups of people living in an equalitarian and democratic system.

It is not our intention to discern the principles underlying each type of stratification, or the interrelationships of the individual stratification structure, but to find out the relationship between the social stratification and the structure of the kibbutz community, and to analyze the factors upon which the strata are built and also the interrelation of these factors.

The kibbutz community tried to create conditions which would operate against the formation of the social strata and the emergence of economic differentiation. The main techniques it employed to insure this were: (1) Equalitarianism--Every adult member had the equal right to elect or to be elected as a

committee member, the branch manager, or a group coordinator. (2) Collective ownership--It was impossible for a person to build up his status on economic grounds, since all the property was owned by the community. The individuals have very small belongings. (3) Communal consumption--"To each according to his needs" is the principle of communal consumption; thus, there was no difference of consumption between the people in the kibbutz, except the aged and the children under eighteen years could have additional supplies if needed. All commodities were distributed centrally and in kind; food is eaten in the dining hall. (4) Rotation of the tasks--Task assignment based on rotation disregarded technology, worker's preference, and sex differences. All members had an equal position for the assignment of jobs. In addition, the rather homogeneous agricultural economy tended to prevent the emergence of stratification.<sup>1</sup>

According to Barber, social stratification is the product of differentiation and social evaluation. The criteria of evaluation are based upon the differentiated social roles and the associated activities upon which the individual's position in stratification is based.<sup>2</sup> In the review of the literature

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<sup>1</sup>Eva Rosenfeld, "Social Stratification in a Classless Society," American Sociological Review, Vol. XVI, No. 6 (December, 1951), pp. 768-768; Eva Rosenfeld, "Institutional Changes in the Kibbutz," Social Problems, Vol. 5 (Fall, 1957), pp. 110-111; and Melford Spiro, Kibbutz: Venture in Utopia (New York: Schocken Books, 1965), third printing, pp. 21-23.

<sup>2</sup>Edward Barber, Social Stratification: A Generalizing Analysis of Structure and Process, (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1957), pp. 19-49.

of the kibbutz community, the criteria of evaluation of the stratification in the kibbutz may be generalized as follows:

The Managerial Role. In the kibbutz community, there are two strata, high and low, or leaders and followers. In the revolutionary stage, the kibbutz community, in accordance with the social equalitarian ideals, had a norm of all tasks rotated and had regarded them as equal in functional importance. For preventing the concentration of power in the hands of a few people and the development of a bureaucratic hierarchy, all committees and managers were elected for only one year, or even less, and non-renewable terms.

In the routinalization stage, the committees are elected for two-year terms and may be reelected. Because of the development of a small managerial group, the power of the committees has increased and the important decisions are no longer made on the vote of a general membership meeting.<sup>3</sup> According to Schwartz's study, the evidence indicates that direct government by the general assembly is inversely proportional to the size of the kibbutz: "The larger the number of members the less use is made of the general assembly. Responsibilities are shifted here to the committees or the executive bodies within the collective."<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>Herbert A. Aurbach, "Social Stratification in the Collective Agricultural Settlements in Israel," Rural Sociology, Vol. 18 (March, 1953), p. 29.

<sup>4</sup>Richard D. Schwartz, "Democracy and Collectivism in the Kibbutz," Social Problems, Vol. 5 (Fall, 1957), p. 143.

The rotation of jobs in the kibbutz community functioned to promote equality, but due to its inefficiency, it is no longer practiced. The assignment of tasks is in charge of the work committee and branch manager. They take two considerations on this: (1) The needs of the farm and services--economic, technological, and physical requirements, managerial expediency, the optimal distribution of means of production. (2) The needs of the kibbutz as a solid social unit--the factors taken into consideration are the members' preferences about jobs, teammates, character, and position in the kibbutz.<sup>5</sup> The job assignment has shifted from rotation to particular aspects of work and the necessity for management and leadership; thus, there has been created a hierarchical structure in the kibbutz--the general assembly, the secretary, the committees, the branch, the work-group, and the workers. Each level of them has elite roles which control the organization, except the bottom level. The managerial positions in work and administration are highly evaluated in the kibbutz community.<sup>6</sup>

The Seniority. As the community grows older, there has developed two groups of people--the old-timers (seniority) and the newcomers. The former are the aristocracy of the kibbutz, and the leaders, managers, and good workers are recruited from

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<sup>5</sup>Amitai Etzioni, "The Functional Differentiation of Elites in the Kibbutz," American Sociological Review, Vol. 64 (March, 1959), pp. 484-495.

<sup>6</sup>Eva Rosenfeld, "Social Stratification in a Classless Society," pp. 769-770.

the old-timers. Samuel Koenig has stated: "Those in the first category are viewed as the more privileged and offered better accommodations, more desirable work assignments, greater opportunities for leadership positions, etc."<sup>7</sup>

The latter are not given as much opportunity for showing their abilities. According to Rosenfeld's finding, there is a direct correlation between the managerial positions and the seniority. The managerial positions gain through the charisma of the old-timers who hold them.<sup>8</sup> The newcomers undertake the unskilled, movable work in the community. Seniority is evaluated highly while the newcomers are estimated less.<sup>9</sup>

The Professional Role. In the revolutionary stage, the kibbutz emphasized equality, and tasks were rotated. Men and women were on an equal basis in the assignment of tasks, whether agricultural work, construction work, laundry, kitchen, teaching, or management. Since women shared the same duties as men, the social and economic status of women and men in the kibbutz were equal, and the superordinate and subordinate relationship between the sexes in the social hierarchy has disappeared.

In the routinalization stage, because of the demands for work efficiency and the demands of production, the professional

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<sup>7</sup>Samuel Koenig, "The Crisis in Israel's Collective Settlements," Jewish Social Studies, Vol. XIV (July, 1952), p. 163.

<sup>8</sup>Eva Rosenfeld, "Social Stratification in a Classless Society," op. cit., pp. 762-770.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 771.

role becomes significant in the kibbutz community. The trend towards the professional role is gradual. Women go back to domestic jobs, and men undertake the heavy, managerial, and technological positions. The studies show that there are very few women in managerial positions.<sup>10</sup>

The kibbutz operates on the principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs." The people have equal shares of their gains without regard to occupational status.<sup>11</sup> Thus, every one in the kibbutz community is assumed to have an equal status. In the routinization stage, the original ideology cannot be fulfilled, because the development of a highly coordinated economy provides a small group of people who make decisions, and a large proportion of semi-skilled agricultural and service jobs. Thus the members of the kibbutz are divided into leaders and followers. While among the ordinary members, some enjoy greater prestige than others, professional roles, work efficiency, and seniority differentiate members in the kibbutz community.<sup>12</sup> From Dr. Schwartz's study of two middle-sized settlements of kibbutz and moshav, it is found that in a kibbutz, three-fifths of the workers consider themselves to be working under the direction of others, and very few were wholly independent of superiors. More than half of the

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<sup>10</sup> Aurbach, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-29.

<sup>11</sup> Levi Rosenthal, *op. cit.*, pp. 766-767.

<sup>12</sup> Rosenthal, *op. cit.*, pp. 163-164.



members said they were responsible for other workers, either members or trainees. Kibbutz members were dissatisfied with their jobs and they felt that their skills were not fully used, because their jobs were dull and their managers were oppressive. Now the kibbutz helps its members to improve their work conditions or develop their duties through the following devices: (1) Mechanization of farm work helps reduce the amount of unskilled labors. (2) Members go outside the kibbutz to work in new kibbutzim as supervisors and trainers; this provides the kibbutz members with many opportunities for experience in decision-making.<sup>13</sup> On the other hand, the inequality created in the kibbutz community gives training and distribution of personnel and provides for the survival of the kibbutz as a whole. This resettling inequality also discourages potential recruits and causes the members to leave the kibbutz.<sup>14</sup>

#### Social Control

In order to survive, any community must have system and order. Romans pointed out that if any member departs from the norms of the group, the control is effective to bring back the deviate to the norm. This concept of social control is equivalent to that of Parsons' re-equilibration,<sup>15</sup> which can be

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<sup>13</sup>Richard D. Schwartz, "Functional Alternative to Inequality," American Sociological Review, Vol. 20 (August, 1955), pp. 420-427.

<sup>14</sup>Koenig, op. cit., p. 161.

<sup>15</sup>See also C. Hensel, The Human Group (New York: Harcourt, Bruce, 1950), p. 301; and Talcott Parsons, The Social System (New York: The Free Press, 1965), pp. 297-298.

applied to the analysis of the kibbutz community.

It is possible for a community with all informal sanctions to enforce the formal rules. It is necessary to discern the mechanisms which have made the system effective. The most important form of social control in the kibbutz is the sense of moral responsibility of the individual for the realization of both the socialist and the Zionist goals of the kibbutz. This superego phenomena constitutes an important motive in social behavior.<sup>16</sup>

Public Opinion. The kibbutz is a group whose members engage in continuous face-to-face interaction. The members live, work, eat; and spend leisure time together. This condition of association and interaction makes it possible to circulate information throughout the entire kibbutz community. Mealtimes and showerings are two informal associations when large numbers of people get together and find opportunity for conversation. According to Dr. Schwartz's finding, the intimacy of kibbutz members is not solely the result of conscious planning of social relations. The desire for intimacy is a factor; it is strongly supplemented by other pressures, such as the needs for economic efficiency in the collective economy.

The major informal sanction in the kibbutz community is public opinion. The implementation of this requires public

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<sup>16</sup> Leonard L. Suss, Kibbutz: Venture in Utopia (New York: Schocken Books, 1965), p. 97.

approval or disapproval accurately and speedily communicated to sanctionees. This is accomplished in the kibbutz by the continuous interaction of the primary group relationship. Public opinion can be manifested often, swiftly, subtly, and with varying degrees of intensity in the kibbutz. The small signs of other members' reactions serve to warn of more intense reactions.<sup>17</sup>

According to Dr. Etzioni's field research in the kibbutz, workers are directly under the control of the whole kibbutz. Every significant event in the sphere of work is known to the whole kibbutz community soon after it has taken place.<sup>18</sup> Thus, anyone who deviates from the work norms is not only controlled by the work-group, but also by the whole community.

Reward or Punishment. In the kibbutz community, there are no private economic gains or losses for the individuals. Thus, the motives of private material gains are not the means of control here. Individual behavior is controlled more by collective oriented values as social solidarity, building a just society; and self-expression is found in work, because the kibbutz evaluated its members' prestige on the quality of work and responsibility for work.<sup>19</sup> The member's quick and accurate

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<sup>17</sup>Richard D. Schwartz, "Social Factors in the Development of Legal Control: a Case Study of Two Israel Settlements," The Yale Law Journal, Vol. 63, No. 4 (February, 1954), pp. 476-479.

<sup>18</sup>Amital Etzioni, "Solidaric Work-Group in Collective Settlements," Group Organization, Vol. 16 (Fall, 1957), p. 2.

<sup>19</sup>Richard D. Schwartz, "Social Factors in the Development of Legal Control," op. cit., pp. 480-481; and see pages 38-39.

response to public opinion enables him to align his behaviors with community standards and thus enhances his chance of attaining acceptance and prestige. He is rewarded for doing collective good or for eliminating the collective bad, such as responding to the unfavorable reaction of his comrades talking too long in the assembly, not volunteering for emergency work, wearing inappropriate clothes, or not joining a kibbutz celebration.<sup>20</sup> The most serious punishment is the expulsion of the member from the kibbutz, but it is very rare.

Norms. Informal control is enhanced by a system of norms classifying all behavior with reference to desirability. This system is detailed, definite, applicable to wide, clearly-defined segments of the population, and well known to the members. As a result, it provides a consistent guide for the application of sanctions and at the same time forewarns the members of the consequences of their acts. Such norms are found in every sphere of kibbutz life, but are particularly striking in the economic field.

1. Work-Group. The principle of work is "from each according to his ability." There are no wages or private profit in this community. The respect of one's fellows is a significant motive for work in the community; but the final objective of work is to increase the production and the performance of domestic service. Each member of the kibbutz must work in some unit. Labor allocations are made by a work

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<sup>20</sup>ibid., p. 489.

assignment committee on the basis of economic requirements of each unit, ability of workers to meet those requirements, and the preference of each worker. Workers learn their assignments either orally or by notices posted on the bulletin board. Illness and age constitute the major reason for exemption from norms of work.<sup>21</sup>

Each worker is expected to cooperate with the group coordinator or branch manager of his unit. All kibbutz members are expected to perform their various activities to the best of their individual abilities. These activities are recognized to vary widely, but kibbutz members maintain that a certain level of performance exists for each worker in any kind of job. Since the level of performance is set by the worker's performance, he is considered to have violated a significant norm if he frequently falls below this standard.

Kibbutz members want their society to survive and to be productive. They have set up an economic norm which requires diligent and cooperative effort. Any behavior which is deemed non-diligent and which fails to coordinate with the group will be viewed as a threatening loss to the kibbutz productivity.<sup>22</sup>

2. Consumption Norms. The objective of consumption is

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<sup>21</sup>Ibid., pp. 484-485; and Y. Talmon-Garber, "Aging in Israel," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 67 (March, 1961), pp. 288-289; and p. 41.

Every evening the work coordinator assigns members to the different branches after the managers of the branches have advised him of their manpower needs. See Etzioni, "Solidaric Work-Group in Collective Settlements," op. cit., p. 2.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., p. 405.

distribution according to need, fragility, solidarity, and adequate sustenance of the population. Since differential need is very difficult to ascertain, the kibbutz tendency has been to distribute items equally on the assumption that need is general. Exceptions are made when youth, age, illness, or pregnancy furnish grounds for special duty, housing, or medical care. Anyone who receives more than an equal share in food, clothes, or housing is threatening the goal of a "just society," and subjecting the other members to relative injustice.<sup>23</sup>

Formal Control. In the routinalization stage, because the kibbutz grows and becomes more complex, the informal channels of communication are no longer sufficient; thus, a system of formal leadership and power structure develops to supplement a formal line of communication and control. Consequently, a formally organized hierarchy is established.<sup>24</sup> The rewards of authority do not correspond to the responsibilities entailed. No individual or group of individuals holds punitive power. All authority is vested in the general assembly, although the norms of the kibbutz are followed almost without exception. When the pressure of public opinion is not effective, the kibbutz has recourse to more formal procedures. The first procedure is to bring the person's failure in duty or neglect of duty to the official attention of the kibbutz at the general

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<sup>23</sup>Ibid., p. 486.

<sup>24</sup>Spiro, op. cit., pp. 96-97; and pp. 31-37.

assembly meeting.<sup>25</sup> This is a formal session. Yet, the chief source of control is general public opinion.

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<sup>25</sup>Ibid., pp. 101-103.

# THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE KIBBUTZ COMMUNITY AND ISRAELI SOCIETY

We have already discussed the structure and function of the kibbutz and its crisis caused within the kibbutz in Chapter II, page 12; but the crisis of the kibbutz cannot be understood completely by limiting the analysis to its internal structure and phenomena. This chapter is intended to analyze the relation between the kibbutz and its environment in order to understand the changes from without. The kibbutz is a unique unit of community as well as a part of Israeli society. Thus the repercussion of changes occurring in Israeli society would affect the kibbutz community. When Vallier analyzed the relationship between the kibbutzim and Israeli society, he pointed out:

The basic hypothesis underlying the analysis is that the kibbutz crisis is intimately related to the processes of structural differentiation and functional specialization occurring in all spheres of the society. The kibbutzim, very much involved in these changes, have been rapidly stripped of certain key functions that tended to promote their integration and viability.<sup>1</sup>

Pre-state and post-state<sup>2</sup> Israel are used as a framework of analysis here. In the pre-state stage, the kibbutz, in order to adapt to its environment, served the Zionist organization in the task of nation building. The land had to be

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<sup>1</sup>Ivan Vallier, "Structural Differentiation, Production Imperatives and Communal Norms: The kibbutz in Crisis," in Richard L. Simpson (ed.), Social Organization and Behaviour (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1964), p. 21

<sup>2</sup>Israel was independent on May, 1948. There have been many significant changes since the independence of the country.



cleared all stones and irrigated before agriculture could develop. Trees needed to be planted and machinery acquired. Only a collective such as a kibbutz could perform. The kibbutz provided a collective model performing the other tasks. This colonization in Palestine emerged as the significant contribution of the kibbutz to the nation. The kibbutz members came to be respected, because they were held up as examples to the young whose imagination was fired by their heroism and self-sacrifice.<sup>3</sup> In this stage, the people outside the kibbutz admired and encouraged the movement of the kibbutz.

Since the independence of the country, a large part of Israeli society has undergone changes which affect the structure of the kibbutz community. Due to the connection with outside organizations, the kibbutzim are gradually losing their independence and facing the crisis of threatening their original ideology. The settlement department, through the federation, has helped the new kibbutzim to make their initial plans and to train their members. The instructors<sup>4</sup> supervise the the economic activities and help them to make the plans for economic development each year. Many of the kibbutzim have profited from this help.<sup>5</sup> Actually they are gradually

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<sup>3</sup>Samuel Koenig, "The Crisis in Israel's Collective Settlements," Jewish Social Studies, Vol. 14 (July, 1952), pp. 146-148.

<sup>4</sup>The instructor is a member of the established kibbutz who acts as representative of both his federation and the Department.

<sup>5</sup>Y. Yehonatan-Gonen and Y. Cohen, "Collective Settlement in the 1950s," in Joseph Ben-Zvi, Agricultural Planning and Village Community in Israel (Paris: UNRSCO, 1964), p. 69.

dependent on this organization.

The kibbutz movement as a whole has been political from the beginning. Its aim was the creation of socialist communities as a step towards building a socialist society by the means of a collective project. With increasing political involvement and connection with different political parties, active and former kibbutz members form a relatively large percentage of the members of the knesset (parliament), and even a large percentage of the government. The political weight, therefore, is greater than their actual membership in the knesset implies. Because the leadership of the kibbutzim is part and parcel of the political organization, the decisions in the kibbutzim are influenced by the vested interest of these elites.<sup>6</sup>

In general, the great changes from the pre-state stage to the post-state stage are: the emphasis on long term goals was replaced by an emphasis on short term tasks and immediate satisfactions; the implementation of collective goals and values has been increasingly relegated to formal organizations such as the army, the Settlement Department, and the Civil Service. The establishment of the state promoted the process of institutional differentiation and led to a proliferation of new administration agencies. The industrialization of Israeli society led to specialization and diversity in occupation. All this enhanced the importance of the political, bureaucratic,

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<sup>6</sup> For footnote 6, see following page.

<sup>6</sup> Joseph Ben-David, "The Kibbutz and the Moshav," in Joseph Ben-David (ed.) Agricultural Planning and Village Community in Israel (Paris: UNESCO, 1964), pp. 52-58; and Amitai Etzioni, Studies of Social Changes (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc., 1966), pp. 157-179.

Members of Knesset by Party Affiliation and Relation to Kibbutzim, 1960

Mapai<sup>1</sup> Mapam<sup>2</sup> Ahduth Ha'Avoda<sup>2</sup> National<sup>2</sup> Religions<sup>2</sup> Other Religions<sup>2</sup> Liberals<sup>3</sup> Herut<sup>3</sup> Parties<sup>3</sup> Arab Communists<sup>3</sup>

Knesset total	42	9	8	12	6	17	17	4	5
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Past or present members of kibbutz

	7	6	6	2	1	-	-	-	-
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1. Mapai (Labor Party) is a core party in all government since the establishment of Israel.
2. Mapam and other parties support the present (1960) coalition government.
3. Liberals and other parties have been permanently in opposition.

and professional elite and undermined the equality of the kibbutz community.<sup>7</sup> In order to know the crises of the kibbutz from without, three tasks of the kibbutz in Israeli society will be examined.

### Kibbutz and Israeli Society

Role of Absorbing Immigrants. In the pre-state stage, the kibbutz performed an important task in the absorption of immigrants, especially in the 1930's. Israeli society had suffered from her hostile neighbors and the mass immigration from overseas. Those who joined the kibbutz learned to become workers, even to endure poverty, but without loss of dignity. The equal ideal in the kibbutz community attracted the immigrants to live there. These immigrants were brought into or came to Israel in order to get away from persecution and to have a happy life. The function of absorbing immigrants has been gradually disappearing since the independence of the country.

Table 1, page 66, shows the general growth of the kibbutz between 1931 and 1961, but Ben-David did not show the proportion of natural increase and proportion of immigration. Therefore, we cannot see the real increase by absorbing the immigrants in the population. The kibbutzim have expanded very little since 1951, and not at all since 1955, and even reduced the population in 1961. This resulted in numerical proportion between the kibbutz population and the total Jewish population of the

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<sup>7</sup>Telmon-Gerber, op. cit., p. 61.

country. In 1945, 6.7 percent of the total population lived in the kibbutz; in 1955, only 5.1 percent; in 1960 only a little over 4 percent; and in 1961 reduced to less than 4 percent. The decline of the kibbutz population in relation to total Jewish rural population was from 22 percent in 1943 to less than 21 percent in 1956. The kibbutz, due to its particular communal structure, proved unable to absorb a large number of newcomers. In the three years of the state, of 600,000 new immigrants, only 10,000 or 1.6 percent, were absorbed by the kibbutz.<sup>8</sup>

Table 1. The growth of kibbutz population<sup>9</sup>

Year	Number of kibbutzim	Population of kibbutzim	Population of Israel
1922	19	1,190	
1931	31	2,800	
1936	47	11,840	335,200 (1935)
1945	116	37,400	553,860
1948	177	54,208	649,600
1951	217	68,156	1,203,000 (1950)
1955	225	77,818	1,526,000 (1954)
1960	229	77,959	1,911,200
1961	-	77,209	2,069,900 (1962)

The new settlers on the land have not been inspired to create a new way of life or to be a pioneering elite, and have shown no willingness to enter the kibbutzim, having preferred

<sup>8</sup> Raphael Petai, "Book Reviews," Social Problems, Vol. 5, (Fall, 1957), p. 148; and Alex Weingrod, op. cit., pp. 12-14.

<sup>9</sup> The population of kibbutzim is quoted from Ben-David, op. cit., pp. 50, 53, 55; and the population of Israel is quoted from Alex Weingrod, Israel: Social Relations in a New Society (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1965), p. 12.

the individualistic way of life.<sup>10</sup> According to Efroymson's report, the new immigrants were easily absorbed in urban occupations; consequently, the kibbutzim are needed less for the task of absorbing immigrants.<sup>11</sup> Due to the decline of recruitment from outside, the kibbutz has faced the problem of labor shortage.

Role of Defense. The organizational structure of the kibbutz can facilitate the kibbutz in performing its defense function in the country, because the kibbutz can flexibly transfer workers, capital, and machinery from one branch to another and constantly adapt its economy to the conditions of its environment. In case of an emergency, the kibbutz is able to mobilize a large proportion of its members for defense of the country without delay or interruption of work. The reduced workers are sufficient to prevent permanent harm to production branches and to provide for the indispensable needs of the members while temporarily concentrating on defense activities.<sup>12</sup> In the recent Israel-Arab War of June, 1967, the kibbutz played a very significant role. The kibbutzim, with a small proportion of the population and with a long commitment to the land and ideologies, provided fifty percent of the officers and

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<sup>10</sup> Ben-David, op. cit., p. 53.

<sup>11</sup> C. W. Efroymson, "Collective Agriculture in Israel," Journal of Political Economy, Vol. 52 (Feb., 1952), p. 43.

<sup>12</sup> Talmon-Gerber and Cohen, op. cit., p. 60.

twenty-five percent of the casualties.<sup>13</sup>

In the pre-state period, the kibbutz had a long struggle with the hostile neighbors on the borders. The kibbutz emphasized defense training as much as agriculture. The highly centralized form of life can discipline the people as a fighting unit.<sup>14</sup> After the independence of the country, the responsibility for defense of the country was taken over by the national government. There is a compulsory service when the youth reaches eighteen years of age.

Usually the service has a disruptive effect on the youth from the kibbutzim. Many members left the kibbutzim immediately after the completion of their service, if they were stationed in different units and lost touch during the service. In order to help the kibbutzim hold their members, the army has established a special agricultural military unit, the Nahal, for the drafted kibbutz members. After a period of intensive military training in any army camp, they are transferred to the border kibbutzim where they combine agriculture and defense. This plan has reduced the member losses. According to Talmon-Garber's study, a certain percentage of the drafted kibbutz members continues for another year in the kibbutz after the completion of service, but only a minority stays on permanently.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>13</sup>Barbara W. Tuchman, "Israel's Swift Sword," Atlantic, (September, 1967), p. 57.

<sup>14</sup>Jackov Horris, Member of the Desert (New York: C. P. Putnam's Sons, 1951), pp. 124-133.

<sup>15</sup>Talmon-Garber and Cohen, op. cit., p. 66.

Role of Production. The kibbutz was originally an agricultural collective settlement. Since the independence of the country, the kibbutz has been pushed into a light industry production role by the general industrialization of Israeli society. This demands internal adjustments that are incongruent with the communal-solidarity norms which dominate role-relationship in the kibbutz community. The main concern of this section is to discuss how the kibbutzim are undertaking the new role of production and how this role affects the internal changes of the kibbutzim.

Because of the economic pressure and the shortage of manpower, the kibbutzim were forced to intensify the process of specialization and mechanization in agriculture and to concentrate on a more limited number of major branches. This shift has entailed a considerable ideological reorientation. Since the independence of the country, many kibbutzim have developed local industries throughout the country. This diversity of the kibbutz economy fulfills its instrumental role in the society, but the complex division of labor in industry is incompatible with the spirit of equality and fraternity in the kibbutz. Specialization and diversification in occupation tend to professionalism and break down the ideal of work-rotation. The economic reorganization is not a wholly spontaneous internal development and is not carried out by each kibbutz in isolation. But it caused a considerable modification between the Settlement



Departments and the kibbutzim.<sup>16</sup>

Owing to contacts with the outside world such as compulsory military service, visiting friends, relatives and towns, the way for the members to desert the kibbutz is paved. The desertion can be explained in part by the great attraction of city life and by the spread of the philosophy of individualism, private enterprise, and the loss of faith in collectivism. The desertion is one of the serious problems confronting the kibbutz today. From the literature reviewed, we cannot find any accurate data of those who have left the kibbutz, the length of their membership, the reasons for their leaving, or their destination. Talmon-Gerber, Koenig, Spiro, and some other sociologists have discussed this problem, but they have only estimated the desertions. The number of desertions in the second generation is less than in the first, the newcomers are more than the old-timers, and the females are more than the males.

Further explanations of this are as follows: The second generation is socialized in the kibbutz since their birth--they are used to the kibbutz way of life; the old-timers are more satisfied than the newcomers, because their status is higher in the community, and they have seniority in the choice of work. This vested right controls and makes the old-timers more cohesive. The females are prone to drop off and return to their

<sup>16</sup> Vallier, *op. cit.*, p. 21; and Afroyson, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-37.

own homes, because a fairly clear-cut sex role differentiation has emerged in the kibbutzim in spite of egalitarian ideology. The differentiating makes women feel that they still have to stick to the traditional female roles which they would rather perform at their own homes than in the collective community.

### The Federations

The original kibbutzim believed that the mission of establishing a new society could be fulfilled by each group of settlers autonomously finding its own identity and a way of life; and the revival of the nation would be achieved by moral regeneration spearheaded by the kibbutzim. Later on the kibbutzim recognized that it was necessary for them to unite a number of kibbutzim to help each other and to safeguard the character of the kibbutzim. Federations were organized to meet this need. The main functions of the kibbutz federations are the maintenance of contact with the youth movement to recruit prospective settlers, to help the new kibbutzim, and to contact central organizations such as the Jewish Agency and various economic institutions.<sup>17</sup>

Helping the New Kibbutzim. When the new kibbutzim are established, they need guidance and support. The federations can meet this need through the draft of young members from the old kibbutzim.

The team from the old kibbutzim, during this year, live

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<sup>17</sup>Dan-David, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-51.

and work in the new kibbutzim, or serve as instructors in the youth movements. The old age-group can also participate in the assistance, but by voluntary participation; they use their experiences to help the young settlers overcome their difficulties. The team alleviates the severe shortage of manpower by providing the new kibbutzim the skilled, efficient, and devoted workers. But the old kibbutzim have suffered a shortage of manpower, and they urgently need the young able-bodied workers.

Through the help of this team, the link between the old kibbutzim and the new kibbutzim is maintained. Branch managers and heads of committees of the old kibbutzim visit their counterparts of the young kibbutzim and advise them on matters of common concern. The members of the young kibbutzim also visit the old kibbutzim frequently and remain there for short periods of retraining and help.<sup>18</sup>

Recruitment of Members for the Kibbutz. The other task of the kibbutz federations is to recruit members for the kibbutzim, to get the foundation of the new kibbutzim, and to replace the large number of members leaving the kibbutzim. Recruitment, however, is through the creation of the Youth Movement with ideologies. The youth movements have always been the main source of prospective settlers in kibbutzim.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Helman-Carber and Cohen, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-51.

<sup>19</sup> S. A. Eisenstadt, From Generation to Generation: Age Groups and Social Structure (Chicago: The Free Press, 1956), pp. 93-107; and S. A. Eisenstadt, Essays on Comparative Institutions (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1965), pp. 370-372.

In the pre-state stage, most immigrants were ready to undergo severe hardship in the kibbutz. Since the independence of the country, the few who join the kibbutz on their arrival in the country have used it as a haven and a stepping stone. The reasons for the recruitment crisis are: (1) The establishment of the country undermined the leadership position of the kibbutzim in building up the Jewish homeland; (2) The kibbutz is not favored by the immigrants. Those from communist countries had undergone enforced collectivisation and had reacted against the socialist ideology with a strong individualistic tendency, and those from democratic countries have familistic or individualistic values which run counter to the collective values in the kibbutz community. The problem of recruitment has long been harassing the kibbutzim, interfering with their proper functioning and limiting their efficacy as an instrument of settlement.

The kibbutzim have tried to devise new methods of recruitment: (1) They have developed, with the help of the government, a special housing project for new immigrants and offer them a higher standard of material comfort. (2) The kibbutzim have set up language seminars for the immigrants that combined part-time work with study, hoping the participants might stay on and become full members. (3) Recruitment of groups of adolescents in the new development towns is a recent experiment. The kibbutzim recruit the jobless adolescents from the towns, train them, and hope to absorb them as members of the kibbutz. The new methods of recruitment so far have not met with very much

success.<sup>20</sup> The kibbutzim are forced to hire laborers from outside of the kibbutz in order to meet the need of acreage increase, agricultural machinery disposal, and industrialization.<sup>21</sup>

### The Moshav

The moshav founded in 1921 is also located on the nationally owned land, but the land is divided equally between the families. The unit of division of labor is the family, not the individual. Each family is a separate consumption and residential unit. The communal life of moshav is much less intensive than that of the kibbutz. Social and economic differentiation is considerable. Though it is impossible for one family to increase its holdings through the purchase of land, it can increase its livestock and its income through efficiency. Another source of differentiation is the presence of the non-farmers, such as the teachers, craftsmen, and employees of the cooperatives. These people are not members of the moshav, because membership is decided by the possession and cultivation of an agricultural holding.

The moshav is the competitor of the kibbutz in recruitment of members. In recent years, the population of the moshav has increased very fast, from 89,972 in 1951 to 164,127 in 1961,

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<sup>20</sup> Salmon-Garber and Cohen, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-67.

<sup>21</sup> Koenig, *op. cit.*, pp. 156-157. The hired laborers are drawn from neighboring villages, towns, and cities. They ranged from semi-skilled to unskilled, to unskilled laborers; most belong to the latter category.

and compared with 63,150 and 77,810 of the kibbutz.<sup>22</sup> As the result of loss to competition with the ~~market~~, some of the members of the kibbutz joined the market.

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<sup>22</sup> Ben-David, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

## CONCLUSION

The kibbutz is a unique experimental community which has lasted for more than half a century since its establishment. From the analysis of the structure and function of the kibbutz, it was found that the alteration of the kibbutz original ideology is closely related to the changes of structure and function of the task-subsystem as well as that of the structure and function of the maintenance-subsystem. Though the kibbutz is a specific and unique unit, it is still a part of Israeli society. Thus the industrialization, urbanization, and bureaucratization of Israeli society have affected, mainly through the task-subsystem, the institutional structure and the principle of kibbutz ideology. The changes of the structures and function of the task-subsystem have had repercussions on other aspects of the kibbutz. The main changes of the principle of the kibbutz original ideology related to the task-subsystem are as follows:

The development of inequality. Since the economy of the kibbutz is changing from simple agriculture to light industry and the mechanization of agriculture, it needs a complex division of labor and specialization. The practice of job-rotation is not applicable to the production needs. Thus the occupational role system must be changed, and a hierarchy, specialization, and diversity in occupation are developing. Members of the higher occupational strata have no economic reward for their positions, but they enjoy extensive medical

rewards. Actually the inequality factor in the organization is revealed as an essential factor in the organization of the kibbutz. The principle of equality is mostly lost.

The hired-labor. Because of the trend toward economic prosperity caused by the creation of the state, the kibbutz has established the industrial enterprise, employed agricultural machinery, and expanded agricultural production. As a result, the labor forces of the kibbutz are not able to meet all these needs, and some labor from outside must be employed. The hired-labor is not only inconsistent with the principle of self-labor, but also it causes problems, such as the strata relationship between the employee and the employer, and the weakening of the original ideal of equality. This practice is likely to undermine the whole structure of the kibbutz.

The development of the elite group. Since the economy of the kibbutz has become more complex, the more managerial and the professional positions are required. It is not possible for a general assembly to solve every problem occurring in the kibbutz by its assembly directly. Consequently, an elite group of top coordinating and managerial personnel has emerged. Most decision-makings concerning the planning and policy of the economy are done by a small group of people. This development of the elite group violates the principle of direct democracy and equality of the kibbutz.

✓ The main changes of the principle of the original ideology related to the maintenance-subsystem are as follows:

The growth of individualism. Individualism in the kibbutz



has gradually become more significant. This is shown through the family relationship between husband and wife, and the increasing contacts between parents and children. The members of the kibbutz were accustomed to subordinate their personal interests to the attainment of collective goals and to seek self-expression only through service to their community. Since the emphasis of the reproduction role, the family members have acquired more privacy and some independence. Consequently, the individuals have paid more attention to the relationship of the family rather than that of the kibbutz. On the other hand, since the establishment of the country and the realization of the building up of the Jewish homeland, the prestige derived from identification with the kibbutz has become less significant, and personal needs of the members have shifted to material satisfaction. This growth of individualism has been inconsistent with the group primacy of the kibbutz ideology.

The weakening of collective upbringing. Due to the emphasis of the family relationship by the kibbutz members, the collective upbringing is weakened. Though the parents cannot give any economic benefits to their children, they can fulfill their psychological needs through contacts and communication. While the family relationship develops, the collective upbringing is weakened.

It was found in this study that the kibbutz has confronted many problems and difficulties occurring in all spheres of its structure. The focal point of these problems is related to the external influences and the internal adjustment which has

threatened its original ideology. The kibbutz, while emphasizing cooperation, has realized its goal to build up a just and equal society. The adaptive subsystem of the kibbutz is to manipulate the environment for its survival but not for the interests of goal-attainment.

Comparing the characteristics of the original kibbutz with that of the present kibbutz, it may be concluded that the ideological community cannot be experimented in a vacuum without changing its structures. The institutions of the kibbutz were forged by the collective ideology, but at present, many of the characteristics have been lost. A community which was initiated by an abstract ideology must adapt to its environment. In its course of development, increasing contacts with the external society have resulted in significant changes in both organization and the principle of the ideology.

The significant finding in this study is that the ideology and the structure of a community are functionally interdependent. The structure of a community may well be determined by the ideology, yet the structure of a community itself may change the principle of the original ideology. From the analysis of this specific case, it seems apparent that the ideology is existentially determined when it is not imminent or internally determined and when its form, content, and genesis are significantly influenced by the social relationship of a community and by the significant external influences. The relationship between an ideology and a social structure is that while the ideology is an independent variable, the social structure,

set up by a planned project, is a dependent variable. The ideology, however, is a dependent variable when the community emphasizes its adaptation to the external pressures as well as the internal adjustments. During the period of adaptation, the kibbutz confronted a dilemma. The original ideology could not justify the relationship between the members in the kibbutz. It was necessary to compromise the ideology to the modified structure required to meet the external pressures. The present difficulties and problems that the kibbutz confronts are very similar to the chaotic situation of China in the past century when her door was forced to open to the West; the traditional Chinese familistic ideology could not justify the new relationship between the people, and the problems of adjustment occurred in all parts of the society. It is important to mention that both the ideology and the structure of a community should be equally considered in the analysis of the relationship between them.

Significant external factors also may change or affect the goal of an organization. From this study, we may interpret that an organization in order to make its commitments to external and internal social forces may be required to change its goal. For instance, the kibbutz community, in order to get support from the government must play the role of increasing production and mechanization of agriculture in Israeli society. Therefore, the original goal of building up a just and equal society should give way to a short range goal of increasing production.

It is thus important to indicate that community structure and changes therein cannot be comprehensively understood by limiting the analysis to its internal structure; the internal aspects of a community and the external influences should be equally considered.

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STRUCTURAL CHANGES OF THE KIBBUTZ COMMUNITY

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AN ABSTRACT OF A MASTER'S REPORT

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This report was written as an investigation into the relationship between changes in the social organization of the Israeli community known as kibbutzim and changes in the ideology which influenced their development. The kibbutz is a unique type of experimental community which has lasted for more than half a century. Its structures were forged by a Utopian ideology, and differ sharply from other community patterns in Israeli society. It is one of the few examples of ideologically conceived experimental communities which history affords us. As perhaps the most successful, if not the only successful, experiment of its kind it has attracted the attention of students of community and social organization. In its course of development, increasing contacts with the external society have resulted in significant changes in both the organization and ideology of the kibbutz community.

The data being used in this study were mainly drawn from recent studies done by social scientists. Most of the works are field research which emphasized specific aspects of a simple subsystem, or particular aspects of the organization.

It was found that the structural differentiation and the specialization of the task-subsystem are the main sources of the alteration of the kibbutz original ideology. The development of inequality threatened the ideology of equality; the practice of the hired labor was to undermine the principle of self-labor, and the development of the elite group directly contradicted the ideology of direct democracy.

It was also found that because of the changes of the

structure and the function of the task-subsystem, the maintenance-subsystem was changed. Consequently, some of the kibbutz original ideology was undermined; such as the growth of individualism which was inconsistent with the group primacy, and the development of family relationship which weakened the collective upbringing.

It was also discovered in this study that the kibbutz has confronted many problems and difficulties occurring in all parts of its structure. The focal point of these problems is related to the external influence and the internal adjustment which have threatened its original ideology. The kibbutz, while emphasizing adaptation, has neglected its goal to build up a just and equal society. At the present stage, the adaptive subsystem of the kibbutz is to manipulate the environment for its survival but not for the interests of goal-attainment.

The significant finding in this study is that the ideology and the structure of a community are functionally interdependent. The structure of a community may well be determined by the ideology, yet the structure of the community itself may change the original ideology that was conceived in its initial stage. In this regard, it is important to mention that both the ideology and the structure of a community should be equally considered in the analysis of the relationship between them. In addition to this, it will be also emphasized that the significant external factors may change or affect the goal of an organization. It is also important to indicate that a

community standards and changes therein cannot be comprehensively understood by limiting the analysis to its internal structures; thus the internal aspects and the external influences should be equally considered.