THE COMMUNAL EXPERIENCE OF THE KIBBUTZ

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Introduction

These thinkers were urging a science that would be about values, but would stop short of actively promoting new values.

—Ernest Becker

The Confusion of Utopian Thinking

Utopias make us uncomfortable because we are suspicious of societies and human groupings that claim perfection. The discussion and study of Utopian societies is often viewed as a leisure-time activity that is divorced from normal life. Normal life is concerned with the compromises of progress, the exigencies of making a living, and withstanding ever-threatening crises.

Still, we are plagued by dilemmas in normal life. Is it really possible for people to feel comfortable with one another and experience themselves as a social body when the family is breaking apart, neighborhoods and towns are losing cohesion, and each person looks out only for his or her private welfare? The debate continues over whether citizens can have a strong sense of political power when others, with whom they have little or no contact, represent their interests; when decisions are made on remote levels; and when there is no commonly accepted set of values upon which decisions are based. Can rationalized bureaucracies not submerged in a common, visible, small community, or not connected with the citizens whose lives are affected, continue to make decisions that affect the quality of people's lives?

Mutual obligations, or what economist Kenneth Boulding calls "unrequited transfers," are being more widely replaced by a utilitarian ethic in personal relations as the contract replaces the relationship in all spheres of life, replacing the

communitarian spirit. For example, differential economic rewards and the pricing of all forms of human behavior, from leisure counseling to spiritual growth, have grown in significance. Economic resources and a good standard of living cannot be justly and equally available to all when full employment costs too much; when most of the wealth is concentrated in the hands of a few; when everything has a price tag; and when family background, education, personal connections, attractiveness, ability to manipulate others, luck, profession, and class, rather than the human right of economic sustenance through work, all determine a person's wage. Conglomerates, banks, and other foci of concentrated capital have moved their businesses to the locales of the highest profit margin, and have increasingly attempted to rid the production process of the role of labor (especially through automation). This is done without a clear sense or concern for the effect on the life of communities, job creation, or the future of social services.

It is not romanticizing the past to find it true that in an earlier time extended families, ethnic communities, and a greater capability in the population for self-sufficiency sometimes moderated the stress of competition. Once society lost its community character the individual personality became alienated in the social environment. Mass society devoid of fellowship leaves a person with the rules of individualism, competition, and prestige maximization; and rationality—the mediator of success—forces the person to adopt the schematized behaviors that work in a complex society. Greater centralization of governmental functions that intrude into more areas of life, and the increased importance of money as the connection between persons both drain economic, social, political, and educational transactions of their interpersonal and moral significance. Speaking of the resultant schematization, the sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies said (1940), "One's own activities take the form of commodities" (1940).

The key question is whether people can be happy when modern life is so fast, so stressful, so complicated, and so threatening, when the drugs of the body (nicotine, alcohol, narcotics) and of the mind (television) serve as social

adjusters, and when people are involved with ever-shrinking circles of individuals from whom they can expect an unconditional form of association. Control over our world and history is not possible when technocrats surround us with ever more machinery and with technology that creates our world and transacts our business, and when we do not know, cannot find, and cannot understand those who determine the values and criteria of such technology and its consequences.

Schooling becomes oriented to the preparation of individuals who can function in this mass society. In good part, school requires intensive competitive training, socialization in preparation for living in corporate, hierarchical, impersonal settings, and learning the skills necessary to fulfill roles in a complex technological society. The training ground of the school can never strongly encourage children to challenge the moral imperatives of the overarching fragmented society. This notwithstanding, parents still emphasize the importance of values such as neighborliness, cooperation, participation and democracy, ethical discrimination, closeness to nature, and control over technology. But we are finding it harder and harder to pass on any kind of values to children, because a more person-centered, humanistic education is too expensive, the school is divorced from the community, and agreed-upon values are hard to come by.

This is the dilemma of hope in the modern scene: human fellowship without community; political participation without social contact or consensus; economic justice without the rights of economic equality; mental health without simplicity of life; control over our world without knowing where the levers are; and education without locally generated and agreed-upon values.

Indeed, if Utopia is a society whose claim to the good life must merit suspicion because it lacks realism, then we live at present in this type of Utopia. The fact that this mode of social organization represents our best hope for the future is certainly a leap of faith. Once we strain to step outside of what the sociologist Peter Berger calls our "social construction of reality," it is then much easier to realize that it is nothing more

than a form to which we have become accustomed and socialized (Berger and Berger 1972). The form must stand the test of human moral interrogation, for is it out of some mysterious mystical notion of modern society that we defend this as the road to human perfection? Have we not lost the capacity to think about how the so-called good life is created? Indeed, we do not know how to analyze the quality of our lives. This is the confusion of our Utopian thinking. We regard Utopian visions as unrealistic, yet we avoid examining the moral assumptions upon which our own world is based.

We are wont in our infinite chauvinism to. make fun of other so-called Utopias. Is the "odd" dress of the Hutterite cooperative communities of the Midwest any more bizarre than our current belief that the local community is no longer a garment of a fitting social life for humans? Is the inefficient direct democracy of many communitarian societies (and the use of consensus by others) more inefficient than the huge national bureaucracies that now decide almost every aspect of our lives? Are the wild dances of the Shaker communities dizzier than the dance by which our economy provides and rewards dignified work? Is the fact that a kibbutz community will pay for all the medical expenses of members—without any relation to how fast or how much they work—a maladjusted way of dealing with the problem of human satisfaction? Can the communal practice of children sleeping in children's houses near their parents' dwellings compare unfavorably with such distortions in our own society as often-absent suburban fathers, child abuse, and doggedly competitive systems of grading?

Yes, Utopia is a scary phenomenon. But the fact is that modern society is itself a frightening Utopia. It involves mystically weird belief systems. It shuns a normal way of life. It claims perfection without any knowledge of what people really want. It prescribes inappropriate methods to reach "the good life" that do not work. It leads people on by promising happiness and joy when complexity and slavery are the true consequences.

The unfortunate event of our time is that demonstrated creativity in making our society what it could be is a vanishing

skill. If the general population did not share this malady, if it were only the illness of the sociologists and educators among us, that would be bearable. But the debate about the quality of life is increasingly an argument about the status quo, not about alternatives. This "sociology of the present" is shared by both sociologist and citizen. Sociologists analyze and explain the functioning of each new social mass; they offer no alternatives, just analyses. Society is not an intentional fellowship providing a good quality of life. The essential modern definition is that, in the United States, society is what accidentally develops next, receives the approval of the citizens, and comes to be identified by sociologists as the thing worth studying, and by educators as the thing worth teaching. The federal government then must fashion policies and worry about how people's needs will be met in each evolving situation. This is not exciting dialogue about social reconstruction.

Society is not created by the scientist, the philosopher, the revolutionary, nor the responsible man or woman in the street. Society is not the province of the lone moral individual, nor does it come into being as a result of the moral public policy dispensed by the federal cash register. Neither does it come into being as a chance development of modern times. Society is a web of mutual obligation to which the individual feels a sense of belonging, for which he or she works and gives commitment, and from which he or she derives benefit.

We need to examine models of responsible societies that place real social alternatives within our reach. We need to recover the moral strength upon which to base our relearning and education in social organization. This book is the first in the Kibbutz Studies Book Series about the alternative "social constructions of reality" that are still within the reach of modern humankind. As one of the most visible and recognized Utopias of the modern age, the kibbutz provides for us a different yardstick by which to begin measuring the yearnings for the good life.

The purpose of the present study is to examine the kibbutz of Israel. We have purposefully chosen a vibrant, existing system of cooperative communities oriented toward the

amelioration of human life in order that we may clear up some confusion concerning Utopian values. This study documents and describes the workings of an existing kibbutz society so that its details and mechanisms are more obvious to those among us who are trying to participate in constructing social alternatives. The makeup and attitudes of its population are dissected so that the diversity of membership allowed by a small communal society will dispel the fears of those who do not themselves countenance social reformers, special individuals, ideologues, or possessors of the oft-touted herd personality of communal citizens.

The Status of Kibbutz and Communal Studies

More than two decades have passed since Spiro first described kibbutz life in his classic ethnography, *The Kibbutz: Venture in Utopia* (1956). Since the publication of that work there have been numerous general descriptions of kibbutz life and myriad studies of specific aspects of the kibbutz (examples of other ethnographies are Rayman 1981, and Lieblich 1981; Shur et al. 1981 reviews more specific scientific studies), but there has never been a study that is both general and specific; that is, one that assesses the community's advantages and disadvantages in the context of an ethnography and at the same time addresses itself to the interlocking dilemmas that cut across social, political, economic, and educational concerns in the commune. This study updates our knowledge of kibbutz life in light of more recent research and methodology. It attempts to provide a substantially more detailed account of the Utopian community in the kibbutz and the activities that take place in that community.

A common feature of general descriptions of kibbutz life is that the bases for the author's conclusions are seldom identifiable. In contrast, we have relied heavily upon systematic methods of observation that, it is hoped, will be as open to criticism by the reader as are the conclusions drawn from those observations.

Specific studies of various aspects of kibbutz life, of which there are many (e.g. bed-wetting by children, or work branches in the commune), do not sufficiently portray the organic nature of community life. Because of such studies, a reader may see the commune as an arbitrary mixture of sociological mechanisms, and miss the originality and the natural order in this social construction. In addition, the uniqueness of individual cooperative communities is lost when a particular slice of life—in one kibbutz for instance, the economy—is then put into the context of a more general ethnography of another.

Two crucial secondary analyses of material on Kibbutz Vatik have not been included in this volume because space is limited; however, they merit comment because of their relevance in assessing a communal future. They are *Assessing the Quality of Life in Small Communities* (Blasi 1980a) and *The Quality of Life According to the Diversity of Membership* (Blasi 1980b). The first analyzes the specific mechanisms of social life of Kibbutz Vatik in light of a philosophically developed theory of the quality of life that uses insights from Tonnies's theory (1940) of *gemeinschaft* and *gesellschaft.* The costs and benefits of kibbutz life are assessed relative to those of modern society and other communitarian forms in greater depth than in this volume. The second summarizes a complete expanded computer analysis of the data presented in this study by cross-tabulating all the questions by diverse paired membership groups (see appendix, "Outline of Quality of Life Data for the Kibbutz Research Project"). Thus, men and women are compared along all the measures of attitudes and satisfactions, as are old and young, first and second generations, service and production workers, and twenty other demographic groups in the kibbutz.

Our goal was to assess the attitudes and satisfactions in kibbutz life, to determine whether or not there were strong and significant differences distributed along crucial lines of human diversity such as sex, age, and place of work. If there were such differences, the picture of Kibbutz Vatik that emerges in this work would be opened to doubt. The distinctiveness of kibbutz organization would have to be tempered by the fact

that there existed within it a predictable amount of stratification, organized along clear demographic lines. In fact, however, the research showed impressively that such differences were few and usually very weak when they existed. Advantages and disadvantages (when the issue was satisfactions) and attitudinal clusters (when the issue was perception of kibbutz life) were neither predictable nor significant according to a wide variety of diverse membership groups. The kibbutz, overwhelmingly, does not divide its population into exploiters and the exploited.

Both secondary analyses illustrate the importance of contemporary dissection of communal societies. By pursuing the problems of modern life with a few social alternatives, we may be able to make some clear statements about social reconstruction. Thus, the approach undertaken by this volume in particular, and by the Harvard Project in general, differs distinctly from that of many communal studies long considered germane to thinking about social amelioration, many of which derive from historical works on communes. Kanter's analysis of the problem of commitment and the mechanisms for its attainment in her discussion of the success or failure of communal experiments (1972), and her book of readings on communes (1973), present in tandem one of the best bibliographies of historical sources on communal life. Kinkade (1973), *Communities Magazine* (1975), and Komar (1983) provide general descriptive accounts of current secular communal attempts, including a variety of strikingly stable communities, with some ongoing analysis of the nascent movement in the United States and around the world.

Hostetler (1968) and Zablocki (1971) discuss ethnographies of contemporary religious cooperative communities in their respective studies of the Hutterite communities of the upper western United States and Canada and the Bruderhof of New York, Pennsylvania, and Connecticut. Zablocki's more recent work (1980) actually analyzes a variety of sociological and psychological processes in contemporary communes. Most of these genres of communal studies present the novice social reconstructionist with distance: the historical communities are faraway in time; the secular communities are often faraway in

lifestyle, being populated mostly by the post-1960s young; the religious communities are frequently distant in their beliefs. (Our study focuses on a secular kibbutz, although there is a small religious kibbutz movement.)

The special quality of the kibbutz lies not particularly in its proven success compared to these other communal societies. It has yet to outlast some of the societies studied by Kanter; it has yet to fascinate the young of Israel as does the Waiden Two Twin Oaks Community described by Kinkade (1973) and Komar (1983). Further, attempts to define the kibbutz as distinctively Jewish or Israeli are open to question once the considerable similarities between it and other communal alternatives are observed.

The kibbutz is special because it is a communal alternative that many in the U.S. population could visualize, were they to opt for cooperation as a way of life and develop an intention for fellowship. The kibbutz provides a level of cooperation that critically alters social life and eliminates gross social, economic, and political problems, yet it does this in the context of a normal secular society of grandmothers, grandfathers, aunts, uncles, sons, and daughters, with a strong respect for individual human rights and an attempt, albeit a complicated one, to relate responsibly to national obligations. Its members are diverse; their religious beliefs are mixed and are, in fact, distinctly secular; the lifestyle is comfortable yet radical, participatory but not intrusive, industrialized but not technocratic. These elements exist in part in historical and contemporary secular and religious communities, but no other community actualizes them all.

The kibbutz movement does this with 120,000 people in 270 communities. Despite this tremendous advantage as a model for Utopian thinking, the kibbutz, as the reader will see, is not a perfect society. Having eliminated the most serious forms of social, economic, political, and educational fragmentation and violence, the communal group is left with the complicated and mounting problems of keeping a fellowship alive and well. Many choices remain, many mistakes are made, and oftentimes the dilemmas of existence remain untouched. Perhaps the discussion will fall far short of

the ideal we might desire and, rather, settle well within the reaches of some reasonable and moderate proposals for developing more responsible, self-reliant communities.

Any implications of this work, and of future books in this series, will come from an attempt to further our understanding of realistic alternatives in social life. Before turning to the kibbutz, let us sketch in general terms the possible communal future and the fragmentation that demands this dialogue and this action.

A Possible Communal Future

The goal of this work is to encourage a fuller understanding of the concrete realities involved in bettering society on a local level. The goal is not to persuade quick adherence to a carbon-copy "kibbutz ideology" for improving social life. The intention for fellowship and the energy to visualize and create social alternatives must be deeply felt and must have persistent significance for the individuals who try to create a local community within a larger society. The substance of this intention and the plan for an alternative cannot be copied. The central point is that such a plan must direct the citizen-pioneer's energy effectively and must take into account the possibilities existing in the present environment. Thus, in the face of these realities, many social alternatives are theoretically possible.

Existing neighborhoods could be identified and webs of mutual cooperation and obligation developed within their parameters. Developing such a cooperative infrastructure might become a very creative task for a social plan and citizenry more oriented toward self-reliance. Decaying small towns and villages could be saved if inhabitants were to realize that the pattern of their social relations and the degree of mutual labor they would commit themselves to might insure the community's continued growth just as much as would welcoming the new factory of a large corporation.

In more hostile urban environments, whole cooperative communities could be developed in the ashes of a declining

city with community-owned businesses and services, such as day-care and medical care, provided by an association of citizens. Larger towns could decide that the weight of federal dependence should be thrown off for a reorganized municipality based on an association of smaller governmental units and worker-managed industries.

The government might develop a program of federally subsidized community homesteading projects whereby rural settlements with ensured full employment would receive federal land, technical assistance, and long-term, low-interest loans to develop communal settlements. The urban communal household could become increasingly acceptable as a response to the alienation and economic press of modern life. Still, some groups might decide to buy land themselves and actually build cooperative communities (kibbutzim), hoping to develop a movement that would grow steadily and act as a catalyst to continued expansion of a self-reliant and locally controlled string of communities. The government could decide to give special tax incentives to such groups if they could demonstrate that they would create fewer social problems and thereby put less strain on federal financial and bureaucratic resources. (This is already a reality in parts of the United States. The Hutterite Foundation of Communities practices mutual aid among almost 200 communities with a population of over 25,000. In 1976 the first contemporary Federation of Egalitarian Communities was founded, tying together five secular cooperative communities in the United States and Canada.) In less extensive ways some elements of the communal endeavor, such as cooperative day-care centers, communal homes for senior citizens, or worker-owned firms, might be more universally adopted.

Worker-managed and employee-owned firms show the promise of becoming popular methods of encouraging economic independence and enrichment of the workplace. Nevertheless, the less a preferred social alternative coherently touches all the elements of a citizen's life (i.e. the spheres of work, culture, political decision making, education, child care, worship, etc.) the greater the risk that it will be wiped out by the forces of modernization because it will be just an isolated

island and will be hard-pressed to hold the commitment and identification of its otherwise diverse membership. The kibbutz, for example, provides a stunning laboratory study, for those interested in employee ownership, of what can be done when the concepts upon which self-management of firms is based are applied to the life of the smaller surrounding community.

The study of the kibbutz, communal societies, and alternative social policies can at least provide us with the grammar of a communal future. We lack at present even a novice's knowledge of the means of constructing the intention for a better life. Attention to the experiences of those who have tried and are currently succeeding in social reconstruction can be inspiring; however, it would be hard to develop sound generalizations on inspiration alone. The pursuit of more detailed studies of social alternatives such as the kibbutz might awaken more of us to the reality of the options implied in the statement: "I intend to join with others in creating a better local fellowship."

For sociologists this means confronting Ernest Becker's claim that the science of humankind is fundamentally a moral problem, opposed to the notion that "there is nothing left but to work within the ongoing social ideology, gathering data and hoping to patch things here and there." The communal future means a systematic, exploratory, and careful scientific evaluation of communities, experiments, visions, and practical proposals that really can restitch the nets of human fellowship.

Fragmentation and Its Consequences

The possibility of return to some romantic, just community is not within our reach. Those who do remember such things disagree on their value; most of us simply do not remember. Aside from this, recognizing that humankind has stumbled on the path of progress does not require that we retrace our steps in search of a solution. The kibbutz sheds much light on the critical function of the elimination of privilege and hierarchy in arriving at social betterment. Yet privilege and hierarchy

were crucial features of past communities, from the Middle Ages to small town United States. Many who reflect on society would agree, therefore, that it is not the development of privilege and hierarchy that constitutes the modern age so much as it is the invisibility, the concealed power of these things that, in short, can be traced to the phenomenon of fragmentation in our society. The seeds of a communal future may reside in the opposite of the modern scene.

Most people never question the assumptions of modern life. One major assumption is that human activities can be divided among different reference groups quite without limit. In most traditional and primitive societies, and certainly in many villages and towns of the nineteenth century, humans worked, played, worshipped, affiliated, consumed, produced, decided, learned, and suffered together. Modern society takes each human activity and creates a "corporation" to run it. The corporation has hierarchical authority to which we generally do not belong, an admission fee, a set of specific rules, and a specific reference group. The corporations governing our different social spheres of activity are usually not closely situated. Their administrators do not know each other, and the lone individual is left to pilot his or her course among them. We work, play, worship, affiliate, consume, produce, decide, learn, and suffer in different corporations. Increasingly, there is further specialization. Consumption, for example, is spread among a large number of ever-expanding corporations. Affiliation for the purpose of help is also highly specialized, with a multitude of counselors, caseworkers, and weight-loss and ego-massaging organizations. The fewer the essentials included in one human setting, the more new corporations must be developed to provide the service required. Modern society is built for the individual who has enough money, time, and social skills to pass to and fro among these fragmented corporations and get what he or she wants without hurting anybody. Society is a switchboard.

The quintessential corporation is the government. The federal government must, in theory, step in to incorporate and organize the activities of human groups that no rational being would choose to make a business of: the hungry, the poor,

single parents with dependent children, the disabled, the aged, the retarded, the "maladjusted." These people used to have a network of mutual aid and acceptance in some primitive communities; now they are at the mercy of a vast bureaucracy. The government grows with the destruction of community, for it was community that provided many of the free human services we now associate with bureaucracies. Older parents lived in with kin and took care of children. Now we need agencies for the children and the parents, a staff, inspectors to monitor the staff, and social scientists to figure out why the system does not work.

The corporate social model tears each activity from an individual's life and requires that that individual learn different rules and different sets of behavior for the varying reference groups and develop an ability to function in a variety of hierarchies where he or she has very little power, very little friendship, and very few mutual obligations with the reigning staff. The state, through a system of taxation—which replaces social fellowship and mutual aid as the new "neutral" obligation—maintains the system. Democratizing each sphere, while maintaining the fragmentation, one from the other, is not the solution. The cult of "participation" simply does not affect the fact that people do not have the time and energy to make so complex a collection of social spheres democratic. In a fragmented society, participation demands levels of mutual identification and interaction with total strangers that violate the reality of their isolated lives. Also, democracy has little capability in a fragmented society's scattered settings.

A brief overview of modern fragmented society and its recent history leads to several safe generalizations:

1. The fragmentation is continuing. More and more of the human activities of "natural communities" fall under the control of private and public corporations. More and more of the things people used to exchange on the basis of mutual obligation and cooperation must now be purchased.

2. The tendency is to replace free mutual aid as a solution to social needs with paid-for services (and therefore with

commercially organized corporations that must turn a profit to exist). The disenfranchisement of the aged, the day-care crisis of children, and the problems of nursing home corporations are cases in point.

3. The mounting evidence of large-scale social illness, gained from statistics on crime, suicide, drug and alcohol addiction, mental illness, corruption, administrative inefficiency, and lack of compassion, may indicate that humans do not function well under the conditions of fragmentation and lack of fellowship. Possibly we do not appreciate that as a human group increases exponentially the social dynamics are drastically altered in such a way that efficient bureaucracies may never be able to humanize!

4. The government becomes the screen upon which the ineffectualities of modern society are projected. We are seduced by one quick solution after another, but it must be realized that (a) tax dollars and bureaucratic planning cannot replace fragmentation with integrated social settings; (b) even if this were possible, the taxes could not go high enough, nor could the bureaucracies, in reality, grow big enough, to solve our deepest social problems (this would not be practical, nor would it pass Congress), and the redistribution of wealth required would be politically infeasible in the near future; (c) questions remain as to whether welfare payments improve the quality of life of recipients; and (d) unemployment compensation does not create jobs. In short, fiscal solutions do not give people whole lives; they only maintain people's existence.

5. There is no evidence that our social problems will lessen; in fact, each day new studies and new analyses reveal ever-greater and unimagined problems in areas we never considered.

6. Social problems are not unique to the United States. Communist and capitalist societies alike continue to buckle under the weight of modern problems. At the same time, the developing countries hasten to become

modern. The dilemmas are global and, indeed, the perception of global crises related to the quality of life must be tied closely to the worldwide lack of self-sustaining social fellowships that fulfill the needs of all people.

7. As the crisis warms up, national and international politicians, scholars, and information media are hard-pressed to give people at least a sense of potency, a notion that the solution has been found and the experts are setting it in place. The substandard lives of millions in the United States who are living in economic and social deprivation cannot be improved by a welfare reform package that, miraculously, will not cost the taxpayers much more money; unemployment cannot be solved by bringing the unemployment rate down to the "acceptable" level of 4 or 5 percent. Sociologists redefine community as the community of interest, the healthy network tying together all the isolated individuals, that will give people a sense of community. Thus is born the Harvard Community, along with the Intelligence Community. The tough questions about social fellowship, economic justice, political participation, control of technology, coherent values for responsible local education and childrearing, and positive mental health (supported by a trustworthy commonwealth) are never asked. While the shadows of such questions remain, corporate bureaucracies, believing they are answering them, consistently cook up unsatisfactory solutions that miss the point.

8. On a global level, the many believers in the modern corporate state act as if they are threatened by one another. They arm themselves against multiplied nuclear destruction, wastefully use resources and labor that might be directed toward social betterment, and ignore the creeping internal enemy of fragmentation. Liberation movements and revolutionary parties, hoping to gain control, fight to wrest the power to determine national options. Throughout the world, the notion of responsible local society is unrecognized. Political and social policy

egos, revolutionary and nonrevolutionary, fight it out to determine the shape of the future. Because bureaucracy is an inefficient substitute for the benefits of a deeply committed, organically acting group, hysteria, empty promises, media blitz, violence, or suspension of human rights are more and more necessary in countries where more bureaucracy is not a feasible solution.

Sadly, many who offer alternatives to this disheartening situation claim simple solutions: fragmentation is caused by the capitalist system of ownership; fragmentation is caused by lack of belief in God; or fragmentation is caused by body tension, lack of self-awareness. The track record of surefire sociologies and psychologies is not encouraging. Criticism of capitalism becomes Centralized Marx, Inc. Belief in God is Multinational Spiritual Enterprises, Inc., promising eternal deliverance that is often blind to the mounting social crises. Self-awareness is marketed by Growth, Inc., whose seminar and superseminar can make you more responsible.

Where are the whole alternatives that directly address the important political, spiritual, and personal issues and provide another setting apart from the modern corporate existence? They are generally forgotten.

Cooperative communities and communal societies provide one substantial set of examples from which to choose creative ideas for social amelioration. The kibbutz, as one example, is real, is open to examination, and provides specific starting points for the social reconstructionist. It solves social problems by changing social relations. It is built on mutual commitment and obligation among a group of people, a commodity within reach of all. It calls for grouping human activities under one roof, so to speak, encouraging people to conduct most of their affairs within a fellowship based upon consistent rules, similar reference groups, and little hierarchy, and thus opposes the fragmenting tendency of modern society. It prescribes mutual aid that is free once the intention for fellowship is present; this requires minimum administrative supervision, promises a sure profit, and is something to which most people believing in its virtues can adapt themselves. The kibbutz could lead to

responsible control over local life and a reversal of widening social problems. It promises less government and more local self-reliance, and thus increases the possibility that government might again be respected for performing the constitutional and protective functions for which it is best fit.

The kibbutz is not in retreat from the real world. To a great extent, it accomplishes its social and ideological goals because it has succeeded in developing profitable agricultural and industrial businesses. The individual kibbutz is supported by a giant infrastructure of community-controlled federations, banks, and planning and educational institutions that guide its access to capital and serve as a buffer against the influences of the outside society.

To some extent, the kibbutz crosses ideological lines. Is a progressive, nonviolent, voluntary, self-reliant, democratic, cooperative social fellowship Republican or Democratic? Is it communist, socialist, or capitalist? It speaks to the regeneration of human culture around the globe and sublimely addresses the possibility of the fellowship of humankind.

The Current Study

This study will examine the quality of life in one Israeli kibbutz through a detailed description of six major areas of community life: the historical development of the community; social arrangements; economic cooperation and work; participation in politics and culture; education and childrearing; and personality. Our methodology will rely on a combination of two approaches: anthropological and social psychological. From an anthropological point of view, we will utilize the notes and observations resulting from extended residence and participation in Kibbutz Vatik. Central issues of life in the kibbutz relate to many areas of community activity. For example, the quality of work has to do with social arrangements through the provision of close-knit fellowship in which work takes place. Too much dependence upon statistical data generated from questionnaires might shadow these issues rather than reveal them. Thus, excerpts from intensive

interviews conducted with community members will be used along with field notes to focus on issues for which other methods were inadequate.

From a social psychological point of view, we will report on the results of questionnaires. The goal of the questionnaires was to provide a common medium to describe differing amounts of agreement and disagreement about areas that proved to be of major concern for many members. Nevertheless, there are times when we are suspicious of the questionnaire data, and both the ethnographic and social psychological data shed little light upon the subject. At these times the author's personal judgment is relied upon, and the premises upon which an argument is made are clearly put forth (see the appendix for detailed information on research background, materials, and methodology).

It is not the goal of this work to discuss and analyze the problems and challenges of the kibbutz movement as a whole toward the year 2000. We are examining one community to shed greater light on the social dynamics of individual units. Also, the author has not sought to study in detail the social-historical development of the kibbutz, neither in the context of the Israeli labor movement and Zionism nor in the comparison of the kibbutz with the histories of other similar social movements. These will be subjects of further study.

1
History and Development

In this chapter, misconceptions about the nature of the kibbutz will be corrected, and the size, origin, and present state of Kibbutz Vatik's system will be outlined. The special influence of persecution in the lives of East European Jews on the formation of the kibbutz movement will be explored in terms of an alienation from the narrowness of life, powerlessness, and a struggle with the definition of progress. This and Zionist socialism led to the movement to establish the kibbutzim that evolved in an unorganized manner from intimate communes to the cooperative village-towns of today, of which Kibbutz Vatik is an example.

The Kibbutz Movement

One problem of considering the small community as a learning environment and a social policy alternative is that few examples exist that have been tested over time on a large scale. Because of the possibility that the traditional forms of small community life will encounter stress under the pressures of modern change, their importance is minimized. On the other hand, although many communes exist and some experiments are quite impressive (Kinkade 1973; Komar 1983; Borowski 1984), they still remain only as shadows of the stable community life that can endure. We need, then, a modern community with a fairly long history on which a substantial amount of research has been done. Most important, it must exemplify a voluntarily and purposefully applied communitarian ideology whose goal is to achieve a better life.

The kibbutz is probably one of the most studied societies of the world (Shepher 1974). Its unique system of collective local childrearing and education is well known. Most significant,

however, is that kibbutz life has been a purposeful attempt to learn and develop more just ways of achieving the quality of life. The effort permeates the whole life of the community. This work will serve as a review of the main trends and findings that are available in English regarding the kibbutz movement and in a specific description of the community under study.

The kibbutz movement of Israel offers a unique and invaluable example of a large number of people living in cooperative small communities in an industrial society. Because the kibbutz exists in a foreign country and a great deal of research and writing material about this society is in Hebrew, with little comprehensive and up to date English literature, it has not yet been recognized with the global importance it deserves. Recently Harvard University's Project for Kibbutz Studies has facilitated the appearance of a large amount of Hebrew research in English (see Cherns 1980; Shur et al. 1981; Leviatan and Rosner 1982; Lilker 1982; Rosner 1983; Palgi et al. 1983; Shepher 1983; Agassi and Darom 1984).

The word *kibbutz* comes from the Hebrew word *kvutzah*, which means group. The first kibbutz was really a rural commune founded in 1909 (Baratz 1946). As the movement expanded and the communes became communities, the word *kibbutz* was invented to denote a larger community group. Today, there are over 275 kibbutzim with a total population in 1979 of 117,999 people or approximately 3.66 percent of the total Israeli Jewish population (Cheshev 1981:3–4). The population of an individual kibbutz ranges from 50 to 2,000, though most are between 250 and 500. The size of most settled communities is between 500 and 700 (Criden and Gelb 1974).

Kibbutz Vatik is a part of the HaShomer HaTzair Kibbutz Federation, the second largest association of kibbutzim. This federation is associated with Israel's United Workers' Party (*Mapam*, in Hebrew). It has generally been more dove-ish on foreign policy issues, and oriented toward a smaller, more ideologically homogeneous membership in its kibbutzim. Many of its members have been educated in the youth movement of the same name. Unlike the Kibbutz HaMeuchad

Federation, Kibbutz Artzi (a nickname for HaShomer HaTzair, literally meaning "the national kibbutz") stressed the ideological preparation of members in the youth movement and political education. It opposed less selective open-membership procedures that led the HaKibbutz HaMeuchad Federation (literally translated as "the united kibbutz") toward developing larger, less homogeneous communities with a strong, centralized movement federation. Another federation, the Ichud HaKvutzot veha-Kibbutzim (the union of kibbutzim and kvutzot) stressed smaller kibbutzim with more autonomy for individual communities vis-a-vis the federation, again with a weaker emphasis on ideological homogeneity than Kibbutz Artzi. A religious kibbutz movement (HaKibbutz HaDati) combines socialist communal organization with strictly orthodox Jewish religious practice as a vibrant and rich religious alternative to the more secular majority of the kibbutz movement.

Founded in 1927, the HaShomer HaTzair Federation in 1981 had 80 kibbutzim with a total population of 39,475. Recently, the Kibbutz HaMeuchad (founded in 1927) and Ichud HaKvutzot vehaKibbutzim (founded in 1951) united to form the United Kibbutz Movement with 162 kibbutzim and a total population of 71,096. The Religious Kibbutz Movement had 15 communities with a population of 6,570. It was founded in 1949. Three other kibbutzim are not affiliated with these movements: two are affiliated with the Poalei Agudat Israel Movement, and one is a communist kibbutz (Cheshev 1981:3–4). It is not the goal of this volume to include a comprehensive review of the history of the kibbutz movement (for further reference, see Yassour et al. 1986), or its position within the Israeli labor party and trade union (Histadrut) establishment (see Medding 1972).

This case study cannot propose generalizations for the whole kibbutz movement. Variations both within the federation and between movements do exist. But, given the general similarity in organizational changes observed by a number of authors in social surveys of multifederation samples, the examination of these phenomena in one community can be a useful addition to the literature (see

Leviatan and Rosner 1982; Rosner 1983; Rosner et al. 1986, forthcoming). A few differences should be mentioned. Kibbutz Vatik is less industrialized than most kibbutzim, which often have more than one highly automated factory. As a Kibbutz Artzi Federation community, Vatik has a unique system of high school education in that the adolescents do not return to their kibbutzim after school, as in other movements, but live in a regional kibbutz high school institution. Unlike an increasing number of kibbutzim, Vatik still has small children sleeping at night in the children's houses, and views this separation of children from the family apartment as an integral part of its educational system. Finally, the community has consistently resisted the introduction of hired labor. Except for these dissimilarities, however, the author considers Kibbutz Vatik to be widely representative of the social transformation most kibbutzim have undergone since Spiro's classic anthropological study in the 1950s. Given that we will be examining the ideology and attitudes of the members of what has been considered the most ideologically homogeneous kibbutz federation, ideological diversity and attitudinal disagreement would be especially meaningful findings in this case study.

Our community, called by the pseudonym Kibbutz Vatik, was founded in 1936, almost thirty years after the beginning of the movement in Israel. Its historical development can be viewed as a result of the previous three decades of the perfecting of the kibbutz structure. That is, Kibbutz Vatik did not develop by chance: its members were trying to build a social form that for thirty years had been replicated consistently and regularly throughout Israel. Jeshua, the counselor at the kibbutz high school, now in his sixties, discussed some of the preparations he and other Polish Jews were making in Eastern Europe years before they founded Vatik:

> The youth movement from which this community sprung was founded in Poland in 1928. Many of our members even before then were reading a lot of philosophy, examining their consciences, and pursuing the issue of social life on a very high level. Ours, unlike other Zionist movements, put

a great emphasis on kibbutz. Our newspapers stressed this theme. Some of our preparation came from the Pfadfinder, an apolitical countercultural youth movement which developed in Germany in the 1920s. It emphasized a return to nature through scouting groups, freer relations between people, and not simply following in the footsteps of our parents. The youth often asked themselves if this style was a game. How long could we play it without changing our lives? [Conversation reconstructed from notes.][1]

Background for a Counterculture: Persecution and Its Special Influence on Vatik

To understand the historical development of the Kibbutz Vatik—today a stable, well-defined settlement—one cannot ignore the influence of the conditions affecting European Jewry at the turn of the century. Jeshua, a member, addressed this issue in our conversation:

The liberalism of Europe at that time gave much power to a move to secularize the Jews. Many felt that they could be intellectuals and begin to branch out into many professions in the universities. Many a person went to Berlin or Budapest to study and never returned. They changed their names and put off other forms of Jewish identification. But anti-Semitism continued to rear its head. Jews helped in the Russian revolution and afterwards they were liberally killed. We felt like the oil on the wheel of history. Our group wanted to build an independent and just future and strive for what we called the independent realization of our ideals.

At the same time the Jewish youth were questioning the nature of their lives for reasons not connected to persecution. A prominent defender of this questioning put it this way:

We are an ancient people, submerged by too much inheritance, by a deluge of thoughts, feelings, and values transmitted to us, so that we can no longer live our own

lives, just be ourselves; our dreams and our thoughts are not our own, our will is not one implanted in us; everything has been taught to us long ago; everything has been handed down to us. Everything is confined and defined within set limits and boundaries, measured and weighed, ruled and legislated, so that those among us who crave to fill themselves are lost and can never discover themselves. Is it possible to begin again after fundamental changes in our lives and hearts …. There is no construction without prior destruction, and there is no being without ceasing. [From an early critic of established Jewish life, M. J. Berdichevsky]

The founders of the kibbutzim were mostly of East European origin, especially from Russia and Poland. Vatik was founded mostly by Polish Jews from Galitzia. Galitzia, an area of Poland on the Austrian side, was part of the Austro-Hungarian empire before World War I. When the members of Vatik grew up there, it was under Polish national control. The Jews there spoke Yiddish; this factor contributed to the central influence of the German counterculture on the early Jewish youth groups.

Kibbutz Vatik differs from other kibbutzim founded in the 1920s and 1930s in two ways: first, most of its population was from Galitzia, but many of them never experienced anti-Semitism. For them, the question of achieving a new social identity as Jews was influenced by what they knew about persecution rather than how they experienced it. An older woman, now principal of the Ulpan (Hebrew school for foreign volunteers in the community) explains:

We [referring to the first group] were Israelis when we founded this kibbutz and we formed our youth movement in Israel. We were the *first* ones and we really had many ideals. We came from well-to-do homes, we did not come from any holocaust, and we didn't come from starvation. On the other hand we were not rich, because there were not rich families in Israel, but we lived and studied because we really wanted to do something special. We had an ambition not to be like the other kibbutzim which were formed by Jews coming from Europe. We wanted to be better than them.

The fact that the first founders of Vatik were born of East European families who had already emigrated to Israel had a strong effect on the founding of the kibbutz. The initial founders were not running from anything. They were already in Israel, and they sought to build a cooperative rather than a private life there. The small group of twenty or so initial founders were joined in the early 1930s by about fifty youths from Galitzia. This group had been in the leftist, socialist-Zionist youth movement there, and unlike the Israeli founders, their experience of anti-Semitism was strong. The Jews in Poland of the 1930s were prey to a vicious kind of persecution: economic anti-Semitism, discrimination in social situations, and a rightist Polish nationalism that was suspicious of minorities. Persecution as a factor had a more indirect effect on the founding of Vatik.

Vatik also differed from its peer kibbutzim of the 1930s in the socioeconomic background of its members. Unlike the richer families of Germany and parts of Russia, these members' families were lower middle or middle class, mostly craftspeople and small business people. Thus the educational standard of members of Vatik differed radically from that of kibbutzim where the parents of members provided a more university- and study-oriented youth. Despite these differences, these Jews knew their long history of persecution, which included not only social discrimination but also physical attacks and pogroms. From the time of the Roman destruction of Jerusalem and dismantling of the Jewish state in 70 A.D., European Jewish life was a series of grand attempts to build small communities, which were destroyed when the local Christian ruler changed his attitude or wished to appropriate their property or art (Durant 1957).

Several other aspects also define their experiences at the turn of the century: alienation and the narrowness of life, powerlessness, and a struggle with progress.

Alienation and the Narrowness of Life

Alienation meant that although many Jews lived in *stetls* (ghettos), which were fairly close-knit communities, they were continually uprooted. The use of identifying badges and the fact that by law they could not own land, which prevented a normal involvement in land-based farming, labor, and manufacture, forced the Jews into business requiring little use of land, emphasizing exchange of commodities (trade), work that could be done with little capital or need of space (crafts), and the more abstract services (law, education). A hundred years before a life style detached from the land became popular in the West, the Jews found themselves forced prematurely into the modern life style of rootlessness and exchange (Spiro 1956). This situation resulted in a narrowness of existence. The early kibbutz members spoke in this way of the stetl:

> Why has the glory of the Torah declined? The Rabbis marry their sons to the daughters of the rich. The sons-in-law depend on the money of their fathers-in-law, which buys them the Rabbinate. Once in the Rabbinate they must satisfy the material appetites of their wives who are unused to austerity. As a result they become servile flatterers. [Lilker 1973:9]

Life in the *stetl* was radically hierarchical and inegalitarian. The rabbis and the pious Jews were at the top and were keenly aware of their station and power. A worker in the chicken branch of Vatik speaks about the near disdain with which the youth movement regarded traditional religious Judaism.

> In my house [the ghetto apartment house where his family lived] many of the young were in the movement, but our parents were very tolerant. But in the same house, there was another family and the parents went to the police to keep the child from going to the Shomer HaTzair (Young Guard) movement, [the youth movement from which the Kibbutz Artzi Federation arose, to which Vatik belongs.] Well, they were very religious and they used to bother us calling us "Goyim, Goyim" [non-Jews].

Powerlessness and the Definition of Progress

Another formative experience for the early kibbutzniks of Vatik was the powerlessness of their parents' and their own lives. The promises of liberty for Jews in Europe made during the French Revolution were unfulfilled. European Jews recognized their powerlessness in society: they did not have the right to vote; they were dominated; and they were divorced from the values of human cooperation and connection with nature and the land. Even those born in Israel without as many European influences sought to take greater control of their present and future situation. They saw religion as a powerful part of their future because it resolved basic human dilemmas, as an early kibbutz philosopher, A.D. Gordon, believed:

> Authentic religion cannot live in such an atmosphere. If the person is to rediscover religion the proper balance between the two powers of the human soul— intellect and intuition —must be restored. The task of the intellect is to be the servant of intuition not to overpower and repress it. This balance can only be restored by our return to a direct and immediate relationship to nature …. A genuine inner renewal of society can be achieved not by an accidentally and superficially related mass but only by an organically united community, the people. Nature has created the people as the connecting link between the individual and the cosmos. [Bergman 1961]

Although they were religious in fervor, Vatik founders rebelled against traditional Judaism—and yet the Jewish cultural and rational renaissance was their raison d'etre. Their experience of society and the radical kibbutz ideology that flowed from it was completed with a struggle over the meaning of progress. They asked: Why didn't the intense piety of the stetl life solve severe social and economic problems? If anything, the bearers of piety intensified the inequality and were indeed the bearers of progress (Lilker 1973). This planted the seeds for a suspicious attitude toward individual wealth that became a central principle of the kibbutz.

Even during the infancy of the youth movement elements of communal sharing were practiced. Yasha, a member who came to Vatik after living in a communal house in Poland, remembers those days:

> When there were poor kids among us, and we were going on a trip, the counselor would make us sell stamps in order to raise money for those who could not afford to go. There was a common treasury and every member gave a few cents, ten perhaps, a week. With that money we once bought a ping pong table.

Other members whose formative years were more ideologically informed (in the traditional Marxist sense) than Yasha's youth movement days, speak about hours of poring over Marx and socialist writings.

These elements of persecution, alienation, narrowness of life, powerlessness, and suspicion of progress grew in the early 1900s in the minds of many Jewish youth, and became, together with influences of the German counterculture and Marxism, the root of a critique of the establishment and a new personal philosophy that bore the kibbutz.

Emergence of the Kibbutz Movement

The kibbutz grew out of circumstances and conditions lacking a clear plan or direction. Discontent was seething in the communities of Russia and Poland (mainly Galitzia) and was generally directed toward leaving Europe and with a minority going to Israel, but no clear social program had evolved other than a desire to transplant life to another land. The strong Zionist motivation in the early *kibbutzniks* (community members) was coupled with a desire to create a new society.

Groups had tried to establish cooperatives earlier in Israel, in 1838, 1881, 1903, and 1905, but they all failed for one reason or another. Some of these groups bore close resemblance to the Utopian communities flourishing in the United States at that time (Viteles 1966).

The first kibbutz, Degania Aleph, grew out of an argument between a group of workers and their farm manager over visiting a sick fellow worker. The group left that farm and, with a small loan and a lot of encouragement from a settlement adviser, Dr. Ruppin (1926) started a cooperative farm in 1909. An early visitor—before the group got settled—described what resembled a commune in the country: primitive and innocent youngsters wildly talking, singing, and dancing as they gathered in a large room with a table in the center and long benches. The men and women did not have separate rooms.

After the first year they had a surplus and liked the efficiency and security of cooperation. The group grew in population and expanded with some long-term loans. The word spread and soon other groups began trying to settle the land in this way. By 1913 there were three communities. By 1917 joint childrearing developed. Around this time they began to receive youth groups from Europe.

After World War I a counterculture began in Germany and swept parts of Europe. Howard Becker discusses these developments in his book *German Youth: Bond or Free* (1946). He stresses how these young people loathed the life of their elders and were open to many alternative ways of living. Their rebellion did not take the form of political revolution. It advocated escape from the present society into the world of nature and relationships "where the shams of the city were absent." Self-expansion, the simple life, sexual freedom, and equality became hallmarks of this movement. The Jewish youth quickly adapted this movement (and the beginnings of their serious consideration of Marxist socialism) to their desire to break with the old and to found the new land. It was not until the tragic persecutions of the Polish Jews in the years following 1917 that these "countercultural scouting groups" added Zionism to their original goal of changing Jewish life.

By 1921, the kibbutz structure began to take form at Degania and spread through trial and error. When 25 kibbutzim formed a federation in 1925 they defined *kibbutz.* A kibbutz was a small community based on economic cooperation and social understanding supported by frequent

democratic assemblies; refusal to give leadership to any one person or group; collective rearing of children; emphasis on concern for all members in the community without the interference of exclusive-couple ties; the importance of work; giving up individual property; and cooperation with neighboring communities.

The Small, Intimate Kibbutzim

As the movement got older, the Europeans who came brought with them a more refined background from their various youth movements (the counterculture), including some experience of living on preparatory kibbutzim and urban communes, and greater socialist radicalism. The early kibbutz movement tended to be extremely communitarian. As one member of Vatik remembers:

> We sang a lot and sat around a lot and you must understand that each song was a value in itself. The substance was that you were young and you were creating something, creating a new ideal, and that attracted us a lot. Also, to build the land, to change yourself, the meaning of the pioneering spirit is that we threw our lives away **THERE** [in Europe] and came to this land to work together in an orchard, and that was an honor. Many farms had a communal shower: men and women washed together. There was a liberal period in connection with sex. The clothing room distributed not your clothes but the clothes of the whole commune. So if you got clothes, everyone got them too. The ideal grasped the person more and more and the reality of unity in work held one more.…There was little room for problems between people. There were at times four people in a little room. But the lightness, the ideal was all.

Kibbutzim still go through an extremely communal stage, although it tends to be shorter and much less radical, now that family life and marriage have for many years been accepted tenets of the movement. In 1922 *Kehilatenu* (*Our Commune*) was printed, containing letters, notations, diaries, and confessions of 27 of the 100 members of Kibbutz Aleph (later

to become Bet Alpha, the kibbutz on which Spiro's book is based). What is pictured is a group striving to realize Utopian and mystical brotherhood and sisterhood:

> A direct relationship between a person and his or her neighbor is the first condition for the creation of society. In order that one may understand one's friend and forgive the person, one must know him [or her] …. On the altar of creativity a group soul was formed …. Arms were joined and wild song burst forth. [*Kehilatenu*, 1964:n.p.]

Members in kibbutz after kibbutz tell of the sliding nature of this constant feeling of brother- and sisterhood. We are told that when the first child appeared in one community the couple became more of an institution; the long talks and encounter sessions on the lawn receded; family life, friendship, intimacy, and work circles replaced the "one big happy family"; and the kibbutz passed from being a commune to being a collective village.

Kibbutz Vatik was founded many years after Kehilatenu, the small communal grouping that typified many early kibbutzim. The goal of Vatik's members was certainly more set than that of pioneer groups who had little preconception of the kibbutz social form. Vatik's founders wanted to build a cooperative village and make it larger than an intimate commune. The practical economic and social considerations in constructing a successful community made the thoughts of a small communal grouping obsolete. Still, Vatik passed through this intimate communal stage. Rena, a founding member of Vatik from the Israeli group, recalls:

> We had a communal shower and we thought the difference in showers was not important. When new people came they did not like it, but we wanted full communality. I once was on a committee of communal beds. This is not what you think it was. There were only a certain number of beds and at times extra people and visitors had to be assigned to the places in the beds. When I first came here my parents gave me a clock. Someone told me, "Give me your clock because the man who works in the field, or the mother who works in the baby house needs the time and it is not so

important to you." So I gave away my clock and so did others. It is true it was a remembrance of father and mother, but, on the other hand, we thought that we would be the finest and the most just. I do not laugh about it now. I think it was important and right then, and this is what gave us the power to overcome, to make it, and to be something special, because, at that time, there was not too much faith among the other Israeli youth.

A more detailed view of the initial intimate commune emerges from discussions with founding members of Vatik. Before they set up the kibbutz they lived in an urban commune next to an abandoned graveyard in the vicinity of Tel Aviv. Decisions were made by consensus; all money was shared; couple relationships were deemphasized; and group singing, group dancing, and group ideological and planning discussions were the order of the day. Even after making the shift to the present home of Vatik, several members report that the sense of being one family continued. One member reported, "We sat outside every night and talked and talked." Singing, dancing, communal showers, a communal work schedule that knew no regular limits on hours, a decision making procedure that lent itself to long encounter group-type discussions (despite the voting character of the assemblies of older kibbutzim at the time)—all of these typified the radical phase of Vatik.

We shall examine Vatik's movement from "bund" to "commune" in the terms of Talmon-Garber[1], a noted kibbutz sociologist. Talmon-Garber developed a theoretical description for these first times, which embodies the early history of Vatik:

The process of change in kibbutzim may be described as a transition from "bund" [a term coined by the German sociologist Smallenbach] to "commune." The main characteristics of the kibbutzim during the bund stage are: (1) Dedication to an all-pervasive revolutionary mission. (2) Intense collective identification. (3) Spontaneous and direct primary relations among all members. (4) Informal social controls. (5) Homogeneity. Kibbutzim are established by young unattached individuals who share a comparatively long period of social, ideological, and vocational training. The social and economic systems are in a rudimentary,

almost embryonic, stage, so that there is also little functional differentiation. [Talmon-Garber 1972:2]

We have already commented on the first members' revolutionary ideology, their extreme collective identification, the youth movement, and cultural conditions that encouraged their homogeneity. However, early members of Vatik stress the direct, primary relationships they had among themselves, probably because this is one characteristic that has so radically shifted in intensity and importance. A founding member, now a scientist in the community's fish laboratory, said:

In the beginning of the kibbutz movement the ties of the family were not so strong, and people were joking and asking, when they came to visit, if the children knew who their parents were because of the communal way of life. Of course this was a joke, because it was never so. But nevertheless, the way of family life was not so tight. The family was not based on a moral basis as it is now, but the building of the family that has taken place in the kibbutz now, especially if I compare it with families outside the community, from a moral point of view, has become a strong and stable endeavor. But in the beginning, what I wanted to say was that there were more cases of extramarital sex than there are now. [Author's note: The much touted free love of the early kibbutz movement was the freedom of each person to be in love with the person of his or her choice most appropriate at the time. Group sex, orgies, and multilateral relationships were not part of this freedom.]

Members of Vatik also stressed informal social controls. There was a strong community feeling against higher education, and many regret now that much of the "intellectual leadership" of the community left at that time because of conflicts over pursuing higher studies. Drinking and smoking were taboo, and the introduction of the slightest personal luxury, such as a private teapot in the room, a new dress received as a gift, or a radio, caused great interpersonal tension, and hours of arguments in the general assembly. Today the community is more prosperous, and such individual diversity is not just tolerated but openly encouraged. The

popular Hebrew phrase frequently repeated in interviews was "Each to his [or her] own likes and dislikes." The attitude is similar to the motto of the grange: "In essentials—unity; in nonessentials—liberty; in all things—charity."

Talmon-Garber ascribes much of the structure of the "intimate commune" to the need to achieve overwhelming fellowship and to deal with conditions for building a new state:

> Fellowship is rooted in a common idea and a common will… .As long as commitment to the cause was all-absorbing and defined every aspect of life, one's duty toward the kibbutz took clear precedence over kinship obligations….The kibbutz acted as a vanguard of the emergent society. It was a unique combination of agricultural settlement, training center, and military outpost. …It fought its way against great odds—eroded and barren soil, a severe scarcity of water, inadequate training of the settlers, and lack of capital resources for basic investment. On top of all this lay the heavy burden of self-defense in a hostile environment. [Talmon-Garber 1972:3]

Emergence of the Cooperative Village

In Vatik today, as in all but some of the recently founded kibbutzim, many changes with regard to family life point to the transition from "intimate commune" to communal village. Talmon-Garber sketches the theoretical framework for these changes:

> The processes that bring about the emergence of the commune are: (1) Differentiation. The original homogeneity of the bund stage is disrupted by the differentiation of functions and of groups that perform them. Most important in this context is the division of labor in the occupational sphere and the establishment and growth of families. Another major source of differentiation is the persistent internal solidarity of the various nuclei of settlers who join the core of founders at later periods. (2) Attenuation and accommodation of the revolutionary

ideology. (3) Decline in the intensity of collective identification. (4) Standardization of norms of behavior and formalization of social controls.

This process of institutionalization may be observed in the history of the collective movement as a whole as well as in the development of any single kibbutz, and it of course affects the position of the family and family relationships. [Talmon-Garber 1972:2]

The lessening of intimacy and the concomitant increase in material wealth have a central place in explaining these changes. One cause of greater differentiation in Vatik was the introduction of a new layer of members with a background different from that of the founders. They are referred to as the *hashlama* (completing group) and almost a hundred joined the kibbutz in the years following 1948. They, unlike the founders, had experienced virulent anti-Semitism: some had been in concentration camps; most had had to go underground; all had suffered much. Although their numbers were needed, the founders felt that the members of the *hashlama* did not come to the kibbutz out of ideology, but rather as a means for survival. This way of viewing the *hashlama* persists despite the fact that their socialism and youth movement education were similar to the founding groups, and many of them were from urban communes in Galitzia, Poland. A *hashlama* member described herself:

After all our sufferings in Europe we came to the kibbutz and things were very hard. We all had to work hard physically, in terrible cold and blistering heat. And I for example could not work in the fields, so I went from the children's houses to the kitchen, and there were a lot of problems, because when we came they [the founders] were already the vatikim [old-timers] who had founded the kibbutz. They lived here because they found it as an ideal way of life, but we came out of survival. So it was very hard to get together.

Our data (see chapter 2) do not corroborate the founders' supposition that the *hashlama* had a weaker socialist-Zionist ideology, but this distinction is a main point of contention

between the two groups. The differences did not let up. In the late 1950s and 1960s groups from Austria, Italy, and Switzerland, along with a smaller number of Oriental Jews, joined the kibbutz. All had varying degrees of movement experience and vastly different backgrounds. At that time the sons and daughters of the founders were in their teens, and a new layer of kibbutz-born members (and then their husbands and wives from the city or other kibbutzim) mixed in the population. Older members also point to the birth of the first child and the initial pulling back of various family units as the signal for the end of the intimate commune.

In the 1940s, the community quickly became more interested in economic growth and dealing with complex decisions. New economic branches were developed. Members began to train for specific roles, to seek work stability, and to develop special skills. The days of "everybody equally competent for every job" passed quickly. The hours of ideological discussion on the lawn, and continuous group dancing, singing, and encounter-type exchanges, evolved into a more normal life of work, family activities, individual time alone, social life with special circles of friends, and more organized communal cultural activities. Culture was for enjoyment, not for gathering together. The diversification of members, activities, and tasks only fueled the development of Vatik into a large village.

The attenuation of revolutionary ideology occurred with equal intensity. The truth about Stalin, the failure of the democratic experiment, and the lack of respect for human rights in the Soviet Union crept up slowly on Vatik. One member pinpointed the failure of the Soviet experiment to a time when the inequalities that existed between the managers of the factories (who had *dachas* and special privileges) and the impoverished workers became apparent. The other members of Vatik criticized this member in 1948 as he told these stories. Nevertheless, the community never recovered from its rejection of the world socialist ideology once the truth of the Stalinist U.S.S.R. became impossible to deny. There was no longer a world movement to develop human respect nor an egalitarian socialist movement from which they could

draw sustenance. There was just Kibbutz Vatik and several others like it. Ideology was then formed according to the community's needs and its development. This strengthened the desire for a higher standard of living that small examples of economic inequality accentuated:

> Well, in 1937 and 1938 it happened that one of our girls got married. Her parents were from Haifa and they brought her a present, a radio, the first radio in the kibbutz, and she returned the radio to her parents. It was a sin of the kibbutz because "we will not take presents and we will not allow you to have a private radio in your room." It was the rule. It does not matter that just several years later radios started to come in and they started to become private. What was the cause of this change? First of all in my opinion the big cause was evolution, slowly and gradually. Someone got a present and we decided not to bother them about it, to leave it, and close our eyes. This is the beginning. It starts with something, a small thing, and then we start discussing, why this is allowed and this is not allowed, and then find the border—what yes and what no—but then we do not know when to stop it. [Although there was a big confrontation and a general meeting to fight the first private radio] the second radio came without a general meeting. It came in and people became a little tired of discussion, or they became aware that we will not be able to fight against this, and then we had two choices, to decide to fight this again or to buy everybody radios, [member, Kibbutz Vatik]

The community decided to buy everyone radios, but the recognition of inequality continued to raise the standard of living and was partially responsible for many of the practical adjustments made in the personal budgets of the members. This is often referred to as the kibbutz's "teapot scandal." A myth exists that this process began in one kibbutz (supposedly Degania Aleph, the first kibbutz) with the introduction of a personal teapot and soon spread to other kibbutzim. It has become the symbol of attenuation and accommodation to a change in the character of those first times of radical, antiprivatistic, and rabidly egalitarian kibbutz ideology. The tightly reined social evolution of the commune was dead.

Many members in Vatik said they valued both the fellowship forged in those first times and the good sense and reasonably desirable developments their fragmentation insured—a trade-off indeed!

These developments in differentiation and attenuation of revolutionary ideology led to a weaker collective identification of the individual. The decision to have private clothes was a turning point. Usually everyone took the clothes they needed each week, often different clothes each week, which sometimes fit and sometimes did not. What changed was that people began to ask, "How essential is this? Are we less socialist if our clothes fit us and they are private?" This question of clothes is an excellent example of how individuals began to identify with the kibbutz as a social form rather than attempting to force all activities into a mechanical framework of socialism; the egalitarian format behind clothes distribution, not uniformity in sharing them, was the principle. So, too, there was less patience for the long-winded discussions of principle and feelings necessary to reach decisions on all these matters by consensus. More important decisions beckoned, such as where to build the new chicken house, or how many cows to buy. In short, the ability to be an individual, to be different, and to have separate interests all at the same time was affirmed.

The minutes of the general assembly meeting for the period 1950-1965 show an increasing concern for making norms clear, spelling them out, printing them, and rationalizing their operations. Life was becoming too complex to have the whole community examine every activity. So norms governing the distribution of clothes, food, the use of transportation facilities, the general nature of acceptable gifts, the responsibilities of members who worked on the outside, the hours that a pregnant woman could subtract from her workday depending on her time, the proper criteria for determining who and in what order members would go for higher education, were established to encourage the development of a diversified society, cut down on possible conflicts, rationalize administration, and offer the use of hard-earned economic development as a resource for

greater choice and freedom for individual members. In brief, Vatik, like many other kibbutzim, became an institution.

Our coverage of the kibbutz's historical development may seem like a patchwork quilt, but it is difficult to determine whether the private teapot or the first member who fought to study nursing had the greatest influence on the structural change that occurred in all aspects of the community's arrangement of life. We can say this: the reorganization of economic life with a view toward greater profit and productivity (the industrialization of agriculture and the development of workshop and factory-type operations); the increasing bureaucratization to achieve equitable and efficient arrangements of communal life; and the attempt to add more of an urban flavor (emphasizing human diversity and choice in nonessentials) were reached with a distinct loss in communal intimacy. But as the senior female member who was the first person to fight the community and win a professional education (in nursing) said, advantages did come in the trade:

> Now I feel there are more possibilities. In other places you would have to work long hours just to support the family whereas here you are free to choose what you want to do. The kibbutz gives you the opportunity to do what you want; whether you have two or four children, you do not have to work any harder. But in the city of course, if someone has four children and wants them to live on a certain standard, and get a good education, he [or she] has to work very, very hard. So he [or she] cannot spend time on his [or her] own interests, he [or she] just cannot. But on the kibbutz he [or she] can have the time to pursue his [or her] own interests.

Note

1A commune is not a historically viable social form, if by commune is meant a small, radically cooperative, and experimental group that constantly strives for religious or social intimacy, and a wholly separate indentity in all parts from the surrounding society. This form, versus the communal village form—which is willing to accommodate

a more normal range of people in normal times—depends
on crisis to exist.

2
Daily Life and Social Arrangements

In this chapter, the physical layout and patterns in the daily life of Kibbutz Vatik will be described. Members will describe the community in their own words and we will see the community through its obligations to members and their obligations to it. After outlining the composition of the population and the research sample, information in the following spheres will be reviewed: social organization; maintenance of social relationships; integrity of roles; boundary mechanisms; social ideals and their degree of homogeneity; social control; and attitudes towards the basic individual-community dialectic of kibbutz life.

Daily Life in the Kibbutz

Before examining the current social arrangements of Vatik, let us discuss the layout of the community and day-to-day life. It will help to place our description of Vatik in perspective. Kibbutz Vatik today looks like a cooperative small town divided by a scenic stream. All the aspects of normal life are found within Vatik's confines. The community itself takes up about seventy acres and is surrounded by several thousand acres of fields. On one side of the stream is the center of the community, the communal dining hall (where members meet for meals, general assembly meetings, concerts, and festivities), surrounded by generous lawns and wooded parks where people gather frequently to talk, play ball, or sit with their children. Vatik is especially beautiful. To the left of the dining hall are some of the work areas of the community: the chicken houses, the grain elevators, and different workshops, along with storage houses for food. To the right is a spacious park with an ongoing exhibit of the community sculptor's work. Behind the dining hall is a lawn used for movies in the evening, and the other outdoor activities mentioned above. The screen is on the side of a large cultural center that houses an auditorium (for movies, visiting concerts, and dances), a library, a reading room and coffee house, a discotheque for the younger generation, a patio overlooking the stream that runs through the

middle of the community (used for wedding ceremonies), and a room in honor of kibbutz sons who died in their country's defense.

On the other side of the park, not more than a hundred feet from the dining room, is the administrative area of the community. Located here are the offices of the central coordinator of all economic branches; the social secretary (similar to a mayor); the technical secretaries who answer telephones, process a vast quantity of mail, distribute morning newspapers, and help with internal accounts and members' needs; the internal treasurer who dispenses funds; the accounting office (with offices of the treasurer and economic planners); and the buyer of clothes. The buyer of food has an office in the dining area. A member responsible for coordinating the work schedule in all economic and service branches has an office adjoining the dining room because most discussion of the work schedule takes place before, during, and after meals.

Harvest festivals, cultural events, occasional outdoor picnics, and movies take place in the lawns, parks, and fields. On the other side of the stream from the community center, there are three apartments to a house, and each contains a kitchenette, bedroom, and living room. The houses flank a stream, have connecting lawns, and are arranged in lines lengthwise, but somewhat staggered to avoid a sense of uniformity. Each couple or member (if single) may have a flower garden, but fenced-in yards, and private vegetable or fruit gardens do not exist. The climate is usually hot and dry in the summer, cold and rainy in the winter. To avoid working in the heat, members usually rise early—5:00 to 6:00 A.M.—and work until 2:00 to 3:00 P.M., taking a snack in the apartment or in the kitchen, with a few coffee breaks at work, and more talkative and extended breakfasts and lunches in the dining room.

Kibbutz life is fairly integrated. Most of the work branches (the service branches, dairy, field, orchards, workshops, factories, fish ponds, poultry houses, and vegetable gardens)—except for the fields —are within the village proper or close by. Because of the small population (about six hundred), members encounter one another frequently on the walks and bicycle paths that connect the community. Cars are not allowed inside the community except to approach the parking lot near the kitchen and the garage area where a fuel pump is located. Even this track is limited to two service roads through nonresidential areas. People meet at work, at the children's houses when parents go in the afternoon to take their younger children from communal day care, and they take them to bed in the evening. Connections of mutual aid and common life crisscross the

community endlessly. The woman who is social secretary (figurehead executive of the community for all except economic management) may have a son in one member's nursery group. That same member's husband may work with the social secretary's husband in the orange groves. Several times a year they may be on similar community jobs, committees, or even taking the podium to defend a common opinion.

On a daily basis each adult member works six to eight hours, meets with various other members for community business (relating to a work branch, a committee, personal arrangements such as a new job, a wedding, or a gripe), and takes care of the necessities of daily life (the house, the family, seeing the treasurer for money, going to town for a certain book, making sure one's kitchen is well stocked with light food and snacks from the kitchen and kibbutz store).

In the afternoon most members nap and then prepare to spend the early evening (from 4:00 to 8:00 P.M.) with their children, circle of friends, or family, and at dinner. At 8:00 P.M. the children are put to bed and people usually just spend time together, or go to cultural events (study circles, library). A member lives with problems and joys but never needs to worry about whether there will be work, whether there will be money, whether the children will be able to go to school. Although each branch and each branch manager tries to maximize productivity and efficiency, and the community's economic planners for the year must plan hard, individuals do not have to struggle and compete. Money is distributed through individual "closed budgets," and a community budget. Members' closed budgets, all equal (except where objective events such as children's budgets or special physical needs require otherwise), provide for clothing, transportation (including use of community cars, public transportation, yearly vacations, and occasional trips abroad), spending money for personal matters and cultural events, and small luxuries that can be purchased through an account at the kibbutz store. The yearly personal budget (spending money outside the closed budgets) is available to the member in cash at any time and is more frequently linked to the dollar, so kibbutz members are insulated from Israel's famous inflation. Computers are used for support in this area, as well as in other production branches.

The community budget provides meals, services such as laundering and household handiwork, child care and education, higher education, medical care, full old-age social security, housing, cultural events, and special community facilities (pool, concert hall, darkroom) in unlimited fashion to all members. There is no measure

to determine amounts of service provided according to the status or work position of any member. The general assembly and the committees determine the amount of funds that can be spent each year in the community and personal closed budgets. Daily economic life is relatively stable and imbued with the cooperative principle. The community could not function for one hour without thousands of mutual acts that usually take place without much supervision, without immediate remuneration, and without the presence of a police force or clear external punishments. For example, one does not get a smaller cultural budget if one has been working poorly. Social control does exist, however. It depends on each member's awareness that the system works: if one at least works and lives peacefully in the community, many rewards are forthcoming.

Also, gossip plays a significant role, as described in *Elsewhere, Perhaps*, a kibbutz novel (Oz 1973). The exchange of information about other people and the community is one of the main pastimes. In the intimate commune, life was visible, needs were standardized, and options were limited; in the communal village, with greater privacy, people often limit the amount of information available about them by differentiating between their circle of friends and relatives and the rest of the community. One of the founding members compared both times:

> Once people had very close friends, and had a very strong circle of friends. Some people still do. But now there are lots of children and there is not much time to meet and when we do meet after work sometimes it is only the family [referring to the extended family]. We eat together in the dining hall, then come home and drink coffee. Before, when we were younger, and there were no children, then a few families would get together. Today, everyone has his [or her] own family except for special occasions, like when there is a birthday, when a lot of friends get together.

Another member, from the second generation, defined a more impersonal attitude:

> There are many people who, while they are fellow members, and I will say "Shalom" on the path, I do not deal with. If I have to arrange a matter with them, I do it. Many people simply do not interest me personally.

In comparison to other kibbutzim, Vatik has more age segregation. There are age-group areas consonant with each residential area. One area on the far side of the stream away from the community center

houses mostly second-generation married couples and married couples from the city or overseas. Another area closer to a bridge and easily accessible to the community center, houses the founding members and *hashlama.* On the community center side of the stream is a park. On one side near the stream are houses for the children (infants to junior high school age). On the other two sides of the park are additional housing for founders and *hashlama.* Nearby are the oldest buildings of the kibbutz, the original structures. They are used for volunteers, visitors, and young single members who have just returned from their compulsory army duty or who are still in the army and use their rooms on vacations and weekends.

Except for general community celebrations, age patterns in the dining and meeting rooms are observable, and the tendency toward age segregation holds up in the general assembly meetings, in the breakfast seating arrangement, and films. One exception is lunch, which is the hot meal of the day; people are seated as they enter the dining room so that the food can be brought out as tables are filled, so the age pattern breaks down. At the evening meal the seating is more familial (at both lunch and breakfast the main criteria for sitting is order of entry and work group—couples rarely eat together during these meals) with the age barrier breaking down in extended families. But these families do not always eat together, and one frequently sees senior members and their families eating separately. The tendency to age segregation enforces the limitation of gossip in the community; in Vatik one knows more about one's peers.

Knowing the historical and physical arrangements[1] of Vatik and the pattern of daily life, we are now prepared to look at its social organization in detail.

Composition of the Membership

Table 2.1 shows the composition of the community by age and type of member. Also shown is the percentage of the actual population each group represents, the percentage of that specific group that participated in our research, and what percentage that group was of the whole research sample. Out of 380 members, 158 participated in the research in proportions very close to their representation in Vatik's population. Because of the size and distribution of the sample, despite the fact it is not random, it makes a high degree of statistical reliability possible.

Of the 158 participants in the research, 94 were men (59.5 percent), 61 were women (38.6 percent), and 1.9 percent (or three people) did not give their sex. Whether the participation of fewer women, given their relative equivalence as a component of the population, has any meaning, remains to be seen. Talmon-Garber, in *Family and Community in the Kibbutz* (1972), claimed that an astonishing and significant number of women favored private versus communal attitudes, and many people would want to view women's reduced participation as an expression of this hypothesis. This possible explanation will be taken up later. Table 2.2 shows the number of years research participants have spent in the kibbutz; the average is 5.7 years.

Although fully accurate census figures for Vatik are not available, our sample shows that 100 (78.7 percent) of the members of Vatik are married, 26 (20.8 percent) are single, and one (.8 percent) is divorced.

The approximately 60 couples in our sample have about two children per couple. About 50 percent of the population (according to our sample) attended elementary and high school, 20 percent attended college, and 30 percent attended vocational school. About 10 percent of those who went to high school or college never finished. It seems probable that these terminations took place mostly in the generation of the founders and *hashlama*, and were related to emigration, war, persecution, or the disdain of the youth movement for higher education, and not to the success rate of kibbutz-born students in the kibbutz high school.

TABLE 2.1 Population Composition of the Community

	Male	Female	Total	A	B	C	D
Senior Members, Age 50 and over							
Founders	40	50	90	(29)	32%	23%	20%
Joined 10-20 yrs. after	50	50	100	(39)	39	25	35
Middle-ages members, Age approx. 26-49							
Married*	65	65	130	(52)	40	32	25.8
Unmarried, residing in community	20	20	40	(25)	62	10	7.5
In army**	10	10	20	(5)	25	5	3.8
Guest Candidates (Non-members)	5	5	10	(5)	50	2	4.8
Younger Inhabitants, Age to 25 approx.							
High School	10	10	20	(3)	15	5	2.3
Lower grades	20	20	40	(0)			
Infants	10	10	20	(0)			

Total population   460 people

Total membership   380 members

Additional Residents
   Temporary volunteers***   25
   Ulpanim****   30

A. Number of persons participating in research

B. Percent of group participating in research

C. Percent of group of total membership

D. Percent of total research sample

* This group includes several people who joined alone although we group them under the *hashlama* or group that came en masse in the years 1948 to 1950.

** Young Israelis give three years after high school to the army.

*** Usually young people who are interested in the kibbutz life or escaping into a different world or Jews planning to settle in Israel who wish to give kibbutz a chance.

**** Ulpan is an intensive Hebrew language program run by some kibbutzim, mostly for immigrants, involving part-time work and study, and hopefully settlement in the kibbutz or Israel.

Of the 158 persons in the sample, 45 were interviewed for two to six hours in Hebrew by the author, in addition to completing the written questionnaires. The purpose of the interviews was to provide a check on the questionnaires, obtaining the same information in a more natural setting when members were allowed to expound on their answers.

TABLE 2.2 Years in Kibbutz of Members in Research Sample

Category Label (Number of Years)	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency (%)	Adjusted Frequency (%)
1- 5	7	4.4	4.6
6-10	4	2.5	2.6
11-15	11	7.0	7.2
16-20	14	8.9	9.2
21-25	19	12.0	12.5
26-30	46	29.1	30.3
31-35	18	11.4	11.8
36-40	23	14.6	15.1
41 +	10	6.3	6.6
Missing cases	6	3.8	0.0
TOTAL	158	100.0	100.0

Valid cases: 152. Missing cases: 6. Mean: 5.7

N.B. There are a total of 158 respondents for each question. Missing cases refers to the number of members who did not answer that question or whose responses were indecipherable, whereas valid cases refers to usable responses.

Valid cases: 152. Missing cases: 6. Mean: 5.7

N.B. There are a total of 158 respondents for each question. Missing cases refers to the number of members who did not answer that question or whose responses were indecipherable, whereas valid cases refers to usable responses.

Social Organization

Each kibbutz is a self-governing entity, democratically organized and responsible for its own social, cultural, and economic development. The village is legally constituted as a municipality in the eyes of the government for administrative purposes, and as a

cooperative society in the eyes of civil law (Constitution of the Kibbutz, 1976).

The social organization is not distinct from the decision-making structure or the cooperative economic structure. The structure, the norms, and the processes of change in the kibbutz all work to support its unique character: a mixture of organic community, fellowship, and cooperation that welcomes individual diversity, a clear definition of human rights, and a measure of social change.

Members' descriptions of Kibbutz Vatik's social structure are strikingly similar. An older woman who is currently social secretary said:

> People in the kibbutz try to live according to the will of the society, and it is "an alternative society." The important elements of this are that the member value the social group, be able to talk about his [or her] life, make a ladder of values in terms of relative importance, sit together and talk, and live in a democratic way according to these values. And this is important—because it is an alternative society, the kibbutz takes effort.

They emphasize a web of social agreement that is taken for granted. The netting of this web, however, is not seen as Utopian. Zalman, a member of the *hashlama*, often a spokesman on ideological issues in meetings, said:

> When someone asks why the kibbutz is the way it is, then my opinion is that there are things that happen during the life of a person which are brought out by life itself. It is the same in the kibbutz, in New York, in Tel Aviv. There are problems of young couples, problems of healthy children, problems of sick children. Or another instance: orphans. There are orphans everywhere. The father is dead; a couple divorces. Therefore, when you speak about the kibbutz, you have to make the distinction: what belongs to the kibbutz, and what belongs to life in general. Where is the uniqueness of the kibbutz? In the kibbutz people are able to feel the joy as well as the pain of other fellows. That is not the meaning of the kibbutz, only its expression, the expression of something deeper: the solidarity, the reciprocal responsibility. You see, for instance, attention is paid to the woman who has worked in the kitchen for a long time. She will be transferred somewhere else. She will get a job in the administration where the work is easier. Of course, if she needs psychological care, she will get it.

Figure 2.1 shows the kibbutz structure. In the general assembly decisions are made on a one-member, one-vote basis. Alternate labels for administrators and administrative parts of the kibbutz are used here and in other literature:

- secretariat—executive committee (*Mazkirut*).

- secretary—social secretary, mayor (*Mazkir*).

- economic coordinator—farm manager, farm coordinator (*meracez mechek*).

Decisions are executed by the secretariat (its members are the social secretary and the economic farm manager, plus important branch and committee heads). Specific issues are dealt with, organized into program projects, and investigated through committees. The three most important committees are the farm (initiates policymaking and decisions on productivity and budgeting); education (sets learning goals, deals with problems and resources); and members' committees (deals with important social issues, rights, and decides on the standard of living).

Maintaining Social Relationships

How much is the image of the intimate commune realized? We examined the matrix of informal social supports in Vatik to check this because it is uncommon to find members of the community with clear pyschological problems (such as depression about work) who are not being helped formally by others. The philosophical context of social help may help us understand its extent and nature in Vatik (question 48).
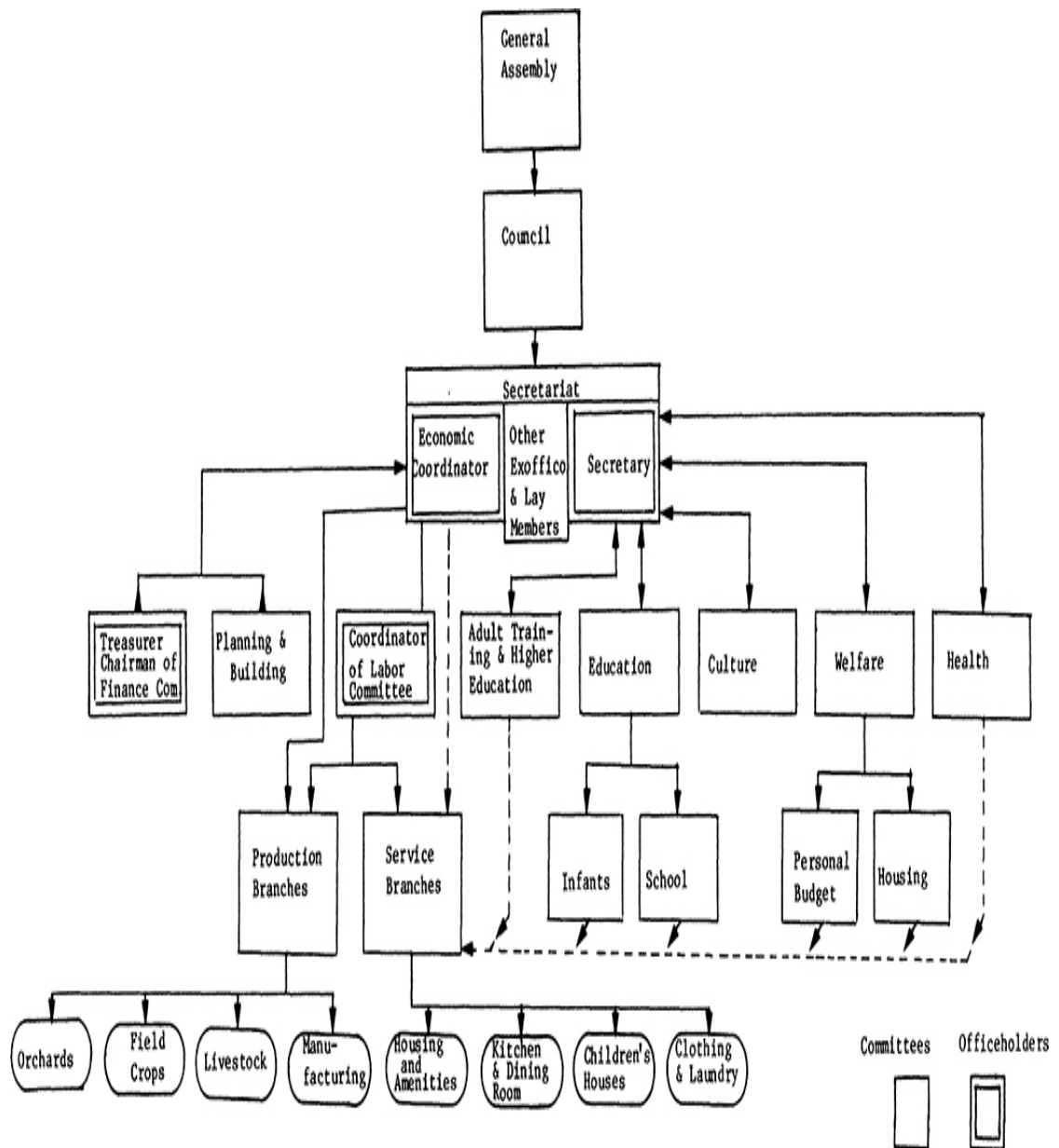
Figure 2.1 Organizational Structure Of The Kibbutz

KIBBUTZ STRUCTURE AND GOVERNMENT

Members of Vatik view human nature in strikingly similar ways. According to table 2.3, more than two-thirds of the members view human nature as both good and bad, and place the emphasis on the societal endeavor to make the difference. Few see egoism as a solution, and few view either human nature or society as impossible to deal with. The emphasis on the social agreement of mutual obligations now makes more sense.

But can the kibbutz still function as an intimate community? Historically speaking, the period of intimacy has passed. The intimate kibbutz is gone. Also, members are clearly not interested in achieving or aiming for interpersonal honesty with everyone.

Question 47 asked: "Despite what we would like, everyone has a practical approach to other people. Which agrees with your approach?"

Members answered in the following ways: 5 percent said telling people what they wanted to hear was the best approach; 17.8 percent favored telling one's feelings no matter what the consequences (this brash trait is often identified with the Israeli *sabra* personality); 13.3 percent suggested that one should speak as little as possible to those who are not one's friends; a surprising 33.5 percent agreed that while honesty is better one simply cannot trust most people; 2.5 percent favored maintaining open relationships; and 26.6 percent did not answer the question.[2] This is no romantic *gemeinschaft.* This describes a fairly normal distribution of attitudes in a village. The lack of interest in interpersonal honesty is startling when compared with the lofty descriptions of brotherhood and sisterhood in "the first times." Although many members criticize the fact that Vatik has become a society of groups, there is clearly no desire to return to the level of interpersonal energy needed to create one-group friendship.

Table 2.3 Attitudes toward Human Nature

	Relative Frequency (%)	Adjusted Frequency (%)
1. Human nature is bad but a strong society can organize people and eliminate many bad things.	7.6	8.2
2. Human nature is bad and a person must be egoistic since the society cannot improve the situation.	3.8	4.1
3. Human nature is basically good and the society is not important.	2.5	2.7
4. People are both good and bad; the important thing is the society.	78.5	84.4
	0.6	0.7
	7.0	Missing
TOTAL	100.0	100.0

Valid cases: 147. Missing cases: 11.

A woman of twenty-four who works in the kindergarten described her attitude:

> There are all kinds of relationships; there is one that I would not say hello to, another one I would say hello to, another one I would say more than just hello. It depends on how you relate to other people. There is no rule. Is there a rule for kibbutz members? There is no such thing. If you have a relationship with another person you talk to him or her; if you do not you do not talk and you only say hello or even you do not say hello.

Almost all members who were asked to describe the ideal relationship between two members not friends agreed with this assessment: relations would be friendly and cordial, but one does not confide in this person or visit his or her house unless at a birth or death; if there is business to settle, one should deal kindly with another member; extreme insults are out of the question. Even today, members will ask for and usually get a public apology before the committee on membership from another member who has called them names. Some members added that one should always be on the lookout for others who need practical aid, and some felt one should say hello to everyone, but these opinions are not popularly shared. Most members do greet each other on the pathways, in the meeting rooms, offices, and workplaces. When the time comes to work with or deal with them, a certain proper warmth has been built up.

With these philosophical and practical underpinnings of social relationships as background, the information on social supports will have more meaning.[3] Members were asked how willing others were to help them, and to listen to them in times of difficulty (question 78 A-O). The results are shown in table 2.4.

Members get the greatest amount of support from their partners, which is not unexpected. The large gap between the support people receive from partners and that which they receive from all others illustrates the attitudes discussed above. Members report that their friends support them almost as much as their partners. The perception of fellow workers and relatives as comparable supporters might indicate that the strength of the extended natural family has certainly not overtaken the "commune" in the kibbutz, or that in fact some definite remnants of the extended (not blood-related) family really do continue to persist. Forty-three percent of the members see their branch coordinator at work providing support. Intuitively, this seems to be far greater than one could expect in a mass society.

TABLE 2.4 Pattern of Social Support

	No One (%)	Not At All (%)	A Little	None or Little (%)	Some-what (%)	Very Much (%)	No Answer*
Fellow Workers	5	6	14	24	23	35	18
Friends	3	5	9	17	32	41	7
Branch Coordinator	14	5	14	33	14	29	24
Partner	9	2	1	12	9	68	12
Relatives	7	8	11	26	24	34	11

Note Figures represent averages of percentages in the four parts of question 78. The number of valid answers fluctuated between 108 and 127, the missing answers between 50 and 31.

*The question did not apply to these people (high schoolers), or they were away (army), studying, or did not answer.

In contrast to glowing descriptions of communitarian society, many members perceive little or no social support available. The kibbutz gives certain supports to members, but it is not a Utopia. One trend in the data echoes the way members defined the ideal relationship between two members not friends. It is a trend that the averages hide. For every reference group except their partners, members note that it is far easier to converse in general with people than to ask for personal help. For example, 22 percent feel that fellow workers will listen to their personal problems, 28 percent feel that they can turn to their fellow workers in times of difficulty, and 33 percent feel that their fellow workers are willing to help them generally, but 57 percent perceive it easier just to talk with their fellow workers.

Another matrix for viewing relationships is neighborliness. In Kibbutz Vatik, groups often move into three-apartment houses near people they like or in their own age group. These groups often double as friendship groups. With 5.1 percent not responding, 41.1 percent of the members thought that their neighborly relations were very friendly, and 44.9 percent somewhat friendly. Another 8.9 percent agreed they were just neighbors and resided alongside each other (question 42).[4]

In short, while the community is organized as a society for mutual aid, a direct feeling of mutuality in most interpersonal relationships is neither the desired nor the achieved goal of the members.

Integral Roles

Tönnies (1940), a theoretician of *gemeinschaft*, speaks of consonant social roles. Although differences in intensity of support exist—except for those who feel little support coming their way— the roles of family member, fellow worker, branch coordinator, and relative are consonant with the role of the member. That is, there is no critical split between family and nonfamily in terms of social fellowship. Perhaps this has to do with the degree to which the kibbutz presents members with the possibility of organically related activity. One aspect of this integration of roles is the broad range of voluntaristic participation in the society. In Kibbutz Vatik, there are about thirty-two communities that require members and coordinators.

Since 1950, out of our sample of 158 people, 42 members report having been coordinators of committees, 41 having been branch coordinators, 68 having been members of committees at various times. In the past twenty-five years this same group remembered being on committees 194 times. For such a small society this is a remarkable amount of after-work voluntarism. These are not all the same members. First, there is a principle of rotation, so that coordinators of committees, branches, and community administrators are changed every few years. Second, few members report filling significant positions more than once.

Figure 2.2 lists the committees of Kibbutz Vatik and Figure 2.3 lists the work branches. The committees touch all branches of life; such diffuse public participation contributes to the integration of roles in kibbutz life. By definition those filling administrative roles (also in figure 2.3) have intense and continuous contact with all these other associations.

Education	Building
Further Education	Newspaper
Consumption	Nomination
Members	Security
Culture	Sport
Health	Farm Economy
Work	Industry
Youth Counsel	Youth Camps
Music	Political
Young People	Furniture
Absorption	Wedding
Outside Members	Army Returnees
Housing	Consumption Points
Vacation	Human Relations and Personal
Equality Problems	Problems

Figure 2.2 Committees in Kibbutz Vatik

Sewing (S)[a]	Secretariat (S)[a]
Carpentry Shop (S)[b]	Pricer (P)[a]
Industry (P)[b]	Nurse (S)[a]
Plastics Factory and Industry (P)[b]	Outside Work (P)[a]
Metal Factory and Industry (P)[b]	Outside Transport (Trucking (P)[b]
Education (S)[a]	Laundry (S)[b]
Teacher (S)[a]	Export Company (P)[a]
Special Education (S)[a]	Dining Room (S)[b]
Kindergarten (S)[a]	Office Secretary (P)[a]
Metapelet (S)[a]	Upholsterer (S)[b]
Baby House (S)[a]	Dental Assistant (S)[a]
Children's Houses (S)[a]	Water Irrigation (P)[b]
Bookkeeping (S)[a]	Parts Storage (P)[b]
Clothes Storage (S)[a]	Citrus (P)[b]
Cows (P)[b]	Health Services[a]
Construction (P)[b]	Grains (P)[b]
Student (S)[a]	Lab Technician (P)[a]
Dates (P)[b]	Planning (S)[a]
Non-Citrus Orchard (P)[b]	Full-Time Kibbutz Administrator (S)[a]
Occupational Therapy (S)[a]	Plumber (S)[b]
Fish Ponds (P)[b]	Research (P)[a]
Landscape (S)[b]	Sanitation (S)[b]
Vegetable Garden (S)[b]	Recreation (S)[a]
Garage (S)[b]	Library (S)[a]
Chickens (P)[b]	Army (none)[a]
Repair Shop (S)[b]	Engraver (P)[b]
Agriculture (P)[b]	Shoemaker (S)[b]

[a]Indicates white collar branch.

[b]Indicates blue collar branch.

(S) Indicates service branch.

(P) Indicates production branch.

Figure 2.3 Work Branches in Kibbutz Vatik

Let us consider the example of one member, David, who is about fifty-five years of age and an accountant in the metal factory. David has not participated in important kibbutz roles very often. He has not been the social secretary, farm manager, or treasurer. His preference

is more of a leavening role, behind the scenes, working at different issues from many directions. His involvement as accountant in the metal factory involves him with the administration and working staff of that branch (about thirty people). He also sits on the executive committee of the community and meets regularly with the main coordinators of the branches and administrative activities. Many of these people are his neighbors.

This group includes about twenty people. David encounters another group of five to ten people in his volunteer role as coordinator of the equality committee—members like himself who are trying to solve the problem of inequality in the community. He speaks to countless members about their ideas, and has toured all the houses of the community to gather information. Add to this the other people he knows—those from many previous work branches, those kibbutz members he joined within the *hashlama*, the parents who were meeting him nightly to put their children to bed in the same children's house, his close friends and relatives, friends of friends— and the meaning of integral roles in the kibbutz comes into better focus. David is not an extremely heavy participant, but he represents a cycle of activity of many members.

The social arrangement of a continuous communal village like the kibbutz contributes to a form of interpersonal alliance and administrative affinity that is hard for inhabitants of less interdependent communities to imagine. David, and other members, find an interpenetration of their roles because their social life is assembled collectively. When asked what type of participation best described their life in the kibbutz, members of Vatik showed an uncommon orientation toward community roles (question 54).[5] Almost 14 (13.9) percent said they were concerned with kibbutz problems and were involved a lot in public affairs; 62 percent were also concerned and said they were involved but not a lot; 13.9 percent were more involved with family life and their own comforts; and 10.1 percent did not answer. In short, the totality of social participation in Vatik is quite remarkable and shows a high degree of integration between one activity and another. Individuals' evaluation of this social participation will be dealt with later.

Boundary Mechanisms

To maintain its amount of centripetal activity, Vatik needs a boundary, the place where the community ends and the outside

begins. A few kibbutzim have tried to erase the boundary with little success. Joseph Shepher has pointed out that every urban kibbutz has failed and every kibbutz close to a city has run into serious problems because of the interference of city activities in the community's life (personal communication 1974). Vatik is not close to a city. It is three miles from a small development town to which most members seldom go. The town lacks cultural events and has few facilities that could attract the members. The contrast between the town and the life in Vatik is stirring. People go hungry there. There are crowded conditions, unemployment, and crime. The social, educational, and economic gaps between the kibbutz and this town are great. Both worlds meet around sporting events, and while Vatik does not itself hire labor from this town, there is a kibbutz industry (with which Vatik is associated) in the town that employs many residents. This contrast, the labor-management tensions, and the class differences between the kibbutz and the town create real and persistent tensions, and tend to intensify the boundary between the two.

Vatik's distance of almost twenty miles from the nearest medium-size town reduces its boundary problems. The bus ride is time consuming and strenuous. Cultural life is sought within Vatik and at nearby kibbutz communities; we shall see later that many members are dissatisfied with the level of culture in the community. The difficulty in leaving (the limitations of community cars), the kibbutz six-day workweek, and the limited outside possibilities all contribute to strengthening the boundary. The resounding impression of living a year in Vatik is that members are not eager to leave the community frequently. Unless one works outside or sees a special doctor, going out once every two weeks would be frequent.

The reasons for going outside the community are twofold: (1) the desire to travel abroad; and (2) the attraction of working outside. Vatik usually sends several members a year abroad for vacations. This is not routine, for most vacations are two to four weeks in duration, are taken inside Israel, and are paid for out of a special vacation budget. The trips abroad are granted according to seniority (number of years in the community). Because only a few members go each year, many younger members want to change this policy to increase their chances to travel abroad. About fifty members work outside, and sentiment on this issue is complex (fewer than five of this group have worked outside for years on end, and most return every three or four years to work in the community as a show of solidarity). Most members who do not work outside believe that

outside member-workers are the main cause of economic inequality, yet they favor the option because some members have difficulty suiting their special skills or particular life situation to inside community work roles. Many members have said that the kibbutz uses outside work as an easy solution, too often and too flexibly. Many of the outside workers are in the kibbutz regional industries or in the kibbutz movement's Tel Aviv offices.

The heart of the boundary problem is illustrated here. Economic inequality ranks as one of the most serious problems of the community; most members reduce its cause to a boundary problem. That is, although inequality might occur even if there were no outside work roles, many members believe they fan the flame. Yasha, an older member from the *hashlama* who has worked inside the community for over twenty years, reflected on this:

> There are people who … can acquire a position that is better outside the kibbutz. After a period of time, they get an important position outside the kibbutz and their life-style changes radically. You work twenty or thirty years and you think occasionally about this as members think and you quickly swallow it. That all your time you did the same work. Sometimes you are satisfied, and sometimes you are not. It all depends on the character of the person. The first according to his [or her] ability got to a level which is higher. So I've got to adapt to the fact that he [or she] has a car to use all alone. He [or she] gets up, gets in that private car, and goes to Tel Aviv. There he [or she] has a job. He [or she] didn't do this against our will. We agreed, and got used to the idea. So I accept that he [or she] has a different ability and a different lifestyle. Neither I nor he [or she] can ignore that his [or her] standard of living is higher.

This kind of conversation occurred an astonishing number of times in interviews despite the fact that the questionnaires did not deal with outside work. After much probing it was found that it is the private car that upsets most members and the occasional trip abroad that a high government official or a kibbutz scientist gets that causes most bitterness. In Vatik, no more than ten of the fifty outside workers have a "private" car. This car is usually supplied by the place of work: usually the kibbutz federation; the regional industry; a government agency; or a university (in this case the community may supply the car). These members must post when they are driving to work and they must offer places in the car to others going in that direction. But some of them have apartments in the city (again not more than six members in Vatik) because of the distance.

Many members have worked on the outside, and they do introduce inequality. But members think the kibbutz profits culturally and economically from its contact with the outside. So, meanwhile the kibbutz has special problems with boundary management. The matter is one of tendency and balance of forces over the long run. There is tension between forces moving toward uniformity in the social arrangement and the diversity of people and options (for the community recognizes it needs to change). Any examination of the social arrangement has to take original sources of this diversity into account. We will now search through the original motivation of members.

Ideals and Homogeneity

Despite the intensity of the "first times" and the overpowering implications of founding a society, no amount of ideological seduction can erase the fact that people came to Vatik for vastly different reasons. Even the members who say, "We came for Zionism," or "We came to build a just society," often really mean "I," not "We."

Many of the members of the founding and *hashlama* groups did come out of an ideological education nurtured in the youth movement. Zalman touched on this:

> Look, you ask me why I came to the kibbutz when I arrived in Israel and why I did not go to the city. That is not a relevant question you know. We got a special education since we were children. In the youth movement. When we grew up we formulated a thesis. The thesis was right in its time and it is as well right nowadays, in spite of the fact that now one does not speak so much about it. Anyway, the first thing in this thesis is the duty to immigrate to Israel. The principle was organically related to the idea of kibbutz, because we were a product of the youth movement. We were very much convinced that the Jewish people in the Diaspora were leading an abnormal life and that they needed a state of their own. From an economic point of view the Jewish people filled up the holes in the capitalistic regime. They became the merchants, artisans, and shopkeepers in the thousands and tens of thousands. They are physicians and professionals. But we said we do not only need a working class; we need a peasantry. We need villages and agriculturists. So I

said to myself: therefore, I must be a peasant and live in a village. And we wanted to set up a socialist society.

A founding member told a different story:

I came here on a visit. All my life I wanted to live on a nice farm with a little house. I liked this village a lot, and the others were so friendly to me. Then, I met Micha, my present husband, and we decided to become a couple. When I think back, it seems that maybe I really wanted to live in a *moshav shitufi* [a cooperative village where the production is cooperative and the consumption private and family-based], not a kibbutz, but I have been here so many years … What can I do now?

This woman made sacrifices similar to those of the other founders. She held difficult and time-consuming positions in the turkey house, in the dairy, and in children's education. She sang and danced with the others in the "intimate commune." But her reasons are not the same as Zalman's.

A married member of the second generation described reasons typical of this group. Eytan worked for some years in the plastics factory in Vatik, and recently left to study in the university:

You grow up, you're educated, you make friends, it is your home, your family, your parents, it is a base. This place has a significance, when you live here you have to accept some standard of living that is accepted here. If you do not accept it you have nothing to do here. This standard is on a very high moral level. Of course it depends on the individual, since everyone lives according to his or her view of life and his or her nature. There is a great variety but the standard is very high. What maintains this high standard is the social pressure. People who live here share the same ideas even if they do not say it, they live in a structured arrangement. Their view about their way of life is not without variance, but it is pretty standard. You have to look at it according to age. A person of my age [young married] is just beginning to build his or her life, and we look forward with this perspective: what am I, and what do I want to do for myself? Afterwards, people who are ten years older than I, they are in the middle of activity [middle age], so much that they do not have the time to think of ideas, but mainly of practical matters. I do not say that they do not think about ideas, but their thinking is clearer, the standard in their case is more basic and permanent. People of my age are looking for the implementation of beautiful ideas. The gap between the desire and the reality is huge. We are

sensitive to small violations of justice. I think young people are sensitive about the subject of equality. They are sensitive about work ethics, all the little kinds of evils that occur in everyday living, things that you have to think about from time to time, things like favoritism or relating to a fellow member. Older people out of habit have stopped relating to others or stopped relating to those problems. I want to live according to the beautiful principles and also implement them. And what are they? That the kibbutz will be really good for me because it is my home, and that others and myself will really reach this standard that we want to reach, that life will be good!

Eytan typifies the young and middle-aged married members of Vatik. He respects the kibbutz as a social arrangement, with little questioning, but not in a socialist language, and certainly not in the context of Zionism. After all, he is an Israeli, and a son of the kibbutz. Zionism was always a reality for him, not a choice. He did not need to remind himself or anyone else of that. Instead, he focused on the practical problems of maintaining the community and achieving happiness for the greater number of individuals in the community. Not one man or woman in the middle-aged or young married group spoke to me of Zionism or socialism. They spoke of a secular ideology of equality, a good life, and working to solve social problems in the kibbutz. Many older members in Vatik have said that with the "death of ideology" after the truth of Stalin and the Soviet Union came to the surface, ideology in their kibbutz became a matter of practical community ideas. These trends have been more systematically described by Rosner et al. (1985, forthcoming).

To gauge the presence or lack of homogeneity of ideological motivation in the kibbutz, we examined the motivations for joining the kibbutz (question 8), and the motivation for decisions to remain in the community (question 9). Members were asked to rank the four most significant reasons in their decisions, and these reasons were rated according to their closeness to original pioneering ideology. Tables 2.5 and 2.6 show the Index of Ideological Strength to Join and to Stay in the community for different groups of members. There is much variation in each group. The younger and older members cannot be viewed as separate blocks. In addition, there is attenuation of ideological motivation for most groups when the decision to remain in the community is explained.

Does a particular kind of motivation to join or motivation to remain in the kibbutz predict specific communal attitudes during one's term of membership? We hypothesized that if motivations can

predict attitudes, then homogeneity— in terms of the original pioneering ideology—has continued to matter in kibbutz life; if not, then we must look beyond the issue of homogeneity to explain the diversity of attitudes and beliefs in modern-day Vatik. No significant relationships were found when we cross-tabulated levels of individual motivation with other attitudes reported in the study.

TABLE 2.5 Ideological Strength and Age: Decision to Join

	Low (%)	Middle (%)	High (%)
Young	50	25	25
Middle	10	68	22
Old Founders	43.6	14.5	41.8
Hashlama	36.5	30.1	33.4
Rounded averages	35.0	35.0	30.0

Table 2.6 Decision to Stay

Low (%)	Middle (%)	High (%)
Young	41.6	10.0	53.4
Middle	20.5	66.0	13.5
Old Founders	27.2	37.8	35.0
Hashlama	37.7	33.0	34.3
Rounded averages	30.0	36.0	34.0

Valid cases: 86. Missing cases: 72.

Note: The reason for the number of missing cases is that the index was not computed where there were missing answers.

There is not as much homogeneity of motivation in Vatik as general notions about the *gemeinschaft* kibbutz would lead us to believe. There is a variety of individual viewpoints. What is common is not so much ideology as an acceptance of the kibbutz as the place to live. Even nonideological reasons are contingent on the particular social arrangement that the kibbutz represents. Some insight into social control will determine the limits of this diversity.

Social Control

Vatik has no serious crime. There has never been a murder, suicide, or physical injury as a result of violence in the community since it began. Regarding the kibbutz movement as a whole, this is not exceptional. Joseph Shepher pointed out that one murder was committed in the kibbutz movement by a visitor (personal communication, 1975). Several suicides have occured in the last fifteen to twenty years, but the number is small and the causes often clear (for example, a parent would commit suicide after the death of a son in war). In Vatik, one member once threatened another member over twenty years ago. The community believed the person issuing the threat was both serious and unstable—he had built up such a reputation for some time, and he was asked to leave.

Some petty theft occurs from time to time, but each captured thief has been a visitor or an outsider. Several fistfights have taken place over the years. Thus, the discussion of social control will not bloom on this level, for the control is obviously very strong, even though a police force or court does not exist. (The kibbutz is legally a municipality but it maintains no police force. Serious crimes, by arrangement with the government, would be reported to the local authorities.) The lack of serious deprivation and inequality, the availability of work for all members, mutual care for the disadvantaged, the small and personalized nature of the community, voluntary choice of members to live in the community, the pressure of gossip, and social pressure are surely the main reasons for this lack of serious crime.

The level of concern is the conduct of one's life and its effect on the collective. The attempt to insult or malign another member, or sustained sexual contact with another's mate has led to a *berur* (clearing up), which takes place at the general assembly meeting, before the executive committee, or before the committee on membership. In recent years, the general assembly is no longer used much for such functions. This can be understood in light of Vatik's change from a commune to a village. Instead, the two members involved will explain their gripes to the committee or the social secretary and come to some clearing up of the situation. Community punishment or withdrawal of community rights does not exist. No attempt is ever made to adjust an individuals' economic rewards or the education of one's children based on one's behavior.

Social control can generally be elucidated in two ways in Vatik: what members consider unacceptable behavior, and how members treat each other on a social level when the lines are crossed.

Based on a list of behaviors that came up in the interviews with forty-five members, we asked the whole sample which behaviors they considered a violation of kibbutz values (question 23). Table 2.7 shows the results.

Disapproval of persons who do not work well, or who skip hours, makes sense because members evaluated the lack of a strong work norm as one of the major problems of Kibbutz Vatik. Refusing to do *toranut* "your turn" or *misloach* "a sending" is related. There are certain labors the community considers unfair to thrust on one person all the time (for example, serving dinner on Saturday evening, washing pots, watching the baby house, doing the midnight watch at the gate), so they are taken in turn. *A sending* refers to the late-night loading of turkeys for market. Although the staff of the turkey houses is small, the turkeys provide the second largest profit of any branch in Vatik. All male members must take their turns to load turkeys into cages and onto trucks. This is done at night, when the birds are more docile, and it is a messy job made less onerous only by a huge breakfast served at three o'clock in the morning.

Table 2.7 Unacceptable Behaviors According to Percentage of Members Identifying Them

Lack of mutual aid among members	27%
Persons who do not work well or skip hours	66
People who refuse to do *toranut* or *misloach*	40
People who abuse outside sources of money	43
Personal habits of members I find disagreeable	21
Dishonesty	44
Do not consider these things important	6

Valid cases: 132. Missing answers: 26.

Members disapprove of persons who get money from the outside and of dishonesty equally. Getting money from the outside is, as one member put it, "an accepted social sin. We know about it and turn our heads." In the days of the intimate commune all money and gifts were handed in, no matter what the source or what the size (a dress or a book was fair game for the collective till). It is now acceptable to receive small gifts, but some members abuse this situation. It was very difficult to collect accurate information in this area, for most members do not even talk to one another about these so-called little sins. This information is based on interviews, gossip, and interviews with several community administrators who knew a good deal about

the personal affairs of members. Most members have received a television set, radio, small baking stove, air conditioner, or tape recorder from relatives in Europe, the United States, or even Israel. These items are not extravagant, but they can cause others to use their sources to get the same thing, and may prompt a serious discussion in the general assembly of the direction of the standard of living.

Some members—often those who have worked outside the community and have sizeable bank accounts accumulated by saving their expense money— bring back a tape recorder from a foreign trip and sell it at a profit. As another example, the daughter of a kibbutz family may go overseas as a representative of the Israeli kibbutz youth movement. Her rich uncle in Canada may send her money for a side trip to France. Sometimes relatives send kibbutz members money to visit them for a wedding or a reunion. It is now an acceptable practice to accept such money. The only question that must be resolved in a situation like this is whether or not the member in question has vacation days available. But this decision was taken some years ago by default, and most of the members do not profit by it. The problem here is that almost everybody violates these norms, which explains why little is done even though many disapprove. Vatik, like other kibbutzim, has eliminated many of these small inequalities by making the forbidden item available to all members (for example, the television is now considered a rightful possession of all members, and if one family cannot afford its own television, the kibbutz will supply one).

Dishonesty is much more difficult to track down. Much of the dishonesty members reported was related to outside sources of money. For example, a member may get ten dollars a day for meals when she or he is out of the community working, or at a meeting. Sometimes that member will ask the kitchen to make a lunch and pocket the allocated money. Nevertheless, many members consider any flagrant abuse of outside sources as dishonest.

Our interviews are peppered with judgments of Vatik's attitude toward social control. "It is a weak kibbutz that let a few exceptions pass, and now has no choice." "We are a middle-income kibbutz and have to tolerate this because we do not have enough money to take care of these special needs." Members point to other kibbutzim that have not had Vatik's problems with social control. A neighboring kibbutz bought cameras for all its members and has encouraged an attitude that says, "We do not need to be dependent on the people from the outside, even for little things." Another decided that it was

against kibbutz ideology for one person to have a television set before others had sets and waited until an orderly transition to sets for all was made.

Evaluating social control in the movement, however, is not so simple. Whether a kibbutz introduces components of a higher living standard by the book or through tension and last-minute planning is not the question. There is simply a new social situation in the kibbutz movement. Talmon-Garber pinpointed a central cause of the standard of living controversy in the kibbutz:

> A nonascetic trend is discernible in another element of the original ideology. We have already hinted at the ambiguity of the relationship between socialism and asceticism. Raising the standard of living of the working man is one of the primary goals of the social movement. Opposed to the existing world order on grounds of both justice and efficiency, it holds out a promise of material prosperity if all of its principles are put into practice and society is reorganized accordingly. The kibbutz is supposed to be a model socialist microcosm. Since it has to compete with the surrounding nonsocialist economy, it must prove itself capable of providing superior conditions for its workers. It is therefore hardly surprising that its members should also judge it by its capacity to fulfill their consumer demands. [1972:210]

The problems of social control in Vatik are symptoms of larger trends in the kibbutz movement as a whole, and changes in the community economy regarding consumption and the organization of material life. They are based on a superordinate adjustment that has been going on ever since the communal village was born, an alteration in the norm that governs the relationship of the individual to the community.

The Individual-Community Dialectic

The kibbutz defines a structure of mutual obligations between comembers where action on behalf of the community is rewarded in a more organized way than action solely on the behalf of the individual. While preserving the notion of kibbutz, the social arrangements of the community have changed to accommodate a more normal society, a more diverse population, and a greater variety of options and challenges. Menachem Rosner (1970), noted kibbutz sociologist and director of the Institute for Kibbutz Studies at the University of Haifa, believes that throughout its history the

kibbutz has been in a permanent process of change, trying to preserve its basic identity and the values of equality, direct democracy, mutual help, and responsibility, by adapting the mechanisms and practices, the concrete forms of life to changing conditions. The adaptations can become sweeping, as seen when Moshe (age 65) discussed a conflict between a member who wished to study and the Education Committee:

> I don't criticize our policies on education. I think they are ok. But if in a certain year when the total budget allows for 20 people in universities, and one comes and says, "I want to study mathematics, not for teaching, but for IBM or something." Another comes and asks for five years of education in art. Five years! And when we say, "Go and begin with two years," he says, "No I want all the five from the beginning." And another comes and says, "I want to study mathematics, just for my own knowledge, not to work in mathematics." And when we say to this sixth or seventh from the 20 that this is impossible, to the man who wants to study math, "We need engineers, we want to expand our industry, so why not study engineering for five years in the Technion?" and he says, "I don't want that. My goal is to teach there someday." [What do we do?] I think he shouldn't get it.

The fact is that the kibbutz has given in more and more to the individual tendencies of members, yet still tries to maintain its cooperative character. In the above case, and in other conflicts over study and work assignments, usually some form of compromise is reached: the community weighs the importance of this member's remaining with the member's happiness; and the member weighs his or her very real responsibility to pull his or her weight and the ultimate desire to live or not live in the community.

Time after time the kibbutz has lost out on this method, probably because it did not have the ideological or religious fanaticism to sustain it. For example, some members thought that individual teapots in the rooms of each couple would destroy the fellowship of the community, because people would not be compelled to congregate in a common place to drink tea.

Another norm used to preserve this dialectic is the rule of thumb by which "profits" are invested in communal luxuries and facilities (coffee houses, culture halls, photo rooms) or branches to develop the communal economy. The individual's personal budget is allowed to increase and his or her possessions do become finer, but "profits"

are not divided into equal shares, and large funds are not invested in building individual households.

It may be instructive to examine the state of the individual-community dialectic in Kibbutz Vatik and specific areas where it is being applied. It has often been said by social cynics that "no matter what a kibbutznik says about his or her life, they just want more, more money, more material things, and more control over their lives. Their attitudes do not matter. Talk about social cooperation and then about cold cash and there are two different conversations." Many times this has come up in discussions with business people, or even middle class ethnics outside the kibbutz who have worked hard to achieve some form of stability in the midst of a very competitive situation.

Investment of Kibbutz Capital

We will begin here with the assumption that the average kibbutz member favors cooperation as a way of life, even when it comes to investing community profits (question 21). Kibbutz Vatik has capital available each year for investment, so the question is not hypothetical.

Fifty-eight percent of the members favored investing new wealth in common projects that the whole kibbutz could enjoy, such as a swimming pool or more cultural buildings. Capital investment for further productivity was favored by 17.8 percent, and 12.6 percent favored more private property for members according to the norm of equal distribution.[6] Indeed, if we are to believe the members of Vatik, increasing their living standard at any price is not their primary concern.

Work and Study Options

What is the general state of the individual-community norm? Two areas are relevant: providing greater options for individuals in the sphere of work (question 26) and higher education (question 24). Tables 2.8, 2.9, and 2.10 show the results.

In both regards there is very little support for positions that favor the individual or the community in either extreme. In work the members favor persuasion and compromise. Also, most members

agree this situation is flexible and not unbalanced. Tobit, a nurse in her sixties and a founder, typifies this opinion:

> Well, I think we should try to make people happy in their work. Too often we have to ask people to do things because of a lack of labor power. So someone who works with children may have to work in the dining hall for a while. Someone who has a profession, well, we try to let her or him work in that profession. The person may temporarily have to work someplace else, but we try to please the member. But there are some people who never work out anywhere. They work two years here, two years there. But we have to try to be as flexible as possible. Look, these are just matters of decisions. Most of the time it is just a changeover of positions. If someone cannot get along with people, and another can, you let the one work alone, and put the other one in a job with a lot of people. If someone cannot work outside, then we have to find a place where he or she can work. That is why we have a work committee. [And if someone wants to work at one job] it's fine but the person would have to be willing to give a year or so to the kibbutz. After all, it's your home. You have responsibilities. If you go and study or go to the army, you have to give something back.

Table 2.8 Attitudes toward Study Options

In your opinion, what should be the limit of your kibbutz's consideration of individual inclinations and desires of the members regarding higher education?

All studies are ok, all requests should be positively accepted.	9.8%
All studies are ok, and people should go according to a line	16.8
All studies are ok, but the kibbutz should try to persuade people to study what it needs. All studies are ok, but those who study what the kibbutz needs should get preference.	46.2
All studies are NOT ok, unless the kibbutz needs them.	25.9
All studies are NOT ok, since I am not sure a lot of higher education is a good idea.	0.7
Other	0.7

Valid cases: 143. Missing cases: 15.

Table 2.9 Evaluation of Attitudes toward Study Options

Do you think that your kibbutz is too flexible or hard regarding members' inclinations about their education?

Too flexible	26.8%
Flexible	67.4
Hard	2.9
Too hard	2.9
Not flexible and not inflexible	2.8

Valid cases: 138. Missing cases: 20.

Table 2.10 Attitudes toward Work Options

In your opinion what should be the limit of your kibbutz's consideration of individual inclinations and desires regarding their work?

All work preferences should be accepted	3.5%
All work preferences are ok but the kibbutz must try to persuade people to do what it needs	53.8
All work preferences are ok but often a member will have to compromise for a year or two before he/she gets what he/she wants	38.5
The needs of the kibbutz are the main criterion of work possibilities	4.2
Other	0.0

Valid cases: 143. Missing cases: 15.

More conservatism surfaces in regard to attitudes toward study options: 25.9 percent of the sample favored giving priority to studies that the kibbutz needs. The dialectical nature of the process must be kept in mind. Two years ago the community laughed at people who spoke of studying computer programming; this year they hope someone will come along because all internal (members' budgets) and external (purchases and sales, and investments and taxes) accounts are being computerized. Now they only laugh at those who want to study medicine, which would necessitate a seven year absence! Only 5.7 percent of the members think that the village is inflexible regarding studies (question 25); 67.4 percent think it is flexible, and 26.8 percent too flexible.

The individual-community dialectic survives because it safeguards a subtle balance. For example, while the communal budget places the community interest before the individual, most kibbutzim, because of greater affluence, believe it unfair to pressure

a member to work or study (except in temporary crisis) in a branch not to his or her liking. Clear areas of individual flexibility also exist in the variety of acceptable member roles, cultural activities, and personal consumption.

Social Problem Resolution and Social Cooperation

Kibbutz Vatik adjudicates conflicts between the individual and the community, attempting to present a compromise and preserve the basic features of the social arrangement. The attitudes of the membership toward social cooperation (question 56) and social problem resolution (question 55) acknowledge this feature. Three approaches toward social cooperation were delineated: cooperation for (a) utilitarian or (b) idealistic reasons, or (c) the difficulty of cooperation in any society. More than half (52.3 percent) agreed that "if we do not cooperate and work together we could not attain this standard of living." About two-fifths (40.9 percent) saw cooperation as the main value in life, and 4.7 percent noted it was difficult in any society, kibbutz or nonkibbutz.[7]

An additional twenty-five persons who had taken the utilitarian position changed the answer by adding that they also favored the notion that cooperation was the main value of life. There is no uniform attitude toward social cooperation. Possibly this stems from the lack of an ordained spiritual or radical political notion about the meaning of the kibbutz community. Normally, the average member sees the community as an alternative or as a better way of life. Attitudes toward methods of social problem resolution in Vatik can indicate how committed the members are to their social arrangement (table 2.11).

Ordering of Priorities, Group Involvement, Group Criticism

Where do members of Vatik stand when forced to choose the group or the individual? We examined the source of social control (question 44), and their attitude toward group involvement (question 45) and group criticism (question 46) by offering clearly opposing orientations. Upward of 45 percent (45.6 percent) of the sample agreed with "It is better for the kibbutz to agree on specific rules to

regulate the behavior of members than to leave this up to individuals. This will insure order." Over a third (36.1 percent) believed "It is better for the kibbutz to be flexible and trust individuals to decide on responsible behavior." Somewhat less than a fifth (18.4 percent) of the members left the question unanswered. The margin is so close and the amount of people expressing an opinion so high[8] that we may conclude that the members of Vatik are clearly split on where responsibility for regulating group life should be. Regarding the social consequences of group involvement, 0.6 percent agreed that "People who identify themselves strongly with some group usually do so at the expense of their freedom as individuals, so social life should be limited." More than two-fifths (42.1 percent) thought that "Individuals cannot really find happiness unless they involve themselves deeply in working with a group of people," and 43 percent favored a combination of both approaches, with 24 percent of the sample not answering.[9] The membership favors a middle path between the community and the individual, although a sizeable majority also see the importance of group life as paramount.

TABLE 21 Means of Social Problem Resolution

How would you describe your attitude toward social problems in the kibbutz?	
Most social problems can be solved by more money	5.1%
Most social problems in the kibbutz are not paradoxes and can be solved by planning, decisions in the *mazkirut*, committees, and the general meeting	47.8
The attempts to solve social problems here are games. That life is better for some and less better for others cannot be changed	11.0
Most social problems stem from problems between people and groups in the kibbutz. Only by honesty and discussion, not just plans, will they be solved	36.0
Valid cases: 136. Missing cases: 22.	

There is little support for the discipline against individual diversity that characterized "first times" of the intimate commune. This view is supported by the attitude toward group criticism. Close to four-fifths (79.1 percent) felt obligated to criticize members of the community when they break rules; 6.3 percent did not think it helped; 4.4 percent felt criticism was neither helpful nor useful; and

9.5 percent did not answer.[10] Thus, despite the fact that group intimacy has passed, a majority of the members felt group criticism was necessary. The nature of criticism has certainly changed. Members more often complain to committees, branch coordinators, and community officers than to each other. Embarrassing a member to his or her face before all is no longer considered respectable, but members speak forthrightly in interviews, in their conversations with one another, at coffee breaks, in general assembly meetings, and in articles in the weekly newsletter. The community may lack intimacy in comparison to its beginnings, but involvement in community issues still has not been pushed to the periphery.

A division of attitude and approach exists that expresses a division that has occurred in the history of the village itself. One of the theoretical goals of this work is to understand the nature of the individualist-communalist dialectic. Because we know that members differ in their original motivation, and in viewpoint and individual expression, this division of attitude may express only diversity. On the other hand, it may express a real split in the community. In other words, there may not simply be a lot of random disagreement between members on many issues, but the disagreement may structure itself along significant demographic lines, according to ideological camps. This raises the question: Is the individual versus community tension internal, or does it occur between groups of people who have solidified differing attitudes? This will be considered later.

The internal newsletter of Kibbutz Vatik shows that this issue is really a matter of many individual requests and arrangements before the secretariat, whose decisions are summarized weekly:

Decisions of the Secretariat:

Yisrael is leaving the kibbutz. He does not find the opportunity for study here and feels it necessary for self-determination.

Yaakov will not return to teach at the high school since his courses were turned down by the committee. He asked to be given two years to study social psychology. We asked that he return and work on the farm first and left the issue for further discussion.

Shira asked to return to her work in the hospital.

It was decided to bring to a general meeting the problem of members who do not want other buildings built near the houses they reside in.

Aron is going to spend some time living in Kibbutz Bet Kama [referring to a youth who probably wanted to meet more young kibbutz women].

Decisions from the General Assembly Community Meeting:

Tobit requested a refresher course in nursing and it was approved. She will study a course about older women and children at Beit Styhaim Hospital.

After much argument and discussion it was decided to erect our small hospital at the end of the Ulpan [Hebrew language seminar] building where the present artists' studios stand.

Many members were concerned that the physical demands on older people working in the kitchen were too great. It was decided that men from the age of 55 and women from the age of 50 can, on the days in the middle of the week, take an hour off for rest. On Friday, when the large evening meal is prepared, this can be two hours.

Conclusion

Each member has an active role in determining the balance between the individual and the community. One can think of the many trends in the individual-community dialectic as "schools of thought and action" that eventually create the social matrix of decisions and behaviors that determines the quality of life. Vatik's supportive, integrated, actively socially controlled, and moderately geographically bound community, with its strong emphasis on the flexible social relationship between members and the institutional orientation toward protecting human diversity, has a membership overwhelmingly committed to kibbutz methods. It gives a major role to group resolution of problems and group planning within the community's institutional framework. There are, however, distinct divisions of philosophy, whose implications are not yet evident. The social structure of Vatik tries to maximize individual options and preserve the kibbutz because circumstances of differentiation in the population, in conditions in Israel, and in ideology have shaped its development as a communal village. Because changes in the standard of living and the economic structure of the village have accompanied and encouraged this social arrangement, we will now examine the economic sector.

Notes

1. Although a detailed description and personal ethnography of the life of one kibbutz has yet to be completed, several excellent studies of daily life exist, especially Spiro's classic description (1956), Criden and Gelb's running interviews with members of their own village (1974), and Oz's novel (1973), which more than all others gives one a sense of the interpersonal underbrush of the communal village.

2. Valid cases: 116. Missing cases: 42.

3. The social support indices were developed at the Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan. The assistance and advice of Dr. John R.P. French, a research director at the institute, is gratefully acknowledged. The indices can be found in Caplan et al. (1975). The question was altered to refer to the community as a whole, not just to work.

4. Valid cases: 150. Missing cases: 8.

5. Valid cases: 142. Missing cases: 16.

6. Valid cases: 119. Missing cases: 39.

7. Valid cases: 149. Missing cases: 9.

8. Valid cases: 132. Missing cases: 26.

9. Valid cases: 121. Missing cases: 37.

10. Valid cases: 143. Missing cases: 15. (question 46)

3
Economic Cooperation and Work

Economic Cooperation

The kibbutz economic principle of social profit, its success in practice, and its specific organization in Kibbutz Vatik will be explained here, with a view toward the village's relation with larger economic associations. Once the efficiency of the organization is established, the internal or practical kibbutz economics are more salient quality-of-life criteria, and will be discussed. Four internal economic questions will be explored: equality and inequality; attitudes toward affluence; simplicity and limiting the standard of living; and the challenges of industrialization.

It is different now that the kibbutz is not a commune of poverty …. Some people say that the kibbutz will become more like a *moshav shitufi* [collective village in Israel with common production and individual shares and consumption]. In other words, once the influence of private income begins, it will continue endlessly. And there are other people who feel that this is sort of an added insignificant behavior; in other words, equality and cooperation here will continue and these [infractions or changes referring to money a kibbutz member might have on the side] will not substantially destroy or change—well, I would say change the kibbutz. How do you feel about that?

Here arises the question of the private morality of every member because [the more such changes occur] the quantitative becomes qualitative. If somebody gets 100 Lira (approximately $12.50) or something [from a relative or other source] and he or she uses it and buys something, that is different from another who has a bank account and keeps thousands of Lira in it. This cannot be accepted. If it will occur this will destroy the whole belief between one and the other and thus the whole normative base of the kibbutz [author and senior kibbutz member in dialogue.]

Kibbutz Economic Principles and Organization

The Principle: Social Profit

You cannot measure the success of the kibbutz economic plant by profit alone. Financial profit is not an efficient or accurate measure of one's economic well-being. For example, you may make more money than I but live in the midst of a great deal of pollution. Maybe for me this freedom from pollution can be valued at $5,000 a year. What can you say to that? So profit is just one of the goals in the kibbutz. We are trying to minimize risk. We are trying to find a structure that will achieve: (1) the promise of consistent and regular work; (2) the goal of settling the land agriculturally, and supplying the people with food and resources; and (3) making a profit. For example, say you compare two factories, one in a kibbutz and one in the city, and you find out that the profit of both is similar. Is it not meaningful that in the kibbutz the worker does not have to worry about being fired, or having a difficult situation if someone in the family gets sick? How can you say the salary of a city worker compares with this social situation? Where is the standard of living? [Conversation with Dov Peleg, director of the Central Economic Department of the Kibbutz Artzi Federation, Tel Aviv, 1976]

Simply put, the kibbutz has a principle of social profit or integral profit that guides its economic planning. This profit includes the effects of the social and political milieu of work and production on the worker; it includes planning for differences in ability, differences in power, differences in position, differences in life crises; it totally eliminates dependence on central federal agencies for unemployment compensation, welfare, food stamps; it organically connects the means (how the economic shop is organized) with the ends (a high standard of living for all) by applying the principle of cooperation. A female member of Vatik, critically injured many years ago, stated that,

The basis of the commune is not only friends, but here the basic principle is an equal and collective way of life. And whoever agrees with this can be a kibbutz member. So there are some members who are more conservative, some who are less…some work harder than others, and sometimes this hurts, and you have people that work hard and even spend time in the evenings

working out problems in their work branches and this person gets the same out of the kibbutz as someone who does not spend as much time—sometimes he even gets less! But then you get into the fact that maybe that one has a bigger family, so more money is spent on the education of his [or her] children … so it turns out that the equality we are talking about does not mean that everybody is equal. People get essential things in an equal way.

In short, we might summarize her ideas by saying that the kibbutz economic system is based on the premise that the complicated social, personal, and economic factors balance each other out when members, whether lazy or aggressive, at least accept the principle of cooperation and try as best they can. How willing would the hard-working member be to pay higher taxes for crime prevention and welfare programs or for the poverty and dislocation that abandonment of the principle of cooperation might effect? Cooperation is the tax.

These notions constitute the most frequently occurring definitions of what the kibbutz is by members of all ages, sexes, and backgrounds: the security of basic needs in the context of a relatively supportive and noncompetitive social arrangement. These are central reasons why members when they could leave the kibbutz for a better standard of living choose to stay.

The early kibbutzniks did an interesting economic analysis of society that seems relevant to these days of deficit budgets and the inability (or unwillingness) of governments to meet social needs. It was simple: they decided they would plan a community where the standard of living would grow equally for all members, where there would be no unemployment, welfare, or poverty. The facts do silence theoretical arguments. These problems, and serious crime, alcoholism, and drug abuse are almost nonexistent in the kibbutzim's population. No example of serious or even moderately mischievous crimes, alcoholism, or severe mental illness were found in Vatik. A few minor cases of marijuana smoking were the only drug abuse (if one can call it that) found. This has been achieved through the economic principle of social profit. Kibbutz life is a web of educational situations on this principle. Although not identified as such, decisions in the kibbutz are made according to this principle, often summarized as in the Marxist dictum, "from each according to one's ability and to each according to one's need." This was an early movement motto.

Practically, the kibbutz does not connect the standard of living or "profit" of each member with type of work, amount of work, profession, training, family background, political beliefs, age, or sex. One shares in advantages of life as a member's right. This can be considered a socialist equation where one side is not proportional to the other. Before the individual standard of living goes up (for example, before television sets are bought or individual budgets increased for incidental expenses) the community budgets for all the needs covered by total social security: daily welfare, health, education, transportation, child care, cultural activities, and communal facilities. Basic economic rights exist. Also, before determining the standard of living, investment for continued and expanded productivity in the work branches is definitively assured.

The Principle in Practice

We examined the financial statements of Kibbutz Vatik for the last few years to confirm the general economic stability of the community. In addition, the community's farm manager was interviewed numerous times. Good documentation on the personality of kibbutz members will aid little in understanding the quality of life if the village's economy is supported by government subsidies and not successful in its own right.

Two central facts of economic life in Vatik and other kibbutzim must be kept in mind when evaluating the advanced, profitable, and, some would say, capitalistic progress of the kibbutz. First, the family is still not a recognized economic unit. The children's budget is communal. Their support and education is not an economic burden for their parents. Also, while couples share a common house, marriage does not involve a large family budget, and spouses get their funds and services as individuals to protect their individuality. Second, the kibbutz invests in raising the standard of living by improving communal facilities rather than by increasing the relatively small personal allotment for incidental expenses or putting conspicuous consumption into the households. Therefore, we cannot view kibbutz economic progress exclusively as individual consumerism. In chapter 2 this view was supported by a review of members' attitudes on investments.

Now we must consider the economic performance of the kibbutzim as a whole. We want to be sure Vatik is not just an exception. Such principles can be taught and practiced, but if they

fail, they will pass on. Kanovsky (1966), in *The Economy of the Israeli Kibbutz*, a study done at Harvard University's Center for Middle Eastern Affairs, evaluated the kibbutz's performance. Briefly, the kibbutzim are more highly efficient productively, in comparison to all other sectors of Israeli agriculture, in almost all areas of agricultural commodities. This applies to yields per acre, productivity per worker, technical and innovative efficiency, advanced training, use of regional processing and distribution centers, and marketing. Kanovsky concludes that the collective structure is well adapted to the efficient planning of high productivity. Barkai (1977) and Don (1977) provide additional evidence regarding kibbutz industry.

Kibbutzim have not always made a profit. For every community the beginning is hard, paved with many years of long- and short-term loans. This situation, common in the 1930s, improved somewhat in the 1950s when the kibbutzim reduced losses to small amounts. In the 1960s most older communities showed small surpluses, and that trend is continuing with some communities showing large profits. The same productive efficiency and profitability is found in kibbutz industry. Melman showed that in fact kibbutz factories were more profitable than their counterparts in the Israeli private sector (1971). Peleg, head of the Central Economic Department of Kibbutz Artzi, agrees that although this may still be true for some kinds of factories, the gap is narrowing because of the general upgrading of enterprises in the country.

Industry is highly developed. As in agriculture, the kibbutzim pioneered many of the most important sectors of Israeli industry and now run some of the largest and most mechanized plants (for a complete list of kibbutz industries, see Criden and Gelb 1974). Because it cannot increase its holding of land or exploit its existing fields more than is done now, this is the only direction for kibbutz growth. The farm plan (drawn up by a high-powered economic committee and discussed at the general assembly meeting) is a detailed strategy for the farm's economy that involves much work by a public review, professional advice, and branch and interbranch haggling. In short, the kibbutz economic principle is planning and clarity.

How Does Vatik Fit into This Picture?

The Economic Plant in Vatik

Vatik pioneered fish agriculture for the whole country and has introduced new features to increase productivity through research at its Laboratory for the Study of Fish Diseases. One of the senior members invented citrus spraying methods that have since been adopted around the whole country and have increased productivity in this area. Only the plastics factory in Vatik has been a near failure as an industrial enterprise. It was originally started to give easier work to older members, but the work roles and their fit with the machinery and the noise were poorly designed. In the 1960s and 1970s it hired outside labor, although recently the factory was being phased out. Labor is highly unskilled, and workers there are not satisfied. The metal factory in Vatik was in this position, but the farm manager credits the persistent and careful management by a new coordinator with developing this branch. The farm manager explained that a high profit for every branch is not the goal of the kibbutz system. He and other farm managers use a figure based on comparing what the average worker (these are never computed for individuals) produces per day, and what that brings on the market with what it costs to support a member per day and provide overhead for the productive enterprise. Most farm managers prefer that a branch at least break even and produce some extra profit (because by the usual definition of profit the fact that a branch makes enough to pull its weight in supporting the community shows profit). Only the plastics factory in Vatik comes close to operating at a loss. Most branches, however, are moderate producers and profit makers. The main profit of the community is made by the fish branch, where eight workers produce 20 percent of the total community budget, and the turkey branch, where fifteen workers produce 20 percent of the community budget.

Vatik, unlike many rich kibbutzim, has no industrial branch that is very successful. Members and economic coordinators complain that this situation causes pressure on the community because less money is available to alleviate problems of inequality, to upgrade equipment, and to improve the community. They have been developing plans for such an enterprise for several years and are in the process of signing contracts with large electronics firms and the Israeli Ministry of Commerce to build a very large cable-making plant. A special members committee toured Europe and the United States on a factfinding mission and drafted contracts. Later we observed presentation of their findings and the aggressive cross-examination by the community's members before the plan was approved. A focal issue in approval was the affirmation that skilled and interesting non-assembly-line roles for older members would be

available. Unfortunately, this plan later fell through, and increased the economic pressure of Vatik into the 1980s. Most other kibbutzim had by then established a capital-intensive and profitable industry.

Vatik was considered by its farm manager and the movement's Economic Department to be a moderately economically successful kibbutz with a middle income. According to our review of its farm plan, most production goals by branches were met or nearly met, and the community had solid plans for upgrading productivity in its main branches.

The Wider Economic Sphere

Some further organizational information about Vatik should be filled in before moving on. Kibbutz Vatik does not achieve its economic success by sheer independence. It does not, as critics uninformedly accuse it and other kibbutzim of doing, get away without paying income taxes. The income is computed, divided by the number of members, and taxes are paid. On the other hand, despite the fact that it does not drain government resources at all for unemployment compensation, welfare, food stamps, law-enforcement programs, old-age homes, or social workers, it does—as a municipality—receive benefits to which all Israelis are entitled. Dov Peleg, of the Economics Department of Kibbutz Artzi, enumerated them: (a) health funds are received through the national health care system run by the government-related Kupat Cholim (Sick Fund), and each kibbutz member, as a member of the Histadrut (a national union), pays into this fund; (b) the community gets education benefits from the Ministry of Education by which teacher salaries and building expenses are subsidized; (c) the same is true for various loan and grant programs made available through the Ministry of Housing; and (d) every private industrialist in Israel is entitled to government loans and grants to establish new industry. For example, in one of Vatik's $1.5 million productivity upgrading programs, 30 percent was provided by the Ministry of Commerce, 40 percent by low-interest loans, and 20 percent by the farm itself. The community was aided greatly by the Jewish National Fund, the Jewish Agency, and the World Zionist Organization, which have helped to build many kibbutzim by providing low-interest loans at their inception, and have played a crucial role in the establishment of the movement. There are a number of agricultural programs. Unfortunately, in the late 1970s and early 1980s much of this assistance was reduced.

As a comember of a kibbutz federation with many other kibbutzim constituting about one-third of the whole kibbutz movement, Vatik gets substantial technical assistance in planning and management. The Kibbutz Industrial Association (of the Association of Kibbutz Federations) provides a series of very important technical services to the budding economic plants, as does Mercaz Chaklai (Agricultural Center), the Economic Department of the Kibbutz Artzi Federation, Bank HaPoalim (Worker's Bank, which has a central lending role in village development), the Kibbutz Economic and Agricultural School at Rehovot, and the Ruppin College of Agriculture and Industry. Also important is a consumer cooperative started by the Histadrut workers' movement and now one of the largest businesses (with the largest capital turnover) in all of Israel, HaMashbir HaMercazi. Tnuva, the producers' marketing cooperative, plays another infrastructural role for Vatik, along with the regional cooperative industrial center that Vatik and neighboring kibbutzim and nonkibbutz villages maintain for processing, packaging, and shipping. (For further information see Viteles 1966.) Communitarian attitudes would not be effective without the backbone of good organization toward a better quality of life. This infrastructure of mutual-aid and technical-support institutions plays a central role in supporting the individual kibbutz, and it must be taken into account when explaining the economic performance, managerial prowess, and technical superiority ascribed to many of the movement's businesses.

On the negative side, Kibbutz Vatik is almost totally unaware of and disorganized concerning the ecological effects of its productivity. No attempt is made to use biological control methods instead of spraying dangerous chemicals. Solar energy is hardly developed despite the superiority of Israeli science and the intensity of the sun in this area. Communal housekeeping has the potential to use less energy, but the farm manager estimates that the community wastes a large amount of energy both through bad personal consumption habits and poor organization of capital equipment energy utilization. Although from the organizational standpoint of our analysis one might say that small is beautiful in Vatik, the community had better learn the lessons of Schumacher's postindustrial scarcity economics (1973).

A serious organizational problem of Vatik is that with increased economic success it becomes more and more dependent on systems of mass production, mass consumption, and mobility, and thus less self-sufficient as a community. Its participation in regional

cooperatives made up of farmers and cooperative communities in the area has helped it keep pace with the most advanced production and distribution methods without large capital investments. But the community does not raise its own food, does not build its own houses, and does not reflect on whether there may be limits to increasing participation in an economic setup over which it has little control. The regional kibbutz enterprises, their regional financial fund (in effect, a bank), and the always available support of the federation provide a buffer for trouble.

Let us look at the effect of all of this on the daily considerations of the member and his or her life. Truly, infrastructure, while important, cannot be considered the paramount issue of the economic arrangement.

Practical Kibbutz Economics

This section will cover the challenge of equality, the state of economic principles among the members, and attitudes toward individualization.

Turning to more specific aspects of the economy, Idit, a woman member of thirty, gives us a view of the stresses in a cooperative economy caused by the tension between collective ownership and management of production, consumption, and individual needs:

> You see the kibbutz does give you possibilities, many tracks to choose from. In the city the smart ones become professors or even if they are not so smart and only know how to "get along" it still happens, they become businessmen. Sometimes in the kibbutz they are even more than professors, so in the kibbutz in a way, it is the same story. The question is what is equality? Here a bright person and a not-so-bright person are given the same opportunities. But that has not reached real equality because whoever is smarter is really richer in certain non-material ways. And with this we finish off the discussion of equality. In many kibbutzim if someone gets a TV as a present from the outside they "open their eyes to it" and stop it. Here there are at least 100 private TVs and no one says anything about it. And so we order one for everyone who does not have one and wants one. As far as I'm concerned I'd rather have a TV than a radio. There are some kibbutzim where they have stopped buying radios for the members and only buy TVs. The point here is people do not buy things in order to be "snobs" but because they really want or feel

they need them, not like some simple workers we know who, as soon as they get money, go out and buy a big American car that they really cannot afford. I believe in the members here, for the most part that they get what they need. Why should 100 people sit and watch the same TV? We'd like to have one in our own room. Once it was the same way with the radio, so when it came to the point that you can have a radio in your own room, you can have a TV too. The only problem is the money to buy it.

When pushed for clearer criteria, however, many members like Idit admit that the only problem is not having the money to buy the items that cause incidental inequality in small consumer goods. Her attitudes represent a strong feeling, especially in Vatik, that some social problems are affected by available funds. To prove this point members in Vatik point to a more prosperous kibbutz where small infractions of equality are not as serious a problem because there inequality can be alleviated more easily.

Equality and Inequality

The problem of inequality ranks about third in a listing of the most serious problems of the community made by our sample of 158 members. The loss of ideology and a weak work norm were ahead of it. In the interviews that comprised several hundred hours of conversation, and in the author's personal conversations with members, it was the most persistent concern raised in terms of the amount of time and the degree of concern voiced by members of all ages and both sexes. To some extent, Kibbutz Vatik is actively aware of the problem. A few years ago a special committee was set up to examine the situation. Its report suggested that the community purchase television sets, cameras, stereos, and other small luxury items for members who lacked them, and that policy has been put into practice. What is important is not the amount of inequality but the intense feelings and problems caused by whatever small amounts there are.

A member of the *hashlama* put his finger on the situation:

We prayed to become a big kibbutz, a normal kibbutz and now we have the problems of a normal kibbutz. But we do not know how to solve these normal problems. All our lives we dealt with abnormal problems. I told you before that equality and cooperation cover 99 percent of our life, but you know, the one percent left takes 99 percent of our attention; it takes the attention

of our committees, and our members. You can go to bed and have a good sleep and never be able to dream about what in the morning these people will ask for. Therefore it could be useful to discuss the Marxist formula according to which the material conditions of life determine value judgments and ideological outlooks. From this point of view the kibbutz is a real society, an economic structure characterized by some features which are not capitalistic.

We will now look at these judgments. The members were asked if they thought that it was possible to improve the situation of equality in their kibbutz (question 34). That it was a problem to be solved by allocating more money was the opinion chosen by 32.4 percent; 25.4 percent said it was a problem but no solution was possible; 17.6 percent recognized the problem but felt that instituting more rules and regulations was not a feasible solution; 14.8 percent, however, felt more rules and discipline could improve the situation. Only 5.6 percent saw inequality as no problem. Just 4.2 percent had other ideas or did not answer the question.[1] Statistics can lie but they can also speak. There was no enthusiastic support for any position. Those who at least saw a solution were as great in number as those who saw none. Decidedly, however, a majority of the population (47.2 percent) saw financial or regulatory solutions to the problem as feasible. In actual practice in Kibbutz Vatik this was the solution favored by members who worked on this problem.

Nevertheless, 22.8 percent who saw no solution to the inequality problem also represented an important trend in Vatik's population. Despite rational attempts to deal with inequality, there was never a basic, full-dress, specific, and serious discussion about it in the general assembly. The author witnessed many meetings of the general assembly and noted that the discussion on this issue often came to an abrupt end once the practical decisions were taken. On several occasions, a member who brought up the issue in a more general ideological framework was passed over and suddenly the assembly was discussing the next issue: dogs in the community! Thus, inequality is not only a major problem, and a minor phenomenon (in the context of a cooperative community), but an important organic development in the communal village form itself; one gets the clear impression that with the commune of poverty gone, the goal of the kibbutz today is to maximize economic growth and the overall development of the village as much as possible, without destroying the social milieu or establishing a competitive market. The frequent lack of discussion on fundamental issues of

principles underlying the strain caused by these changes illustrates the tension between the technical versus ideological proposed solutions to the problems.

Affluence, Simplicity, and the Standard of Living

To understand this general judgment, the state of economic attitudes has to be more delicately explored. We will examine the attitude toward economic affluence and simplicity, the attitude of members toward limitations of the living standard in general, and the introduction of particular items (like cars). Then, we will conclude with a view toward the future, attitudes toward the comprehensive budget, and technological development.

Table 3.1 summarizes attitudes toward affluence (question 41).

Despite the obvious fuzziness in the phrasing of question 41, very few members connected affluence directly with social disintegration, but most members predicted definite threats to cooperation at the hands of a higher standard of living (60.3 percent of the sample). Only 34.6 percent saw no contradiction whatsoever. There is obviously strong doubt in Vatik as to how much the living standard could be improved and how much distribution could be varied without disturbing the social milieu. Just at that point where we observed defensiveness and repression at general assembly meetings, some basic doubts arose.

Simplicity was the basic style of the early kibbutz. Members of Vatik remember how happy they were with a chair and a table then. To question 22, "should simplicity be a basic value of the kibbutz way of life today?" 30.7 percent said yes, 54.7 percent said no (with the qualifier that extravagance should not be allowed, while recognizing that people are different in their basic needs), and 14.6 percent said absolutely not.[2] There certainly is not a resounding value of simplicity that could limit the standard of living, although when a rejection of simplicity was not qualified with "no extravagance" few chose it. The reality of everyday life in Vatik corresponds closely with this result. The forty-five people interviewed were also asked about expanding their apartments if the kibbutz had enough money, and very few would agree to that. The main reasons given were, "It is not necessary," and "I do not want to

be bothered with more." Most of this group also rejected simplicity as a basic value.

Table 3.1 Attitudes toward Economic Affluence

	%
Affluence causes disunity, social nonconsideration, and less value agreement	3.7
Higher living standard brings less need for cooperation and more privacy and property and basic changes in kibbutz form	35.3[a]
No contradiction between high living standard and communitarian socialism, cooperation and mutual aid	39.7[a]
A crisis will occur and only kibbutzim that can deal with it creatively will continue to remain kibbutzim	21.3
Qualified Answers	5.1

Valid cases: 136. Missing cases: 22.

[a]7.4 percent of the members chose this in combination with the first and fourth choices and this number was added here.

One sees very little conspicuous consumption in Vatik (such as closets full of clothes and shoes, or cabinets of dishes and silver). No one spoke about having "the finer things in life." In the interviews there was an emphasis on functional and comfort-oriented improvements: having a larger personal budget; having hot-water heaters instead of kerosene in all the apartments; having a stereo, tape recorder, and television set; increasing the number and variety of communal cultural facilities; sending more people to study; reducing the most difficult areas of physical labor on the farm; and upgrading machinery and technology to improve the structure of the work role in branches like the kitchen and the laundry. As one member said, "We never thought we would be able to consider these things." These needs involve a rejection of earlier values and styles of simplicity. On the other hand, the communal equation was food + clothing + homemade culture + good agricultural productivity. Members argued that the new desires did not involve running after luxury. Few students of the kibbutz understand the difference between labeling these economic changes as rampant materialism and viewing them as modest responses to a more diverse and mature membership in a time of relative prosperity. As pointed out earlier, Vatik is still actively organized as a collective: members favor investing profits in the commune rather than in private homes; and

less than 5 percent of the funds needed to support a member fully are received in hand as cash. Discussion and speculation aside, this does not signal the advent of a crisis, because Vatik's goal is simply not conspicuous consumption.

But a look at attitudes as to whether the standard of living should be limited, and why, does show a strong conflict in the population (question 20).[3] Over half (54.7 percent) wanted to limit the standard of living, 41 percent did not want limits, and 4.3 percent were undecided.[4] Vatik's members were asked why they wanted to limit the standard of living. Their reasons included a concern for social responsibility to help others with less; a wish to limit materialism and bourgeois tendencies; the belief that more possessions cause competition; and the feeling that more material possessions will lead to less time for ideas. However, only a minority of members saw possession of money as a reason to limit the standard of living. Thus, the ambiguity and conflict that has typified this area of inquiry in Vatik continues.

One specific issue that will aid in diagnosing the number of people favoring immediate moves toward materialism is the attitude toward the comprehensive budget. As noted previously, the members of Vatik's federation get a series of closed budgets for their personal and cultural needs, plus various open budgets for basic needs, and a small personal budget received in cash that gives the individual total freedom of choice. With this arrangement a member can, for example, take as many shirts as he or she needs out of the closed clothing budget until he or she reaches the limit. However, if the member does not want or need such clothing, this budget cannot be used for other items, such as records. This budget reduces personal choice, and some members believed it actually worked against the kibbutz ethic, "from each according to one's ability, to each according to one's needs." They would say that the individual knew his or her needs best. On the other hand, the Kibbutz Artzi Federation to which Vatik belongs has long withstood introducing the comprehensive budget because many (especially leaders) consider it a serious violation of kibbutz ideology. They reason that it

> runs the risk of opening the doors to inequalities arising from more skillful individual's better use of goods, and from the existence of external sources of income. "External sources" include presents and gifts from relatives and friends, and German reparation payments, of which a kibbutz member may keep part

according to specific decisions of his or her kibbutz. [Shepher 1974:44]

The closed system of budgets provides for fairly equivalent growth in the living standard in different categories of items, for everyone can spend only a certain amount on travel, on clothes, and so on, and the small amount of cash made available in an unrestricted personal budget is not capable of substantially altering this equality. The comprehensive budget, by giving lump sums to individuals, provides that some people may develop their standards of living considerably in certain directions and not in others. So, the value of individual expenditures is equal, while the individual expression of this value is diverse, and sometimes perceived as unequal. Thus, the comprehensive budget reduces overall kibbutz control of the standard. Opponents reason that this introduces what would appear to be a greater economic difference in the community even though this might not be the case. For example, one family may decide to have simple furniture and domestic habits but go to Europe each summer, while another invests a lot of money in dresses, another in books, and another in giving it to a son or daughter outside the kibbutz.

A majority of the members in Vatik are against this kind of budget (45.3 percent to 35.2 percent, with 19.5 percent undecided) (question 38).[5] The most defended reason for favoring it was that "people know their needs best" (75 percent). Fewer agreed that it was a better way to make socialism work (14 percent), or that what was over and above basic social and economic security in the kibbutz was unimportant (22 percent), or that they favored a trend toward privacy (37 percent). Thus the reasons for favoring it in Vatik were conservative reasons.[6] Those opposed, on the other hand, agreed with a broad number of conservative reasons. Of those opposed, 52 percent felt private property would significantly change the kibbutz as a society; 54 percent felt it would open the gates wider for other sources of money; 59 percent thought it would give rise to more differences between people; and 21 percent thought that members would not be able to manage their funds well.[7] In the kibbutz movement as a whole, there has been increasing adoption of the comprehensive budget. Even at the time of this study, the questionnaire results illustrated the attitudes of the more traditional Kibbutz Artzi Federation than of the movement as a whole.

Thus, despite the recognition that inequality is a problem, most of the membership in Vatik had a cautious attitude toward affluence, one that was unsympathetic to extravagant violations of simplicity,

that was against expanding the standard of living without limit, and that narrowly favored the continuation of the system of closed budgets. In each case, however, sizeable minorities favored the opposite attitude.

Two specifically emotional issues were chosen to clarify the nature of this narrow gap: personal cars (question 17) and hired labor (question 43). Personal cars are very expensive in Israel. They cost two to three times more than in the United States, and the maintenance, insurance, and fuel costs are more than double. We theorized that if members favored personal cars, they would also favor many other attempts to try to push economic development and diversity in economic lifestyles to the utmost limit. Hired labor is the very antithesis of communitarian socialism and the ethic of self-labor in the kibbutz. Vatik has only a few regular hired laborers and utilizes outside labor for only 7 percent of its workdays, mostly in the branches and services that have little meaningful relation to the large profits generated in the fish and turkey branches. The labor is usually seasonal, when members and machines cannot harvest all the grapefruit or olives, and in a recent economic report the farm manager encouraged reducing hired labor in the future. So while the trend may be away from hired labor, the members' opinions may be a good indication of how far the community would go to maximize economic development.

Regarding personal cars, the members narrowly favored personal cars 48.6 percent to 40.1 percent with 11.3 undecided.[8] Thus, division over key economic opinions continued. Table 3.2 examines the options for hired labor.

There is no strong acceptance of hired labor in principle, but it is not ruled out. One interpretation is that those who oppose it (but are willing to make exceptions) are really not supporting the principle, but an examination of the facts in Kibbutz Vatik shows the farm plan for the next year hoped to reduce hired labor; the new electronics industry had no plans to use hired labor; the farm manager defended the view that hired labor increased production costs; and the federation had produced rigorous research showing that factories with more hired labor (less self-labor) had less efficiency in productivity, and the difference was significant (Kibbutz Artzi, 1976). The most cautious interpretation of the facts would be that before it became clear how disadvantageous hired labor could be, a majority of the membership was willing to ignore the self-labor principle. Industrial attitudes represented the final acid test of economic opinion.

Industrialization

The issue of technological innovation pitted a concern for economic development against a concern for the social milieu (question 27; see table 3.3).

Table 3.2 Attitudes toward Hired Labor

	%
Eliminate it or stop calling ourselves a kibbutz	10.7
Opposed to it in principle but labor power problems in certain cases make it necessary	71.3
No other possibility exists, and no complaining about it should exist	10.0
Hired labor is not needed. The problem is that members will not work	6.7
Other	1.3

Valid cases: 150. Missing cases: 8.

Table 3.3 Members' Criteria for Introduction of Technology

When the kibbutz has the opportunity to introduce technology what should be the main criterion?

	%
Economic advantage and increased production	73.0
The possible positive effect on the members	14.9
The possible negative effective on the members needs to be taken into consideration	2.8
The investment capital needed	6.4
Other	2.8

Valid cases: 141. Missing cases: 17.

Responses to the question showed very little fear for technology, and a great concern for economic development. A female founding member who worked in the kitchen after many years as a childcare worker explained:

> We're making progress all the time, new machines are introduced, more sophisticated ones. I have [in the kitchen] a cheese cutting machine, and I have to move the lever. It is plugged in but I have to move the lever all the time. I'd be very happy if there were a machine that I would just plug it in and it

would work by itself. Why not? It's very good if we could get to the point where we could work fewer hours, but it is still so far away in the kibbutz. I do not imagine that it shall happen so fast. If we could do more jobs in the fields more easily why shouldn't we? To the extent that we can cope with it financially, from the know-how aspect—it should be learned and people should understand how to use the machines—but the more we can [the better]. I think we have too little, in the service branches, the kitchen, the laundry; it is possible to make improvements, but it is still a matter of money. We need to buy all the machines, newer ones, better ones, and it costs a lot of money, but I do not object to it. It can also help us work more easily. We work very hard.

While most of Western society debates the value of technology, here was a striking degree of trust in the advantages of having more and more of it.[9]

When the opinions of Vatik's members on personal cars, hired labor, and technology were taken together, no clear tendency emerged. Personal cars were favored, but only narrowly. Many members qualified their support for this by saying that while they would favor personal cars, more communal cars (to relieve scheduling conflicts) would work just as well. Addition of communal cars has in fact been the solution recently in the movement at large. No strong acceptance of hired labor emerged, although the willingness to compromise was strongly represented. Technology seemed like the exception. There was little fear about its effect on the social milieu. In light of the combination of these opinions, it cannot be argued that the kibbutzniks were pushing for economic development at any price. On the other hand, a strong division of opinion exists about personal cars and budgets, and the tension is repeated with conflicting opinions evident in the attitudes toward correcting inequality, the effects of affluence, and the desirability of limiting the standard of living.

What does this diversity of opinions indicate? First, it simply supports the notion—developed in speaking about the social arrangement—that a dialectic or active tension between individualistic-utilitarian and communal-communitarian opinions exists. From examining the motivation of early members, we know that this tension is not a recent phenomenon. In fact, the history of Vatik and the movement point to it as a basic dynamic of the system. So, concluding that the main problem is that all people do not agree is not anything new. Members have never agreed in toto, except when they had a totally different social form (the intimate

commune). The intimate commune had a more homogeneous population, existed under demanding, emergency conditions (and may actually have calmed dissent), and was subject to more ideological pressure from the federations. Another interpretation is that the individualists are destroying the communal idea and it is only a matter of time before the kibbutz itself is destroyed.

The problem with this explanation is that the individualists who bought their own teapots twenty years ago brought about an important evolution in the quality of economic life. They helped fulfill Rosner's touted "adaptation of old ideals to new conditions" (1971). However, we have empirical data indicating this position is not valid.

Theorizing that the people favoring individualistic-utilitarian notions in all the economic attitudinal questions in this section could be lined up against those with more communalistic notions, we constructed a correlation matrix to examine the differences. This hypothesis was not only totally disproved, it showed no opposing groups exist. Rather, when a broad set of economic attitudes was explored, results showed that the tension was personally imposed, not between opposing groups. For example, although members sometimes thought affluence would destroy the kibbutz, they did not want to limit the standard of living, and yet they maintained a strict attitude concerning new technology. One possibility is that people were confused by the questionnaire, but this can be ruled out because forty-five people were personally interviewed on these same variables and no consistent pattern of individual or communal attitudes emerged from that sample either. Thus, the complexity of economic attitudes must be recognized.

The best explanation of this attitudinal complexity seems to be this: as dual-culture bearers whose minds and attitudes have not been fixed for or against individualism and communitarianism, kibbutz members have both a real concern to guard the successes and advantages of their social milieu, and to improve the range of satisfactions and the economic security behind those satisfactions. From the interviews, one cannot accuse the members of unpredictability. The development of thought is rather similar to that of Santa, a female senior member (although the mixture differs in each case and some people do have remarkably consistent attitudes).

Sarita was typical of the kind of founding member whose eyes light up when she is talking of the early intimate commune. She was and still is very ideologically dedicated. She believes that after the

founders, many members came with a weaker ideology that hurt the communal nature of the farm, but she was not discouraged. She kept reminding the interviewer, "look, this is a kibbutz with social and economic security." Sarita had a very simple house despite the fact that her husband traveled around the world as a representative of a kibbutz branch and could have brought back much to make it elegant. After a long career in education she was working in the kitchen at the time of our study. She is now in her senior years and makes lunches for members working outside and in the agricultural branches. About more conveniences she said, "I am not against more conveniences and improvements for the kibbutz. I think it is necessary. In the youth movement we had an argument about silk dresses, and now we have air conditioners." She was not against a bigger apartment in the kibbutz household, but she said that luxury should not be the challenge and meaning of life. She would favor personal cars. When asked about limiting the standard of living, however, her concerns were not consumerist. She was concerned that profits be invested in developing the consistent productive strength of the village, and that equal distribution of television sets be well organized; she spoke about standard of living issues that money could not buy, then finally agreed that she would not oppose continuing to raise the standard of living. On the other hand, she favored simplicity and self-labor, and opposed hired labor. She defined simplicity as living from what one did oneself. She felt that the kibbutz was too flexible in giving rein to individual inclinations in higher education and work roles that were not related to kibbutz needs, and she was concerned that people not become soft. But she favored as much technology as possible, theorizing that it relieved people of the hardest tasks and commented that most worked very hard already. She expressed a strong concern to insure equal distribution of material things.

As in the other conversations, there is a logic to Sarita's words. She evaluated different parts of the village differently. She colored in her own needs and wants, and she emphasized certain principles in some areas but not in others. It was a mosaic of individualist-oriented and fellowship-oriented concerns. She was talking about an integrated life and how to make it better.

If this indeed is a plausible explanation, then the crisis Vatik faces is not disagreement, and inconsistency.[10] The issue, finally is how will all these diverse opinions, judgements, attitudes, and influences decide how much, how far, and what type of economic growth can continue without destroying or altering the social milieu? One

positive note is that most members did indeed take dual approaches. They were concerned both with maintaining the principle of social profit and increasing the satisfaction of their lives. They were not divided into attitudinal opposition groups, one wanting to privatize the kibbutz and the other wanting to return to the intimate commune.

Work

Work is the most immediate daily experience of kibbutz economics for the member. The following aspects of work in Vatik will be outlined in this section: distribution of the work force; the kibbutz work style, the work coordinator, and attitudes toward hired labor; collective labor; the integration of work with public activity; specialization; community planning of work; the motivation to work; democracy in the workplace; the sexual division of labor; and work satisfaction.

> I do not think that you can really say that someone is not suited for work in the kibbutz. There is really no such thing. You can say that the person who is in charge of the garage, or the field crops, is not the best person or maybe he [or she] is not doing his [or her] best. It really is a matter of the whole branch working together. Maybe the organization is weak or there is not a high level of planning; no one can ruin it by himself [or herself]. Everyone also has a say so that one person cannot make a lot of monkey business. In certain branches, if you are working alone, you can do stupid things, but if there are five people, everyone knows what is going on. So if you are responsible for the branch this year, well, there are others who directed it before you and they will come and tell you if what you are doing is no good. There are other responsible people and they can see. [Yoram, a middle-aged male member of Kibbutz Vatik]

Yoram's description of the interdependencies of work and life in Kibbutz Vatik supports the popular kibbutz saying "Work is our life." Work is the most important public activity in the community. In the early days of the kibbutzim it was the most significant objective behavior that showed that one was building the community. Because of this and because A. D. Gordon (Zbrowski and Herzog 1952), an ideological leader of the movement, viewed the task of work as helping members to shed aristocratic middle class, "middle-man," and academic characteristics, work in the kibbutz village had to be self-sponsored. It had to be fitted to the

needs of the population and the locality, and the people had to be close to nature; antiintellectualism was common. Today much of this spirit of work in the intimate commune remains, although methods of execution have changed.

Distribution of the Work Force

Table 3.4 shows the distribution of Vatik's work force. This table accounts for 356 of the 360 members. At the time of this study, 11.52 percent were involved in agricultural branches, 20 percent in industrial branches (plastics, the metal factory, and regional interkibbutz industry), 5.85 percent in other work branches, and 62.63 percent in direct and indirect community service branches. Included in community service branches were all nonproductive branches (for example, carpentry and welding shops that repair and build for community use in support of productive sectors; more obvious community service branches such as education, kitchen, laundry; and the work of members attached to the federation in Tel Aviv). Five percent of the population was pursuing upper-level studies at universities or technical institutes. This is usual for both Kibbutz Vatik and the rest of the movement because higher education is seen as a significant investment in the happiness of members and the future of the farm. Another 43 persons (or 12 percent of the population) worked outside the kibbutz, in the government, in regional cooperative industries run by several kibbutzim, and in the federation, plus several miscellaneous places (hospitals, semipublic sector firms, universities). Overall, 64 members (17 percent) were outside the community for educational or work purposes. Although the averages for the federation were not known, this was considered somewhat high. Members of Vatik explained that their community was more tolerant of individuals who needed to seek outside positions and also more lax in creating proper positions within the community. It is this same group of outside workers who are considered by many to be a prime source of inequality.

Despite the general tendencies toward balancing communal and individual-oriented economic considerations, the Vatik work force illustrates (as did our examination of the actual budgetary system in force and members' attitudes toward community investments) the radically communal nature of the village. The comparably high number of members employed in nonproductive community-oriented work (service branches) and the fact that the main income-

producing branches made up only 8 percent of the work force illustrates the extent to which the community as a whole was organized for collective welfare versus the welfare of different small groups. This is a picture of cooperation, albeit less ideological—indeed, more oriented to human diversity—but real cooperation just the same.

Even more about the nature of the work force can be discerned from the research sample. Ten percent worked alone, 36 percent worked with others (but in the last analysis alone), and 51.8 percent worked in teams (question 15B).

Team work predominated in the agricultural branches, the children's education branches, the restaurant, a park area run by the kibbutz, and some support branches, like the garage and kitchen. Members in the laundry, plastics shop, metal shop, and administrative branches often worked near people but mainly alone. From general descriptions of the early days of the community it seems that teamwork was the order of the day. At the time of this study, 32.8 percent of the community was primarily involved in white collar work (indicated in figure 2.3 by *a*) and 67.2 percent in blue collar work (indicated by *b*).

Work in the community still had many of the features of the intimate commune. Members still worked six days a week, taking off Saturday, the Sabbath.

Work Style, the Work Coordinator, and Hired Labor

Although there are both lazy members who dawdle and energetic members who rush through their work, from the author's experience in working in almost all of the community branches, the style of work expected can be explained in this way: each member had to work consistently at his or her most comfortable speed. Those who worked too fast led other members to comment that they "ate their work" (a Hebrew expression); at other times slow work was commented on. There was seldom any attempt to quicken peoples' pace because the work coordinator was just that, not a manager. Work was to be forgotten during the coffee breaks, or during informal periods of rest. For example, a news item on the radio may have accounted for a five- or ten-minute work lapse. Some members talked when they worked if those in the area were able deal with it, and the diversity of how well people worked was widely recognized.

Some said they could talk when they worked, others said they could not think when they worked; some were glum, some looked happy.

The coordinator's role is to oversee the whole work branch. He or she prepares production plans and submits them to the general economic manager (referred to also as the farm manager) and general assembly. He or she worries about the attainment of the plan, about morale in the workplace. The coordinator is expected to consult with fellow workers about decisions and to be open about what is going on inside the branch, and what the plans are for the future. Because this person receives no extra pay or amenities, and can only demand respect, good organization, and fellowship, the way he or she operates is a good determinant of how successful the coordination of the branch will be. This person also deals with the secretary of the kibbutz if personal conflicts surface in the branch that require social attention. He or she will help bring in suitable members or even place branch members in other branches. This person is also concerned about the planning of higher education for branch members to fulfill various goals to expand and upgrade production. Despite the fact that some kibbutz industries, unlike Vatik, are quite large and employ several top coordinators and specialists who may do much of their work in offices or go on the road, remaining in the position requires an outward attempt to be one of the members of the branch, for in reality that is all one is. Showing up at morning and afternoon branch tea is important.

Finally, there is a particular kibbutz worker style. The kibbutznik pays deference, verbal or nonverbal, to no one. A uniform working class dress prevails even among white and blue collar workers. Members, however, live comfortably, even if they work very hard eight hours a day and participate in public activity.

Work is an important norm in kibbutz life because the community has become more a village than a commune, and the population is no longer directly intimately related; thus, some form of behavior that is clearly observable and can be easily evaluated without "looking inside the other" must emerge as the mediator of public acceptance and prestige.

Let us examine further the components of the work force in Vatik and then look at several aspects of kibbutz labor. It is collective, integrated with public activity, specialized, planned, socially motivated, democratic, and sexually stratified.

Collective Labor

Labor in the kibbutz has a clear social and collective meaning, not mainly one that is economic. It is easy to understand how a blend of the importance of work, the absolute right to work, the ownership of means of production, and a social versus financial definition of labor gives kibbutz labor a special normative quality. The fact that a branch manager, a university professor, a children's nurse, or the community's farm manager do not get different rewards ties work to a social and cooperative definition of profit, a radical departure from the way the rest of the world operates.

While work in Vatik is collective because of the kibbutz structure, the extent to which it is a communal demand varies. In the early days of the community, older members commented on how members were asked to leave Vatik because special work more suited to their personal needs could not be created. At the time of this study, however, as noted in chapter 2, only 3.5 percent of the members were willing to grant all individual requests for work and 4.2 percent were willing to force kibbutz needs on individuals. A spirit of compromise prevailed while kibbutz needs had to be taken into account. Talia, a middle-aged woman, now work organizer of the women, commented:

> Look, we cannot send a member to go out and work in this town nearby, and then go and hire somebody to work in the chicken coops from outside. And I think this has to be one limit. And I think in general the members understand this very well, they want to work within the kibbutz. But I think if the same person were to come and say he [or she] wanted to study sociology for five years, I think we should let him [or her] even if there is a shortage of people to work.

The collective organization of work still does not eliminate individual concerns. Real conflicts occur. The farm manager pointed out that there was a slight shortage of workers recently. In the mid-1970s, the number of members studying was increased to deal with tensions expressed by middle-aged women about lack of opportunities. At the time of this study, there was pressure on the women remaining to staff the children's houses and kitchen and laundry with fewer people. But Vatik clearly has made the trade-off Talia speaks about. On the other hand, members did not believe that the work norm was strong in Vatik. It was considered one of the most serious problems of the kibbutz, but the community still wanted to encourage more individual choice in work. This situation has caused great conflict. One younger member commented:

I think this problem derives mainly from two points. First, there is no central, strong body that can exert strong moral pressure and a strong demand from the people that they will do what they should, and there are all sorts of different problems like that: work, night guarding, and there are some workplaces where you must find people to work in them for there is no choice. But there are places no one wants to work in.

The outgoing work organizer (referred to in chapter 1) agreed. Although years ago refusal to do a night guard or take one's turn in the kitchen meant communal recall, castigation, and discussion before the general assembly or a committee, the current work organizer said that now a small group of people could get away with this, and there was a new norm prevalent—one did not talk about people personally (i.e. by name) at the general assembly (or the *sicha*) about such matters. He said that the number was small, but his concern was that it meant a break in the norm. If the situation with a certain member became serious, the work organizer would take him or her before the executive committee and talk about it. But the work organizer, like others, did not want to create personal conflicts where they could be avoided. Accordingly, often many appropriate situations did not reach this level.

Recently a member refused to coordinate the supply part of the kitchen, and the whole kibbutz and executive committee decided to force the issue. In this case, the member had been receiving studies and special time for outside research, and there was a strong feeling that refusing an important public coordinating role was a serious affront to the community, and destroyed a sense of balance about that member's relation to the group. On the other hand, less serious infractions like refusing to do kitchen duty often seemed dwarfed in importance when that member's whole participation is considered in community life, or as when, in the case of one member who worked outside for years and should have returned long ago, the community perceived that only bitterness (and possibly a departure) would result. These examples illustrate the high degree of integration in kibbutz life. Whether a member refuses to work well, function in a public role, coordinate branches, or volunteer for many positions, the member's work involves a dimension beyond the limited economic task it is. But how did members perceive their work relations in actuality?

Relations between the members at work is a more accurate guide to the collective function of labor than the work ideology itself. The

centrality of social support at work has already been described in chapter 2.

We asked members to evaluate their work relations; their opinions follow in Table 3.5.

Very few members had bad relations at work; relations were generally friendly but not oriented toward friendship. A young female member who worked in the kindergarten described relations in her work group:

> There is tension at work when one says one thing and the other thinks the other way [in the education of children], and sometimes when there is friction, when it seems that one of us did not speak properly to the children, we discuss it among ourselves, not during work usually, but after work, and together we reach a common denominator, or we try to know the direction of things …. We really try to reach a uniform way of thinking because, look, the child can get confused when one says this and the other says that, and the child needs to know where he [or she] stands.

The author found that tensions in work branches did not stay submerged for long. Because members had to live with each other and live with public knowledge of their situation, serious tensions were brought to the fore. Usually, the gossip circuit would tell you that two people have argued at work and recently made up, or were not talking and a meeting was being arranged, or so-and-so was refused entrance into a certain branch and the social secretary was trying to place that person. One's job is in the public domain. Nevertheless, kibbutz work branches are not all the same. Eden and Leviatan (1974), in comparing farm and factory workers in the kibbutz, have found equivalent psychological satisfaction in both groups but a sense of being "lonely in a crowd" in the factory. The challenge for kibbutz planners is to make sure that new industrial and high technology branches do not radically decrease the work satisfaction of members.

Table 3.5 Work Relations Attitudes

Category Label	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency (%)	Adjusted Frequency (%)
Very friendly and friends	37	23.4	28.0
Very friendly not friends	38	24.1	28.8
Proper relations	53	33.5	40.2
Bad relations	1	0.6	0.8
Student	3	1.9	2.3
Valid cases: 132			
Missing cases: 26	26	16.5	Missing
	158	100.0	100.0

Work and Public Activity

Kibbutz work is mixed with public activity (Golomb 1963). As noted, in Vatik 70 to 150 people can be involved in the diffuse policymaking and decision making, and management bodies of the kibbutz outside the general assembly itself. Work in the services is actually public activity also because community services—like the kitchen—are often as strictly observed by the "member consumers." Some participation in public activity (committee, kibbutz office) is necessary every few years if a member wants to maintain a high degree of status and prestige. Although sanctions such as complaints, gossiping, snubbing, and ultimately expulsion will result from laziness or extremely poor work, nonparticipation in public activity would more likely lead to a lower amount of esteem.

Shepher's excellent study of public activity outside the kibbutz (1973) thoroughly analyzes the advantages and problems in a member's participation in such outside jobs as university professor, nurse, federation or government worker, or parliament member. Shepher found that while much competition between the kibbutz and the federation or government exists for very skilled members, outside work can be a solution for certain problems involving those members with family difficulties, those of senior age and experience who cannot perform arduous physical labor, or those with special skills. Nevertheless much role conflict and difficulty is experienced by such workers.

Specialization

Specialization is a larger part of the work scene than before. In the early days of most kibbutzim the branches were agricultural, and tasks were interchangeable. It was hoped in the beginning that this "simplicity of training" would also reduce inequality. Resistance to specialization could not be sustained as Kibbutz Vatik attempted to have a less structured family, encourage less intimate relationships, develop continuity, and construct a complex, efficient, and cooperative organization. Today many members and branch managers (including those in household services, education, and the kibbutz accounting office) require special training. In Vatik's industry the metal factory requires an engineer. Specialization is now accepted, but an array of safety valves has evolved to prevent it from threatening the community. The majority of branch coordinators are still rotated; rewards—economically speaking—still do not vary with training; a specialist finds that the community's critical questioning and voting patterns support or dampen his or her prestige. On a branch level there are two reasons that a specialist is not allowed to dictate branch policies: (1) branch members all have different reasons for participation in different parts of the decision-making structure (the budget committee, the members committee, the planning committee), and this diffusion of influence makes the one-person takeover impossible; and (2) another member is probably completing training and preparing to replace every specially trained individual. In Vatik, several engineers are trained so rotation can occur in the factory.

In spite of this, specialists and technicians are listened to more than in the past (although they try to explain and demystify the details of technical decisions), and do wield special power. An ultimate test of kibbutz life will be to see if they gain undue power. But the possibility of specialists taking over is not a central concern in the kibbutz. A branch coordinator still has too many diffuse decision-making and social-influence units to deal with (children's roommates' parents' questions or the decisions of several committees that may affect the branch); and this wide array of interference factors, plus the openness with which even technical information is available in the kibbutz, makes pontification difficult. And should one succeed in managerial pontification it may be at the cost of social status. Vatik, unlike several other kibbutzim, has no strong managerial types, and no coordinator of any branch runs the

branch through a finely knit system of social and personal networks. There are several examples of this in a few other communities.

Thus, the advantages of working life in the kibbutz may be clear, but the effect of greater specialization and industrialization is altering the nature of work in Vatik, and the overall superiority of kibbutz industry may mask a subtle loss of work satisfaction when agricultural and industrial sectors in the same kibbutzim are compared. Only strict vigilance will prevent a crisis.

Community Planning of Work

The community plans its work. A work committee makes up detailed plans of probable needs and resources and regularly evaluates efficiency of the planning process. It considers issues of worker satisfaction and the appropriateness of present work branches to members' needs. A work organizer handles daily work assignments. Most members have regular jobs, but usually some temporary switching of the regulars and assignment of the floaters must occur daily. This takes place after dinner and usually involves extended discussions, arguments, and compromises between the organizer, branch managers, and individual members. Even temporary volunteers from abroad haggle and argue in the kibbutz spirit with the unfortunate work coordinator. It is, as one might guess, a very unpopular and frequently rotated job.

In addition to the work organizer, a work committee, the farm manager, and the economic committee work with various branch coordinators to plan as exactly as possible the workdays needed to satisfy their next year's production plan. They also work on personal and branch problems on a branch-by-branch basis. Economic needs, production ceilings, feelings of branch teams, absences of various members for education, funds for social needs, and many other factors must be taken into account in these consultations and in the preparation of final production and labor power plans. These matrices of social planning and involvement also crisscross Vatik, and will be compared to statistics on the attitudes of members.

Table 3.6 shows Vatik's labor power plan and the actual use of labor power for 1973. The plan, as one can see, is closely followed. In actuality, figures are prepared monthly, and army reserve, educational leave, and vacations are all carefully factored in. This plan, which was fairly successful, represents the rule, not the exception in Vatik and established kibbutzim like it. Nevertheless,

the labor infrastructure would not function if members were not motivated.

The Motivation to Work

Value is placed on the social motivation behind employment (Rosner 1963). In studying difficulties and rewards of the branch manager, Cohen (1963) and Shepher (1969a) pointed out that the relational and social rewards are emphasized more in a kibbutz because economic rewards are granted in complete equality and are not given to variance. This quality of kibbutz labor has often puzzled the Western entrepreneur: Why would people work unless they knew their exact pay per hour and took a check home? The kibbutznik would point out that in the United States, often 20 to 40 percent of the paycheck goes for taxes to support poorly run social programs that attempt to prevent the disintegration of society. Aside from that, in the kibbutz, the gossip and prestige process in which a member's abilities and dedication are recognized and reacted to accounts for the normative importance of work. The ability to cooperate and function on a team (as most community work is organized) is also important here. If anything, kibbutz research has unveiled many of the subtle factors that account for the success of the small cooperative community. These social factors affecting kibbutz industry have recently been thoroughly reviewed in a comprehensive study of work and organization in kibbutz industry (Leviatan and Rosner 1982). The individual-communal dialectic and the working out of status differences in kibbutz agricultural branches have been the subject of a detailed ethnography by anthropologist Israel Shepher (1983).

TABLE 3.6 Comparison of Labor Power Plan and Actual Use of Labor Power for 1973

	Planned	Actual
Joint programs for adults	20.760	20.975
Educational services	17.400	17.460
Children	38.160	38.435
Service branches	7.710	8.460
Agricultural activities	18.570	18.390
Industry and outside jobs	22.650	23.300
Army reserves	1.500	1.690
Kibbutz federation	4.200	4.300
Sabbaths	27.380	28.000
Holidays, vacations	19.345	19.000
Total of general committees	5.400	5.490
TOTAL	144.915	
Comparison of Total Days:		
Service branches	7.710	8.460
Agriculture and Industry	41.220	41.690

Workdays According to Type of Work		
Members	131.260	
High School Students (from kibbutz)	1.500	
Soldiers	100.000	
Ulpan	2.640	
Work Camps (youth groups)	3.000	
Hired Labor and Others	7.200	

Note: Workdays in thousands

Note

Workdays in thousands

Etzioni (1957b) looked into the relation between motivation and prestige generated by the closeness of kibbutz workers to their "clientele." He found that workers in the field and factory who were not actually face-to-face in providing service to other members were able to achieve more prestige and were, in fact, more protected in

their probable motivation than workers in the kitchen and children's education whose exposure to others and their negative reactions was much higher. The predictable stability in agricultural over service jobs was verified by investigation.

Members of Vatik constantly complain about service, staff, and switches in the service branches. (For this reason, more research comparing service and production workers in the kibbutz should be undertaken.) Our research found a particular dissatisfaction with the service work branches by female members, which will be discussed later.

Congruent with the interdependence of collective life and the involvement of all members in the work of every individual, work has an important democratic quality. All work branch teams are expected to meet regularly to discuss decisions. In practice, this varies from team to team and is usually replaced by the open-ended leadership view of many coordinators and/or the real sense each member has that he or she does not work for the branch coordinator. Rosner (1965) analyzed changes and processes of direct democracy in the kibbutz, and his general conclusions apply also to workplace democracy: despite the tendency to institutionalize and formalize decision making (which the greater decision making responsibility of the coordinator seems to require at present), the kibbutz is still antibureaucratic in character, utilizes general meetings as the main agent of democracy, and is one of the few organizations in modern society that embrace so many decisive aspects of members' lives. Clear empirical data exist for this claim. In a recent National Science Foundation-sponsored study, Rosner worked cooperatively with researchers from Yugoslavia, Austria, Italy, and the United States viewing the hierarchy in factories in those countries. Using the same procedures of investigation, the kibbutz outshone even the worker-participatory Yugoslavian factories in being less hierarchical, less alienating, more participatory, more helpful in psychological adjustment, and more likely to give members the most opportunity for advancement (Tannenbaum 1974). Recently the kibbutz experience with worker ownership and participation has been compared with that of the United States, the Basque region's Mondragon cooperatives, and Yugoslavia (Blasi and Whyte 1984; Kruse 1984).

Practically speaking, the execution of these principles varies in Vatik. The traditional kibbutz mechanism for self-management is the weekly work branch meeting. In Vatik, only in the agricultural branches are these meetings held weekly, almost daily. One sees the

branch members haggling, arguing, and planning almost every day about what to do next, or what to do next week. Such meetings occur probably only once a month in the metal shop, and only occasionally in the plastics factory. They are rare in other service branches, except in the education and children's branches where they are considered a regular part of the work itself. It is not known how the situation is in other kibbutzim when all branches are considered (not just self-managed industries as in the kibbutzim where most of this research was done), but in Vatik, workplace democracy is more dependent on the free flow of information, the social camaraderie of the branch, the lack of punishment for raising issues, the small size of work groups, the basic equality and shared social environment of members, and the ability to rotate and change managers easily. Formal meetings are rare.

Rotation of management and public service jobs (farm and social manager, committee members) is the mainstay of kibbutz democracy. Cohen (1964) looked into rotation and found even less rotation than we found in Kibbutz Vatik, where rotation usually occurs yearly or biannually in managerial positions (which in all federations were rotated at a rate of 55 percent). Recently, more carefully collected data indicate that this figure is much too low (Shepher 1977). This compromise is explained by specialization in the economy. Nevertheless, the main full-time public offices are rotated biannually, as are committee memberships because limitations in the pool of possible coordinators are less restricted for these positions. Our research has not uncovered opposition to this situation except with regard to the Economic Committee of Vatik; some members feel that long-term economic planning and technical considerations tend to limit the pool of people who can participate seriously in this committee's deliberations.

It is significant that the basic preservation of the kibbutz's diffuse and fellowship-oriented decision-making system seriously undercuts the possibilities of wholesale takeovers of power prevalent in many other cooperative community ventures (Viteles 1966). Because power is shared, issues of stratification in the workplace are more prominent when referred to different groups in the community.

Sexual Division of Labor

Of the seven important aspects of work under discussion, the sexual division of labor has undergone the most dramatic changes

and was, in fact, quite central to the normative ideology of early members, who regarded it as one of their most important aims. Palgi, Blasi, Rosner, and Safir (1983) recently reviewed research on women and men in the kibbutz over the past thirty years. Critics of the kibbutz's obvious failure in this area unfortunately do not emphasize the very radical and comprehensive steps the kibbutz took to eradicate sexism. Formal equality was established, but it did not stop there. All ties between sex and economic remuneration were disconnected. In addition, the economic security of women, like that of men, was associated with their membership rather than with their marital status or number of children. There was complete formal political equality and the opportunity to hold central offices and seek educational advancement. All the usual work of the housewife was carried out by educational institutions, communal kitchens, laundries, and purchasing institutions. Nevertheless Shepher's book *Women in the Kibbutz*, written with U.S. anthropologist Lionel Tiger (1975), documents how women have progressively chosen to become involved almost exclusively in community services (the kitchen, laundry, education), in defending family-centered values, and are generally more passive in political decision making. Thus, in Vatik there are 130 women (or 90 percent) in community services, and of 41 workers in agriculture, only 3 are women. Women make up 26 percent of the factory staffs (mostly the disliked plastics factory), but only 4.3 percent of the more interesting support roles (such as plumbing and carpentry). Except in service branches there are no women branch managers.

The fact that in Vatik and other kibbutzim women serve as social managers, chairpersons of important committees, and important community spokespersons does indicate there are no negative feelings in the community toward their abilities. If anything, the absence of inferiority typing and reward discrimination, and the egalitarian and nonsexist nature of the kibbutz economic structure are all part of the revolution that has taken place. But the days when women worked alongside men in production branches, and men worked equally in the kitchen and laundry are gone. The kibbutz's distribution of economic rights may be egalitarian, but its workplace is sex-typed in the extreme.

Rosner (1967), whose research on the changing status of kibbutz women showed an egalitarian attitude with regard to which traits members felt were characteristic of the sexes, also found that the changing status of women was but an aspect of familistic tendencies at large in the kibbutz and was connected to what is here called the

tendency away from the communal kibbutz (less sex differentiated) and the tendency toward the communal village (more sex differentiated). The very strong communal village trend, however, has not put this issue to rest.

The situation is not static. Although no vocal women's movement exists in the kibbutz (possibly because some of the organizational goals have been achieved), women in Vatik, for example, are very uneasy about their service-oriented jobs. They are seeking greater opportunities for training, personal fulfillment, and work outside the community. The situation is clearly very complex, but in Vatik their demands are beginning to be met. Yet structurally we cannot avoid the fact that sex-role polarization is pervasive.

Work Satisfaction

Let us examine the ways members evaluate their work experience. First, to get a general idea if persons felt adequately prepared for their jobs, we asked if they worked in their chosen profession (question 6) and if they were satisfied with the professional aspects of their work (question 6). Almost two-thirds (63.5 percent) said they worked in their profession; 36.5 percent said they did not.[11] There was clearly a sizeable group of members whose work was not matched to their profession. More than four-fifths (82.3 percent) noted they were satisfied with the professional aspects of their work, and 17.7 percent were not, so evidently the situation was not wholly unsatisfactory for those who did not work in their profession.[12]

Members were also asked how much they enjoyed their work (question 11): 30.9 percent reported enjoying work very much; 58.3 percent enjoyed work a lot; 5 percent said they never enjoy work; and 2.2 percent reported hating work (valid cases: 139; missing cases: 19). More than 90 percent of the members said they enjoyed their work, while a minority of 7.2 percent strongly disliked it. Kibbutz social secretaries and members active in kibbutz administration spend a sizeable amount of their time dealing with the members who crisscross these categories: people who are not working in their field or profession, are not satisfied with this situation, and are not satisfied with their current job. To understand some of the components of enjoyment and lack of enjoyment, we asked members to evaluate various aspects of their work (question 12; see table 3.7).

A more realistic picture emerges when the percentage of members who considered any reason is viewed. Still, a majority evaluated their work positively. On the average, about 46 percent of the sample refused to answer the question with one or more of the pairs of attitudes. Thus, the amount of satisfaction that was found when members were directly asked must be further questioned. A more straightforward expression of this phenomenon occurred in the interviews. Many older members spoke of their work as a duty and obligation and, despite what was at times aggressive questioning, would not say more than that, and seemed unable to evaluate the job from different points of view. The weakness of the kibbutz in the area of designing the whole job has already been noted. In the days of the intimate commune "doing the job" was more important than "being the job," and some members still do not know how to evaluate whether or not they like their work. An indication of this is the relatively low number of members who cause problems at work and demand attention. The social secretary, branch coordinators, and other administrative coordinators might do more if a greater awareness were encouraged on the part of individual members. As we shall see, there is evidence that this group was at least one-fifth of the population at the time of this study.

Table 3.7 Aspects of Work Enjoyment and Nonenjoyment

Enjoy work itself	53%
Not enjoy work itself	13
Feel I achieve something	58
Do not feel I achieve anything	4
Have a professional feeling	38
Do not have a professional feeling	8
Enjoy personal relations at work	40
Do not enjoy personal relations at work	3
Other reasons	5

Valid cases: 142. Missing cases: 16.

To study further the complexity of work satisfaction, we asked members to answer questions 14 and 13: Do you have responsibility in your work and do you enjoy having it?; Can you use your talents potential in your work in a way you like? (See table 3.8)

With regard to responsibility, a great number of members said they would like to see their situation changed, and as far as can be told 16.9 percent had little opportunity to use their talents. Because

only 22 members out of our sample of 158 did not answer the questions, these opinions are quite accurate.

Work satisfaction is certainly not determined by simple questions about "liking one's work." When a wider set of issues is taken into consideration in judging the quality of working life in Vatik, dissatisfaction changes from 5 to 15-30 percent of the membership. This was not done to confuse the reader but to illustrate that if social motivation is spoken of with regard to kibbutz work, it cannot be postulated as theory. Consideration of the complex social factors that may motivate people at work is necessary and goes much further than simplistic questions in explaining a variety of complaints, a tendency to avoid the question, and a lack of interest in evaluating the work situation. When a work satisfaction index is constructed from the data given by one individual, a wide distribution occurs. With a score of 1 indicating very low satisfaction and 12 indicating very high satisfaction, the mean for the whole sample was 9.244, indicating that a fairly high percentage of the population consistently evaluated their work positively. Nevertheless, about 20 percent of the population gave consistently low evaluations to many sectors of their work (scores of 7 and under).

A reasonable interpretation is that about a fourth of the population of Vatik had moderate to serious claims about how its work was organized. There were many members who were not satisfied at work but were generally hopeful in other parts of their life. Low or high work satisfaction does not predict general satisfaction (see the appendix for a description of the Satisfaction Index). The correlation between the two is highly significant (.001) but the strength of the relationship is only moderate (.34). Possibly, this accounts for the poor work norm members criticized because members could be generally happy but unattended in this sphere. It may indicate that a greater awareness of work organization is needed.

Table 8 Responsibility in Work and Use of Talents

Work Responsibility		Use of Talents	
Not enjoy responsibility I have	13.9%	A lot	39.0%
Enjoy responsibility I have	70.1	Somewhat	41.9
Have no responsibility but would enjoy some	9.5	Very little	13.2
Have no responsibility and would not enjoy some	4.4	Never	3.7
Would like responsibility but would not enjoy it	0	Student	2.2
Valid cases: 137. Missing cases: 21		Valid cases: 136. Missing cases: 22. Mean: 1.97	

Conclusion

Work in the kibbutz can be most clearly defined as community effort. It involves levels of meaning foreign to modern mass society, yet involves comparable options for individual development that are at times probably greater, in some respects because of the unoppressive and flexible nature of kibbutz society. On a day-to-day basis many small problems arise in each of the seven aspects of work discussed here. However, a high degree of acceptance of community values makes work the collective experience it is. Thus it represents one of the most significant learning situations. The problems can be understood by an examination of the organization of work itself, the tendency toward specialization, and the complexity of social motivation that connects with many aspects of the job. Changes in the social organization of Vatik have been paralleled by the further breakdown of egalitarian sex roles in work, formal direct democracy in the workplace, and the demanding and limiting tendency the kibbutz used to exercise toward individual work options. These changes have also complicated the achievement of work satisfaction.

The community's decisions concerning technology will affect work in the future, and this is a key issue. So far the trade-offs and balancing of tensions in Vatik have been emphasized in an attempt to describe how a middle ground between extreme communitarianism and extreme individualism is worked out in real life. Now the energy of "working out" itself must receive focus, and the nature of the

desire to participate in shaping its structure needs to be understood. This is a function of communal politics.

Notes

1. Valid cases: 142. Missing cases: 16.

2. Valid cases: 137. Missing cases: 21.

3. Note that this question, like many other questions seeking a list of categorical answers, was constructed by reviewing answers to the question in the interview sample and then building a question that embraced most of the categories the population used. These decisions were then checked against previous questionnaires used in the movement and with senior kibbutz member researchers who were advisers to the project.

4. Valid cases: 139. Missing cases: 19.

5. Valid cases: 128. Missing cases: 30.

6. Valid cases: 48. Missing cases: 110.

7. Valid cases: 59. Missing cases: 99.

8. Valid cases: 148. Missing cases: 10.

9. Menachem Rosner, a senior kibbutz researcher, suggests that the kibbutzim have usually had only short-term economic and quality-of-life advantages from technology. It is usually introduced after much community discussion and obviously a community vote. Technology in agriculture helped the kibbutzim break into the modem world without drastically increasing their labor power, and industrialization accounts for most of their economic miracles. So a learned confidence is understandable. Rosner, however, along with other members, has become concerned about the effect of technology on the job structure, the work itself, and the way the worker relates to it. Extensive explorations of alternative ways to design the workplace, the work task, and the work group are under way. This has involved far-ranging exchanges with Swedish colleagues because sociotechnical design of the work and quality of working life is far advanced in Sweden. Napthali Golomb, another researcher in this area, has posed the question, "Why should the kibbutzim build and design a factory system like everyone else? Why should we adopt, lock,

stock, and barrel the American design of technology? Machines have to be fitted to our particular kind of society and we must begin doing this now." A report on this work is contained in Chems (1980).

10. Some members of Vatik think they know what is coming—the *moshav shitufi* (cooperative village). Contrasted with the kibbutz or communal village, this form has—like the kibbutz—collective production, work branches, committees, a general assembly, a local cultural life, a cooperative ideology—but consumption is private. Yoram, a middle-aged member bom in Vatik, says: "I think it is all going to end like that. The children will be together in school, but will sleep at home. You will get a budget for yourself (an equal share of the profits of the whole farm) to spend however you like. Each family gets an allowance once a month. There will be a general store to buy whatever you want. There will be bigger apartments. It would still be a kibbutz. If I get my own money, I can spend it how I want to."

11. Valid cases: 126. Missing cases: 32.

12. Valid cases: 124. Missing cases: 34.

4
Politics and Culture in the Community

To portray the actual functioning of democracy in the village, the following subjects will be discussed: changes in the style of kibbutz politics, the necessary conditions for direct democracy (which will be evaluated in Vatik), leadership and differentiation between political role takers, the patterns of public participation in kibbutz institutions, the interdependence of democracy and culture, the cultural life of the community, the sense of political participation felt by members, and the political-cultural problem of Kibbutz Vatik.

Changes in the Style of Politics

In each group there are "speakers" of the group. They are perhaps the better public speakers, or they have more common sense than the other fellows. Anyway when they speak twenty other fellows identify with their views. I can speak in the nicest way, but if I cannot express what the public feels, I will not get any support! That is not a matter of influence. You see, you feel, you express, in fact what others feel. If you do not, people will back other opinions. There are sometimes discussions about light shades of opinions and positions. Sometimes one side will get the support of the public, sometimes the other side will get it! True, there are people who take the discussion very seriously. They ask for support from the public. There was once a discussion and each speaker got the support of the fellows; that means in that specific moment about this specific matter that the people were ambivalent. [Zalman, a senior member of Kibbutz Vatik]

Zalman's thoughts about personal influence point to the centrality of common identification within the kibbutz group in regard to the question of political power. The early kibbutz viewed itself almost as an elite school for democracy (Viteles 1966), as a way of functioning that people would learn more about as they continued to understand the meanings of the structures they set up to encourage public participation in decision making. A member of Vatik put it this way:

Democratization is the principal basis for the process of development in a continual and optimal way for the people who carry the burden of social building and responsibility, and the economic and ideological development of the kibbutz to the best of their ability.… The question of democracy and demand for it does not have to stop at the establishment of normal rights and equality among kibbutz members, but must accompany a perpetual investigation and questioning of these principles. In a society where a member does not receive direct monetary or materialistic reward for his [or her] work, it is necessary to reward him [or her] with a substitute—non-materialistic, non-individualistic—a collective reward for his [or her] contributions in helping to build the collective life of the settlement, and that is the responsibility in helping to direct and develop its way of life. [From Newsletter Number 5, January 1936, Archive of Kibbutz Vatik]

While direct democracy as defined by the member quoted has remained, many changes have occurred since the early days of Vatik. Developing a way of life and learning to pursue common goals is the function of kibbutz democracy. It is not, as in a mass society, simply a matter of voting tabulation, the majority, or various representative mechanisms. It is integral—like the fingers of a hand, public participation goes together with economic cooperation, collective work, the individual-community dialectic, and a common ideology. Such a highly community-oriented society as the kibbutz could not function without it, for the whole matrix of mutual responsibilities would be paralyzed.

In the early days of Kibbutz Vatik decisions were made mostly by consensus. Because the form of the society was taking shape concurrently with the evolution of specific decisions, the processes occurred hand in hand. Long ideological discussions and arguments dominated a decision about the placement of a dairy, for a dairy, like any new part of community life, influenced many other factors of life. For example, some issues were how such a new branch would affect other branches; whether a sufficiently skilled coordinator could keep the branch organized; whether the treasury could handle the investments; whether the location of the buildings would disrupt the layout of houses and if the noise would bother other members; or whether other kibbutzim could be counted on to lend a hand. Often, these discussions were personalized to the extent that group decisions came to be identified with the arguments and speeches of different members.

With regard to ideological decisions, the early commune at Vatik emphasized the notion of collective ideology—*collectiviut raionit* (this was not an important element of democracy in other kibbutz federations). That meant that once a decision was made, members— regardless of the amount of argument beforehand—were expected to support it enthusiastically. Thus, there was a curious combination of encouraging the open and often raucous contribution of different members, but having all toe the group line once a decision was made. Older members of Vatik reported that many members left as a result of disagreements at meetings, or because of their inability to accept group decisions. Many times these decisions dealt with allowing such members to study or work outside the kibbutz, or to change their place of work. Senior members in large numbers expressed the sentiment in the interviews: "We lost a lot of good members then. Many who left are now skilled and respected individuals [elsewhere]."

Although the awareness remains that political decisions involve a matrix of responsibilities in the community, the degree to which ideological discussion enters the general assembly has drastically decreased. Today matters of principle are debated only occasionally —once every few months— and this is done in the spirit of necessity; "We are debating a matter of principle because we cannot make clear decisions of a practical nature until we do this" is a refrain the author heard repeatedly during general assembly meetings. In addition, members are no longer expected to be personally supportive of all decisions. True, they must go along with the decision behaviorally, i.e., do concretely what is recommended, but that is all. A small number of members do not go even this far. One foreign woman who married a young member would not agree to let her newborn baby sleep in the children's house. In the old days, a crisis would have been forced between the individual and the community on this point. At the time of this study, Vatik decided to not to press the issue and instead attempted to have members persuade her informally over a period of time. She was a good member; they did not want to lose her; and dealing with her diversity would not destroy the community. The lesson learned by this example is that consensus and collective ideology can cause individual crises (and in the old days there were many) that the membership would no longer sustain because of the social tension involved and the possibility that good members would leave. However, such exceptions are made infrequently, and few members can behave contrary to a decision for long without an attempt to resolve the situation.

In the case of a member who was raising dogs and selling them privately, the man was not ideologically accused, personally attacked, or discussed at the general assembly, but he was gossiped about extensively and was told before the smaller secretariat (executive committee), "This is against the way of the kibbutz and you must stop it." The kibbutz simply approached him through a nonpersonal, unexcited political medium to preserve a less limiting but still clearly defined social arrangement.

In light of changes of sentiment and style (often unanalyzed by social research), let us examine the still-functioning system of direct democracy in Vatik. In reviewing research in this area, we will examine four issues: the conditions for direct democracy in the kibbutz, leadership and differentiation, patterns of public participation, and the relationship between culture and democracy.

Conditions for Direct Democracy

Menachem Rosner's research analyzes the five conditions for direct democracy in the kibbutz (1965): small-scale organization, awareness of members, nonformalized public opinion, reserve of potential cadres, and equality in living conditions.

Direct democracy requires a small-scale organization that allows members proximity to decision-making centers and an awareness of events without the need for formal means of communication. Up until 1948 the population in kibbutzim usually did not exceed 200, so today's increased social density (populations usually from 400 to 600) reduces visibility in social relations somewhat. Nevertheless, the kibbutz organization of Vatik and other communities still remains small in scale. Instead of increasing the size of existing kibbutzim, new communities were founded. Cultural reasons exist for this. Vatik, like many kibbutzim, brought in large and small groups of new members gradually over the years. After the trauma of absorbing the *hashlama* in 1948-1950, absorption continued more gradually; smaller groups grew into the society slowly. Also, although social relations are less intimate and visible to all members, the diffuse decision-making system of interrelated committees, branches, informal leaders, and groups still exists. There are more committees and their functions are more specialized. Political issues have been spread out over a variety of consulting and executive groups that have become the new decision-making centers.

Also necessary for direct democracy is an awareness of members about the life of the organization, an active interest in it, and a willingness to take part in executing the community's functions. This is directly related to how greatly the functions of the organization appear to be essential and integral to the members' lives. Although there have been greater trends toward heterogeneity, specialization, some transfer of decisions to individuals, and greater influence of the external society, our data on social, economic, and work attitudes show that the integrity of function has been maintained. But the awareness is nowhere as acute and intimate as it was when the kibbutz was a communal homogeneous group; apathy has increased.

Noticeable differences regarding such awareness are identifiable in Vatik. The meetings of the committee on the members (which deals with personal problems, members' requests, conflicts) are well attended. The economic planning committee meetings draw a high degree of participation; even non-committee members, unwilling to wait for the report to the general assembly, show up to follow developments. Because of the centrality of children in the kibbutz, the education committee meets regularly and most members attend. But the cultural committee of Vatik has been languishing for some years.

Members constantly complain about passive culture (movies twice a week). One member active in this committee comments:

> I can tell you about myself. I was in charge of the culture committee already three times before this year. The last time was a year ago. Now they want me to do it again next year; there is not anyone else to do it. So that is how I go, a year yes and a year no. That is how it will always be in the kibbutz, a year yes and a year no. So that is how we solve the rotation problem with that. I change with myself. That is what it is like here. I change with myself.

A subtle neglect of culture in Vatik confirms most members' lack of real awareness of guarding and making vibrant the least tangible things that unite them. As a cooperative village, Vatik has much that is integral and essential to the now more diverse and more private lives of members. Showing movies, celebrating the Jewish feasts, marking changes in the seasons—all these still occur. But fewer vibrant, homemade, nonritualized cultural events take place. What use would they serve? The more awareness is concentrated on the necessary activities of the community, slighting the less tangible and

less necessary ends of cultural sustenance, the greater the risk that while Vatik's arrangement of fellowship and collégial decisions will remain, the sense may be lost. Unlike the early commune, where cultural activities seemed to emanate from the group itself—lots of spontaneous dancing and singing—it is formalized now: a cultural committee plans more activities.

Fortunately, because of the close, socially integrated environment of the village, Rosner's third condition of direct democracy blossoms: an environment of nonformalized public opinion, the direct exchange, airing ("cooking" in kibbutz lingo), and resolution of views. This should happen whether formal legislative and supervisory functions are absent or present. The general assembly today still integrates the legislative, executive, and judicial functions of the political process, because social relations are still frequent and personal between members. Telephone communication between apartments now, did not exist at the time of this study, and members dealt with one another by going to the other's apartment or meeting at meals or on paths. But this is not the case for all members. Heterogeneity of opinion, differences in ages, and background all mean that members are not always comfortable in dealing with one another (see chapter 2). So there is more institutionalization, with rules and codes regulating behavior; for example, the right to a free university education is now specifically defined regarding the member's age, interest, and special needs, and is regulated according to precedent. Nevertheless, despite the increasing emphasis on precedent—which includes the publication in some kibbutzim of a handbook summarizing certain rulings—the tone of kibbutz democracy is not legalistic. People are different, and exceptions are still made to preserve the delicate fabric of the community.

In Vatik, as in many kibbutzim, the increasing materialism of life led to accusations of favoritism or inequality in the 1950s and 1960s, so the community rationalized many kinds of distribution. In the intimate commune one could take the car when one needed it —"each according to one's needs"— but this dictum actually became a cause of inequality and lack of clarity in the collective village. The amount of clothing each member can take each year, the number of kilometers for auto transportation each is entitled to, the number of vacation days based on age and years of membership are just a few examples of such rationalization. When nonformalized public opinion governs most of life, power accumulates in people and groups in unpredictable ways. So along with the notion of

mutual obligations Vatik has clearly defined specific mutual rights that do not have to be discussed; they are written and clear.

A frequently heard phrase is *lesader inyanim* (to settle matters) with a certain member, committee, or administrator. Today, the Constitution of the Kibbutz (1976) safeguards the rights of members who leave to have proper resources to start a new life, and it also defines all rights and obligations. As a community of mutual obligations, the limited institutionalization of many matters rationalized problems of distribution and reduced petty arguments.

Members' attitudes toward political participation indicate the extent of awareness of Vatik's problems and the efficiency of nonformalized public opinion and the nonformal political system in dealing with individual needs. Members were asked which form of participation described their lives most (question 54; see table 4.1).

The results shown in table 4.1 confirm the description of the system of involvement as being diffuse. Few members were more involved with their family than with the kibbutz.

How satisfying is this involvement vis-a-vis achieving individual goals? Members were asked how they viewed the planning of their lives (question 59; see table 4.2).

Although the number of persons who perceived problems in reaching life goals is very large, the small number who blamed the kibbutz is startling.

TABLE 4.1 Degree of Overall Participation in the Kibbutz

I am bothered about kibbutz problems and involved a lot in public life (1)	15.5%
I am concerned about kibbutz problems and involved in public life but not a lot (2)	69.0%
I am more involved with my family and conforts than with kibbutz problems (3)	15.5

Valid cases: 142. Missing cases: 16. Mean: 2. Median: 2. Adjusted frequencied used.

TABLE 4.2 Degree and Cause of Achievement and Nonachievement of Goals

What happens to me is my own doing and I reach my goals.	39.3%
What happens to me is my own doing but I do not reach most of my goals.	29.5
I do not feel that I have enough control over my life but it is not the kibbutz that interferes.	31.9
I do not feel that I have enough control over my life and it is often the fault of the kibbutz.	3.0
Valid cases: 135. Missing cases: 23.	

The members of Vatik generally seemed to be involved in community life and did not suffer loss of personal goals specifically because of it.

Communal democracy does not make leadership obsolete. Direct democracy requires a reserve of potential cadres for a wide range of duties with the personal qualities and the experience necessary to carry them out. This reserve, as Rosner notes, is larger when functions are less specialized and when the knowledge needed to carry them out is less specific. In Vatik most duties used to be interchangeable and easily learned; many jobs now require vocational or university training. Because of the safety valves that prevent the monopolization of skill by a group—especially the right to education and training and the principle of rotation, which avoid pockets of elite leadership—this personnel reserve expands rather than declines.

One indication of this reserve in Vatik is the percentage of members who reported political involvement in the last ten years. This is an approximate criterion because members frequently alternated periods of involvement and noninvolvement so the participation index of a member could not be judged on one or two years. On the other hand, other members tended to forget their involvements, so we had good reason to believe that underreporting had to be figured into these results. However, we report the results as tabulated without any adjustments. For participation in the past ten years by percentage of total membership, 34 percent report having been in committees; 15 percent report having been on the executive committee or secretariat; 15 percent report having been branch coordinators; and 22 percent say they have been committee coordinators. These percentages certainly indicate a broad amount of

political involvement. Holders of main administrative positions did not often repeat their political role. Thus, from our population sample of 158 members in forty years, 10 percent served as work coordinator; only one person had the job twice. Given these figures (while we take into account nonreporting of additional roles), and given a two-year term for this office, Vatik had a new work coordinator every two years except during eight of the past forty years.

Three percent reported having been farm manager; one person had the job twice. It did not rotate in nine out of forty years. No member repeated this job twice in the past twelve years. Although farm manager had the highest rate of repetition from these figures at the time of this study, the community planned to have a new person in this role every three years and constantly had two members in training courses. This has been facilitated by the fact that the kibbutz movement maintains a central school for farm and branch managers, The Ruppin College of Agriculture and Industry.

Ten percent had been *mazkir* or social secretary; three members reported having the job twice. The office has a two-year term, which means that for thirty-four out of forty years a new person was social secretary every two years. Only three percent (or six individuals) reported holding the position of treasurer. In Vatik, this is a fairly powerless job of complicated accounting that is not frequently rotated.

Thus, despite interviewees' complaints that Vatik lacked a lot of competent leaders, many members had functioned in positions that were rotated substantially in the past. It is increasingly clear that this complaint refers mainly to the perceived lack of aggressive members who could push forward a more profitable and capital-intensive industrialization in the community.

In Vatik today, all economic branches are coordinated by a member of the second generation (middle-aged). Older members decided that they had worked hard in building the kibbutz, and the turnover of roles should take place while the senior members were still capable of coordinating the branches. Younger members coordinate many of the committees, although more experienced older members coordinate the economic committee and the committee on inequality. In this regard Vatik is not different from other kibbutzim in the movement. Rotation must be planned for. The spread of higher education is increasing the reserve of young political cadres. During this study, several members were capable of

coordinating the metal factory and the plastic factory, and a few engineers were in training to deal with the coordinator of new industry. The branch committee coordinators were rotated every year or two on schedule, and there was comparable rotation of committee members and chairpersons. All appointments are voted on by the general assembly after substantial research has been conducted by a nominating committee. This condition for democracy seems to be intact.

Closely related to this capacity for rotation is Rosner's fifth condition of direct democracy: equality in living conditions of the officials and the members of the society, such that privileges do not exist that make it advantageous to hold offices for long periods. Rosner postulates a relation between the equality of members and the changeover of officials: if officials are not especially rewarded they will not want to guard their positions. This criterion for direct democracy is also intact in Vatik. Any slight inequality here is to the disadvantage of the administrators, who work longer hours, get interrupted more often at home, have upsetting confrontations, and get blamed by some members no matter what they do. If rotation and a diffuse arrangement of political responsibility did not exist, economic power might easily gravitate to a particular community group. Structural characteristics like this that prevent such circumstances are important in quality-of-life considerations. With the increasing complexity of kibbutz culture it has become more complicated for people to live a common life. Social status differences do exist, coordinators have real day-to-day executive responsibilities, and there are hierarchies. The kibbutz tries to structure the system so that the general assembly is the source of this power; the consequences of power and status inequalities are blurred by rotation, economic equality, and criticism; and there are frequent general assembly, branch, and committee meetings that make decisions and carefully define the delegated authority of individuals.

Of the conditions Rosner lists, only the members' awareness of their connection to the essential nature of activities in their community seems to be weak. A sense of participation (not participation itself) seems to be the political problem of Vatik. This is a matter more of culture than political structure. A trade-off has occurred. Homogeneity, group unity, collective ideology, control of individual choice, and expression were traded to achieve a flexible social arrangement, capable of adapting to human diversity and encouraging everyone's participation. The political structure runs smoothly without police, courts, and legal fights over contracts.

Goods and services are distributed according to set contracts, but the contracts are the same for everybody and do not change according to human diversity (except for extenuating circumstances like poor health).

Thus, it would be naive to say that there is far less social cohesiveness and fewer egalitarian arrangements in Vatik. Nothing is further from the truth: there is less unity, less agreement, and less uniformity. Certainly in communal groups based on strong religious and social consensus, the intimate familylike communal experience is also the stuff of which group joy is built (Zablocki 1971). But this was never the goal of the kibbutz. The goal of the kibbutz was to create the least coercive conditions that find a middle road between concern for basic human rights and respect for human diversity and fundamental social, political, and economic obligations. Few social statistics measure indications of this middle road. The kibbutz is actually a community school. Yet, how many people really learn, and to what extent? Vatik alters the conditions for and the possible consequences of stratification, but is stratification eliminated? Our attempt to analyze whether particular groups in Vatik had significantly more satisfaction and participation has elicited few differences, except in terms of sex roles. (See the preface for a more extensive analysis of power, prestige, and opinion as they vary among demographic groups.)

Leadership and Differentiation

Rosenfeld (1951), Auerbach (1953), Schwartz (1955), Etzioni (1958), Tal-mon-Garber (1972), and Rosner (1983) have essentially come to similar conclusions: The kibbutz has developed more functional differences among its members regarding influence, but these differences are not rewarded, encouraged, or created by material rewards (payment for services, better housing, better standard of living). Differences in the kibbutz are real according to age, sex, family status, state of health, and seniority. Regarding leadership, however, social prestige is primary in determining differentiation. One indication that this is the case in Vatik is that members who have a stronger sense of political participation in the village did not report greater satisfaction in their lives, greater work satisfaction, or better mental health, but generally the more visible, involved members tended to feel they were accorded greater respect.

Persons do differ significantly on their Actual Index of the Present Sense of Political Participation when it is related to both general life satisfaction (p= .002, correlation -.20) and work satisfaction (p= .009, correlation -.26), but the correlations were very weak. And persons did not differ significantly when their Historical Index of Political Participation throughout the Years was related to work satisfaction and personal satisfaction. High scores on either index have no correlation to better mental health (Composite Mental Health Index), increased social support (Social Support Index), or more communitarian economic attitudes (Economic Index).

Still, this does not mean that no differences in social prestige exist. Prestige is a combination of a member's skill (which may be related to age and experience); past achievements or previous reputation as a leader; efficiency in working on past projects; whether the member is personally liked and respected; and the member's current participation in managerial positions, committee roles, or less clearly defined social roles, such as the "cultural leader" defined by Etzioni (1958). Rosner (1965) and Talmon-Garber (1972), both of whom conducted research that is probably more reliable because of the number of communities they studied, found that kibbutz society cannot be divided into social strata by virtue of the functions performed. True, strata of social prestige can more or less be made explicit, but age, family status, country of origin, or community friendship cliques do not predict such differences well. When the amount of political participation found in our research is cross-tabulated with varying types of human diversity (except sex, which will be dealt with in the section on personality), such strata do not emerge.

The kibbutz is not mainly competitive; the society is primarily a fellowship-oriented society and all groups overlap significantly. Presumably, one can posit that the close community structure, economic equality, direct democracy, and the absence of wage differentials work together to discourage the formation of elite groups. Of the several central mechanisms that reduce stratification, foremost is the collective system of reward. Members are nominated to public offices, not elected; thus "influence campaigns" seldom occur. Power in such offices and committee posts is coordinating and executive, not definitive. People persuade, relate, and direct. The general assembly, however, defines, decides, and sets the limits and policy for officials. Officials receive power from the community, not from the people who held power previously.

Based on an overall evaluation of Vatik, the following layers of political participation can be described. First are the informal leaders, members who find themselves speaking for the people. Sometimes they hold offices, sometimes they do not, but their influence continues and their desire to formulate trends in the community exists quite independently of offices. Second are those members who constantly fill public positions in the kibbutz; they occasionally participate in several minor or major roles and show moderate to high participation in the general assembly. But about a third of the membership outdistances this kind of participation. They have been consistent officeholders and also identify themselves as having high participation in general political institutions. Both of these groups together constitute 27.7 percent of Vatik members.

Third are members who participate to some extent in the general assembly and identify themselves as having some or no actual influence; they are average members in kibbutz terms. Members of Vatik described the moderate participant as a good worker, a member who discusses kibbutz affairs but does not seek a high degree of involvement. This group has participation without influence, if influence is defined as organizational ability, involvement, and being a spokesperson; its members make up 37.5 percent of Vatik members. A member of this group who went to some general assembly meetings, sat on some committees, and was very talkative and active in the dining room, described herself:

> I do not have any influence at all. Personally, I just do not have any. The fact that I my raise my hand and vote in a certain way in meetings, that does not mean that I have influence. You see, if you are not really involved in the decisions that you have not [personally] worked for, then I do not think you can influence anyone. You see, I do not think of myself as being such a strong person that I could go and organize something about the kibbutz … maybe there will be something.

The fourth group can be divided into two types: the occasional participants and what are called in Hebrew the *schulaaim.* Occasional participants get involved in decision making depending on the situation. This could be a request by the nominating committee that the member is ashamed to refuse, or a specific interest in a particular issue. Idit (the young woman quoted above), for example, was interested in photography. She wrote several articles and spoke at several meetings about issues of inequality regarding camera equipment. Talia, a middle-aged woman, gave more detail:

Look, it depends very much on the person. If someone wants to influence a decision, so he or she can go to a committee…for example, because I am on the counseling committee, I know that I have influence on all of the social problems and decisions…if I am on the work committee, I have influence on matters related to work. I would not say that I have an influence on any specific aspect all the time.

In general, in the kibbutz if something bothers you enough, and you care about it, you can go to various committees and try to influence them. Someone who believes in the kibbutz and has the energy and wants to change something, can simply do it. And that is what I like about the kibbutz. If I were living in the city I do not think that I could influence the ideas of the mayor, but on the kibbutz, yes. And I think that it is good for a person to feel he [or she] is *capable of* influence and change. [Emphasis added]

The last layer of political participation can be called "those on the fringes" (*schulaaim*). These members do not even get involved in public issues concerning them. Their greatest involvement will be to settle a matter of personal concern with a committee. Approximately 10 to 15 percent of the membership probably falls into this category, characterized by infrequent participation at meetings, having held one or two roles during their whole tenure of membership, and a low sense of participation in the community. Occasional participants and *schulaaim* comprise 34.8 percent of Vatik members.

Patterns of Public Participation

Patterns in leadership do not present the whole picture. What are the actual patterns of public participation? The general assembly reflects the kibbutz character well: it emphasizes airing issues, free-flowing discussion on principles, and specific action on detailed proposals. The weekly meeting serves the function of communication of the main issues in the community (though it is not the singlemost or main conduit by far).

The results of reported attendance appear to support the interpretation of the Index of Political Participation: 33.8 percent report attending every meeting; 37.2 percent attend sometimes; 11 percent seldom attend; and 17.9 percent report never attending (valid cases: 145; missing cases: 13; mean: 2.083). Although close to 30 percent seldom or never attended these meetings, the results are misleading for two reasons: first, random observation showed an

attendance rate of about 20 to 30 percent. Thus, many members who said they participated in all or some meetings were actually switching off with one another. In other words, attendance remained the same, but the people attending changed. Second, because of the diffuse character of all formal and nonformal participation, these data do not justify the conclusion that direct democracy is not functioning in Vatik. Our interpretation is that the function of the general assembly is transformed in a multigenerational, large, more ideologically diverse community.

Examining the reasons for participation and nonparticipation in the assembly will provide an explanation of what conclusions are justified (see tables 4.3 and 4.4).

Members participated mostly out of obligation and a desire to influence decisions, not because they enjoyed the meeting or thought it solved problems. Actually, because of the diffuse character of decision making, the perception that the general assembly meeting did not solve problems is accurate. Possibly the social forces of the intimate commune that once made meetings of the assembly cultural events and sessions in ideological education account for its fall in popularity.

TABLE 4.3 Reasons for General Assembly Attendance

Participation is an obligation of members	63%
Desire to influence decisions	57
Meeting is interesting	38
Meeting solves problems	8
Enjoy meeting	0
Valid cases: 105. Missing cases: 53.	

Note

Percentages express number of all who answered who chose that reason in their group of reasons.

TABLE 4.4 Reasons for No General Assembly Attendance

Participation is not an obligation	5%
Sense of member that she/he lacks influence	11
Meeting is boring	34
Meeting does not solve kibbutz problems	48
Meeting is not personally enjoyable because of tensions	8
Other	11

Valid cases: 35. Missing cases: 123.

Note: Percentages express number of all who answered who chose that reason in their group of reasons. No ranking was used.

Note

Percentages express number of all who answered who chose that reason in their group of reasons. No ranking was used.

Members who did not participate—in line with the above interpretation—did not see that the assembly solved problems.

A large percentage of them were bored, but a sense that one had no influence or that participation was not an obligation did not exist. This strengthens the interpretation that a participatory ethic in Vatik continued to provide concrete opportunities for different kinds of members. Nevertheless, we still have not pierced the core of the group of members who simply did not care to participate.

Participation in the general assembly declined considerably when the kibbutz changed from a small commune into a collective village. Cohen's analysis of political participation in a group of different kibbutzim (with different constitutions) sheds important light on this point (1968). In Vatik, the changes in the conditions for direct democracy suggested by Rosner (1965) have taken their toll. The number participating in the assembly increases if an important decision is on the agenda. Routine meetings involving university study, general community announcements, and voting on uncontroversial codes attracted about 25 percent of the membership. When issues were the stand on national politics, the right of younger returning members to use their army pay for their year abroad, or decisions about the standard of living or the education of the children, attendance rose sharply. This agrees with the research of Peres (1962). Although participation declined generally, the drop

does not necessarily represent a surrender of responsibility. Rather, many members did not consider it important to be present at every point in the political matrix. The fluctuation in attendance depending on the substantiveness of the issue suggests that members were more likely to delegate decision making to the diffuse system of committees. Recently some kibbutzim have experimented with novel organizational approaches to increase the effectiveness of the assembly and redesign the political matrix. The democratic structure is intact. Work on process is required.

Democracy and Culture

The political reality of the kibbutz raises the question of democracy's relationship to culture. While direct democracy has changed perceptibly in the kibbutz organization, it is still a reality. The collective, integrated, and fellowship-oriented nature of kibbutz life makes the cooperation and consultation of all members a necessity if the community is to be a success. Our extensive interviews at Vatik suggest a strong common identification among all kinds of members with the norms of the community: the individual-community dialectic, work, cooperative living, participatory democracy, and national service. Although the discussions were not shrouded in the ideological (and often socialist) language of the second generation's parents, the second generation clearly espoused these concerns as its own. These findings were confirmed for the whole kibbutz movement in a large survey conducted by Rosner et al. (1985, forthcoming) in the early 1970s.

We interviewed fifty members representing different ages, sexes, and levels of participation and prestige in the community. One impressive trend in these interviews was the tendency for all members—even the most peripheral and isolated—to view their lives as crisscrossed with mutual responsibilities, and to appeal to kibbutz norms and values in analyzing their personal problems or community issues. This is not to say that there are groups of members who are not alienated from decision making. Zalman's discussion of children's toys and bicycles illustrates this:

> Interviewer: You said that years ago there were no bicycles here? How is that handled today? In other words, what is the limit nowadays between what I am allowed to do and what is considered good for the kibbutz?

Zalman: Do you confuse the situation! It [having bicycles] was not bad then and it is not bad now. When I am speaking about values, it is not the materialistic aspect which matters, but the social aspect. It is quite evident that no kid had a bicycle then, but that was the result of a low standard of living. Of course, the question of the price of an object was not the main issue, although who could afford even fifty pounds for his child then? Maybe you could have afforded half a pound or a pound. You would buy a toy and that was a big affair, and as a matter of fact people bought toys, but imagine what would have happened if someone suddenly appeared with a bicycle!! First, the attitude of our collective education was different, so its object was to give the property of the whole group of children, and a schedule would soon have to be defined: I can ride from two o'clock to two-thirty and you from two-thirty to three and so on …. The children then would never agree that a bicycle belonged to one person. What … yours? This has changed with the standard of living and that means other problems. People think that the poor have a headache because they have nothing to eat, but a rich man also frequently does not sleep at night! I think we worked very hard. We invested all our power and energy in improvements. We wanted to produce more. By the same token, our living standard goes up and there are no more problems about bicycles: every child now has his own. The question now is how do you go along with it. Now you have another problem underlying all questions and developments. That is the problem of equality and that's a function of ideological values.

Every kibbutz member—to an extent—serves as a social and political philosopher attempting to defend and speculate about the village. The kibbutz is structured to encourage such thinking because the sharing of common social developments and identifications is matched with a decentralized, fellowship-oriented political community that allows each member to share power in determining the direction of such developments and the importance of such identifications. Without the cooperative small-community life of the kibbutz, the freedom of choice, the possibility of representation, the discussion of issues, and common agreement would occur in a vacuum. Democracy would then be isolated, burdensome, mechanical, and to an extent devoid of meaning. Because of this the future of kibbutz culture is where the worth of its democratic structure resides.

Cultural Life

Life is not all work and ideology. After work, members do not go to the city or to neighboring villages for entertainment or friendship. The kibbutz, not just a base or a home, is a world, and from the beginning its founders believed it must have a wide variety of cultural activities.

Kibbutz members, intensely concerned about new ideas, new books, new political developments, are considered among the most culturally inclined of all the Israeli population. The absence of excessive pressures of materialism gives members time for hobbies such as pottery, carving, painting, music, reading, research, or photography. Conversation—the exchange of ideas—goes on throughout the day, especially at coffee breaks, meals, and afternoon tea. The afternoon tea is a cultural institution of special importance. Food is shared, feelings explained, letters read, children played with, newcomers entertained and to some extent socialized, and current issues in the community, the country, or the family are discussed. There is also ample time for meals; members do not only eat and run.

During a usual week in Vatik almost all residents attend movies once or twice. During the summer, everyone brings folding chairs and snacks, and watches films on a large lawn outside of the common dining hall. The cultural committee invites lecturers on various intellectual or political subjects almost every week. Each group of regional kibbutzim cooperates to bring in orchestras, dance companies, and other groups; often Vatik's large, modern auditorium is the setting for such affairs. Members from different kibbutzim with common interests participate in *chugim*, or study circles, during the winter. Each kibbutz has several *chugim* organized by its own members to study philosophy, to listen to and study music, and so on. These groups are now sometimes connected with outreach community college centers where, after hours in their own locality and in a kibbutz setting, members can work on degrees. Often groups present a series of skits (during this study, one involved the creation of a living newspaper making fun of different things the community took seriously). Transcendental meditation and yoga courses are offered. There are music, art, and dark rooms, and a discotheque open every night, especially for the younger members. Older members use the coffee house and reading room.

Some events are celebrations of skill, of achievement, and of the community. The community basketball team draws big crowds during the summer when it plays teams from neighboring towns and kibbutzim in its league. Informal games of basketball, football, and soccer are organized within the community, and recently an informal Softball league was organized with some neighboring kibbutzim. Sporting events increasingly involve kibbutz members and their neighbors in the towns.

The many Jewish festivals are joyously celebrated, devoid of their religious significance (but not their Jewish cultural and historical significance). They emphasize the themes of the harvest, nature, and kibbutz values. Much preparation goes into such celebrations: special food, new clothes, decorations, dances, group singing, and other programs. These festivals serve to integrate Jewish cultural values with the kibbutz value of community. One Jewish custom is the weekly celebration of the Sabbath. On Friday evening, the members dress up and eat together in the large dining room, which is formally set for the occasion. At this time, the spirit of the community actually changes: people are more at ease; they seem friendlier. Because there is no need to rise the next day, which is not a workday, some activity usually occurs afterward. On Saturday, time is devoted to reading, resting, receiving visitors (many times from family outside the kibbutz), and spending extra hours with one's children. While the traditional Sabbath usually ended with a religious service, in the kibbutz the weekly general assembly meeting is held.

Another kibbutz celebration is the day of remembrance. The whole kibbutz marks the death of its members by gathering to remember each person in a personal way. Often the person was an older member known intimately by all for many years. His or her life is talked about in a matter-of-fact way. There is no attempt to make the person seem better than he or she was, but attention is given to his or her uniqueness. Usually a small book is printed with the person's writings, life history, and pictures. The individual's foibles or characteristics are talked about appreciatively and with understanding, and his or her personal contribution to the kibbutz is described. With the death of a young son in military action, one views a deeply shared sadness and loss.

Weddings and births are celebrated in differing ways. In the smaller community we studied earlier, the whole community attended such celebrations; in Vatik they now tend to be family affairs with special planned hours for community participation. This

decision is due to the increased size and cost of such celebrations, their greater frequency, and the general trend of familization in the kibbutz. Some large kibbutzim, unlike Vatik, still have large community affairs for such events.

Thus, identification of kibbutz members with one another extends far beyond the collective structure of their lives and community norms. Bien (1973) documents the preference of the kibbutz member over the average Israeli for community-oriented activities. He compared preferences of members and Israeli citizens over a wide range of activities and found kibbutz members favored more family, collective, and intellectual forms of recreation.

Television is a counterforce for this view of kibbutz culture. In Vatik the general assembly decided in 1973 that every apartment would have a set in two years. Private sets came gradually, first as a result of inequality, then as a result of members' scrambling to get one as quickly as they could. Everyone who did not have a set got one out of the community budget. All this occurred with little or no collective debate about the meaning of television for kibbutz culture, and it indicates the often blind absorption of outside trends in Vatik. Gurevitch and Loevy emphasized an inherent contradiction between the social collectivism of the kibbutz and the diffusion of television as a cultural innovation. They saw the rising number of private sets in kibbutzim as just one symbol of the threat cultural disintegration poses to democracy:

> Television will cause the atomization of society by increasing the tendency to gather in private rooms into which it has infiltrated. Following this gathering, interest will wane in … fulfilling the social functions which are the main foundations of democratic life. One fears the increasing passivity among the kibbutz community which will prefer—like the entire Israeli community —to enjoy a television program instead of making an effort at independent cultural creativity, which has prime educational, social, and cultural value. [1973:182-83]

Communities are just now beginning to recognize that passive culture may help to destroy the democratic conditions of kibbutz life. While familization and the collective village (versus the radical communal) trend have given kibbutz life more extensive, more stable, and more flexible communal structures, the resultant economic progress and diversity this trend has allowed threaten the foundations of the kibbutz itself. In our study, many members said they felt it was neither possible nor desirable to return to the earlier

organic and spontaneous culture with avid group singing and dancing and freer sexual mores, yet they mentioned that there were not enough innovative cultural activities in the community. Nevertheless, even in the area of television, Vatik (like other kibbutzim) is coopting the medium and broadcasting community magazines, kibbutz movement news, and other self-generated video presentations. There has even been talk of a network connecting all kibbutzim.

Sense of Participation: A Political-Cultural Issue

With information on the state of culture in Vatik, the sense of participation (versus the type of participation) can be further explored. Members were asked to evaluate their influence with regard to making decisions in the public life of the kibbutz (question 36) and in areas relating to their personal matters (question 35); their answers are tabulated in table 4.5.

The bottom 20 to 30 percent of Kibbutz Vatik's membership indicated little political potency. The membership seemed able to feel more influential on personal matters. A problem clearly exists regarding public participation in Vatik. It is not serious because the basic conditions of direct democracy are intact, the spread of leadership fairly wide, and the degree of participation diffuse. It is worrisome because the low degree and low sense of participation among such a large part of the population indicate areas of weak identification. The membership complained, at times bitterly, about the lack of cultural activities and of a vibrant cultural sense in the village. Most members considered the relationships among the membership as the single most important criterion for a high quality of life, yet the maintenance of a rich cultural life, which is the expression of such a sense of relationship, was treated as an unimportant criterion. Kibbutz Vatik seems somewhat puzzled over the competing trade-offs of its social structure. On one hand the members saw that the passing of the smaller, collective community brought great advantages. On the other hand, they did not perceive the connection between a sense of political participation and providing an ongoing sense of cultural development.

These considerations suggest a problem that is circular. A strong creative culture is needed to provide the depth of involvement from which common identification springs, and direct democracy is

experienced as community versus mechanical participation. However, kibbutz members need to confront their society's problems through participatory democratic meetings that will allow them to shape that very culture. (Arian 1966)

Abiding common identifications must arise from deeply shared concerns. The cultural shape of the democratic problem of the kibbutzim means that working every day, showing successful economic cooperation, and having a democratic collective village (in structure) is not enough to insure the kibbutz's survival. To abide by general norms is not enough. Common concerns require concrete and deeply felt form (ideology), and methods of learning and development to insure their continuity. Searching out the advantages and crises of collective education possibly will put one or more of these factors in greater perspective.

TABLE 4.5 Sense of Political Participation

Influence in Kibbutz Matters	Influence in Personal Matters		
Very Much	.8%	Very Much	14.2%
Much or Somewhat	63.2	Much or Somewhat	66.9
Little	21.6	Little	12.6
None at all	14.4	None at all	6.3
Valid cases: 125. Missing cases: 33. Mean: 3.4		Valid cases: 127. Missing cases: 31. Mean: 2.6	

Notes

The appendix explains the construction of the Political Participation Index. The division of the population into three groups is made by decision. The descriptive categories approximate a good definition of the range of members' participation that our statistics illustrate. The important point here is to define the nature of the diversity in participation and attempt to understand and categorize it. The author used both empirical data on political participation that defines actual behavior and anthropological data on prestige groups that suggest how these facts may be interpreted. Alternate forms of interpretation are conceivable.

5
Education in the Kibbutz: Creating the Communal Environment for Further Generations

This chapter will discuss the collective educational system that is only a part of the broader kibbutz learning environment. The fact that the second generation has begun to assume management of Kibbutz Vatik will be established. Then, four aspects of education will be explained: the wider meaning of learning in the kibbutz; the similarity between educational and socioeconomic principles; the actual structure of childrearing (for the younger ages), "schooling" (in the kibbutz high school), and problems in each of these educational spheres; and finally, a review of research findings on the consequences of this system. In its treatment of Kibbutz Vatik's educational system, this chapter will rely on a general description, and will present only original research regarding the attitudes of adults toward this program, and an evaluation of the major defects unique to Vatik (based on participant observation).

Initial Remarks

The kibbutz is a voluntary society that hopes to change behavior by encouraging the value of cooperative experience. The description of various areas of the village's life illustrates the seriousness, the extensiveness, and the intensity of this learning process. In considering education in the kibbutz, we emphasize that learning about the common concerns of kibbutz life is an important aspect of the life of each member. Ideology is not simply a matter of repeating radical statements made forty years ago. The values that have been described (the individual-community dialectic, work, economic cooperation, political participation within the original Zionist and pioneering context of the early founders) are associated with practical kibbutz ideology. The early forms of this ideology and how it differed among individual members were considered in the discussion of Zionism and the early countercultural motivations of

the original kibbutzniks. But the kibbutz has consistently changed itself over the years in a dynamic process that has sought to revise each of these values in terms of changing conditions and the evolution of the society. After all, the community is not controlled by some external force such as a government or a religious system. In considering ideology and education kibbutz norms, we mean that in its development the community places important emphasis on its value system and its daily activities in coming to terms with the principles that should guide it. In other words, the process of "learning what we believe in" is central in kibbutz life. Vatik has had to transform this practical ideology into an educational structure created for the young.

Learning what it believes in ultimately affects the structure of the community's educational program. Making some kind of peace with what they believe in and the kind of life they want to live is the challenge of all members and every kibbutz institution. Especially for those of the second generation, it is central in their decision to remain and live their lives in the kibbutz, for membership is not automatic but must be requested. So far, we have compared the motivations and the ideological strength of the second generation and of the founding *hashlama* groups. Now, in treating ideology and education, we will focus on a description of the learning of children and youth; we will review research of the second generation and the educational program, with particular emphasis on the kibbutz high school; and we will present an overview of learning in the kibbutz.

Generally a review of education in the kibbutz should include the attitudes of the children and youth to many of the issues discussed in other parts of this work, but unfortunately we do not have the space to deal with that here. Rather, we will describe the educational approach of the kibbutz, and elucidate members' attitudes toward this approach. The description of the children's houses and lower grades is based on interviews with child care professionals and workers in Vatik. In addition, observation sessions conducted by the author in the houses of various age groups will be used. Also, the author taught part time for a month in the kibbutz high school and interviewed various members of the staff there.

To put the situation at Vatik in perspective with the rest of the movement, interviews were conducted with Menachem Rosner; another expert on the kibbutz second generation; the coordinator of Kibbutz Artzi Federation's education department; and with various staff members of the Kibbutz Educational School at Oranim. The regional kibbutz high school is the same school described in Melford

Spiro's *Children of the Kibbutz* (1965). The kibbutz, however, is not Spiro's Kiryat Yadidim, and his book, in presenting data on the students there in the 1960s, actually deals with students who are now the middle-aged members of Vatik. Finally, it must be pointed out that as a member of the Kibbutz Artzi Federation, Vatik's educational program differs from that of kibbutzim in the United Kibbutz Movement (or Takam) in two important ways. First, at this writing no kibbutzim of Kibbutz Artzi had eliminated the practice of children's sleeping in the children's houses rather than in their parents' homes. This is a common practice in Takam. Second, while most Takam and Artzi kibbutzim have regional high schools, only the Artzi students live in dormitories away from their kibbutz and their parents, even though the high schools are close to some cooperating kibbutzim. The Takam students all return to their own rooms in their family's home after classes.

The Second Generation

It would seem that with one very critical exception the collective moral ideology of the collective (kibbutz) settlers differs from that of the non-kibbutz settlers in Israel (the moshava or villages). The collective moral ideology includes a heightened sensitivity to injustice, cruelty, and to the sacredness of human life. It includes a more strict orientation to self-labor and a stronger de-emphasis of the nuclear family and religious worship. These aspects of the collective ethic were apparently successfully institutionalized in the kibbutz and forcefully transmitted and preserved in the value orientation of the second generation. In fact, it appears that in one aspect—that of national identity and societal responsibility—on which both types of original settlers felt existentially insufficient (or inauthentic [sic]), the kibbutz was able to implant deep roots in its second generation whereas in the moshav this trend was somewhat reversed.

These points argue strongly in favor of the success of the (kibbutz) system, at least insofar as its second generation is concerned (Passamanick and Rettig 1963:165-78).

The preceding passage is a summary of Passamanick and Rettig's findings after comparing the moral ideology of first- and second-generation members of kibbutzim and moshavim. As a community learning environment the kibbutz has succeeded in developing common concerns in its children.

One of the main criteria for the success of the kibbutz way of life is its ability to succeed in socializing its second generation and the ability of the second generation to enjoy kibbutz life and find its place there. Few precise data exist concerning this success, which we wish to assess and put in perspective before considering the youth educational system in the kibbutz. Rosner studied the status of the several thousand members of the second generation of the Kibbutz Artzi Federation which was founded after World War I (Rosner et al. 1986, forthcoming). Of all the second generation born in the communities, 16.1 percent left the kibbutz for good; 2.1 percent died, mostly in the wars; and 11.3 percent left for other kibbutzim, mostly because of marriage. Therefore, 70.5 percent of the 2,904 second-generation members born in the kibbutz still live there. In Vatik, according to research conducted by the Social Department of the Kibbutz Artzi Federation, under the supervision of Menachem Rosner in 1976, the number of departures, higher than the average, was around 40 pereent (Schlomo Rosen, personal communication). The average percentage of departures in the rest of the federation is now about 30 percent, and by 1984 it was widely considered to be about 50 percent for all movements except the Religious Kibbutz Movement. Because of the high birth rate, foreign immigration, and other Israelis joining the kibbutz, the massive departure of second-generation members has not led to a decrease in the general kibbutz population. In fact, the population continues to grow slowly each year. The success of kibbutz socialization is impressive when we consider how unsuccessful many Utopian communities have been in achieving continuity. When put in the context of the emigration that occurs from normal communities (whether cities or villages) in a time of increased mobility and diversity, the figure is even more meaningful.

The resolve of the members of the second generation who remain is allowing them to take over the economic, public, and social direction of the kibbutz. This is the case in Kibbutz Vatik, where an almost complete transfer of responsibility has taken place in the past ten years, and more than half of the adult population (not members of the founding generation or the *hashlama)* are below 50 years of age. The expectation was that this group would be less devoted to the kibbutz values than their elders, which is what the elders predicted in their interviews. All our attempts to see if differences of opinion on all the attitudes reported in this study can be predicted by generation have generally not been successful. We did, however, discover that the founding and the second generations differ in the influence of the pioneering ideology of socialism and Zionism on

their original motivation to join the kibbutz. The new generation grew up in a different historical period and this is the reason for their apparent lack of ideology. As far as the kibbutz itself is concerned, socialism means the kibbutz must work as a social form. Values are directed toward and nurtured by the kibbutz organization and its successes and failures. They are not based on a larger Marxist ideology or a national plan to make the Zionist endeavor totally socialist. Nevertheless, there are, as our data indicate (and a review of *Shdemot* illustrates), many second-generation members who are seriously committed to socialism, and who believe that the kibbutz should operate as a force for radical changes in Israeli society. The fact is that middle-aged members (the second generation) are no more unconcerned than their elders about the role of socialism in kibbutz ideology. Our interviews show a difference more in language than in concern. The following characterization of the "middle generation" by a male member of the older group is accurate in describing its motivation but untrue in interpreting its ideals vis-a-vis those of the older group today:

> What disappoints me is the lack of ideals in our life. Let me put it this way. In the later years, when the second generation started to become members of the kibbutz, their ideology was that the kibbutz was their home. It is not a way that they want to live because it is their theory that they want to build up a new society. They did not talk about a new society. They say, this is the way, I was born here, I like this place, the way of living here even, and therefore I want to live here. If you switch over to this approach there is no background of ideology, so today your home is good and you like it. Tomorrow you do not like it, you take your pack and go. And this is what happened. This is what is happening today.

The older generation defined a lack of ideals as not defending one's motivation in terms of Zionist socialist theory and movement lingo. The facts, however, are different. As we saw in chapter 2, there was a great deal of ideological diversity among the founders and *hashlama*, more than the myth of "one mind" is willing to allow. Today the elders are nearly as nonideo-logical as the middle-aged members of the second generation. The differences we pointed out between the age groups (tables 2.5 and 2.6, chapter 2) were not supportive of the assertion that the young have no ideology.

Preliminary analysis of the high school students of Vatik and surrounding kibbutzim show them to be more ideological than the older members, just as in interviews. They criticize violations of

equality among the older members bitterly. In fact, most of the outside workers who are criticized for bringing in inequality are members of the generation of the founders and *hashlama.* There are two dynamics at work here: first, the older generation clearly did not achieve Utopia; and second, in an attempt to make peace with its high expectation of bringing about a Utopia and a "new human being," it found it necessary and convenient to blame the middle-aged and the high school generations. On first examination the older generation's reasons are persuasive: the younger and middle generations live here because it is their home; therefore they have no ideology. It is the last phrase that does not follow. Indeed, our results suggest that while the middle-aged and the young are not socialist or Zionist ideologues, they are at home with communitarian society. Also, just as the older generation chose the kibbutz—and despite the fact that it did not have to come to Israel as pioneers out of persecution and a radical counterculture—the second generation did go through a process of screening. And some of them left just as some of the initial group of elders left. The elders—at least most of them—have failed to grasp the nature of the actual choice the new generation has made.

The second dynamic at work here is that the context for weeding and screening out human diversity has clearly changed in Vatik. As the study of kibbutz structure documents, the basis of membership today is more the middle road between individualism and community than the intimate commune (which denied individual diversity and personalized options, and specified a rigid group identity). The kibbutz, then, has changed, along with the generations. The elders spearheaded this change, and it is understandable that they have trouble perceiving its effects on new layers of membership. The second generation is guided by a strong concern to live in, take over, join, and nor-matively support the kibbutz as a cooperative community, but this is not cast in ideological terms, nor is it easily perceived by their elders for the reasons noted.

Rosner (1986, forthcoming) analyzed the differences in perspective and experiences between the first and second generations in a similar fashion. Spiro's study (1965) basically agreed with this conclusion. Thus, it is important to note that the number who stay or leave is not as crucial to this discussion as is the actual ideology and quality of life of the children who remain. Sarel (1959) pointed out that the second generation was caught in a dilemma: should its members accept the revolutionary values

transmitted to them and adopt the lifestyle of their parents, which would seem conservative, or should they revolt against those values and end up returning to the individualistic values against which their parents revolted? The question is often asked: How is it possible to inherit a revolution and not revolt against it? Sarel found that the second generation in the kibbutz took an intermediate position: it was not as radically communitarian as were the founders of the communal kibbutzim nor was it as open to more individualistic arrangements as the founders of the older kibbutz communities. His investigation was concerned with institutional spheres of consumption and family life and work. Rosner's definitive study of the second generation, however, found that while the newer members did not express the concerns in the same way as their parents, they did indeed have a kibbutz ideology. What is it in kibbutz education that might account for the evidence of generational continuity?

The Kibbutz Educational Program

Four aspects of learning in the kibbutz may account for this: (1) the wider meaning of learning in a society like the kibbutz; (2) the similarity between social and educational principles in the community; (3) the actual structure of schooling and childrearing in the kibbutz; and (4) the consequences of the kibbutz educational system. By developing these aspects we hope to illustrate the unique stand the kibbutz takes on creating a common ideology for the members of its society.

The Wider Meaning of Learning in Kibbutz Society

In Vatik, as in other kibbutzim, the economic sphere is not neatly separated from the sphere of social relations. Fellowship and cooperation mutually support each other. One does not make money with one crowd, make friends with another, and make decisions with still another. The community nature of the society means that most of its members are constantly interacting around developing the goals of the society. These interactions in the communal economy, in the political arena, in the family, and in the cultural life have resulted in many clear behavioral changes in the kibbutz when we compare the 270 communities with other societies. Because the kibbutz has

made a deliberate attempt to structure experience such that relatively permanent changes in behavior occur, it is a learning society. This is actually the definition of learning. The whole community can be considered a school of living, centering on the norms discussed above: the individual-community dialectic, work, economic cooperation, political participation, ideology, and national service. One can say that life in the kibbutz community prepares the individual as much for the school as vice versa.

The school is not loaded down with the burdens of providing magical solutions to survival, happiness, justice, fitting in, and finding worthwhile work. The community itself creates the appropriate conditions that instruct members how to increase the strength of their ability to succeed in community. Despite the obvious problems of Vatik, the cycle of life of the community is intelligible and predictable enough.

Without entering the argument of how learning occurs, we can identify several ways of changing behavior as a result of experience. Events can take place independent of the individual's behavior that are related or connected and come to influence quite permanently the hopes, fears, or attitudes of a person (association). A member can be rewarded for certain behavior or punished for other behavior (reward). A range of behaviors can be purposefully manipulated in practice to induce skills (acquisition of skill). Things can be repeated over and over again (repetition). The "world" can be organized in different ways that make sense, and these relations in the environment can effect a perceptual reorganization or restructuring of how one perceives and thus interacts with the world (gestalt). Every area of kibbutz life presents intentional arrangements that are oriented toward actively shaping behavior. Community-school lines cannot be rigidly drawn.

This attempt to define learning specifically helps one to see that the goals of learning in the kibbutz (community norms) can be taught in a series of different situations. For example, a kibbutz kindergarten teacher reads a half-hour story to the children about economic cooperation and the child will also see economic cooperation during daily life. Why should the parent's rewarding of a child for sharing toys be distinct from the cooperative behavior of the children's play group that is rewarded by the teacher-member? How does the knowledge that each Saturday night one's parents go to the general assembly meeting differ from the more direct emphasis the children's nurse puts on group consultation before decisions? In fact, it would be quite difficult to arrange educational

language and plan life in such a way that what happened in a school was called learning and what happened in other areas of life was not included in the construction of the educational program. Small-community life in Vatik avoids this difficulty and thus constitutes a total learning environment in which school and living develop a common set of real issues.

The education program of the kibbutz presumes that children are developing, have special needs, and require a certain amount of reserved attention and guidance. The free school or extreme deschooling approach is not accepted by the kibbutzim, which organize themselves quite seriously for the special developmental exigencies of children. Thus the structure of education demands more of children than simple communal participation. A review of the principles of educational organization will illustrate this.

Similarity Between Social and Educational Principles

Bertha Hazan, in *Collective Education in the Kibbutz*, wrote:

Collective education is a product of kibbutz society, which bases every aspect of its life on mutual aid and unlimited reciprocal responsibility, as well as on equality and sharing. Collective education has grown organically out of the social milieu. The relationship between the educational system and the social essence of the kibbutz and its aspirations has endowed collective education with its form and content. (Rabin and Hazan 1973:4)

A check on factors of kibbutz education considered most advantageous by the members of Vatik confirms this theoretical position (question 30; see table 5.1).

Members viewed the relationship among the children in a communal learning situation and the relationship between the children and the child care workers as most significant. Even in the interviews praise for the fellowship character of education took precedence.

Table 5.1 Factors Considered to be Major Advantages of Kibbutz Education

Childrens' society, education of children in groups	70%
Training of children's house staff	41
Training of the high school staff	18
Relationships between children and *metaplot* (children's nurses)	43
Early education of children	25
Relationship between parents and metaplot	23
Children without fears and worries	30
Seriousness of the high school students	9
Separation between children and parents	19
Other reasons	10

Valid cases: 116. Missing cases: 42.

Education is collective and communal. The children live together in small groups in children's houses. In the early days of the kibbutz this meant quite a separation of parents from the children. Those who had the first children were vehemently opposed to their own experience of childrearing, which they considered possessive, controlling, and oriented to individualist values. The kibbutzim later found that such extremism as limited visiting hours for parents and the priority breastfeeding by mothers of others' children before their own did not improve childrearing. It stifled the parent-child relationship and caused parents a great deal of unhappiness (Viteles 1966).

Dealings with children were not immune to the radical nature of the intimate commune. A mother from the *hashlama* recounted with some bitterness:

> Twenty years ago visiting hours for parents were strictly controlled. I have a daughter who tells me straight to my face that she does not want to live the way I lived, or to work as hard as I did. And I cannot tell her what to do. She wants the children to be with her and not in the children's house. [The daughter left the kibbutz.] She wants to educate them herself. And she wants to be able to see them whenever she wants. I think I understood her. I can give you an example. In the children's house when I put her to bed, the *me tape let* would have to run from house to house to be sure that all the parents had been there and put their kids to sleep. So if I would be the last one, she'd tell me to hurry up so the rest could get to bed, and I'd have to leave my daughter in a state of crying, and it was hard for her—and she did not know how to express it or get it out. And this kind of thing stays inside.

I can understand her decisions. I think the changes have been very good [in eliminating this kind of child-parent relationship]. It used to be that when a mother came to visit her child she would get a lecture about how she was disturbing everyone.

Today it is very different. The smallness of the village makes parents and children accessible to each other. The nurses in the children's house are chosen by the educational committee, which is heavily influenced by the parents' evaluations of each particular nurse or child care worker. Parents can visit the children during the workday, and often give special attention (that would be impossible anywhere else) to a child with particular physical or emotional problems. They consult with the child care worker at any time or with the parents of other children in their child's play group (Shepher 1969b). In addition, a resident child therapist and a member experienced in child care counseling are available for consultation. The children go to their parents' houses from 4:00 until 8:00 each evening, a time cherished in the community as time for children. Now, in Vatik, the children come to the communal evening meal in family groups. The communal child rearing system of today does not separate children from parents but rather safeguards child care and uninterrupted time for the parent and child.

There are strong sanctions (supported mostly by gossip) for parents who do not devote much of the children's time to their children. The individual-community dialectic informs this system: the kibbutz today seeks a balance between a diversity of child care patterns, parental relationships, and community sharing of child care responsibilities.

The parents' special relationship as central agents in their child's socialization is not allowed to take total control of a child's life. As one member at Vatik put it:

You cannot choose your parents and usually in society it is a result of accident. The kibbutz tries to recognize the family but provide a minimum set of healthy conditions for childhood, since we can choose the people suitable for education and we can make those conditions.

If a child has emotional problems or requires special attention, the child care worker takes the initiative to work with the parent. This total learning environment is a unity of the factors influencing children: parents, teachers, the children's own groups, and the social life. The school is run on the same principles as the rest of the community. It would be contradictory for parents living in a

cooperative community to pay tuition, child care, or counseling costs for their children; child care and education would then be stratified. Communal childrearing means that each child has an equal opportunity for the physical and emotional conditions and resources necessary for development. These resources are a right, not a privilege.

Consonant with this is the attitude of economic cooperation that imbues collective education. Learning opportunities and goals do not depend on the economic status of the parents (savings, wages, profession, training, managerial status, quality of work). Learning and economic power are not proportionally related. According to research conducted by the Tel Aviv University Psychology Department, the kibbutz is the one place in Israel where there is no statistical difference between the IQs of children born of parents from a European or U.S. background and those born of parents with an Asian or African background (Kerem 1973). In Israel's nonkibbutz sector there are clear differences in economic power between these two groups. The Jews from Asia, Africa (Arab countries) and the Middle East (Iran) complain rabidly of Israeli discrimination. (It should be noted that the kibbutzim were founded by Jews of East and Central European origin.) Economic equality is applied from birth through adulthood in providing opportunities for kibbutz children.

Education through communal work leads the children into the community, not away from it. As soon as they are able, children help clean the houses and do other chores in their own small groups. Older children begin with a short period of work each day. High school students have regular work responsibilities from two to three hours daily. In Vatik they participate in many different branches. Some students even drive the giant, mechanized, specially conditioned tractor, ploughing fields each day under the desert sun. This tractor is one of the largest machine investments of the community. Young children tour the farm and learn about different branches. They also maintain a small farm of their own, patterned after the kibbutz farm.

The children's society is unique to the Israeli kibbutz but children do not "go to it." The child does not confront an alien educational bureaucracy. Rather, he or she encounters other members who work in the educational branch who are also the child's neighbors, parents' friends, schoolmates, friends, and relatives. The term school is a misnomer, especially in reference to elementary school in the

kibbutz, for it may suggest principles and structures totally alien to this collective village.

Structure of the Children's Society Educational Program

Education in the kibbutz reflects social change. The early educational system was formed out of a desire to create a "new person" who would accept the values of a just society. Viteles (1966) outlines the source materials for this original concept of education by the early kibbutz members. In the beginning Degania Aleph (the first kibbutz) established collective child rearing and education as a utilitarian necessity so that more women could work. Only in the 1920s, around the time of the arrival of immigrants from the Soviet Union, did more ideological kibbutz members begin to root the communal learning system in a radically new social ideology. Rabin and Hazan (1973) present a detailed summary of these principles.

Two books have helped to form our main attitudes about kibbutz education. Spiro's classic empirical work, *Children of the Kibbutz* (1965), can be considered the basic text for attaining a realistic day-to-day picture of kibbutz education and child rearing, and an assessment of the "psychological price" it exacts. Unfortunately, many of its aspects are outdated. The book does not reflect changes in kibbutz education as a result of general liberalization in society; greater understanding of the place of the second generation in kibbutz society; the psychological consequences of kibbutz childrearing, about which we know much more; greater influence of Western culture on the kibbutz high school; the debate whether kibbutz education should be more practical or return to its roots.

Bettelheim's *The Children of the Dream* (1969), although well known, has distinct problems. Kibbutz educators have leveled serious criticism, especially at Bettelheim but also at Spiro, for their often harsh evaluations of the second generation. Both authors consider that the second generation paid a high price for its unique kind of learning by developing an inability to get involved in intimate relationships and by experiencing a certain flattening of affect (distance from emotions and deep feelings) in their personalities. Bettelheim is persistent in his claims, despite the fact that his findings—based on six weeks of short-term participant observation—were totally disproved by empirical research (Jay and Bimey 1973). None of the empirical psychological and psychiatric

research done by clinicians from outside Israel and by kibbutz members in the country supports Bettelheim's conclusion. It is unfortunate that many of the popular conclusions about kibbutz education are influenced by some of his unsubstantiated criticisms; however, *Children of the Dream* has introduced kibbutz education to the public.

It cannot be concluded from Spiro's (1965) view of the second-generation member's personality that kibbutz adolescents exhibit negative features more than do people from other socialization systems, nor should the psychoanalytical perspective lead one to believe that a social system eliminating all emotional conflict or tension might be devised. In later editions Spiro moderated some of his claims. Recently, Beit-Hallahmi and Rabin (1983) provided definitive testimony on the psychological adjustment of kibbutz children who are now adults.

The following summary of the daily structure of kibbutz education is presented in the context of two issues: first, that this alternative educational system should neither be overidealized nor presented in a way that does not give ideology and the quality of learning in kibbutz society as a whole sufficient emphasis; second, that one must not view some problems that may surface as being problems specific to kibbutz education.

The structure of child care and learning in the kibbutz has three goals: provide resources and conditions for the kind of development the kibbutz considers important; to watch development, providing special guidance and care for children's needs; and to adapt development to kibbutz society to achieve cultural integration.

Baby Houses and Younger Ages

In shaping development the kibbutz gives the very best of resources in creating the children's society (Rapaport 1958). Child care nurses for young children and teachers are trained in specially designed programs (Rabin and Hazan 1973). Each individual kibbutz gives priority to the children's budget, providing children with the very best care facilities. These conditions are scrutinized by the various branches of the Education Committee. Each kibbutz has infants' houses for children from birth to one-and-a-half with four to six children to a room, cared for by a nurse (*metapelet*). Children from one-and-a-half to 4 live in the toddlers' house, with toys, a play area, and other amenities geared to their physical development. The

children's group formed in the babies' house will continue as a unit until the beginning of high school. At the age of 3 to 4 several groups are combined to form a kindergarten group of fifteen to eighteen children that lives in its own house made up of bedrooms, a playroom, a dining room, and an outdoor playground with suitable equipment. Children approximately 8 to 12 years old form the junior children's community. It consists of four educational groups (third to sixth grade) of fifteen to twenty children, providing a wider choice of companions. Each group has a full-time educator and child care nurse (responsible for guidance in the children's home, personal care, and training). The young child's society is made up of fifty to sixty children (Abel and Diaz-Guerero 1961).

The community is finely attuned to the developmental exigencies of each child or age group. In early child care the nurse is specially trained in baby care and mother-infant relations. During the first six weeks after birth the kibbutz mother spends full time with the child.

The mothers breastfeed the children together in a relaxed atmosphere in the babies' house. During the first year the mother gradually begins to resume the normal work schedule (six hours for women, eight for men). The metapelet does not attempt to form an intimate bond with each child. She (at the time of this study, there were no known male *metaplot*, but in 1984 several were working in different kibbutzim) is considered a child care professional who assists the mother, and attempts to supervise and provide special assistance to the child's early development. Answering charges that kibbutz children suffered from emotional difficulties because of this pattern of child rearing, several researchers (Rabin 1958; Spiro 1958; Neubauer 1965) found that the term *hospitalism*, which describes a condition resulting from maternal deprivation, could not be applied to the kibbutz children.

In the toddlers' house, ideally, the *metapelet* who began working with the children continues to be their nurse. The nurse working with a small group can give extensive individual attention and guidance, creating a direct, loving relationship with each child. From infanthood on the children have an increased awareness of one another and the nurse gives special attention and guidance to the formation of these relationships. The *metapelet* is responsible for much of the training given to the children (toilet training, eating, dressing), and organizes daytime activities for the small group.

At the age of 3, several *metaplot* begin to merge their groups in preparation for kindergarten. The *metaplot* support the parent-child

relationship and try to avoid confusion or deprivation. Rabin and Hazan point out:

> One individual cannot possibly fulfill all these needs (of the child) adequately as every mother who has raised a child in the kibbutz will confirm. Greater success is assured when the mother and the permanent metapelet work together to create an environment that will afford the infant many forms of contact. [1973:25]

The child care program provides support for parents so that their relationship with their children is not in constant competition with the demands and tensions of a busy life but occurs in more relaxed, pleasurable encounters when the parents can give children great attention. The kibbutz hopes that by relieving some of this tension better mental health for children and better family life will both be possible. The kibbutz is to appear as a mediator in this conflict. Spiro (1965) and Bettelheim (1969) emphasized the relationship between this conception and a basic Freudian view of parent-child relations. This was supported in interviews with educational leaders in Vatik.

The parents visit the kindergarten at different times during the day; sometimes the children may visit their parents at work. Parents observe their child in group activities and share reactions with the kindergarten educator and the nurse. They participate in presentations of the group's art and help prepare for holidays and other occasions. In addition, individual and group therapy for children and parents are provided where needed.

A concern for providing ample affection and physical care is significant with infants; a concern for providing training and directing the instinctual drives of the children into positive activities is foremost in the toddler stage; and providing an increasing variety of activities, educational resources, chances to create new and different relationships, and individualization of instruction is most important throughout the elementary years.

In the junior children's community the emphasis is on the formation of the peer group, a common concern for children at this age. Children begin increasingly to care for one another's development with the guidance of the nurse and the educator. The nurse and educator try to guide the tendency for the group to consolidate its identity by encouraging the group to set positive goals, and they experiment with what "gang-leadership" patterns emerge in a variety of different settings requiring different abilities.

Group activities include preparation of plays, investigating branches of the farm, sports, camping trips, and gardening. The parents and educators encourage the children to create their own society; group meetings are held and a farm committee is elected to supervise work in the children's garden. Rabin and Hazan summarized the developmental priorities of this stage of the educational program:

> Kibbutz society is based on the free education of the individuals living within it. The children's community is a sphere in which they learn correct social behavior in the course of experiences while at the same time satisfying then-need for play, work, and enjoyment. It is not an organizational framework, but one of essence, in which the child molds his or her personality and learns to impose limitations on himself or herself and to respect the rights of others. Above all, the children's community assures the children a happy childhood. [1973:60]

Problems in Early Collective Education

Problems of the younger ages in Kibbutz Vatik are of three types: planning, staff-parent relations, and the special needs of certain children. The education committee must plan children's trips, work out budgets, make sure that new baby houses are constructed if new children are expected, plan ahead for adequate new staff (who must complete courses that take several years), and make the schedule for the present staff of nurses. Today, members are critical of what they perceive as a staff shortage. Many middle-aged women have chosen to study, and there is inordinate pressure on the remaining educational staff. This problem is particular to Vatik; the kibbutz did not plan for the sudden resurgence of professional goals among young and middle-aged women.

A middle-aged father commented on Vatik's staff-parent relations:

> In general I think that the educational system is good. You see how kibbutznikim come out—all healthy and strong. But there are some problems with the education because of the relationship of the adults. The *metapelet* or the teacher may not get along or there may be complications with the parents. Now there is a trend [referring to other kibbutz movements, like Takam] that the kids will be together all day, but will sleep at home at night. I feel that even with the system the way it is now, the parents influence their children most in the evenings and also on weekends when the children are with parents all day. In the city kids are influenced

greatly by their parents. Whatever mommy and daddy say, that's it. Here, it is different. Most of the time your child is in a different house, and it is greatly influenced by his or her *metapelet.* If she is stable and a good person then it is fine. But if the position is constantly being changed or filled by new people, then the children become wild. And I feel that parents have to have a bigger influence. They should be able to say that this is my child and I want him or her to be a certain way. The child does not belong to the *metapelet.* The child is mine. She works with the child, so that I can work, and so that I can be a little freer and that is it. Look, my older son has a *metapelet* who just came back from the army. She never studied anything. She's just a young kid herself and she has no background. In the city that would never happen. You need a license to be a teacher and to work with children. So what will happen, she'll find a boyfriend and maybe go to another kibbutz, so we will have to find someone else. Next week she is going on a trip so we will have to find someone else. All the time it is like that … always changing …. Here we are filling holes. So who suffers from this? My son. I am nervous about this trend. Another one's boyfriend is coming so she does not pay attention to the kids; another one is a little nuts… so it is hard. On the other hand, the kids are happy; they are with their friends and they always have someone to play with, and they have plenty of space to run around in. They are freer, and they do not have their parents banging down on them telling them to do this or that. So there are advantages and disadvantages.

This long excerpt illustrates a widespread feeling among Vatik's parents: "The system is good but we often do not run it well." Many members like this father have a fundamentally positive evaluation toward the system but begin to talk conservatively—taking more control over their children's education—because of repeated inefficiencies. Confrontations and arguments at times occur between parents and *metaplot* that exacerbate the problem.

A third problem with early childhood education at Vatik is dealing with the diversity of children and their special needs. A full-time psychologist, constant meetings and conferences, a counseling committee, and observations of visiting psychologists, psychiatrists, and senior kibbutz educators provide attention for children who are gifted, disabled, or disturbed. Several families participate in family therapy at child guidance centers run by the kibbutz movement. An elder educator at Vatik also has the role of informal helper to many kibbutz mothers and fathers and *metaplot*, and she often can be seen

conducting completely confidential family conferences. No criticism was made of this aspect of the educational program in our interviews.

To get an overview of the educational situation, we asked all the members in our sample to point out the problem areas of collective education (question 33, the numbers indicate the percentage of members who identified each problem area; see table 5.2).

In regard to the problems that relate only to younger children, it is obvious that the feelings of the kibbutz father quoted earlier were representative. The main concern was with staff training and parent-staff relationships, with a fourth of the sample concerned about parent-child separation. This confirms the assumption that only a minority were somewhat interested in reverting to noncollective sleeping arrangements (having children sleep in parents' apartments), and that this attitude may have stemmed from nonideological concerns tied more to inefficiency in collective education in Vatik than to challenging the system's principles.

TABLE 5.2 Problem Areas in Collective Education, Kibbutz Vatik

Children's society, education of the children in groups	8%
Training of the children's housestaff	33
Training of the high school staff	17
Relationships between children and metaplot	17
Early education of children	4
Relationships between parents and metaplot	44
Children with fears and worries	12
Seriousness of the high school students	36
Separation between children and parents	25
Other	28

Valid cases: 78. Missing cases: 80.

Note: An inordinate number of people did not answer this question. Many older members preferred not to discuss collective education because they said they were "out of it" and did not think about it much anymore.

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An inordinate number of people did not answer this question. Many older members preferred not to discuss collective education because they said they were "out of it" and did not think about it much anymore.

The educational program for the young is well integrated at Vatik and serves as an intelligible extension of the whole kibbutz learning environment. Many members have moderately serious questions, not about the principles of collective child rearing, but about specific planning and staff problems in Vatik.

The High School

From approximately the age of thirteen on the children in Vatik (and all children in Kibbutz Artzi) move to the youth society of the high school made up of 150 to 200 children. It is a society of educational groups (containing the original group of six and the elementary school groups that by now have set group identities).

Groups from individual kibbutzim—the same group of children one was with from infanthood—live and learn together, but all the groups cooperate in social and cultural activities. The high school is

located about a mile from the community, near another kibbutz. It is a regional high school whose budget and staff are cooperatively shared by several neighboring kibbutzim of the same movement. This distance enables the group to remain in the kibbutz movement yet outside their own kibbutz with a larger and more diverse group of persons (usually included are children from cities and villages, not kibbutzim). It also discourages, as Rabin and Hazan note, "premature imitation of adult life and safeguards the value of studies and youthful activity" (1973:23). The high school community is unlike the smaller children's houses that have much adult supervision and are located in the middle of the kibbutz. The high school community is actually a "little kibbutz" with its own common dining room, meeting rooms, work branches, and committees. The children live with one or more roommates in dormitory rooms scattered in one-story structures around the community dining room and study halls. The youth society has shops, hobby rooms, and music rooms for common use.

The older high school kibbutzniks live in rooms at their home kibbutz during the summer and on vacations, and use these as their "base" when they return home each afternoon to work in their community. The younger high school students must stay at their parents' houses when they visit during the day and during the summer they live in semiprivate quarters.

The first high school at Vatik was radically unstructured. Members made no excuses in explaining that the only education worth pursuing occurred as a result of the natural interest of the adolescents and the ability of the high school staff to command their respect. The project method, where a teacher worked with students to follow a certain theme in readings, group projects, and talks, evolved at this time. Today Vatik's high school has just about dropped the project method. A structured curriculum with many courses and specific disciplines is set, and preconceived choices by the student are required.

The emphasis on the group's importance in the development of young members continues, despite these structural changes. Adolescents in Vatik repeatedly mentioned that a few members in each group felt that they did not fit in, had low status, and were hurting because of this. It has not been determined if this problem is integral to kibbutz group socialization or to the peer group centrality in adolescent socialization everywhere; it was voiced as a hard criticism by both students and older members looking back on their education.

Another adolescent of Vatik criticizes the group about evaluation of diversity:

When one lives all one's life with the same people, and for seventeen or twenty or how many years you have seen that person, learning their strengths or weaknesses, their characteristics in a very basic way as a result of living so closely, one develops a rude or vulgar attitude. People have had it with one another. In this closed society, people stop caring, stop paying attention to one another. It is as if they figure that it would not make any difference to them if they acquired different habits of relating. You do not change your society, it is not like changing air [when you breathe], it is human. This is a problem here that people are bored and have had enough of each other. I think it is that way in every kibbutz.

This opinion points to a strain on high school society in the kibbutz: childhood is over. Adult life is approaching and this fellowship-oriented collective society does not seem to have removed the pains or the bitter social accounting of adolescence (Erikson 1950).

High school in the kibbutz is mainly a social experience. As mentioned, the youth society is even more like a minikibbutz than the little children's farm. It has its own organization and cultural activities but does not deal with its own budget, security, or curriculum. Planning social, cultural, and work activities is the responsibility of a youth general assembly meeting with the advice of adult representatives (Shepher 1977).

Each group has a counselor-educator who is the full-time adviser and educational coordinator and who directs the development of the group by intervening with various individuals, conducting weekly group discussions on personal and organizational problems, and mediating individual-group conflicts. The educator is carefully chosen by the educational committee and the parents. At this stage the group's *metapelet* provides the living quarters of the adolescents, cooperates with the educator, and works with the parents.

Kibbutz adolescents generally criticize the kibbutz community and consider actively its pros and cons. Because membership is not guaranteed, they may feel as though they are in a frustrating position. Developmentally, they need to give a lot of thought to becoming members, and for the long term many of them will find it to be the place where they will live. Three-and-a-half years in the army, repeated reserve duty, a year or two traveling abroad, and the

customary university study before the age of thirty give some second-generation members ample time for making a decision about membership. Kibbutz educator Chezi Dar, of Degania Aleph and Hebrew University, has expressed profound concern about this extended adolescence that keeps even committed young kibbutz members away from their kibbutz for so long (1983, personal communication).

Problems in the High School

The high school in the kibbutz is not only a high school. Kibbutz educators and the children themselves admit that this period is primarily social and developmental; that is a period of change, growth, and interaction with the unique communal environment. Four special problems of the kibbutz high school are: generational tension (and its relationship to the attitude of students to the community); authority; ideology; and outside educational norms.

There is definite tension between the elder members and the high school students, as 18-year-old Gideon notes:

> Socially I think this kibbutz is not good. This is because the relationships between the older kibbutzniks and the younger kibbutzniks are very bad. The attitude of the young person to the adult or older person is generally aggressive, impatient, occasionally sarcastic, or mocking. In addition, the older members also have occasionally impatient, not too comradely attitudes toward the youth. In day-to-day life when the interactions between members are frequent, the most typical example is the insulting relationship: impatience, not listening, or when people make fun of or relate to the weaknesses of others. Among the older people it is the weakness of growing old, for example with all of its characteristics. This appears in many places in kibbutz life, practically in every area of the life.

Surely there are close relationships between high schoolers and elder members: the ability to listen and to refrain from critical condemnation are the most valued characteristics younger students look for. Clearly, however, many younger members perceive that they need to explore alternatives to the kibbutz, and this may alarm the older members, who cannot guarantee that their education programs will keep children on the kibbutz. Gideon continued:

> The best example of this is that a lot of people when they finish the army, instead of coming right back to the kibbutz, go to the

city, go abroad, taking what is called a year's vacation, because they want to breathe new air, to see a new society. And it even begins in high school. They need to meet new people, not all the time the same funny faces.

The influence of Americanization is a real factor here. The United States represents the height of individualism and the boon of human diversity without community. In the last few years Vatik has allowed young members to go on one-year leaves of absence after the army service; otherwise the desire to explore life outside the kibbutz might have become a decision to leave permanently. Thus, the struggle between the individual and the community, a basic tension of kibbutz life, surfaces in the high school.[1]

Learning is possible only through intellectual interest and motivation. Spiro (1965) reported (on research conducted mainly in the 1950s) that classes were often disruptive and the teachers were unwilling or unable to use personal authority to bring order. The author's extensive observation of Vatik's high school confirmed these findings almost two decades later. Youngsters at Vatik reported that each teacher had a different evaluation with their group, and the teacher's ability to interest them and relate to them was a central dynamic in determining the nature of the particular class.

A related problem is that of authority. Spiro (1965) noted the primary issue for alternative schools: should the teachers exercise more authority in dealing with the youngsters to achieve educational goals, or is the appeal to conscience, to the responsibility of the group enough? Although Zvi Lavi, a former director for the Educational Department in the HaShomer HaTzair Federation of Kibbutzim recognized several prominent free-school experiments as influential in kibbutz educational practice (Rabin and Hazan 1973), Kibbutz Vatik is clearly not using a high school approach that favors spontaneous learning in unstructured situations with substantial control by the children.

There is an organized educational program and students are expected to participate in it, but because it is an organic part of the children's society it does not have the same quality of authoritarianism found in the modern high school in which one fails or succeeds. Rather, learning is a function of the person's interests and motivation, the goals set with the educator and teachers, and the ability of the educational staff to be responsive to the student's needs. Lacking educational enforcement structures (no expulsion, no marks, no ability to ruin the future work career), the kibbutz high

school cannot force its member-students to participate. Thus, "educational performance" is not a closely measured statistic. It depends more on life experience, personal goals, and development. Many a "poor high school student" in the kibbutzim has later become quite creative. The success correlation between high school and later life is not a forced issue (Ortar 1967).

Adolescents sense at Vatik that intellectual learning is a hit-or-miss phenomenon. When questioned about how they related to the intellectual (versus social) goals of the *mosad* (the high school), the responses were, "it depends on who the teacher is," "how interesting the material is," and "if I feel motivated." Some are motivated and most just go along with it. This presents a frustrating and ambiguous situation for students and teachers alike. There is not strong support for embracing a system of voluntary learning. On the other hand, the idea of introducing grades, tracking, and pressure (supported by some parents) runs counter to kibbutz educational philosophy. As one member said, "How can you throw a student out of a kibbutz school? It's impossible and ludicrous." In question 58 an attempt was made to gauge attitudes about this dilemma in Vatik (see table 5.3); respondents were asked to indicate which ideas they agreed with.

Most members answered question 58, but few made more than one choice; that may indicate some problem in choosing. A desire to give direction and example (choices 3,4) drew the strongest agreement. This has always been a traditional part of the educational ideology, but the community is both unclear and split on issues related to more or less freedom (choices 1, 2) and more or less structure (choices 5, 6). Vatik needs to clarify this situation. It is the author's opinion that in the kibbutz high school the issue of restriction versus encouragement of diversity is, in another guise, the tension between communal identification and individual freedom. Here we will either discover the real creativity of Kibbutz Vatik or find its fatal division.

Table 5.3 Education of High School Youth: Parental Attitudes

1. A youth needs to be free to make up his or her mind, to work for
   what he or she considers personally right.   28%
2. I really believe that education in the kibbutz shows the young the
   best society, in which many different people can find a place.   33
3. I am not yet convinced that kibbutz education can both encourage
   our children to think freely and at the same time educate them so
   they will want to live in this kibbutz.   31
4. Young people need direction and concern or they will get confused.
   Parents and teachers in the kibbutz must explain and show them
   and let them try to live our life.   70
5. Kibbutz education must become more strict and academic. If we
   have good students who can go to the university they will stay in
   the kibbutz.   13
6. Kibbutz education must become more like it was in the past: more
   freedom, for the children to learn through doing, to decide on
   their own what to study. We must resist packaged education.   32

Valid answers: 136. Missing answers: 22.

Another problem with kibbutz high school education is ideological education. At the time of Spiro's study (1965) in 1951-52, membership in the kibbutz political movement and attendance at weekly ideological meetings were compulsory for high school students. Adults taught the younger members about socialism and kibbutz ideology. Now ideological education occurs with an emphasis on Zionism and Israeli history but no attempt is made to recreate the young, vibrant movement that the original kibbutz founders tried to pass on to their children. Some senior members expressed deep resentment at the movement's passing, but this occurred in response to young kibbutz members' radically different formative experiences. Spiro spoke of this situation in the 1950s:

> The Movement in the Mosad is not successful. The students seem to be apathetic to its program and display only a perfunctory interest in its meetings. The Organizer attributes its lack of success to the absence in the Mosad of the usual motivations for participation in youth movement—camaraderie, group belong-ingness, social activities, the opportunity to meet people of the opposite sex— since these needs are already filled by other aspects of Mosad life. It has been his experience that a successful youth movement is based on rebellion against parents and the

latter's way of life; and in the kibbutz the movement is supported by the parents. [1958:303]

The same issue was central in this author's discussion with members twenty years later!

Many high school students in Vatik said that they liked or disliked the kibbutz for emotional and personal reasons:"It is my home," "All my friends are here," "I like the actual environment of the village," "Kibbutz life is less pressuring, more cooperative," were common responses. The educators, however, believed it was impossible to maintain attachment to the kibbutz solely on the basis of such motives, and that commitment had to stem also from ideological strength.

The challenge to kibbutz education now is to determine how early learning experiences can encourage common identification among the youth with important vital criteria on which to judge and build the social life of the kibbutz. Because the kibbutz is dynamic and changing, and because it must be continually shaped and reformed by members "learning what we believe in," this issue must be faced. The study of kibbutz life has been introduced in the kibbutz high school curriculum in an attempt to teach the concept of the kibbutz as "content."

Even more than the other sectors of the educational program, the kibbutz high school is affected by the educational norms of the outside world. The Israeli Ministry of Education made various demands for the standardization of the kibbutz curriculum with national norms, and in fact hinged the kibbutz's receipt of municipal education aid on this process. The desire on the part of the youngsters to go on to college has meant that they must be able to pass the national matriculation examination, a rigid requirement for university admission.

The emphasis on a formal achievement-orientation has raised cries that high school education in the kibbutz is losing its unique qualities. After the war of 1973, when high school students ran many communities while their fathers went to the army, some students asked why they needed high school when they proved they were able to take responsibility in the kibbutz. In fact, one prominent kibbutz sociologist (Joseph Shepher, personal communication) called kibbutz high schools "factories that prevent free thought and creativity" because of their increasingly prestructured nature. The issue is complex. However, high school is not the central structure for learning in the youth society, and the organic fit between school

and community still reduces the degree to which the kibbutz high school can become bureaucratized.

The author, who once taught in an inner-city alternative high school, recognized that these problems were not the fault of the kibbutz alone. Adolescence is universally recognized as a troublesome period, filled with questions, and no claims can be made that any particular structure totally alleviated the situation. In the end, kibbutz adolescents do develop considerably through their high school experience—which eliminates many stresses found in mass-society high schools—and eventually take over the operation of the society. They seem to exhibit less mental distress than children in the rest of the population, but this period of their lives is replete with other problems: most notably attempts to assess kibbutz life and their possible membership in the kibbutz. The results of this educational program need to be examined, for we cannot form a good judgment based on its functional problems alone.

Results of the Kibbutz Educational Program

The kibbutz educational program achieves many of its broad cultural goals. Data on the second generation, already presented, indicate their fairly responsible position in the kibbutz community. Because we lack specific data on Kibbutz Vatik, a general overview of psychological research on kibbutz children will be considered.

It is clear that kibbutz childhood is quite healthy. Rabin (1965) found that kibbutz children lagged somewhat behind nonkibbutz children in intellectual and ego development in the first two or three years of life; this was attributed to frustration because of the temporary absence of the mother. Nevertheless, he established that these difficulties were overcome after the first few years, so that kibbutz children at ten were as well developed intellectually as nonkibbutz children, or better developed. They showed greater emotional maturity, less sibling rivalry, less selfishness, and somewhat more anxiety and hostility toward their parents than nonkibbutz children. Seventeen-year-old kibbutz children functioned somewhat better intellectually and were as emotionally adjusted as their nonkibbutz counterparts. They had fewer conflict problems and less hostility toward their parents. Rabin found kibbutz young men to be strong in ego, less aggressive, and less rebellious toward society than their nonkibbutz counterparts. He discounted Spiro's (1958, 1965) hypothesis that maternal deprivation produced social

immaturity or that kibbutz adolescents were more hostile than nonkibbutz children. He also concluded that the childrens' personalities were quite variable. His follow-up study with Beit-Hallahmi reviews more recent psychological research on kibbutz children and adults, and reports on a longitudinal study in the late 1970s of the same group (Beit-Hallahmi and Rabin 1983).

Kaffman (1965) found that kibbutz children were less prey to mental disturbances, and found no clinical evidence of mental illness prevalent among them. He also noted that out of 3,000 emotionally disturbed kibbutz children whom his child guidance clinic treated, not one case of early childhood psychosis was found. This was attributed to the unique aspects of the educational and child rearing program in the kibbutz. He also found that kibbutz children had fewer mental problems than nonkibbutz children (1961). Nevertheless, we feel more careful, comparative research is necessary.

Other researchers have taken these hopeful facts further. Kohen-Raz shows how emotionally disturbed children are actually introduced from the outside into the kibbutz program and are greatly helped (1972). Saar (1975) and Posnik (1975) made two excellent proposals to effect a change in Israeli education using the kibbutz. Continuing to pin down the possible reasons for the better mental health and ability of kibbutz children, Kohlberg (1971) and Reimer (1972) found that they had higher stages of moral development and were more finely attuned and responsive to justice than lower and middle class Israeli children, U.S. working and middle class children, and children of several other nations. Snarey (1982) has established, based on a longitudinal study of the same group examined by Kohlberg and Reimer, that the moral and ego development of kibbutz adolescents is definitely facilitated by the kibbutz environment. Drug abuse and serious crime are so rare that there is general agreement that they are almost nonexistent. Yet Spiro (1958, 1965), Bettelheim (1969), and others generally agree that the kibbutz has not created the "new person." The Utopian dream of fully dedicated humans, even if it is desirable, has not come true. Nevertheless, in certain critical areas, the kibbutz has proved that childhood and society are deeply related, and that many positive experiences can be encouraged and negative outcomes eliminated by kibbutz child development. It has also strongly disproved claims that communal child rearing is unhealthy for children.

In conclusion, this examination of the educational program in the kibbutz and of issues creating a common ideology illustrates how deeply learning is a part of the larger environment in the society and how the special features of Vatik's program work. An honest assessment of advantages, strains, and problems of this program has been given in the context of describing the areas and norms of community life. Although from a structural point of view the clearest advantage of learning in Vatik is its broad and diffuse cooperative character, in school and in the larger learning environment, the same creative struggle between individualism and fellowship that is the struggle of larger kibbutz life is also a central issue. Our final survey of life in Vatik will deal with personality and life philosophy in the community. These issues are equally relevant to the creative struggle in question. What are some of the ultimate beliefs and personal outcomes for individuals that life in Vatik leads to amidst its struggles and its cooperation?

Note

1. The kibbutz high school program includes precious little information to give the young person an appreciation of the conflict between the individual and the community throughout history. For example, students know almost nothing about the history of the kibbutz movement, especially the influence of the European counterculture. They know nothing about communal and cooperative experiments around the world. Material in these areas may be a central part of any attempt to face squarely the tension about individualism and community many kibbutz adolescents feel.

6
Issues of Personality in Kibbutz Vatik

This chapter will begin with the claim that a "kibbutz personality" as such does not exist. While Kibbutz Vatik has a distinct effect on members through its unique arrangement of their lives, the fact that the community is organized to accept a wide diversity of attitudes, personalities, and philosophical styles, without the control of a rigid religious or philosophical system, is viewed as a quality-of-life advantage, although it involves a trade-off. Data on how members report their own personal traits, and their attitudes toward personal development will be reviewed and analyzed in terms of the kibbutz as a whole. The effect of life's shifting stages on social roles in the community, particularly the personal problems of the aged, will be considered. The meaning system of members will be described and related to the structural characteristics of Vatik.

The chapter will also describe patterns of life satisfaction, mental health, social support, and mental health services in Vatik. The purpose is to make a reasonable estimate of the kinds of dissatisfaction in the community and to determine if particular groups in the population are disenfranchised in terms of some psychological disturbances in their lives.

Some Aspects of Personality in Kibbutz Vatik

This section will treat several aspects of personality in Kibbutz Vatik to gain a general picture of "the underlying motivational structures or overt behavior patterns that characterize individual humans" in the community (Oliver 1976:98). Kibbutz institutions that act as the social context for individual development have been examined. Before proceeding, we will discuss the limitations of this particular section because our questionnaire data are at most impressionistic and tentative.

Is There A Kibbutz Personality?

The dynamics of personality formation, the processes by which personalities change and manage tension, the definition of the *kibbutz*

character (if indeed any exists in the strict sense of that term) will not be analyzed or dealt with. Because movement researchers have been more concerned with practical problems of the kibbutz social structure, and visiting researchers have been more concerned with the personality development of kibbutz youngsters, this is the most neglected area of kibbutz study. Possibly the widely recognized reality that no "new person" has been created by the kibbutz movement and the lack of extensive personality research leads to the supposition among researchers that is accepted fact among the members of Vatik:

> When someone asks why the kibbutz is the way it is, then my opinion is that there are things that happen during the life-cycle which are brought out by life itself, the life of human beings. You are young, you get older. It is the same in the kibbutz. It's the same in New York, in Tel Aviv. And you also marry someone, create a family, in New Delhi as well as Moscow and then you have children there as well as Africa, or Australia …. That has nothing to do with the kibbutz. That has to do with life. Nevertheless, the way the kibbutz solves or faces these problems belongs specifically to kibbutz society. You have to make a distinction between what belongs to life in general [and what is particular to the kibbutz]. Everywhere human beings love, hate, feel jealousy. You know, someone likes stamps, another pictures, drawings, or music. That is the rule all over the world, including the kibbutz.

> Where is the singleness of the kibbutz? In the kibbutz, people are able to feel the joy as well as the pain of their fellows, and it is different from the city and from other places. That is not the very meaning of the kibbutz, only its expression, the expression of something deeper, the solidarity, the reciprocal responsibility. … I am not a psychologist nor a sociologist, and if I am asked whether the character in the kibbutz has changed, I'll answer by another question: Is it possible for a character to change? Let the psychologist come and explain if it is possible for character to change. As for me, I think not. I reached this conviction since we live in this kibbutz. Sure, there are problems that the kibbutz creates, but there are also problems that the kibbutz succeeds in easing.

Zalman, quoted above, comes closest to summing up the strange reactions, the halting answers, and the confusion many members expressed when asked about personality development and change. To some extent these reactions give further evidence to support Zalman's view. They may also express a certain reserve among Israelis to discuss their "personal psychology."

The kibbutz is a societal arrangement that tries to ease various human problems by applying principles of cooperation and community.

It does not require conversions, it does not require radical experiences of change, it does not even require a uniformity of ideology because, as we have seen, the diversity of human viewpoints (once the centrality of the value of community and cooperation is recognized) seems to be the very stuff out of which the middle road, the historic "urban-rural compromise" of the kibbutz is formed. This fuels an ever-changing tension between individual and community. True, the original intimate commune of Vatik and other kibbutzim did require uniformity to an extent, but those days have long passed, and another generation is firmly in place. This is not to deny the special insight of Rosabeth Kanter that communal societies depend on commitment—and that it includes a particular definition of the self—which helps to bind members together as a community. The difference is that the kibbutz's commitment demands central agreement on secular arrangements that mediate between individual and community goals, not on radical religious ideologies, or extreme attempts to alter human nature or perfect the individual, all of which are the stuff of the Shakers, Oneida, and other Utopian communities. In this sense, it is difficult to call the kibbutz a Utopia in spite of the fact that compared to mass society it does seem like "nowhere." See Kanter (1972) for further understanding of this issue.

Perhaps the fact that second-generation members of the kibbutz have unquestionably good mental health and the society has almost totally eliminated violent crime, suicide, juvenile delinquency, and drug abuse is another reason for the lack of interest in studying personality. The desire to reflect on personality seems uniquely tied to the need to figure out what is wrong and to find methods to rectify gross social and psychological ills.

In the course of the research we first decided not to mythologize the kibbutz personality (honest, hardworking, outdoorsy, educated farmer) because enough diversity has been witnessed that such an exercise would not be fair. Also, conclusions from the interviews have not led to enough material to use a case study approach. If the author had chosen only two or three interviews, like Freud, we might have been able to construct a tighter theoretical framework, but, again, this seems unfair. In addition, we decided not to use interpretive tests (such as Rorschach, MMPI) or try to superimpose theoretical frameworks on unstructured conversations. Technically, many of these measures are not sufficiently validated in Hebrew, and if they were, substantial comparative data would be needed to determine whether the discovered "character" was kibbutz or Kalamazoo. These data are not available. Also, kibbutz members and researchers advised that this form of testing would not be welcomed nor understood. Subsequent to our research, however, one

major study used these widely accepted measures along with an Israeli control group (Beit-Hallahmi and Rabin 1983).

We decided to use self-report measures as the main approach. Members reacted quite well to the approach and no serious drop in the desire to participate in the research resulted. Our goal was to consider personality in Kibbutz Vatik in terms laid out by the members themselves. It is hoped that in the context of a larger body of ethnographic data this will prove helpful. Four aspects will be examined: (1) diversity and similarity among the members regarding personality characteristics and their attitudes toward personal development; (2) redefinition of social roles persons fill in different life stages; (3) the meaning system of the member; and (4) some psychological outcomes of membership, such as mental health, ego development, and life satisfaction.

The wider theoretical framework in which these four aspects are considered come from the writings of Erik Erikson. In his book *Insight and Responsibility* Erikson notes:

> I would posit a mutual activation and a replenishment between the virtues emerging in each individual life-cycle and the strengths of human institutions. … In whatever way we may learn to demonstrate this, virtue in the individual and in the spirit of institutions have evolved together, and are one and the same strength. … We must fortify the concept of ego with insight into the nature of social institutions. [1964:152, 156, 148]

He continued by defining identity as "a persistent sameness in oneself and a persistent sharing of some kind of essential character with others" (1964:192) and spoke about stages of development whereby humans achieve greater integrity in their lives, so that social experience nets satisfaction and significance for the person (1964:148-56).

Having examined the kibbutz as a social institution, we will explore certain aspects of identity and integrity in Vatik. We will explore identity by examining:

1. Diversity and similarity in personality characteristics

2. Diversity and similarity in attitudes to personal development

3. How the kibbutz deals with significant identity changes (e.g. age).

We will explore integrity by examining:

1. Diversity and similarity in the meaning system of the members and how that fits with the nature of the kibbutz as a social institution

2. Outcomes of kibbutz identity: life satisfaction, mental health, ego development.

The goal here is to describe some aspects of personality in Vatik and not to explore the dynamics of personality in the community. But another question immediately comes up. Shall we lump our descriptions together and imply that a kibbutz character exists? Oliver provides us with a pivotal guidepost:

> A central tension in any human society is the fact that culturally-defined or general rules, ideology, or roles must be channeled through diverse human beings. Wallace has described this tension by suggesting that there are two ways of looking at culture and society: one as the "replication of uniformity," and another as "the organization of diversity." From the point of view of the "replication of uniformity":

> The society may be regarded as culturally homogeneous and the individual will be expected to share a uniform nuclear character. If a near perfect correspondence between culture and individual nuclear character is assumed, the structural relation between the two becomes non-problematic, and the interest of proces-sual research lies rather in the mechanisms of socialization by which each generation becomes, culturally and characterologically [*sic*], a replica of its predecessors. (Wallace, as quoted in Oliver 1970:22-23]

> From the point of view of the "organization of diversity":

> Culture … becomes not so much a superorganic entity, but policy, tacitly and gradually concocted by groups of people for the furtherance of their interests, and contract established by practice, between and among individuals to organize their strivings into mutually facilitating equivalence structures. [Wallace, as quoted in Oliver 1976:148].

One difficulty with the replication-of-uniformity point of view is that one has little reason to explore how different people do in the social setting, for either everybody is thought to be the same, or one posits that everybody should be the same (Oliver 1976, ch.7). Our viewpoint is that of the organization of diversity. While accepting Erikson's theory that similarities will probably be evident when aspects of the ego and aspects of the kibbutz institution are compared, the stress here is that a wide diversity of individuals in the kibbutz have some similar interests, practices, traits, ways of behaving, and reasons for acting. The social agreement or the web of contracts we call the kibbutz simply organizes this diversity.

The examination here is of statistical trends acquired from many kibbutz individuals, and it would be invalid and incorrect to call such statistical trends the "kibbutz character" because in practice it is very difficult to look at a variety of human beings in Kibbutz Vatik and say, "These statistical trends indicate underlying similarities because they are kibbutz members. " We doubt that kibbutz research (for the reasons noted above) would be able to conclude this because the kibbutz gave up trying to produce a "kibbutz character," and anyone who actually lives in a kibbutz for a year or more (versus distant observation) could be expected to have as difficult a time finding it. So, our data are only suggestive and require much further study before we really understand personality in the kibbutz.

Personality Characteristics and Self-Development

Let us turn directly to the first aspect: diversity and similarity among members regarding personality characteristics and attitudes toward self-development.[1] A semantic differential self-description method involving 25 (question 62) was used. Members were asked, using the following scale, to "mark the place closer to how you see yourself and not how you would like to see yourself."

Friendly <u>A B C D E</u> Unfriendly

To explore how characteristics are shared, the following approach seems most appropriate to the overviews of Erikson (1964) and Oliver (1976):

1. Highly Shared Characteristics—where less than 5 percent of the population view themselves at one extreme (for example, position D and E) and 95 percent see themselves in a neutral position (C) or at the other extreme (A and B).

2. Moderately Shared Characteristics—where less than 10 percent of the population view themselves at one extreme and the rest see themselves neutral or at the other extreme.

3. Diversely Shared—where 20 to 40 percent view themselves at one extreme and the rest see themselves as either neutral or at the other extreme.

The outcome is shown in table 6.1.

Although it would be unfair to call the distribution of table 6.1 random, because all traits but one are shared by 60 percent or more of

the population and two-thirds of the traits are shared by 80 percent or more of the population, a substantial number of interesting traits are shared (as defined for the purpose of this description) according to human diversity. A critic of communal life might claim that a "group mind" exists in the kibbutz, yet 79.9 percent of the members pointed out they tended not to care what other people think. The order of kibbutz life and the honesty of the kibbutz member were also commented on: almost a third of the population claimed not to enjoy a life of routine; 62.2 percent report not being fully honest at times. A fifth of the members are not afraid to admit they are not the kind to be active in social relations. Members seem to rate themselves higher on the best traits (being friendly or cooperative). If it is true, this shows agreement on how the members think they should be. However, many of the traits that members diversely share would have to be distributed more widely if this interpretation is followed, i.e. one would expect members to rate themselves as more honest, less closed, more intellectual. It is clear that substantial diversity exists in the population of Vatik.

The most meaningful way to look at these data is in the context of the large amount of diversity in attitudes already noted in the area of kibbutz institutions.[2] With this perspective (and because wide diversity in attitudes was found there), the concept of Kibbutz Vatik as basically a social agreement "concocted by groups of people for the furtherance of their own interests" (Oliver 1976:99, 148) tends to make more sense. Similarities are evident when personality characteristics of members are compared. Given the strong lack of emphasis on uniform personality formation in the community, there is no reason to ascribe such similarity to a "kibbutz character." Further evidence in parts of this chapter will confirm this particular evaluation of the data. People are different in some significant ways, despite strong tendencies to favor certain traits; they tolerate and encourage diversity; they avoid institutional mechanisms that would severely limit human diversity (fascism, fanatical religions, ideological purity); and they try to make the best of this mutual arrangement.

TABLE 6.1 Clusters of Personality Characteristics in Kibbutz Vatik

Highly Shared Characteristics

	A[a]	B[b]
Friendly	99.3%	.7%
Cooperative	99.3	.7
Fair	98.6	1.4
Responsible	98.6	1.4
Independent	97.2	2.8
Self-insightful	97.0	3.0
Affectionate	96.3	3.7
Happy life	95.6	4.4

Moderately Shared Characteristics

Self-confident	94.3%	5.7%
Value myself highly	94.1	5.9
Skillful with others	92.5	6.5
Optimistic	91.9	8.1
Flexible	91.6	8.4
Have basic life beliefs	87.3	12.7
Decide on goals and achieve them	86.4	13.6
Democratic	85.9	14.1
Relaxed	83.9	16.1

Diversely Shared Characteristics

Does not care what others think	79.7%	20.3%
Active in social relations	77.2	22.8
Closed about inner feelings	73.4	26.6
Intellectual	73.2	26.8
Enjoy routine life	66.9	33.1
Express anger openly	65.5	34.5
At times not fully honest	62.4	37.6

Note: In one characteristic, that of Follower/Leader, a judgment was difficult to make; 17.6 percent identified themselves as followers, 32.4 percent as leaders and 50 percent in the middle position.

Valid answers: Between 130 and 143 on all characteristics. Missing answers: 15-28.

[a]Percentage of population identifying with characteristic or in middle position.

[b]Minority percentage.

"How [are] the immense differences in humans along such dimensions as age, sex, temperament and talent orchestrated into

reasonably constructive roles in common social settings?" (Oliver 1976:148) This question is central for further research, and leads directly to a consideration of the attitudes of the members in Vatik toward self-development, which further confirms the "diversity" position. Oliver states:

> There are two kinds of Utopians: those who would create perfect social arrangements where various fallible human beings of different types and qualities will somehow live in harmony; and those who seek to perfect people who can live happy lives under almost any conditions.

> The underlying assumption (of the second position) is that within some relatively narrow range of ability and a large number of various human talents, people should all be pretty much the same. (1976:147)

Despite the fact that Kibbutz Vatik has distinct egalitarian goals, the members definitely do not accept this egalitarian credo of the psychologists. Personal development is encouraged but few norms for it are made explicit. The frequent comment is: "People are not the same, although we try to give equal conditions and opportunities." Certainly, kibbutz childrearing and education occurs in this light, just as the same reason is used to justify kibbutz society: "We try to eliminate the worst aspects of the child's life," and "We try to eliminate the worst human problems."

Members were asked their attitudes toward personal development (question 31; see table 6.2), interpersonal understanding (question 49), interpersonal honesty (question 47), personality change (question 53), and handling personal problems (question 57)

TABLE 6.2 Most Important Factors Indicated for Self-development

1. Each individual must find his/her own methods of self-development	60%
2. Studies and improvement of one's profession	28
3. Reading and personal study	16
4. More honest relationships	5
5. Meditation and self-understanding	4
6. Art	1
7. Other	3

Valid answers: 135. Missing answers: 23.

Note: Some people chose more than one factor as being important.

Note

Some people chose more than one factor as being important.

In regard to personal development, members overwhelmingly favored a philosophy of "each to one's own." (A majority of the answers showed a relationship between this view (#1) and the view favoring personal, academic, and professional development (#2). Less than 10 percent of the members participated in courses in yoga and transcendental meditation for which tuition is now among member rights. Although there is no large movement by Vatik in this direction, the road is considered open. This is in strict contrast to the community's view of a younger member's trip to a European conference on Guru Maharaj Ji. His preoccupation with spiritual development was much criticized; nevertheless, when he returned some months later, he was accepted back into the community despite some friction.

In response to a question about how much personality change is possible (question 53),[3] only 12.6 percent felt everyone was born a certain way, 34.7 percent saw it possible to change many qualities, and 52.7 percent saw it possible to change some qualities.

Avraham Yassour, a kibbutz member and expert on the history of the movement, has said

Even in the early days of the kibbutz, spiritual development and changing the personality was never a strong goal as it is in many 'utopian' communities today. There was a greater concern for improving social life in general. The kibbutz's concern for individual development was contained within the context of concern for the group and the community, which they hoped would provide a

more natural environment for the development of the person than their past social settings.[4] [Personal communication]

Thus, the kibbutz is not an interpersonal or spiritual growth-oriented community. In recent years, however, the whole kibbutz federation has developed a department of organizational development (Hapala Chevratit, in Hebrew) that has made trained facilitators available to individual kibbutzim that wished to work on problems of interpersonal relations in work groups, the general assembly, or other settings. Vatik carried out an extensive organizational development process in the early 1980s subsequent to this research.

It is not surprising, then, that there is some readiness to confront personal problems in Vatik, and it would be unfair to exaggerate the rigidity of kibbutz members in this area. So, when asked about personal problems,[5] only 6.7 percent felt it best not to worry but turn to other matters, versus 93.3 percent who agreed it was best to confront the problem directly even if it means diverting other matters. In their respones to question 49[6] on the amount of self-understanding possible, only 8.1 percent thought that most people's lives were determined by forces they could not understand. More than three-fourths (77.9 percent) felt that most people understood themselves and their behavior and that they had a lot of control over their lives; only 14 percent felt it was unimportant to worry about such matters.

In the kibbutz, strong matters of personal concern are brought out into the open and discussed. The author found that the involvement of committee members, kibbutz administrators, and members of the confidential counseling committee in members' personal difficulties supported Erikson's statement that the inner life and social planning are one (1964). Members usually have seen each other's development through the years and, gossip aside, know people—even those who are not their friends—quite well.[7] Nina's comment about a middle-aged kibbutz man illustrates the point:

> He was always quiet as he is now, you know kind of hiding in corners. I remember when I worked in the children's house he was looking at something I took away and he was very hurt. I always sensed him as so fragile and sensitive, and even today I think his mate takes care of him and makes a lot of decisions for him and is certainly the stronger of the two.

Diversity is encouraged by favoring variable approaches to self-development, by refusing to define a specific quality of inner life as a goal of the kibbutz personality, and by refusing to favor an ethic of overwhelming personal change. No observable community dynamics (as in earlier religious Utopian communities) are manipulated to form

the personality. There is no 4 'kibbutz character. ' ' The kibbutz as an institution is oriented toward an active awareness of personality issues; and the small-community character of the village lends itself to a public awareness of one another's developmental stages.

Redefining Social Roles in the Personal Life Cycle

Kibbutz Vatik realized it had to redefine social roles to deal with life-cycle changes and their effect on personality. The time it took to perceive this necessity is related to the increasing acceptance of human diversity in kibbutz life. The young members of Vatik in the 1930s came from a movement called the "Young Guard." As one member said, "We thought we would never grow old." Talmon-Garber develops this notion:

> The movement's founders had dissociated themselves from traditional Jewish life and had rebelled against the authority of their elders. Most members were trained in radical nonconformist youth movements whose values and patterns of behavior had a decisive and indelible influence on the emerging patterns of communal life. The original revolutionary ideology was reinforced by the personal experience of rebellion. All this glorified youth as full of potentialities, free and creative, and emphasized discontinuity. [1972:167]

Now the old are old. Perhaps this explains the difficulty of older members of Vatik in correctly perceiving the motivation and attitudes of the younger generations.

Talmon-Garber has described the unique kibbutz approach to aging (1972). The kibbutz solves many problems by ensuring members economic security, communal services in case of ill health or infirmity, and the possibility of social participation. The emphasis on youth-centered values of work, productivity, and radical ideology, however, is a source of strain, as is the older generation's loss of its position and authority to the second generation. Talmon-Garber analyzes and suggests the changes aging brings in each of the areas of kibbutz life we have studied. Wershow (1973:218) found the aged in the kibbutz still working full time for the most part, despite the fact that many had reached retirement age. Most elder members were still enjoying their work, were in good health, and were well educated, but they were somewhat lonely because family and group interactions were reduced. Wershow found fewer problems than Talmon-Garber, mainly because his work was completed after the critical years (during which Talmon-

Garber's investigations were carried out) in which the generational succession occurred and there was tension and difficulty in "handing over responsibility." Recently Leviatan (1987, forthcoming) found that kibbutzim provide substantial social support to the aged. Rosner (1975) found both generations satisfied with the pace of advancement of younger members, although in some areas of kibbutz life (work and the economy) younger members were more willing to take over where older members were not willing to give up positions; exactly the opposite is true in other areas (social life, culture, and politics). Nevertheless, the majority of the respondents for both generations felt there was no discrimination between generations, although older members perceived that higher education was still considered more suitable and necessary for younger members and was in a sense a special privilege.

> While the second generation does not deviate from the basic values of the kibbutz…differences between the generations are to be found in the interpretation of these values and in the attitude towards different concrete mechanisms and organizational patterns intended to implement them. [Rosner 1975:5]

Rosner found few interest-group conflicts between generations in the kibbutz, and he attributed this to the large number of rewarding positions, the high degree of mobility in jobs, the absence of material rewards for advancement, the gradual withdrawal of veteran members from their positions, and the fact that although members are to an extent in competition they have a common concern in seeing the future of the community assured. However, the issue of generational conflict will require greater attention in the next few years, when thousands of kibbutz members will reach retirement age simultaneously.

In Kibbutz Vatik aged members spoke proudly of the security they felt. They seemed not to be threatened by the giving over of responsibility and control. Perhaps equality takes the sting out of this change. No members are placed in outside nursing homes, or relegated to convalescent areas in the kibbutz. (Some parents of members who came to the kibbutz in their old age have their own apartments and receive home care.) All members are encouraged to do some kind of work despite their infirmities or difficulties.

Although older members are not "put away," as in U.S. society, the seeds of problems exist in Vatik. Aged members are often assigned menial jobs (laundry, kitchen, plastics factory) and many are so happy to have a job that a low level of concern is shown for the quality of the job. For example, one senior member trained in one of the professions does monotonous assembly line work in the plastics factory. Work change is often a crisis for members over sixty, especially if the

member does not have skills that can be used in work outside the kibbutz (most of the outside workers are senior members). Nevertheless, the kibbutz is concerned about the elderly: one member studied gerontology and set up a committee; a small hospital is also under construction in preparation for members who may need supervision by a community medical staff. Even with these provisions, many members fail to recognize that a crucial problem exists—the fact that there is a committee on gerontology and that a hospital is being built does not absolve the community from attending to older members' needs. The senior member who is not sick or in special need gets few visitors. This problem is not being confronted creatively in Vatik, despite the laudatory degree of basic social support that exists.

A society's management of the aged is a good indication of its attitude toward the individual. In the next ten years almost half of Vatik's fairly stable adult population of approximately four hundred will be over sixty-five. That is an aging problem of staggering proportions that will indeed test the attitude of Vatik toward the individual. The kibbutz does not try to control the inner life, as do other Utopian communities. The social hazard here is that Vatik does not have sufficient awareness of or interest in the inner experience of members to work actively against the problems of loneliness and depression in old age. While Vatik will prevent the major and minor inconveniences of old age, and insure a productive life, little is done to provide creative social roles; this can be interpreted only as a blindness to the issue of self-devel-opment in general.

The Meaning System of the Member

It might now be helpful to look at some of the underlying motivational structures responsible for the meaning system in Vatik. Although we asked members about their attitudes toward specific areas of kibbutz life and specific ideological issues, we decided to seek out "enduring or central clusters of beliefs, thoughts, feelings which influence or determine important evaluations or choices" (Shaver and Robinson 1969:94). We asked for opinions on cooperation or the standard of living only in the context of relevant kibbutz issues. We were interested, however, in determining the philosophical-ideological system of members in the context of the range of values of humanity as a whole. Thus, the Charles Morris Philosophy of Life Measure was used (Morris and Jones 1955, 1956). Morris, a philosophy professor at Harvard University, did an exhaustive amount of cross-cultural research and theory building to construct a set of thirteen paths of life

representing the cardinal ideas of the world's main philosophical-religious systems.

The text of the paths of life is contained in the appendix. Each member was asked to evaluate each path according to whether she or he (1) liked it a lot; (2) liked it; (3) was neutral about it; (4) disliked it; or (5) disliked it a lot. Then, she or he was asked to rank the four most significant philosophies important to his or her life at the end of the evaluation. Table 6.3 summarizes the results. The percentages show the number of members who liked the path a lot or just liked it.

Rankings made sense in terms of the other findings on the attitudes and practices of members in Vatik. The importance of unselfish concern for helping others and mutuality (7) in the kibbutz social structure was clear. Despite increased wealth, the preservation of a communal economy and equality remained a central concern. Contrasted with this was the strong rejection of extreme individualism, which, with self-concern, was rated as insignificant.

The individual-community tension has been posited as the primary element in the dynamic changes, social development, and economic distribution of the kibbutz. Members rated a combination of privacy and social involvement (13) as very high in their overall philosophy. This emphasis, along with the obvious concern for mutuality and maintenance of the cooperative structure in the kibbutz (which involves a certain amount of individual limitation), made the highly central appearance of self-control (4) and social cooperation (9) predictable.

So, too, work is the medium of community life in Vatik; and an ever-present emphasis on progress, upgrading production, social advancement, scientific innovation, and higher education, was indicated both by the evaluation of bodily energy and physical work (3), and of scientific advancement and progress (10) as central philosophies.

Conversely, the concern for self-control and social cooperation as central values certainly predicted the insignificance of sensuous enjoyments (8) and individualism (6), just as the emphasis on activity and work (3) and active scientific and progressive advancement (10) predicted the rejection of passive receptivity and spiritual peace (11) and the moderate emphasis placed on a quiet, inner meditative life (1).

TABLE 6.3 Philosophy of Life of Kibbutz Members: A Descriptive Summary

(7)	Unselfish concern and helping others	92.2%	<u>Very central</u>
(13)	Combination of privacy and social involvement	91.4	Chosen by 75% or more of members
(4)	Self-control	80.6	
(9)	Cooperation in the social group	80.6	
(10)	Emphasis on scientific advancement and active progressive solution of problems	75.2	
(3)	Concern with bodily energy and physical work	74.0	<u>Moderately central</u>
(5)	Active community participation to preserve tradition	65.3	Chosen by 50% or more of members
(2)	Enjoyment of life's moderate pleasures	55.2	
(12)	Being an instrument for a social or national cause	44.0	<u>Not central/Not unimportant</u>
(1)	Emphasis on a quiet inner meditative life	40.0	As many members preferred as did not prefer or were neutral
(8)	Seek variety of sensuous enjoyments	36.4	<u>Insignificant</u>
(6)	Individualism and self-concern	18.8	Twice as many or more members rejected or were neutral as accepted it
(11)	Passive receptivity in spirtual peace	7.0	

Average valid answers per question (average of all valid answers): 122. Average missing answers: 36.

Note: To check for sloppiness in answering the question and to cross-validate respondents' answers, Morris designed the measure to that the final results for each question (shown by percentages above) could be compared with the order of respondents' ranking of all paths at the end of the measure. When both methods of evaluation were used here the order of correspondence was almost the same. Dividing the order of the paths into several groupings above expresses two facts that should not be misinterpreted: first, at times there were subtle differences in how members as a whole evaluated a path of life versus how they ranked it (e.g. the Unselfish Concern Path was ranked second but evaluated first, while the opposite was true of the Combination of Privacy and Social Control Path), so the ordering here according to percentages should not be seen as absolute rankings but more like groupings into very important to less important paths of life; second, given the limitations of statistical validity, in this case we cannot say that a path seen as important by 75 percent of the population is less important in the overall ideology than one rated at 80 percent, for example. The data here are descriptive and do not express an absolute picture of a motivational dynamic; this should not be misconstrued.

Note

Average valid answers per question (average of all valid answers): 122. Average missing answers: 36.

To check for sloppiness in answering the question and to cross-validate respondents' answers, Morris designed the measure to that the final results for each question (shown by percentages above) could be compared with the order of respondents' ranking of all paths at the end of the measure. When both methods of evaluation were used here the order of correspondence was almost the same. Dividing the order of the paths into several groupings above expresses two facts that should not be misinterpreted: first, at times there were subtle differences in how members as a whole evaluated a path of life versus how they ranked it (e.g. the Unselfish Concern Path was ranked second but evaluated first, while the opposite was true of the Combination of Privacy and Social Control Path), so the ordering here according to percentages should not be seen as absolute rankings but more like groupings into very important to less important paths of life; second, given the limitations of statistical validity, in this case we cannot say that a path seen as important by 75 percent of the population is less important in the overall ideology than one rated at 80 percent, for example. The data here are descriptive and do not express an absolute picture of a motivational dynamic; this should not be misconstrued.

While rejecting extreme individualism and passive spiritual receptivity, and deemphasizing the meditative life, the members of Vatik did not exhibit the old pioneering concern for asceticism and sacrifice for the nation. Therefore, being an instrument for a social or national cause (12) was accepted by as many members as rejected it. This is surprising in terms of the initial importance that Zionism and the founding of the state of Israel held in the kibbutz movement. Today the kibbutz exists as a part of the state of Israel, and is not in the vanguard; it takes its support of Zionism as a matter-of-fact commitment. The point is not that Israel or Zionism is not central but that neither was perceived as the first-order cause to sacrifice on a day-to-day basis.[8] On the other hand, while sensuous enjoyment was rejected by two-thirds of the population, the reasonable enjoyment of life's pleasures ("a comfortable home, talking to friends, relaxation, good food") was a moderately central value in Vatik.

There was a strong tendency to preserve the community nature of the village; thus the moderately central importance of active community participation to preserve tradition (5) was no surprise. But, the preservation of the kibbutz tradition per se is not a central value. The stronger values of mutualistic concerns and individual-community tension concerns (which make the structure "kibbutz" worthwhile in the first place), preoccupation with self-control, and cooperation all rated as very central values.

Three issues need exploration before the substance of this analysis can be appreciated. First, how much can this meaning system be called a "kibbutz ideology" shared by all individuals? Second, and related to the first, what do Morris's comparative data on world cultures indicate about the kibbutz system of values—are they unique or commonplace?

And third, taking both issues into consideration, how central is a superordinate ideology to the kibbutz?

First, this loosely labeled meaning system is not "a kibbutz ideology" in the sense of being a psychological construct. It is an ideology in the sense developed by Mannheim (and other German sociologists of the 1920s) in that it "denotes any set of ideas that directly express the interests of the social group" (Berger and Berger 1972:345). There is a strong relationship between what the members of Vatik say and do in their community and the ladder of centrality that their evaluation of ultimate human philosophies expressed. But these are still only averages, and despite the large percentage of agreement on the central kibbutz philosophies, the lack of 100 percent agreement indicates that most members tend to hold certain central philosophies, but they also have individual interests and freely interpret these philosophies. There were many different combinations; some members made minor or major changes in the set of interests expressed by the collectivity that may have had some effect on their actions and decisions. This further buttresses the notion that Vatik is a community of organized diversity.

Second, and closely related to an assessment of whether a "kibbutz ideology" exists, is a review of comparative philosophy of life data. Charles Morris collected data from the 1950s from India, Japan, Norway, and the United States. Because of the time lapse, these comparisons must be put into perspective—nevertheless, some strong trends emerge. First, when the very central and moderately central philosophies of Kibbutz Vatik are compared with those of the U.S. college student sample in the middle 1950s, while a difference in order is clear, "seeking a variety of sensuous enjoyment" (8) was rated highly by Americans but was rated as insignificant by kibbutzniks. Also, "unselfish concern and helping others" (7) and "self-control" (4) were at the bottom of the eight most preferred philosophies in the United States while they were at the top in the kibbutz group. Most interesting, however, is that both the U.S. and kibbutz samples rejected the same group of philosophies as insignificant: "emphasis on quiet inner meditative life" (1), "passive receptivity in spiritual peace" (11), "individualism and self concern" (6), and to some extent "being an instrument for a social or national cause" (12).

Thus, while values of mutuality and self-control are more important to Vatik's members (and the order is different), both the U.S. and the kibbutz ideologies share the same elements and concerns. In fact, the above philosophies (1), (8), (12), and (11) are at the bottom of the ratings in India, Japan, Norway, the United States, and the kibbutz. Receptivity in spiritual peace (11), as expected from the influence of oriental religion, was far more important in Japan, and given the time in

history (Independence), being an instrument for a social or national cause was far more important in India, but neither was central in either country. In all cases, the comparison was with college students in these countries who were probably more familiar with the Western scientific and intellectual traditions than are villagers, monks, and poor people.

Vatik has basically a Western ideology with an uncommon deemphasis on spiritual development (1, 11) that has, until recently, seemed to typify development in the industrial West and the aspiring East. This strengthens our criticism of the lack of spiritual and creative personal development in the kibbutz. There has been a trend away from spiritual values in some sectors of populations in Western countries. The weak interest in this area among kibbutz members can be seen as both a reflection of this more general trend and a foreshadowing of a greater awareness of the anomaly of antireligion in such a humanist society.[9] The kibbutz looks more and more like a better social arrangement to deal with the diversity of people and the elements of modern society (including spiritual crisis).

Third, and in conclusion: How central is a superordinate ideology to the kibbutz? If this means, "Is there a central set of interests in kibbutz society?" the answer is yes. The members of Vatik have constructed a social fellowship in which local community interests and social, economic, and political cooperation constitute an identity limiting less sought-after possibilities and arrangements. Adam Smith's philosophy does not rule the day. But, this "superordinate ideology" that is strictly defined, or that strives for an ideological purity that seeks to neutralize human diversity, is neither existent nor central in Kibbutz Vatik. The kind of group consciousness that many extremist politicians and ideologues, left and right, identify as a precondition for a good society does not exist in Kibbutz Vatik. Here it is the arrangements people enter into and their attitudes toward those arrangements that produce a good society. Because a good society is defined in terms of constant striving for an individual-community harmony, tension, differences, disagreements, and diversity are welcomed and valued as much as group consciousness or strict ideological control in other circles. Conflict, which often has made the need to account for individuals and a reforming of the kibbutz in a changing world, is necessary for its adaptation and survival.

The risk here is obvious, and represents the pivotal trade-off of kibbutz life: how can we be sure that these tensions, differences, disagreements, and diversity will not lead to a rejection of the elements that make a kibbutz a kibbutz? Perhaps some will argue, "We do not need smallness, or local community, or economic cooperation, or basic social or economic rights, or direct diffuse democracy, or collective

child care, or cooperative work, or collégial decision making on values and new challenges, or to worry and try to confront the individual-community tension. Let us throw these worries away." That risk is the price Kibbutz Vatik pays to have one of the few village-oriented, small, rural, cooperative, communitarian settlement systems in the world that attempts to achieve its aims without limiting individual development or relying on a rigid religious or political ideology.

True, the kibbutz is not perfect in achieving all of its professed goals. The risk that people will come along and abuse personal freedoms to destroy or alter the kibbutz radically depends on whether the community will deliver to individuals and to the membership the implicit promise of this social arrangement. This is the crux of the issue of motivational structures or overt behavioral patterns (as Oliver [1976] defines personality). In the end, is it all satisfying? The risks of commitment to the cooperative community do not become great sacrifices if the commitment pays off. Rosabeth Kanter's review of the nineteenth-century cooperative community trend in the United States helped to bring the discussion of these social innovations to this crucial question (1972:62-74).

In conclusion, the lack of a superordinate ethical and religious meaning system complicates the achievement of personal integrity because, despite common interests, we have evidence of substantial disagreements in Vatik on practical matters combined with a number of value dilemmas as the community faces the modern world. In addition we cannot imagine a "kibbutz personality" that organizes personal identity because the community's open approach to self-development and personal problems encourages diversity. Without a clear approach to personality and the self, the community, it is reasonable to assume, will not be able to deal smoothly with significant changes in the person's life cycle. Nevertheless, this difficulty in managing life-cycle changes may be a cost that the kibbutz pays to have a diverse approach to personality, personal development, and personal meaning systems. This may be a problem that deserves greater attention and attempts at solution. The problem itself, however, may be insoluble.

Throughout this section, we have been careful to discuss issues in personality rather than try with our present data to provide an overarching theory of personality in the kibbutz or alternative societies. Further research may prove that we are wrong in asserting that the "organization-of-diversity" orientation is the most reasonable way to describe the salient data we have. Alternative interpretations, however, will have to contend with the overwhelming evidence of attitudinal diversity (presented in preceding chapters), our ethnographic evidence, and the likelihood that a unique kibbutz personality is indeed possible

in a community whose system of personal meaning is not very different from those of any other Western societies. In addition to these considerations, our general orientation also supports the "organization-of-diversity" viewpoint: We view the kibbutz as an attempt to combine some positive features of integrative small communities without the disadvantages of tradition-bound, religiously fanatical approaches that would conflict with the development of human rights and freedom of expression.

Life Satisfaction, Mental Health, and Social Support

This section will summarize data on life satisfaction, mental health, and social support in Kibbutz Vatik's population. Measures of self-report were used, so our central goal is to present a summary of the members' own reports in these areas. No baseline data from other populations or societies will be used. The goal here is not to compare Vatik with another society; we want to know if specific groups in Vatik's population are at an advantage or a disadvantage in terms of life satisfaction, mental health, or social support. Should we find that Vatik disenfranchises a specific group of members, this would emerge as a major qualification of quality of life judgments on the community.

Life Satisfaction

The measure of life satisfaction, taken from Shaver and Robinson (1969) is a straightforward question about happiness that is used extensively in social psychological research. Members were asked (question 50): "Taking all things into consideration how happy would you say your life in the kibbutz is?" (See table 6.4.)

More than 80 percent of the community reported that they were fairly happy, and without comparative data it is reasonable to assume that this represents a fairly positive situation.

It has been shown that the usual measures of happiness do not consider the person's situation and environment sufficiently. Some researchers have criticized such an approach as simplistic and tried to extend the measure (Bradburn and Caplovitz 1965). A further question was added regarding the achievement of life's goals and the source of responsibility for such achievement or nonachievement. Members were asked (question 59): "How do you view the planning of your life?" (See table 6.5.) Of paramount importance in the responses was the

distinction between whether goals were achieved, and who may have interfered with goal achievement: the person or the kibbutz.

Happiness does not necessarily predict goal achievement in Vatik. Although about 80 percent said they were somewhat or very happy, only 40 percent said that they were reaching their goals in life and had control over their lives. A Satisfaction Index was created from both questions, for it was found that both responses were highly related.[10] According to this index the population was divided into three groups. Persons in the High Satisfaction Group (34.8 percent) reported they were very happy or somewhat happy and that they had control over their lives and reached their goals without exception. Persons in the Middle Satisfaction Group (33.6 percent) reported that they were somewhat happy but that they did not reach their goals, and this was their own fault.[11] Persons in the Low Satisfaction Group (31.6 percent) reported that they were not so happy and that they did not reach their goals, either because of their own fault or that of the kibbutz. A cross-tabulation was constructed between these three groups and all the other variables in this study (see appendix) to determine what the exemplary qualities, if any, of the three groups were.

TABLE 6.4 Life Satisfaction of Community Members

Very happy	9.9%
Somewhat happy	70.4
Not so happy	19.7
Very unhappy	0.0
Valid cases: 142. Missing cases: 16. Mean: 2.099.	

Note

These data are from Sample 1 and thus cross-tabulations with social, economic, historical, political, and personal attitudes are presented.

TABLE 6.5 Degree and Cause of Goal Achievement

What happens to me is my own doing and I reach my goals	39.3%
What happens to me is my own doing but I do not reach most of my goals.	25.9
I do not feel that I have enough control over my life but it is not the kibbutz that interferes.	31.9
I do not feel that I have enough control over my life and it is often the fault of the kibbutz.	3.0
Valid cases: 135. Missing cases: 23.	

Note

These data are from Sample 1 and thus cross-tabulations with social, economic, historical, political, and personal attitudes are presented.

Although workers in industry and service branches in Kibbutz Vatik showed no significant differences among themselves regarding work satisfaction, the results showed that agricultural workers differed significantly from workers in industrial and service branches (table 6.6).

Workers in agriculture and education were more satisfied than workers in industrial or service branches; this supports the conclusions found in chapter 3, that the structure of new work tasks in the kibbutz and their effect on the members require more discussion. Satisfaction, nevertheless, did not bear a strong relationship to being a branch coordinator. In fact, the most satisfied members of the community had a moderately significant tendency[12] to have less influence in the kibbutz administration regarding personal matters (question 35) or kibbutz matters (question 36). Satisfied members did not hold more political roles or have a greater overall sense of political participation than less satisfied members. Satisfaction was not related to the increased ideological strength of a member's initial motivation to join. In fact, the opposite is true; the more satisfied the member the less ideological were his or her reasons for joining. This was a highly significant moderate tendency.

TABLE 6.6 Differences in Satisfaction Index by Workplace

Coordinator = C Worker = W	I = Industry A = Agriculture	S = Service E = Education	SR = Special roles (outside kibbutz)						
Satisfaction	CI	WI	CA	WA	CE	WE	CS	WS	SR
Low	0%	26.3%	0%	0%	0%	0%	10.5%	57.9%	5.3%
Middle	2.1	22.9	4.2	16.7	0	4.2	6.3	37.5	6.3
High	4.9	7.3	7.3	31.7	0	19.5	12.2	7.3	9.8

Note

Valid cases: 108. Missing cases: 50.

This table is read in the following way: a percentage indicates the percent of that Satisfaction Group who were in a specific work classification, e.g. 0 percent of all members in the low satisfaction group were workers in industry.

Except for the association with low ideological strength at the time of joining the community, satisfied and dissatisfied members showed no significant differences in terms of their social, economic, educational, political, or historical attitudes.

The significant differences between the three groups were in the area of personality. In contrast to the High Satisfaction Group, there was a very significant moderate tendency for the Low and Middle Satisfaction Groups to describe themselves as more unconfident and unsuccessful, according to the Unsuccessful, Unconfident/Successful, Confident factor. The Low and Middle Satisfaction Groups had a moderate tendency to evaluate themselves poorly, to be followers, to report unhappiness as a trait of personality, to report an inability to achieve goals as a trait of personality, and to be more pessimistic. Also, the more satisfied the group, the more social support it had. The correlation between the satisfaction and social support indices was very strong with regard to social support from fellow workers, moderately strong with regard to social support from friends, and moderately strong with regard to social support from relatives. In each case the differences were significant. Thus, elements of workplace, personality, and social support were most associated with satisfaction and dissatisfaction.[13]

Mental Health

It seems to make sense that happiness and mental health would be related; some researchers have maintained that happiness can be equated with mental health and that self-reports on happiness are as valid as the ratings of experts based on psychological tests (Bradburn and Caplovitz 1965).

> But the equation happiness = mental health is not perfect because it fails to consider the person's situation and environment. An individual who has just lost a loved one in an automobile accident may be deeply unhappy but not necessarily mentally ill. In fact, in this situation, not to be unhappy would more likely indicate mental instability. Unhappiness then fails, too, as an effective measure of mental illness. [Perry and Perry 1976:408]

Psychologists criticize the variety of methods used to classify the mentally healthy and the mentally ill (Perry and Perry 1976:404-26). Because almost no research exists in the kibbutz dealing with mental health, it was decided until further work in this area was done, it would be best not to use interpretive techniques either never before used in Hebrew or never before used in a kibbutz population. In addition we were not willing to evaluate the mental health of kibbutzniks ourselves. Therefore, two measures based on self-report were used: the Anxiety-Depression Index, and the Locus of Control Index. A third index, the Composite Mental Health Index, was a combination of scores on these two.

The Anxiety Depression Index that we used has been used before in Hebrew (Tannenbaum 1974; Rosner 1975). It has been in frequent use and was developed concurrently by several U.S. mental health researchers (Gurin et al. 1960; Zung 1965; Cobb 1970; Spielberger et al. 1970; and Caplan et al. 1975). Anxiety and depression are commonly classified with the neuroses and are basic components of mental health evaluation. Common symptoms are sadness, anxiety, insomnia, withdrawal from everyday life and relationships with others, reduced ability to function, and generally agitated and unrelaxed behavior (Perry and Perry 1976:409).

The most important piece of information shown in table 6.7 is that no one person said he or she felt the symptoms of anxiety and depression "all the time." It is noteworthy, however, that 84.9 percent reported having symptoms of anxiety or depression "sometimes," and that only 1 percent reported having such symptoms "never." Kibbutz members are not insulated from the symptoms of personal difficulty, nor are large numbers in Vatik persistently beset by anxiety and depression "most of the time."

Do certain groups in the community report anxiety or depression more than other groups? The answer is no. Anxiety and depression as

defined are distributed without significant differences among the dimensions of sex, age, kibbutz group, political participation, white collar versus blue collar work, or work in a service versus a production branch. Several studies (Hollingshead and Redlich 1958; Miller and Mischler 1959; Rushing 1969; and Kohn 1977) have found that in the United States mental illness and neurotic symptoms are highly correlated with the lower socioeconomic classes. But in Vatik, when differences that might be related to classes—if indeed classes can be said to exist in the village—were checked against anxiety and depression, no such differences were found. The only qualification to the data of other researchers in this sphere is that there is also a tendency for higher classes to get better care, to be more successful in avoiding hospitalization, and to be diagnosed by a middle class therapist, all of which may account for their lower incidence of mental illness. But because our data are drawn from self-report and not hospital admissions, and because they are not based on the evaluation of a person other than the member, these matters do not concern us.[14] There are members in Vatik who reported symptoms commonly associated with mental illness; the group was small, and not identifiable as a specific disenfranchised class. It seems, then, that the social arrangements of Vatik eliminated specific disenfranchisement of groups in the community but that egalitarianism, cooperation, and community did not eliminate personal problems.

TABLE 6.7 Members' Self-Reports on Anxiety and Depression Index

All the time.	0%
Most of the time.	14.1
Sometimes.	84.9
Never.	1.0
Valid cases: 66. Missing cases: 90. Mean: 2.907.	

Note

The index and other indices that follow in this chapter were based on the composite analysis of several questions. Thus, the index could not be figured if any answers to any of the constituent questions were missing. This accounts for the large number of missing cases. The individuals who participated in this follow-up sample numbered 156.

The second measure of mental health used was the Locus of Control Index, which

refers to the extent to which persons perceive contingency relationships between their actions and their outcomes. People who believe that they have some control over their destiny are called

"Internals"; that is they believe that at least some control resides within themselves. "Externals," on the other hand, believe that their outcomes are determined by agents or factors extrinsic to themselves. For example, by fate, luck, chance, powerful others, or the unpredictable. [Shaver and Robinson 1969:169]

This method of self-report was used because it allows a person to report on possible environmental and situational factors affecting mental health and well-being (i.e. control relations in the environment). It was noted earlier that common measures of happiness and well-being often tend to avoid this issue. The Internal-External Locus of Control measure used in this work was adapted for Hebrew and the kibbutz by Menachem Rosner and Uri Leviatan at the Center for Social Research on the Kibbutz at Givat Chaviva from several scales currently in use (Gurin et al. 1960; Rotter 1966). (See appendix, question 66, for Locus of Control Scale.) Because of its sensitivity to social situation-specific issues it has been related to psychopathology and minority-group status (Battle and Rotter 1963; Lefcourt 1966); and success and achievement (Coleman et al. 1966; Bartol 1969; Epstein and Komorita 1971). The basic question asked in the twenty measures used was: "Do you perceive a connection between effort and payoff in your environment—over which you have some degree of control?" (See table 6.8.)

The results shown in table 6.8 indicate a small minority of members who consistently responded that they had little control over their lives. The approaches used in understanding life satisfaction and anxiety and depression were also applied here, by testing if members of any particular group in Vatik could be singled out as having less control over their lives. Locus of Control had no significant relation to age, kibbutz group, political participation, or work in a white collar or blue collar job.

TABLE 6.8 Internal-External Locus of Control in Kibbutz Vatik

Externals	
Little Control Over Outcomes	5.5%
Middle Group	
Internals	51.5
Great Control Over Outcomes	43.0
Valid cases: 128.	Missing cases: 28.

N.B. Those members referred to as externals agree with statements that factors external to themselves determine their destiny, whereas those members referred to as internals believe that factors that are under their own control determine the outcomes in their lives.

TABLE 6.9 Sex and Locus of Control

	Low	Middle	High
Male	14.0%	30.0%	56.0%
Female	51.4	16.2	32.4

Valid cases: 87. Missing cases: 69.

Significance: .008. Measure of Association: .40.

There was a moderately strong correlation between sex and low locus of control, and men and women differed very significantly (see table 6.9). We commented in chapter 3 that women, concentrated in the service branches of the kibbutz, complained loudly about the lack of opportunity in the workplace. Not surprisingly, low locus of control was also related to lower education and to working in the service branches of the kibbutz, with the same significant differences and the same strength of association.

People are handicapped by an external locus of control response, and they become more oriented to emotional nongoal-oriented responses to their situation. This may explain why women in Kibbutz Vatik did not claim to enjoy their work significantly less than men, although we know that they criticized the work options available to them. Our conclusions about women in Vatik differ markedly from those of Tiger and Shepher (1975), who reported that women in the kibbutz movement not only chose less professional types of education, and chose to work in service-related areas, but were not dissatisfied with this situation. We propose that women in Vatik (and possibly the whole movement) were not reporting their level of dissatisfaction in their work and lives because they consistently had to fit their expectations to a situation they perceived as beyond their control. This is in fact the central conclusion of Rosabeth Moss Kanter's research on women in work organizations (1976:427-28 and 1977).[15]

The significantly higher amount of external control perceived by women did not, however, correlate with lower satisfaction or more anxiety and depression in women. The women of Vatik did not seem driven to depression by this situation. The general equality of the sexes in the kibbutz may explain this crucial variation. Nevertheless, this evidence indicates that the inequality between men and women merits serious attention (see Palgi et al. 1983, for a review of research on this problem).

The third index of mental health is the Composite Mental Health Index, which we created from the previous two indices. Theoretically, it was based on a measure of neurotic symptoms (Anxiety Depression Index) and a measure of environmental factors (Locus of Control

Index) to accommodate the increasing criticism of standard measurements of mental health (Perry and Perry 1976:406, 407, 419). Table 6.10 shows the number of persons who consistently reported problems with mental health or emotional problems on both indices.

This is a good estimate of the number of those who, by their own report, persistently experienced problems with mental health: 5.6 percent of the population of Vatik. When both factors of mental health are taken into account, no specific group in Vatik was overrepresented. It is especially relevant that the founders and the *hashlama* did not differ, for the founders have consistently reported that the *hashlama*—because of their experiences in Europe and World War II—were more mentally unstable. Few members reported no problems; the large majority had some degree of difficulty in achieving their goals in life or in maintaining happiness. The main differences were that service workers were more unhappy, and some women had less control over their lives than men.

Social Support

Our description of life satisfaction and mental health is guided by a very strong desire to explain many sides of the issue. Persons can be happy and not achieve most of their goals; they can be unhappy but not report persistent anxiety and depression; they can be equal but feel they have little control over opportunity in their lives; or they can be unhappy and not be mentally ill. A final element of satisfaction is social support. French (1963) and Caplan et al. (1975) explained that social support is a significant buffer for stress in the social environment. Their studies of worker health showed that persons under stress could cope if they had social support without persistent symptoms of mental illness.

TABLE 6.10 Composite Mental Health Index Frequencies

Low	5.6%
Middle	90.2%
High	4.2%
Valid cases: 72. Missing cases: 172.	

Note

The index was not computed where only partial data were available.

Table 6.11 illustrates patterns of social support in Vatik. The members were divided into three groups, High, Middle, and Low social

support, depending on how frequently they reported support from a series of persons in their environment. The criteria for dividing groups was an interval division of the six-part Likert answer to this question.

A sizeable number of members perceived that little or no social support was available to them. Are these members identifiable in any specific group? Cross-tabulations of sex, political participation, kibbutz group, education, and workplace (service/production or white collar/blue collar) had no relation to social support, but we noted that there were some significant differences in terms of age: the young reported significantly less social support than the middle-aged and older members of Vatik. (See table 6.12.)

Upon cross-tabulating ten-year age groups by social support, it was ascertained that the age group with the lowest social support was between 15-19 (there was no one under 15 in the study), the high school students. The age group 20-29 reported almost as much social support as other groups but, having passed the early stages of adolescence and the Israeli army experience, and having rejoined their community as members, their situation differed markedly from that of high school students. In high school 80 percent reported low social support (52.9 percent in 20-29 bracket); 20 percent reported middle social support (17.6 percent in 20-29 bracket); and zero percent reported high social support (29.4 percent in 20-29 bracket). The differences were significant, but because the sample of very young members was small (only 27) it should be examined more carefully in future research. Differences in social support according to education were apparent, but can be traced to age. The problem with social support among high school students is of particular concern, given the much touted advantages of the collective educational system. However, it must be kept in mind that, as pointed out in the chapter on education, adolescence and the kibbutz high school remain the weakest part of the educational system in Vatik.

TABLE 6.11 Social Support in the Village

Low:	No one available for social support or no social support	13.6%
Middle:	A little or some social support	83.4
High:	Very much social support	3.0

Valid answers: 66.
Missing answers: 90.

TABLE 6.12 Age and Social Support

Age	Low	Social Support Middle	High
Young 15-29	56.5%	21.7%	21.7%
Middle 30-45	8.3	58.3	33.3
Old 45-70	16.1	48.8	35.5
Valid answers: 66. Missing answers : 90.			

Significance: .0007. Measure of association: .32 (Cramer's V).

An overall correlation between the Social Support Index and the Composite Mental Health Index was very low and had no significance. Although the presence of social support may have buffered stress, social support in itself did not necessarily produce positive mental health. Social support was related to satisfaction strongly and significantly, and about 27 percent of those members who reported satisfaction also reported high social support.

Kibbutz Vatik has suffered in the quality and intimacy of social relations because of its historical development from the small commune to the village system, yet no specific group is disenfranchised from social support. This is evidently a mixed blessing. At a time when psychological counseling is becoming a greater concern in Vatik, when personal development is more accepted, and when clinics are more accessible to the village, methods of increasing social support for individual members may prove more workable forms of "therapy" (Srole 1976).

Mental Illnesses and Mental Health Services

Admission to mental hospitals is a commonly used criterion of the presence of mental illness in other statistical works. According to the social secretary of the kibbutz, only four admissions have occurred in forty years. Three of these subsequently returned to normal life in the kibbutz; one remained in the hospital. This seems like a very small number, and it is difficult to avoid the inference that the kibbutz has reduced serious mental illness in comparison with the outside society. Unfortunately the research necessary to deal with that issue is still being gathered, and a brief description of the mental health services available to members inside the community would be more productive at this time.

This description is based on interviews conducted with several kibbutz secretaries and members of the counseling committee in the village. These members all discussed examples in general terms and were specific only about the number of members involved and the types of problems.

An adult member can get counseling or a more formal kind of help by going to the counseling committee made up of a nurse, a physiotherapist, a special educator, a psychologist, a gerontologist, and the social secretary (ex officio). After determining that a need exists (for example, a sudden change in behavior, the obvious onset of depression, or known marital problems), members of this committee recommend to a member, his or her family, or the social secretary, that a conference occur. This process grows organically out of the sustained contact between members and their knowledge of each other.

Counseling in most adult cases is arranged with someone not a member of the community. These conferences occur in strict confidentiality and the secretariat is not informed of the members' obtaining assistance. Nevertheless, the social secretary has pointed out that counseling is far more accepted today than it was in the past when "members thought you were crazy if you wanted to talk to a counselor."

In situations involving children, the possibility of family counseling is discussed in the education committee, sometimes along with the counseling committee; the child-care worker or nurse often initiates the discussion and explains the situation to the child's parents. Several members noted that family counseling was (and is) being used more than individual counseling when children are involved because viewing the problem as an organic failing of the child is no longer accepted. Parents unwilling to participate in a formal helping situation are never forced to get involved in such help. Often, however, if the problem with the child repeats and is serious, the parents slowly come around.

The community uses counselors, psychiatrists, psychologists, and social workers from the Kibbutz Education College at Oranim or several regional kibbutz-run mental health centers for child-related problems. If adult problems (like a death in a family, or a work-related depression) cannot be handled by community personnel or the kibbutz mental health centers, a private psychiatrist or a national health program psychologist is used. In 1974, the Kibbutz Federations began training kibbutz-member social workers to provide advice and counseling to communities other than their own. The community does its own evaluation and referral; it finances the cost of mental health care from a general health budget or members' insurance, and usually uses kibbutz federation facilities staffed mostly by kibbutz members or

carefully chosen staff who have worked with the movement over many years.

Except for the few critical mental health situations that required hospitalization, and child and family counseling, three independent informers stressed the following problems as repetitive: family problems relating to death, family crises where short-term support is needed, marital conflicts, and young members' anxieties either before entering the army or after returning. One member who has knowledge of the committee's work over several years reported that formal counseling must be considered for one or two members a month. The number of members currently being counseled in all areas is less than ten, and in the year of the research another member associated with the committee reported that three persons were receiving long-term counseling that year.

Unlike bureaucracies that identify persons in need of help according to their "admission," the kibbutz identifies situations—especially those involving children—before they become critical, and makes immediate recommendations to arrange helpful support and proper arrangements. This would have to be taken into account if a statistical comparison of mental health services were made between the kibbutz and the outside society.

Conclusion

Kibbutz Vatik emerges from our examination of personality issues, life satisfaction, and mental health as a community with a diverse population that deals with personality, self-development, and meaning systems to encourage that diversity. It has a sizeable but small number of members who persistently experience unhappiness, symptoms of depression and anxiety, loss of control over their lives or mental illness, lack of appropriate social support, and occasional counseling problems. Although it organizes diversity to eliminate the grossest human problems and sufferings, it is often at a loss to encourage smooth transitions at important junctures in the life cycle among its members (especially the aged and adolescents). The most important finding is that no particular group in the community—except for women in relation to their work options—is psychologically disenfranchised. Vatik seems then to be a "good society" in that it does not purposefully create conditions for social disintegration or willfully exploit specific groups.

The identity of members is not uniform and not beyond question. The achievement of integrity is not automatic. People have common interests but various approaches to their meaning systems. Although

who they are and what they believe in do not predicate the exploitation of one group by another, neither do they automatically guarantee a life free of problems and psychological tension. As it does in other areas of life, Vatik develops a homemade arrangement to deal with issues of mental illness, even though the most serious forms of crime and mental illness have been rare.

Addendum

Before concluding, the judgment of the membership of Kibbutz Vatik on its community as a totality will be considered. Instead of examining each area of life separately, we chose to ask the membership to evaluate the community by listing its most serious problems (question 29), and its least problematic areas. Table 6.13 shows the results.

The most serious problems were the low standard of the work norm, the loss of ideology, inequality, generational relations, and the lack of normative discipline. It is interesting that members did not have complaints about the functioning of kibbutz institutions or their delivery of basic services and rights: protexia (favoritism), privileged use of cars, the standard of living, dissatisfaction with the secretariat, dissatisfaction with the committees, the excessive influence of one group, the oppression of women. This indicates that the membership basically supported the way the community was put together. The standard of living was growing and tolerable; there was no sense that one group had control over the kibbutz or that central administrative institutions did not have the community's good at heart. Despite certain problems with the status of women regarding locus of control, women were not viewed as oppressed. And despite the obvious and upsetting inequality in some areas of Vatik, the privileged use of cars was not a fundamental problem, probably because the community does have a fairly equitable car pool; outside workers who used personal cars had to announce their trips beforehand, and a free bus ticket policy throughout all of Israel was in effect for all members. Even the richness of Vatik, next to the stark poverty and the incompetence of social welfare in a development town just a few miles away, did not concern members much. They had little concern about the functioning of the kibbutz compared to the outside world. This lack of connection with the rest of Israeli society, especially the oppressed, has become an increasing concern for kibbutz movement political leaders.

TABLE 6.13 Serious and Nonserious Community Problems

Serious (%)	Problem	Nonserious (%)
39	Low standard of work norm	9
37	Loss of ideology	5
25	Personal problems of members	20
18	Unsuitability of members who have same rights as others	18
32	Inequality	13
2	Protexia (or favoritism)	28
9	Privileged use of cars	24
35	Generational relations	12
15	Relations between the members	10
14	Collective education	10
9	Standard of living	28
17	Disagreement in norms	3
14	Hired labor	13
4	Richness of kibbutz among poverty of neighbors	17
7	Excessive influence of one group	17
27	Lack of normative discipline	3
2	Oppression of women	22
15	General lack of order	13
4	Dissatisfaction with Secretariat	5
2	Dissatisfaction with Committees	4

Serious problems: Valid answers: 140. Missing cases: 18.

Nonserious problems: Valid answers: 87. Missing cases: 71.

Note: Figures indicate percentage of sample choosing that answer. Because members were asked for a maximum of four answers, the distance between percentages elicits meaning, not size. The main way to check the accuracy of these evaluations was to compare the problems members considered most serious with the problems they considered least serious because contradictory judgments would indicate that the question was not accurately answered. The list of serious problems meets these criteria. Because of the closeness of the percentages for those issues indicated as problems, they will not be ranked in the final results because to do so may mislead the reader into thinking that one particular issue is the central problem when it is really just one of the perceived serious problems.

Note

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There was some contradiction about a series of other problems that concerned a moderate number of members (15 to 20 percent). Almost equal numbers of members viewed the following as serious problems and as not serious problems: the personal problems of members, the unsuitability of members who had the same rights as others, the relations between the members, and collective education. Because the check for accuracy in the evaluations for the most serious problems showed that members' views on which problems were serious on one question did not contradict their views on which problems were not serious on another question, there is no reason to assume that members were contradicting themselves. Rather, we assume that some members viewed these as problems and others did not. What is relevant is that the difference was expressed in almost equivalent terms. The following are tentative interpretations of these moderate problems: possibly those who had personal problems or came into contact with these problems often viewed them as more important; possibly the point behind a concern (and a lack of concern) that there were members unsuited for kibbutz life indicates that some members thought the flexibility of recent years led some individuals to take advantage of collective institutions; possibly some members (only 10 percent) who had experienced bad personal relations themselves saw this as a concern; and as for collective education, the dissatisfaction with the functioning and planning of this area of Kibbutz Vatik was outlined in a detailed manner in the chapter on education. Now let us return to the most serious problems.

If any common thread characterizes most of these perceptions it is the individual-community tension. The weak work norm was consistently criticized in the interviews as a serious difficulty, and is characteristic of our definition of the dilemma of Vatik: Where are the limits, when individual and communal obligations are rearranged, beyond which more is lost than gained in a trade-off? How can changes and trade-offs be made, while keeping the limits in clear sight? The loss of an ideology that was at one time ascetic, developed under emergency conditions (the founding of the Zionist state and local military defense),

and more closely tied to a definite world view (socialism) is a problem because that ideology once spelled out the limits that concern us here.[16]

The central and very emotional concern with inequality was the most heated daily expression of the confusion over limits from both our point of view and that of the members themselves. Generational tension is a sign that the confusion about limits (and the passing of old limits—pioneering ideology) involves a friction between old and young. Indeed, when a cross-tabulation was done by age, older members perceived loss of ideology as a problem much more significantly than younger members. Of course, this does not mean the elders are right and that the younger members precipitated this lack of limits. While the concern here with the passing of the old ideology is more dear to the senior members, they participated and participate the same way in bringing about the new circumstance. The evaluation of Kibbutz Vatik's problems by its members, then, tends to give credence to what has been called the central dilemma of limits, and trade-offs, in the village.

To gain more insight into what members thought about the quality of life when they had to list criteria in general, we asked members question 37: "What are the criteria you use to evaluate the quality of life in a kibbutz?" The reasoning behind this question was that attachment to particular problems of Vatik might cloud over some of the more fundamental judgments of the membership. The results are shown in table 6.14.

Despite the passing of the intimate commune, the social relations among the members—what has been called here the net of social agreements—was what members saw as characteristic of the kibbutz. The importance of culture, to which our data point with great import, was also heavily emphasized. Members evaluated their quality of life according to some clear external criteria: how committed people were to staying or leaving. It was noted previously that the kibbutz, as the author views it, is really built to experience individual-community tensions, and that few buffers (religion, strong purist ideology) exist to hide such tension. Closely related are strong concerns by the members that a good kibbutz balances equality as a community goal with the needs of individuals. The extent to which many different and varied needs of members are met in the collectivity is one of the strongest and most recent criteria applied throughout Vatik and the kibbutz movement as a whole.

Table 6.14 Quality of Life Criteria in Order of Preference

Relationships between the members	80%
Good cultural and social life	65
Social stability (in kibbutz terminology means number of members departing or staying)	55
Equality	50
Extent to which many different and varied needs of members are met	50
Standard of living	40
Inner democracy	38
Order (the rules of the kibbutz are enforced and not ignored)	27
The strength of the political ideology	18
No hired labor	18
Readiness to help other kibbutzim	15
Attachment to the kibbutz movement	14
Political involvement at large	11
Absorption of immigrants	9

Valid cases: 144. Missing cases: 14.

The standard of living, inner democracy, and order of kibbutz regulations were moderate concerns of less than half of the kibbutz membership. Our interpretation of this is double-edged: first, in and of themselves, these central criteria would not really determine the "kibbutz" that is being described; and second, they can be seen as consequences of achieving what is most important to the membership. It must also be added that political authoritarianism, poverty, and the breakdown of all order (lawbreaking, chaos, crime) are three phenomena with which Vatik has never had problems.

One disturbing finding is how little the membership was concerned about the larger political scene. Until the election of the Likud governments, there was always an impressive number of kibbutz members in the Israeli Knesset (parliament) and the cabinet, but the criteria for evaluating the kibbutz as an institution place very little emphasis on the strength of its political ideology, its political involvement at large, the absorption of immigrants (considered a prime national goal in Israel), and its use of hired labor. Use of hired labor (and the lack of concern about its violation of the self-labor ethic) is a serious problem that cannot be overemphasized. It is partially outweighed by the actual situation of hired labor in Kibbutz Vatik, which is minimal—and likely to decrease even more (for complex economic and ideological reasons, and because the Kibbutz Artzi Federation disapproves of hired labor practices). Nevertheless, considering hired labor an unimportant element in evaluating a kibbutz

seems hypocritical. Finally, the low emphasis on attachment to the kibbutz movement and the readiness to help other kibbutzim indicates that the move from the intimate commune has reached federation level: the reasons for the federation and mutual aid between kibbutzim have to do with matters of survival more than substantive matters of ideology now.

Notes

1. The self-report semantic differential measure was that of Sherwood (1962). A few descriptive categories were added to accommodate the population. This measure was used descriptively and not as a measure of identity perception or mental health. It is found in Shaver and Robinson (1969).

2. Because persons describe themselves similarly is no basis to claim that the underlying psychic dimensions and dynamics of their selves are also similar. Yet the author is aware that one could plausibly contend that table 6.1. supports an opposite conclusion of greater uniformity in kibbutz personality.

3. Valid cases: 150. Missing cases: 8.

4. Achieving equitable social relations was a goal of the early movement, and interpersonal closeness was defined as part of this goal. The kibbutz cannot be conceived as an interpersonal, growth-oriented community now. Despite its radical communal beginnings, extreme interpersonal closeness, and diversity, the kibbutz does not accept extreme diversity in individual development. Group marriage, homosexuality, and serial monogamy are definitely not accepted in kibbutz life. Visiting homosexuals have been excluded in Vatik, and although they have not been asked to leave, this was certainly a factor in denying membership to one prospective candidate.

5. Valid cases: 136. Missing cases: 22.

6. Valid cases: 149. Missing cases: 9.

7. Members at Vatik clearly have a problem with gossip, which they solve by sharing intimate information with only a few friends. Often, members can "figure out" someone's life just through observation. Several members advised that the best solution is to develop a "thick skin" to preserve a sense of privacy when others are able to see something even a thick skin cannot hide. On the whole, little vicious

gossip was found, although everyone seemed to be known collectively for some unfortunate incident.

8. Kibbutz members, when called, serve their country without compare. Nevertheless, it can be said that the exciting dream of building the state and embarking on the Zionist voyage is not a day-to-day excitement, as it was in earlier times.

9. When the "first times" of a small community pass and the religion of "intentionality" (the pioneering effort) is worn down, in the author's opinion, only a unified spiritual tradition can bring peace to the aged, and a sense of meaningful involvement to the members. The kibbutz faces individual-community tensions that could become conflicts that would threaten its nature as a cooperative community. The person-community harmony, to affect a community and resolve conflicts, needs to take place in the context of a vibrant cultural, symbolic, and religious system. For the kibbutz, Judaism is the most logical religious direction, and it may represent, ironically, the salvation of the kibbutz's problems. (See *The World of Primitive Man* by Paul Radin, 1953, who develops the notion that primitive societies were fundamentally cooperative communities with spiritual-ethical traditions that guarded the individual-communal harmony; and *Kibbutz Judaism* by Shalom Lilker, who constmcted with expert historical and theological evidence, the spiritual system this author intuitively believes might rescue the kibbutz if ever insoluble conflicts threaten it.) In the decade following this field work, an incredible resurgence of interest in nontraditional Judaism resurfaced in all the secular kibbutzim, a phenomenon reviewed in detail in Lilker (1982).

10. The relation was very highly significant and extremely strong (.93).

11. A small number of this group (6.8 percent) did report that they were somewhat happy and that they achieved their goals.

12. All evaluations of significance and the strength of association or correlation in all cross-tabulated tables have been standardized according to accepted statistical practice; for example, the use of the evaluation "very significant" or "moderate relation" refers to the same numerical value in all parts of the text. See the appendix section on statistical methodology for a listing of the standard usages. The attitudinal variables used in this and the other cross-tabulations, for which results are reported in this section, can be examined in the appendix section "Outline of Quality of Life Data for Kibbutz Research Project."

13. A complete summary of cross-tabulations of all variables in this study by over twenty demographic groupings (in short, a fine-tooth-

comb check for stratification of all types) is available from the author. In this report, the reader can compare different members of demographic groups, for example, men and women, young and old, high school and college educated, etc., on all the questions used in this book.

14. The other studies cited were based on hospital admissions, and not self-report tests. They are presented to illustrate the point that social class has been traditionally related to mental illness, and not to initiate a comparison of mental health in the kibbutz and the outside. Obviously, such work must be done. We need, for example, to know if the small number of persons reporting anxiety or depression is really small when compared to other societies. Recently several scholars began a more in-depth review of the psychological issues of kibbutz members (see Snarey 1982; Beit-Hallahmi and Rabin 1983; Leviatan 1987, forthcoming).

15. What remains unexplained as far as the kibbutz is concerned is the fact that women do indeed have social, economic, educational, and political rights. They were far more equal in the pioneering days of the community and have moved from that position. The argument here is how that change occurred. Tiger and Shepher (1975) ascribe the change to a basic orientation in females that is bio-socially conditioned; Kanter, with whom we concur, says that more subtle organizational strains that women perceived as inherent in the male-dominated situation began to shape the behavior and expectations of kibbutz women (1976). Unfortunately there is no research in the kibbutz dealing with such subtle strains, or the inference that women do perceive—albeit very subtly—such strains.

16. When we speak about the loss of ideology we mean the loss of the original pioneering ideology. As indicated earlier, the loss of a kibbutz ideology by the middle-aged members and the younger generation is a myth perpetuated by the older members and has little basis in fact.

7
Conclusion

This, then, is Kibbutz Vatik, its social arrangements, and its budding tensions and dilemmas.

In *Sociology as an Art Form* Robert Nisbet writes:

It occurred to me a number of years ago while I was engaged in exploration of some of the sources of modem sociology that none of the great themes which have provided continuing challenge and also theoretical foundation for sociologists during the last century were even reached through anything resembling what we are today fond of identifying as "scientific method." … Of course science is concerned with problems, with questions rooted in empirical observation as well as reflection …. The great harm of the present consecration of method, including theory construction, is that it persuades students that a small idea abundantly verified is worth more than a large idea still unsusceptible to textbook techniques of verification …. The error is, as I have several times stressed, the belief that techniques peculiar to mere demonstration of something can be utilized also in the discovery of something. Deeply rooted in all such works is the delusion that the creative imagination works logically, or should work logically with everything neat and tidy …. Finally, although the really vital unity of science and art lies in the ways of understanding reality, we should not overlook the important similarity of means of representing reality in the arts and sciences. We are familiar of course with the portrait as it is found in painting, sculpture, and also literature. Portraiture is an ancient and universally recognized form in the arts. So is landscape which we see so widely in painting, but also in literature and music …. A great deal of what is most

important in sociology consists of, in effect, landscapes. [1976:7,8,18,21]

The aim of this work was to portray and evaluate the quality of life in Kibbutz Vatik. Anthropological and social psychological methods were used together.

The goal of Kibbutz Vatik has not been "reached" because its goal is a process, not Utopia or the elimination of problems. The community is experiencing many strains in seven areas of life. Socially, the village has made the transition to normal life without human diversity presenting an insurmountable problem. Diversity has, in fact, helped to flavor the inevitable and necessary attempt to upgrade constantly the job of balancing individual and communal issues. The "outside" presents a stressful boundary problem. The social arrangement whereby some members work outside lends itself to inequality and jealousy, and no clear solutions exist in this area. Vatik has diluted social support for all members and runs the risk that in many situations, committees, extended families, and intimate friend groups will not reach all members. Members may tend to assume that a new hobby program or a committee will alleviate the increasing loneliness of the aged when actually they crave a selfless visit that cannot be institutionalized.

Historically, the community can no longer hope to reap the benefits of existing in a special historical period when pioneerism, self-sacrifice, and dreams of a new society dilute human diversity and make apportioning of resources much easier. That time is long past. But change, especially under the guise of technology, must be dealt with. Clear norms for its introduction and influence on many hidden aspects of the social milieu do not exist and are not being formulated quickly enough. The kibbutz traded the power to freeze time when it decided to opt for human rights and social flexibility.

Economically, inequality is the constant tug at Vatik's existence. It is a small problem, with potentially large consequences if the concern about it reaches divisive proportions (the violations are not serious, and probably will not be for the foreseeable future). Because productivity and profit have become more resourceful, the necessary

connection between a simple life and an equal community has been broken. But Vatik's lack of success in founding a new industry reduces its economic resources and complicates the problem of equality. Many members are very suspicious of the intimacy of affluence and egalitarian economic cooperation. A simpler approach to human needs and a simpler approach to productivity (by introducing ecology into production through self-sufficiency, and profit through environmental impact) may make the long-term achievement of a better quality of life more feasible.

As for work, too many members work for the sake of doing the job and are not evaluating their work task and role to insure the greatest amount of individual satisfaction. Awareness of the sociotechnical aspects of work and broad-based attempts to help each member structure his or her work role will make this central area of life potentially less stressful. Possibly the absence of direct (versus diffuse) and frequent democratic participation in some work branches is related to this buckling. Women, concentrated in service branches and receiving less higher education, and the aged, willing to continue to sacrifice in their graceful transition, require immediate attention in the sphere of work.

Politically, Vatik is not based on charismatic authority, and there is little threat of a serious concentration of power in the hands of a few. The social fellowship of Vatik, its problematic but still vibrant local culture, the diffuse character of its participation, the rotation of offices, and the lack of special economic rewards for leaders, all work together to make its formal, direct, town-meeting type of democracy function without serious problems. There are, however, mounting pressures. Women participate less in leadership positions, and report a significantly lower sense of control over their lives. General participation in the weekly assembly meeting is dropping off, and if it is matched by too much privatization of social life and a weakening of other aspects of Vatik's democracy, a serious threat to the participatory character of the kibbutz is certainly possible. Last, a serious question arises when we consider what unites the kibbutz in terms of fundamental ethical concepts, religious perceptions, and active

experience of a common culture. Perhaps Judaism will serve as an important element in the way individual kibbutz members and the kibbutz movement as a whole respond to this basic problem, namely, that the kibbutz is a revolutionary society in a nonrevolutionary time and country. Its pioneering ideology is relevant to internal social arrangements but is unfocused in its connection to the fundamental ideals and hopes that motivate individuals.

Educationally, the kibbutz high school strains every nerve of the individual-communal dialectic. It is the potential breeding ground for polarization over the function of kibbutz society and the orientation the community should take about outside technical knowledge. If the technical inefficiency and the social efficiency of the high school are not tolerated together, the community may start socializing members for the wrong society—a *Gesellschaft* of some other name. The older generation must recognize the strain placed on the young by a condemnation of all their ideology, when it is the pioneering ideology they mainly lack. Providing more cross-age support, more political participation of teenagers, and more possibilities for new relationships to answer their slight problems of social support may relieve some of the tension of adolescence. We know too many cases of selfish kibbutz parents who are degree-hungry for their sons and daughters and through this express negatively their doubt about the educational efficiency of the community. In the children's houses, staffing problems abuse the unique method of education.

Personally, a member has much influence but little power. The conditions for personality development are plentiful and their improvement can only enhance the chances people have to find happiness. The community is not committed to controlling or coercing the inner development of members. Still, despite laudable achievements in the area of mental health and the provision of classless satisfaction, little is really understood about how members pose deeply personal questions in relation to the collective. The special strain of some women's sense of powerlessness and the clear tendency to dissatisfaction in old age must be dealt with.

These stresses and strains in the seven areas of Vatik life are real. On the other hand, they cannot be seen out of perspective. Vatik has a unique set of clear, stable life arrangements based on volunteerism. The community's structural arrangements are unilaterally built for social fellowship, mutual aid, economic cooperation, diffuse power, informational networks, and visible nonexploitive labor. Education has an evident set of values and an enduring view of the "good life" to which they apply. The community has a school, but the whole community is a school. The social policy function of education, then, is effectively integrated with the population and the place that can benefit most from all the methods of learning and teaching employed. Thus, the setting of the landscape encourages a high quality of life by fairly efficiently organizing social functions. The channeling of human potentialities in Vatik's institutions is "consistent with basic needs of personal security and support," but also presents "breadth and looseness of cultural and social form." (Oliver 1976:104)

This is not enough. A consistent advantage of Vatik is the attempt to work for an urban-rural mix, a median social form that respects individual development and social fellowship. The functions of the kibbutz are not based on coercion or stressful socialization. They mix and attempt to balance both elements of *gemeinschaft* and *gesellschaft*. In this sense, a good quality of life avoids both extremes. The presence of stresses and problems is a sign of health, although health is not a sign of Utopia. The dual culture dilemma of Vatik's members is widespread and systemic. As long as the members succeed in using this thing called "kibbutz" as a common language to integrate the opposites, the likelihood is high that people will continue to have a good quality of life. The kibbutz will then continue to deliver basic human needs without gross inequalities, without violating human rights, without crime, suicide, rampant mental illness, organized alienation, or massive dependence on some federal bureaucratic maze of programs. The contrasts of the landscape involve trade-offs that exact good prices. A high quality of life is not automatic, but the experience of a good life is within reach, given that the collective does not promise absolute spiritual peace and interpersonal harmony. A society with no problems can go in

two directions: it can be privatized so that persons are not aware of problems and thus do not have to confront them in the fellowship (bureaucracies, budgets, and paper pushers do that); or it can be a "herd," a community where total identification is pushed, awareness strictly controlled, and confrontation over issues limited by the vested interests of power groups. Both possibilities of social problem resolution corrupt the function of education. The first makes it into a supermarket; the second makes it into a church.

Vatik takes "the middle path"; but the word is *takes*, not *achieves*.

> The central challenge for creating positive culture in modern society is inventing social institutions in which the primal and the modem elements of human evolution are allowed expression in non-destructive and non-competitive ways; or in which modem and primal are integrated within a common setting. [Oliver 1976:128]

Whether the kibbutz, according to Vatik's portrait, is a better society than the cities, towns, neighborhoods, suburbs, and settlements of Western society is a question for comparison. This has not been our goal. However, the kibbutz represents a median form of cooperative community that may be timely at this point in history, given the mounting "rust of progress" (Nisbet 1976:115). Vatik gives us many good reasons to view microcommunity as a realistic alternative palatable to a large diversity of human beings.

National social policy need not be based solely on governmental programs that distribute taxes into bureaucracies to pick up the pieces of the rust of progress. Rather, the cooperative community form is evidence that broad, reasonable and efficient methods of organizing human settlements and communities exist that improve life by providing some basic elements to which a social policy might aspire: smallness, fellowship, cooperation, work, participation, community-based learning, and a supportive personal atmosphere. The kibbutz also proves that the exigencies of human freedom and human dignity make the achievement of

Utopia a price too high for civilization to pay. Utopia is indeed nowhere, but viable alternatives do exist.

Appendix

Research Background, Materials, and Methodology

Schedule and Conduct of the Research

The settings of data collection for this study were two kibbutz communities in Israel. The first, a pretest community, was chosen at random. It was a smaller kibbutz, young, experiencing some of the elements of the intimate kibbutz with which young communities are associated.

The community upon which the investigation is based was chosen in consultation with Dr. Menachem Rosner, Director of the Center for Social Research on the Kibbutz at Givat Chaviva and Director of the Institute for Kibbutz Studies, University of Haifa; and the late Professor Joseph Shepher, then Chairman, Department of Sociology, University of Haifa, also of the Institute for Kibbutz Studies.

The parameters of the investigation were presented to a council made up of the social secretaries (the main executive officers) of the kibbutzim of one federation (the HaShomer HaTzair Federation, with over seventy member communities at that time) by Dr. Rosner, and subsequently we received invitations from several communities. Kibbutz Vatik (a pseudonym) was chosen over the others because it had all of the following qualities: (1) it was relatively large (520 members); (2) it included a mixture of agricultural and industrial plants (as opposed to communities leaning heavily in one direction); (3) it was founded in 1936 and is considered "established" by the federation (as opposed to newer communities or very wealthy communities with inordinately successful industrial plants); (4) it contained members with an ethnic mix and a broad distribution of age groups; and (5) the community was not on a national border and has not seen military action in any war or skirmish since its inception. These qualities are considered those of a "normal" kibbutz and are representative of most kibbutzim. The preceding

criteria were considered significant in establishing the relevance of the study for the United States community.

The sample is a purposive sample of the membership. The 45 members interviewed were chosen in consultation with the previously mentioned sociologists and a sociologist of the Center for Social Research on the Kibbutz who resides in the community under study. Members were chosen to be representative of all age groups in proportion to population and representative of both sexes.

The sociological data of previous studies as well as the impressionistic data of previous descriptions of the kibbutz were used in constructing the research program, which was carried out during a fifteen-month period in Israel from July 1973 to October 1974, and again from December 1975 to February 1976. The author returned to the community for short periods of time in 1980 and 1982-83 to monitor changes and continue to review his findings. This work involved an ethnographic study of the community under consideration based on extended participant observation while living in the community. This stage of the study was composed of the following:

- residence of three months in Israeli city and suburbs for comparison with the kibbutz community

- intensive study of Hebrew to allow a level of fluency for research and university study of kibbutz research

- close work with the two senior Israeli kibbutznikim (i.e. members) sociologists, involving a review of existing research, planning the study, and reviewing problems of kibbutz investigation

- living at a pretest kibbutz community (not the community studied) to pretest the interview schedule and examine relevant socioeconomic and political issues along with personality issues (in a tentative manner) that would be dealt with in the questionnaires—this involved full work responsibilities in the community for a period of five months, with research conducted after work hours (part of this period overlapped with the 1973 war in Israel)

- studying with kibbutz members (mostly social workers) at the Ruppin Institute, the kibbutz system's agricultural and vocational college, a course on kibbutz society given by the late Professor Joseph Shepher

- visiting various kibbutz communities and parts of the country to compare kibbutz and nonkibbutz life, and life in various villages and towns in the country.

Following this period of approximately eight months, the main body of research was conducted at Kibbutz Vatik. This research involved the following components (on both field trips):

- participant observation, living and working in the community as a full-time member for a period of six months (May to October 1974), including complete access to meetings, archives, newsletters, and related economic and social documents

- interviewing members both for extensive nonstructured data and for a purposive sample of 45 members, using a directed questioning schedule regarding their commitment and attitude to the community and participation

- administration of extensive questionnaires (in Hebrew)

- regular (biweekly) consultations with kibbutz member sociologists, especially the late Professor Joseph Shepher and Professor Menachem Rosner

- preparation in consultation with kibbutz sociologists, community members, and the results of a pretest, of a comprehensive Hebrew questionnaire on attitude and commitment to the community, participation in the community, philosophy of life, philosophy of social structure, and personality

- administration of the questionnaire to a representative sample of 108 members in addition to the fifty members participating in interviews

- collection of historical material regarding developments in the social, economic, and political structures from the community archives

- initiation of a project to document the community photographically, beginning with slides

- directed observation (note taking, survey sampling, random checks) of various significant sectors of the community, for example, the political structure (through directed observation of general assembly meetings—their conduct, agenda, aftermath and continuation)

- collection of unpublished English material and published but significant Hebrew research on the kibbutz communities for reference in further stages of the research.

This phase of the research was completed in October, 1974. From October 1974 to May 1976 the author was involved in the following activities:

- translation of some of the interviews

- review in more depth of previous research so as to summarize methods of analysis of social, economic, political, and psychological material for use in the analysis phase

- preparation of an extensive bibliography on the kibbutz and cooperative communities

- teaching an experimental course, Kibbutz Society and Community, at the Harvard University Graduate School of Education so as to refine methods of presenting the community to people

- extensive translation of materials (interviews, newsletters, meeting minutes, Kibbutz Federation documents) and reviews of pertinent recent developments on the kibbutz in the press and in the congresses of the various kibbutz federations

- computerization of all questionnaire data, construction of a computer program, generation and analysis of more than 10,000 pages of data according to the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (Nie, Dent, and Hull 1970).

During the most recent phase of the research Professor Avraham Yassour of the University of Haifa, a visiting associate at Harvard University, a kibbutz member, and social historian for the kibbutz movement, acted as a devoted adviser to the author. Close and intense consultations continued with the late Professor Joseph Shepher and Professor Menachem Rosner, both kibbutzniks.

Statistical Methodology

Several technical matters must be dispensed with before examining the implications of members' diversities for quality of life. They are aspects of quality of life under discussion, the method

of analysis, the type of data under consideration, and the statistical standards used to report the data.

"Quality of life" is taken to include attitudes, commitments, and satisfactions. Attitudes of members toward each of the areas of life discussed were sought. One aspect of human diversity and the quality of life, then, will be whether different people view Kibbutz Vatik differently. Commitments here refer mainly to ideological motivation for joining or staying in the kibbutz and the commitment by an individual to participate in the community's activities (political participation). Satisfactions refer to the consequences, specifically in terms of "good" or "bad" of a member's life in the community: standard measures of satisfaction, work satisfaction, happiness, mental health, and anxiety-depression were used. The following section outlines all questions and indices (groups of questions) and factors (groups of questions that statistical analysis proved measured one coherent factor) for which data were computed.

To avoid purporting to find something that is not actually there and to dispense with the possibility that slight tendencies in the data found now might mistakenly be used as the basis for sweeping conclusions later, very strict methods of statistical judgment were used and their use was standardized throughout this research.[1] Because the data in use will rely on cross-tabulations, two kinds of statistics are of importance: measures of association and measures of significance. Measures of significance tell us whether there is an association between one variable and another (for example, sex and mental health) that has a high probability of not having occurred by chance and is probably related to an actual pattern in the population. The chi square statistic gives this information, and we have used conservative chi squares of .05 or greater (Hays 1973; Kerlinger 1973; Marascuillo and Levin 1983). All references to significance will be standardized, as in figure 8. Measures of association tell us how strong the relationship is and, to avoid an overemphasis on numbers to the detriment of the ideas under discussion, all references to the strength of the relationship between two variables will be standardized according to the method shown in figure 8.

Outline of Quality of Life Data for the Kibbutz Research Project[2]

Attitudes

History and Change—referring to issues discussed in chapter 1

Question 27 Attitudes toward Technical Innovation +

FIGURE 8

Measures of Association and Words Used to Describe the Association and Measures of Significance to Describe Significance of Difference

Association[a]		Significance[b]	
.00 to .19	inconsequential	.05 to .01	significant
.20 to .29	very weak	.009 to .001	very significant
.30 to .30	moderate	.0009 to .0001	highly significant
.40 to .49	moderately strong	.00001	very highly significant
.50 to .69	strong		
.70 to .99	very strong		
1.00	a direct relationship		

[a]Because cross-tabulation data and not correlations are in use here, the specific statistic in use is Cramer's V, which is comparable to Pearson correlation coefficients. Eleven other statistics were figured for each table and used in the analysis to buttress this one.

[b]The meaning of significance measures is simple: .05 means that there were five chances in 100 that the differences in the data in the sample occurred by chance, .009 means nine chances in 1000, .0001 means one chance in 10,000, obviously a very good bet that the data reported show significant differences in the sample that have a high probability of indicating differences in the population itself.

Figure 8 Measures of Association and Words Used to Describe the Association and Measures of Significance to Describe Significance of Difference

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.00 to .19	inconsequential	.05 to .01	significant
.20 to .29	very weak	.009 to .001	very significant
.30 to .30	moderate	.0009 to .0001	highly significant
.40 to .49	moderately strong	.00001	very highly significant
.50 to .69	strong		
.70 to .99	very strong		
1.00	a direct relationship		

[a]Because cross-tabulation data and not correlations are in use here, the specific statistic in use is Cramer's V, which is comparable to Pearson correlation coefficients. Eleven other statistics were figured for each table and used in the analysis to buttress this one.

[b]The meaning of significance measures is simple: .05 means that there were five chances in 100 that the differences in the data in the sample occurred by chance, .009 means nine chances in 1000, .0001 means one chance in 10,000, obviously a very good bet that the data reported show significant differences in the sample that have a high probability of indicating differences in the population itself.

Question 28   Criteria for Technological Innovations +

Social—issues discussed in chapter 2
Question 27   Types of Unacceptable Behavior +
Question 24   Attitudes toward Studies Options
Question 25   Evaluation of Attitudes to Studies Options in Community (Flexible. . .)
Question 26   Attitudes toward Work Options
Question 42   Social Relations With Neighbors
Question 44   Attitudes toward Source of Social Control +
Question 45   Attitudes toward Group Involvement +
Question 46   Attitudes toward Group Criticism +
Question 55   Attitudes toward Social Problem Resolution +
Question 56   Attitudes toward Social Cooperation +
Question 29   Evaluation of Main Problems of Kibbutz +
Question 37   Criteria for Evaluating Quality of Life in Kibbutz +

Economic—issues discussed in chapter 3
Question 16   Attitudes toward Personal Cars +
Question 17   Reasons for Favoring Personal Cars +
Question 18   Reasons for Not Favoring Personal Cars +
Question 19   Attitudes toward Limiting the Standard of Living +

Question 8   Reasons for Joining Kibbutz Originally
Question 9   Reasons for Staying in the Kibbutz
Index   Ideological Strength Index for Joining[3]
Index   Ideological Strength Index for Staying[3]
Commitments to Political Participation (see above, Political Participation)

Satisfactions—issues discussed in chapter 6
Question 50   Degree of Happiness of Life in General
Question 59   Degree and Cause of Achievement of Goals or
                               Nonachievement
Question 61   Degree of Tiredness
Question 52   Degree of Sickness
Question 60   Degree of Normlessness
Index   General Satisfaction Index[3]
Index   Work Satisfaction Index[3]
Index   Social Support Index[3]
Index   Locus of Control (Over One's Life) Index[3]
Index   Composite Mental Health Index[3]
Index   Anxiety-Depression Index[3]

Demographic Variables
Demographic   Age
Demographic   Sex
Demographic   Years in Kibbutz
Demographic   Membership Status
Demographic   Amount of Education

Note: The complete questionnaire (in Hebrew and translated into English) and computer tapes containing the data are available from the author.

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The complete questionnaire (in Hebrew and translated into English) and computer tapes containing the data are available from the author.

Notes

1. One of the most serious problems in the use of statistics in social research is that researchers often use different sets of words to refer to different relationships. For example, a "moderate tendency" is used by different researchers for different statistical meanings. Worse, however, is the possibility that once such usages are standardized they are still misunderstood. For example, let us consider the cross-tabulation between gender and high scores in the mental health index. If men and women are associated with mental health without significant difference, the measure of association would be very low. That would mean that both groups do not differ in how they are associated with that variable, and that just as many women as men have high scores in mental health. If, however, they do differ significantly, and the strength of the association is .30, for example (between men and high scores in mental health), these data show that far more men than women have high scores in mental health. The statistic .30 tells us the strength of this association. In this case (and others under discussion) an association of .30 accounts for a difference of only 9 percent between men and women. (The approximate rule is to square the measure of association if it is comparable to "r.") This means that only approximately 9 percent more men than women have high scores in mental health. It does not mean that men are mentally healthy and women are not, or that maleness predicts better mental health. It simply states a relationship between two facts. The important fact is that while realizing the tendency exists (more men have high scores) one must continue to take into account that it is only 9 percent more for men than for women. Some researchers try to build global theories on mediocre correlations, and this is a disservice.

2. Categorical variables of a noncontinuous and dichotomous nature are marked with a " +." When referred to in the text, the statistic Cramer's V from the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences is used as a measure of association between these and other variables. Where the relationship between diversity (e.g. being male or female) and giving a particular reason or category more or less than another group exists, the accepted statistical procedure is used, i.e. the dichotomous variable is quantified. Then it is

possible to divide all persons using that category into two groups (those who chose the category or group scored as "1" and those who did not choose the category or group scored as "0") and do a statistical cross-tabulation between another variable and having chosen this particular category. Observations in the text on such associations often refer to the fact that "there is an association between being male and a moderate tendency to choose such and such." This language does not indicate causality, only an association between the frequency with which a member fell into the group male (for example) and the frequency with which a particular category was chosen (Marascuillo and Levin 1983:394-415). The evaluation of the tables is based on the method suggested by Kerlinger (1973:172) for evaluating categorical data. The statistic Cramer's V, which is an adjusted statistic for Phi for NxN tables, is comparable in meaning to the Pearson product-moment coefficient (Nie et al. 1970:276).

3. Indexes were explained in the text. Following are components of indexes not given in the text: The General Satisfaction Index is made up of questions 50 and 59. The Work Satisfaction Index is made up of questions 11, 12, 13, 14, and 15. The Political Participation Index (Historical) is based on the number of committees, special public roles, number of times in special public roles (secretary, farm manager, branch coordinator, treasurer, executive committee), and question 5. The Economic Index is made up of questions 16 and 19. The Ideological Strength Indexes were computed from questions 8 and 9.

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