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IDEOLOGY AND COMMUNAL SOCIETY : THE ISRAELI KIBBUTZ

- by -

ALISON M. BOWES, B.A. (Dunelm)

Thesis submitted for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Anthropology,
University of Durham.

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ABSTRACT

The thesis deals with the problem of the anthropological study of the relationship between beliefs and social action. The Israeli kibbutz is used an an ethnographic example and test case.

A discussion of individualist and collectivist approaches to the problem concludes that they erect a barrier between beliefs and social action. A dialectical approach is elaborated and a definition of ideology formulated. Literature on the kibbutz is reviewed, its history examined and more recent studies classified as survey oriented and structural functionalist, psychological, or belonging to the Manchester School. Participant observation as a method, the collective education system, the definition of the kibbutz as community and ideology, women's position and the family and work roles are introduced as points for discussion. The dialectical approach and the definition of ideology as interpretable, situationally transcendent and persuasive are used to examine the history of the kibbutz movement and the development of ideology.

Analytical distinctions between structured and non-structured, formal and informal, public and private arenas of social action, and the use of social networks, sociomatrices, social dramas and action sets are discussed. A historical classification of analytical levels is used in the presentation of field data from Kibbutz Goshen (of the Kibbutz Artzi federation). The history and demography of Goshen and the generation gap are discussed. Two chapters examine structured and non-structured social links, and case material illustrates the types of social relations discussed. Two chapters then focus on case material, one considering an age-group of Goshen, and the other a problem family who became informal outcasts.

The conclusion stresses the value of the dialectical approach in

directing analysis at different levels of social reality, allowing for discussion of the relationships between the levels themselves and between ideology and communal society.

* * * *

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None of these people is responsible for the contents of the thesis, whose faults are entirely my own.

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INTRODUCTION

This study is intended as a contribution to the anthropological study of the relation between beliefs and social action, and of the Israeli kibbutz. The problems discussed in the study arose from my reflections upon a first degree course in anthropology: this included structural functionalist anthropology, and other work using some of the more recent British approaches at the time (1970-73), particularly the actor-oriented approaches pioneered by the 'Manchester School' under Gluckman.(1) In the courses I undertook, there was also an element of French structuralism of the type practised by Levi-Strauss. These bodies of theory raised two particularly interesting questions, firstly that of the relationship between the approaches themselves, and secondly that of the relationship between beliefs and social action. Each approach seemed to draw a barrier between beliefs and social action, making the study of their relationship impossible.

I therefore set myself the dual task of attempting to understand both the history of anthropology itself, and the reasons why none of the extant approaches seemed capable of analysing and explaining the relationship between beliefs and social action.

At the time when I began my research, there was a growing interest in Britain in the work of some of the pupils of Lévi-Strauss who wanted to develop his structuralism in what seemed to me a more satisfactory direction. Although Lévi-Strauss can be said to have revolutionised the Radcliffe-Brownian concept of structure(2) by dealing not with observable social relations but with patterns underlying them, his work,

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(1) Mitchell (1969) includes a series of articles belonging to this school, using network approaches in particular and also referring to other transactional models.

(2) See Radcliffe-Brown (1968)

in particular The Elementary Structures of Kinship (Lévi-Strauss, 1969),[1] seemed to lack the dynamic inherent in the approaches adopted by the schools of thought to which he acknowledged his indebtedness, namely those in the historical materialist tradition (see Lévi-Strauss, 1966, Ch.9). I therefore resolved to look in that tradition for possible solutions to the problems I had posed. I hoped that I would find not only help in the understanding of the history of previous theoretical developments in British anthropology (and certain related American schools), but also indications of the kind of approach which would enable me to explain the relationship between beliefs and social action in a particular empirical situation. As I explored the available literature, I came to the conclusion that, as far as the questions I was asking were concerned, Lévi-Strauss' structuralism was a cul de sac within the school of historical materialism. I therefore resolved to follow the trail opened up by some of his pupils, particularly Godelier (1972, 1973).

British anthropology meanwhile still remained mainly outside the structuralist school of thought.[2] Working on structural functionalist material, and on other studies in similar vein, I realised that they were capable of dealing with collectivities, with static systems and with formal beliefs: in contrast, anthropologists using actor-oriented approaches concentrated on interaction between individuals, in most cases at the expense of any societal environment, whether of social institutions with reference to which such interaction took place, or of ideas, values and beliefs, which, structured, determinist, manipulable or whatever, I was convinced were vital to the understanding and explanation

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(1) References which are given in the text are to easily available editions of works. Dates of first publication, where relevant, are given in the Bibliography.

(2) With the notable exception of Leach (e.g. 1966), Needham (e.g. 1962), and others at Oxford, whose work followed Lévi-Strauss.

of social process.

I was equally convinced that I could not attempt to demonstrate the validity of any approach I might develop without collecting field material of my own in a particular community: in any case, the approach aimed to deal with questions which other fieldworkers had not, in my opinion, considered effectively. Admittedly, the conduct of individual fieldwork in an exotic society has become a rite de passage (Van Gennep, 1960) for any respectable and self-respecting anthropologist, and it was therefore necessary if I were to become a professional, as I hoped: this undoubtedly affected my convictions of the necessity of fieldwork, but the deciding factor was the problem I had set upon resolving.

I therefore commenced the search for a suitable field. Because of the nature of previous studies of belief and social action, as I interpreted them, a useful empirical example for my work would be a community which might tempt either school (the structural functionalist or the actor-oriented). I decided that the community of my choice would have to be on the one hand a 'face to face' society, offering rich data on interpersonal interaction, and, on the other hand, one with a clear 'structure' (of the Radcliffe-Brownian type) and a strong 'system' of beliefs. The ideal seemed to be one of the many different types of commune, deliberately founded to follow a particular way of life, and set apart from the wider society by design, in order that it might be an island, a retreat, a self-sufficient community, or a revolutionary cell.

One of the most obvious examples of such a community was the Israeli kibbutz, a famous and successful commune, with what seemed a clear aim: the "experiment that did not fail" (see Buber, 1949, pp.139-149). Furthermore, the kibbutz seemed a good place to start because of the large volume of available literature. As I began reading some of the

previous work on the kibbutz (both anthropological and otherwise), its deficiencies quickly became clear. I read my way through the earliest literature (e.g. Landshut, 1944, Infield, 1946), through the Talmon school (e.g. Talmon, 1974) and the psychoanalytic studies of Spiro (1971, 1972) and Bettelheim (1971),[1] and realised that so far, I had encountered no data which even approached the provision of answers to the questions I had raised. Turning to more recently published work (Rosner, 1967, Tiger and Shepher, 1975), I found that kibbutz studies had not, in my opinion advanced: they seemed indeed to have regressed since the earlier work by Landshut (1944) and Infield (1946). I then commenced work on a series of theses written by some students at Manchester, who had worked on a project in Israel, entitled 'Socio-Cultural Patterns of Adjustment and Conflict among Israeli veterans and Immigrants' (S.S.R.C. ref. HR779), which dealt with a variety of different kinds of community there, including the kibbutz. In particular, the account by I. Shepher[2] of the importance of work roles in a kibbutz (Shepher, 1972) presented a sharp contrast with other studies, so much so that I began to wonder which of the writers had been in a kibbutz: were they all discussing the same place?

Thus, the kibbutz itself became an absorbing interest, and I began to investigate the history of the movement and the development of the ideas upon which it was based. By this time the problem was narrowed down to the question of the relation between ideology and communal society, and it was necessary to look in detail at the nature of ideology and its application in the kibbutz.

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(1) All the works cited here as examples will be discussed in Chapter 2.

(2) Joseph and Israel Shepher are distinguished in the text by their initials where relevant. Erik and Haim Cohen are similarly distinguished.

In the Summer of 1974, an opportunity became available for a short visit to Israel. I stayed for two months, hoping to find a kibbutz and investigate the possibilities of conducting a longer period of fieldwork there, and also to look at the situation more generally. My choice of community, as must be the case with so many anthropologists, was a matter of sheer chance. I had decided to focus on the Kibbutz Artzi (Hashomer Hatzair) Federation of kibbutzim, partly because of its reputation for 'extremism' (which interested me) and also because of some of its official political affiliations - I was not (and still am not) a convinced Zionist, and my feelings upon finding myself in Israel were ambivalent. I felt that if I did decide to commit myself to an extended period of fieldwork, it would have to be conducted in a political atmosphere in which I could be relatively comfortable, and where I would be able to express my opinions. The most valuable piece of advice I was ever given regarding my fieldwork was 'be yourself': I could not have done this in an extreme Zionist atmosphere. I thought (and still think) that in spite of the ethical problems posed for me by my study, it was worthwhile attempting to understand a community which has been paraded as an example of Socialism (e.g. by Wedgewood-Benn, 1964), and which exists in a country severely criticised by others on the Left (e.g. Kishtainy, 1971).

I had planned to go to the kibbutz of my choice as a volunteer, although I was aware that this might make it difficult for me to contact the members of the community. However, as luck would have it, I received a personal invitation to a kibbutz of the Kibbutz Artzi from one of its members. This invitation provided me with a chance to make immediate contact with the permanent residents of the kibbutz.(1)

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(1) As it turned out, even on this kibbutz, barriers existed between the volunteers and the members. I was fortunate to be provided with a means of crossing them.

I spent six weeks on the kibbutz, which I will call 'Goshen'[1] working as a volunteer and beginning my field notes. In between times, I obtained interviews with various officials of the Kibbutz Artzi, who provided me with more essential background material for my study. I also visited every information office I could find, and collected volumes of documentary material on all aspects of Israel and the kibbutz. My subsequent use of this literature has been highly selective: I have picked out Kibbutz Artzi publications in particular to help in my investigations of written ideological material, and have also used examples of Israeli social science. The size of the literature collection is explained by the fact that I was looking for those texts in particular, and yet did not want to relinquish the chance of further information.

I returned to Durham in September 1974 to reflect upon the trip, and to write a synthesis of my work to date (Bowes, 1975).

Following this reflection, I left for Israel again in March 1975, for a year's fieldwork, not without serious consideration: only recently, Arafat had brandished his revolver at the United Nations.

Goshen is situated in the central part of Israel, at the foot of the Samarian Hills. To the East lie scattered Arab villages in the occupied West Bank area, and to the West, Jewish villages and the town of Petach Tiqwa. The kibbutz occupies about three hundred hectares, all the residential and public buildings being concentrated in a small area. During the period of fieldwork, the kibbutz farm produced cotton, roses, citrus fruits, avocados, chickens (for meat), milk and a small amount of

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(1) Pronounced with a stress on the first syllable, an exception to most Hebrew words (see Appendix IV).

fodder for its own cattle. There was a small industrial sector, a metal workshop. Services were provided by the kitchen and dining room, laundry, communa (clothing store), children's houses and schoolrooms, a small shop, a garage and an office (which included a post office). Individuals were in charge of electricity, the water supply, the disposal of rubbish and the allocation of shoes. Two people maintained the ornamental gardens. There were two communal television sets, a small library, a club house (moadon) and a youth club. Sports facilities consisted of a basketball court, a football field, a swimming pool and a table tennis room.

The highest authority of Goshen is the General Assembly, which all members and candidates are entitled to attend. The General Assembly elects a Secretariat, consisting of a Secretary (who is the chairperson of both the General Assembly and the Secretariat), an Economic Manager, a Treasurer, a Labour Organiser, and the heads of certain other committees. These other committees, also elected by the General Assembly, deal with such matters as education, cultural activities, security, absorption of immigrants, social problems, work assignment and economic planning.

My fieldwork took the form of participant observation on the kibbutz, complemented by a few further formal interviews with movement officials. Since the community was small (the total population of members, children, soldiers, aged parents and temporary workers was about two hundred and fifty, fluctuating over the period of fieldwork), and in view of the possible strains in personal relationships which might develop among such a small number of people, I decided that the best strategy was to conduct my fieldwork as informally as possible, and I therefore undertook very few formal interviews with members of the

kibbutz. I had originally intended to do a questionnaire survey of basic demographic data (life histories etc.), but the money was not available. It soon became obvious however that such a survey was neither necessary nor feasible. I obtained all the demographic data I required by keeping a card index of all individuals, and noting the information as I obtained and checked it informally. A formal survey would have been incomplete, as interviews with several members would simply not have been possible: I refer to those who had been in concentration camps and had lost their families in tragic circumstances. To have left them out of a survey, or to have included them, would each have been equally tactless. I knew that such people did not care to be reminded of these episodes in their life histories.

Throughout my stay on Goshen, I worked a forty hour week, moving through most of the branches of the economy. Between September 1975 and January 1976, I worked full-time in the roses, and was able to make a detailed study of this branch. Evens (1970) notes some of the special difficulties of fieldwork on a kibbutz, which, in his case, related mainly to the excessive strain of two full-time jobs, as an agricultural labourer and as an anthropologist. I was fortunate in being able to work forty instead of forty eight hours (normal for a member) throughout my stay on Goshen, but the physical strain was still considerable. I was faced with the additional problems of being a single woman in Israel, just a little too old not to be married. However, on Goshen itself, I managed to gain a reputation as a serious student, rather than a 'husband-hunter'. I made it clear from the start that I intended to write a thesis on the community, and a due portion of hard labour soon established me as a useful worker.

My field notes were written up in the afternoons and evenings, interspersed with various meetings and social functions. I was not

able to attend meetings of the formal bodies of the kibbutz, but collected reports of the meetings from as many of those involved as possible, so that I was able to check the reports against each other, and build up a picture of what had happened. Additionally, I was able to obtain a lot of information simply by being in the right place at the right time - for example in the kitchen, which adjoined the dining room, during the meetings of the General Assembly. All decisions passed by the General Assembly, plus a brief account of the proceedings appeared in a fortnightly newsletter published on the kibbutz.

I paid particular attention to the mapping of people's social contacts, and to the way information flowed from one person to another. As I wrote my notes I included material on all aspects of kibbutz life, because the approach I wanted to develop implied a complex intertwining of ideology and social action. To attempt to separate these in my field observations would make subsequent analysis impossible, as it would have been hampered by the same artificial barriers between the two phenomena which I had rejected in the work of other writers.

I spent six months in Durham before my fieldwork studying Hebrew at evening classes. This provided me with a basis for learning the language in the field, and I found I was able to progress quickly. I concentrated on the aural side, and can now understand the language and speak it (though not fluently). I can read only a little: this is a skill requiring hours of study for which I had no time. For most of the pioneer generation, and for many of the younger immigrants, Hebrew was not their native tongue. I conversed with many of these people in French, and with others in German. I resisted people's attempts to practise their English, mainly because I was concerned to improve my Hebrew. However, fieldwork was conducted in these four languages, which in a country where multi-lingualism is commonplace,[1] proved a useful

(1) The record for multi-lingualism on Goshen was held by an Egyptian pioneer (from Alexandria), who was fluent in seven languages: French, Arabic, Hebrew, English, Greek, Spanish and Italian.

technique, in that a linguist gained ready acceptance.

The major theme of this thesis is, then, the anthropological study of the relation between beliefs and social action in the kibbutz. As I have written the thesis, other, secondary themes have emerged, to which I have often referred. The most important of these are the position of women, the upbringing of children, processes of recruitment to the community, and work roles.

As a feminist, I was particularly interested in the position of women in general from the start of my research. The most recent publication on the kibbutz (Tiger and Shepher, 1975) deals with this question, attempting to demolish all arguments other than the biological determinist one, and arguing that, since women in the kibbutz perform tasks different from those performed by men, they are not equal to men, and have returned to the fulfilment of their biological destiny of bringing up children and feeding and clothing men. Their excursion into equality in the early days of the kibbutz movement was, for Tiger and Shepher, merely an interlude. In view of the inadequate discussion to date on the position of women in the kibbutz, I have therefore considered the question at length at various points in the thesis. This discussion is particularly suitable for complementing that of the relationship between ideology and communal society, due to its currency in kibbutz movement ideological debates, and to the increasing concern in recent years in social science in general with the position of women in society. Tiger and Shepher's impassioned attack on many current approaches also merits a reply.

Similarly, the education system of the kibbutz has been a topic of considerable discussion, particularly by Spiro (1971) and Bettelheim (1971), and within the movement itself. Spiro's and Bettelheim's work

is probably the most widely-read literature about the kibbutz, and I hope to emphasise in the present discussion that the upbringing of children in the kibbutz can be considered outside the psychoanalytic approach which both these writers employ. Moving away from the essentially inward-looking psychological focus facilitates understanding of the social processes involved in the implementation of collective education in the kibbutz. Furthermore, considerable ideological resources have been invested by the kibbutz in the education of its children, and the system therefore provides another suitable focus for an attempt to understand the relation between ideology and social action in the kibbutz.

Processes of recruitment to the kibbutz are particularly important to the present study because of the emphasis it lays upon the developmental aspects of the community. This concern is reinforced by the consideration of the establishment and operation of social links by members both within the kibbutz and outside it. The stress on social links and processes of recruitment leads to the adoption of a different definition of the community from that used by other writers: these have tended to view the kibbutz as consisting only of its members, those 'insiders' who, according to the organisational principles of the kibbutz, control it. Since the approach used in the present discussion necessitates consideration both of the outside contacts of members and of certain 'insiders' who are not formal members, the kibbutz is no longer conceived of as an isolated, institutionally defined community.

Following I. Shepher's (1972) discussion of the importance of work roles in the kibbutz, I have attempted to develop some of the points he makes. In view of the importance of labour (as a value) in the history of the kibbutz movement, and of the theme of the relationship between ideology and communal society, the understanding of work and the relationships involved in work is essential.

The thesis is in two parts:

Part One (The Problem) focusses on the study of the relationship between belief and social action, and on the study of the kibbutz. It consists of three chapters.

Chapter 1 states the problem of the relation between belief and social action in terms of various anthropological and sociological approaches which are classified according to their collectivist or individualist orientations. Each approach is criticised for its inability to deal effectively with the problem at hand: criticism is also directed at the failure of the writers concerned to understand and explain the questions of social change and social persistence. I then begin to establish paradigms for my own approach to the study of beliefs and social action. The second part of the chapter is devoted to the discussion of the dialectical approach, which is offered as an alternative to collectivist and individualist approaches. In this section, a definition of ideology is established, following discussion of studies in various disciplines.

Chapter 2 examines previous literature on the kibbutz. The development of the study is described, and more recent texts are classified according to their theoretical orientations. The works discussed are related to the themes of the present thesis on the kibbutz, and are used to raise issues which will be considered in the account of kibbutz Goshen.

Chapter 3 provides background material for the discussion of Goshen, in exploring the history of the kibbutz movement and the development of ideology. It also attempts a preliminary demonstration of the usefulness of the definition of ideology and the dialectical approach as elaborated in Chapter 1.

The second part of the thesis (Chapters 4 - 8) focusses on Kibbutz

Goshen, and the field data I collected there in the Summer of 1974 and between March 1975 and March 1976. In the Introduction to Part Two, I will elaborate the analytical tools which are to be used in association with the dialectical approach, and explain the historical classification of analytical levels which forms the basis of the presentation of data in Part Two.

Chapter 4 concerns the history and demography of Goshen, locating it within the more general history of the kibbutz movement. I examine the early stages of settlement of Goshen, and the processes of recruitment of members up to and including the period of fieldwork. I then introduce and discuss the generation gap, noting its importance to social relations in Goshen.

Chapter 5 deals with structured social relations in the kibbutz - those which are defined by the organisational principles of the community. Case material from Goshen is used in the development of the argument.

Chapter 6 discusses non-structured social relations - those which are not defined by organisational principles. The use of case material in this chapter is extensive, and includes comment on both the structured and the non-structured social links of particular individuals.

Chapter 7 presents data of a different kind, focussing on the upbringing and interaction of an age group of children of Goshen. Material from Chapters 4, 5 and 6, which dealt with social configurations in the kibbutz, is used in the discussion, and delineates the analytical level at which it operates.

Chapter 8 provides a contrast to Chapter 7 in its discussion of a family who were social outcasts in Goshen, and whose social experience was therefore quite different from that of the integrated, ideologically

invested age group.

The dimension of ideology is carefully considered in all the chapters of the thesis, and the themes of the position of women, the upbringing of children, processes of recruitment to the community and work roles are frequently raised.

PART ONE : THE PROBLEM

CHAPTER 1

THE STUDY OF BELIEF AND SOCIAL ACTION

Introduction

> "Actions and beliefs are not separate phenomena, any more than (to cite an apt, if not precise parallel) words and meanings are ... just as we can talk intelligently about words and about meanings, and yet these are not two separate 'things', so actions and belief are not separate"
>
> (MacIntyre, 1962, p.51)

Action and belief have been defined and studied in various ways by social anthropologists and other social scientists, and treated by many of them as ontologically separate phenomena. This chapter will examine some of these approaches to the study of action and belief, and discuss issues arising from the use of such models which divide and separate them. This exercise makes clear the view each analyst holds of the relationship between action and belief. Approaches will be historically classified, then categorized according to the collectivist versus individualist argument, and criticised for their inability to deal with the questions asked in this thesis about the relationship between belief and social action.

Once the typology of different approaches has been established, I will examine the failure of each to deal with the problem of change, which is closely related to their failure to understand the relation between belief and social action. This discussion will help elucidate the paradigms for my approach to the study of ideology and communal society, which, I will argue, is an aspect of the study of belief and social action. At this stage in the development of the argument, I will concentrate on the requirements for a better understanding of the phenomena under consideration, listing aspects with which an alternative approach must be prepared and able to deal.

The second section (B), of the chapter will discuss such an alternative approach. I will argue that a concept of dialectic provides a firmer basis for the construction of a model than do the assumptions lying behind both

collectivist and individualist approaches. I will examine the tradition of dialectic in social science, with particular reference to its use in dealing with problems aligned to those with which we are faced in attempting to understand the kibbutz.

Finally, I will set out the approach to be used in the thesis clarifying the assumptions which lie behind it, and examining some possible criticisms of it.(1)

A: Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Belief and Social Action

1. Institutional and Actor-oriented Views

Anthropological approaches to the study of belief and social action have, in recent years, taken two main forms, which I will call, respectively, the institutional and the actor-oriented. These can be classified within a more general sociological debate concerning collectivist and individualist approaches to the study of social phenomena. The collectivist and individualist views can be roughly correlated with, respectively, the Durkheimian and the Weberian traditions of sociological thought, though the interpretations of both Durkheim's and Weber's work implied in such a correlation are surely debateable, and historically dubious.(2) In his account of the development of British anthropology, Kuper (1975) stresses that considerations of Durkheim and Weber, and Continental sociology in general, were not central to the thought of British social anthropology, which confined itself to issues defined by a peculiar conception of the societies under consideration, issues which related to such topics as kinship and primitive political organization. Some of this work will be discussed later in this chapter:

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(1) The analytical tools which will be used in association with the dialectical approach are discussed in the Introduction to Part Two (pp.146-158).

(2) For a detailed discussion of the issues involved, see O'Neill's Modes of Individualism and Collectivism (1973).

for the moment, it suffices to say that the 'institutional' and 'actor-oriented' approaches referred to here belong firmly within the British and American traditions of anthropological thought. Of course, the division of knowledge into separate disciplines is purely historical, and this discussion will also refer to literature which some purists might not regard as anthropology: however, the work is offered as an anthropological contribution to social science. Its roots lie in criticisms of traditional anthropology.

If we examine the history of anthropological theory, we find that actor-oriented approaches developed as a reaction to institutional ones. Their adherents were attempting to find a way of analysing societies which had none of the properties which they considered to have been the main fault of structural functionalism, a form of institutional approach which conceived of societies as functioning wholes, and hence static, and was therefore unable to explain the processes of social change or the nature of social persistence. Actor-oriented approaches did not, however, supersede institutional ones, and the two types existed, and still exist, alongside one another.

The classification of approaches into the 'institutional' and 'actor-oriented' categories is based on their respective orientations. We find varying forms in each category, and I will argue that this variation is purely one of method, and not of assumption. Similarly, the conclusions reached concerning belief and social action can be seen to be intimately connected with the kind of approach used. In order to clarify the distinction between the categories, I will begin by discussing an extreme example of each. For an institutional approach, I will take Geertz' Islam Observed (1968) and for an actor oriented approach, Blau's Exchange and Power in Social Life (1964). Throughout the discussion, I will emphasize in particular the authors' approaches to the study of belief and social action, the kinds of divisions they make between them, and the definitions with which they operate.

Geertz (1968) defines his problem as one of showing "... what sorts of belief and practices support what sorts of faith under what sorts of conditions", (Geertz 1968, p.1), i.e. of giving an account of how religion works. For the moment, we can safely ignore his definition of religion, as we are principally interested in his method. He begins by establishing the two levels to which his analysis relates. Since he is dealing with a 'world religion' with written texts and a body of known history in the fields of both doctrine and practice, he feels able to separate religion as it is known in the Koran and the other basic writings of Islam from religion as it is believed and practised in society. He therefore draws an heuristic distinction between religion in theory and religion in practice. To examine what religion in practice might be, he takes two examples, and declares that he will investigate the 'same' religion in two contexts, two societies which adhere to it and express it in different ways. He is thus quite clearly interested in the relationship between religion and society, an interest aligned to ours in belief and social action.

The examples that Geertz chooses to illustrate his basic thesis are the practices of Islam in Morocco and Indonesia. He looks first at the 'traditional', i.e. pre-colonial, situation, and shows quite clearly that the interpretations of Islam in Morocco and Indonesia at that time were different. His description of these differences is purely collectivist. It is generated mainly from an examination of the mood taken by the histories of the two societies, followed by an account of the attributes and behaviour of the archetypal 'religious man' in each case, that is, in Morocco, the warrior saint, and in Indonesia, the ascetic hermit. These accounts are produced following reference to the lives of important historical individuals, who are said to have become mythical representations of these archetypes. Geertz's statements of the differing interpretations of Islam are couched in the following terms: in Morocco,

> ... activism, fervour, impetuosity, nerve, toughness, moralism, populism, and an almost obsessive self-assertion, the radical intensification of individuality.
>
> (Geertz, 1968, p.54)

and in Indonesia:

> ... inwardness, imperturbability, patience, poise, sensibility, aestheticism, elitism, and an almost obsessive self-effacement, the radical dissolution of individuality.
>
> (Geertz, 1968, p.54)

In his own terms, then, Geertz manages to produce two differing characterizations of one written religion. However, he does not deal adequately, for our purposes, with the level of practice, since the connection between the interpretation of Islam and the context in which it operates is not made clear. We are not sure, following his account, precisely what is the status of these characterizations in the societies concerned. Later in the discussion, he examines the two political leaders, Mohammed V and Sukarno, the post-colonial rulers of Morocco and Indonesia, and correlates them with the archetypal characters he has already used to represent the interpretation of Islam in their respective countries. So, we are led to ask whether or not Geertz's characterizations are particularly relevant to most people in the societies, or if they are of importance only to those who, for one reason or another, political or otherwise, conform, or wish to conform, to the archetypes. These archetypes therefore appear to be broad generalizations, related not to the practice of social life, but to some kind of collective representation whose application is not at all certain. Geertz has chosen to approach his problem in a way which makes it impossible for him to say very much about practice at all: since he defined his problem as one of discussing beliefs <u>and</u> practices, we are justified in criticising him for his failure to do so.

I have classified Geertz's approach as institutional because of his methodological orientation, because, despite the problem he sets himself, his work deals with a level far removed from that of the practices of the

people living in the societies he uses as examples. Geertz employs a particularly extreme form of institutional approach, which clearly indicates the main criticism which can be made of such approaches in general, that is, in excluding the level of social action (or practice) in favour of a collectivist interpretation, they prevent an adequate analysis of, or even reference to social action.

At the opposite extreme to Geertz' approach, we find Blau's version of exchange theory, which is, according to our classification, an actor-oriented approach. Society, as Blau regards it, is a collection of individuals whose interactions are conducted on the basis of social exchange. This idea is rooted in the writings of Mauss, in particular in his remarks on gift exchange.(1) Mauss argues that there are three obligations involved in gift exchange, those of giving, receiving and repaying. For Blau, these three obligations constitute the whole, and the sole, basis of the conduct of social life. This view produces a circular argument to the effect that an individual must give because someone must receive, receive because someone must give and repay because someone has given. Social life appears to be a trap, a perpetual series of exchanges in which the individual cannot but be involved, and from which he or she cannot escape. However, this trap is not totally restricting: we see the individual at the centre, taking part in exchanges because he is in social life, but doing so in a calculating way, and thus able to control what happens to him. Blau says:

> Social exchange refers to voluntary actions of individuals that are motivated by the returns they are expected to bring and typically do in fact bring from others.
>
> (Blau, 1964, p.91)

This representation of social life is very limited, referring to 'motivated' action and 'expected' returns, and can be criticised because of the use of these concepts. The idea that exchange is motivated excludes consideration of, for example, habitual actions, which may have unconscious

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(1) See Mauss (1970)

reasons lying behind them, but cannot be regarded as deliberate and conscious. Furthermore, the approach is incapable of dealing with actions we may call customary: for example, were we to ask why an individual goes to church, we might find that he is looking for salvation, that he wants to impress someone, that it gives him status, returns, which, for Blau, would be the expected returns of motivated, voluntary actions. More likely, we would find that he 'just goes', and that certain forces operate to persuade or coerce him to do so. Bound up with all this would be the institution of the church itself, the belief systems of the church and the wider society (which may or may not coincide), and the structure of the society which, for the individual concerned, is not a matter of choice.

Blau thus lays emphasis on individual, conscious, instrumental action at the expense of other features in society which affect any individual's action. It is clear that he cannot, using the model he proposes, consider the kinds of phenomena about which Geertz writes in Islam Observed. In Geertz' work, we have an account of a religion which is relevant in some way to two particular societies, though we are not sure exactly how. Blau's model would exclude any conception of this religion as a social fact, something which has an existence outside that of particular individuals and their action. Given the existence of a religion such as Islam on the one hand, and 'social exchange' (a way of looking at interpersonal relationships) on the other, Blau would not be able to elucidate the relationship between the two.

Like Geertz, Blau is interested in this question. We have seen that Geertz never reaches the level of actual social relationships and interaction, and, similarly, Blau, approaching the question from the opposite end, never reaches the collective representations which Geertz takes as his starting point. His attempts to relate the individual to the collectivity fail conspicuously, as we shall see.

Blau accounts for the existence of societal norms and structures (such as religion and its dictates), in the following terms:

> Exchange processes ... lead to the emergence of bonds of intrinsic attraction and social integration on the one hand and of the unilateral services and social differentiation on the other.
>
> (Blau, 1964, p.328)

He sees norms and structures as the products of social exchange, the instrumental activities of individuals, and therefore presumably a kind of reflection of them, changing with the sum of individuals' action according to their every whim. Two points emerge from this. Firstly, Blau is saying that society is no more than the sum of its human individual parts, and, as such, is a reflection of them. Secondly, his remarks give no indication of how it is that a world religion such as Islam could ever have come to exist, and, particularly, how some aspects of it, such as the Koran, have an enduring existence through many hundreds of years.

This particular actor-oriented approach indicates one of the major tendencies of such approaches in general. In their efforts to avoid the mistakes made by the structural functionalists, the individualists tended to ignore the productive aspects of this and related approaches. Intrinsic to the new approaches was a view of society as a collection of individuals, so extreme in some cases, such as Blau's, that the very concept 'society' almost disappeared from view. With it went the concepts of 'structure' and 'institution', and the new modes of analysis confined themselves to the level of the interacting individuals. They proved incapable of placing the individual and his actions in their societal context. Similarly, the collectivists had concentrated on institution and structure at the expense of social action.

Now that the nature of the two basic orientations has been established, we can move on to discuss them in terms of the relationship between belief and social action. For the moment, we will take beliefs to be collective

representations, the ideational realm of society, and social action to be the face-to-face interactions of people in society. These definitions are based on the discussion of the two types of approach, and correspond to the division which both create between the two phenomena. Geertz suggests that beliefs determine action, that, for example, the political practices of Mohammed V and Sukarno were determined by the interpretations of Islam current in their countries. Blau's view of society as the sum of its parts leads him to assert that any collective aspect of society is no more than the sum of a series of exchanges, and that therefore action determines belief.

By examining two further texts, less extreme versions of institutional and actor-oriented approaches, I hope to elucidate further their intrinsic bias towards a one-way determinism in their interpretations of the relation between belief and social action, arising from the types of definitions they use and the assumptions they make. The two texts to be used here are Wilson's Good Company (1970) and Bott's Family and Social Network (1971).

Wilson's study is characterized by its structural functionalist approach,and consists mainly of a description of witchcraft beliefs among the Nyakyusa of Tanzania.(1) Wilson shows how power resides, among the Nyakyusa, in the possession of a python in one's stomach. This power may be good or evil, and both witches and the village defenders have pythons. Thus it is clear that the distinction between witches and defenders must be a very fine one. According to Wilson, the activities of witches are not directly observable, but their consequences are manifested in various misfortunes which may befall a villager from time to time. The defenders and the victims know when such misfortune is due to witchcraft, as this is revealed to them in dreams. They are also supposed to dream about the identity of the witch responsible. The set of ideas about witchcraft among the Nyakyusa include

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(1) Tanzania was then Tanganyika.

prescriptions of the action to be taken against witches. The defenders have the power to see a witch, and the sanction to drive him or her out of the village: they also have the power to punish the evil-doer by mystical means, in which they are helped by other witches. The principle method for getting rid of witches is 'the breath of men', which Wilson asserts is the consensus of public opinion in the village.

Wilson's method is thus to give an account of the beliefs, detail the action they prescribe, and to follow this with the conclusion that the belief in witchcraft, the methods of deciding who is a witch, and the eventual expulsion of a witch from the village, are a method of social control in this society. So beliefs control action and thus, in a sense, determine it. Wilson does not give enough case material for a demonstration of precisely how the mechanisms operate, and it is not therefore possible to use the data she presents to demonstrate clearly that there may be an influence in the opposite direction. However, some of Wilson's remarks do indicate that this is a distinct possibility. For example, she says that:

> No pagan Nyakyusa doubts that witchcraft is bad, or that 'the breath of men' is used to bring legitimate punishment on evil-doers, but the classification of particular cases varies somewhat with the point of view of the individual.
>
> (Wilson, 1970, p.102)

If Wilson had examined the implications of this statement fully, in association with the fact that the criteria distinguishing both witches and defenders from other, ordinary people are very similar, we would perhaps have seen that social control is not simply maintained by adherence to witchcraft beliefs, but that there is some manipulation of beliefs according to the case in question. More light would also have been thrown on this remark:

> The fact that it is within the village that witchcraft is thought to operate is shown by the way in which one fearing witchcraft, or accused of practising it, moves to another village.
>
> (Wilson, 1970, p.103)

If witchcraft is an aspect of social control, as Wilson argues, then it is not the beliefs about how witches operate that prompt the individual to move, but something to do with the social relations in the village, about which Wilson gives us little information.

Wilson's failure to consider concrete, interpersonal relationships results from her use of the structural functionalist approach. Since this approach considers societies to be functioning wholes, Wilson's account, if it is to be a good one of this type, must show beliefs and actions in a logical, one-to-one relationship. She is therefore led to represent belief determining action which will lead to a satisfactory outcome of a difficult social situation, an outcome which, in its turn, reinforces the belief. There is no scope in her analysis for action which may manipulate or effectively alter the beliefs.

Good Company uses a different level of analysis from Islam Observed. Geertz' discussion of Islam shows the religion far removed from the everyday lives of the people in the societies in which he is interested, whereas Wilson concentrates on the level of structures[1] in society, rather than remaining with its style. Her reference to the relation between beliefs and social action is however unsatisfactory. Consideration of Bott's Family and Social Network (1971) will show the properties of an actor-oriented approach less extreme than Blau's. Wilson and Bott thus appear to move the discussion towards a central point between institutional and actor-oriented approaches, though I will show that existing studies by no means converge on that central point: the very nature of the approaches they use means that they cannot reach it, and are therefore irreconcilable.

Bott's book deals with conjugal role relationships, which she examines in relation to the connectedness of couples' social networks. She concludes tentatively that couples with segregated conjugal roles tend to have

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(1) In the Radcliffe-Brownian sense (see Radcliffe-Brown, 1968).

closely-knit networks, and that those with joint role relationships tend to have looser-knit networks. There is some confusion in her work as to the analytical construction of these networks: for example, in the case of couples with segregated roles, there are apparently two social networks under consideration, one for each spouse, and, in the case of joint roles, only one network, centring on the couple, rather than on half of it.(1) However, it is clear that the more differentiated the roles of the respective spouses are, the denser the networks appear. Thus, as roles become clearer, the analysis becomes more detailed in its view of inter-personal relations.

In Bott's closeknit networks however, not only does the spouse in question have a clearly defined role, but the people in his or her network tend to as well. For example, in the case of the family with the extreme of segregated roles, the wife's social network consisted largely of kin. Her mother, her mother's sisters and her maternal grandmother formed the nucleus of her network, exchanging visits, looking after the children, and helping one another out in times of crisis. Bott indicates that in this case, certain more general norms and values were applied to these relationships. The wife felt that it was particularly important that a woman should have a close relationship with her mother:

> She felt that a bad relationship between mother and daughter was unnatural, a complete catastrophe.
>
> (Bott, 1971, p.69)

From this type of discussion, we receive no indication that the norms and values applied in the conduct of conjugal role relationships might be societal in origin, and hence to some extent independent of the individuals involved in particular relationships. Paradoxically therefore, the more

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(1) Bott does not distinguish between the density of a network (the degree of interconnectedness within it) and its span (the range of contacts). If she had drawn this distinction, she might have had more trouble testing her hypothesis as the 'high density' might have been less so in relation to the span of the network. Kapferer (1969) gives a detailed discussion of these two measurements.

clearly defined are the roles, the less willing is Bott to consider the environment of interaction. The clearly defined roles she describes are current in the society in general, so we would expect that the environmental effect on them would be proportionately greater.

Bott is thus in danger of making the same mistake as Blau, that is, of concentrating on the micro-level to such an extent that she is led to ignore, or even deny the existence of external effects on interaction, the social environment in which it takes place. In the case described above, she is saying that the norms and values relevant to the situation are dependent on the type of social network and the type of role relationship in the marriage. Thus, like Blau, she is implying that beliefs are a convenient support to social action, that they grow out of it. She provides little indication that there might be beliefs which influence the way in which social relations are conducted.

These points can be clarified by considering Bott's discussion of the origins of people's ideas about class. She emphasizes that she is not attempting a class analysis of society, but talking about people's own ideas about where they stand on the social ladder. We can accept that these ideas are an important environmental factor to consider in a study of this kind, since they may affect people's behaviour significantly, but Bott does not consider them in these terms. She argues that the roots of people's conception of class lie in their experience:

> The hypothesis advanced here is that when an individual talks about class he is trying to say something, in a symbolic form, about his experiences of power and prestige in his actual membership groups and social relationships both past and present.
>
> (Bott, 1971, p.163)

Thus individuals' class conceptions and identifications provide them with a way of explaining the world from their own points of view, a way of articulating their experience, and have no existence independent of the individuals concerned. In so far as an individual bases his actions on

past experience, then we can say, following Bott, that his ideas may influence his actions, but since these ideas were generated by experience in the first place, we are left with the view that action determines ideas:

> /The individual/ creates his own model of the class-structure and uses it as a rough-and-ready means of orienting himself in a society so complex that he cannot experience directly more than a very limited part of it.
>
> (Bott, 1971, p.165)

Each of the two contrasting modes of sociological analysis discussed thus implies a different view of the relation between beliefs and social action. In its extreme form, institutional analysis, as exemplified by Geertz' work, tends towards the view that beliefs determine social action, though its lesser form, structural functionalism (of which our example was Wilson) provides clues that there may be an influence in the opposite direction. The more reductionist views produced by actor-oriented approaches, of which Blau's version of exchange theory was our example, suggest that social action determines belief. The lesser forms, such as that found in Bott's work, again suggest that the opposite may also hold. Each method tends to ignore or actively to deny the existence of the variables which the other uses as its point of departure. These selective foci, and the division they draw between belief and social action make impossible a clear examination of the relation between belief and social action, and can only produce a deterministic view in one direction or the other. From the criticism produced here, it is clear that we have to be prepared for a two-way relationship, and that we must consider variables at both the institutional and the actor-oriented level. If we separate belief and social action in the ways these two approaches do, we will not be able to move from one level to another. We must expect to find the expression of belief through several analytical levels, and will also find that social action is neither simply institutional nor simply individual. Therefore we must avoid dividing our variables from one another so that they become

separate and irreconcilable, and must treat belief and social action as no more separate than words and meanings (see MacIntyre, 1962, p.51).

2. The Problem of Change

> .... How comes it that an institution inherently dedicated to what is fixed in life has been such a splendid example of all that is changeful in it? Nothing apparently alters like the unalterable.
>
> (Geertz, 1968, p.56)

In these words, Geertz states another analytical problem with which his approach cannot deal. Institutional and structural functionalist approaches cannot account for or describe the processes of change because of the static nature of the models they use. Geertz shows that there are various possibilities for the interpretation of Islam, but as we have seen, fails in his attempt to correlate them with the societies he uses as examples. The two archetypal religious characters are historical and mythological figures, and this exist in time past, but we are left ignorant of their relationship with the processes of history, the movement of time. Geertz himself recognizes that societies do change, and discusses various theories which attempt to explain the process. He recognizes that these theories are able to describe the results of change, and not its mechanisms, then attempts to trace the impact upon classical culture in Morocco and Indonesia of colonialism, scripturalism and nationalism. His account, as he states himself, is no more than general, but this very generality disguises a fundamental inadequacy. He has presented an account of the interpretations of Islam in Morocco and Indonesia which shows beliefs as if they were far removed from social action in the societies concerned. He has also suggested that belief determines social action. We may therefore ask how he can then talk about the impact of colonialism, spiritualism and nationalism on religion, thus assuming a relationship which his model cannot incorporate. This analytical schizophrenia leads to the postulation of a 'traditional'

and a 'modern' interpretation, in conflict with each other, both far removed from social action. His 'processes' are so general that we cannot see their operation; we do not even know whose interpretations he is discussing. When he looks at Mohammed V and Sukarno then, he can only describe their political positions and draw comparisons between these positions and the 'classical culture', concluding that the paradigms of this 'classical culture' are still relevant. His concentration on the style of society thus reduces his account to mere comparison between the old and the new, avoiding clear interpretation of historical processes. Thus Geertz' failings are very similar to those of the approaches to the study of change which he criticizes.

Wilson presents the society of the Nyakyusa as a functioning whole, with all its elements fitting neatly together and working to maintain the existence of society in its elegantly logical form. Were she to have returned to the Nyakyusa some years later, she would most probably have found what seemed to her a completely different society. She would have been able to describe the new society in a similar way, and could have shown that change had occurred, but she would not have been able to show how; what had happened or might have happened in and to the society in the intervening period.

We can elaborate on this by reference to Firth's studies of the Tikopia, which were conducted nearly thirty years apart (see Firth, 1936, 1959). He is able to show that change had occurred but not to explain its process, and he thus provides a picture of 'successive equilibria'. Gluckman (1968) asserts that structural functionalism was a dynamic method of studying societies, replying to critics by saying that in order to understand society, an anthropologist must recognize its structure,[1]

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(1) Like Wilson, Gluckman subscribes to Radcliffe Brown's view of structure (see Radcliffe-Brown, 1968).

which can be described 'as if' it is in equilibrium. He explains that this may be equilibrium over a time period, as for example in the case of a family structure. Only after the structure has been described argues Gluckman can it be 'thrown into' a diachronic model. Gluckman deals with two kinds of change, repetitive and structural. Repetitive change occurs in, for example, the developmental cycle of the family (see Goody, 1971). Structural change refers to a complete change in institutions, a change of paradigms (see Kuhn, 1970). However, since the structural functionalist view of social structure is essentially mechanistic, as for example in Wilson's work, it is clear that all such an approach can say about change is that it has occurred and not how it has occurred, an analysis after the event. Gluckman is right to say that,

> .... We are all of us structuralists, and all of us are to some extent functionalists,
>
> (Gluckman, 1968, p.234)

However, the distinctive views of structure and function held by structural functionalists lead to the presentation of a static picture of society, and their method of studying social change to a series of static pictures.

The two actor-oriented approaches discussed here also fail to explain social change: since they tend to disregard any structural features in society, Blau and Bott show it to be in a perpetual state of flux. It is not so much that things are always changing, rather that there are no 'things' to change. Institutions, belief structures, customs, all fade from view. The all-important unit and basis of analysis is the individual and the collection of people with whom he interacts: this interaction apparently takes place on an ad hoc basis without reference to anything which may have some endurance over time. For an actor-oriented theorist the processes of history are presumably the sum of individuals' life histories, in terms of the immediate social interactions of each one.(1)

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(1) Blau conceives of social process as the product of a series of social exchanges (see Blau, 1964, pp.312-338).

3. Towards the Study of Ideology and Communal Society

The discussion has, until now, accused other anthropologists of failure to consider variables important to the study of the relation between belief and social action. Criticisms have been directed at the creation of a rigid division between them, at concentration on either institutions or social actors to the exclusion of the other, at determinist views of the relation between belief and social action, and at failure to explain the processes of social change. This section will attempt an explanation of why the analysis of various different levels of social life, the acceptance of the possibility of a two-way relationship between belief and social action and a careful understanding of the processes of change are so important to the discussion of the problem of relating belief and social action. It will also clarify the assertion that we are dealing with variables which are not ontologically distinct, and explain that only an heuristic distinction can be drawn between them. The discussion will focus on Middleton's Lugbara Religion (1960) and Gluckman's The Judicial Process Amongst the Barotse of Northern Rhodesia (1955).

Middleton begins with an account of the Lugbara's ideas about ancestors and shades and their watching over the actions of the living. He shows how certain ancestors are believed to reside in shrines, and can be contacted through praying at these shrines. He goes on to demonstrate how the Lugbara manipulate these ideas about shrines in accordance with their political manoeuvrings. The organization of the shrines, which are part of the cosmic universe, therefore reflects political relations, which are an aspect of the social universe: thus, crudely, those with the most power own the most important shrines. The shrines then change hands with changes in political power relations. Thus it appears that ideas exist for the convenience of those seeking political power and that they are therefore at the mercy of social action. Although he begins with an account

of the Lugbara's ideas in a more or less structural functionalist fashion, Middleton's approach to the study of social relations can be seen as actor-oriented, in that he focuses on detailed case material involving individual action.(1) He uses different methods for the study of different levels of social reality, and thus brings out the contradiction between the two kinds of approach. It begins to look as if structural functionalism can describe beliefs and actor-oriented approaches can deal with social action 'and never the twain shall meet'. However, Middleton's study shows that there is, among the Lugbara, a structure of beliefs which endures over time, even though it is manipulated at a certain level of society according to the vagaries of political relations. The shrines still continue to exist, along with the belief in the powers of the ancestral shades, even after extensive and complex political manoeuvring: some of the shrines seem to have existed over a long period of time. Middleton himself considers the manipulation of the shrines to be an example of repetitive change, and draws a distinction similar to Gluckman's (1968 - see above) between this and radical structural change.

Middleton's attempt to study the relation between beliefs and social action amongst the Lugbara indicates several points crucial to the present discussion. Firstly, it suggests that the relation is two-way, that beliefs and social action influence each other, secondly, that both are subject to change (of one kind or another) and thirdly, that, in certain circumstances, social phenomena will continue to exist in the same form over a period of time.

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(1) Middleton's method of focussing upon particular cases belongs, strictly, to the early stages of the development of actor-oriented approaches, when methods to which Van Velsen (1967) refers as the 'extended case method' and 'situational analysis' were in use. Mitchell's The Kalela Dance (1956) is an early example of situational analysis, whereas Middleton's approach can be more aptly classified as the extended case method.

In his work on The Judicial Process Amongst the Barotse of Northern Rhodesia, Gluckman attempts to deal with the question of the manipulation of beliefs. In discussing the concepts relevant to the Barotse legal system, he finds that it is possible to arrange them in a hierarchy, according to their importance and generality. The basic principles of Lozi law, such as 'right', 'justice' and 'morality' are both the most important and the most general, in that their meanings are wide and multiple. These features make them flexible enough to be applied in a variety of judgements on different law suits. In each particular case, the judges can use precise definitions of the lower-level concepts, which are still subsumed under the general ones. In Gluckman's own words:

> To understand the judicial process, we must examine how the different kinds of uncertainty of various concepts allow the judges to manipulate the concepts themselves in order to give decisions in accordance with their ideas of law and of justice.
>
> (Gluckman, 1955, p.305)

So the higher level concepts influence action, and action influences the lower level concepts; Gluckman tends to ignore the possible eventual influence of action on the higher level concepts. His approach to this case thus appreciates that there is a two-way relationship between beliefs and social action and it incorporates the idea of repetitive change. Gluckman's account suggests that the high level concepts are general enough to persist even though radical structural change might take place. However, we can ask if there are circumstances under which the high level concepts themselves might change, even though Gluckman's scheme seemingly gives them infinite flexibility. The data he provides do not allow us to test these conclusions, but we can consider a comparable example, that of the caste system in India.

Dumont (1972) asserts that the hierarchical principle is fundamental to the Indian caste system:

> It is none other than the conscious form of reference of the parts to the whole in the system.
>
> (Dumont, 1972, p.104)

Following Gluckman's analytical scheme, we can say that the principle of hierarchy is a high level concept of infinite flexibility. In the Indian case, we have an example not of a reinterpretation of the high level concept, but of a direct challenge to it, from within, by Gandhi. He was concerned, primarily, with challenging the fundamental principles of caste society, rather than with opposition to British rule in India - though the latter did increase in importance in the later part of his career, it never achieved the significance of the former. It was not only Gandhi who challenged hierarchy: he was the leader and figurehead of a social movement in which hundreds of thousands of Indians, of all castes and religions, were involved. Woodcock quotes Gandhi on the kind of society he hoped India would eventually become:

> In this structure composed of innumerable villages ... life will not be a pyramid with the apex sustained by the bottom. But it will be an oceanic circle whose centre will be the individual ready to perish for the village, the latter ready to perish for the circle of villages, till at last the whole becomes one life composed of individuals .... The outermost circumference will not wield power to crush the inner circle, but will give strength to all within and derive its own strength from it.
>
> (Woodcock, 1974, p.86)

Gandhi's satyagraha campaign actively challenged, and to an extent began the destruction of the high level concept or fundamental principle of hierarchy. In any ethnographic context, the anthropologist should be prepared to deal with far-reaching changes such as this: efforts to account for social persistence must not be allowed to obscure their possibility. Gluckman's effective removal of high level concepts from social processes means that he cannot allow for their change. In the Indian case, Dumont discusses the inextricable twining of the hierarchical principle with the structure of society and social processes, meanwhile ossifying it, and

giving it 'no matter what' status, thus implying that it cannot change. His view, very similar to Gluckman's, cannot explain the challenge from within, posed by Gandhi and his followers.

These criticisms of various approaches to the study of the relation between beliefs and social action and the discussion of some of the problems involved has established the main criteria for an approach attempting to overcome these problems. Any such approach, if it is to proceed along useful lines, must consider the following:

1. A two-way relation between beliefs and social action, in which each may influence the other.
2. A degree of independent existence for each variable, and at the same time their inextricable twining with each other.
3. A concept of dynamic, allowing for change at all levels and a possibility that elements may persist over a period of time.

B: The Dialectic

I will begin this section by explaining the concept of the dialectic, which is basic to the method I intend to use in my study of the kibbutz. Recently, Marxist approaches to the study of social phenomena have come into vogue in the anthropological community in Europe, influenced particularly by the French group of structuralists such as Godelier and Meillassoux. Bloch (1975) traces the origins of the French school to the work of Althusser and Lévi-Strauss. The next section (Dialectical Approaches in Social Science) will examine some of this newer work. Particular, critical attention will be paid to the notion of economic determinism and the distinction between base and superstructure made by Althusser (see Althusser, 1969). This discussion will help justify the approach to dialectics through a consideration of its basic concepts rather than through the anthropological work so far produced.

The discussion of the use of dialectics in social theory and social science will suggest that one of the major problems of these approaches lies in their attempts to deal with the question of ideology. In the final section of this chapter (B,3), I will discuss a variety of approaches, both Marxist and non-Marxist, to the study of ideology, and outline the view of ideology and its relationship with society to be taken in this thesis.

1. The Concept of Dialectic

The concept of dialectic to be used here cannot be understood without a grasp of the idea of contradiction. Since the dialectic I will use will be more closely related to the materialist dialectic of the Marxian school rather than the Hegelian, or idealist school, I will begin with Mao Tse-tung's On Contradiction. This essay was a development by Mao of some notes left by Lenin which were his plan for a 'Dialectics', a book which he never published.(1) Mao begins by quoting Lenin in the Philosophical Notebooks:

> In its proper meaning, dialectics is the study of the contradiction within the very essence of things.
>
> (Mao Tse-tung, 1962, p.214)

Everything therefore contains contradictions, and this is the basic assumption upon which dialectics rests. Mao argues that the dialectical mode of thought, and what follows from it, differs from the 'metaphysical' mode of thought because it allows for changes in the nature of things, and, more importantly, admits their inevitability. A metaphysician sees changes in the world as merely quantitative, and will say, for example, that man always was an individualist and will continue to be so, thus failing to acknowledge that individualism is related to what a Maoist dialectician regards as the capitalist stage in history. Mao's view of the metaphysician's outlook is similar to that elaborated by Engels in his Dialectics of Nature (1974), in which he applies the classification of metaphysical and dialectical thought to the development of science. Until the nineteenth century, he argues, science dealt in mechanics, the articulation of the elements of

(1) See Althusser, 1969, p.169.

nature as interrelated parts of a system. Nineteenth century science, in particular the developing theory of evolution, dealt in processes, involving fluid categories which could not be understood by rigid metaphysics. Engels argues that those studying nature should now accept the dialectical mode of thought, and abandon their attempts to reconcile their static models to the study of the processes of nature.

Mao elaborates the way in which the dialectician sees the world:

> .... The materialist-dialectical world outlook advocates the study of the development of things from the inside, from the relationship of a thing to other things, namely, that the development of things should be regarded as their internal and necessary self-movement, that a thing in its movement and the things round it should be regarded as interconnected and interacting upon each other.
>
> (Mao Tse-tung, 1962, p.216)

This statement already indicates how a dialectical approach contains the potential to solve some of the problems arising from the criticisms of institutional and actor-oriented approaches. Since the idea of all phenomena ('things') containing contradictions applies universally, then as long as we define the field of analysis, we can use the dialectic to conceptualize any problem. We do not run into the difficulties encountered by institutional and actor-oriented approaches which by definition use a particular level of reality as the basis of their methods. Therefore we should be able to avoid excluding relevant variables, as the actor-oriented approaches tend to exclude enduring features of social life, and the institutionalists exclude interaction, the details of social life.

Regarding the specific problem of the relation between belief and social action, I listed in Section A,3, three criteria for an approach attempting to deal with it. Firstly, such an approach must allow for the relationship to be a two-way one, and it is already clear that a dialectical basis can satisfy this condition:

> ... a thing in its movement and the things round it should be regarded as interconnected and interacting upon each other.
>
> (Mao, 1962, p.216)

This means that whatever 'thing' is the subject of analysis, its inter-relations with other 'things' cannot be excluded. The second condition, that variables must retain a degree of independence in themselves and yet still be seen as inextricably connected with each other, is also satisfied, from the very fact that the dialectician deals in 'things', and does not regard the world as an undifferentiated mass. Indeed, it is difficult to imagine any analysis of society which did regard the world in this light, as it would immediately render itself impossible. The question is not whether things should be divided up, but upon what basis the division should rest. If the thinking behind heuristic distinctions is dialectical, rather than based on a view of society which regards either institutions or individuals as the necessary point of departure, then such distinctions aid, and do not abet, the discussion of relations between phenomena.

The third condition required is that there should be a dynamic in our way of seeing things, and that at the same time we should allow for their persistence over a period of time. The essence of the materialist dialectic is the perpetual struggle between the aspects of contradictions,[1] which produces at every turn new contradictions: this is a dynamic struggle, and it is clear that a social scientist using the dialectic cannot therefore fail to consider change. She is not required to see everything in a perpetual state of flux: contradiction does not necessarily result in immediate change, as elements, according to Mao, tend to resolve into their opposites: to take a simple example, war tends to become peace, and peace to become war. Two elements of a contradiction may coexist without actually becoming transformed, producing an oscillation between the two, and not a resultant.[2] Whether the relationship between the elements of a

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(1) I will discuss varying uses of the term 'contradiction' in the next section.

(2) An interesting parallel in anthropology to this idea of oscillation can be found in Leach's Political Systems of Highland Burma (1970), in which he argues that the political structure of Kachin society oscillates between gumsa (a hierarchical system) and gumlao (a system without ranking).

contradiction actually produces a change in their nature depends on the situation in question, and on the other contradictions which exist in the same field. This distinction between oscillation and transformation can be compared with Gluckman's (1968) view of repetitive change and radical structural change: conceptually, the types of change are similar. The crucial difference between the two views, the dialectician's and Gluckman's, is that the former can be used to provide explanations of the processes of change, because it includes change in its conceptualization of the world, whereas the latter confines itself to the description of states of successive equilibrium.

So far, the discussion has explained the dialectic as a mode of thought. Before going on to examine its use in the study of society, I will consider some criticisms that have been made of dialectics as a way of thinking.

Popper's (1940) vitriolic attack on dialectic is one of the most extreme examples of criticism. One of the main points in his argument is that dialecticians respond to criticism by saying that it is not dialectical and therefore not valid. Of Hegel's dialectic, he says that it represents "the worst of all ... absurd and incredible philosophic theories" (Popper, 1940, p.420); Marxism, for Popper is "reinforced dogmatism" in practice, and "a clever joke" in theory (see Popper, 1940, pp.425-6). He sees dialectics as a threat to society, but clearly it is only a threat to a certain view of society, which sees it as controllable and immutable. His own system of logic, as he admits, teaches that contradictions (in the sense of inconsistencies, elements which do not 'fit' into the system) are to be avoided, and notes that

> If we did not try to avoid contradictions, then we should have no reason whatsoever to describe the relation between a thesis and its antithesis as something which has to be superseded - which has to be settled by establishing a synthesis,
>
> (Popper, 1940, p.407) (1)

(1) Thesis, antithesis and synthesis form the Hegelian dialectic - a 'thing' (the thesis) and a contradictory 'thing' (the antithesis) produce, by their interaction, a synthesis, a resultant, which becomes a new thesis.

In other words, the human race can control itself and a social scientist must expect to find functioning sets of systematic social relations when observing social phenomena. This is precisely the view which structural functionalists had of society, and it led them to assume that there were no such things as contradictions or inconsistencies, call them what we may. Popper goes on to assert that

> The only 'force' which promotes the dialectic development is, therefore, our reluctance to accept, and to put up with, the contradiction between the thesis and the antithesis ... it is purely our decision, our resolution, not to agree to contradictions, which induces us to look out for a new standpoint enabling us to avoid them.
>
> (Popper, 1940, p.407)

He thus postulates an inherent human trait which seeks order, and leads to control over social phenomena. A view of society based on these assumptions will however exclude the possibility of uncontrollable forces in society, and inconsistencies in its mechanism. We can therefore criticize Popper for suggesting that his view of the world is the only appropriate one, a suggestion which parallels his own remarks about the dialectician's response to criticism.

Popper also fails to explain where inconsistencies originate: if the world is a controllable system, as he argues, and humans attempt to overcome contradictions, there should be no such thing as contradictions. Everything in society should fit tidily together, according to Popper's system of formal logic. When Popper uses this system, he can prove impossibilities by injecting into his system a notion of inconsistency, and reach conclusions which he acknowledges to be nonsensical. Clearly then, his system of formal logic does not allow for and cannot deal with contradictions. It is a way of thinking which will not be able to solve the problems posed by the discussion in the first part of this chapter of various approaches to the relation between beliefs and social action. That discussion applied criticisms to institutional approaches for their conceptions of functioning

systems, conceptions which Popper clearly shares with them. Actor-oriented approaches were criticised for their inability to deal with the social environment of interaction and the constraint it places on individual action: actor-oriented approaches thus share with Popper his view of society as controllable.

Colletti (1975) resurrects the Kantian notion of real oppositions and contradicitory oppositions, associating a real opposition with formal logic, and a contradictory opposition with dialectical reason. The former deals in things which are opposite, but not contradictory and therefore do not interact to form process: the latter uses contradictory oppositions, things which Colletti believes to be in conflict with each other, to explain historical processes. The distinction which Colletti proposes between 'real' and 'contradictory' oppositions separates as he argues, the realm of 'things' and the realm of 'ideas'. He suggests that dialectics is an idea, which does not correspond to the real world of 'things' and that it should not therefore be used to explain the real world. Like Popper, he shows that dialectics are not compatible with formal logic, and proposes to liberate Marxism from the dialectic by persuading it to deal only with real oppositions rather than the chimera of dialectical contradiction. As we have seen, formal logic presupposes that there are no contradictions in society, either real or dialectical, and we have already shown the connection between this inability to deal with contradiction and the views of society held by people using institutional and actor-oriented approaches to the study of social phenomena.

Sayers (1976) provides further illumination of these points, in his explanation of why dialectics deals in contradiction, and not simply 'conflict' or 'opposition':

> ... it is crucial to see that dialectical contradiction is more than mere conflict and opposition; it is <u>essential</u> opposition; conflict within a unity; internal conflicts - not mere external and accidental conflict.
>
> (Sayers, 1976, p.15)

This brings us back to Mao's remarks on contradiction, and his reference to Lenin, that "dialectics is the study of the contradiction within the very essence of things" (Mao, 1962, p.214). It implies that we are not observing formal relations which can be reconciled with Popper's formal logic, but are trying to look at society in a way which allows us to examine the 'essence of things', contradiction, and social processes.

2. Dialectical Approaches in Social Science

In this section, I will attempt a critical evaluation of two elements in the materialist dialectical tradition which are particularly important if a dialectical approach is to be fully understood. These elements are the concept of overdetermination and the question of the dominance of the economic. This discussion will aid perception of the differences between various dialectical approaches which have been adopted by anthropologists.

Althusser (1969) sees the basic difference between the Hegelian and the Marxian dialectic as lying in the fact that the latter rests on the concept of overdetermination, whereas the former does not. Althusser uses the term 'overdetermination', to emphasize the complexity of society, arguing that the isolation of different contradictions can be no more than heuristic. For him, society is a morass of contradictions, in which, it seems, efforts at understanding must founder. He says that Hegel's exposition of the dialectic relies on the movement of society towards a final goal, an ideological goal of perfect truth, the right way for things to be: thus, every contradiction produces what is literally a solution, which serves to move society nearer to the end in question. Since the Marxian dialectic does not conceive of an 'end', argues Althusser, it is able to portray society and history as far more complex, as they are. Overdetermination means that of its very nature, a contradiction cannot be regarded as moving society towards a final goal. Althusser suggests that

contradictions in society should be regarded as oriented towards one another, in the sense that each one is surrounded and influenced by many others. It follows from this that one contradiction cannot, of itself, 'move' anywhere, because of this web of interconnection. Overdetermination can therefore serve as an inhibition to change, if the contradictions in society are so tightly connected as to perpetuate one another. If over-determination is strong enough to preclude change altogether, then outside influence (given a definition of 'a society' as opposed to 'another society' or 'the environment') may be the only possible causative factor of change. This situation is however unlikely, as the number of contradictions existing in any society is so great that their interconnections cannot provide for a situation of perfect equilibrium. Althusser also notes that change in society is not necessarily all-pervasive, that even if a contradiction does lead to change, and may, in doing so influence the "internal and necessary self movement" (Mao, 1962, p.216) of other contradictions, it does not follow that the whole of society will be transformed.

So far, Althusser has made statements about the character of society and societal change from a dialectical point of view: he shows both as highly complex, an intricate twining of contradictions which appear impossible to analyse. In an attempt to overcome this problematic position, he postulates a distinction between structure and superstructure, which he defines as, respectively, the economic base (consisting of the relations of production and the productive forces) and the state, legal, political and ideological forms (see Althusser, 1969, p.111). Before looking at some of the criticisms which can be made of Althusser's approach, I will look at the question of the determinant role of the economic, which Althusser himself tries to answer.

Exponents of Marx have often given a particular view of history as a series of economic stages, that is, the movement from primitive communism,

through slavery and feudalism, to capitalism.(1) This is essentially a macrospective view of history, dealing with broad characteristics of each succeeding epoch, according to the mode of production (i.e. the relations of production and the productive forces), the marker of each epoch. This view of history regards the economic as determinant in that it serves to classify, for the purposes of analysis, various stages in history. Each broad category can be subdivided to allow the model to deal with particular phenomena within each epoch, such as imperialism within the epoch of capitalism, thus:

> ... in its economic essence, imperialism is monopoly capitalism. This in itself determines its place in history, for monopoly that grows out of the soil of free competition, and precisely out of free competition, is the transition from the capitalist system to a higher social-economic order.
>
> (Lenin, 1969, p.148)

Thus the relations of production and the productive forces can be used in the classification of historical epochs. It does not follow from an argument of this kind, that the economic base determines the nature of society: all capitalist societies have a general characteristic, namely, capitalism, in common, but it does not follow that they are all the same, nor that they are uniform within, nor that every sector of the society, nor every individual can be described as 'capitalist'. Furthermore the particular sequence of epochs referred to above relates most specifically to Marx's case study of European economic development.(2)

Anthropologists have traditionally studied either what they considered to be small, 'face-to-face' societies, or social interaction between one person and the next. To reconcile this traditional interest with macro-level

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(1) See, for an early example, Engels 'The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State' (1968).

(2) cf. Sayer, 1973, Lecture No.6. He shows that the economic stages in Marx's analysis of the history of the development of capitalism are not fundamental to the materialist dialectical approach, but are specific to the case in question.

classifications of historical epochs is clearly very difficult. If we concentrate on macro-level concepts such as these epochs, and attempt to force our more specific data into the framework they seem to offer, then we are forgetting the specificity of the epochs themselves: therefore, we should begin with the analysis of actual social relations in definable environments, looking at them from a dialectical point of view. This will enable us to discuss the historical epochs, and to elucidate their conceptual status. Since both sets of observations, the epochs and our detailed information on particular sets of social relations, proceed from the same viewpoint, their articulation will be clear. If no articulation is apparent, then different and comparable series of classifiable epochs can be proposed.

Althusser's structure/superstructure distinction forms the basis of an attempt to reconcile the complexity of actual social relations (over-determination) with the comparative simplicity of the notion of economic determinism, as I have explained it. He considers that 'in the last instance', the economic, the base, is determinant, and that changes in it mark the change from one historical epoch to another. Althusser himself points out the major difficulty in this view, namely that

> .... in History, these instances, the superstructures, etc., are never seen to step respectfully aside when their work is done, or when the Time comes, as his pure phenomena, to scatter before His Majesty the Economic as he strides along the royal road of the Dialectic. From the first moment to the last, the lonely hour of the 'last instance' never comes.
>
> (Althusser, 1969, p.113)

According to Althusser, his concept of overdetermination can solve this difficulty by overcoming naïve economic determinism, which, for him, means that the economic base determines the form of the superstructure. Overdetermination should allow the accommodation of the facts that

> ... a revolution in <u>structure</u> does not ipso facto modify the existing superstructure ... at one blow,
>
> (Althusser, 1969, p.115)

and that

> The new society produced by the Revolution may itself ensure the survival, that is, the reactivation, of older elements.
>
> (Althusser, 1969, p.115)

He asserts that dialectics without overdetermination could not deal with these facts because it assumes that a change in the base leads to a change in the superstructure.

Althusser leaves us with a most confusing view of the situation. He considers that the economic is determinant in the last instance, which never comes, and therefore society appears in a state of flux, rather than change and there is no way of describing the historical sequence which has taken place, because everything is so intimately connected with everything else. Following identification of the economic relations in the society, the analyst then classifies everything else as 'superstructural', and then must attempt to unravel the knot into which this view ties him.

In reacting against what he considers to be the naïvety of economic determinism, Althusser still uses the concept as the basis of his argument. He is attempting to squeeze a notion of society as particularly complex into a theory of economic stages which is, as I have already shown, specific to the European case. These economic stages have been used to characterize the nature of European society, and to that extent can be said to determine it. However, conceptualization of the stages in this way does not, as Althusser seems to think it does, suggest that they determine the actual form of social relations in any society. He has therefore misunderstood the nature of 'economic determinism'.

The Althusserian distinction between structure and superstructure is also problematic for the anthropologist, who is likely to find that, in many of the societies which are the traditional subject matter of anthropology, structure and superstructure run into one another. For example, the

dominant classificatory mode in a society may be kinship relations: economic relations, political relations and cosmological relations may all be 'based' on this primary classification, and conducted with reference to it. In such a case, it proves extremely difficult, if not impossible, to separate out the economic from the other features of society and to analyse it in a meaningful way. Godelier (1972) states this problem clearly, thus:

> The more complex the division of labour, the more do economic categories acquire relative autonomy in the social totality and the easier it is to define elementary economic categories, that is, categories and laws that are 'simply' economic. Contrariwise, the simpler the society is, the less possible it is to isolate the economic from the other elements in social life, and the more complex will be the analysis of an apparently economic mechanism, since the entire social configuration is directly present at the heart of this mechanism.
>
> (Godelier, 1972, p.302)

I will therefore abandon the base/superstructure distinction, and regard the societal configurations I study as structures, relations which lie behind the everyday interactions and relationships of people in society. The kind of naïve economic determinism which Althusser conceives to be basic to dialectical materialism can also be abandoned: I have clarified the nature of his misconception by pointing out that economic epochs are not fundamental to a dialectical approach, but may result from its use. The proper use of dialectics allows the examination of structures at a level facilitating the description and understanding of particular historical sequences. There is no need to refer to a macro-historical account of the evolution of society to make this coherent. Thus, rather than proceeding from the general, and attempting to force the specific into a preconceived view, I intend to look at the specific using a dialectical method. I will not attempt to extend my study of the kibbutz into the consideration of historical epochs, as the task is too large for a study of this length. I suggest however that my work could be extended in this way, and that this

is made possible because of the dialectical method's own potentialities for extension and ramification into all levels of societal analysis.

The rejection of an Althusserian approach effectively overcomes the problem of what constitutes change. The concept of overdetermination makes the clear delineation of societal change impossible. Crude economic determinism leads to the view that change in the economic base is the only true kind of change, in that it leads society from one epoch to another. Godelier's view of change involves a distinction between contradictions which are internal to structures and those which exist between structures, the latter being those which are fundamental to change in society (Godelier, 1973). This seems dangerously near Althusser's view, but is not so unless we accept the base/superstructure division. Because Godelier rejects this division, the basis for his delineation of structures is not 'economics' or 'politics' or 'religion': he defines a structure analytically as a configuration of variables which are related to each other and to the other structures in society, and can include in each structure elements which Althusser would assign to different realms of society. Godelier's distinction between internal structural contradiction and contradiction between structures refers to different degrees rather than types of change. Clearly, if more variables are involved in change, the more radical it will be, and contradictions between structures will therefore be more far-reaching than contradictions within structures. The point I wish to make is that a dialectical approach incorporates change within itself, and its use thus offers an exciting challenge for any researcher previously faced only with static models.

3. Ideology

> ... thought determined by social fact is like a pure stream, crystal-clear, transparent, ideological ideas like a dirty river, muddied and polluted by the impurities that have flooded into it. From the one it is healthy to drink; the other is poison to be avoided.
>
> (Stark, quoted in Geertz, 1964, p.50)

I will now attempt to relate the general discussion of dialectical approaches to the specific problem before us; that of the relation between belief and social action. This will be done by examining various notions of ideology, both within and outside the dialectical tradition. The empirical example to be analysed in this thesis is the Israeli kibbutz, and it is for this reason that I now introduce the term 'ideology' and substitute it for 'beliefs': the terms are alternative ways of referring to the ideational dimension of society. In criticising various approaches to the study of ideology, I will establish a definition which enables the study to be approached from a dialectical viewpoint, and will satisfy the three conditions established at the end of Part One of this Chapter, namely, a two-way relation between beliefs and social action, a degree of independent existence for each variable and their interconnection, and a concept of dynamic.

In the attempt to establish a definition of ideology which will conform to these criteria, I will examine two views which appear similar in their characteristics to the two types of approach, the institutional and the actor-oriented, which I discussed Part One of this Chapter. One concentrates on the level of action, the other on the level of belief. The definition which I will eventually adopt will resemble the former but will be modified in order that it can be used in a dialectical analysis of particular ideologies. Geertz' quotation from Stark (above) will, I hope, serve to indicate the degree of contention surrounding the question of ideology in social science, which he emphasizes in his own article (1964).

The first approach to be considered here is Schurmann's (1966). He defines ideology as "a systematic set of ideas with action consequences serving the purpose of creating and using organization" (Schurmann, 1966, p.18). He sees this kind of organizational ideology as a type additional to ideologies of classes and individuals. Because organizations, unlike

classes and individuals, are consciously created to a particular end, the kinds of ideology they have are systematic and conscious and can be treated as such in analysis. Schurmann's discussion of the ideology of communism in China is based on the examination of conclusions produced by the various Party congresses. These conclusions, he argues, constitute the view the ideologists have of themselves, and are therefore synonymous with ideology, a set of formalized principles. Organization is then studied in relation to these principles, and ideology is seen as nothing more or less than their sum.

Schurmann's approach tends to concentrate on the action aspect, as the definition itself is based on the conscious act of creating a set of principles on the lines of which an organization will set itself up. At any point in time, the ideology of the Communist Party of China consists of the sum of the various decisions of all the Party Congresses held up to that point. This view of ideology implies a particular view of its history, i.e. that at the beginning, a set of ideas was produced with a particular aim in view, that aim being the setting up of the organization of the Chinese People's Republic, and that these ideas were added to rather than modified for the purpose of using that organization and maintaining it.

If we accept Schurmann's view, two major difficulties arise. Firstly, we cannot assume all ideologies to be as clearly defined as Schurmann implies Chinese ideology is.[1] Secondly, Schurmann's ideologists engage in social action in producing the material they do and this aspect of 'ideology' - its formulation - bears further investigation. Furthermore, Schurmann's concentration on the formal level of ideological formulation does not allow consideration of other people's interpretations of ideology. Thus when Schurmann comes to consider the villages in China, he concentrates

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(1) Chapter 3 will show that, in the case of the ideology of the Kibbutz Movement, this was not so.

on the organizational aspects determined by ideology in his own sense. We know from Hinton (1972) that the villagers' understanding and interpretations of this ideology varied considerably. Clearly, we are not dealing with an ideology and its misinterpretations, but with two different interpretations, one by the ideologues, and one by the villagers, of the same ideology. Therefore a usable definition of ideology should not confine the concept to a single possible interpretation.

The second view of ideology is Althusser's, which has been criticized by Rancière (1974). Althusser's view is paradoxically close to the collectivist view of the study of belief systems. The similarity lies in the fact that Althusser regards true knowledge as an absolute, which can be achieved by the abolition of certain other forms of belief. Ideology, for Althusser, belongs to the category of superstructure, and is a way of explaining the world and a way of justifying the present state of things, the present economic base: his own society, Western Europe, is dominated by bourgeois ideology and its correlate, false consciousness. The only way that this state of affairs can be brought to an end is for the proletariat to reach true consciousness and realize that it is being exploited by the ruling class which uses bourgeois ideology to maintain its rule. Rancière (1974) says that through this argument, Althusser treats ideology as the opposite of science, and that his discussion therefore amounts to the view that the attainment of the knowledge involves the collapse of ideology, which serves only to obscure it. Rancière maintains that Althusser's theory fails because it leaves out the vital fact that a 'scientific truth' only gains the status of 'knowledge' through the forms of the dominant ideology. For example, we can see that 'the good of the country', a concept frequently referred to in contemporary political discussions is not an objective good, but something a certain group of people, those who happen to hold power, consider to be a good. It is clear from Rancière's criticism that the main

shortcoming of Althusser's view lies in his failure to place ideology adequately in its social setting. He sees ideology as an illusion, a tool used by one class to dupe another, and suggests that when this particular social set up is brought to an end (to which Althusser looks forward), ideology will cease to exist. This view of ideology as an illusion contradicts Schurmann's definition of it not as a dupe, but as a conscious set of principles. Also, the appropriate end of ideology which Althusser has in mind involves the collapse of the economic base of capitalism: in China, this base has been abolished, and we should therefore not find any ideology there. Bourgeois ideology as described by Althusser and the organizational ideology of China as Schurmann presents it have certain characteristics in common. Both articulate justifications of a certain state of affairs, and both have clear effects on the societies in which they exist. As ideational aspects of society, they can therefore be classified together as ideologies. I have mentioned the Chinese peasants' interpretations of ideology as differing from the ideologues' interpretations: in Western European society, Althusser would no doubt find, if he cared to look, differing interpretations of bourgeois ideology (Rancière's interpretation represents but one possibility).

I have already argued that belief and action are only conceptually distinct, and it follows from this that ideology is a form of belief system with action correlates. The nature of belief may of course vary from one society to another and from one individual to another within any society: we can best regard 'belief' as an idea, or set of ideas, related to action, which evaluates, justifies or provides a basis for that action. Neither the belief nor the action has independent ontological existence. For this reason, we must expect ideology to appear in differing interpretations at all the analytical levels we attempt to use in our discussion of society: it will penetrate all aspects of the social process. At the same time, some ideologies have more clearly defined formal structures, articulated by

particular people. This structure is however no more independent of social process than are the various interpretations of it, and the analyst must take particular care to delineate the status of a formal ideological structure.

Ideologies with some degree of formal structuring (e.g. Chinese ideology, in Schurmann's version) and those which are much more difficult to define at this level (such as Althusser's bourgeois ideology) both involve particular views of the way society ought to be, and can therefore be seen as plans for action. This is not to say that the plan, the ideology, is always precedent, because it has developed through a dialectical process involving both action and ideology. Considering the ideologist himself, Corbett (1965) remarks that he is:

> ... no neutral theorist - he wants people to act in certain ways - to make a revolution, to obey the church - and the object of his speech is to make them do so.
>
> (Corbett, 1965, p.66)

This further emphasizes the persuasive aspect of ideology: although its roots lie in the history of beliefs and social action, it directs people towards a future state of things, and will be couched in terms aiming to create a better society on the lines of 'follow this, and society will be good'. This is so even if the ideology concerned justifies an already existing state of affairs, as its direction will be towards a refined version of this. Therefore, the terms in which ideology is expressed will tend not to conform to 'social reality' as a sociologist might consider it to exist, and can therefore be described as "situationally transcendent" (see Mannheim, 1972, p.174-5).

No ideology is static - we saw in the discussion of Geertz' (1968) work on Islam that even if the words remained the same, the meanings changed. The interpretability of ideology ensures that its meaning constantly shifts, both at different levels of societal relations at any moment in time, and

over a period of time, again at different levels of societal relations.

Thus a definition of ideology must incorporate its deliberate aspect as a plan for action, whether conscious or unconscious, its formal structuring on the one hand and its interpretability on the other. These can best be accommodated by proceeding from a dialectical point of view, which also satisfies the conditions here established for an approach to the study of belief and social action. Fundamental to the dialectical viewpoint is the concept of contradiction, and it is this which facilitates understanding of the complex nature of ideology: its complexity is inseparably bound up with that of the relation between beliefs and social action, and of social action itself. I will define ideology as an interpretable, situationally transcendent set of ideas which attempts to persuade people to conduct their lives in a certain way. If we see contradiction as dynamic opposition - "within the very essence of things" (Mao, 1962, p.214), then this definition of ideology is clearly compatible with the dialectic, and should therefore facilitate the productive study of the relation between beliefs and social action.

Conclusion

I have examined various approaches to the study of the relation between belief and social action, criticising them for their inability to explore this question, or to deal with social process. The approaches were classified as either collectivist or individualist in orientation, and I demonstrated that, in these forms, they are irreconcilable. I suggested that a possible way of overcoming these difficulties was to approach the study of the relation between belief and social action from a different point of view, rejecting formal logic in favour of a dialectical mode of thought. I argued that the use of dialectics would not only facilitate examination of the problem at various analytical levels, but also enable the complexity of

the relation between belief and social action to be more clearly understood. I stressed that the dialectical approach incorporates, of its nature, a dynamic, which means that a study employing it cannot fail to consider social process.

I then commenced the discussion of the relation between ideology and communal society, formulating an operable definition of ideology based upon a dialectical viewpoint, which will be used in the analysis of the kibbutz.

In Chapter 2, I will turn to the study of the kibbutz, and look at various approaches to it whose deficiencies correspond to those of the studies criticised here. The chapter will include preliminary discussion of some of the minor themes of this thesis.

CHAPTER 2

THE STUDY OF THE KIBBUTZ

Introduction

In the previous chapter, I stated the problem of the study of the relation between belief and social action and explained how a new approach could be derived from criticisms of approaches used by other writers in the field. These were classified into two main categories, one based on an idea of reality in a society corresponding to its institutions and the other on the idea of the ultimate validity of individual action as the starting point for discussion. This chapter will introduce the empirical example to be used as a test case for the method of analysis based on dialectics.

Generally speaking, the popular conception of the kibbutz suggests that it would lend itself ideally to study using either a 'collectivist' or an 'individualist' approach. In the first place, it is a community with a very specific ethic, consciously arrived at and deliberately structured so as to provide an ideal community in which people may mix together on the principle of 'from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs': in this respect, it is clearly an ideal subject for a structural functionalist study. In the second place, the kibbutz is a small community, a face to face society, with highly intense social interaction between a comparatively small number of people, and thus seems an appropriate example for the application of exchange theory or network models. The invitation presented by the kibbutz to collectivist or individualist approaches indicates its suitability as a test case for a method attempting to overcome the difficulties of both types of approach.

An examination of the previous literature will be used in this chapter to elucidate analytical problems specific to the study of belief and social

action in the kibbutz. I will criticise a series of texts which are indicative of particular developments in the study, and others which are representative examples of the various current schools of thought. The literature on the kibbutz is vast - Shur's bibliographies (1972, 1975) list over fifteen hundred references - and it is therefore necessary that the presentation of texts be selective.

The texts in the first part of the chapter (Section A) have been chosen with a view to exemplifying the development of studies of the kibbutz. The second part of the chapter (Section B) reviews three more recent approaches to that study, each of which is related to more general currents of thought in social anthropology and sociology. This second group of studies is classified according to the respective theoretical orientations of each one, which I will criticise in detail. Each orientation implies a particular understanding of the kibbutz, and I will attempt to identify the limitations of each type of understanding with particular reference to the problem before us, that of the relation between belief and social action.

In addition to their historical relevance, and their orientations, the choice of studies is related to the themes of the discussion of a kibbutz, which forms the second part of this thesis. Clearly, the theoretical orientation adopted by an analyst influences the kinds of questions which he or she poses, and it is not therefore possible to separate the subject matter presented from the theoretical orientation adopted by its author. The reviews of texts therefore include comments on both these elements. I will now introduce some of the more general themes, and explain their relevance to the present study.

I will show that the earliest studies of the kibbutz, which were general descriptions of it as a new and distinctive lifestyle, focussed upon the ideological dimensions of the movement, raising, for the present-day

reader, issues concerning the nature of the relationship between ideology and life in the kibbutz.

Later developments turned away from these issues in their adoption of a view of kibbutz ideology as immutable and easily definable. This view is particularly marked in the case of studies conducted through questionnaires, which, in their own formality and rigidity, necessitate this type of conception of ideology. For the purposes of this discussion, then, two particularly relevant themes emerge from the questionnaire surveys: firstly, that of the definition of ideology (which I discussed in Chapter 1), and secondly, that of the method of participant observation as a data collection technique, enabling the amassing of material which contrasts radically with that obtained through the use of questionnaire surveys. In this chapter, I will criticise survey methods, and thus stress the advantages of participant observation, the method I used in my fieldwork.

Those studies which employ a psychological approach also tend to view kibbutz ideology as fixed. In criticising texts of this type, I will suggest that the psychological focus effectively prevents their authors from dealing with social configurations, and that they therefore fail to question the simplistic view of ideology. The discussion also refers briefly to the more general debate about the use of psychological concepts as tools to explain social phenomena.

In the study of the kibbutz, psychological approaches have been used principally in the examination of the system of collective education, a topic which will be discussed in some detail later in the thesis (Chapter 7 in particular): since the books on the collective education system have reached a wider audience than perhaps any other kibbutz studies, detailed examination of their methods and conclusions is easily justified.

Both the survey-oriented studies and the psychological approaches use

a particular definition of the kibbutz as a community, treating it as an isolate, consisting only of the formal membership. I will show in this chapter how this definition relates to the tradition of structural functionalism, which I have already criticised in Chapter 1. I will also argue that this type of definition of the community serves to obscure the examination of social process in the kibbutz, thus complementing my assertion of the dialectical approach, with its essential dynamic and its ability to consider the relationships between different levels of analysis and dimensions of data.

A question to which the present discussion constantly refers is that of the position of women in the kibbutz, which has been the subject of one of the most recent publications (Tiger and Shepher, 1975). This chapter contains extended comments on two works on this topic (Rosner, 1967, and Tiger and Shepher, 1975), both of which are within the survey oriented category. They are included as representative of more recent work, and the discussion will include remarks upon the use of biology in the examination of the position of women: again, therefore, it broadens out into a more general debate, that concerning approaches to the study of women, and the relevance or irrelevance of biological matters to this essentially social study.

The discussion of the position of women also relates to that of the nature and sources of inequality in the kibbutz. I will show that the use of the survey method, with its intrinsic, static conception of ideology, obscures the question of the meaning of 'equality' and 'inequality' in the kibbutz. I will therefore demonstrate that the conceptual basis of the survey method in investigating this question is inadequate, and that its inadequacies lie not only in the view of the kibbutz as a community and an ideology, but also in the writers' failure to examine their own attitudes towards women.

I will argue that the position of women in the kibbutz and the role of the family are closely inter-related. In later chapters, I will examine kin links, and their relationships with other types of links, paying particular attention to the importance of family ties outside the community.

The final set of texts to be discussed in this chapter (Section B,3) belong to the 'Manchester school' of anthropology. I will show that these writers have effectively reopened the study of the kibbutz, directing it away from survey methods and the psychological approach, raising new types of questions. Of the two studies considered in this section, the first (Evens, 1970) reconsiders the problem of the relationship between ideology and social life in the kibbutz which was posed in some of the earlier studies (Landshut, 1944 and Infield, 1946). Although Evens does not, in my opinion, solve the problem, he phrases in a way which indicates the directions in which its investigation should now proceed, directions which the present study attempts to pursue.

The second of the Manchester studies (I. Shepher, 1972) deals with the importance of work roles, attempting to move away from the formal, ideological view of the kibbutz which its author considers other writers to have adopted. In dealing with this question, Shepher demonstrates the importance of the consideration of actual social relations in the kibbutz to the understanding of social processes. The specific focus on work roles offers an alternative to the analyst who is attempting the investigation of the relationship between ideology and communal society, in that it produces a discussion of labour (an important dimension of ideology) in terms of people's social positions. In the second part of this thesis, I will discuss some of Shepher's points, in particular in Chapter 5 on structured social relations, and in Chapter 8, a case study. More general reference to his discussion is made throughout this thesis.

Section A therefore considers the history of kibbutz studies, and

Section B critically reviews some recent works on the kibbutz. The themes introduced here will be discussed in association with the reviews, as each is presented.

A: The History of Kibbutz Studies

One of the earliest studies of the kibbutzim to be published in English was Infield's Cooperative Living in Palestine (1946). It first appeared in America during the Second World War, in 1944. Previous to Infield's study, most publications about the kibbutz were produced by the communities themselves, either individually or collectively, and took the form of ideological treatises about the kibbutzim (or kvutzot[1] as they were then called), official statements from the kibbutz federations and memoirs written by some of the pioneers of their experiences in the early days of settlement in Palestine.

Infield offers his work as a sociological study of the kibbutzim, and adds that:

> Sociology has a task that carries it beyond the discovery of laws. Its findings must serve to make human relations sounder and more harmonious, perhaps even endow them with deep satisfactions. At the very least, sociology ought to help men shape their relations more purposefully, so that they may forget that sorriest of all excuses for disastrous blunders, namely, that they did not know what they were doing.
>
> (Infield, 1946, p.2)

The study begins with a brief account of the history of the kibbutzim until the time of writing, emphasizing the aims of the pioneers and their cooperative ideas, and the practicality of the kibbutz as a method of colonization and settlement. Infield looks at the problems experienced by the early pioneers in the form of disease, difficult physical conditions,

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(1) Kvutza (pl. kvutzot) means 'group'. The use of this term relates to the small size of the communities in the early stages of the development of the movement. Kibbutz (pl. kibbutzim) denotes a larger sized group. I use kibbutz throughout, for ease of expression.

adaptation to a farmer's way of life. He shows that the kibbutzim were not set up according to a fixed plan, and that they developed slowly, along with their ideologies. Through this account, he attempts an attack on some of the popular arguments of his day, saying, for example that:

> ... the absence of the profit motive in the Kvutza does not prevent its attaining considerable ... economic success.
>
> (Infield, 1946, p.39)

Infield describes the organization of the kibbutzim in Palestine at that time, relating it to the ideology as he understands it. He notes that:

> An ideal Kvutza would consist of those who work equally well, eat the same amount, are housed in identical rooms, use the same kind and number of clothes, beget the same number of children, desire the same entertainment ....
>
> (Infield, 1946, p.111)

The reality of the kibbutz, he argues, does not conform to this ideal, mainly because "Men lag behind their postulates" (Infield, 1946, p.111). He then looks at some of the 'dissociative' aspects of the communities, such as social ambition, clique formation, individualism, laziness. These dissociative features are discussed very briefly, and Infield's main emphasis is on the inherently associative character of the kibbutz, and the more general desirability of cooperative experiments: he thus carries out what he sees as one of the missions of sociology, to help make human relations "sounder and more harmonious," (Infield, 1946, p.2).

Landshut's short sociological study of The Communal Settlements in Palestine (1944) is similar to Infield's in its proselytizing aspects. He talks of the "national mission" (Landshut, 1944, p.640) of the kibbutz in opening the way for a particular kind of settlement in Palestine, and the foundation of a revolutionary way of life:

> The 'proletarian' in bourgeois society is chiefly marked by the insecurity of his life ..., his fate depends on the use made of his labour by others .... A reverse situation is typical of the member of the kvutza.
>
> (Landshut, 1944, p.640)

Landshut lists the advantages for such a person, who has no material worries about himself or his family, a high standard of living, and a community of fellows. He then goes on to look at the place of the kibbutzim in the Palestinian environment, noting the pressure put on them by the large influx of European refugees during the 1930's and 1940's, and suggesting that the communities would not be able to absorb the enormous variety of immigrants who would undoubtedly enter the country in the future, and still maintain their communal, consensual character.

These early studies raised a number of questions, about the kibbutzim which would have merited further examination. Infield, despite his anxiety to present the communities as highly desirable alternatives, brought up the issue of ideology. He noted first that the ideology of the kibbutzim had developed, and had not been set down at a point in time as a set of principles to be followed. He also showed that the kibbutzim were not highly structured and mechanical, and that not all their members were fired with the same passions. For example, he mentions hard work as an important ideological resource, adding that an over-zealous worker could prove as much of a problem as a lazy one. Infield thus opened up a discussion of the relation between beliefs and social action from a point of view which confined itself neither to a collectivist nor to an individualist representation of social relations. In recognizing the development of kibbutz ideology, he implied that social action in the kibbutz undoubtedly affected its formulation, and his statements about the ideal kibbutz show that he thought the ideology had some effect on social relations. He stressed the intimate relationship of ideology to the conduct of social life.

These points show that Infield's view of beliefs and social action in the kibbutz conformed to the three criteria for an approach to the

study which I established in Chapter 1 of this thesis. His book is short, and his data not detailed enough for him to have answered the questions he raised: the fact that he raised them at all seems to be due to his very concentration on the second task of sociology, the betterment of people's lives, rather than the first, which, as Infield saw it, was the discovery of the laws of social organization.

Landshut's work indicated the importance of studying the kibbutzim as part of the more general process of settlement in Palestine, and of the establishment of a Jewish nation there. He wrote when the proportion of the Jewish population in Palestine living on kibbutzim was approaching its peak (see Appendix II, Table 2), and the importance of the communities in the national mission (Landshut, 1944, p.640) seemed assured. He was particularly concerned about the economic motivation of the kibbutzim, which he saw as a threat to their moral integrity, to the high degree of commitment to ideas which had characterized early pioneers. These two questions, of the environment of the kibbutzim and of the relationship between economic and moral success also merited further investigation, and required the collection of detailed data to facilitate it.

Both Infield and Landshut indicate the fluidity of kibbutz ideology in general, and the necessity to regard the communities themselves as changeable and occupying a particular place in the nationalist endeavour. Their studies were written and published before the foundation of the state, during the last years of the British Mandate. After the Second World War, the Jewish terrorist groups became active against the British, who finally left the area in May, 1948. This terrorism, the expiry of the British Mandate and the subsequent War of Independence meant that the area was in turmoil for some time, and the next large group of kibbutz studies written by people who were not involved in the movement themselves appeared in the 1950's. These represented an almost complete

break with the earlier work of writers such as Infield and Landshut.

One of the most important figures in the study of the kibbutzim during the 1950's and 1960's was Yonina Talmon, who, from 1955, until her death in 1966, directed a project involving combined sociological and anthropological research into the kibbutzim. Talmon had studied philosophy, history and sociology at the Hebrew University, and graduated in 1945. Eisenstadt[1] notes that her doctoral thesis, on 'Mythical and Historical Time in Primitive and Archaic Societies' was strongly influenced by the work of British social anthropologists such as Evans-Pritchard, Fortes, Gluckman and Nadel. At the Hebrew University, Talmon trained many of the social scientists now working in Israel and her influence on the currents of sociological and anthropological thought is undisputed.

A report on her research project, written by Talmon after its first phase was completed, gives an account of its aims and methods. For the purpose of this discussion, it indicates the characteristics of this branch of work on the kibbutz. Talmon's project included investigation of the following topics: "... basic values, work, consumption, public life, the family, the second generation" (Talmon, 1974, p.243). Collective education was excluded from the study because the researchers felt that a thorough examination would require the help of psychologists and years of follow-up studies. Three methods were used to collect data on each topic: a public opinion survey, a survey of institutional patterns and a structural functional analysis of kibbutz society. Two samples were used: first a representative sample of kibbutzim,[2] and second, a sample of kibbutz members. The public opinion survey, which was

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(1) In his introduction to Talmon (1974).

(2) All the kibbutzim in the sample belonged to the Ichud Hakvutzot Vehakibbutzim.

intended to elucidate "a statistically reliable statement of the attitudes of kibbutz members toward the fundamental values and secondary norms which find their realization in various spheres of communal life" (Talmon, 1974, p.243), was conducted by means of personal interviews, guided by the use of a questionnaire. Subjects were encouraged to say all they wanted, though leading questions were avoided. Other data were collected using a 'factual information guide', a set of investigative procedures issued in written form to the fieldworkers. These consisted of a written questionnaire designed to obtain basic information about people in kibbutzim, their life histories etc., a questionnaire used for functionaries of the kibbutz regarding everyday routine and members' behaviour, supplementary interviews with people willing to participate in the project, direct observation of behaviour over several months, and the systematic use of written material, including the minutes of kibbutz meetings, and internal movement publications.

Work accomplished by this project was strongly in the structural functionalist tradition, even though Talmon herself disagreed with the ahistorical character of this method of study (see Talmon, 1974, p.252). A high proportion of studies produced in Israel both during and after the project, relied heavily on statistical information collected by means of questionnaires, and much of the more recent work on the kibbutz still uses the same methods. Talmon's pupils included Erik Cohen, Menachem Rosner and Joseph Shepher.

The types of arguments which Talmon developed during her project can be seen by considering one of her numerous papers. In 1956, she published a paper entitled "Social Structure and Family Size" (see Talmon, 1974, pp.51-73), in which she examined the social factors influencing the size of families in the kibbutz, noting that fertility was at that time on the increase. At the beginning of the paper, she

announced that:

> My main emphasis will be on an analysis of the inter-relation between the redefinition of ideological patterns and norms pertaining to family size on the one hand, and major changes in the position of the family in the community on the other.
>
> (Talmon, 1974, pp.51-52)

Norms relating to family size were elucidated by means of a questionnaire, referring to the respondents' ideas of a 'proper' family size, and their reasons for deciding on this particular size. The reasons presented were classified into a number of 'distinct ideological patterns': some favoured limitation, and some expansion of families, and the reasons given were oriented towards the kibbutz as a whole, or the needs of the family, or the particular desires of the parents. Talmon considered that kibbutz-oriented responses implied a consideration of the family as an ally of the kibbutz, whereas in family- and individual-oriented responses, the kibbutz was regarded as secondary. These, she argued, were opposed views. She drew up a table showing the number of responses in each category, as follows:

Table 1 : Talmon's distribution of Patterns of Opinion on Family Size in the Kibbutzim

	% (N = 445)
Kibbutz-oriented limitation	12
Kibbutz-oriented expansion	39
Family-oriented expansion	24
Individual-oriented expansion	25
Total	100

(see Talmon, 1974, p.65, Table 6 : Distribution of Patterns of Opinion)

Talmon concluded that "The table indicates that the pattern of kibbutz-oriented limitation is on the decline" (Talmon, 1974, p.65).

The second part of the paper was devoted to an analysis of "typological and intrafamily differentiation", (Talmon, 1974, p.65).

Typological differentiation was related to an index of 'familism', the expression of a preference for larger families, and family-oriented type responses to questions about family size. Talmon concluded that in general, kibbutzim became more 'familistic' in the later stages of their development. Extreme individualism and extreme collectivism were alleged to be determinants of a bias towards limiting family size.

Talmon's paper is based on a number of important assumptions which she did not clarify. First, it assumes that family size is directly related to the ideological climate in the kibbutz; second, that the position of the family in the community again has a direct relationship to its size; third, that people's ideology can be elicited by asking them particular questions; fourth, that their responses indicate their orientation towards the community; and fifth, that a synchronic analysis can be used to produce diachronic statements. These assumptions all underlie the first part of the paper, upon which the argument of the second part is based.

The assumption that family size is directly related to the ideological climate in the kibbutz requires further investigation. Talmon simply announces that she is going to relate the two phenomena, without questioning whether or not this exercise is valid. She thus suggests that social life in the kibbutz is totally ideologically determined: a brief reference to literature on fertility would have shown that in other contexts, it is affected by, for example, levels of technology, standards of health care and so on (see e.g. Cipolla, 1970, Bourgeois-Pichat, 1973). Ideological considerations may also be relevant and may, as Talmon suggests, be particularly important in the kibbutz, but this requires further demonstration.

Similarly, the position of the family in the community may have something to do with its size. Talmon attempts to measure the two

phenomena, then places them side by side without demonstrating their correlation. Furthermore, she does not show clearly how and why the correlation exists, if it does.

The method of using a questionnaire to decide upon people's ideological views implies a particular conception of ideology, namely that it consists of responses to formal questions. Talmon does not place the responses adequately in their social context: had she done so, she would no doubt have been able to explain why certain people (8% of the sample) did not answer questions, instead of dismissing them by saying that "they are against fixing any general norm or ... they are hesitant or uninterested" (Talmon, 1974, p.53). Her conception of ideological change is based on the assumption that responses which are not 'kibbutz-oriented' represent deviations from the original ideology, whatever that might have been. Talmon's view of ideology thus does not allow for it to be interpretable, and to exist in varying interpretations at different analytical levels of social life.

Connected with this assumption about the nature of ideology is Talmon's fourth, that the responses obtained to the questionnaire are indicative of the respondents' orientations towards the community. Again, she is wrong to assume a direct connection. Had she looked at aspects of the respondents' social positions in their communities, she would most likely have found that remarks about the desirability of limiting or increasing family size were also related to, for example, the already existing size of each person's family, or his or her skill at using the facilities provided by the communal institutions of the kibbutz. Clearly also, asking the questions at different times might have evoked other responses.

Talmon's attempts to produce diachronic statements from a synchronic study are illustrated by the conclusions she draws from the table of

distributions of opinion (see Table 1 above). A low number of responses referring to kibbutz-oriented limitation indicates for her that this pattern is "on the decline" (Talmon, 1974, p.65). However, her paper contains no explanation of such a process, and the reader knows only that less people gave this type of answer than others at the particular time of asking. Talmon fails conspicuously in her attempt to show that change has occurred, and to explain its process.

These criticisms of Talmon's paper on family size can be generalized to apply to the methods used in her research project, and relate mainly to the use of the survey method and the structural-functionalist orientation. These features produce a mechanistic picture of the kibbutz and its ideology, a very limited perception of the differing manifestations of particular structures, ignorance of actual social relations in the kibbutz, and, more generally, an inability to locate and explain social persistence and the processes of social change. The paper criticised here is an early example of Talmon's work: however, the nature of the project itself caused her subsequent papers to be based on similar assumptions and to use similar methods.

Whilst the work of Talmon and her pupils was proceeding in Israel a number of American sociologists and anthropologists, based in the U.S.A., were conducting independent research projects on the kibbutz. This group included Stanley Diamond, Eva Rosenfeld and Melford Spiro (see Diamond, 1957). All of them lived in kibbutzim for varying periods of time (between one and two years), conducting participant observation, and published their findings through the 1950's and early sixties. They did not form a homogeneous school as Talmon and her pupils did, but represented various currents of thought in sociology and anthropology at the time. By far the most prolific and influential of these field-workers was Spiro, whose work has been referred to by almost all

subsequent writers, and I will use his work to formulate criticisms of a particular set of studies based on a psychoanalytic approach.

Spiro's book Kibbutz - Venture in Utopia was first published in 1956,[1] and presented by Spiro himself as "an anthropological study of Kiryat Yedidim"[2] (Spiro, 1972, p.vii). It was thus one of the earliest specifically anthropological works on the kibbutz, and has since become a classic.

Spiro asserts that the kibbutz is an example of "comprehensive cooperation" (citing Infield, 1946), in which collective forms constitute the very fabric of society, influencing and directing all life within it. He explains that the book began as an introductory chapter to his study of personality in the second generation of the kibbutz (see Spiro, 1971), and that the data presented are based on case material collected during a period of residence and work on Kiryat Yedidim. The study thus contrasts with Talmon's work in that survey methods were not used.

The most important characteristic of the kibbutz, argues Spiro, is its ideational basis, in that it is "a fellowship of those who share a common faith and have banded together to implement that faith" (Spiro, 1972, p.10). He then begins investigation of these ideas by looking at the concept of the 'moral value of labour', as exemplified in the writings of A. D. Gordon and other writers. The principles of collectivity in all things, and of equality of all kibbutz members are then examined, and Spiro distinguishes between formal equality (the same for everyone) and certain inequalities arising from members' connections outside the kibbutz. Social equality (of persons) is

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(1) All references here are to the 1972 edition, which contains an additional preface (pp.ix-xx) and some remarks on the kibbutz in 1970 (pp.253-294).

(2) The fictitious name he chose for the particular kibbutz he studied.

related to the absence of a class structure in the kibbutz and the lack of a differential reward system for different kinds of work. Spiro notes that in the kibbutz differential power and prestige do exist, between those who happen to hold formal office and those who do not, and between those who conform to the criteria of hard worker, ideological purist and pioneer, and other people. He also notes that cliques exist, defined by age, occupation, residential contiguity and interests. Freedom of the individual is cited by Spiro as a fundamental principle of community organization, along with the "moral value of the group" (Spiro, 1972, p.29), which means the subordination of the needs of the individual to those of the group. Zionism, for Spiro, provides the second most important set of "moral postulates" of the kibbutz, being the basis for the 'normalization' of the Jewish nation, who needed a new country in order to begin their conquest of labour and their rebirth as a self-respecting, productive, working people.

These remarks by Spiro raise interesting questions about the kibbutz. Firstly, we must ask exactly what he means by the term "moral postulates": as he presents these, they are a statement of the faith lying behind the kibbutz. We are not told who holds them, or what their meanings are for the people living in the kibbutzim: Spiro gives us no clue as to whether we might call the 'faith' an ideology, and in fact seems to avoid the question. Secondly, he hints at the nature of social relations in the kibbutz in his mention of cliques and differential power and prestige, indicating that he regards the "moral postulates" as ideal representations of the form which these social relations should take, and that he would like to compare them with actual social relations in the kibbutz. Leaving aside the lack of clarity in his conception of the status of the 'moral postulates', we can criticise Spiro for this attempt to use ideas as a yardstick against which to measure the conduct of social life. Like

Talmon's conception of ideology, this procedure fails to recognize the interpretability of ideas, and contains the assumption that the ideational dimension of the kibbutz is rigid and clearly defined. The effect of such an assumption is to divide ideas and social action in precisely the same way as the collectivist and individualist approaches which I criticised in Chapter 1.

Spiro follows his discussion of the "moral postulates", of the kibbutz with a short account of the history of the early pioneers of Kiryat Yedidim; whose "European experience" in Poland, their country of origin, he argues left an "indelible influence" on the community they established (see Spiro, 1972, p.38). The status of Polish Jewry led to feelings of rejection in the pioneers, they were opposed to the "narrow alleys" of the shtetl[1] and rebelled against their parents, the upholders of its culture. The Zionist Youth Movement provided the young pioneers with an outlet, where they could express their own 'true feelings', and identify with others who were doing the same. Zionism thus, for these pioneers was an escape from Jewish culture in Europe, and migration to Palestine was the 'final outlet'. Their initial experiences in Palestine were intense and emotional, and Spiro argues that this "psychological setting" (see Spiro, 1972, p.54) created for the pioneers an ideal conception of how their community could and should be. They were also influenced by the Chassidic tradition,[2] an influence manifested in their adoption of Chassidic songs and dancing. Freudian psychology provided a "theory that could explain our feelings, our stress and our turmoil" (Spiro, 1972, p.59).

Most of Spiro's account of the early history of the pioneers of

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(1) Name used for E. European Jewish communities of the period.

(2) Chassidism was an eighteenth century, Eastern European, Jewish, movement which stressed the emotional and mystical aspects of religion (see Spiro, 1972, p.57).

Kiryat Yedidim concerns the psychological aspects of their experiences in Europe and in the early stages of their life in Palestine. Only on the very last page of the chapter (p.59) does he mention the effect of these psychological experiences on the community which the pioneers were to set up. His view of the history of the pioneers places them first in the shtetl community, which, they rejected, then through a period of psychological upheaval and experiment: finally they are shown founding the kibbutz, a new community. In Spiro's work these differential foci at different periods of history are not adequately explained, as he takes another approach at each period of history. The reader cannot really understand the processes which have taken place, because the threads of sociological and psychological argument are broken at various junctures in the story. It may be true that the psychological aspects of the early life of the pioneers in Palestine were particularly important, but Spiro gives them no sociological context. Similarly, sociological forces must have been relevant to the position of the Jews in Eastern Europe: Spiro is talking only of a small group of rebels, and to explore the sociological context of this rebellion fully, he must investigate why this group rebelled and others did not. The foundation of the kibbutz appears from his account to be a return to social existence, a resurgence of subject matter for a sociologist: clearly though, the 'psychological period' of the pioneers history could also have been studied from a sociological point of view.

In the rest of his book, Spiro uses the 'psychological period' as an expression of the original philosophy of the kibbutz, arguing that deviation from it on the modern kibbutz (of the 1950's) is indicative of social change; however, since we do not know, from the earlier account, very much about the social relationships between the members of the group during the 'psychological period', we cannot evaluate Spiro's

instances of social change. He is using psychological analysis in one period of history, and sociological analysis in another, without fully explaining their articulation, and cannot therefore make valid comparisons between his two sets of data.

The main part of Spiro's book consists of a largely descriptive account of the organizational features of Kiryat Yedidim, and includes lists of the various committees and decision making bodies and of the annual festivals celebrated in the kibbutz and a brief account of the system of collective child rearing. All these aspects of Spiro's work are coloured by his psychological approach, and he prefers to explain social life in the kibbutz using this rather than a sociological approach. This creates a dissonance between the descriptive and the explanatory sides of the account. For example, motivation to work in the absence of the profit orientation is characterized by Spiro as 'personal' (see Spiro, 1972, pp.83-85). However, he hints that 'motivation' is also sociological, by his references to public opinion and the good of the community as a whole. Because he does not find 'the profit motive', which he regards as crucial to his own society in making people work, he resorts to psychology to explain why people work on the kibbutz, failing to recognize that firstly, there may be other social factors leading to work motivation, and secondly, that the very idea that people have to be 'made' to work is an ethnocentric assumption. Similar criticisms can be applied to almost all of Spiro's explanations, and are rooted in criticism of his use of a psychological approach to the study of social relations. His ethnocentricity is related to this choice of approach: he fails to consider sociological explanations of behaviour, and therefore does not observe that the context of the psychological attributes of the people he is studying is different from the context in which the psychological concepts he uses (such as 'rejection','motivation' etc.) were developed.

Spiro's work on the kibbutz represents a curious marriage of collectivist and individualist approaches to the study of society. His account of the social organization of the kibbutz is collectivist, in that it refers to formal social relations, in a way similar to that found in the structural functionalist accounts I criticised in Chapter 1. He does not deal with social interaction. The psychological interpretations he uses can be considered individualist in that they refer to the intimate inner experiences of particular people, thus removing the account even further from the conduct of social relationships and their structural context than Blau's reductionist exchange theory.(1) Spiro's conception of belief is based on this psychological approach, and, since it prevents adequate consideration of the social context of belief, he cannot explain the relation between beliefs and social action.

Spiro's second book, Children of the Kibbutz, was first published in 1958,(2) and is a study of child training and personality in Kiryat Yedidim. The psychological focus of this book is more clearly stated than in the case of the earlier publication, and similar criticisms can be applied to it. In the Preface to the New Edition, which first appeared in 1964, Spiro himself recognises (p.xiii) that the use of the psychoanalytic approach in particular led to two important biases in the work, which were, firstly, an overemphasis on genetic determinants of behaviour at the expense of situational determinants (by which he means those in the realm of social relations), and secondly, a concentration on unconscious motivation at the expense of conscious motivation. This self-criticism repeats the remarks I have already made above, that a psychological focus leads the analyst to forget the societal context, including the collective ideational aspects. Spiro's book concludes

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(1) See Chapter 1, pp. 21-23

(2) All references here are to the 1971 edition, which contains an additional preface (pp.ix-xviii).

with an explanation of salient features of the personality of kibbutz children, namely, introversion, hostility, insecurity and inferiority feelings. These conclusions are produced from data collected during periods of participant observation, and the application of projective tests. The use of these tests in assessing personality in cultures other than those of their origin has been a subject of considerable debate, particularly in American anthropology.(1) Projective tests are an attempt to infer unconscious aspect of behaviour from the way in which subjects interpret material presented to them such as inkblots (the Rorschach Test) and ambiguous pictures (Thematic Apperception Test). For an anthropologist interested in social relations, these tests, in their reference to the individual unconscious, are clearly of questionable value, as Spiro himself indicates.

Spiro and Talmon were the two most important figures in kibbutz studies during the 1950's and early sixties, and a quantity of the more recent work on the kibbutz can clearly be seen to have been inspired by their writings. Talmon in particular trained many of the people who have recently studied the kibbutz in the sociological or anthropological tradition.

B: Recent Studies of the Kibbutz

The work to be discussed in this section was published in the late 1960's and early 1970's. Several currents of thought were prominent in kibbutz studies during these years, and I will therefore deal with three separate sets of works, tracing their antecedents in each case. Firstly, I will look at the work of pupils of Talmon and some other studies in the same tradition; secondly, I will investigate Spiro's influence on the

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(1) Hallowell (1967) was a teacher of Spiro, and committed to the study of personality in other cultures. Lindzey (1961) gives an account of the various projective tests in use in cross-cultural research, and suggests some criticisms. DeVos' (1960) paper is an attempt to use them to assess aspects of Japanese personality.

psychological approach to the study of the kibbutz; thirdly, I will look at a group of anthropologists who studied the kibbutz from the point of view of the "Manchester School" of anthropology, and began to criticise both the survey-oriented, structural functionalist approach of Talmon, and the psychological approach of Spiro. I should mention now that there exists a fourth set of works on the kibbutz written by people within the Movement: I will examine some of these in the next chapter, but will note in this discussion their association with the school of thought dominated by Talmon. We will see that the dividing line between this school and the fourth set of texts is blurred: however, the present discussion will concentrate on people who consider themselves to be sociologists or anthropologists in their presentation of written material, and not ideologists, as other writers do.

1. The Influence of Yonina Talmon

Talmon's project (see above) involved the investigation of a wide variety of topics related to the kibbutz. I will concentrate here on two studies of the position of women in the kibbutz, as the discussion of this question by pupils of Talmon shows the limitations of method and orientation associated with such work particularly clearly. Rosner (1967) aims to deal with the position of women in the kibbutz today in the light of the ideological tenets expressed by the left wing movements in the early days of pioneering and settlement. His formulation of the problem itself can be criticized as it shows a particularly simplistic view of the situation. Firstly, he assumes that an ideology is a fixed, unchanging system of values to which people must adhere exactly unless they are to fail in their mission, and therefore secondly, he ignores any possibility of a dialectical relation between beliefs and social action in the terms I suggested in Chapter 1. Rosner's method is to decide what

equality of the sexes meant to the pioneers, to list what he regards as manifest inequalities and to find out using a questionnaire, what people think about it. In his work, Rosner confuses various people's beliefs, reality and their reactions to reality. His conclusions are further clouded by his own attitudes to the position of women, and to the factors influencing that position.

Rosner's use of the survey method to study the relation between beliefs regarding the position of women in the kibbutz and their 'actual' position can be faulted on several grounds. Firstly, he assumes that social action ought to reflect belief which, as a member of the kibbutz movement himself, he might be expected to assume. The assumption however, clearly affects the objectivity of the material he produces. He has evidently failed to examine the history of kibbutz ideology: were he to do so, he would find that it has been anything but a rigid system and that the idea that people should live out their beliefs is a recurrent theme in the ideological discussions which have taken place throughout its development.(1) Thus Rosner can be said to be examining an ideology in terms of itself. Secondly, the relationship between beliefs and social action is a complex one, as I argued in Chapter 1, and it seems doubtful whether a questionnaire sufficiently sophisticated to deal with it could be designed. Rosner's questionnaire is particularly rigid, involving positive and negative responses, the sums of which are used to produce statements about the number of people holding a particular viewpoint.

Thirdly, the questionnaire itself is designed according to particular assumptions about the position of women in society. From an examination of the literature, Rosner produces three questions which he hopes will enable him to elucidate attitudes towards women in the kibbutz. These

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(1) Chapter 3 gives a detailed account of the history of kibbutz ideology.

concern the possible existence of inherent behavioural differences between men and women, feelings of discrimination and rivalry between the sexes, and conflicts for women between their role in the family and their role as workers. Because Rosner's questionnaire is aimed primarily at the assessment of attitudes in the kibbutz, he fails to point out the fusion of attitudinal and structural variables in the questions he asks. He regards all the questions as purely attitudinal, without recognising their structural elements, and it is this which indicates for us his lack of examination of his own attitudes towards the position of women. He begins by looking at belief in inherent behavioural traits, asking his subjects for example, if women could fulfil managerial roles. A higher proportion of positive replies leads him to say that men and women are therefore regarded as intellectual equals: however, this is a deduction from the replies, and represents Rosner's own interpretation of them. Examining the question of discrimination and rivalry between the sexes, he notes that 10%-30% of the women questioned felt that this did exist: he dismisses their replies by saying that the figure would be much higher in the rest of Israel. Contradiction between women's role in the family and as workers is investigated by looking at the place of the family in the kibbutz, and Rosner argues that more and more stress is placed on the family as the kibbutzim develop. He contends that the desire of kibbutz members of both sexes for more children (he refers to Talmon's (1974) paper on Social Structure and Family Size) indicates that women in the kibbutz are becoming more family-oriented, then retracts this contention by saying that norms regarding family life are not clearly defined. Thus Rosner imputes meanings to people's responses, basing them on assumptions about women: he assumes that intellectual equality to fulfil managerial roles denies the existence of inherent behavioural traits specific to each sex, that discrimination does not exist in the kibbutz because it is greater outside in the rest of Israel, and that everyone's

desire for more children indicates women's desire to become more family-centred. He implies therefore that an attitude that men and women are 'intellectual equals' indicates a real possibility for them to hold managerial office, that women in the kibbutz who feel less discriminated against than other women in Israel are not discriminated against, that having children makes women family-centred, and the more children anybody wants, the more family-centred women are. These may be Rosner's opinions, but to impute them to others, and to produce supposedly objective sociological analysis therefrom is sure invalid.

The structural elements affecting attitudes to and the position of women in the kibbutz are ignored by Rosner. In the first place, he fails to define what he means by the 'original ideology' of the movement and does not investigate the practices characteristic of the early period of settlement. For example, he suggests that the production of children by women during this period led to the diversion of women into the services, and away from the productive branches of the kibbutz, economy away from highly valued work into jobs seen as merely 'necessary'. He does not explain why this diversion occurred, nor why the sexual division of labour should be associated with a differential evaluation of productive and service branches. Had he noted (as Mednick (1975) does) that men never participated in the service branches to any great extent, and that early pioneer women aspired to work like men, he would have gained greater insight into the meaning of 'equality of women' in the early days, and found that present day attitudes are influenced by historical experience, and do not exist in an ideational vacuum.

In the second place, when Rosner looks at attitudes in different kinds of kibbutzim, he again examines only ideas. He classifies the kibbutzim according to their age, suggesting that the older the kibbutz, the less egalitarian attitudes there will be. In this part of the paper,

he again does not make clear who is answering the questionnaire. After arguing that older kibbutzim will be less egalitarian in attitude because they are more differentiated in fact, Rosner tests his hypothesis with questions which regard a description of a structural feature as an indicator of ideas. The questions draw no distinction between what people see to be the case, and what they would like to be the case. If Rosner finds that the answers he receives do not confirm his hypothesis, he asserts that the cases are exceptional, and that evaluations represent individual opinions rather than group social structure. This extraordinary attempt to deflect possible criticism of his approach represents his failure to delineate the nature of his variables, and his consequent assumption that his questionnaire will produce statements of collective representations, with the implication that a deviant reply is a 'wrong answer'.

Rosner himself indicates, though does not elaborate upon, what some of the structural features of the position of women in the kibbutz, and people's attitudes towards them might be. Firstly, as I have already said, attitudes seem to be in some way related to the degree of differentiation in a particular community: furthermore, we can say that people's attitudes are likely to depend on their own social positions, and on their own sex. Secondly, Rosner suggests that the family in the kibbutz is in some way related to the position of women. Thirdly, the situation in Israeli society outside the kibbutz, for example the degree of discrimination and certain laws (such as that relating to the necessity for religious marriage), may affect people's attitudes inside: they certainly seem to have affected Rosner's. Rosner regards the type of attitudes expressed as reflecting the actual situation in the kibbutz, which, he says, is not consistent with the egalitarian ideology. It is not clear whether he considers these attitudes to be

indicative of ideological change or interpretation. Had he taken careful note of the social structural aspects of the kibbutz, he would perhaps have been able to delineate clearly the analytical level at which he operates, and would have been able to draw some useful conclusions about the position of women in the kibbutz, their changing status, and the changing attitudes towards them.

Rosner's work has gained some prominence within Israel and outside, and in the kibbutz movement itself. Certain findings of the project on women were presented to the Council of the Kibbutz Artzi[1] in 1966 as a contribution to a discussion of the problems of women in the kibbutz. In discussions at this high level of movement policy formulation, the voice of the 'kibbutz sociologists' is becoming more frequently heard, and it is at this point that the distinction between the conduct of research and the articulation of a certain level of ideological material becomes blurred. However, Rosner did not present the same paper to the Council as he published in Oriental and African Studies, and he clearly sees a difference between his work within the movement and his work, as a sociologist. As a follower of Talmon, he pushes her approach to its extreme.

Lionel Tiger and Joseph Shepher's book, Women in the Kibbutz, (1975) is also strongly influenced by the Talmon school of research[2] and also by recent and more general discussions of the position of women in society.

In formulating the problem at hand, Tiger and Shepher begin by noting the achievements of the kibbutzim in their efforts to establish a communal society, and their concurrent failure to achieve equality between men and women, by which Tiger and Shepher mean that the social

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(1) Movement to which the kibbutz discussed in Part Two of this thesis belongs. Council is the highest authority of the Movement.

(2) J. Shepher was a pupil of Talmon.

positions of men and women in the kibbutz are not the same. They go on to ask:

> Does this mean that sexual patterns are more conservative than other patterns? That the kibbutzim have misconceived the problem of sexual equality and its solution? That it will be difficult for women elsewhere to achieve sexual equality even under kibbutz circumstances?
>
> (Tiger and Shepher, 1975, p.6)

They examine some recent publications dealing with the position of women in society noting that many of them assert that this position is due entirely to social and economic conditions. Tiger and Shepher suggest that the biological aspects of sex role differentiation in society merit further consideration, and argue against explanations relying on data from only one discipline. They note the misuse of biology in social science, particularly in studies of race relations, arguing that it has arisen from a poor conception of biology. They write:

> If the feminist argument is correct that women are made to live lives greatly and unpleasantly different from men's it is imperative for reshaping social policy that we discover even those relatively small differences that apparently help produce such significant major ones.
>
> (Tiger and Shepher, 1975, p.23)

Right from the beginning of this work, Tiger and Shepher operate with two major assumptions. Firstly, they consider equality between the sexes to mean a situation in which men and women do the same things and behave in the same way. Secondly, they assume that manifest social differences between men and women are rooted in their biological differences, and that social arrangements merely magnify these biological differences. They are thus entering the debate about whether or not it is possible for men and women to be equal, a dangerous undertaking in any field, because that question has never been answered satisfactorily. The way in which Tiger and Shepher pose the question clearly indicates the kind of answer they produce: if equality between the sexes means a situation in which men and women will be exactly the same, and Tiger and Shepher insist upon taking biology into account, then their conclusion must be

that equality is impossible, simply because women conceive and give birth, and men ejaculate. Whether there are any more biological differences between men and women serving to create social divisions between them is an open question, and efforts to correlate social and biological differences can end only in confusion if both the sociological and the biological methods of investigation are inadequate. The enormous variety of existing social arrangements affecting the relative positions of the sexes has been testified by many anthropologists (e.g. Mead, 1967, Rosaldo and Lamphere, 1974 and Friedl, 1975) and has not yet been understood. As Rosaldo writes:

> ... we are heirs to a sociological tradition that treats women as essentially uninteresting and irrelevant and accepts as necessary, natural and hardly problematic the fact that in every human culture, women are in some way subordinate to men.
>
> (Rosaldo and Lamphere, 1974,p.17)

I do not want to expand at length upon these points here, but simply to say that the sociological and anthropological study of women is in its infancy, and that Tiger and Shepher have clearly failed to understand the kinds of assumption underlying their work. Had they done so, they would not so readily incorporate biology into their study, and would recognize the difficulty of associating a poorly formed sociology with it.

Tiger and Shepher argue that the kibbutzim have shown a particularly egalitarian attitude towards women: by this they mean that there was some kind of conscious effort to overcome what were felt to be the conditions determining the social and economic inequality of women in Europe. The effort involved the abolition of individual household arrangements of the economic dependence of women on men, of social class, and of discriminatory power allocation. Tiger and Shepher suggest that these innovations freed women from the social and economic sources of their inequality and therefore laid the foundations for the realization of the egalitarian ideal: they do not explain exactly what this ideal meant. Furthermore, they are here operating with the same assumptions which they attribute to their subjects,

namely that the source of inequality between men and women is the economic relations of capitalism, and that the abolition of these relations provides all the necessary conditions for equality. It is this assumption which leads Tiger and Shepher to consider biology to be so important, and to argue that, since the kibbutz contains all the preconditions of equality, any inequalities there must be caused by biological predispositions. To explore briefly the way in which the question of equality between the sexes was regarded in the early days of pioneering we can refer to Maimon's (1962) work on the Women's Movement in Israel. She stresses the enormous difficulties experienced by women in those days to convince their male comrades of the important place for women in the pioneering movement, criticising the general lack of discussion which took place at the time. She writes:

> ... after what we have seen of various attempts to change the social order, it may be more correct to say that the attainment of economic independence by women will do more for the realization of a socialist society than the latter will contribute to the emancipation of women.
>
> (Maimon, 1962, p.20)

Maimon's cynicism, directed at the then prevalent idea that the end of capitalism would automatically bring about the end of discrimination against women, indicates a side of the argument which Tiger and Shepher's introduction of biology prevents them from considering. They do not investigate social and economic sources of inequality other than capitalism.

These assumptions about the nature of equality, the importance of biology and the sources of inequality permeate Tiger and Shepher's work. They thus, for example, associate the beginnings of a sexual division of labour in the kibbutz with the birth of the first babies, arguing that this served to divert women from the productive sectors of the economy: this is exactly Rosner's argument (see above), and, like him, Tiger and Shepher do not explain why the diversion occurred, assuming that women

would look after children because their biology dictated their social roles. The sexual division of labour in the kibbutz is described by Tiger and Shepher in statistical terms, following a survey. Their statistical techniques are more sophisticated than Rosner's but this does not serve to overcome the fundamental criticisms of the use of the survey method which I have already elaborated. Tiger and Shepher frequently refer without question to Rosner's findings to support their own.

In their "Conclusions" (pp.260-281) Tiger and Shepher note that

> The kibbutz, with its deep ideological commitment to the equality of all human beings, and of course, equality of the sexes, also offers women the independence prerequisite to equality.
>
> (Tiger and Shepher, 1975, p.260)

They suggest that equality between the sexes is therefore more likely to be found in the kibbutz than anywhere else. The conclusions reached following analysis of statistical data note an increasing sexual division of labour, lack of political activity amongst women, women's preference for the authority of men, their disinclination towards academic study, and their inferiority to men in this field, their non-combat roles in the army, the resurgence of family life in the kibbutz (see discussion of Talmon, above), instigated mainly by women, and the discrepancy between ideals and reality. Tiger and Shepher then examine several possible explanations for these features of life in the kibbutz. Firstly, they consider the view that the revolution effected in the kibbutz as regards the position of women was not a total one, and note that this raises many questions about for example, why women were diverted from production, and why technological advances, obviating the need for physical strength in work, have not ended the sexual division of labour. Because this approach raises questions rather than providing answers,

Tiger and Shepher dismiss it. Secondly, they look at the 'socialization argument', which suggests that the pioneers were socialized into accepting a sexual division of labour and could not therefore effectively reject it. This too, they say, raises questions, this time about the extent to which socialization can be altered, and they again exclude the argument on these grounds. Thirdly, the suggestion that the world is organized by men who do not consider women worthy of consideration is condemned because it does not conform to the ideas expressed by kibbutz women. The fourth explanation suggests that women retreated into child-care, the services and familism when they realized that men had 'taken over' production and were not interested in other realms of activity. Tiger and Shepher consider that the use of the term 'retreat' in this argument is indicative of a value judgement: if women's return to childcare and the services is seen as retrogressive, they argue, then those who use the 'retreat explanation' are assuming that the abolition of the sexual division of labour in the kibbutz was progressive. They therefore reject this argument, suggesting that more care should be taken in evaluating the effect upon the kibbutz of this change in the position of women, whether it has been positive or negative, and in whose opinion. Finally, in answer to the suggestion that the influence of Israeli society as a whole has acted upon the conduct of social relations in the kibbutz, Tiger and Shepher point out the efforts of the kibbutz to stand apart from this wider society.

The rejection of explanations which raise questions rather than answering them indicates that Tiger and Shepher are looking for a final answer, a total explanation, which, for them, is clearly to be found in their own work. However, the questions raised by the rejected explanations cannot be dealt with by the approach to which Tiger and Shepher commit themselves. Their questionnaire, as I have argued, is incapable of

eliciting the views held by kibbutz women, and the effective operation of these views: ideas about progress require further investigation, which Tiger and Shepher themselves imply when they assert that the ideology of the kibbutz movement did indeed regard the abolition of the sexual division of labour as progressive. In their assertion of the independence of the kibbutz within Israeli society, Tiger and Shepher omit to mention the extensive direct contacts which many kibbutz members have with outsiders, and do not investigate their effect: furthermore, they fail to examine the possible other side of the coin, that the kibbutz 'standing apart' may be a defensive measure against felt intrusions from outside.

Tiger and Shepher then reassert their opinion that a purely sociological explanation must be deficient, and that biological data can be used to complete the picture. Women in the kibbutz, they argue,

> ... have acted agains the principles of their socialization and ideology, against the wishes of the men of their communities, against the economic interest of the kibbutzim, in order to be able to devote more time and energy to private maternal activities rather than to economic and political public ones.
>
> (Tiger and Shepher, 1975, p.272)

They then introduce the concept of 'biogrammar', a 'behavioural baseline' for, they suggest, all cultural variation. Finally, Tiger and Shepher declare their explanation: the biogrammar of women has caused them to achieve their present position in the kibbutz. Because they have a predisposition towards motherhood,[1] women inevitably choose not to participate in productive work or political activity. This explanation raises no questions: biology, for Tiger and Shepher, is a 'get-out clause', which obviates the necessity of considering questions raised by other

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(1) Comer, in The Myth of Motherhood (1971) argues for further research into fatherhood. Her paper includes detailed criticism of the concept of motherhood which could be applied to Tiger and Shepher's use of it.

explanations.

I have discussed Tiger and Shepher's work at some length because I consider that, like Rosner's, it will become an important text in kibbutz studies. Its particular inadequacy, methodological and theoretical, arises from the attempt to stretch the use of social surveys to cover material for which they are not suitable. The biological features which Tiger and Shepher consider so important serve to cover up the inadequacies of their conceptual framework, in addition to the deficiencies of the survey method, which cannot, as they acknowledge, answer questions raised by other approaches. Thus the use of biological features to 'explain' the position of women in the kibbutz disguises the failure in Tiger and Shepher's work to examine assumptions about the kibbutz, about women, and about the nature of social relations.

2. Psychological Approaches

In 1964, Bruno Bettelheim spent seven weeks in Israel doing research for his book The Children of the Dream, first published in 1971.(1) Bettelheim acknowledges in the book some of the people who had the greatest influence upon his work, and they include Eisenstadt, Talmon and Erikson. He notes that Spiro's work prompted him to write a long criticism, and led him to make the decision to go to Israel and see the kibbutz for himself. As a professional psychologist, Bettelheim felt that he could not accept Spiro's apparent assumption that American middle class methods of child-rearing were the best, and suitable for all cultures. He had also noticed from a reading of the available literature that the collective education system in the kibbutz was successful in that it produced no delinquents or drop-outs. Bettelheim's study thus represents a reply to Spiro, and an examination of a system of child-rearing

(1) All references here are to the 1973 reprint.

totally different from that current in America, and more successful. He hoped to reach conclusions which would suggest ways in which the American system could be modified and improved.

Bettelheim regards the kibbutz as a ready-made experimental situation, arguing that, because it was set up comparatively recently, it is easy for a psychologist to delineate the cultural tradition in which its children are brought up. He notes that the first child born in the kibbutz was a nuisance, because somebody had to look after it and therefore withdraw from productive work. Spiro, Rosner and Tiger and Shepher also made this assumption, which I have already criticised for its ethnocentricity. As a psychologist, it is extraordinary that Bettelheim should see the kibbutz as an experimental situation, simply because the pioneers came out of a cultural tradition themselves. They wanted to change their tradition, to rebel against it, but it cannot be argued that their own upbringing had no influence on the new society they established. Bettelheim contradicts his assertion that the cultural background of the children in the kibbutz is easily defined because it is new by his repeated reference to the influence exercised upon these children by their parents' cultural background in Europe. He examines the origins of the kibbutz in the youth movements in Germany and Eastern Europe, concentrating on the aspect of the rejection of shtetl culture, and particularly of the position of women within it. He argues that it was the women of the kibbutz who were most insistent that child-rearing should be communally performed. This view opposes Spiro and Rosner, who say that child-rearing methods in the kibbutz were stimulated by practical considerations. Bettelheim constantly stresses that communal life in the kibbutz represents an "over-reaction" to shtetl life, saying that this is particularly significant in the case of kibbutz women. For example, he writes:

> Deep in the Jewish girl's unconscious, from earliest childhood, the idea was embedded that the good daughter is the one who grows up to be a good mother.
>
> (Bettelheim, 1973, p.39)

This tradition was rejected by the pioneer women, and therefore led to "a sense of unworthiness and betrayal" (Bettelheim, 1973, p.39) in them when they brought up their own children communally, in the kibbutz. In this way, then, Bettelheim contradicts his own view of the kibbutz as offering an easily defined experimental situation, drawing upon data from the pre-kibbutz tradition in order to describe mothers in the kibbutz.

Bettelheim also repeats remarks about the resurgence of familism in the kibbutz which were made by Talmon and her pupils. He too associates it with family size, glibly dismissing economic arguments by saying that the poor have the most children in the world. He ignores the facts that the poor do not all live in the kibbutzim, and that the pioneers had a very specific analysis of their 'poverty' as a stage in their rebirth as a nation. The Children of the Dream is characterized by failure to consider any non-psychological data, and arguments orientated towards social structural rather than psychological explanations. Bettelheim is especially concerned with questioning some "significant details" (Bettelheim, 1973, p.60) of psychoanalytic theory, for example, regarding the separation of children from their parents for long periods of time, and the type and extent of repression. His lack of interest in the kibbutz as a social system (of whatever kind) is reflected in his failure to examine the assumptions underlying his conclusions, which stem from his own society. The remark that the poor everywhere have large families is a clear example of this. He also asserts that one of the reasons for the lack of drop-outs in the kibbutz education system is that children begin work for the kibbutz economy at an early age: in America, he says, people drop out of school because they want to start work. In

both cases, he fails to examine the difference between 'work' in the communal kibbutz, and 'work' in the capitalist environment in America. These two examples show clearly Bettelheim's omission of data on the social environment in which the individual's psychological processes operate, and which, in terms of Bettelheim's own argument about shtetl culture, clearly influences these processes themselves. In view of his desire to draw lessons for American parents from the kibbutz, Bettelheim's concentration on the psychological at the expense of other dimensions is unfortunate, because he cannot therefore understand the problems involved in the transplant of societal arrangements.

Bettelheim takes his readers through all the stages in the lives of children in the kibbutz, babyhood and young childhood, the latency period (between six and twelve years of age) and adolescence, comparing, at every stage, the psychological features of the children and their parents in the kibbutz with those of children and parents in America. He discusses psychological development in Freudian terms, examining, for example, the rejection of children by adults, the frequency of bed-wetting and so on. The characteristics of children in the kibbutz are explained by the use of psycho-analytic theory to express the psychology of the children and their parents. For example, in an attempt to explain the unwillingness of parents and children's house workers to toilet train their children, Bettelheim notes that kibbutz members know about the Freudian dictum that the retention of faeces in Western society is associated with its acquisitiveness. He argues that in a society anxious to reject notions of private property, toilet training will not be stressed. This type of interpretation throws very little light on the nature of social relations in the kibbutz: Bettelheim picks out specific organizational features of the kibbutz to support his assertions about psychology, but does not fully explain the connection, and cannot deal

with the social mechanisms and sets of relations involved in the system of communal child-rearing. I have already shown that (though his argument is contradictory), Bettelheim is of the opinion that the societal environment, wider than individual, personal contacts and experiences, has an effect on individual psychology and personality formation: his approach prevents an adequate consideration of this. Furthermore, his failure to consider the relations between the parents leads him to regard them as independent of their children and vice versa, to assert, for example, that the social standing of parents is not affected by their children's doings. I will show in the discussion of my own field data on the kibbutz, that this is simply not so.(1) It is Bettelheim's psychological focus which prevents him from observing the situation adequately.

The final chapter of Bettelheim's book consists of an exploration of the applicability of Erikson's (1950)(2) model of personality development. The model postulates a series of crises which everyone overcomes at certain stages in his or her development. Here, Bettelheim himself states the importance of the differences between the experiences of the kibbutz child and the American child, criticising Erikson for his ethnocentricity, his basing of his model upon middle class American child-rearing practices. In fact the range and depth of Erikson's observations is far greater than Bettelheim's own: he considers two American Indian tribes, white and black American society, and Germany and Russia. In Erikson's work, the psychological focus is far more specific than it is in Bettelheim's and he takes the approach much further. For example, in considering anti-Semitism, Erikson (1972, pp.344-347) regards it as a paranoid

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(1) See Chapters 7 and 8.

(2) 1972 edition of Erikson's work is referred to here.

reaction, a clinging to absolutes, in a situation of collective anxiety. He does not, like Bettelheim, pick out aspects of society which appear to support his findings, but attempts to trace a clear connection between sociological and psychological phenomena.(1) Bettelheim's superficial appreciation of Erikson's work indicates further criticisms which can be made of his own work: not only does he fail to understand the social environment of individual psychology, but he also shows a limited perception of that psychology itself. His approach falls somewhere between general psychology and limited sociology. He cannot therefore contribute significantly to our discussion of beliefs and social action in the kibbutz. However, his work represents a particular current in the literature on the kibbutz, and can at least serve as a warning against an exclusively psychological focus in the discussion of social organization and relationships.

3. The Manchester School

The two studies of the kibbutz to be considered in this section were written at the University of Manchester in the early 1970's when Max Gluckman was directing a research project in Israel. Most of the fieldworkers involved were postgraduate students at the University, and their writing exhibits the strong influence of "the Manchester School" and its concern with actor-oriented approaches. The project dealt with "Socio-Cultural Patterns of Adjustment and Conflict among Israeli Veterans and Immigrants",(2) and field research was carried out in several different types of community in Israel.

The work I have already discussed as influenced by Yonina Talmon can be classified in the collectivist category of sociological investigation,

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(1) It is not my concern here to examine Erikson's work in detail. I want only to stress Bettelheim's particular interpretation of it.

(2) S.S.R.C. reference HR779.

since it is not concerned with actual social relations in the kibbutz. Texts taking a psychological viewpoint are outside the sociological tradition, though the anthropological side of Spiro's work can also be regarded as collectivist. The actor-oriented approach taken by some of Gluckman's students places their studies in the individualist category. Though as yet unpublished, Evens' (1970) and I. Shepher's (1972) accounts of kibbutzim provide examples of the possibilities for studying the kibbutz using approaches which contrast sharply with those previously employed. As far as I know, these two studies are the only recent works of any length on the kibbutz which do not use either Talmon's methods, or psychological approaches as exemplified by Spiro and Bettelheim.

Evens (1970) seems to have experienced some difficulty in conducting his fieldwork, and notes that his presence on the kibbutz caused some tension because he did not do as much work for the community as its members did. Like this thesis, his is concerned with ideology and social organization in the kibbutz. He spends some time explaining exactly the meaning of the concepts he intends to use, especially that of a 'normative system'. He defines ideology as a normative system attached to institutions, i.e. institutions propagating values are ideologies. The task of a normative system, he argues, is to define what is 'good', and to elaborate these notions, to explain why they exist, and to explain their meanings. A formally normative system, as Evens explains it, relates to the structural features of society, and has reciprocal common meanings for its members, so that it actually affects their lives. Conformity to a formally normative system is only general, and it is in the nature of such a system that it contains some degree of flexibility. Evens asserts that even though it is flexible, the system still serves to circumscribe people's activity.

When he first went to the kibbutz, Evens says that he was interested

specifically in looking at it from an actor-oriented viewpoint. He realized however that he could not ignore the ideology of the kibbutz, clearly acknowledging one of the criticisms I have made of actor-oriented approaches, that they tend to prevent examination of what Evens would call a formally normative system.

Part One of Evens' thesis consists of a detailed critique of anthropological works dealing with the study of norms and ideas. His aim is to expose the over-reaction of people committed to actor-oriented approaches in their rejection of the view that norms and ideas are an important influence on the conduct of social relations. He classifies the work of various writers according to their ideas about the place of values in social life and argues that both writers taking a structural approach and those working from a strictly interactionist perspective have tended to regard the ideational aspect of society as epiphenomenal: the former see it as a "direct function of social utility and rationality", and the latter see it as a "direct function of individual utility and rationality", (see Evens, 1970, p.229). Putting his own point of view, Evens argues that:

> ... the social process is fundamentally a matter of the inextricable synergy of the behavioural and the ideal.
>
> (Evens, 1970, p.269)

The second part of the thesis takes the form of an analysis of certain elements of kibbutz ideology. Evens himself acknowledges that he makes no systematic attempt to associate this discussion with actual social relations in the kibbutz. He examines the tenets of collectivism (the incorporation of discussion of every aspect of social life into ideology), mutualism (the equal sharing of almost everything) and cooperation (the subordination of individual interests to those of the commune). The only detailed case material presented by Evens is used to show how the essential conflict between the individual and the commune is accommodated,

and concerns in particular the ideological terms in which the arguments were phrased. Evens asserts that there is a perpetual dialectic in the kibbutz between the individual and the commune, noting that the ideology attempts to unite the two, and to identify their interests, and contains therefore an effort to resolve the opposition between them.

Evens makes a strong case for a degree of independent existence for the ideational realm of society. His effort to do so apparently arises from his training at Manchester in actor-oriented approaches, in that considerable weight is attached in his argument to the deficiencies of these approaches. He found that in the kibbutz the adoption of a purely actor-oriented perspective prevented him from considering the important ideological dimension of life, and he therefore determined to find an approach which would enable examination of this dimension. As his discussion proceeds, its emphasis shifts. Having characterized a "formally normative system", he appears to be taking a view similar to Gluckman's of the Barotse legal system (see Chapter 1, pp. 35-36) as a hierarchy of concepts, the highest order ones being the least flexible. Through the criticism of work which he considers to regard ideas as epiphenomenal, he moves to the view that the ideational realm can be studied of itself and within itself, despite his assertion of a synergetic relationship between behaviour and ideals. When he comes to consider the ideology of the kibbutz he thus presents it with only limited reference to social relations, concentrating on elements of social life which are defined in the ideology itself. He does not provide details of social processes in the kibbutz which could support the assertion of synergy. Effectively then, Evens is rejecting the study of the kibbutz from an actor-oriented perspective; in characterizing such a view as an "over-reaction" to studies regarding ideas as important, he himself over-reacts, to the extent of omitting the dimension of social relations. Although the earlier parts of

his work suggest that he wishes to work with a modified version of an actor-oriented approach, he does not follow up the suggestion.

The picture of kibbutz ideology which Evens presents is essentially static, and this lack of dynamic stems from his adoption of Gluckman's view of the structure of ideas. Like Gluckman (see Chapter 1, pp. 35-36), he fails to allow for the possibility of actual change of the highest level concepts. Evens does not investigate the interpretability of ideology in enough depth to realize the essential dynamics involved, whose importance I emphasized in Chapter 1. He does not investigate the development of kibbutz ideology.

Paradoxically, Evens' conception of dialectic is also static, since it relates to balanced interaction, rather than dynamic contradiction. He argues basically that there is always a conflict between the individual and society: in the kibbutz, ideology attempts to overcome this. Evens does not give enough data for the reader to understand exactly what the conflict entails, but states the ways in which the ideology attempts to identify the individual with the commune and hence obliterate the conflict. He implies that it is successful to the extent that actual conflict is minimized.

The case material which Evens does present, however limited, is at least in the tradition of actor-oriented approaches, in that he looks at actual discussions which took place in the kibbutz he studied, and does not, like Spiro for example, regard life there as existing only in its institutions. He thus raises some interesting questions for future study, concerning for example, the relation between ideology and social action and the interpretability of ideology. Some of his arguments, particularly his criticisms of actor-oriented approaches, bear some resemblance to mine (see Chapter 1), but the conclusions he draws lead him up the blind alley of an almost mystical interpretation of kibbutz ideology.

Shepher's (1972) work deals with the significance of work roles in the kibbutz, a topic which no other study has, as far as I know, considered. The introductory chapters cover the development of the kibbutz movement both ideologically and organizationally, paying careful attention to the developmental aspects of ideology in particular. Shepher maintains that the importance of ideological commitment in the kibbutz has been overemphasized, suggesting that, once set up, the economy of the kibbutz acquired features binding of themselves, implying that a kibbutz could survive without strong ideological commitment on the part of all its members. It is ideological statements themselves which have particularly stressed commitment. Shepher emphasises the importance of the economic side of the kibbutz throughout his work.

Thus from the beginning, Shepher appears to disagree with Evens' conclusion that ideology is decisive. He suggests that other dimensions of kibbutz life may be vital to explaining social processes in the kibbutz. His work is far more specific than Evens', dealing with a particular aspect of social relations, but by taking this as his starting point, Shepher is able to elucidate certain features of kibbutz life more clearly than Evens could have done, had he been interested in similar data.

The discussion of work roles commences with a description of the evolution of a situation in which each member of the kibbutz has a permanent job, out of an earlier arrangement whereby jobs rotated. Shepher regards economic considerations to have been the primary stimuli to this development, arguing that the expansion of the kibbutz economy required increased technical expertise and experience, expensive to acquire and difficult to share. In the kibbutz of the 1970's, permanence in work increases with an individual's years of membership. He thus introduces two processes, one of which is the development of permanent jobs in the kibbutz in general, and the other, the gradual acquisition by an individual

of a job. Once the processes are described, Shepher concentrates on the mechanisms of permanence in work on a particular kibbutz in the 1970's. He gives a brief note about people who are unable to acquire permanent jobs, but does not expand upon this.

Shepher mentions the ideology of labour in order to support his assertion of the importance of work in the kibbutz, particularly as a means of earning prestige. He suggests that the prestige involved in occupying a permanent job is vital to a member's social position in the kibbutz, in that it provides him or her with a degree of independence, (indispensibility). He examines labour as an institution, looking at the sets of formal relations which apply to it, and considering the relationship of the individual to the commune of which he or she is a member. He finds that the individual acquires power from the incumbency of a permanent job, power of resistance backed both by indispensibility and by support from within the branch. This power can be circumscribed by the pressure of public opinion, acting as a mechanism of social control. Within the work team, Shepher details the workings of a system of mutual support, describing the checks and balances operating to maintain it. The team serves to reinforce the advantages to an individual of having a permanent job. Shepher stresses that the details of mechanisms may vary according to the nature of the branch (its size, labour requirements, type of work, etc.), but applies his broader statements to branches in general. He suggests that it is in the realm of work that there is the most scope for variation between members, noting that though consumption is communally controlled and channelled by the institutions of the kibbutz, production is not, and cannot be, because of the diversity within the kibbutz economy. Because work gives scope for variation, it is the field in which social processes which do not coincide with the institutional aspects of the kibbutz can be most easily observed.

Shepher's work thus represents a contrast with all the other studies I have discussed, because it considers actual social relations in the kibbutz. The case material he gives concerns incidents involving particular individuals and their careers at work, and he uses this material to support and illustrate the remarks he makes about the significance of work roles in the kibbutz. The concentration on an area of social relations not directly controlled by institutional arrangements facilitates this introduction and use of case material.

The picture which Shepher presents is however an essentially static one. He does not suggest the directions in which the significance of work roles may be developing, contenting himself with a discussion of the processes leading to a situation in which everyone has a permanent job. Also, though he mentions the way in which an individual member's career progresses, he does not follow up the implications of these remarks. If he did so, he would be able to complement his discussion, particularly since such careers are not institutionally controlled, as he argues. Furthermore, since the kibbutzim have not been operating long, and permanent jobs are a comparatively recent feature, the examination of the careers of particular individuals could contribute significantly to the understanding of the division of labour in the kibbutz. It seems likely that in these areas of low institutional definition we will find data vital to any explanation of social processes in the kibbutz. As far as it goes, Shepher's study serves to open up these further areas of research.

Similarly, Shepher indicates some serious questions which must be asked in studies of kibbutz ideology. His argument against previous research which has taken an essentially deterministic view of ideology suggests that the relationship between ideology and social action is more complex than earlier work has implied, particularly the survey-oriented

studies which I have already discussed.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have attempted to show the development of studies of the kibbutz, and to demonstrate the characteristics of three recent trends of thought. Infield's and Landshut's studies represent early, general literature, in some respects a kind of publicity for the kibbutz. Later work by Talmon and Spiro has a very particular focus, the former being survey-oriented and structural functionalist in character, and the latter taking a psychological viewpoint. Talmon's work was influenced by British social anthropology of the 1940's and 1950's, and Spiro's work by American psychological approaches to the study of society of the same period.

Of the more recent publications, Israeli-based social studies (Rosner, Tiger and Shepher) show Talmon's influence very clearly, remaining survey-oriented. The American work (Bettelheim) continues within the psychological tradition. The Manchester-based research (Evens, Shepher) reflects the reaction in Britain in the late 1960's to the structural functionalist school of thought which had dominated British anthropology until then.

From the heavy criticism which I have made of the Talmon school and the psychological approach, it will be clear that I consider such work to be of limited value to the present study. Since these studies operate and remain at particular analytical levels, the results they offer can only suggest the necessity for considering other levels, the desirability of looking on the one hand at the nature and operation of ideology (as defined in Chapter 1) and on the other hand at actual social relations in the kibbutz, in order to understand the relation between ideology and social action. I will refer to these studies in the rest of the thesis, particularly

when discussing my own work on the kibbutz, using them principally to raise the issues which I dealt with at the beginning of this chapter. The dialectical approach, which I discussed in Chapter 1, is incompatible with collectivist approaches, which, I have argued, include the survey- and psychologically oriented.

The Manchester school, working from the actor-oriented focus developed there, also raise questions. In dealing with ideology, Evens questions the view of it as irrelevant in influencing, and determined by, social action. Shepher questions the opinion, held by the collectivist interpreters of the kibbutz, that ideology determines social action. These two studies thus criticise crude actor-oriented and institutional approaches in a way corresponding to that exhibited in Chapter 1 of this thesis, and represent significant advances upon them. In attempting to use an approach based on dialectics, the present study aims to move on from both Evens and Shepher.

In Chapter 3, I will discuss the nature and development of kibbutz ideology, and the history of the kibbutz movement in general, approaching the subject in accordance with the paradigms for study established in Chapter 1.

CHAPTER 3

THE HISTORY OF THE KIBBUTZ MOVEMENT AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF IDEOLOGY

Introduction

In Chapter 1, I formulated a definition of an ideology as an interpretable, situationally transcendent set of ideas which attempts to persuade people to conduct their lives in a certain way. The definition was based on criticisms of previous anthropological studies attempting to deal with the relation between beliefs and social action, and on a particular concept of dialectics which I suggested could be used as a more productive basis for an approach to that study. In Chapter 2, I focussed on studies of the kibbutz and criticised their conceptions of the nature of kibbutz ideology and its relation to social life in the kibbutz. Generally, other writers have regarded kibbutz ideology as a fixed set of ideas to which life in the kibbutzim themselves should conform.

In this chapter, I will use the definition of ideology established, and the dialectical approach discussed in Chapter 1 to facilitate examination of the nature and development of kibbutz ideology. The account will also contribute towards the definition of the nature of the kibbutz as a community, since, as I have argued in Chapter 1, ideology and socialaction cannot be divorced from one another: any distinction between them can only be heuristic. The organisation of this chapter, which focuses on different dimensions of 'the same' phenomena, will reflect this assumption.

The second part of the thesis (Chapters 5 to 8) will discuss detailed field material from a particular kibbutz belonging to the Kibbutz Artzi Hashomer Hatzair federation, upon which the present account of the history of the movement[1] and the development of ideology will focus.[2] This

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(1) For clarity of expression, Movement (with capital 'M') refers to the Kibbutz Artzi Hashomer Hatzair, and movement (small 'm') to the kibbutz movement in general.

(2) At present (1976), there are three other main federations: Ichud Hakvutzot Vehakibbutzim, Hakibbutz Hameuchad and Hakibbutz Hadati. A small number of kibbutzim are unaffiliated.

chapter is intended as an introduction to the analysis of the relation between beliefs and social action in a particular kibbutz.

Firstly, I will discuss the early history of the kibbutz movement in general, looking at the Hashomer Hatzair Youth Movement and the Kibbutz Artzi as particular features of the period in question. Secondly, I will examine the ideological principles of the Movement as they and it developed. This section will include investigation of organisational aspects of the Movement and of the kibbutzim themselves, and I will introduce the discussion of the effects of the Movement upon the kibbutzim and vice versa. Thirdly, Movement discussions of particular issues will be examined, in order to begin analysis of the interpretability of ideology. I will conclude with some remarks linking the present discussion with the second part of the thesis.

A: The Development of Ideology in Hashomer Hatzair and the Kibbutz Artzi

1. The Early History of the Movement

(a) Roots

The roots of Hashomer Hatzair lay in a specific response by Jewish youth in Europe to the position of the Jews there at the end of the nineteenth century. This was the time of the Pogroms in Russia and Poland, particularly violent anti-Semitic activities which were not in themselves new experiences for the Jewish communities in these countries. These Pogroms however were fired with new significance because of the rise of the Zionist Movement over the same period. In 1896, Theodor Herzl published The Jewish State, and the first Zionist Congress was held in Basel in 1897. This congress saw a proclamation calling for a return to the Jewish Homeland, i.e. Palestine. Herzl's work concluded with these words:

> The Jews who wish will have their State. We shall live at last as free men on our own soil, and die peacefully in our own homes. The world will be freed by our liberty, enriched by our wealth, magnified by our greatness. And whatever we attempt there to accomplish for our own welfare, will react powerfully and beneficently for the good of humanity.
>
> (Herzl, 1896, p.79)

The same period saw the development of Socialist groups in Europe, and these also significantly affected the history of Hashomer Hatzair. The Zionist Congresses, which were held annually, attracted considerable support, especially in Russia (see Grayzel, 1968), though the precise extent of the support is difficult to establish. Certainly, there were three main grounds for opposition: firstly, orthodox religious Jews disapproved of a man-made solution to Diaspora problems, arguing that only the coming of the Messiah would redeem the Jews. Secondly, others opposed Zionism because they felt that they should become assimilated into the societies in which they were living, and suggested that a specifically Jewish national movement would serve only to increase anti-Semitism. A third group considered that the problems of the Jews in Europe were so great that any available territory would serve their purposes: they felt that the wait for Palestine would be too long (see Grayzel, 1968, pp.583-585). In spite of this opposition however, the Zionist Movement grew apace, and Zionist Organisations were soon set up in many countries (see Zwergbaum et al, 1973, pp.145-226). In Russia and the Eastern European countries, the Chibbat Zion ('Love of Zion') movement had provided a forerunner to the political Zionism inspired by Herzl.

The increased fury of the Pogroms in Russia and Eastern Europe, and the widespread consolidation of the Zionist Organisation as a political movement served to isolate the Jewish communities. They had in many cases always remained to some extent separate from the rest of the community (for reasons which it is not necessary to elaborate here), and it was only to be a matter of time before the contradiction between hatred and tolerance of the Jews was strained to its limits (which happened in Germany during the rise of Nazism).

A third trend, additional to Zionism and Socialism, and relevant to the development of the kibbutz movement was the rise of youth organisations in Europe. The Jewish communities were excluded from these, and formed their

own groups, similar in form to the earliest scouts. The particular Movement with which we are concerned here called itself Hashomer, a Hebrew word meaning 'the Guardian', or 'the Watchman'. In 1913, it amalgamated with another group called Zeirei Zion ('Youth of Zion'), a study group, and the two became Hashomer Hatzair ('The Young Guard').

(b) Migration

Over the centuries, the Jews believed that one day they would return to Palestine, and that God would decide upon the time. There had been Jewish communities in Palestine since ancient times, and a certain amount of immigration, at least since the thirteenth century. Eisenstadt (1967) notes a distinction between this early migration or pilgrimage, and the modern process of settlement which began in the late nineteenth century. Historians divide modern immigration into a series of aliyot,[1] classified according to the type of immigrants, their countries of origin and their orientations. This division of the process of immigration into periods of time creates an unnecessary rigidity in the consideration of its history, and their mention here should be regarded purely as a rough designation of changes in the general character of immigration.

Eisenstadt (1967) places the beginnings of modern settlement in the early 1880's, and argues that it was stimulated by the Pogroms in Southern Russia at the time. The Jews entering Palestine at this time constituted a minority of those leaving Europe, and numbered about twenty five thousand people between 1882 and 1903. Some of them belonged to Chibbat Zion, and some to Herzl's Zionist Movement, and they received financial support from these organisations in their countries of origin. Eisenstadt argues that officials who came from these countries to administer financial aid effectively controlled the settlements, preventing their self-determination.

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(1) Aliya (pl. aliyot) means, literally, 'going up', and is a Hebrew term used for waves of immigration to the traditional homeland. See Appendix II, Table 1, for a list of aliyot and figures on immigration, 1882-1972.

Some of the settlers formed agricultural communities, employing cheap Arab labour, and others settled in the towns. This early colonisation was dependent on help from outside.

Some writers (eg. Eisenstadt, 1967, and Viteles, 1967) state that the First Aliya (1882-1903) contained no efforts towards cooperative living, though mention that the 'idealism' of the early settlers was stifled by the administrators from abroad. Clearly, we cannot dismiss the First Aliya as these writers do, and can assume that the experience of the colonists was relevant to subsequent developments (Amitai, 1966, takes this view).

During the period 1904 to 1914 (called the Second Aliya), we find the first clearly documented attempts at cooperative living. Viteles (1967) gives an account of Hakommùna Haromanit,(1) a group of about ten young refugees from the Ukraine, who met on the boat to Palestine, and decided to share a household in Petach Tiqwa, a small town near Tel Aviv founded by earlier Jewish settlers. They moved around the country together, sharing their housework and their earnings from manual labour. Other groups were living in similar ways in other areas. Viteles argues that living together created an intimacy between the members of the group which led them to regard their way of life as forming the pivotal idea for the establishment of a social system. Hakommùna Haromanit was offered land near the Sea of Galilee by the Jewish National Fund (then engaged in purchasing land for Jewish settlement), and settled there in 1910, naming the colony 'Degania' (cornflower). Degania is considered to have been the first kibbutz. At the time of its foundation, it consisted simply of a group of young people living and working together, on land which they held in common.

At the time of the foundation of Degania, other groups of settlers were operating in a similar way, and the foundation of other 'kibbutzim' (i.e. the

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(1) "The Romani Commune". Romani was a small town in the Ukraine from which the members of the group came.

settlement of groups on land allocated by the Jewish National Fund) proceeded quickly.

With the First World War (1914-1918), and the Balfour Declaration of 1917, which proclaimed the British Government's support for the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine, fuel was poured on what by now were the fires of Zionism. In 1917, members of Hashomer Hatzair announced:

> The time has come for action .... We shall no longer suffer the pain of brother killing brother. No longer shall we kiss the boots that trample upon us. The hour has struck! Let us act accordingly.
>
> (Hashomer Hatzair, 1963, p.5)

In 1919, a group of Polish members of Hashomer Hatzair emigrated to Palestine, the first from the Movement to do so. They knew of Degania and the other collective settlements, but little of the conditions of life in Palestine, and of the kind of existence they could expect there. Groups in the Movement considered themselves independent units, working towards the self-realisation of their members.

2. The Experience of the Early Pioneers

The members of Hakommùna Haromanit had already been together for some years before they founded their settlement at Degania. Whilst in Petach Tiqwa, and during their travels around the country, they had formed for each other an association of mutual support, and particularly intimate relationships had grown up between them. Early days in Degania were characterised by hard work and long discussions: Viteles (1967) quotes Miriam Baratz' description of life at the time:

> After a day of hard and grinding labour, we would sit in a circle, begin with romantic songs, pour out our heart, and then go over to Hassidic tunes, which bring all of us to our feet dancing, and perspiring 'without an end' ....
>
> (Viteles, 1967, p.30)

Joseph Baratz' (1954) book, A Village by the Jordan, is a history of Degania, an account of the author's own experience in Hakommùna Haromanit, and

subsequently in Degania itself. He describes clearly how the members' ideas evolved as they discussed both personal matters and the practical difficulties of running their own agricultural settlement. This is particularly important to the present account, as an emphatic reminder that the kibbutz movement was not a deliberately conceived plan for settlement, but developed as a response to the conditions and experiences of settlement. Its organisation and the ideas associated with it grew during the processes of colonisation and consolidation of the Jewish community in Palestine.

Describing (in another work) the first year in Degania, Baratz writes:

> [It] ... was a kind of communal 'honeymoon'. We used to go out in the morning to plough while it was still dark. There were six pairs of mules and six fresh, energetic riders upon them. Here we are on the banks of the Jordan, and a mighty song burst from our throats .... We felt we had become farmers, workers of the soil - our homeland's soil. When dusk fell, we used to return .... We used to sit ... crowded together, and talk about the farm.
>
> (quoted in Amitai, 1966, p.26)

The experience of settlement of the first Hashomer Hatzair communities parallels that of the earliest groups. The arrival in Palestine of the first group of pioneers of Hashomer Hatzair is documented by Spiro (1972), who notes that when they first went to Palestine, the land of their dreams, they had no plans for what to do. He compares their feelings upon arrival with their experience in the Youth Movement in Europe:

> Where happy people are together, no one needs a programme. Our happiest hours were those in which there was nothing planned beforehand, argued out and finally fixed. Instead, words and songs quelled out of the living present and out of the deep bonds which wove every participant into an internalized unity.
>
> (Spiro, 1972, p.52)

Hard work by day, hours of dancing and discussion by night characterised the lives of Hashomer Hatzair pioneers. Viteles (1968) observes the comparison made by commentators on the period between pioneer life in Hashomer Hatzair settlements and the Chassidic movement of the eighteenth century in Europe. Like the Chassidic congregation, the settlement was

> ... based on inspirations and emotion, on momentary instead of

> steady permanence of the everyday, in brief on an intoxicating narcosis.
>
> (Viteles, 1968, p.233)

Like those at Degania, the Hashomer Hatzair pioneers borrowed songs and dances from the Chassidim, the most famous of which was the hora, a circular dance. Spiro describes its performance in a way which emphasises the emotion of life in the early settlements:

> This is a group dance in which the participants, who are linked to one another arm-on-shoulder, are united into a large circle. The group thus becomes a unity, in which each individual faces the centre and can see every other individual. The unity of the group is expressed not only spacially and physically, but kinesthetically as well, for the momentum of the dance creates a centrifugal force which threatens to thrust the individual from the circle, but his centrifugality is counterbalanced by the centripetal force emanating from the entire group, and he is drawn again towards the centre by the entwined arms of his fellows on either side. Thus the dancer experiences a sense of freedom and abandon, but it is a freedom checked at every step by the pressure of the group, whose sense of unity is enhanced all the more by the rhythmic beat of the feet and by the monotony of the never-ceasing repetition of the song. Thus can the group both create and express the hysteria of its individuals.
>
> (Spiro, 1972, p.58)

Amitai (1966) confirms Spiro's observations, giving examples of writings by members of these early communities. A member of Mishmar Haemek (founded in 1922) wrote of one of the common midnight discussions:

> 23.7.1922.
> At last night's meeting, all those who were supposed to be ill appeared .... We cannot seem to stay away from even one meeting. It has become second nature with us. After the meeting we all burst into song and then began to dance: the healthy and the sick together ....
>
> (Amitai, 1966, p.103)

Amitai also notes the variation in organization between the first settlements. Each one decided for itself what to do, on an ad hoc basis.

3. The Federation

Hashomer Hatzair itself states (1963) that the founding of its first kibbutzim gave the Movement much clearer goals: the idea that the aim of a member of Hashomer Hatzair was to go eventually to Palestine and help

found a kibbutz permeated the Movement in the years following, and the groups in various countries formed a World Movement with the explicit aim of preparing its members for settlement in kibbutzim. In 1927, the kibbutzim of Hashomer Hatzair in Palestine joined together, after some argument (documented by Viteles, 1968), to form the Kibbutz Artzi Hashomer Hatzair, a mutual aid federation. The first meeting of the federation approved Zionism, Socialism and kibbutzim as ideological postulates.

The federation also aimed to provide a focus for the Movement in the rest of the world. The World Movement set about recruitment in other countries:

> It awakened more and more youth from their apathy, and sent chalutzim (pioneers) to help rebuild the Jewish homeland.
>
> (Hashomer Hatzair, 1963, p.7)

In this way, the idea of pioneering Zionism grew up in Hashomer Hatzair, and the culmination of the career of a member became the move to Palestine and participation in the founding of a new kibbutz.

The establishment of the federation followed the long series of discussions which had taken place in the kibbutzim themselves, and had begun in the Youth Movement period abroad. I have already noted that the pioneering Zionism of Hashomer Hatzair was one response to anti-Semitism in Europe, and in this sense a reaction provoked by the Gentile community in that area. Pioneering Zionism was also influenced by the rise of Socialism and Socialist thought at the end of the nineteenth century. Three of the major guiding lights of the Movement in this respect were Ber Borochov, A.D. Gordon and Martin Buber.

Borochov was born in Russia in 1881, and influenced by the exiled revolutionaries who lived in Poltova, his home town. In 1900, he became a member of the Social Democratic Party, and joined a Zionist group five years later. He was imprisoned for his political activities in 1906, and

subsequently spent ten years in exile in Austria and America. He returned to Russia in 1917, and died shortly afterwards. Borochov wrote prolifically about the relationship between Zionism and Socialism.

He gave a class analysis of the societies of Europe, concentrating on three main classes, the proletariat, the middle class and the power elite. He went on to examine the position of the Jewish communities in the area, noting that the Jews were concentrated in the middle classes: as a minority group, they could not gain positions in the power elite, and for historical reasons they had developed no base in the proletariat. Thus, in 1913, Borochov wrote:

> The Jews have been removed for centuries from the basic branches of production upon which the economic structure depends. The Jews are concentrated in the final level of production - those branches which are far from the core of our economic structure (the production of consumer goods).
>
> (Borochov, 1948, p.25)

According to Borochov, the oppression of the Jews did not lie in their exploitation by the ruling class, but in their vulnerable position in times of national crisis: they were expendable, because they serviced the capitalist economy, and, being a minority, provided a suitable scapegoat in times of stress, so:

> The Jewish community is a potential subject to dispossessive trends in the developing countries while it is always vulnerable to the convulsions of the economy or of the whole socio-economic body in the developed countries.
>
> (Gal, 1973, p.171)

Thus, as long as Jews were Jews (and the community had retained this identity for hundreds of years), they would remain a section of the middle class, tolerated in times of calm as useful to the maintenance of the status quo, and, as soon as this was threatened in a crisis, hated for 'causing the threat'. Zionism, Jewish nationalism, appeared to Borochov and to the Movement to offer the only possible answer to this problematic position:

> Borochov sought the solution to these problems in the normalisation of the Jewish people. This could only be attained if the Jews would have a homeland of their own, where they could become

> workers and farmers, where they could live as a normal people with their own culture, free from restrictions in any sphere. In such a situation, they could not only save themselves as individuals and as a people, but they could truly participate in the struggle for a better society based on Socialist principles.
>
> (Hashomer Hatzair, 1963, p.39)

Borochov's ideas thus provided the essential association between Socialism and nationalism for the Movement.

A.D. Gordon was a member of Degania, the first kibbutz. Baratz (1954) notes the influence he had on that community in his ideas about the value of labour. For Hashomer Hatzair, Gordon articulated the importance of the labour involved in the return to the soil which Borochov saw as the basis for normalisation of the People and for the growth of a self-respecting nation. Gordon coined the phrase dat haavodah (religion of labour): he stressed that, for the Jews, their enterprise would not be easy:

> A people that has become accustomed to every mode of life save the natural one - the life of self-conscious and self-supporting labour - such a people will never become a living, natural labouring people unless it strain every fibre of its will to attain that goal. Labour is not merely the factor which establishes man's contact with the land and his claim to the land; it is the principle force in the building of a national civilization. Labour is a great human need for the future, and a great ideal is like the healing sun. We need fanatics of labour in the most exalted sense of the word.
>
> (quoted in Spiro, 1972, p.13)

Martin Buber was a prominent Zionist thinker whose writings date from the early twentieth century. He was later to become a great advocate of the success of the kibbutzim (see Buber, 1949). He gave the Movement a written reassurance of its raison d'etre: youth were the builders of the future, and the most valuable asset of a pioneering movement.

4. Consolidation

This historical account of the first years of Hashomer Hatzair, in establishing its first kibbutzim, indicates how the concept of contradiction may be used in analysis. Zionism's roots lay in the contradiction between

tolerance and hatred of the Jews in Europe. The Jewish community was further isolated by a sharp increase in anti-Semitism, which led to the crystallization of the Zionist Movement: this in turn increased the moral and physical isolation of the Jews. After the Balfour Declaration, Hashomer Hatzair was ready to set out for Palestine. Once there, the pioneers were led by the example of previous pioneers and by sheer force of circumstance to organise themselves in kibbutzim. As these became established, the Movement began to articulate a much clearer philosophy, stressing Borochov's analysis of the position of the Jews, and giving Socialist Zionism as the solution. Values such as those accorded to hard, physical labour and youth itself gained prominence, based on other written statements.

The most important feature of the ideological development of the Movement is that there never was a rigid set of principles to which members were supposed to adhere. Cohen (1966) characterises kibbutz ideology as

> ... a heterogeneous system, composed of elements stemming from Socialism, Zionism, humanistic ethics and sometimes religion, which are integrated only in a most strenuous way.
>
> (Cohen, 1966, p.3-4)

Cohen also introduces for us the changes which took place in the Movement following its establishment, and shows clearly that its development continued after the federation had been set up. He argues that some aspects of this development can be understood following examination of the relevant ideological currents: he takes the example of 'progress' and 'communality.'

For the members of Hashomer Hatzair in the early days, Socialism meant that their communities should be based on the principle of 'from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs', whilst the idea of Zionism, as well as the establishment of the Jewish homeland, entailed the rebirth of the Jews as a normal people. They returned to the land to work, to realize the value of physical labour, to regenerate and rebuild. Their 'return to the soil' was a stage in building their own nation, and

their aim, in this sense, was progress. Thus, says Cohen,

> The kibbutz was intent on having the best of both worlds; while in the social sphere 'communality' would assure it of a basically 'primitive', undifferentiated mode of closely knit subjective relationships, in the technological, economic and other institutional spheres, progress would enable it to fulfil efficiently its social goals and gain for it the advantages of 'modern' society.
>
> (Cohen, 1966, p.8)

As the kibbutz economies expanded, the knowledge and technical expertise required to run them became much greater, people were trained, and a permanent job became the norm for a kibbutz member.(1) Cohen considers the emergence of permanent jobs (as opposed to the earlier system of rotation) to be an expression of individualism, a product of the contradiction between progress and communality. In doing so, he is attributing to the kibbutz members a particular interpretation of communalism as absolute, formal equality (i.e. everyone the same). There is no evidence that permanent jobs were seen by kibbutz members as deviations from the principle of communalism. However, Cohen does succeed in showing that the idea of communalism in the field of work could be interpreted in different ways, i.e. rotation of jobs in the early years, and permanent jobs for everyone later on. An alternative interpretation to Cohen's would be that the concept of progress, or rebirth, facilitated the reconciliation of interpretations of communalism differing over time. Cohen's work indicates the character of ideological development in the Movement, and further features are discussed in more detail below.

Kibbutzim of Hashomer Hatzair founded after the establishment of the federation were of a somewhat different character from the earlier ones. The first settlements provided precedents for later ones, and the existence of the federation itself allowed the articulation of much clearer ideological goals. The types of discussions taking place and the influence of the federation on the decisions made in the kibbutzim and <u>vice versa</u> will be

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(1) See Chapter 2, the discussion of I. Shepher (1972), pp. 102-105.

discussed later: here, we should consider some of the experiences of kibbutzim founded after the establishment of the federation.

The pioneers of Ein Hashofet (see Wilfand, 1947) had been in the Youth Movement in their countries of origin, North America and Poland. They knew of the kibbutzim in Palestine, and Wilfand (1947) says that they planned to go and settle there from their first days in the Movement in the 1920's: he adds that in North America, those members who intended to go to Palestine were in a minority. The group which came to Ein Hashofet from Poland had waited many years for immigration certificates to Palestine. Both groups trained for immigration, learning Hebrew, establishing themselves as cohesive groups, and planning their kibbutz. They arrived in Palestine in 1931, and spent some time training for manual labour, and the groups joined together on May 1st, 1933. Only at the end of 1936 was the new kibbutz allocated land near Hadera, and settled there in July 1937. Upon settling on their land, the experience of these kibbutz members was quite different from that of the pioneers of earlier kibbutzim, both Degania and the first Hashomer Hatzair kibbutz. Only briefly did they experience similar emotions, on sighting the land which had been allocated to them:

> There before us, islands of white rested in a sea of green fields that stretched away to the slopes of misty, dream-like mountains, while here and there were strewn the black tents of Bedouin tribes. We who are about to stake a claim in the hills for the Jewish people survey this lovely scene created by Jewish settlers with joy. We pray that soon we may see the same verdant landscape on the other side, in the midst of the hills that stretch away to the left.
>
> (Wilfand, 1947, p.20)

The pioneers of Ein Hashofet proceeded to settle their land according to a carefully laid plan, by this time a feature of the founding of new settlements. The first day saw the erection of a boundary fence, the building of a road and the setting up of a searchlight (described as "a beacon of life", p.25). Differences of opinion with Arab neighbours developed within a week of settlement, and after three months, shots were

exchanged.

The Jewish National Fund was responsible for allocating the land, and by this time, the names of all new settlements were subject to its approval. Detailed plans for the permanent settlement had also to be passed by country-wide institutions. During the process of establishment, a member of a veteran kibbutz of Hashomer Hatzair lived at Ein Hashofet, advising the new pioneers on their efforts.

Clearly then, during the period of Ein Hashofet's settlement, the pioneers were directed and influenced by forces apart from their own emotional and practical experiences. Furthermore, as the sheer volume of Jewish immigration to Palestine increased, opposition by the Arabs to the Jews and by the Jews to the government of the British Mandate also grew. The Arabs attacked the settlements, and opposed further immigration, the British attempted to control both the fighting and the immigration, and the Jewish organisations, in Palestine and abroad, campaigned for more immigration and land, and a Jewish State.

During the War of Independence, in 1948, kibbutzim played a strategic role in the new State of Israel's military effort. For example, kibbutz Yad Mordechai successfully held back the Egyptian advance on Tel Aviv for six days, time enough for the Israeli forces to organise themselves sufficiently to repel the attack (see Larkin, 1971).

The changing character of immigration in the years following the foundation of the State contributed towards the declining importance of the kibbutzim in the processes of settlement. The establishment of a kibbutz involved, by that time, a considerable level of commitment to a communal ideology, and a high degree of social consciousness, allowing discussion of strategy according to specific principles. Experience in the Youth Movement abroad or in Israel was a valuable asset for prospective members of kibbutzim. During the late 1940's and 1950's, the proportion of

immigrants coming from Oriental Jewish communities increased, and these people proved not to be interested in settling in kibbutzim. Also, once the State was established, Zionism had to change its orientation: it could no longer be directed towards the foundation of a Jewish State, but had to focus on the promotion of immigration from other countries.

Thus the kibbutz movement has developed and changed very rapidly since its beginnings in the late nineteenth century. The processes of ideological development associated with the history of the Movement have been introduced in this account, and we can now focus on ideology itself.

B: Ideological Principles

This section is concerned with the written ideology of the Movement, the 'raw material', subject to interpretation by members. A major occupation of the early pioneers and of kibbutz members in later years was the discussion of ideas, involving social analysis and social planning. I have already mentioned some of the earliest voices in the debates of Hashomer Hatzair, those of Herzl and the first Zionists, Borochov, the Russian Socialist Zionist, Buber the philosopher and A.D. Gordon, the pioneer of Degania. It would be impossible to name all those who have been and still are concerned with ideological discussion and interpretation in the Movement and the kibbutzim themselves: however, we should note that many more people were and are involved in the development of ideology in the Movement than can ever be enumerated.

1. Moral Postulates and Rules

The term 'moral postulates' is borrowed from Spiro (1972), and refers to the statements of faith which were the terms of reference for kibbutzim of Hashomer Hatzair. In the 1920's, before the establishment of the Kibbutz Artzi, the Youth Movement adopted the following ten dibrot

(principles or commandments):

The Shomer[1] is

1. a man of truth and stands guard for it,
2. the pioneer of the rebirth of his people, his land and his language,
3. a man of labour and able to live by the toil of his hands,
4. /he/ struggles for a life of justice, brotherhood and freedom in human society,
5. ... loyal to the community of Shomrim and responds to the discipline of its leaders,
6. an active member of his group and maintains comradely relations and cooperates with his fellow Shomrim,
7. a lover of nature and seeks to understand it,
8. courageous, self-reliant and imbued with the spirit and vigour of youth,
9. a man of will and strives for complete physical and intellectual improvement,
10. honest and clean in thought, word and deed.

(Hashomer Hatzair, 1963, pp.23-26)

These dibrot are interesting for the terms in which they were presented:

the description of the Shomer provided an ideal to which the members of the Youth Movement were expected to aspire. They are particularly general, concerning qualities rather than specific actions. When this set of principles was adopted, there were already some Hashomer Hatzair kibbutzim in Palestine, and these had an effect on the content of the principles themselves. The dibrot of the 1920's can be contrasted with an earlier set of principles, quoted by Spiro (1972), and published in 1917:

A member of the Movement is

1. a man of truth
2. loyal to his people
3. a brother to his fellows
4. a helpful and dependable brother
5. a lover of nature
6. obedient to the orders of its leaders
7. joyful and gay
8. economical and generous
9. a man of courage
10. pure in thoughts, words and deeds.

(Spiro, 1972, p.43)

The change from the escapist elements of these earlier principles,

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(1) Shomer (pl. Shomrim): a 'guard', a member of Hashomer Hatzair.

emphasising 'scouting',[1] love of nature and comradeship, and the positive, active elements of the second, involving cooperation and brotherhood directed towards the rebirth of the nation, self-reliance and self-improvement, is correlated with the migration to Palestine of members of Hashomer Hatzair, following the experience of the First World War, and the growth of the Zionist Movement. Though the later principles do not prescribe migration to Palestine, they allow for it, whereas the earlier ones concern only qualities of the individual. All pioneers who went to Palestine as members of Hashomer Hatzair were aware of the dibrot; they had attempted to follow them in Europe, and continued to do so in Palestine. The word 'kibbutz' literally means 'group', and we can say that the early kibbutzim of Hashomer Hatzair were groups of settlers trained to follow the dibrot of the Movement. The organisation of their communities resulted from discussion of the dibrot and responses to particular ecological and economic conditions in Palestine: in Europe, membership of Hashomer Hatzair had been a spare-time activity, and migration to Palestine made it full-time, a way of life. The second, Zionist, set of dibrot are still (1976) the dibrot of Hashomer Hatzair: though the conditions have changed, and the organisational features of kibbutzim of Hashomer Hatzair are much more clearly defined, the dibrot, in their generality, are still used in the training of young people in the Movement today:

> It is neither possible nor necessary to educate towards rigid party attitudes. There should be an emphasis on general political education, on human and national basic values and broad principles.
> (Lavi, 1972, p.9)

Additional background to the discussion in the early days of Hashomer Hatzair was, as I have already indicated, provided by the writings of Borochov, Gordon and Buber, and by the experience of earlier settlers. The interaction of the discussions taking place in various arenas in the

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(1) The similarity between the earlier dibrot and the Scout Law, formulated in England at the same time by Baden-Powell's Scout Movement, is striking.

Movement served to develop a Socialist Zionist philosophy specific to Hashomer Hatzair. In its earlier interpretation, the Socialist Zionism of Hashomer Hatzair used Borochov's view of the position of the Jews in Europe as its basis. This involved the idea that the only place in which the Jews could take part in the Socialist venture was in a State of their own, in which they would be able to 'normalize' themselves and develop a proletarian base.

The Kibbutz Artzi, founded in 1927, created a national forum for the discussion of ideology. In order to begin examination of the changes brought about by its establishment, I will look at the processes which took place during that establishment, then consider some of the discussions of the period.

Members of Hashomer Hatzair saw their organisation as a collection of autonomous units. Their first kibbutz (Bet Alpha) spent much time discussing the practical problems encountered in the pioneering enterprise, and attempted to create stronger ties with the rest of the kibbutz movement. Despite attempts such as this, Hashomer Hatzair kibbutzim remained relatively separate from the general kibbutz movement, both ideologically and organisationally. During this period, other sections of the movement were beginning to develop sets of prescriptive ideas, directing, through centralized federations, the internal character of the affiliated kibbutzim.(1) These developments were consolidated in the early 1930's. The Kibbutz Artzi was the first operative federation of kibbutzim to be set up.(2)

The meeting at which the Kibbutz Artzi was established took place in 1927, following a series of discussions between representatives of Hashomer

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(1) The sectors of the movement involved were Hakibbutz Hameuchad and Chever Hakvutzot (the predecessor of Ichud Hadvutzot Vehakibbutzim). Hakibbutz Hadati was a later development.

(2) An attempt was made in 1926 to set up a country-wide federation of all kibbutzim: it never became fully operational due to the wide variation of views in the kibbutzim at the time (see Viteles, 1967).

Hatzair kibbutzim, beginning in 1921, which laid the foundations of the decisions made in 1927. These decisions can be divided into two main sections, the first, a statement of principles, and the second, a set of organisational prescriptions concerning the set-up of the national body.

The statement of principles referred to Movement interpretations of Socialist Zionism, stating that Zionism would achieve its object with the establishment of a Socialist national home in Palestine. In order to bring this about, the Mandatory Government would have to be removed, and the working class in the country would have to be educated to take control. The working class in Palestine included both Jews and Arabs, though particular attention was paid to the creation of working class consciousness amongst the Jews who had been divorced from the proletariat in Europe. Kibbutzim were considered to be prototypical cells for the new society, and an instrument for its achievement, in that they would, within themselves, ensure people's maximum development, and solve the social problems posed by the traditional role of the family and the position of women and children. Outside the communities themselves, the kibbutzim would establish contacts with other sectors of the workers' movement, and, as an integral part of that movement, would hasten progress towards Socialism in the country as a whole. Kibbutzim would be run on the basis of cooperative ownership, production and consumption, and each would be an 'organic' community,(1) growing and developing from within, with the addition of other groups from the Youth Movement: thus, each kibbutz would practise Socialism within itself.

The regulations approved in 1927 regarding the organisation of the Kibbutz Artzi defined it as a federation of Hashomer Hatzair kibbutzim, concerned with maintaining their contact with the World Movement and with

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(1) See Amitai (1966), pp.41-42, for a detailed discussion.

other sectors of the Labour Movement in Palestine, cultural activities, mutual aid and the promotion of a degree of geographical concentration for Hashomer Hatzair kibbutzim to enable them to engage in joint efforts according to their aims. Membership of the federation consisted of all the Hashomer Hatzair kibbutzim in the country, and new immigrant groups would attain full rights as members after six months' independent effort. Kibbutzim could affiliate following a majority vote of their members. Kibbutzim could allow their members independent political action, providing this was within the broad terms of reference of the Histadrut.(1) Two Councils were set up: the Double Council was the highest authority of the Movement, and the only body which could alter regulations. It consisted of one delegate for every twenty members of each kibbutz. The General Council, to which kibbutzim sent one representative for every ten members, met annually, and elected the Executive Committee.

Both the principles and the regulations of 1927 stress the Kibbutz Artzi tenet that the kibbutz forms a microcosm of the new Socialist society, and an agent for its realization:

> The kibbutz is based on social, economic and political activities. 'Hakibbutz Haartzi', as part of the kibbutz movement, considers the kibbutz to be: a vanguard cell of future society; a constructive means for settlement of the Jewish working class; an instrument for the absorption of Jewish working class immigration; a mainstay of the struggle of the working class.
>
> (Amitai, 1966, p.46)

A correlate of this view of the kibbutz was the Movement's own conception of the role of ideology. This is termed (by Amitai, 1966, Viteles, 1968 and Evens, 1970) "ideological collectivism", and relates to the Movement's task as a definer of ideology for all its members. This rested on the acceptance of a Socialist Zionist base, and interpretations made by the

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(1) General Federation of Workers in Palestine, founded in 1920. Hashomer Hatzair was affiliated to this organisation, and had taken part in its establishment (see Gal, 1973).

national bodies of the Kibbutz Artzi were to be subscribed to by all members. Ideological collectivism (homogeneous ideology) was seen as providing essential persuasive force for the collective enterprise of kibbutz life.

The earliest Movement meetings were concerned principally with organisational features of the Movement itself, and the reiteration of the ideological position articulated at the first meeting. The Movement considered the practicalities of establishing itself, the settlement of new immigrants, the strict application of homogenous ideology as "a safe-guard against destructive elements", (Viteles, 1968, p.304), the stimulation and maintenance of political commitment in the kibbutzim, and the investigation of the extent of implementation of policies agreed upon in 1927.

By the time the Kibbutz Artzi became registered in 1936 under the Ottoman Law of Societies, the regulations had changed.(1) The main features of the change were an increased, explicit organisational structure, and more detailed formulations of policy. These changes were a product of discussion in response to the practical difficulties faced by the Movement in the intervening years. Movement aims were described as follows:

> To propagate and realize the ideal of communal life, to unite the members of the kibbutzim of the Hashomer Hatzair movement for common cultural and political action based on the principles of the Hashomer Hatzair movement throughout the world, and to organise and indoctrinate the youth of Israel in the ways of the Hashomer Hatzair movement.
>
> (Viteles, 1968, p.247)

Its authority concerned the formulation of attitudes and principles related to political, economic and cultural questions, participation in other branches of the labour movement, publicity and educational activities, with the option of cooperation with other bodies. Additionally, the Kibbutz Artzi could engage in any activity which would further the aims of Hashomer Hatzair. All kibbutzim of Hashomer Hatzair were to be members of the Kibbutz Artzi, and also all members of those kibbutzim. Upon joining,

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(1) See Appendix I. The regulations of 1936 are reproduced in full.

members would sign a declaration of agreement. Provision was also made for expulsion, and for leaving the federation. Revenue was to come from a tax levied on all member kibbutzim, according to the number of their members, from voluntary contributions and cultural activities. The highest authority of the Kibbutz Artzi was to be the Country-wide Council, consisting of one delegate for every twenty-five kibbutz members and meeting annually. The Executive Committee, elected by this Council, would be responsible for fixing the rules and agendas for Council meetings. The Council could change the rules, and also decided on those for the affiliated kibbutzim. The Executive Committee would represent the Kibbutz Artzi both to its members and to third parties. It was empowered to formulate rules for regional and other necessary councils. The Regulations themselves could only be changed by a two-thirds majority in a Country-wide Council meeting, though the Executive Committee could change those regarding the authority of the Kibbutz Artzi.

The most significant characteristics of early ideological development at Movement level were increased organisation consolidation, and more definite statements of principle. In order to explain the processes of consolidation and definition, we can look at the relationship between the Movement and the member kibbutzim.

2. Organisation, Representation and Control

Throughout its history, the Kibbutz Artzi has insisted on the importance of the autonomy of its member kibbutzim and of ideological collectivism. The kibbutzim affiliated to the Movement have retained their autonomy in that no rules have ever been made by the Movement regarding their internal structure. However, the degree of similarity in structure of the kibbutzim today (1976) is remarkable, and the situation can be explained by looking at the operation of ideological collectivism and the

importance of precedent as a means of control in Movement history.

The insistence of the Kibbutz Artzi on ideological collectivism creates problems for the analyst who is concerned with the formulative processes involved. Since the view of the majority is considered binding, the formal presentation of Movement attitudes concentrates on this view, and the processes leading to the acceptance of particular orientations on any issue are difficult to elucidate. However, Viteles (1967) provides detailed material on an early split in the Movement which can help indicate some of the intricacies of ideological process. The split was in Bet Alpha, the first kibbutz of Hashomer Hatzair, and involved one group which wanted to affiliate to the Kibbutz Artzi, and another which objected strongly to the orientations of the Movement: the latter group eventually moved away from Bet Alpha to another kibbutz called Ramat Yohanan, affiliated to a different movement. Viteles (1967) presents documentary evidence relating to the views of both groups.

When Bet Alpha was settled, in 1922, it was considered a Hashomer Hatzair kibbutz: links with the Movement loosened as the years went by. Soon after the foundation of the kibbutz, a group of members joined Mapai (a left-of-centre political party), and others identified themselves as more radical. The latter were mostly Hashomer Hatzair members. During the 1920's, the radicals began a critical campaign against what they considered to be the anti-Socialist policy of the Histadrut, annoying the Mapai members, who accused them of trying to take over the kibbutz by encouraging their sympathisers to join it. Bet Alpha did not participate in founding the Kibbutz Artzi in 1927, because a majority of members (the Mapai faction) objected to the Movement's apparent desire to form a faction within the Histadrut, to push it further to the political left. The radicals in Bet Alpha began to conduct their own political campaigns. A decision was taken by the whole kibbutz to confine political discussions to the meetings

of the respective factions, and both factions agreed that they would not try to dominate the kibbutz. This attempt to prevent conflict soon broke down, and considerable difficulties over the acceptance of new member groups served to exacerbate the situation. Further disputes concerned the political indoctrination of the children. Disagreement continued for some years, until the Mapai faction decided that the situation had become intolerable, and seceded from Bet Alpha in 1940. Secession followed much heart-searching for the Mapai faction, concerning the loss to kibbutz morale which the departure of some of its pioneers might entail, how far the Mapai faction itself had been responsible for the split, and the question of children's indoctrination.

The Mapai faction resented in particular the Hashomer Hatzair members of the opposition, who had campaigned for the kibbutz to join the Kibbutz Artzi. They accused Hashomer Hatzair of being, for example, "a zealot sect that thinks that its sacred purpose justifies any means," (Viteles, 1967, p.160), and asserted that the Kibbutz Artzi philosophy was completely different from that of the much more tolerant Hashomer Hatzair in its early days.

There was a long fight about which kibbutz (Bet Alpha or Ramat Yohanan) should contain which faction, and the final solution involved a move in both directions, of Hashomer Hatzair members of Ramat Yohanan to Bet Alpha, and of Mapai members of Bet Alpha to Ramat Yohanan. The Kibbutz Artzi was able to retain the site of Bet Alpha because of its historic association with the Movement.

The history of the split in Bet Alpha raises questions about the control exercised by the Movement, and about the operation of ideological collectivism. Bet Alpha is pointed to as the first kibbutz of Hashomer Hatzair, and yet by the time of the foundation of the Kibbutz Artzi, it was sufficiently divided to remain outside the federation, and did so until the realignment of population in 1940. It is clear then that ideological

collectivism, to operate through the opinion of the majority, requires a degree of consensus at a certain level before it can do so. Consensus is required in particular in those who participate in discussion and decision-making in an arena defined by the Movement itself, through its organisational set-up. In Bet Alpha, there were a number of people who were politically 'non-aligned', but even they divided with the kibbutz. Their split suggests that those who do not participate formally will also act in a situation involving extremes of ideological interpretation. We may expect, then, that members of a Hashomer Hatzair kibbutz agree broadly with the Kibbutz Artzi, whether or not they participate in Movement organisation. The degree of variation of ideological interpretation in any one kibbutz is a matter for further investigation.

Another question raised by the case is that of processes of delegation and representation. The formulation of Kibbutz Artzi ideological statements involves a series of discussions at kibbutz level, and at national level between delegates of the kibbutzim. In the case of Bet Alpha, we find that, although the kibbutz began as an organ of Hashomer Hatzair, it was not ready to join the Kibbutz Artzi five years later. The discussions and disagreements which had developed in the intervening years are indicative of some of the problems of representation which we may expect to find in other kibbutzim. Detailed information on the social relations between the members of Bet Alpha involved in the case is not available: it is required if we are to explain exactly how and why the split developed. This leads us to the question of the mechanisms of representation in kibbutzim, the degree of participation and consensus involved in delegation, the relevance of the Movement to social relations in the kibbutz and <u>vice versa</u>, methods of maintaining kibbutzim which have not split in the way Bet Alpha did. As I have suggested, the answer to these questions may lie in the nature of kibbutz ideology, its situational transcendency and interpretability.

I have already introduced the discussion of the operation of precedent in the history of the kibbutz movement in general, and have shown how the founders of the earliest kibbutzim of Hashomer Hatzair followed the example of previous pioneers, such as those of Degania. The pioneers of Ein Hashofet, the example I considered, were guided by a member of a veteran Hashomer Hatzair kibbutz. Once the Kibbutz Artzi federation was established, guidance of new kibbutzim by older ones became common practice. New immigrant groups were sent to kibbutzim upon arrival to train for manual labour and communal living before being allocated their own land. In conjunction with the operation of ideological collectivism therefore, precedents facilitated the development of a degree of homogeneity of experience and internal organization of Movement kibbutzim. Each served to reinforce the other, as the operation of precedent and the idea of ideological collectivism were and are intertwined. Reference will be made to both in the discussion which follows.

The formal rules of the Kibbutz Artzi state its organisational form and prescribe mechanisms of delegation and decision-making. Of their nature, these rules cannot determine the actual processes which will take place. It is therefore necessary to consider the means by which the Movement attempts to assert its control, and the nature of social processes in the kibbutz. These processes are inextricably both organisational and ideological.

The Kibbutz Artzi depends for its continued existence upon the membership of the kibbutzim which form it. Records of Movement discussions (Viteles, 1968) provide evidence of individuals gaining prominence in the Movement, and this feature raises questions regarding the personnel involved. We may ask who, from which kibbutzim, takes part in Movement discussions, in ideological formulation and interpretation at this level. This question is related to that of the content and route of information flowing between

the Kibbutz Artzi and its member kibbutzim.

Consideration of the discussions which have taken place at every level in the Movement and in the kibbutzim is essential to the investigation of the questions raised in this section, because of the importance to the development of kibbutz ideology of its interpretation through discussion at different levels.

C: Discussion at Movement Level

It is not possible to trace every topic of discussion at Movement level throughout the years of its history. I will therefore concentrate on selected topics in order to elucidate the character rather than the detailed content of discussions. Discussions can be classified into two main groups, those internal to the Movement, and those directed outside, at potential critics and supporters. I will consider the latter only briefly, since the former are more important to this study. However, publicity certainly reflects the internal discussions and their general character, and it can therefore help illuminate the examination of those internal discussions.

1. Internal Discussions

The general character of discussion, which I will elucidate here, serves to reinforce the remarks I have already made about the nature of kibbutz ideology, its situational transcendency, its interpretability and its persuasiveness. Organisationally, the Kibbutz Artzi can be seen to have become more complex with its growth in size. Even the first Council meetings show evidence of this, dealing with such matters as the preparation of general plans for the kibbutzim, arrangement of central economic bodies (for accounting, for example), levy of taxes on kibbutzim and exchange of labour between kibbutzim. One of the main points for discussion concerned

the degree of control over the economies of its member kibbutzim exercised by the Kibbutz Artzi.

In 1935, the Executive Committee presented a report to member kibbutzim concerning the way in which the twenty-five kibbutzim affiliated to the Kibbutz Artzi were organised. This report, compiled following a questionnaire, found that in all the kibbutzim, the General Assembly was the highest authority, though there was some variation regarding the topics which were discussed at its meetings. The number of committees also varied between kibbutzim: committees dealt with specific issues such as job allocation, housing, new members and so on. The report noted that none of the kibbutzim had a managerial committee or secretariat. It also dealt with the allocation of cash allowances to members of kibbutzim, the regulation of their use, and the use by members of financial resources from outside the community. Regarding the control exercised by the Kibbutz Artzi over the member kibbutzim, the Executive Committee regretted a lack of staff who could visit them regularly, and suggested that the new kibbutzim should be provided with veteran instructors, and that older kibbutzim should 'look after' younger ones in their areas. Whilst not wishing to interfere with the autonomy of the kibbutzim, the Executive Committee said that the Kibbutz Artzi would intervene if the cohesion of a kibbutz was threatened by any dispute.

This report indicates some of the particular problems facing the Kibbutz Artzi at the time. Its control did not extend to the organisational framework of the member kibbutzim, and yet it was attempting to promote a society organised along particular lines. The suggestion that veteran members and older kibbutzim should guide young kibbutzim was an effort to try and ensure the degree of consensus in the Movement, which, as I have argued, was a requirement for its functioning along the lines of its design. At this time, the organisation of each kibbutz was a matter for its members to decide: the Kibbutz Artzi was attempting to formalize the operation of

precedents, which had previously provided a basis for new pioneers and their efforts to form kibbutzim. The Kibbutz Artzi thus showed itself to be unwilling to rely on statements of principle: it clearly considered that the new kibbutzim required direct influence from the Movement, rather than simply formal affiliation and the right to send delegates to its meetings.

By 1942, the Movement began to question the operation of its own democracy, noting that certain kibbutzim and certain individuals were more involved and interested than others. This theme was to recur in discussions in later years, and frequent reference was made to the repetitive appearance of the same people in Movement meetings.(1) People felt that this was an undesirable development because it threatened the principle of quantitative democracy (the involvement of as many people as possible in the decision-making process). Attempts were made to overcome it, by strengthening the principle of ideological collectivism, and also by certain organisational changes. In 1958 for example, the election procedures for the Executive Committee were modified so that some of its members were elected directly by the kibbutzim rather than by the Council.

This brief account of some of the discussions taking place at Movement level demonstrates clearly the dialectical relationship between beliefs and social action. In the ideology of the Movement, as explained above, there are two elements, moral postulates and rules. The discussions about organisational features referred to both these elements, interpreting and reinterpreting both of them in an effort to follow a set of principles, which in turn were subject to interpretation. Historically, factors such as the size of the Movement, the types of kibbutzim involved, and the members of

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(1) In the second part of this thesis, I will show that in the kibbutz, as well as in the Movement, formal participation was in large part confined to a particular set of people (see Chapters 4 and 5).

those kibbutzim can be seen to have played their part in constraining the activities of the Movement. The interaction of a variety of features of the Movement, the kibbutzim and the environment is thus the mainstay of the analysis of the relation between ideology and social action in the kibbutz. The organisational discussions are characterised by repeated redefinitions both of the aims of the Movement itself and of the relationship between the kibbutzim and the Movement. To the extent that all those taking part were delegates from the kibbutzim, the Movement was influenced by the kibbutzim, and to the extent that the Movement passed motions affecting the kibbutzim, the relationship was reversed. The extent of influence in either direction is however open to question, especially in view of the fact that the Movement itself defines directions of influence which it considers desirable. In addition to the ideological interpretation taking place at Movement level, there is also a process of election of delegates by kibbutzim, who are sent to the Movement meetings and represent an interpretation of ideology which, in some way is a consensus of opinions expressed in the kibbutzim themselves.(1)

As well as discussions about rules at Movement level, we should consider those related more closely to moral postulates as I have already defined them, as both kinds of discussion provide essential background to the detailed examination of ideological interpretation in the kibbutz. Again, I shall concentrate on the character rather than the details of these discussions. It should be noted that the distinction between moral postulates and rules is heuristic: it is based on the Movement's own two sections of ideology, its principles and its organisational rules. The two sections overlap considerably, but in general we can regard moral postulates as amenable to a higher degree of interpretation because of the lack of

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(1) The'expression of opinions' in the kibbutz, the operation of ideological interpretation at that level, forms an integral part of the analysis of Kibbutz Goshen, to be presented in the second part of this study

organisational correlates directly designed to enforce them. In the second part of this thesis, I will explain the distinction more clearly, and relate it to the kibbutz: for the present, the general definition given will suffice.

A variety of topics have been covered in Movement discussions of moral postulates, including labour, the position of women and children, private property, ideological indoctrination and more general questions of political opinion and affiliation. All have organisational correlates to some extent, but these are not clear-cut, as in the case of matters relating specifically to the organisation of the Movement itself.

As an example, I will take discussions of the position of women which took place in the General Council of the Kibbutz Artzi in May 1958. Delegates to this meeting were presented with a pamphlet dealing with the position of women in the kibbutzim: it was prepared by some women working in the department of the Kibbutz Artzi responsible for work on social aspects of the kibbutzim. The pamphlet contained findings of a survey of kibbutzim in the Kibbutz Artzi, conducted by means of a questionnaire concerning the women members' ages, jobs and responsibilities in the communities. It reported that women's status required improvement, and suggested means by which this could be achieved. The recommendations included increased discussion by women of their own position in courses and seminars directed by the Movement. The report also suggested that the service branches in which most women by then worked should be allocated their 'deserved status' (see Viteles, 1967, p.331), which would be done by reorganising them so that they would be coordinated and involve a high degree of responsibility. More women should be trained, so that work in the services would become a skill.

Comments on this report and on the position of women in general referred to the general lack of discussion of the question in the Movement, and

asserted that one of the most important requirements was to ensure women's satisfaction with their work. Chazan for example (see Viteles, 1967, pp.333-338) argued that the economic base for women's oppression under capitalism no longer existed in the kibbutz, but the opportunity provided by this feature had not been taken to its full advantage. He regretted the fact that many people in the kibbutz considered women inherently suitable for work in the service branches, thus extending the idea that women were those best suited to the care of children to their suitability for other formerly domestic tasks. Speakers at the Council meeting stressed the restlessness amongst the women of the kibbutz at the time, the necessity for job satisfaction and the inferior status of work in the services.

The resolutions produced by the meeting began by stressing the important part played by women in the kibbutz movement, and the equal 'dignity' of all types of work. The meeting emphasised that women should be given every opportunity to work in the productive branches, whilst recognizing that they were much more likely to work in the service branches. In view of this, it was decided that more attention should be paid to the training of women for their jobs, and to considerations of skill and efficiency in the services. The Kibbutz Artzi, it was resolved, should run seminars and educational programmes designed for and directed at women. The Council also recommended that more women should serve on committees, participate in Movement activities, and form closer links with branches of the Women's Movement in the country.

Both the discussions and the resolutions concern a desirable state of affairs regarding women in the kibbutzim, and are thus affirmations of ideas rather than specific directives. The discussion dealt with particular interpretations of the position of women in the kibbutz, and its historical basis. The resolutions are clearly an attempt to persuade the kibbutzim to change their ideas and hence to change the position of women. They assume

that it is not radical, structural change which is required, but more discussion. These resolutions, then, differ radically from the rules discussed above, in that they provide no formal means for their own enforcement. They rely on consensus of a different kind, not in delegation and representation, but in an acceptance of moral postulates. Here again is an example of the potential operation of the interpretability of ideology: the kibbutzim are being called upon to accept a series of directives from the Movement which rely on a consensual interpretation. The directives, being non-specific in their action correlates, allow for different interpretations resulting in different possible actions, and are thus statements of hope.

2. Publicity

I include in this category idealogical texts which are directed at and produced for outsiders, non-members of the Movement who can be regarded as potential supporters or critics. The texts are aimed at persuading people of the desirability of the kibbutz both as a way of life and as a revolutionary movement.

Leon's (1964) The Kibbutz, published in English, is subtitled "A Portrait From Within". The author aims to represent the kibbutz as he knows it, basing his remarks on his own experience as a committed member. In explaining the origins of the Movement, Leon gives the Socialist Zionist analysis of the position of the Jews in Europe:

> The only radical and permanent solution /to this problem/ lay in the territorial concentration of this scattered people, yet this, too, would be a will o' the wisp unless accompanied by a social transformation no less radical and revolutionary than the actual act of geographical concentration.
>
> (Leon, 1964, p.6)

This solution, Leon argues, could only be the kibbutz. He goes on to explain the purpose of the kibbutz according to Kibbutz Artzi principles.

Quoting extensively from other Kibbutz Artzi writers, Leon describes the organisational features of the kibbutz, stressing their desirability and potentiality throughout. He notes some of the difficulties of implementing the Kibbutz Artzi principles, but returns in every case to his assessment of their basic value. For example, after examining some of the organisational difficulties, such as the development of interest groups, individual lack of participation, clashes of interest between the individual and the commune, he argues

> .... there is no substitute in the kibbutz for the type of overall identification which has its roots in the ideological consciousness of the individual. This is what builds and fortifies the collective will and integrates the individual with the whole of the commune rather than with one aspect of its life. This is the source from which all the streams and channels of kibbutz democracy flow and without which they would run dry. And as the kibbutz grows, there can be no doubt that constant study and work will have to be invested in order to ensure that the source is deep enough and the channels wide enough to carry the democratisation of kibbutz life forward from stage to stage.
>
> (Leon, 1964, p.70)

This quotation contains a further point which Leon stresses repeatedly - the importance of discussion in the Movement, which, as we have seen, is related to the notion of ideological collectivism.

Leon also defends the kibbutz against its critics, particularly in the fields of collective education and the position of women. He acknowledges that a degree of criticism is justified, and indeed necessary, since the kibbutz is not perfect, but perfectible, and its perfectibility is possible only through constant reexamination and discussion. He notes, in discussing the position of women that

> .... it is because the vision is so revolutionary that the realisation is so problematical.
>
> (Leon, 1964, p.138)

Golan's (1961) volume of papers on collective education in the kibbutz provides publicity for the Movement. The articles were originally published

in Hebrew, and then in English translation in professional (psychiatric and educational) journals between 1957 and 1959. Like Leon, Golan defends the kibbutz educational system against its critics, emphasising its advantages in comparison with Western systems. For example, he asserts that in the West, the nuclear family serves to magnify all the 'deleterious effects' of parental education, simply by confining them within the home. In contrast, in the kibbutz, education is the responsibility of the whole community, which

> .... is a society which strives for the simultaneous solution of social, economic and cultural problems, on the basis of cooperation equality and mutual aid.
>
> (Golan, 1961, p.6)

This basis, Golan argues, allows a child in the collective education system an equal chance with its fellows to develop fully, without the constraints which, in the West, result from oppression through the nuclear family.

These two texts[1] show a clear relationship with Movement ideology and its development as represented above. They refer to the moral postulates of the Kibbutz Artzi, its general view of society, rather than the specific issues dealt with at Movement meetings. They aim to give a general picture of the Movement as offering a desirable way of life to its members and potential members, and, as a constructive enterprise, constantly developing and improving.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have looked at several dimensions of ideology in the history of the Kibbutz Artzi Hashomer Hatzair from the point of view of the dialectical approach formulated in Chapter 1. In examining the origin of the Movement, I stressed the developmental aspects of ideology, and the various influences on the Kibbutz Artzi from the Zionist Movement,

(1) The volume of publicity produced by the Kibbutz Artzi Hashomer Hatzair is huge. I have selected these two works because they are well known, and have reached a wide audience.

Socialism, individual analysis of Jewish society and the pioneering effort, and the processes involved in settlement in Palestine. I stressed in particular the experience of Hashomer Hatzair kibbutzim. I then investigated the ideological principles of the Movement, its moral postulates and rules, examining changes correlated with the consolidation and growth of the Movement. Questions concerning organisation, representation and control in the Movement were raised through a discussion of the operation of precedent and ideological collectivism in its history. Illustration of the operation of precedent was drawn from the accounts of the foundation of kibbutzim, and issues involved in the analysis of ideological collectivism were raised in the consideration of a split in Bet Alpha. The character of discussion at Movement level was used to illustrate the interpretability and situational transcendency of ideology at this level, and its persuasive aspect was also noted. Publicity was characterized as a reflection of moral postulates as discussed at Movement level.

The dialectical approach allowed examination of several different dimensions of the available data, enabling these different dimensions to be related to each other. It also provided the essential dynamic, the historical focus. I have not detailed every contradiction occurring in the history of the kibbutz movement and the development of ideology, but have relied on the inherence of the concept of contradiction within the dialectical approach in the presentation of the data. Furthermore, the focus on the interpretability and situational transcendency of ideology incorporates the dialectical approach, in that the definition of ideology formulated in Chapter 1 was dialectical in itself.

Although I have concentrated on the Movement level in this chapter, I do not suggest that ideology exists only at this collective level. Throughout the account, I have stressed the definition of ideology formulated in Chapter 1, which regards it as a dimension of social life, and not as a

clear-cut set of beliefs imposed from above, which an institutional approach would suggest, nor as a mysteriously calculated sum of interpersonal relationships, as an actor-oriented perspective would imply. The discussion in this chapter has concentrated on a high organisational level of the Movement, involving a large number of people. In the second part of this study, I will deal with lesser numbers, smaller and smaller social units, beginning with the whole of a kibbutz, and leading in the end to interpersonal relationships. At every stage, I will attempt to relate the levels to each other, and investigate the relevant ideological interpretations and processes. The levels to which I refer[1] are different dimensions of the social universe. Some of them are structural units, defined by ideological principle, such as age-groups and nationality groups: others are indirect consequences of ideological principle, such as work groups. At another analytical level are sets of social relationships which are ego-centred, personal networks. These will be dealt with generally, and case material will support observations. As the study approaches interpersonal relationships and interactions, more detailed case material will be used.

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(1) These will be discussed in more detail in the introduction to Part Two, which follows.

PART TWO : KIBBUTZ GOSHEN

INTRODUCTION

The second section of this study focusses on field data collected in the Summer of 1974 and between March 1975 and March 1976 on a kibbutz in Israel. I will call the kibbutz 'Goshen'.(1)

The first part of the thesis dealt (in Chapter 1) with the problem of studying the relation between belief and social action, criticising writers who adopted either an institutional or an actor-oriented approach. I then suggested that the relation between belief and social action is dialectical, and advocated the use of an historical-materialist dialectical approach to the problem posed. In the second chapter, I reviewed some earlier studies of the kibbutz, classifying them both historically and according to the points of view they adopted. This review was used to raise particular questions relating to the study of the kibbutz, the empirical example to be used in testing the dialectical approach. In both of these chapters, I concentrated on the ideas underlying each of the approaches I criticised, and emphasised the effect that a particular view of society held by an analyst has on the picture he or she eventually produces of social life. The definition of ideology (established at the end of Chapter 1), as an interpretable, situationally transcendent set of ideas which attempt to persuade people to conduct their lives in certain ways, can also be applied to the points of view adopted by the writers I criticised, in that a specific set of assumptions underlying a study effectively attempts to persuade the reader that people conduct their lives in certain ways.

This remark is reinforced by the difficulties of drawing a clear distinction between certain studies of the kibbutz (notably Rosner, 1967) and ideological texts produced by members of the Movement, which I pointed out in Chapter 2.

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(1) A general description of Goshen appears in the Introduction to the thesis

The third chapter focussed on the development of ideology in the kibbutz movement, examining different dimensions of the available data in an attempt to elucidate the nature both of the ideology and of the processes of development taking place. The discussion was used to indicate the questions arising concerning the study of the communities themselves.

Thus I have focussed mainly on the ideational dimension of various approaches to the study of belief and social action and of the kibbutz movement, introducing the study of social relations in Chapter 3, in the sections which examined ideological interpretation. However, I have emphasised throughout that beliefs and social action are inextricable, and that the distinctionsI have drawn have been heuristic. I have shown that the ideas upon which earlier studies were based were intimately connected with the kinds of account they produced, and, similarly, my account of the development of ideology in the kibbutz movement contained perforce the dimension of actual social relations and organisation.

The second part of the study focusses on the action dimension. I use a Weberian definition of social action, as action which is "oriented to the past, present or expected future behaviour of others," (Weber, 1969, p.112).[1] Social action is performed by social actors who may be individuals, formal groups, or sets of either or both.

The discussion introduces a set of analytical levels which I will define historically according to the processes of development of the kibbutz itself. This historical classification ensures the maintenance of the dynamic inherent in the dialectical approach, and facilitates representation of the dynamic inherent in social life. I will introduce the analytical levels in detail in the chapters which use them: here I will point out their general characteristics.

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(1) This translation first published in 1947.

The classification is historical in that it follows the history of Goshen, focussing at each stage upon particular sets of social relations especially significant at the time. As the general trend of development was for the kibbutz to become more differentiated, the types of social relationships upon which actor-oriented approaches focus became increasingly complex and ramifying, complicating the social processes which were defined by the Movement through the exercise of precedents, and subsequently by the pioneers of the kibbutz who were responsible for deciding upon its internal organization. The classification provides a means of ordering the presentation of data: I do not intend to suggest that only one analytical level is worthy of paramount and exclusive attention at any stage in the history of the kibbutz. The use of a dialectical approach provides a basis for consideration of historical process, and allows analytical levels to be related to each other throughout its process.

Each of the following chapters concentrates on one analytical level in particular, and includes consideration of the ways in which the different kinds of data presented are related.

Chapter 4 concentrates on the stages of the history of Goshen which were subject to Movement control: the early years of settlement and the subsequent periodic additions to the population of the kibbutz of groups from the Movement. I will investigate the subsequent developments when the kibbutz became established, and, continuing the focus on the demography of the kibbutz, will examine the situation during the period of my fieldwork.

Chapter 5 moves on to the organizational features of the kibbutz which were defined, in the first instance, by the pioneers, and again looks at these features in 1975-6. The sixth chapter focusses on informal social relations in the kibbutz, informal that is from the point of view of Movement ideology and of the organisational set-up of Goshen itself.

Chapters 7 and 8 are detailed case studies, which attempt to show the interpretation of ideology at different analytical levels. Chapter 7 focusses on a formal set of social relations, an age group of children born and brought up in Goshen, and Chapter 8 on the history of a particular family whose social position in the community was ambiguous.

Integral to all these chapters is a set of analytical distinctions relating to the arena of social action. As Swartz (1968) notes, the term "arena" has been used by anthropologists previously in several different ways. I use the term 'arena' to denote specific sets of social relations in the kibbutz which are defined by the following analytical distinctions: between the formal and informal arenas, the public and the private arenas and the structured and non-structured arenas. Like Mitchell's structural, categorical and personal orders (Mitchell, 1969, pp.9-10), "These are not ... different types of actual behaviour: they are rather ... different ways of making abstractions from the same actual behaviour to achieve different types of understanding and explanation," (Mitchell, 1969, p.10). For the purposes of this discussion, the distinctions drawn between one arena of social action and another afford a means of ordering different kinds of data. The distinctions drawn are closely related to the classification of analytical levels which I have based upon the historical processes taking place in the community.

The distinction which I draw between the formal and informal arenas of social action conforms roughly to that between the subject matter dealt with by the two types of approach to the study of belief and social action as opposed to that which is outside the formal structure of the kibbutz. However, since I am approaching the data from a dialectical point of view, the formal and informal arenas are not divorced from one another as they were in studies using either an actor-oriented or an institutional approach. Their relationship to one another can be considered dialectical, and the

formal and informal arenas thus form different dimensions of the same data, rather than alternative foci.

The second important distinction is between the public and private arenas. This distinction relates mainly to the transmission of information, which is restricted in the private arena and open in the public arena. Both public and private arenas may be formal or informal.

Thirdly, I distinguish between structured and non-structured arenas. This distinction is specifically based on the kibbutz, in that a structured arena is one defined by features of the formal organization of the kibbutz, and a non-structured arena is one in which informal social interaction is paramount.

These distinctions will be clarified as the discussion proceeds, and their interconnections explained. They will be used to help in the investigation of the dimensions of social action in Goshen, at the different analytical levels which I have already delineated, and at each stage in the discussion, I will discuss the ideological dimension in relation to social action.

None of the sets of social relations in Goshen in 1975-6 could be described as static. Turner (1975) notes that:

> If one were able to arrest the social process as though it were a motion film, and were then to examine the 'still', the coexisting social relations within a community, one would find that the temporary structures were incomplete, open-ended, unconsummated.
>
> (Turner, 1975, p.36)

The discussion which follows will not 'freeze' sets of social relations, but will attempt to examine them as dynamic. Regularities in social relations will be seen, such as at the level of formal organizations, but these contain within them varieties of expression and process whose understanding is essential to the understanding of the relation between ideology and social action in the kibbutz, both because of the nature of ideology as

I discussed it in Chapter 3, and because of the nature of social action which forms the focus for this part of the study.

Lacey's (1974) Hightown Grammar provides a useful example of a similar intent to focus on several different analytical levels, and can help clarify some of the issues involved. Lacey's main interest in this study is to consider the school as a social system, related to the wider educational provisions in the country, and, in doing so, to try and explain the poor performance of working-class children in grammar schools since the 1944 Education Act, which was designed to give everyone an equal chance. Lacey stresses (in the Preface) his intention to avoid the pitfalls of equilibrium models, and concentrates on the historical development of the school. His discussion ranges from the general to the particular, from educational provision in Hightown in general, through the history of the school itself, to case studies of individual pupils, and of changing friendship in various classes. Lacey's study is to some extent indicative of the multi-level approach to be used here, though he excludes several dimensions which I will include.

One of these relates to the folk view, varying expectations and definitions of certain sets of social relations. In the developmental study of the express stream, Lacey's account of the friendship links which existed is used to illuminate the varying degrees of success of the boys involved: we are not told exactly what the various cliques did, exactly how it could be that a boy became involved in one or another, what he expected of his friends. Lacey measures his groups by asking who was a boy's best friend, whom he liked the least, and so on, not by a detailed examination of the content of the interaction taking place. He assumes that schoolboys are 'just friends', and that their links with one another have minimal political, economic or symbolic content. Why should one boy like another, we may ask? How much choice is involved? What reinforces the links between them? This may appear a cynical view of schoolboy relationships, but personal experience

shows that schoolgirls in comparison do not relate to each other on a purely emotional basis, and that social relationships within a school may be just as ridden with political, economic and other considerations as any social configuration dealt with by any social anthropologist.

We will find that people in the kibbutz belonged to several sets of social relationships, which had different characteristics, and that these sets were used differentially according to the situation, that the links which they offered involved varying assets and support on the one hand, and constraints on the other, which the community members used in whatever way they could. I will argue that any individual's sets of social relationships, aside from mere membership of the kibbutz, or belonging to another category, influenced the bargaining position of the individual vis à vis the commune, and that actual position in the community was based on these sets of relationships. Chapters 4, 5 and 6 discuss the more general aspects of social configurations in the kibbutz with reference to cases, and Chapters 7 and 8 will consider extended case material in an attempt to show the detailed operation of these sets of relationships.

The whole discussion rests on the assumption of a contradiction between the individual and the commune. One of the basic characteristics of the community we are considering was that individuals were called upon to identify their own interests with those of the commune, and their decisions to do so were made on an individual basis. However, we would be mistaken in assuming that this led to an identification with a set of interests which everyone concerned thought to be the same, and that the aims and beliefs of the whole population of the kibbutz were the same. I have already noted that the ideology of the kibbutz movement was not a clearly defined set of principles, and that even where those principles were stated (as in the ten dibrot, for example), they were open to interpretation. Furthermore, we cannot assume that ideology was the first aspect of the kibbutz with which prospective

entrants were confronted. In Chapter 4 for example, we will encounter several people who married into the community, and others who came there to work (as soldiers or volunteers): these people's first experience of the kibbutz was living and working there.

The detailed case studies will be used to show exactly how different relationships operated. We should note that the classification of analytical levels used here does not serve to mark off definite groups of people from one another, nor should it in any way be regarded as intimating the existence of a hierarchy of sets of relationships in the kibbutz. Each set of relationships should be seen as a potential framework for action, a source from which support could be derived, or from which restrictions could arise. Apart from that, we should note at this point the existence of people in the community with virtually no access to these potential sources of support: one such case, of two Members, will be discussed in Chapter 8. Chapter 7, as I have already mentioned, deals with a formally defined age group.

The presentation of case material necessitates the use of particular analytical tools relevant to the data. In the chapters which follow, I will use social networks, socio-matrices, action sets and social dramas.

The first two, social networks and socio-matrices will be used essentially as illustrative devices to represent sets of social relationships in which particular individuals are involved, and the content of the links which make them up.

The use of the notion of 'social network' as an analytical tool rather than as a figurative device (see Radcliffe-Brown, 1968, p.190) was introduced by Barnes (1954) in his study of a Norwegian island parish. Barnes' use of the concept involved a simple mapping of social actors' contacts with others, concentrating on those links which had no limits or boundaries, and

no organising structure (see Barnes, 1954, p.43). Barnes thought that the concept of network offered a particularly productive way of looking at social class, as "a network of relations between pairs of persons according each other approximately equal status," (Barnes, 1954, p.45). Bott, a contemporary of Barnes, also used the concept of social network in her work on conjugal role relationships.(1)

Mitchell (1969) notes that there appear to be three different orders of social relationships, three ways in which an analyst may abstract from the same set of data various types of information about the way in which a society is organised. According to Mitchell, the three orders are the structural, the categorical and the personal, corresponding to institutions, phenomena such as social stereotypes, and networks.

I will use the social network as a device for mapping out the personal contacts of particular individuals, with special reference to their most frequent contacts. Like Mitchell, I treat 'network' as only one possible way of abstracting information from a particular set of data. Networks are used in particular in Chapter 6, which concerns informal social relations in the kibbutz. Kapferer's (1969) method of measuring the density and multiplexity of networks is employed.

Socio-matrices provide another way of representing social interaction diagrammatically. An early (1950) example of the use of the concept is found in the work of Festinger, Schachter and Back,(2) who discuss relationships between the occupants of a set of student flats at M.I.T. in the late 1940's. Festinger et al note the value of sociometric techniques for mapping out the interrelationships between a finite number of people. I shall use these techniques to delineate the kinds of relationships formed

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(1) A detailed criticism of Bott's work appears in Chapter 1 of this thesis. Remarks about her discussion of class are included (pp. 28-29).

(2) References here are to the reprint in Lazarsfeld and Rosenberg (1965).

by people in the kibbutz, firstly in their own personal networks, and secondly in the wider social categories, such as nationality groups, age groups and work groups, to which they belonged. The use of a socio-matrix allows for the representation of cliques (term used by Festinger et al) or 'interaction sets' (see Chapter 6 for further discussion of this concept).

In discussing the course of events in the kibbutz, Mayer's (1966) concept of action set can be used. In the accounts of social configurations in the kibbutz, I will emphasise that it was not possible either for the analyst or for the actors concerned to predict exactly what support would be active in a situation in which it was required. I have indicated that it is possible to delineate on a certain level, clearly defined sets of social relationships which help us to understand the community, but I also suggested that this kind of analysis was not enough to use in the discussion of social process, if the latter was to be successfully explained and understood.

The situation discussed by Mayer in his paper on 'The Significance of Quasi-groups in the Study of Complex Societies' (1966) bears some resemblance to the situation in Goshen as I have introduced it here. Mayer examines an election in a ward of Dewas town, in the state of Madhya Pradesh in India. He begins by discussing the caste and occupational structure of the ward, pointing out that the existing sets of relations such as these could not serve as a basis for the election of a candidate. I will show that in the kibbutz, formally defined and ancillary sets of relations could not be counted upon to provide social actors with support. Mayer goes on to discuss different ways in which pressure could be brought to bear on voters, and finds that the pattern of the candidate's own linkages was particularly important. He considers that these linkages constitute an action set, arguing that although the links involved derived from several different social fields (such as political party, kinship, economic, sporting,

village and caste links), their common feature lay in the fact that they all had the same result; votes for the candidate concerned. Such a common feature allows the action set to be analytically bounded. Mayer points out that it cannot be considered a group, because only its action correlate serves to define it:

> For the basis for membership is specific to each linkage, and there are no rights or obligations relating all those involved; even the common act of voting for ego does not bring the members into relation with each other.
>
> (Mayer, 1966, p.109)

Additionally, the action set, Mayer argues, is not a permanent feature of social life.

The concept requires some modification if it is to be used successfully in the case of the kibbutz, in spite of the broad similarities between the Dewas situation and ours. In the kibbutz, the actors have rights and obligations towards each other and to the community, especially if they are members of it. We cannot therefore define a kibbutz action set exactly as Mayer defines a Dewas action set because of these pre-existing sets of rights and obligations.

In any social process, these rights and obligations play some part, and we will have to try and determine exactly what that part is, as our analysis proceeds. We will find that in the kibbutz, any action set will contain predefined links of this type, though in some cases they will be so masked as to be almost invisible to the actors involved. For us then, an action set will consist of a number of people mobilized, within the kibbutz and the already existing sets of relationships, in response to a particular social circumstance or social drama (see the discussion of this concept below).

Mayer goes on to discuss quasi-groups, action sets which continue to exist through a series of social dramas, without formal bases for membership.

In the kibbutz, certain sets of linkages could be designated 'quasi-groups', but this is just a question of terminology, and it is of little importance to our discussion whether we talk about quasi-groups or about common features of various alignments in successive social dramas. Certain formally defined sets of social relationships were referred to by the members of the community as 'groups': to introduce a typology of linkages would prove an encumbrance, as our conception of them would lose its flexibility. The concept of action set has been introduced because it helps us in the discussion of social process: the concept of quasi-group would prove superfluous.

The concept of 'social drama' used by Turner (1957, 1975) will be employed. Turner defines it as follows:

> The social drama is a limited area of transparency on the otherwise opaque surface of regular, uneventful social life.
>
> (Turner, 1957, p.93)

A social drama is a period of crisis, or conflict, when an actor or a set of actors mobilize against another or others or against a particular problem facing them. The problem is not necessarily of social origin - it may, for example, arise from a spell of inclement weather or a crop yield of abnormal size.

According to Turner, a social drama has four stages in its processual form, i.e. breach, crisis, redressive action and reintegration or recognition of schism (see Turner, 1957, pp.91-92). This definition produces problems for the analyst because it is based on the assumption that the social drama has a clear beginning and a clear end. Both these are very difficult to delineate in the case of a community like the kibbutz, in which social relationships and social interaction are so complex. When we come to consider the case study in Chapter 8, of the family who were outcasts, we will find that events took place over a period of several years, and that 'solutions' arrived at at different stages could be described neither as

'reintegration' nor as 'recognition of schism'. The solutions were much more subtle than either of these characterisations imply, affecting and relating to very different levels of social action and ideology, and to varying sets of social relations. I will therefore use the concept of 'social drama' in a sense more general than Turner's, employing his most general definition of a social drama as a period in social life when activity is intensified, which provides for the analyst a rich source of material to use in the discussion of the operation of social relations in the community concerned.

The analytical levels, distinctions between arenas, and analytical tools introduced here will be used in the second part of this study in the presentation of field data from Kibbutz Goshen. Further reference will be made to them all, and each will be elaborated where relevant.

CHAPTER 4

HISTORY AND DEMOGRAPHY OF KIBBUTZ GOSHEN

Introduction

This chapter begins the detailed discussion of Kibbutz Goshen,[1] and commences the use of the historically classified analytical levels. The demographic history of Goshen has to some extent been directly defined by the Movement, which has sent Youth Movement groups to supplement the population at regular intervals. These supplementary groups have been the main source of recruitment of new Members.[2] The assiduous selection of groups joining particular kibbutzim provides the Movement with a potential means of controlling its member communities. Additionally, the adoption of new kibbutzim by older ones, and the provision of a veteran adviser for the early stages of settlement offers an opportunity of control through precedent. Thus, at the beginning of its history, and, subsequently through population supplements, a kibbutz is in its closest relationship with the Movement as regards its own internal organisation. Once a kibbutz is established, has set up its own administrative organs, consolidated its population, it becomes an autonomous member of the Movement, no longer under its tutelage, but participating in its functioning. At this stage, the means of control for the Movement becomes ideological collectivism, which I discussed in Chapter 3. As I described it, ideological collectivism has two main features:

1. kibbutzim participate in ideological formulation through discussion within themselves and delegation to Movement meetings;
2. the Movement passes decisions advising the kibbutzim to behave in certain ways.

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(1) An outline of the general character of the kibbutz appears in the introduction to the thesis (pp. 6-7).

(2) 'Member' (with capital 'M') refers to a formal Member of the kibbutz.

Every decision passed at Movement level leaves open the possibility of differing interpretations, and these can be investigated within the kibbutzim.

The first in our series of historically defined analytical levels is therefore that of demography. In this chapter, I will deal with demography both in the past, and during the period of fieldwork. I will also discuss the earlier stages of the history of Goshen. The chapter is divided into three main sections.

The first section places Goshen in the history of the Movement in general, and examines its position during the period of fieldwork. The second section looks at the settlement of Goshen, then investigates its demographic history, which is related to the situation in 1975-76. The importance of the supplementary population groups and the origins of other Members are discussed. The third section looks at the demographic structure of Goshen in 1975-76, and includes consideration of the non-Member population. It also deals with the problem of defining the community.

A: The Little Kibbutzim

The kibbutz to be discussed here was founded in 1949 by a group of pioneers from Hashomer Hatzair, and belongs to the category of kibbutzim founded around the same time as the State of Israel itself. The Movement considers these to be of a special character, worthy of separate consideration in, for example, its published statistical tables. The reasons for this are, firstly, that these kibbutzim have shown a peculiar inability to rise above a Membership of two hundred.[1] Secondly, since the foundation of

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(1) This figure was fixed upon by the Movement following analysis of the numbers of kibbutz members over the years, and their rate of increase. Older kibbutzim had grown larger more quickly than the little kibbutzim.

the State in 1948, the proportion of kibbutz Members in the population of Israel has shown a steady decline, the actual number has increased more and more slowly, and the flow of immigration to the country has lessened considerably.(1) We have thus to remember that it may not simply be a failure on the part of the 'little kibbutzim' that has led to the establishment of the 'two hundred barrier', since the decline in immigration and in settlement in kibbutzim mentioned above were to a large extent outside their control. Furthermore, we should remember that, once the State was established, the ethos of many of the pioneering movements had to change, simply because one of their principle aims had been fulfilled, and a Jewish State existed.

Before we can begin to examine the reasons for the problems experienced by those kibbutzim founded near 1948, which the Movement calls 'the little kibbutzim', we must look again at some of the aims of Hashomer Hatzair, what it wanted its kibbutzim and the Jewish State to be and to achieve. Doing so will enable us to place our more specific data in the general framework of an historical movement, and to see that these data cannot be adequately understood outside that context. We will also begin to understand why the Movement should consider the little kibbutzim to form a problem category, and why Goshen in particular should merit the Movement's special attention as an exceptionally problematic community.

In the discussion of the ideology of the Movement (Chapter 3), I emphasised that it was not as clearly defined as some writers have suggested, and showed how misleading it would be to regard it as a rigid set of ideas. Here, we are concerned with some of the more general aims which were reiterated frequently in ideological writing, and made more explicit at different times, depending on historical circumstances.

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(1) See Appendix II for figures on the proportion of kibbutz members in the population of Israel (Table 2) and the numbers and origins of immigrants (Tables 1 and 3).

In some ways, the establishment of the State of Israel came as a disappointment to the Kibbutz Artzi. Even in 1975, Members of Goshen felt that things had happened too fast, and laid the blame for the troubles experienced by Israel at the feet of Ben-Gurion. The younger ones laughed at the furious announcements that 'Zionism is the way' after the UN resolution condemning Zionism as a form of racism: "Of course we are racists," they said, "All nationalists are."

In 1948, Hashomer Hatzair urged caution in the efforts to establish a Jewish State in Palestine. Whilst agreeing that "The Jews have an unassailable legal right to come to Palestine to settle without let and hindrance", (Hashomer Hatzair, 1946, p.30), the Movement argued for a bi-national state, "a peaceful solution to the Arab-Jewish problem, and the cooperation of both peoples on the basis of political parity which ... /the Movement/... considers the most important way to the utmost fulfilment of Zionism," (Hashomer Hatzair, 1946, p.147). The Movement produced a book (Hashomer Hatzair, 1946) on this plan, published both in Hebrew and in foreign languages, and widely circulated. The small voice of Hashomer Hatzair was not enough to stop the relentless movement towards the establishment of the Jewish State, and the subsequent War of Independence. The document mentioned above is an example of a particularly explicit ideological statement, going to the lengths of calculating exactly how much land could possibly be cultivated in the area then constituting Palestine and Transjordan.

The State of Israel, then, after the War of Independence, was not as the Movement had hoped it would be. Thus its idea of Zionism was not totally redundant because it had not been fulfilled in its entirety. And since then, statements on foreign policy made by the Movement have been, in Israeli terms, radical, even extreme. In 1975, it was arguing for the return of the territories occupied by Israel in the 1967 Six Days War, a view unpopular in

Israel as a whole, and also in government circles. The government was making a serious attempt to incorporate these territories into the State, and to make them committed to it; evidence of this was seen in the elections held on the West Bank in early 1976.

Thus Hashomer Hatzair as a movement was outside the mainstream of Zionist and, subsequently, Israeli government thought in some of its policies. We can therefore argue that Hashomer Hatzair's ideological isolation must have proved detrimental to its ability to attract new members. This feature can help to explain the declining proportion of kibbutz residents in the population of the State, and the decline in absolute numbers.

We should also note that Hashomer Hatzair wanted its kibbutzim to be the basis for the rebirth of the Jewish nation, as shown in the account of the history of the Movement and its ideology (Chapter 3). This involved the creation of the 'New Man', essentially a moral concept, relating to the conscious choice that had to be made when joining a kibbutz, and the type of commitment that Membership involved: the Member had to learn to identify his or her interests with those of the community (see Talmor, 1967). To achieve this aim, the Movement clearly required candidates of a particular kind, and its attraction was therefore limited.

During the earlier, pre-State years of settlement, Jews going to Palestine mostly went voluntarily, and thus fulfilled their own aims. The proportion of refugees was comparatively small, if we define a refugee as someone with nowhere else to go. European Jewry, which had provided the main source of immigration in the pre-State period, was decimated during the Second World War, and people subsequently arriving in Palestine after the war from Europe were mainly refugees.

Most of the immigrants arriving immediately after the foundation of the State were Oriental Jews from the countries of North Africa and the

Middle East.[1] Eisenstadt notes (1967, Ch.2) the gradual deemphasis of the pioneering spirit, chalutziut, during the later stages leading up to the establishment of the State, and argues that this was intensified after 1948. Immigrants to Israel after the Second World War were different: far fewer people went to fulfil a conscious desire to participate in the Socialist pioneering venture. Many of the Oriental Jews were materially poor and little educated (see H. Cohen, 1973), in contrast to the pre-State immigrants. Thus the human material available after the war, and around 1948, was quite different from that previously going into the kibbutzim, so, effectively, a large number of the people entering the Movement were refugees. These people, in the case of the little kibbutzim, were actually to be pioneers of their communities: clearly their choices were made on quite a different basis from those of the earlier pioneers.

In Goshen, the European refugees did not, for the most part, participate actively in running the community: by 1975, the concentration camp survivors in particular were generally regarded as wanting a quiet life with their new families, and were treated more tolerantly than were the other pioneers who will be discussed later.

During the 1950's, immigration from Europe lessened in proportion to that from Oriental countries, and many of the people going into the kibbutzim were Israelis who belonged to the Youth Movement. These people often did not stay long in the kibbutzim, and I suggest that one of the reasons for this was the sheer proximity of their background. Pioneers coming from other countries, particularly the refugees, quite simply found it more difficult to opt out of the kibbutz, whereas native Israelis had family and friends relatively nearby.[2]

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(1) See Appendix II, Table 3.

(2) I have found no documentary evidence of this. However the remarks I make later in the discussion (pp.193-194) serve to support the suggestion.

Thus the foundation of the little kibbutzim around 1948 coincided with developments out of the control of the Movement, all of which contributed towards the decline in the proportion of the population of Israel in the kibbutz movement, and the declining rate of increase in absolute numbers. The aims of the Movement could not be reconciled with the different characteristics of post-State immigrants, and efforts were not made to change the kibbutz so that its appeal would be widened.

We may now ask why, given these factors which were quite clear at the time, the Movement should consider the inability of the little kibbutzim to expand beyond a certain point to be so problematic. This again is related to the aims of the Movement: it regarded the kibbutzim as the best possible agency for the rebirth of the Jewish people. Once established, and the conquest of labour achieved, the kibbutzim were to expand, economically, numerically and ideologically, to become an important part of the new Jewish State. No matter what the external circumstances might have been, this aim remained uppermost in the Movement's concerns. There is little evidence which might indicate a positive attempt by the Movement to adapt to the changing circumstances in the State: we see it adopting an increasingly defensive position against attacks from outside, on its educational system, its strictness and its interpretation of Socialism. The impression becomes one of a Movement working very hard to stay in the same place, to retain members, rather than to attract new ones, to produce volumes of literature attempting to show the positive side of kibbutz life, emphasising the rising standards of living of its Members, rather than the sheer hard work which had been so important in earlier times. The Movement was not merely worried about failure to expand, but about an actual decline, and the little kibbutzim which had failed to establish themselves successfully provided a painfully clear indication of the origins of this decline, which lay with the foundation of the State. It is now (1976) in the little kibbutzim that the

Movement faces the results of the factors most threatening it. These threats are exemplified in such kibbutzim, which thus provide a focus for attempts to combat them.

We should note that the little kibbutzim form the largest category of communities set up over the shortest period of time,(1) and that their children, born in the early 1950's, all came to maturity in the early 1970's, and constituted the largest group of kibbutz-born children with whom the Movement had yet to deal. This factor will be shown to be of particular importance in our later discussion of the generation gap.

B: The History of Kibbutz Goshen

1. Settlement

Goshen shared with the little kibbutzim the problem of inability to rise above two hundred in Membership, and experienced it in a particularly acute form: for many years, it was unable to rise above one hundred Members, and thus fell into a special problem category even within that of the little kibbutzim, meriting the attention of a special department within the Movement, set up to deal with exceptionally serious demographic problems. The 'one hundred barrier' was surmounted in the early 1970's, but this remained to be consolidated, as not all the most recently joined Members could, in 1975, be said to be settled in the community. The problems were not simply numerical: the kibbutz showed a consistent inability to retain Members. People were expected to complete at least a year of candidature (acceptance for this had to be approved by the General Assembly of the kibbutz) before applying for Membership. Many left during this period, and many others shortly after being accepted as Members. Generally, if a person wanted to become a candidate, it was considered by the rest of the community that he

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(1) See Appendix II for figures on the foundation of Kibbutz Artzi kibbutzim and the number of children born (Tables 4 and 5).

or she wanted to become a Member, and that the candidature was a period during which the kibbutz, and not so much the individual concerned, was to make up its mind.

The demographic history of Goshen, as of other kibbutzim of Hashomer Hatzair, concerns principally a series of groups from the Youth Movement, going to the kibbutz together, with the express purpose of eventually becoming Members. Groups were added at regular intervals in order to ensure that the kibbutz became a normal community, with a fairly even distribution of ages throughout the population. This was particularly important for the labour force, economically, and politically for the kibbutz as a self-governing community: transfers of office in kibbutz government, and the smooth transfer of economic functions were facilitated by an even age distribution of population.

The first group of pioneers of Goshen came from Egypt in three waves of immigration, in 1945, 1946 and 1947, numbering forty-five people in all. Until 1948, the position of Jews in Egypt was not especially difficult, and Hashomer Hatzair was a legal organisation. Masriya (1971) places the beginning of persecution of the Jews in Egypt in the Second World War, though H. Cohen (1973) considers that this persecution was relatively minor, and asserts that the Jews did not take it seriously. It was only after the foundation of the State of Israel that the Jews began to leave Egypt as refugees, and only in the 1950's did they start to emigrate in large numbers.

The pioneers of Goshen therefore belonged to the pre-State <u>chalutziut</u> tradition: they were not refugees. Furthermore, the Jews in Egypt belonged to the prosperous middle classes, were well-educated and healthy. These factors also made them more like the pre-State European pioneers rather than the post-State Oriental immigrants and refugees. The Jewish community in Egypt was orientated towards French rather than Arabic culture, and many of its members were foreign nationals, whose families had migrated to Egypt

during the prosperous years of the early twentieth century (see Cohen, 1973). Though strictly Oriental Jews, these people had more in common with the European immigrants than with the Oriental immigrants of the 1950's. In spite of this, Goshen was known as an Oriental, Egyptian kibbutz, and it was often whispered in the Movement and in the kibbutz itself that Oriental origins might have had something to do with its problems. Generally, very few of the kibbutzim founded around the same time as Goshen were Oriental, as most of the immigrants from Oriental countries were not considered suitable for settlement in kibbutzim.

All the people in this first group were of about the same age (early twenties) and all were members of the Youth Movement, trained to found kibbutzim, and had entered Palestine with the express purpose of doing so.

In 1946, they were joined in Palestine by another group of diverse origin (mainly Swiss, French and Belgian), some of whom had been in Switzerland as refugees from the Nazis. These people too were Movement members. The two groups were allocated three acres of land near a kibbutz in the Herziliya area, where they organised themselves communally, with their own clothing store, children's house and so on. They worked as hired labourers on the established kibbutz, in order to become accustomed to manual work in preparation for settlement on their own land. They had to wait some time before their own land was allocated, as at that time there was a shortage of land for settlement. In 1947, they were asked to settle temporarily in the Negev, as one of a group of communities, more strongholds than kibbutzim. Most of these were abandoned after the foundation of the State, and in 1949 the group finally settled on its permanent site.

The kibbutz was a border settlement, only three kilometres from the Jordanian border, though this became technical after 1967, when Israel occupied the West Bank. There were never any military incidents in the area. At first, the community was fortified, and open to the surrounding hills,

though shortly more permanent buildings were erected in the more sheltered area, a small depression in the hills. There were no trees, and the ground seemed to the settlers to be nothing but stones. Earth for the fields was carried there from a nearby wadi,(1) water was collected daily in a large trailer from a town in the coastal plain. The first dwellings were tents, then wooden huts with stone floors were built: couples could choose either to remain in a tent, or to share a small room in a hut with another couple.

In addition to being a border settlement, the kibbutz was part of a Movement plan to establish a 'red belt' of kibbutzim around the city of Tel Aviv, to help in the building of Socialism in the new state. Only one kibbutz, apart from Goshen, survived from this plan into the 1970's.

The pioneers were joined on the site of their kibbutz by a mixed Israeli and Polish group upon their arrival. Many of the Poles were survivors of concentration camps, and their active participation in kibbutz life was to be limited: they worked as hard as anybody else, but were less active in committees and in the Secretariat later on. Some were the sole surviving members of their families, and interested themselves in starting a new family life on the kibbutz.

For the first few months of settlement, a veteran from the Kibbutz Artzi lived with the pioneers of Goshen, helping them in their efforts to establish a kibbutz. He was briefed by the Movement to advise them on procedure, and, as I indicated in Chapter 3, the advice given was based on the precedent of the processes of settlement and the organisation of earlier Kibbutz Artzi kibbutzim, and on Movement ideological interpretation. In addition to giving ideological and practical advice, the veteran was called upon to adjudicate disputes: for example, when a Member responsible for tractor driving refused to collect water from the town, protesting that the

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(1) Wadi (Arabic) = dry river bed. These flood during the rainy season (November - March).

tractor would stick in the mud and be damaged, the veteran took matters into his own hands, and drove the tractor himself, thus using precedent (example) to teach the pioneers.

Goshen was referred to both by its members and by the Movement as 'the Egyptian kibbutz', and its very name derived from the Egyptian connection. I am calling it 'Goshen', a place of light, or plenty, and the last dwelling place of the Jews in Egypt in Biblical times (Exodus VIII, 22, IX, 26), the place which escaped the plagues brought by God onto Pharoah and his people.

2. Population Supplements

Table 2 (below, p.171) lists the various groups which came to Goshen, their dates of entry, countries of origin, numbers, and those remaining on the kibbutz at the end of 1975. The final column shows the percentage of each group remaining by 1975.

It should be noted that these figures do not account for the total number of people who may have left the community over the years, nor for the total membership at the end of 1975. Other people came to the kibbutz (and left it) as individuals, and these will be dealt with separately. For the present, we are concerned with the groups which were intended to be large supplements to the population, and constitute a majority of population and population turnover.

The table shows that some groups have disappeared almost completely, and others were noticeable in their lack of staying power. The Movement had a specific set of expectations regarding the proportions of groups which were expected to stay on kibbutzim. Of all groups from every country in the world, the Israeli ones were the least tenacious, only about thirty per cent of their membership being expected to stay on the kibbutzim. For other countries, the figure was over fifty per cent. These figures

Table 2 : Population supplements to kibbutz Goshen, 1945 - 1971, related to membership at the end of 1975.

Year of entry to kibbutz	Country of Origin	Number in group	Number remaining (1975)	% who left	% who stayed
1945-7	Egypt	45	14	68.9	31.1
1946	Mixed European (refugees from Switzerland)	20	6	70.0	30.0
1949	Israel	40*	13	42.5	57.5
	Europe (predominantly Poland)		10		
1955	Two Youth Aliyah groups	23	9	60.9	39.1
1957	Youth Aliyah	15	2	86.7	13.3
1959	England	20	1	95.0	5.0
1960	Belgium	20*	1	95.0	5.0
1966	Israel	50	11	78.0	22.0
1967	Morocco and France	25	8	68.0	32.0
1971	Israel	20	6	70.0	30.0
	TOTAL	278	81	70.9	29.1

* These figures are estimates. They are low, in order not to exaggerate the proportion of people leaving.

(obtained from interviews with Movement officials) related to the first few years after entry to the kibbutz, and were based on the Movement's previous experience.

According to the Table, two hundred and seventy-eight people went to Goshen intending to become Members. In 1975, only eighty-one of them remained, 29.1%. Given that some members of the latest groups could not, in 1975, be described as settled, we may expect some of them to leave, and cause a slight decrease in the percentage. We find that, of three hundred

and sixty potential members, the kibbutz had retained eighty-one in 1975.

Before dealing with some of the groups individually, we should note an interesting contrast between the actual numbers of people involved and the folk view of these numbers. The ethnographer was often told, particularly by sabras[1] of Goshen, that the Egyptians (in 1975) were the largest pioneer group on the kibbutz; the figure given was usually between fifteen and twenty. We can see from Table 2 that this was not the case: the 1949 group (both sections) was actually much larger and that a larger percentage of its members had stayed on Goshen. Also, the English group of 1959 was often cited as an example of a group which had collapsed completely, as only one person (out of twenty) had remained: and yet the Belgian group of 1960, of which also only one person had stayed, was not mentioned. The Hashomer Hatzair group of 1966 was famous for its success, both in absolute numbers, and in contrast to other Israeli groups which had a very poor record. This group had originally consisted of fifty people, and one figure quoted for the number still in Goshen was twenty-seven. The table shows that there were eleven.

This folk view, collected in 1975, reflected the relative participation of each group in kibbutz life at the time. The Egyptians were the most active pioneer group, in that their attendance at the General Assembly and their membership of the Secretariat and committees was the highest of any group. Of the three key members of the Secretariat in early 1975, the Secretary, Treasurer and Economic Manager, two belonged to the Egyptian group, which at that time made up only ten per cent of the Membership.

Most male members of the Egyptian group had held office in one or other of these key positions several times, some so often that remarks on the lines of "When he's Secretary, it's like that" were frequently made.

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(1) Sabra denotes an individual born in Israel. Literally translated, it means a prickly pear, described as tough and thorny outside, and sweet inside.

Participation by the 1946 group was low, and the same was true of the 1949 group, particularly its refugee section.

Rosenfeld (1951) notes the development of elites in the kibbutz movement: the differentiation is of social status, not of economic class, which is prevented from existing because of the organisation of the kibbutz. We should note that she is referring only to the Membership and not to other categories of resident, (see later discussion of the definition of the kibbutz). She notes that in new kibbutzim, participation is high, and jobs are rotated widely and frequently. However, talent, initiative and integrity are highly prized resources, and not possessed by everyone:

> Thus there emerges a group of members whose personal status is so high that their re-election to important managerial positions is a matter of course, the benefit to the group in making best use of them being obvious to all.
>
> (Rosenfeld, 1951, p.769)

Newcomers, she argues are in an inferior position to the members already on the kibbutz, simply because they are not pioneers. Within the old-timer category, personal attributes remain the criteria of esteem, and, as time goes on, the vattikim (old timers) become the aristocracy of the kibbutz.

Though plausible, her explanation does not fit the case of Goshen, where, although there was an elite of the type she discusses, Rosenfeld cannot account for the fact that one national group had apparently held a monopoly of talent, initiative and integrity for nearly thirty years.

Talmon (1956) adds to Rosenfeld's argument, and tries to account for the disruption of the original basic homogeneity of the kibbutz, which, she argues, is associated with the development of elites. This homogeneity was broken down by the development of a division of labour and of the authority structure, by the consolidation of more intense social interaction between sectors of the kibbutz Membership, and by the establishment and growth of families. She suggests that one of the main causal factors in

the development of differentiation in all these respects was the consideration of efficiency, and argues that training was simply too expensive to be lavished on too many people (cf. E. Cohen, 1967).

Talmon's argument improves on Rosenfeld's by going into more detail: both take a basically structural-functionalist perspective. Talmon defines the 'elite' as consisting of the Secretariat, branch heads and heads of important committees, and then tries to examine its position and to account for the monopolization of elite positions by a limited set of people in terms of the rewards available to them:

> The increase of esteem accorded to key positions, the growing aggregation of relations in different spheres of interaction, and growing representation in the country-wide elite entail a considerable reward gain and enhance the integration of the elite.
>
> (Talmon, 1956, p.178)

Talmon's paper contains a confusion concerning the composition of the elite: it is not clear whether she regards formal officers as elite members, or whether she is concerned with the development of a set of people holding a monopoly of formal offices. Also, she assumes that the position in the early kibbutz movement was one of homogeneity: this assumption represents a gross oversimplification, because, firstly, the situation at that time requires investigation, and secondly, she has failed to note the way in which groups were added to kibbutzim. Her analysis is synchronic (like her other work discussed in Chapter 2), dealing with successive equilibria rather than historical processes. Like Rosenfeld then, she cannot account for the thirty years' virtual monopoly held by the Egyptians in particular and by the other pioneers in general.

I define the elite according to the level of participation in the formal structures of the kibbutz, such as the General Assembly and the Secretariat, and have correlated this with a folk view of its relative size. This however is not the whole picture, since informal influence has

been left out: this will be considered in more detail in later chapters (see in particular Chapters 6 and 8). I shall argue that in the case of Goshen, factors other than the institutional characteristics and general trends used in Rosenfeld's and Talmon's accounts were operative in the patterns of control in the kibbutz, in both the formal and informal fields. The discussion will concern group orientation and formation, the peculiar demographic characteristics of Goshen, and the informal networks, social, gossip, influential etc. We will also find that the elite did not control as many decisions as Rosenfeld and Talmon suggest, and the Membership of Goshen thought it did, even though the elite expressed most decisions formally. We will also begin to see why it should have been the sabras in particular who regarded this group's influence to be so great.

In 1975, there was one Member each of the English group of 1959 and the Belgian group of 1960 resident on the kibbutz. Neither of these groups consisted of refugees, though the English one was the first to have come from abroad for ten years, Youth Aliyah groups having been supplied in the intervening years. The main difference between the English and the Belgians was that the former left the kibbutz together in 1961, whereas the Belgians went away one at a time, in the fashion of others. Given the wide use of groups of one kind or another as a folk method of classification in the kibbutz, we can see why the mass departure of the English should have gained such a prominent place in kibbutz folklore.

The conspicuous failure of these two groups can be examined more generally: both came at a time when Goshen was flourishing, expanding economically, and culturally self-sufficient. Members in 1975 regarded the late 1950's as the heyday of their kibbutz in many respects. However, there was at that time considerable upheaval in the Movement itself, in which all the immigrants had been trained. Several factors caused this upheaval: in 1955, the USSR began selling armaments to Egypt, and this

development and the revelations about Stalin's purges caused Hashomer Hatzair to start questioning its unconditional support for the USSR, which, by 1959, had collapsed. It seems reasonable to suggest that the two groups of 1959 and 1960 found themselves in a very confusing situation: the kibbutz at the height of its development and the Movement in ideological chaos.

When each group came to the kibbutz, it was allocated a supervisor from the Membership. The English group was trained in its country of origin by one of the Egyptian pioneers (M28),[1] who continued to be responsible for them on the kibbutz. The Belgian group was allocated an Iranian (M103) from one of the 1955 Youth Aliyah groups. It may be that the English group's supervision by an Egyptian pioneer made its failure all the more conspicuous in kibbutz folklore.

There were no other English-speaking members of Goshen at that time. New immigrants were expected to learn to communicate in Hebrew as soon as possible. However, in 1975, French was used almost as much as Hebrew on Goshen (even by the vattikim[2]) and it seems fair to assume that the same was true in 1959, when most of the pioneers spoke the language. The French-speaking Belgians would have found it much easier to integrate into the community, and this may have been one of the reasons for the delay in their departure, and its individualistic character.

The 1966 Hashomer Hatzair group was, in contrast, famous for its success. Our table shows that this success did not lie in numbers. We find again that the folk view represents another kind of success: this group participated the most in the community (formally), second only to the Egyptian pioneers, during the period of fieldwork. When in 1975

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(2) Appendix III, Table 1, lists the native languages of Members of Goshen in 1975.

(1) Members of Goshen are referred to by numbers, randomly allocated. The letters preceding the numbers refer to the individual's formal status in the community. A key to the letters appears in Appendix IV.

elections were held for the position of Secretary, the only candidate was a member of this 1966 group, and he (M48) was elected. Thus, pre-1975 Secretaries were recruited from pioneer groups, and M48 belonged to a much later supplementary group.

If we accept, for the moment, Rosenfeld's and Talmon's statements that efficiency comes with experience, then it would seem likely that if the new Secretary was not to be drawn from the pioneers, then he or she would come from the next group down the experience ladder. Here, however, we see further limitations of Rosenfeld's and Talmon's arguments: their hypothesis suggests that one of the main criteria for selection for office is experience, producing more efficient officers. In the case of Goshen, this did not happen.

The main reason for this was quite simply that between the pioneers and the 1966 group, there were very few people, both in terms of numbers, and in terms of experience in the formal bodies of the kibbutz. Four women of the 1955 Youth Aliyah group had office jobs outside the kibbutz and their participation and active involvement in the community was limited by this. They were all unmarried, and only one had relatives (a sister and her family) on the kibbutz, who could keep her informed of day-to-day events. Most of the social interaction of these four took place amongst themselves. One of the men of the 1955 group was also unmarried, and had no kin on the kibbutz. The other two men were married and had small children, and did not interest themselves in the formal running of the kibbutz: one of them was unaware of some of the main policies of the Movement, the other (M103) had been quite active until his marriage in the early 1960's. The English woman and the Belgian (who was married to M103) also had little to do with the formal running of the kibbutz. These two had the additional disadvantage of having no ready-made group support, and had access to potential indirect support from their husbands' groups and families.

The gap between the pioneers and the younger generation was magnified by certain other factors, which will be considered below, following the discussion of the later supplementary groups.

The 1967 group of Moroccans and French was fairly well established on the kibbutz in 1975, and provided a focus for many of the younger French-speaking Members who had joined later as individuals. The four Moroccans, to be discussed in the section on other categories of Members, were particularly closely associated with this group. Most of its members were married, and had families, and could therefore be considered fairly permanent residents. Participation in the formal bodies of the kibbutz varied. Some of the Moroccans, whose Hebrew was not sufficiently good, did not participate formally very much, but they were kept well informed through the close informal ties of their group. Three members of this group were enthusiastically involved in various committees of the kibbutz, and one thought of himself as a modern exponent of Movement ideology. Two of them were involved as students in higher education, a fact which could later prove detrimental to the likelihood of their staying in the community.(1) Both of them criticised the kibbutz for its 'lack of organisation', and people's 'lackadaisical attitudes' (as they saw them).

Table 2 shows that there were six members of the 1971 garin(2) resident in the community at the end of 1975. Three of these had only been resident since June of that year. The group disintegrated because of the 1973 Yom Kippur War, the effect of which in Goshen was an almost disastrous collapse in morale, especially among the young soldiers, which lasted at

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(1) Since they studied outside the community, they had easier access to the outside world, which could provide them with ready-made opportunities for starting life outside the kibbutz. Since the two were so critical of Goshen, it is possible that they would at some time make use of the opportunities provided by their contacts outside, and leave.

(2) Garin (pl. garinim) means a 'seed'. In this context, it refers to a group of young people, trained in the Movement, who entered the kibbutz before starting their army service. Such groups were intended to be population supplements.

at least a year. Two members of the 1971 group were killed during the war, and afterwards the boys were not demobilised for some time, and the group could hardly be seen to exist as such. Its members slowly drifted away from the kibbutz, and by 1974, only three were left. The new Secretary, elected in 1975, was especially concerned by the membership problems of Goshen, and decided that it would be a good idea to try and persuade the 1971 group to return to the kibbutz and try again. Five members responded to his invitation. One married couple left the kibbutz within six months of their return. Another of those who came back was a single man, who was glad to do so, and reestablish contact with some of the friends he had made whilst there before. The second couple were married on the kibbutz soon after their arrival, and both began studying at university. The manner in which this last couple were brought back to the kibbutz caused a stir of criticism against the new Secretary: people suggested that the manner in which they were brought amounted to bribery - the wedding and the study had been offered to make the kibbutz seem more attractive. In fact, the kibbutz had not paid for the wedding, though it would be supporting the couple while they were studying. This criticism remained informal, which suggests that the people making the criticisms were as acutely aware of the Membership problems as the Secretary was, and were rather grateful that it was he and not they who had to do something about it. The fact that no formal complaints were lodged when the General Assembly approved the candidate of the couple is indicative of the tacit approval by other Members of the methods used by the Secretary to attract and keep new members. The suggestion that the invitation offered to the couple took the form of bribery, and the rumour that the kibbutz had paid for the wedding indicate the degree of suspicion with which the new Secretary was regarded. His position will be discussed in more detail below (pp.189-190).

3. Other Members and their Origins

Table 3 (below) shows the origins of the rest of the membership at the end of 1975.

Table 3 : Other Members and their origins, at the end of 1975

Origin			Number
Sabras of the kibbutz			20
Volunteers	(a)	marrying in	4
	(b)	staying on *	7
Marriage			6
From town **			6
Soldiers staying on			4
Moroccans			4
Individuals from other kibbutzim			3
Hired workers			1
Miscellaneous			3
		Total	58

* This category includes two married couples
** Three married couples

The table shows that the largest category was that of the sabras, children born on Goshen, and, in 1975, the sons and daughters of the pioneers of 1945-49. These can be further categorized according to the age groups in which they were brought up.(1) This is shown in Table 4 (below). Group 3 was the most strongly represented in 1975, and the most active on the kibbutz. Group 2, which was almost as large, contained four people who were married, who spent most of their energy on their small children.

(1) The collective education system will be discussed in detail in Chapter 7. The age-groups consisted of children born over a period of about two years. Each group had its own house, including a school-room for the older ones, and the children spent most of their time together until reaching the age of eighteen, when army service began.

In group 4, M93 was the eldest, and the first to finish the army and to become a Member. During the period of fieldwork, other members of this group were still in the army, and were not Members of Goshen. The two girls belonging to group 5 were unusually young for Membership: one had married immediately after leaving school, which exempted her from army service, and the other, due to mental handicap, was considered unfit to be a soldier.

Table 4 : Sabra Members of Goshen classified according to age groups

Group Number	Date of Birth	Individuals on Goshen in 1975	Number
1	1947-50	M25, M41, M54, M75	4
2	1950-51	M30, M76, M80, M102, M106, M118	6
3	1952-54	M5, M8, M13, M42, M65, M73, M95	7
4	1954-55	M93	1
5	1956-57	M9, M82	2
		Total	20

The eleven volunteers who had joined Goshen and were resident in 1975 had all been there for five years or less. All those listed in Table 3 as 'marrying in' were women, one of whom was divorced in 1974. There were several other cases of recent marriage into the kibbutz, but the couples had, by 1975, left Goshen. The volunteer-kibbutznik marriages were severely criticised, and the criticism reached formal expression in the early Spring of 1976, when a General Assembly meeting resolved to limit the numbers of foreign volunteer workers, and to attempt to replace them with Israeli youth groups.

The couples 'from Town' were families which had applied to the Movement of their own accord to try life on a kibbutz. One of these couples had come directly from an Immigrant Absorption Centre, and the

other two immigrants had lived in a large city in Israel before opting for the kibbutz. The third couple were Israeli-born, and came to Goshen from the city.

The soldiers who stayed on to become Members of Goshen had originally gone there as part of their army service. All the four individuals listed here had married into the community.

The Moroccans were members of a Youth Movement group which had been active in France. On arrival in Israel, they had split up, some to go straight into the army, some to study, and some to go directly to Goshen. In 1972, those on the kibbutz brought two of the student members there, and persuaded the community to allow them to spend their vacations working in the meshek (kibbutz economy). These two were eventually accepted as candidates in early 1975. They were originally brought in with the support of the 1967 Moroccan/French group, and all four of these Moroccans were still aligned with that group in 1975.

One of the 'individuals from other kibbutzim' had been at the same secondary school as Group 2 of the Goshen sabras, and had decided to leave his native community for Goshen, which he considered to be a more lively place. The other two were a married couple: the women had been the first born child of another kibbutz, and her husband was a Moroccan immigrant. They had been expelled from that kibbutz,(1) and were eventually accepted by Goshen, where they were considered a problem family, mainly because the husband proved to be a pkak (or cork, i.e. someone who could not settle in a job), and also because of their production of four children in quick succession. The two elder ones had severe psychological problems by 1975,

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(1) On Goshen, the reason for this expulsion was said to be laziness: this reflects the general opinion about the couple. As I will indicate in Chapter 8, expulsion from kibbutzim is very rare, and requires very serious reasons. It seems likely that this couple were expelled for something more than laziness.

and the community confidently expected that the other children would develop such problems later.

The only hired worker to have joined the kibbutz was from India, was also considered a pkak, and socially isolated in many ways. His case will be discussed in detail in Chapter 8, and throws interesting light on the necessity to a Member of a reservoir of social support and the effects on his or her social position of the lack of such a reservoir.

The 'miscellaneous' category includes three people, two women and one man, who came to the kibbutz as individuals, via the Movement. All three were immigrants. The man was originally accompanied by two sisters and a brother, but these three had left by the end of 1975. One of the women came from a rich family, which had helped the kibbutz considerably in its early days. A moadon (common room or club) was built by them as a memorial to her father. The other woman had come as a divorcée, with two children, to make a new life on the kibbutz. She married a member of the 1949 Polish group, and the couple had two more children before he died.

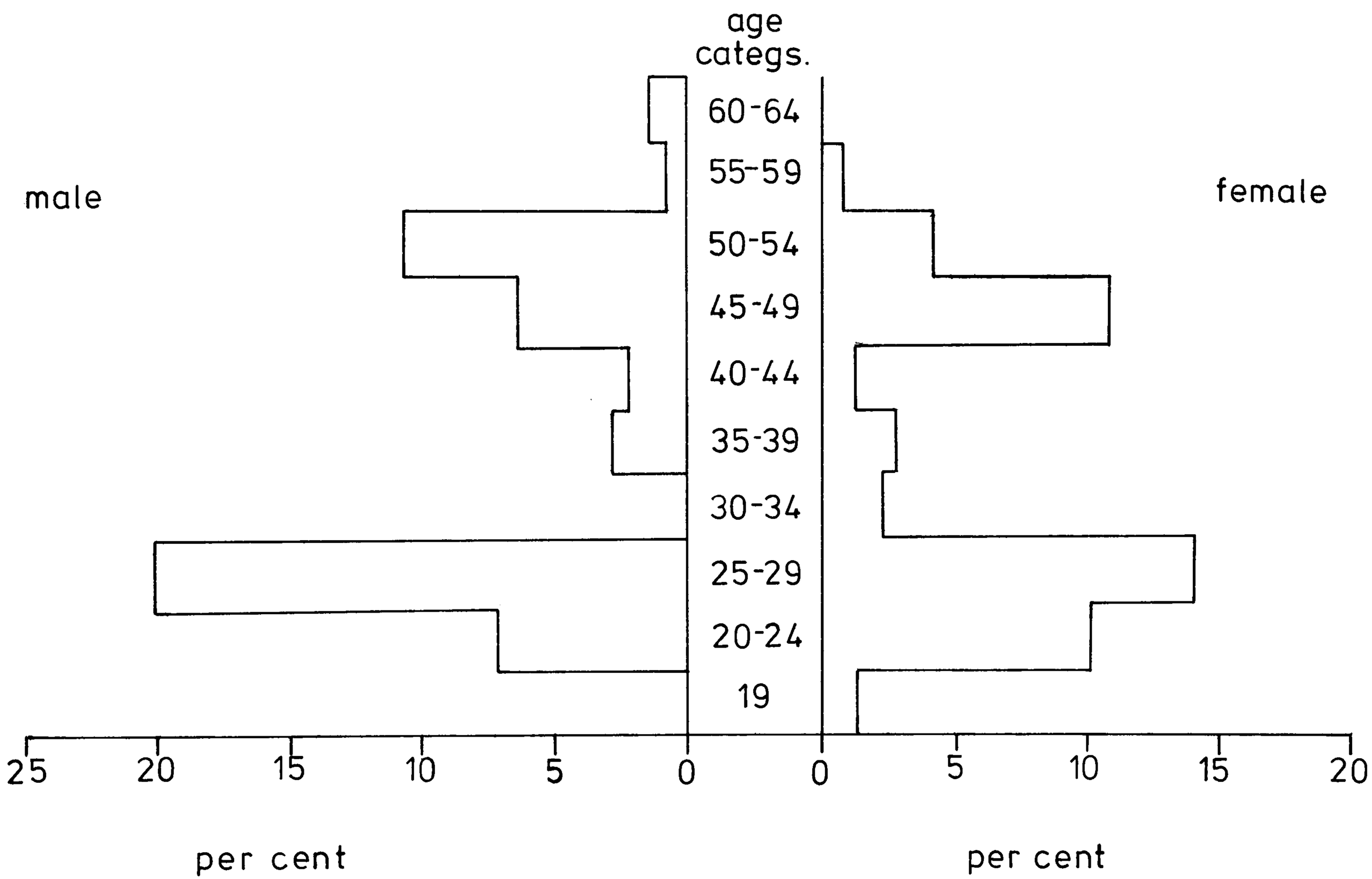
C: The Demography of Goshen 1975

1. Members

We can now examine the distribution of population in Goshen in 1975 in more detail. The results of the attempt to normalize the population of the kibbutz have been examined above, and we have found two dominant groups, one a pioneer group, and the other, one which became involved in the community some twenty years later. The groups supplied by the Movement in the intervening years were largely unsuccessful in terms of 'staying power', and their participation in the formal aspects of kibbutz organisation was low.

Figure 1 (below) shows the distribution of the Membership of Goshen

Figure 1: Distribution of Membership of Goshen by Five Year Age Categories and Sex (end of 1975).



by five year age categories[1] and sex. The figure indicates that there was, at the end of 1975, a conspicuous lack of people in their thirties and early forties. As the previous discussion showed, this reflected a gap in formal participation. There was a large number of Members under thirty, twenty of whom (14.4% of the total Membership) were sabras of Goshen, who had stayed on after their return from army service to become Members. The gap produced by the failure of thepopulation supplement policy coincided with that between the first generation of pioneers and their children, precisely the gap which the supplements were designed to fill.

The Figure shows little significant difference between the sexes in the general character of population distribution, except that the men were slightly older than the women. In subsequent Figures, I will therefore add men and women together.

Figure 2 (below, p.186) compares the Membership of Goshen with the population of Israel as a whole. The peak of young people in their twenties is common to both communities, though is much higher in the kibbutz. This is due to the recent supplementary groups added to the kibbutz which greatly increased the numbers in this age group, adding to the children of the pioneers. The population of Israel as a whole can be seen to be distributed in smaller numbers with increasing age: in contrast, the kibbutz population exhibits a second peak, between the ages of forty-five and fifty-four, in the pioneer generation.

If we compare the distribution of population in Goshen with that of Kibbutz Artzi Hashomer Hatzair kibbutzim (see Fig.3, below p.187), we find that the generation gap in Goshen was particularly extreme, though a

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(1) These categories correspond to those used by the Movement itself (see, for example, Kibbutz Artzi Hashomer Hatzair, 1972) and are used here for convenience of comparison.

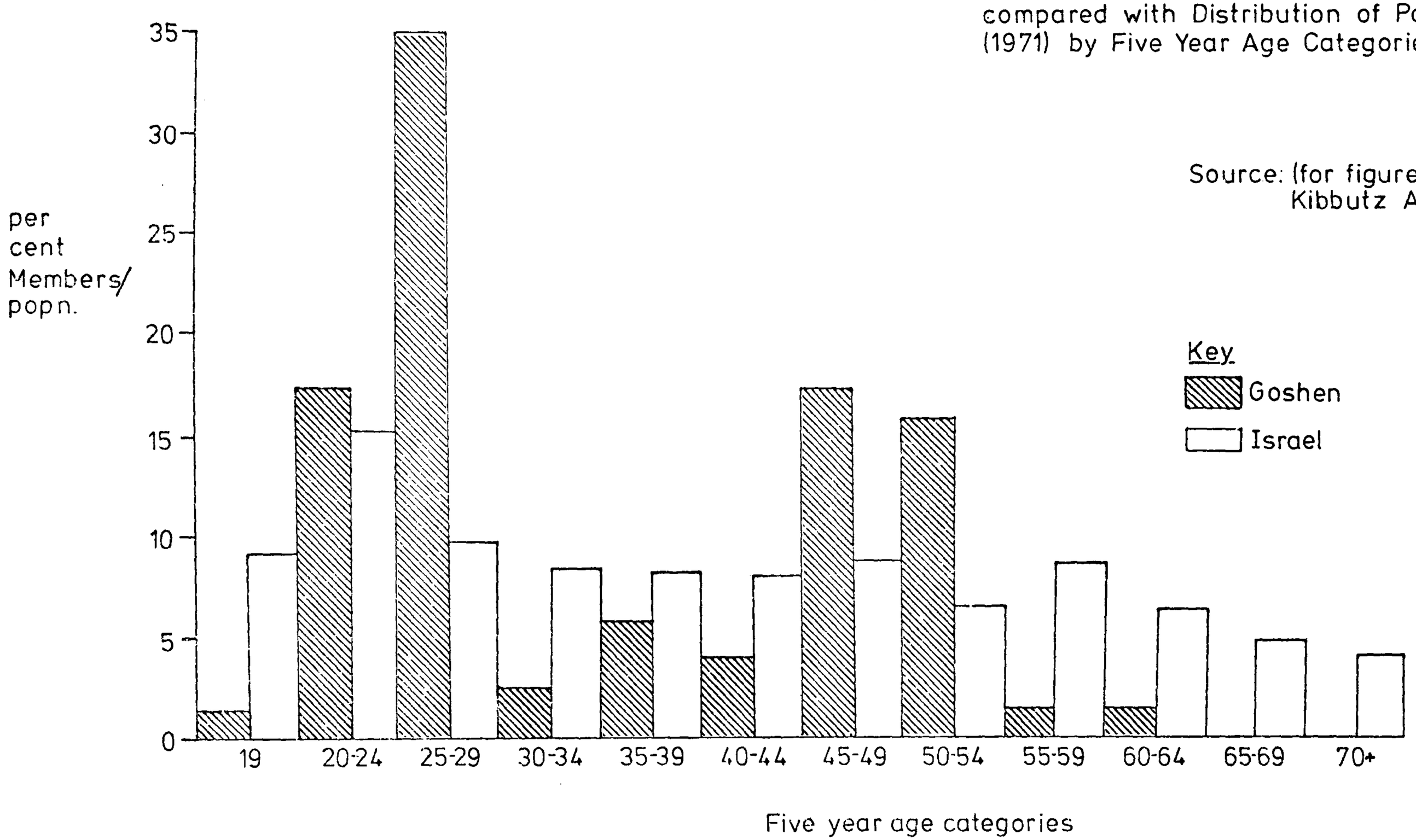
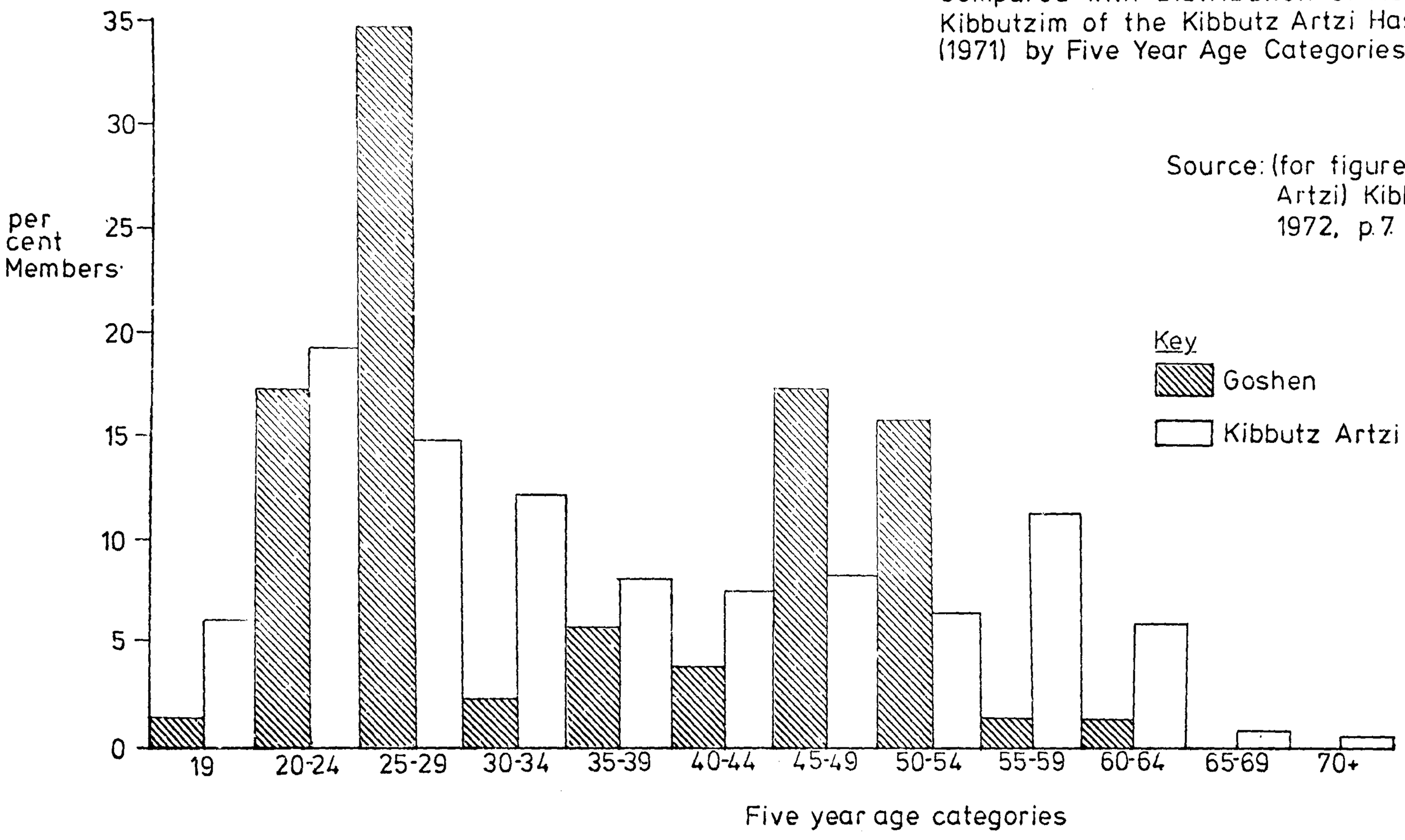


Figure 2: Distribution of Membership of Goshen (end of 1975) compared with Distribution of Population of Israel (1971) by Five Year Age Categories.

Source: (for figures on Israel)
Kibbutz Artzi, 1972, p 7.

Figure 3 : Distribution of Membership of Goshen (end of 1975) compared with Distribution of Membership of all Kibbutzim of the Kibbutz Artzi Hashomer Hatzair (1971) by Five Year Age Categories.

Source: (for figures on Kibbutz Artzi) Kibbutz Artzi, 1972, p.7.



lesser gap is a general feature of these kibbutzim.

These three diagrams indicate the existence of a generation gap in Goshen, distinctive to the kibbutz as compared with the population of Israel as a whole, and particularly extreme in Goshen as compared with the Membership of other kibbutzim belonging to the same Movement.

We can now look at some of the consequences of the generation gap in Goshen. Firstly, I will consider the likely fate of the large number of young people, and suggest that the high peak shown in the diagrams of this age group is only temporary. Secondly, I will look at some of the problems relating to the transfer of office in the kibbutz from the older generation to the younger, and thirdly, some of the economic difficulties related to the generation gap.

As I have indicated, twenty of the Members of Goshen in their twenties were sabras of the kibbutz, and the other fifty-two were people who had joined the community as adults. I will show in Chapter 7 of this thesis that the sabras of group 3 (see Table 4 above) had not, in 1975, decided whether to stay on the kibbutz, and can therefore be regarded as potential leavers. Furthermore, as Table 5 (below) shows, the most usual time for people to leave Hashomer Hatzair kibbutzim is after between three and five years' membership, which, for most people, is in their late twenties.

Table 5 : Leaving Kibbutzim of Hashomer Hatzair by date of Foundation of Kibbutz and Seniority of Membership (1971)

Date of Foundation of Kibbutzim	Seniority of Membership (years) 0-2	3-5	6-10	10+	Total
before 1930	21	33	32	56	142
1930-1944	58	121	91	59	329
1945-1948	27	33	22	11	93
after 1948	16	32	18	5	71
Total (all kibbutzim)	122	219	163	131	635
%	19.2	34.5	25.7	20.6	100.0

Source: Kibbutz Artzi (1972), p.17.

In Goshen, the late twenties were the period during which young couples started having their families. We can assume that marriage and the start of a family indicates an inclination towards stability, since having a family in particular creates ties to the community which are not easily broken. Therefore the married population with children can be considered likely to stay in the community for some years. The fact that several of the Members in their twenties were either unmarried or married without children suggests therefore that their numbers were likely to decrease, and we can therefore say that the high proportion of the population in their twenties was a temporary feature.(1)

The existence of the generation gap created particular problems for Goshen regarding the transfer of administrative office from the pioneers to younger Members. Most of the pioneers, particularly the Egyptians, were, in 1975, over fifty years old, some of them over sixty. It would not be long before they were too old to work and to take office in the kibbutz. None of the younger members had experience of the key offices of the kibbutz, all of which involved considerable knowledge and expertise. The few Members in the intervening age-groups were not prepared to take office: I have already shown that some of them (the unmarried women) were socially isolated. In later chapters (5 and 6), I will demonstrate that people lacking potential social support from fellow supplementary population group members and age mates were at a disadvantage should they wish to take office. I will show the necessity to a Secretary of a wide, effective network of contacts in the community. I have already noted that the first non-pioneer Secretary was elected in 1975 from the 1966 Hashomer Hatzair group, and that the holding of office had thus jumped over the age gap. The individual concerned (M48) was the only candidate. The Treasurer and Economic Manager positions were filled by three Egyptians (two of whom shared the post of Treasurer). This

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(1) I have heard recently (December 1976) that several couples in this age group have left Goshen.

created some difficulties for the new Secretary, obliged to work with people much more senior to himself, and more experienced, both in holding office, and in dealing with all the problems that arose for the Secretary in the day-to-day running of the kibbutz. M48 found difficulties in competing with the entrenched elite: he represented a section of young people in the community who were keen to modify some of the customs of the kibbutz such as the institution of communal education. This was vehemently opposed by the vattikim, and the Secretary spent considerable time and energy trying to break the established monopoly. He was not exceptionally popular amongst the young people, and had to work hard to ensure their active (rather than tacit) support in the formal arena.

The position in which the young Secretary found himself indicates further consequences of the generation gap. The transfer of power would have to take place at some time, and once the situation had been defined in this way (as the transfer of power away from an elite), problems were inevitable. The intervening age-groups had abdicated participation, and a situation had developed in which control would be passed directly from the old to the young.

This offers a possible explanation as to how it was that the elite managed to retain its position for so long. Until 1975 at the earliest, most of the other people prepared to participate in the formal running of the community were still quite simply too young to do so. The election of 1975 may have been the final declaration by the people in the thirty to forty age group that they simply were not prepared to ease the transition of office; this declaration was expressed in the fact that they presented no candidates for the position of Secretary.

It is not only in the formal offices of the kibbutz that we find the effects of the generation gap. In Goshen, the transition of jobs was also beginning to prove problematic in 1975. Branch managers had been members

of the first generation for many years, but several of them were becoming too old to continue to bear the extra responsibility. Others changed branches, as the work became too difficult for them physically. New managers were, in several cases, elected from the second generation, people without the experience and expertise of their seniors. Clearly, one of the reasons why the Movement wanted to normalize kibbutz population was to ease the transition of economic functions, to allow the young people time for training in their work before they would be called upon to take the responsibility of being branch managers. Had the policy proved effective, the transition could have been gradual, and the sharp jump from the eldest to the youngest members would not have occurred.

The new young managers experienced some difficulties in dealing with the older workers still remaining in their branches. This was also true of the three managers (of the roses, kitchen and <u>communa</u>) who came from the middle age group, though to a lesser extent.

To some degree, we find history repeating itself. In 1975, it looked as though the central people in the kibbutz would again all belong to the same age group, as the pioneers had done, thirty years before.

In addition to these institution-related problems, others are raised by the existence of the generation gap. When the pioneers were too old to work, it seemed likely that the kibbutz would encounter the problem of supporting an aged, non-working population. One of the main concerns of the Movement in the mid-1970's was that the kibbutz should become a multi-generational society; there was no question of the pioneers leaving the community to spend their retirement elsewhere. For a struggling community like Goshen, this problem of an increasing population of old people could become serious. Unless things were to improve considerably economically, then an older population could not be supported.

3. Non-Members

So far, I have considered only the Members of the kibbutz, and its formal administrative sector. The informal sector will be discussed in considerable detail later on, so for the moment it suffices to mention that it would be impossible to understand the social processes operating in Goshen were we to concentrate on the formal sector. The formal bodies of the kibbutz operate against a complex background of informal networks of various kinds, and in some cases merely give formal expression to decisions which have already been made informally. Furthermore, some social processes occurring in the informal sector never reach explicit formal expression.

Most works on the kibbutz to date have defined the kibbutz through its Members, whose activities are considered to constitute the activities of the kibbutz. These accounts have also focus'sed on the formal institutions of the community. Spiro (1972 and Bettelheim (1971) fall into this category, in spite of their psycho-analytic focus, as do Talmon (1974) and Rosenfeld (1951), Tiger and Shepher (1975) and many others, and much of the writing on the kibbutz produced by the Movement itself.

This conception of the kibbutz as consisting of its formal Members arose from the community's definition of itself. It is, after all, the Members who have a stake in the economy, who reap its benefits and suffer its losses, who participate in decision-making. In an institutional or structural-functionalist analysis of the kibbutz, this definition would presumably be considered valid, as the Members participate in the political, economic, value and reproductive aspects of the community. They are thus in control of its formal aspects.

I have already shown why a purely formal focus prevents us from examining the informal social processes in the kibbutz. It is also important to note that a definition of the kibbutz confined only to its

Members also excludes resident personnel. At any time in the kibbutz, there are several other groups of people resident, and others working there, all essential to the viability of the community. The groups in question on Goshen in 1975 were volunteers, hired workers and soldiers.

All agricultural communities have somehow to cope with the problem of peak periods in the farming year, when a larger-than-normal work force is needed to perform such tasks as harvesting. Volunteers live on the kibbutz and work for it, mainly performing the tasks which require extra labour. They receive housing and food in return for their work, and no wages. On Goshen during the period of fieldwork, the volunteer work-force did the equivalent of twenty-eight persons' work. Their numbers varied from forty-eight individuals in April and May to ten in October, fluctuating according to the size of work-force required by the agricultural cycle. The majority of these volunteers came from Switzerland, and stayed for about three months on the kibbutz.(1)

Some hired workers live on the kibbutz. On Goshen, a nurse and a kindergarten teacher were resident. Others came in every day, some on a regular and some on a casual basis. Most 'casual' work was done by volunteers, and few casual workers were hired. Workers hired on a regular basis produced outside contacts, particularly for those members who worked in the branches concerned. Workers were hired in cases of shortage of manpower or lack of skills. Skilled jobs were advertised nationally, and unskilled labour came from nearby villages.

Some soldiers work on the kibbutzim as part of their national service. They are not paid by the kibbutzim, and have almost no choice as to where they are sent. Throughout 1975, Goshen had at least four soldiers in residence at any particular time.

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(1) See Chapter 5, Table 6, p.238.

All these groups brought different influences into Goshen and, in some cases, led to the development of contacts with the world outside. The economy of Goshen, and the economies of other kibbutzim, as they were organized at the time of fieldwork, could not do without the extra labour provided by these people. The community would not have been able to dispense with them (if it had wanted to) without radical reorganisation, which might, for example, have taken the form of selection of crops with staggered peak periods, a measure which no kibbutz has tried to date.

Many Members of Goshen had family and friends outside the kibbutz with whom close contact was maintained. This remark is generally applicable to kibbutzim like Goshen, in which a large proportion of the Membership consisted of pioneers and their children. Connections outside the community increased the options of Members, especially if the contacts were financially well off: this was particularly relevant for people wanting to study or travel. For examples of this on Goshen, we can take F1, whose study was financed by her grandmother who lived in the city, and M8, whose world trip was only possible because of his father's monetary assistance. If Members wanted to leave the kibbutz, money and contacts, especially in Israel, could help considerably with the difficult practical problems of finding accommodation and jobs: F6, who was determined to leave the kibbutz, had no such help, and her departure was fraught with enormous difficulties. We can also find cases of Members' positions on the kibbutz itself being enhanced by their outside connections: M95's legacy from her grandmother improved her bargaining position <u>vis à vis</u> the kibbutz, in that she could then leave if she had wanted to; and M29's difficulties in establishing herself in the community were eased somewhat by her parents' gifts to the kibbutz.(1)

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(1) All the examples mentioned here will be discussed in more detail in later chapters, M29 in Chapter 8 and the others in Chapter 7.

Some Members of every kibbutz work outside the community. On Goshen the elected officials visited the Movement headquarters regularly for consultations and negotiations, and there were also two men who worked there permanently (M47 and M4). Some members also served on Movement committees. The kibbutz was required to send workers to the various cooperatives which processed kibbutz produce. In 1975, Goshen sent one person to a cotton processing plant, and another to an abbatoir.

Some Members of Goshen were allowed to work outside the community for what were called 'personal reasons'. Four unmarried women in their thirties and forties were allowed out, expressly because it was felt that this would improve their chances of meeting a man to marry. Another older woman in the process of a divorce, which had upset her considerably, was also allowed to work outside the community. All these women worked in Movement offices and cooperatives.

A doctor and a dentist visited Goshen at regular intervals: the dentist had his own practice in the city, and the doctor was employed by the Movement, visiting and holding surgeries at several kibbutzim on her weekly round.

There was some contact with other kibbutzim, particularly the three nearby ones, which took the form of various social activities and sports events. At one time, a cooperative factory, involving Goshen and a neighbouring kibbutz, was considered, and this meant interchange of ideas and workers, at least for the six months during which the plan was under discussion.

Everyone on the kibbutz had been in the army at one time or another. Men did two months' reserve duty every year.(1) All young people had to do national service from the age of about eighteen, the women for two years,

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(1) Before the Yom Kippur War, reserve duty was one month per year for men.

and the men for three. This meant that everyone spent some time outside the community. Further outside contact was available through such bodies as the Movement marriage bureau for those who required it. Members could also spend their annual holidays at kibbutz hotels, and many were sent abroad as Movement delegates. Several young people saved up for trips abroad, others went on honeymoons, and others to visit relatives, or for medical treatment.

The existence of these outside contacts emphasises the inadvisability of regarding the kibbutz as consisting only of its members. Not only did the contacts provide links with the outside world and information of various kinds, but there were also material contributions, some to the kibbutz, and some to individual members, and it is quite clear that the options available to the members were increased if they had suitable contacts outside the community.

This discussion of Goshen will not be confined to the members. All the factors and personnel outlined above will be taken into account where they are relevant, and everyone resident on the kibbutz at any particular time will be regarded as part of the community. Outside contacts will be considered wherever they are relevant.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have considered aspects of Goshen directly defined by the Movement, namely, the early stages of settlement, and the population supplements. I have also begun to indicate the ways in which the kibbutz and the population supplements developed over time, and discussed the demographic features of Goshen during the period of fieldwork.

The ideological dimension of the discussion was related to the processes of settlement and the demography of Goshen, and the retention of

members was considered in relation to the ideological climate in the Movement at the time. The development of the generation gap, and the concomitant elite of pioneers in Goshen was an unintended consequence of Movement demographic policy.

The attempts made by the Movement to control Goshen, through training in the Youth Movement, supervision of the early settlement, and the supplementary population groups can be seen to have had a clear effect upon the situation in the kibbutz in 1975. Youth Movement training prepared people for entry to the kibbutz, and seems to have been less effective during the 1950's. Supervision in the early stages, of the pioneers in their training for manual labour and at Goshen itself, attempted to provide precedents for the running and orientations of the community: the facts that the case of the water collection was remembered by the pioneers in 1975, and that the veteran supervisor was spoken of with reverence, indicate that these attempts at control achieved their objects to some extent. In Goshen, the supplementary population policy was largely unsuccessful, in that, by the 1970's, there was a generation gap, a situation which the policy was designed to prevent.

Although the majority of Members of Goshen (58.3%) in 1975 had originally belonged to a supplementary group, and 14.4% were sabras of the kibbutz, 27.3% of Members had joined the community from other sources: these people were not supplied by the Movement, and were not therefore initially subject to its control. They did however, join the kibbutz knowing the principles of the Movement.

These conclusions raise further questions about the ideological dimension of kibbutz life. Firstly, the extent of control by the Movement of the kibbutzim in their early years, which lessens as the communities become established clearly requires, for its understanding, further investigation of the detailed conduct of social relations in the kibbutz.

We must ask, for example, what happens to those of the supplementary groups who remain Members, to what extent the groups retain their integrity, and what kinds of interaction takes place between the Members of the kibbutz. The second set of questions raised concerns the processes of ideological interpretation in the kibbutz: when the Movement was no longer controlling the community through supervision, and the supplementary population groups provided only slender means of control, its influence on Goshen would, it hoped, operate through the principle of ideological collectivism. The operation of this principle in the kibbutz requires investigation of ideological interpretation in the kibbutz not only in the formal administrative sector responsible for sending delegates to Movement meetings and for running the community formally, but in the informal sector of social interaction. I will show in the chapters which follow that these sectors stand in a dialectical relationship with each other, a relationship of a similar order to that I have postulated between ideology and social action.

The next chapter operates at another analytical level, that of sets of social relationships directly defined by the organizational principles of Goshen itself. It should be noted that the organization of Goshen was not imposed by the Movement, but decided upon by the Members of Goshen, based on precedents offered by the organization of earlier Kibbutz Artzi kibbutzim. The pioneers were also advised by the veteran helping them with their settlement at the time. The form of organization of Goshen thus represents a particular set of ideological interpretations by the pioneers who established it. Historically, it followed the dimensions of Goshen's history which were defined by the Movement and have been discussed here, and it is therefore used to define and delimit the analytical level of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5

STRUCTURED SOCIAL RELATIONS IN THE KIBBUTZ

Introduction

In the previous chapter, I discussed the first element in the historical classification of analytical levels used in this discussion of the kibbutz. Supervision during the early stages of settlement and supplementary population groups were described as providing the Movement with means of direct control over the kibbutz: they constituted deliberate Movement policy, a method by which it hoped to direct kibbutzim to conform to its ideological tenets. I investigated the operation of the policy in the early days of Goshen, and its consequences in later years. I then looked at the situation during the period of fieldwork (1975-76), examining the generation gap in particular.

So far, I have concentrated on ideological interpretation and definition at Movement level: I have noted that these processes require further investigation in the kibbutz itself, since their operation in the kibbutzim, once they are established, has a direct effect on the Movement itself, and since the processes and relationships involved are dialectical.

The process of ideological interpretation in the kibbutz is dialectically related to the conduct of social relations, and these two dimensions of social life are, in reality, inseparable. By continuing to operate the historical classification of analytical levels, I hope to prevent ideology and social action from becoming artificially separated as they have been by writers using institutional or actor oriented approaches (see Chapter 1), who include most earlier analysts of the kibbutz (see Chapter 2).

As I noted in the previous chapter, the historical classification used here is related to the ideological and organisational history of the Movement and of the kibbutzim which belong to it. Initially therefore, I

looked at the first stages of the history of Goshen, and followed the processes taking place at that time through to their consequences during the period of fieldwork. An integral part of the establishment of Goshen was the set of decisions made by the Members (upon Movement advice) about the organisation of the kibbutz. This involved the definition of formal sets of relationships which were to provide a framework for the functioning of the community. I now therefore turn to the consideration of the formal structure of the community and, again, examine some of its consequences.

This chapter is in two sections. The first deals with sets of social relations directly defined by the organisational principles of the kibbutz. In each case, the historical development of the sets of relations involved will be investigated with particular reference to the situation in 1975-76. Three sets of relationships are discussed in this section. The consideration of nationality groups is connected with the discussion in the previous chapter of supplementary population groups, though concerns the details of the relationships between their members: I also examine other more general features of Goshen which are related to the ethnic origins of the Members. Secondly, I will examine age as an organisational feature of Goshen, with reference to the collective education system, and also in more general terms. Thirdly, I consider the governing bodies of the kibbutz, the Secretariat and committees and the General Assembly, and investigate their operation during 1975-76.

The second section of the chapter discusses sets of relations which were direct consequences of the form of organisation chosen by the pioneers for their community. These are related to the history of the kibbutz, the economic and social development which have taken place. Again, three sets of relations are involved, namely work groups, volunteers and soldiers and youth groups. In each case, I examine their history and their importance in Goshen in 1975-76.

A: Relationships defined by the Kibbutz

The common feature of all the classifications to be dealt with under this heading was that they had status in the formal classification of the kibbutz, in that their basic characteristics were articulated in the ideology. They can therefore be called structuring principles of the community, in that they had an existence over and above that of their personnel. This statement bears some resemblance to the structural-functionalists' definition of structure. For example, Radcliffe-Brown argues that

> In the political structure of the United States there must always be a President; at one time it is Herbert Hoover, at another time Franklin Roosevelt, but the structure as an arrangement remains continuous.
>
> (Radcliffe-Brown, 1968, p.10)

Formally classified relationships in the kibbutz also exhibit persistence over time, and are independent of the particular individuals involved. However, this does not imply that they remain effectively the same. In order to understand and explain the changing expressions of these formally classified relationships in the kibbutz, it is necessary to operate at several analytical levels, and to look at ideology, the formal classifications themselves and social interaction. This chapter concentrates for the most part on the analytical level of sets of relationships defined by the organisation of the kibbutz itself, but the dialectical approach to be used will allow for the articulation of this and other analytical levels. To follow-up Radcliffe-Brown's example (see above), using the method applied here, we would look very carefully at the differences between Hoover and Roosevelt as separate incumbents of the same office, differences in, for example, their use of particular justifications for their actions, their priorities. These differences would appear to be contained within the political structure of the USA (defined by the 'structuring principles' of the Constitution). We would therefore find, at different analytical levels, varieties of endurance and change: over a long period of time, we would expect to find

change in the structuring principles themselves.

Thus the formally classified sets of relationships, defined by the structuring principles of the kibbutz, do not reflect or determine social reality: only at a high level of analytical abstraction can they be considered representative of social reality. Two guidelines must therefore be followed in the examination of the structuring principles of the kibbutz. Firstly, change is to be expected and allowed for, since none of the sets of social relationships in Goshen in 1975 could be described as static (cf. Turner, 1975, p.36). Secondly, the discussion is based on the assumption of the existence of a highly complex relationship between the social configurations considered and social reality, which can best be examined from a dialectical point of view, because this allows for the relation and articulation of different analytical levels.

1. Nationality

(a) Population Supplements

These have already been introduced in Chapter 4, and took the form of supplements to the population of the community. Upon first arrival at the kibbutz, they were quite large, and treated as distinct groups. As they began to lose members, we should ask how far their formal classification as groups was still applicable. In 1975, people were classified in some situations according to which nationality group they belonged, though this was more common in certain groups than in others. Generally speaking, group classification was more likely to be used for people who had joined the kibbutz more recently.

The original group to which people had belonged provided not only a classificatory device, but also a ready-made set of links which might or might not be brought into play in social interaction. The kinds of interaction in which a reference group of this kind could prove important will be

considered in more detail in case studies (particularly in Chapter 7). I want to emphasise here that the degree to which such links could be mobilized depended on the ways in which they had been maintained once the primary definition of the nationality group became interwoven with other links in the community. It is instructive here to note a point of comparison with Long's (1972) paper on Kinship and Associational Networks Among Transporters in Rural Peru. In this case, kinship conforms to what I am calling a 'structuring principle'. Long shows how the transporters mobilized only a selection of all the kinship links available to them in their entrepreneurial enterprises. Those links that were used were reinforced through the injection of others, such as compadrazgo[1] and Fiesta Club membership.

In the kibbutz, simple common membership of a nationality group was not enough to ensure that links would prove reliable when efforts were made to mobilize support of one kind or another. In the folk view of the situation, nationality group membership was considered an important and reliable source of support: a simple case will illustrate how this operated.

In November 1975, M28's mother, then resident abroad, died. M28 was a member of the Egyptian pioneer group. His mother had been known to most of the other members of this group in Egypt, when they had been in the Youth Movement there. Upon her death, a notice was displayed in the dining-hall, announcing the death, and offering the condolences of the community to M28 and his family. This was the usual practice in the case of such an event, and resulted in most of the community knowing about it, either through reading the notice, or by word of mouth. Only two members of the Egyptian pioneer group came to offer their personal condolences and the handshake customary among Egyptian Jews upon the death of a near relative. M28 was upset by this - he had expected the whole group to come to him. The two who came were M14 and M15, M28's friends, people with whom he had

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(1) God-parenthood, operated as a kind of patron-client relationship between parents and God-parents.

maintained consistent social interaction for many years. M28 was a central figure in the kibbutz, and one of the most active and energetic of the Egyptian group in the formal arena. Informally, he spent most of his time with his family, and his active, informal, social links with other Members were limited. M28's distress was not simply personal: people were always talking about the strength of the Egyptian group, he said, but now he realised how empty this talk was, as the group was no longer available even to provide a handshake in a situation of personal sorrow.

This case shows how the status of a structuring principle could change. Nationality group referents were important in Goshen in 1975, but in the case of the Egyptians, they did not live up to expectations. M28 assumed he had the support of his own group, but when the crunch came, only his friends provided this support. Later in this section, we will examine other cases, in a more public context, and will find that links were similarly not so easily used to mobilize support. It appears that nationality group as a classificatory device and a structuring principle became less important, the longer the individuals involved were resident on the kibbutz. The reason for this is quite clear; as groups became established on the kibbutz, they would set up links other than those existing within the group, the most obvious of which would be marriage, work relationships and links forged by activities in the formal administrative bodies.

As a group shrank in size, it clearly provided a smaller pool of potential support. In the cases in which very few members, or only one, remained in 1975, notably the English of 1959 and the Belgians of 1960, there was no support available from the nationality group, and the individuals involved therefore lacked possible social assets. Other potential sources of support are to be detailed later in this section.

The internal characteristics of nationality groups should be considered if we are to be able to understand exactly how nationality links and other

links become entwined. The case of M28 (above) has already shown that common membership of a group was not enough to ensure support: it served as a potential, whose realisation depended on the skill which the individual applied in the management of his or her own social relationships. The case of the 1971 garin[1] will indicate the germination of these other links and point to the processes taking place as a 'raw' nationality group began to become integrated into the community.

Members of the 1971 garin were, in 1975, often identified through the use of the formal group classification, particularly when the new Secretary began his efforts to bring them back into the community. This activity was orientated towards the group per se in a formal aspect, but individual approaches were rather different: we have already shown in the previous chapter that the responses were also different. Were we simply to concentrate on the formal group, we would not be able to account for the successes and failures of the individuals involved.

The three individuals who stayed on Goshen after the disintegration of the garin in early 1974 (after the Yom Kippur War) were two women (M107 and M115) and one man (M51). M107 was living with a man from the 1966 Hashomer Hatzair group (M35), and M115 was married to another man from the same group. M51 was living with A8, a sabra of Goshen, who was (1975-76) in the army.[2] These three had therefore already established strong links in the community in addition to their membership of the supplementary group.

We can now examine what happened when the new Secretary tried to persuade the others to return. His attempts were interesting for us, because of the way in which he was dealing with the nationality group, using 'group' as a classificatory device, but working through individual

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(1) Garin (pl. garinim) = (lit) 'seed'. In this context, it denotes a Youth Movement group planning to settle on a kibbutz.

(2) The couple married in the Summer of 1976.

links. The kinds of social action in which nationality groups became involved on the kibbutz were being used outside it to try and reestablish such a group.

CL1 and CL2 were a married couple, brought back to the community through the Secretary's insistence that, due to the war, the garin had never really had a chance to establish itself, and should therefore try again. The couple came to Goshen, and were accepted as candidates in July 1975. CL1, the man, took a job in the metal workshop, and became established there very quickly. He was popular with his workmates, and thus formed the basis for other social ties in the kibbutz. Ties which had previously existed with other young married couples were renewed, though these were mostly confined to childless couples; those who had children in the intervening period were less available to CL1 and CL2. This differential availability is related to ties arising from the life-cycle of the individual, and will be discussed in more detail in the section on age groups, which follows (see pp. 211-213).

CL2 had much more difficulty in establishing herself in a job. She moved through the service branches, including the dining-room, kitchen and commùna, expressing dissatisfaction with each in turn. Eventually, she was given a job in one of the children's houses. Her workgroup links were much weaker than her husband's, due to the problems she encountered looking for a job. In August 1975, it was announced that K11 needed special, individual care by a person qualified to deal with backward children. M70 was given the job: she was the oldest female member of Goshen, and a qualified nurse. At the same time as working with the child, she was also giving part-time assistance to the hired nurse, and helping in the baby-house. Both her time and her energy were limited, and she was frequently unable to devote to the child the attention he required. In September 1975, a personal crisis caused the permanent worker in the baby-house to seek permission to work outside

the community. This permission was granted, M70 replaced her as permanent worker, and K11's care reverted to his mother. This caused trouble in her place of work,(1) leading to demands that she should not be taken away from her work for half of every working day. Clearly, the solution was to find someone to replace M70. CL2, whose work in the children's house was not going well, had had some training in dealing with backward children, and she was allocated this new job in early October.

The effect of the new job on CL2 was to make it more difficult for her to become integrated in the community by establishing contacts. She spent more than half of every working day with K11, away from other adults of the kibbutz. This made it more and more difficult for her to achieve strong work group links. Generally speaking, women newly come to the kibbutz had more difficulties in establishing themselves in permanent places of work than men did, and their rate of turnover in jobs was much higher.(2) CL2 however was experiencing difficulties above this average. The couple had already been on Goshen once before, and their inability to integrate on that occasion certainly coloured reactions to their efforts at the second attempt. The disintegration of the garin was not considered a sufficient explanation for the couple's previous failure.

CL2 had been designated 'strange' by public opinion following the earlier stay on Goshen, a strangeness related to her seeming inability to stay in one place. When the new Secretary began to call back the garin, enthusiasm ran high, particularly among the younger members of the kibbutz. Those who returned, including CL1 and CL2 were expected to stay. During

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(1) We should note here that the 'trouble' referred to had been brewing for some time. K11's mother's repeated absences allowed it to be given formal expression. This will be dealt with in Chapter 8, when the whole family's case will be discussed in considerable detail.

(2) This merits further consideration: it is particularly important that women's high turnover rate in jobs should be taken into account in any discussion of the position of women in the kibbutz.

speculation on who would be having the next babies, CL2 was named as a likely candidate. However, as CL2's work isolated her from the rest of the kibbutz, the former opinion of her as 'strange' began to reassert itself. Due to her position of isolation, she was not easily able to have recourse to the formal bodies of the kibbutz to lodge any complaints she may have had: this factor, additional to and a consequence of her social isolation, led her to become more and more dissatisfied, and, in January 1976, the couple announced that they were leaving Goshen again. Their decision was blamed on CL2 by the Members.

The case of CL1 and CL2 indicates the importance of ties other than those in the nationality group in the processes of integration into the community. It also emphasizes the necessity of considering the individual dimension in attempting to understand the particular failure of CL1 and CL2 to integrate. This failure could not have been explained through an exclusive focus on the community's attitude to the garin as a whole, one of optimism and encouragement, at least in the first instance. In particular, CL2's position as an individual was an important influence on the couple's eventual decision to leave the community.

(b) Nationality Groups evolving on Goshen

We must consider another set of relations related to nationality which evolved after the supplementary groups had become integrated into the community and their numbers had stabilized. These sets of relations were related to the processes of integration themselves.

When some of the groups came to the kibbutz, they found Members of their own nationality, who constituted a potential source of relationships because of factors such as language and culture. In the discussion of the English group of 1959 (See Chapter 4, pp.175-176), I suggested that lack of common native language with any Members of Goshen was one of the factors

relevant to the departure of all the English except one. The predominant native language amongst the immigrant Members of Goshen in 1975 was French,(1) and the main instance of a nationality group evolving on the kibbutz concerns the 1967 Moroccan/French group, and the four Moroccans who were listed under the category of 'individual' entrants to the community in Chapter 4, Table 3. We have already noted that the entry of C5 and C13 to the kibbutz was made possible with the support of the 1967 Moroccan/French group. C7 and NM13 had used the potential available in this group of compatriots in their own efforts to establish links on Goshen, and by the time C5 and C13 were ready to come to the kibbutz, these links were reliable enough to be used to support them. The term 'The French' was commonly used on Goshen to designate the 1967 Moroccan/French group and its incorporated members, the four Moroccans and a number of other individuals who were closely associated, such as M53, M73, NM1 and ML2. The association of these people was constantly reinforced socially, through visits, evening get-togethers and parties.

Nationality groups developing on the kibbutz were also correlated with other factors, such as age and pioneer/non-pioneer status. Common language and culture were useful in the establishment of connections, but they were not sufficient in themselves. In the case of 'the French' discussed above, the people involved were more or less of the same age (in their twenties). The only individual of an older age-group involved was M15 - he was peripheral to the group, and though accepted by it, did not concentrate on reinforcing the connections available for use in situations requiring formal support. The group itself was a ready-made source of support, and constituted an effective action group in the community in 1975, with common nationality as a structuring principle. Its effectiveness was maintained by the constant reinforcement of the links, a factor lacking in the Egyptian pioneer group (see above, pp. 203-205).

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(1) See Appendix III, Table 1.

This discussion has shown that there were two kinds of nationality-based social links on Goshen, the first related to the population supplementary groups of newcomers, and the other simply to common nationality in the community. Both nationality groups and nationality itself provided frameworks of potential links within the community, which could be brought into play either by people trying to establish themselves in the community, or by people already established who required support of one kind or another. It cannot be emphasised too strongly that nationality as a structuring principle required reinforcement, if it was to prove effective in the mobilization of support.

2. Age

(a) Upbringing

All children of kibbutzim of Hashomer Hatzair were brought up in groups, of about two years' age-range. This organizational feature began operating in the early days of the Movement kibbutzim,(1) and existed throughout the history of Goshen, up to and including the period of fieldwork.(2)

Each group of children lived in a house especially designed for the purpose, and slept there at night. For school-age children, the house included a schoolroom. Older children from Goshen were sent to High School on other kibbutzim, but remained in their groups, living and studying together. Each group had a name, and great stress was laid, both ideologically and in the folk view of the kibbutz, on its unity and strength as a source of social and emotional support for all its members.

In 1975, three groups of children of Goshen had reached the age at

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(1) Introduced and consolidated through the action of precedents: see Chapter 3 for discussion of processes of this kind.

(2) This is to say that there had always been age groups of children. The operation of the education system had however changed in some respects, which will be detailed in the case study of one group. In 1975, there were moves to modify the system still further.

which they had to decide whether or not to commit themselves as Members to their kibbutz. We are not therefore in a position to discuss what might happen to the age groups in later stages in their development, after some had left and others had been Members of the kibbutz for some years.

Later in this study (Chapter 7), I will discuss in detail an age group at a critical stage in its history, when its members were in the process of deciding what to make of their lives. This group serves as a useful focus for the discussion of the generation gap (introduced in Chapter 4, above), for consideration of the place of formally defined links in the community, and for the investigation of the relation between ideology and social action. At this point, I will concentrate on the more general aspects of the age-groups. They constituted a very strong structuring principle. They were not voluntary as were the nationality groups, and membership depended on no more than date of birth. We should look at the age groups from two points of view, those (i) of the children and those (ii) of the parents involved.

(i) From the children's point of view, they were not only placed in intimate contact with the other children in the group, but also their acquaintance with the other children's parents, and the <u>metaplot</u> (children's nurses) and teachers was comparatively closer than with those adults not involved. All the parents went to the children's house every evening to leave their children, and were thus well-known to the others. Children of the same group usually played together in the afternoon period set aside for them to be with their parents, and visited each other's parents' houses. Thus a child's position in the community was influenced by the adults with whom it had closer contact. These contacts also affected the child's later approaches to older members of the kibbutz.

As long as the children were in school, their groups were clearly

defined by their living, studying and conducting social activities together. When they left school, almost all of them were called up for army service, though the time of call-up depended on the age classification operated by the army, different from that used on the kibbutz. This meant that they were not all called up at the same time. Whilst in the army, they did not all serve in the same place and there was an especially clear division between the boys, mostly put into fighting units, and the girls, who were given jobs as secretaries, teachers, guides and so on. Thus entry to the army stopped the intense interaction of the group and its constant association, and it became less visible as a social unit. However, links were maintained during time off from the army,(1) when some or all of the members of the group were staying at home. Significantly, it was during the years in the army that two girls of Group 1 (see Chapter 4) broke their links with the community, married and went to live away from Goshen. Both of them were later divorced, and returned to the kibbutz with their small children.

After army service, most of the members of all age groups available for consideration in Goshen returned to the kibbutz. At this stage in the groups' history, their former closeness served as a potential base for contacts within the community available to those who opted for Membership. They had a ready-made source of social support. In examining the interaction of one age group, in Chapter 7, I will look at the operation and reinforcement of the links between the members after their completion of army service. In addition to interaction within the community, I will also detail the action of the individuals who left the kibbutz vis à vis both those who stayed and those who also left. This discussion will provide pointers towards the effective status of the age group in the future, following its

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(1) How strong and supportive the links were during the army service period is thrown into doubt by a suicide in early 1976 by a boy from Group 4, while at home on the kibbutz during some time off. Other members of the age-group were available to provide support, but the suicide was unexpected and inexplicable to the community and the group.

settlement in one place or another.

Thus, kibbutz age groups can change over a period of time, and the structuring principle of age can be emphasised and deemphasised at different stages in the life of such a group, for example through early childhood, schooldays, and the period of army service. A further stage in the life of an age group would be the birth and upbringing of its own children, who would form age groups as their parents had before them. In 1975, only a few sabras of Goshen had children of their own.(1)

(ii) This leads us into the consideration of the age groups' relevance to the social interactions of the parents involved.

Parents with children in the same groups were provided with a potential source of contact and social support, since their regular meeting with a given set of people was assured. In 1975, there was evidence that couples were planning their families with some consideration of who else's children would be in the same group. To have a child in the same group as another couple with whom there was no link could aid contact, and already existing contacts could be reinforced through the opportunities for meetings created by having children in the same group. It is not known if these considerations in family planning were relevant in the early fifties, when the pioneers were starting their families. The social links in the kibbutz at that time would have been considerably less complex than they were in the 1970's - there were quite simply less categories, and fewer people.

I have already shown (section A, 1(b) of this chapter) that most social interaction in the kibbutz took place between people of about the same age. When we look at the groups of parents associated with particular children's

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(1) A point for further research would be the possible differences between the actions and attitudes of kibbutz sabras, other sabras, and non-sabra Members of the kibbutz in regard to their children's age-groups. I have not attempted to deal with this topic.

houses, we find that there were possibilities for cross-generational interaction. Firstly, some of the metaplot and teachers with whom the parents had regular consultation, both informally and in formal meetings, were of different age groups from those parents. For example, in 1975, the two successive women in charge of the baby house belonged to the pioneer generation, whereas most of the parents were of the younger generation. Secondly, some of the pioneers spaced their families, so that in 1975 they had one or two grown-up children and others as many as fifteen years younger. These pioneer parents were thus placed in contact with parents belonging to the younger generation, and with younger workers in the children's houses. These two possibilities for cross-generational interaction were not, in 1975, generally exploited.

Having children in the same group could also be associated with conflict rather than positive, supportive links. The parents would sometimes disagree between themselves, or they might oppose the workers in the children's houses. In 1975, all of these workers except one, the teacher in the kindergarten (X9), were drawn from the Membership of the kibbutz. The workers' relationship with the parents was not determined only by the group to which the children belonged.

A case will indicate the possible conflicts which could arise within the sets of relationships related to the children's age groups. M25 was a teacher in the elementary school, with a small son. One of the children in the group she taught was the son of M85, the dressmaker. M25 went to the sewing-room one day during a short break between lessons, to choose material for her son's Winter shirts. On arrival there, she found M85 taking coffee with the communa and laundry workers. M85 refused to help M25 and show her the designs until she had finished her coffee. When M85 was finally ready, M25 complained about being kept waiting, arguing that she had very little time to herself during the day, that it was difficult for her to leave her

class alone, that her son was badly in need of the shirts, and that, as a mother, she was very concerned for him. M85, whose son was not doing well at school, retorted that she had plenty of work to do as well, and told M25 that the coffee break was an unsuitable time to come and choose material. If M25 came at a more convenient time, she added, then she could be dealt with immediately, M25's son would get his shirts, and her own son would not miss valuable lesson time.

Both women in this case referred to their children as the reasons for their actions and comments. M85's remarks in particular show her implicitly criticising M25's work as a teacher, and are directly connected with her earlier criticism, expressed at meetings between the parents of the age group and the staff of the children's house.

In this section I have dealt very generally with the age groups. In Chapter 7, I will deal with one of them in particular, in detail.

(b) Other Age Links

We now move on to more general considerations of age as a structuring principle. The social links discussed in this section concern age, but do not arise from statutory bases as the age groups discussed above (2(a)). The age links considered here are related both to the age group principle and to the nationality principle discussed in section 1.

In the previous chapter, I demonstrated the existence in 1975 of a significant generation gap in the Membership of Goshen in 1976. This generation gap is one of the major variables in this discussion of the kibbutz. It is a distinction of age, as well as between pioneer and non-pioneers. We have already examined the factor of age in relation to the sabras of Gosehen (above), and now turn our attention to the slightly different status of the factor in the cases of the pioneers and of the later, non-sabra supplementary groups.

When they entered the kibbutz, the pioneers were in groups based on both nationality and common age. As time went on, the two principles came to operate independently, and in 1975, there were several occasions upon which the older Members, or various of them, united against a group of younger ones. For example, over the Gentile[1] marriages, the main opposition came from an informal association of older women of several different nationalities. Age was not the only factor in their association, but it is clear that for analytical purposes we can state its importance as a distinctive feature of this action set (cf. Mayer, 1969). These older women could in this case call upon the link of common age in a way similar to that in which they might call upon nationality links (cf. case of M28 in A,1,(a). The link of common age was not explicitly referred to, as was that of common nationality group membership: the women expressed the link in terms of the 'pioneer' and 'non-pioneer' categories, articulating the generation gap.

For the younger Members present in 1975, age as a structuring principle was also important. The demographic data in Chapter 4 showed that there was a high proportion of Members in their early to middle twenties on Goshen during the period of fieldwork. Some of these people were members of nationality-based supplementary groups, others were sabras of the kibbutz who belonged to age groups, and a minority were individual entrants. Given that age was an important structuring principle, it can be seen that it provided a possible basis for contacts for all these categories of younger members.

Another age-focussed feature which reflected the generation gap was the relationship between the Membership and the volunteer work force. In this relationship, we find that there was a division between the formal and informal aspects of social interaction, correlated with the division between

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(1) Members who married non-Jewish volunteers.

the two generations. Formally, the volunteers came in contact with the older Members of the kibbutz at work. They generally received instructions from the more senior workers in any particular branch. Exceptionally, pioneers would 'adopt' a volunteer, inviting him or her regularly to their flat in the afternoon, and generally attempting to ensure his or her well-being, intervening in problem situations in which the volunteer might find himself or herself.

Informally, the volunteers had much more contact with the younger generation, going to their parties, organizing discothèques for all the young people, going on trips together, and many friendships were made between volunteers and the younger genération.

This section has shown the different dimensions of age as a structuring principle, We have examined the statutory age groups, and their ramifying effects on social interaction, both for the children and for their parents. We have also indicated the importance of age in general to social life on Goshen, and have emphasised its particular relevance to the examination of the generation gap.

3. Governing Bodies of the Kibbutz

This category includes the Secretariat and the subsidiary committees responsible for certain aspects of community life, such as education and culture. Reference will also be made to the General Assembly, the weekly meeting of the kibbutz, which all the Members could attend. The General Assembly made all the major decisions affecting the life of the kibbutz, although, in effect, it usually gave formal expression to decisions already reached informally. Some of the questions upon which the General Assembly had to decide had already been discussed publicly and informally, and support had been mobilized for the decision required by particular actors involved. Others were recommendations by the Secretariat and Committees

which had already discussed them, sometimes in private meetings, and sometimes in consultation with those Members particularly affected. Although these meetings were private, they were not secret: word of the proceedings soon found its way round the community. Meetings were always announced in the dining hall.

I have already noted in Chapter 4 that through the history of Goshen, membership of the formal committees of the kibbutz, and particularly of the Secretariat, had become the prerogative of a certain section of the population, namely the pioneers, and that a managerial elite developed. The character of this elite tended to restrict people's access to it. Theoretically, any Member could stand for office, and anyone could go to the committees with questions, complaints or suggestions. As the committee structure was statutory, I will place the committees in the category of structuring principles, but it should be noted at this point that the discussion will show that even the seemingly clearly defined administrative institutions of of the kibbutz were subject to a certain blurring and indistinction due to the existence of other social configurations affecting their operation.

Access to the elite cannot be equated with the formal statements about democracy which were the guidelines for the formal institutions of the kibbutz.(1) As the elite developed, its virtual monopoly of expertise and experience set it apart from the rest of the Membership, and it was therefore speaking from a point of view different from that of people who approached it. These factors of experience and expertise added to distinctions of social position and responsibility deriving quite simply from the committee member/non-member division. The new Secretary, elected in 1975, started a practice of producing information sheets on questions he considered particularly important, and these were distributed to the Members before General Assembly meetings. Some of the younger Members were infuriated by this,

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(1) These stated that any Member could sit on a committee, and all Members had voting rights in the General Assembly.

and called it a 'propaganda exercise'. Their attitude is indicative of an 'us and them' view of the relationship between the members and the committees, apparent even though the new Secretary did not belong to the elite of pioneers.

The elite was often referred to as 'the Mafia'. Included in this folk category were certain people peripheral to the elite itself, for example, the man in charge of the volunteer work force (M105). Through 1975, he became more and more unpopular with successive groups of volunteers, who complained that he was doing nothing for them. The deterioration of M105's relationship with the volunteers coincided with a change of job: he became the salesman for the metal factory, and gave up his job as a driver. He complained that he had no spare time to deal with the volunteers. Some of the volunteers discussed the matter with various Members, and were told that the kibbutz knew of M105's failings, but treated him gently because he had been in a concentration camp, and had lost all his family. 'Everyone knew' that this kind of experience could make people 'very difficult'.

After some months of growing discontent among the volunteers, a private complaint was made to the new Secretary by one of the soldiers (X4). She asked him why M105 was allowed to remain in office, when there were so many complaints about him. The new Secretary replied that M105 wanted to keep the job, which he enjoyed, and that there was nothing that could be done to remove him. The new Secretary saw things slightly differently from those Members who had talked about the concentration camps. He had by that time been in office for several months, during which he had come into repeated conflict with the members of the Secretariat and the Committees, who belonged to the elite. In answering X4, he said that M105 was an old-timer and supported by all the other old-timers who were in the elite, the 'Mafia'. In the end, the Secretary took up M105's complaints that he had insufficient time to be effectively in charge of the volunteers, and proposed

that a committee be elected to support him, a move greeted with some enthusiasm by the younger generation of Members.

This case illustrates some of the features of the elite. It was united in favour of M105 and against the complaints about him. Even the Secretary of the kibbutz found his access to the elite (in this case his ability to influence it) limited by its solidarity.

The elite did not consist only of people in office at any particular time, but of the category of people amongst whom the holding of office rotated, plus certain others who had strong social ties with them. The office holders were mainly Egyptian pioneers, and their associates were also pioneers, such as M105. Elite formation can therefore be seen to be associated with the generation gap, in that the elite belonged to (and to some extent coincided with) the generation of the vattikim. And the opposition, the non-elite, coincided with the younger generation. Apart from the elite/non-elite dimension of access to the formal bodies of the kibbutz, age also affected such access, because of this coincidence with the generation gap.

Channels of information further affected access: the families of members of the Secretariat and committees found out about the details of discussions comparatively easily, and the people with whom they were in close contact received the information quickly. People with limited social connections found it difficult to know the details of discussions, exactly which individuals had taken which stance. This, in turn, added to their difficulties of mobilizing support, should they require it, and served to limit their activities in the formal arena. A very clear example of this kind of inhibition will be detailed in the case of M29 and M33 (see Chapter 8). Their failure to establish effective social contacts on the kibbutz denied them certain information about the way in which their case was being discussed, and their lack of a possible pool of support which they could have mobilized

meant that they were unable to exercise influence on the statutory bodies of the community. The only support they had in the elite was supplied by M28, the Secretary, and once his period of office had ended, the couple's elite support was depleted. M28 used the elite's pride in its ideological purity as a tool to help M29 and M33: this was an essentially formal pride, and M28 was able to play upon it as long as he held formal office. When he no longer held office, M28's ability to help the couple in this way was severely curtailed.

In spite of the evidence of the unity of the elite in the face of opposition from the younger generation, we should not conclude that it was permanently united. We have already noted (A,1,(a)) that M28 did not get the support he expected from the Egyptian pioneers when his mother died, and this is a clear indication that there were divisions within the elite by 1975, even if the elite itself did not recognize them.

In 1975, there was no elite candidate for the position of Secretary, following the end of M28's long period in office.(1) We should examine some of the reasons why the elite declined to participate, as this illuminates some of the divisions which existed within it.

Possibly, the elite was simply tired of holding office, though this seems doubtful in view of the fact that an elite member (M1) was already in the position of Economic Manager, and that two others were to be elected as joint Treasurers (M4 and M37). A more plausible explanation lies in the operation of M28 as Secretary. He was exceptionally energetic: aged sixty in 1975, he had worked many Summers in the teams which irrigated the cotton fields. This was heavy work, and the 1975 team consisted mainly of men in their twenties. M28 was said to be the strongest of them all, and the young

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(1) He had held the position for nearly two years, twice as long as the customary one year. The reason for this was that the Yom Kippur War had led to a considerable delay in the 1974 elections on Goshen. Additionally, M47, the chairman of the election committee had decided to stagger the Secretariat elections, and the posts were contested successively throughout 1975.

men called him 'the Tiger' because of this strength. He took part in this work in addition to his job as Secretary, which was also considered full-time. In university term-time, M28 spent two days a week away from the kibbutz, in his capacity as Lecturer in Philosophy, considered to be another full-time job. Thus at any time during the year, he had two full-time jobs, as Secretary, and as lecturer or cotton worker. As Secretary, he attended weekly meetings of the General Assembly, where he was famous for his ability to keep the meeting in order and get things done. The Secretariat met at least once a week, and he often attended meetings of various other committees as well. The position of Secretary involved frequent trips to Movement headquarters for meetings and consultations. M28 was often called upon to deal with various crises in the community, such as disputes within branches, rows which erupted suddenly, and Members' personal difficulties. In the early part of 1975, he was especially involved in the case of M29 and M33, the misfits. He defended the couple against their strongest opponents, and in no uncertain terms brought the ideology of the Movement to that defence, turning it into an attack on those who objected to M29 and M33. The attackers belonged to the pioneer generation.

As well as the normal duties attached to his various positions, M28 performed others which were voluntary. He was a member of the Higher Education Committee of the Movement, which meant more visits to headquarters. In early 1975, the man who managed the kibbutz store[1] gave up the job, and for some time, no one could be found to replace him. The community complained furiously at the closure of the store for several weeks and following these complaints, M28 and the Economic Manager opened it two afternoons every week for two months, until M77 agreed to leave the children's house and

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(1) Where people obtained tea, coffee and other drinks, biscuits, sweets, cigarettes, toiletries and small household items. Members had an annual budget to spend there, and other people used money. The twice weekly visit to the store was a social event of some importance. People would spend up to half an hour standing in the queue, eating ice-cream and chatting.

organize the store. In every mobilization of labour[1] on the kibbutz, M28 was ready to participate.

On top of all this, he still had time for an active family life, and played with his small grandson, whom he adored, every afternoon.

These activities were beyond the capacity of most of the other pioneers of Goshen, who, by 1975, were beginning to feel their age. Several of them had not done regular physical work for years. I therefore suggest that one of the main reasons for the absence of pioneer candidates for the position of Secretary in 1975 was that no one wanted to try and follow M28: they simply were not capable to equalling his effort, and not ready to keep the problems of the community under control as he had done.[2]

So the pioneer elite was not completely solid by 1975. It should not be assumed that M28's incumbency of the position of Secretary was the only factor threatening its solidarity. We have already noted that the structural links between the pioneers had not been reinforced (case of M28's mother).

The strong links which did exist in the pioneer category will be considered briefly here, as they belong more properly to the discussion of non-structured social links which forms the next chapter. We can now look at a particularly influential set of people, pioneer women associated with the commùna. The commùna was known as the gossip centre of Goshen, and anyone going there to collect washing or new clothes could be sure of receiving information on practically everything going on in the community, together with the verdict of the commùna workers. The women involved in

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(1) Another measure for alleviating labour problems. All the community, including the children in some cases would be called upon to help with the citrus harvest, weeding the cotton fields, or pressing the harvested cotton. Giving help was optional, and the success of this measure depended on the presure of public opinion.

(2) I am indebted to I. Shepher for observations on the exceptional energy of M28, and its importance. He brought my attention to the case of a kibbutz which had collapsed completely after one man had gradually taken over more and more offices and activities, mainly due to lack of willingness to participate on the part of the rest of the community. M28's activities were, Shepher considered, comparable to this case. In the case of Goshen, it was not the kibbutz which collapsed, but the preparedness of the pioneers to follow M28 as Secretary, and thus maintain elite control.

this gossip centre played an especially important part in the case of M29 and M33, censuring them very strongly, and trying to bring their opinions into the formal arena. They were also a central feature in the history of Goshen's deteriorating relationship with the volunteers, and tried hard to restrict the volunteers' activities and influences, particularly with the younger generation of the kibbutz. They were not wholeheartedly supported by the other pioneers, particularly the Secretariat members, who referred to the ideological principles of the kibbutz (in the case of M29 and M33) and economic requirements (in the case of the volunteers).

The main factor in our definition of the elite was its domination of the formal arena, of the governing bodies of the kibbutz. The discussion here has shown that the elite was not as solid as Rosenfeld's (1951) and Talmon's (1956) accounts imply, and has therefore identified a further failing of their work, that it cannot deal with the minutiae of social relations, the examination of which is essential to the understanding of the operation of such an elite. It exists at a certain level, but its activities and position in society cannot be detailed through the use of Rosenfeld's and Talmon's definition. I have tried to employ the concept of structuring principle as a starting point, and the argument has proceeded from this conceptual view of the formal governing bodies of the kibbutz, through a consideration of the elite, and people's effective access to it, to a discussion of social configurations within the elite and some of its activities. The rest of this chapter will help to complete the picture by reference to people's positions <u>vis à vis</u> the elite.

B: Ancillary Relations

All the formal categories discussed above are based on what I have called structuring principles of the kibbutz. Part of the discussion concerned other classifications associated with these structuring principles,

e.g. age as a general feature rather than a criterion for membership of an age group of children.

This section deals with a set of clearly defined social configurations which I will call 'ancillary relations'. These are not defined directly by the structuring principles outlined above, but are consequences of the kind of social organization which is based on those structuring principles. The discussion therefore operates at a different level, in that the configurations involved are less formally clear, in terms of the stated principles of the society. Analytically, they form an important set of social links, another dimension of social action in the kibbutz. We will note carefully how these links are related to those discussed above, and cases will be used to give examples of their combined operation.

The category of ancillary relations comprises work groups associated with particular branches of the economy, volunteers, soldiers who spent part of their service period working on Goshen, and youth groups from the Movement. None of these sets of ancillary relations was of constant personnel, though as social categories they were consistent throughout 1975. As each is discussed, its origins and evolution in the history of the community will be examined.

1. Work Groups

In 1975, the economy of Goshen was divided up into a number of branches, grouped, in community classification, into 'productive' and 'non-productive' categories. The productive branches were avocados, chickens (for meat), citrus fruits, cotton, dairy cattle, roses and a small metal workshop, founded in 1975. The non-productive, or service, branches were the kitchen, laundry, communa, children's houses and school, office, gardens, electricity, plumbing and building. The number of people working in each branch was not constant over the year, and depended on seasonal requirements, particular

jobs, or availability of manpower. The branches themselves were also not constant - this is a rather unusual feature of Goshen. Part of the Movement's definition of an 'established' kibbutz involved established branches, expanding and increasing productivity. One of Goshen's major problems in 1975 was that it still had not achieved that stage of consolidation of branches expected by the Movement after nearly thirty years' existence. As examples of the instability in the branches of the economy of Goshen, we can take the replacement of the bananas by avocados in 1973, the metal factory, which was founded in 1975 and replaced a failing electronics enterprise. In 1975, a decision was taken to phase out citrus fruits, and to cut down rose production (rising production costs and the labour-intensive nature of this branch inspired this decision). Thus, over a period of two years, radical changes had been made and were contemplated in four branches. Since the foundation of the community, other types of produce had been tried, including vegetables, pigs, eggs, beef cattle and various kinds of fruit.

I. Shepher (1972) shows how, through the history of the kibbutzim, it became a point of honour for kibbutz members to become permanently attached to a particular branch, and gain expertise in its functioning. In the early days of Hashomer Hatzair kibbutzim, there was rotation of jobs from one branch to another. However, if a branch was to become more efficient, and to expand (a clearly defined Movement aim), more technical knowledge was required. It was not possible for everyone to acquire specialised knowledge of everything, so a process of selection operated with regard to who learned about which branch. In the interests of efficiency, people with technical knowledge remained in the same branch most of the time, and a state of affairs evolved whereby almost every member of the kibbutz had his or her own job, and worked in a particular branch most of the time. Shepher's account adds to this history for us by emphasising the importance for a Member of finding such a permanent job, as it affected his or her bargaining position vis à vis

the rest of the community. Individuals in permanent jobs operated on a basis of strength derived partly from their specialist knowledge of a particular field, and partly from the respect accorded to people who had established themselves in this way.

A person who did not succeed in finding a permanent place of work, and who, in consequence, moved from one branch to another on an irregular basis, was called a p'kak (lit. 'cork'), a term of serious abuse. In 1975 on Goshen, there were two people subject to this abuse, M33 and M27. They were not, however, the only people who moved from one branch to another: others moved seasonally, or helped out when necessary in other branches. These were well-established in their own branches, and the label of p'kak did not therefore apply.

We have already noted (above) that the number of workers in each branch did not remain constant throughout 1975. The movement of kibbutz Members from one branch to another was not large except in the cases of the cotton and the roses, both requiring large amounts of labour at certain peak periods. For the cotton, this was the Summer, and for the roses, the Winter. The cotton workers spent the Winter working in other branches such as the citrus groves (Winter was harvest time) and the dining room, and the women from the roses spent the Summer helping in the kitchen or the children's houses - the quick turnover of workers in the services meant that there were always jobs available in these branches.

There was only one case of annual alternation between the roses and the cotton, a woman who worked in the roses in the Winter and tested for pests and diseases in the cotton fields in the Summer. This individual, M87, had announced in the Summer of 1975 that she hated the kitchen, had completed her period of service there, and wanted a field job. She had enough support to secure the work in the cotton. This case is unusual because it departs from the sexual division of labour.

In Goshen in 1975, there was a fairly clear sexual division of labour, with most of the men working in the productive branches, and most of the women in the service branches. This had not always been the case: in the early days of the kibbutz, both men and women had worked in the fields, and work in the services had been rotated. However, as time went by, the division developed. The reasons for this are in dispute, and I will not enter into the discussion of them at this point. For the purpose of this section, it suffices to say that there were some all male and some all female branches, and that every branch had a predominance of one sex or the other.

Thus the sexual division of labour served to limit the interchange of people from one branch to another. I have already noted (Chapter 4, p.194) that the kibbutz had not tried to solve some of the difficulties of its agricultural economy by growing crops with staggered peak periods, and that this measure would not be possible without radical reorganisation. I now suggest that the sexual division of labour constituted a further limiting factor.

The picture now presented is of several branches containing a number of workers who, with the exceptions outlined above, remained there for most of the year as long as each branch was in existence and the production methods were not radically changed. Seasonal fluctuations in labour requirements were in part fulfilled by movement of Members, but a more important method of doing this was the use of a volunteer work force; hired labour was also used, but, on Goshen, this method was avoided whenever possible.

Every Member of the kibbutz received a certain amount of training related to his or her branch, varying according to seniority there. One of the main consequences of establishment in a branch was a position of strength for the individual involved, both within the branch and in relation to the rest of the Membership. This is extremely important to our discussion of social

configurations in the kibbutz, because it shows us another way in which social links could be and were established, consolidated, maintained and utilized in social interaction. The rest of this section shows how the processes operated, and, in doing so, explores further the character of the work groups in general, and some of them in particular.

The variation in the nature of the work involved in the branches in existence in 1975 meant that each work group had certain distinctive attributes. For example, in the commùna, all the workers were women, and the quietness of the equipment in use and the fact that everyone sat at their work in close proximity to the others meant that there was plenty of opportunity for conversation. Furthermore, there was a constant traffic of other people in and out of the commùna all day, collecting their clothes, bringing their washing and mending, and supplying information and topics of conversation. Since the people there were in such close contact, there was also a significant possibility of disagreement and tension. In the cotton fields during harvest time, the men driving the harvesters spent most of their working day alone, so that there was less opportunity for talking.

Some work groups were confined to people of one age. This was particularly true of agricultural branches in which heavy work was involved. By 1975, many pioneer men had moved out of such branches, and the rest were in the process of doing so. Thus, in the cow-sheds in 1975, there was only one pioneer, and all the other workers belonged to the younger generation. In contrast, the permanent workers in the kitchen were almost all pioneers: although the kitchen had a comparatively high turnover of workers, this was of young women, all of whom had to complete a period of at least six months in the kitchen, and of volunteers.

Following our discussion on access to the elite, we can see that place of work was of considerable significance. In the case of the commùna in particular, we find a clear example: most of the people there were pioneers,

they had a strong inflow of information, and a ready-made source of support amongst themselves, which they were able to reinforce by constant interaction. Their access to the elite was facilitated by all these factors. One possible limiting factor was that all the commùna workers were women, and that the people who held formal office were almost all men. In every section of this chapter, I have emphasised that the possibility of a link was not enough to ensure that it would prove effective, and we should further note that although a coinciding selection of possible links could form a good basis for support, it did not necessarily ensure it, and did not guarantee that, for example, a required decision would be the outcome of its mobilization. When one of the commùna workers (M21) approached the Secretary over the case of M29 and M33, she met with a rebuff, expressed in no uncertain terms. She had tried to bring the discussion of the case into the public, formal arena, but failed because she had not used her potential support effectively. She allowed the Secretary grounds for opposing her: his answer was that if she felt so strongly, she should bring up the matter in the General Assembly, and she did not do this, knowing that she did not have enough backing of the kind she needed. Additionally, the Secretary lectured her on Movement principles, thus making her attitude appear unfaithful to her principles: as well as knowing the nature of her own support, which was mainly founded on dislike for the couple involved, she also knew the framework which at least part of the opposition would use, and she did not care to face that opposition.

On Goshen, some of the work groups were placed in a relationship of competition with one another, on the basis of comparative production. Since the economic position of the kibbutz was serious, high production figures were particularly important. Evidence for this is provided by a series of public announcements of production figures at various festivals, when the chickens and the cotton were shown to be the most productive branches.

The higher the production, the louder the applause, and the greater the enthusiasm displayed. Linked with this feature of competition is the distinction between productive and non-productive branches, mentioned at the beginning of this section. Other studies of the kibbutz (e.g. I. Shepher, 1972, and Tiger and J. Shepher, 1975) have indicated the importance of this distinction, which appears both in kibbutz parlance, and in Movement statistical tables. Its effect in Goshen was that productive work was valued more highly than work in the service branches of the kibbutz. The distinction coincided to a large degree with the sexual division of labour on Goshen.

So far, we have considered the work groupsin their relationship to the rest of the community. We will now examine some of their internal features, and this procedure will throw further light on exactly how the potential links could be mobilized within the group. We will also find that the solidary appearance of the work groups in relation to the rest of the community masked varying degrees of agreement and disagreement within the groups themselves.

Since we have already discussed the commùna in other aspects, it will prove a useful first example. M29, one of the subjects of M21's attempts to launch a formal attack, also worked in the commùna. However, as M29 had virtually no support in the community, including in her place of work, M21's informal attack made considerable progress before it was repulsed at the point at which she tried to carry it into the formal arena. In Chapter 8, this case will be discussed in detail, and the progress of the attack will be followed. For the moment, we should note that M29 was placed in the position of scapegoat, particularly within the commùna, but also in the community as a whole.

For the second example, I will take the roses branch. In Goshen,

greenhouses covered nine dunam[1] of land, and flowers were grown for export to Europe during the Winter months. The Summer work, of maintaining the houses and looking after the plants, was done by men. Women worked in the branch during the Winter ('the season'), cutting and grading the flowers. The Winter team included a number of long-stay volunteers, who were trained in the various skills necessary for the job. These volunteers worked permanently in the branch for the duration of their stay. Other volunteers performed intermittent tasks, such as weeding and straw-laying, and would be used to help with some of the simpler processes of grading at the peak of the season.

There was a clear sexual division of labour and a ranking of jobs (and hence workers) within the branch. Men performed much of the heavier work, except for weeding and straw-laying, which were performed by volunteers of either sex. They did most of the Summer work, as the greenhouses were considered too hot for women at that time of year, and in any case, none of the women wanted to work in the intense heat. Again, the division did not apply to volunteers: in the Summer of 1974, new plants were put in one house, and planting was done by volunteers of both sexes. All the spraying, regulation of the heating and watering equipment, handling of machinery and tractor driving was done by men. The men were also in charge of marketing arrangements, conducting negotiations with the buyers from local markets and with the Dutch exchange to which exports were sent. Comments and instructions from the exchange arrived printed in English: the men in charge of marketing, whose English was limited, would discuss the meaning of words and phrases for hours between themselves before consulting one of the women, a native speaker of English, who was always able to clear up the difficulties in a matter of seconds. This observation is also related to the ranking of jobs within the branch: the person concerned was not only a woman, but also a junior member of the team. Status ranking is

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(1) Three hectares.

further discussed below. Both sexes together did various types of pruning, thinning and cutting. The women who worked in the branch in the Winter cut and graded the flowers, whilst men helped with the cutting, then tied and packed the bunches. There were exceptions to all this, but the replacements were clearly defined: one of the women could replace the man tying bunches and making bundles, another could help with packing. Generally, it was the more senior woman of the team who replaced the men.

The process of grading the flowers provides us with a clear introduction to the ranking within the team. Four kinds of flowers were grown, which I will call A, B, C and D, an order corresponding to the prices for which they were sold (A commanded the highest price, and D the lowest). Within each type, the best flowers were those with the longest and straightest stems and the largest flowers.(1) Two processes were involved in grading: the flowers had to be sorted according to stem length, then each length was further graded according to the quality of the flowers.

Generally, people higher in the ranking order worked with the best flowers, and did the most skilful jobs. Thus, M2, the highest ranking woman, always worked with the longest type A flowers, and small type D were graded by people lowest in the rank order. After finishing the long type A flowers, M2 would move to the next best category needing grading. The order in which the types were dealt with corresponded to the price they commanded: several people would start grading at the same time, and it was at this stage that M2's position in the ranking-order was clearest. At different times of the season, different types of plants produced larger numbers of blooms, but whichever was predominant, M2 would always begin with the best.

Position in the rank order depended on a number of attributes, of which age and experience in the branch were the most important. Also relevant were certain distinctions such as member/non-member, permanent/

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(1) Other attributes were also important, but the two mentioned here suffice for the points to be made in the discussion.

temporary worker, pioneer/non-pioneer. M2 was a pioneer Member of the kibbutz, the oldest female worker in the branch, where she had worked since it was set up in 1968. She was also the only woman of the first generation of Goshen to be working 'in the fields'[1] in 1975, and was regarded on the kibbutz as a fearsome character. Her sharp tongue and quick wit instilled fear into many of the people of Goshen, and she was often able to get formal decisions passed in her favour through the use of these attributes. At the beginning of the season in 1975, the other women workers were M7, M87 and V11. M7 and M87 were of the second generation of Goshen, M7 from the 1967 French/Moroccan group, and M87 from the 1966 Hashomer Hatzair group. V11 was a long-stay volunteer, and a trainee. After a month, she had been trained in the processes of cutting and grading flowers by M2, and soon achieved a degree of skill equal to that of the other members of the team. M7, M87 and V11 shared out the work left to them by M2 on an equal basis, taking turns in dealing with the best flowers. However, if someone was needed to do other, more menial jobs, V11 was always called upon. In November, two months after the beginning of the season, M17 joined the team. She had worked two seasons in the branch before being allowed to take an office job outside the kibbutz in 1969, and when in 1975 she was asked to return to work in the meshek, she elected to join the roses. Though lacking in recent experience and expertise in the branch, she quickly established herself second to M2 in the ranking order amongst the women. M7, M87 and V11 were content to allow her to do this, although they did criticise some of her more blatant efforts, such as her assertions that volunteers should not do the more skilful jobs.

Between the men, relationships were slightly different: the nature of their work was different and did not have such a clear correspondence to ranking as did work amongst the women. The main differences in rank amongst

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(1) General term used for work in agricultural branches.

the men focussed on the position of branch manager. Until May 1975, the manager of the roses was M52, an Egyptian pioneer. Two of the other three permanent male workers had also worked in the branch since its inception, M56 and M68. M56 was also an Egyptian pioneer, and M68 had belonged to the Youth Aliyah group of 1955. Both M52 and M56 were beginning to age by 1975. The metal factory required a manager in 1975, and M52 moved from the roses into this job, acknowledging that the work in the roses would soon be beyond his physical capabilities. Thus the post of manager of the roses fell vacant. M68 was elected the new manager, bypassing M56, the other Egyptian pioneer. Throughout 1975, M68 and M56 argued furiously over every decision made in the branch. M68 was not popular with the other workers in the branch, and frequently upset some of the younger women. He repeatedly emphasised the fact that he was 'the boss', and would give orders on routine jobs which workers knew exactly when and how to do. He was never heard to give orders to M56 or M2, who were both his equals in experience and his elders.

The phenomenon referred to here as 'ranking' in the roses branch shows parallels with I. Shepher's (1972) account of the maintenance of position vis à vis others by Members of the kibbutz in permanent jobs. He considers that the division of labour within a branch helps to ensure the maintenance of communality. Concurrent with the efforts of individuals to acquire their own jobs, Shepher argues, there are also attempts to make sure that no one achieves a complete monopoly of control in the branch. Whilst preserving his or her own security in permanence, the Member effectively keeps total control out of the hands of any one person in particular.

Shepher's remarks are applicable to the above account of the roses in that no one had a monopoly: we should mention the fact that permanent workers received training in rose growing at institutions outside the kibbutz. Furthermore, ranking within the branch, as I have described it, was implicit.

M17's attempts to make the low rank of the volunteers explicit was quickly squashed by other workers. The atmosphere at work also served to mask some of the ranking: generally, proceedings were marked by joviality, and cameraderie amongst the team was strong.

We find here a parallel with Radcliffe-Brown's 'joking relationships', which he defines as:

> a relation between two persons in which one is by custom permitted, and in some instances required, to tease or make fun of the other, who in turn is required to take no offence.
>
> (Radcliffe-Brown, 1968, p.90)

Joking was a general feature of the working day in the roses, and often took the form of insults. The longer-standing workers made more jokes, and, although this was not measured accurately, the information collected suggests that the ability to make jokes and the number of jokes directed at a worker serve as an index of establishment in the branch.

Joking in the roses was not standardised in the same way as that indicated by Radcliffe-Brown's accounts. Many of the remarks presented and accepted as jokes were entirely serious, as serious as those in 'joking relationships' appear from Radcliffe-Brown's discussion. M17 would, for example, call M68 <u>chantarish</u> ('rubbish' - very insulting), and mean it, though the remark was greeted with laughter by all present. The most skilful joker was M4, and it was she who most appreciated a sharp reply.

This account has shown some of the internal relations of one of the branches. Each branch had a different character at work, and interactions outside work also varied considerably. Non-work interaction amongst the people working in the roses was limited: the cotton workers, closer to each other in age than the roseworkers, spent a lot of their spare time together. However, we should note that the team in the roses spent up to nine hours a day together, whereas the cotton team was more often than not separated during work hours.

The conclusion of this section is that the work team provided a member with a further set of social links with concomitant political support. Permanence in work was an important indicator of an individual's integration into the community. It provided a base of strength from which an individual could command respect and upon which he or she could build support. Depending on the nature of the work involved, the work group might also provide information, an arena for testing support as well as mobilizing it, and a source of informal social links.

2. Volunteers

In 1975, volunteers formed a sector of the population, varying in numbers seasonally. The peak period was from April to July, when on several occasions there were more than fifty, and numbers dropped as low as ten in the period from October to December. During the period of fieldwork, one hundred and three volunteers worked on the kibbutz, staying for an average of three and a half months, and in all, they gave three hundred and sixty four person-months of work, equivalent to twenty eight people working for the whole period. The average age of the volunteers was twenty one years.

Table 6 (below) shows the number of volunteers working on Goshen at the end of each month, and their nationalities. It should be noted that this table does not show all the fluctuations in numbers.

It is clear from the table that by far the largest number of volunteers were from Switzerland. The majority of them came to the kibbutz in groups organized by bodies in Switzerland, specializing in sending groups to work on kibbutzim. They thus did not arrive through the Movement, as did some of the other nationalities of volunteer. Most of the non-Swiss had either worked on Goshen once before as members of groups, or had heard of the kibbutz through personal contacts in their countries of origin. Of all the volunteers who came to Goshen between March 1975 and March 1976, only three were sent by the Movement's volunteer agency.

Table 6 : Numbers and Nationalities of Volunteers on Goshen at the end of each month in the period March 1975 - March 1976.

Country of Origin	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Total Months (each origin) No.	%
Switzerland (German speaking)	17	32	32	21	19	4	4	2	8	10	11	12	12	184	50.5
Switzerland (French speaking)	0	12	12	4	4	2	2	2	5	6	7	9	9	74	20.3
France	1	1	1	0	9	9	0	0	0	0	2	2	2	27	7.4
Holland	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	27	7.4
U.K.	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	4	3	2	3	3	2	25	6.9
U.S.	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	2	0	7	1.9
Denmark	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	7	1.9
Sweden	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.3
Israel	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	2.7
Argentina	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.3
Canada	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.3
Total Vols./Month	25	48	48	28	35	19	22	10	19	23	28	31	28	364 Vol/Months Per 13 "	100.0

The relationship between the Members of Goshen and the volunteers was ambivalent. On the one hand, the volunteers were necessary to the smooth running of the economy, as they performed certain tasks for which the kibbutz itself did not have enough labour. Goshen, throughout 1975-76, showed a singular unwillingness to take on hired labour, and there were few alternatives to the use of volunteers. On the other hand, the volunteers' experience of the world outside the kibbutz, and the fact that the majority of them were not Jewish, were often cited by some of the Members as 'dangerous influences', especially on the younger people of the kibbutz. This hostility was directed particularly towards the unattached women volunteers, and justified by references to a number of such women who had married men of the kibbutz. They were blamed for taking the men away from the community, and the problems created by marriage to non-Jewish foreign women were emphasised. These problems, from the point of view of those against the marriages, included frequent demands for visits to relatives abroad (demands for time and money from the community), language difficulties, the necessity for conversion to Judaism in order that the children of these women would be Jewish, the difficulty of fitting into the community, and the fact that the women entered Goshen following marriage, rather than an explicit commitment to the aims and ideals of the kibbutz. The community of Members made several explicit attempts to separate the volunteers from the Members, which added to the separation arising from the fact that the volunteers, though necessary to the functioning of the economy, were outsiders, with no formal voice in community affairs.

Spatially, the volunteers were separated from the rest of the kibbutz, as they lived in the wooden huts, the oldest buildings then standing, which were concentrated in one area. A few sabras of the kibbutz also had rooms in this area, but they were almost all soldiers and therefore spent very little time on the kibbutz. When people finished the army, they were given

other accommodation and new furniture. The physical separation of the volunteers from the rest of the community was clearly of some importance in the eyes of the Members. When M8 returned from his travels abroad in early 1976, he was offered a new room, but refused to take it, on the grounds that he preferred his hut, and wanted to stay near the volunteers. The Members did their utmost to make him change his mind, extolling the comforts of living 'in the buildings' (rather than 'in the huts'). When he proved impervious to such persuasion, he was criticised for centring his social activities on the volunteers and isolating himself from the Members.

Throughout 1975, the relations between the volunteers and the kibbutz were on a knife-edge: the volunteers threatened rebellion in early 1976. This rebellion occurred when the Membership of the kibbutz was attempting to produce a clear definition of its relations with the volunteers in the formal, public arena of the General Assembly.

The particular General Assembly meeting in question has already been considered above, in the discussion of the elite and the case of M105, the man in charge of the volunteers. At this meeting, it was decided that a committee should be elected to assist M105 in his work, and, as I have already shown, to break down his monopoly of the job. One of the first to show herself interested in being on this committee was NM1, and her case throws into relief some further characteristics of the relationship between the Member and volunteer sectors of the community. NM1 was herself a former volunteer, who had married M31, one of the Hashomer Hatzair group, in 1972. A daughter was born shortly after the marriage. M31 went away in October 1973 to fight in the Yom Kippur War, as did almost all the men of military age from Goshen. This left the women running the community, and an extra-large volunteer force (of eighty), of which NM1 was put in charge. She started an affair with one of the volunteers (X1), and separated from her husband shortly after the war. The couple were later divorced. NM1 stayed on

Goshen with X1 and her small daughter, and M105 resumed his duties over the volunteers when he returned from the war. X1 left Goshen in September 1975, shortly after NM1 had finally become a member. NM1's candidature for the volunteers' committee was turned down by the new Secretary, i.e. he advised her not to proceed. She did not ask him for reasons, saying that she knew the refusal was due to the fact that 'they' thought she ought to be kept away from the volunteers. Many of the members indeed felt that a settled, 'respectable' Member of the community should be elected, and added that they felt it was time for NM1 , having finally become a Member, to integrate herself into the kibbutz rather than continue her involvement with outsiders.

A meeting held by the volunteers in early 1976 set up a representative committee of three, who were to participate in negotiations with 'the employers', the Members of Goshen. Several of the volunteers had matters they wished to bring into the open, such as decisions made affecting them of which they had not been informed. We can regard this movement as an attempt by the volunteers to make their relationship with the Members more explicit: General Assembly meetings held at this time also made efforts to define the same relationship. The day after the volunteers had held their meeting, several of them were approached individually and by different Members of the kibbutz, who expressed horror at the prospect of the volunteers holding a strike. This response to a meeting of which none of the Members concerned knew anything beyond the fact that it had been held, provides an index of the strain existing in the relationship between Members and volunteers. We should note that for the volunteers to hold a meeting was unprecedented: a sector of the community with no formal voice or formal power was suddenly seen to be formalizing itself, and the consequence of this organisation was assumed by the Members to be action.

The internal relations of the volunteer work force also merit

consideration. The Swiss volunteers came to Goshen in groups, and, once there, many of their activities, such as informal social meetings, trips around the country, and discussions, also took place in groups. These groups had far less contact with the members of Goshen than did volunteers who came as individuals. The Members treated the groups as wholes: people in them were defined by their membership, as belonging to a formally defined category within a definite sector of the community. Both because of the way in which the Members regarded the groups, and because the groups had an action-correlated identity of their own, their isolation from the Members of Goshen was maintained. For many years, Goshen had pursued a policy of taking volunteers in groups as far as possible: the articulated reason for this was that groups 'caused less trouble'. For our purposes, it is evident that the clearly drawn boundaries around the volunteer groups were used to maintain their separation from the rest of the community. In addition, there was also a folk view in Goshen of the national character of the Swiss, as hard-working, boring Christians, which meant that efforts to cross the boundaries and contact the groups were limited.

One of the Summer 1975 Swiss groups wrote a letter to the kibbutz after its departure, complaining about what it saw as active efforts to exclude it from the community. This letter was suppressed by the Secretariat, but the severe shock expressed by the few Members who did know about it was enough to show how little they knew of the internal affairs of such a group, and their stereotyped expectations of it.

The primary social links of those volunteers who came as individuals were not confined within particular groups. They thus sought contacts throughout the community, and had the highest level of social contact with members. They found it difficult to penetrate the Swiss groups, and most of them did not want to do so. The Swiss groups tended to stay on the kibbutz for about three months, whereas individuals stayed for much longer

periods, as much as eighteen months in some cases. One of the measures aimed at a definition of the relationship between the volunteers and the community was an attempt to limit the stay of as many volunteers as possible to three months. Some Members announced that part of the aim of this restriction was to prevent people treating the kibbutz as a kind of holiday camp. A decision was made to enforce certain already-existing rules, such as one stating that after six months on the kibbutz, volunteers would work a six instead of a five day week.

The volunteer/member relationship was thus tense during the period of fieldwork. Two aspects of the relationship are particularly interesting, the first concerning the Members' perceptions of their own kibbutz, and the second, the folk category of 'group' and the maintenance of its boundaries:

(i) I have noted the ambiguous relationship between the volunteers and the Members of the kibbutz during 1975-76, and the efforts of both the volunteers and the Members to define it more clearly. The reasons given by the Members for their desire to separate the volunteers from the kibbutz included the complaint that they were not Jewish. Movement definitions of Jewish identity conformed roughly to Montagu's:

> .... it is membership in Jewish culture which makes a person a Jew, and nothing else, not even his adherence to Judaism.
>
> (Montagu, 1974, pp.368-9)

State law defined a Jew as a person born to a Jewish mother. This essentially religious definition was associated with other laws, for example, that asserting that all marriages in Israel were to be religious.

The kibbutz Movement itself was specifically atheistic, and the Members of Goshen interpreted the cultural definition of Judaism to mean that no Christian would be welcome on their kibbutz. State law, based on religious interpretation, defined a Jew in a way which meant that Gentile women joining

the kibbutz had to convert to Judaism in order to be married and to have Jewish children. Thus the interpretation of the Movement's atheistic definition of Jewish identity operated in this case by the Members of Goshen was clearly entwined with the State definition. This complex relationship between Movement and State ideology illustrates one of the ways in which the environment of the kibbutz, Israel's society, affected the Members' interpretations of Movement ideology, in that they used State statutes implicitly to back up their assertions of the importance of Jewish identity to the discussion of the position of the volunteers.

(ii) The second point of interest is closely connected with the first. The objections, couched in ideological terms, referred to the maintenance of the integrity of the community. Since the kibbutz defined itself according to the criterion of Membership, it was concerned to maintain this definition in relation to the volunteers, and the main aim was to ensure that a clear separation was drawn between the two categories of people. Those who crossed or tried to cross the boundaries, the volunteers who wanted to stay a long time, to take, in the Members' terms, only rights and no responsibilities, were to be limited in their activities by emphasis on the existence of responsibilities attached to membership of the community. Interestingly, one of the measures taken was to try and define the boundaries of the volunteer groups as clearly as possible, to orientate towards them as groups, and not as separate individuals.

3. Soldiers and Youth Groups

Since the numbers involved in these categories were small, I will discuss them very briefly. During the period of fieldwork, only one youth group came to Goshen, to work for a short time (two weeks), when volunteer numbers were very low. They were Israeli members of Hashomer Hatzair, aged about seventeen to eighteen years. They were not popular on Goshen, being

noisy, and committing acts of vandalism.

At any one time, there were about four soldiers working on Goshen, as part of their army service. They lived in houses set apart from the community of Members, situated near the volunteers. Most of them made little effort to integrate themselves into the community, and went home every weekend. As temporary workers, they differed from the volunteers in that they had almost no choice regarding their stay on the kibbutz, but they had more rights, in that they could attend General Assembly meetings, and received better housing and more allowances (clothes, money, etc.) from the kibbutz. By 1975, four former soldier workers had married into the kibbutz, and this category thus offered opportunities for social contact. During the period of fieldwork, only one soldier (X4) made contacts of any strength on the kibbutz, with M25, a young woman.

Conclusion

The sets of relationships discussed in this chapter were all defined, directly or indirectly, by the formal organization of Goshen. The introduction of case material served to indicate the relevance of formally defined links to the social relations of individual Members. Formally defined links were shown to be a dimension of social action on the kibbutz, and the importance to an understanding of social processes of the examination, both of other kinds of social links, and of other types of data, was indicated.

The use of the historical classification of analytical levels, an integral part of the dialectical approach, will enable the different types of data presented in subsequent chapters to be related to the material presented here.

Chapter 6 will deal with informal social ties on the kibbutz. Cases will be used to illustrate them, and each case will be related to this discussion of formally defined links, to show exactly how the social configurations examined in both the chapters are relevant to the study of social action, [illegible] on the kibbutz.

CHAPTER 6

NON-STRUCTURED SOCIAL RELATIONS IN THE KIBBUTZ

Introduction

We now move the next of the historically classified analytical levels. As the kibbutz became established, as more new supplementary population groups arrived, as the organisation decided upon by the pioneers was consolidated, and as the division of labour developed, social relationships in the kibbutz became more complex and differentiated. I have already discussed the dimensions of Goshen's history which were defined by the Movement (Chapter 4) and those which were defined by the organisation of the kibbutz (Chapter 5). With the diversification of the community, we are presented with developing sets of social relationships which are non-structured, and provide us with a further analytical level. The sets of social relationships concerned are those to which actor-oriented approaches have been applied by anthropologists dealing with other societies (see Chapter 1), face-to-face interaction between individuals, which is not based upon or defined by structured social relations as I have defined them in the kibbutz.

The non-structured nature of the social relations to be discussed in this chapter does not exclude regularities in their conduct. Relations are non-structured only in terms of the formal organisation of the kibbutz, and we may therefore expect to find frameworks which serve to define them to some extent. The links between structured and non-structured social relations, and between those which have more or less perceptible frameworks defining them, is facilitated by consideration of these different analytical levels in their historical relationships to one another. Therefore, structured social relations will be referred to in this chapter to complement the discussion of non-structured relations.

The non-structured social links to be discussed in this chapter can be

further classified into two main categories. The first category consists of 'stills' of social relations (see Turner, 1975), open-ended social configurations, which are represented through discussion of their underlying regularities, and through the use of sociomatrices and social networks. The second category is examined through the use of the analytical tools of the social drama (see Turner, 1957) and the action set (see Mayer, 1966), and consists of series of some events, involving the active mobilization of social links. I include this second category in this chapter on non-structured social relations because the process of social dramas and the formation and operation of action sets cannot be said to be determined by the organizational structure of the kibbutz. However, in any social drama, and in any action set, both structured and non-structured social relations play their part. The analytical tools used here, in collaboration with the dialectical approach, enable the different analytical levels based upon that approach to be considered in relation to one another, in the case material to be discussed. This ability of the dialectical approach also facilitates the examination of the processes of ideological interpretation taking place: this discussion of non-structured social relations, particularly the parts of it which deal with series of events, focusses especially upon the action correlates of Movement attempts to operate the principle of ideological collectivism (see Chapter 3), and the action correlates of the pioneers' attempts to organize their kibbutz in a particular way. Thus this chapter attempts to consolidate the use of the dialectical approach to the study of the relation between ideology and social action by discussing the relationship between several analytical levels.

The Chapter is divided into three sections. The first, entitled 'Informal Social Links' deals with regularities in kibbutz life which are not defined either by the Movement or by the organisation of the kibbutz. The types of social links to be discussed are not confined to the kibbutz,

but may be found in almost every community in the world. Four sets of links are discussed, each in relation to its specific history in the kibbutz. They are kinship and the family, residence patterns, friendship and dislike, and frequent contacts.

The second section of the chapter deals with potential and actual social links, paying particular attention to the operation both of structured and non-structured social links in social processes in the kibbutz. Three cases are investigated in detail: the Egyptian pioneer group, M28, one of its members, and M25, his daughter, born and brought up on Goshen. Sociomatrices and social networks are used as representational devices.

The third section uses the concepts of social drama (Turner, 1957) and action set (Mayer, 1966). Two social dramas are discussed in detail, the Washing Up and Commemmoration Day.

A: Informal Social Links

1. Kinship and the Family

The term 'family' used here refers to the nuclear family, consisting of a man, a woman and their children, or of one parent and his or her children. We will begin by looking at some aspects of the evolution of family life in the kibbutz, which is closely related to the position of women in the Movement.

In the early days of the kibbutzim in Palestine, there were few women and no children involved in the pioneering venture. The women who did go to Palestine in those days worked as men, building roads, breaking new land, settling the country. We learn from Tiger and Shepher (1975) that the sexual division of labour was limited, confined, according to their account, to different aspects of laundry, and health care. Maimon (1962) stresses the aim of these pioneer women to work like men, and thus emancipate themselves from their domestic role in the shtetl (Jewish community) of Eastern Europe,

and from the position of inferiority and subjection to men assigned them by the Jewish religion. Thus the definition of the emancipation of women used by these pioneers, by the Movement, and by modern analysts such as Tiger and Shepher (1975) was that its achievement lay in women's doing the same things as men. As Mednick (1975) argues,

> We can see that woman is defined as 'equal', 'emancipated' or 'liberated' when she is permitted to take on the occupations, attributes and goals of men.
>
> (Mednick, 1975, p.3)

Mednick goes on to say that the organization of the kibbutz (in 1975) contains elements which, when they were instigated, were assumed to be necessary and sufficient conditions for such a liberation of women. In European capitalist society at the beginning of the twentieth century, at the time when kibbutz ideology was developing rapidly (see Chapter 3), a woman's primary role was in the family. Though she would be called upon to work in the economy when it needed an extra supply of labour, she would be thrust back into the home and the family when her labours were no longer required.[1] The family was a micro-economic unit, in which a man worked to earn money to support his wife in her task of producing and rearing children. Writers of and about kibbutz ideology (e.g. Spiro, 1972, Leon, 1964) have stressed that the kibbutz Movement abolished the economic base of the family and the economic dependence of women on men, saying repeatedly that this measure should have been enough to ensure the complete emancipation of women. However, almost all writers recognize that in the kibbutz of the 1970's women are not 'equal' to men, in that their position is not of the kind of equality to which the above definition refers. Various reasons have been suggested for this, and all raise questions relevant to our discussion of kinship and the family in the kibbutz. We will therefore look briefly at a representative sample of these explanations.

Spiro's (1972) is based on the assumption that women want to be, have to be, or ought to be near their babies. Exactly which of these three

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(1) Rowbotham (1973) gives a more extended account of the position of women in capitalist society, upon which these remarks are based.

contentions he is arguing for is not very clear. His definition of equality for women is that referred to above, that women, to be equal, must be the same as men. His argument about why women in the kibbutz of the 1970's are not equal to men can be reduced to the following simple statement: women have babies, men do not, therefore women are not equal to (i.e. the same as) men. He says that because women had to be near their babies to feed them, they could not go out to the fields to work, they therefore stayed in the centre of the kibbutz, and their daily work became increasingly confined to the service branches, involving cooking, cleaning, washing and childcare, jobs which had been part of their traditional role. Spiro fails to consider several points: firstly, he does not discuss the meaning of 'equality of women' in any terms at all, secondly, it does not seem to have occurred to him to ask why the women should not have taken their babies to work with them, and thirdly, he does not mention the fact that the traditional role of women did not consist merely of a set of jobs, but of a series of economic relationships and a particular set of ideas as well.

Leon (1964), an ideologist of the Kibbutz Artzi (Hashomer Hatzair), stresses the abolition of the patriarchal foundation of the family achieved in the kibbutz. He is one of those who assume that this should be enough to ensure an equal position for women (see Mednick, 1975). He asserts that:

> By doing away with the economic, legal and spiritual dependence of the woman upon the man and on the economic function (which elsewhere can even dictate the maintenance of the family structure when man and wife feel they are no longer compatible), the kibbutz family rests upon positive personal, rather than impersonal economic foundations.
>
> (Leon, 1964, p.129)

The commune, he adds, contains every opportunity for women to be fully emancipated. To emphasise that they are not totally free in the kibbutz, he refers to the work of women, the fact that there is a division of labour by sex, that most women work in the services, and most men in the productive branches.

It is clear from Leon's account that equality for women in the eyes of the Movement lies in performance of the same tasks as men, and this also conforms to Spiro's view.

Mednick (1975) sees things differently. The whole discussion of the equality of women in the kibbutz has, she argues, been distorted by the assumptions underlying the work of men such as Spiro and Leon. She refers to another set of values, not written into the ideology, which have an important influence on life in the kibbutz. Spiro and Leon do not consider these points. The most important is the folk view of equality. In Goshen, this was that women's equality would make them the same as men, and that men performed tasks traditional for them in capitalist society. Mednick stresses that men never aspired or were expected to aspire to the traditional roles of women. She also emphasises the value accorded to productive work on the kibbutz, and the view of services as necessary, non-productive, and rather unpleasant. We are therefore left with an ideologically and analytically problematic definition of the equality of women and the place of the family in kibbutz life.

In the discussion, I will emphasise Mednick's point about the differential evaluation of different kinds of work. Since most women on Goshen worked in the service branches, we can say that the low status of these branches effectively accorded lower status to women. This assertion is reinforced by the reference in Chapter 5 to the prestige accorded to women working in the fields, (see p.234). The lower status of women in the kibbutz therefore arises from a source other than the family, cited by the Socialist Zionists themselves as the primary focus of women's equality. Although the family as an economic unit was abolished early in the development of the kibbutzim, complete equality in the folk evaluation of the status of men and women did not follow.

Although the family is not the primary focus of women's inequality in the

kibbutz, it can be seen to contain reflections and further dimensions of their position in the community as a whole. In families in Goshen, the relationship between spouses in the family varied enormously, from complete role sharing to complete separation of roles (cf. Bott, 1971). In some families, only the woman 'kept house', cleaning the flat, making cakes, sorting laundry and so on. This role division was more common than any other arrangement, especially amongst the younger generation, and was worthy of less comment than others. Generally, women were not expected, and did not expect to be able to perform tasks in the home such as running repairs or gardening. This sexual division of labour in the family was not universal on Goshen, but its dominance is clear. If we examine single parent families, we find that women on their own were in particular difficulties: M25, for example, frequently complained of the lack of a man about the house to do things like changing plugs. She worried about asking men to help her because she was afraid that they would then make demands upon her which she was not prepared to fulfil. M60, an older woman, was in trouble when her husband left her, not just because of the emotional upset which this involved, but also because the couple had established a division of labour between them, without which she found it difficult to survive. Her tasks had consisted of childcare and housework in the flat: her husband had performed traditionally masculine tasks. She missed not only his work, but also his response to hers.

The importance of marriage and the family in the kibbutz is attested by the attitude towards unmarried women. Every effort was made to find them spouses, by arranging for them to work in places where they would meet men (outside the kibbutz in some cases) and by arranging social events and holidays. Women who remained unmarried into their thirties tended to associate with one another on Goshen, and to become isolated from the rest of the Membership. Women in their late teens and early twenties gained

status if they had boyfriends: heads were shaken at women of this age without them. When a new boyfriend was brought to the kibbutz, he was given a thorough inspection, and speculation on the permanence of the relationship began almost immediately. Relationships within the community were subject to even closer scrutiny, simply because of the increased frequency of contact.

The attitude towards men was quite different. On Goshen, there were several older men without wives: they were not subject to the matchmaking efforts directed towards the women, and were not considered to have missed out on one of their tasks in life, marriage and the production of children.

Premarital sexual relationships were also evaluated differently. A young man with plenty of girlfriends was considered quite normal, whereas a young woman who sought sexual relationships in a similar way was considered a 'tramp'.

We can see therefore that a stable sexual relationship and its expected result in marriage was considered a goal for all women, whereas it was far less important for men. Generally, both men and women held these views, though complaints about the relationship between the sexes in the kibbutz came more frequently from women.

Since there was role distinction at work (see Chapter 5) and at home between men and women, the interests of spouses tended to diverge. The work contacts of each spouse were mainly confined to his or her own sex, and a husband did not necessarily know his wife's work mates particularly well, and vice versa. We cannot regard a family as one unit with one set of social relations,[1] and can thus see that being a member of a family provided possibilities for wider contacts than those of an individual alone. And the

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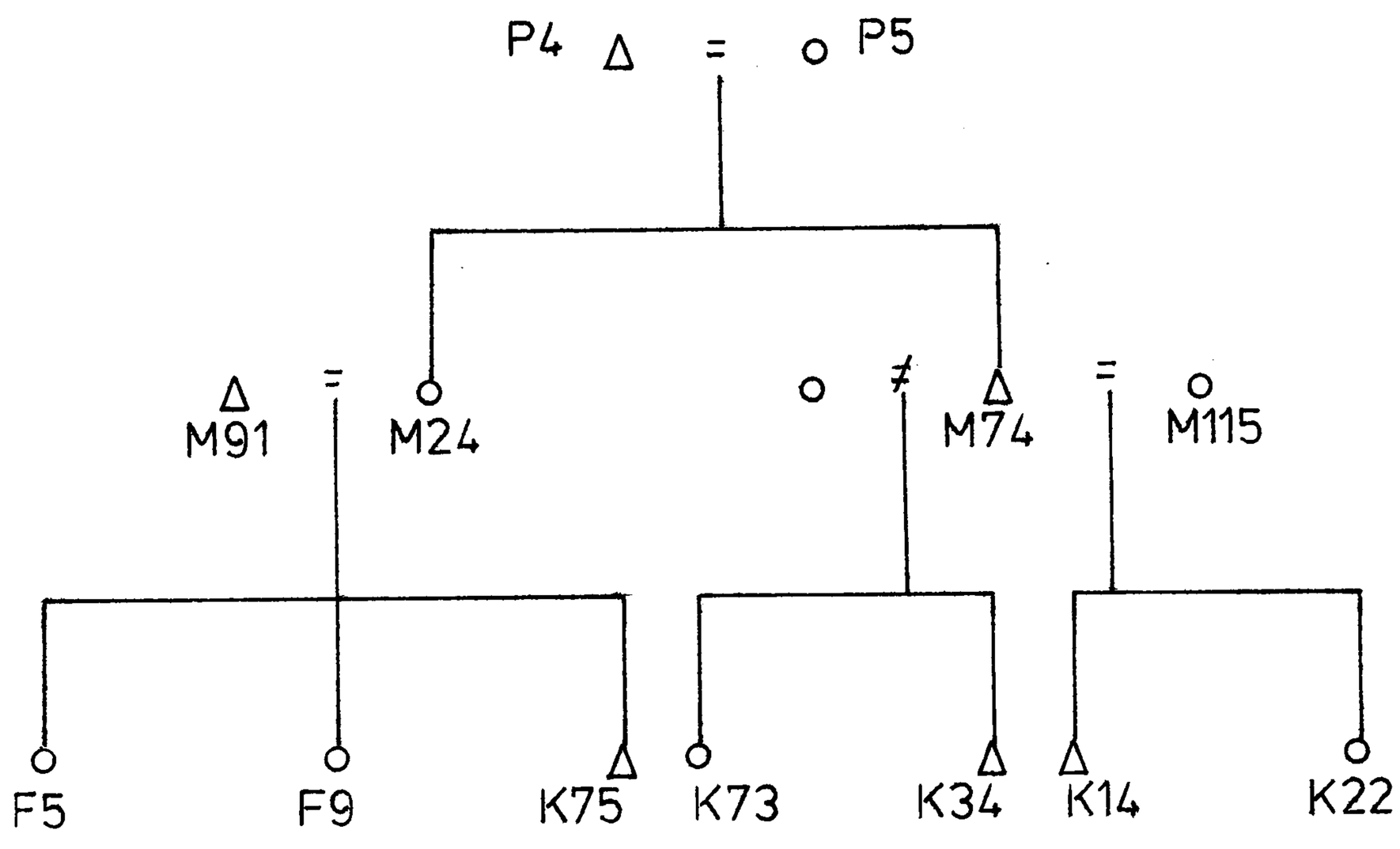
(1) In her study of conjugal role relationships, Bott (1971) confuses this issue by failing to point out whether the centre of her networks is either a couple or one spouse. This point was discussed in Chapter 1, pp. 26-27.

bigger the circle of kin beyond the nuclear family, the more these contacts were.

By far the most common kin group in Goshen consisted of a husband, a wife and their children. Kin groups of wider span (of which there were only two) were formidable exceptions to this rule, as they contained more Members, and could thus provide support for one another in a formal situation, using their common kinship as the basis for this support.(1)

Fig. 4 (below) shows Goshen's largest set of kin. The diversified

Fig. 4 : P4 and Kin on Goshen



(1) Tiger and Shepher (1975) note the potential political power of extended families in old-established kibbutzim (p. 40).

economic and social relationships of this set of kin offered a wide range of inroads into various sets of formally defined relationships: M24 worked in the commùna, M91 in the metal factory, M74 in the cotton fields and M115 in the kitchen. The seven children ranged from six to twenty four years of age, which provided access to several children's groups and their associated workers and parents. P4 was active and working in the roses.

Families with generational depth of membership were also in an advantageous position because of their containing representatives of both sides of the generation gap, but this was less often used to advantage than horizontal span.

Thus, to be a member of a family was considered desirable in Goshen, and conferred advantages on the individuals involved. We have briefly examined the nature of the family in the kibbutz, particularly with regard to the position of women, because this feature has been seen as distinctive to the family in the kibbutz. Even where the economic base of the family was abolished, there were still role distinctions between the spouses, and these role distinctions in effect strengthened the family as a political unit in the kibbutz. The discussion of particular sets of familial relationships will continue in Chapters 7 and 8.

In Chapter 5, I mentioned the importance of kin links outside the kibbutz, and suggested that such links could affect the bargaining position of Members within the community, and their chances of survival outside. It should be reemphasised here that it would be misleading to treat the kibbutz as an isolated unit, because of the importance of outside contacts for members. In the kin set represented in Fig. 4, contacts outside the community were limited.

2. Residence Patterns

Residence patterns in the kibbutz are of some importance to this

discussion. People's neighbours were frequent contacts: sets of four housing units were grouped together closely, and distances between the sets were short. Each set had a communal lawn, where the children played in the afternoons, Winter and Summer, and their parents relaxed after work. Every family had some garden furniture, and in Summer would take its afternoon refreshment outside. Sitting there, they conversed with their neighbours. In some housing units, four families had a common entrance, meaning that they met frequently on their way in and out of their flats.

In order to understand residence patterns in the kibbutz, we have to examine the way in which accommodation was built and allocated, and the factors limiting people's choice of where to live and who their neighbours would be.

On Goshen, family accommodation was erected in phases. A group of houses all of the same standard were built in one area of the kibbutz, then another group of a higher standard elsewhere. The number of housing units in each phase was about twenty-four. The earliest family homes of any permanence were wooden huts with stone floors, then followed concrete rooms, rooms with bathrooms, flatlets with bathrooms, flatlets with bathrooms and kitchenettes. In each phase, the housing units were bigger than in the preceding one.

Housing was allocated on the basis of seniority in the kibbutz, so the pioneers always had first choice of new units. They were not compelled to accept housing of a higher standard, though refusals were considered unusual. Upon finishing their army service, or in the last year of school, young sabras were given rooms in the buildings, and as their age increased, so did their facilities; for example, refrigerators were shared between several people for some time, then eventually each room had its own. Young cohabiting or married couples lived in flatlets.

One of the effects of this was that the kibbutz contained areas inhabited by families at the same stage in their developmental cycle. One neighbourhood thus contained mainly young, single people, another mainly couples with young children, and another, mainly pioneers.

Choice of neighbours was restricted to some extent by these conventions, but there was still plenty of scope for its exercise. New housing units were not all completed at the same time, and there was therefore always some time lag between the completion of each phase and the people moving in. So neighbourhoods of younger families also contained pioneers, waiting for their new houses to be completed, or for the next phase, which would be of a higher standard.

Two cases will illustrate the possibilities of Members choosing their neighbours:

(i) M28 was, in 1973 offered a flat in the first building of the current phase of new housing. These first flats were offered following a draw involving all the pioneers who were interested in them. M28 refused the first flat, on the grounds that he did not want to live so near to M47 and his family. M47 did not pronounce on the matter: there was no need for him to do so, as M28 had withdrawn, but it was well known that M47's feelings towards M28 were not friendly. M28 waited until the last building of the phase was completed, and moved in there in 1976 with his wife. The other three flats were occupied by M14, M25 and NM2, all single people, and all M28's friends. By this time, plans had already been announced for the next phase of building, of larger flats, and pioneers who could still have moved preferred to wait another few years for this better housing. M28 thus avoided living with people he did not like, and was able in the end to choose all three of his closest neighbours.

(ii) M65 and M31 were married in August 1975, and applied for a larger flat,

a request which was accepted in principle. When asked which of the various available flats they wanted, they named one next door to M2 and M105. M2, to the expressed shock of many people, announced in the General Assembly that she did not want the young couple to become her neighbours. There was no need for her to go any further: M65 and M31 did not want hostile neighbours, and therefore had little choice but to apply for a different flat.

These cases show that there was room for manoeuvre, even within the existing conventions. Generally speaking, Members of Goshen were very conscious of their entitlements: both these cases show more senior people exercising their privileges in the system of allocation, in that pioneers had 'first refusal' on any new housing. M2 knew that her remarks would be considered rather shocking, but she was also aware that she could defend herself by referring to the comparatively low standard of housing in which she and her husband were content to remain.

Residence patterns on the kibbutz therefore tended to reinforce the formally defined links discussed in the previous chapter. Patterns were mainly along age lines, facilitating frequent contact between people of the same age. In Chapter 5, I discussed the importance of age in the community, and the generation gap: the present discussion shows how the influence of residence patterns permeated the community as age divisions did.

3. Friendship and Dislike

These two kinds of relationship can only be defined by the analyst in terms used by the actors themselves. Thus if two people classify each other as friends,(1) the analyst can consider the relationship as one of friendship.

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(1) Words used for 'friends' on Goshen included chaverim or yedidim. The use of yedidim in particular signified a very friendly relationship. The term chaverim was more ambiguous, as it also denoted 'Members' (of the kibbutz). The category 'friend' is here applied to people who were consistently referred to in these terms, which were elaborated with other positive remarks. 'Dislike' is similarly determined, through observation of consistent remarks and elaborations.

Once relationships are defined in this way, we can begin to look at the characteristics of the people involved in them, and can investigate the content of friendship.

Following analysis of relations of friendship in Goshen, we find that only a very limited pattern is shown. Neighbours are likely to be friends, as I have indicated in Section A,2 (above), and kin relationships can generally be described as friendly. Beyond that, it would be impossible to discern close correspondences between friendship and the various other kinds of social relations discussed hereand in Chapters 4 and 5.

I have already shown in the previous chapter that if formally defined social links were to prove effective, they needed additional content, and we showed that M28's friends proved to be the only people offering support in a section of the community from which he had expected it to be unanimous.

In the account of residence patterns, I mentioned the mutual dislike of M28 and M47. A similar relationship also existed between M28 and M4. M14 and M15, the two who comforted M28, and M4 and M47, the two with whom he had a relationship of mutual dislike, had several characteristics in common: all were of about the same age, and were members of the 1945-47 Egyptian pioneer group. All were regularly and energetically involved in the formal running of the community.

We can therefore see that formally defined relationships in the kibbutz had limited influence on people's friendships, and that if we are to complete our picture of social configurations in the kibbutz, we must consider friendship and its opposite, dislike,[1] as additional sets of relationships.

We can take a person's set of friends and investigate additional content that the links may have, and will be able to use such analyses to complement that of other social configurations. We will find that a set of friendships

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(1) This is not to say that people were either friends or disliked each other. Their feelings towards each other were for the most part somewhere between these extremes.

provides a constantly operative action set (see Section C of this chapter): formal, potential links prove operative only in certain contexts and in certain distinctive ways. Access to a formal set of relationships, perhaps through a friend, opens channels of information in both directions. General views on the characteristics of certain formally defined relationships can be used in the mobilization of formal support.

These statements about friendship may appear rather obvious, and thus unnecessary: they are included because of the definition of social action employed in this work, because we are trying to examine several different levels of social relationships. To justify the remarks further, we can again refer to kibbutz ideology, and to the work of students of the kibbutz.

The ideology of Hashomer Hatzair stresses that Members of kibbutzim should identify their interests with those of the commune: I have suggested that Members have different perceptions both of their own interests and those of the commune. Examination of social configurations in the kibbutz can help show us the variations in these perceptions according to the social position of the individual, and friendship, people's closest and highest valued relationship, must be significant to the discussion. Quite simply, ideology assumes that people will be friends, and in reality, they are not.

The anthropological literature on the kibbutz does not, for the most part, investigate the social connections of the individual. An individual's life in the kibbutz brings him or her into contact with many different people, and his or her relationships with them provide his or her immediate interest: they are constantly in operation, whereas his or her conception of the ideological precepts of kibbutz remains implicit most of the time. Thus an analysis directed solely at formal social relationships operates at a level removed from social interaction. This study uses discussion of the formal level of relationships as a device to hep investigate the relationship between ideology and social action at all these levels. The consideration of friendship,

leads us into an area unexplored by previous studies of the kibbutz, and it is therefore necessary to justify the enterprise.

4. Frequent Contacts

It is not difficult to measure the frequency of contacts between people in the kibbutz, length of conversation, content of conversation and so on. However, high or low frequency of contact reveals little information about the kind of relationship in operation. The most important difference in the various kinds of frequent contacts is between the voluntary and non-voluntary types. Voluntary frequent contacts were mostly with friends and neighbours on Goshen, and non-voluntary contacts arose from the facts of living or working in the same place, and to some extent having the same interests as a certain group of people, other members of the population of the community. Most frequent, non-voluntary contacts were made at work, and in meetings of the various governing bodies of the kibbutz.

We are now moving closer to the consideration of actual social interaction in the kibbutz. The structured links discussed in the previous chapter form a background to this consideration, and now that we have introduced some of the non-structured kinds of links, we are in a position to discuss the analytical standing of this 'background', and to begin to look in more detail at actual social relations. Three cases will form the basis of this discussion.

B: Actual and Potential Social Links

1. The Egyptian Pioneers

This set of people has already been discussed at some length, particularly in relation to M28. We have already noted that the cohesion of the group in the consensus of public opinion represented a refraction of reality, in that the degree of cohesion varied according to the situation. Thus we saw the

limited support available to M28 in his personal tragedy, and examined cases in which we regarded the Egyptian pioneers all to be on the same side, such as in M105's retention of his position in charge of the volunteers, when the new Secretary found he could do nothing in the face of the influence wielded by the vattikim.

Fig. 5 (below) shows the operative, formal and informal, structured and non-structured links between the fourteen members of the Egyptian pioneer group at the time when M28 was Secretary of Goshen. Common membership of a supplementary population group is used to delineate the set of people appearing in the figure, and should be regarded as a potential basis for links between them. Similarly, their place in the generation of vattikim forms another set of potential links. Beyond these potentialities, the Figure shows that actual observable social contact between the Egyptian pioneers was limited. Using Kapferer's (1969) formula,(1) we find that the density of the positive links in this network is 15.4%. This means that of a potential one link between every person and every other person (density = 100%), there are actually 15.4% links. A similar calculation of the density of relationships of dislike yields a figure of 6.6%. Measurements of density calculated in this way do not refer to the nature, content or intensity of links, except their positive or negative character, criteria imposed by the model itself.

Table 7 (below) shows measurements of the density of each type of social link appearing on Figure 5. Its effect is to show that the links are more limited. The 'total' is arrived at by regarding each type of operative positive content (friendship, kinship, work and neighbours)

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(1) Kapferer's formula is $100 \times \frac{Na}{N(N-1)/2}$, where Na is the number of actual links and N is the number of people. $\frac{N(N-1)}{2}$ is the number of potential links (see Kapferer, 1969, p.226).

Figure 5: Operative Links between Egyptian Pioneers (early 1975).

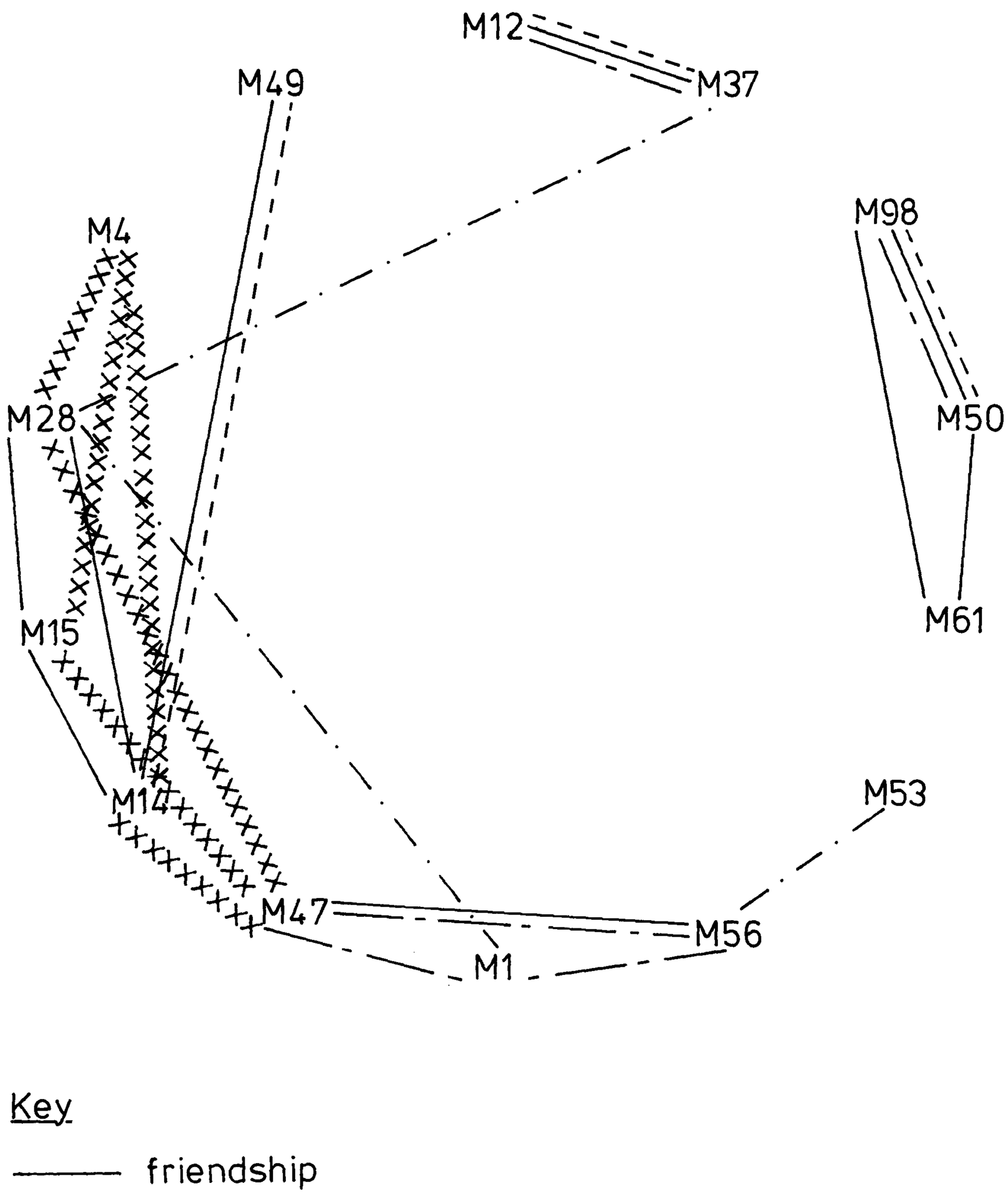


Table 7: Density of Links between the Egyptian Pioneers, according to Content (early 1975)

Content	Density (%)
(nationality)	(100.0)
(generation)	(100.0)
friendship	9.9
kinship	3.3
work	3.3
neighbours	5.5
dislike	6.6
TOTAL (positive links)	1.3

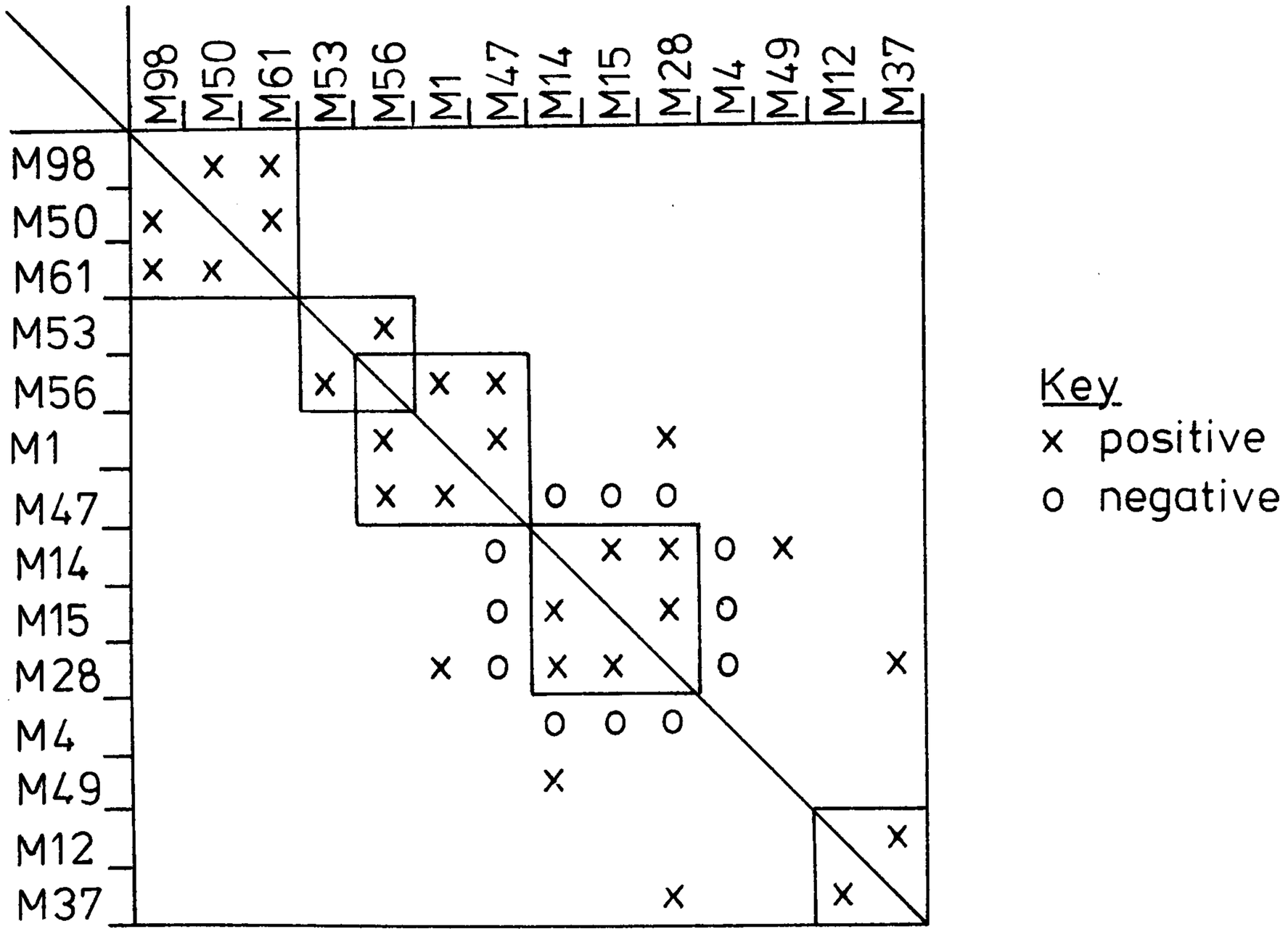
separately, so that N is not 14, but 56 (14 x the number of possible contents). Na is still 20. Thus, if we regard everyone as potential friends, kin, workmates and neighbours, we find that the density of the positive network is only 1.3%.

This leads to a criticism of measurements of density of this type. The use of the first method, excludes mention of the content of the links, and the second is unrealistic: quite clearly, all the people involved are not potentially in a relation of kinship or affinity to each other, and for them all to be neighbours in the kibbutz would be physically impossible. Clearly, the network diagram provides us with a better representation of content than does the table. The density measurement related only to the number of actual links (and not to their content, whether single or multiple) will be used to compare this set of links with others.

According to Kapferer (1969), the multiplexity of our network can be measured by dividing the number of links which are multiplex (i.e. have more than one type of content) by the number of actual links in the network, and expressing this as a percentage. This gives us: $\frac{4}{14} \times 100 = 28.6\%$. There is no ego-centre to this network and the measure is of the total number of relationships.

A further method of illustrating social interaction diagramatically is the socio-matrix. An example of its use can be found in Lacey's Hightown Grammar (1970, Ch.6).(1) Its use is mainly to show links between a finite number of people. Fig.6(below) is a socio-matrix showing the positive and negative social links between the members of the Egyptian pioneer group. Whereas Lacey's definition of links is based on a questionnaire, ours uses a variety of measurements. Work, kinship and neighbourhood are observable links. Friendship and dislike are measurements based on observation of series of events, conversation with and between the people involved, and their expressed opinions of each other. The individuals are arranged in such an order as to show the formation of strong interaction sets(2) along the diagonal. The only content of links shown in the figure

Figure 6. Positive and Negative Links between Egyptian Pioneers (early 1975)



(1) See also Festinger, Schachter and Back (1965). Their work is discussed in the introduction to Part Two of this thesis (p.155).

(2) An 'interaction set' is here defined as a number of people with mutual, frequent interaction.

is their positive or negative aspect. The interaction sets boxed in on the diagram are of people whose contact with each other was frequent and positive. Dyads which do not appear inside the boxes can be regarded as providing potential links between interaction sets.

I will now examine the interaction sets which appear in this representation of the Egyptian pioneer group. M98 and M50 were married, and M61 obtained a divorce from her husband (who had left the kibbutz) in 1975. The three were close friends and visited each other frequently. Apart from her links with M98 and M50, M61 was rather isolated from the rest of the community, particularly when she was allowed to take a job outside the kibbutz, following her divorce. She was generally regarded as rather quarrelsome, and many people actively avoided contact with her. M50 was an invalid and worked alone, making cosmetics: she did not eat her meals in the dining-room, or attend meetings. Her clients were all women, and each woman on the kibbutz went to her once every three months for a beauty treatment. Her husband worked in the chickens with NM2 and a hired worker. He took meals to his wife and ate with her in their flat, near her place of work. All these three, then, were isolated both from the Egyptians and from the rest of the kibbutz.

M53 and M56 were in contact with each other at work in the roses. M53 was the boss during the period under consideration. The two were not exceptionally friendly, and did not seek much contact outside work, but their interaction during the day was intense.

M56, M1 and M47 were neighbours. They had all chosen to live in the same building (see the remarks on residence above). M56 and M47 were particularly friendly. As Economic Manager of Goshen, M1 spent much of his time at work, attending evening meetings and visiting Movement head-quarters. His time to seek meetings with particular friends was therefore limited.

M14, M15 and M28 were friends, and each had few other friends apart from the three. M28 (see (b) below) had the most extensive contact with others, particularly his family and NM2. M14 and M15 were both divorcees, and both their wives had long since moved away from Goshen. M15 had no family on the kibbutz, and M14 had only one daughter there.

M12 and M37 were married. Although their links within the group were limited, both were popular members of the community, and had extensive contacts throughout the first generation. M28's work links with M37 in the cotton team helped the couple to retain contact with the Egyptian vattikim.

The 'dislike' sector involves five individuals, M4 and M47 on one side, and M14, M15 and M28 on the other. The two sides actively avoided contact with one another (see for example M28's refusal to live in the same house as M47, discussed in the section on residence, above). We should note here that the existence of a set of relationships of active dislike within the Egyptian pioneer group again contradicts the community's view of it as cohesive. However, it is also important to note that the dislike sector was not isolated from the rest of the Egyptians. The sociomatrix shows a relationship which meant that, during the period under consideration, this sector was not isolated. Thus M28 had frequent contact with M1, who was a neighbour of M47. M1 was on congenial terms with both of them, and was not in a position to take sides in their relationship, because of his work ties with M28 and his neighbourly ties with M47.

In this account of the relationships existing within the Egyptian pioneer group, I have used a network and a sociomatrix as a means of mapping people's actual social interactions within a category defined both in the history of the kibbutz and by public opinion in the community. The procedure has shown that these two definitions of the category, though related to social interaction, did not depict it exactly. I have already discussed why the

community's opinion of the Egyptian pioneer group showed it to be large, cohesive and powerful, and will repeat only the conclusions of that discussion here. The estimation of the group's size reflected its participation in the formal governing bodies of the kibbutz. Its power related both to its expertise and experience, and to the relative impotence of the younger generation. The idea of the group's cohesion was an aspect both of its participation and of its position in the elite. The examination of actual social interaction, has shown that it was not as cohesive as we would have expected had we either operated a purely institutional perspective, or taken the folk view at its face value. Neither of these views has been proved wrong, but, by looking at another level of social reality, it has been possible to add another, essential dimension to the view of social configurations in the kibbutz.

The next two sections deal with the actual social relations of two individuals. M28, the first, is one of the Egyptian pioneer group, and thus provides continuity with the discussion of that group.

2. M28, an Egyptian Pioneer

Fig. 7 (below) maps M28's most frequent social contacts,(1) and the content of the existing links, again at the time when M28 was Secretary of the kibbutz. The superimposed layer (ii) shows the links between M28's most frequent contacts, excluding M28 himself. The people included in this category are those with whom M28 actively sought contact whenever possible. M1, M63 and M3 were contacted mainly in connection with M28's work as Secretary, M100, M25 (see 3, below) and F1 were his family, and M14, M15 and NM2 his special friends. Although contact with M15 was not

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(1) The contacts listed are based on my observations during the latter part of M28's period as Secretary (March - June 1975).

(ii)

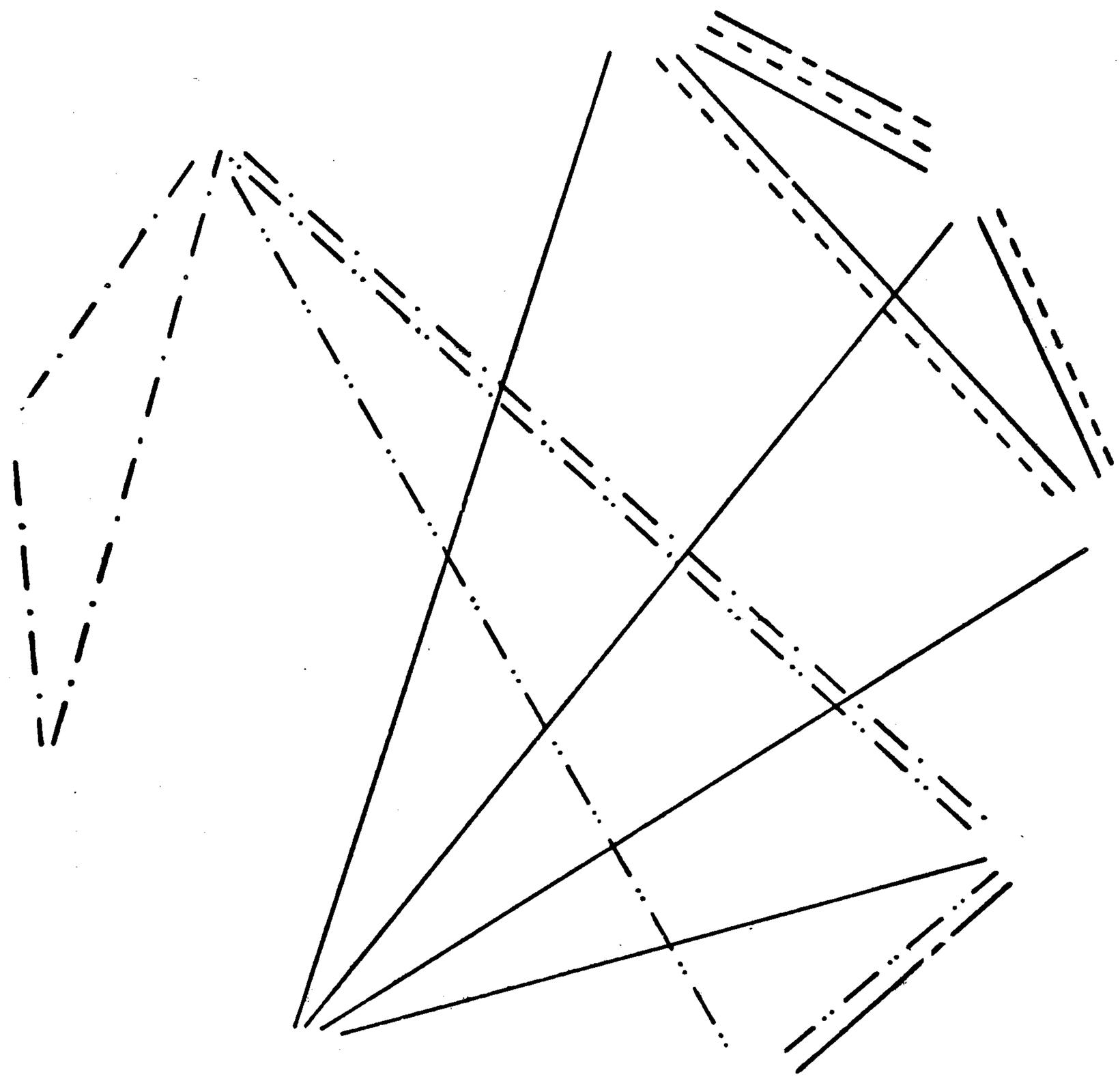
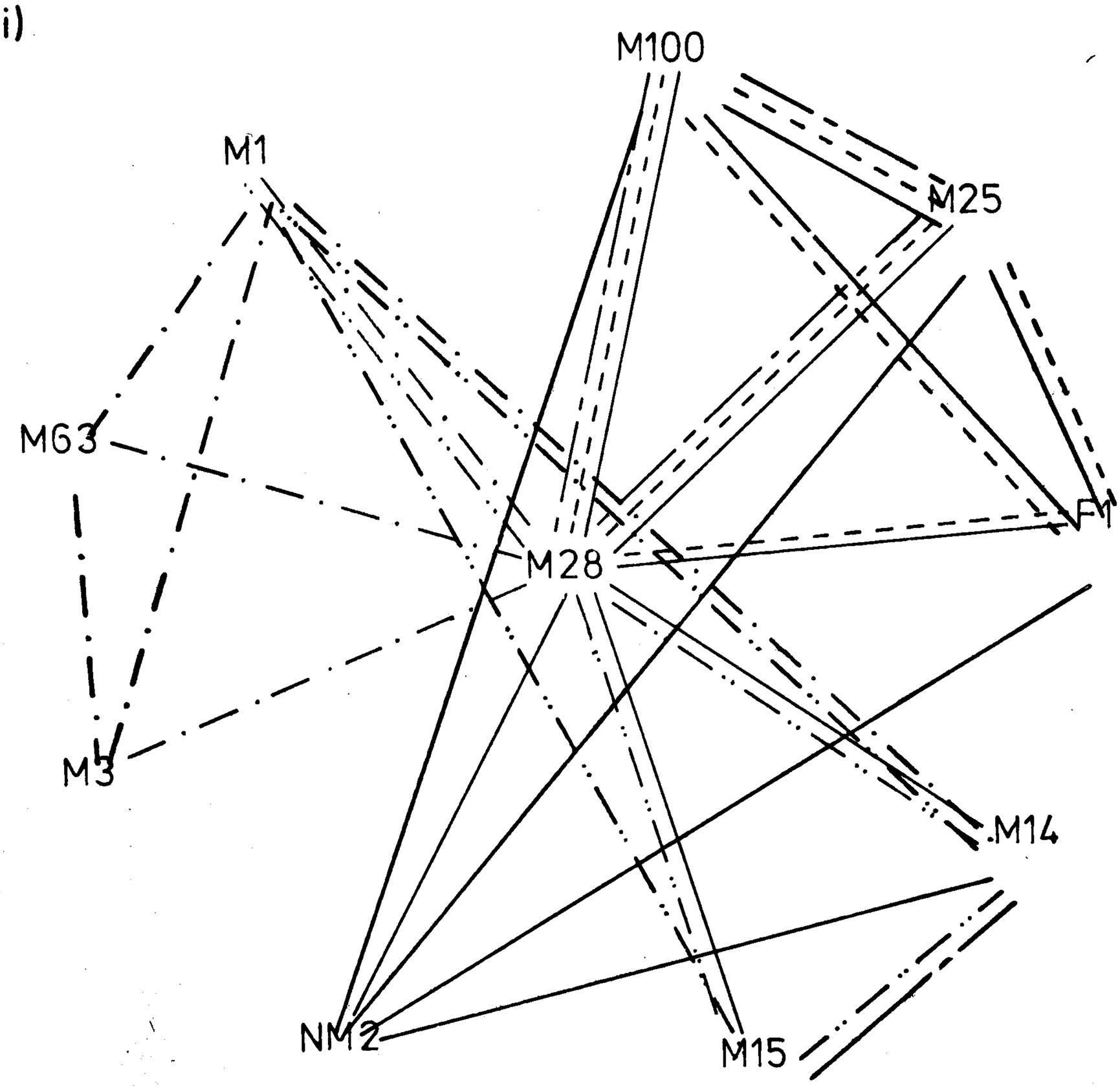


Figure 7: M28's Most Frequent Contacts and Content of Links (early 1975).

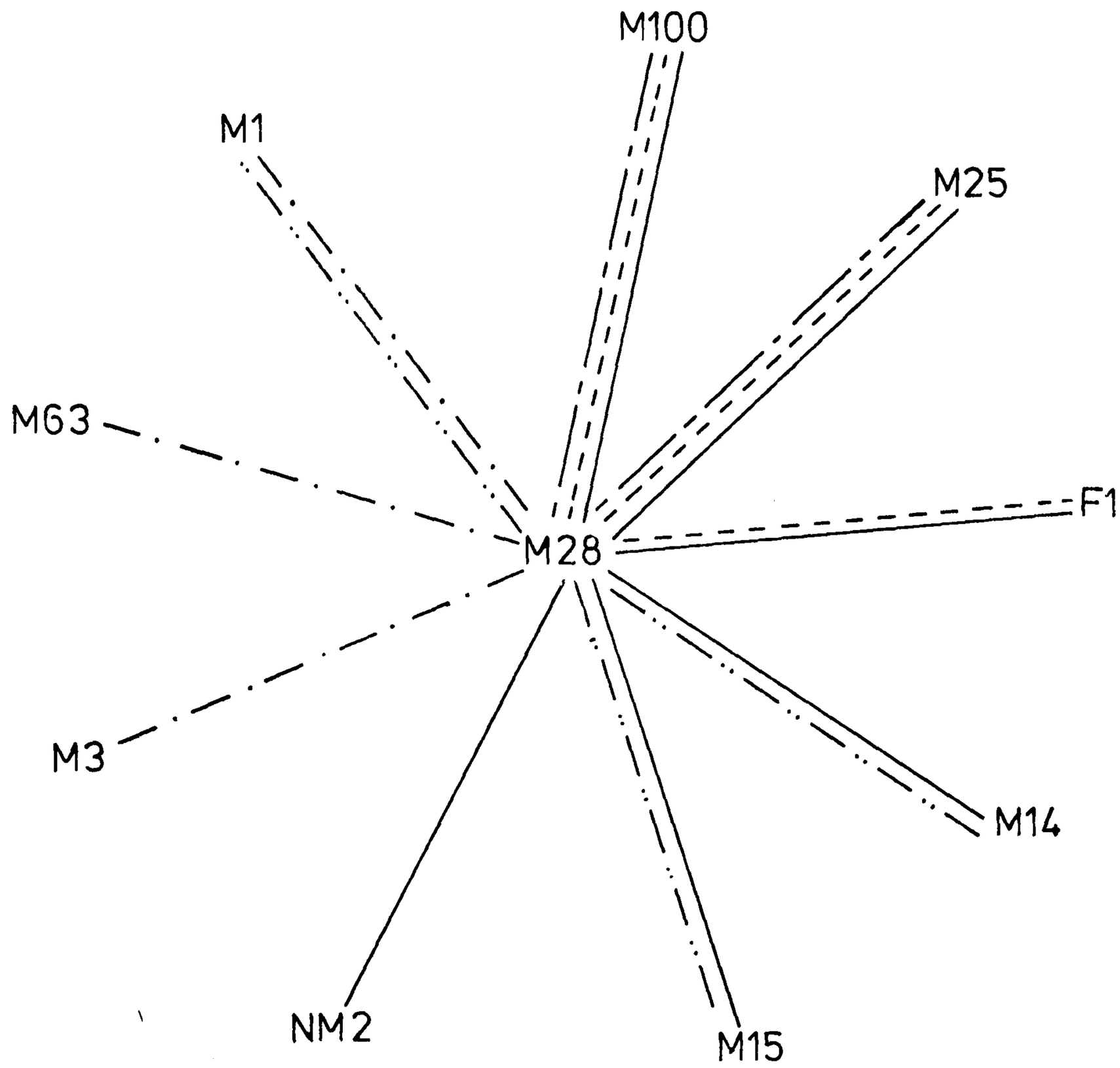
(ii)



Key

——— friendship
- - - - kin or affines
—·— work
—··— nationality group
——— - neighbours

Figure 7: M28's Most Frequent Contacts and Content of Links (early 1975).



Key

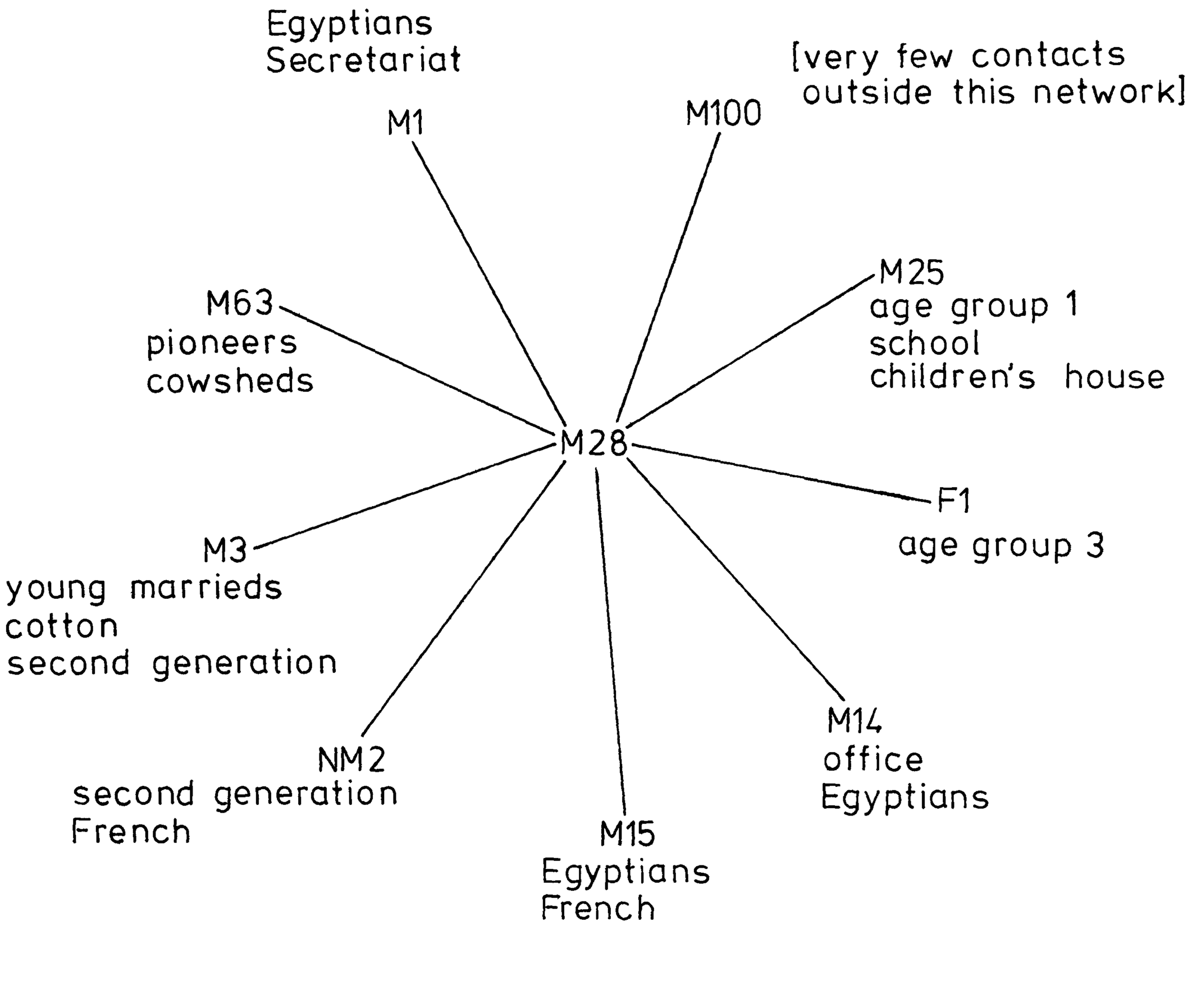
——— friendship
– – – – kin or affines
— · — work
—·· — nationality group
——— - neighbours

frequent compared with the frequency of contact with the other members of the network, this was mainly due to the fact that M15 worked outside the kibbutz, and went back only at weekends. However, the two did meet each other as often as possible. Not all of M28's neighbours have been included in the diagram: the group of four houses was built in a line, and M28 lived at one end, and did not pass the other houses on his way to and from home. The only neighbour with whom he regularly sought contact was M25, his daughter.

Again following Kapferer (1969), this type of network can be called a reticulum because of its ego-centredness. Its density, again using Kapferer's formula is 44.4%, much higher than the density of the Egyptian pioneer group. Its multiplexity is 55%, again much higher. M28 was not considered a particularly sociable Member of the kibbutz, and his personal, direct network was not extensive. It was not confined to any particular social category: three of his most frequent contacts belonged to his own nationality group, two others were pioneers (M100 and M63).

We have already noted (Chapter 5, pp. 221ff) M28's activities whilst he was Secretary, his energy, the number of additional tasks he performed, and the unwillingness of the other pioneers to stand as candidates to follow him. We might assume that such an energetic Secretary as M28, whose incumbency of the position was marked by so many personal attributes, would have a wide personal network, enabling him to receive information on all the aspects of kibbutz life in which, as Secretary, he was interested. At the level of primary contacts (these most frequent ones), we have found that this was not so: his immediate, personal network appears small and dense. In Fig. 8 (below) we see some of the possible indirect contacts afforded by the individuals in the personal network. The memberships of social categories of each person are listed beside their numbers. In the discussion of the Egyption pioneer group (1, above), we found that even

Figure 8 : Potential Indirect Contacts: M28's Personal Network (early 1975).



the 'dislike' sector did not effectively exclude people, and in a community as small and as close-knit as Goshen, we can assume that in any social category, most of the people involved were in contact with each other either directly or indirectly. Thus M28's direct, personal network provided him with access to several different social categories, to several different arenas where public opinion was formed. As well as access to these social categories, M28 had access to other people's personal, direct networks.

The argument used here regarding the potential indirect contacts afforded M28 by his personal network can be compared with Boissevain's (1974) discussion of brokers (see Boissevain, 1974, pp.147-169). Boissevain defines brokers as people who 'bridge gaps' between various social units, whether individual actors or collectivities. He describes a broker as

> .... a professional manipulator of people and information who brings about communication for profit.
>
> (Boissevain, 1974, p.148)

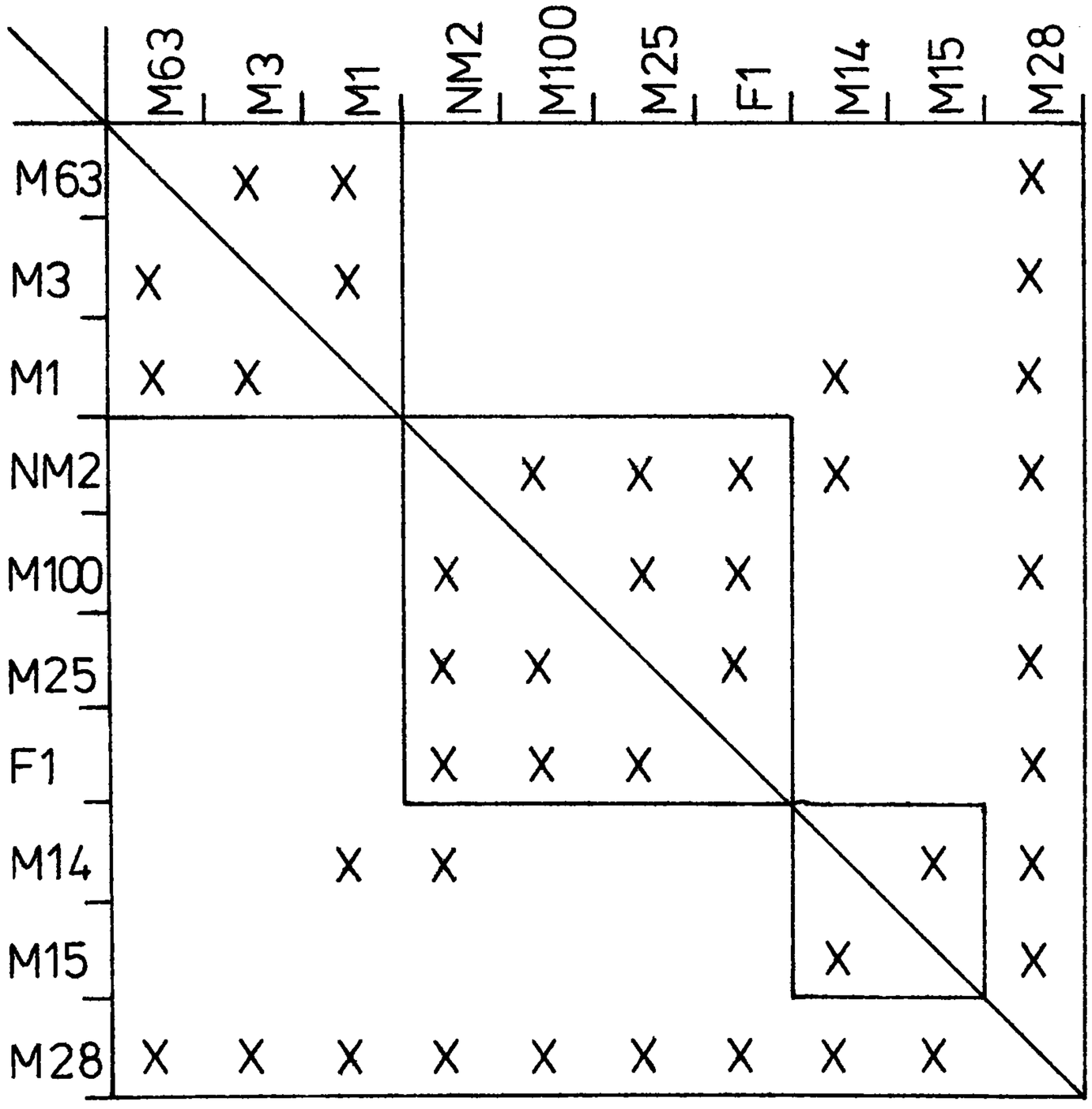
The introduction into the earlier, quite workable, definition of a broker of the elements of professionalism and profit seems related to Boissevain's choice of case, to support his argument, which in this chapter, is that of a Sicilian student attempting to obtain an introduction to a professor to whom he wished to present a thesis. Boissevain traces the credit relationships in the network of contacts through which the introduction was obtained, noting the kinds of profit and/or indebtedness which each social actor hoped would accrue to him. This case involved indirect links outside the student's circle of acquaintance, and outside the local community.

In the kibbutz, a broker can be defined as a person 'bridging gaps' in the way that M28's personal network provided him with potential contacts with people of other social categories. The elements of professionalism and profit are more difficult to extract than in cases such as Boissevain's because M28 in fact knew all the people in the community under discussion:

the kinds of contacts offered were not introductions, but active support from people he already knew, and detailed information. The investigation of the potential brokers in M28's network has shown that, though the direct personal network itself was comparatively small, it offered, through these potential brokers, contact with and information from a wide variety of social categories.

If we examine Fig. 9 (below), which illustrates M28's network on a sociomatrix, we find interaction sets within the network, each of which M28 was a member.

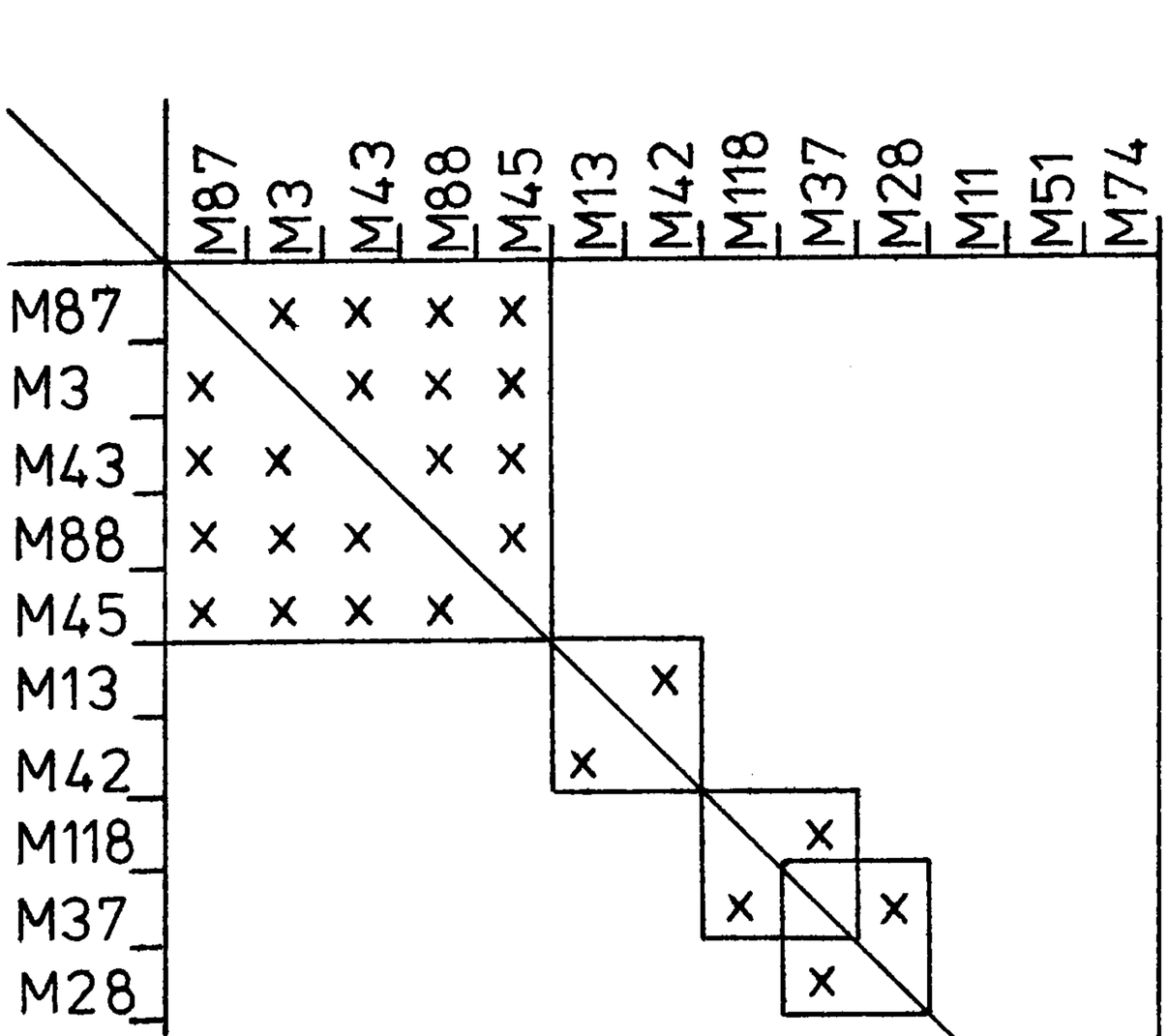
Figure 9 : M28's Most Frequent Contacts (early 1975)



M63, M3 and M1 were mainly work contacts, and interacted with each other as well as with M28. M14's interaction with M1 provided a link between this interaction set and that consisting of M14, NM2, M100, M25 and F1, who were M28's family and closest friends. M15 was tied into the interaction set by his links with M14.

This section has referred to M28's actual social links. The preceding discussion of the Egyptian pioneer group referred to some of his potential links. We will now look briefly at another set of potential links, namely the cotton work team of Spring 1975, of which M28 was a member. Fig. 10 (below) indicates a strong interaction set, consisting of M87, M3, M43, M88 and M45, three of whom were members of the 1966 Hashomer Hatzair group.

Figure 10 : The Cotton Work Team (Spring 1975)



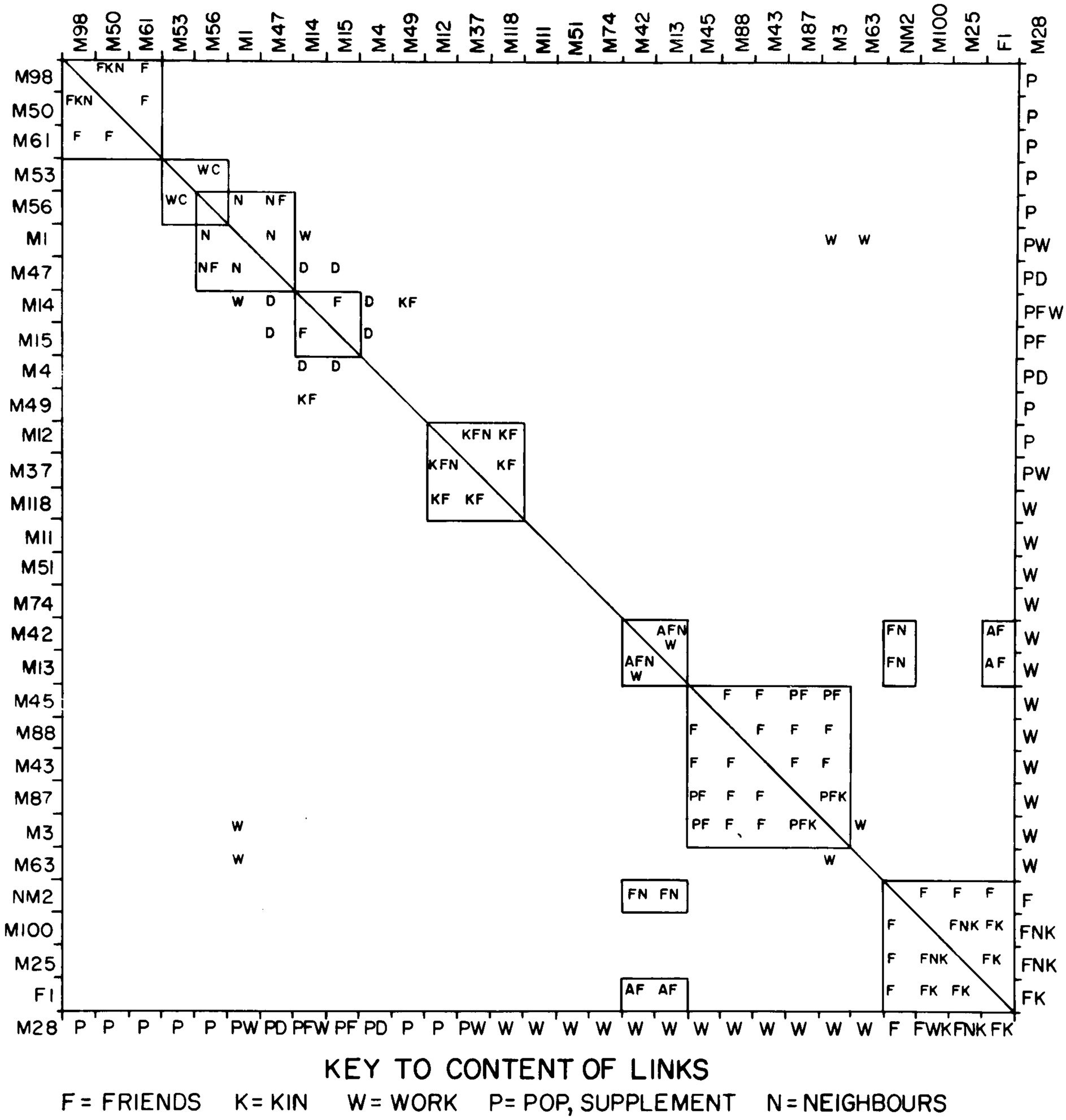
Note: all links shown are additional to work links.

Fig. 11 (below, p.276) is an attempt to map and show the content of all M28's direct links with the Egyptian pioneers, the cotton workers, and his own most frequent contacts, and the links between the people involved. M28's relationship with each individual appears on the right hand and bottom axes of the diagram. From M28's point of view, both actual and potential links are included: there are some people with whom the only contact recorded is membership of the same population supplementary group (P) or working in the same place (W). Therefore some of the contacts can be described as potential rather than active. However, as we have already established, the potentiality of a link could be activated in certain types of social action, because of the existence of expectations attached to membership of certain social categories. One example of this was provided by the complaint to M28 about the outcast family (M29 and M33) by one of the commùna workers.

Again, we find a distinction between those contacts which were sought by M28, and those which he had to make and which affected him, either because of his work or because of people's expectations. M28 was, as we have shown, placed in the category 'Egyptian pioneer' by the consensus of public opinion in the community, and this consensus considered that such a categorization affected a person's social position. M28's work as Secretary and as member of the cotton work team meant that he was placed in contact with the other people involved.

All these remarks about voluntary and non-voluntary contacts must be placed carefully in context. Membership of the kibbutz was voluntary, but the consequences of Membership were not so to the same degree. Although a Member knew that he or she would be expected to help out in branches where extra help was needed, whilst accepting a permanent job within the kibbutz, following the choice between a limited number of branches, contact with the particular individuals involved was not a matter of choice. This contrasts

Fig 11: ACTUAL AND POTENTIAL CONTACTS OF M28 (early 1975)



KEY TO CONTENT OF LINKS

F = FRIENDS K = KIN W = WORK P = POP, SUPPLEMENT N = NEIGHBOURS
A = AGE GROUP C = CHILDRENS AGE GROUP D = DISLIKE

with the institutionalist view of the kibbutz as an entirely voluntary association of Members: it shows us that such a view is applicable at only one level, that of formal Membership, and that when dealing with non-structural social links, it is necessary to distinguish between degrees of choice if the analysis is to prove productive.

The first conclusion to be drawn from this section concerns the different characteristics of these non-structured social relations, compared with those of the formally defined links discussed in Chapter 5. The various diagrams used to map M28's social contacts have shown their operation within the various formal categories. This refers back to the remarks about the reinforcement of formal ties, when I referred to the Peruvian material (Long, 1972), and gives a slightly different focus on the kibbutz data. Until now, the emphasis has been on reinforcement as a method of activating formal ties: we can now add to this the observation that formal ties provide a kind of framework for social action, which, though it may not take place within this framework, does take place with reference to it, and may be influenced by it. Analytically, we are using the community's own definition of the types of formally defined links which existed. The maps of people's actual social contacts do not rest on indigenous definitions, except for some aspects of the 'friendship' category, but it is still possible to refer to the influence of such definitions upon them.

The second conclusion relates to the theme of the relation between ideology and social action in the kibbutz. It is, of course, difficult to separate the contacts, and the exchanges of information and support which take place between them, from the normative context in which these exchanges take place. To some extent, as I demonstrated in Chapter 5, formal social configurations, structured social links in the kibbutz, influence the actual conduct of people's social relations, and these form aspects of their normative context. The close relationship between social action and ideas is

thus demonstrated in the case of non-structured social links, as the effect of M28's active reinforcement only of a selection of the links available to him, was a reinterpretation of ideology, working through the links defined by the Movement, and by the kibbutz itself, to create M28's idiosyncratic activation of links. This shows the validity of MacIntyre's (1962) assertion of the inseparability of beliefs and actions (see the discussion in Chapter 1), and the necessity for the use only of heuristic distinctions between them.

The third case in this series is of M25, the daughter of M28. The use of this example provides a thread connecting the three cases, as we have moved from discussion of the Egyptian pioneer group, to one of its members, and hence to the daughter of that member.

3. M25: a Sabra of Goshen

M25 was born in 1950, and belonged to the first age group of Goshen. In 1970, whilst away from the kibbutz in the army, she married, and shortly afterwards gave birth to a son. After the birth, she left her husband, and returned, with the baby, to the kibbutz. She remained there, living near her parents, until and including the period of fieldwork. As a divorcée with a child, M25 was in a somewhat ambiguous position in the community: in some respects, she and her child constituted a family, and in others, she was a single person. She viewed herself as a single person with a child, and felt that people's expectations of her to behave as a respectable parent constrained her. She was a teacher in the elementary school on Goshen and also thought that this position caused people to expect her to behave respectably.[1] 'Respectability' in both these cases referred to

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(1) M25's feelings about the expectations of others seem to have been correct: criticism directed against her took the form of complaints that her behaviour was not respectable enough, that she spent too much time with the young people of the kibbutz.

her associations: people would not, she felt, like to see her going around with young, single people, and joining in their activities and entertainments.

Because she had a child, M25's potential contacts were wider than those of other single people. Her son (K52) was, in 1975, in a group with eight other children, and M25 frequently met their parents on her evening visits to the children's house. All the parents connected with one house had a common interest in its running and in the welfare of the children living in it.

As a teacher, M25 was placed in contact with another set of parents, those of the children whom she taught. The teachers and the metapelet of the house concerned were often criticised by these parents for some of the problems of the group of children under their responsibility. The children (aged 11 - 12 in 1975) also frequently criticised the workers in the house, whom they regarded as intruders into their territory.

Figure 12 (below, p.280) maps M25's most frequent social contacts in early 1975, her friends and her family.(1) Her workmates are not included, because she spent most of her working day with the children and deliberately avoided contact with her fellow workers. The link with X4 shown on the diagram was an exception to this: the friendship had begun with contact at work. X4 did not remain working in the school for the whole year.

The superimposed part of the diagram (ii) shows the content of links between M25's contacts. The density of the whole network is 64.4%, and its multiplexity, 58.6%. It is thus denser and more multiplex than either of the sets of links we have already examined. Fig. 13 (below), the sociomatrix, illustrates this density: we do not find here the separate interaction sets that appeared in the other diagrams of this kind.

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(1) Collected on the same basis and at the same time as those of M28 (see above).

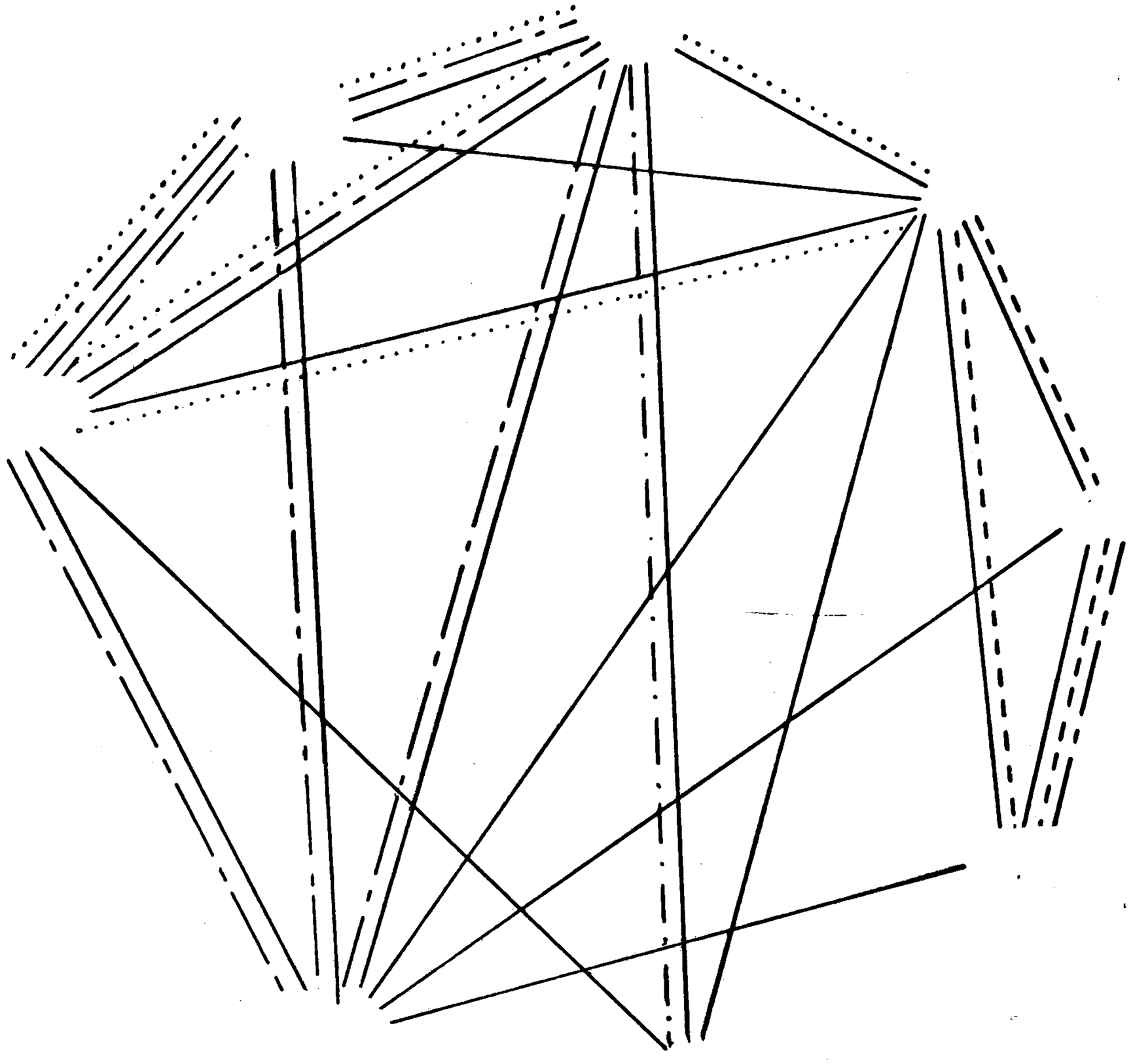
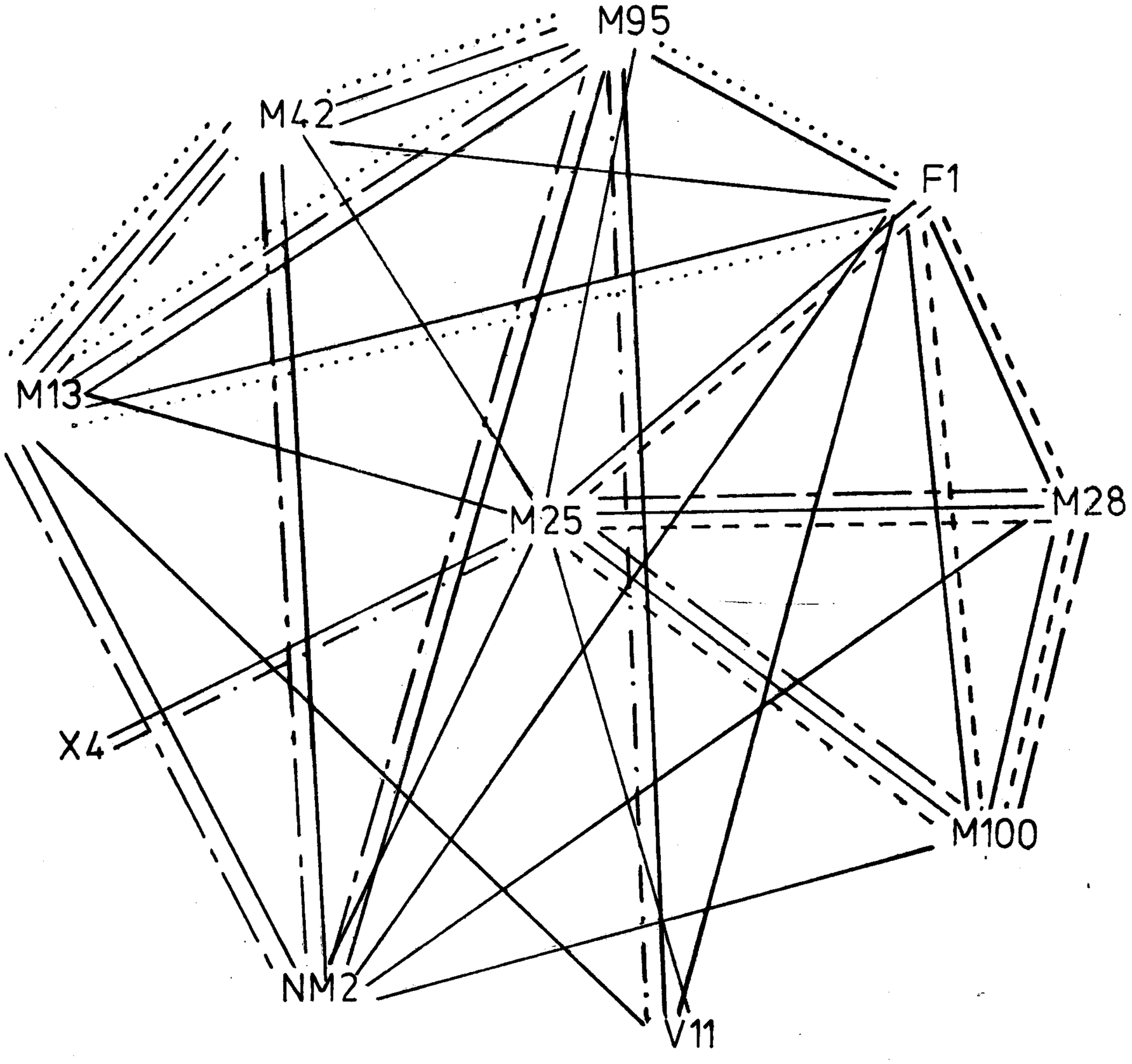


Figure 12: M25's Most Frequent Contacts and Content of Links (early 1975).

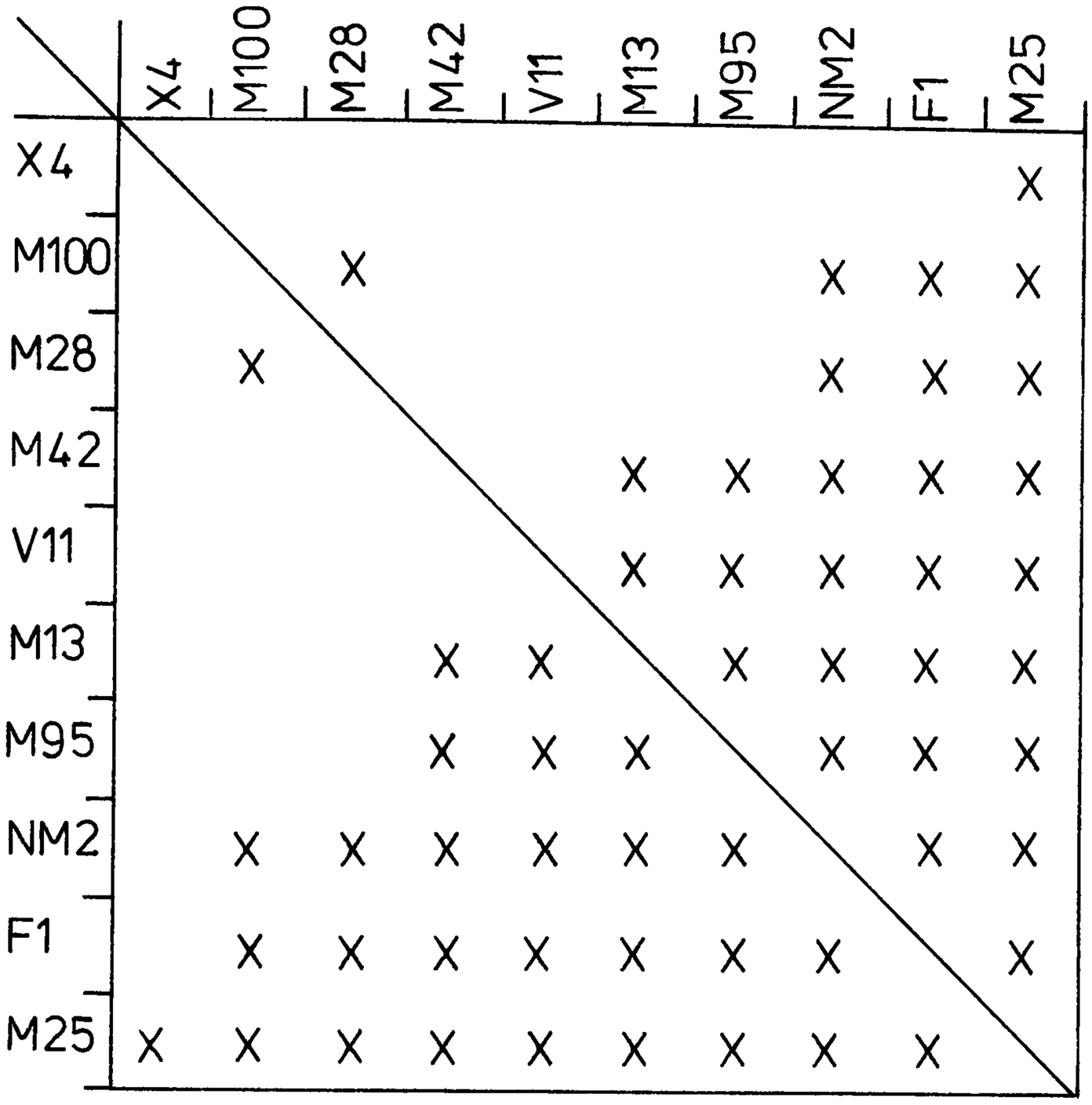
(ii)



Key

——— friendship
- - - - kin or affines
—·— work
——- neighbours
····· age group of Goshen

Figure 13: M25's Most Frequent Contacts (early 1975)



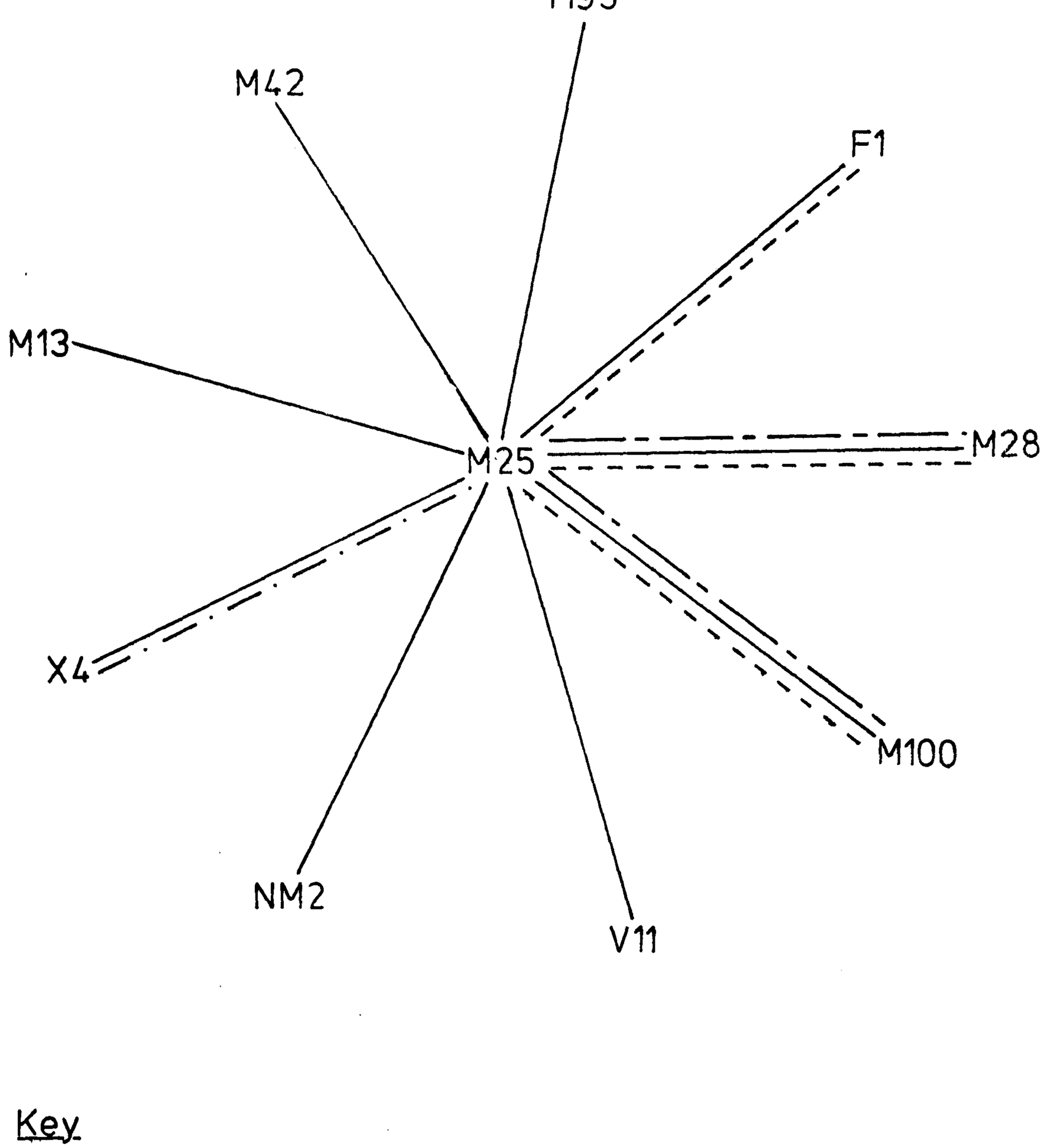
The only people of M25's network somewhat isolated from the rest were M28 and M100, her parents, and X4. X4, a soldier, was not interested in becoming integrated into the community: she left the kibbutz every weekend. Her relationship with M25 was formed at work, and when she changed her job, it was to travel daily to another kibbutz with three small children who attended the elementary school there.(1) Though she continued her relationship with M25 after this change of job, she had not wanted to form others, and now had little opportunity of doing so.

The sociomatrix thus shows M25, in her most frequent contacts, as part of an ego-centred interaction set. Figure 14 (below) shows the access to other categories of people which M25's contacts afforded her.

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(1) There were only three seven-year-olds on Goshen at this time, and three was not considered enough children to form a group. The groups on either side of them were considered too distant in age for these three to join them. Sending them to another kibbutz was not regarded as a desirable measure, but provided a solution to the problem.

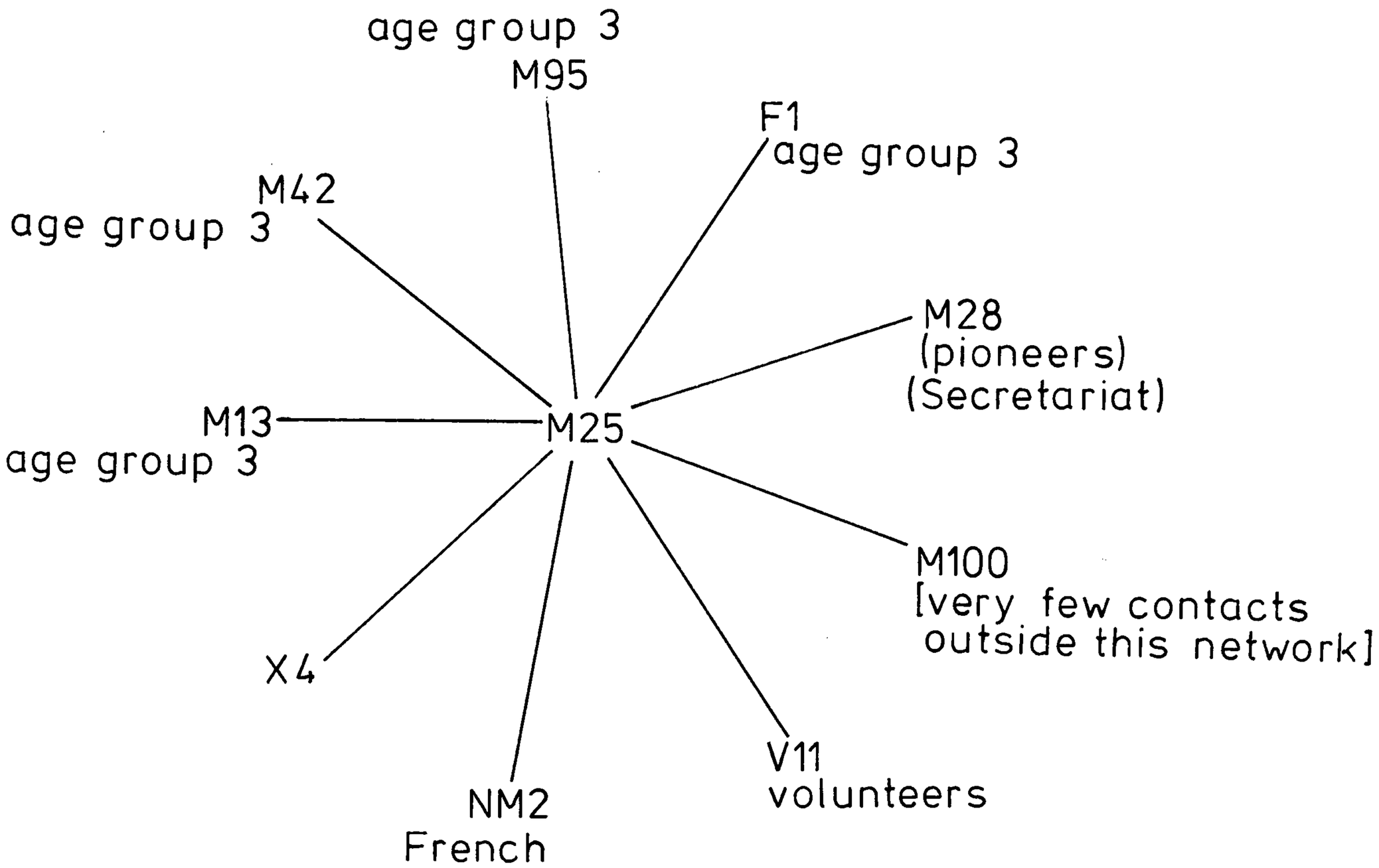
Figure 12: M25's Most Frequent Contacts and Content of Links (early 1975).



Key

——— friendship
- - - - kin or affines
— · — work
——— - neighbours
····· age group of Goshen

Figure 14: Potential Indirect Contacts: M25's Personal Network (early 1975)

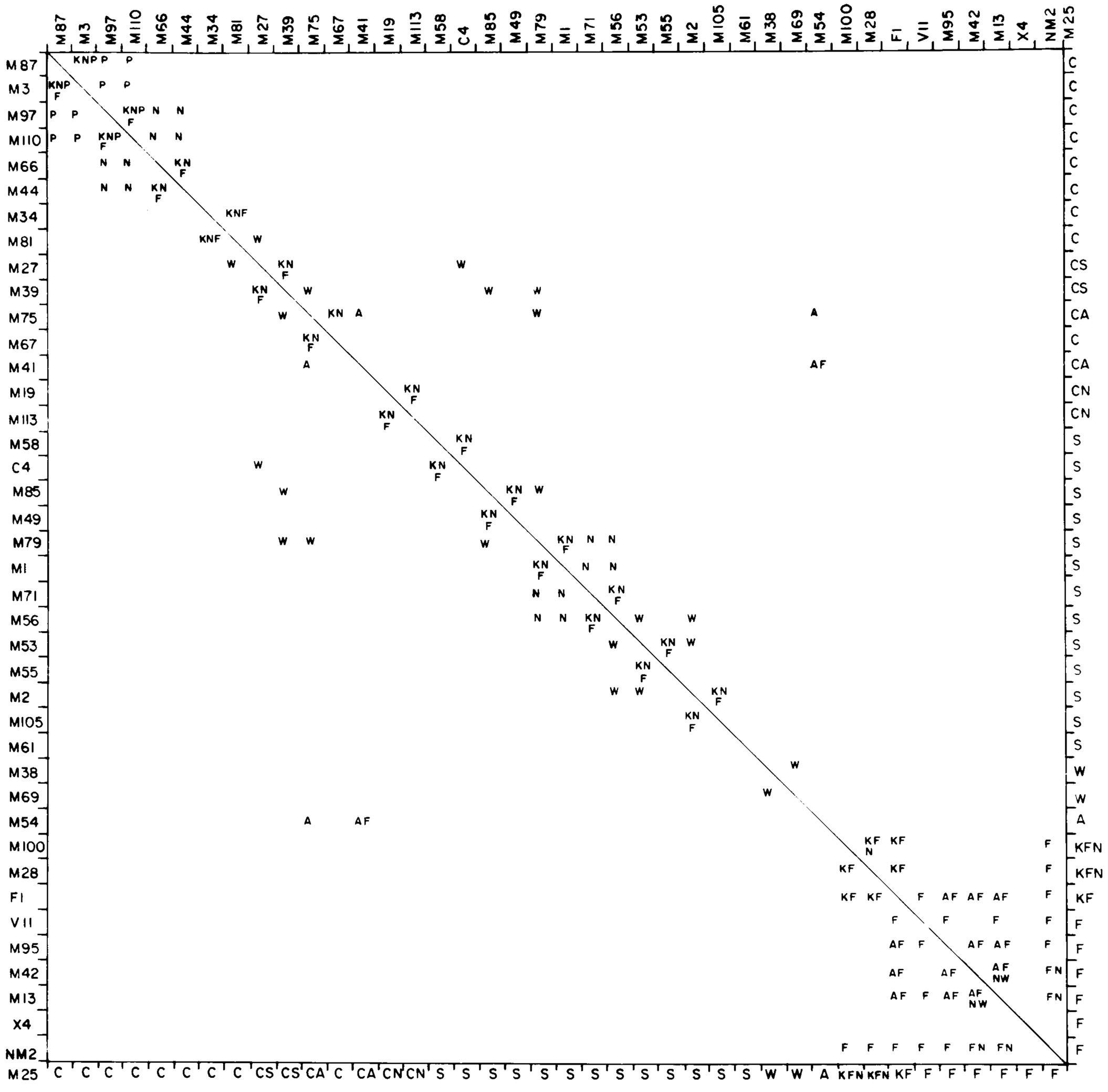


This list of access to other categories of people is related to the most frequent social contacts of each person in M25's network. We see from the diagram that her network did not afford the same kind of variety of access as her father's network afforded him. Access through her parents is shown in brackets because, as we have already established, frequent cross-generational social contact on Goshen was exceptional.

M25 therefore had access to age group 3 (through M13, M42, M95 and F1), to the French (through NM2) and to the volunteers (through V11). She had no access arising from her direct personal network to the other parents of young children.

We now turn to Figure 15 (below), which includes M25's most frequent contacts and her links with other people arising from formally defined social configurations. Her two permanent workmates, M38 and M69 appear, and two women from her own age group, M75 and M41. The other individuals

Fig. 15: ACTUAL AND POTENTIAL CONTACTS OF M 25 (early 1975)



KEY TO CONTENT OF LINKS

F = FRIENDS K = KIN W = WORK P = POP SUPPLEMENT N = NEIGHBOURS A = AGE GROUP

C = CHILDRENS AGE GROUP S = SCHOOL

in the diagram were all brought in contact with M25 by the communal education system. Those whose contact with M25 is listed as 'S' are the parents of the children in her school class. Those marked 'C' are the parents of the children in K52's age group. We have already noted that the former relationship (between the teacher and the pupils' parents) was to some extent antagonistic, so it is clear that M25 did not have particularly productive access to these people (from her own point of view). Those who had children in the same group as her son had almost no actual contact with her, outside that common interest, whereas the contacts between them were fairly extensive. K52 was a clever child, and had learnt to read by himself, before he was taught to do so in the kindergarten: this engendered some jealousy in the other parents, who were already participating in criticism of M25 and the necessity for her to conduct herself in a manner appropriate to a teacher and parent.

We find therefore that M25 had a wider numerical range of potential contacts than did her father: however, she was not able to utilize this potential as M28 was able to utilize his. Her immediate personal network was denser and more multiplex than her father's, and less open-ended.

The three cases discussed here have moved the analysis through several different levels of social action in the kibbutz. We have dealt mainly with people's social relations, rather than with historical processes taking place in society. All the sets of relations described have however been placed in a definite historical context - the period of M28's incumbency of the position of Secretary. None of the sets of relations discussed have been shown to be static, and their presentation thus confirms Turner's hypothesis that even a 'still' of social relations shows them to be "temporary structures .... incomplete, open-ended, unconsummated," (Turner, 1975, p.36).

C: Social Dramas and Action Sets

This section considers another type of data, that offered by series of events, the details of social process in the kibbutz. Two social dramas, the Washing Up, and Commemoration Day, will be used to illustrate how the different dimensions of ideology and social action can be examined using the approach and the analytical tools which I have advocated. The discussion is of course based on the accounts of social relations presented in this chapter and the preceding two.

1. The Washing Up

These events took place in the Summer of 1974, during my first, short period of fieldwork. The case is a comparatively simple one, and has been chosen because the simplicity of the events involved facilitates exposition of the complex analytical process of exposing the different dimensions of social relations and ideological interpretation relevant to the case.

V11, a volunteer, was working in the dining room, and M117 was washing up, a job to which he strongly objected. The Labour Organiser, M37 (who had allocated both of them their jobs) appeared, and M117 complained to him that V11 should be washing up, and he, M117, should be in the dining room. Members, he announced, should not wash up: it was work for volunteers. M37 retorted that Members should take their turns at the dirty jobs, and asked M117 why he considered himself so much better than V11. M117 returned to the washing up. V11 listened to the conversation, but did not contribute.

Table 8 (below) presents the variables relevant to this case. We should note that the confrontation between M37 and M117 was public, and took place within the hearing of all the workers in the kitchen and the dining room. Both M37 and M117 thought that V11 did not understand the

Table 8: Actors and their Attributes in the Social Drama 'The Washing Up'

Attributes	Actors V11	M117	M37
Social Category	Volunteer	Member	Labour Organiser Member
Permanent Social Network (actual and potential)	Volunteers	the French	Vattikim Official contact with whole kibbutz including volunteers
Image of Self	Insignificant	Important - an intellectual & ideologist	A principled Member of the vattikim category
Public Image	(case relates to this)	Ridiculous (a petty tyrant)	an Official a good kibbutznik a vattik
Referents in Conversation	(silent)	Importance of Members over volunteers	Ideology of Labour (official)
Assets Relevant to Case (a) explicit	(a) (M37)	(a) Member	(a) Official position. Loyalty to ideology
(b) implicit	(b) understood conversation	(b) V11 did not understand	(b) Seniority

conversation. Each actor in this drama had a different view of the situation: M117, who began the altercation, thought of himself as an ideologist and an intellectual, but public opinion on the kibbutz, including the opinion of his 'permanent social network' (see Table 8), labelled him a buffoon and a petty tyrant, famous for his ability to talk. M37 was a vattik, a member of the 1945-47 Egyptian pioneer group, and a well-liked and well-established Member of the kibbutz. In the dispute, he brought the ideology of the Movement to his defence: the idea of equality and the importance of manual work to self-realization and the rebirth of the Jewish people as a nation. His actual remarks referred implicitly to these aspects of the formal ideology.

M117, as a self-styled ideologist also followed these tenets: his interpretation of them was slightly different from M37's, in that he saw them to apply to the Members of the kibbutz, and not to volunteers, or to a situation in which volunteers were available to help. He was offering this reinterpretation to M37 as a reason for his objection to washing up. M37's assets, however, were too strong for M117: as a vattik, a respected Member of the kibbutz, and a pioneer, with all the strength of his official position, it was quite easy for him to squash M117's complaints, especially in this public context. M117 had failed to take this publicity into account: he considered that because V11, victim of his complaints, did not understand, the dispute was private.

The analysis of this drama concerns different levels of ideology and social action. Although only three actors, each with different social attributes, were involved, M37 was able to use the public context to define his own action set (the workers in earshot), to assert his own social position, and to effectively overcome M117. M117 was weak in any case, and M37's use of the public context served to weaken him further. He knew both M117's weaknesses and the ideology of the Movement, and that, publicly at least, most of the people hearing the dispute would support his official position and its formal ideological correlates.

The discussion of social configurations in the kibbutz thus provides the background to the social drama. It enables the inclusion of the social position of each person, and the delineation of their characteristics. The events themselves have been interpreted in relation to ideology and social action.

2. Commemoration Day

The second social drama is a little more complex, but also reveals the usefulness of the method established for understanding social processes

in the kibbutz.

Taking place in April, Commemoration Day remembers the six million Jews who died during Hitler's rule of Germany. In April 1975, Goshen held an evening meeting in the dining hall. Most of the pioneers attended, and the Europeans were particularly well represented. Very few of the younger generation were present. Part of the proceedings was to take the form of a formal debate between a Member who remembered the holocaust and a young one who did not. The two were to make speeches.

M26, representing the pioneers, spoke first of the suffering of the Jews in the ghettos of Europe, their efforts to resist, and their failure to prevent the tragedy. He stressed Israel's need to build upon the past, to base her society on strong values and to teach her children their history, the suffering that had preceded the foundation of their State.

M48, for the younger generation,said that Israel was obsessed with the holocaust, and that this prejudiced her relationship with the Arabs. He agreed that Israel would not have existed without the holocaust, but it should now be forgotten, and Israel should start anew. He finished by reading a story: "A little boy sees his mother crying after their house has been burnt down: 'Don't cry for those things and that furniture Mother, they're not important.' 'I'm not crying for them, son, but for the family tree, which was inside the house, and has been burnt with it.' 'Never mind Mother: I will make a new family tree for you, starting with me.' ".

According to the plan for the evening, that should have been the end of the debate, but M26 decided to reply to M48. He said that a new start such as that advocated by M48 was impossible: history could not be forgotten. M57, a pioneer, then joined in: Israel would not exist, she said, if it had not been for the holocaust, but the Jews would be making a mistake if they were to think that their State existed because of the generosity of the rest

of the world. It existed because its creation was in the interests of the powers in the world in 1948. The future success of Israel rested on the Jews alone: they must teach values and history, so that the children would understand the true nature of their country. The young would then recognize the real threats facing them, and would become soldiers willingly. When M57 had finished, the proceedings continued as planned.

This social drama concerns a situation which should have been predictable, in which the representatives of those who remembered the holocaust and those who did not should have given suitable speeches, symbolic perhaps, but offending no one, since it was, after all, a commemorative ceremony, not a political discussion. The formal debate was a new feature, introduced in 1975, in an attempt to make a change from poetry reading and recorded music.

After the ceremony, many people were angry, especially the pioneers, some of them because of the political discussion that had taken place, and others with M48's remarks, which had served to start the discussion. Others commented upon the attendance at the meeting.

The development of the debate was unexpected: for us, it throws into relief aspects of the generation gap, and its importance to social relations on Goshen. During the ceremony, the reaction to M48's remarks was voiced in no uncertain terms by M26 and M57. Both sides in the discussion saw the attitudinal gap which lay between them, the different views of Zionism.

In speaking in the discussion, M26 and M57 were breaking the rules: no voice was raised against them during the ceremony. Afterwards, those who had organised it criticised not M26 and M57 who had participated in the discussion, but M48, whose remarks had led them to start it. We find here similarities with the previous drama: the pioneer generation asserted itself, bringing the power of its own interpretation of Movement ideology to its

defence. M48's efforts at ideological reorientation took place on a formal, public occasion; M117's remarks about the washing up took place in an informal, but still public, context. The fact that criticism of the discussion on Commemoration Day focussed not upon those who had taken part but upon the representative of the younger generation whose views were considered to have started it, further signifies the orientation of the pioneers: they were not at fault, they were standing up in defence of Movement ideology, as they saw it. Young people who commented on the discussion criticized M26, saying that it was his fault that it had begun.

The majority of people present at the ceremony belonged to the pioneer generation. High school children returned to Goshen in the evening so that they could attend, but only six went, with their parents. The most notable absences were of 'the French', noticed and criticised by other participants of both generations. They were critised for their apathy about the holocaust, and the critics reiterated the view of its relevance to the history of the State of Israel.

The action sets in this social drama are difficult to delineate in relation to the interaction clearly visible in the drama. However, we have been able to show that the drama was clearly related to the generation gap, and that M26 and M57 formed, in the meeting, an action set which came to the defence of the pioneers. And the criticism after the meeting, directed at M48 came from further action sets with the same aim. It seems that, in this case, the action set coincided with the pioneer category: it was not confined only to those who spoke at the ceremony, as others gave tacit support to M26 and M57 whilst they spoke, and active support in criticising M48. The figurative aspect of the generation gap was not a continuously clear feature of life on Goshen, but lay in the background most of the time. This social drama provides us with a case of its becoming explicit: we find that very little active expression had to take place for the pioneers

to form an effective action set to counter the representative of the younger generation. This phenomenon is an example of the activation of potential links, those in this case being generational age links.

M48 was later to become Secretary of Goshen, an event which I have already discussed. In that discussion, I noted the difficulties he encountered in dealing with the pioneers, especially those holding formal office (see Chapter 4, pp.189-190). Then, the focus was on the classificatory aspects, formally defined social links. By using the social drama and the action set, we have been able to peel away further layers of social interaction in the kibbutz, and have used these devices to show the operational aspects of the generation gap in a particular situation.

This social drama has shown us several different levels of social action in the kibbutz: formal ideological debate, informal criticism couched in terms of the generation gap, differing attitudes towards ideology and the holocaust, the efforts of the pioneers to defend what they saw as the meaning of ideology. The model has proved capable of operating at all these levels.

Conclusion

This chapter and the preceding two form the discussion of social configurations in the kibbutz, moving from demography and the history of population supplements, through structuring principles to the details of social interaction and social dramas. The discussion has proceeded from the general to the particular, and has thus operated at several analytical levels, which were historically defined.

Formally defined social relations, those related to the Movement's control over the kibbutz and structured relations within the kibbutz itself, have not appeared separate from every day social interaction, as a structural functionalist would have represented them. Similarly, social action has been

shown to be one of several dimensions of social life, not an isolated variable completely detached from any formal definitions of social relations, as an actor-oriented approach would have shown it. Ideology, too, has not been removed from social action, as in the work of institutional analysts. I argued in Chapter 1 that a focus either on belief or on social action could prevent analysis of the other, and that a separation between them hindered examination of the different levels of their expression and operation in society. The method adopted here has allowed a purely heuristic distinction between them to be drawn.

By working with a flexible definition of ideology, it has been possible to show its varying expression at different analytical levels. Thus, for the pioneers, the ideology of the kibbutz Movement provided a stimulus to begin a new society, and thus acted as a model for a way of life (cf. Geertz, 1964). The discussion of formally defined social links in the kibbutz showed the determinant aspects of ideology: the ways in which the operation of ideologically defined social relations effectively modified the expression of the ideology itself were also demonstrated.

For the second generation, ideology was a model of and a model for their way of life (cf. Geertz, 1964). Their case offers a particularly stringent test for the method applied in this study, because it involves a situation in which ideology is 'given' rather than adopted (as it was in the case of the pioneers). The case is thus comparable with others in which an ideology is part of life from the start. The pioneers of the kibbutz provide an unusual and special case of the deliberate adoption of an ideology, and a deliberate attempt to form a society following it. Their experience has been used as a starting point, firstly because they began the history of Goshen, secondly to emphasise the dynamic inherent in the dialectical approach, and, thirdly, to depart from the tradition in much of British (and other) social anthropology of discussing a society at a particular point in time

(the period of fieldwork), and referring only briefly to its history, as if the period of fieldwork represented the end of that history. I have tried to emphasize that my fieldwork on Goshen was a small part of its history.

In Chapters 7 and 8, I will concentrate on the period during which data were collected on Goshen, and on the details of social process. The historical focus will be maintained in the discussion of detailed case material. Chapter 7 focusses on the life history of an age-group of Goshen-born sabras, and the interaction of the members of the group during a critical stage of its development. Chapter 8 looks at a problem family in Goshen, one which found integration into the community almost impossible, and its battle for survival to stay in the kibbutz.

CHAPTER 7

THE CYCLAMEN: AN AGE-GROUP OF GOSHEN

Introduction

The data presented in this Chapter are of a slightly different nature from those considered so far, in that they consist of detailed case histories. Both structured and non-structured links will be examined, and social dramas will be used to complement the discussion. The theme of the chapter is the history of the third age-group of children of Goshen, which I will call 'the Cyclamen'. The group consists of eleven individuals, seven female and four male, brought up together under the collective[1] education system of the kibbutz. All are of approximately the same age, born 1952-53: there is an age difference of about eighteen months between them. Table 9 (below) introduces the individuals involved, giving their numbers (see Appendix IV), fictitious names, parents (if resident on Goshen in 1975-76), parents' nationalities and siblings, and (under the heading 'Situation 1975-76'), their work, place of residence, marital status and children (if any) during the period of fieldwork.

In Chapters 4, 5 and 6, I demonstrated how the historical classification of analytical levels was developed, and followed through each level according to that classification. In focussing on specific case material from the period of fieldwork, I hope to reinforce and support my assertion of the utility of this method, approached through a dialectical mode of thought. The discussion in this chapter will show how the dynamic inherent in the approach can be maintained even when focussing on a specific, limited period of time. I will present background material in the form of life histories of each member of the group prior to the period of fieldwork, which is essential to the understanding of social interaction taking place within the group at that time.

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(1) Some writers (e.g. Golan, 1961) use the terms "collective" and "communal" interchangeably. I use "collective" throughout, except when quoting others.

Table 9 : The Cyclamen

*Unless otherwise stated, each person was resident on Goshen and unmarried

No.	Name	Sex	Parents on Kibbutz & their Nationalities	Siblings No.	Siblings Sex	Siblings D.O.B.	Situation 1975-76*
F6	Maya	F	M1 Egypt M79 Tunisia	A6 K26 K47	M F F	1955 1958 1964	Outside Goshen working
M95	Anat	F	M14 Egypt				Student (Roses)
F1	Caramit	F	M28 Egypt M100 Roumania	M25	F	1950	Outside Goshen Student
M13	Ya'ir	M	M105 Roumania M2 Germany	M93 K42	F F	1955 1964	Cotton
M73	Illan	M	M4 Egypt M90 Poland	F4 K9	M M	1948 1964	Student (Metal
M42	Avi	M	M112 Israel M38 Israel	M9 K29	F M	1956 1961	Cotton (→ Travel)
M8	Nitzan	M					Travel (→ Cotton)
M5	Sharon	F	M47 Egypt M57 Italy	K7	F	1958	Student
M65	Irella	F		M106	F	1950	Children/Kitchen Spouse = M31
F7	Hadass	F	M61 Egypt	K48	F	1964	Outside Goshen working
F5	Liora	F	M91 Poland M24 Israel	F9 K75	F M	1955 1960	Holland: with spouse and child

The discussion presents a contrast to other studies of the kibbutz, particularly those dealing with the collective education system (e.g. Spiro, 1971, and Bettelheim, 1971),[1] which have offered synchronic accounts of it. Since the collective education system of the kibbutz has been a topic of some hot debate in the literature, I feel that a focus upon it will serve to complement the discussion considerably, and emphasize the differences between my account and earlier ones.

Ideologically, the age group is particularly interesting, as the collective education system, established by the pioneers, was intended to be the major agent of socialisation for the new generation of kibbutz members. It can therefore be used in the discussion of the relation between ideology and social action in the kibbutz, and, as a structured set of social links in the kibbutz, provides us with useful case material for the discussion of the details of the non-structured social links relevant to its action both as a group and as a set of individuals. Additionally, it is interesting for the different levels and types of ideological interpretation operating within it and in regard to it.

Several themes complementary to the discussion of structured and non-structured social links and of the relevant processes of ideological interpretation run through the chapter, in particular that of the generation gap (introduced in Chapter 4). Other themes are the family in the kibbutz, the collective education system itself, and the place of formal categories in the community. Particular mention will be made of the ideological orientation of the age group in comparison with that of the pioneers, the parental generation.

The individuals in this group form for the kibbutz a test of its raison d'être. I have already indicated (particularly in Chapter 3) that the kibbutz was intended to be a new way of life, and to produce a new kind of

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(1) Both these texts were criticised in Chapter 2.

people who would win self-respect and build themselves into a nation through and upon the basis of hard work. These people would found and perpetuate such a self-respecting nation. The hoped-for result of the efforts of the pioneers therefore was that their children would remain in the kibbutz to bring up their own families. There was no compulsion to stay: every child was given a choice as to whether or not he or she wished to remain on the kibbutz and become a Member. Membership of the kibbutz was thus a choice both for the pioneers and for their children: the main difference between the two generations lay in the fact that the first was born outside the kibbutz, and the second, born and brought up within it according to its ideological principles. The second generation's view of the kibbutz was therefore different from that of the pioneers. An approach through data on the sabras will help compare and contrast the two. Furthermore, during the period of fieldwork, the group concerned had reached the stage at which it was in the process of deciding whether or not to commit itself to Membership of Goshen. Examination of this decision making process again complements the discussion of the generation gap.

The chapter is divided into four sections. The first section deals with the character of the Cyclamen and the upbringing of the group as a whole, which will be discussed with close reference to the collective education system. I will emphasize in particular the attitudes towards and expectations of the group on the part of the rest of the community. Secondly, I will look at each of the individuals in the group in turn, building up the basis of a picture of the relationships between them during the period of fieldwork. Emphasis will be placed on the dynamic, developmental aspects of the relationships. Based on the data introduced in the second section, the third will focus on detailed interaction during 1975-76, and attempts will be made to demonstrate the group's position in the community, and the different kinds of social support which it offered to the individuals

involved. Social dramas will be used to complement the discussion, and I will also examine the orientation of the group towards the rest of the community. Finally, I will use the detailed discussion of actual social interaction within the group, and in regard to the rest of the community, as the basis for a more general examination of the generation gap. This will involve analysis of the choices made by the various members of the group regarding their futures in relation to the kibbutz, which will be closely related to the dimension of ideology.

A : The Character of the Cyclamen

When they founded the kibbutz, the pioneers intended it to be a new way of life, and not a communal experiment in which they would indulge for a time. They were therefore hopeful that their children, who were to be brought up in this new community, would decide to carry on the work that they, the pioneers, had started. According to Spiro, we are dealing with a "child-oriented community par excellance", (Spiro, 1971, p.49). He adds that

> In observing parental behaviour, and from interviews with them, one cannot escape the conclusion that children are prized above all else, and that no sacrifice is too great to make for them,
>
> (Spiro, 1971, p.49)

Observation on Goshen confirmed this, and it was especially true of the pioneers, who were deeply concerned with the choices which their children would make. Considerable material and ideological resources were invested in the care of children of the kibbutz. Members of Goshen, consulting the Secretariat about requests for money and matters concerning work, were told repeatedly of the necessity of making sacrifices for the children, and of the importance of high productivity to provide the required economic resources for their care.

The Cyclamen's upbringing and education were orthodox, according to

the tenets of the Movement, and took place during a period when the policy of ideological collectivism (see Chapter 3) was rather successfully operated, both within the Movement as a whole, and in Goshen in particular. Collective education is a feature peculiar to the kibbutz, and contains a strong ideological element, which can be traced through the history of the Movement. Its origins lie, according to Spiro (1971) and Baratz (1954), in practical considerations: how to look after children whilst retaining women in the labour force. The solution to this problem chosen by the early pioneers in Palestine was that one woman should look after several children: people felt that this would enable a majority of mothers to continue in productive work. Through the operation of precedents, and later of the policy of ideological collectivism, the ideological dimension of collective education quickly became established, until the system was no longer based purely on questions of practicality, but on principle, connected, both in the formal ideology and in interpretations operated in Goshen to the abolition of the traditional family in the kibbutz, and to the inculcation of communalistic values in its children. Golan, one of the most important proponents of the system within the Movement, argues that

> Collective education is a necessary result of the special needs of the kibbutz and has been formed and shaped in accordance with these needs,
>
> (Golan, 1961, p.21)

He stresses the advantages of the system over that of education within the family:

> One of the most striking characteristics of parental education is its private nature. All of the deleterious effects of parental education are concealed by the very structure of the family, problems are either ignored or enclosed within the four walls of the home.
>
> (Golan, 1961, p.21)

These remarks were made by Golan during the period 1957-59, when the children of the Cyclamen were very young.

Tiger and Shepher (1975) stress that throughout its history,

> .... Collective education aims at socializing children to develop a personality suited to a happy life in the kibbutz.
>
> (Tiger and Shepher, 1975, p.56)

Hashomer Hatzair, of all the kibbutz movements, has clung most tenaciously to the principles of collective education, and has shown itself the least willing to compromise. Though the system has been most strongly defended by Hashomer Hatzair, in the 1970's there have been movements from within, attempting to modify it. On Goshen, during the period of fieldwork, such critical stirrings came mainly from those who were brought up in the kibbutz.(1) The Cyclamen tended in general to be critical of ideological principles propounded by their parents, and in particular of the collective education system.

The ideological emphasis on collective education has been increased by pressure from outside the Movement. The system has been a major subject of commentary on the kibbutz as a form of society, particularly by writers in the psycho-analytic tradition.(2) People writing ideological texts have defended the system of collective education to the hilt. Leon, for example, argues that

> It is undeniable that nobody can love their children like parents, but far more doubtful whether this automatically makes them all the most suitable people to accept exclusive responsibility for educating them.
>
> (Leon, 1964, p.105)

Golan defended collective education in the 1950's:

> .... the fact that no delinquency, sexual abberations or child neglect are to be found within its domain, that the incidence of emotional disturbances is low, that the physical, intellectual and ethical standards of the pupils are commendable is a source of encouragement and evidence of substantial achievement. It is also our warrant for attempting to present communal education to a wider public.
>
> (Golan, 1961, p.43)

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(1) People were suggesting for example, that children should spend the night in their parents' houses. This measure had already been put into operation in several kibbutzim of the Ichud Federation, and those suggesting it on Goshen undoubtedly knew this.

(2) See for example Spiro (1971), Bettelheim (1971) and Bowlby (1965).

Almost from birth, children of Hashomer Hatzair kibbutzim are placed in groups, and spend most of their time in a children's house, seeing their parents for a specified period during the afternoon, on Saturdays, and at festivals. Nursing mothers visit the baby house to feed their babies at the allotted times, and mothers of children up to kindergarten age visit their offspring for about an hour during the mornings. In the 1970's, parents' visits to their children are much more frequent than they were during the 1950's when the children of the Cyclamen were small. At that time, the metapelet reigned supreme in the children's house, and parents were simply not allowed in except at the allotted times.

An integral part of collective education is training for work. From the age of five, children have a duty rota in their house, and take turns doing such small tasks as tidying up, laying tables, helping to clear up after meals, and so on. Later on, the amount of work expected of the children increases, until in the final year of school, they give one day's work a week to their kibbutz, as well as performing various duties in the High School. In the 1950's, the amount of work the children were called upon to do was much greater: almost no hired labour was taken on at this time, and there were no volunteers from outside, so these children contributed towards the seasonal requirements of the agricultural economy. In kibbutzim like Goshen, new and poor, there was little mechanisation at that time, so much labour was required for such jobs as cotton picking which were later to be done by machines. Thus a large portion of the education of the Cyclamen consisted of hard, physical work.

At the age of twelve, the Cyclamen were sent to High School on another kibbutz: Goshen was too small to merit a High School of its own. There, the group was combined with children from other kibbutzim to form a class of about thirty. The Cyclamen retained its identity however, and boasted of the qualities of Goshen over the other kibbutzim involved.

Another important aspect of collective education is the ideological training involved. This has three main elements in Hashomer Hatzair:

1. Pioneering Zionism: the ideal of the pioneer and his mission in the rebirth of the Jewish people:
2. Socialism: the importance of a just and equal society:
3. Interpersonal Life: the importance of the elimination of alienation,[1] that as well as adhering to the values of the first and second elements, the kibbutz must preserve individual dignity and self-awareness.

At about twelve years of age, the children become members of the Youth Movement, and go to regular meetings, on camps and hikes, in all of which the above values are stressed. The values are taught as paradigms for a way of life (the kibbutz), and efforts are made in the education system to inculcate an awareness of their relation to everyday life, and their possible applications. For example, the Cyclamen, whilst at High School, were given an essay to write, entitled "What do you see as the ideal society, and what would you do to bring it about?" This combined theory and practice: values appeared not as abstract concepts, but as intimately related and fundamental to everyday life.

Historically, Hashomer Hatzair has tended to concentrate on the first two of the above values, to the exclusion of the third. They relate essentially to collectivities, the first to the nation as a whole, and the second to communalism as practised in the kibbutz. In Goshen, the pioneers, whom I have shown to be effectively the most powerful sector of the community (see Chapters 4 and 5) were committed to this differential stress. We will find that for the Cyclamen, the third value was of particular importance when

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(1) This concept of alienation refers, in Movement ideological material, to the return to the soil, and the creation of the 'new man' (see Talmor, 1967). To become a self-respecting nation, the Jews would have to remove themselves from their parasitic position in the Diaspora, and regenerate their proletarian spirit in their own land, tilling the soil, in an intimate relationship with the means of production. Each individual would thus experience the development of a new, integrated (and no longer alienated) consciousness.

they came to decide their futures. Entrenched orthodoxy in the pioneers of Goshen led to a situation in which the pioneers' children were needed as members, in which the focus on them was exaggerated by the existence of the generation gap, and in which their ideological education had concentrated on those values which had exacerbated the situation, whilst giving little regard to the value which became particularly relevant to them when they reached the age of decision.

I have mentioned above that the upbringing of the Cyclamen was orthodox, and that the rules were strictly enforced. Further examples of this are firstly, the fact that the children were all dressed exactly the same, girls and boys: there were no sexual differences in dress until well into high school, when the girls were allowed to wear skirts. Secondly, once a week, the group would receive a ration of chocolate, which the metapelet would divide into exactly equal portions. Thirdly, family life was much less privatized than it was later to become: for example, afternoon refreshments were taken in the dining hall and families had very little personal property. These examples indicate the stress on formal equality, that everyone's needs were the same, and could be satisfied in the same way. Furthermore, the stress on communalistic rather than personal values is evident in the examples given.

The group as children did everything together. In 1975, they explained that they were like brothers and sisters to each other, and frequently referred to such things as having taken baths together until the age of ten, to indicate their fraternal and sororal intimacy. Throughout High School, they shared rooms, with members of the opposite sex in some cases. The intimacy of age groups in the kibbutz is clearly described by Spiro (1971, pp.345-462). Golan clearly states for us the purpose of the groups:

> The educational group is the centre of individual education and of the social life of the pupils. It is an all inclusive life-unit, identical with its members' school class and youth movement group. It is the focal point where all the spheres of life and activity of

> the large community intersect. It is the children's home, and it binds every one of its members by a deep sense of loyalty.
>
> (Golan, 1961, p.41)

This purpose will be investigated in more detail when we come to consider the individuals of the group: for the moment, it suffices to mention that the intimacy between them was one of the consequences of such an orientation.

The first major separation between the members of the group for long periods came when they reached eighteen years old and began their army service, in the case of the Cyclamen, between 1970 and 1971. For them, separation during army service was exaggerated by the Yom Kippur War of October 1973, in that the war lengthened the period between visits home. In spite of this, the group remained a strong source of identification and support. By 1975, during the processes of decision-making, it was beginning to weaken, as I will show.

On Goshen, in 1975, our age group was recognised and defined by the community as a whole, and referred to as 'so-and-so's group', the individual's name varying according to the conversation. The names usually chosen were those of members more or less permanently resident on the kibbutz. When discussed with strangers, sabras were described according to their age-group affiliation. The name of the group - the Cyclamen - was almost never used: group names being used mainly to identify younger children of pre-High School age. Members of the Cyclamen themselves would refer to "my group".

A sabra born on Goshen was often referred to as ben-kibbutz or bat-kibbutz, (son or daughter of the kibbutz). These children had known and had been known to the Members of their parents' generation since birth. Several women of the pioneer generation had been in contact with them as metaplot: the strength of the bond between the metaplot and the children is attested by Spiro (1971) and Golan (1961). Some of their school teachers were

still Members of Goshen in 1975. Thus, people apart from their parents were linked with these children in various ways, as functionaries of various kinds, and through the relationships between the Members of the pioneer generation. All the adults with whom the Cyclamen had contact constituted a community to which they belonged of their own choice,and all had a common interest in the children, particularly because of the ideological orientation discussed above: many of them had additional interest following personal contact. In general, Members of the pioneer generation exhibited concern as to the decisions which the members of the Cyclamen would make about their lives, and expressed the hope that they would become Members of Goshen. Many of the pioneers felt affectionate towards members of the group, and were personally concerned with their happiness and welfare.

Some members of the Cyclamen were more popular than others in the community: judgement depended on several factors, particularly the general attitude towards their families, and also, a certain ideal of a <u>sabra</u> as physically good-looking, clean-living and intelligent. The characteristics attributed to the sabras and the expectations of them were strongly influenced by attitudes towards their parents and their standing in the community.

I have already shown that ideologically, the influence of parents on their children was played down: emphasis was definitely on the community rather than the family, as the examination of the Movement's defence of collective education indicated. On Goshen in everyday life, the parents were considered of great importance in the formation of a child's character, and a significant influence on his or her eventual fate. We will find that some parents were able to use their own position in the community to further their children's careers. By the 1970's, the prospects of sabras such as the Cyclamen were strongly affected by the existence of friends and relations outside the community: in the early days, the acceptance of help from such

people would have been firmly condemned, but by the time the Cyclamen were ready to ask for it, they were allowed to make use of outside help. In 1958, the General Council of the Movement had made the following statement:

> Any resources (assets) - in cash or kind - which any member .... receives from non-kibbutz sources, including inheritances, restitution funds, proceeds from sales of works of art or from writing etc., are the property of the respective kibbutz.
>
> (Viteles, 1967, p.394)

I will show that by 1975 in Goshen, such resources had a definite effect on the range of choices available to those with access to them, in spite of the above rule, to which other kibbutzim still adhered strictly.

B: The Members of the Cyclamen

In this section, I will introduce the members of the Cyclamen. Separate accounts will be given of each individual, and will be used to build up a picture of the relationships between the members of the group through its upbringing, and to provide the background to the discussion (Section C) of the group during the period of fieldwork. The reader is referred to Table 9 (p.295) for a summary of general data about each individual.

The case studies are intended to prepare ground for the analysis of specific examples of social interaction during the period of fieldwork, and for the discussion of choices made by the people involved regarding the kibbutz. They therefore refer to particular aspects of the life histories of each individual which are relevant to these later remarks.

Within the group, then, I note in particular the position of each person through childhood and in later life, emphasising the attitudes of the other children towards him or her. It is important to note that the 'uniformity' stressed in its education did not in fact extend to the social position of each child in the group, and the kinds of attitudes they

expressed towards each other, and the ways in which they interacted. Observation of the interaction of small children on Goshen during the period of fieldwork indicated that relationships between them also did not conform to the ideological uniformity expected of them. These remarks do not simply refer to the different personalities of the children in such groups (which are assumed), but to social action, directed towards others. Thus, to draw a comparison with Spiro's (1971) elaborate accounts of the behaviour of small children in the kibbutz, he is searching for the personality of the children, whereas the present study is concerned with social action. The 'uniformity' to which I refer is associated not with personality structure then, but with such matters as differential attitudes, varying degrees of support and interaction, and equality in, for example, the allocation of group resources, whether social or material.

For each individual, I will provide extensive data on his or her family background. Previous accounts (again, Spiro, 1971, and Bettelheim, 1971) have tended to regard the children's groups as existing in a virtual social vacuum: they mention visits to the parents, and the existence of extensive interaction between parents and their children, but do not examine in any detail the influence of the parents on their offspring, particularly in relation to attitudes expressed towards and treatment of the children by other Members of the kibbutz, which, I will argue, are influenced by the Members' attitudes towards the parents. Also, the ideological interpretations offered by the children themselves regarding the kibbutz are related to their family backgrounds. The accounts of each individual in the Cyclamen will also refer to the expectations of them held by other Members of the kibbutz, which show a clear relationship with reactions to their families.

A further feature important to the discussion is the social position of the families in the kibbutz, their social links, which, as I showed in the discussion of social configurations in the kibbutz, were important to

their ability or inability to mobilize social support. Each individual in the Cyclamen can therefore be seen to have had two potential sets of links offering support, firstly from the group itself, and secondly from his or her own family. Connections outside the kibbutz, to which I have already referred, tended to be with kin, and links of this type were also particularly relevant to the activities of certain members of the Cyclamen after they had finished their army service.

All those in the Cyclamen were children of pioneers of the kibbutz, and thus represent the second generation. Because of this, an examination of their history can be used to complement the discussion of the generation gap. For some of the Cyclamen, whose parents had left the kibbutz before 1975, this lack of nearby parental support in the pioneer generation was particularly important. Others, whose parents were not only pioneers, but also belonged to the elite which had developed, the support available in the first generation was much stronger.

As the accounts of each individual are given then, I will bring out the above aspects, to which particular importance is attached.

1. Maya

Both her parents were pioneers of the kibbutz, her father (M1) from Egypt and her mother (M79) from Tunisia. They had both lived on the kibbutz since its foundation. When Maya was twenty two years old, in 1975, her father was Economic Manager of the kibbutz - he had been offered a job in social research, but the kibbutz had asked him to refuse it because he was needed to take the position of Economic Manager. It was not his first incumbency of the office: his experience was required to sort out the mess left by the previous holder, who had been incompetent. M1 knew this, and worked many extra hours at his job, helping in other branches when his expertise there was required. He was much respected in the

community for his hard work, but his family proved a liability. His wife was generally characterised as 'half mad', and there were frequent crises both in his family life and in the social life of the kibbutz due to her. Her four children were all fat, since she was convinced that only fat children were healthy - they were thus singled out by the other children for ridicule and a certain amount of cruelty. Another aspect of M79's character was her anti-Gentilism. At one point, she became so agitated about the marriages between kibbutzniks and Gentiles that a special meeting with some officials of the Movement was arranged for her to discuss the matter and to put her mind at rest. Generally, on Goshen, efforts were made to appease her.

Maya had a brother and two sisters, all younger than herself. In 1975, they were aged twenty (A6), seventeen (K26) and eleven (K47). The boy was in the army, the elder girl was in High School, and the younger one at school on Goshen. Of the whole family, Maya was closest to her brother and her father, and frequently had savage quarrels with her mother.

As a child, Maya was fat, and unpopular in the group. Her unpopularity was reinforced by the accusation that she was ugly and dreamy, never knowing what was going on around her - her nickname was 'Maya in the clouds'. When the group was in High School, only Caramit (3, below) would agree to share a room with Maya - she herself was extremely popular, and had nothing to lose by doing so.

Maya confessed to having been completely lost in the army, finding the world outside Goshen to be strange and unwelcoming. She did however enjoy the opportunities to meet people, especially in the second year of service. When she had finished the army, she returned to the kibbutz, not because she particularly wanted to, but because she had nowhere else to go. She spent a year there, working in the kitchen, which she hated, and trying to decide what to make of her life. She saw the main trouble as lying in the

fact that her parents had already done the only thing that was really worth doing - that is, founding the kibbutz. During this year, she established contact with the volunteers, and was influenced by one of them to improve her English, and to take a university training to become a dentist's assistant (a job to which she had been introduced in the army). She was soon dissatisfied with her life of studying late every evening, and returning to the kibbutz late at night, and decided to find accommodation near the university. This took a long time, and in the space of six months, she lived in three different places. She then moved in with her boyfriend, who was despised by the rest of the Cyclamen, and adored by her mother, who foresaw marriage. This relationship was very stormy, with repeated separations and reconciliations. When she had finished her course, Maya had a variety of jobs, both within her profession and in other fields. She was generally dissatisfied with her lot, and resolved to try a course in creative drama, with a view to becoming a teacher. She had by this time decided to leave the kibbutz, and to give up her Membership and her room.

In 1975, her main contact with the group was through Caramit, who lived nearby in the city. Maya visited the kibbutz only rarely, and stated that she was no longer interested in the other members of the Cyclamen. Before Nitzan (7, below) went abroad, she spent much time with him, but when he returned, she expressed 'disgust' at his general demeanour.

Maya's history, in the eyes of the rest of the group, served only to confirm their characterisation of her as 'Maya in the clouds'.

2. Anat

Her parents were both Egyptians and pioneers of Goshen. They were divorced when she was very young, and her father remained on the kibbutz. Her mother remarried, and moved to another kibbutz, which Anat visited frequently. She had a stepbrother there, and no other siblings.

Anat's father (M14) did not remarry. He was rather a shy man, generally liked, but with few close friends on Goshen. He worked in the office of the kibbutz for many years, a position which would have placed him at the centre of a gossip network, had he chosen to participate in one. He undoubtedly knew a great deal which would have been of interest to such a network, but kept the information to himself. Anat called him a spy, though mainly with reference to his interest in her own life.

At school, Anat's best friend was Caramit (3, below) - the two were always together, and very close to one another. Anat was a quiet girl, and not considered pretty. She was not however the target for abuse that Maya was.

After finishing army service, Anat returned to the kibbutz, and worked there for some time. She then took her matriculation examinations,(1) in preparation for going to college. She decided to become a teacher of gymnastics, and obtained a place at a suitable college. The other members of the Cyclamen were pleased by this decision, and also by the change it brought about in Anat herself, who became much more outgoing, and established herself as a central member of the group.

Like all other students on the kibbutz, Anat was called upon to give one day's work a week, in her case with the roses. She resented this, and referred constantly to such factors as her work load, the physical effort of her course, her need for a day of rest and so on. She frequently called the rest of the kibbutz 'they', as if she were not a Member of it. She was very critical of the way in which the kibbutz was organised, and also of many of the Members, condemning what she saw as their colourless, narrow-minded existence.

She often contrasted the kibbutz unfavourably with the one on which

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(1) At the time of the Cyclamen's secondary education, kibbutz children did not proceed to the matriculation stage as a matter of course. In the 1970's, matriculation was a requirement for most further education courses in Israel. At the same time the policy of the Movement on further education was under review (this information was obtained in an interview with an official in the Movement education department).

her mother was living, though recognised that some of the 'defects' (in her eyes) of Goshen could be turned to her own advantage. For example, upon the death of her grandmother (not a kibbutz member) in 1975, she inherited a large sum of money, which, according to Movement directives, should have been handed over to the kibbutz. She knew of many precedents in Goshen for keeping such finances to oneself, and decided that if other people could keep their money, so could she. This, she said, would never be allowed on her mother's kibbutz.

She was sure that she would not spend her whole life on Goshen if she could help it, and, before she received the inheritance, was acutely aware of the difficulties she would experience if she tried to leave - she would have had no capital to set herself up anywhere else. The money opened up for her a chance to leave whenever she wanted to, and she decided to keep it for any 'eventualities'.

Though only her father of her immediate family was on the kibbutz, Anat actually belonged to one of the largest kin groups. Her father's brother (M49) was also a Member, and had a wife and two sons, both considerably younger than Anat. The brother's wife also had a daughter from a first marriage. Anat's contact with this family was limited.

Anat had travelled to America with the help of her rich relations outside the kibbutz, and this experience had broadened her horizons considerably.

3. Caramit

Caramit's father (M28)[1] came from Egypt, and her mother (M100) from Roumania - both were pioneers of the kibbutz, and her father in particular

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(1) The social links of M28 (Caramit's father) and M25 (her sister) were discussed in Chapter 6 (pp. 268-285).

had remained a central figure in the community since its inception. Caramit had one elder sister (M25), in 1975 a divorcee with a six year old son. This was one of the closest-knit kin groups on Goshen. The parents and Caramit's sister were neighbours, an unusual feature for families with grown-up children, and in some part related to the existence of the small boy.

At school, Caramit and Anat were close friends. Caramit was very popular both within the group and in the kibbutz as a whole, and her reputation was that of a happy person, outgoing, physically attractive, though with a tendency to plumpness. Her willingness to share a room with Maya in High School (see above, 1) was regarded as an example of her unselfishness, and raised her status in the group.

In the army, she did well, and worked in an important and prestigious job, commenting that though 'everyone hates the army', she had done fairly well there. After leaving the army, she returned to the kibbutz, and worked there for about six months before deciding that she had had enough of it, and wanted to leave. Her elder sister was at that time studying at university, and Caramit's parents were anxious that she should follow in the family footsteps.

By this time, both the parents were working outside the kibbutz as university lecturers. Her mother had withdrawn from active participation in the kibbutz for health reasons. Her father was still very much involved in kibbutz life, and in the Movement, and worked in the cotton fields during the Summer vacations.

Caramit left the kibbutz, and went to university, financed partly by money from well-off relations, and partly through a part-time job. She said that one of the main reasons she had decided to leave Goshen was because people there were so lazy. She also felt that the kibbutz was very badly

organised, describing the General Assembly meetings as a 'bear garden', and emphasising her father's role in trying to keep things going in the meetings, mainly through his ability to shout louder than anyone else.

Caramit enjoyed her life in town, and visited the kibbutz most week-ends. She remained in close contact with her family, and was especially fond of her nephew. She was also very close to the Cyclamen, particularly Anat and Ya'ir, and these three came to form a nucleus upon which group activity was centred. In town, she lived close to Maya and had fairly frequent contact with her. Maya visited Caramit whenever she was going through a crisis in her life, which was quite often.

Caramit was not sure what she wanted to do next, even as the end of her university course drew near. Her mother was busily making plans for the whole family to travel. Caramit fluctuated between wanting to go, and being against the whole idea. She thought however that she would probably travel, then return to Israel to become a teacher as her sister already was.

4. Ya'ir

Ya'ir's parents were both Europeans, his father (M105) from Roumania and his mother (M2)[1] from Germany, and had both come to Goshen early on. His mother had gone to Palestine with her family as a refugee, before the 1939-45 war, and his father was a concentration camp survivor, who arrived in Palestine after the war. All the rest of his family had died in the gas chambers. Ya'ir's father was generally thought rather stupid, but criticism of him was tempered because of his history. He was in charge of the volunteer work force. Ya'ir's mother was called a yeke, a term of mild abuse on Goshen, referring to the kind of people who populated German and East European

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(1) An account of M2 at work in the roses appeared in Chapter 5 (pp. 233-234). Her choice of neighbours was discussed in Chapter 6 (pp. 257-258).

kibbutzim, characterised by discipline, orthodoxy and solemnity. She was feared by many people on Goshen for her sharp tongue, and her tendency to speak her mind whatever the circumstances.

Ya'ir had two younger sisters, one (M93) was twenty in 1975, and famous in the kibbutz for her prettiness. The other sister (K42) was eleven years old, and constantly in trouble at school.

Ya'ir was a popular member of the group. He was never famed for his intellect whilst at school, but later on achieved a reputation for cunning, which was said to have been inherited from his mother. He was physically very strong, and worked in the cotton, one of the most prestigious branches of the meshek.

When he left the army, Ya'ir went back to the kibbutz, and to his work in the cotton. Throughout his period of army service, he had been involved with an American girl volunteer on Goshen, initially popular with the group as a whole. Very soon however, it became clear that she was not interested only in Ya'ir, and when she returned to America in 1975, she married someone else. Ya'ir refused to give up the relationship and the girl continued communication with him. The rest of the Cyclamen were very concerned about this, and tried to persuade him to approach some other girl. They saw the affair as an example of a simple kibbutznik being led a dance by a sophisticated American, and such was their fondness for Ya'ir that they wanted to see him with an ordinary Israeli girl. Ya'ir could not be persuaded until Nitzan returned from America, went to Ya'ir and bluntly told him the story of the wedding. The Cyclamen heaved a general sigh of relief, and were pleased that Nitzan had taken some of the burden off them. Ya'ir meanwhile resolved to travel abroad. He went to the General Assembly with a proposition that he should be allowed to work outside the kibbutz, and save the money he earned towards the cost of the trip, meanwhile receiving all the facilities to which a Member of the kibbutz was entitled, except the personal budget.

He was allowed to proceed with this scheme, in large part due to the support of the Cyclamen in the meeting of the Assembly.

He worked in various jobs, several labouring jobs, in various parts of the country, expressing his pride that, as a kibbutz Member, he found them easily, because of the reputation for strength and hard work such people had in the country.

With Anat and Caramit, Ya'ir was a member of the nucleus of the group on the kibbutz.

5. Illan

Illan's father (M4) was Egyptian and his mother (M90) was Polish. Both were pioneers of the kibbutz. His father was known as 'the perpetual student': he had studied for many years, and no one knew exactly what he was studying, or was particularly interested in knowing. He had held office in Goshen several times, and was a well-known figure in the Movement. In the kibbutz itself, he had a reputation for being able to talk - when he started to speak at meetings, people would begin to talk amongst themselves, saying that he always said the same things, and could be guaranteed to go on saying them for at least half an hour, so that they might just as well take the chance for a break. He could always be relied upon to give any important public speeches, a task which other members did not enjoy.

Illan's mother was a physiotherapist. She was fairly popular in the gossip network of older women of which she was a member. However, amongst the more senior figures in the kibbutz administration in 1975, she was awarded (in private) 'the first prize for cruelty'.(1)

There were two other children in the family, both boys. The younger

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(1) This referred to her brusque manner, and her rough treatment of patients: in particular, she pronounced Avi's younger brother (see 6, below) 'incurable' and refused to countenance any unorthodox treatment for him, despite the parents' suggestions and hopes.

one (K9) was eleven years old in 1975, and the elder one (F4) three years older than Illan. This individual (F4) was the first-born child of the kibbutz, a significant position with certain implicit expectations attached to it. Whatever the first-born made of his life was a matter of special interest to the kibbutz, especially to the pioneers. Illan's brother had failed in their eyes, and this failure was exaggerated by the special interest attached to him. Whilst on the kibbutz, he had a reputation for being anti-social and lazy. He met the girl who was later to become his wife when he was in the army. She was involved with an Eastern (non-Jewish) religious sect which he soon joined, and the couple left the kibbutz, after living there for a short time following their marriage. For a child brought up in an atheistic kibbutz, this was a complete rejection of his background in the eyes of the community. Illan knew this, and it placed a burden upon him to prove himself.

He was not popular in the Cyclamen, and was ascribed the characteristics of his parents. The group conceded that he was clever, and felt sure that he would succeed in whatever venture he chose to attempt. They resented his attitude towards Goshen - he felt that he was entitled to anything he wanted, simply because he was a product of the kibbutz, and it should therefore supply him with all his needs. He was not able to rely on much support from the group in a formal context. As a resident of the kibbutz, he was constantly trying to penetrate the nucleus of the group, and to join it, but was consistently rejected at each attempt. He did manage to spend time with Ya'ir. Caramit and Anat were always kind to him, but criticised him in his absence.

Their main point of criticism was his attitude to women. They decided that many of his unpleasant attributes arose from his difficulties in finding himself a girlfriend, and complained that his way of attempting this was so chauvinistic that he would not succeed. Quite often, they would club

together to try and 'fix him up' with someone suitable, but they usually failed, as Illan preferred to hunt for himself.

He went to university to study physics, and was determined that eventually he would become a doctor, a desire that was also near to his mother's heart.

As a child, Illan had spent some time in France, where his father had been a delegate for the Movement, and he spoke fluent French. This was an asset, allowing him access to 'the French' of Goshen. It was generally difficult to become intimate with these people, as most of their more personal relationships were conducted amongst themselves and in French.

6. Avi

Avi's parents were both Israeli pioneers, and amongst the most active of the early Members of Goshen. Though they later withdrew from active participation, they still commanded considerable respect and sympathy for the circumstances which led to the withdrawal. The father's (M112) main fault in the eyes of the kibbutz was his penchant for pretty women and it was said that he never missed the chance of an extra-marital affair. This tendency was attributed to his family misfortunes (a handicapped son and daughter - see below), and thus to a certain extent excused. He worked as a teacher in the High School, and in 1975 was also studying for a Master's degree, and was therefore absent from the kibbutz for much of the time.

Avi's mother (M38) was a teacher in the elementary school on the kibbutz itself. She had a reputation for self-sacrifice, dedication and gentleness: the only criticism ever made of her was that she suffered in silence. Critics felt that her life could have been easier had she spoken up for herself and her family.

Avi was the first-born of the family, tall, handsome, strong, intelligent,

conforming to the ideal of the sabra. In the group, he was popular, and can be regarded as one of its 'stars'. He had a sister and a brother. The sister, two years younger than Avi, was mentally ill and hospitalised at intervals. She was judged unfit to join the army, and remained on the kibbutz as a Member after leaving school. The brother (K29) was about eight years younger than Avi, and was physically handicapped, and required constant care.

After doing well at school, Avi excelled himself in the army, staying on for an extra six months as an officer, and earning enough money to travel. He set off in August 1975, for a trip through Europe and North and South America.

Whilst in the army, Avi had an affair with a girl also born on the kibbutz, a member of the first age group. Affairs of this kind were dear to the hearts of the Members, and this one more so than usual, in view of the general love for Avi, and also of the fact that the young woman involved was a divorcee with a young child. The general opinion was that her main need in life was another husband, 'a good kibbutznik', who would provide a suitable father for the child. The affair was left in abeyance when Avi went abroad.

Like Illan, Avi had a certain burden upon him - people's expectations of him were high, because of what he had achieved so far, and because of the tragedy of his brother and sister. Whilst he was on the kibbutz, he was a central member of the Cyclamen, though his departure tended to strengthen the nucleus of three. He planned (before setting out on his travels, at least) to make his life on Goshen.

7. Nitzan

Both Nitzan's parents were Egyptian pioneers. They divorced when he

was about fifteen years old and left Goshen. Nitzan decided to stay on. His contact with his parents, especially his father, was fairly frequent after they had left. He had one sister and a small step-brother, the latter from his mother's subsequent remarriage.

Nitzan was the youngest of the Cyclamen: there was a year and a half between him and the eldest, Maya. He maintained that this had had a 'bad effect' on him at first, but that he had later 'got over it'. He would never detail exactly what that 'bad effect' was, but would refer to it when he was under pressure of some kind. His main claim to fame was his good looks, a not inconsiderable factor in his general popularity both within the Cyclamen and in Goshen as a whole.

When he was about fourteen years old, he started the first of a long series of affairs with women older than himself. For several years, he was involved with a girl from the volunteer workforce. This affair was not well known on Goshen, as it took place while he was at High School, but all the same, it was not long before his reputation was made. The joke, repeated all over Goshen, and especially within the Cyclamen, was that Nitzan never had to look for girlfriends - he just had to open his door and they would all tumble in. Nitzan was wild, in the opinion of the older Members, and he enjoyed antagoinising them by wearning his hair very long, dressing untidily, and generally conforming to their idea of a 'hippy'. He criticised them for being narrow-minded, and forgetting that he worked hard. He insisted that appearances were not important in the kibbutz, and implied that the older Members were puritanical. Despite all this, Nitzan managed to retain their affection, and most of them were prepared to allow him freedom to do as he wanted, thinking that he would soon grow out of it, and become a good kibbutz Member.

During the Yom Kippur War of October 1973, Nitzan was in his final year of army service and in command of a platoon. The war affected him deeply,

leading to deep depression, during which he hardly spoke to anyone for six months, spending his time reflecting on his experiences in the war. For him, the war was the turning point in his life, and made him into a serious person. He began to complain that the people on the kibbutz did not respect him, and had no time for opinions which he expressed in the General Assembly.

After completing his period of service, Nitzan had some money which he had received upon discharge from the army, and obtained more by selling most of his possessions. His father also provided him with a sum. He obtained a year's leave from the kibbutz, with the support of the Cyclamen, and set off to work his way through Europe and America. After a year's travel, he applied to the kibbutz for an extension of his leave. Many of the Members were unwilling to allow this, but the Cyclamen fought hard for him and enabled him to continue his travels. A second extension was not granted, and Nitzan returned to Goshen in January 1976.

At first, the group welcomed him enthusiastically, especially when he intervened in Ya'ir's affair with the American girl. They declared that he had grown up, that he was more beautiful than ever, and speculated with considerable humour on how many foreign girls might have helped him broaden his experiences. Nitzan was more critical of the kibbutz than ever, and began to attack members of the group itself, saying that they too could learn through travel as he had done, and then they would realize how boring and confined life was on the kibbutz. They resented this, saying that Nitzan had no respect for ordinary life, that he did not realize that most people did not have the chance of excitement that he had had, and worked hard for a living for themselves and their families. They also began to look more critically at his sexual exploits, and to complain that he should moderate his activities.

8. Sharon

Sharon's father (M47) was an Egyptian pioneer, and her mother (M59) was Italian by origin. M47 was wounded in the 1948 War of Independence and left lame. He was allocated a private car by the kibbutz, and worked in the Movement offices. After the War, he received a pension which he did not pay over to the kibbutz - many of the Cyclamen resented this, even though it had been approved by the kibbutz. M47 aroused intense dislike in some members of his own group, especially M28. He was of the opinion that the future of the kibbutz lay with its intellectuals, not a popular attitude amongst many of the Members of Goshen, and actually in contrast with Movement policy, which saw university education as a luxury, and, until the early 1970's, had discouraged its acquisition.

Sharon's mother (M59) was the only woman of Goshen ever to have been its Secretary. She was a teacher at the High School and therefore spent her working days away from the kibbutz. She was not well liked. Sharon had a sister (K7), some five years younger than herself.

As a child, Sharon was considered the most attractive and the most intelligent member of the Cyclamen. She matured very early, and this only added to her reputation, carefully fostered by her parents. They encouraged her academic work, and assumed that she would go to university. Sharon was sure of this too, and decided to study philosophy. She was admired and liked by her follow group members, and by the kibbutz as a whole, and everyone expected great things of her.

She did, as expected, go to university to study philosophy, but not until she had begun to lose some of her reputation - she no longer seemed so intelligent, nor even so pretty, and seemed to have lost some of her interest in life. The Cyclamen began to wonder what had happened to her. They attributed the change to an intense love affair she had had with a boy younger than herself whilst she was still at school, and said that this had

exhausted her real cares for the world and for other people. Because of this, they said, she regarded the ordinary round of life as devoid of interest for her and sought adventure in other directions. A romance with an Arab boy was described by the group as 'flirting with the outrageous'. Sharon herself was cynical about almost everything, set in her ideas, and sceptical of the other members of the Cyclamen's attempts to criticise and actively change the kibbutz.

Upon her infrequent visits to Goshen in 1975, she spent most of her time with Anat, Caramit and Ya'ir.

9. Irella

Both Irella's parents were Europeans, members of the early (1949) refugee group. Her father was asked to leave Goshen when Irella and her elder sister (M106) were small, following a scandal. The mother stayed on to be with the children until they were old enough to fend for themselves, and then left to join her husband. The girls saw their father quite frequently during their childhood, but he was never allowed to visit them on the kibbutz. The first time he went back was to Irella's wedding. Members of the Cyclamen pitied Irella and her sister for their family situation, and some of them suggested that it was a mistake for the kibbutz to have expelled the father: it should be able to deal with such situations without resorting to such an extreme measure as expulsion.

Until her marriage, Irella was a popular member of the Cyclamen. After the army, she returned to the kibbutz and lived with her boyfriend, whom she married in the Summer of 1975. Before they were married, the couple's room was a social centre for the young people of the kibbutz, including the members of the Cyclamen: people would gather there every evening to relax and talk, and the couple seemed hardly ever to be on their own. They were thus at the centre of an extensive network of gossip, and Irella especially

was the first to know all the news.

Her husband (M31) was a member of the 1966 Hashomer Hatzair group, the 'most successful' in the folklore of the kibbutz.(1) He had previously married a Swiss girl, a volunteer, and had a small daughter from this marriage. It had broken up very quickly, and both partners had remained on Goshen, though their relations could not be described as friendly. Generally speaking, the Members were glad that he had 'returned to the fold' in marrying Irella, though he was not very popular with the older ones, and had a reputation for being extremely lazy.

After the marriage, the couple's contacts with the Cyclamen lessened, and people no longer assumed that they could drop in on them at any time. When they did go, singly rather than in the large groups of former days, they reported a change in the attitude and relationship of the couple. The husband was said to be treating Irella badly, criticising her house-keeping in front of visitors, allowing her little freedom to express herself. She was criticised because she had become a mouthpiece for her husband, repeating his opinions, which he expressed louder and more frequently than he had done before. She did however retain her status as a purveyor of important information, and would often communicate her discoveries to the other members of the group.

In late 1975, Irella became pregnant: her child would be the first of the group to be born on the kibbutz.

10. Hadass

Her parents were both Egyptians, members of the 1945-47 pioneer group. Her father left in the early 1970's to go away with his mistress, whom he had met outside, and the parents were divorced in 1975. This incident

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(1) See Chapter 4 for discussion of the folk view of the history of Goshen with regard to the relative success of supplementary population groups.

caused great distress to the mother (M61), who was not prepared for it. At the time, she was working in the baby house on Goshen, but the parents of the babies began to complain that she was hysterical. Another, younger woman was also working there - a strong character with a hot temper - and there were frequent rows. Within six months, both of them were removed from the baby house, and Hadass' mother was allowed to work outside the kibbutz, a measure which was often used to help Members in personal difficulties, though not one which was encouraged for long periods.

There was another girl in the family (K48), about ten years younger than Hadass, a difficult child who caused constant trouble in her own group.

Throughout childhood, and later on, Hadass was not popular with the Cyclamen - they regarded her as peculiar, and teased her. She came to be called 'green Hadass' because she always wore green. She left Goshen almost immediately after finishing army service, and her contacts with her birthplace grew less and less. Maya was the only member of the Cyclamen who retained any contact with her - the others merely spoke to her when they happened to run into her on her infrequent visits to the kibbutz.

11. Liora

Both Liora's parents were pioneers of Goshen: her mother (M24) was Israeli born (though not on a kibbutz), and her father (M91) was Polish, a concentration camp survivor with no family left. He worked in the metal workshop, and the mother in the communa, an important centre of gossip on Goshen. Both parents were well-established, popular Members of the community. They had two other children, a girl (F9) and a boy (K75), both younger than Liora. This family belonged to the largest kin set on Goshen.(1) M24's parents were there: the mother was an invalid, but the father, despite

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(1) See Fig.4, Chapter 6, p.254.

his age, worked in the roses. He and his wife were well known and addressed universally as saba ('grandpa') and savta ('grandma')[1]. They also had a son (M74), a Member, who was married and had four children. The brother (M74) and sister (M24) were close to each other and the two families spent a lot of time together. The kin group as a whole was not just numerically strong on the kibbutz - it was generally considered an example of how a large family could live a full and successful life on the kibbutz, and was the object of some admiration and even envy.

The grandmother died in early 1976, and the whole of Goshen marked its respect by stopping public social activities for some days. Such deaths in larger kibbutzim would normally be marked only by the immediate family. The small size of this community and the comparatively large size of the family caused this universal mourning.

As a child, Liora was pretty and popular, a central member of the Cyclamen. After leaving the army, she married a Dutch volunteer, and left to live in Holland. The couple planned to return to Goshen at some unspecified date. After two years in Holland, Liora gave birth to a daughter, a cause of great rejoicing throughout Goshen: all news of her was anxiously awaited, especially by the Cyclamen. This contrasts sharply with the cases of Maya and Hadass, in whom they were not particularly interested. Liora's daughter was not given a Hebrew name, something which added to the concern which was expressed about the marriage right from the beginning. Her husband had 'taken her away' from the kibbutz, where she belonged to the largest family, in some respects the pride of the community - she had been a popular and valued member of her group, friends with everyone.

Liora's marriage inflamed passions about Gentile marriages on Goshen. Though her links with the kibbutz were as strong as they could be at such a distance, they must have been weakening as time went on: her mother's

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(1) Other aged parents resident on Goshen were not so addressed.

associates (particularly her work-mates in the communa) were clearly afraid that she might not come back, and made considerable efforts to prevent further such marriages. Also, members of the Cyclamen began to whisper that she would probably not return, because of the personality of her husband, who, they felt, could never be content with life on Goshen.

C: Internal Dynamics

This section deals with the interaction between the members of the Cyclamen in the latter part of the period of fieldwork, following Irella's marriage in September 1975. Over that period, of the eleven individuals involved, seven were Members of Goshen (Anat, Ya'ir, Illan, Avi, Nitzan, Sharon and Irella), and four (Maya, Caramit, Hadass and Liora) had left the kibbutz and were living and working elsewhere. Six of the Members can be considered residents of the kibbutz and were living and working there: Sharon was a student in Haifa, and did not return home very often. Caramit returned almost every weekend, Maya only about once a month, and Hadass hardly ever. Liora went to Holland in early 1974, and did not return until she paid a visit in April 1976. Avi and Nitzan, who were travelling abroad during part of the year, maintained communication with their fellow group members. Their return was eagerly awaited.

Figure 16 (below) provides diagrammatic representation of the content of links between the members of the Cyclamen during this period. Although Avi and Nitzan were on their travels at the time, they are included in the diagram because Avi had only just left and Nitzan was about to return: for the former, I have included his links just before leaving, and for the latter, have based notation of links upon his actions immediately following his return, and upon the reactions of the other members of the group towards him. The problem thus posed regarding the inclusion of Avi and Nitzan relates to the more general difficulties of illustrating social process on a socio-

Figure 16: Content of Links between Members of the Cyclamen (late 1975).

	Maya (nr)	Anat	Caramit (nr)	Ya'ir	Illan	Avi	Nitzan	Sharon (nr)	Irella	Hadass (nr)	Liora (nr)
Maya (nr)			FN							C	
Anat			FO	FNO	N(D)	FN		F	F		
Caramit (nr)	FN	FO		FO		F		F			
Ya'ir		FNO	FO		N(D)	FNW	FW	F			
Illan		N(D)		N(D)		N(D)					
Avi		FN	F	FNW	N(D)		W				
Nitzan				FW		W					
Sharon (nr)		F	F	F							
Irella		F									
Hadass (nr)	C										
Liora (nr)											

Key

(nr) non resident
F friendship
N neighbours
W work

C contact
O members of nucleus
(D) dislike (not necessarily mutual)
▨ nucleus

matrix: in short, it cannot be done faithfully. The diagram serves merely to summarize some of the material given in the following discussion, and is a 'still' of social relations in Turner's sense (see Turner, 1975, p.36), and thus should be viewed as flexible and open-ended.

It should be noted that the 'dislike' indicated between Illan and Anat, Caramit and Ya'ir was not mutual: they disliked him, whereas he was anxious to become more popular with them. I show no links for Liora on the diagram, because her only contact with the members of the group over the period in question was by letter and telephone. Such correspondence took place principally with Anat, Caramit and Ya'ir. Similarly, Hadass had almost no contact with the members of her group apart from Maya, and only that link is therefore shown.

The titles given to the contents of links are based on the classification operated in Chapters 5 and 6. All those shown on the diagram were, of course, members of the Cyclamen, and this delineates the universe represented. Discussion of the internal dynamics of the group, which follows, relates mainly to those members resident on Goshen and to the frequent visitors.

Through the account of the individual members of the group, I noted that Anat, Caramit and Ya'ir formed the strongest interaction set within it, a nucleus which became particularly noticeable after Irella's marriage, when her home was no longer a social centre. Whenever Caramit was on Goshen, she would spend as much time as she could with Anat and Ya'ir: when she was not there, Anat and Ya'ir were together almost every evening. When the non-residents were visiting, they knew that they would find Anat and Ya'ir together, either in her room or in his, or at some social event in the kibbutz. Apart from families, age-mates were the most sought-after companions by members of the Cyclamen when they returned home, and the popularity of Anat, Ya'ir and Caramit meant that they formed a nucleus for the age-group.

The members of the Cyclamen constantly stressed their relationship towards each other as 'brothers and sisters'. Their closeness was emphasised by their upbringing, in that they were constantly together, and efforts were made to ensure a degree of uniformity between them, especially with regard to material goods and food. They were, in 1975, formally friends: that is, their upbringing in accordance with ideological principles dictated that they were constant companions until they entered the army, and afterwards they still considered each other to be fellow group members, and were regarded as such by the rest of the community.

This 'brothers and sisters' relationship between the members of the Cyclamen perhaps explains why there were no instances of marriage or sexual relationships between the members of the group,[1] a feature common to age groups on kibbutzim. This observation is borne out by J. Shepher's (1971) survey of 'Mate Selection Among Second Generation Kibbutz Adolescents and Adults'. He found that

> Among 2769 marriages contracted by second generation adults in all kibbutzim, there were no cases of intra-peer group marriage.
>
> (Shepher, 1971, p.293)

More detailed study showed no case of heterosexual activity between peers (see Shepher, 1971).

The attitude of the pioneer generation in Goshen towards the Cyclamen as members of the group and as close companions was complicated by enthusiasm about intra-kibbutz sexual relationships: the logical conclusion of views expressed indicates that, for the pioneers, an ideal marriage for a member of the Cyclamen would have been contracted with another member of the same group. This assertion is reinforced by the enthusiastic response which

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(1) I do not intend to enter into the anthropological debates about the incest taboo, which have taken place over some decades (see Lévi-Strauss, 1970, pp.12-25), but merely to mention the correlation between the type of relationships amongst the members of the Cyclamen and the noticeable lack of sexual liaisons between them.

greeted Avi's relationship with a sabra of another group. Members of the Cyclamen however did not regard each other as potential sexual partners, whether as spouses or otherwise. Neither the hopes of the pioneers, nor the disinclination of the Cyclamen, can be related directly to formal ideological statements: they can however be understood as the consequences of particular ideological orientations which differed with generational affiliations. The attitude expressed by the pioneers was closely related to the mode of upbringing upon which they had decided for their children, whom they wanted to be agents for the perpetuation of the kibbutz, and who provided the supreme test for the venture which they had undertaken. Quite simply, they were looking for a return on their investment. Similarly, the views which the members of the Cyclamen held of themselves were clearly affected by their upbringing, and, as I indicated in the accounts of each individual, these views differed radically from those of their parents: some of them, like Maya and Caramit rejected the kibbutz, Illan thought that he was entitled to have all his personal requirements fulfilled by the kibbutz and Ya'ir wanted to stay, proud, not of his parents, but of his own achievements. Views within the group thus differed also from one individual to another. In the differing views held by the pioneers and those of their children, a further feature of the generation gap is thus exhibited, and, consequent upon the variation in views as I have explained it, we can see how it happened that the Cyclamen did not regard each other as potential sexual partners. The closeness which their parents intended as an experience of communalism proved for the children to provide experience similar to that of children in a large, exogamous sibling group.

I have already stated that the members of the Cyclamen were formally friends: actual social interaction taking place between them during the period of fieldwork represented a refraction of this formal situation. The very existence of the nucleus consisting of Anat, Caramit and Ya'ir is

indicative of the degree of variation in the friendships involved. The attitude expressed by these three towards Illan, and their efforts to exclude him from their interaction show evidence of developing dislike. Similarly, Maya and Hadass had never been popular with the group as a whole. The change in Irella's position in the group following her marriage provides evidence of the shifts of alliance which could take place. The attitude expressed towards Nitzan upon his return from abroad shows that common membership of the Cyclamen did not guarantee friendly relations. The existence of negative feelings, and the realignments which took place over time did not, during the period of fieldwork, prevent the group from presenting a united front in certain circumstances: for example, it fought successfully for the extension of Nitzan's leave, so that he could continue his travels. I will comment further upon the group as a potential source of support in the case of Irella's job (below, pp.335-337).

The social interaction of the members of the Cyclamen was not confined to the group itself, although it did provide a focus for them, and especially for those within and close to the nucleus. Each member of the group had family in Israel, all except Nitzan's and Irella's parents were living on Goshen: only Nitzan had no relatives there at all. Some members, as I have indicated, had contact with relatives and friends outside the kibbutz, which conferred upon them certain advantages, mainly in terms of financial resources: Nitzan's travels were financed in part by his father, Caramit's studies by a relative, and Anat's inheritance effectively strengthened her position in the community (see Section B).

Within the kibbutz, there existed other frequent interactions relating to the internal dynamics of the group. Two individuals particularly close to the nucleus were NM2, Anat's boyfriend, and M25, Caramit's sister. These two were frequently to be found in the company of the group. M25 was especially close to her sister, and to Anat. NM2, in addition to his

friendship with Anat, was a friend and neighbour to Ya'ir and Avi. Despite the closeness of these two to the nucleus, they could not be described as being assimilated into the group. The case of the Partridge Dinner (1, below) shows the Cyclamen attempting to exclude M25 from a party which was to include several of its members.

All those of the group with family on Goshen were in contact with them to varying degrees. Most spent the traditional Friday evenings with their families, though would return to the group after dinner for a party or other social event. I have stressed the importance of parental characteristics to the attitudes towards the Cyclamen expressed by other members of the kibbutz, and, in the accounts of those in the Cyclamen, attempted to demonstrate this for each individual. It could only be reinforced by the maintenance of contact between the children and their parents.

Several of the group resident on the kibbutz lived in the same area: Irella lived elsewhere with her husband, and Nitzan refused to move from the huts. The physical proximity allowed frequent contact. At work, the resident girls were separated from one another, the men less so. Avi, Nitzan and Ya'ir all worked in the cotton, and though there was no time during the period of fieldwork when they all worked together, we can say that this common place of work would serve to increase their interaction. These links of residence and place of work are indicated on Fig. 16 (see above, p. 328).

I will now examine two social dramas which show the group in action as a unit. In the first, the Cyclamen were united against an intruding outsider, and in the second, they attempted, without success to support Irella, who was in trouble about her job. The dramas provide evidence of the united front which the group could present, despite the divisions within it. They are 'mini-dramas', in that the series of events depicted are short, but still conform to Turner's definition (see Turner, 1957, p.93).

1. The Partridge Dinner

One evening, Ya'ir and Anat were sitting together at supper in the dining hall. They were joined by several other members of the Cyclamen and M25, all of whom they welcomed. The conversation between the members of the Cyclamen, in which M25 did not join, moved round to some partridges which Ya'ir had shot. Cooking methods were discussed, and it became clear to M25 that a party was planned, though it was not specifically mentioned. At this point, she became angry, and asked Ya'ir, who was dominating the conversation, if he was going to invite her to the party, adding that if he was not, she did not think it polite of him to discuss the arrangements in her hearing. Ya'ir replied that if he wanted to invite her, he would. After some argument, he did so. She replied that she had eaten partridges the week before and did not like them very much, and would therefore decline the invitation. The other members of the group who were present heard the whole of the conversation, and people at neighbouring tables may also have done so, as Ya'ir and M25 made no effort to lower their voices. No one else participated in the conversation.

It is significant that the dispute took place between M25, who was close to the group, and the Cyclamen, represented by Ya'ir. A matter 'internal' to the group was discussed in M25's presence, and her inclusion both in the conversation and the event it concerned was strongly resisted by Ya'ir, with the tacit support[1] of the rest of the group. Afterwards, she said that she had not been arguing with Ya'ir because of the dinner: she was upset at her exclusion from the group.

The group can be seen to have acted as a whole in the preparations for the meal, and the inclusion of M25, one of the 'outsiders' closest to the group was opposed. M25 recognised the boundary - her subsequent interpretation

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(1) i.e. none of them objected to his remarks or his behaviour towards M25. Also, other outsiders who were present did not comment either way.

of the incident indicates this. Her refusal of Ya'ir's invitation was effectively an acknowledgement of the existence of a boundary. Her subsequent relationship with the group, including Ya'ir, remained close. We should note here that M25 was a member of the first age group of Goshen, and had almost no contact with the three Members of this, her own group who were still resident on the kibbutz.

The second social drama shows the Cyclamen in a much weaker position, and involves a situation in which it was required to support a member.

2. A Job for Irella

Irella's wedding took place on Goshen in early September 1975. Afterwards, she and her husband (M31) left for a month's holiday in Europe. Prior to leaving, Irella had worked in one of the children's houses, where she had been for two years. She enjoyed the work, and hoped that she would be able to go and study to be a metapelet. Whilst Irella was away in Europe, someone had to replace her in the children's house. M82 had left school at the beginning of the Summer, and was available to work with the children: she was also eager to become established in a permanent job, because she was to be married in October, and was therefore not to be called up for army service. M82's mother, M94, was metapelet to a group of older children, and was anxious for her daughter to become established in a similar job. She spoke favourably of the girl to those responsible for job allocation (who were mostly also pioneers), and made full use of the powerful gossip network of older women, and Irella returned from her holiday to find M82 firmly ensconced in the children's house. The members of the Cyclamen were furious at this, and commented on M94's having 'pulled strings' to help her daughter, adding that Irella was senior to the other girl, and had much more experience at the job. At about the same time, M31 (Irella's husband) announced his

intention of giving up his job as electrician, and the couple's plans to move to a new flat were thwarted by M2's objections to them as neighbours.

The reason for Irella's difficulties at this stage lay in a lack of effective support. Although the Cyclamen objected to her being pushed out of a job, and voiced these objections as loudly as they could, it was the pioneer generation which won in the end. Irella had no personal support in the pioneer generation, as her parents had by then been away from the kibbutz for several years. Later on, she put to the General Assembly an application for a year's study to be a metapelet. Before the meeting, she went round to every member of the Cyclamen, asking them to go along and support her, which they did. The application was refused, and the majority in the meeting consisted mainly of pioneers. The opposition to Irella stressed the cost involved in subsidising students, the fact that the children's houses were fully staffed, and that Irella was not working there. These objections confirmed the opinion of the Cyclamen that there was strong discrimination acting against Irella, but the group was unable to do anything about it in the face of the pioneers.(1)

Late in the year, M82 (who had replaced Irella) became ill and unable to continue work with the children. She moved to the commùna, working there for as many hours as she felt well enough each day. Irella was not offered the chance to return to her former job. She was by that time working in the kitchen, a job which she did not like.

In late 1975, Irella became pregnant, thus effectively postponing the problem of finding a job of any permanence. As her pregnancy proceeded, she would move to less and less strenuous work, she would have several weeks off work after the birth, and would then return gradually to a full day,

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(1) The problems faced by the Cyclamen in confronting the pioneer generation in this situation can be compared with M48's difficulties as Secretary: he too found that the pioneers effectively controlled the formal bodies of the kibbutz.

over a period of six months.

In the case of Irella's job, the group proved impotent, despite its unanimous disapproval of the activities of M94 on her daughter's behalf. When Irella applied for her year of study, the group presented a united front in the formal arena of the General Assembly, overcoming for the moment its internal divisions. The reasons for the failure of her application to study, and her attempt to secure a permanent job were firstly, Irella's lack of personal contacts in the pioneer generation (contacts of this type were mobilized against her), and, secondly, the inability of the sabras in this case to overcome the control of the formal arena exercised by the pioneers.

This social drama concerned both the relationship between the members of the Cyclamen and that between the group and the rest of the kibbutz. The discussion has shown that, although internally divided, the group could present a united front, and form an action set. This action set proved ineffective in its purpose because of the opposition it encountered from the pioneers. Many of those pioneers involved were also parents of members of the group, and had been responsible for the expulsion of Irella's father: it was Irella's lack of resident parents which proved decisive.

In the affair of the partridge dinner, the group again united against an outsider, in this case, the sister of one of its members. This close relationship did not prevent the group closing ranks in the same way that pioneer parents voted against their children over Irella's study application.

D: Ideology and the Generation Gap

The social dramas in Section C have been related to the generation gap in Goshen. I have also referred to the differing ideological orientations of the pioneers and their children, and to the hopes of the pioneers in

particular. I will now look more closely at the orientations of the members of the Cyclamen towards the pioneers, the kibbutz and their own lives. This procedure is intended to facilitate examination of more general features of the ideological interpretations operated by the Cyclamen, as their response to their upbringing, and will throw further light upon the social processes associated with the generation gap and its ideological dimensions.

In Section B, I referred to the attitude held by each individual regarding the kibbutz and his or her present and future position within it or outside it, over the period during which each of them was deciding upon a career. I will now look briefly at a selection of these attitudes.

(i) Maya felt that her parents had done something worthwhile, something which her education had taught her to think of as worthwhile. She experienced great difficulty in deciding what to make of her life after leaving the army, and suffered greatly from the non-Socialist, non-egalitarian attitudes and behaviour she found in people outside the kibbutz.

(ii) Anat resented the monotony of life on the kibbutz. She felt that for a revolutionary society, it was very dull. For her, Goshen was not a Socialist community: people did not act in accordance with the principles that she had been taught were the foundation of their way of life. The reasons for her keeping her inheritance to herself were firstly that she wanted to keep her options open, and secondly that others on Goshen had done similar things.

(iii) Caramit left Goshen because she found life there unbearable. She explained this feeling by referring to the laziness of many people, and the general lack of organisation, calling it "a bad kibbutz".

(iv) Ya'ir was proud of being a kibbutznik, and had strong ideas about how the community should be run. When his scheme for saving up was presented to the General Assembly, he said in private that he thought the scheme wrong because it was dishonest: in an ideal situation, he would be able to ask the kibbutz directly for money. But, he added, as long as he could travel, he was prepared to accept this dishonesty, knowing that it was typical of Goshen.

(v) Illan insisted that because the kibbutz had produced him, it owed him a living, and that part of this living was the provision of resources to fulfil his ambition to become a doctor.

(vi) Nitzan, like Ya'ir, was proud of his origins: he repeatedly emphasised that he had remained on the kibbutz of his own choice, after his parents had left. He intended to stay on Goshen, even though he criticised the pioneers for their narrow-mindedness and their failure to take him seriously.

The six listed were all critical of Goshen, and based their criticisms upon the premiss that the kibbutz offered the possibility of a desirable way of life, precisely the premiss from which their parents had hoped they would operate. They did not criticise the idea of a kibbutz per se, but particular features of their experience of Goshen. In making these comments, and in acting as they did, the Cyclamen were treating the community as external to themselves and to their group, and their parents as responsible for it, thus exemplifying the generation gap as I have explained it. Action in accordance with the views expressed varied from leaving the kibbutz and thus actively rejecting it (Maya and Caramit), to a decision to stay and to 'play the system' (Anat, Ya'ir and Illan). Nitzan also stayed, was committed to an ideal of equality, and tried to change the attitudes of the pioneers by expressing himself in the General Assembly.

The responses of the Cyclamen to the kibbutz, and the conceptual division exhibited within these responses between 'us and them', the two generations of the kibbutz, can be interpreted as an effect of the playing down of the third element in ideological education in Hashomer Hatzair, which relates to the individual, rather than to the collectivities of the kibbutz or the Zionist state. I have already noted the ideological dimension of the organisational form of the Cyclamen's education, in the emphasis on communality and uniformity, and this was reinforced by the ideological education received by the group. The focus on the commune rather than the individual is particularly clear in the cases of Maya and Nitzan. Maya felt her individuality so suppressed that she was unable to do anything she considered worthwhile whilst she was still on the kibbutz: hers was an extreme position, due to her lack of integration in the group. Nitzan however saw the kibbutz as desirable because of the lines along which it was organised, but he too felt that he was not allowed to express himself whilst there. He thought people should not criticise his external appearance, but should recognize that he was seriously interested in the kibbutz, and pay attention to the views he tried to express.

Cohen and Rosner (1975) note that many students of the kibbutz have considered the second generation to be the heirs of a revolution, carried out by their parents, the pioneers. According to their argument, one of the assumptions underlying this view is that kibbutz ideology is clear and easily defined. They note that it was never clear or easily defined: it was always open to interpretation, and Cohen and Rosner are therefore interested in the particular interpretation of kibbutz ideology chosen by the second generation. Of the kibbutz-born sabras, they say:

> The revolutionary struggle of their parents has little meaning for them. They struggle with a different problem: to endow their own life with meaning within the setting of a revolutionary movement, the course of which has in fact not been set by themselves.
>
> (Cohen and Rosner, 1975, p.4)

The focus of the present discussion is similar, though less lyrical. I have stressed the interpretability of kibbutz ideology, and the fact that for the second generation, a kibbutz upbringing, based on their parents' interpretation of ideology, was not a matter of choice, whereas their parents chose to found the kibbutz. This distinction is reflected in that drawn by the Cyclamen themselves between the two generations.

The attitudes expressed and the choices made by the members of the Cyclamen focussed on Goshen itself: the individuals concerned were not making decisions about kibbutz ideology and the kibbutz movement as a whole, but were considering their own life experiences and choices of career in relation to the particular kibbutz which had produced them and brought them up. None of them seriously considered doing as their parents had done and setting up a new kibbutz: even Maya, who felt that this was worthwhile, did not see it as a possible option for herself. This is a general feature of the choices made by the second generation of the kibbutzim: they have not, for the most part, decided to follow in their parents' footsteps by founding kibbutzim.(1)

Thus the representatives of the second generation considered here thought, like their parents, that they were the people who could ensure the survival of the kibbutz as a way of life rather than a temporary communalistic option. This is particularly clear in the cases of Avi and Illan, who both represented, during the period under consideration, the main hopes of their families, Avi because of his handicapped brother and sister, and Illan because of the failure of his brother, the first born of the kibbutz.

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(1) Cohen and Rosner (1975) note that "Until 1967, only one new kibbutz was founded by members of the second generation, and even this only under the prodding of the older leaders of the movement." (Cohen and Rosner, 1975, p.13). The aftermath of the Six Day War (1967) saw a sharp increase in the number of army border settlements, which have been called 'kibbutzim': this development means that reliable figures on the foundation of kibbutzim by sabras of the movement since then are not available.

This discussion has concerned general features of the differing interpretations of ideology between the first and second generations. In the accounts of the individuals in the Cyclamen, I stressed the details of each one's interpretation, and I examined the pioneers' interpretations in earlier chapters (4, 5 and 6). Each member of the Cyclamen's analysis of his or her own situation was an interpretation of ideology based on a particular upbringing. The social dramas (Section C) provided another dimension of the relation between ideology and social action, showing the group, itself based on a structuring principle of the kibbutz, acting as such in attempts firstly to maintain its own boundaries, and, secondly, to defend one of its members in a difficult situation.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have attempted to progress from the discussion of particular relationships between particular people to the analytically more complex question of the relationship between ideology and communal society. The chapters on social configurations in the kibbutz provided the background to the discussion, allowing the analytical levels to be delineated and related to one another. The different levels, and the various interpretations of ideology have not been artificially separated so that they become impossible to connect, as I showed to be the result of the adoption either of a purely institutionalist or a purely interactionist perspective. Instead, I have tried to use the distinction between analytical levels as a device to facilitate movement through them, and the comparison of different interpretations of ideology and dimensions of social process in the kibbutz.

The choice of example, of the Cyclamen, was deliberately made to focus analysis on the questions at hand, in that examination of the second generation in the kibbutz immediately prompts the consideration of the

relation between ideology and social action, which is integral to the understanding of the social processes involved. I have also attempted to reopen the debate about the collective education system of the kibbutz, from a new point of view.

In Chapter 8, I will again commence with the level of interaction between people, considering the case of a family which had great difficulties in establishing itself in the community. The case will thus offer an interesting contrast with that of the Cyclamen, whose basis was structured and integrated.

CHAPTER 8

A PROBLEM FAMILY IN KIBBUTZ GOSHEN

Introduction

The discussion in this chapter again focusses upon the analytical level of social interaction. To offer a contrast to the examination of the Cyclamen, a structured social configuration in the kibbutz, the case of a problem family is presented. The family (whom I will call Ivram, Miriam and their son[1]) experienced considerable difficulties in becoming established in the community, unlike the Cyclamen, the pioneers' children, who formed an integrated unit invested with strong ideological resources. The case of Ivram and Miriam also provides further information which complements aspects of the discussion in earlier chapters of social configurations in the kibbutz.

One of the central points concerns the isolation of the family concerned: this enables further illumination of the importance of structured social links (see Chapter 5) to the establishment of Members in the community. The discussion will show that their lack of structured social links was a major factor in the social isolation of Ivram and Miriam and their inability to form potentially supportive contacts with other Members.

The discussion of the case also provides a contribution to that of the importance of work roles in the kibbutz (see I. Shepher, 1972), and of the acquisition by individuals of permanent jobs. Both Ivram and Miriam experienced particular difficulties in this respect, and their work histories are related in the chapter to other features of their position in the community.

Attitudes to children in the kibbutz, and to their parents' role in their upbringing, are central to the case. Ivram and Miriam's child became an important issue in their dispute with the community, and was used as

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(1) Ivram is M33, Miriam, M29, and their son, K11.

ammunition against them. This aspect of the case also offers material comparative to that presented for the Cyclamen: though this discussion concerns a young child (in contrast to the focus on adults in Chapter 7), his lack of support is clearly related to his parents' isolation, and can be compared with the problems experienced by Irella (Chapter 7, Section C, 2) in her search for a job, which were exacerbated by her lack of support in the right category (i.e. the pioneer generation).

The case of Ivram and Miriam shows an instance of the use of scapegoats in the kibbutz, persons who could be blamed and criticised by the rest of the community for tension which they did not necessarily cause. Associated with this is Ivram and Miriam's position as innovators, providing, as I will show, a means by which the rest of the community could allow the introduction of changes it found publicly distasteful but privately acceptable.

Much of the social action in this case history took place in the informal arena of the kibbutz, involving sets of relationships which were not defined by the structuring principles of the community. At every stage in the presentation of the case I will attempt to trace the relationships and flows of information relevant to the series of events and affecting the positions of the social actors involved. A particularly important feature of these processes is gossip, of special significance because social action remained, for the most part, outside the formal arena of the kibbutz, its structured discussion groups and decision-making bodies. I will pay careful attention to the power which gossip was able to exercise in the case.

All these questions are related to the ideological dimension. The treatment of Ivram and Miriam on Goshen, and many of their own actions would appear to be contrary to the formal ideology of the Movement (represented by ideological collectivist statements), if they were to be measured against it. However, I will demonstrate again the invalidity of such measurement,

which does not allow clear understanding of the social processes taking place, and reassert the validity of the view of ideology as situationally transcendant and interpretable. Particularly relevant to this case are the ideological interpretations operated with regard to differing perceptions of the needs of the community, and the needs and attributes of the family involved.

A: The Case of Ivram and Miriam

This was classified as 'a problem family' both by the consensus of public opinion on Goshen and by the Secretariat and committees responsible for dealing with Members' difficulties. The classification varied in its detailed expression according to the point of view of the individual or set of people involved, and to the context in which remarks were made. As the examination of the life of the family on the kibbutz proceeds, I will show how and why this variation in the ways of describing it occurred. The difference between formal and informal expressions of opinion will be particularly clear, and we can relate this to our discussion of social configurations in the kibbutz.

Ivram was born in India, orphaned in his early teens, and left more or less to his own devices: he maintained that he had learned, from this experience of being left alone, how to protect himself from other people, none of whom were to be trusted. He included the Members of Goshen in this statement. In India, he worked as a jewel cutter, and left for Israel in the mid-1960's, tired of the life he was leading in India.

For several years, he worked as a hired dairyman on kibbutzim and moshavim,(1) eventually arriving in Goshen, where he met Miriam. He applied for Membership, and was accepted. In 1975, he was thirty seven years old, and had been on Goshen for five years. His self-explained reason for

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(1) Cooperative villages: see Baldwin (1972), Shokeid (1971) and Weingrod (1966) for detailed accounts of this type of settlement.

joining the kibbutz was that he was a Socialist.

One of Ivram's main problems was that, right from the beginning of his period as a Member, he could not find a permanent job: he was a p'kak (lit.'cork'), a despised character on the kibbutz, who moved about from one job to another. As a Member, Ivram began work in the dairy, but soon moved out to work in the fields: he worked a few months in almost all of the agricultural branches, the last of which was the avocado plantation. There he found himself working with the young Moroccans, with whom he did not get on. He said that they were brash, over-confident and 'acted as if they owned the place'. The Moroccans claimed that Ivram was difficult and unreasonable. Ivram applied to the Labour Organiser for a change of job. At the time, the only place available was the dining room, a particularly unpopular workplace.

The dining room was, by then (1974), manned almost entirely by volunteers: Members worked there only occasionally when called upon to perform toranut[1] or during slack periods in the agricultural cycle. Ivram accepted the job. For the kibbutz, this acceptance seemed to provide a solution, as Ivram would be working mainly with the volunteers, who would carry out his orders without question: the Members could leave him to it. Also, someone had at last been found to fill a very unpopular job.

The reasons for the unpopularity of the job in the dining room are associated with the differential evaluation of various kinds of work in the kibbutz, which I discussed in Chapter 5. Broadly, this meant that productive branches were more highly valued than service branches, and, consequently, men's work more highly than women's work. I demonstrated these evaluations in the case of the roses branch, noting in addition the relevance of skill, which added further value to jobs. The work in the dining room was an

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(1) Extra work hours (lit. 'service') on a rota basis.

unskilled service, and for some time in Goshen it had been neither men's nor women's work: nobody had wanted to do the job at all. Ivram was therefore despised for working there: according to folk evaluations, a young man such as he was should have been able to take one of the most highly valued jobs - skilled, men's work in a productive branch.(1)

The kitchen workers, closest to those in the dining room, were used to ignoring the dining room workers: they felt that it was the kitchen's job to prepare the food, and that serving it was someone else's problem.(2) Ivram however proved difficult to ignore, and there were daily clashes between him and the workers in the kitchen, both men and women. His method of working was to carry on regardless of complaints, protestations and requests, all the time criticising under his breath the kitchen workers who, he said, were lazy, and never thought about what it was like to work in the dining room. Those who came to eat were also criticised by him: they were selfish, had no table manners, and again never thought about what it was like to work in the dining room.

Ivram was conscious of his unpopularity, and attributed it to the fact that he was more Socialist than other people, who thought only of themselves. His definition of Socialism was 'thinking of others', by whom he apparently meant himself: a constant theme in his complaints and in the continual quarrels with the kitchen workers was his attempt to emphasise their laziness. He was ostentatious in his method of working.

Ivram began work in the dining room in early 1974, after being away in the army for six months (the duration of the Yom Kippur War and its

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(1) Ivram's position in the dining room as 'the lowest of the low' in terms of the folk evaluation of jobs serves to reinforce I. Shepher's (1972) emphasis on the importance of work roles in the kibbutz. For Ivram, the job served to close a possible route to establishment as a Member, with the respect and support available to other established members.

(2) Serving in this case means waiting at table. Meals were characterised by informality. Many of the earliest pioneers had included table manners in the aspects of Jewish culture against which they rebelled. This did not make life easier for those serving at table.

aftermath), and continued in the job until the Summer of 1975, when a crisis in his family life (see below) precipitated a move to a job in the garden.

Ivram was the sole Indian Member of the kibbutz, a factor which immediately placed him at a disadvantage as far as the establishment of social links with other Members was concerned. He was alone and therefore had no ready-made links arising from membership of a supplementary nationality group. Linguistically too, he was at a disadvantage, for, although his Hebrew was good, he could not speak French, and would therefore have had difficulty in forming intimate relationships with other non-pioneer Members, had he chosen to try and do so.(1) He was younger than the pioneers, and contact with them by non-pioneers was in any case limited. His age placed him in the middle of the generation gap, between the pioneers and the second generation, making the formation of social ties with anyone fairly difficult. His problems were exacerbated by his failure to approach people, and his initial isolation was thus reinforced by his own inaction. Neither did he attempt to participate in the formal life of the kibbutz, by going to General Assembly meetings, taking part in committees and so on. For Ivram the rest of the community was 'them', a force which affected his life in ways he did not like and felt unable to change.

Miriam, Ivram's wife, was similarly isolated through lack of social contact in the kibbutz, linguistic difficulties and non-participation. She was accepted into Goshen in the late 1960's by the Secretariat at the time, which had agreed to offer her security. In 1975, even after several years of residence on the kibbutz, she spoke little Hebrew, and she and Ivram spoke English (her mother-tongue) between themselves. Even if Miriam had wanted to participate in the General Assembly, which she did not, she would have

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(1) See Chapter 4. The younger immigrant Members were predominantly French-speaking, and used that language rather than Hebrew in their more intimate and informal social relationships.

found the discussions difficult to follow. She and Ivram spoke English between themselves.

Miriam was born in England and was educated in Switzerland. A broken marriage at about twenty years old precipitated mental upset, after which she left for Israel to become a volunteer worker on Goshen. Soon after her arrival, she met Ivram, and the couple were married in 1971, Miriam having obtained a divorce from her first husband by this time.

Miriam, like Ivram, had great difficulties in finding a job on the kibbutz: at first, she was treated as were all the other volunteers, doing seasonal work in all the agricultural branches, andworking in the services when required. However, she proved rather slow and clumsy, and therefore more a hindrance than a help. Her parents, seeing her mental state improve after her marriage to Ivram, encouraged her to stay on the kibbutz, and rescued her from her work problems by purchasing for Goshen a steam-operated linen press, with which Miriam could work. She was thus working in the communa.

Miriam's parents visited her at frequent intervals, and were generous to Goshen, donating a tractor as well as the linen press. They clearly felt that Goshen was the best place for their daughter, and were anxious that she should stay, and that the kibbutz should welcome her.

Miriam was rather luckier than Ivram in her social relationships in the community: she was 'adopted' by M28 and his family,(1) well-established and highly respected Members of the kibbutz. This relationship served several times to temper people's criticism of Miriam, as a public condemnation of her would have reflected upon M28 and his family. In private, however, Miriam was criticised and laughed at, mainly for her inability to work very much, and for her attempts to speak Hebrew. At the same time, many people expressed pity for her, an emotion that none of them showed for Ivram.

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(1) I have already discussed this family: see in particular the case studies of M28 and M25 in Chapter 6.

On Goshen, as I have already indicated, the commùna was well known as a centre of gossip, and many of the tensions and frictions of the community could be found reflected in conversations there. One of the main reasons for this was the constant stream of visitors who came every day to deliver and collect their washing, to bring clothes for mending, and to try on new ones. The work was such that the workers could talk to one another: they were all together in one room, and the sewing machines and press were comparatively quiet.

In the kibbutz, as in many other village communities, tensions and friction between people led to the use of scapegoats,(1) individuals upon whom people's anger, frustration and so on could be focussed. Ivram and Miriam were ideal scapegoats: they were isolated in the first place, had no fellow group members or even friends to support them, and reinforced their isolation themselves by their own lack of participation. Their inability to conform to standards of work made them clear and easily justifiable targets for criticism (the form of this criticism and the use of scapegoats in the kibbutz are discussed in detail in Section B, 4, of this chapter).

An example of the treatment of Ivram and Miriam as scapegoats can be seen in the reaction to their material possessions. On Goshen in the 1970's, there were comparatively few of the luxuries of modern life, such as cars, television sets and so on. Generally, as the kibbutzim have gained in prosperity, the material (and private) possessions of the Members have increased. On Goshen, in the early 1970's there were two communal television sets, and only the physically handicapped (three families) were entitled to the use of a car for themselves. Ivram and Miriam were one of the first

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(1) The word 'scapegoat' comes from the Jewish religious tradition. Its origins lie in God's command to Moses that Aaron should place the sins of the people upon a goat which was then to be set free in the wilderness (Leviticus XVI).

couples on Goshen to have a television set (which they bought themselves) in their room: at this time (1972) the acquisition of a private set caused a storm of criticism among the Members. However, such criticism remained informal: people knew that in some rich kibbutzim, every couple could have a private set, and that if Goshen were to expand as hoped, the same situation would apply there.

Attitudes to private property in the Movement as a whole, and in Goshen in particular have been equivocal: the acquisition of private property by the members of kibbutzim has been associated with the decline of socialism in the Movement and in the form of ideology to which people express allegiance in formal situations, the acquisition of private property is condemned. In the early days of Hashomer Hatzair, the holding of any private property at all, even clothes, was condemned. Ivram and Miriam, as an isolated couple, really had nothing to lose in their contravention of the formal ideology. We should note that it was not so much their ownership per se of a television set to which people objected, but the fact that they had something which other people did not. Ivram's response to criticism was to point out that on rich kibbutzim, everyone did have a private set, and that, on a neighbouring one, they already had private cars too. In a sense, he and Miriam were performing a service to the community: the more integrated Members would have found it much more difficult to innovate in this way because they had formally established themselves as good adherents to the formal ideology. Ivram and Miriam had bought their television set after a decision had been made in the General Assembly recommending Members not to purchase private sets: they thus openly defied the decision of the majority. However, the majority knew very well that sooner or later all families would have sets, and criticised Ivram and Miriam loudly, but informally. It should be noted that the only means of enforcing such recommendations produced in the General Assembly was through the pressure

of public opinion, to which Ivram and Miriam did not respond. In the discussion of the case I will examine the positions of Ivram and Miriam as innovators and scapegoats further. The reader should note the close connection between the two social attributes.

One of the places in the kibbutz in which the figure of the scapegoat was particularly important was the commùna, where Miriam worked. Quite frequently, she would be openly criticised within her hearing, but was unable to defend herself effectively, due to her poor Hebrew and to a speech impediment which varied in seriousness. This open criticism was particularly apparent during the times of greatest crisis in the couple's relationship with the kibbutz.

About a year after their marriage, Ivram and Miriam's first child was born (1972). The baby was seriously ill however, and died following an operation to which the parents had consented. Miriam's mental state deteriorated considerably after this episode, and criticism of her was tempered somewhat. The following year (1973), another child was born: it was not long before this one began to show signs of being behind the others of his age. At a year old (1974), he could not sit up without support, and seemed unaware of the world around him. Once, when his father served a fortnight in the army reserves, the child seemed, upon his return, to have forgotten him. The kibbutz, 'the child-centred society par excellance' (Spiro, 1972, p.124), arranged for the baby to be sent for psychological tests in order to ascertain whether or not there was anything radically wrong with him. These tests simply showed him to be below average in his development: nothing further could be concluded because he was so young.

It should be noted that psychological analysis and treatment was commonly sought by Members of Goshen for themselves and their children. One Member, M98, was a trained psychologist, and it was her job to treat some, and to decide who should be sent to the Movement clinics for more

elaborate tests and treatment. An example of the extent of such treatment was that in 1975, some thirty per cent of children in the eleven to twelve age group were receiving it, and most of these were taken to the clinic in the city at regular intervals. The tests performed on Ivram and Miriam's son were therefore not in themselves unusual, and the results of the tests were not discussed at great length by the Members. Miriam herself was much encouraged by the results.

In the discussion of the Cyclamen (Chapter 7), I considered the collective education system of the Kibbutz Artzi, noting the abolition in the kibbutz of the traditional European form of the nuclear family, and the hoped-for results of this, that it would allow for the development of deep, warm, family relationships without the aspect of economic oppression which had existed under Capitalism. We can now examine some other aspects both of the collective education system and of the family in the kibbutz which are relevant to the case of Ivram and Miriam.

One of the most striking differences between the kibbutz families and those in Western Europe is related to the hours which children of the kibbutz spend with their parents. In the kibbutz, both parents have three and a half hours daily to devote entirely to their children: this means that, unlike the Western European father, the kibbutz father is not a remote figure who leaves the house early in the morning and returns in time to say goodnight to the children; the mother is not always around, busy with the housework and having no time to play with the children. It may be that kibbutz children spend more time with their parents, both father and mother, than do average European children. For the children of Goshen, the time of day spent with their parents was the most important. Even grown-up children (from the late teens upwards), still considered it worthwhile to maintain the tradition of spending at least Friday afternoon and evening with their parents. I referred in Chapter 7 to the importance accorded by public

opinion in the kibbutz to the parent-child relationship: the parents' influence on the child, whether or not he or she took after them either physically or temperamentally, was a topic of constant reference.

Contact between the parents and the workers in the children's houses involved frequent meetingsto discuss the children's welfare. Many times, the two sets of people opposed each other, each placing the blame for a child's faults and misdemeanours on the other. When I examined the social contacts of M25, the teacher, in Chapter 6, I noted the kinds of relationships which could exist between parents, between parents and workers, and between the workers themselves. The different categories involved in these relationships cannot be clearly delineated analytically, because many of the parents worked in the children's houses, and most workers were also parents. The discussions between 'parents' and 'workers' about the children thus showed cases of boundary erection, boundaries which could be removed as quickly as they were set up, and adjusted according to the situation. People participating in these discussions were able to mobilize support of different kinds according to their current role, as parent or worker. They were able to do this however, only if they had an established position in the community, involving a permanent place of work and reliable social links with other people.

In the case of Ivram and Miriam, things were rather different, because they had almost no support to mobilize in situations of this kind, and therefore experienced considerable difficulties in defending themselves and their child.

To the workers in the commùna, who were impatient with Miriam's slowness and clumsiness, the child's backwardness was seen to be caused by his parents' faults. His mother was slow, his father 'a bad lot', so how, they argued, could the child be anything but backward? This attitude stresses the importance of parentage in the eyes of public opinion in the

kibbutz: although the child spent a far higher proportion of the day in the children's house with the workers and the other children of his own age than he did with his parents, their influence on him was considered the most important.

This was not always the case, in that other children's faults were not blamed on their parents. One of Miriam's most vocal critics in the commùna had herself a son who had been rather backward, and whom the kibbutz had sent to a special school. By 1975, he had achieved the ideal attributes of a sabra, tall, handsome and strong. In this case, the parents were not blamed for his backwardness: it was his own tragedy, which the kibbutz took upon itself to remedy. The couple involved had had at the time (1958) sufficient social support in the community to bring about this help for their child. Ivram and Miriam in contrast were unable to get their son helped and accepted in this way, as we shall see.

After the child had been tested, it was decided that he should be given extra attention: one of the kibbutz nurses, M70, spent three hours a day with him, helping him to walk, to negotiate steps, playing with him, talking to him and so on, and the child began to progress a little. The nurse however was not always available, and on these days, Miriam would leave her work in the commùna to spend the three hours with him. This caused the form of criticism of her to change its focus: the commùna workers could now say that the work was not getting done. No one was provided by the Labour Organiser to replace Miriam while she was away: this seems to have been due to the fact that the person in this office at this time was particularly inefficient. The complaints from the commùna workers were directed towards the Labour Organiser in the form of requests for a further allocation of labour.

It was an unusual week if all the work in the commùna was finished by Friday afternoon: the absence of one worker for an occasional three hours

did not in fact make very much difference. But the chance to redirect the criticism of Miriam was immediately taken up.

Since they saw and were able to talk to so many people every day, those working in the commùna had considerable control over the content of information dissemminated to the gossip network of which they formed the centre, and were also able to control the flow of this information. They had an informal circle of support, particularly amongst the older women of Goshen. Their treatment of Miriam as a scapegoat, and their criticism of her husband were unanimous. Stories began to circulate about the child at this time, most of them clearly refractions or adaptations of conversations in the commùna. One of these stories concerned an operation which had been offered to 'put the child right': this was not true, though can be seen to have been based upon the history of the first child. The most extreme example of the kind of gossip circulating at this time was heard from the daughter (K26) of one of the commùna workers, who described the child as 'stupid' and 'horrible', retold the operation story, and condemned the parents for not consenting to it. She added that nobody would want a child like that (so 'horrible'), unless they were extremely stupid: only perfect children were worth keeping.

Miriam herself became increasingly unhappy with the commùna: she knew what was happening, and tried to counter the criticism by pointing out to a volunteer (another outsider) that there were plenty of others who did not work the required eight hours a day, pointedly referring to one of the main protagonists in the commùna, (M21), who was given frequent days off to visit her ailing mother. She could not however bring this complaint into a formal arena, as she had no support. It was difficult even for her to express herself informally, and she voiced her grievances only to foreign volunteers (particularly those who spoke her native tongue) and to her parents.

Things were now (late Spring 1975) so bad for Miriam that her parents came to visit her and to have prolonged discussions with M28, who was then Secretary of the kibbutz. It was his family which had adopted her when she first went to Goshen, and he was comparatively sympathetic towards her, though not towards Ivram. However, there was nothing he could do to stop the flow of gossip: this was within neither the duty nor the ability of any Secretary.

Meanwhile, Ivram had been serving in the army reserves for a month. Upon his return, he did not go to work in the dining room, and asked to be put on night guard. He did this job for about two weeks, an abnormally long time, as the usual period was three or four days at the most.(1) One of the gardeners, a young soldier, (X3), was, at this time, suddenly called away from the kibbutz, and Ivram was given his job. He expressed pleasure at leaving the dining room (where he was replaced by another p'kak), and said he was glad to work in the garden because 'nobody bothered him'. The head gardener (M64) left him very much to his own devices, and told the Secretary that he was satisfied with the man's work.

Ivram and Miriam's problems were by no means solved: once Ivram was out of the dining room the child began to figure much larger in the public discussion of the family. Once Miriam's parents had arrived, and had started their meetings with the Secretary, the other protagonists intensified their activity. The ringleader of the commùna (M21) went to the Secretary and announced that she thought Ivram and Miriam should be thrown out of the kibbutz. She knew that he could not do this himself: any measure of this kind was for the General Assembly to enact. He told her in no uncertain terms that if such was her opinion, then she should take the proposition to the General Assembly. Her informal support was extensive and powerful in its influence on public opinion: it consisted mainly of women, who did not

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(1) Guard duty was allocated on a rota basis.

speak at the meetings.(1) M28, the Secretary was an experienced and powerful speaker, a formidable opponent in this formal arena. However, the importance of the woman's approach to him should not be underestimated: she had warned him of the tenor of public opinion and of the opposition to Ivram and Miriam, and had thus advised him not to act too favourably towards Miriam in particular.

During the parents' visit, there was another crisis, this time concerning the child. His age group was to be moved to a new house, where it would have a new metapelet. The woman concerned, M97, had received her training at Goshen's expense. After completing her course, she worked with small children for a few months, then decided that she did not really like the job. For some years, she had been with older children, doing work for which she had no training. When the group of toddlers to which Ivram and Miriam's child belonged was ready to move, there was no one else available, so M97 was asked to go back to the work for which she was trained. At a small meeting of the prospective workers in the house, she announced that she would take on the job on one condition, namely that Ivram and Miriam's child was not moved up with the group. This was quite a shocking pronouncement: it was almost unheard of for a single child to be left behind from its group. The only example of movement of this kind on Goshen was that of the three six year olds, too few to form a group on their own, who were moved up and down several times, to the intense dissatisfaction of their parents. Age groups of children were invested with strong ideological resources, that they should provide support and security for the children in them. The discussion in the case of the Cyclamen showed how important the links between the children were considered to be.

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(1) Appendix III, Table 2, provides data on the formal participation of women on Goshen (in committees). The table shows that the proportion of women on committees was less than the proportion of men. Women's formal participation was reduced by the fact that they tended to be much less vocal than men in formal situations. This information provides an interesting contrast with their informal exercise of power, discussed in this chapter.

M97 was, like the woman from the commùna who complained to M28, speaking in terms of a formal decision about Ivram and Miriam. She was, however, in a weak position because the kibbutz had paid for her training which she had not yet used, and so she was unable to take her protest very far. Also, the child was still receiving his three hours' individual attention every day, which meant that M97 could not justifiably complain that he would distract her from the other children. M28 was called into the meeting of the children's house workers, and was able to prevent M97's wishes from being carried out, by using the above arguments. The child moved up into the new house with the others.

Thus criticism of Ivram and Miriam remained informal. However, public opinion, fed by the gossip emanating mainly from the commùna, was strong enough to ensure their total ostracism. By this time, they were unable to counter it: initially, they had reinforced their own isolation by their lack of interest in the community, whether in formal participation or in the establishment of social contact with other Members.

The period of Miriam's increasing unhappiness in the commùna, of Ivram's change of job, and the trouble in the children's house formed a crisis for the couple. The volume of gossip circulating increased, and the criticism intensified. Immediate difficulties were solved by the allocation of CL2 (also an outsider - see Ch. 5, pp.206.207) to the job of looking after the child for three hours every day, and by Ivram's removal from a work place in which he was in contact with others. The undercurrent of resentment remained.

When the new Secretary (M48) was elected in the Summer of 1975, Ivram and Miriam lost their support in the formal arena of the kibbutz, although M28 continued to act as mediator for them relaying messages from the discussions taking place in various committees of the kibbutz. He was not a member of the committees which discussed the couple, the Secretariat, the

Social Committee and the Education Committee, and none of the information conveyed to the couple by M28 went through official channels. For example, early in his period of office, the new Secretary, approached by the workers in the children's house and the parents of the other children in the age group, came to the conclusion that the best solution to the problem was for Ivram and Miriam to be asked to leave Goshen. In a meeting of the Secretariat, the new Secretary argued that Goshen could not commit itself to supporting the child: no one knew what was wrong, he said, and the special schools and equipment he might need were likely to prove very expensive. This provided a useful explanation for the desire to expel the couple, something which could be discussed in a General Assembly, the only body which could expel Members. In itself, the complaint that a kibbutz could not support a handicapped child was unprecendented: on Goshen itself, four such children had been brought up and given all the care, attention and equipment they required. However, matters were often discussed in terms of the budget needed, and so there were very general precedents for discussing the case of Ivram and Miriam, however shocking to some Members it seemed to speak of expelling Members because of their children.

One of those most horrified by the new Secretary's pronouncement was M4, who at this time shared the post of Treasurer. He was a member of the Egyptian pioneer group of 1945-47, and his relationship with M28 was one of mutual dislike. However, M4 knew of M28's contacts with Ivram and Miriam, and also that the new Secretary had no intention of approaching them. He went to M28, and told him of the new Secretary's ideas, knowing that he would communicate them to the couple. At the same time, M48 and the Secretariat decided that the child should be tested again, by more doctors, in order to try and assess how much special care he would need in years to come. The conclusions of these tests were communicated to Ivram and Miriam indirectly, and not in detail.

Miriam's parents arrived in the Autumn, for one of their regular visits, and M28, by this time informally established as mediator between the couple and the kibbutz, communicated to them the new Secretary's opinions, which he had voiced in Secretariat meetings. He had not been officially asked by the Secretariat to convey these views, but it was clear to him that he was expected to do so. In talking to them, he used the new Secretary's argument about money, and made little mention of the strong feelings against the family. Miriam's parents knew of Ivram's unpopularity, and were pleased to hear that he was happy in his work in the garden. They were very anxious for their daughter to stay on Goshen, and tried to persuade M28 to help her. There was nothing he could do except to negotiate with the Secretariat on her behalf, which he did. Several private meetings were held between M28, the parents and the Secretariat, and after a few days, word was passed around the kibbutz that the parents were being asked to provide money to equip a special room for the child.

This answered the terms in which the criticism of Ivram and Miriam had been communicated to the parents. It meant that although Miriam and Ivram contributed nothing to Goshen in terms of formal participation, and were on friendly terms with almost none of the other Members, they were not making unusual demands on the resources of the community. The new Secretary argued that the supply of three hours per day of CL2's time was as much as Goshen could afford: he knew that if Ivram and Miriam were expelled from the kibbutz, they would not be destitute, because her parents would support them, and he also knew that the parents wanted her to stay. So it must have been clear to him that if he asked for financial help in maintaining their daughter and her family on the kibbutz, the parents would provide it, as they had already done when they bought the linen press.

To bring a proposal for the expulsion of a Member to the General Assembly was an extremely serious step. One man had been expelled from Goshen,(1)

(1) Irella's father: see Chapter 7, Section B, 9.

and, even twenty years later, there were still those who argued that he should have been allowed to stay. Even people who left voluntarily came to the General Assembly to explain why, and these occasions were painful for all concerned. The new Secretary encountered particular difficulties in establishing himself in office, especially in relation to the pioneer generation, and found it impossible to break their control of the community. Although the pioneer women were particularly critical of Ivram and Miriam, they did not try very hard to bring their criticism into the formal arena, content to exercise their own informal power, effective through the gossip network. Many of them did not participate in the formal arena very much more than Ivram and Miriam did, and they were not interested in establishing formal power. Their informal power, with the sanction of public opinion, was enough to maintain the isolation of Ivram and Miriam, and to put some pressure on M28 not to go too far in supporting the couple, and on the new Secretary to act as he did in proposing their expulsion.

The result of the parents' visit was that Ivram and Miriam stayed on the kibbutz, and that the parents provided the money for the child. In early 1976, CL2 left Goshen and was replaced by a long-stay volunteer, who spent the three hours daily with the child. As a volunteer, this woman was isolated from the Membership of the kibbutz: she was also not Jewish, and did not speak Hebrew. It was unlikely that she would stay on Goshen for more than a year. This appointment therefore served to further emphasise the isolation of Ivram and Miriam themselves.

B: Discussion

This case can be regarded as a series of social dramas: these "areas of transparency" (Turner, 1972, p.93), periods of intensified social activity, are those from which information can be drawn about the processes by which the family isolated themselves and were finally excluded from active, positive

social relations with other Members of the community in which they lived. Although they continued to be Members of the kibbutz after the period presented in the above account, I will argue that effectively, they were expelled.

The literature so far produced about kibbutzim contains no comparable case. This is partly due to the approaches which have been used by other writers (such as those discussed in Chapter 2), as they have tended to concentrate on institutional aspects of the communities, and have regarded only 'normal' Members of the kibbutzim as representative of their functioning. Even those writers who have examined social action in more detail have not so far used material of this kind to its full potential: I. Shepher, though mentioning the existence of 'corks' in his discussion of work roles in the kibbutz, does not emphasise that to call someone a cork is to offer them severe social and personal criticism. The attribution of this term to a Member of a kibbutz merits detailed investigation. Another reason for the dearth of discussion of similar cases in the literature is perhaps the nature of the kibbutz. Written ideological material such as that presented by Leon (1964) and Hashomer Hatzair itself (1963), suggests that such cases of exclusion, of opposition by Members of kibbutzim to other Members in such an extreme form cannot, should not and does not exist.

Critics may assert that Goshen is an exceptional kibbutz, and its Members unusual people. I have at no point in this work suggested that Goshen be regarded as a typical or average kibbutz. However, my own gossip network in the anthropological community interested in studying the kibbutzim has provided evidence to show that the case of Ivram and Miriam is by no means exceptional: for example, I have evidence that in one case, a family was actually paid to leave a kibbutz, and in another, a metapelet refused to accept a child in a group, and resigned on that basis. On Goshen itself, other families were isolated in ways similar to Ivram and Miriam: one of

these had already been expelled from another kibbutz in which the woman had been the first born child.

The case of Ivram and Miriam can therefore be used to make more general statements about social processes operating in Goshen and to argue for the detailed investigation of other such cases in other kibbutzim.

1. The Importance of Social Links

When they came to the kibbutz, Ivram and Miriam were in an isolated social position in that they had few ready-made social links. In contrast to most other entrants, they were not members of a nationality group or a youth group, and there were very few Members of their nationalities. Their ages placed them in between the pioneers and the second generation, so they also had very few age mates on Goshen. As a hired worker, Ivram was an outsider, whose contribution was his work: he was not integrated into the commune even to the extent of working with its Members, but worked for them in return for money. His position as a hired worker was formally defined, and served to separate him from the Members, his employers. At work, his relationship with his fellow workers was also of clearly defined separateness: all the hired workers on Goshen did different jobs from the Members, did not take their meals in the kibbutz dining room, and were not given responsibility at work. When Ivram applied for Membership, and during the years which followed, his separation from other workers was maintained by his inability to get on with them, as the account of the case showed. As a Member, he did not participate in the formal arena of Goshen, and this reinforced his separation from the other Members. Thus his transition from being a hired worker to being a Member of Goshen had little effect on his former relationship with the rest of the community. His attitude also remained similar, as he continued to regard the kibbutz as 'them', an

'other', which provided him with his livelihood, whose form had changed from money to material goods in the form of housing, food, clothing and the care of his family.

Miriam's isolation was exacerbated by her difficulty in communicating with other people, her limited grasp of the languages of interaction, which, on Goshen, were Hebrew and French. Although M28's family helped her enter the community, and were kind to her, they did not wish to form close links with her. They were particularly critical of both Ivram and Miriam for their unwillingness to participate.

Ivram and Miriam's initial isolation, and their subsequent attitudes to the rest of the community led to their treatment as outsiders, a position from which they made little attempt to extricate themselves. Once they were established as outsiders in this way, there seems to have been little chance of their becoming integrated, no matter what attempts they might have made. A major consequence of their isolation was that they had no social support from other Members in their dealings with the kibbutz: so strong was the feeling against them that even M28's ability to help them was limited.

The case is thus indicative of the importance for a Member of the kibbutz of social contacts within the community apart from Membership of it. I have shown that Ivram and Miriam were at an initial disadvantage in their lack of already existing social links when they joined the kibbutz, and that their subsequent activities did nothing to improve their position. The consequences of such social isolation have been made clear in the account of the case: the couple were unable to mobilize support when they needed it. Only M28 defended them against their attackers, but even he was not able to do much for them because of the power of public opinion against them. Effectively, because of their lack of social links, the couple were unable to defend themselves, either in the informal arena, in which public opinion

was strongly critical of them, or in the formal arena, in which they did not participate.

2. Work

In Chapter 5, which discussed structured links in the kibbutz, I demonstrated that a work group provided a Member with a series of social contacts for potential use in the mobilization of support. I also emphasised the importance of a permanent job for establishment both as a respected person in the community, and also of a series of social contacts providing support and information. Discussion of the development of Movement ideology (Chapter 3) showed that 'self-labour' and its correlate, hard, manual work, were considered important factors in the rebirth of the Jewish nation, and its ability to build a Socialist society.

Both Ivram and Miriam experienced exceptional difficulties in finding permanent work on the kibbutz: we have seen that Ivram was a p'kak, and that Miriam's job in the commùna was tailor-made for her by her parents' purchase of the linen press. Even when she was doing this permanent job, she became a scapegoat in the commùna, and was unable to defend herself.

On Goshen, work was an important topic of discussion centring mainly on people's satisfaction or otherwise with their jobs, and who did or did not work. Criticism of anyone, of whatever form, was likely to include a comment that he or she was somehow an unsatisfactory worker. In many cases, these comments bore little relation to fact: 'he does not work' was a kind of code of criticism, and a mechanism of social control, operating through the pressure of public opinion. Many of the discussions about Ivram and Miriam took the form of accusations of laziness: the comment that Ivram's work in the garden was satisfactory can therefore be understood in relation to his removal from direct contact with other people at work.

The case therefore provides an example of lack of social ability on the

part of Ivram and Miriam, rather than lack of physical ability or willingness to work.

3. Children and Parents

The discussion of the Cyclamen (Chapter 7) included an examination of the importance to a child of its parents' social position in the community, and the case of Ivram and Miriam provides evidence to support those remarks. The child also required social support to secure the care he needed: the son of the woman in the commùna received a special schooling, and other handicapped children were brought up on and by Goshen, all with the aid of the social support available. Because Ivram and Miriam were isolated, outcasts within the community, Miriam's parents were eventually called upon to provide money to help with their grandchild's upbringing. Throughout the account of the case, I have shown that, repeatedly, the child was classified with his parents by the rest of the community, and treated accordingly. For example, though they knew he needed the extra attention of one adult for several hours a day, the workers in the commùna criticised Miriam for her absences: the people who were given the job of looking after the child following the commùna workers' complaints to the Labour Organiser were also socially isolated. CL2, who cared for the child during the hours required, never established strong ties with the rest of the community, and left it after less than a year, and the person who replaced her was a volunteer. The public criticism directed against the couple and their child, and its harshness, illustrate the degree to which they lacked social support.

Generally, Ivram and Miriam's son was one of the least loved children on Goshen. The attack on him by the metapelet who did not want him in the group was mainly directed towards his parents, but also reflected a general response to the child himself. On Goshen, people were always interested

in children other than their own, would comfort them if they were distressed, search for them if they were lost, and generally indulge them. One or two were universally adored and petted by even the crustiest adults: almost all were loved and cared for by everyone who came into contact with them. Ivram and Miriam's son received little of this concern. Some people said that they felt he would have a better chance of a normal life on the kibbutz in the collective education system than if outside and living only with his parents. However, the new metapelet's threat can be taken as an indication of the strength of feeling against Ivram and Miriam. The threat came to nothing, partly because it was so extreme (and contrary to what other Members saw as the principles of the community) and partly because the dispute was never placed fully in the formal arena (see below).

4. Innovators and Scapegoats

Ivram and Miriam's social attributes as scapegoats were closely associated, as I have already indicated. I will examine the two attributes separately, and then explain their articulation and association. Both are related to the isolation of the couple and their lack of social support.

Ivram and Miriam's behaviour in purchasing the television set, and the response of the rest of the community towards it can be clarified by considering the data presented in Rosenfeld's (1957) article on 'Institutional Change in the Kibbutz'. This article uses the example of the allocation of clothing in the kibbutz in an attempt to explain why the early institutions of the kibbutz should have changed, in view of the high motivation of the earliest pioneers to organise their society in a certain way. She shows that, following experience of strain and tensions arising from communal (and limited) allocation of clothing according to a principle of absolute equality,[1] and the consequent bad feeling, some members of kibbutzim

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(1) i.e. the same for everyone. Special negotiations took place in cases of exceptional need.

decided to opt out of the system of communal distribution, and to acquire their own clothes, particularly by encouraging their contacts outside the community to help them. Rosenfeld argues that by the acquisition of clothing from sources other than the community, such people were effectively decreasing their commitment to the kibbutz by lessening their dependence on it. In most of the communities at the time,(1) no measures were taken against such action, and its frequency increased. The development of inequalities in possessions exacerbated disputes about the system of communal consumption, and Rosenfeld asserts that this pressure on the existing institutions of the kibbutzim led eventually to a change to a system by which each Member received an annual clothing budget to spend as he or she chose. Rosenfeld adds that the communities' failure to act against innovatory behaviour or deviance of this kind allowed it to multiply, and therefore lessened the effect of critical public opinion.

Kibbutz Members of the 1970's on Goshen often talked about the way in which private property had "crept into the kibbutz". They would mention the communal afternoon teas of the late 1960's, and explain their demise by saying that "everyone got a kettle". They were mildly critical of people who did not take their meals in the kibbutz dining room, but added that the new flats had bigger kitchenettes, and people had room for proper cookers to prepare their own food. They thus had a similar view to Rosenfeld of the way in which such changes came about. This helps to explain their attitude to Ivram and Miriam's purchase of the television set, as they had already seen innovations "creep in". Their criticisms were confined to the informal arena, because they knew that they too would want sets of their own in the future. Ivram and Miriam acted as they did without showing evidence

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(1) These developments accelerated after the end of the Second World War, and were in full swing at the time of Rosenfeld's study (1948-49), which was conducted in communities established many years before the foundation of the State of Israel.

of any sensitivity to the censure of public opinion: this appears to confirm Rosenfeld's assertion that as instances of such innovatory behaviour increased in number, the power of public opinion to influence prospective purchasers would lessen. In the case of Ivram and Miriam, public opinion was particularly ineffective, because the couple were already socially isolated, and saw the kibbutz as an entity separate from and not involving themselves.

I pointed out in the account of the case that Ivram and Miriam were scapegoats in the kibbutz: this means that they were blamed for faults which were not necessarily theirs, and that the causation of problems was attributed to them. Furthermore, criticism of them was exaggerated in ways in which it was not for Members with similar difficulties. For example, the bad atmosphere in the dining room was blamed on Ivram when he was working there, the labour shortage in the commùna was said to be due to Miriam's absences with her child. Together, the couple were alleged to be the cause of the problems in their child's house, especially by the parents of the other children involved. The exaggerated nature of these allegations is confirmed by subsequent events, and by certain facts regarding the situations to which they were intended to apply. Months after Ivram had finished work in the dining room, the atmosphere was as bad as ever: a General Assembly meeting voted to introduce a self-service system at lunchtime, in an effort to improve matters. People then argued that the cause of the bad feeling was that they liked neither to serve nor to be served, and therefore preferred to help themselves. In the commùna, Miriam's absences did not increase the weekly backlog of work, always large in the Summer months when people changed their clothes more often. Also, workers and parents associated with the children's houses came into conflict with each other frequently in the normal course of events: although Ivram and Miriam were difficult to deal with, they were not wholly responsible for

conflicts in this context.

A useful parallel to the treatment of Ivram and Miriam as scapegoats can be found in Thomas' (1970) paper on "The Relevance of Social Anthropology to the Historical Study of English Witchcraft". Thomas defines witchcraft as doing harm to others by supernatural means: in our case, there is no supernatural element, and the parallels are found in the social context in which accusations occurred. According to Thomas, the kind of people who were accused of witchcraft in England during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were predominantly old women, and many of them were widows. These people, he argues, were in an anomalous position in society. They were dependent for their survival upon neighbourly support, especially once the feudal system had declined, and, with it, the associated arrangements for the support of the elderly. Thomas notes that witch beliefs arose over the period of the introduction of the Poor Law, statutory provision for the care of the poor. At the same time, whilst the State was introducing such measures, the Churches urged people to give Christian charity to those who came begging. The State's view was that beggars threatened public order. Thus, argues Thomas, an important aspect of the environment of witch beliefs was

> .... the ethical conflict between the twin and opposing doctrines that those who did not work should not eat, and that it was blessed for the rich to support the poor.
>
> (Thomas, 1970, p.67)

Considering the reasons why particular people were accused of exercising the power of witchcraft, Thomas notes that, almost invariably, the victim of the accusation was someone with a reason to bear a grudge against the affected household: she had, for example, been turned away when asking for alms.

Ivram and Miriam were socially isolated members of the community, and in an ambiguous position in that they were Members of the kibbutz, yet had shown themselves to be materially independent of it. Their social attributes

thus corresponded to those of the people, whom, according to Thomas, were accused of witchcraft. Though Ivram and Miriam's power to do harm was certainly not supernatural, it was considered enough to be the cause of trouble in the dining room, the communa and the children's house. These features of their position can be illuminated by comparison with Marwick's (1964) assessment of "Witchcraft as a Social Strain Gauge", in which he correlates an increase in accusations of witchcraft with periods of social upheaval, and the incidence of social tension. In our case, instead of witch, victim and accusation, we find the use of scapegoats, people upon whom blame rested in cases of social tension, who were unable to defend themselves due to lack of support, and whom the kibbutz felt justified in blaming because of their withdrawal from participation in and dependence on the community. At the same time, some Members of Goshen(1) were upset by the most extreme treatment of the couple: they thus exhibited a kind of social guilt, which offers a parallel to Thomas' assertion that those upon whom witchcraft accusations fell had reason to bear grudges against their supposed victims.

The correlation between Ivram and Miriam's positions as both innovators and scapegoats can also be clarified by reference to Thomas, who notes that witchcraft accusations were both conservative and radical. They were conservative in that they tended to maintain the tradition of neighbourliness, because they involved the belief that failure to give help to those who came asking for it would be followed by the repercussion of harm through witchcraft. Their radical aspect lay in their use in resolving the ambiguities caused by the historical processes at the time: and accusation of witchcraft defended the accuser against his or her uncertainty about how to treat the poor in a situation of conflicting State provision and religious exhortation.

In the case of Ivram and Miriam, we find that the factors in their

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(1) Such as M4, who intervened when the new Secretary proposed their expulsion.

ability to be innovators and those justifying their use as scapegoats were very similar. Both were closely connected with their social isolation, and their lack of participation in and dependence on the commune. Their purchase of the television set was socially useful as part of the process of increasing private property in the kibbutz, a process well known to their critics. Officially, the movement was opposed to private property. Critics of Ivram and Miriam could therefore express loyalty to movement policy, and at the same time accept what they saw as an inevitable development. This kind of criticism can be compared with Thomas' description of witchcraft accusations as both conservative and radical, in that the case exhibits criticism of the acquisition of more material possessions coinciding with condolence of the social process taking place. Frankenberg (1967) would call a situation of this kind "passing the buck", and cites comparable examples, one of which is the allocation of social responsibility (decision making in this case) to juries in the English legal system: he notes that the jury exists only to make the decision, and that its qualification for doing so lies in its total lack of specialist knowledge. Peters (1970) notes the condolence of anti-social behaviour in youth groups in Wales, groups which consisted of 'marginal adults'. He shows that adults passed on the responsibility of maintaining social control within the group to the members of the group itself. Thus, "passing the buck" in England and Wales is clearly comparable to the process of innovation on Goshen: Ivram and Miriam were responsible for hastening the process of increasing private property. Again comparing the case with the material presented by Frankenberg and Peters, we find that Ivram and Miriam were allocated responsibility for causing problems for which they were not entirely blameful, as the jury is given decisions to make without expertise, and the Welsh youths can be collectively criticised if one of their number fails to conform to the stereotype of a 'lad'. Like the jury and the youth group, Ivram and

Miriam were socially marginal, and the buck was passed to them with impugnity.

As scapegoats then, Ivram and Miriam were blamed for tension of which they were not the only cause, and in some cases were not the cause at all. These accusations were possible because of the couple's social isolation, and were used by those who made them to affect their own social positions. A few pioneers defended the couple on ideological grounds, basing their arguments on what they saw as fundamental principles of the society. The new Secretary, the radical, wanted to push the kibbutz to take the extreme measure of expelling the couple, a proposition seen by those who opposed him as an attack not simply on Ivram and Miriam, but on the very foundations of the community. Despite Ivram and Miriam's social isolation, despite the bad feeling against them, and despite the accusations directed at them, the new Secretary was not able to remove them. Miriam's parents afforded the couple power in the form of money, but it is clear that this was not the only factor allowing them to stay in the community. Ivram and Miriam were socially useful, and the new Secretary therefore failed: had the parents not provided the money, he might have succeeded, because the financial question was a powerful one, but this seems unlikely in view of Ivram and Miriam's position as both innovators and scapegoats.

5. The Arena of Social Action

The social processes in which Ivram and Miriam were involved as scapegoats and innovators were informal, and action associated with them did not enter the formal arena of the kibbutz. Innovation, despite previous efforts of the movement and of the formal bodies of the kibbutzim to control it, was, by the 1970's an ongoing social process, recognised as such within the communities, including Goshen. The formal bodies of the kibbutz and the Movement had no means of coercion at their disposal

except the pressure of public opinion, and this did not operate to prevent innovation. Furthermore, the instances of social tension in Goshen for which Ivram and Miriam were blamed were not within the sphere of control of the formal bodies of the kibbutz: it was not possible for formal decisions to make people like each other.

To some extent, it can be said that Ivram and Miriam defined the arena of social action themselves by their lack of formal participation, and by their independence of the commune. Members of the kibbutz were expected, and not coerced to attend meetings and take part in decision making, and Ivram and Miriam's non-attendance at meetings was not exceptional on Goshen, as those who did attend were a minority, but it was remarkable because of their more general isolation. It is clear that Ivram and Miriam confined their own action to the informal arena, but this is not a sufficient cause of the whole discussion having remained almost totally informal.

The exercise of the power of gossip in the kibbutz has not been considered by other writers in its full implications.(1) Rosenfeld (1957) mentions that people were subject to informal criticism if they were innovators, but does not investigate the detailed effect of such criticism. In Goshen, its power was enough to ensure the total ostracism of Ivram and Miriam, their informal expulsion from the kibbutz. At the same time, gossip was able to ensure that the couple remained formal members of Goshen. The place of informal criticism and gossip in this case is indicative of the importance to the understanding of social processes in the kibbutz of the informal arena of social relations, and this in turn serves to reinforce criticism of writers taking a purely institutional view.

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(1) Comparative evidence of the power of gossip is offered by, for example, Epstein (1969) in his paper on "Gossip, Norms and Social Network" in the Zambian Copperbelt. In this case, gossip served to regulate norms and to define the identity of a prestigious group.

6. Ideology and Social Action

I will now consider the ideological currents of the case of Ivram and Miriam. If we were to examine the formal ideology of the Movement, we would find few expressions of it in this case. However, the view of ideology as interpretable, and expressible in many different ways, for which I have argued, leads to its discovery as a feature running through the whole case. Its persuasive aspects can be seen to have influenced the actors, and its situational transcendency and interpretability can be seen to have offered them room for manoeuvre.

Ivram and Miriam's view of the kibbutz was idiosyncratic, like those of all the Members, and unusual. Rather than seeing themselves as an integral part of the community as others did, with interests identical to those of the commune, they postulated an 'us' and 'them' situation, in which they were separate from the rest of the Members, and in most circumstances in opposition to them. Ivram had a distinctive view of Socialism which, for him, meant that other people should have more consideration for him. Miriam saw things specifically in terms of the kibbutz itself, in that she would remark for example that 'they' never told her anything, that 'they' never opened the shop on time. Both these views are clearly related to the couple's position in the community as social outcasts. They were perhaps some of those furthest removed, in their perceptions of the kibbutz, from the formal ideology of the Movement. At the same time, they knew their rights, that they were entitled to facilities from the kibbutz, and did not hesitate to demand them. They were not however skilled, as other Members were, in obtaining everything to which they were formally entitled, as we saw when we noted that they were obliged to offer money for their child to receive the care he needed.

Some of the criticisms of the couple were couched in ideological terms, though we find that varying interpretations of the formal ideology were used.

These are difficult to disentangle, and the process of doing so produces a picture of nuances and contradictions. This picture however represents the complexity of the relation between ideology and social action in the kibbutz. For example, Ivram and Miriam were considered lazy. This was a serious accusation, involving contravention of the ideological tenet that hard work was the agent for the rebirth of the Jewish nation. Its specific direction at Ivram and Miriam and the sets of social relationships involved show that in this case, it was not a simple and direct accusation of acting against ideological principles.

As a p'kak, Ivram was in a socially weak position in that he could not build up a personal network at work,(1) and therefore had no defence against the accusation of laziness. The accusation directed at him reflected his social position rather than his activities at work: it was not the work itself which made him a p'kak, but his social relations with the other Members of Goshen. Thus, as I have already noted, "he's lazy" was, for Ivram, a code of criticism, signifying, for the analyst, reaction to his general social position rather than his particular work situation.

Directed against Miriam, the accusation of laziness also served as a code of criticism, though in her case, things were rather more complicated. Miriam did not work as hard or as long as many other women in the kibbutz: this was due partly to her limited ability, and partly to the special care needed by her son. In her case, we find the intervention of another ideological principle, that of 'from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs'. When Members of Goshen were asked directly by the ethnographer about the formal ideology of the kibbutz, they gave this principle as basic to their way of life: thus, formally, the principle was ideologically fundamental. Informally, it too was open to interpretation. Miriam's ability was limited, and her needs (i.e. those of her child) were

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(1) Other fields of relationship, such as nationality and age, were also not available to him.

especially great. Other Members of Goshen, particularly the physically handicapped, were also limited in their ability to work, and made much greater demands on the material resources of the community than average Members, yet they were not accused of laziness. Some of them were complimented on the fact that they did their best. The question therefore arises of why Miriam was accused of laziness, whilst others of limited ability received congratulations for their efforts. Thus the situation was contradictory: Miriam was accused of contravening the ideological principle of work, and yet at the same time her limited ability was not recognized, in contravention of the principle concerning needs and abilities.

Clearly, measurement of social action against a yardstick of formal ideology cannot explain this problem, because many different levels of both ideological interpretation and social action are involved in cases such as that of Ivram and Miriam. The accusation of laziness directed at Miriam can be explained by reference to the sets of social relationships involved. Miriam's personal network, and therefore the social support available to her, was very limited, and she could not therefore defend herself. As an innovator and scapegoat, she was in an ambiguous position in relation to the commune, of which she and Ivram had shown themselves to be materially independent. From the point of view of those accusing her, Miriam was a minimal Member of the kibbutz, not ideologically committed to it, and not materially involved. The accusers had a wide circle of support, particularly the women of the commùna, whose network was widespread. These women were powerful arbiters of public opinion, mainly because of the extensive information available to them from the many visitors to the commùna. Their power was sufficient to effectively expel Ivram and Miriam from the kibbutz, leaving them only their formal Membership as a method of contact with the community. The couple were, for their critics, anti-social Members of the kibbutz, who acted against it ideologically and materially. The

accusation of laziness directed at Miriam can therefore be understood as a refraction of the accusers' perceptions of her actions and her social position. The interpretation of ideology involved in the accusations was related to Miriam's view of the kibbutz. She was not ideologically committed, therefore the interpretation of ideology applied to her could be very broad. Thus, questions of needs and abilities became transposed into questions of rights and obligations: Miriam's demands on the kibbutz resources, her rights as a Member, were deemed excessive, and her 'laziness' constituted a failure to fulfil her obligations.

This helps to explain why the new Secretary could ask for money as a condition for retaining the couple on the kibbutz. At this stage in the case, the pioneers reasserted themselves, bringing their view of ideology to the defence of Ivram and Miriam. They were effective in constraining the development of the interpretation of ideology which had previously been operated against Ivram and Miriam, the logical verdict of which, as the new Secretary saw it, was to expel the couple formally. The pioneers' power meant that the Secretary moved back to the interpretation the pioneers wished to operate. This was based, as I have tried to demonstrate, on Ivram and Miriam's social isolation and informal expulsion, their lack of commitment and participation, and their material independence. The demand for financial support from Miriam's parents is clearly correlated with other features of the case, such as the accusation of laziness. According to the social and ideological position of Ivram and Miriam, and the other actors' own positions and interpretations, this was a case in which the kibbutz could ask for help, could refuse to provide the essentials of life to which all its Members were formally entitled.

Ivram and Miriam's demands on the community were increased by the existence of their child, and an examination of the ideological current of this aspect of our case can add further to our understanding of the social

processes involved in it. Criticism of the child was a comparatively late development in this case, and some of the more extreme stories circulated about him were treated with circumspection by their hearers. Generally, these stories were thought to take criticism a little too far. The child, like his parents, was not able to defend himself, but, unlike them, he did not have what was seen as the potentiality to do so: only his parents were seen as consciously anti-social. Furthermore, children were one of the central ideological and material concerns of the kibbutz, to be helped by everyone. Ivram and Miriam's child did not receive the same universal care and attention as others did, in that he was not petted by people other than his parents when he was not in the children's house. This was because of their social isolation: because they had no contact with other Members, neither did he. However, he did receive a more normal amount of care and attention in the children's house, and extra resources were devoted to him in the form of three extra hours' work a day. Since this child had received extra care up to a point, the question arises as to why it was the extra care which the new Secretary used in his arguments for the expulsion of Ivram and Miriam. In using this in his argument, the new Secretary was treading on ideologically dangerous ground, because of the commitment of the kibbutz to its children. However, there were few other arguments he could have used. Clearly, most Members of Goshen did not like the couple, but unpopularity could not be a basis for expulsion. It was this unpopularity which had made it difficult for Ivram and Miriam to find permanent jobs, and as I showed in the discussion of the development of kibbutz ideology (Chapter 3), the existence of permanent jobs in the kibbutz constituted an area of ideological stress, in that their development had been largely informal, and their operation involved informal processes of social bargaining (see I. Shepher, 1972). Furthermore, Ivram and Miriam's non-participation in the formal life of the kibbutz was not exceptional: participation was entirely voluntary, and there were no formal means of

coercion. Public opinion could exert pressure on people, as indeed it did on the new Secretary in prompting in his mind the suggestion of expulsion, but Ivram and Miriam were insensitive to it. Their position in the community was such that it made little or no difference to them what the arbiters of public opinion, 'they', might say. These were the reasons why the case remained outside the formal arena of the kibbutz: the couple could be informally expelled by public opinion, but this expulsion was the limit of action which could be taken against them. Formal expulsion through informal action proved impossible because of the couple's lack of response.

Money was thus the only argument at the new Secretary's disposal: unfortunately for him, money was in this case associated with the child. He began therefore by saying that the kibbutz could no longer afford to support the child and that therefore the couple must leave, knowing that the parents did have the necessary financial resources to support them outside the kibbutz. The argument proved intolerable to pioneers involved in the negotiations, particularly M4 and M28, who, as we have seen, became the mediator between the parents and the Secretariat. These people were able to put pressure on the new Secretary to make him change the terms of his argument, and to ask the parents for financial assistance. The grounds upon which the pioneers objected to the new Secretary's arguments were ideological: their interpretation of the situation was that he was attempting to expel Ivram and Miriam because of their child, and this was ideological anathema to them. I have shown that the new Secretary's argument was based on pragmatic grounds, and that it was, effectively, the only one he could use. The ideological problems in it were seized upon by the pioneers, who were then able to pressurize him to modify his terms.

Thus we can see the ideological currents running through all levels of the case, and have been able to examine varying interpretations of

ideology relevant to different social actors and in different fields of social action.

Conclusion

The examination of this case has allowed us to deepen our understanding of the relation between ideology and social action in the kibbutz. Ivram and Miriam, as social outcasts, have provided material evidencing the many different levels of relation involved. In the conclusion to the thesis, which follows this chapter, I will look more generally at the way in which the whole discussion has moved through these levels. Here, I will comment briefly on specific features of the case of Ivram and Miriam.

The central feature of the case was the isolation of the family, and this enabled us to explore the importance of social links within the kibbutz. One of the main reasons for Ivram and Miriam's isolation was their lack of formal contacts in the first instance, and their failure to establish links, either formal or informal, thus reinforcing their initial position. The case provides evidence of the significance of structured and non-structured social links to Members' establishment in the kibbutz.

Potential sets of links available to Ivram and Miriam were work relationships. Ivram proved to be a p'kak, and Miriam, very weak in her work situation, which was the centre of criticism directed at her and her husband. Work then, instead of affording the couple the chance to become settled in jobs, and therefore achieve a measure of respectability, only served to exacerbate the situation for both of them.

Their child effectively placed them in relationships with the workers in the children's house and the parents of the other children in his group. However, the couple were already established as outcasts and scapegoats,

and were not able to improve their position through these ready-made sets of links. As scapegoats and innovators, Ivram and Miriam were socially useful to the kibbutz, as people who could be blamed for misfortune or tension, and would perform the ideologically unsavoury task of increasing material possessions by providing precedents for their acquisition.

Almost all the social action in the case took place in the informal arena of the kibbutz, and public opinion, operative through the gossip network provided powerful enough to achieve the effective informal expulsion of Ivram and Miriam.

The last part of the discussion related the case of Ivram and Miriam to the more general theme of this thesis, of the relation between ideology and social action. This was achieved through examination of the ideological threads running through the case, affecting people's interpretation of the situation, and their action in regard to it. This section, included clarification and explanation of the form taken by the criticism of Ivram and Miriam, and the action against them, to elaborate the reasons why such action took place wholly in the informal arena. Anomalous though they might appear from an examination of the formal ideology of the Movement, and from a look at previous work on the kibbutz, Ivram and Miriam have thus contributed to our understanding of social processes in kibbutz Goshen.

The analysis presented in this chapter has demonstrated the usefulness of the method advocated in this thesis, and its ability to aid discussion of the relation between ideology and social action in a much more detailed way than other approaches. By regarding ideology and social action as conceptually rather than ontologically distinct, it has been possible to look at their relationship at different analytical levels. I will discuss the use of the method in the conclusion to the thesis, which follows.

CONCLUSION

In this thesis, I have attempted to deal with the problem of the anthropological study of the relation between beliefs and social action through an investigation of previous approaches, the elaboration of the dialectical approach and an ethnography of an Israeli kibbutz. I will now draw together the conclusions of each chapter, and discuss them in relation to the general theme of the thesis. I will also consider some of the possibilities for future research within the context of the kibbutz and in other communities.

The study opened with a critical examination of previous approaches to the study of beliefs and social action. A selection of texts was classified according to a distinction between collectivist (institutional) and individualist (actor-oriented) approaches. The discussion of Geertz' Islam Observed (1968) and Blau's Exchange and Power in Social Life (1964) showed that neither an institutional nor an actor-oriented approach was capable of dealing with the relation between beliefs (the ideational realm of social life) and social action (defined in the Weberian sense). Geertz' work concentrated on the formal belief system at the expense of social action, and Blau's on interpersonal exchanges at the expense of the societal environment. Two less extreme approaches were then discussed: Wilson's Good Company (1970) and Bott's Family and Social Network (1971). My criticisms of these texts showed that in spite of their being less extreme than Geertz' and Blau's studies, they did not meet at a central point between institutional and actor-oriented approaches. The reason for this failure was the separation, in all the examples considered, of beliefs and social action and the barrier which was erected between them. This contravened McIntyre's assertion that beliefs and actions are "no more separate than ... words and meanings" (McIntyre, 1962, p.51).

I then considered the problem of social change, noting in particular Wilson's and Bott's failure to deal adequately with it, and criticised Gluckman's (1968) remarks on the usefulness of the equilibrium model as a tool for the understanding of repetitive and radical structural change.

Middleton's Lugbara Religion (1960) and Gluckman's The Judicial Process Amongst the Barotse of Northern Rhodesia (1955) were used to elucidate the requirements for a new approach to the study of beliefs and social action, namely that it should draw a purely heuristic distinction between the two phenomena without irreconcilably dividing them, allow for a two-way interrelationship between beliefs and social action, and contain an inbuilt dynamic.

Having established the requirements of the new approach, I investigated dialectics as a mode of thought, arguing that all the requirements could be satisfied by an approach based upon it. I discussed the writers from whose work my conception of dialectics was derived, and considered some criticisms which had been made of dialectics as a form of reasoning (Popper, 1940 and Colletti, 1975). The use of dialectics in social science in general and in anthropology in particular was then examined.

A definition of ideology to be used in the study was formulated, following reviews of literature from various disciplines (Schurmann, 1966, Althusser, 1969 and Rancière, 1974 received the most extended discussion). Ideology was defined as an interpretable, situationally transcendent set of ideas which attempts to persuade people to conduct their lives in a certain way. I argued that this definition would cover Communist Chinese ideology (Schurmann, 1966), bourgeois ideology (Althusser, 1969) and the ideology of the kibbutz movement.

The second chapter reviewed examples of the literature on the

kibbutz. These were chosen as representative of the development of kibbutz studies, and for their relationship with the secondary themes of this thesis, which they were used to introduce. I showed that the early studies (Landshut, 1944 and Infield, 1946) raised the question of the relationship between ideology and society in the kibbutz. This question was not pursued by later students, who, in their espousal of structural functionalism and their use of the survey method, adopted the view that kibbutz ideology was a static, clearly-defined system, and could be used as a standard against which questionnaire responses could be measured. The school of psychological anthropology (exemplified by Spiro, 1971 and 1972) worked with the same view of kibbutz ideology as the structural functionalists had done.

Later examples of the use of the survey method (Rosner, 1967 and Tiger and Shepher, 1975) showed an even greater commitment to it, abandoning the structural functional models which Talmon (1974) had used in association with her survey results. Both the aforementioned examples of recent, survey-oriented studies dealt with the position of women in the kibbutz, and were criticised for their failure to examine the conceptual basis of their approach to this question, as well as for the inadequacies of the survey method itself. These two deficiencies in their work combined with the misconception of the nature of kibbutz ideology to produce their inability to account for changes in the position of women since the early pioneering days.

Both the psychologically oriented studies considered (the early example being Spiro, 1971 and 1972 and the later one, Bettelheim, 1971) took the collective education system of the kibbutz as their main subject. Again, I argued that one of the main failings of these studies sprang from their adoption of the survey-oriented theorists' view of kibbutz ideology. They applied this view to the collective education system,

which they saw as ideologically determined. Their psychological focus led them to investigate the personality structures of the kibbutz children, and they turned away from the consideration of actual social relations in the kibbutz in favour of an inward-looking discussion of the children's psychology. Their view of the kibbutz as a social situation or a network of social relations was superficial, in that they looked only at formally defined social configurations.

The discussion of these psychological approaches to the study of the collective education system and the kibbutz demonstrated the necessity of the adoption of a new approach, if both the ideological and the social relational dimensions were to be considered. I also showed the obstructive nature of an institutionally-based definition of the kibbutz as a community, and reiterated the importance of considering social interaction in association with the conception of ideology formulated in Chapter 1.

I then demonstrated how two anthropologists from the Manchester school had effectively reopened the study of the kibbutz by returning to the questions raised by Landshut (1944) and Infield (1946). Evens (1970) was concerned with the nature of kibbutz ideology, and Shepher (1972) with actual social relations in the kibbutz. In the discussion of Even's work, I suggested that he had failed to answer the questions about ideology, although posing them in terms amenable to consideration from a dialectical point of view. Shepher's analysis of work roles served to emphasise their importance to any consideration of the relation between ideology and social action in the kibbutz. I mentioned in Chapter 1 that actor-oriented approaches represented an historical reaction to structural functionalism: Evens and Shepher, two pupils of the Manchester school, reacted both to structural functionalism and to the actor-oriented approaches, and each of them, through his critical

assessment of these approaches, provided for the purposes of this account support for the experiment with a new approach.

Chapter 3 examined the history of the kibbutz movement and the development of ideology from a dialectical point of view. This account provided a preliminary test of the dialectical approach and of the usefulness and operability of the definition of ideology formulated in Chapter 1. I began by looking at the early history of the kibbutz movement in the late nineteenth century, tracing its connections with currents of Socialist and Zionist thought at the time, and with specific analyses of the position of the Jews in Europe. I described the earliest migrations to Palestine during this period, and discussed some of the first attempts at communal living, noting that the kibbutz movement evolved from the experiences of these first pioneers. I showed the emotional, undefined nature of their early experiences in Palestine, noting that in the first instance, kibbutzim were a response to the practical difficulties of existence and survival in a new and hostile environment. Ideology and the kibbutz movement developed dialectically, interacting to form a consolidated movement and different levels of ideological definition and interpretation.

In order to elaborate upon the nature of kibbutz ideology, I investigated the development of what Spiro (1972) had called its 'moral postulates', and the rules of the Kibbutz Artzi federation of kibbutzim, formed in 1927. The dialectical processes in the development of the Movement were illustrated by a discussion of the operation of precedent and the principle of ideological collectivism. Precedent was shown to have operated in the foundation of each successive kibbutz, and the history of a split in Kibbutz Bet Alpha illustrated the mechanism of ideological collectivism.

The last part of the chapter contained an examination of different

types of discussion at Movement level, in internal meetings and in published texts, the Movement's written publicity. The characterisations of these discussions were intended to illuminate several dimensions of the interpretability of kibbutz ideology.

The whole discussion of the history of the kibbutz movement and the development of ideology was organised in terms of different dimensions of the phenomena under consideration, which were related to each other at every stage, demonstrating the ability of the dialectical approach to direct its attention towards several different levels of analysis. Additionally, the chapter illustrated the desirability of viewing ideology as interpretable and persuasive, and of the need to incorporate a dynamic into the study of ideology.

I then elaborated the analytical tools to be used in association with the dialectical approach in the account of ideology and social action in Kibbutz Goshen, which formed the second part of the thesis. Firstly, I discussed the historical classification of analytical levels, which I based upon a dialectical view of the history of the kibbutz movement and the development of ideology. This classification of analytical levels served to order the presentation of field data from Goshen (Part Two). The analytical levels, in the order in which they were considered in Part Two were first, the dimensions of Goshen's history which were defined by the Movement (the entry of the supplementary population groups, for example) and the consequences of policy in this regard; second, the organisation of the kibbutz itself as established by the pioneers and the ancillary relations associated with this organisation; third, informal social relations and finally, some series of events during the period of fieldwork.

Secondly, I described some particularly important analytical distinctions which were central to the discussion in Part Two. These were the structured/non-structured, public/private and formal/informal distinctions. Following Mitchell (1969), I argued that these distinctions did not provide alternative foci, but were rather tools, allowing analysis of different dimensions of the same set of data.

Thirdly, I defined my use of social networks, sociomatrices, action sets and social dramas as analytical tools in Part Two. Social networks and sociomatrices were used as essentially illustrative devices for the representation of people's social relationships. Action sets offered a way of conceptualizing the formation of alliances in a situation in which active sets of social relations were not institutionally defined, even though in certain cases formally constituted relationships did play a part. The concept of social drama offered a means by which episodes in the social lives of members of Goshen could be coherently presented.

Part Two opened with an investigation of the history and demography of Goshen, focussing on those aspects of the community which were defined directly or indirectly by the Movement, namely the early period of settlement and the addition to the community of supplementary population groups.

At the beginning of the historical account, I explained the location of Goshen in the Movement, in the category of the 'little kibbutzim', noting that, in discussing any kibbutz, it is essential that it be placed within the more general historical context of the evolution of the Movement and the establishment of the State of Israel. I demonstrated that Goshen had several features which were general to the little kibbutzim, and argued that it had experienced the problems

characteristic of this category in a particularly acute form.

Comparing the experience of the pioneers of Goshen with that of the earlier kibbutzim, and describing the characteristics of the early period of settlement of this comparatively late kibbutz, I argued that the pioneers of Goshen followed precedents set by previous settlers. I also examined the ideological dimension of the pioneers' experiences, and showed that although formal ideology was by this time consolidated, a high degree of ideological interpretation operated in the establishment and subsequent running of new kibbutzim.

I then considered the supplementary population groups which came to Goshen from the Movement, and noted the proportion of their members who remained there during the period of fieldwork. The assessment of folk evaluations of these groups showed that estimates of size were related to the relative participation of each category in the formal arena of the kibbutz. I again noted the form of ideological interpretation both in these folk evaluations and in the 'success' and 'failure' of the different groups as sources of recruitment to the community. To complement the discussion of the formal population supplements, I looked at those Members of Goshen who had joined as individuals.

The final section of the chapter dealt with the demography of Goshen during the period of fieldwork. It was mainly concerned with a discussion of the generation gap among the Member population and the existence on Goshen of a non-Member population, whose characteristics were briefly considered. The generation gap, a general feature of the little kibbutzim which was particularly acute on Goshen, was shown to be an important dimension of social relations and ideological interpretation, particularly in that it led to the existence of an elite which effectively controlled the formal bodies of the community,

using its own distinctive ideological interpretations as the idiom in which it did so. I suggested that the transfer of formal control on Goshen would prove difficult, supporting this assertion with evidence provided by the case of the New Secretary (M48) and the problems he encountered when faced with a united pioneer generation. One of the particular problems he experienced concerned the volunteer work force, and the discussion of this case served to support the contention that to define the kibbutz as a community only of formal members excludes dimensions of social relations which are crucial to the understanding and explanation of ideological and social process.

The next of the historically classified analytical levels was that of structured social relations which were defined directly or indirectly by the organisation of the kibbutz itself. The fifth chapter of the thesis discussed both the constitution and the operation of sets of structured social relations, using case material to demonstrate the ideological and social processes involved. I considered sets of social relations related to nationality, which were firstly the supplementary population groups and secondly, certain sets of nationality-based links which developed over time in the community. In an effort to explain the precise operation of these types of links and the precise relevance to the lives of individuals in the kibbutz of their member-ship of a supplementary population group, I focussed particular attention on the cases of the Egyptian pioneers and the 1971 garin. I concluded from this discussion that although the sets of relations were formally defined, social action which referred to them as a framework in one way or another could not be said to have been determined by them. The supplementary population groups provided their members with sets of potential social links, which required reinforcement and maintenance if they were to provide social resources such as support.

Similarly, common nationality afforded potential links: only "the French" indulged in frequent social interaction which established them as a fairly coherent group. Both the supplementary groups and the evolving sets of relations based on nationality were shown to be crucial to the formation and maintenance of alliances in the kibbutz.

Two kinds of age links were discussed, firstly, the formally constituted children's age groups, and secondly more general, generational age links.

I noted that the children's age groups were invested with strong ideological resources, and described the differing ideological orientations of the pioneer parents and their children in terms of the generation gap. I suggested that, in view of the psychological focus of previous studies of the children of the kibbutz (notably Spiro, 1971 and Bettelheim, 1971), a sociologically orientated discussion of their interactions, their place in the kibbutz and their ideological interpretations, particularly one which took into account the social relationship between parents and children, would throw new light upon the social processes involved.

More general age links were discussed in terms of the generation gap, and I argued that common age could provide a kibbutz Member with potential social links. I also stressed that lack of age mates in the community could prove a social handicap, due to thesplit along generational lines.

In discussing the governing bodies of the kibbutz, I dealt again with the pioneer elite, and its control of the formal decision-making arena. However, I noted that a formal decision often represented a ready-made decision, reached through informal channels of information and discussion, demonstrating that the pioneers were also able to control

these channels. I showed how they were able to maintain a majority in the General Assembly to oppose objectionable measures which the younger generation might attempt to introduce.

The second part of Chapter 5 discussed ancillary relationships, which I described as indirect consequences of the kind of organisation which the pioneers had decided upon for their kibbutz.

The development of work groups was accounted for by examination of the evidence regarding permanent jobs in the kibbutzim. Again, the work group was shown to provide its members with a source of potential social links, varying according to the characteristics of the branch concerned. I showed that the commùna workers formed the nucleus of a gossip network, an important centre of informal power. Less power was available to the workers in the roses, where there was a clear division of labour by sex and social position.

The kibbutz needed a volunteer workforce due to the seasonal requirements of the agricultural economy. I indicated the numbers of volunteers who came to Goshen over the period of fieldwork, and demonstrated the social and ideological ambiguity of their position in the community, discussing the Members' attempts to erect barriers between the volunteers and the kibbutz.

Soldiers and youth groups were considered only briefly, as they were a small feature of the social scene on Goshen during the period of fieldwork. I noted that they also tended to remain rather separate from the more permanent residents.

Chapter 6 was devoted to the analysis of non-structured social relations in the kibbutz, dealing with informal social links, actual and potential social links and social dramas and action sets. All these social relations were considered with reference to cases from

Goshen.

The discussion of kinship and the family stressed the importance of the consideration of such relationships to any investigation of the position of women in the kibbutz, due to the interrelationship between that position and the nature of the family. I included comment on the division of labour in the family, which exhibits parallels with the division of labour by sex in the community as a whole. I also discussed kin links in terms of the social support which they could provide both within the community and outside it.

Residence patterns were considered in relation to the history of the kibbutz, and I showed that they tended to reinforce the split along generational lines. The presentation of cases indicated that, within the conventions of housing allocation, there was room for manoeuvre, in that people could reject certain others as neighbours, or could plan ahead and choose their neighbours.

Friendship and dislike were defined principally in accordance with the social actors' own opinions and their observable interactions. I noted that friendship was a means by which part or parts of a set of structured social relations could be reinforced. Dislike did not necessarily break down these structured social relations, but certainly served to weaken them.

Frequent contacts were discussed in terms of both structured and non-structured links. I showed that the frequent contacts of any individual could be drawn from both arenas, and that their content could be of several different kinds, or of only one kind, depending on the case in question. The frequency of contact between individuals was shown to be readily measurable.

In the second section of the chapter, I considered three cases,

in order to elaborate upon the operation (or non-operation) of both actual and potential social links. The first case, the Egyptian pioneers, concerned a set of structured social links among the first group to settle the kibbutz. I showed the variations in the active links between the members of the group, referring to some instances when it was united in its action, and others when it was not.

I then focussed upon one of the members of this group, M28, and showed how his active links with his fellow pioneers and those with whom he worked and held office varied according to his own approach. His active links provided him with access to several different social categories, facilitating his work as Secretary by their provision of information from a variety of sources.

M25, a sabra of Goshen and M28's daughter, was shown to have a more restricted effective personal network than her father, despite the wide potential offered her by her position as both a parent and a single person, and as a teacher in frequent contact with other teachers and the parents of the children whom she taught.

The chapter concluded with a discussion of two social dramas ('The Washing Up' and 'Commemoration Day') and the instances of the mobilization of action sets which the dramas provided. In analysing the dramas, I noted in particular the types of ideological interpretation operated by the actors involved, correlating them with the social position of the actors in the community and their effective social networks. In particular, these cases emphasised the significance of varying ideological interpretations in the discussion of the generation gap, and the social processes related to it. The cases also demonstrated the dialectical relationships between the various kinds of social relations and membership of social categories on the one hand and social action on the other, and that between ideology and social action in the kibbutz.

In the final two chapters of the thesis, I focussed on a different type of case material, presenting data in the form of sequences of social dramas. Chapter 7 dealt with a structured age group and Chapter 8 with a family which lacked social links on Goshen and which was, I argued, informally expelled. The choice of two contrasting cases was intended to provide further clarification of the operation of potential and actual social links which were radically different in each one.

The presentation of a socially orientated consideration of children of the kibbutz in Chapter 7 contrasted with previous, psychological studies. I stressed in particular the ideological orientations of the pioneers towards their children, and the sabras' own ideological interpretations. The accounts of the life histories of each individual in the group provided evidence of its members' heterogeneity of experience and character. They were influenced not only by the collective education system but also by their own and their parents' social position in and/or outside the kibbutz as a whole. Using the life histories as the basis for the discussion, I then considered the internal dynamics of the age group during the period of fieldwork. I noted the kinds of alliances which formed within the group, and the content of the links between its members, again emphasising that the age group was not a homogeneous unit, despite the pioneers' treatment of it as such in their expectations of it and their ideological investment in it. Two social dramas were used to demonstrate the kinds of circumstances in which the Cyclamen could form an action set and temporarily overcome the divisions which existed between them. In the case of the Partridge Dinner, the group was successful in excluding an outsider, but in the case of Irella's job, its united support for her proved ineffective due to the opposition's successful supportive links in the

pioneer generation.

In the final section of the chapter, I focussed on ideology and the generation gap, discussing the decisions which certain members of the Cyclamen made regarding their future careers in (or outside) the kibbutz. These decisions and the terms in which they were expressed were considered in relation to the ideological interpretations operated both by the members of the Cyclamen and by the pioneers.

Chapter 8 considered the case of Ivram and Miriam and their son, outsiders within the community, whose experiences allowed a new perspective of social and ideological processes in the kibbutz to be elaborated. The discussion of the case related it to themes which had already been considered in earlier chapters, in particular the social relationships between parents and children, the importance of work roles, the relevance of informal social processes, the flow and power of gossip and the necessity to a Member of the establishment of a network of contacts in the kibbutz in addition to the link of formal Membership. I argued that Ivram and Miriam were effectively expelled informally, but that their continued presence on Goshen was convenient to the community because of their social attributes as scapegoats and innovators. The discussion of the case of Ivram and Miriam also provided further clear demonstration of the interpretability of ideology.

The definition of levels of analysis upon the basis of a dialectical approach ensured that the essential dynamic was maintained throughout the discussion. This procedure also allowed the analytical levels to be related to each other, and to more general historical processes. The approach to the dimension of ideology (which was also dialectically defined) ensured that ideological processes could be considered in their close interconnection with the processes of social relations. A variety

of different types of field material (different facets of life on the kibbutz) were discussed upon the basis of the historical classification of analytical levels and the dialectical definition of ideology, and it therefore proved possible to approach a solution to the problem of relating ideology and communal society in the context of the kibbutz.

Since I have been mainly concerned to elucidate the nature of the relationship between ideology and social action in the kibbutz, I have not attempted to produce what might traditionally have been called a complete ethnographic account of the community. In other words, I have not synthesized my field data to present a comprehensive picture of social life in the kibbutz, such as might have been the object of a structural functionalist or any other type of institutionalist. I have indeed suggested that such an aim could not, of its nature, allow for the relation between ideology and communal society to be explained, because it would direct analysis at only one level of social reality. However, I do not intend to imply that I have considered all the questions which might be relevant to the study of the relation between ideology and communal society.

Firstly, I have considered only one element of the Israeli context, and only one example of that element. Theoretically, extrapolating from my arguments about the utility of the dialectical approach, it should be possible to direct analysis at still more analytical levels - the development of other communities in Israel, the Israeli context in general, the place of the State of Israel in the world and its relationships with other countries. However, in addition to directing her attention at specific questions, the anthropologist is bound by considerations of the sheer volume of material with which she can deal at any time. Furthermore, the study of the national and international environment in the context of Israel is particularly difficult due to

the sensitive political atmosphere in the area. It would, for example, be very interesting to consider from an anthropological point of view the precise role played by the British Government in the foundation of the State of Israel, but even after the statutory thirty years, the Cabinet papers are not to be released. However, as far as the kibbutz is concerned, I considered that its study was in such disarray that the examination of questions which focussed specifically on the kibbutz itself was worthwhile. Throughout the study, I have referred in general terms to the place of the kibbutz in the context of Israeli society, and have emphasised that it should not be regarded as an isolated community, cut off from this wider context. I have stressed in particular that the field of experience of the residents of Goshen lay outside the community as well as inside it, and that their interaction was directed towards the outside as well as the inside. As to my consideration of only one kibbutz, which was, like all the others, unique in its details of social interaction, I suggest that a dialectical approach to the study of the relation between ideology and communal society in any kibbutz would yield similar results concerning the complexity of the relationship, the necessity of considering several analytical levels and the nature of kibbutz ideology. These similarities would allow more minute details to be compared within a coherent historical framework.

Secondly, I have tested the dialectical approach on only one case, and have directed it at particular features of that case. This does not imply that the dialectical approach to the study of belief and social action is applicable only to the case of the kibbutz. Its use in the study of other examples will allow it to be tested and refined. One of the results of further studies of this kind should be the production of data which can be successfully compared, i.e. placed in

their historical relationship to each other. The methodological reasons for the choice of the kibbutz as a test case related to its apparent attractiveness as a subject of study for both collectivist and individualist approaches, and to the state of kibbutz studies to date. In formulating the definition of ideology which I used in the discussion, I noted that it would apply also to bourgeois ideology and to the ideology of Communist China: I suggest now that its application can be much wider than that, as I also assert that the dialectical approach can be used to consider other examples.

Similarly, I have directed the dialectical approach at the specific problem of the relation between beliefs and social action, one of those problems which the collectivist and individualist approaches had most conspicuously failed to solve. In discussing dialectics however, I stressed that in essence it is a mode of thought, a way of conceptualizing all aspects of society in their intimate relationships to one another. I thus implied, and now reaffirm, that it can be used to approach other questions, provided that these are posed in historical terms, and not, for example, structural functionalist or individualist terms.

I have tried throughout the discussion to emphasise the extreme complexity of the relationship between belief and social action. In criticising other writers on the subject in the early chapters of the thesis, I noted that they had divided the two phenomena irreconcilably. The use of a purely heuristic distinction between them, such as that employed in the present discussion, does not simplify the problem: it points to difficulties which the erection of a barrier fails to take into consideration. The analyst is directed in her use of the dialectical approach towards the examination of a variety of analytical levels and diverse types of data. I have argued that the dialectical approach is capable of dealing

with this heterogeneous material. Both ideology and social action and the various analytical levels involved in their study can be related if they are conceptualized according to an historical, dialectical mode of thought.

APPENDIX I

RULES - HAKIBBUTZ HAARTZI

Hakibbutz Haartzi registered under Article 6 of the Ottoman Law of Societies on 2nd December 1936.

1. Name of Society: Hakibbutz Haartzi Shel Hashomer Hatzair Be Eretz Yisrael.

2. Aim of Society: To propagate and realize the ideal of communal life; to unite the members of the kibbutzim of the Hashomer Hatzair movement for common cultural and political action based on the principles of the Hashomer Hatzair movement throughout the world and to organize and to indoctrinate the youth of Israel in the ways of the Hashomer Hatzair movement.

3. Authority:

(a) Define an attitude in principle about all political, economic and cultural questions.

(b) Put up its own list or participate in a joint list with other organizations in municipal, World Zionist Organization, and Histadrut and its affiliated Institutions elections.

(c) Arrange lectures, courses, seminars, camps plays and concerts and to publish periodicals and to engage in any other cultural activities.

(d) Engage in educational activities of all kinds; and for this purpose organize and administer the Education Federation of Hashomer Hatzair.

(e) Organize, in accordance with the decisions of the movement and its authorized bodies, its members into all types of economic bodies.

(f) Engage in every other activity which its Executive Committee considers will help to realize the goal of Hakibbutz Haartzi.

(g) Engage in any or all of the above activities, alone or jointly with other organizations or other federations. And to participate in the World Federation of Hashomer Hatzair, and in its organs.

4. Membership:

(a) Members of the Histadrut who are also members of the kibbutzim affiliated with the Hashomer Hatzair movement. Periodically the executive committee will prepare a list of these kibbutzim.

(b) The Executive Committee will prepare the form of declaration which a member on admission to Hakibbutz Haartzi has to sign.

(c) Membership in Hakibbutz Haartzi ceases when a member and/or the kibbutz of which he is a member is expelled from the Histadrut. By a two-thirds majority the executive committee may expel a member kibbutz "for reasons which seem sufficient to it". An expelled member kibbutz may appeal to the council of Hakibbutz Haartzi and its decision is final. Even though an appeal has been filed, the executive committee's decision becomes effective immediately. A member kibbutz desiring to leave Hakibbutz Haartzi must submit to the executive committee a written statement of its intention to do so.

5. Revenues of Hakibbutz Haartzi are derived from:

(a) A per capita tax which its executive committee fixes and which the kibbutzim pay for all of their members.

(b) Legacies, contributions, and gifts from others.

(c) Revenue from the cultural activities of Hakibbutz Haartzi.

(d) Miscellaneous.

6. Country-wide Council:

(a) Which is the highest authority of Hakibbutz Haartzi, meets

annually and also if and when convened by the executive committee and/or by three kibbutzim affiliated with the Hashomer Hatzair Movement.

(b) The executive committee must give seven days' notice of the date, place and agenda of the general council meeting to be held; fix the date by which the affiliated kibbutzim must submit the list of their delegates. Every kibbutz has the right to send one delegate for every 25 members and every delegate has one vote.

(c) The executive committee fixes the rules of the general council and the agenda for its meetings. But the general council may change the rules and also decides on the rules for its affiliated kibbutzim.

7. Executive Committee:

(a) Elected annually by the country-wide council.

(b) The executive committee has not less than ... members who may or may not be members of the country-wide council; and it may co-opt additional members from Hakibbutz Haartzi.

(c) The executive committee is the representative of Hakibbutz Haartzi vis à vis its own members and also vis à vis third parties. And it is authorized to decide on all questions relating to Hakibbutz Haartzi in the spirit of the policy laid down by the country-wide council's decisions.

(d) The executive committee appoints ... of its members as a secretariat and defines its specific functions.

(e) The office of the executive committee and of the secretariat are at Merhavia.

8. Other Bodies:

   (a) The executive committee is authorized to formulate the rules for regional councils or for any other councils which will deal with special questions.

   (b) The country-wide council may appoint and define the authority of a Control Committee of ... members; and a "Court of Honour" of Hakibbutz Haartzi and define their respective authority and formulate their rules.

9. Change of Hakibbutz Haartzi rules are subject to the approval by a two-thirds majority of member kibbutzim participating at a country-wide council meeting. The executive committee may change Section 3 of the rules of Hakibbutz Haartzi, which prescribe the authority of Hakibbutz Haartzi by a two-thirds majority present at the meeting.

(Viteles, Vol.3, 1968, pp.247-248)

APPENDIX II : GENERAL STATISTICAL TABLES

1. Aliyot (Immigration 1882 - 1972 to Palestine and Israel)

	Years[1]	Immigrants[2]
First Aliyah	1882 - 1903	20,000 - 30,000
Second Aliyah	1904 - 1914	35,000 - 40,000
Third Aliyah	1919 - 1923	35,000
Fourth Aliyah	1924 - 1931	82,000
Fifth Aliyah	1932 - 1948	265,000
(Post-State)	1948 - 1972	1,391,344

(Complied from Eisenstadt, 1967, p.11 and Alfassi et al., 1973)

(1) Various series of dates for the Aliyot are available (see Viteles, 1967, p.740), particularly for the years following the foundation of the State. However, the dates given by Eisenstadt for the First - Fifth Aliyot have wide currency.

(2) These figures are approximate: see Table 3 (below) for more details on the period 1948-1974.

2. Kibbutz Population as a Proportion of the Population of Palestine and Israel (1914-1970)

Year	Kibbutz Population	Kibbutz Population as a Percentage of the General Jewish Population
1914	180	0.2
1922	735	0.9
1927	3,909	2.6
1931	4,391	2.5
1936	16,444	4.4
1941	-	5.8
1947	47,408	7.5
1950	66,708	5.5
1955	77,818	4.9
1960	77,153	4.0
1965	80,558	3.5
1967	83,100	3.5
1969	84,500	3.4
1970	84,900	3.3

(Source: Shur, 1972)

NOTE: This table indicates the decline in the proportion of kibbutz residents in the population of Israel since the foundation of the State in 1948.

3. Immigration 1948-1974 : Immigrants and their Continents of Birth

Year	Absolute Numbers				Percentages		
	Asia/Africa	Europe/America	Not Known	TOTAL	Asia/Africa	Europe/America	TOTAL
1948	12,931	77,032	11,856	101,819	14.4	85.6	100.0
1949	110,867	123,384	5,325	239,576	47.3	52.7	100.0
1950	83,411	85,112	1,692	170,215	49.5	50.5	100.0
1951	123,777	51,095	257	175,129	70.8	29.2	100.0
1952	17,124	7,242	2	24,369	70.3	29.7	100.0
1953	8,111	3,202	13	11,326	71.7	28.3	100.0
1954	15,816	2,538	16	18,370	86.2	13.8	100.0
1955	34,229	3,243	6	37,478	91.3	8.7	100.0
1956	48,320	7,911	3	56,234	86.0	14.0	100.0
1957	29,636	40,984	604	71,224	42.0	58.0	100.0
1958	12,103	14,977	2	27,082	44.7	55.3	100.0
1959	8,036	15,855	4	23,895	33.7	66.3	100.0
1960	7,230	17,274	6	24,510	29.5	70.5	100.0
1961	22,416	25,215	7	47,638	47.1	52.9	100.0
1962	47,451	13,874	3	61,328	77.4	22.6	100.0
1963	43,907	20,453	4	64,364	68.2	31.8	100.0
1964	22,796	31,920	-	54,716	41.6	58.4	100.0
1965	14,266	16,470	-	30,736	46.4	53.6	100.0
1966	6,650	9,080	-	15,730	42.3	57.7	100.0
1967	8,847	5,480	-	14,327	61.8	38.2	100.0
1968	14,042	6,496	6	20,544	68.4	31.6	100.0
1969	16,380	21,063	361	37,804	44.0	56.0	100.0
1970	13,544	22,952	254	36,750	37.2	62.8	100.0
1971	10,269	31,471	190	41,930	24.6	75.4	100.0
1972	7,572	48,170	146	55,888	13.6	86.4	100.0
1973	5,772	48,998	116	54,886	10.5	89.5	100.0
1974	3,185	28,792	2	31,979	10.0	90.0	100.0

(Source : Statistical Abstract of Israel, 1975, p.125.)

4. Foundation of Kibbutz Artzi Kibbutzim.

Name of Kibbutz	Date of foundation	Date of Settlement on present site
Adamit	1958	1958
Amir	1933	1939
Bar'am	1949	1949
Barkai	1949	1949
Bet Alpha	1920	1922
Bet Kama	1946	1949
Bet Nir	1955	1955
Bet Zera	1927	1927
Carmia	1950	
Dalia	1934	1939
Dan	1933	1939
Dvir	1951	1957
Eilon	1935	1938
Ein Dor	1940	1948
Ein Hachoresh	1929	1931
Ein Hamifratz	1930	1938
Ein Hashofet	1933	1937
Ein Shemer	1927	1933
Evron	1936	1945
Ga'ash	1949	1951
Ga'aton	1948	1948
Gal'on	1939	1946
Gan Shmuel	1921	1949
Gat	1934	1942
Gazit	1948	1950
Giv'at Oz	1949	
Gvulot	1943	1946
Hama'apil	1938	1945
Ha'ogen	1939	1947
Harel	1948	
Hatzor	1937	1946
Hazorea	1933	1936
Horshim	1955	
Kerem Shalom	1956	1958
Kfar Masaryk	1932	1939

4. (Continued)

Kfar Menachem	1933	1939
Lahav	1952	
Lahavot Bashan	1940	1945
Lahavot Haviva	1949	
Ma'abarot	1927	1933
Ma'anit	1936	1938
Magen	1949	1949
Megiddo	1949	
Merhavia	1922	
Mesilot	1932	1938
Metzer	1953	1953
Mishmar Haemek	1922	1926
Mizra	1920	1923
Nachshon	1950	1950
Nachshonim	1946	
Negba	1933	1939
Nir David	1931	1936
Nirim	1946	
Nir Oz	1955	1957
Nir Yitzhak	1949	
Ramat Hashofet	1934	1941
Ramot Menashe	1948	
Reshafim	1944	1948
Revadim	1947	1950
Ruhama	1936	1944
Sa'ar	1948	1951
Sarid	1926	
Sasa	1949	
Sde Yoav	1956	1966
Sha'ar Ha'amakim	1929	1935
Sha'ar Hagolan	1930	1937
Shamir	1936	1944
Shomrat	1946	1948
Shuval	1944	1946
Snir	1967	1968
Yad Mordechai	1933	1944
Yakum	1938	1947
Ya'sur	1949	
Yehiam	1946	1946
Zikim	1949	

(Source: Criden and Gelb, 1974, pp.240-261).

5. Average Number of Children[1] to each Adult Member in Kibbutzim of the Kibbutz Artzi (1967-73).

Date of foundation of kibbutz	Year 1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973
before 1930	0.56	0.52	0.52	0.52	0.50	0.50	0.50
1930-44	0.70	0.68	0.64	0.62	0.59	0.57	0.56
1945-48	0.77	0.78	0.82	0.78	0.79	0.77	0.75
after 1948	0.39	0.40	0.32	0.37	0.44	0.45	0.47

(Source : Kibbutz Artzi, 1975, p.7).

(1) Persons who have not reached the age of call-up.

NOTE: Unfortunately, I have not been able to obtain figures on the number of births in the kibbutzim since 1922. However, this table shows that between 1967 and 1973 (the years when the children of Goshen reached the age of decision), the ratio of children to adults in the kibbutzim was highest in those founded between 1945-48, the "little kibbutzim", suggesting that the existence of a generation gap in these kibbutzim was general.

APPENDIX III : STATISTICAL TABLES FOR GOSHEN

1. Native Languages of Members of Goshen (end of 1975)

	Native Speakers		
	Pioneers	Others	TOTAL
Language			
Arabic	0	3	3
Dutch	0	1	1
English	0	6	6
French	18	22	40
German	9	0	9
Hebrew	9	52	61
Hungarian	0	1	1
Italian	1	0	1
Persian	0	4	4
Polish	4	0	4
Swiss German	2	7	9

NOTE: This table does not account for those with French as a second language. These included all the Swiss Germans, some of the Germans and several of the sabras, who came from Oriental immigrant families. In all, 59 members were fluent in French, 23 pioneers and 36 others.

2. Composition of Committees : Kibbutz Goshen (October 1975)

Committee	Male Members	Female Members	Chair
Secretariat	5	2	man
Economy	13	2	man
Work	4	0	man
Welfare	2	4	woman
Nominations	3	2	man
Culture	4	4	man
Planning	2	3	woman
Health	-	3	woman
Peace	2	3	man
Children	-	2	woman
Absorption	2	2	man
Education	2	4	man
High School	2	4	woman
Defence	4	1	man
Further Education	2	1	man
Security	2	1	man
Design	3	-	man
Library	3	-	man

Chairpersons of committees : 13 men, 5 women.

(Source : Newspaper of Goshen, October 1975).

NOTE: This table shows that women's formal participation was considerably less than men's, and that the committees upon which women sat were in general those dealing with the services. The additional factor of women's tendency to remain quiet at meetings lessened their formal participation further.

APPENDIX IV : NOTES ON PRESENTATION

1. Glossary of Hebrew and other foreign words

Hebrew

ALIYA (pl. ALIYOT)	term used to denote a wave of immigration
BAT KIBBUTZ	'daughter of the kibbutz': a girl born on Goshen
BEN KIBBUTZ	'son of the kibbutz': a boy born on Goshen
CHALUTZ (pl. CHALUTZIM)	pioneer
CHALUTZIUT	pioneering spirit
CHAVER (m) (pl. CHAVERIM)	'comrade': term used for a Member of a kibbutz
COMMÙNA	clothing store
DAT HA'AVODAH	'religion of labour', a concept of the early years of pioneering
DIBROT	commandments or principles
GARIN (pl. GARINIM)	(lit. 'seeds'): term used for a youth group preparing for kibbutz settlement
KVUTZA (pl. KVUTZOT)	group: term used for the earliest kibbutzim
MÈSHEK	kibbutz economy
METAPÈLET (pl. METAPLOT)	children's nurse
MOADON	club, common room
P'KAK	(lit. 'cork'): term used for a person who cannot find a permanent job in the kibbutz
SÀBA	'grandpa'
SÀBRA	a Jew born in Israel
SÀVTA	'grandma'
SHOMER (m) (pl. SHOMRIM)	a 'guard', a member of Hashomer Hatzair
TORANUT	service
VATTIK (m) (pl. VATTIKIM)	'oldtimer', a pioneer of the kibbutz
YEDIDIM	friends

Note: Unless otherwise indicated, the stress falls on the last syllable of each word. Exceptions are shown thus (`), e.g. COMMÙNA. An apostrophe indicates that two letters should be pronounced separately, e.g. HA'AVODAH. 'CH' corresponds to the German (as in DACH). Otherwise, words can be pronounced following English usage (though this will not conform exactly to the Hebrew sounds).

Other Foreign Words

CHANTARISH (Arabic)	'rubbish': used as an insult by Hebrew speakers
WADI (Arabic)	a river bed, dry in Summer, wet or flooded in Winter
KIBBUTZNIK (Yiddish)	person from a kibbutz
SHTETL (Yiddish)	a Jewish community in Eastern Europe
YEKE (Yiddish)	term used for persons from Germany and Eastern Europe

Proper Names

CHIBBAT ZION	"Love of Zion": a forerunner of the Zionist movement
HAKOMMÙNA HAROMANIT	"The Romani Commune": an early attempt at communal living
HASHOMER	"The Guardian": a forerunner of Hashomer Hatzair
HISTADRUT	General Federation of Labour
KIBBUTZ ARTZI HASHOMER HATZAIR	"The National Kibbutz, the Young Guard": federation of kibbutzim to which Goshen belongs. Other federations are HAKIBBUTZ HADATI (the Religious Kibbutz), HAKIBBUTZ HAMEUCHAD (the United Kibbutz) and ICHUD HAKVUTZOT VEHAKIBBUTZIM (Union of Kvutzot and Kibbutzim)
MAPAM	Political party to which the Kibbutz Artzi is affiliated
ZEIREI ZION	"Youth of Zion": a forerunner of Hashomer Hatzair

2. Key to Numbering of Individuals in the Study

Each individual was placed in a category according to his or her formal position in the kibbutz. In the text, the category is denoted by a letter, preceding a randomly allocated number as follows:

Letter	Category	Numbers
M	Member	1 - 119
NM	Member elected during the period of fieldwork (1)	1 - 3
C	Candidate	1 - 17
K	Child	1 - 76
A	Sabra of kibbutz on army service during the period of fieldwork	1 - 9
P	Member's parent, resident on Goshen	1 - 5
F	Member's kin resident outside Goshen (2)	1 - 9
ML	Member who left Goshen during the period of fieldwork	1 - 4
CL	Candidate who left Goshen during the period of fieldwork	1 - 2
V	Volunteer (3)	1 - 103
X	Others (including soldiers, hired workers)	1 - 11

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(1) March 1975 - March 1976.

(2) This category includes only those kin mentioned in the study.

(3) The ethnographer is V11.

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