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An Investigation of the Kibbutz Collective Socialization

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AN INVESTIGATION OF THE
KIBBUTZ COLLECTIVE SOCIALIZATION

by

Elisheva Green

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of Loyola University of Chicago in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

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VITA

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The phenomenon of the Israeli kibbutz is not altogether unknown to the well-informed reader. A number of brief as well as detailed descriptions of the economic, social and educational structures of the kibbutz have been published and widely read.

Ideologically, the kibbutz is a development of many utopian dreams of social critics of the last two centuries. The part played by Jewish thinkers of the Enlightenment in the growth of social conscience in Europe in all currents of Socialism - as it came to be called - had a profound influence on the development of practical Zionist thought. Not only was Jewish life to be rebuilt in its historical homeland, but the very structure of society would also be renewed. The overall national aspirations were to be applied with strong social and socialist overtones.

Kibbutz, in Hebrew, means group. During the past half century however, in Israel it has come to mean a very special kind of group - one of the voluntary collective
communities in which all but intimate personal property 
is held strictly in common; in which the family functions 
chiefly as a psychological and not an economic institution; 
and in which the prevailing ideology is humanistic Social-
ism, rooted in the principle "from each according to his 
abilities, to each according to his needs" - within the lim-
itations of the collective to satisfy a need. Although the 
kibbutz, which has typified the development of Israel, was 
once an exotic source of theoretical speculations in which 
many observers had consigned it to the "heroic" age of Isra-
el's establishment, predicting that in more prosaic times 
it would disintegrate, the Israeli kibbutz, founded about 
70 years ago, shows no sign of collapse. Rather, it is now 
well rooted in reality. Thousands of children born in kib-
butzim (plural of kibbutz) have grown to maturity and became 
the parents of a second and grand-parents of a third genera-
tion of kibbutz children. Soon, a fourth generation of 
kibbutzniks (members of a kibbutz) will attain adult member-
ship in the settlements. The Israeli kibbutz today is an 
undeniable national and social asset of the State of Israel, 
far beyond the experimental stage.
Ever since its inception, the kibbutz movement has enjoyed considerable status and prestige; in spite of the fact that kibbutzniks have never been more than a tiny minority in Israel, about 4% of the population. Yet, it is almost impossible to conceive the drama of the State without the major role which the kibbutz has played in the struggle for independence and in the shaping of the country's social and economic character. That minority forms the backbone of Israel's agriculture, provides leadership to some of the major political parties as well as the administration of the State (half a dozen ministers of the current Israeli Cabinet, as well as the two former Prime Ministers were kibbutzniks), and its role in defense is outstanding. The kibbutzim served, and are still serving as a living wall, defending the frontiers. Their sons are the mainstays of Zahal (the Israeli army) and its officers' corps (about 36% of the pilots and 40% of the officers). The kibbutzniks were looked up to, and still are, as pioneers capable of great endurance, persistence, and of unswerving devotion to the realization of their ideals; social and national, as well as moral. The achievements of the kibbutz movement in all spheres of national, governmental and cultural endeavor are beyond question.
CHAPTER II

THE PURPOSE

The purpose of this study is to examine to what extent, culturally viewed, the system of collective education has been successful. From a cultural point of view, the success of the educational system of any society is to be measured by the degree to which it has produced members who are motivated to perpetuate the culture of their society, and by the extent to which it has developed in its members the kind of character that is consistent with the values of that particular culture.

A detailed description of the process by which a kibbutz-bred individual is prepared for adult life in the society which he will live in will be presented, along with the conceptual background. In addition, the observations and results obtained by the various studies will indicate:

(1) Whether children collectively reared in such a setting will be equipped with the necessary values, and geared to live a productive and happy life within the community which reared them.
(2) What the product looks like in comparison with other end-products brought up in the nuclear family setting.

The hypothesis of this study were:

(1) Certain skills, which depend on learning and reinforcement, begin earlier in kibbutz children than in the traditional family, and are more intensive in adulthood.

(2) The kibbutznik is more tolerant and less dogmatic than the non-kibbutznik, and is more understanding and willing to experience interactions with other groups.

(3) Changes in the formation of the Oedipus Complex are taking place, in the direction of freeing it from a characteristic burden of conflicts, with the consequence of a little ambivalence toward the parents.

(4) There are not any definite similarities in the personality structure of kibbutz individuals, nor are there any stereotyped patterns of normal and abnormal behavior.
REASONS FOR STUDY

In reviewing the literature, the investigator found that many specialists attempted to define the specific characteristics of the kibbutz-reared individual, and to isolate the modal personality prototype of this kibbutz child and adolescent. According to some of these definitions, the "typical" kibbutz youngster appears to be decidedly introverted, emotionally insecure, inhibited, and shy with strangers. At the other extreme, such youngsters have been described as emotionally stable and extroverted, capable of adapting themselves to any social environment.

On the one hand, they have been described as emotionally and intellectually depleted - with uniform interests, narrow horizons, and little originality. On the other hand, they have been described as more intellectually gifted than other groups of youngsters in Israeli society, able to perform non-routine tasks, and rich in emotional expression and creative ability in numerous fields of activity.

These surprisingly divergent results led the writer to the interesting problem: is there an archetype or "typical"
personality structure of a kibbutz sabra (Israeli native), or is there a wide spectrum of diverse personality patterns that makes it very simple to find confirmation for the theoretical hypotheses one happens to believe in? As a result, the idea of a comprehensive study which would summarize the existing literature, emerged.
METHODS OF STUDY

The method of investigation involved in this study was library research. The libraries of Loyola University, Northwestern University, the College of Jewish Studies, The Chicago Public Library, The Hebrew University (Jerusalem) and The Hebrew University (Tel-Aviv), were utilized for this purpose.

Publication of the existing literature dealing with conceptual background and ideology, educational themes and philosophy, along with personality and clinical studies, both in English and in Hebrew were used and summarized.
CHAPTER III

THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM:
THE PRIMARY FUNCTIONS OF
COMMUNAL SOCIALIZATION

The kibbutz, which represents an embodiment and realization of the Founders' ideal of creating a new society - based on equality and justice - is keenly aware that its real test will be the extent to which the future generation of kibbutz-born children will remain in the community, continuing the principles and living its life. Education is therefore considered a prime concern of the whole community, and much effort is invested in experimentation and innovation.

The unique educational system of the kibbutz, referred to as collective education, has two main characteristics which distinguish it from any other educational system:

(1) The upbringing of the children is the economic as well as the theoretical and ideological responsibility of the whole community, and not only of the individual parents.

(2) The upbringing of children by parents in their home is replaced by an upbringing in communal children's houses. It is in these children's houses that members of the community, trained for this job, are the caretakers and educators.
As an agent of socialization, the educational system of the kibbutz is based on and related to many of the ideological convictions upon which the kibbutz itself was founded. Its aims, however, like those of any other educational system, are educational.

The primary functions of collective education, as pointed out by the educational literature of the Federations,¹ is to serve:

a. as a means to perpetuate kibbutz life,
b. as a means to bring about a healthier child by establishing a different type of family,
c. as a means to integrate the educational environment.

¹Due to historical circumstances and different educational youth movements affiliated with political parties, three major Federations - which pledge their allegiance to the three labor parties in Israel - were established and are in existence to date. They differ mainly in approach to general politics outside the kibbutz, in details of their historic evolution, and in certain minor aspects of kibbutz life.
A. Perpetuating the kibbutz values

After reviewing the extensive literature of the Federations dealing with ideological themes and problems, the following elements relevant to this study, were extracted by the writer as representative of the kibbutz ideology as a whole. These elements will hopefully be realized in the young generation of the kibbutz, through collective education.

1. Communal life based on cooperation, equality and justice. The principles of equality, cooperation, and the abolition of private property, epitomized in the slogan "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs" has been part of the kibbutz ideology since its inception. All members have agreed to this fundamental; the debates have concerned the proper way in which they should be implemented. The arguments have centered on the proper way of preserving the purity of the goals in light of the economic conditions of the moment.

The principle of equality requires the society to be established without any differences in privilege of material possession. Each individual member in the society has an equal right to the benefits of the community, regardless
of his economic skills, his economic importance in the kibbutz, his prestige or his contribution to the kibbutz, or his power.

By providing all children - irrespective of sex, scholastic standing, or their parents' status in the kibbutz - the same educational opportunities, the kibbutz hopes to raise

... an egalitarian society, based on rejection of disparities and class differentiation ... and to avoid the formation of a rank of "office-holders" who remain in their jobs and enjoy advantages accruing therefrom. 2

Cooperation, another crucial element in the kibbutz ideology, is viewed by the kibbutz movement as a "... mutual aid, a readiness to compensate and encourage, and a show of affection and friendliness"3 which is "... a stepping stone in ... the attainment of social justice and individual freedom."4

Kibbutz educators feel that "... cooperative spirit could be reinforced only by cooperative living - cooperation in production and consumption ..."5 i.e., by raising children within the framework of small groups who live together in separate educational units.


In order to assure a real equality, the private ownership of the means of production is abolished "...the first principle of the commune is common ownership - the absence of private property."\(^6\)

"...this settlement is the possession of the entire community; everyone will be able to say that it is his, and no one will be able to say that he owns even the smallest parcel of land." \(^7\)

"All the members of the community will work their land and do all other necessary work in the settlement, but the settlement will belong to all." \(^8\)

The only way, according to kibbutz educators, in which these values could be transmitted efficiently to the new generation is within the framework of collective education. From the first experience of interaction with other infants, the kibbutz-born child learns that all the facilities and toys belong to the nursery as a whole. Furthermore, he learns to share; he does not have any other choice. The principle of sharing, absorbed by the child since infancy, develops later into a cooperative spirit characterized by "mutual aid, affection and friendliness", which is continuously reinforced by communal living.


Moreover, since all children are reared by the same nurses, there could be no differences among children as a function of the differential abilities, intelligence, and skills found among parents-socializers. Nor could there be any material inequalities - for every child, regardless of the social or economic position of the parents, receives the same clothes, food, toys, and instruction as every other child.

As a consequence, another educational goal, democratization of society, is hoped to be achieved. By providing the children with equal opportunities - emotional, social and cultural - the kibbutz aims to guarantee educational equality to all children, which would be very hard to implement in the traditional educational setting.

2. Collectivistic Cohesion. Another basic principle which characterizes the kibbutz is that a common ideology and practice, decided by the majority, prevails; the individual's and minorities' needs are considered, so long as these do not clash with the cohesiveness of the community.

This principle is a necessary condition, according to kibbutz ideology

...to build a more human society ... free of the agonies of "anomie", the phenomenon of the "up-rooted" in society and the destruction of the organic attachment between the individual and his group.

As long as the individual is protected by a unifying framework, according to kibbutz philosophy, he goes on living, being fortified by this framework in moments of despair or weakness. When these protective bonds are destroyed, he is thrown into a "social vacuum", anomie, and the result is self-destruction.

The more "collectivist" the society, the stronger the social support it affords; the more individualistic it is, the weaker the support it offers. Therefore, the group in the kibbutz

... is not only the means to happiness of the individual; the group and group process are moral ends in their own right ... the society, the kibbutz, and its assembly must stand above all ..."

This principle has three main aspects:

(a) The individual's interests must be subordinated to the interest of the group. "... the individual must realize that before him is the kibbutz. He must renounce his opinion in the face of the kibbutz opinion; he must give in."11 "... all the individual's strength, energy and powers must be sacrificed for the good of the community ..."12


(b) The individual motivation should always be directed to the promotion of the group interest. "... all the individual's strength, energy and powers must be sacrificed for the good of the community..."\(^\text{12}\)

(c) "... group living and group experiences are valued more highly than their individual counterparts."\(^\text{13}\) Since ",... the individual is only a portion of a cell in the kibbutz personality ...,\(^\text{14}\) those who seek a greater degree of privacy are viewed as violating group norms.

Through the process of collective education, the kibbutz hopes to lay the foundation for group identification: a feeling of belongingness, of being an essential part of, and rooted in, a society of his own peers.

3. **Socialism.** As part of the socialist movement, the kibbutz identifies with the entire working class, and views itself as a cell in the social revolutionary movement. The kibbutz is "... an organic part of the working class of the world which fights for the liberation of laboring humanity and the abolition of all classes."\(^\text{15}\)


\(^\text{13}\) Z. Schwartz, Changes in Ideology (Tel-Aviv: Sifriat Hapoalim, 1972), p. 68 (in Hebrew)

\(^\text{14}\) Z. Schwartz, *ibid.,* p. 79.

With the idea of laborers as one of the most important principles of its ideology, the kibbutz has argued for exclusive self-labor since its inception. It is against outside hired labor. Hired work is viewed by the kibbutz movement as an exploitation of laborers, and thus, a contradiction to all of those ideals which it holds important.

Labor, to the kibbutz members, is not a means for the satisfaction of their human needs; rather, labor itself is a need, "... probably man's most important need - the satisfaction which becomes an end in itself." \(^{16}\)

Furthermore, a people that "... has become accustomed to every mode of life save the natural one: the life of self-conscious and self-supporting labor, such a people will never become a living, natural people ... Labor ... is a principal force in building a national civilization." \(^{17}\)

Consistent with the ideological orientation, children are introduced to the "natural life" and the life of "self-supporting labor" from a very tender age. They learn to "support" themselves by being assigned to agricultural and service responsibilities until work becomes a need that is "an end in itself."


4. **Dedication to the State.** The concepts that: (a) the Jews of the world constitute a nationality and not only a religion, and (b) the complete regeneration of the Jewish nation will be attained through territorial concentration, i.e., the State of Israel, was made a keystone of the kibbutz ideology. This principle, adopted from the program of the Zionist movement, was the justification for both immigration and political efforts toward statehood in the pre-State days as well as today. The question facing the Zionist movement today - whether Zionism does demand immigration - is answered very clearly by the kibbutz movement: "... if they (the Jews in exile) will not be here - then they will not exist. Perhaps a few will succeed in remaining minorities in the Diaspora, but ..."\(^{18}\)

Through the collective education, the kibbutz hopes to raise a generation which will strive to do everything in its power to further the development of the State. As a result of their education, it is hoped, the kibbutz youngsters will volunteer for the most difficult tasks, whether in national and government endeavor, or settlement and defense.

\(^{18}\)Y. Tabenkin, "In Our Times" Mibifnim, 15, (February, 1971), p. 4-5.
B. Raising a healthier child by the creation of a different type of family life.

As a collectivist society centered on the group, the kibbutz "... represents a rejection of the family with particular reference to the parental roles ..."19 The family in the kibbutz does not meet most of the major criteria assigned by sociologists to this institution:

(1) The kibbutz family cannot be defined as a functional economic unit. Rather, the economic standard of a family in the kibbutz is not dependent on the endeavor and economic success of the breadwinner of the family, but on the economic achievement and social outlook of the kibbutz as a whole. The family can be defined only as a psychological unit which "... combined physical and emotional intimacy and supplied its members' needs for close personal contact ..."20

(2) The wife is not economically dependent on the husband; rather, she is a full "provider", equal to her husband in rights and in responsibilities. The father is no longer the "head" of the family upon whom his wife and children depend as the sole support of the family. Nor does the woman's life center mainly around caring for her husband and children.


The educational structure of the kibbutz is designed, among others, to prevent "... the biological tragedy of women. Because woman must bear and rear children, she has had little opportunity for cultural and artistic expression ..." 21 It also aims to give her equal rights and equal opportunities for individual growth and development.

... we have emancipated her from the burden of rearing children; we have emancipated her from the feeling of "belongingness" to her husband, the provider and the one who commands; we have given her a new society; we broke the shackles that have chained her hands." 22

Consequently, the cherished ideal of the complete equality of the sexes is reflected in the equal and non-differential treatment of boys and girls in the educational system. The coeducation is not only confined to school activities; both sexes actually live together from infancy to maturity. The kibbutz leaders feel that in addition to achieving a complete equality of the sexes, it also creates a healthy relationship between the sexes by removing the mystery from sexual differences.

(3) The upbringing of children is a direct function of the kibbutz as a whole rather than the individual parents. "... the child is not dependent in any objective sense, except on the kibbutz as a whole." 23


By entrusting many parental functions to society, the kibbutz aims to eliminate from child-parent relations all those aspects which might create hostility or ambivalent feelings toward the parents, or which might interfere with the children's love for them. Consequently, the relationship between parents and child will be "... a relationship based on emotional rather than formal relationships which may express itself in the father's authority over the child."²⁴

Furthermore, by separating the child, economically as well as physically from his father, the kibbutz hopes to protect the child from bad parenting, and prevent the individual predilection or pathology from determining the child's upbringing.

²⁴ M. Segal, "Theory and Aims", ibid., p. 9.
C. Integrating the educational environment.

Another important function of the collective education is to integrate the educational environment by 
"... filling the gaps between organized education and home, and between school and society." Education is considered by the kibbutz as an all-inclusive process, in which both aspects of education - studies and personality development - are seen as a unitary process. It comprises all spheres of the children's lives: physical, emotional, cultural, character formation, health care, and so forth.

The whole system is organized around the basic theme of the relative separation of mother and child, and the transference of the main burden of responsibility for the child's care to the trained educator. The special feature of socialization is the simultaneous operation of two emotional and organizational centers: the family and the children's house.

The children's house, which is the center for all educational activities, is built in such a way as to meet the child's needs fully. It contains rich activities and rich contents, work activities, social and study activities, and so forth.

The educational unit for the children's house is the age group. New-born infants enter the kibbutz educational system and become official members of the "children's

society" at the age of four days, upon the mother's return from the hospital. Henceforth, the child is, with rare and exceptional interruptions, in the company of his peers until he becomes eligible for adult membership when he graduates from high school.

The number of children in each age group is limited; the lower the age group, the smaller that number. Yet, each age group has, at the same time, close and regular contact with adjacent age groups, both younger and older.

While the children's house is the center of all educational activities, the educator-metapelet (nurse or caretaker) or kibbutz-appointed teacher, functions as an instrument to carry out a multiplicity of activities on behalf of the kibbutz. The educator is responsible for both teaching and educating; he achieves this by linking the learning process with the every-day reality of the child, and not merely by the transferring of knowledge. The responsibility of educational achievement is put entirely in his hands.

Communal education places the full responsibility for the complete education of every child on the educator ... In so doing, it stresses the fact that the educator's work is not considered as a service to the parents, but as a means for preparing the younger generation to continue the work of their fathers.

On the other hand, it would be erroneous to assume that the approach of kibbutz children to their social environment is shaped only at the Children's House. On the contrary, "... the curtailment of obligations reinforced rather than weakened parent-child relationships ... and enhanced the importance of the emotional ties between them."27 The emotional ties between parents and children are very deep since "It is only in the family that they (i.e., the children) get a love and care which they do not have to share with many others."28

These two emotional and organizational centers operate with full cooperation. "... all parents cooperate with the professional educator from the first days of the infant's life ... the cooperation ... is much closer and inter-woven than elsewhere."29 Not only does the educator become the instrument to convey the kibbutz values to the young generation; parents also, by assisting the educators and by sharing responsibility and influence, complement the educator in achieving the best results.

Additional socializing agents are at work during the process of the kibbutz child's education: siblings, other family members, the peer group, and the wider community of


28 Ibid., p. 475.

of the kibbutz. These agents play different roles in the various stages of the child's development.

The child-rearing process passes through several stages:

1. **Infancy** - from the first week of life to about twelve months;
2. **Early childhood**, divided into two stages: (a) pre-school nursery (from approximately twelve months to four years of age, and (b) transitional class (between the ages of five to seven.)
3. **Pre-adolescence or grammar school** - from seven to thirteen years of age.
4. **Adolescence or high-school** - from thirteen to eighteen years of age.
 CHAPTER IV
INFANCY

A. Physical and social setting.

Ordinarily, the infant house is equipped to accommodate 20-25 children from the first week of their life to about twelve months. The building is made up of two separate sections: one section for the very youngest infants, and another for those who have been weaned.

Besides the large bedrooms (each with four to six cribs), each section contains workrooms for the nurses, a kitchenette, a dressing room for mothers, large shady terraces and a courtyard where the babies spend the warm daytime hours in playpens. Each room has a special corner with all the equipment required for baby-care. The section for the older infants also contains a large room for crawling and playing.

The infant house is structured in such a way as to maximize physical and social stimulations: colors, shapes, furniture, natural scenery, toys, the baby's family, metaplot, other babies and their families.

B. The Role of the Metapelet.

The metapelet (plural: metaplot), a specially trained nurse, is one of the two focal socializers in the first year of the child's life. The most important role of the metapelet in this age-group, is the caretaking function: physical and
emotional. She bathes the baby, cleans him, changes his diapers, and takes care of any additional food that he requires while he is still being breast-fed. After the infant is weaned, the metapelet takes over his feeding.

The metapelet also takes care of the infant's emotional needs in the absence of his mother. She does it increasingly as the infant gets older and the time allotted to the mother for spending in the Infant House decreases. She is always available when the infant cries or is restless; she reacts to any signs of discomfort, talks to him, comforts him and plays with him.

In addition, the metapelet is in charge of training infants in the basic disciplines - mainly teaching the baby how to feed himself. This process and others - such as walking, dressing himself, toilet training, etc., take place in the latter part of his year in the Infant House, and are stressed even more in the Toddler House.

Another function, the transmitting of kibbutz values, is very limited in this age group. Nevertheless, even at this age, the infant learns the value of sharing. From the first experience of interaction with other infants, the baby learns that all toys belong to the nursery as a whole. Furthermore, the metapelet also "belongs" to all the infants.

C. The Role of the mother.

Even though the child is "beyond" parents' control, they still play a very important role in the process of socialization, particularly in infancy.
The mother-role in the kibbutz is a strongly affective role, emphasizing the giving of affection with almost no task-oriented activity. "... the mother in the kibbutz is the main source of gratification ... she relieves hunger tension, she provides perceptual stimulation, she plays ... sight of her nearly always means satisfaction of need."\(^{30}\)

During the first few months of her baby's life, the mother spends most of the day with her infant. Therefore, she is "... in close, intimate, and almost continuous contact with the child."\(^{32}\)

There is a qualitative difference between the attitude of the mother and that of the metapelet. The metapelet is ...

... less affective, more task-oriented; her play with the baby is less erotic ... there is much less gratification in the metapelet-child relationship.

Furthermore, her attention is always divided between several children, whereas the mother in the Infant House is wholly one-child-centered. Yet, the metapelet is always in the Infant House, in contrast to the mother. She can be summoned by crying; she can be seen by turning the head or


\(^{31}\) The official feeding time and "unofficial" visits are due to the fact that mothers are relieved of work for the first three months after giving birth. After three months, they resume work for half-time, adding one hour per month.


moving in the crib. As the metapelet is present there most of the time, active behavior toward her is rewarded.

There is an additional difference between mother-role and metapelet-role. Since the role of the metapelet is occupational, it is not necessarily bound to any particular person; it may be fulfilled by many different persons. Apart from extraordinary events such as pregnancy or sickness, there are well-defined situations in which different metaplot take the role: at the end of the working day, during leave, or on the weekly day off. The metapelet only works with the child; she may cease to be his metapelet. But the mother is his mother, and will continue to be his mother.

In addition to the contacts maintained by mother and baby during the early months, the baby also has daily visits to his parents' quarters for about two hours every day - after he has reached the age of six months.

The introduction of this "Children's Hour" brings about a very important change in the infant's life. It is the first time for him to be alone with his parents and to become "the center of the universe." This Children's Hour is devoted exclusively to the child and his wishes. Therefore "... a deep emotional bond is created between him (i.e., the child) and his mother, and afterwards between him and the other members of his family."34

D. Results.

Much opposition and doubt were centered around the question of the multiple bond which exists in the kibbutz between the child and several figures in his environment since infancy. The question of the eventual impact of such a multiple bond on the mental, emotional and intellectual development of the kibbutz child has aroused considerable curiosity. Many investigations were conducted to find an answer. Contradictory evidence was found.

On the one hand, the findings indicate the superiority of the non-kibbutz infants over their kibbutz peers, particularly in the area of social responsiveness. "... the kibbutz children did not seem to respond as readily to other persons as did the non-kibbutz infants. Moreover, their overall developmental quotient was below that of their non-kibbutz peers."35

These findings were confirmed by Rabin (1965). "Especially noteworthy is the differential lag of the kibbutz group on the personal-social scale ... to a lesser extent, the speech and hearing dimension is similarly affected."36

In addition, randomly selected case histories and observations (Neubauer, 1965; Kaffman, 1965; Rabin, 1965; Spiro, 1967) indicated some of the emotional maladjustment difficulties apparently characterizing this age group.

35 A. I. Rabin, "Kibbutz Children: Research Findings to Date" Children 5, September, 1958, p. 181.

... Following the weaning period, there seems to be some severe reaction ... excessive craving for affection, over-reaction to physical injury and ... sleep difficulties ... vomiting, crying and jumpiness ...

Furthermore, Kaffman found that thumb-sucking was a symptom which exceeded - by three to four times, the incidence reported from more conventional societies. Spiro reported that

Thumb-sucking is manifest, and occurs frequently, particularly at bedtime. Babies jounce when asleep, as well as when awake. Some babies bump their heads against their beds or against the wall.

The explanatory hypotheses suggested by the various investigators in discussing this data is based on the differential experience of kibbutz infants as compared with those in the traditional family. These hypotheses are:

(1) "Kibbutz infants experience multiple mothering and diffuse early object relations." First, the biological mother is available for all feedings during the first few months of his life. Yet, there is a marked discontinuity in the mother-infant interactions during periods between feedings and particularly after weaning - when the feeding is taken over by the metapelet.


A. I. Rabin, ibid., p. 110.
Second, there are a few metaplot: the metapelet in charge - who is available most of the day when the mother is not around; her assistant - who is there especially in the afternoons, weekly days off and holidays; and the night watch-woman - who handles the emergencies at night, when neither the mother nor the metapelet or her assistant are available.

This upbringing of the kibbutz infant results, according to the critique, in:

(a) a mass upbringing, lacking individual care and affection;

(b) a partial separation of the child from his mother, and

(c) multiple parent figures, with a division of the sources of affection and discipline. These relations increase the opportunity for conflict and clashing loyalties, and are frustrating and anxiety-provoking. Furthermore, they cause a degree of withdrawal from interpersonal relations.

(2) The reduced identification due to the withdrawal tendency tends to interfere with the orderly learning and development process. The consequence is a lower achievement rate in comparison to the non-kibbutz infant, particularly in the personal-social sphere.

(3) The environment with its limited child-adult and child-older sibling contact, offers the infant less stimulus than is evoked under the ordinary family setting.
This lack of stimulus further reduces learning and imitative opportunities needed for development of speech skills.

On the other hand, contradictory evidence was found by many investigators. The hypotheses of most Israeli investigators was that the initial social-personal development of the kibbutz infant is at least as good as the ordinary family infants, due to those very factors described by the critique as causes of the retardation.

A study of infant-smiling in the kibbutz was conducted by Gewirtz\textsuperscript{41}. The study was based on the assumption that smiling is one of the key human responses which mediates and could efficiently index much of the initial social development and learning. Since smiling is, for the most part, acquired through learning opportunities provided by the infant's interaction with the caretaking environment, it could be used as a criteria to determine the social development and learning of the infant.

A large sample, "... with a better standardized instrumentation and more sensitive methods ..."\textsuperscript{42} was composed of infants up to eighteen months of age who were reared in the kibbutz, and three control groups from towns: family, day nursery, and from a residential institution. They were compared with regard to a standard unresponsive female face.


\textsuperscript{42} J. L. Gewirtz, \textit{ibid.}, p. 18.
Smiling was evoked as early as four weeks, and in a greater proportion of kibbutz infants than in the control group. The rate of climbing to the peak level was found to be faster for kibbutz and private-family babies - without abrupt decline after the peak. Gewirtz concludes:

(1) Kibbutz infants have at least the same stimulating environment as do the private-home counterparts, and

(2) The kibbutz infants acquire basically the same initial social development and learning as family infants.

Furthermore, another study, composed of a large sample of infants from one to 27 months, compared the mental and motor development of infants reared in kibbutzim, private homes, and institutions.43 A consistent superiority of kibbutz infants over those raised in Israeli private homes was apparent at the lower age level, reaching a significant peak at six months. The findings of this study suggest that

... collective education in the kibbutz does not have an adverse effect on the mental and motor development of infants. On the contrary, kibbutz infants sometimes seem to be somewhat precocious, even in comparison with babies in private homes - born to parents with predominantly academic or semi-academic education.44

These findings were confirmed by Shefer, 1967; Manor, 1970; Ophir, 1973; Segal, 1973; and Alon, 1973. These above-mentioned studies stressed even more the superiority of kibbutz infants over their non-kibbutz peers.


In interesting fact, though irrelevant to our study, is that the Israeli infants, both kibbutz and non-kibbutz, were found to be superior in motor-development compared to infants in the United States. (Kohen-Raz, 1969; Mandel, 1972; Ophir, 1973.)

The superiority of the kibbutz infants over their non-kibbutz peers is explained by the various investigators in the same terms which the critique pointed to as the causes of retardation: the unique educational setting in this same age-group. Their hypotheses are:

(1) The kibbutz infant is exposed to a wider variety of stimulation: noises, smells - familiar and unfamiliar - the omnipresence of other infants, plus more frequent and intensive contact with parents, metabol, siblings, other relatives and other infants' relatives. All these apart from what his parents provide in their hour together. (Neubauer, 1965; Gewirtz, 1966; Irvine, 1966-67; Manor, 1970; Ophir, 1973.)

This variety of social and psychological stimulation for the very young child - which is much wider than that typical of the middle-class child - seems to be one of the factors contributing to further learning development.

(2) Whatever a metabol's shortcomings, it is still her full-time duty to take care of the children. Despite the fact that she is much too occupied with routine cleaning and other chores, the fact remains that she is there solely for the infants in her care. Not even the best middle-class
mother is, in theory, there solely for the care and benefit of her child.

(3) The "diffuse early object relations" noted by the critique as the cause for frustration, anxiety and withdrawal (with the consequence of relative retardation) is actually one of the psychological factors which further learning and development. (Golan, 1960; Bettelheim, 1970; Amir, Saran and Priel, 1970; Ophir, 1973.)

Even if we accept Rabin's (1958, 1965) and Spiro's (1965, 1967) findings as to the relative retardation of certain social and motor skills of kibbutz infants, "the relative developmental retardation noted ... is not maintained in later years."45 states Rabin. "Perhaps what occurs," explains Bettelheim, "is not retardation, but simply that it takes longer to master a more complex bit of learning."46 It is fairly easy to adjust one's movements to one person, as in the traditional family. Hence, the response is learned sooner.

But,

If the task is to adjust the motor and social responses to several persons at once, then the learning task is more complex and takes longer to achieve."

Thus, the initial learning of the kibbutz infant may be more


47 Ibid., p. 325.
difficult, yet, the infants who

... have learned it from the beginning come out ahead in the long run, compared to those who learned first how to respond to one person and later had to transfer the learning to many.

Hence, the existence of more than one image in infancy, as noted by most authorities in the field, is not only not harmful for personality development, but on the contrary, is a very important psychological factor in furthering development.

Furthermore, multiple mothering may also explain the absence of symbiotic psychosis of childhood - the child's utter dependence on the mother. This does not happen in the kibbutz. (Bettelheim, 1970; Kaffman, 1972.)

Contradictory evidence was also found in regard to the maladjustment reported by Rabin, (1965) and Spiro (1955). Most investigations (Neubauer, 1965; Kraft, 1966; Bettelheim, 1970; Kohen-Raz, 1970; Kaffman, 1965, 1972) pointed to the emotional well-being of the infant's group.

CHAPTER V

CHILDHOOD:
FROM TWELVE MONTHS TO
SEVEN YEARS OF AGE

A. Early Childhood: From twelve months to four years.

The first important change in the infant's life occurs at the age of six months, when the parents take their baby to their rooms for a period of one to two hours daily. The second important change takes place at the age of one year, when the child moves from the Infant House to the Toddler House. Here the child must adjust to a new building, a new metapelet, many new and slightly older children, and a new routine and discipline. All these are in addition to the separation from the first metapelet and first house, and the fact that he spends much less time with his mother since she resumed working full-time.

It is in the Toddler House that the child is gradually toilet-trained, is taught how to feed himself (a process which had begun in the Infant's House), and learns to interact with his age mates. Walking and verbal communication make the group become more important in the child's life. Individual, spontaneous play and activity are gradually replaced by play and activity organized and coordinated by the metapelet or the teacher-nurse.
1. **The physical and social setting.** The section of living area of the kibbutz in which the children of this age group live is called the "Children's Community." All the dwellings are close to each other, and permit interaction between the different age groups. The dwelling itself is comprised of several rooms. The children, as in the case of the Infant's House, sleep, eat and play in the dormitories. Therefore, each dormitory contains bedrooms, a dining-room, a playroom, bathrooms, a terrace and a court-yard; all equipped and furnished in accordance with the children's requirements.

As soon as the child takes his first steps, the rooms, terrace and fenced-in courtyard are opened to him, and he enjoys freedom of movement under the supervision of the metapelet. Toys, tools and materials suitable for his age-group are available in large quantities in the playrooms and courtyard. No private toys are allowed in the Toddler's House. If the children have toys of their own, they remain in their parents' rooms, which they visit during the Children's Hour and for many hours on Saturdays and holidays.

2. **The role of the metapelet and the teacher-nurse.** The metapelet and the teacher-nurse are responsible for the entire education of the child. Each one of them has a specialized function. While the metapelet assumes the housekeeping and other caretaking functions, the teacher is primarily in charge of social and intellectual development of the child.
The role of the metapelet consists of:

(1) Socialization of eating. The goals are feeding oneself, proper eating habits and sharing food.

With the younger children, the metapelet is more concerned with teaching them how to feed themselves. She does this by placing the food in their hands and by guiding them. With the older group, she is more concerned with proper eating habits, which is accomplished by employment of punishment, shaming and sometimes, withdrawal from group privileges.

(2) Socialization of toilet-training. This function is one of the most important for the metapelet of this age group to achieve. The process of toilet-training takes place in group form, as the case with other processes of socialization. In this process, all children are seated on chamber-pots at the same time, several times a day.

Parents are expected to cooperate in this process, but the main task is carried out by the metapelet. The reasons for this, as pointed out by kibbutz literature are:

(a) The more professional approach of the metapelet creates less tension and stress than the strong emotional involvement of the mothers.

(b) Constant with kibbutz philosophy that a child should get an unconditional love from his parents, the kibbutz releases, or "liberates" the parents from the burdens of habit-training. By doing so, the kibbutz hopes to prevent a conflictual situation which might endanger the unconditional love of parents.
(3) **Socialization of various duties.** It is the role of the metapelet to develop independence and responsibility in the children. She lets the younger children help her perform her duties: putting their toys in place, taking plates to the sink after meals, setting the table, helping sweep the floor, etc. The older children who are eager to assume responsibility are encouraged to wash themselves, dress and undress themselves, dry dishes after meals and clean up after play. At age four, those assignments which were formerly assumed voluntarily become, for the first time, regular assignments. Work in services or agriculture (in the little children's farm) become regular responsibilities.

(4) **Imprinting the value of sharing.** Sharing is one of the most important values of the kibbutz. The metapelet teaches the children to share by demonstrating the concept of sharing herself: distributing goodies among all the children, preparing food and calling everyone to share it, and by stressing the value of sharing verbally.

(5) **The Role of parents.** Upon entering the Toddler's House, the function left to the parents is one of nurturing. As in the case of the infant, the child is the "center of the universe" while visiting his parents' rooms. The working day of kibbutz members is organized in such a way that both parents are able to be with their children during these hours. "Parents are even hesitant about carrying out household chores, because they are not enjoyable for the children, and
cannot be shared by them.⁴⁸ And so, the visit time is devoted to play, walks, and entertainment - carried out in a carefree atmosphere. These visits are the basis for the parent-child relationship in the kibbutz.

(6) The Role of playmates (group). The third group of psychologically significant persons in the child's life is his peer group. Almost all the activities, experiences, and belongings of the child are shared - either voluntarily or under compulsion - with his age-mates. Under the conditions of group living, group sharing, group identification, as well as group control over the individual - are developed. Group membership, even at that very tender age, is characterized by sharing and aiding each other. They offer toys and food, and help each other in getting out of bed and getting dressed. Group identification is expressed by the great joy with which the children first greet each other upon awakening in the morning, or when returning to the Toddler's House after their daily visits with their parents. This feeling is also expressed in their group games, group walks, and other group activities.

B. Transitional Class - Kindergarten - Age four to seven.

The third important change takes place at the age of four, when the children are moved to the kindergarten, or transitional class. The group is enlarged with new children. Other adjustments at this time are a new house, a new metapelet and a new teacher. This enlarged group, though it will change its form of life, will stay together until it enters high school.

The kindergarten is part of the Children's House. It consists of a spacious kindergarten room, well-equipped with toys and suitable furniture; living and sleeping rooms, containing various activity corners; a large yard with swings and bars, sandbox, water pool, and many other attractions. There is also a dining room where the children eat.

The child's life is organized and consists of a few hours of collective activities and several hours of individual spontaneous activities. The organized activities consists of formal intellectual instruction. This instruction includes the study of reading, writing, arithmetic, as well as drawing, gymnastics, dancing, music, walks to explore the immediate neighborhood and to watch the adults working in the various departments of the farm.

The individual activities include free play, voluntary participation in work around the house, and visits to their parents' work-places. Hence, the kindergarten helps the children put their roots into the landscape of their home district and brings them close to the work and production process of the various farm sections.
C. Results.

The writer was unable to find any research dealing with the mental and intellectual development of this age group. In order to prevent distortion of the whole picture due to lack of information about such an important aspect of personality development, it is suggested that research, exploring this area should be conducted.

With respect to motor skills development, the limited studies pointed out the superiority of the kibbutz children over their non-kibbutz peers. These results are explained in terms of the very little anxiety experienced by the kibbutz when the child starts to move around on his own. Since there are no cliffs, streets, traffic, cars or strangers; nor any hot stoves or expensive furniture which can not be touched, the child is not restrained as far as his freedom is concerned. Rather, he is encouraged to master his body, which in turn develops his motor skills.

What attracted the attention of many investigators was the emotional adjustment of this age group. To the casual observer, the kibbutz might seem an ideal millieu for establishing stereotyped patterns of normal and abnormal behavior, and definite similarities in personality structure of children.


In general, observers outside of Israel have been inclined to expect a greater amount of emotional disturbances among kibbutz children than in children reared in their own families. On the other hand, practitioners of collective education expect a lower level of such disturbances.

They hoped that the transfer of motherly care and socialization from the emotion-packed atmosphere of the family ... would eliminate essentially pathogenic factors."

As expected, contradictory evidence was found. Various observers, most of them observers from outside Israel, stated that children in this age group - particularly the toddlers - manifest symptoms which in Western culture are considered to be signs of emotional disturbance. (Caplan, 1954; Kardiner, 1954; Spiro, 1956; Winograd, 1958; Rappaport, 1958.)

"There is a greater incidence of masturbation, nail-biting, thumb-sucking, and feeding difficulties." Furthermore,

There is a tremendous amount of ... endemic enuresis ... temper tantrums, and general lack of control over aggression ... The toddlers look like deprived children in institutions. Up to the age of five or six, the children look puny and small."


Yet, other findings point to the opposite extreme.

... a most striking observation was the physical and emotional well-being of exactly this toddler group. Thumb-sucking was certainly not more widespread than in the U.S. ... and temper tantrums 55 far less common than here.

This discrepancy is due, according to Kaffman (1965),

... to the fact that

There are papers containing the statement that it was "supposed" that there are some kinds of emotional deprivation at the preschool age, but these are no more than impressions, which up to now have not been based on factual data.

The "factual data", based on longitudinal studies (Nagler, 1963; Kaffman, 1965; 1970; 1972) are, that the symptoms mentioned by the "outside observers", except for bed-wetting and thumb-sucking, do not exceed the normal bounds. As for the wetting and thumb-sucking, the greater frequency of this occurrence among kibbutz children is not due to a lack of full mothering care, but rather to a very permissive approach to the training of instinctual drives which avoids all pressures and intervention, and which holds that interventions are bound to lead to undesirable coercive measures. (Golan, 1960; Nagler, 1963; Kaffman, 1959-60, 1965, 1970, 1972; Neubauer, 1965; Irvine, 1966-67). Enuresis, in addition, is attributed partly to the "faulty training" possibly combined with inconsistency on the part of the metapelet.


There is further reason in that "picking up" children at night is out of the question, for practical reasons.

Another problem, thoroughly investigated, was the Oedipus Complex. The relationship of the child with his parents in the ordinary family setting is intense, and for a variety of reasons these relationships are negative as well as positive.

On the kibbutz, on the other hand, the training of instinctual drives and habit formation is in the hands of the metapelet. She is the one who makes the demands on the child; the parents hardly participate in this process. Such simultaneous relations of the child to his family members on the one hand, and to his metapelet and age-mates on the other, are bound to bring about changes in the formation of the Oedipus Complex.

Essentially, it was found that the children of the kibbutz show lower Oedipal intensity than the controls. (Golan, 1960; Rabin, 1965; Neubauer, 1965; Rabin and Goldman, 1966; Bettelheim, 1969; Grossman, 1970; Gerson, 1974). It seems that what the kibbutz educators hoped to achieve through the educational setting, the reducing of the Oedipal Complex from a characteristic burden of conflicts, was achieved. It seems that this whole developmental transition is negotiated much more easily and smoothly by kibbutz children than by children in the traditional culture.

Related to this problem is the development of sexual identity. In the traditional society the young child
supposedly experiences an overwhelming desire for the possession of the parent of the opposite sex. Unable to fulfill this wish, he then renounces it and solves the problem by identifying with the "hated" parent of the same sex. In the kibbutz, there is less intense attachment to the parent of the opposite sex, and a less ambivalent relationship and attitude to the parent of the same sex. Consequently, it was hypothesized that there would be confusion of sexual roles and uncertainty of identification; children of neither sex are entirely sure of their sexual identity and both identify with adults of the opposite sex. (Spiro, 1955, 1956; Bettelheim, 1970.)

Yet most findings (Kaffman, 1956-60, 1965, 1970; Golan, 1960; Neubauer, 1965; Rabin, 1965; Steinbach, 1967; Grossman, 1970; Gerson, 1974) reveal that though identification with parents is less intense, it is still satisfying and conducive to normal, non-neurotic personality development.

Sex identification can easily be observed among our children in the nursery ... in the five year old group there is a clear separation of boys and girls ... the behavior of the boys already differs significantly from that of the girls.

Furthermore, "... not only is there no confusion of sexual identification, but homosexuality - an ever-increasing problem in 'affluent' societies - is non-existent." 58


Related to this problem is the problem of child-parent relationships. Since kibbutz children demonstrate lower Oedipal intensity than their non-kibbutz peers, many investigators hypothesized the consequence of a weaker emotional relationship and attachments within the biological family circle.

Yet, most findings point out the positive attitude of kibbutz children to their parents, to the warm relationship within the family circle, and to the great impact of parent-child relations on the development of the personality of the kibbutz child. (Spiro, 1955; Kaffman, 1959-60, 1972; Golan, 1960; Handel, 1962; Neubauer, 1965; Rabin, 1965; Leslie and Rabkin, 1969; Tamir, 1972; Talmon-Garber, 1972; Gerson, 1974.) It would be erroneous to assume, as some investigators hypothesized, that the approach of kibbutz children to their social environment is shaped only at the children's house where they spend most of their time.

Rather,

... small children spontaneously absorb the social approach of their parents during their afternoon meetings with them ... the inquisitiveness of small children ... is responded ... differently by different parents, and their way leaves its mark on the budding approach of the small child to his social environment."

Furthermore,

... those factors related to disturbed relationships within the kibbutz family far outnumbered all other

pathogenic elements, both in the frequency of their appearance and the severity of their impact.°

Since group identification is one of the primary characteristics of kibbutz culture, investigators were interested to find out the impact of the educational setting on group life.

The results point that even at this early age, in which the children do not yet have the ability to lead a full group life, there is

... an identification on the part of the individual children: one child identifies with another; one child has an influence over another - sometimes in the direction of the fulfillment of the regulations, sometimes in the direction of the second child's progress.°

Even the beginning of "collectivistic cohesion" could be identified:

By the toddler age ... life is truly with the group. ... If one is stronger, he will use and occasionally misuse his strength, but not for long. Very soon the group spirit asserts itself, he feels the disapproval, and he desists.

Another aspect of group life - cooperation - is also found within this age group. "During this same toddler age ... the peer group comes to be a source of comfort ... when in emotional distress, the kibbutz child soon learns to rely on

60 M. Kaffman, "Family Conflict in the Psychopathology of the Kibbutz Child" Family Process XI, p. 171.


the help of another child for comfort and security."

It seems from these observations that the kibbutz toddlers have indeed learned how to fend for themselves, how to set alone with the group, and how to find their comfort and satisfaction.

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CHAPTER VI
PREADOLESCENCE
GRAMMAR-SCHOOL

A. The School.

Upon entering grammar school, the children, for the first time, are living with other age groups (ranging between seven and fourteen years of age), rather than one age group as before. The school is usually a large building or cluster of buildings consisting of both dormitory and classroom facilities. The classroom serves as a recreation place and a place for general meetings of the group, as well as for instruction purposes. Adjacent to the building are the outdoor facilities and the farm, which is worked by the children. Even though each group remains distinct from other groups by having its own educator and bedrooms, the interaction between groups is expanded to the entire student body. They live in the same building, eat together in the children's dining room, play together, and participate in some of the same extra-curricular activities.

As mentioned in Chapter III, education is viewed by the kibbutz as a unitary process consisting of both learning and personality development. With this aim in mind, the kibbutz movement developed a method of learning. This is "process" learning, which "... runs roughly parallel to the
students feel free to criticize the educator whenever they feel that he is wrong. However, the informality in the classroom does not decrease the educator's power of social control. Rather, when group norms have been violated by a member of the group, both educator and students meet together and function as a unit of social control.

B. The Role of the metapelet and the teacher.

As children move up in the educational level, there is a continuous decrease in the role of the metapelet as an agent of socialization. She moves along with the children from grade to grade until the group graduates from grammar school, yet she functions mainly as a housekeeper, though she works together in close cooperation with the teacher. As the role of the metapelet as an agent of socialization decreases, the role of the teacher, or rather the educator, increases.

As an educator, the teacher is in charge of the educational goals set by the Federation; he is in charge of the academic achievements as well as personality development.

C. The Role of the group.

The importance of the peer group begins early and steadily increases. The infant lives among his peers from his first days and, even if they have no special meaning to him at that time, he is aware of them at this early age. When the infants start crawling, they display preferences and hostilities which may last for several days. Nevertheless, in the toddler and nursery school groups, quick shifts from
warm cooperation to angry clashes are common. Yet, even at
this level, the mutual help and the respect for the rights
of other members of the group is stressed, and the peer
group becomes the most important "praising figure".

During the kindergarten years, the group concept and
group responsibility are not yet fully developed, although
cooperative activities of the entire kindergarten, with a
little self-government of a group, already exists.

Upon entering school, and from then on, the group be­
comes an official as well as the emotional center. There is
an unbroken unity of learning of content and education; the
peer group lives and learns together.

As a study unit, it completes a certain number of pro­
jects during the year, including informal activities which are
interwoven with classroom material. As a living unit, the
group conducts autonomous activities such as hikes, outing and
parties - to which parents and other groups are invited.

The group also helps children give up their dependency
on adults; they learn to take care of themselves, to clean
their rooms, set the table, take turns, to share, and be res­
ponsible for their little farm. Work consists of a half-hour
per day for the younger and one hour daily for the older
children. Work assignments are changed periodically to
expose the children to a variety of experiences, as well as
to maintain their interest.

School children are members of the "Children Society"
which is comprised of all groups and grades of the grammar
school. It is characterized by self-government and general assembly. Children who fail to comply with the cultural norms are referred, either by the educator or by the children themselves, to a group meeting. The very knowledge of accountability to the group becomes a strong deterrent to deviant behavior. Thus, public opinion of the group, which the child identifies with, becomes most important in the life of the primary school child.

D. Results.

From the mass data obtained through the findings of many investigators, and through the employment of different psychological techniques and methods, major trends were found.

The first major trend is that the intellectual superiority of the kibbutz group over the non-kibbutz children is apparent. (Golan, 1958, 1960; Handel, 1962; Rabin, 1958, 1965; Talmon-Garber, 1970; Amir, Saran and Priel, 1970; Bettelheim, 1970; Grossman, 1970.)

First, accuracy of perception, or "perception of reality"66 "... an important ingredient of intelligence and an indicator of ego involvement ..."67 is significantly higher for the kibbutz group. Second, the kibbutz youngsters tend to emphasize small details in their perception. This points to the quality of the intellectual approach rather than

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than the level of intelligence perse. Third, the breadth and range of content in the responses favors the kibbutz children.

These findings are a reversal of those noted in the infant group by both Spiro and Rabin. Hence, even if we accept the assumption of the relative retardation of the kibbutz infants, this inferiority is not maintained in later years; rather, the kibbutz children surge ahead of their non-kibbutz peers.

Yet, the results of a nation-wide study of scholastic achievement in Israel\textsuperscript{68} indicated that the kibbutz students did considerably less well than the highest urban group, though they achieved better than the rest: urban schools of relatively low standards, urban schools of middle standards, and rural schools. These results, which are in contrast with the findings about the intellectual superiority of the kibbutz children are due, according to kibbutz authorities, to the structure and the aims of the test.

These tests were designed to measure an intellectual development which has been specifically prepared for higher and competitive academic achievement - without regard for what effect it has on the student's personality and social relations. But a kibbutz youngster spends a vast amount of his energy becoming a highly socialized person in terms of the kibbutz standards. None of the tests were able to measure

\textsuperscript{68} The Results of Scholastic Achievement. Department of Culture and Education. Israel, pp. 5-17 (in Hebrew).
this kind of achievement. Thus, these results might have been radically different if these tests had been constructed by kibbutz educators.

Another interesting, but not unexpected, finding was that in over-all achievement, both ends of the distribution in statistical terms were radically reduced, while the middle was expanded. These findings are analyzed in terms of the philosophy of the educational system which favors the middle-reachers as a group.

It is interesting to point out that as far as goals and expectations are concerned, the kibbutz youngsters tend to emphasize either short range and recreational activities, or broader altruistic aims. Non-kibbutz children's goals emphasized long-range personal expectations involving more extensive future time perspectives.69

The second trend that was investigated, was the effects of the ideology upon kibbutz children. In general, the results show that:

(1) Sensitivity to peer-group approbation seems to be of greater importance in the socialization process of kibbutz children than sensitivity to the approval of authority figures. The non-kibbutz children, conversely, were more sensitive to authority figures. (Spiro, 1955; Neubauer, 1965; Rabin, 1966; Amir, Sara and Priel, 1970; Tamir, 1970.)

(2) The influence of the group in the kibbutz increases with age; the sensitivity to group opinion becomes

more intense as the identification of the individual increases. (Schwartz, 1958; Spiro, 1955, 1963, 1965; Neubauer, 1965; Shapira and Madsen, 1969; Bettelheim, 1970.)

(3) The kibbutz children have a great sense of security within the group, despite the great peer-group pressures. (Neubauer, 1965; Kraft, 1967; Bettelheim, 1970; Tamir, 1970.)

(4) As expected, kibbutz children were found to be, in general, more cooperative and less competitive than their non-kibbutz peers. The hypothesis that an education which places greater emphasis on a cooperative ideology will produce more cooperative behavior was confirmed. In the experiment, both groups cooperated adaptively under group reward. With a change from cooperative to individual reward, children from the city began to compete in a competitive manner, while kibbutz children continued to cooperate.

Other studies, while confirming the above result, added that under competitive conditions, the kibbutz youngsters asked the experimenter's permission to help each other, and to take turns as before. Upon his agreement, they immediately decided upon cooperation and were very active in directing it. Furthermore, there was great concern among


kibbutz children in regard to equality of prizes. They were so concerned about sharing, that in many cases they changed the conditions of the game thereby enabling each child to get a prize. Moreover, when - in isolated cases - one of the children tried to compete against the others to maximize his own immediate gain, he was restrained by the group.

The findings also indicated that competitive behavior, in which the individual attempts to maximize his own immediate gain at the expense of others, was found to be one of the most frequently punished behaviors. Conversely, generosity and cooperation, a behavior which attempts to maximize gains for others even at some cost to the individual, were among the most frequently rewarded behaviors. Furthermore, the majority of kibbutz students show the desire to become equal to their peers in regard to academic achievement rather than to excel over other members of their peer-group. The general desire of the students was to raise the achievement level of their group as a whole.

A third major trend, the Oedipus Complex and its related aspects, was found to be consistent with the trend of the younger children. The Oedipal intensity was found to be


reduced for both sexes in comparison to middle-class non-kibbutz children. Also, the diffusion of the identification is greater. (Rabin, 1958, 1959, 1965; Spiro, 1963, 1965; Irvine, 1966-67; Bettelheim, 1970.) These findings are explained by the investigators in terms of the lower intensity in the relation to and dependence upon, the biological mother, in which the rivalry with the father is felt much less intensely.

Yet, while Bettelheim (1970) concludes that the pattern of a more diffused identification results in a confusion of sexual roles and uncertainty of identification, Rabin (1965) regards it as "... conducive to normal, non-neurotic personality development." 75

Consistent with the trend found with the preschool children, is the clearly positive attitudes of schoolchildren toward their parents. (Kaffman, 1959-60, 1972; Spiro, 1958, 1963, 1965; Rabin, 1965; Neubauer, 1965; Talmon-Garber, 1972; Gerson, 1971.) As expected by kibbutz educators, their relationships are less ambivalent and less conflictual than among the controls, and are at least as positive as those of their counterparts.

The findings also proved that kibbutz parents, with their varied shades of orientation toward kibbutz ideology and values, have a deep influence on their childrens' value systems and on the direction of their interests. 76


personal interests of the parents, the cultural atmosphere and the main foci of conversation at the family encounters, have a powerful influence on the interests and personality of their children, not less than outside the kibbutz.

These results, according to the investigators, are due to the usually pleasant, non-punitive, and non-threatening contact which the child has with his family - since the educators and the group are the ones who apply sanctions.

The evidence also indicates that sibling rivalry is less intense in the kibbutz group than in their controls. (Rabin, 1965; Neubauer, 1965; Bettelheim, 1970; Talmon-Garber, 1970.) One of the factors which contributes to the reduction of the intensity of sibling rivalry is that the kibbutz child is "born" with a group of siblings with whom he lives throughout his childhood.

The fourth major trend concerns the emotional adjustment of kibbutz school children. It was found that these children are at least as mature, as well developed intellectually and emotionally, and generally, as well adjusted as their controls. (Golan, 1958, 1960; Neubauer, 1965; Rabin, 1965; Tzur, 1974; Porat, 1974.) In most instances, the indices employed even point to the superiority of the kibbutz children in these areas.

Yet, there are disturbed and neurotic children within the kibbutz. The incidence of emotional disorders in children who are in need of help due to psychological difficulties
were reported by Golan\textsuperscript{77} to be five to six per cent; by Narler\textsuperscript{78} to be ten per cent; and by Kaffman\textsuperscript{79} to be twelve to fifteen per cent of the total children. On the other hand, clinical studies of the total Israeli child population produce quite conflicting figures as to the "average" proportion of children in need of professional advice and care - ranging from one per cent to 40 per cent.\textsuperscript{80}

The differences in the frequency of emotional problems reported above are attributed to the various definitions, diagnostic criteria and methods used by the various investigators.\textsuperscript{81} Additional factors make the comparison between kibbutz and non-kibbutz children even harder. First, the problems of kibbutz children can be traced rather accurately from infancy to youth by constant observation and evaluation by objective observers. Second, many kibbutzim have an advisory and clinical agency with a special educator to screen behavior and learning problems. Finally, a therapeutic helper is accessible to all kibbutz children, without any exception or discrimination. Furthermore, the


\textsuperscript{80}M. Kaffman, \textit{ibid.}, pp. 693-694.

\textsuperscript{81}M. Kaffman, \textit{ibid.}, pp. 693-694.
referral of a child is up to the kibbutz and not only to the parents, which in many cases in the society outside the kibbutz, refuse to let their child have treatment. 82

Therefore, until now, no objective evidence has been brought forward to substantiate any assumptions - either of a greater or lesser incidence of the emotional disturbances in kibbutz children as compared with a like number of children of this age outside of the kibbutz.

The severity of emotional problems, the distribution of diagnostic groups and the symptomatic manifestations were found to be the same as observed in children and adolescents raised in the traditional Western family. No clinical entity recognizable as a specific or prevalent emotional disturbance of kibbutz children was found. Rather, most psychiatric diagnostic categories detected among Western traditional families are also found among kibbutz children. 83

Hence, it was suggested that non-organic child psychopathology in the kibbutz, as elsewhere, depends primarily on the family constellation. 

"... we may say that the factors


83 N. Kaffman, ibid., pp. 266-268. Also

in the parents' room outweigh by far, in their significance, those in the Children's House. This further proves the family as a persisting psychological influence.

CHAPTER VII

ADOLESCENCE - HIGH SCHOOL

THIRTEEN TO EIGHTEEN YEARS OF AGE

A. The School.

After graduation from Primary School, the group as a whole is transferred to the Mosad (High School), which is regularly composed of youngsters from several nearby kibbutzim. The Mosad is located in an entirely different location, physically remote from the kibbutz living area. The organization is similar to that of the Primary School.

Aside from the individual grade dormitory-classroom buildings, which both boys and girls share, there is a central dining-room which also functions as a cultural and social center for the adolescent society.

Yet, an important change in the lives of the youngsters takes place at this time:

(1) The old group is split up, and the youngsters form new groups comprised of children from the nearby kibbutzim and of "outside" students (those who utilize the Mosad as a boarding school).

(2) The youngsters begin to work in the kibbutz economy (from one and a half to three hours per day, depending on their age) together with the adult members of the kibbutz. This gives them opportunity to experience work in almost every branch of the kibbutz economy, so that upon graduation
they can elect to work in the branch which most interests them.

(3) For the first time, the youngsters encounter important male figures other than their fathers, as most of the educators on the Mosad are men.

The curriculum of the Mosad reflects the self-image of the kibbutz as a socialist society of farmer-intellectuals. The emphasis is on humanities, science and the arts, particularly on the social implications of knowledge.

... acquaintance with processes in science and social thought, especially as directed toward some selected fundamental problems; taking a position on questions of actual social and political life ..."

An important supplement to the educational curriculum is the network of "Chugim" (circles). These are informal, voluntary groups formed by youngsters to explore various subjects which are not included in the curriculum. The Chugim give those youngsters with special interests, the opportunity to work and get even more knowledge in the subject areas of their choice.

The responsibility of the educator, as in the primary school, includes not only the teaching of the academic subjects, but also the intellectual, emotional and social growth of the youngsters.

The functions of the metapelet now amount only to the caretaking of the physical well-being of the youngsters and their dormitory facilities.

B. The Role of the group and youth movement.

As in the case of the Primary School, but even more so, the group has a considerable authority over its members. It constitutes a very influential socializing agent. Devotion to duty, a volunteer spirit, and significant achievement in the work sphere are basic requirements for winning the appreciation of the peer group. The group is so influential that an acceptance or rejection by one's peers becomes an important source of positive or negative self-evaluation.

The group exercises its authority by various institutions. One of the most important of these is the weekly group meeting, which has the ultimate authority over the individual. Another institution is the Group Committee which, with the assistance of the educator, handles most of the social and technical problems that arise within the group between meetings. Other committees are responsible for almost all of the non-academic facets of the students' lives - including disciplinary problems. The various group committees have considerable power, including the power of expulsion.

The social control over the individual is exercised either by informal control; criticizing the offender privately, or by formal control; by the group or by the entire student body. In this case, they have the authority to call the offender for "clarification," ordering him to conform, and finally, they may impose some sanctions.

The kibbutz adolescent is bound, both socially and in his standards of values, to his peer group. The group, in
turn, reflects the essential norms of social behavior and moral values of the kibbutz adult model.

Structurally, the Youth Movement, a highly visible phenomenon in Israel, consists of groups. The groups, in turn, constitute "nests" - branches of the national movement. Each group has a leader who is a member of an older group in the high school. In the "nest," unlike in the high school, decisions are made for the students, not by them.

The fact that the "nest" is part of a national movement enables the youngsters to meet officially with youngsters from many different localities - including city dwellers. They participate together on special occasions such as hikes, overnight camping trips and celebrations.

Because of the numerous activities and interests, the kibbutz adolescents spend less time in the family circle. Nevertheless, the affectionate ties to the family are maintained and continued.

C. Results.

As was mentioned in previous chapters, kibbutz children made notable advances during the years between infancy and pre-adolescence - both in intellectual development and personality maturity. This placed them in a fairly favorable position when compared with non-kibbutz children of similar age. The important questions which arise are: (a) whether such advantages are transitory, or do they rather persist through later years and prepare adolescent and adult development and status, and (b) whether the psychological
characteristics necessary for the survival of kibbutz culture; identification with the group, a sense of security within the group, the absence of intense personal success, and a willingness to assume social responsibility - are achieved by high school youngsters and young adults on the kibbutz.

Intellectually, kibbutz adolescents function at least as well as their non-kibbutz peers.

... It cannot be said with any degree of certainty that the kibbutz group is, in fact, superior to the non-kibbutz group in the intellectual sphere. However, we certainly could not make a statement in the opposite direction ... in the verbal sphere at least, the kibbutz group is as intelligent as, and probably somewhat superior to the non-kibbutz group. Other investigators, while confirming Rabin's findings, added that in terms of verbal fluency and productivity - which is related to intelligence - the kibbutz group's superiority is evident. The kibbutz adolescents show greater range and complexity of ideas, and more interest in education and intellectual pursuits than do their controls.

An interesting finding emerged from an Army survey: no kibbutzniks were found to be in the 20 per cent of soldiers with the lowest intelligence rating; 40 per cent of kibbutzniks were in the highest rating, as against 28% in the general population.


Additional relevant evidence (Handel, 1962; Barnett, 1965; Rabin, 1965) indicates that there is no significant difference among adolescents in the kibbutz and non-kibbutz peers in regard to self-concept and in the concept of ideal self. However, there is evidence of less strong personal ambition, in terms of vocational or professional advancement, in the kibbutz group. Yet, ambition in the direction of personal, cultural and intellectual growth seems to be present to a higher degree in the kibbutz group than among their controls. This trend is consistent with the findings obtained with the kibbutz children of the Primary School.

As far as personality structure is concerned, contradictory evidence as to the specific characteristics of the kibbutz youngster was obtained.

According to Bettelheim (1969) the "typical" kibbutz adolescent appears to be decidedly introverted, emotionally insecure, inhibited and shy with strangers or with members of the kibbutz outside of his own age group. He lacks personal identification and is intellectually depleted, with uniform interests, narrow horizons and little originality. Moreover, due to his "flat" personality and the shallowness of his emotional attachments, he seems to be unable to project himself into the feelings or deep personal experiences of others, nor is he able to accept any viewpoint but

his own as valid. The kibbutznik, according to Bettelheim, is characterized by dogmatism, self-righteousness, and has a limited capacity to deal with hypothetical questions that question his values or his way of life.

Bettelheim's conclusions about a hypothetical homogeneous type of kibbutz youngster, possessing a cluster of traits constituting a dogmatic personality, gave rise to many investigations.

The first problem dealt with was whether or not there is, in reality, an archetype of a kibbutz youngster. Marcus et al. observed a group of kibbutz adolescents and young adults. This investigation included an analysis of 201 behavior items embracing nine categories of temperament, and confirmed what parents and educators in kibbutzim take for granted: there is no model personality prototype of a kibbutz youngster. Each child has his own particular pattern of development and his own predominant temperamental traits, despite the relative similarity of environmental factors. These findings were confirmed by most experts in the field. "... They (i.e., kibbutz youngsters) exhibit a wholesome personality ... Their personalities vary over a wide range of intellectual, artistic and emotional types." 


... in reality, there is no such thing as an archetype of kibbutz sabra, but a wide spectrum of diverse personality patterns that makes it very simple to find confirmation for the theoretical hypotheses one happens to believe in.

Furthermore, most of the Israeli investigators feel that the reports

... portraying a hypothetical, homogeneous type of kibbutz sabra, have emanated mainly from authors whose representations of the adolescent personality structure were drawn up following a brief visit to a kibbutz — frequently without knowledge of the language, and mainly on the basis of casual observations, anecdotal data and psychometric responses of an unrepresentative sample of adolescents in the absence of adequate control studies.

The other problem investigated thoroughly was Bettelheim's conclusions regarding those aspects of dogmatic self-righteousness and lack of flexible evaluation, which contradicts all the ideals which the kibbutz stands for.

We aim to create a type of human being who looks with kindness upon his fellow ... expects the best of him ... does not hate or seek to make capital out of his colleagues' weaknesses. We wish to achieve a real joy of living within our society, a spirit of creativity, a love of humanity and Israel, a readiness to help others, to volunteer for public duties ... We want each member to make demands on himself, but to concede to others to be the first to assume obligations and the last to claim rights.

The question asked was whether all the educational aims of the kibbutz — morality, equality, idealism, humanism, 


92 M. Kaffman, ibid., p. 693

and group responsibility - were achieved, not only ideally, but in reality.\textsuperscript{94} Or had they failed to reach these aims, having as the end-product of kibbutz education an authoritarian, intolerant and closed-minded person.

The dominant finding which has emerged from the mass data obtained, was the significantly higher score on dogmatism obtained by the city dwellers - Israeli subjects, and Jewish and non-Jewish subjects in the United States - as compared to kibbutz youngsters.\textsuperscript{95} The data suggests that the kibbutz youngster is less authoritarian, more tolerant, and more open-minded than the city dweller; exactly the antithesis of a dogmatic personality.

Furthermore, the kibbutz youngster was found to be capable of forming deep emotional attachments, and in addition to richness of inner life,\textsuperscript{96} richness of fantasy and expression and capacity for imagination, he had greater spontaneity.\textsuperscript{97} Also, kibbutz adolescents tend to be more secure and

\textsuperscript{94}E. Gerson, \textit{Education and Family in the Kibbutz} (Merhavia, Israel: Hakibbutz Haarti, 1968), p. 17.


\textsuperscript{96}E. Oren, \textit{Humanism in Kibbutz Education} (Tel-Aviv: Hakibbutz Hameuchad, 1973), pp. 6-10, (in Hebrew).

less anxious and inhibited, and responds with greater speed when confronted with new situations. 98

Moreover, the tests administered to youth in the army showed that kibbutz soldiers had better results in situational field problems and in differential perception - ability to improve, show independence and decisiveness - than did the city dwellers. 99 They also evidenced an uncommon aptitude for leadership and individual initiative, combined with a talent for accommodating themselves to different social environments, and were able to act creatively when alone as well as in group situations. 100

These results seem to explain the fact that the number of kibbutz members in the officer corps of the Israeli Army has been very much out of proportion to population ranking (about 40 per cent). The tragic result of this discrepancy is that not only was the number of officers among those who fell in battle disproportionately high, but that the kibbutz movement paid a high price for the national and moral education it had given its children. (About 25 per cent of the casualties in the Six Days War 101 and about 40 per cent


of them in the Yom Kippur War\textsuperscript{102} were kibbutzniks.) The superiority of the kibbutz soldiers over their non-kibbutz peers, and their great influence - much out of proportion to their number - in the officer corps, caused the army authorities to want to persuade the kibbutz movements to allow their youngsters to serve longer than the regular compulsory national service period.\textsuperscript{103}

The differences in favor of kibbutz soldiers were found to be only partly attributable to better qualifications; other differences being associated with personality variables due to kibbutz education and way of life.\textsuperscript{104}

As a matter of fact, certain branches of the Army (such as the Air Force or special dangerous units which involve personal risk) which need a "better type" of man, consist mainly of kibbutzniks who volunteer for these jobs without any benefit or recognition. By "better type" of man the Army means not just physically or intellectually, but specifically in qualities of personality.

Most experts in the field find that, as far as the overall adjustment is concerned, kibbutz and non-kibbutz adolescents do not differ markedly. The kibbutz adolescents are judged to be at least as mature and as well adjusted as

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{102} The Casualties in the Six Days War (Jerusalem: Government Print Office, 1974) (in Hebrew).
\bibitem{104} Y. Amir, "Promotion of Kibbutzniks in Zahal (Israeli Army)" \textit{Megamot} (Jerusalem: The Henrietta Szold Institute, 1973), pp. 93-95 (in Hebrew).
\end{thebibliography}

... it is our firm belief that, taken as a whole, this group ... whom we have followed for twenty years, does not exhibit exceptional features in the incidence of pathology.

On the contrary, "... they have fewer serious problems than do children from comparable non-kibbutz settings." The kibbutz adolescent is "... less neurotic than his American counterpart. He is not at odds with his society, nor is he delinquent." It is interesting to note that the incidence of anti-social types of personality disorder was extremely low (one per cent) as compared with a parallel group of non-kibbutz adolescents (seven per cent). Moreover, as age increases, the frequency and intensity of aggressive symptoms gradually declined among kibbutz youngsters.

There is also evidence that the level of adequate adjustment is maintained beyond the period of adolescence. The


106 Ibid., p. 698.


108 M. Kaffman, Ibid., p. 704.

evidence for this is the relative success of a randomly selected sample of kibbutz soldiers in passing the test to be chosen for the officers' training course. Certainly, emotional stability and adjustment is, by implication, one of the important selective criteria for leadership positions in any army. Furthermore, no incidence of war neurosis was found among kibbutz youngsters since the War for Independence in 1947. (The Yom Kippur War was not included in this survey.)

These findings indicate that

... the kibbutz system of education provides adequate means for socializing and positive models of identification, so as to modify and attenuate both reactive and structured patterns of antisocial behavior.

In the area of sexuality, the findings indicate that the kibbutz adolescents are more repressed than their non-kibbutz peers, and are consciously opposed to immature expression in this area.

... It would appear that sex taboos are much stronger for the kibbutz group. This fact, in turn, may be responsible for greater suppression or repression of sexuality and, therefore, greater embarrassment and sensitivity to heterosexual social relations.

One very interesting fact worth mentioning is that there is no delinquency, homosexuality or drug-taking among kibbutz-reared adolescents.


An additional area which was thoroughly investigated was the area of group life, with all its various aspects. Major trends are revealed by the mass data:

(1) The importance of the educational group as a socializing agent increases steadily with age, and replaces parents and educators as the interpreters and enforcers of their moral code.

(2) Kibbutz adolescents are much more sensitive than their non-kibbutz peers to the opinion of their group. Yet, they will "... not follow the leader. They have their own personal opinions; they oppose the opinions of others ..." 113

(3) Kibbutz adolescents experience great security within the group.

(4) Possessiveness, acquisitiveness and striving for personal success are minimal. Those who leave the kibbutz "... rarely leave because of any wish for property." 114 Even friendship was found to be defined in terms of character and behavior rather than in terms of personal gain. 115

Yet, Raven and Leff found that "... contrary to expectations, difference in kibbutz ideology did not significantly affect cooperation in the game." 116 Rather, kibbutz youngsters


... tended to follow an essentially competitive strategy, in varying degrees ..."117 However, these findings are due, according to the investigators themselves, to the fact that the kibbutz youngsters saw the situation structured as a game in which competition or personal achievement is acceptable and legitimate within kibbutz ideology, rather than a try for the best absolute score, or as a means to the attainment of some competitive goal.

(5) Excellence was found to be motivated by social responsibility, in which the group as a whole will benefit. The youngsters are highly motivated to work for the welfare of the entire society.

The fact that the group in kibbutz life replaces parents as interpreters and enforcers of moral values does not detract from the positive attitudes which kibbutz youngsters have toward both parents. (Rabin, 1958, 1965; Bar-Yosef, 1959; Kaffman, 1959-1960, 1972; Golan, 1960; Talmon-Garber, 1972.) Consistent with the trend found among the younger children, it was found that the attitudes of kibbutz adolescents are at least as positive as those of non-kibbutz adolescents. It was found that not only do they not drift away from their parents as Spiro118 claimed, but on the contrary, the impact of the parents' value orientation on the kibbutz youngsters is much greater than on their non-


kibbutz counterparts. (Golan, 1960; Neubauer, 1965; Tal- 
mon-Garber, 1972; Kohen-Raz, 1973; Gerson, 1974.) Even 
the decision of the kibbutz youngster to stay in the kibbutz 
or to leave it was found to be greatly influenced by the 
attitudes of the parents. 119

In the light of the importance placed by the entire 
kibbutz movement on the equality between the sexes, investiga-
tions were made to find (1) what are the actual achievements 
of kibbutz women, (2) whether the educational setting of the 
kibbutz actually provides equal chances of development for 
both sexes, and (3) to what extent has it succeeded in giving 
the young women of the kibbutz the opportunity to choose the 
role they wish to play.

In general, it was found that significant change in the 
social status of women has been achieved in the kibbutz. The 
changes can be summarized as follows:

(1) Women in the kibbutz are no longer economically 
dependent on men. Since every woman works at a job, there is 
full economic equality.

(2) The conflict created by women having dual roles 
(workings at a job outside the home and also taking care of 
the home) has been resolved. They are not afraid of losing 
their jobs because of time they may have to take off from 
their job because of the children, nor are they afraid of 
eglecting their children while working outside the home.

119 R. Kohen-Raz, "The Way of the Adolescents" Megamot 
38-45 (in Hebrew).
Women are not burdened with household tasks, as are the women in traditional families. The main tasks, such as cooking, laundry, shopping, etc., are provided by the kibbutz, and the remaining jobs are divided between the spouses.

The educational setting, based on a dual-centered system, meets the needs of both children and parents. (Golan, 1960; Talmon-Garber, 1962; Gilai, 1962; Galili, 1967; Davon, 1967; Gerson, 1971; Social Research Center of the Kibbutz, 1972; Rosner, 1973.)

Yet the conviction of the kibbutz founders that the changed social conditions would quickly bring about a decisive change in the traditional feminine character was not fully achieved.

First, equality in occupational activities in the kibbutz has not been achieved. In practice, there is a clear division of work between men and women. (Goldberg, 1969; Social Research Center of the Kibbutz, 1971; Gerson, 1971; Padan-Eisenstark, 1973; Rosner, 1973.) The men are concentrated in the income-producing branches, and the women in services: in the care and education of the children and in household activities.

... The division of labor between the sexes is paradoxically even more clear-cut and 'traditional' than in the rest of Israel: 79 per cent of kibbutz women (as opposed to only 39 per cent of the total Israeli women-power) work in either education and child-care or in service occupations.

The impact of the actual division of labor between the sexes, especially in light of the fact that there still exists on kibbutz the ideological distinction between the so-called productive tasks (which are highly esteemed), as against the service occupations (which are regarded as a necessary evil). This is a frustration for many women - particularly young women. (Gerson, 1971; Rosner, 1973; Padan-Eisenstark, 1973.)

Job involvement was found to be weaker among young women in the kibbutz than among men, and when a conflict between job and family is created, a preference is given to the latter.121

As for the girl in the kibbutz, it was found that she reflects some of the dissatisfactions of the women, compared to the relative satisfaction that men experience in collective education. While kibbutz education, with its age-group organization, is found to be suited psychologically to the needs of younger children of both sexes, the advent of adolescence brings disharmony between ideology and actual role allocation of the girls and their aptitudes and interests start to break down.

First, the study subjects and extra-curricular activities are predominantly patterned after male interests - with the consequence of a growing passivity of or withdrawal of the adolescent girls from many activities. (Gilai, 1962; Padan-Eisenstark, 1973; Rosner, 1973.)

Second, the work assignments, in which "... the incongruity between the educational ideology of equality and the kibbutz reality is most apparent"\textsuperscript{122} constitute a major source of tension.

Thus, though it seems that there have been many advancements made by women in the kibbutz, the problem of girls' education and women's roles have not yet been completely solved.

Another area that interested the investigators was the integration of second and third generations within kibbutz life. There seems to be agreement that individuals who grow up in the kibbutz, in general, are adapted to its collective way of life, and continue to live there in adulthood.

The average percentage of those people who left kibbutzim in 1969 reached fourteen per cent altogether, of which kibbutz-reared individuals constituted only 2.9 per cent.\textsuperscript{123} The problem causing most concern in the relationship between the generations is not the danger of the second or third generations leaving, but how they remain and integrate with the older generation.

The findings disclosed that the integration of the young members was rapid in the field of practical work in the kibbutz, and did not cause many problems, especially in


\textsuperscript{123}F. Rosner, \textit{Summary of Research on the Women Members of the Kibbutz} (Givat Haviva, Israel: Social Research Center, 1963), p. 4.
branches of work in which the youngsters were given responsibility. Most of the men found their place in industry and agriculture, and the women in education and services. After their military service, only 25 per cent of the young people returned to the jobs they had held before going into the Army. The rest took on other jobs, at their own request.

Satisfaction in work was found to be much higher in the younger generation than in the older one. While 65 per cent of the older members claimed that "they found themselves" in a particular job as a result of kibbutz initiative rather than their own choosing, 84 per cent of the young generation maintained that they work in a field in which they wanted to work.

One basic fact that became evident to the researchers was that a high percentage of the second and third generation remains in the kibbutzim and integrates into the daily life. This fact also insures the older generation that the implementation of the kibbutz basic values of justice and social equality, were achieved.


CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSIONS

Any system of education can be judged in any number of ways, but at least two of them seem particularly important and relevant to our study:

(1) How well does the system of collective education achieve what it was designed for.

(2) How successful is the system for both the individual and his society.

In order to find out whether kibbutz education has reached its goals, the results obtained by the various investigators were compared with the expressed goals of the collective education. The conclusions are:

(1) Group life and group values are internalized in kibbutz youngsters. They identify with the group, value it more highly than their individual counterparts, subordinate their individual interests to the interest of the group, and their individual motivation is directed toward the promotion of the group as a whole.

It seems that all aspects of "collectivistic cohesion" are fully achieved.

(2) Kibbutz youngsters are less competitive and more cooperative than non-kibbutz youngsters. It seems that cooperation has been fully achieved.
(3) The kibbutz youngsters have a sense of security within, and belongingness to the group, as a result of having a common goal, common strivings and common group activities. The group gives meaning to their life, and fills the social vacuum, and prevents its consequences of self-destruction.

(4) The drive of kibbutz youngsters toward private possessions is minimal. Communal property for this age group is not an idea defensively or consciously embraced, but only a normal way to live.

It seems that the aim of abolition of private property has also been fully achieved.

(5) A significant change in the status of women has been reached: a fully economic and social equality, resolution of the "equal roles" (job and housework), and freeing of women from the burden of household chores.

Yet, equality in occupational choices and activities has not been fully achieved. Rather, due to the limited occupational choices available for women in a predominantly agricultural community, the lack of freedom in vocational and occupational choice puts the kibbutz women in an even more perplexing situation than their urban counterparts.

(6) The love of kibbutz youngsters for the State and the Jewish nation is apparent. Their love is deep and unquestioning, and they strive to do everything in their power, up to the point of self-sacrifice, to further the development of the State.
It seems that the answer to the first question is very clear. The child who is brought up on the kibbutz values and within the unique educational setting, and who is unhampered by the existence of contradictory values outside kibbutz boundaries is indeed equipped with the necessary values. He is geared to live within the community which reared him. It is apparent that collective education has been successful in the internalization of, and commitment to, social standards and ideology which are necessary to the survival of the kibbutz culture.

This leads us to the second problem: whether the collective education also develops a personality structure which could be labeled "healthy," "integrated," and "adjusted."

The conclusions, based on the analyses of the mass data obtained by the various investigators, are:

(1) A homogeneous type of kibbutz youngster does not exist. Rather, despite the relative similarity of the environmental factors, there is a wide spectrum of diverse personality patterns. Furthermore, the adherence to group values does not have an adverse effect on individual initiative, originality, and creativity. The kibbutz youngsters were found to be less authoritarian, more open-minded and more tolerant than the city dwelling youngsters, as hypothesized.

(2) No psychiatric syndrome peculiar to the kibbutz, nor any particular cluster of symptoms typical to or prevalent in kibbutz children was found. Rather, the usual psychiatric syndromes observed in the conjugal family were also observed among kibbutz youngsters.
(3) The kibbutz youngsters are judged to be at least as mature, as well developed intellectually and emotionally, and generally as well adjusted when compared with non-kibbutz youngsters. It seems that multiple mothering, as it is practiced on the kibbutz, does not have the adverse effect upon personality development and character structure as predicted by concepts such as maternal deprivation, separation anxiety and impairment of basic trust. Despite some minor temporary difficulties in the early development patterns, the kibbutz youngsters are found to be happy, adjusted, mature and intelligent young men and women.

(4) As hypothesized, certain skills and controls which depend on learning and reinforcement - particularly in the interpersonal area - developed earlier in kibbutz children. They are intensified in adulthood in a greater degree than for non-kibbutz people. Early emotional independence and self-reliance, combined with curbing aggression, learning to cooperate and share, and participating with the group are characteristics of the very young child in the kibbutz. These skills and controls, on the other hand, are required and developed at a considerably later age in a child who grows up in the traditional family setting.

(5) Despite the lower Oedipal intensity and diffusiveness of identification experienced by kibbutz children, the kibbutz youngsters were found (a) to have a positive relationship with their parents - not less than the non-kibbutz
younsters, as hypothesized, and (b) to assume their sex roles in an unimpeded manner, quite adequately, as parents and as members of the society.

It seems that the answer to the second question is also apparent. The kibbutzniks are intelligent, efficient, productive and functioning farm workers, who enjoy their work and are rooted in their community and in the larger society of Israel. They are adults with a sense of values that assures the implementation of those values. They are motivated to carry on the basic features of kibbutz culture - its collective ownership, distribution according to need, agricultural work, collective rearing of children, and devotion to intellectual and aesthetic values.

The kibbutzniks are neither utopian, nor an elite group, nor are they stunted men. They are simply the end-product of their educational system which integrates the economy, the cultural and the political forces into a unique social fabric.

Collective education is a necessary result of the special needs of the kibbutz. It has been formed and shaped in accordance with these needs. However, several aspects of collective education seem to have a significance which reaches beyond the limits of kibbutz society, and relates to universal trends within modern society.

To what extent do the results obtained suggest general principles concerning the relationship between child-
rearing and personality development? Are they applicable to societies other than the kibbutz and beyond the boundaries of the society and culture in which the investigations took place? Considering the importance of these problems, it is suggested that a thorough investigation will be conducted in order to reach the proper conclusions.
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The thesis submitted by Elisheva Green has been read and approved by members of the Department of Education.

The final copies have been examined by the director of the thesis and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the thesis is now given final approval with reference to content and form.

The thesis is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

Date: 7/3/74

Signature of Advisor