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ABSORPTION: A STUDY OF THE ABSORPTION OF BRITISH GROUPS  
IN THE ISRAELI KIBBUTZ

By Helena M. Shallcross

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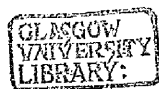
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SECTION I

A. INTRODUCTION

In the past Israel has provided the source for several important studies on the problems of absorption.<sup>1</sup> The reasons for this are not difficult to ascertain when one considers that almost two million Jews have immigrated to Israel since 1919<sup>2</sup> and that these Jews have come from countries all over the world, representing a vast variety of different cultures and traditions. The process of absorption inevitably entails change and the absorbing authorities in Israel have taken active steps to initiate and encourage this process. Thus the researchers have been interested from both an academic and from a practical viewpoint.<sup>3</sup>

The collective farm or kibbutz which is described in a later part of this section is a utopian society with a very distinct social structure and system of values. Thus new immigrants coming to this society are faced with a very radical change in their life-style.

The kibbutz is also an interesting example to study with regard to absorption as a large percentage of its immigrants arrive in already organised groups. These groups are formed in the mother-country for the specific purpose of settlement on the kibbutz and each of them undergoes at least some degree of preparation and training.

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1. The most outstanding of these is S.N. Eisenstadt. The Absorption of Immigrants. Routledge & Kegan Paul. London 1954.
  2. From 1919 to 1970 Jewish immigration totalled 1,817,509. Facts about Israel. Keter Publishing House. 1972.
  3. The Land Settlement Department of the Jewish Agency employs sociologists to study specific moshavim and to make policy recommendations within the department based on these studies. Details of their work and of the problems involved can be found in a forthcoming book edited by O. Shapiro, Rural Settlements of New Immigrants. Rehovot, Settlement Study Centre.

My initial interest in these groups was aroused during a nine-month stay on a kibbutz in 1969 when I was able to witness at first hand the reception of such a group, this group being Israeli in origin and arriving at the kibbutz under the auspices of the Israeli army. (See page 12). As a large research project was at the time being conducted by a kibbutz research unit under the supervision of David Atid (for further details of this project see pages 34 to 36) it seemed relevant and useful to concentrate my attention on an examination of similar British groups and their absorption into the kibbutz.

Thus this paper is not only concerned with the variables that affect absorption on the individual and kibbutz level, it is also concerned with examining the role and success of the group in the process.

Most of the existing research carried out in the kibbutzim has been based on empirical, statistical studies. While not denying that valid statistics are an indispensable basis on which to base and test hypotheses it would seem that in certain instances the results thus obtained tend towards the superficial. Thus there are occasions when a good community study can shed greater insight on certain problems.

Surveys of people's attitudes and actions can only tell us how these people act and think at a particular time and under particular circumstances; thus in respect of this study they are of limited value as the process of absorption of these groups within the kibbutz is a continuous action involving a wide set of variables. Also such research methods are of course both expensive and time-consuming.

It is sometimes essential to live under similar conditions and to undergo similar experiences as those of the people being studied. This is especially true concerning study of the kibbutz as this is a unique, total society where all aspects of the community are closely inter-related and where it is especially hard to isolate one social phenomenon without understanding the workings of the total structure.

As the kibbutz is a society where there is a great emphasis on ideology, many pioneers see any criticism of their society as a great threat to them. Thus they are not always willing to look at their kibbutz in an objective way, especially when faced with a stranger conducting a social study. Many also feel that the present is a critical time for the kibbutz and that the movement as a whole has a great need to attract new members. They are thus anxious to present their community in the best possible light to outsiders. For all these reasons it was therefore essential to first establish a rapport with those to be studied. This was easiest to achieve through the method of participant observation.

The main part of the research was thus based on community studies of the two kibbutzim which had both at some period accepted British groups. The kibbutzim were selected so that they would be similar in as many criteria as possible and yet differ in the percentage of persons successfully absorbed. The two kibbutzim chosen were in the same area of Israel, they had both been founded within two years of each other under the auspices of the same kibbutz movement and by members of the same youth movement. Initially they were both of a similar size and both had received groups from Britain. The only difference between them initially appeared to be that one of them was composed solely of graduates of this movement and the other was founded by an Israeli group of Palmach<sup>4</sup>, and had absorbed a group of Dutch pioneers. This factor

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4. The Palmach was formed in Palestine after 1945 as the elite, professional corps of the Haganah or Jewish Defence Force. Its members were recruited mainly from the kibbutzim and these settlements served as the Palmach's training ground. The corps was devised to devote itself to the defence of the Jewish community and for this end promoted the settlement of kibbutzim in exposed areas that were critical for defence purposes.



was therefore as far as possible isolated and its effect on absorption could be considered by comparing the two kibbutzim.

These kibbutzim were studied during an eight month stay in Israel during which time the researcher lived for an equal time on both kibbutzim. In this time the researcher took part in all the activities of the members. Like them, she worked an eight hour day which was assigned to her every evening by the work manager as it was for her members of the kibbutz. An attempt was made to cover all major work branches and her different jobs thus included injecting young chickens against Newcastle's disease and helping out in the children's house.

This participation in the economic life of the kibbutz was an important aspect of the study. It was necessary in the first instance to gain acceptance by the members. There is still a great emphasis in the kibbutz placed on physical work and as work plays such a central role in the life of a kibbutz member, these work assignments were an important source of information.

Although the groups being studied were all British and thus all interviews with them were conducted in English, it was first necessary for the researcher to gain a working knowledge of Hebrew in order to participate in the everyday activities of the community. This use of the different languages is discussed in section III.

Participant observation was then supplemented by interviews with members of each immigrant group and with a cross-section of the other members of the kibbutz. Each kibbutz had absorbed two separate groups from Britain so that in all a total of four British groups were studied. Together with these, interviews were also conducted amongst members of a fifth group from the same youth movement who were still in England awaiting migration to Israel. Together these five groups represent the three stages of the history of the Zionist youth movements in Great Britain which are described later in this section.

Collecting statistical data was not considered the most important task in the project. Indeed it was felt more important to study the social dynamics of the group and the wider kibbutz community and the effect of these on the process of absorption. Also the numbers involved would have made any statistical data meaningless.

Information for the section dealing with the history and analysis of the Zionist Youth movements in Great Britain was obtained from discussions with youth leaders in these movements and with adult advisers sent over from Israel to assist them. This information was supplemented by further sources which are quoted in the relevant foot-notes.

Before proceeding any further with the aims and methodology of the research project, it was considered necessary to give a more detailed account of some of the terms used in the thesis. There follows a sociological description of the kibbutz, the Zionist Youth Movement and the immigration group or "garin".

Limited use has been made of certain Hebrew terms for the following two reasons: firstly, that these terms are widely used by members of the Youth and Kibbutz Movements and others connected with them; and secondly, because there are often no English equivalents for them. Each word is explained when it first appears and a glossary of them appears in the appendix.

## B. THE KIBBUTZ

The first kibbutz, Degania, was set up in 1910 by a group of 18 young Jews from Eastern Europe. The subsequent growth of the kibbutz movement can be seen as the interplay of two factors: the ideology of the youth movements of Europe and the special socio-economic factors of Palestine. Without the presence of these two

factors it is doubtful that the kibbutz movement would have expanded to the extent that it did.

The kibbutz, despite its distinct social structure, did not remain static during its development but in order to understand the kibbutz in its present form it is first necessary to understand the ideology and dynamics of an ideal-type model.

The kibbutz originated as a value - orientated movement, which according to Smelser's definition<sup>5</sup> is a "collective attempt to restore, protect, modify or create values in the name of a generalised belief". Probably the most important ideal of the kibbutz founders was what A. D. Gordon termed "dat haavodah" or the religion of labour. Work was not viewed only as a necessity but rather as an end in itself, and physical work the most satisfying. This was a reaction against the petit-bourgeois background of the diaspora<sup>6</sup> Jews. The aim now was for the Jew to return to nature and to the cultivation of his own land.

The second important ideal of the early pioneers was that each man was equal and should be treated accordingly. This precept formed the ideology behind the unique socialisation pattern of the kibbutz. Children are brought up communally with their peers although they still maintain ties with their own parents, visiting them every day and during holidays.

The kibbutz was based on communal ownership of the means of production. It does not own the land which it farms. This is held by the Jewish National Fund, a branch of the Jewish Agency, which loans the land to the kibbutz on a long-term basis at a nominal rent. All capital goods are owned by the kibbutz on behalf of all the members or chaverim<sup>7</sup> as they are called in Hebrew. When a new member joins the

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5. N. Smelser, Theory of Collective Behaviour. P.313  
Routledge & Kegan Paul, London. 1962.

6. A term used by Jews to refer to all countries other than Israel.

7. Chaver in Hebrew refers to a friend or comrade.

kibbutz and is accepted as a chaver he gives over to the kibbutz all his previous assets. If a member on the other hand should decide to leave the kibbutz he is not entitled to a share of the kibbutz property although most are given some monetary reward as a recognition of the years they have worked for the community. Each member eats in the communal dining room and all his personal needs are met by the kibbutz.

The management of the kibbutz is run along the lines of direct democracy, each member having the right to vote and all major decisions being made by the general assembly which usually meets once a week. The formation of an élite is prevented by the rotation of all offices. Thus, all positions are replaced at regular intervals and none of the officials receive extra privileges for their work.

These, then, are the basic ideals of the kibbutz.

The kibbutz in its early form displayed all the expected characteristics of a sect. There was a distinct homogeneity of membership incorporating such matters as age group, country of origin and political outlook; in fact, in the early kibbutzim prior to the founding of Ein Harod<sup>8</sup> in 1921 each new candidate had to be closely screened. Amongst the members there were intensive, interpersonal relationships thus enabling the growth of informal unwritten norms regulating all forms of social life. Each member was thus expected to show unconditional loyalty to an all-inclusive ethos.

A strong ideal within the kibbutz, though, was the belief in voluntarism; each member was free to leave whenever he so desired. The kibbutz pioneers were always anxious that their movement should spread and that new recruits should be attracted. The movement was

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8. Ein Harod was the first kibbutz to actually use the name of kibbutz. Prior to this kibbutzim were known as kvutzot. The founders of Ein Harod were the first to advocate a large diversified kibbutz with an open door policy for all who wanted to join. See Weintraub, D. et al: Moshava, Kibbutz and Moshav. Ithaca, Cornell University Press 1969.

always other-society orientated in that it actively supported the setting up of a Jewish State in Palestine and in that it hoped that its values would form the basis of the new state. Thus the early kibbutz in this vital respect differed from the other sects and fits rather the category of an open system as set out by Katz, D. and Kahn, R.L. in their book "The Social Psychology of Organisations", Wiley, 1966.

An open sub-system is unable to function if it remains static within a changing wider social structure. It can only survive over a period of time if internally it is dynamic and able to adapt itself to accommodate the new social influences of the wider society.

Thus the kibbutz since its foundation has been forced to modify its internal structure.

#### C. THE KIBBUTZ IN TRANSITION

Before 1948 most kibbutzim were small in size and there were few whose membership exceeded 200. Now the size of membership ranges from 100 to 1,000 with an average size of 200<sup>9</sup>. The very fact of this increase in size has resulted in many of the changes that the kibbutz has undergone. As the number of members increases it is no longer possible to maintain the bond-type relationship between all members; therefore a certain degree of institutionalisation is inevitable. The number of rules and regulations that are laid down increase, along with the number of formal institutions regulating the different facets of a member's life.

With the passing of time the kibbutz has developed into a more complex social structure. In several of the veteran kibbutzim there are now three generations and each kibbutz has accepted different

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9. J. French & Golomb, an article in "New Outlook" Jan. 1970. Vol 13.

hashlama<sup>10</sup> groups, thus opening the way for the development of different sub-groups within the community and the acceptance of a degree of differentiation.

In the initial stages of the kibbutz a conflict was felt to exist between the solidarity of the group and the family. With the increased diversity the position of the family has improved and the strong, close family is now seen as a reinforcement of the kibbutz system in the upbringing of the young child. Thus if the child identifies strongly with his family it is felt this will also tie him to the kibbutz.

The position of the woman on the kibbutz has also undergone several changes. The kibbutz was based on the notion that both the sexes were equal. The task of socialisation and care of the child was taken over by the kibbutz and this together with the communal laundry and kitchen has left the women free to play their part in the work force. What in fact has happened though is that almost all the women have ended up working in the service branches<sup>11</sup>.

The freeing of the women together with the increase in size has still not provided sufficient manpower to cope with the increased need brought about by the increase in production. Most kibbutzim are permanently short of workers and despite strong opposition by the idealists and despite an effort to overcome these problems by the setting up of temporary outside work groups through such schemes as the ulpanim<sup>12</sup>, the kibbutz has been forced to hire outside labour.

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10. Hashlama is the Hebrew word given to groups which join the kibbutz after its foundation.

11. M. Rosner, 'Women in the Kibbutz-Changing Status and Concepts' Pamphlet published by Givat Haviva 1966.

12. Ulpanim are intensive Hebrew language courses mainly for new immigrants where the students study half the day and work the other half. For this they receive free board and lodging.

During the last two decades the State of Israel has seen a remarkable change in the general standard of living. Since 1950 the personal per capita consumption has risen by an average of 4.9% per annum<sup>13</sup>. In 1960 51% of families owned electric refrigerators and in 1970 this figure had risen to 96%<sup>14</sup>. The influence of this can be seen on the kibbutzim where, for example, most members now enjoy an apartment of kitchenette, toilet, shower and two other rooms - instead of the original one room. Increasing the standard of living is now an accepted priority of some chaverim.

Probably the improvement in home conditions has also been instrumental in the increased emphasis placed on privacy. Gone are the days when all the chaverim would spend their evenings together in political discussion or self-entertainment. Gone also are the times when each chaver would hand in a communal set of clothes to the laundry at the end of the week and receive another set in exchange. Now each chaver has his own personal budget to cover his everyday needs and is able to spend this as he wishes.

Coupled with this rise in the standard of living is a change in the attitude towards work. It has already been said that the religion of labour was one of the most important ideological bases of the kibbutz. Now work is no longer considered as an end in itself but rather as a necessity. Efficiency and profit have become the two main considerations in economic planning<sup>15</sup>.

The one ideal that will always be fundamental to the kibbutz ideology is that every man is equal no matter what his job or his position in the kibbutz. While there appears to be no weakening of

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13. Figures quoted by the Minister of Finance, Mr Sapir in "The Jerusalem Post" December 1970.

14. Op. cit.

15. J. Shantil "Development trends in the Kibbutz" New Outlook May 1971 Volume 14, No 4.

this ideal, in practice there have been a few changes. Two separate studies have been carried out in this field<sup>16</sup> and both show that while the kibbutz is still virtually classless there has been a growth of some distinction on the status level. With the increasing complexity of the kibbutz structure there has arisen a need for specialisation and training of the persons occupying official positions. It has also meant that the frequent changing of officials has become inefficient and thus to some extent undesirable. Thus there has arisen the existence of a small group of people amongst whom these positions are rotated. These persons do not, however, receive any extra material rewards for their services although it can be argued that their ego-satisfaction is greater and that they are held in higher esteem.

Since 1948 the kibbutz has seen a lessening of its influence in the wider Israeli society. Its national tasks of absorption and defence have largely been taken over by the army and the civil service following the establishment of the state. The kibbutznik is no longer seen as the folk hero of old and Alan Arian<sup>17</sup> found in his researches that Israeli students tended to reject the society of the kibbutz and rather to give greatest importance in ideological tasks to that of encouraging Jewish immigration to Israel.

The kibbutz still does, however, play a disproportionate part in the power structure of the State. For example, in 1965 out of 18 ministers in the cabinet 7 were from kibbutzim. Kibbutz members only make up 4% of the total Jewish population of Israel. Kibbutz members are also disproportionately represented in the volunteer combat units

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16. Eva Rosenfield: "Social Stratification in a Classless Society". American Sociological Review. Vol 16. 1951.  
 Talmon Garber. "Differentiation in Collective Settlements". Scripta Hierosolymitana, 3, Hebrew University, Jerusalem 1956.

17. Alan Arian: Ideological Changes in Israel. Case Western Reserve University. Cleveland 1968.



in the army (45%) and in the Histadrut, the Israeli labour union<sup>18</sup>.

#### D. THE YOUTH MOVEMENT IN BRITAIN AND THE GARIN

At the height of its success in the 1930s the kibbutz movement had amongst its members 11% of the total Jewish population of Palestine. Although membership has increased since that time in absolute numbers, the proportion has now dropped to around 4%. While at present the main source of new membership comes from the children born and brought up on the kibbutz, if the kibbutz is to survive as a separate sub-system in Israeli society, it must continue to attract new members from outside. These prospective members come from four separate sources; graduates from the Nachal<sup>19</sup>, graduates from the Zionist youth movements outside Israel, individuals who apply for membership of their own accord, and the spouses of existing members not included in any previous category.

It is difficult to find statistics of the exact numbers involved. The general impression though would be that the largest numbers are involved in the Nachal programme<sup>20</sup> but that the greatest number that actually stay are those who come from the Zionist movements abroad. The success with which the kibbutz movement is able to absorb these recruits is thus of vital importance in considering the future development of the kibbutz.

The Zionist youth movement developed in Great Britain in the late 1920s as a reaction against the growing assimilation of the Jewish sub-community<sup>21</sup>. The initial aim of the Habonim youth movement founded

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18. J. French and Golomb. op. cit.

19. The Hebrew letters stand for the Pioneering Fighting Youth and this section of the regular Israeli army combines soldiering with pioneering. Nachal groups receive military training and are then assigned to a frontier kibbutz as part of their military training. It is hoped that on the completion of army service they will remain as members of the kibbutz.

20. Such information is unobtainable for security reasons.

21. See J. Morris, "Pioneers from the West". Youth and Hehalutz Department of the World Zionist Organisation, 1953.

in 1929 was to foster in Jewish youth a general Jewish awareness and it was not until the Second World War that pioneering became officially recognised as a goal, largely as a result of the plight of Jews in Germany.

The Zionist youth movements had their origins in Eastern Europe and particularly in Poland where the Hashomer Hatzair movement originated. Originally the Hashomer Hatzair youth movement was non-Zionist in outlook<sup>22</sup>. It was rather an offshoot of the German Wandervögel and the British scouting movement. The basic precepts adopted from these movements were as follows: rebellion against traditional values, love of nature, emphasis on work, ascetism and a belief in the importance and benefits of communal activity.

As a result of the First World War and the subsequent outbreak of anti-semitism and pogroms in Poland, many of the leaders of the movement fled to Vienna. Here they met members of the first aliya<sup>23</sup> who had gone to Palestine following the pogroms in Russia in the 1880s and had subsequently been expelled by the Turks. This, together with their own experience of anti-semitism, convinced them that the fulfilment of their ideals could only be achieved within the framework of a Jewish society, namely in Palestine. In 1917 the first article encouraging aliya appeared in "The Guide", one of the periodicals published by the youth movements that in 1919 joined to form the Hashomer Hatzair (Young Watchmen). In 1917 the first garin<sup>24</sup> of this movement was formed.

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22. See Elkana Mergalit. "Social and Interlectual Origins of the Hashomer Hatzair Youth Movement 1913-1920".

23. Aliya. Hebrew word for immigration literally means ascent as the Jews think of going up to the "holy land". Aliya is also the term used for the different waves of immigration to Palestine.

24. Group organised for immigration to Palestine and for settlement on a kibbutz. See page 16 for details.

The Hashomer Hatzair movement was set up in Great Britain largely by the impetus of German Jewish refugees who fled to England to escape Hitler's anti-Jewish policies<sup>25</sup>. With them came graduates of the youth movements of the Hashomer Hatzair and of the two religious movements of the Hashomer Hadati (Religious Watchmen) and Brit Hanoar (Covenant of Youth). The latter of these joined together with members of the English orthodox Jewish community who advocated the ideology of Torah Va'Avodah (the combination of study of the bible and physical work,) and set up a nationwide organisation called Bnei Akiva in July 1941 at Woburn House in London<sup>26</sup>.

Thus the period of the Second World War saw the turning-point for the Jewish youth movement in Great Britain. From this time it became increasingly active and dynamic largely because of the influx of the graduates of the German youth movements, many of whom had already undergone training and were only prevented from going to Palestine because they were unable to obtain aliya permits. The plight of the Jews in Europe was also enough to convince many British Jews that their only future lay in the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine. Thus from this time the youth movements developed a very positive Zionist approach.

A detailed comparison of these three movements is beyond the scope of this paper, but the basic aims of each are educational and apart from the religious aspect all advocate similar ideals. Each movement's attitude to the Jewish faith is thus the crucial factor which distinguishes one from the other. Bnei Akiva adheres to the precepts of orthodox Judaism; Hashomer Hatzair is fundamentally anti-religious and

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25. Reference interview with Israeli sheliach of Hashomer Hatzair.

26. See "Bnei Akiva Handbook" published by Bnei Akiva of Great Britain and Ireland. 1957.

Habonim adopts a position between these two, which places the emphasis on the traditions of Judaism<sup>27</sup>.

The handbook of the madrichim or youth leaders of Habonim describes the aim of the educational programme as follows. First "to awaken a love and knowledge of our Jewish heritage, its history, tradition and language, combined with the reality of Israel today", and secondly "to learn to live in and be aware of our present day society". Study programmes for 1971 within all three movements included such topics as "The Jew yesterday and today", "From settlement to statehood: a history of how the state of Israel came about", and "The development of society". The content of all programmes is of a high educational standard.

It has already been pointed out that scouting was one of the two influences behind the development of the Zionist youth movements and it is this that forms the second major part of the movement programme. The Bnei Akiva handbook for madrichim claims the importance of scouting lies in its being the nearest approach to training for life on a kibbutz. This is certainly true and it is an important aspect. There are, however, other factors which ensure the relevance of scouting in the movement programme. Scouting serves to encourage the pioneers' love of nature, and by outings and summer camps it helps to improve the chevra or group spirit and also to introduce members to other members from different areas of the country. Its practical training also serves as a counterbalance to the otherwise theoretical work of the movement and it helps to prepare members so that they are ready to help others should the need arise.

Thus each child who passes through the movement receives a thorough basic training in Jewish history, Israel, current affairs and scouting.

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27. Information obtained from the movement youth leaders.

There is, however, an ultimate aim for this educational programme and this is aliya to Israel and the adoption of kibbutz life. Obviously not every member is expected to follow this path but nevertheless this still remains the ultimate climax of the youth movement programme.

The existence of this concrete goal has been put forward as an explanation for the comparative success of the Zionist movements over other similar youth movements such as the Boy Scouts or the Boys' Brigade which lack a similar concrete goal. During the last two age groups of the movement, from the ages of 15 onwards, members are continually conscious of the pressures brought to bear on them, both by the madrichim and by their peers, concerning the formation of a decision as to whether or not they plan to go on aliya to a kibbutz. This decision is the culmination of the young person's life in the movement and if for a variety of reasons the individual decides against it, it is more than likely that he will at this stage leave the movement not because of any set policy but because his frame of reference will then become different from those remaining.

The members who decide that their future lies within the framework of the kibbutz then form what is known in Hebrew as a garin. There is no equivalent translation for this in English, so for the purpose of this thesis the Hebrew word will be used. The dictionary defines garin as "nucleus or kernel".

The ideal form of the garin has many similarities to the "bund". It is a homogeneous group formed by individuals with the same movement background, of the same age, and with the same ideology. Each member portrays a wholehearted devotion to the cause - in this case the decision to go to a kibbutz, which is a vital decision in a young person's life as it involves all aspects of his future. In its ideal form the

garin also exhibits an intense collective identity. The members consider themselves and are considered by others as a distinct separate group. The group acts as a cohesive social unit without any role divisions. All decisions are made informally by the group as a whole.

#### E. THE FORMATION AND TRAINING OF THE GARIN IN BRITAIN

A member's decision to join the garin is the obvious climax of his movement education. The decision to join though is not usually an easy one. It involves separation from the family and often strong opposition from parents. The Jewish community in general displays an ambivalent attitude towards the kibbutz. In theory the kibbutz ideology is generally admired. However, in Western society, and in the Jewish community in particular, there is an increasing tendency to be career-orientated and materialistic and thus a young person who goes to a kibbutz is likely to be seen as wasting all the opportunities open to him, especially with the increased opportunities for further education.

In some cases the parents will in fact share similar values to those of the youth movement. In such cases the parents themselves have usually been members of a youth movement. David Atid in his study on the Nachal<sup>28</sup> found that garin members whose parents had been past members or who were former members of a collective settlement were much more likely to describe the decision to join the garin as easy and were more likely ultimately to settle on a kibbutz.

The formation and training of a garin in Britain varies according to both the movement and the year. Generally speaking, though, the

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28. This study has not yet been published but a copy of the summary of the major findings, in Hebrew, can be obtained from the Institute for Social Research, Ichud Hakvutzot Vehakibbutzim.

garin does not function as a cohesive stable unit while in England. Garinim are usually formed from the same age group within the movement but the members come from different branches all over Great Britain. Therefore, although they know each other from joint meetings and summer camp, they have few opportunities to operate together as a separate group. There will also be a difference in the history of each member's association with the movement.

Until four years ago all members spent at least one year on hachshara or training on the movement farm in England, even though this was as individuals and not as a garin. It was subsequently decided that these farms were uneconomical to run and that it was more beneficial if the hachshara period was carried out in Israel itself.

After this initial training the member would then serve as a youth leader within the movement for a period which could last as long as three years. With the increased percentage of garin members undertaking higher education this pattern has tended to change over the last few years. Eighty per cent of the present garin of one of the movements has completed or is at present undergoing some form of higher education. This is an important factor affecting the cohesion of present garinim as the members are further dispersed in their centres of learning throughout the country. Also there are some signs of a tendency for the garin to divide into sub-groups along the lines of the extent of education received.

It has always been an important ideal of the Zionist youth movements in this country that they should as far as possible run their own organisations. Guidance from adult schlichim<sup>29</sup> is accepted but these are only able to offer advice, not to formulate policy. This policy necessitates members giving up at least a year to help in the running

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29. Schlichim - plural of scheliach. Schlichim are emissaries sent by the movement in Israel to help the youth movement overseas. They are invariably members of a kibbutz and usually serve for a period of two years.

of the movement. This problem will increase as more and more members undertake higher education and therefore are increasingly older before they become free to undertake this work. This long period in the movement was mentioned by many people as being detrimental to successful absorption as with long service they felt the individual tended to become over-exposed to the movement and its ideals.

To spend three years studying and then at 21 have to spend another year, at least, working in the movement can place a great strain on a young person's enthusiasm. Prior to 1970 members of the garin were also expected to spend at least one year on hachshara on the training farm in the south of England. The farms of all three movements have now closed down because they were considered to be uneconomical and not fulfilling their function adequately.

The farms were set up with the original aim of creating in England as close a model as possible to a real kibbutz. It was thus hoped to give prospective pioneers an opportunity of experiencing communal farm life so that they could learn some of the basic skills both in living together as a group and in agriculture. These training farms were not however exploited to their full value. The members of the garin never went there together as a garin, and numbers were always too small to enable an effective social group to be built up. Numbers were usually around the twenty mark but they could fall as low as ten. As the farm was on such a small scale and as much of the work was seasonal, several of the members were forced to take on jobs outside the farm. (This was also necessary from the financial aspect as the revenue gained from the agricultural side was not sufficient to cover the running costs of the farm).



## F. MIGRATION AND HACHSHARA

A major problem facing all Zionist youth movements in this country is the small number of members willing to join any particular garin. It has already been mentioned that garinim have to be made up of members from the branches in different parts of the country, thereby lowering the cohesion. Even more important though is the impossibility of sending the whole garin out to Israel in the same year as some of the members must inevitably stay behind to carry on the work of the movement. This is becoming increasingly important as the size of each garin decreases and in the two movements the numbers of each group sent out at any one particular time is now becoming so small that it ceases to serve the function of a garin. For example, one of the movements is sending out two separate groups in 1972, one of four or five and the other of five.

Also as the nature of hachshara in Israel changes there is even less time for the garin to come together before arriving at its appointed kibbutz. The major part of training is now being conducted on the final kibbutz following a short ulpan course. This problem is fully recognised by people within the movement but, apart from shortening the total period of aliya to three instead of five-plus years, without increased numbers there is very little that can be done to improve the situation.

Each garin has its own individual characteristics and the history of each was influenced by different external circumstances both in Great Britain and in Israel. To understand fully the different patterns of absorption of the two kibbutzim it is necessary first to understand the factors influencing each aliya.

The history of chalutzic aliya<sup>30</sup> can be divided into three stages.

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30. Chalutzic - Hebrew for pioneering.

The first covered the immediate post-war years. This was the peak period of aliya. The movements' activities had greatly expanded following the influx of German Zionists into England. Two new movements had been set up and the activities of all three movements were Palestine orientated. The British members of these movements had grown up in the depression of the thirties. The majority were from working-class families and had received a traditional Jewish upbringing. Few had received further education. The events of the thirties, the depression and anti-semitic fervour whipped up by Mosley in England, but especially the rise of Nazism in Germany, convinced them that their future as Jews and as individuals could only be assured in the Jewish society that had grown up in the then British mandate of Palestine. The numbers of youth movement graduates waiting to receive immigrant permits from the mandate government in Palestine grew as it was felt that all entrance permits should be reserved for those fleeing from the holocaust in Europe and that efforts should first be focused on helping the British war effort against the Nazi peril.

The approval in 1947 by the General Assembly of the United Nations of a proposal recommending the establishment of an independent Jewish state in Palestine also had vital repercussions on the history of aliya of the British garinim at this time. The approval necessitated the establishment of secure borders against the likelihood of an Arab attack following the withdrawal of British forces. A plan was initiated to found as many new kibbutzim along the new borders as possible. Each new garin arriving in the country was therefore encouraged to set up its own kibbutz even though the size of the garin would normally have prevented this.

Thus each garin at this time set up its own kibbutz. It had initially been the policy of the Jewish Agency to settle immigrants of

different nationalities together in the belief that this would speed up the process of change and the so-called new Israel. Two of these new kibbutzim were set up by all-British groups and one with the aid of a small group of Hungarians.

The second stage of aliya took place during the 50s and 60s. The individuals who went on aliya during this period were for the most part middle-class and better educated and less religious than the immigrants of the previous stage. This was a reflection of the general trend within the Jewish community in Britain. These young people were influenced by the widespread optimism and idealism of the post-war era.

The garinim during this time were smaller and they were sent out to Israel as hashlamot to reinforce existing kibbutzim which were experiencing difficulties owing to their inadequate size. In Israel it was a general time of consolidation for the kibbutzim. The country was using all its resources in absorbing the vast numbers of immigrants flocking to the country after independence and especially from Arab countries such as the Yemen and Morocco.

The Government wanted to enlist the help of the kibbutzim in settling these new immigrants, but the kibbutzim felt they would not be able to absorb such large numbers of persons lacking ideology and with such a different life-style without bringing about a subsequent change in the kibbutz system. Thus the programme of moshavim settlement was greatly expanded as being more suitable to the immigrants' needs and desires. During this period therefore the kibbutz movement was primarily concerned with improving the stability of kibbutzim which had been founded in response to the Arab threat in 1948. During this period a total of seven garinim were sent out from Britain including three that went to the kibbutzim already mentioned.

The last stage covers the present period of aliya. The most striking difference between the members of these garinim and their predecessors is the percentage who undergo higher education. Of one present garin 80% of the members will have undergone higher education before they arrive on the kibbutz. This poses a number of problems. When interviewed these members were the ones who tended to mention availability of satisfying work as one of the major problems they felt they might be forced to face on the kibbutz. It could be that these educated garin members are likely to be influenced by the feeling that their training is being wasted on the kibbutz unless they are able to be employed within the context of their particular field. While it can be argued that there is a need for skilled workers in the established large kibbutzim, it will be a long time before such labour will be required by the young small kibbutzim to which these garinim will go.

Present garin members differ from their predecessors in that a large percentage are politically conscious and not just with regard to topics related to the Jewish question but over a wide field. Their commitment to the kibbutz is more idealistic than that of their predecessors and for this reason the garin members are anxious to go to newly established kibbutzim where they can help to build a new community rather than enter an already established system.

## SECTION II. PROBLEMS OF ABSORPTION

### A. THEORIES OF ABSORPTION

When discussing the problem of absorption it is necessary to consider the phenomenon on three levels:- personal adjustment, acculturation and complete dispersion. It is possible that absorption might be achieved only on one or two levels but the process is, however, progressive so that a person must first achieve personal adjustment before the other two levels can be reached. It does not automatically follow in practice that a person must achieve all three levels before he can be described as having become absorbed. This point will be discussed later with particular reference to the garin within the kibbutz<sup>1</sup>.

When a person moves from one social setting to another the most important and fundamental of the changes he has to make is that of role change. A role has been described as "a constellation of factors organising an individual's behaviour in society in some general, socially approved patterns and goals".<sup>2</sup> A person who moves from one society to another as the immigrant does must learn the new values and customs of the society he enters and he must also learn the inevitable new role that he takes in this society. The extent that the individual is willing and able to do this will affect the extent to which he becomes absorbed.

It is mainly when an individual becomes dissatisfied with his role position that he decides to emigrate and to move into a different social setting. This is usually caused by restrictions placed on the individual by the wider society, such as discrimination - based on such factors as race, religion or creed - or else lack of sufficient opportunities in the fields of employment or education. This though only

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1. See pages 104 to 106.

2. "Analysis of Processes of Role Change" S.N. Eisenstadt, D. Weintraub and S. Toren. H. A. Humphrey, London 1968.

explains one of the negative or "push" factors behind emigration. Alternatively there is also the "pull" of the receiving society and the image that the individual has of the attractions of that society. In this instance the individual has a set notion of the ideal role that he would like to play and he feels that this ideal role can better be achieved in the society to which he is going. In rejecting his former role he carries with him an expectation of what his new role will be and the extent to which this expectation is a realistic one will eventually effect the facility of his absorption. This assumption is especially pertinent when considering the question of the migration of garinim to the kibbutz as there is here always the acceptance that the kibbutz is a different society with different role patterns and thus the "pull" factor must play an important role in determining the individual's decision to migrate. Garin members are, compared to other immigrants, extremely well informed about the new society to which they are going. Behind them they have several years of movement training in aspects of Israeli life and in kibbutz life in particular.

An individual does not have one single role but rather several interrelated roles - this is especially true of complex modern industrial societies. If the individual is able to take with him some of these roles, for example, by taking his family with him, this will help to stabilise him while he is learning the new roles required of him by the new society. If, however, the individual migrates alone and without any prior training regarding his new roles then there is a greater probability that anomie will set in<sup>3</sup>.

This is an important consideration when studying the question of British garinim absorption. Members of these garinim are usually in

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3. Ref. S. N. Eisenstadt, "Absorption of Immigrants". Routledge and Keegan Paul. London 1954.

their twenties, often single and often without relatives in Israel. The fact that they come out together as an organised group plays a great part in easing their early contact with a new society and a new way of life. In this instance the garin acts in the same way as a family and provides security during the initial difficulties of adjustment. The garin members have the same cultural background and thus its members are able to discuss difficulties and problems with persons of similar experience and outlook.

In the early stages of immigration into the State of Israel the Settlement Authorities felt the total absorption and the creation of new citizens on the Israeli pattern would be achieved more easily if former social groups were split up on their arrival in the country<sup>4</sup>. This belief was particularly pronounced in connection with the new immigrant moshavim<sup>5</sup> or farming villages. There were several instances in the settlement of these moshavim when whole Jewish communities who had migrated together were then split up and sent to different areas on arrival in the country. The idea was that if you first destroy the old order then it is much quicker and easier to build the new one in its place<sup>6</sup>.

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4. See forthcoming book by O. Shapiro (Editor), Rural Settlement of New Immigrants. Rehovot, Settlement Study Centre.
  5. The moshav is a variation of the kibbutz pattern where each family receives an equal plot of land and a house. All farm equipment and produce is bought and sold by the village as a unit, although each family is responsible for the cultivation of its own land and for its own expenses. Each village is to a large extent a complete social unit. Members elect their own council and officials and these deal with the outside authorities for the community as a whole. The village is ideally based on mutual aid and each member is supposed to help other members should the need arise.
  6. "mizug ha'galuyot" is the name given to the policy of intermixing the ethnic groups. See Alex Weingrod, Reluctant Pioneers. Ithaca, Cornell University Press. 1969.

This policy did, however, turn out to be misguided as research carried out by the sociologists of the Land Settlement Department of the Jewish Agency was later to show<sup>7</sup>. Until 1952 though, the composition of each moshav was selected by the Land Settlement Department rather than by the settlers themselves. Not infrequently moshavim were settled by groups who did not even speak the same language. While this could be expected to quicken the process of learning Hebrew it created great difficulties in communication and hindered the building of a stable, cohesive community.

All new immigrants are expected to take up the pattern of Israeli life and this is especially true of new immigrants who settle on the moshavim. These are not only expected to adopt the Israeli life-style, they are also expected to adapt to the moshav ideology<sup>8</sup>, and as most of them came from oriental backgrounds<sup>9</sup> this was vastly different to their accustomed way of life<sup>10</sup>. The numerous research studies<sup>11</sup> carried out by the sociologists of the Land Settlement Department showed that absorption was easier if the transition period was slow and gradual. If the group of settlers were able to preserve their traditional authority patterns and customs and yet were encouraged to take on an Israeli style of life then the transition could be a smooth one rather than one involving anomie, disillusionment and even apathy.

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7. See articles by Deher and Jaeger, and Weingrod, in O. Shapiro, Rural Settlement of New Immigrants. Rehovot, Settlement Study Centre.
  8. Moshav ideology is very similar to that of the kibbutz (see page 5 ) except that the emphasis on the community is less. It must be noted that the original founders of the moshav movement came from kibbutzim.
  9. See pages 79-80.
  10. op. cit
  11. Rural Settlement of New Immigrants, edited by O. Shapiro op. cit. contains a selection of these research reports.



The settlement authorities were eventually able to accept that transition was facilitated if the new settlers of any one moshav all came from the same cultural background. The kibbutz movements on the other hand have been reluctant to accept this. Whereas the garin has always been a fundamental factor in the founding of any kibbutz and in its support, all attempts have been made to prevent a takeover by any national group of any particular kibbutz. In contrast to the moshavim most of the immigrant pioneers who join the kibbutzim are graduates of Zionist youth movements and have been trained in the ideology of the kibbutz way of life. The majority also come from Europe, South America or Anglo-Saxon countries and therefore the transition that they must make is much less. However, ideology receives such greater emphasis in the kibbutz and so there is a correspondingly greater stress laid on the individual conforming to the set ideological pattern. This stress on conformity is reinforced by the greater communal interaction in the kibbutz. Despite the Movement's objectives, uni-national kibbutzim have grown up when certain circumstances were prevailing<sup>12</sup> and the effects of this on absorption will be considered with special reference to the two case studies in section C.

It was difficult to obtain reliable statistics concerning the factors affecting the individual's decision to go on aliya as this decision had for the most part been made a long time ago and thus recollections were vague and unreliable. Arrangements were, however, made to interview all members of a garin, belonging to the same movement as those studied, who were awaiting departure to Israel starting in 1971. 85% (out of 40) mentioned the fact that they saw the kibbutz as an ideal way of life as one of the reasons for their intended aliya. Only 10%

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12. Most uni-national kibbutzim were formed around 1948 when there was an urgent need to found as many new kibbutzim as possible.

mentioned negative factors concerning their life in Britain as influencing them. From this the conclusion can be drawn that it will be the garin member's perception of the kibbutz as it really is compared to his previous image of it that will eventually effect his satisfaction or dissatisfaction.

One must also here mention the stress placed in the youth movements on the ideology of Zionism<sup>13</sup>. This has always been one of the basic percepts of youth movements' ideology but since the Six Days' War it has become increasingly important as indeed it has in the wider Jewish communities in Britain. The scheliach of one of the youth movements when interviewed felt that in 1971 Zionism and pioneering were given equal importance in the training programme, and in future the trend would be towards Zionism.

When considering absorption one must also consider the social structure that is going to receive the individual; the extent that the available mechanisms are/for newcomers to share in all aspects of the community life, and the extent that the receiving members are willing to allow this to happen. Also important is the extent to which there is a willingness to allow the newcomers to retain their own cultural customs rather than an expectation that they should change to fit in with the existing cultural patterns.

Even though absorption can be divided into three levels, some criteria are still needed to calculate the success of absorption on these levels. Taking the first level of absorption, personal adjustment, and considering it in the context of the kibbutz, the most basic criterion of success is whether or not the individual remains on the kibbutz. Even so the Youth Movements may consider a person's aliya

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13. It is not the object of this paper to enter a debate on Zionism but succinctly this doctrine advocates the return of all Jews to Israel.

successful if that person settles on another kibbutz or even if he leaves the kibbutz altogether but continues to live in Israel.

Alternatively a person who remains on a kibbutz may do so even though he resents the life there, perhaps because he can see no alternative. In the 40s and 50s this problem was more common as it was then quite difficult to find work in Israel and many kibbutz members lacked any occupational skills. Although most past garin members retained their British passports - British citizens are allowed to hold two passports - and thus could easily return to Britain, many of them were too ashamed to take this course.

Now it is relatively easy for the garin member to leave the kibbutz and to find suitable opportunities in Israel. There is also a greater understanding of the reasons that cause members to leave. Amongst those members interviewed in the present garin, many expressed the opinion that they were not definite that they would remain on the kibbutz. They recognised that the kibbutz would be a new experiment in living and one to which not everyone was suited. Previously it was a characteristic of Anglo-Saxon garinim<sup>14</sup> that if the members left the kibbutz the majority returned to their country of origin. This is not now the case<sup>15</sup> owing to the greater emphasis that is placed on Zionism and to the different conditions prevailing in the wider Israeli society.

Acculturation is a more difficult phenomenon to measure. This process refers to the adoption of the norms and values of the receiving society. This is especially important in the kibbutz as here the way of life is so specialised and such a great importance is placed on ideological issues. Garin members have usually been infused with the ideology of the kibbutz before they leave Great Britain but as will be

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14. See J. Morris., Pioneers from the West. Youth and Machalutz Dept. World Zionist Organisation. Jerusalem 1953.

15. Out of the most recent garin to go to Israel only one has since returned to Britain.

shown later in this ideological picture is not always borne out by the reality of present-day life in the kibbutz.

It must be noted that in the Jewish community in Britain an ambivalent attitude towards the kibbutz prevails<sup>16</sup>. The kibbutz ideology is usually in theory admired and members of the kibbutzim are considered dedicated idealists. In practice though in Israel the kibbutz has lost much of its status. Since the creation of the State of Israel the kibbutz has lost its primacy in the fields of defence, absorption of immigrants and settlement of land<sup>17</sup>, these having been taken over largely by state organisations.

Persons who live in a pluralistic society are likely to have more than one reference group, these being not separate entities but interwoven. This is particularly true in the case of the British garin member. As a British Jew he is a member of a minority sub-culture as well as being part of the total British scene. Then as he grows up in the Youth Movement he becomes increasingly involved in a third culture. If he eventually goes on aliya with a garin he has consciously chosen the latter as his dominant reference group. But when this person lives in an actual kibbutz he will find the real situation far different from the ideological picture that he absorbed in the Youth Movement<sup>18</sup>. Yet another reference group will present itself when the person comes into contact with the culture of the wider Israeli society, for example, when he enters the army for military service<sup>19</sup>. All these different values

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16. This came out again and again in conversations with members of the Jewish communities in Glasgow and London who had relatives on kibbutzim in Israel. While they considered that their relatives were wasting their lives they nevertheless had a grudging admiration for the ideals of kibbutz life.

17. See S. N. Eisenstadt, Israeli Society Weidenfeld & Nicholson, London 1969.

18. See pages 15-17.

19. All new immigrants to Israel on taking out Israeli citizenship are liable for military call-up. For a man this can entail up to three years service unless he is over 28 on arrival or has already served for a substantial period in a foreign army.

and norms are going to affect him; and his absorption in the kibbutz on the personal adjustment and acculturation levels will be determined by which exerts the greatest influence. From this a hypothesis can be put forward that a garin which goes to a kibbutz where there is a dominant British influence should be more easily absorbed as it is entering a culture with which it is already to a large extent familiar. The kibbutz members in the main will have gone through the same socialising influences both in the British society, the Jewish sub-culture and the Youth Movement. Thus the change that will be demanded of the garin members will not be so great as it would be on a non-British kibbutz. The members are also more likely to be sympathetic and understanding as they themselves will have gone through the same transition.

The last measure of absorption is that of complete dispersion. Here the extent that the garin remains as a separate entity is important. This includes the extent to which the garin members are dispersed throughout the work branches, the extent to which they vote as a single block in the general assembly<sup>20</sup>, and the extent to which they associated only with each other during social activities. The latter will, to a large extent, depend on the extent of acculturation within the garin. .

The original kibbutz ideology stresses the importance of a strong collective identity and is against any sub-groups developing that would divide up the bund-type ideal kibbutz community. This structural pattern has of necessity been forced to change. With the expansion in size of the kibbutz and with the growth of different generations, the kibbutz society has become diversified. Each different group as it has joined the kibbutz or as it has grown up has retained some individual identity of its own. Although this is a deviation from the ideal model, it need

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20. The policy regarding a garin's participation in the general assembly varies from kibbutz to kibbutz but once a garin member has been accepted as a kibbutz member he is of course entitled to full voting rights.

not of necessity be classified as dysfunctional for the stability of the kibbutz community. A strong collective identity is impossible in a large group and therefore if a member can identify strongly with a sub-group<sup>21</sup> which is in turn identified with the aims and values of the total collective, stability will be increased rather than weakened.

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21. See Yonina Talmon-Garber, "Social Structure and Family Size" Human Relations. 12. 1959.

B. FACTORS RELATING TO SUCCESSFUL ABSORPTION:- A REVIEW  
OF RELEVANT LITERATURE ON THE KIBBUTZ.

The above then are the different measures of absorption. We will now discuss the phenomena that have to be studied if one is to consider the causes behind successful absorption. These can be divided into three different categories: background data concerning the members of the garin, the nature of the garin itself and lastly the characteristics of the receiving kibbutz.

All these three categories were considered when studying the two kibbutzim, 'Britain' and 'Israel'<sup>22</sup>. At the present time a study is being completed by a team of sociologists in Israel under the direction of David Atid<sup>23</sup> concerning the absorption of garinim from Nachal<sup>24</sup> in the kibbutzim. The research methods used in this study were entirely different from those used in the studies of Narkis and Rimón. Instead of conducting community studies, the researchers took a sample of 100 kibbutzim and then interviewed members of Nachal garinim within these kibbutzim and also a sample of the receiving members. They were then able to compare the statistical data thus received.

In Atid's study the career of the Nachal garin was divided into six stages: the period before training, the early shalut,<sup>25</sup> the period of army training, the settling-in period on the kibbutz, the late shalut, the first year after any service and then the second year

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22. Both these names are fictitious. (See page 52)

23. The final results of this study have not yet been published but a summary of the main findings in Hebrew can be obtained from the offices of Ichud Hakvutzot Vehakibbutzim.

24. See page 12 , footnote 19.

25. The word "shalut" stands for the Hebrew letters representing service without pay and refers to the period during Nachal training which the participants spend on a border kibbutz. For this they receive similar conditions to the kibbutz members but they remain officially under the command of the army.

after army service. Different garinim were studied at each of these different stages. From statistical comparisons of data thus collected it was possible to isolate factors correlated with successful absorption on the kibbutz, absorption here being defined as solely whether or not the garin member remained on the kibbutz for a period of two years after the completion of his military service.

In considering the background characteristics of the garin members Atid discovered that the only one which showed a significant correlation with absorption was whether or not the individual's family itself had a background history of Movement involvement. Out of all the Youth Movements which provided garinim for the Nachal Movement, Hashomer Hatzair<sup>26</sup> had the highest success rate - 45% compared with a median figure of 30% - but the only factor correlated with this appeared to be the fact that this also was the movement with the highest proportion of its members having a background family history of movement involvement.

Regarding the nature of the garin it was found that these did not consist of one cohesive group but rather of a collection of at least three different ken<sup>27</sup>. The researchers drew up socio-metric charts for each garin and concluded that it did not affect absorption whether or not the garin was close-knit. The only correlation seemed to be if the garin was close-knit and the central members were pro-kibbutz and remained on the kibbutz, then the fringe members were also more likely to stay.

Concerning the absorbing kibbutz the research concentrated on the social structure of each kibbutz: the preparations that were

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26. See page

27. "Ken" is the Hebrew for nest and is the name given to each local branch of the Youth Movement.



made for the coming of the garin and the expectations and attitudes of the members concerning the garin. From the data collected it was concluded that the main influence on absorption was the extent of informal social relations between members of the kibbutz and members of the garin.

While this study has provided valuable and valid statistical data, there is a limit to the depth of such a research procedure and it was in an attempt to overcome this that it was decided to carry out the present study in the tradition of the anthropological studies and of the community studies of the United States.

Tamar Horowitz and M. Cialic<sup>28</sup> used another approach in their study of overseas volunteers who went to Israel to help during the Six Day War. Their aim was to find out which factors caused these volunteers to eventually decide to settle in Israel and to do this they used the framework of the theoretical model of social movements. A social movement is "a group of people who are not organised but who hold certain beliefs and values in common and who possess the potential of mobilisation should a certain sequence of events or event give rise for such a need"<sup>29</sup>. They thus possess the potential of becoming a value-orientated movement. In the instance of the volunteers the belief held in common was that of the importance of the continuation of the State of Israel and the event that acted as a spark was the danger to Israel preceeding the Six Day War. Those persons who became volunteers were responding to two tensions in their lives, that of being members of a minority sub-group - caused by

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28. Tamar Horowitz and M. Cialic - "Volunteers for Israel".

29. N. Smelser, Theory of Collective Behaviour, page 7-8. London 1962. Routledge & Kegan Paul.

their Jewishness - and that of their questionable status as members of the younger generation. The events in Israel specifically spoke to the former of these strains. Their decision to go to help was, however, a short-term solution in contrast to the decision of the garin member which is a long-term solution to a similar problem.

Horowitz and Cialic carried out their research by means of a questionnaire sent to a sample of volunteers in Israel after the war. It is not relevant here to present all the findings of this study, only those which bear some relevance to the particular research in question. The general conclusion of the study was that the volunteers had not expected any great change in their pattern of beliefs and that they in fact experienced no such change. Their view was that their future as Jews lay within the Jewish sub-group of a pluralistic American society.

The kibbutzim are already value-orientated movements as they are actively working towards the protection and encouragement of a particular end - in this case Zionism and the maintenance and growth of the kibbutz movement. Smelser describes the value-orientated movement as "a collective attempt to restore, protect, modify or create values in the name of a generalised belief."<sup>30</sup> The Youth Movements are an extension of the kibbutz movement and act both in Israel and overseas as a training ground for young potential recruits. If a value-orientated movement is to continue in existence then it must of necessity undergo a process of routinisation<sup>31</sup>.

According to Etzioni's article "Functional Differentiation of Elites"<sup>32</sup>, kibbutz society can be divided into the following stages

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30. op. cit.

31. op. cit.

32. American Journal of Sociology. 64(5). 1959

of development: the garin, hachshara, the young kibbutz and the veteran kibbutz. Etzioni claims that the crisis period is at each transitional stage and it is at these times, especially between the first three stages, that the majority of members are likely to leave.

Etzioni takes the garin as the starting point of his development but the garin shows almost all the characteristics of the first kibbutzim<sup>33</sup>. These kibbutzim form the ideal model on which the ideology of the youth movements are based and on which they model their own structure and norms. Both are voluntary groups without internal differentiation, in which a high premium is placed on ideology. Members are expected to adhere closely to the norms of the group and to place its interests above personal considerations. Decisions are generally taken informally and the élite if any exists is diffuse. As the kibbutz grows the structure of necessity becomes more complex and day-to-day decisions have to be taken by committees. Later it is necessary to appoint full-time functionaries to cope with the increased number of decisions that have to be made. Decisions also become more and more decompartmentalised. Up until this stage the kibbutz has still mostly been concerned with ideological considerations.

As routinisation sets in though the members become more concerned with specific problems facing their own kibbutz, and with their own individual aspirations and satisfactions. This process was greatly accelerated by the events of 1948 which saw the establishment of the State of Israel and the take-over by the army and civil-service of a

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33. The word kibbutz was first used when the kibbutz Ein Harod was founded in 1926. Prior to this the kibbutz went under the term kvutza or group. Kvutza is sometimes used when referring to a specific garin.

large part of the kibbutzim's former roles in defence and the building up of the Jewish state.

A study of the kibbutz in this last stage of development has already been given in the first section of this thesis, and here we are only concerned with the image of the kibbutz as perceived by garin members whilst still in Britain. The structure of their garin is based as closely as possible on the original kibbutz model. This can be seen at the summer camps and in former times at the training farms. For example, decisions are democratically made by the group as a whole and all personal income is pooled and then distributed on an equal basis as the need arises.

It is this type of kibbutz that youth movement members learn about and although many of them have in fact had first-hand experience of kibbutz life<sup>34</sup>, this has usually been for a limited period only and as temporary visitors<sup>35</sup>.

When interviewing members of the present garin it was interesting to note that those who did realise there were discrepancies between the kibbutz they had learned about and the kibbutz in reality, did not consider that this was an irreversible trend and agreed that it was the ideal type that attracted them and argued that they felt the present trend could be changed if they worked towards this. Certainly the present garin is going to a very young border kibbutz<sup>36</sup> but it is

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34. All the Zionist Youth Movements in Great Britain have numerous schemes under which its members are sent on short informative visits to Israel. These invariably include a short stay on at least one kibbutz. There is also a Jewish Agency sponsored scheme where older members are sent for a one year course to train as youth leaders and this involves a kibbutz stay of 3 to 6 months duration.

35. In American Students in Israel, Simon N Herman concluded that American students were more likely to consider the kibbutz in a favourable light if they classed their reception there by the members as open and friendly.

36. This kibbutz was founded in 1967 in one of the occupied areas by a group of Israelis. At the time of the study only 10 families constituted the membership.

perhaps unrealistic to believe that after a time this kibbutz will not undergo a similar process of routinisation.

The kibbutz then is seen in a different perspective by the different subgroups within it, and even by the different individuals within these groups. The veteran members who founded the kibbutz are likely to have been very ideologically orientated<sup>37</sup>. They may see the kibbutz now as either the fulfilment of those ideals or else as a betrayal. They also will view the kibbutz as the home where their families grew up. This group however will still use the outside world as its frame of reference, and the kibbutz will still be seen as an experiment within a wider social setting.

The second generation on the other hand has an opposite way of looking at things and instead uses the kibbutz as its frame of reference. To them the kibbutz is not an experiment but their home and the place where they were brought up. Their commitment to the kibbutz is one of love and habit rather than an intellectual commitment. Thus they do not consider the kibbutz ideology as all important as is the tendency with the founding generation; rather they place the emphasis on a more personal level - decisions to a greater extent being based on the desires of the members and on rational economic considerations<sup>38</sup>.

In the original kibbutz ideology the individual was supposed to find his fulfillment through service to the community; the second generation now tends to reject this<sup>39</sup> and instead considers that he himself will find self-fulfillment through study and through his family.

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37. See Arian, A., Ideological Change in Israel. and E. Cohen, and M. Rosner. "Relations Between the Generations in the Israeli Kibbutzim" Pamphlet, Givat Haviva.

38. See E. Cohen, M. Rosner "Relations Between the Generations in the Israeli Kibbutzim" Pamphlet issued by the Research Department of Givat Haviva.

39. Op. cit.

These basic differences show themselves in different attitudes to work, public activity and consumption. The second generation see work not as a sacrifice but as self-fulfilment; they take little interest in ideological questions and the wider kibbutz movement, and they do not appreciate the principles of asceticism.

Thus there are different outlooks already on the kibbutz before the new garin joins it. Which reference group exerts the greater strength will vary from garin to garin and from individual to individual. This is discussed later in the section dealing with the studies of the various garinim<sup>40</sup>.

Naphtali Golomb and Daniel Katz have written that there are three ways of studying a kibbutz: the subjective way of testing if its functioning matches up to its professed ideals - most of the studies conducted have been in this vein; and the two objective methods of comparing kibbutzim in relation to other societies and of using conventional descriptive categories. Golomb and Katz in their recent study "The kibbutzim as Open Social Systems"<sup>41</sup> have attempted to use the latter method, and to consider the kibbutz in the light of the theoretical model of the open system.

D. Katz and R. L. Kahn<sup>42</sup> write that "an open system functions not to maintain a steady state or static character, but rather a dynamic equilibrium". And it is with this continually in mind that Golomb and Katz look at the kibbutz as a dynamic changing structure.

This method, however, ignores the importance of any individual factors and so Golomb and Katz have modified it to some extent to use

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40. See page 55.

41. N. Golomb and D. Katz "The Kibbutzim as Open Social Systems". Pamphlet issued by Rupin Institute 1971.

42. D. Katz and R. L. Kahn, Social Psychology of Organisations. Wiley. New York 1966. Page 28.

a combination of the psychological, social psychological and sociological disciplines. This is especially important in the context of the kibbutz because of its very voluntaristic nature and the emphasis it places on ideology and the principles of direct democracy.

In their research these two looked at the kibbutz on three different levels: the individual level, ie the integration of the individual into the society; the system level, ie the internal integration of that society; and lastly, the supra-system level, the integration of that society into its wider social context. In considering these levels an attempt is made to measure three different indices which are as follows: the extent of integration; the extent of effectiveness; and the successful adaptation of values.

In measuring integration on the personal level, Golomb and Katz argue that there are four different types to consider: personal integration involving the adoption of a meaningful work role and a materially satisfying way of life; socio-emotional integration or the attachment to the system and to fellow members; normative integration or the acceptance of the norms and patterns of behaviour of the kibbutz; and lastly ideological integration which is the holding of similar political convictions to the rest of the kibbutz. These categories are all interrelated but it is possible to be integrated in respect of one or more and not the rest.

In consideration of the second of these, it was noted that this was facilitated in the kibbutz by the nature of its being physically isolated from the wider community and that this process was greatly encouraged if the members shared a common history and culture. This fact will be discussed further in the section that deals with the findings of the two community studies.

The researchers point out, however, that as the kibbutz is a voluntary society and also a totally inclusive one, it has to be especially attractive if it is to retain its members. Actually this argument only holds for those members coming from the outside. In the case of those born in the kibbutz it might in some cases act in the opposite direction, as an all-inclusive structure will breed greater dependence amongst its children. If a person born in the kibbutz decides to leave he has to leave everything behind, his work, his family, his social life and his friends, also his culture and ideology to some extent.

As regards the integration of the kibbutz on the system level, Golomb and Katz point out that the existence of diversified sub-groups<sup>43</sup> within the kibbutz is not of necessity a disintegrative factor and they further add that this may improve the quality of the kibbutz community by increasing the richness of the cultural base. Although this latter conclusion may be dismissed as being too subjective and value-laden, there appears to be no automatic correlation between extent of homogeneity and extent of integration.

On the supra-system level the kibbutz is fortunate in the prevailing social structure of the wider Israeli society. In the economic sphere Israel is essentially a pluralistic society, incorporating both capitalistic and socialistic forms of economic enterprise. Because of the history of the kibbutz there is a close relationship between the Kibbutz Movements and the State. Initially the foundation of kibbutzim was encouraged as a method of settling the land and as a

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43. In previous times the existence of opposing groups within the kibbutz sometimes led to the physical division of the kibbutz. In the case of Ein Harod barbed wire was even placed between the two newly formed kibbutzim (see Weintraub et al. Moshava, Kibbutz and Moshav, Ithaca, New York 1969. Splits were usually caused by ideological issues and examples can still be seen by such names as Degania Aleph and Degania Bet.



system of defence. The kibbutz members on the other hand were committed to the principle of Zionism and the creation of a Jewish State<sup>44</sup>. In this way the kibbutz differed from other utopian movements and communities as it was always wider-society orientated and its members always believed that the values and principles of their own communities should become the basis of the ideology of the new State. Kibbutz members were, out of all proportion to their numbers, greatly involved in the setting up of this new state, not only in the political spheres but also by bringing in new immigrants and by military preparedness.

The kibbutzin have therefore always participated in the wider Jewish society. Each member of a kibbutz is also a member of the wide-ranging and powerful Histadrut, the Israeli trade union organisation. All the veteran kibbutzim are expected to send a proportion of their labour force to work in some outside organisation and failure to do so can result in fines.

There exist several institutions<sup>45</sup> for training and research run by the kibbutz movements, as examples of an interconnection between the kibbutz society and the Israeli society but there is a tendency for these institutions, and others that are planned, to instead separate the academic disciplines of the two societies, as each will be serving different interests and needs.

The quality of effectiveness is less clear-cut as a necessary concomitant for the success of the kibbutz as a social system. Golomb and Katz define effectiveness as the extent to which a kibbutz is able to reach the full potential of all its resources. On the individual

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44. See M. Spiro, Kibbutz. Schocken. New York 1963.

45. For example, Oranim, a college for training kibbutz teachers, the Rupin Institute, for training managers, agricultural workers and technicians for the kibbutz and Rehovot for training graduates in agriculture.

level it entails the amount that the individual puts into each of his roles, including such things as attendance at general meetings and membership of the different committees.

On the system level the important consideration is the success of the economic sphere both in relation to past achievements and in relation to the achievements of other economic enterprises in the country. Although it is a tendency of kibbutz members to view economic failure as failure of the system, this is not necessarily the case although economic failure will place even the best social sub-structure under great stress. A kibbutz in economic difficulties can always rely on financial assistance from some outside source. This will be discussed further in section C.

As regards the wider Israeli society the kibbutz still contributes a great deal although the nature of the contribution has changed since the creation of the State. 67% of all kibbutzim are situated on the borders. 25% of the voluntary combat units are sons of the kibbutzim as are 50% of the pilots. 6 of the 21 ministers in the cabinet are kibbutz members<sup>46</sup>. These, remember, must be compared with the fact that kibbutz members only constitute 4% of the total Jewish population.

Any sub-structure such as the kibbutz can only remain unchanged and still continue to exist if it is in a wider supra-structure that is itself static<sup>47</sup>. This is one reason why former studies of the kibbutz which compare the functioning of the present-day kibbutz with its ideology are approaching the subject in the wrong way and missing the vital point that the kibbutz remains so strong precisely because it has proved its ability to adapt and to change. It is the practice

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46. J. French and Golomb, Article in "New Outlook" Jan 1970, Vol.13.

47. Op. cit.

rather than the principle of its original ideas that have changed<sup>48</sup>.

Although the kibbutz is an ideologically orientated society which would tend to hinder adaptivity, its very smallness and emphasis on informality and lack of bureaucracy makes it more receptive to new ideas and to new methods.

The modification of kibbutz values has already been dealt with in a previous section and here we will only consider whether or not these have been adapted creatively to fulfil the value while changing to fit modern conditions. Golomb and Katz list these values in three groups: those that have remained unchanged, those that have been modified and those that have been neglected or replaced. Each kibbutz will have succeeded in adapting these values to a different extent but these categories will act as a general guide.

Those values which have remained are voluntarism and direct democracy. This latter would appear to be difficult to practice in a large community of 1000 plus but the largest kibbutz, Givat Brenner, has devised a method to overcome this by electing a smaller assembly of 70 members which meets twice a week and deals with the less important matters which would generally come before the general assembly. Thus, the general assembly, which still meets weekly, is able to deal with the more important issues.

Of those values which have been modified and yet still retain their basic essence, there is the belief in the value of work. Previously a great emphasis was placed on the value of physical labour but this has now been modified to admit the recognition of intellectual endeavours, an important fact as the kibbutz more and more needs the work of professionals.

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48. See pages 5 to 8.

The doctrine of equality is one of the fundamentals of the kibbutz ideology. Originally the doctrine was interpreted so that each person received exactly the same of everything whether or not he wanted it. Now, however, it has been recognised that not everyone has the same needs or desires and so allowance has been made for the individual to make some choice although the total that he receives is still the same as that of his neighbour.

The two values that have now been abandoned are those of asceticism and the belief that farming should be the basis of the kibbutz economy and way of life - a return to nature and the soil. It has already been shown that the concept of asceticism has had to be abandoned with the economic success of the kibbutzim and the great leap in the living standard of Israeli society in general. It has also been noticed that industry now plays a vital and increasing role in the economic life of the kibbutz. The abandonment of both these ideals was vital if the kibbutz was to adapt to the changing economic circumstances of the Israeli scene. Otherwise the kibbutz would have become a static structure in a rapidly changing society.

Golomb and Katz use the above as the framework for an attempt to build up success and failure models of the kibbutz. They measure success by taking the ratio of the net growth of any one kibbutz in proportion to the net growth of the Jewish population in Israel. To survive they claim the kibbutz must grow at the same rate as the wider society either by retaining its own sons or by attracting new members from the outside. To be successful on the other hand it must grow at a greater rate than the Israeli Jewish population.

As an open system the kibbutz must maintain its membership or increase it if it is to be able to continue its interrelations in the economic, political and social spheres of the wider Israeli society.

If it fails to do this and so becomes an isolated and static society then all historical examples of the past would tend to suggest that it is likely to fail. This though is at best an unproven hypothesis.

Golomb and Katz, however, accept this hypothesis as fact and proceed from this to put forward another hypothesis that "system integration is more critical to the kibbutzim than economic effectiveness or creative adaptation for long-term system maintenance"<sup>49</sup>. According to them, system integration and economic effectiveness are interrelated but the former is the dominant partner in the circular relationship. This again is a mere assumption on their part and they do not put forward any valid arguments to support their claim.

Regarding creative adaptation, Golomb and Katz consider that this is a casual factor with regard to the above two criteria and that it has a low positive correlation with effectiveness and a medium positive correlation with integration. Brief examples are then given of two sets of pairs of kibbutzim which support the above theory, but such brief details are given that this can hardly be accepted as valid proof.

The above theory does not minimise the importance of economic success but it qualifies this and states that the economic profit must be successfully distributed between the economic and the social spheres. Thus an economically successful kibbutz which returns all its profits into economic development and neglects raising the living standard of its members will not represent a successful model as regards growth. A prediction along these lines can be supported by a look at the kibbutz on the individual level; is there adequate opportunity for job fulfilment and for individuality both in choice and in opinion? Do the ideals and goals of the individuals correspond with those of the community?

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49. Op. cit.

The researchers then go on to suggest how the kibbutzim can best hold their second generation and how they can best attract outside members. The second generation has different aspirations and values from their elders and these should be recognised and adequate provisions made for them. The outside members are attracted by ideology in the first place but they appear to stay on account of personal considerations and these should be maximised as far as possible. Again Golomb and Katz put forward no data to support these presumptions.

Although Golomb and Katz' work is confused and based in some instances on mere conjecture<sup>50</sup>, it does however, form an interesting and useful framework in considering the question of the absorption of garinim on two specific kibbutzim and so will be utilised in the following section.

As we are considering how the structure of the garin can act as a half-way buffer between the individual and the kibbutz and how this affects absorption, we will use this fourth level by which to measure integration effectiveness and creative adaptation of values. Thus the levels studied will be the individual, the garin, the system level or kibbutz and lastly the supra-system or the interaction between the kibbutz and the wider Israeli society.

This thesis is not an attempt to describe or to explain why individuals failed to become absorbed and left, but is rather an attempt to describe why the two kibbutzim should have differing success rates of absorption when this is measured solely as the percentage who eventually remain on the kibbutz.

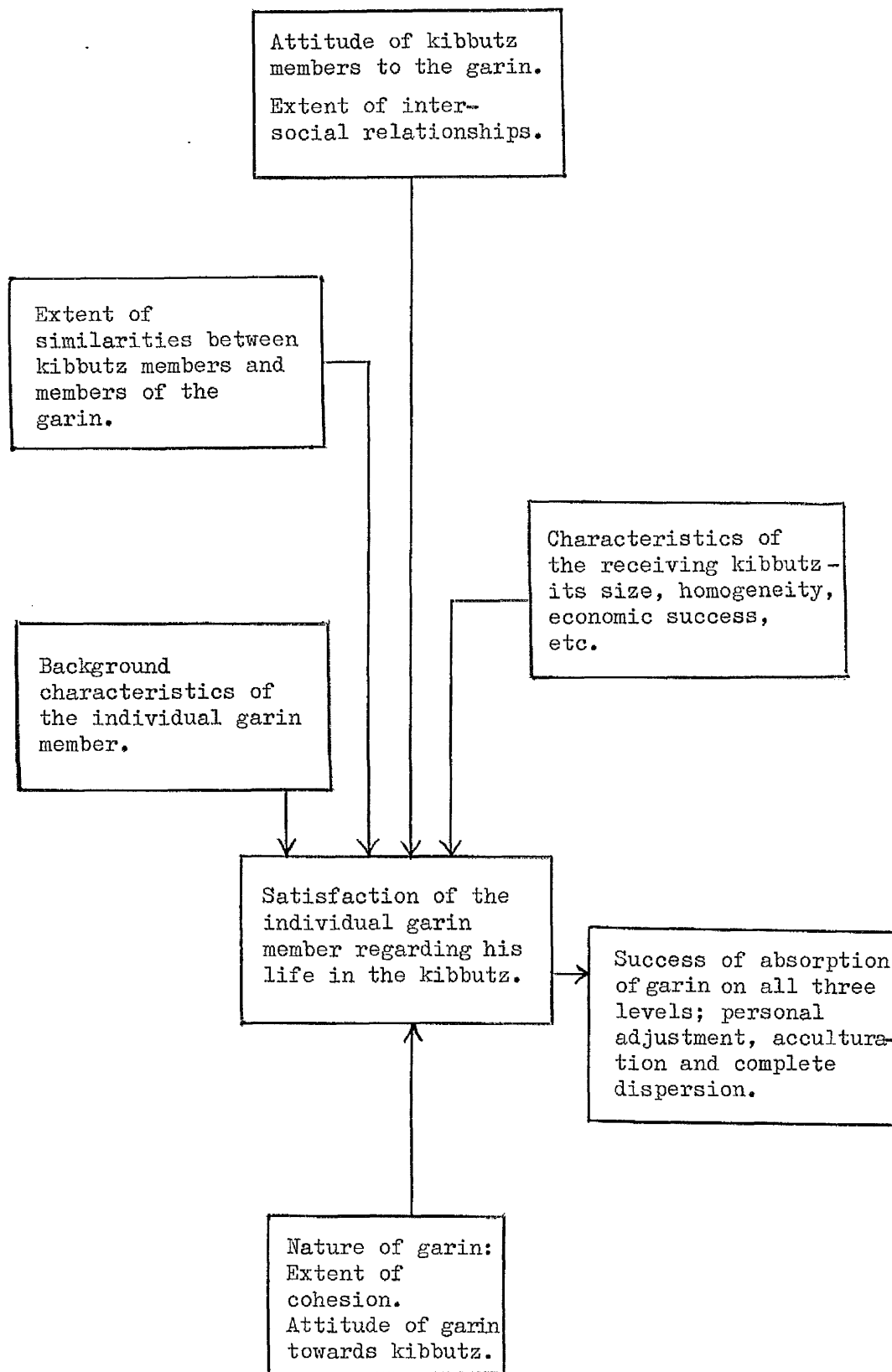
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50. Golomb and Katz appear to confuse particular kibbutz with the general kibbutz movement. Each single kibbutz is an integral part of the whole kibbutz movement and it is nonsense to say that a single kibbutz will only be able to affect the political, economic and social apparatus of the wider society if its population increases faster than that of the wider society. In this sphere it is the kibbutz movement as a whole that is important. Population increase is important in the individual kibbutz but for reasons which will be discussed in the next section.

There was no attempt to collect statistical data on the garinim studied. Not only would this have been meaningless because of the small numbers involved - but it would also have been contrary to the main aim of the research project which was to compare the two kibbutzim with regard to their absorption of British groups.

In order to ensure complete anonymity, the real names of both kibbutzim have been changed and fictitious names used in their place. Other additional alterations have been made as were deemed necessary to hide the real identity of the communities involved. Thus the kibbutz movement to which both kibbutz belong is referred to throughout as the "Movement" with a capital letter.

DIAGRAM SHOWING THE DIFFERENT FACTORS  
AFFECTING ABSORPTION





### SECTION III. THE STUDY

#### A. HISTORY AND FOUNDATION

Kibbutz 'Israel'<sup>1</sup> was established in 1946 prior to the State of Israel by a group of between 80 and 90 soldiers of the Palmach. It was situated in a strategic position on one of the main routes in the Galil, and was founded to protect this route. The group had received military training on a veteran kibbutz as the Palmach at that time was an illegal organisation<sup>2</sup> outlawed by the British Mandate government and so all training was carried out secretly on kibbutzim where the trainees lived and worked as members of the kibbutz. Consequently they also received valuable training for kibbutz life. The Palmach was not founded as a pioneering organisation<sup>3</sup> but it was closely connected with the kibbutz movement, and did in fact provide an important source of new membership during the forties. Military strategy at this time placed a great deal of emphasis on establishing as many new kibbutzim as possible to help secure a certain area for the Jews. They were supposed both to create Jewish facts in otherwise predominantly Arab areas and also to ward off any possible Arab attacks. They thus served a dual purpose, both military and agricultural.

The terrain in which 'Israel' was established was not the most ideal for the development of an agricultural settlement. Situated in the hills of the Galil the soil was shallow and filled with rocks. Before any kind of crop could be grown the area had to be cleared of the majority of these rocks, a back-breaking and slow process. Weather conditions were not, however, harsh and neither the extreme heat of the Jordan valley nor the cold of the northern Galilean mountains were experienced. Conditions at first were based on the military need of

1. The kibbutzim studied are given code names 'Israel' and 'Britain'.
2. C. Sykes, Cross Roads to Israel. Collins, London 1965.
3. A. Perlmutter, Military and Politics in Israel, Frank Cass. London 1969.

preparedness and economic considerations had to take second place.

Kibbutz 'Britain' was founded eight kilometres to the north-west of 'Israel' on similar terrain. Immediately following the conclusion of the Second World War a group of 30 graduates of the Movement left England for Israel. Included in their number was a group from the German branch of the same Movement who had spent the war years in England to escape Nazi persecution. Once in Israel this group went for hachshara to another Anglo-Saxon kibbutz. Here they learnt basic agricultural skills, the fundamentals of the working of an actual kibbutz, and also the Hebrew language.

After an initial period on this kibbutz the group then moved to a town on the coast where they lived together as a group but hired themselves out to economic enterprises in the neighbourhood to earn money. In 1948 the State of Israel was officially declared, thus opening the way for the War of Independence against the Arabs, and the Jewish agency granted the group an area of land just one and a half kilometres to the west of the Jordan river, north of the Kinneret (sea of Galilee).

The land conditions in this area were similar to those on 'Israel' and likewise required a similar amount of hard, physical work. 'Britain' was also initially concerned with military considerations, although these remained predominant for a shorter time than in 'Israel'.

#### B. INCREASE IN MEMBERSHIP

It is now considered that to be socially and economically stable a kibbutz should have at least 200 members and thus the recent policy of the Kibbutz Movements has been to increase the membership of smaller kibbutzim rather than to found new ones<sup>3</sup>. Thus from 1961 to 1968 the

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3. See J. Shatil, Development Trends in the Kibbutz, New Outlook. Vol.14, No 4, May 1971.

number of kibbutzim with under 200 members fell from 64 to 22 and the number with between 200 and 600 members rose from 127 to 163. Kibbutz membership is augmented largely by additional groups joining the kibbutz under the auspices of either the army<sup>4</sup> or the youth departments of the kibbutz Movements.

Between 1945 and 1948 though, all new garinim were needed to found new kibbutzim and so it was not until 1950 that 'Israel' was allowed to receive a small hashlama<sup>5</sup> group of Dutch pioneers, and not until 1953 that the first group of British garin began to arrive. Over a period of five years, forty-eight members of the garin were accepted into the life of the kibbutz. In the year of 1965 the first of a new British garin arrived in Israel. The advance party numbered 19 and over the next five years 31 more were to arrive.

Between 1953 and 1971 four garinim from Nachal also came to the kibbutz.

As has previously been stated, kibbutz 'Britain' was founded by a 'British' garin. In 1958 the first party of a British garin arrived in 'Britain'. The initial intention was that they should only stay in 'Britain' for six months hachshara and that they should then go to a kibbutz in the Negev. These plans were altered though and the garin decided to stay in 'Britain'.

Britain has also received four separate garinim from Nachal. These Nachal garinim, though, are viewed in a different light both by the members of 'Israel' and by the members of 'Britain'. As has been previously stated the average percentage of the Nachal garinim, studied by David Atid<sup>6</sup>, who still remained on the kibbutz after a period of two years was 30%. There is also an especially poor record for Israeli

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4. See page 12.

5. "Hashlama" is the Hebrew term given to a group that comes at a latter stage to a kibbutz to reinforce its membership and "to make it complete".

6. Op. cit.

garinim who go to Anglo-Saxon kibbutzim<sup>7</sup>. Thus the majority of the members of 'Israel' and 'Britain' did not regard the Nachal members as prospective candidates. For example, the secretary of 'Britain' expressed the opinion that the present Nachal garin in 'Britain' had been a success because four of its members out of a total of 25 had stated that they might consider joining the kibbutz.

Thus, both kibbutzim tend to see the Nachal garinim rather as a temporary source of labour and view their stay on the kibbutz as a training not necessarily for kibbutz life but rather as a general training in citizenship. This view is much more pronounced in 'Britain' but is also found in 'Israel'. It must be noted that in 'Britain' only three members of past Nachal garinim still remain, whilst there are 17 of these in 'Israel'.

#### C. THE DIFFERENT BRITISH GARINIM

Except for the last garin to join 'Israel', which during the period of my study, had actually only been together on the kibbutz as an entity for just under one year, it was difficult to establish an accurate and complete picture of the other garinim in the periods before and immediately after they joined their respective kibbutzim. The time lapse was at least eight years and in the case of the founders of 'Britain' it was as much as 23 years. The human memory is notorious for its distortions, especially with regard to such intangibles as the social cohesion of a group. There was also a problem of tracing those members of these garinim who had left the kibbutz.

To make things easier it has been decided to call each garin studied by a letter in the Hebrew alphabet<sup>8</sup>. Thus the garin that founded 'Britain' is known as garin "aleph" and the garin that went there

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7. See Jaackov Morris, Pioneers from the West. Youth and Hechalutz Dept. World Zionist Organisation, Jerusalem.

8. This follows the policy of the Youth Movements in naming the garinim, but the letters have been altered so as to conceal identity.

last as garin "gimmel". The first British garin to go to 'Israel' is called garin "beth" and the second garin "daled".

Garin aleph was formed a long time before it finally came to the kibbutz, because of the intervention of the Second World War. It was felt at the time that the limited number of entry permits should go to those Jews from Europe threatened with persecution. Many members of the garin spent the war years fighting with the British Forces and were for several years separated from the garin and Zionist influence. Because of their contribution to the war effort many of the garin members had to delay their date of aliya, and consequently arrived in Israel as individuals. The first group to arrive in Israel was comparatively large, numbering 30 in all. They had spent a longer period of training than the other garinim because of the war years, the average time spent on hachshara at the training farm<sup>9</sup> in England being one year and eleven months. The first group left England for Palestine in 1945 but it was not until 1948 that 'Britain' was founded so they lived together as a group for three years and were therefore able to form an exceptionally close chevra<sup>10</sup>. This was also a time of great stress and a time of great joy for all Zionists. Following the Holocaust and the World War the Jewish state of Israel was set up - the final realisation of every Zionist's dream. At such times people are always drawn closer together.

This group constituted the nucleus of this garin, and to it were added other groups as they came to Palestine. It was difficult at this time to enter the country and one group was even forced to spend seven months in a British internment camp in Cyprus, having been caught trying to enter the country illegally. At the actual time of the setting up

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9. See page

10. "Chevra" - Hebrew word denoting close community spirit.

of 'Britain' there were only five members who had not arrived to join in the activities. Thus almost all members of garin aleph were able to share in the decisions that were made at this time and also in the hard labour and inevitable frustrations. This proved to be a very important factor in making the garin strong and cohesive.

The second garin to join 'Britain' was smaller in size - 34 in number. It was also a rather weak garin lacking any strong personalities or any strong group identity<sup>11</sup>. The members were pragmatists rather than idealists and therefore they were content to continue a pleasant, easy existence on 'Britain' rather than go to settle on a kibbutz in the Negev<sup>12</sup>, as the authorities wished them to and where there was an undeniably greater need for them. This group was far less cohesive than the founding garin. The members had all spent time on the farm on hachshara but they had not been there as a garin but rather in separate groups. As is always the case with a British garin it was impossible to send all the garin out together on aliya. In the case of this garin the problem of some members undertaking further education was not so pronounced but members were still needed to run the youth movement organisation and to act as youth leaders. This is one of the great difficulties facing every British garin.

The first British garin to go to 'Israel', garin beth, had many similar characteristics to the founding members of 'Britain', and they both belong to the same period of pioneers. Their formative years had been spent during and immediately following the war years and they were thus imbued with a great sense of the optimism that prevailed at the time.

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11. This information is based on an interview with a movement scheliach in England who was a member in Britain. His interpretation was largely accepted by other members of the garin in Britain.

12. Desert in the south of Israel where conditions are particularly harsh owing to a shortage of water and the excessive heat.

They were anxious to leave Europe with its corruption and anti-Semitism well behind and to set out to help in building a new enlightened Jewish state. These people were filled with the belief that they would be able to create a new ideal life for themselves, a life that would serve as an example to other Jews and to other socialists throughout the world.

The members were largely untrained and without skills. This did not matter to them at first as all their energies and enthusiasm were channelled into building up 'Israel', but as dissatisfaction with the kibbutz began to set in, this was to become an increasingly important consideration. In Israel at this time there was a large influx of immigrants, the majority from Oriental countries and the majority unskilled<sup>13</sup>. Work was scarce and the standard of living low. These members were therefore faced with the prospect that if they left the kibbutz they would have difficulty making a reasonable living. The prospect was not promising and to some it acted as an added incentive to leave the kibbutz while they were still young enough to study or to learn a trade. An estimated 30% of those who left 'Israel' from this garin returned to England for further training. It was easier to study in England at this time than in Israel where educational facilities were still largely undeveloped and where the demand for education still greatly exceeded the supply.

The outlook of the second British garin, garin daled, was completely different. 50% of this garin had already undergone training of some sort before they left England, and of the remainder a further 38% had sufficient qualifications to be accepted at a college for further education if they should so wish. At the same time conditions in the wider Israeli society had shown a vast improvement. The standard

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13. See S.N.Eisenstadt, Israeli Society, Weidenfeld and Nicholson, London 1969.

of living was higher and the labour market was such that it was relatively easy to find a job such as the individual could have found if he had remained in England. In this context the question of relative prospects are all important. The garin member having been brought up in Great Britain will be continually comparing conditions in Israel to those he knew in Britain before he left.

This garin was less idealistic than the previous garin, garin beth, although some of its members were influenced already by the new left trends which were just beginning to gain momentum in Britain before the last members to arrive left the country. This garin is interesting as its members show a wide spectrum of influences in their philosophies. During my stay on the kibbutz a meeting was held - the first of its kind - involving all the members of the garin and for the express purpose of discussing the future of the garin within the kibbutz. During the meeting several revolutionary ideas were put forward<sup>14</sup> and these met with a very mixed reception. Roughly half the members viewed the kibbutz as merely an alternative way of life, while the other half saw in it the possibility of creating a just society that would enable each individual to fulfil himself to the limit of his capabilities. The latter show many of the attitudes of other members of their generation who are seeking to find an answer to the problems of the world in the communal form of living.

#### D. INITIAL RECEPTION OF THE GARIN IN THE KIBBUTZ

It has already been noted<sup>15</sup> that the attitudes of the members of the receiving kibbutz towards the garin will affect the success and the extent of absorption of that garin. David Atid<sup>16</sup> discovered that

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14. One central idea that was put forward was that work should be considered solely by a means for the fulfilment of the individual not as an economic commodity. Thus members would only work when they wanted to and only in those particular fields that interested them.

15. See pages 29 to 30.

16. See David Atid. Op.cit.



the most important aspect of this was the extent of individual social contact that was established between the two groups.

As the reception of garinim aleph, beth and gimmel occurred many years ago and as it was impossible to trace many of the former members who had left, it was only possible to build up largely to conjecture a picture of the reception of these three garinim. In the case of garin daled, however, the process of reception was only recent and all members of the garin were interviewed including those who had left the kibbutz.

Concerning garin aleph the members were themselves the founding members and so there was no kibbutz to receive them. Thus the question of reception does not apply.

Garin gimmel was initially accepted in 'Britain' for training. The initial group consisted of 26 members and a training programme lasting six months was planned for them. As such, the garin group was treated as a separate entity and kibbutz members were appointed to act as liaison officers between the garin and the kibbutz. Work was allotted to the garin as a whole as were laundry facilities, etc. The garin was allowed to attend the general meetings but not to vote as they were only a temporary group. Special classes were held to instruct the garin in Hebrew and other pertinent matters.

To assist in their training each garin member was adopted by a kibbutz family. This is a well-established practice in kibbutzim and a well-proven one in establishing contact between the different groups and in making the temporary member feel a part of the total kibbutz. Apart from these adoptions there were already several links connecting the garin with the kibbutz - either through family ties or through friendships established in England. Social contacts were therefore numerous between the garin and the kibbutz members.

Garin gimmel was obviously satisfied with life in 'Britain' for after the training period they decided as a group to remain rather than to go to a kibbutz in the Negev as originally intended. This proposal was also accepted by the rest of the kibbutz.

When the first British garin arrived in 'Israel' they were greeted by a different picture. 'Israel' had already been founded 7 years and the kibbutz had already experienced the intake of a foreign garin - the Dutch three years previously. This absorption had not in fact been successful and when the first British arrived less than 20 of the original group of 37 Dutch remained. This had inevitably caused a great deal of tension and so the arrival of the British garin was greeted with mixed emotions.

When the question of accepting a British garin had been first raised in the general meeting some members had argued against the proposal even though it was accepted that the kibbutz vitally needed new members. They argued that the new garin together with the Dutch garin would eventually be superior in number to their own Israeli group and that this would mean an inevitable change in the nature of 'Israel'. They had a fierce pride in their new country and were unwilling to see their community become 'tainted' by European traditions. It must also be remembered that the group which founded 'Israel' had originally been a Palmach group and as such they had had first-hand dealings with the British colonialists who had ruled the country prior to the ending of the Mandate. Thus there were both anti-outsider and anti-British prejudices at work.

For the garin member his arrival on the kibbutz is the climax of his whole career in the Youth Movement. His decision to come to the kibbutz has been a vital one and has often been made in the face of fierce opposition from family and friends. To come to the kibbutz

then and to be met with a rather ambiguous reception is a shattering experience, especially when his education on kibbutz ideology has emphasised its chevra and community spirit.

Apart from their ambivalent attitude towards the garin, the founder members were also accustomed to spending most of their evenings in the privacy of their own homes. They had young families and were usually exhausted after a long day's work. This though did not fit in with the garin member's expectation of kibbutz life and they saw in it a rejection of themselves. The dissatisfaction of the Dutch garin began to influence them and as some members decided to leave the whole thing began to spiral until in one 3-month period 40 members of the kibbutz packed their bags and left.

Whenever a person leaves a kibbutz this causes tension amongst the other members as it questions their own decision to remain on the kibbutz. This process is intensified in proportion to the number of persons who leave. Especially during the settling-in period on a kibbutz the individual is continually assessing kibbutz life. If the general attitude of those around him is critical he is liable to be swayed by this<sup>17</sup>.

No special meetings were held on 'Israel' to give instruction to the garin, although a special person was appointed to look after them. They were, however, treated as individuals rather than as a separate group.

Many of the above conditions that affected garin beth's reception into 'Israel' also affected the reception of garin daled. Again there was an ambivalent attitude towards the garin's arrival. The previous two foreign garinim had proved to be unsuccessful and there appeared to be no reason why this garin should be any different. Most of the

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17. See David Atid op.cit.

British members of the kibbutz - those who remained from garin beth - were more positive in their approach and therefore they went out of the way to welcome the newcomers. There were numerous invitations to tea at first but as time went on these grew less and the members once again became family-orientated.

The members of garin daled did not appear to be too concerned about this lack of social contact with the older members; its main affect appearing to be the growth of mistrust and misunderstanding between the two groups. Small misunderstandings rapidly assumed a much greater importance than necessary. Thus for example one garin member reported that he had been working for some time with a founder member of the kibbutz. As a pair they got on well together and the latter invited the garin member to drink tea with him but without setting any specific date or time. Feeling the invitation was not genuine the garin member never acted upon it and was surprised when a few days later the older member appeared to be avoiding him. It was not until the wife eventually asked why he had not come round to drink tea that the matter was cleared up. A small incident perhaps but in a small, close community such small incidents can assume an importance out of all proportion to their size.

Members of garin daled were, however, more concerned about hostility shown towards them by members of the Nachal garin. The members of this garin came mainly from oriental families and had a low standard of education. Their interests and attitude towards the kibbutz were different from those of the British garin. And above all there was a strong feeling of animosity caused by envy of the material possessions owned by the British garin. Despite the similar ages only one relationship was forged between the two groups - between an English girl and an Israeli of Iraqi origin.

At the time of the study 17 members of garin daled had left 'Israel' and two additional members had left and then returned. Of these 17, seven left to study, two of whom were accompanied by their wives. In all these cases though the member claimed that he was dissatisfied with the kibbutz and would probably have left anyway even if the possibility of studying while remaining on the kibbutz had presented itself. Two of the seven did in fact ask the kibbutz if the kibbutz would be willing to finance their studies but this was more a case of an attempt to keep open the possibility of returning and of solving the financial problem rather than a positive desire not to leave the kibbutz. 'Israel' as a kibbutz is in favour of its members undertaking higher education if they should so wish but the process is expensive and so only a limited number are allowed to study at any one time and the choice is based largely on seniority. The kibbutz therefore was unable to finance the studies of any garin member. Out of the seven who left to study, for five of them the object of studying was the main reason they left 'Israel'. For the other two the decision to study came after the decision to leave the kibbutz.

Another three couples left the kibbutz because of the wife's general dissatisfaction and because of her general desire to run her own home and to bring up her children herself. It has already been mentioned that it is mainly the members working in the service branches who are most dissatisfied with their work and it is in these branches that the women predominate. The above three wives complained that their work was dull and tedious and as one of them said, why should they do such work for the whole kibbutz instead of just for their own families?

Two of these families had young children when they left and both complained of the communal system of bringing up children. One of the

families, however, returned after 10 months in Arad, a development town in the Negev. The husband had found his work in a chemical factory tedious and both complained of the lack of any social life.

The other four, one couple and two single men, did not have any specific complaint against the kibbutz. They felt rather that the kibbutz as a way of life did not suit their particular temperaments and that they preferred instead to live in a town. This was usually the case with any criticism against the kibbutz; complaints were general rather than specific.

#### E. ECONOMICS AND WORK

The method in which a kibbutz distributes its economic budget is dependent mainly on the decision of the members themselves as voiced in the general assembly although in exceptional circumstances the Kibbutz Movement can dictate certain measures that must be taken. This is especially in an economically unstable kibbutz when money has to be borrowed from the central Movement organisation.

The kibbutz budget can be divided into two categories: consumption and production.

The consumption budget has to cover all aspects of the members' lives. Money has to be allocated not only for housing and education but also for such things as entertainment and clothing. Entertainment is provided collectively for the kibbutz as a whole by a special entertainments committee which not only brings films to the kibbutz once a week but also arranges for several trips a year to outside cultural events<sup>18</sup>. Each member is allocated a similar amount to be spent in the different stores - clothes, personal effects and furniture.

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18. Many of the larger kibbutzim have their own theatres and concert halls where the best Israeli entertainers come to perform. Tickets will then be set aside and sold to other nearby kibbutzim.

The larger items such as radios and refrigerators are distributed as the finances allow but the principle is that anything that is granted is granted to all members although distribution may have to be carried out on a rota basis rather than all members being allowed to receive at the same time. Although the distribution of these goods from the kibbutz is completely fair and above question a lot of animosity arises when material goods are brought in from outside the kibbutz. Garin members coming from Britain now tend to bring with them a large quantity of material goods far superior to those the kibbutz can offer. In fact one member of the second garin on 'Israel' boasted that apart from the wardrobe none of the furniture in his well-equipped apartment came from the kibbutz. It must be remembered that these members of garin daled come mainly from rich middle-class British homes and that as new immigrants they are allowed to bring into Israel new equipment tax-free while Israeli-born citizens have to pay exorbitant taxes on the same articles. Material goods are also received as presents from outside relatives.

This unequal distribution of material goods is a major source of friction within both kibbutzim. It is however much greater in 'Israel' as here there are a larger number of Israeli members. In 'Britain' although the founder members did not bring with them a large stock of material goods they do however receive presents from relatives who still live in England but come to visit at regular intervals.

An example of the friction caused can be seen in the following incident that was related to me by one of the members of the first garin in 'Israel' who was later to leave the kibbutz. He reported that when his garin arrived in 'Israel' the Israeli girls who had founded the kibbutz used to arrive for the Friday evening meal<sup>19</sup> in blue skirts

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19. The traditional sabbath meal is still the most important on the kibbutz. In both 'Israel' and 'Britain' the tables are pushed together and white tablecloths are laid. Special care is taken with the meal.

and white blouses - the regular pioneer clothes worn on special occasions. However, when the British garin arrived the girls brought with them pretty dresses to wear on Friday evenings. The ensuing jealousy that arose was so great that the kibbutz brought in two French seamstresses to make attractive dresses for all the female members of the kibbutz.

It is these inequalities that cause the most dissatisfaction rather than the overall living standard on the kibbutz. Material comfort has increasingly become one of the most important issues on the kibbutz<sup>20</sup> and it seems probable that if the standard is kept below a certain level then there will be dissatisfaction, but this was not raised by any of the married couples in 'Israel' or 'Britain' as a reason for their dissatisfaction with the kibbutz. There were, however, some complaints voiced by single garin members on Narkis who, coming with garin daled, had been forced to share a room. This was not a set kibbutz policy but arose from a shortage of rooms and when the present study was being conducted no single garin member was sharing a room although members of the Nachal garin were having to share<sup>21</sup>.

In this particular aspect the members of 'Britain' are in fact in a better position as the children sleep at home and so the apartments are larger and give more the feeling of an individual home. Apart from this difference the members' homes on the two kibbutzim can be compared equally on the grounds of beauty and comfort.

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20. See Y.Talmon-Garber & Z.Stupp. Secular Asceticism; Patterns of Ideological Change, In S.N.Eisenstadt, et al. Integration and Development in Israel. Pall Mall Press, London 1970.

21. It must be noted that at the time of the study a large number of the Nachal garin was still on training with the army and so only visited the kibbutz at weekends.



As regards the comparative standard of the communal amenities on the two kibbutzim there is a wide discrepancy. Communal amenities on a kibbutz assume an enlarged importance as so much use is made of them. In the early days of the kibbutz the dining-room was the central point for the whole kibbutz. Here the members not only ate all their meals, they also spent most of their evenings discussing important issues and also relaxing. This function has largely been replaced by the building of meadons or clubhouses.

If the clubhouse is well planned and well organised it will help to attract the members there to spend at least some of their evenings. 'Britain' was one of the first kibbutzim to build an all-purpose administrative and recreational centre. This incorporated a dining room, clubroom complete with television, radio, record player, magazines and games, library, personal store, study room and administrative rooms. The building is large, attractive and acts as a centre for the whole kibbutz. The only criticism would be the lack of an adequate-sized room for the showing of the weekly film. In the summer this is shown in the open air which means that members have to bring their own chairs if they wish to be comfortable and that they are often troubled by mosquitoes. In the winter, though, it is too cold and so alternative arrangements have to be made. The only room large enough to hold all the members all together at any one particular time is the dining-room. Holding the films here though necessitates a lot of extra work for the dining-room staff. Thus films in the winter have to be shown in the meadon which is not big enough to hold everyone so that the film has to be shown twice in the same evening. At the moment a large underground air-raid shelter is being built next to the centre and it is planned that this will double as both a cinema and a discotheque.

'Israel' is not so fortunate in having a large community centre. Here a separate meodon was built five years after the founding of the kibbutz. It is housed in a separate building and comprises two rooms, one now used as a television room and the other as a reading-cum-coffee house. The building itself is quite impressive and is set off by a rather splendid rose garden and lawn. The rooms themselves though are poorly furnished and give the overall impression of drabness. The coffee house is only open two or three times a week when coffee, ice-cream and cookies are served. On the other four nights there is nowhere that members of the kibbutz can go to sit with their friends and to meet other people.

The dining-room in 'Israel' appears to have taken over this function and 'Israel' is exceptional<sup>22</sup> in that unlike in most other kibbutzim the evening meal is a lengthy process and is used as a time to meet and talk with friends, it serves its purpose but is not an especially congenial place for such activities. It is hoped to build a new, more up-to-date dining room but this will not be for some time to come as the kibbutz is at present awaiting completion of two new buildings - a culture hall and a library, both large, modern and attractive.

Ambitious as both these schemes are<sup>23</sup>, they are still not going to solve the essential problem of providing a suitable and an inviting communal centre. This is needed especially for the younger, unattached members of the community as the married members appear content to spend their leisure time in their own apartments, in the company of their families.

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22. See M.Spiro, Kibbutz, Shocken, New York 1963. On one Israeli kibbutz not included in this research I was told by a kibbutz son that a "kibbutznik eats to live not lives to eat as in England".

23. The concert hall will be one of the largest in the area.

It has already been mentioned that the land on which both kibbutzim were built was not particularly fertile. The land first had to be cleared of rocks and it was not suitable even then for many forms of agriculture. It is Movement policy to grant each kibbutz a minimum of acreage that is suitable for the more profitable lines of agriculture such as cotton and citrus. In the case of both kibbutzim this means that <sup>members</sup> working in certain branches have to travel for periods of up to half an hour before reaching their fields.

In 'Israel' there is a banana plantation 8 kilometres to the south of the kibbutz in a valley where the temperature is considerably higher and where the soil is more suitable for tropical fruits. On the same kibbutz there is a citrus plantation 17 kilometres to the north. The members of both these work-branches eat breakfast in a hut on the site and then return to the kibbutz for a late lunch which has to be specially kept for them.

'Britain' also has two work-branches separated from the kibbutz - a citrus grove 13 kilometres away and a cotton plantation and fish ponds 25 kilometres away. In both these cases dinner is cooked in the field, and in the case of the cotton and the fish ponds breakfast is as well. In the citrus groves an early breakfast is eaten before the members set off for the fields. The members actually seem to prefer to work away from the kibbutz as they maintain that the food is better and that the work is generally more satisfying.

A kibbutz member spends a minimum of 48 hours a week working and it is thus of vital importance that he finds satisfaction in his job. When a new member comes to the kibbutz he is usually given the opportunity to change his job until he finds one that is suitable. There are however limits to this ideal as there are only a certain number of jobs available on any one kibbutz. Although there were

exceptions, members when interviewed tended to express satisfaction more when they worked in production branches than in the service branches such as the dining room, the kitchen or the laundry. On both kibbutzim those members who worked in child care expressed satisfaction with their work. This pattern is borne out by other studies on the work situation in the kibbutz<sup>23</sup>.

The major work difficulties are to be found amongst the women members.<sup>24</sup> These are generally the ones who run the services although in 'Britain' there is a system where the men have to work a compulsory six-month period in the kitchen. Both kibbutzim work a rota system on Saturdays and holidays in the essential services - this is mainly work in the kitchen and the dining-room. In addition to this members of 'Israel' also work an extra evening a month. The work in the services is dissatisfying partly because of its low status on the kibbutz - this is in contrast to the kibbutz ideology but is a reality on all kibbutzim - but mainly because the work is repetitive and unskilled.

To a large extent though the work can be made more congenial by improved working conditions. This fact has already been recognised by several kibbutzim and much money and thought has been spent in providing modern appliances for the service branches.

'Britain' was the first kibbutz in the country to have installed a self-service dining-room. At the time the idea caused much criticism as it was felt that this would destroy the friendly, homely atmosphere of the dining-room at meal times. If members had to queue up for their food it would increase the institutional atmosphere of the place and thus encourage even more people to eat their evening meal at home.

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23. See Etzioni. Solidaric Work-Groups in Collective Settlements Human Organisation. Vol.16 1957.

24. M.Spiro, op.cit.

In fact the self-service scheme was a gigantic success. When it was originally planned there were several members who had been against the scheme, but out of those interviewed during the study, only two persons voiced any criticism. Self-service ensures that the food that is served is hot and guarantees far less wastage, but perhaps most important of all the system requires fewer workers. Working in the dining-room is perhaps the most unpopular of all the jobs on the kibbutz - this is why members have to work on a rota basis. With self-service many of the more unpleasant tasks are unnecessary - such as the laying and clearing of tables.

'Israel' is now also planning to instal a self-service system and washing-up machine when the new kitchen is built. It is interesting though that the members of 'Israel' decided to build a new theatre and library rather than a new dining-room.

The economy of both kibbutzim is based on the principle of mixed farming. Both have citrus groves - *pardes*, orchards - *mata*, and chickens - *lool*. Together with these 'Israel' has a banana plantation and a herd of beef cattle<sup>25</sup>. 'Britain' on the other hand has cotton fields and fish ponds. Of these the most profitable, considering the amount of capital and the amount of labour necessary,<sup>26</sup> are the cotton and the bananas.

In the last decade both kibbutzim have installed factories. This is contrary to the original ideology of the kibbutz movement but nowadays industry has become an accepted and integral part of a majority

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25. 'Israel' used to have a dairy herd but this was abandoned as being uneconomical.

26. Elaborate work sheets are kept on every kibbutz so that the work hours in each branch can be calculated and used in the accounts.

of kibbutzim. The kibbutzim now receive 40% of their income from industrial projects and have 156 industrial plants employing 9000 workers<sup>27</sup>.

Four years ago 'Israel' set up a plastics factory. The idea came from a member of the second British garin and this member persuaded the kibbutz to invest in a plastic-moulding machine and then to take on jobs under contract for a large, privately owned firm. This type of work does not entail too much skill and training and it is hoped that eventually the kibbutz will be able to design and patent a product of its own and thus greatly increase its profits. For this type of project few people are needed - on an average working day only six members of the kibbutz work in the factory helped by two temporary workers.

'Britain' has two factories but these are very different from the plastics factory on Israel. One makes toy motor-cars for export and the other engineering goods. The labour force needed for them is large, running in the region of 100 and this is mainly recruited from a nearby immigrant town where labour opportunities are few. Six of the members act as managers and run the administrative side. There is a very definite distinction between these hired workers and the kibbutz members. The hired workers naturally receive wages for their work and they eat in a special dining-room at the factory rather than in the kibbutz.

Work in a factory can be boring and tedious but only one member on 'Israel' expressed dissatisfaction. The work is varied for the members as much as possible and each member is included in the decision-making process. This is made possible by the nature of the

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27. French and Golomb, New Outlook, January 1970

factory. In the two factories on 'Britain' the main bulk of the manual work is carried out by hired outsiders and so the work for the kibbutz member is not tedious and routine.

#### F. INTEGRATION

##### (i) Individual Level

There are four separate measures of integration on the individual level: functional integration, socio-emotional integration, normative integration and ideological integration. Functional integration necessitates that the individual should have a work role that is meaningful to him and that he should be materially satisfied on the kibbutz.

Socio-emotional integration entails that the individual should be attached to and identify with the kibbutz to which he belongs. It was interesting to note from interviews conducted that the majority of garin daled members on 'Israel' when expressing dissatisfaction with the kibbutz talked specifically of their own kibbutz and not of the kibbutz movement in general. They invariably stressed that they felt 'Israel' was not typical of all kibbutzim. In 'Britain' any criticisms were always levelled against the whole kibbutz movement. Moreover the members as a whole were willing to discuss criticisms while on Israel there were several occasions when members consciously acted to hide what they considered factors showing their kibbutz in a bad light. An example of this was when permission was asked to see a report that had been written by a professional sociologist. This report had been commissioned by the kibbutz to investigate the dissatisfaction of women on the kibbutz. The report seemingly was critical of several aspects, most notably the length of hours worked by women and the lack of social contact between the two major sub-groups on the kibbutz - the Israelis and the British. Permission to see this report was refused by the

secretariat and when other members of the kibbutz were asked, shoulders were shrugged and it was stated that the report was not worth seeing anyway.

Normative integration refers to the common acceptance by the individual of the norms and values of the wider society. It can be seen that in 'Britain' where almost all the members share a common cultural background there is a much higher concensus of norms and behaviour patterns than there is on 'Israel' where there is a division between the Israelis on the one hand and the British and Dutch on the other.

The difficulties that arose because of this cultural gap have already been discussed in a previous section<sup>28</sup> and, while these differences were more pronounced during the initial settling in period of both garinim, they still exist and still create tensions.

On 'Britain' fewer of these cultural misunderstandings occurred as all members have the same cultural background. Here though the problem arises with reference to the Israeli nachal garinim that are received by the kibbutz. 'Britain' has a very poor record of absorption of these groups, so much so that the kibbutz has now told the second generation that if they want Israeli groups they must be the ones to go out and get them and to make the necessary arrangements for their absorption.

Ideological integration refers to the broader ideological aspects of the kibbutz movement. While it might be assumed that all members have similar values having passed through the same educational programme of the same youth movement where the emphasis is very much on values, this is not in fact the case. Although all members must of necessity share certain basic beliefs in common if they remain on the kibbutz - such as a belief in the kibbutz pattern as an alternative form of life and in the importance of Israel as a Jewish state, there are many variations within this framework that can be and are held.

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28. See pages 59 to 65.



The meeting held by members of garin daled has already been mentioned<sup>29</sup>. The difference in opinion shown in this meeting was enormous. Some members saw the kibbutz as just somewhere to live and raise their families, others felt that the kibbutz ought to fulfil its role of furthering socialism while still others felt that the kibbutz should provide the ideal society for the individual.

Differences of opinion were found in both kibbutzim and throughout the various groups. As long as the basic framework is there, though, there is no reason to suppose that these differing ideologies are in any way dysfunctional. What is dysfunctional is if they remain suppressed and if the individual feels that his own views are criticised by other members of the kibbutz. In 'Britain' ideological questions are often made the subject for general meetings and the members feel free to speak openly, knowing that the other members will not discriminate against them on account of their views. In 'Israel', however, this was not always the case and members were often heard to speak disparagingly about another member's views.

(ii) Garin Integration

It has already been mentioned in the section on the garin in the introduction that the garin's cohesion is broken by the necessity of sending it out in different groups over a period of time. The only garin studied that arrived on a kibbutz as a group was the founding garin of 'Britain', garin aleph. Thus the garin is already limited in its possibility of acting as a single separate unit. In no case during aliya did the garin hold regular separate meetings except for garin aleph where the meetings of the kibbutz were for a long time those of the garin. Garin gimme also held regular meetings but these were for the purpose of training rather than of discussing developments within the garin.

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29. See page 59.

With regard to garinim beth and daled the initial groups arriving at 'Israel' appear to have been too small to sustain any organised regular meetings. Members did of course meet informally at frequent intervals but as individuals rather than as a group. By the time other groups arrive interest has usually been lost in the garin as a separate entity. It must be noted that members of the first group will usually have been on the kibbutz for almost twelve months by the time the second group arrives. Also one must consider the long period that garin members have usually spent in the youth movement by the time they arrive in Israel. Thus one member of garin daled commented, "Once I arrived in Israel all I wanted to do was to forget about the Youth Movement and the garin and to see as little as possible of its members. I was anxious to meet new people, particularly sabras (those born in Israel) and to lose my movement identity".

For garin aleph there were also regular meetings prior to their arrival in 'Britain'. There were always concrete, positive matters to discuss concerning the setting up of the kibbutz and the garin as such was treated by others as a separate entity.

None of the garinim appeared to be sub-divided; rather they showed the pattern in socio-metric tests of a central group and then several fringe members who remained isolated rather than forming a group of their own. This is easily explained when one considers the large number of temporary, peripheral persons on the kibbutz with whom these members can and do form associations.

Whether or not garin integration is necessary or helpful will be discussed later.

(iii) System Integration

In this section we are concerned with the existence of sub-groups and whether these overlap in any way. In both 'Israel' and 'Britain' the main sub-groups are: the founders, the various hashlamot, the nachal garinim (which are not included in the hashlamot because of different attitudes towards them by the kibbutz members and because of certain attitudes of the nachal members themselves towards the kibbutz and their stay on it<sup>30</sup>), and lastly the second generation who have already finished school and their army training. The last is in both kibbutzim relatively small but is nevertheless important as it is hoped that this group which is continually growing will provide the main support of the kibbutz in the future.

System integration will be considered on four levels: integration at work, social integration, political integration and integration as to place of abode. Taking the last first, homes are allocated according to availability and according to seniority. As the garin comes together in several groups these are usually allocated houses in the same area. As new housing is built on the kibbutz this is usually filled by the older members of the kibbutz as the housing built usually improves in quality. Thus each group in the kibbutz as it were moves up to fill the better accommodation. The garin members will therefore as a rule move first into the oldest and worst rooms - not counting the temporary workers who have their own separate accommodation. On both kibbutzim building is carried out in different parts of the kibbutz and so the groups are dispersed throughout the kibbutz. The matter is further complicated by the spasmodic allocation of houses to peripheral members of the kibbutz community. These not only include those individuals who eventually became members of the kibbutz and are therefore represented on the diagram on page 98 but also others, for example, parents and relatives who although they remain for long periods on the kibbutz do not in fact become actual members.

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30. See pages 53 to 54.

As regards political integration, there was no evidence of the different groups acting as separate entities. The kibbutz ideology stresses direct democracy<sup>31</sup>. Thus when the subject of garin daled acting as a pressure group in the general meeting was put forward in the garin meeting already mentioned, it was almost unanimously condemned. When considering the distribution of official positions amongst the various groups there was no reason to consider that in either kibbutz this was in any way unfairly distributed in favour of any particular group<sup>32</sup>.

It is perhaps in work that integration is most important for it is here that cross-group relationships will most commonly be forged. When the garin members arrive on the kibbutz they are allotted to existing vacancies allowing as much as possible for individual choice. In both kibbutzim there is a deliberate policy to allocate them evenly in all branches. There are, however, certain exceptions where this is impossible. Thus, for example, garin members are not usually allotted to work in the children's homes as usually their command of the Hebrew language is insufficient. Members rarely stay in the branch to which they are at first sent and at present there is a fairly even spread of each group throughout the work force.

It is in the social field that the greatest discrepancies between the garinim in the two kibbutzim appear. This has already been mentioned<sup>33</sup> with regard to individual integration at the normative level. Lack of social contact between the various groups was the one factor that all members of garin daled who had left the kibbutz mentioned.

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31. See page 7.

32. See diagram on page 80.

33. See page 28.

DIAGRAM SHOWING TENURE OF OFFICE OVER PAST FIVE YEARSELECTED OFFICES

General Secretary

H	B	F	D	F
A	A	I	B	A

'Israel'

1 Year tenure

'Britain'

Treasurer

B	H
A	I

'Israel'

3 Year tenure

'Britain'

Economic Manager

H	B	
A	A	I

'Israel'

2-4 Year tenure

'Britain'

Work Manager

B	F	B	H	H	F	B	D	H	B
A	I	I	G	I	A	A	A	G	G

'Israel'

3 Month tenure

'Britain'

Heads of Work

B B B B B B B B F F F F F
H H H H H D D D D D S

'Israel'

Branches<sup>1</sup>

A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	G	G	G	G
G	G	S	S	S	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I

'Britain'

1. There are five major work branches at 'Israel' - bananas, citrus, orchards, cattle, factory and four service branches - kitchen, dining-room, laundry and children. This involved 23 changes over the five-year period.

In 'Britain' there are six major work branches - citrus, cotton, fish ponds, orchards, factory, chickens and the four service branches. This involved 29 changes over the five-year period.

KEY TO LETTERS USED'Britain'

- A. Garin aleph  
G. Garin gimmel  
I. Individuals  
S. Second generation

'Israel'

- B. Garin beth  
D. Garin daled  
H. Dutch group  
F. Founders  
I. Individuals  
S. Second generation

They were primarily concerned about the lack of communication with the Israeli garin from Nachal who were of a similar age and with the founding Israeli members.

As regards the former the differences were felt to be emphasised because of the actual composition of the Nachal garin. The majority appear to have come from oriental homes<sup>34</sup> and to have left school at the age of 14. While it was impossible to check these impressions of kibbutz members, of the present Nachal garin on 'Israel' only five members have European parentage and only three were hoping to continue their education after their army service. On 'Britain' only one of the Nachal garin had European parents and none of them were hoping to continue their education.

Garin gimmel on the other hand was more preoccupied with its social contact with the founders. These were greatly facilitated by a similar cultural background and by many family and Movement ties that had already existed before the garin left England.

When the kibbutz is small it is vitally important that there should be a good chevra or community spirit, otherwise a feeling of boredom and isolation is likely to set in especially amongst single members who lack the comfort and companionship of a family.

When there is a lack of social interchange between different groups living in the same community any differences of opinion are liable to be exaggerated and to have a spiral effect. This is especially true on a kibbutz where people live in such close contact with one another.

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34. For a description of some of the differences between Oriental and European sections of the Israeli population see S.N.Eisenstadt, Israeli Society, pages 380-382. Weidenfeld and Nicholson, London 1967.

(iv) Supra-System Level

Taking each kibbutz's individual relationship with the wider society it can be seen that both are involved in regional economic enterprises. Apart from this, both kibbutzim employ outside labour from the nearby development towns. 'Britain' employs by far the largest number but they are kept very much as a separate labour force<sup>35</sup>.

However it was felt that on the cultural and social level more contact could and should be made between the kibbutzim and the wider society. There are obvious difficulties in establishing social exchanges between the kibbutzim and the neighbouring townships as the two are based on such differing structures but there are several kibbutzim in the neighbourhood. Contact between these would greatly increase the range and variety of cultural opportunities, thus increasing the scope for social contact and perhaps helping bachelors to find spouses within the kibbutz framework<sup>36</sup>. It is indeed remarkable that although 'Israel' and 'Britain' are only 8 kilometres apart there is almost no contact between them except on the individual level.

Although only three families are connected by family ties, many persons knew members of the other kibbutz prior to arrival in Israel. Indeed five members of garin aleph assisted in the training of garin daled in England and therefore knew most of its members.

Britain is situated five kilometres from the main road and a bus to the kibbutz runs only three times a day, mainly for the convenience of the hired workers at the factory. Travel to and from the kibbutz is not, however, difficult as there are always vehicles travelling to and from the main road - to take workers to the fields, the children to the high school, people to the post etc. A list of these vehicles

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35. See page 73.

36. This is a problem found on most small kibbutzim. An attempt to solve it has been set up by organising special weeks at the kibbutz holiday hotels for unmarried kibbutz members.

is posted on the notice-board daily and anyone is able to arrange lifts. It is also possible for each member to arrange the loan of a kibbutz vehicle for his own personal use.

Despite this ease of access, contact between the two kibbutzim is still minimal. The contact that exists falls into three categories: that amongst the children who attend the same high school; liaison concerning general Movement work, eg one member of 'Israel' who worked for the Movement office in Tel-Aviv was responsible for the training and well-being of an Australian group on 'Britain' and both kibbutzim co-operated in a work group that came over on a summer visit from England; and lastly personal contact between friends. Sometimes members visit the other kibbutz for entertainment such as the weekly film but this is on an individual level although this may change once the cultural hall on 'Israel' is completed. The only joint activity that has taken place over the past five years is the folk-dancing classes on 'Britain' which were organised by a member who had received training as a dancing instructress. These were also attended by young people from other kibbutzim and the nearby town.

#### G. EFFECTIVENESS.

##### (i) Individual Level

On an individual level the individual's effectiveness is measured by the way he fulfils his various roles, such as in the work and civic spheres. This is essentially a difficult thing to measure, but from interviewing members of garin daled there seemed to be a positive correlation between those who left and those who played little part in the activities of the kibbutz, and also between those who left and those who felt unfulfilled in their work roles. The former is no doubt a two-way process in that when a person has decided to leave



he tends to withdraw from the affairs of the kibbutz.

(ii) Garin Level

In order to measure the effectiveness of the garin one first has to establish the function that it plays within the kibbutz. The division of a society into distinct sub-groups can be disruptive, but only if these sub-groups have different aims, norms and values. This is not true of the garin. As a group the garin is committed to kibbutz even if this is to a somewhat idealised form of this. In both kibbutzim, garinim beth, gimmel and daled were in fact unstructured groups in that they acted together as a group only on the rarest of occasions. The members were rather connected by similar age, background and personal ties of friendship. The function of the garin within the kibbutz is to ease the process of transition and absorption of its members. It achieves this despite its lack of form by the exchange of friendships and on an informal basis. By having friends already when he arrives on the kibbutz and by sharing similar experiences with them, the garin member is able to maintain his security through a time of stress, namely his settling-in period in the kibbutz. This process of support and reassurance could however be improved if it was in fact formalised by, for example, a regular monthly meeting of the garin to discuss any problems that might arise and to act as it were as a therapeutic group.

(iii) System Level

As both 'Israel' and 'Britain' have similar land conditions it is to some extent possible to measure their economic success based on traditional measurements. There can be no doubt of the two, 'Israel' is the most successful in this sphere. 'Britain' is in fact only recently managing to balance its books. It must though be remembered that the kibbutz has in fact instituted two expensive projects - namely,

allowing children to sleep with their parents until the age of 13, and providing a self-service dining-room.

(iv) Supra-System Level

This is a very difficult thing to measure as both kibbutzim sent a required number of members to work in the public field as schlichim etc. It can be dysfunctional if too many members are engaged outside in public work, though it must be noted that quite often this work is given to members on account of some personal circumstances.

H. CREATIVE MODIFICATION OF VALUES

(i) Individual Level

We are here concerned with the extent to which the kibbutz members as individuals are willing to see change in the ideological premises of kibbutz life. This can be seen in the fact that on 'Britain' a majority of members voted in favour of the innovations that the children sleep in their parents' homes and that a self-service dining-room be built, both of which were at the time thought to be contrary to the basic principles of kibbutz ideology. However, time and experience has shown that this is not in fact the case as regards the dining-room. Making it self-service has meant that members can be sure of always getting a hot meal and it has cut down the manpower requirements in a branch that was probably the most unpopular and unsatisfying of all branches on the kibbutz. The method is quick and efficient and members are able to sit and eat their meal at their leisure, a thing that is not always possible in the rushed atmosphere of the normal kibbutz dining-room. All members spoken to on 'Britain' expressed satisfaction with the new dining-room even though some of them had not initially voted for it.

The same is true of the new sleeping arrangements. Several members were against the scheme at first because they felt it would attack the very essence of the kibbutz and would be too expensive at a time when the kibbutz could ill afford it. The consensus now is that the new system has in fact made little difference to the children concerned but has greatly eased the minds of the parents. The project certainly did involve a lot of expense and at a time when the kibbutz was in grave financial troubles - according to the secretary the scheme was only passed by the central kibbutz authorities because they realised that a sizeable proportion of the members felt so strongly about the subject that they would leave if the proposed scheme fell through. The very fact that the members' wishes were considered above other considerations is in itself significant.

To test the attitude of the individual members towards innovation, during my interviews the subject was brought up of each member being allowed to have his own television should the finances of the respective kibbutz allow for this. On 'Britain' the larger number expressed a favourable view towards this, while on 'Israel' the greatest number condemned the measure as being contrary to the ideals of the kibbutz. It is interesting to note that without exception of those members of the second generation who were questioned on the subject - only those who had completed their military service - not one spoke against the scheme on ideological grounds.

(ii) Garin Level

In this field there would appear to be no distinct functioning of the garin. The garin as such does not create opinions; it is rather an aggregate of the opinions of its members.

(iii) System Level

As the kibbutz is a direct democracy where all decisions are made by all the members, the willingness of the kibbutz to innovate depends on whether or not the majority of the members are willing to innovate. However the officials of the kibbutz can help this process if they themselves are eager and active for a change and if they are willing to put such propositions for consideration before the general assembly. This can be seen on 'Britain' where it is undeniable that a few members by their progressiveness and by their enthusiasm have influenced the adoption of creative trends within the kibbutz. It will always be the members themselves who make the final decisions but the presence of active members can provide important encouragement.

(iv) Supra-System Level

With all sub-groups and sub-cultures there is a danger that they will become narrow and inward looking. If the kibbutz is to survive it must be aware of these dangers and take measures to check them. Thus its members should be encouraged to go out into the world and to learn techniques and skills that are not only kibbutz-orientated. For example, on 'Britain' the present secretary at the time of the study had a thorough knowledge of encounter groups and the kibbutz had just financed a two-month trip to the United States for an advanced course in this field. The secretary is now anxious to try to adapt this knowledge to help the problems of communication within the kibbutz. Thus the kibbutz acted with foresight in encouraging not only fulfilment for one individual but in realising that perhaps the knowledge thus gained could eventually be used to increase general satisfaction within the kibbutz. Also on 'Britain' permission was given for one member - a talented artist - to go to London to hold an exhibition of his work. This openness can also be seen in the educational field.

During the community study three children of the kibbutz were receiving technical or artistic education at non-kibbutz schools. Contrast this with the attitude on 'Israel' where a talented musician had great difficulty in persuading the kibbutz to allow him time to attend a music course for half a day a week.

# I. INDIVIDUAL CASE HISTORIES

## A. Mavis and Charlie

Mavis and Charlie are 33 and 35 respectively and they arrived on Britain with the first group of garin gimmel in 1958. They married one month before their arrival on the kibbutz and now have three children. Charlie comes from a provincial town with a close-knit Jewish community and joined the movement when he was ten years old, largely because his two older brothers were already members. These two brothers now have professions and have settled in Britain, although one still talks of going on aliya.

Charlie studied for four years at the university, but mainly because of parental pressure. For as long as he can remember he has always wanted to live on a kibbutz. His parents did not attempt to stop him, although they always opposed his plan and insisted that he should first gain some qualifications in case he ever decided to leave the kibbutz.

Mavis, on the other hand, comes from London and only joined the Movement when she was fifteen. Her friend persuaded her to come along and Mavis was attracted by the idea of a new social life. She left school after taking A-levels and having no other set plans she went to spend a year on the Movement farm on hachshara. It was here that she met Charlie and because of him she decided to join garin gimmel when the first group left for Israel.

Both of them had been to Israel before but neither knew much of the reality of living there or on a kibbutz. One of Charlie's cousins was a founder member of 'Britain' and he also knew two other members there who came from his home town. The first six months were spent working and learning Hebrew. The time went quickly and both were relieved when the garin made the decision to stay rather than go to the pre-arranged kibbutz in the Negev where conditions would be strenuous and they would have to adapt to a new culture pattern.

Both Mavis and Charlie now play an active part in the life of the kibbutz. They regularly attend meetings and Mavis is at present in charge of the absorption of individuals who join the kibbutz. Charlie has in the past been manager of the factory, where he is a regular worker and for which he has attended a special training course. He has also in the past acted as work manager. Both have in their turn sat on several committees. Their main spare-time pastime is playing bridge and Mavis also does batik work, going to classes on the kibbutz once a week.

Both felt that they had experienced no difficulties in adapting to kibbutz life until the birth of their first child. Then Mavis found it increasingly hard to leave the new-born baby in the nursery without worrying all the time that he was alright. She began to have arguments with the nursery staff over the way he was being cared for. Tension built up and while Charlie was still happy in the kibbutz Mavis began more and more to think of leaving.

Other members of the garin were also troubled by the same problem and had begun to think of leaving because of it. The matter was discussed several times at the general meeting and although some members opposed the move it was eventually agreed that the children should sleep in their parents' apartment. This arrangement proved entirely

satisfactory to Mavis and the couple once again settled down to their untroubled existence on the kibbutz.

Both are content in their work. Charlie has a responsible job in the factory and Mavis works in one of the children's houses. Both still keep in touch with what is happening in Britain and Charlie receives weekly the local Jewish paper from his home town. Although they speak Hebrew with their children they usually converse between themselves in English, and there are few Hebrew books to be found on their shelves.

#### B. Doris and Bert

Doris and Bert are 24 and 25 respectively. Doris has been on 'Israel' three years and Bert for two years. They married eighteen months ago and Doris is now expecting her first child. Doris has been in the Movement since she was 15. She had just moved with her parents to Liverpool and she wanted to make friends within a Jewish framework. She left school after taking O-levels and went straight to a training farm as a member of a youth group. From there she went to Preston for a one-year course in dairying. The course required that she should spend one year in practical training and so she went back to the farm for a further period which lasted eighteen months. Although she found the work enjoyable, she resented the closed atmosphere and lack of privacy on the farm. While on the farm she met Bert and it was agreed that they should get married in Israel as soon as Bert finished his training as an accountant.

Doris is strongly Zionist and she was the main impetus behind their decision to go on aliya. Going to a kibbutz seemed the best method of doing this and Doris had always enjoyed her work as a dairy maid. Bert joined the Movement at the age of thirteen. His father had been a member in his youth and so Bert went along together with his cousin who is now also a member of 'Israel'. He cannot remember when

he first made the decision to live on the kibbutz and feels that somehow he grew up with the idea.

Both of them knew a fair amount of Hebrew on their arrival and Bert was soon called up to serve six months in the army with the special overseas group. While he did not enjoy the army he now feels regret that he did not serve with the regular troops as he would then have learnt more about Israeli life.

When Doris arrived on the kibbutz she was immediately assigned to work with the dairy herd. This she enjoyed but one year later the herd was replaced by a beef herd as being more profitable. Here the work was harder and although Doris worked there for five months she eventually found the work too strenuous for her and so she was re-assigned to work in the packing factory. This work she finds monotonous and tedious, although she prefers it to working in any of the service branches.

Bert has for the last six months been working in the plastics factory and is unenthusiastic about his work although not as bored as his wife. He would like to use his training as an accountant but realises he will have to be on the kibbutz for some years before this is possible.

Before coming neither was especially committed to kibbutz ideology although they were both committed to coming to Israel. For this reason they share a sense of frustration in that they feel somehow cut off from the main stream of Israeli life. Doris said that although they had in the past tried to establish social contact with different Israelis on the kibbutz, these attempts had never succeeded over any length of time and they had been forced to rely mainly on other members of the kibbutz for their social contacts. Both of them complained of the shortage of social activities on the kibbutz although neither made



any attempt to arrange anything and on several occasions when a programme had been arranged I noticed that neither of them attended.

Both feel that 'Israel' is too isolated and that they have been deprived of the opportunity of sampling life as it really is in Israel. They are in fact trapped between two cultures. They are unable to enjoy the security and familiarity of the culture they left behind in Britain and yet at the same time they have not been accepted yet into the Israeli culture.

Thus both feel a general dissatisfaction and have decided to try a new life in a development town. It is perhaps significant that they have chosen a town where there are as yet no other Anglo-Saxon couples. They will leave the kibbutz as soon as Bert has found a job.

C. Norma

Norma came to Israel in the second group of garin daled. She was nineteen at the time. Norma had joined the Movement at the age of fourteen, despite fierce opposition from both parents, who thought the Movement too socialist in orientation and were afraid that their daughter would be encouraged to go to Israel. Norma was all the time determined to go to a kibbutz but she agreed with her parents' wishes and went to the local university to study sociology on leaving school. She left after a year though and went to a training farm where she stayed for thirteen and a half months. She hated this period on the farm as she found the atmosphere claustrophobic. At the time there were only thirteen of them at the farm staying permanently, and as they had little money they were forced to stay there for most of the time.

After thirteen months she joined the second group of garin daled who went out to Israel. As her Hebrew was of a high standard she was almost immediately allocated to a children's house where she found the

work enjoyable. After one year she went to serve a twenty month period in the army, spending most of the time on another kibbutz. Most of the members of this kibbutz were American in origin and Norma speaks of her time there as a happy one with a full social life.

On her return to 'Israel' she soon became disappointed with life on 'Israel'. She found the atmosphere there unstimulating and felt cut off from the main stream of life. Apart from members of her garin she felt that she had nothing in common with others on the kibbutz. The Nachal members were not only hostile but they had different interests and their general level of education was much lower. Instead of attempting to overcome these problems of communication, Norma found herself spending more and more time either reading in her room or else with other members of her garin. She took part less and less in the affairs of the kibbutz and rarely attended the general meeting. In April of that year she asked the kibbutz if they would be willing to finance her to study sociology and psychology. On their refusal she decided to leave and to study of her own accord at the Hebrew University.

When interviewed she had been away from the kibbutz for over a year and she had no regrets. When she left she had imagined that after completing her studies she might return to kibbutz life but she is now under no illusions concerning this. She feels that the kibbutz does not offer enough scope for the single person and that it makes too many demands on the individual.

#### D. Jack

Jack came to Israel with her in 1955 after completing a three-year university course in philosophy. During his time at the university he remained an active member of the Movement and spent most of his free evenings there acting as a madrich to the younger members.

His socialist and zionistic ardour had developed relatively late in his teens and it was only while at university that he decided to join garin beth. He spent only a six-month period on the training farm before setting out for Israel.

On 'Israel' he was given a variety of jobs but eventually settled down to work on the citrus groves. His main recollection of those early years is the great friction that existed between the garin and original Israeli founders. As he remembers it, the Israeli members were totally committed to building up the kibbutz into a viable economic unit as soon as possible. They failed to see the importance of good communal relationships and were so tired after each day's work that they spent most of their free time resting in their homes. Thus the English together with the Dutch were thrown much on their own resources to create their own social life. Resentment and tensions inevitably grew up on account of failure of communications and the differing outlooks of the two groups and more and more people started to leave. This increased the tension and Jack decided that he would be happier if he himself moved on.

He still felt that he had not given the kibbutz a fair trial and so he went first to several different kibbutzim to try the life there. He finally decided to settle on 'Britain' and since then has rarely looked back. When he arrived he already knew people on the kibbutz and although at first he had not wanted to settle with other British people, he found that he had so much in common with most of these people that it made life far less complicated. He had always been interested in intellectual pursuits and here he was able to study in his spare time and obtain encouragement and support from other members.

The above case histories were chosen as they all show marginal cases - each of the persons discussed could at some stage have left the kibbutz. None of them felt totally committed to the kibbutz they joined

and in each case it was the personal relationships that they were able or unable to make that determined their eventual decision whether or not to stay. In the case of Mavis and Charlie, although they felt content in both their work and their relationships on the kibbutz, when conflict arose over their child's upbringing, they began to think of leaving the kibbutz.

#### SECTION IV

#### CONCLUSIONS

From the chart on page 96 it can be seen that Golomb and Katz in their model for evaluating a particular kibbutz measure the integration within that kibbutz by its net growth of members. They argue that in order to be successful a kibbutz must increase its membership by a greater proportion than the growth in the Jewish population of the country.

This measure is, however, an oversimplification as Golomb and Katz do not give due importance to the fact that a kibbutz is not just one single, isolated community on its own as are most other communes. It is instead part of a large complex of inter-related communities all deriving support from one another and especially from the Kibbutz Movement to which they belong. Thus each individual kibbutz as long as it is able to maintain a stable viable community does not necessarily have to increase its membership in proportion to a relative increase in the numbers of the Jewish population of Israel.

When considering the net growth of both Israel and Britain it can be seen that for neither of them is this growth equal to the corresponding growth of the Jewish population. Thus in 1948 the membership of Britain was 98. In 1971 it had risen to 198 representing an increase of 100 to 102%. In the same period the number of Jews in Israel rose

A MODEL FOR EVALUATING THE KIBBUTZ\*

BASIC VALUES	A SYSTEM INTEGRATION	B EFFECTIVENESS	C CREATIVE ADAPTATION
Operational Measure	Net growth of members.	Profitability	Degree of value differentiation: discriminating value system.
<u>LEVEL</u> 1. Low	<u>FAILURE</u> Growth lower than society.	Failing	Value rigidity or value erosion.
2. Moderate	<u>SURVIVAL</u> Commensurate with society.	Satisfying	Some creative modification.
3. High	<u>SUCCESS</u> Higher than societal growth rate.	Optimising	Much creative modification.

\* See Golomb and Katz "The Kibbutzim as Open Social Systems"

from 758,702 in 1948 to 2,561,400 at the beginning of 1971, an increase of over 250%. On 'Israel' the corresponding figures were 85 members in 1946 and 124 in 1971 or an increase of 46%.

As regards absorption these figures do not give a complete picture as one must also consider the total numbers of candidates and of members before considering the relative success of the two kibbutzim. 'Israel', it will be remembered, had a total of three hashlamot groups from overseas compared with 'Britain's' one. The percentage of each British garin remaining on the kibbutz can be seen in the chart on page 98.

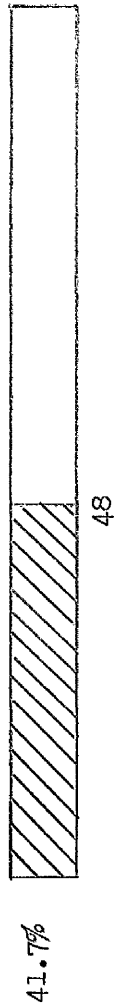
It is interesting to note that the two kibbutzim now receive their recruits from different quarters. Every kibbutz received a certain percentage of its new membership privately through its own mechanisms - this percentage will include such persons as spouses and relatives of existing members and persons who have become acquainted with the kibbutz in question during a temporary stay there. This percentage increases with the age and size of the kibbutz as thus the number of eligible young people will also increase. In a small kibbutz though as are both 'Israel' and 'Britain', the percentage of new members thus obtained will be relatively small.

Other new members who do not apply in person to join the kibbutz come through the central Kibbutz Movement. Most kibbutzim belong to the four major Kibbutz Movements: Kibbutz Artzi - Hashomer Hatzair - 74 kibbutzim; Ichud Hakvutzot Vehakibbutzim - 85 kibbutzim; Kibbutz Meuchad - 58 kibbutzim; and Kibbutz Dati - 13 kibbutzim. The new members that come through the Kibbutz Movements fall into two separate categories: those who come as individuals and are put in touch with the kibbutz movements by the Jewish Agency or some similar organisation, and those who come as members of garinim from the major youth movements

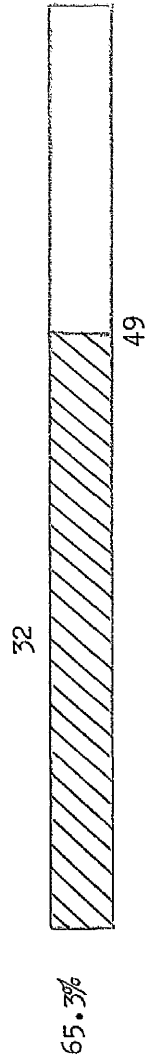
CHART TO SHOW THE PERCENTAGE OF EACH BRITISH GARIN REMAINING ON THE KIBBUTZ

'ISRAEL'

Garin Beth 20

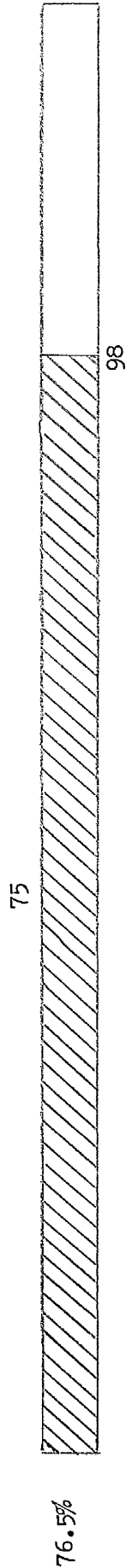


Garin Dalet

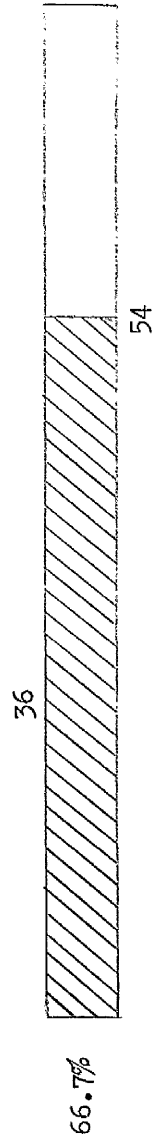


'BRITAIN'

Garin Aleph



Garin Gimel



Key



Number of those who stayed.

1 inch = 10 persons.

$\chi^2 = 9.652$

Thus there is highly significant difference in the success rates of 'Israel' and 'Britain'.

abroad. All garinim once formed are obliged to apply to the Kibbutz Movement to which they are affiliated to discuss with them where hashlamot are most needed. They are not forced to accept their recommendations but most usually do. There is however a scarcity of garinim from abroad and so these can only be sent to those kibbutzim that urgently need their added support. In some ways this is a vicious circle as it is these kibbutzim who most need hashlamot that exhibit the greatest internal difficulties and also have the greatest difficulty in absorbing them.

A garin is much more likely to be successfully absorbed into a strong viable community than it is into a weak, failing one. Absorption inevitably brings with it problems of its own and the stable kibbutz is more able to cope with these extra problems. Also it can be seen that the individual who is himself experiencing doubts as to his new way of life will have these increased. Thus it seems true that when one person decides to leave the kibbutz any doubts that others might have become prominent and this will increase with the number of persons leaving at any one particular time.

Thus 'Israel' is at present at the stage where new recruits are coming mainly through garinim. There have in fact been no cases where individuals or individual families have been sent through the Movement although a few have arrived of their own accord. On 'Britain' on the other hand most of the new candidates coming to the kibbutz now come through the Movement. This is in itself a sign of the kibbutz's stability.

As the second generation of both kibbutzim grows older it can be presumed that they themselves will bring in more new members as spouses<sup>1</sup>, that is, if they themselves decide to stay. As yet the size

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1. See Y. Talmon-Garber, Mate Selection in Collective Settlements American Sociological Review, 29(4), 1964



of the second generation deters one from making any reliable prediction concerning this.

The table on page 101 shows a breakdown of the origins of all members of 'Israel' and 'Britain'. From this it can be seen that on 'Britain' 61 out of a total of 198 came as individuals to the kibbutz. This represents a percentage of 31%. On 'Israel' the corresponding figure is 8 out of a membership of 124 or 6.5%. Those coming from foreign hashlamot garinim represent 18% of the membership of 'Britain' and 50% of the membership of 'Israel'.

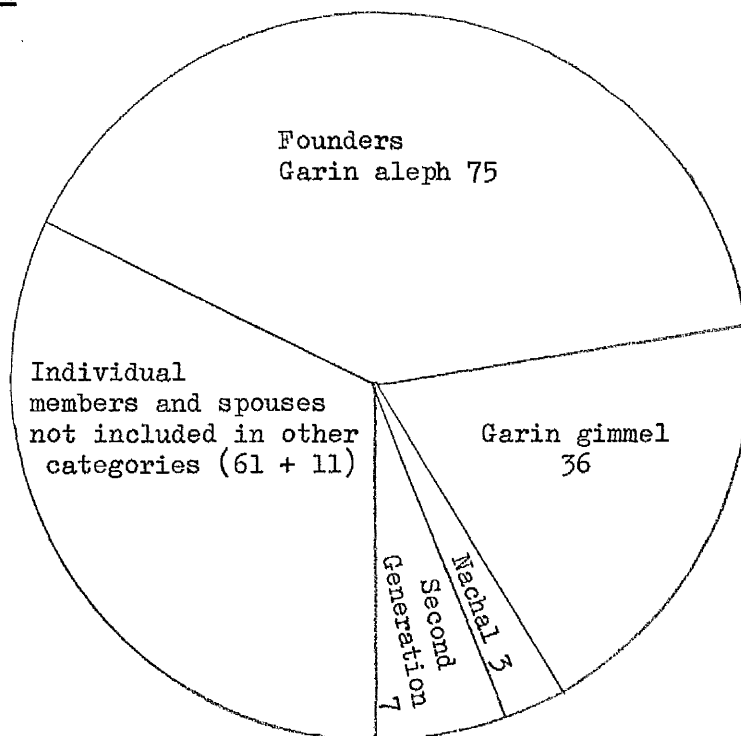
As regards the future it can be expected that the category of individual applicants will rise both in 'Israel' and 'Britain', but to a larger extent on 'Britain' unless unforeseen circumstances arise, then the category of garin should not increase in 'Britain' although it may do so in 'Israel'. This will no doubt largely be dependent on how the absorption of garin daled proceeds. It is unlikely that a large number of any of garinim aleph, beth and gimmel will leave as there appears to be a certain time limit after which it is highly improbable that members leave unless a crisis arises within the kibbutz - such as the political division of kibbutzim<sup>2</sup>.

Considering the relative success of 'Britain' in the absorption of British garinim if this is measured on the simple level of those who have stayed for a period of one year or more<sup>3</sup>, we can now consider the different phenomena which have resulted in this success. The factors which affect the absorption of individuals and also the retaining of the second generation are not necessarily the same as those that affect the absorption of British garinim; therefore only the latter will be considered.

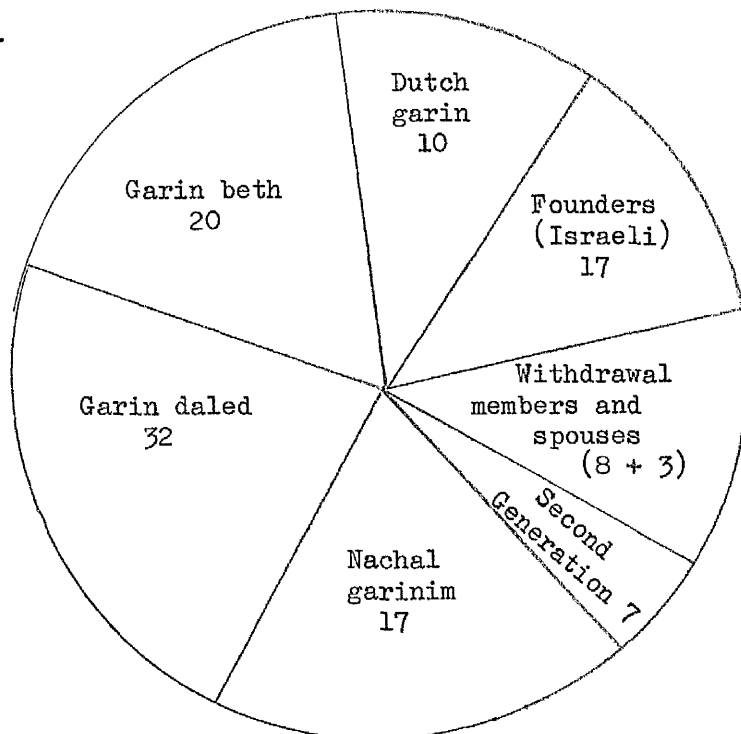
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2. See diagram on page 98 for details.

3. This includes a number of European Jews who sought refuge in Great Britain and spent the war years there.

DIAGRAM SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF MEMBERSHIP ON BRITAIN AND ISRAELBRITAIN

Total Membership 1971 = 198

ISRAEL

Total Membership 1971 = 124

From the data presented in Section III it can be seen that 'Britain' is particularly successful in integration on the system level. This is mainly on account of its homogenous composition. Out of a total of 198 members only 10 are not from Anglo-Saxon countries<sup>4</sup>, excluding the 7 second-generation members. This contrasts with the breakdown in composition of 'Israel' where 35 members are of Israeli origin (not counting the 7 second-generation members), 10 are of Dutch origin, and 59 are from Great Britain. Is there, though, a necessary correlation between homogeneity and stability? Most of the veteran kibbutzim are made up of hashlamot from several different countries<sup>5</sup>, and many of these appear to be highly successful.

Although no research was conducted into British garinim, it is interesting to note that the two kibbutzim described by other Movement schlichim as successful in absorption were both uni-national kibbutzim - one of these had a small number of Hungarians amongst its original founders and the other has a hashlama group of Americans. The other British garinim who went to heterogeneous kibbutzim all met with varying degrees of failure. It is also interesting that each scheliach also mentioned that the British kibbutz had a poor record in the absorption of garinim of Israeli origin.

One of the first problems encountered by garin members arriving at non-British kibbutzim is that of verbal communication. Members when they arrive have reached varying standards of proficiency in the Hebrew language. This can give rise to misunderstandings and hinders the development of social contact between the garin and members of the kibbutz. This has now been recognised as an important problem and

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4. This includes a number of European Jews who sought refuge in Great Britain and spent the War years there.

5. See Weintraub, Lissak & Azmon, Moshava, Kibbutz and Moshav. Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1969.

members of the present garin of the Movement are being sent to an Israeli kibbutz for a six months course in Hebrew before their arrival at the receiving kibbutz. No concentrated effort however, was made on 'Israel' to teach members of garin daled Hebrew. Two ulpanim of three months were arranged for the last two groups to arrive but for earlier groups different arrangements were made for individuals although most were sent on a course of at least one month.

The importance of being able to speak Hebrew well was shown by the scorn with which a temporary British worker was treated by members of the second generation. This person, although he had not yet applied for membership, had been on 'Israel' three years, had a brother in garin daled and had not bothered to learn the simplest Hebrew.

The learning of Hebrew is less of a problem on 'Britain' as the garin member can always rely on English to make himself properly understood. It has always been the policy on 'Britain' to speak Hebrew on all official occasions, for example, at the general meeting, but even today English is still the main language of conversation amongst the adults. This is itself a great help in establishing early social contacts between the existing kibbutz members and the new garin. Many of these contacts in fact already existed on 'Britain' prior to the arrival of garin gimmel. These were invaluable during the settling-in period.

But this was not the only distinguishing difference between Israel and 'Britain'. An important difference was that 'Britain' exhibited a high rate of creative adaptation of values. As a kibbutz 'Britain' has not been afraid to implement new methods and techniques, and the members are always consciously trying to improve the quality of their kibbutz life. The emphasis is not though on economic improvement but rather the improving of social contact or chevra. Each member is encouraged to extend himself to the full, whether this be through art, music or

whatever, and to contribute fully to the community.

Israel on the other hand equates success with economic success and thus every effort is made to produce more even though this may be detrimental to an individual's happiness and self-fulfilment. Members are expected to work extra hours whenever the need arises even though this is often and at inconvenient times. In a community such as the kibbutz each member must be willing to make some sacrifice for the community as a whole, but when this is a continuing process and when economic achievement is not seen to be passed on to the community in some form then resentment and dissatisfaction will inevitably appear. The following were the two factors that came up again and again in interviews with daled members who were dissatisfied with the kibbutz: economic "exploitation" and lack of harmony between and contact with different groups on the kibbutz.

As regards the characteristics of individuals that affect the success of absorption it was difficult to determine these with regard to all four garinim as it proved impossible to trace a sufficient number of those who had left garinim aleph, beth and gimmel, and thus none of the conclusions reached would have been valid. With regard to garin daled, however, the most important characteristic appeared to be the members' relative expectations of the kibbutz prior to aliya and whether or not the individual was able to find a role within the framework of the kibbutz that was satisfying to himself. Apart from these there appear to be no external distinguishing characteristics such as education, political inclination or parental history of Movement involvement. It must be remembered that some members of garin daled had only been on 'Israel' for one year at the time of the study - while others had spent a three year period in the army, and so it is quite possible that some of those at present on the kibbutz will eventually leave.<sup>6</sup>

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6. Since the conclusion of the research period on 'Israel' another six members of garin daled have left the kibbutz.

This though has only been considering absorption as measured by the most simple measure of a person remaining on the kibbutz. In Section II of this paper it was noted that Eisenstadt distinguishes between three different measures of absorption: personal adjustment, acculturation and complete dispersion. It can more or less be assumed that in a kibbutz situation if the individual is not personally adjusted to that situation then he will eventually leave as the kibbutz is an all-embracing structure.

Acculturation is however much more difficult to measure as one must consider whether this refers to just the single kibbutz, to the whole kibbutz movement or to the total Israeli community. Certainly all remaining members of garinim aleph, beth and gimmel could be said to be acculturated to their particular kibbutz. As regards daled, this is more difficult to ascertain as the process of absorption has not been fully completed. As has been mentioned, during the period of research a meeting was held by members of daled to consider changes that they might as a garin wish to see on 'Israel'. There was a split in opinions, some obviously having already accepted the norms and values of the 'Israel' community, while others were as yet opposed to these. It is from the latter that those who will eventually leave are likely to arise. It could be though, that those who accept the founders' premises do so unwillingly because they believe that the kibbutz as a system cannot revert to its original ideological model.

As regards the acculturation of the garin to the kibbutz movement as a whole this is a more difficult question as 'Britain' is in many ways different from the ideological model and even from many kibbutzim as they are today. It is difficult to assess the way the kibbutz will develop in the future but it seems likely from present trends that more kibbutzim will agree to children living at their parent's home and

will be willing to give their members greater personal freedom. Thus it is difficult to regard 'Britain's' divergence from the ideological model as negative.

Certainly the cultural set up on 'Britain' is still more English than 'Israel' but the very nature of the kibbutz movement in Israel allows for the individual development of different kibbutzim. Even if 'Britain' is at the moment rather more British than Israeli there is every possibility that this will change as the second generation grows older and becomes a greater proportion of the community. Certainly no-one would deny that the second generation on 'Britain' are anything but typical sabras<sup>7</sup>.

As regards a complete dispersion this has been shown to be true on Britain and on Israel except for the very important field of social relations. The members of the different groups on Israel do not mix socially and without this there will never be complete dispersion but this does not necessarily conclude that this is dysfunctional. Pluralistic societies can and do remain stable and can even in some ways be considered preferable to homogeneous societies as they provide a wider spectrum of cultural stimuli<sup>8</sup>. But in a small isolated community it can cause problems as there is already a severe limitation on social contacts.

These then were the main conclusions reached by the research. From them it is possible to suggest certain steps that might be taken to help absorption of British garinim.

The main point that the research appeared to suggest was that future garinim should be sent to a uni-national kibbutz of British origin -

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7. For a description of the typical sabra see A. Elon, The Israelis Founders and Sons, Weidenfeld, Nicholson. New York 1971.

8. See Golomb and Katz, op.cit.

that is if the main aim is to encourage as many members as possible to remain on a kibbutz. The wishes of future garinim do however have to be taken into consideration and it would appear unlikely that in the future these would wish to go to an all-British kibbutz. Indeed the present garinim of all the Youth Movements in Britain have all expressed the wish that they should not be sent to any Anglo-Saxon kibbutz. There would seem to be no reason why this trend should be reversed in the future. As it has been previously stated<sup>9</sup> there is a feeling that the uni-national kibbutzim should be discouraged if possible as it is felt that they hinder the development of a genuine Israeli culture.

If the problems of cultural differences is recognised and if the difficulties can be discussed as soon as they arise and moreover openly and without guilt, then many of these difficulties can be overcome. Indeed on the new kibbutz in the occupied area which was awaiting a British garin at the time this study was conducted, discussions of these problems of culture clashes were already being held by members of the kibbutz and members of other Anglo-Saxon kibbutzim in the area prior to the arrival of the garin. Arrangements had also been made to send the garin to an ulpan on an Israeli kibbutz so that they would gain a knowledge of Hebrew before coming to the kibbutz. This should be invaluable in helping them to overcome the initial difficulties of communication and it is to be hoped that the same procedure will be used for future garinim.

It is true that the first group of the garin that goes to the receiving kibbutz has the most difficult task settling-in, but what

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9. See page 28.



sometimes happens with the subsequent groups is that their reception is not treated with the same effort or enthusiasm on the part of the receiving members. Help and encouragement must be maintained at each stage of the garin's aliya and I feel it would be some help if some formal arrangement was made by the garin throughout this period to discuss any problems that might arise. This could take the form of a regular meeting where problems could be raised and openly discussed and then brought to the attention of the kibbutz on behalf of the garin as a whole. I am not here advocating the formation of a separate pressure group but the needs of the garin are specific and will eventually cease as absorption is achieved. These meetings need not be held often as long as they are held regularly and thus need not impose on those members who feel that they have spent too much time in the Youth Movement already.

Each garin is appointed a specific member of the receiving kibbutz to act as mentor and organiser and much depends on this person taking his or her role seriously and continuing with it throughout the transition period rather than making a big initial effort and then relaxing as the presence of the garin becomes an accepted fact on the kibbutz.

More could be done than previously has been done to prepare garin members for the experiences that they will undergo on the kibbutz. Members of the Youth Movement to which all 4 garinim studied belong are at present given the opportunity to go on hachshara in Israel now that the training farm in England has closed. This is an excellent idea but more benefit could be obtained from it if the members were sent to an Israeli rather than Anglo-Saxon kibbutz. All garin members should be encouraged to go to this hachshara and perhaps a three-month summer hachshara could be arranged for those members who are studying.

Education within the Movement regarding kibbutz could be improved. Too much emphasis is placed on kibbutz ideology without attempting to show and to explain the changes that the kibbutz is undergoing. The best form of education however will always be through personal experience and this also enables the individual to try kibbutz life before making his final commitment.

Measures have already been taken to make sure that the aliya period<sup>10</sup> is as short as possible. This should be continued. An ideal situation would be if garinim could be formed from all the Youth Movements in Britain but because of ideological and religious reasons this does not appear possible at present although the trend is for members of the three Youth Movements to co-operate in an increasing number of activities<sup>11</sup>.

The suggestion given above presupposes that in the future there will be no major change in the process of aliya. In fact in two out of three British Youth Movements there have already been some important changes in this field. In one Youth Movement emphasis is now placed on encouraging the formation of political groups within this country rather than on encouraging aliya, and in the other Youth Movement numbers willing to join garinim have decreased so much that in the present garin there are only 11 members who will go in three groups. The extent of aliya will also be affected by future trends in Israel, in the kibbutz movement itself and in the Jewish community in Britain.

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10. See pages 20 to 21.

11. For example in Manchester joint Israeli folk dancing classes and discussion groups for the over-18's have been arranged and at each Jewish festival an attempt is made to hold joint meetings.

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GLOSSARY OF HEBREW TERMS

Aliya - ascent, or migration to Israel.

Chaver, plural chaverim - friend, comrade - member of a kibbutz.

Chevra - close community spirit.

Galut - diaspora or all countries other than Israel.

Garin - group formed in Zionist Youth Movements for settlement on a kibbutz.

Hachshara - period of training for kibbutz life.

Hashlama, plural Hashlamot - groups who join the kibbutz after its foundation.

Hagana - Jewish defence force.

Kibbutz - collective settlement.

Kvutza, plural Kvutzot - group, also early name for kibbutz.

Mizug ha'galuyot - policy of intermixing ethnic groups.

Moshav, plural moshavim - variation of the kibbutz pattern where each family receives their own plot of land.

Nachal - Pioneering Fighting Youth - section of the Israeli army that combines soldiering with pioneering.

Scheliach, plural schlichim - emissary.

Shalat - service without pay. Period spent by Nachal members on border kibbutz.

Sherut - service.

Torah Va'avodah - ideology of combining study of the bible and physical work.

Ulpan, plural ulpanim - Hebrew language courses.

