

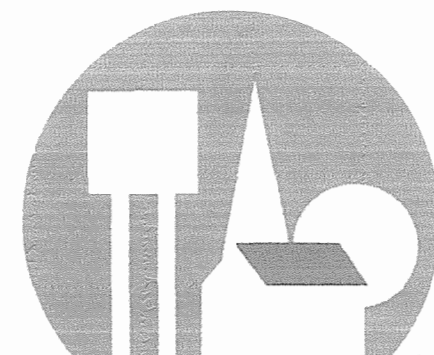
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CHANGES IN LEISURE CULTURE
IN THE KIBBUTZ

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ABSTRACT

The leisure culture of the Kibbutzim has undergone many changes, and can be characterized by the following:

1. Most of the Kibbutz members who perform physical work in agriculture, industry and services have developed a high level of aspiration for creative self-actualization. The search for self-actualization expresses itself both in the areas of work and leisure bringing forth original patterns of integration between the two.
2. The norms of the communal consumption do not encourage the usual process of increase in aspiration of material consumptions and on the other hand facilitate cultural consumptions and create conditions for creative leisure.
3. The division of free time between obligations and leisure activity in the Kibbutzim is different from other societies. Family obligations have become quasi leisure activities while public obligations have increased as a result of the participative democracy.
4. There is a decrease in communal activities that include all members and an increase in the activity of the Kibbutz institutions in developing a large number of activities among which the members can choose.
5. A network of regional and country-wide cultural organizations has developed and enabled the Kibbutzim to enjoy high standards of cultural consumptions and creative leisure not withstanding their small populations and the distance from urban centres.

A study of the changes that have taken place in the leisure culture of the Kibbutz in recent years presents an unusual opportunity to review a number of the accepted concepts in the study of leisure culture and its direction in modern society.

These concepts are generally based on the premise that dichotomies exist between the poles of which the conditions for spending free time are determined along with our relationship to it and to the forms and conditions of leisure recreation.

A) It is accepted that the *city* is the focus of cultural creativity as it possesses both the creative artistic and cultural framework, such as theaters, orchestras, etc. in addition to the centers of distribution such as museums, publishing houses, and, of course, the mass communication media — television, radio, cinema, the press, etc. In contrast, the *village*, which in the past was in many countries the source of original, popular cultural creativity has become in most industrialized nations a consumer of commercialized culture and the communications media. The isolated corners of folk culture which survived have become tourist attractions and have lost their originality.

B) The dichotomy between *work* and *leisure* is no less unequivocal and clear. Not all time free of work can be defined as time available for leisure culture. They distinguish within the framework of non-work time between activities which can be considered obligations such as family and

household obligations, public obligations of a religious-spiritual nature (obeying religious commandments, for example) and public-political obligations. Leisure culture begins only after these obligations have been filled.¹

It is an accepted premise that reduced work hours are a necessary condition for the development of a rich leisure culture. Some of the discussion on the question of whether a leisure civilization is emerging in the industrially developed nations focuses on the problem of whether the reduction in working hours and in the work week is progressing as expected and to the degree that progress in automation and electronic technology has made possible. There is also the question of whether the newly freed time is used for leisure or for additional work or obligations.²

At the heart of the premise of polarity between work time and leisure time is the recognition that much of the work in modern society is characterized by various forms of *alienation* resulting from fragmented and routine work processes, from the worker's feeling of powerlessness in the face of the technology and bureaucracy that control him, and from the very nature of his status as an employee. In contrast to this perception of the alienating nature of work, free time is perceived as the area in which man is free to choose his occupations and recreations and in which he may aspire to self-actualization.

C) This matter is also related to another dichotomy in the area of social value systems and personal aspirations: between emphasis on the *productive-economic* sphere and emphasis on *consumer aspirations* and rising standards of living. The premise of this contradiction is based on the concept of the "Protestant Ethic" which is widespread in western culture and according to which economic development and increased production are placed at the center of life instead of the satisfaction of needs and personal pleasure.

D) We mentioned above the competition for free time between *pure leisure* and *public obligations* of various types. Can we conclude from this that as a given society is more collective-oriented, and as obligations to communal activity and participation increase, so accordingly, does the remaining time for leisure activity decrease accompanied by lower priority and esteem on the part of society for these activities?

E) The existence of strong collective elements may also restrict the individual's *free choice* of leisure activity and his aspirations for self-actualization in the face of *collective forms* of leisure activity initiated by collective institutions and the desire for uniformity in the forms and content of recreation and occupation.

F) On the other hand, the collective elements and institutions may also be seen as acting as a brake on the infiltration of *commercialized consumer* culture. The collective institutions segregate the individual from the commercialized culture "market" and enable *individual creativity* in fields defined by the community.

We can summarize from the above the following list of dichotomies relevant to the discussion of leisure culture in the Kibbutz.

- a) Rural traditional culture versus urban mass culture.
- b) Work vs. leisure.
- c) Productive-economic orientation vs. consumer aspirations.
- d) Communal and family obligations vs. pure leisure.
- e) Collective forms of recreation vs. free personal choice of the forms of leisure recreation.
- f) Creative leisure vs. passive consumption.

With regard to some of these dichotomies, the place of the Kibbutz is apparently clear. Regarding others, it is more difficult to determine without detailed study.

Contingencies for leisure in the Kibbutz and its problems

A) Kibbutzim are small communities in a rural environment. In spite of the decrease in the significance of agriculture and the increase in the significance of industry in their economic systems, they are certainly to be defined as villages — even small villages — according to all accepted definitions.

B) Work holds a central place both in the value system and in the daily life of the Kibbutz. The value system emphasizes not only work in general, but particularly agricultural work and physical work. This emphasis is part of the Socialist-Zionist ideology. The Kibbutzim saw themselves as pioneers in restructuring the diaspora occupational structure and in creating a class of workers and farmers. There is even a philosophical aspect which views agricultural labor as the expression of man's unity with nature and the cosmos. This value system continues to have influence in spite of the changes that have occurred in the economic and professional structure of the Kibbutz.³

The length of the work day in the Kibbutz has been greatly reduced since the twenties and thirties and there are now more vacations and

holidays. But even now the Kibbutz work day is long. For the population which is of age to work a full day it is eight hours, six days a week, with the additional of various duties by roster (such as the dining hall, the children's houses, livestock on Sabbaths and holidays and, in addition, guard duty) which are a result of the system of collective consumption.

A comparison of time allocations between a Kibbutz sample and a non-Kibbutz sample showed that the average time devoted to work in the Kibbutz on a normal work day was one hour more than outside the Kibbutz.

C) The Jewish value system and the "Protestant Ethic" are very different. Parallels can be found, however, in the productive-economic aspects of the "worldly asceticism" of Protestantism which demands thrift, simplicity and frugality and the Kibbutz ideology of the pioneering era. (Y. Talmon-Gerber, 1970). During this period the major effort was directed towards building an economic base for the Jewish community in the country. The Kibbutz movement was concerned with the settlement of new regions, the development of agriculture by people lacking prior experience, and the construction of farms and economic entities without capital. Economic surpluses, when there were such, were reinvested in expanding production and the infrastructure. Material standards of living were extremely low.

Having mentioned the rural character of the Kibbutz community, the centrality of work in its life, and its emphasis on the productive-economic elements, all of which may impede the development of a rich leisure culture, we should also mention some other aspects which have an opposite influence. The Kibbutz movement saw itself from the earliest stages of its development as a pioneer in the creation of a secular Hebrew culture, particularly in creating new forms for the celebration of the holidays. These new forms and the songs and dances accompanying them became an integral part of the Israeli life-style and atmosphere of the period. The Kibbutzim also attempted to influence the urban and general culture directly by means of their own publishing houses, by establishing a network of cultural clubs in the cities, and by activities in the framework of the General Federation of Labor and the Jewish community.

The members of the first Kibbutzim were generally people of a high educational level who came from eastern and central Europe during a period of cultural and ideological ferment and who were influenced by the new, progressive cultural trends. In spite of the long exhausting workdays, many Kibbutzim had a lively cultural life. Even the emphasis on simplicity and frugality in material things did not result only from the

need to save for the sake of economic development. It was also based on the perception of a contradiction between material consumption, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, creative cultural and spiritual activity, with the latter preferred.

In addition to these factors, which are related to the rural character of the Kibbutz and to the pioneering ideology of the early period, there are also important factors related to the collective character of the Kibbutz.

D) We mentioned above the non-work obligations which reduce the pure leisure time in which one is free to choose ones recreations and occupations. The collective manner in which Kibbutz life is organized influences the nature and relative importance of these obligations. Outside the Kibbutz family obligations such as child care and house-keeping are rather clearly defined and unequivocal while social and communal obligations such as public service or even religious observance are left, to a great degree, to the free choice of the individual. On the Kibbutz this situation is reversed.

As a result of the collective educational arrangements and collective consumption, the member does not have to spend much time in child-care or housekeeping. Child-care is the responsibility of the various educational personnel whose job it is, so that contact between the parents is almost devoid of instrumental aspects and formal obligations. Parents are not required to prepare food for the children, wash them, or care for other needs. All these are taken care of by the nursemaids in the children's house. The parents may do these things to the degree they wish. These are not obligatory activities but are based on the *free choice* in the manner of spending one's free time. The situation regarding other activities such as food preparation, sewing and mending clothes at home is similar. The institutions of collective consumption care for all of these, but if one wishes to bake a cake at home in addition to what is given in the dining hall, or wishes to sew in addition to the services rendered by the tailorshop, the means are available. These should be seen, however, as freely chosen activities.⁴

On the other hand, public service has an obligatory nature. The obligation to participate in the weekly Kibbutz assembly and on the many committees that manage Kibbutz life is less defined, it is true, than the obligation to work. While all members work of course, and not one would claim that he does not want to work, there are quite a number of members who do not participate in Kibbutz meetings and some members do not take part in other types of communal activity. They violate, however, an

accepted behavioural norm and although no formal sanctions are imposed, their behaviour is not considered legitimate.

There are great differences among members regarding the amount of time spent in public activities which are generally held after work hours, especially in the evenings. While members who hold major offices in the Kibbutz are busy almost every evening and often in the afternoon too, committee members only spend one evening every week or two at meetings. This differentiation in the extent of public obligation is weakened by the rotation system by which most office holders and committee members are changed annually and major office holders are changed every two to three years.

Generally it can be said that public obligations reduce free time but collective consumption liberates the member from family obligations such as childcare and housekeeping. Insofar as the member engages in this sort of activity, it is part of his leisure recreation. Indeed, the content of the time spent with the children in the family framework does not differ from other leisure occupations and the decision concerning its nature is an individual matter.⁵ The time devoted to the children is a part of the daily Kibbutz schedule and during these hours, usually 4.00-8.00 p.m., no other activities are organized and an attempt is made to free members from all work. (Special arrangements are made in factories that work in shifts).

E) There are areas other than public service in which there is no clear normative definition of whether they are obligatory or are to be left to individual discretion. This question also concerns some of the cultural and social activities organized by the Kibbutz. We have already referred to holiday celebrations in the Kibbutz. In addition, there are a number of cultural activities regarding which there was formerly a clear expectation that most of the Kibbutz population would participate such as Sabbath evening parties, lectures and various study groups. Even though there was not always an explicit normative requirement, the fact that the Kibbutz institutions organized these activities expressed the expectations that the members would participate. In most Kibbutzim it is customary to publish a weekly program listing the activities that are planned for the following evenings and which members are expected to attend.

Thus, fairly uniform types of leisure recreation were developed. If we add to this the uniformity that resulted from the division of the day into segments determined by mealtimes and the time set aside for the children, we find that an institutionalized framework has developed which may limit the individuals freedom of decision and freedom of choice in the area of leisure recreation.

The small community framework, distant from urban centers, also places limitations on the possibilities of free choice. The film ordered by the cultural committee each week has no competition from other cinemas. This is also true of performances by outside artists who are brought to the Kibbutz by the cultural committee or of other activities it organizes.

These limitations were not very acute in the past if we consider the great homogeneity that characterized the Kibbutz movement in all those factors which influence aspirations of leisure recreation. The factors which usually produce heterogeneity in leisure aspirations such as class differences, wide educational differences, and differing ethnic origins are almost non-existent in the Kibbutz. There are, of course, no class differences; educational levels are relatively uniform and relatively high; and most members are of European origin or native Israelis of European extraction.

F) The relatively limited possibilities for free choice of leisure activities should not be seen, according to a certain viewpoint, only as a deficiency. The collective institutions of cultural and leisure consumption was able to limit the exposure to various types of commercialized culture which are contrary to Kibbutz values. The Kibbutz was isolated from the culture and entertainment market. The local and national institutions of the Kibbutz movement were able to act as a kind of barrier controlling the type of culture imported into the Kibbutz. On the other hand, they were able to encourage and produce suitable conditions for those cultural activities that conform to the Kibbutz value system such as the creative activity of choral groups, dance troupes, dramatic clubs, etc., or the activities of individuals in various artistic fields. Often, the organizers of these activities had to compete with the consumption institutions of the Kibbutz over the scarce resources of money and manpower which were available to the Kibbutz. There was no doubt, however, that their activities conformed to the Kibbutz value system and even strengthened its ability to resist the possible influences of cultural importation.

We can now summarize the place of the Kibbutz in regard to the last three dichotomies.

Public service does indeed become an obligation limiting free time but family obligations and housekeeping are reduced and activities in these areas are based on free determination.

The collective institutional structure and the small size of the community cause homogeneity in the forms of leisure recreation and in the availability of leisure activities, limiting the possibilities of choice.

The collective institutional structure acts as a filter on the importation of commercialized culture and encourages creative cultural activities giving preference to those which take place in a collective framework.

Changes in Leisure Culture

The above characteristics distinguished the Kibbutz for a long time. Lately, however, it seems that a number of internal changes in the Kibbutz society and economy, changes in the mutual relations with the non-Kibbutz environment, and the development of the mass communications media in Israel — especially television — have raised the question of whether the distinctiveness of the Kibbutz in the area of leisure culture has been preserved.

Let us review briefly the major changes and their effects on leisure culture.

1. Changes in social structure. The Kibbutzim, which were once small, young groups, have become multi-generational settlements with all age groups represented. The status of the family in Kibbutz life has risen and extended families containing a number of nuclear families have formed as a result of the majority of children remaining in the Kibbutz in which they were born. The number of members who did not receive prior education for Kibbutz life has risen. The growing heterogeneity of the social structure may result in greater heterogeneity in leisure culture aspirations. This heterogeneity may also find expression in the relative importance attached to leisure activities as compared with other activities, in the preference given to various types of leisure activity, and in matters of taste and style. These differences, which are influenced by developments outside the Kibbutz, are especially conspicuous between different age groups and generations; but even within the various social groups personal differences are growing. In general, we can assume on the basis of existing research material that leisure occupations will have a more prominent place in the lives of the young in contrast to the prominence of work in the lives of the veteran members, etc. Differences of taste and style will also separate the age groups and generation.⁶

2. The changes in the Kibbutz economy and especially the rapid growth of industry have intensified professional and occupational differentiation. There are larger gaps between skilled work, rich in content, and routine unsatisfying work. (Levitan-Eden 1974). Leisure activities may become more important for people whose work is less satisfying.

They may search for satisfaction in leisure activity as a substitute for lack of satisfaction in work.

3. There has been a relatively rapid rise in the Kibbutz standard of living in recent years as a result of economic development. This rise has improved family living conditions at the same time that the importance of the family in the social structure has grown. It has enabled improvements in the furnishing of the family apartment which is often expressed in the acquisition of durable consumer goods of cultural significance such as television, tape recorder, stereo set, etc. Most of these goods are purchased by the families according to their personal preferences—except for television, which in most Kibbutzim was purchased by collective decision after extended debates both in the Kibbutzim themselves and in the movement directorates. The reason for this was the social and valuational significance seen in the introduction of television sets into private apartments in the Kibbutz.⁷ (Gurvitz-Levi, 1973; S. Shur, 1975). The rising standard of living was also expressed in some Kibbutzim by the construction of public facilities for collective leisure recreation such as swimming pools, club houses and sports arenas.⁸

4. These processes enhanced the exposure of the Kibbutz to the influence of the environment. Television introduces the influences of a different value system into the Kibbutz member's room but it also broadens horizons, shortens distances, and brings people closer to the centers of cultural activity. The construction of public facilities and the rise in the living standards allow greater "importation" of various types of culture from the city.

We can summarize in the following manner the consequences of these changes on the position of the Kibbutz between the poles of the dichotomies which were listed at the beginning of this paper.

A) The Kibbutz village has lost its distinctiveness as a creative center competing with the city and has become to a greater degree a consumer of imported culture. Some of this "importation" is directly provided by the mass communications media and some of it is provided by the Kibbutz institutions acting as agents by bringing performances to the Kibbutz.

B) The order of preference between work and leisure has been modified so that the centrality of work has declined and that of leisure has risen. This tendency is especially clear among the young and second-generation Kibbutz members. It can be assumed that some of the members will seek compensation in leisure occupations for the lack of satisfaction in industrial work or other jobs.

C) The rise in the standard of living may reinforce the concentration on the development and satisfaction of materialistic aspirations which were "repressed" in the past because of the ideology of frugality. Y. Talmon-Gerber's research pointed out that as early as the 1950's there was a trend away from the ascetic approach emphasizing production to a gratification-consumeristic approach.

D) Two opposing tendencies which are not related to work obligations may influence the amount of "pure" leisure. With the rise in importance of the family and the expansion of the areas of its' concerns, some of the family activities such as childcare, housekeeping, etc. may become obligations instead of being part of pure leisure as in the past. On the other hand, there may be a reduction in the importance of public obligations as a result of reduced participation by part of the population, especially the young, in these activities. This will cause a weakening of the norms requiring participation in various types of collective events.

E) The growing heterogeneity of the social structure may cause difficulties for the Kibbutz institutions in the organization of activities which will satisfy the desires and aspirations of different age and generation groups. Efforts are made, therefore, to offer a variety of possibilities for activity with members deciding for themselves which to attend. This diversification of possibilities finds expression in the following ways:

1. The proliferation of activities organized in a regional framework and the subsequent advantages of size enables many different types of activities to be organized including types of cultural performances which would not have a large enough audience in only one Kibbutz.
2. The diversification of activities in the individual Kibbutz. The larger, more veteran Kibbutzim have even begun planning concurrent activities directed to different audiences, especially to different age groups. This approach was met at first with opposition by veteran members who believed it harmful to Kibbutz social unity. Today, however, it gains increasing legitimization. By increasing participation it unites the various groups as intermediary links in the large and diversified framework of the Kibbutz.
3. The provision of facilities for individual leisure occupations by means of constructing public buildings — sports and hobby centers — and providing the appropriate guidance. All of these processes have in common the strengthening of free choice in

the area of leisure occupations and the weakening of uniformity and collectivity.

F) The weakening of the collective forms and frameworks and the strengthening of aspirations for free choice limit the ability of Kibbutz institutions to influence the orientation of cultural consumption and the types of leisure activities. Thus there is a greater chance that the importance of creative and original leisure occupations will decline and passive consumption of commercialized leisure products will increase as is occurring in the non-Kibbutz population.

Are these processes taking place as some writers believe?

To date, there has not been any systematic and comprehensive research devoted to leisure culture, articles in this field being based on studies of limited areas such as television (Gurvitz-Levi 1973), time allocations (Katz-Gurvitz, 1973) or on the secondary analysis of findings from the study of the second generation (U. Meri, 1973)⁹.

We too had no access to a special study but in addition to the study of the second generation, we can make use of a later study in this area, a study of the absorption into the Kibbutzim of the Kibbutz raised second generation and also a study that examined the leisure recreation of the elderly in the Kibbutz.¹⁰

The first question we will attempt to examine relates to the assumption concerning the decline of the centrality of work and the rise in the importance of leisure occupations. We will examine this with the aid of Table 1 which presents findings from the study of the second generation.

This table shows the differences between the sexes and the generations in the Kibbutz regarding the relative importance of work and public activity. Both of these areas are more important to men and to veterans of both sexes than to women and to the second generation of both sexes. The chief "competitor" to work, however, is not leisure occupation but the family whose importance has grown. It is difficult today to define whether family oriented activity is a leisure activity or an obligation.

Every group names study as its most important leisure occupation. The reference here is not to formal study — as only a minority are so engaged but to various types of independent study or participation in non-formal study frameworks. The difference between the sexes and especially between the generations is conspicuous in that men and

TABLE NO. 1

*Relative importance of life-spheres by sex and generation
(Average score of rank order¹)*

	Sex		Generation	
	Men	Women	I	II
Work	1.6	1.8	1.3	1.7
Family	1.8	1.4	1.4	1.7 ²
Studies	3.0	2.7	2.8	2.8
Public activities	3.5	3.7	3.-	3.8
Hobbies	3.8	3.5	3.8	3.7
Sports	4.1	4.9	4.5	4.5
N	726	738	357	822

1. A low score indicates more importance and a high score less. A line under the number indicates that the relevant group attributes significantly more importance.

2. A breakdown by family status indicates that the married members of the second generation attribute the same importance to family as those of the first generation (score — 1.4).

Source: Second generation study⁹.

veterans consider the undeniable leisure activity, hobbies, to be much less important than public activity, which, as we have pointed out, is normatively a kind of obligation not subject to the sole discretion of the individual. On the other hand, for the second generation, who represents the new and future tendencies, this difference disappears. Women even place greater importance on hobbies. We can conclude from this that there is indeed a relative rise in the importance of leisure activities in comparison to public activity, but not in comparison to work and that the relative status of leisure occupations, except for studies, is low.

Is there also a clear distinction between the generations in the types of leisure occupations in which they actually participate?

There are greater differences between the sexes than between the generations in the choice of reading matter. Women read more literature and relatively less study or read political material.¹¹

On the other hand, there are distinct differences between the generations regarding active hobbies and sports. One quarter of the second generation who have active hobbies are painters or sculptors, another quarter are photographers, 17% play some musical instrument and 12% are actors. There is no difference between the generations

TABLE NO. 2

Distribution of types of leisure activities of first and second generation kibbutz-members

	Sex		Generation				
	Men	Women	1st gen.		2nd gen.		Other youth
			% ¹ Hours	% Hours	% Hours	% Hours	
<i>Readings</i>							
Literature	61	75	70	8.0	66	7.1	68
Studies	63	47	52	5.8	53	5.2	63
Politics	26	10	19	7.3	18	7.8	17
<i>Hobbies</i>							
Active Hobbies	27	19	10	4.3	25	5.5	25
Passive Hobbies	40	55	46	5.1	48	6.3	48
Sport and Walking	42	26	18	3.9	40	5.1	36
Other Hobbies	6	31	16	4.6	17	5.3	27

1. Percentage of sample mentioning the type of activity.

2. The average number of hours per week during which this type of activity is performed by those that mentioned it.

Source: Second generation study⁹.

regarding "passive" hobbies which are mainly listening to various types of music on the radio or phonograph or attending the theater or cinema. There is also no clear difference in other hobbies such as sewing, embroidery or knitting which are done only by women, or in various handicrafts (ceramics, metalwork, jewellery making, etc.) at which men also work. The major sports played in the Kibbutz are basketball, volleyball, and swimming.

These data concerning differences in leisure recreation are from 1969, before the introduction of television sets into the apartments of Kibbutz members. The only data reflecting on the significance of television is based on a sample of about 100 elderly members over 55 years of age.

It seems that television does take first place among leisure occupations and thus another occupation which is essentially passive and which takes place in the family apartment is added to the list. Reading and listening to music hold their places after television viewing. The percentage of members who have hobbies is greater in this group than in the group studied in the second generation survey.

TABLE NO. 3

Leisure activities of aged Kibbutz members
(Percentage of activity and average hours spent weekly) N=95

Type of activity	% ¹	Hours ²
Television	90	7.1
Reading, listening to music	86	6.3
Hobbies and collections	46	5.5
Gardening and walking	67	5.3
Social visits	76	3.9
Time spent with grandchildren — in the Kibbutz	76	5.8
Time spent with grandchildren — outside the Kibbutz	73	3.4
Kibbutz assemblies and committees	53	2.9
Study groups	46	4.0
Cinema and cultural club	44	3.6
Voluntary activity outside the Kibbutz	50	5.9

1. Percentage of sample mentioning the type of activity.

2. The average number of hours per week during which this type of activity is performed by those that mentioned it.

Source: G. Nehushtan (1977).

The importance of recreation with grandchildren is prominent. This too has been "institutionalized" in the Kibbutz on the model of parent-child recreation although it has maintained the characteristics of free activity and not of an obligation.

The percentage of those occupied in voluntary work outside the Kibbutz, especially in neighbouring development towns, is conspicuous in this sample although we should not presume that it is representative of the entire population of this age in the Kibbutzim. In contrast, public activities in the Kibbutz had relatively less importance. If we recall that veteran members placed greater importance on this type of activity than younger members, this can be seen as further evidence of the decline of these occupations among the leisure activities of all the members.

The findings in Table 1 and in other studies (Levitan, U. 1976) show that the centrality of work is weaker among the second generation than among veterans in spite of the fact that veterans work fewer hours¹² and generally hold less important work positions. This is due to the differences in the value systems.

How important are leisure activities to the second generation and what are the relative influences of work satisfaction and leisure recreation on their general satisfaction with Kibbutz life and on their attachment to the Kibbutz?

We tried to examine these questions in the light of data from the study of the absorption of Kibbutz born members mentioned above and with the help of the following theoretical model.

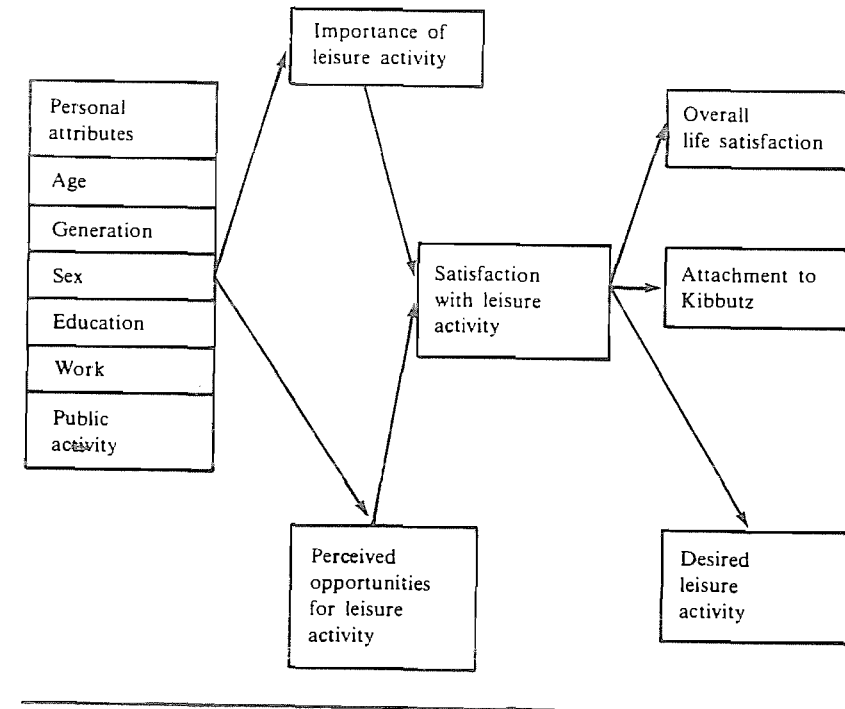
Our underlying hypothesis was that satisfaction in a given area such as work or leisure recreation is affected both by the subject's opportunities for satisfying his personal aspirations in the particular area and by the degree of importance he places on the satisfaction of particular aspirations.

We also hypothesized that the importance of a given need and the perception of the opportunities for satisfying it are influenced by various personal characteristics of the subject such as age, sex, education, type of work, etc. The findings concerning the importance of various needs, the perception of the opportunities to satisfy needs in the Kibbutz and the degree of satisfaction from the fulfilling of needs is presented in the following table.

Examination of the relative importance of the various areas gives a picture which resembles A. Maslow's assumptions on the hierarchy of needs.¹³ According to these findings, second generation members placed

TABLE NO. 4

A model of predictors of satisfaction with leisure activity



greatest importance on their aspirations for self-development, which, according to Maslow, belong to the category of the need for self-actualization. We also included in this category the desire for professional advancement and two areas related to leisure activities — cultural and sports activities and hobbies and artistic activities. Except for the last named area, the subjects placed greater importance on all areas included in the category of self-actualization than on other types of needs.

The least importance was placed on material standards of living and after that, in order, on social esteem and the possession of close friends which expresses the need of affiliation. The only deviation from the order suggested by Maslow is the fact that the need for affiliation is given greater emphasis than the need for esteem. This is certainly related to the nature of the Kibbutz as an egalitarian community in which social ties have special importance but in which differential estimation has less

TABLE NO. 5

Importance of needs, opportunities for their satisfaction and feeling of satisfaction.
Average score — Second generation members
N = 290

Need Category (Maslow's classification)	Importance	Availability	Satisfaction
<i>Physiological</i> 1. Standard of living	3.5 ¹	3.8	4.1
<i>Esteem</i> 2. Esteem	4	4	3.7
<i>Affiliation</i> 3. Close friends	4.3	3.7	3.7
<i>Self-actualization</i> 4. Cultural and sports activities	4.5	3.3	3
5. Hobbies and artistic activities	4	3.3	3.3
6. Professional advancement	4.4	3.4	3.1
7. Self-development	4.6	3.6	3.4

1. A high score indicates more and a low score less.

Source: Research on absorption of Kibbutz-born members¹⁰.

legitimacy. Does the relatively slight importance placed on material living standards result from over abundance? Is there a process here similar to that which took place among some students in western countries in which they began to emphasize self-actualization and social responsibility as a result of economic prosperity? (see Kenniston, 1971). We do not think that the relatively little importance accorded to material living standards is a result of their being particularly high. It results from the collective arrangements which free the individual from the concern of satisfying his material needs. This can also be deduced by comparing parallel data on a group of Kibbutz born persons who have left the Kibbutz to live in the city and who answered the same questions. According to our findings their living standards are not lower than those who remained in the Kibbutz. However, they place much greater emphasis on the importance in their lives of material standards of living. Their score for the importance of this area (4.2 against 3.5 for second generation Kibbutz members) is even greater than their scores for esteem (3.8), for hobbies (3.8) and is equal to the score they gave to cultural and sports activities.

Our findings, therefore, show the relatively great importance accorded to leisure by Kibbutz young generation. The importance of cultural and sports activities is even greater than the importance of professional advancement. The aspirations for self-development which were found to have the greatest importance may find expression either in work or in leisure occupations.¹⁴

In sharp contrast to the great importance accorded to the needs for self-actualization is the fact that the degree of satisfaction is fulfilling these needs is the lowest while the degree of satisfaction with material standards of living is the highest of all. The order of the categories in terms of the degree of satisfaction is the inverse of their order in terms of their importance.

What determines the different degrees of satisfaction for the various categories? Various studies which examined whether the degree of satisfaction is more greatly influenced by the existing opportunities to satisfy the need or by the degree of importance accorded it, show unequivocally that it is the perception of opportunities which is the determinate factor and that the level of aspiration (the relative importance) has almost no influence.

How are the opportunities of satisfying various needs perceived? Let us refer to the second column of Table 5. The opportunities for self-actualization are perceived as more limited than the material or social possibilities. Does this merely indicate that there is a gap between the available possibilities and the level which the second generation would like to achieve or do they also think that the possibilities in the Kibbutz are more limited than those outside the Kibbutz? The answer to this question is found in Table 6.

A comparison of the findings of the study of the second generation with the study of the absorption of Kibbutz born members shows that the respondents of the 1976 study mention to a much greater degree than their colleagues of 1969 the advantages offered by the Kibbutz in realizing aspirations in the areas of higher education, sports and the arts. Respondents who left the Kibbutz to live in the city emphasize the advantage of the Kibbutz in these areas even more than their colleagues who remained. We can find the explanation for this in data comparing cultural consumption in the Kibbutz with that of the rest of the population of Israel presented in the book by Katz and Gurvitz (1973). In spite of the small populations of Kibbutz settlements, a greater number of artistic and cultural performances are presented to them than to other populations in Israel and the rate of actual attendance is also the highest in the country.¹⁵

TABLE NO. 6

Perception of opportunities for satisfying personal aspirations in different areas in the Kibbutz compared to opportunities in the surrounding society — by generation — average score

Areas	1969		1976	
	I	II	II members	II ex-members
Family life	1.9	1.9	1.8	2.1
Public activity	1.4	1.5	1.6	1.7
Higher education	1.9	2	1.7	1.6
Sport	1.8	1.7	1.7	1.5
Art	1.9	2.1	1.8	1.6

A score lower than 2 indicates that in the Kibbutz relatively more opportunities are available.

Source: Second generation study⁹.

Research on absorption of Kibbutz-born members¹⁰.

The ability to offer many and varied cultural events is made possible by the centralized and regionalized organization of cultural activities. The national and regional organizations have also enabled those interested in various fields of creative artistic activities or hobbies to develop and study. Also in the area of privately owned equipment for leisure activities, the condition of second generation Kibbutz members is not inferior to that of their colleagues in the city who do not live in a collective framework and do not benefit from collective institutions.

TABLE NO. 7

Possession of leisure instruments by second generation kibbutz members and ex-members (percentage of sample)

Leisure instrument	Members	Ex-members
1. Television	41	89
2. Stereo record player	64	58
3. Tape Recorder	41	52
4. Camera	66	84
	N = 286	N = 141

Source: Research on absorption of Kibbutz-born members.

The one conspicuous difference, television sets, has certainly disappeared today as most Kibbutzim have purchased televisions in the last two or three years. The perception of limited possibilities, therefore, does not seem to be objectively justified even though it determined the low level of satisfaction. How can we explain the low level of satisfaction with the possibilities for cultural, artistic, sports and hobby activities in contrast to the high level of satisfaction with the material standards of living? Our explanation is that the satisfaction of material needs has reached a certain saturation point but that the satisfaction of cultural needs and other needs of self-actualization have not reached this point and it is doubtful if they will.

The material saturation point is relatively low as a result of the collective arrangements for consumption which determine certain norms that the individual cannot exceed such as a certain level of housing, the absence of private vehicles and the lack of conspicuous consumption. In the area of leisure recreation there are no limiting norms of this nature and individual aspirations for greater leisure activity both as consumer and certainly as producer are legitimate. Great efforts are made to awaken these aspirations among the members.

To what degree does the level of satisfaction with leisure occupations and the possibilities of personal development influence the overall satisfaction of the second generation member and his attachment to the Kibbutz?

TABLE NO. 8

Relative contribution of need-satisfaction in leisure activities and other life spheres to overall life satisfaction and to attachment to kibbutz life (Beta regression coefficients)

Satisfaction with:	Overall satisfaction Beta	Attachment to kibbutz life Beta
1. Standard of living	0.05 (6)	-0.07 (5)
2. Esteem in kibbutz	-0.11 (3)	0.01 (7)
3. Close friends	0.25 (1)	0.23 (2)
4. Cultural and sports activities	0.09 (4)	0.09 (3)
5. Hobbies & artistic activities	0.02 (7)	-0.08 (4)
6. Professional advancement	0.06 (5)	-0.03 (6)
7. Self development	0.12 (2)	0.24 (1)
R ²	0.397	0.32

Source: Research on absorption of Kibbutz-born members.

The coefficients indicate the direct influence of each of the factors with all other factors held statistically constant. The degree of satisfaction with personal development and the degree of satisfaction with the possession of close friends have the strongest influence of the two dependent variables. The influence of satisfaction with leisure occupations is smaller than these, but greater than the influence of satisfaction with standards of living, with esteem and even with professional advancement.

Satisfaction with cultural and sports activities has greater weight than satisfaction with hobbies or artistic activities. It even seems that the subjects who are content with hobbies or artistic activities have a weaker attachment to the Kibbutz. Possibly this is a result of the fact that artistic endeavours or hobbies are by nature private and individualistic and may remove one from participation in communal activities, which is strongly correlated with attachment to the Kibbutz. In this respect there is a great difference between hobbies and artistic activities which are of a personal nature on the one hand, and cultural and sports activities which are practised in a collective framework, on the other hand. The relationship between satisfaction with culture and sports and the attachment to the Kibbutz is positive.

What conclusions can be made from our findings on the position of the Kibbutz regarding the various dichotomies?

Conclusion

Having examined the developments and the research data we shall try to re-evaluate the position of the Kibbutz regarding the dichotomies that were presented at the beginning of this paper.

Village vs. City: The range of activities of the Kibbutz movement on different levels — national, regional and local — in fields of culture, the arts, sports, hobbies, etc. certainly exceeds anything that exists in rural areas even in the most developed nations and presents the Kibbutz member with many opportunities for leisure recreation. According to the testimony of Kibbutz born persons, even those who have left the Kibbutz to live in the city and are able to make comparisons from their personal experience, the possibilities of fulfilling aspirations in the fields of art, sports and study are greater in the Kibbutz than outside, i.e., in the city. However, the ability of the Kibbutz to influence the patterns of general Israeli culture is weaker than it was in the pre-state period. This weakening is related to the great changes that have occurred in the structure and character of the population outside the Kibbutz and to the

value system and cultural patterns it accepts. The process of professionalization in cultural and artistic fields has also had an influence. This process has made great progress of late with the aid of the mass communications media.

Within the Kibbutz, however, the special character of a rural settlement with an "urban" leisure culture has been preserved. This character has been preserved primarily because of the organizational efforts which the Kibbutz movement has made on the national and regional levels to develop framework, and means for cultural and artistic activity, encouraging novice artists and maximizing the opportunities for leisure recreation.

The organizational effort was assisted by the collective nature of the Kibbutz which enabled the mobilization of financial and human resources that are not usually available to working people living a private life-style.

Work vs. Free Time: In spite of the great importance accorded to leisure occupations and the opportunities for them on the Kibbutz, work fills a central place in the life of the Kibbutz member. This centrality finds expression in the value system, in the number of hours devoted to work and in the fact that most members, and certainly the youngest members who were the subjects of our study, work in agriculture and industry at various kinds of productive labor demanding physical work. In this respect the Kibbutz differs greatly from the leisure class described by Veblen (1957). It is possible to conclude from this that perhaps the contradiction between work and leisure is not as absolute as it seems at first glance. The basic valuational approach towards work of the Kibbutz movement saw it not only as an obligation and even as a "sacrament" but also as an area of freedom and creativity.

The absence of a direct relationship between the member's job and his standard of living created a situation in which the member's desire to work at a particular job was affected to a great degree by the opportunity to find expression for his skills and the possibilities for personal development. These factors are especially strong in the second generation (Y. Ben-David 1975). The introduction of industry gave rise to fear that feelings of alienation would develop. Therefore great efforts were invested in choosing the type of industry and modifying its technological and organizational structure to reduce the phenomena of alienation as much as possible and to improve the working environment.

Instead of assuming a contradiction between work and free time in which work is compulsory and only beyond it does the realm of freedom

begin,¹⁶ we suggest that another approach is more suitable to the realities of Kibbutz life. This is the concept which sees both work and leisure occupations as paths to self-actualization, and the expression of man's innate abilities. The relationship between the various paths depends on the personality of the individual and the specific conditions of his life.

Productive-Economic Orientation vs. Consumer Orientation: Our findings show that even the contradiction between economic considerations requiring thrift and frugality and the desire to satisfy needs is not unequivocal; the basic question is which needs are to be emphasized. In contrast to the noticeable emphasis on material needs at the beginning of the period when living standards began to rise after many years of austerity, the present period emphasizes needs which are more advanced on Maslow's hierarchy of aspirations such as personal development and cultural and artistic activities. Our findings also hint that the aspirations for material consumption have reached a kind of saturation point while aspirations for self-actualization are far from being completely satisfied and are in a state of constant development.

Public and family obligations vs. Pure leisure: Most of these obligations are in the Kibbutz subject to the members' discretion. In some Kibbutzim certain family activities have become more obligatory than they were in the past and public activity has lost somewhat of its nature as an obligation that it had. However, in general, it seems that in the Kibbutz more than in other societies activities of great importance are left to the member's discretion in spite of the collective framework and the multiplicity of public offices that are the result of the system of self-management and participatory democracy.

Collective recreation vs. Free choice of Recreation: In this area too it seems that the Kibbutz has found a kind of middle way. Regional organization has enabled a wider range of possibilities for leisure recreation. The member has been given more opportunity to decide for himself which types of leisure activity he prefers. In spite of this, a certain valuational direction remains. The regional and movement institutions are able to act as filters. In the Kibbutz itself a large part of the activities are still collective and all activities are organized by the Kibbutz institutions. Exposure to the mass communications media has sharpened the problem of educating the community towards responsible choice of the programs and possibilities offered.

Creative Leisure vs. Passive Consumption: The introduction of television sets into the member's apartments has undoubtedly increased passive cultural consumption. However, it seems that this has been at the

expense of other "passive" activities such as reading and listening to music, which, for the most part, also took place in the family apartment. We have no data by which to evaluate the influence of the substitution on the content of the activity. Does it signify a transfer from more serious activities which broaden horizons and encourage independent activity to "lighter" forms of activity? It is also difficult to evaluate whether a change has occurred in the forms of creative leisure. It is possible that formerly there were a greater number of collective frameworks such as choral groups, dramatic clubs, etc. Today, certainly, there has been an increase in the possibilities for artistic development and creative occupations for the individual to the same degree that the aspirations for these have grown.

Future Prospects: The Kibbutz and Kibbutz movement institutions have not been content with mere passive accommodation to the changes in leisure culture. New organizational frameworks and new means have been created which have tried to cope with the changes in the nature of the demand for cultural consumption and the forms of personal creativity; and they have been partially successful. It seems to us, however, that in the future the Kibbutz will be faced with three pressing questions which have already begun to leave their mark.

1. How to contend with the high level of aspiration for leisure activity while preserving the character of a collective working community. Our findings show that the subjects are aware of the superiority of the Kibbutz over other life styles in the area of leisure recreation, but in spite of this the level of satisfaction with its opportunities is relatively low. The tension between the ideal and the possible is itself an important condition for progress in any society. The question remains, however, whether the limitations resulting from the occupational structure of the Kibbutz and from its small size can enable the realization of all aspirations especially those which need greater allotments of time and other means.

2. Collective cultural activity of all Kibbutz members was once an important factor in safeguarding the social unity of the Kibbutz. The trend toward increasing the number of activities directed to the various sub-groups in the Kibbutz and the increase of leisure recreation in the framework of the family has exacerbated the question of how to ensure that these activities will contribute to the overall unity of the Kibbutz community. There is a tendency in the direction of organizing collective activities in a manner which will give expression to the various sub-units, for example, by family based seating arrangements at Kibbutz events and by integrating the activities of social groups with general activities; but this effort has only begun.

3. Contrary to previous misgivings, the introduction of television sets has not basically changed the nature of leisure recreation in the Kibbutz. It is difficult, however, to evaluate its influence on the members' system of values and especially on that of the younger generation. The question is whether Kibbutz education will succeed in internalizing Kibbutz values and in inculcating the cultural standards derived from this value system in order to enable the member to absorb the message of the mass communications media with discrimination and selectivity.

In summary, it seems to us that as a collective village trying to contend with the problems of work and leisure in modern society the Kibbutz has succeeded in overcoming the dichotomies and contradictions which are prevalent in both the speculative thought and the reality of many countries.

In a rural environment the Kibbutz has developed a cultural plenitude and frameworks for artistic and cultural creativity that compares with the city and even exceeds it in some areas. The centrality of work and work values has not prevented the development of a rich leisure culture and a high level of aspiration in this area.

The collective foundations of the Kibbutz have not hindered the development of aspirations for self-actualization and the multi-faceted development of the individual. Does the overcoming of these contradictions and dichotomies under the special conditions of the Kibbutz movement in Israel indicate also similar trends in the development of post-industrial society? The answer to this question is beyond the scope of this work.

NOTES

1. We follow the fourth definition presented by J. Dumazedier in this book *Sociologie Empirique du Loisir* (1974). He suggests that the word "loisir" (leisure recreation) refers only to the time dedicated to self-actualization of the individual. This is the time allotted to the individual after he has fulfilled, according to existing social norms, his professional, family social-spiritual and social-political obligations.
2. An example of this is the discussion between Friedman and Dumazedier on the possibility that technological civilization will become a leisure civilization. (Friedman 1970).

3. In the study of the second generation 70% of the young and 76% of the veterans objected to increasing the transition from physical work to other work. On the other hand, 63% of the young and 53% of the veterans supported the expansion of industry rather than agriculture. (Cohen, N. 1974).
4. A comparison of time allotments in the Kibbutz and in the urban population shows that much less time is spent in housekeeping in the Kibbutz and much more time is spent in recreation with the children. (Katz, A. — Gurvitz, M. 1973).
5. Time spent with the children should be seen as "pure leisure" especially in those Kibbutzim (the majority) where the children sleep in children's houses. In those Kibbutzim where the children sleep in the parent's apartment it seems that part of the time spent with the children has an obligatory nature.
6. Kibbutz born members state that the greatest difference between them and the veteran members is in style of dress. Then, in descending order come musical taste and artistic taste. The smallest difference is in literary taste. (Rosner, M. — Avnat, A. 1975).
7. The main arguments against the introduction of television were that it would intensify isolation at home, take the place of collective activity and increase passive cultural consumption.
8. Swimming pools and clubhouses exist in almost all Kibbutzim. According to the latest survey about 1/3 of Kibbutz Artzi Kibbutzim also have a sports hall or an auditorium.
9. The study of the second generation was made in 1969 and covered about 900 members of the second generation in 50 kibbutzim of the 3 major kibbutz movements and about 400 veterans and 400 young members who were not born in the Kibbutz. The study's findings were published in two books and in many articles. The book summarizing the entire study in Hebrew and English is: Rosner, N.; Ben-David, Y.; Avnat, A.; Cohen, N.; Levitan, U.: *The Second Generation in the Kibbutz*, Sifriat Hapolim (Hebrew) (1978) and Tur Press (English forthcoming).
10. A) The study of the absorption of Kibbutz born members took place in 1976 in 9 Kibbutzim of the Kibbutz HaArtzi and covered 290 members between the ages of 23-25 (Levitan, U.; Orchan, A.; Avnat, A. 1977).
B) The study of the leisure activities of the elderly in the Kibbutz covered 95 members over the age of 55 in 4 veteran Kibbutzim and was performed by G. Nechustan.
11. The comparison of time allotments (Katz, A.; Gurvitz, M. 1973) shows that Kibbutz members devote much more time to reading books than the urban dwellers studied.
12. In Kibbutzim it is not customary to make a sharp change from a full work schedule to full retirement at a certain age. It is customary to gradually reduce the number of work hours beginning at age 50 for women and 55 for men. Women with two children work only 7 hours a day. From the age of 65 members of both sexes are required to work only 4 hours a day but many prefer to work more.
13. The American Psychologist A. Maslow, one of the leaders of the school of humanistic psychology, claims that there is a hierarchy of human needs in the following order: 1) physiological needs; 2) security needs; 3) affiliation needs; 4) Needs of esteem; 5) needs of self-actualization. The importance of the needs which are higher up the ladder increase as the lower needs are satisfied. (Maslow, A. 1954).

14. The correlation between satisfaction with personal development and satisfaction with professional advancement (.33) is equal to the correlation between satisfaction with personal development and satisfaction with hobbies and artistic occupations. In contrast the correlation between satisfaction with personal development and satisfaction with cultural and sports activities is lower (.17).
15. Kibbutzim had the highest per capita rate of cultural events. The number of cultural events in the Kibbutz was similar to that in small urban settlements whose populations are about 10 times greater. The per capita rate of events was 40 times greater than in the 4 large cities. According to the definition of the researchers, the per capita rate of events measures the richness of a given settlement's cultural life in relation to its size. While 43% of the subjects in other villages such as moshavim mentioned the lack of recreational possibilities in the village as a major difficulty in leisure recreation only 14% of Kibbutz members did. Other data from the study show that attendance at cultural events is especially high in the Kibbutz. The Kibbutz rate is exceptional in all activities except visits to museums. Kibbutz members of all educational levels go more often to the theater, cinema, concerts and light entertainment performances. The difference is especially conspicuous in regard to the cinema and the theater. 72% of Kibbutz members went to the cinema every week in 1970 as opposed to 20% of the population of the large cities; 89% went to the theater a few times during the year as opposed to 50% in the large cities.
16. This formulation is based on the words of K. Marx in volume III of *Capital*: "the realm of freedom begins only where work which is determined by compulsion and external purposes ends". (K. Marx 1894, p. 355).
At a later period, however, Marx himself said that in the communist society work would cease to be only a means of existence, an external necessity, and would become a primary need of life, i.e. an area expressing man's multi-faceted development (K. Marx 1933). In his opinion this is one of the conditions for the realization of the principle: from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs. It seems to us that in the Kibbutz, based as it is on this principle, there is a growing tendency to see in work not only an external compulsion but an area for self-actualization. Parallel to this development are certain trends in the industrially developed countries especially among today's younger generation.

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