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Kibbutz Industrial Plants and the Challenge of Alienation

The 260 kibbutz communities existing today, with a population of 120,000, can be defined as "intentional communities" since they have been created to implement both national ideals of creating a homeland for the dispersed Jewish nation and socialist values of equality, direct democracy and social justice.

The members collectively own the means of production. They govern themselves, elect officers on a rotating basis and contribute to and share the wealth of the community according to the tenet: from each according to his ability to each according to his need. The kibbutz communities are organized in the framework of 3 federations, that differ on the basis of historical traditions and ideological and political outlook. They have an active role in the socialist political parties and in the general federation of labour.

The founders of the first kibbutz communities and federations during the years before and after World War I were probably not aware of the concepts of alienation and de-alienation, that were not used in this period either in social theory or in socialist ideology.

Yet there is no doubt that the social, economic and institutional structure created in these years constitutes a far-reaching and comprehensive attempt at de-alienation.

The Challenge of Industrialization

During the more than seventy years of existence of the kibbutz communities basic changes occurred both in the social environment and in the kibbutz system. While the basic characteristics of the kibbutz such as voluntary membership, collective ownership of means of production, communal work allocation and organization of need satisfaction and democratic decision making have not changed, basic transformation of the economic and social and occupational structure as well as a significant rise in the standard of living, occurred.

Collective ownership continues to be a barrier both to processes of reification and the type of self-alienation based on the "sale of labour power".

A serious challenge towards other above-mentioned central aspects of de-alienation was created by the fast process of industrialization that started in the early sixties. While already in the twenties some kibbutz communities introduced small factories, the large majority maintained until the sixties, a mainly agricultural economy, out of ideological reasons amongst others. Although the opposition to industrialization was usually not expressed in these terms, it stemmed mainly from the fear of its possible alienating consequences.

1. A main overt argument often offered was about the danger of alienation from nature, by altering the agricultural and rural character of the kibbutz communities.
2. In addition to its close relationship with nature, agricultural work - it was argued - offers possibilities of self-realization. The conventional

industrial technology, on the other hand leads to fragmented, routinized work-roles and to an unequal distribution of professional knowledge creating large gaps between a majority of non-skilled workers and a small professional elite, in opposition to the kibbutz principle of equal value of work.

3. The conventional organization of industry is hierarchical, based on inequality in the distribution of authority and is therefore opposed to the kibbutz system of self-management and direct democracy.
4. Kibbutz agriculture, although producing mainly for the market, succeeded in achieving a certain degree of immunity from the blind impersonal fluctuation of the market, through the development of a powerful cooperative marketing network. Doubt was expressed as to the possibility of developing similar networks for industry. The difficulties here are in the large differentiation in types of industrial products and in the much smaller share that the kibbutz has in the market for industrial products in comparison with the market for agricultural products. If not internally, then externally through the relation with the market - processes of reification might therefore be introduced in the kibbutz.
5. One of the possible outcomes of the different market situation in industry versus agriculture, might be the need to employ hired labour, since the unflexible closed labour market of the kibbutz will not be able to adapt to the fluctuation of the market. The assumption being that a plan that will not be able to expand will also not be able to survive. According to marxist and kibbutz conceptions the employment of hired labour by the

kibbutz communities will objectively transform them into capitalists and will change the overall type of relationship in a kibbutz plant from that of a free association of producers to that of a capitalist firm, although with a collective of owners.

In spite of this opposition to the introduction of industrial plants that was overtly expressed mainly in one kibbutz federation, all the federation commenced since the 60's a rapid process of industrialization. While in the early 60's less than a quarter of the kibbutz work force employed in production worked in industry - it is now (in the early 80's) more than 53%. In almost each of the 260 kibbutz communities there is now at least one industrial plant. Some plants are owned jointly by 2 kibbutz communities. The total number of plants is now around 300 and they vary in size from 30 to 400 persons, although the large majority have fewer than 50 persons, 2/3 of the factories have been established in the last twenty years. There are almost no kibbutz plants dealing with the processing of agricultural products.

The introduction of industry has been justified on the ground that it diversifies and strengthens the kibbutz economy. Another reason was that it provides employment opportunities for both older members who find agricultural labour too strenuous and for younger ones that might be more attracted to the kibbutz by technologically sophisticated jobs in industry rather than by the simpler agricultural type of work.

The awareness of the challenges that industrialization presented to the kibbutz system and to the realization of its values lead directly and indirectly to a series of studies exploring the socio-psychological consequences

and effects of these processes. These findings will help us in examining to what degree the expectation about the alienating effects of industrialization have been fulfilled.

1. In spite of the far-reaching changes in the occupational structure, diminishing the share of the agricultural work-roles, almost all of the kibbutzim have preserved their rural character, at least from an ecological point of view. The kibbutz living quarters are entoured by fields and plantations, agricultural branches such as dairy-farm, poultry etc. are not far from the housing area. The living quarters themselves are full of lawns, trees and flowers.

From a sociological point of view the kibbutz communities have been quite successful in narrowing the gap between village and city. Kibbutz industrialization was in itself an important contribution toward this goal, by avoiding rural exodus and bringing industry into the village. In spite of the small size of the communities they offer many of the attractions of urban life in a rural environment. Relatively large and high standard educational and cultural facilities are available and others have been developed on a regional basis. The effort to integrate industry in a rural way of life is symbolically represented in the fact that in the 'festival of first fruits ceremony' when all the agriculture branches offer the community a sample of their products - the fruits of nature - the product of the industrial plants are offered similarly to that of the other branches.

2. The danger of alienation seems much more serious in the area of work-roles and work content. In spite of the fact that most kibbutz factories avoided

intentionally the use of alienating technologies such as the assembly line, industrial jobs are usually perceived as less intrinsically satisfying than agricultural one. In a study comparing kibbutz agricultural and industrial workers (Eden D. and Leviatan U., 1974) it was shown that agricultural workers had significantly higher scores on measures of job opportunities. (These measures were constructed out of questions such as: In your work, to what extent can you: use your skills, knowledge and abilities, decide your own pace of work, use your own ideas, do interesting work, etc).

Significant differences on measures of job-opportunities were also found between incumbents of different roles among factory personnel. While the production workers had the lowest scores on job opportunities, professional such as engineers and technicians had the highest, with managerial personnel and maintenance workers in between. One of the outcomes of the more fragmented, routinised and sometime boring character of many industrial jobs was the fact that against prior expectations - many kibbutz young adults preferred work in agriculture to work in industry. An outcome of these alienating aspects, of at least some industrial jobs, was therefore the difficulty in attracting kibbutz members and especially younger ones, to work in industry, especially when such jobs involve unusual arrangements such as shift work. Since in the kibbutz there are no wages there are also no ways to attract members to certain branches by material incentives. Work content and work conditions are therefore the most important factors of attraction. Several studies have also shown that the aspiration toward self-realization in work is higher among kibbutz members in general and among the younger generation in special, when compared with other populations. (Ronen S., 1978; Rabin and Beit-Halahmi, 1982; for comparison with Israeli

populations, Tannenbaum, A. et al, 1974; for comparison with other countries).

In a comparison of kibbutz-born young adults living in kibbutzim with those living in the cities it was found that in the first group the aspiration toward self-realization was significantly higher. The explanation offered was that since in the kibbutz no individual material rewards can be expected for work-related efforts, such reward-expectations are directed toward the intrinsic aspects of work. On the other hand the situation outside the kibbutz, where the individual is directly responsible for his material well-being an instrumental orientation to work, stressing material rewards - is more frequent. (Rosner, 1983a).

It seems therefore that the kibbutz succeeded to raise the level of aspiration toward self-realization that has been considered by several scholars and by Marx himself as the negation of self-alienation. Another important factor explaining the high level of aspiration for self-realization in work is also the high educational level of kibbutz members. While in the past, high school education has been almost general, recently it was reported that more than 40% of the kibbutz-born members have studied at universities or similar institutions. But paradoxically, this high level of aspiration might create reactions of alienation when the dispersity between ideal and actual is too large. The type of production jobs prevalent in kibbutz industry seems not to fit the level and type of aspiration and might therefore produce conditions for self-alienation by the work role.

3. At least one of the kibbutz federations was aware - already in an early stage of the industrialization process - of the problems resulting from the conventional hierarchical structure of industrial organizations. In this stage it was assumed that hierarchy is unavoidable in industry - as was stated even by F. Engels in his well-known article on authority. Therefore efforts were made to combine hierarchy with the kibbutz type of direct democracy. The main difference between hierarchy in and outside the kibbutz is clearly that in the kibbutz persons in higher hierarchical ranks neither receive higher wages, nor come from a different class-back-ground. Another important difference between the conventional and the kibbutz type of hierarchy is that the latter stresses co-ordination and not supervision. For example, first line supervisor similar to the branch manager in agriculture performs the same type of work as the other members of the work group, but has in addition the duty of coordination. Workers are elected to fulfill managerial roles for limited periods and are expected to return to their previous jobs. But these changes of the conventional hierarchical structure were only a partial answer.

Power-equalization was expected to be implemented mainly through the mechanisms of direct democracy. The general assembly of plant members - as a parallel to the weekly general assembly of kibbutz members - was defined as the main legitimate source of authority. An elected management board composed of plant office-holders, kibbutz central office holders and elected plant members without managerial roles, was created to be the main governing institution.

On the basis of many empirical studies it can be stated that the expectations concerning the power-equalizing effect of the formal democratic institutions were only partially realised. In spite of the fact that there was only little formalization of the hierarchical distribution of roles, there was a high congruence between the distribution of formal authority and individual perceptions of personal influence (Rosner, M. 1971). In the comparison between kibbutz agriculture and industry it was found that both individual and collective influence of rank and file workers was significantly higher in the agricultural branches (Eden, D. and Leviatan U., 1974). In an international comparison it was shown that the differences in influence and control related to the hierarchical position were smaller in the kibbutz than in the conventional Italian, Austrian and American plants (Tannenbaum A. et al., 1974). But also in the kibbutz, relatively large disparities were found between the ideal distribution of control, e.g. how much influence workers should have - and the actual distribution perceived by them. It seems that this gap between actual and ideal again points toward the existence of phenomena of alienation and in this case of the type of powerlessness. A possible explanation for these findings is the unsatisfactory functioning of the plant-members' Assembly in many plants. A comparison between the general assembly in the community and in the plant has surprisingly shown that plant assemblies were less effective and members were less satisfied with them (Rosner, M., 1983b). Because of the smaller size of the plant membership and of the stronger involvement of members' in their work groups than in the community, the opposite was expected. The interpretation suggested was that in the plant assembly the role of the member is more ambiguous than in the kibbutz assembly. In the plant assembly members take part in the decision-making process but in the daily work

process most of them are subordinates. They cannot be fired, no sanctions can be applied, but still there is in the plant a greater possibility of role-conflict, ambiguity and frustration than in the relation between kibbutz office-holders and members. Another interpretation, even more pertinent to the alienation issue, is that in the kibbutz assembly the kibbutz members participate as a "total person dealing with all the issues of the community, while in the plant-assembly he participates in his more limited role as factory-worker. (Rosner, H., 1983).

4. There is no doubt that the dependency of the kibbutz industrial plants on the market is bigger than that of the agricultural branches and the most striking phenomena relevant to alienation are cases of competition among kibbutz plants. This competition results from the limited size of the internal market in Israel and from the fact that because of similar conditions there is a concentration of kibbutzim in certain industrial branches (almost 50% of the plants are in 2 branches: metal and plastics). The kibbutz federation invested many efforts to avoid such competition. Every new project is checked as to the eventuality of competition with existing plants. But in spite of such checks and other types of central intervention to avoid competition, there have been several cases when an agreement was obtained only after a long economic struggle. Such competitive behaviour could be considered in marxist terms as an expression of reification, of submission to the impersonal forces of the market, instead of rational planning. Although such cases of competition are isolated, they illustrate the special impact of market relations on industry.

5. As mentioned already, one of the main arguments against industrialization was the assumption that it will lead to massive employment of hired labour. This assumption was based on the experience of the first stage of industrialization until the early 60's. During World War II several relatively large plants were created, that exceeded the capacity to operate with only member workers. In the 50's the employment of hired labour in kibbutz plants was encouraged by the government, to reduce unemployment due to massive immigration.

Two of the most left-wing kibbutz federations did not agree with this policy and as an outcome of this discussion, during the 60's new types of industrial plants were created. These were small and medium-sized capital intensive plants with more advanced technologies as opposed to the larger labour intensive plants of the first stage. This new approach to industrialization resulted eventually in a permanent reduction of the percentage of hired labour. In the federation that out of historical reasons had the highest share, the reduction was from 77% of the industrial work-force in 1969 to 50% in 1980 (that are concentrated mainly in some of the oldest plants), while in the federation with the least percentage the reduction was from 22% to 14%. An unexpected finding as to the effects of the employment of hired labour on kibbutz members working in industry was found in a study comparing 5 plants employing both members and hired workers with 5 similar plants employing only members (M. Palgi and M. Rosner, 1980). Kibbutz rank and file workers in the first group of plants had significant lower scores on measures of opportunities for self-realization in work, of influence in the plant and of work satisfaction and commitment to the plant. The explanation for these findings was that the co-existence between

kibbutz workers and hired workers created incongruences in the management system and style. Kibbutz member's participated less in decision-making, both formally and informally, and inequalities related to hierarchical roles were bigger.

In marxian terms, the plants with hired workers differ from those without hired workers in their relation of productions. Factories with hired workers were characterized by closer supervision, more formal devices of control and bureaucratic features. Kibbutz workers in those plants therefore experience more alienation, since they experience in their daily work at least to some degree the same management system and supervision that hired worker experience.

To sum-up not all the assumptions about the alienating effects of industrialization have been realized: 1. Most kibbutzim succeeded in preserving their rural character; 2. competition between kibbutz plants - as an expression of reification through dependence on the market exists, but is relatively rare due to the intervention of central kibbutz institutions; 3. the most severe challenge - the introduction of hired labour that could have transformed the de-alienating kibbutz relations of production into capitalist one, has been at least partially countered. But the alienating effects of such a transformation on kibbutz members are felt in plants employing hired workers; 4. industrial work creates also in the kibbutz less opportunities for self-realization than agricultural work. The gap between the above-mentioned rather high level of kibbutz member's aspirations for self-realization and the lack of opportunities might create conditions for self-alienation; 5. the combination between hierarchical management and democratic decision-making has

not succeeded in achieving power-equalization and the gap between actual and ideal influence points toward alienation effects.

In some of the studies - direct questions intended to measure feelings of alienation - have been asked. They were phrased to express more general feelings of alienation, not especially based on the plant or kibbutz situation. The measures were based on Seeman's conceptualization of 5 types of alienation. In the comparison between agricultural and industrial work no significant differences on these measures were found in spite of the above mentioned negative impact of industrial work on opportunities for self-realization and for exercising influence. The explanation of the authors was: "One could argue that alienation and mental health are more influenced by non work, and since kibbutz form and factory workers share the same communities and non work social environment, they should be equally mentally healthy and alienated", (Eden D. and Leviatan, U., 1974). A different, although not contradictory conclusion can be reached from the international comparison of kibbutz plants with plants in 4 other countries (Tannenbaum A. et al, p.157-167). Kibbutz industrial workers have the lowest score on all the 5 alienation measures, but they have higher scores than their fellow kibbutz members that fulfill managerial roles. But level of hierarchy is not the main predictor of alienation in the kibbutz. The main predictors are measures of personal influence and opportunities on job that both are negatively related to alienation. How is it that differences on those predictors cause differences in alienation inside the industrial plant, while they do not differentiate between the industrial plants and agricultural branches? We are not able to give a clear answer to this question, but it seems that the degree of subjective alienation is related both to the overall quality of life in the kibbutz communities, to the

type of work and job content and to the degree of influence related to hierarchical positions.

Renewed efforts for de-alienation

The awareness of the potential alienating effects of kibbutz industrialization developed gradually, contributing to it both difficulties arising in the functioning of the kibbutz system - e.g. the difficulty to attract members to work in factories - and the findings of social research. An institutionalized system of feed-back of research findings both to plants and to kibbutz federation bodies assured the impact of research on decision-making in this area, perhaps even more than in other areas of kibbutz life. (S. Shur, 1980). But the main driving force towards policy-making directed toward de-alienation, was the functional difficulties and the desire to prevent deviations from central kibbutz values, e.g. the deliberate policy of all the federations against the employment of hired labour. The following measures can be perceived as specific policies of de-alienation:

1. Deliberate choices of industrial branches based on members' aspirations for self-realization. The main goal of kibbutz industry has been defined as follows cited in the decision of one of the kibbutz federations. "The factory is part of the kibbutz home in which the member has a framework for the expression, of his creative abilities the satisfaction of his natural needs for work and occupation, for membership in a team and the satisfaction of his aspirations for achievement". (Leviatan U., Rosner, M., 1980, p.171). As mentioned above, in the second stage of industrialization the main attention was given to the creation of small scale, capital intensive

plants that will not have to employ hired workers. In later stages more attention was given to the goal of avoiding routine and fragmented and therefore alienating jobs.

Recently, efforts are directed toward the introduction of robots and other types of computerized advanced technology. These new technologies are expected to replace workers' dangerous and difficult tasks on routinized activities and on shift work. In the kibbutz there is no danger of unemployment and due to the high degrees of internal mobility and job flexibility there is also no serious danger of a de-skilling effect of new technology, we might therefore assume that the introduction of advance technology in the kibbutz might have de-alienating effects.

2. The above mentioned formal decisions made by the federations institutionalized new forms of workers participation in decision-making, stressing in addition to the general worker-assembly the importance of participation in the work-group and at the shop-floor.
3. A special department for socio-technical intervention has been set up in the framework of the Kibbutz Industrial Association (Shelhav M. and Golomb N., 1980). In cooperation with scandinavian and other pioneers of the socio-technical approach a special strategy fitting the specific context of kibbutz plants has been developed. Interdisciplinary teams composed of behavioural scientists and engineers conduct work-shops in plants and help plant-members to introduce planned changes in different areas. The approach is comprehensive and interdisciplinary, toward improving the overall quality of working life. The team define their roles as facilitators in the

process of awareness rising of plant members to their specific problems and in planning the problem solving process. The department exists already seven years and has conducted a large number of projects. Not all the projects have been successful and not all the positive outcomes have been lasting, but these activities have contributed to a more general awareness of the problems and to a great readiness to invest efforts to avoid alienation in industrial work.

4. In the last 10 years a permanent expansion of the activities of the kibbutz Industrial Association occurred as a kind of buffer-mechanism between the capitalist dominated Israel-economy and market and the communal kibbutz sub-sector. The association and related departments of the kibbutz federation fulfill functions in such varied areas as: the search for new industrial projects, centralized research and development, in search for financial resources, purchases of machines and raw-materials, marketing of industrial products and exports abroad, training for professional and managerial roles, etc.

Conclusion

An overall evaluation of the dialectics of alienation and de-alienation related to the industrialization of the kibbutz communities should not be isolated from a more general analysis of the internal structural changes of the kibbutz and its relationship with the surrounding Israeli society. A concise conceptual analysis of the more general structural changes related to alienation and de-alienation, based on empirical data has been presented by one of the authors in another framework (Rosner, M. 1982b). There seem to be strong

connections between industrialization and other processes of change such as the transition to a multi-generational social structure and to a more affluent standard of living, changes in ideological outlook, etc.

Some of these connections have been mentioned above, but it seems to us that the impact of industrialization itself is powerful enough to merit a special analysis. We have mentioned the relationship with the surrounding society mainly in the economic area, dealing with the possible reification effect of integration in the overall market system. But perhaps in the relationship to the overall society, the main problem is not in the economic but in the cultural sphere and in the ability of the kibbutz system to maintain its autonomy and identity in face of the hegemonic capitalist culture and value system. We believe that the ability of the kibbutz to maintain such an autonomous belief-system depends on the degree to which these values guide every day life and activities, and are implemented in its social reality. And it is from this point of view that the dialectic processes of alienation and de-alienation have to be evaluated. We speak about dialectical processes, since the challenges created by conventional industrialization, such as hierarchy and bureaucratization, self-alienation in work and employment of hired labour were not simple changes in the way of implementation of the original kibbutz values. They were basically a negation of these values and there was therefore an antagonistic conflict between these values and the conventional patterns of industrialization. The question as to what degree the efforts of de-alienation have succeeded in overcoming this conflict, through a dialectical *Aufhebung* - in Hegelian and Marxian terms - is still an open one and no definitive answer can be given. In any event, the kibbutz experience illustrates the assumption that de-alienation cannot be achieved through a

unique revolutionary act, but requires permanent and always renewed efforts. The kibbutz industrialization experience also illustrates the usefulness of both a comprehensive paradigm of alienation as well as a typology of its specific aspects.

It is important to distinguish for example between firstly, the aspects of reification related to the integration in the capitalist market, secondly, powerlessness based on a hierarchical organizational structure and thirdly, self-alienation resulting from a repetitive and fragmented work-process. It is important to analyze specifically each of these aspects and to search for specific ways for de-alienation in the different areas. We presented several of those attempts for de-alienation such as the establishment of buffer-mechanism between the kibbutz economy and the market, socio-technical innovation and intervention of organizational and technological structures, etc. Each of those measures is important in itself but each can have only a limited impact on the interrelationship between the kibbutz member and his work-environment.

The 'transparent' micro-cosmos of the kibbutz community and the industrial plant offers us the opportunity to better understand the high level of interdependence between the different aspects of alienation and de-alienation and the necessity for an integrative and comprehensive approach.

Outside the kibbutz a limited approach to de-alienation dealing with limited and specific areas might be even more problematic since the danger of 'manipulation' through pseudo-participation exists. An integrative approach to de-alienation should not be limited to single aspects such as improvement of

the quality of working life, change in power relations through industrial democracy or even in ownership, through cooperative worker ownership.

Even the far-reaching structural changes that have been implemented in the kibbutz communities are not a permanent safe-guard against processes and aspects of alienation. It is both the comprehensive character of the alienation concept and its critical content that can serve as a starting point and as a guide-line in the permanent efforts to further human emancipation.

The specific condition of the kibbutz as a sub-culture in the larger Israeli society both facilitates and creates difficulties for de-alienation. The fact that the kibbutz is a minority group and not a total society or economy creates opportunities of choice. The kibbutz does not have to produce all the products needed in a relatively independent economy, enabling it to choose the process of production and its products for which relatively non-alienative technologies are available. The kibbutz may choose to limit the size of its factories and not to enter areas of production where such limitations are not possible. But on the other hand, as a sub-sector of a larger society that can not close itself off from its influences, (even when they are contrary to its own egalitarian and socialistic values), the kibbutz permanently faces sources of alienation which come from without as well as those that are engendered from within.

In the kibbutz movement, membership is self-selected, ideologically socialized and members live in relatively small transparent communities that offer opportunities for conscious and rational planning. But even in these special conditions the impact of un-planned and unforeseen developments is so strong

that permanent awareness is needed to counter dangers of alienation. On the other hand, the kibbutz experience of industrialization points toward the possibility of overcoming basic tensions that seemed inherent in modern civilization, e.g. that between technology and human needs for self-realization. A technological imperative and assumptions about technological determinism have been presented as responsible for many aspects of alienation, especially in work.

On the basis of the kibbutz experience we can state that the effects of technology are context bound and that it is possible to manipulate technology - in the framework of certain constraints. In contradiction to Engels (1959) assumption that hierarchical organization is a necessary outcome of industrial technology kibbutz experience illustrates that it is possible both to choose technology on the basis of human and social criteria and to alter its effects by changing the patterns of industrial work organization, referring to human values and aspirations as criteria of technological choice and not to economic criteria alone.

The kibbutz experience denies the assumption that alienation, at least in work, is a necessary price to be paid for economic progress. In the kibbutz, members can be motivated to produce efficiently and therefore to contribute to economic progress - mainly by creating opportunities to achieve aspirations for self-realization. Indeed, the existence of such aspirations themselves, has been perceived by some scholars (G. Petrovic, 1975), as indications of de-alienation. Participation in decision-making and not hierarchical control, engaging in creative work and not work controlled by pace determining assembly lines, creates conditions of high productivity and quality of work. Today the

kibbutz is still a "deviant case" on the general social and industrial scene, but this particular experience of industrialization may well have a larger and more general significance as a result of the following social changes and processes in the non-kibbutz society:

1. The rising demands for participatory democracy and improvements in the quality of working life.
2. The possibilities and challenges created by advanced technology.
3. The changes in organizational and management patterns needed for effective utilization of these technologies.
4. The economic crisis and mass un-employment (especially youth un-employment leading toward new economic and social patterns and structures.

The demand for the democratization of the work place on the one hand and for work itself on the other, together with the availability of a new technology that can provide the means for both, may serve as a foundation for generating processes of de-alienation in contemporary post-industrial society. It is towards an understanding of these processes that the kibbutz experience, analyzed here, can offer some measure of comparative insight and perhaps direction.

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