A REPORT TO
THE AMERICAN COUNCIL FOR THE BEHAVIORAL SCIENCES
IN THE
KIBBUTZ MANAGEMENT AND SOCIAL RESEARCH CENTER

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INTRODUCTION

The American Council for the Behavioral Sciences in the Kibbutz Management and Social Research Center has just sent a committee of six members to Israel to study the feasibility of a long-range program of collaboration between American behavioral scientists and the kibbutzim. The purpose of this program is to discover and then to apply scientific knowledge about the social processes and problems of the kibbutz. Through a program of research and higher education of the kibbutz we aim to develop a deeper knowledge of the processes of industrialization and socialization which will eventually have useful applications in any society.

The study committee discussed the feasibility of such a program with a large number of leaders in Israel including the President, the Minister of Labor, the American Ambassador, representatives of the universities and many leaders of the kibbutzim. From all these sources we received approval of the general idea and much useful advice on how to implement it. It is hoped by the Council that the universities of Israel will cooperate with the program by participating in various research projects of mutual interest. The universities expressed their readiness for such cooperation. The leaders of the kibbutzim were especially enthusiastic and were ready to commit their time and energy to the success of the program. In addition, there are good resources in manpower and unusual opportunities for both research and for the training of social scientists and managers of
the kibbutzim; these factors assure the success of the program, providing adequate financing can be secured.

It is the purpose of this report to describe the kibbutz and its role in Israeli society, to outline the program of research and training which has been planned, and to indicate the steps which must be taken to implement the plan.

THE KIBBUTZ COMMUNITY

More than ninety thousand men, women, and children are now living in two hundred and twenty-five kibbutzim. They have settled through Israel—from the coast of the Red Sea in the far south to the borders of Syria and Lebanon in the north. The first kibbutz, Degania, was established by eighteen members in 1910. Thus the kibbutz movement is reaching the end of its sixth decade and today, in the older communities, it embraces three generations.

The veteran communities now face a most crucial task that eventually confronts every social system: the assessment—sometimes a painful enterprise—of the extent to which the kibbutzim have succeeded or failed to insure inter-generation perpetuation. The kibbutzim are now in the transition period from a youth culture society (a youth movement "back to the land" in which farming was seen by the founders as a value and as a way of life) to the maturation phase of such a movement—to a maturity which finds three generations living, working, and sharing together in one small community based on modern farming and industry.

The young founders of a half-century ago have ripened into the old members, fathers and mothers of the second-generation members; this latter group comprises one-quarter to one-half of the adult
population in many veteran kibbutzim. And those in the age group twenty to forty years old are assuming the most important roles in the communities as this society takes on that set of problems typical to all modern communities. Yet, at the same time, these issues must be coped with in the unique terms of the kibbutz way of life—an unconventional framework in which there are unconventional approaches to and solutions for social problems.

The kibbutzim constitute 4 per cent of the whole population of Israel. The number of adult members per kibbutz ranges from 100 to 1,000 (average about 200) and the total population including children is from 200 to 2,000 (average about 400). There is an annual growth of about 3 per cent in the population of the kibbutzim.

The kibbutz is a voluntary socio-economic community, an egalitarian society which provides complete economic, social, and cultural services for its members.

There are no police in any kibbutz, no prison service nor court, and no need for relief payments. Crime and delinquency are very rare in the usual meaning of those terms. Instead social control of deviant behavior is exercised more through standards of self-discipline. Its members obey its unwritten laws which embody the opinion of the majority. Moral compulsion and appeal to the force of conscience have largely replaced material incentives and coercion. Both the success of these social controls on deviance and their consequences for the individual need to be evaluated by research.

There is less formal stratification and privilege, and life is based upon direct democracy. Solidarity and informality are the expected bases of member-to-member relationships. It is a system viewed by its members as morally right and bound together as a big
family is bound together by ties of common values, common experience, common past, common fate, and mutual aid.

The kibbutz community is a family-oriented society. The family has an important role in shaping public opinion of the community and in the socialization of children. In many older kibbutzim there can now be found the pattern of the extended family of three generations; this means that kibbutzim have had relative success in solving the crucial problem of most communities—the integration of generations. About 70 per cent of the young generation decide to join their parents’ kibbutz. The stability of families in the kibbutz is higher than in Israeli cities, as indicated by divorce rates. In the second generation of kibbutz communities the rates are lower than in the first generation. A survey of twenty-seven veteran kibbutzim found a divorce rate of .37 per cent in the younger generations compared to a .66 per cent in the older generations.

The kibbutz always provide for the economic needs of aged members. There is a system of gradual retirement of older people: a decreasing number of hours worked per day according to age and sex. Every member when he reaches this age, may have the right to work less. However, some members prefer to continue working in order to give more meaning to their lives; and they, of course, may do so.

Almost every kibbutz is affiliated with one of the five kibbutz movements. Three of them are large and secular. They are: Kibbutz-Arzie, Kibbutz-Meuchad, and Gehud-Hakibbutzim. The other two movements are small: Kibbutz-Daty, which is religious, and the Kibbutz-Noar Ziony, which is secular. The Federation of Kibbutz Movements is an umbrella organization which encompasses all movements. The Federation was established in recent years to meet the needs of the
accelerated cooperation among the kibbutz movements which is increasing.

The Kibbutz Education System

The kibbutz is a child-oriented society. Kibbutz education begins at birth. In most kibbutzim the children sleep at night in their age-group buildings; nursery, toddlers, pre-kindergarten, kindergarten, elementary school, and high school. While they are growing up they move from one age group to another. These groups are staffed by trained nurses and teacher-educators who are members of the kibbutzim. The parents are free after work to spend two to three hours a day with their children.

Kibbutz education has three foci that play complementary roles: parents, nurses and teachers, and the community of children. Even at the early ages the school system is seen as a child community with a high degree of pupil self-government.

The community gives free high school education to almost every child. There are no withdrawals from classes, no grades, no formal examinations, and no pupils held back in class. Children with difficulties are helped by special-education teachers after regular school hours.

Children are socialized early in life to the dignity of work. Each high school child works daily after school for one to three hours, according to his age.

In comparative research done between army men raised in the kibbutz and those raised in the cities of Israel, the findings were that men from the kibbutz have a higher level of intelligence, a higher level of education, they are distinguished by a greater objection to "blind" discipline, and they score higher on scales of sociability.
The Structure of the Kibbutz

The kibbutz community structure integrates two sub-systems: the economic, consisting of farming, manufacturing and services; and the social, consisting of education, health, culture, defense, etc.

The general assembly, consisting of all members, is the supreme authority in the kibbutz. It enables the individual member to express his opinions and cast his vote. It provides a platform on which public opinion can make itself felt on all issues.

Below the general assembly in the structure there is a network of functional and coordinating committees.

The coordinating committees are the policy making bodies. They integrate the system by deciding on crucial and boundary issues between and above functional committees. The coordinating committees are: The Executive Committee, which is at the top of the social sub-system; and the Management Committee which is at the top of the economic sub-system. FIGURE 1 diagrams the structure.

Within the coordinating committees are located the four key office-holders in the system structure: (1) the General Secretary is the chief executive coordinator of the social sub-system and the chairman of the executive committee; (2) the Top Manager is the chief coordinator of the kibbutz economic sub-system and the chairman of the Management Committee; (3) the Treasurer is responsible for the finances of the kibbutz and a member of the Management Committee; (4) the Manpower Manager is in charge of the allocation of manpower. These four key office holders occupy complementary roles which coordinate the kibbutz system as a whole. Their role definition is very diffused, thus giving every key leader a chance to maximize his contribution and his leadership in those specific situations where he is most competent.
The economic sub-system is organized into branches which carry out the work of the community. Members are allocated as workers to teams in branches in farming, industry, and services. They have maximum autonomy with decision-making involving their work situation. The branch teams are the foundation blocks of the economic sub-system of the kibbutz and they utilize group processes to increase performance. Every team elects its branch coordinator (supervisor) who plays a major leadership role in his team's performance. He serves as a link between the branch team and kibbutz committees and key office holders.

The kibbutz system is based on planned rotation of office holders. Between one-half and one-third of the kibbutz members serve on committees. They are elected and about half of them are rotated every year. Key office holders and branch coordinators are elected for one to four years and then rotated. The kibbutz uses a system of planned rotation in order to be consistent with its democratic values, to maximize members' involvement in the system, and to minimize stratification.

THE ROLE OF KIBBUTZIM IN ISRAEL

Role in the Economy of Israel

The kibbutzim have diversified, large-scale farming, with cultivation by modern mechanized equipment. The kibbutzim are well known to have a high yield of farm products per unit of production. They are open to absorb innovations and their rate of diffusion of new methods is much quicker than in American farming. 25 per cent of the kibbutzim have begun to use computers for short-range and long-range planning of mixed farm products in order to optimize the allo-
cation of resources (water, land, manpower, money). Kibbutzim cultivate 31.7 per cent of all the cultivated land in Israel. The kibbutzim now produce one-third of the farm gross national product of Israel.

In the last few years there has been a shift toward industrialization. The strong forces behind this industrialization stem from:

a. the limited natural resources in Israel (land and water);

b. surplus of farm products in the local market;

c. the increasing productivity per work-day on the farm, 10 per cent yearly;

d. the increasing population of every kibbutz by births and by absorbing immigrants;

e. rising standards of living through more profitable occupations in industry as compared to farming (industry earns about 25 per cent more income than farming);

f. the need to add new occupations in order to attract the young generation and to open for them more paths to promotions.

The average kibbutz yearly income is now about 60 per cent from farming and 40 per cent from industry.

The yearly trend in the proportion of manpower shifting from farming to industry is on the average of about 2 per cent. We may predict that in the next decade the kibbutz will be composed of mainly industry with a minority of members employed in modern farming. Thus the kibbutz community is approaching a pattern of modern society in a rural setting in which the shift of its population from farming to industry can be accomplished without the need for its people to be uprooted and moved to urban centers.

There are now 156 plants in the kibbutzim, with about 9,000 workers. The average plant size is about 50 workers ranging from 20 to 300 workers per plant. The kibbutz factory is a small-scale
industry specializing mainly in plastics, chemistry, pharmaceuticals, electrical appliances, metal equipment, processing of farm products, plywood, and furniture. Kibbutz industry produces 5 per cent of the gross national industrial product with the use of only 2.6 per cent of the total manpower occupied in industry. The productivity per worker in kibbutz industry is higher by 15 per cent than the national average.

The rate of exports of kibbutz factory production averages 14 per cent in comparison to 8.5 per cent shown in industrial statistics for the state of Israel. From 1948, the year of independence, the kibbutzim increased their industrial production by 64 per cent as compared to 41 per cent shown in Israeli industry. In the past year the kibbutzim have increased their yearly industrial production by 15 per cent as compared to 4.6 per cent for the state of Israel. The kibbutzim are producing 12 per cent of the gross national product of the farms and industry (excluding services) while they comprise only about 4 per cent of the entire population. This means that every member in the kibbutz contributes three-times as much as the average Israeli citizen to the gross national product. The rate of growth in economic contribution to the gross national product is the highest of any sector of the economy and is increasing yearly by 10 per cent. Unpublished research by Prof. Seymour Melman from the Department of Industrial and Management Engineering of Columbia University compares five factories in kibbutzim with five private factories in Israel employing the same technology. The results of this research showed that kibbutz factories are higher in:

a. productivity per capital investment by more than 40 per cent;

b. output per worker by more than 20 per cent.
c. net profit per production worker by more than 30 per cent with the cost of administration being lower by 10 per cent.

Role in the Defense System of Israel

About 60 per cent of the kibbutzim are located on the borders of Israel; these settlements play an important role in the defense system of Israel. Kibbutzim, as cohesive communities on the borders, are both vital and strong civilian elements in Israel's defense network and provide free mobility for the defense forces of Israel to defend its borders.

The distinguished military service record of the second generation of kibbutzim is especially manifested in its high participation in the dangerous voluntary combat units such as parachutists and pilots. About 25 per cent of Israeli casualties in the Six-day War were soldiers of the young generation of kibbutzim, most of whom were combat officers, a position which they frequently achieve.

It should also be mentioned that while defending Israeli statehood in the three wars (1948, 1956, 1967), various kibbutzim withstood the Egyptian army in the south, the Syrian army in the north, and the Jordanian army in the west. Their determination not to surrender—despite the suffering of heavy casualties and great physical destruction—prevented those armies in many instances from penetrating to the heart of the country. These kibbutzim have become Israel's symbol of national self-defense.

Role in the Israel Political Scene

The kibbutzim are active in the political life of Israel. About 33 per cent of the ministers of the last coalition government were kibbutz members belonging to those parties which comprise the coalition. Many political leaders of the diversified, Israeli political
spectrum are current or previous members of kibbutzim. They are elected to their political leadership roles by the party members throughout Israel. In general, there is a relatively high degree of political involvement in kibbutz society. In every kibbutz there is a core of members who belong to one party while minorities are free to join other parties.

CHANGES IN THE KIBBUTZ AND IN ISRAELI SOCIETY

The kibbutzim are passing through a period of changes which are even more rapid than the modifications in the Israeli society. They are trying to reach creative solutions in adapting to outside pressures but without undermining their values and their basic social system. It is hoped that social research can contribute to the successful solution of the continuing problem of adaption.

It is not known how much of the observed changes in the kibbutz should be attributed to outside pressures and how much is due to internal dynamics. Further research is needed to understand these social changes; and this understanding is a necessary background for any longitudinal research in the kibbutz.

In addition to the major forces toward industrialization discussed above, there are many continuing changes and pressures toward change which occur in the kibbutz system. They include:

a. Demographical changes from a young population, homogeneous in age, to a community embracing three generations with aging problems. At the same time the source of growth has shifted from immigration to growth by new births.

b. Increasing complexity of organizational structure as a consequence of increasing size and diversity (e.g., farming and industry).

c. Changes toward more intensification of farming as by irrigation of cash-crops and the application of new techniques of farming.
d. More mechanization in farming, industry, services, and in the technology of information processing and decision making (using electronic data processing and computers).

e. Increasing standards of education, professionalization, and training.

f. Increasing the breadth and depth of the economic integration in kibbutz movements, institutions, and in the regional cooperatives.

g. Improving the physical environment of every kibbutz and increasing the standard of living.

h. Changes in values, e.g., away from asceticism and the value of farming as an exclusive way of life and away from the dominance of group goals over individual goals.

i. Qualitative and quantitative changes in the role of kibbutzim in the contemporary society of Israel, including importance in the economy and in the defense system.

As these many changes occur in the kibbutz system, the mechanisms of integration based upon face-to-face interaction and informal social control which were functional for a small homogeneous system, may no longer be suitable. As a result, for quite a long time, institutionalization has been developing in the kibbutz system despite the apparent conflict between bureaucratic forms and the original equalitarian values and voluntary and direct democracy. The kibbutzim, through trial and experience, have tried to crystallize new forms of institutionalization that might be consistent with its values. Yet there is concern lest the differentiation and specialization which emerge from the dynamics of growth, of increasing complexity, and of modern technology might deteriorate the bases of voluntarism and direct democracy of the kibbutz system. To preserve these values there is an emphasis on management and management training that would develop new communication channels, decentralize decision-making, and seek after structural-motivational solutions. But still there is no unified pattern of kibbutz management accepted by all kibbutzim.
There are special management problems related to the growing importance of industry. In most of the agricultural branches the working groups are relatively small and there is no sharp division of labor between staff and line people. This division is more visible in a factory which is relatively much larger in size and complexity. The rotation rules concerning the managerial roles which are implemented in kibbutz systems are also in general applied to industry. But this alone cannot solve the problem of involvement and participation of all members in the decision-making.

THE ROLL OF KIBBUTZ TRAINING INSTITUTIONS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

A complex net of education and training and research institutions have been established by the general federation of kibbutzim. In fact, they serve as workshops for crystallizing new patterns of organizational behavior for the kibbutz economic sub-system, and they play an important role as agents of change by training most of the kibbutz executives in those patterns. Similar improvements occur by training kibbutz teachers and nurses. This explains why greater progress has been achieved in the management and educational fields than in the social field.

The Kibbutz Management Center of Ruppin Institute is the main base for developing and shaping the kibbutz management theory and practices by sharing the best experience among members and by utilizing the findings of the social sciences. The management center trains about 300 kibbutz management people of different levels yearly; most of them are twenty-five to thirty years old. It has seminars for farm managers, factory managers, farm branch managers (supervisors),
treasurers, cost-accountants, etc. The curriculum of these full residential seminars is based on an interdisciplinary approach to integrating specific technology with the application of micro-economics and the other behavioral sciences to the kibbutz economic sub-system. The Kibbutz Managers Seminar is an eleven month course for experienced members. It is an informal non-credit course at the college level.

Another training center for kibbutz managers is located at the Agricultural Faculty of the Hebrew University of Rehovot. This center for experienced people at the college level consists of two basic courses: one is kibbutz business administration and the other is agronomy in special branches of farming. One hundred and twenty-five young people, mostly of the second generation of the kibbutz, study in this center. It is a full 33-month residential seminar.

The Educational Training Center at Oranim is the kibbutz teachers college that trains educators for all age levels, starting with nurses for toddlers, pre-kindergarten and kindergarten, and ending with teachers for high schools. Every year about 500 kibbutz educators are studying in "Oranim".

The training of community leaders in the kibbutz social sub-system has started to develop only very recently. Nevertheless, there has been some progress in this field during the last few years. More and more seminars have been established for training community leaders to deal with the kibbutz social sub-system; for example, there have been courses for the kibbutz secretary and the social and personal committee chairman, etc. The curriculum is based primarily on the application of the behavioral sciences to the kibbutz system. In the early stages there is some use of sensitivity training, role-
playing, etc. The curriculum of those seminars is still not yet fully aware of the importance of training community leaders to deal with its social sub-system on a much more professional level as is commonly done in the economic sub-system through management training.

The establishing of kibbutz education and management centers and institutions has increased the need for objective studies of the structure and processes and changes in the kibbutz system. For now there is a market for research findings to be used as teaching material.

Five research centers now exist to serve the needs of the kibbutzim:

(1) **The Kibbutz Economic Research and Advisory Center** is a leading institute in the micro-economics of the kibbutz and also serves as an economic advisory agency to each kibbutz. They apply new techniques in economics to the kibbutz system, such as kibbutz cost-accounting and linear programming, and it conducts economic research comparing different kibbutzim.

(2) **The Kibbutz Education Research Center** deals with research in the different aspects of kibbutz education. The center collaborates in some studies with the universities. They conduct research on such topics as: the nurse role, the adolescent's sexual behavior, the family structure and mental health of children in the kibbutz.

(3) **The Kibbutz Social Research Centers**. Two such centers exist now and they collaborate closely. They are: the **Social Research Center on the Kibbutz** at Givat Haviva, and the **Sociological Research Center of Ichud** in Tel-Aviv. The former center started with research on women's role in the kibbutz. It studied their status and occupational mobility and their involvement in public activity
on the one hand, and their intra-family role on the other hand. This center is also participating in a cross-cultural project on the influence of hierarchy in industry on the workers in the organization. This research was initiated and is sponsored by Prof. Arnold Tennenbaum of the Institute for Social Research of the University of Michigan. The Center is also conducting surveys on topics such as kibbutz newspapers and kibbutz consumption patterns. It is now engaged in two big research projects with the full collaboration of the Sociological Research Center of Ichud. One is a research project on the second generation in the kibbutz, which encompasses most of the crucial problems of intergeneration integration in the kibbutz. Special attention is focussed on trends in value orientations of the young generation and on their professional aspirations. The other project is on integration into the kibbutzim of young members from the cities.

The second center, the Sociological Research Center of Ichud, is doing research on the effects of sleeping arrangements for children on the social structure of the kibbutz. It compares the usual pattern of communal sleeping with the family pattern where children sleep at their parents' houses at night. This research also studies the effects of the dwelling system on the family and on the public activity of the women.

The two social research centers are now collaborating on a study of the second generation in the kibbutzim.

Both the theoretical and research studies on the kibbutz are aided by the Bibliographical Center of Hakibbutz Hameuchad which has a collection of all written material on the kibbutz and material written by members of the kibbutzim.
Although the two social research centers in the kibbutz are contributing much of value, it would be desirable to expend their activities. Additional research is needed to help the kibbutz to introduce improvements which will enable it to adjust to the many forces for change. Such research should expand toward a more interdisciplinary approach encompassing more of the concepts and methods of social psychology and organizational psychology. More longitudinal studies are needed, as well as comparative studies both among kibbutzim and in comparison to other organizations and small social systems.

THE INTEREST OF AMERICAN BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE IN THE KIBBUTZ

American behavioral science has much to learn from research on the kibbutz because this unique social system exhibits various social phenomena in a purer form than can be found elsewhere. Furthermore, this system seems to combine the material advantages of industrial organization with the psychological advantages of the integrated community; when we understand the kibbutz we will have learned much about how to attain high productivity combined with mentally healthy individuals who are integrated into their society rather than alienated from it. Finally, such research offers great methodological advantages because of the large number and the small size of the kibbutzim and the fact that many of them are undergoing rapid social changes.

In this section we cannot list all the important research topics nor describe how— they might be combined in a single project. Instead, we will outline the range of our program by sketching illustrative topics which may be conveniently grouped in three categories:
(1) the kibbutz as a small social system, (2) the relation of the kibbutz to the larger society, and (3) the effect of the kibbutz on its members.

The Kibbutz as a Social System

1. It is often assumed that people are maximally motivated toward effective performance by the powerful profit motive, yet people in the kibbutz work for a group goal and all share alike in the returns from group effort. We have an excellent opportunity for studies comparing the effects of individual vs. group rewards on motivation, productivity, satisfaction, and integration into the group.

2. The kibbutz as a socio-technical system should receive special attention. How is the structure of work roles related to the social roles in the community? How does this influence the productivity and survival of the kibbutz? Does the integration of work roles and social roles in the kibbutz, as compared to the moshav (family farm holder) and to private industry, result in the reinforcement of organizational objectives by group norms rather than conflict between them? As modern organizations move toward a computerized technocracy, there is a tendency for machines to dominate the social system rather than serving it. Research must evaluate and understand the successes and failures of the kibbutz in resisting this trend.

3. Although a kibbutz has a complex role structure, these roles tend to be informally defined, and there is a great deal of discretionary leeway for the individual to redefine his role. How, then, does the kibbutz obtain effective role performance and the coordination of different roles? And how does this aspect of the social system relate to the personality system of the individual?

4. There is a unique opportunity to study the process of indus-
trialization in the kibbutzim. These farming communities are rapidly becoming industrialized; so it is feasible to interview members before, during, and after the change. In planning new factories, there is a conscious attempt to make technology serve human needs. For example, they have chosen to provide light factory work as a solution to the problem of aging farm workers who can no longer perform heavy farm work. So far the kibbutz seems to be providing a higher degree of self-actualization for factory workers; and they have avoided the evils of strikes and other common symptoms of industrial unrest. Surely research into this seeming success might well yield generalizable answers which could be applied in other industrial societies.

5. Special research is needed on management practices in the kibbutz. It might include such topics as: leadership practices, the types of power and influence used by managers (legitimate power, expert power, referent power, coercive power, etc.), the recruiting of managers, the rotation system, and the functioning of coordinating committees in resolving conflicts.

6. There is a parallel need for research on the management training procedures used in the Kibbutz Management Center. Such research would involve data on the nature of the training courses, the reactions of students to them, and the changes in managerial performance produced by the training. Thus studies of training might well be combined with studies of management practices. It might contribute both to the research and to the effectiveness of the training to utilize management trainees as researchers who gather data on the management practices in the various kibbutzim. A broader conception of organizational development might lead to more consultation.
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The Relation of the Kibbutz to the Larger Society

1. Representative democracy, as compared to direct, face-to-face democracy, has several weaknesses. Rank-and-file members are often apathetic in large organizations like labor unions; and as their leaders move toward a monopoly of power, the members become alienated from them. The direct democracy within a single kibbutz avoids these problems, but the Federations of Kibbutzim and regional co-ops operate by representative democracy. Research could fruitfully compare the effects of direct participation with representative participation. To what extent are members knowledgeable about and involved in the larger system, and how does this affect the functioning of the larger system?

2. It is appropriate to study the effect of the kibbutz as a sub-culture on the Israeli society because it is a goal of the movement to improve the society and to set an example for it. Yet the kibbutz maintains a certain degree of self-imposed segregation for fear their values will be eroded by too much contact with the larger society. This ambivalence toward and from the out-group has several parallels to the basic dynamics of ethnic minorities within a society and to certain aspects of nationalism; and these basic problems could be illuminated by research in the kibbutz.

3. Israel faces an enormous task of integrating many diverse national, racial, and cultural groups; and some of the most successful integration is occurring in the kibbutz. The United States and many other nations have similar problems of inter-group relations. Research on these general problems might well be undertaken by com-
pairing patterns of integration in the small microcosm of the kibbutz with patterns elsewhere in Israel and in other cultures. The results of such research could be useful in many countries.

The Effects of the Kibbutz on its Members

1. In industrial societies generally, including Israel, there are many symptoms of the maladjustment of man to his social environment. The sign of alienation and anomie range from beatniks and hippies to mental illness, riots, and rising rates of crime and delinquency. Yet these pathologies seem not to occur in the kibbutz. Again, there is great value in discovering, through social research, just how the kibbutz has managed to avoid these social sicknesses.

2. One of the most unique aspects of kibbutz society is the system of socialization and child-rearing, including the educational system and its unusual relation to the family. It will be especially fruitful to study socialization in the kibbutz, for it is by means of these processes that the values of the kibbutz are handed down to the younger generation. The commitment of these values may well be crucial for the alienation or mental health of its members. We need to study broadly how the total process of socialization conserves or changes the nature of the kibbutz.

THE PURPOSE OF THE PROGRAM

The purpose of this program is to establish continuous collaboration between American behavioral scientists and the Kibbutz Management Center and the two social research centers, and to promote and support management development and social research in the kibbutzim in Israel. The program aims to contribute to management development and to per-
perform social research on kibbutz problems which will be of great interest to American behavioral scientists and of benefit to the kibbutzim. This research will focus on the social structure and social processes, including leadership and organizational development, within the kibbutz and how these affect the members within and the outside society. We also aim to improve the education and training of behavioral scientists who are members of kibbutzim.

PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

In order to implement the above mentioned purpose of the program, it is suggested that the Council try to realize the following activities in the next five years:

(1) The first of a series of collaborative research projects proposed is a study of industrialization in the kibbutz. During the next two to three years, about twenty new industrial plants will be set up and manned by kibbutz members who are currently engaged in agriculture. Twenty more existing kibbutz factories will be expanded. This provides a unique opportunity to study, before and during the process, the industrialization of farm workers. We will be interested in the resulting productivity, adjustment, mental health, and other effects on the kibbutz.

(2) Every year one or several American professors of the behavioral sciences should go as visiting professors to kibbutz institutions: (a) to initiate research projects such as the one on the affects of industrialization; (b) to train the existing research people in research techniques through consultation and supervision on their existing research projects; (c) to run seminars on organizational behavior to initiate a management development program and to conduct sensitivity training for key people.
(3) Scholarships should be provided for four present key research leaders of the kibbutz social research centers to get their doctorate degrees in Israeli or American universities. (The first two will be the directors of the two social research centers, Menahem Rosner and Josef Sheffer.) In addition, two younger men each year should be supported for post-graduate education in the behavioral sciences.

FINANCING

In order to implement the program for the next five years, we ought to mobilize financial support from the following sources:

a. U. S. Funds in Israel: This was already discussed by Dr. Alfred Marrow with the American Ambassador in Israel.

b. Israeli governmental funds from the ministry of labor: This was already discussed in Israel by Dr. French and Mr. Golomb with General Igal Alon, the Minister of Labor, and approved in principle.

c. American foundations such as the Ford Foundation and others.

d. Donations from individuals in the United States.

e. The General Federation of the Kibbutzim: This was confirmed in principle by Shlomo Rosen, the General Secretary of the Federation with Dr. Alfred Marrow, Dr. French, and Mr. Naphtali Golomb.

f. American fellowship grants and Fulbright grants to support sabbaticals for American professors.

g. American fellowships for members of the kibbutz to obtain their doctorate degrees in the behavioral sciences in American universities.

The Council will attempt to raise funds to support the program. The program will extend over a period of at least five years and it is anticipated that the cost will be approximately $80,000 per year, not including the large research projects, such as the industrialization in the kibbutzim, which will have to be supported by special
foundation grants. The annual budget is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Service</th>
<th>Cost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social Research</td>
<td>$25,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Management training and organizational</td>
<td>$16,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>development</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salaries and expenses for trips to Israel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American professors</td>
<td>$14,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scholarships for Israeli social scientists</td>
<td>$16,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Facilities for research and training</td>
<td>$8,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>$80,000</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**FACILITIES**

The Kibbutz Management Center of Ruppin Institute has nice campus buildings to meet the needs of the management development program. It is located in the country near the city of Netania.

The Social Research Center of the Kibbutz is located in Givat Haviva and has a new two-floor building with housing facilities for staff people.

The Sociological Research Center of Ichud is located in Tel-Aviv in a rented office.

To complete the facilities needed to implement the program, it is proposed that the funds collected by the Council be used for:

1. **HOUSING:** It is suggested that a two-family apartment house with a conference room be built in a kibbutz for American professors' families who would like to live in a kibbutz during all or part of their stay in Israel. This will give the program more flexibility to meet the needs of every American family. They will have the choice of living in a kibbutz, in the city, or in one of the campuses of kibbutz institutions.
(2) LIBRARY AND EQUIPMENT: The program will try to help establish a small library in the centers, and acquire equipment, such as calculators, needed in these centers.

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

To implement the program it is proposed to establish two organizations, one in the U. S., the American Council for the Behavioral Sciences in the Kibbutz Management and Social Research Centers, and the second in Israel connected with the General Federation of the Kibbutzim in Israel.

The Council in the United States, under the chairmanship of Dr. Alfred J. Marrow, President of the American Board of Professional Psychologists, includes:

Prof. Chris Argyris, Yale University
Prof. Warren G. Bennis, Provost University of Buffalo
Dr. Leland P. Bradford, Exec. Director, NTL Inst. App. Behav. Sciences
Mr. William J. Crockett, Vice Pres., IBM International
Mr. E. Edgar Fogle, Vice Pres., Union Carbide Corp.
Prof. John R. P. French, Jr., University of Michigan
Prof. William Haber, University of Michigan
Prof. Robert Kahn, University of Michigan
Prof. Daniel Katz, University of Michigan
Prof. Horace M. Kallen, The New School for Social Research
Mr. W. Price Laughlin,
President, Saga Foods

Prof. Rensis Likert
University of Michigan

Mr. James Marshall,
Attorney, New York City

Prof. Arnold S. Tannenbaum,
University of Michigan

Prof. Robert Tannenbaum,
University of Calif., Los Angeles

Mr. Naphtali Golomb
Dir., Kibbutz Management Center, Ruppin Inst.
Visiting scholar, University of Michigan

The administration of some aspects of the research should be done in the U. S., for example, some of the planning, staffing, analysis, writing, and financing. For purposes of such administration, the facilities of the Institute for Social Research of the University of Michigan will be used. These include not only facilities for research, such as libraries and computers, but also administrative services such as a coordinator for foreign research and a business office for handling accounting and financial affairs. The administrative committee for the program will consist of Prof. Arnold Tannenbaum, the coordinator for foreign research; and Profs. Robert Kahn and John R. P. French, Jr., both of whom are program directors in the Institute for Social Research; and Naphtali Golomb, Director of Kibbutz Management Seminar on leave to the Institute for Social Research of the University of Michigan.

Lastly, it was decided by the General Federation of the Kibbutzim to give the power of implementation of the program to the Coordinating Committee of Social Research in the Kibbutz. The chairman of the committee is Menahem Rosner, the Director of the Social Research Center of the Kibbutz. The committee includes Josef Sheffer, Director
of the Sociological Research Center of Ichud, Menahem Gerson and Michael Natan from the Kibbutz Educational Research Center, Naphtali Golomb and Jehudah Fine from the Management Center, and Michael Vardiman from the Kibbutz Economics Research and Advisory Center.
Figure 1

KIBBUTZ SYSTEM STRUCTURE

SOCIAL SUB-SYSTEM

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Key Coordinating Team

Offices:

1. General Secretary
2. Top Manager
3. Treasurer
4. Manpower Manager

MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE

ECONOMICS SUB-SYSTEM

Education Com.
Cultural Committee
Health Committee
Defense Committee
Young Generation
Consumption Com.
Social & Personal

Dairy Team
Poultry Team
Cash-crops Team
Plantation Team
Factory Team
Maintenance Team
Dining Hall Team
Clothing Team