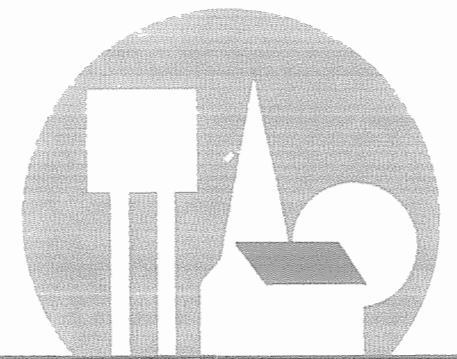


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FAMILY, FAMILISM AND THE EQUALITY
BETWEEN THE SEXES

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FAMILY, FAMILISM AND THE EQUALITY
BETWEEN THE SEXES

In the expanding literature pertaining to the status of women in the kibbutz, one finds a general consensus of a strong connection between the rise of familialism and the broadening role of the family in different institutional areas (especially education and consumption) on the one hand and a decline in goal determinism of achieving equality of the sexes on the other. This consensus is based on two major assumptions.

A. The augmentation of family-status causes the woman to return to her traditional role in concentrating her duties in the private-familial sphere, while the man is more inclined to fill public roles. Although specific examples of the exclusion of women from the kibbutz work system have not been noted, some people interpret the tendencies in this direction, within some kibbutzim, as the setting of trends towards the expansion of family authority at the expense of the collectivity of the kibbutz institutions. For example, the changeover to children's sleeping at their parents' homes, or the establishment of an inclusive budget. The assumption is that these trends express a desire to return to the role of housewife on the part of the woman. One investigator (M. Mednick) makes this far-reaching statement: "Indeed the kibbutz is now a phase very reminiscent of our own "Feminine Mystique" of the late forties and fifties". She was referring to the phenomenon described by B. Friedan, of educated American women giving up professional careers in order to concentrate upon the role of housewife, a change which, for many, resulted in a feeling of emptiness and frustration after the children grew up.

B. The expansion of the family roles causes the inequality in the realm of division of labor inside the family, to increase casting the main responsibility for the management of the family economy and the children's care upon the woman. Therefore, in the kibbutz, as elsewhere, the woman assumes a "double role", in that, after completing her tasks within the regular work routine, she does household chores at home. This process

has been legitimized according to this claim by the decision to shorten the woman's work-day by one hour.

The extension of the family-roles, intensifies the role-division processes within the family, and by casting this additional burden upon her, she is put into a detrimental position.

Paradoxically, all the investigators note that the women themselves are the main supporters of the expansion of familial trends (Mednick 1975, p. 224). The investigators differ though in their interpretations as to why this phenomenon of dominant female support exists. Tiger and Shepherd (1975) explain this situation as resulting from "the mother's natural inclinations to be with her children". This tendency, they note, is a positive attraction not a negative regression, and results both from our mammalian origin as apes and from pre-historic's man extended hunting and gathering period. Bettelheim, on the other hand views the familial tendencies of kibbutz-born girls as a protest against the non-familial and unmotherly behaviour of their own mothers (as guided by the masculine example). Y. Talmon and others, in turn, find a connection between the degree of satisfaction achieved by the woman from performance of her public roles -- at work and in public activity -- and to what extent she is inclined to expand the family-roles. Y. Talmon, (1972), found that female kibbutz members fulfilling professional roles, are less supportive to a changeover to family-sleeping arrangements.

In view of these contradictory opinions, we shall attempt to offer a more detailed explanation of some of the following problems: 1) What is the objective and subjective significance of the changes of the family status in the kibbutz? 2) Have demographical phenomena such as marrying at a younger age, increased birth rate, decreasing divorce rate, the same impact on the individual as certain social processes (the development of extended families) or institutional changes (the change of family sleeping arrangements and the expansion of family centered roles in the spheres of consumption)? Does the wish for more children also result in the desire for family sleeping arrangements?

In the following implications of our research within the different kibbutz movements we shall go about answering these questions under the premise that the concept of familism should not be simply on one level but should be treated as a multi-dimensional phenomenon instead.

There are practically no differences, between the movements in those aspects connected with demographical processes relating to the family's rising importance in the kibbutz social structure, and in those matters connected with some of the social expressions of these processes. The findings based on the general kibbutz population census cited by Tiger and Shepherd indicate that there are no differences between the Kibbutz Artzi and the Ichud, regarding the percentage of marriages and number of children. In the Kibbutz Artzi, which is considered to be less "familial", the number of families with three children and more, is even greater than in the Ichud (p. 224). The gross rate of births (number of births per one thousand) is constantly rising in all the kibbutz movements from 21.1 in 1962 to 27.2 in 1972 (and is higher than the customary birth-rate in the Jewish population, as a whole - 23.4 in 1971). The rate of divorces in the Ichud is somewhat lower when compared to the two other movements, but the difference, in the opinion of the investigator is "not significant" (Gerson, 1968, p. 185). The average age of marriage of girls born in the Kibbutz Artzi (21.47) is slightly higher than that of those in the Ichud (21.21) but this difference seems fairly small (M. Rosner et al. 1978.)

There is no research data concerning the extended, multi-generation family, but, apparently, the number of families of this kind in the Kibbutz Artzi is no lower than their equivalent in the Ichud. Perhaps even the opposite could be asserted since the number of kibbutz born adults remaining in the kibbutz of their birth, and establishing their families there, is higher in the Kibbutz Artzi. There seem to be no differences between the movements, when considering the symbolic expression as to the family's significance, the marriage ceremony has turned into a well-attended public event. A more thorough examination of the findings of the second generation research concerning the importance of

the family in the life of those investigated, revealed that in this area also, there are no differences between Kibbutz Artzi's young married couples and those of the Ichud.

There is, however, a great difference between the attitudes of the Ichud Hakevutzoth Vehakibbutzim, and those of Kibbutz Artzi who are a part of both generations and both sexes, concerning the tendencies towards augmenting family authority. 70% of Ichud-born girls support the establishment of family-sleeping arrangements, as compared to 25% of Kibbutz-Artzi born girls. (Among the young men - 40% as compared to 12%). 70% of the Ichud-born adults (of both sexes) support the establishment of an inclusive budget (signifying the extension of the authority of the individual and the family in the area of consumption) compared to 20% of adults born in the Kibbutz Artzi. Similar differences were also revealed in the responses to the general question regarding the wish to extend family authority in the sphere of consumption, and the legitimization of the family's appearance as a "political unit" in matters connected with one of its members. (The specific question referred to the attitude towards organized support, by parents, if one of their children's requests were brought before the kibbutz assembly).

The attitudes of Hakibbutz Hame'uchad members resemble those of the Ichud, and are more favorably inclined towards the expansion of familial roles. Within the Kibbutz Artzi, however, these trends are viewed as damaging vital kibbutz institutions. It follows that one cannot simply state that Kibbutz Artzi members are less "familialistic" than those of other movements. In certain areas their attitudes and behaviour resemble those of the members of other movements, while in other spheres, they differ.

A similar phenomenon is revealed on the level of the individual as well. This is done by examining the connections between the behaviour of those investigated and their attitudes in various familial spheres, as it is presented in Illustration No. 1.

Illustration No. 1

The Structure of Correlations Between Family Related Behaviour and Attitudes Towards Kibbutz Values.

<u>Familialism</u>		<u>Attitudes Towards Kibbutz Values</u>
<u>A. Structural Dimension</u>	<u>B. Value Dimension</u>	<u>C. Other Kibbutz Values</u>
a. Respondents' age of marriage	Favorable attitudes towards:	a. Commitment to Kibbutz
b. Number of children	a. Familial children sleeping arrangements	
c. Importance of family	b. Inclusive budget	b. Conformity with ideology of the Kibbutz Federation
	c. Legitimation of family as "interest group"	

Significant correlations were found between the variables within the "A" section expressing the augmented family-status inside the kibbutz social structure, and also between the variables within the "B" section, signifying the desire to extend the family authority by means of institutional changes. There were no significant correlations between the attitudes and behaviour in section "A" and those in section "B". On the other hand, significant correlations were found between the attitudes in section "B" and those of section "C" which express a general relationship to the kibbutz and kibbutz values.(1)

These findings, which are consistent both on the level of the inter-movement comparison, and on the level of the individual, indicate two dimensions, in the tendency of increased importance of the family and familialism inside the kibbutz. These could be defined as

a structural dimension and a value dimension. The structural dimension mainly expresses the demographical changes connected with the increased importance of the family in the kibbutz, such as having more children, their young age, the development of the extended family, and their symbolic manifestations (the marriage ceremony, the wedding ring, etc.). These changes indicate the augmentation of the family's status within the social structure of the kibbutz. For the individual -- on the other hand -- the family assumes importance upon the establishment of a new family, and with the advent of parenthood. The larger the number of children, the greater the significance of the family. The value dimension expresses a set of attitudes and opinions in favour of expanding family authority in kibbutz life.

These attitudes are also connected with others, supporting a change in the institutional structure of the kibbutz toward the weakening of the collectivistic elements. It seems to us, then, that the concept, "familialism", should not be used without defining it specifically. In our opinion, it is necessary on the one hand to distinguish between the familial behaviour of the individual and the rise in the importance of the family in the social structure of the kibbutz, and the support of changes in the institutional structure by expanding family authority, on the other hand.

Conclusions Relating to the Problem of Equality of the Sexes

The important conclusion of this discussion concerning the subject of the equality of sexes, is the fact that if a kibbutz family desires a relatively large number of children -- as compared with their customary number in the past -- it does not necessarily mean that they intend to change the kibbutz educational arrangements too, or wish to have the children at home during the night. Just as it has not been proven that the desire for larger families necessarily results in the wish to extend family-authority. We have no evidence

that women who want their children to sleep at home also aspire to to the role of housewife and to the concept of "feminine mystique". The findings of the investigation of kibbutz female members in the Kibbutz Artzi (Rosmer 1966, p. 80) show that the investigated subjects, regarded their position as definitely more advantageous than that of the typical housewife. Only a few women showed the inclination to do domestic work (laundry, ironing, etc.). The overwhelming majority noted that they only did work of this sort, when services in the kibbutz were unsatisfactory. J. Shepher (1967), in his inter-kibbutz research study comparing different systems of sleeping arrangements for children, states: "we did not find the image of the housewife to be the predominant one in kibbutzim, where children slept at home. On the contrary, we discerned the inclination to stress this image in kibbutzim where children slept in children's houses. The two findings are inter-connected. Where sleeping is in children's houses, the women search for various expressions of the female image, where children sleep at home, this urge is satisfied by the system itself." (p. 125).

Therefore, a fatalistic approach to the familialistic trends in the kibbutz, is unjustified and these trends should not be considered a regression of the equality of the sexes. This achievement is the participation of all women in the kibbutz work-system, which ensures socio-economic independence, and a feeling of partnership in the kibbutz enterprise. However, the criterion for attaining equality of sexes is not only the fact that the woman has emerged from the limiting bound of the home, but also her partnership with the man in the fulfilment of family roles.

The Division of Work in the Kibbutz Family

Claims are being made to the effect that equality of sexes was not achieved in the kibbutz, because of the division of work according to sex in the areas of occupations and public activity. Confronted

with this claim, the question whether processes of polarization, according to sex, are taking place in the family sphere as well, is important. All the more so, since the increase in the number of children, and a higher standard of living (as indicated by a larger family-flat, more and better furniture, and changes in patterns of consumption) have definitely increased the number of roles each adult has to perform, and demand more time and effort. Are these additional expenditures of time and effort to be made by the woman? Has, as a result of shortening woman's work-day by one hour (as compared to men) resulted in men performing less domestic work?

We regret to say that we have not sufficient data as to the arrangements of members of kibbutz-families. Tiger and Shepherd (ibid.), however, present detailed data concerning the present division of domestic work in the families of investigated subjects from four kibbutzim. Only 4 out of 13 household tasks were usually performed by the woman (bringing foodstuffs; preparing the afternoon meal, cleaning the kitchenette and the bathroom). However, as far as all the other tasks were concerned, such as: cleaning the flat, washing dishes, managing the family budget, gardening etc., most of the subjects investigated replied that these were performed by both partners together or in turn. They reached the conclusion that, as far as the division of work and authority -- in the family -- is concerned, the kibbutz gives a clear picture of a marriage based upon partnership ("companionship marriage"). Nevertheless, work continues to be divided according to sex. The egalitarian ideology has proven itself to be more efficient inside the micro-structure of the family, than in the macro-structure of the kibbutz (p.233). (2)

A similar image is evoked by the Dutch investigator, F. Selier (1973) specifically dealing with the division of roles in the kibbutz family. He concludes: "I would like to stress that, in comparison with the Western world, the kibbutz is characterized by a large measure of "interchangeability of roles" (p. 20). One of Selier's surprising findings is that there is more equality in the division of roles

(i.e. the measure of the husband's participation in housework is greater) when the family is larger or when children begin sleeping at home (p. 31).

A similar picture is shown by the Kibbutz Artzi investigation of women-members, dealing with division of educational roles between the sexes. Apparently, the situation changes according to the children's ages. The mother fulfils the central role when they are babies and at the pre-kindergarten age, while the father's role becomes gradually more important during the kindergarten and school-age stages. During the secondary-school stage, both parents have an equal share. The kibbutz uniqueness, in this aspect can be discerned by the institutionalization of the leisure-hours spent with the children, according to them a central place in the time-table of both parents. Particularly when the children are young, both the father and the mother spend 3-4 hours in the afternoon with their children. Here the kibbutz differs from most modern societies where less and less time is spent concentratedly with the children, and fathers working away from home are seldom or little with their children.

Another finding of the kibbutz woman-member research expresses this difference between kibbutz and city-life as well. In the Kibbutz Artzi, 75% of those investigated claim that in the kibbutz family there is more equality in the area of division of work between the sexes than in the Israeli city. The percentage of those who think that the situation in the kibbutz is characterized by greater equality in the area of the family, as compared to the city, is significantly higher than that of those claiming this in connection with other areas, such as work and public activity. Once more this strengthens Tiger and Shepherd's conclusion mentioned above. The major factor in the family area is not the change of the role of women, but the men's roles have been revolutionized. Although a certain differentiation in the division of work, which is not completely egalitarian, can be discerned, the notable fact is that men have "invaded" the area of roles characterized by solidarity and emotionalism, which, according to their traditional

distribution, were thought to be feminine.

It is of remarkable interest to note that even in societies which have made special progress in the sphere of the equality of sexes (the Scandinavian countries and the U.S.S.R.) no fundamental changes in the family division of work have taken place as yet. This — in spite of the declared policy and planned efforts directed towards this aim — is indicated by the summing-up of an investigation held in Finland (1972) by E. Haavio Mannilio: "The traditional division of labor between the sexes still persists in most of the families although two-thirds of the wives are working outside their homes. This circumstance causes dissatisfaction: Women are more often dissatisfied with their husbands' participation in household tasks than with their own status at work and social activities even if their formal positions in the latter are inferior to the men's position." (p. 217)

Elsewhere, the same writer makes a similar claim concerning the socialist countries: "Various investigations in the socialist countries show that within the family, traditional conceptions and a conservative division of domestic chores are still dominant. Obviously, it is more difficult to influence attitudes or behaviour on the "micro" level of the family (p. 102). What then in the kibbutz has brought about the revolution on the "micro" level of the family, which is more influenced by biological factors than other spheres; a revolution which continues and persists despite all the changes? It seems to us that the answer lies in the kibbutz egalitarian system of values, expressed, among other things, by a practically complete lack of stereotypes as to the differences in the abilities and characteristics of the two sexes — a phenomenon which is unusual when comparing with other societies (Rosner, 1969). Moreover, an egalitarian system of interpersonal relations is maintained and reflected in the character of the kibbutz family, which is based upon partnership.

Do the Women form the Vanguard of the Familialistic Trend?

As mentioned above, most investigators share the view that it was due to women's aspiration that the rise of familialistic trends in the kibbutz originated. Opinions differ, when it comes to interpreting those aspirations. Tiger and Shepherd view them as an expression of biological tendencies. While other investigators think that women seek compensation in the family for their relative deprivation in other areas.

In our opinion, the role of women in strengthening familial tendencies should be examined against the background of the more general causes for the growing centrality of the family in the kibbutz social structure. J. Talmon's investigations allow us to distinguish between three kinds of factors in this sphere:

- a. Situational tendencies connected with the improvement of security conditions; better economic circumstances, and social stability. An increased number of children and the improved standard of living, have added new content to the family, a social unit, whose ties had been predominantly emotional in the past. When the family unit assumed a multi-generational character (since a considerable number of young people remain in the kibbutz of their birth) its dimensions grew numerically, and the network of social relationships connected with the extended family increased.
- b. Specific changes evolved in the social structure as expressed by the increase in size of the kibbutzim; and the larger number of social groups, varying in age, generation differentiation, and origin. The processes of institutionalization introduced new elements of formal relationships, which weakened the emotional attachment to the all-embracing kibbutz framework and the inter-personal connections. Due to these circumstances, the family assumes greater importance, as it serves as a framework guaranteeing personal, emotional and direct relationships, and where considerations of the needs and inclinations of the individual as a family member have priority. The search for the "warm family nest" is intensified, as a result of the relative

weakening of the "familial" character of the overall kibbutz framework.

c. It is a well-known fact that in revolutionary societies, based upon identification with an ideological aim and a central goal, families are weakened, and the family appears as a factor, "competing" with the collective frameworks. On the other hand, the family rises in importance, as the revolutionary tension weakens. The routinization process in the kibbutz which increasingly tended to bring to the foreground every-day concerns, were instrumental in diminishing the focus on identification with the central ideological aims. These changes furnished a suitable medium for furthering familial trends. Thus, women's part in the growth of these tendencies should be viewed within the context of these larger processes.

The demand for expanding family authority is, in general, more acute in those kibbutzim and movements, where the general social and ideological relationships have deteriorated. J. Talmon revealed differences between various types of kibbutzim in the Ichud Hakibbutzim Vehakevutzoth. The findings of the research on the woman-member in the Kibbutz Artzi, showed that the demand to implement family authority was stronger in those kibbutzim classified by investigators as "less committed to Kibbutz values" (M. Rosner, 1969). The differences between the Kibbutz Artzi, with its "more collectivistic" conception, and the other movements can also be explained on this basis. Variations between the movements, concerning the support of children's sleeping with the family, for example, are greater than the differences between the sexes in each of the movements. For instance, the "Second Generation Study" revealed, that in all the kibbutz movements, the percentage of young women, not born in a kibbutz, nor educated there, supporting children's sleeping with their families, is greater than the percentage of kibbutz-born girls holding this opinion. In the Kibbutz Artzi, more young men, support this attitude. These findings, however, negate Bettelheim's above-mentioned assumption that, particularly, kibbutz-born women are the main supporters of this institutional change.

SUMMARY

Even though more women than men support the extension of family authority in the kibbutz, it would be a mistake to regard them as being mainly "responsible" for the increased familialism in the kibbutz. The rising status of the family in the kibbutz social structure, derives from social and situational modifications, based mainly on ideological changes.

Perhaps the point-of-balance between family and kibbutz relationships differs in the different movements. In the Kibbutz Artzi, we find more pronounced collectivistic trends; children are educated in regional "children communities" from adolescence on, and are separated from their families during the week. There, tendencies favouring the extension of family authority, are weaker than those of the Ichud Hakibbutzim, where children have been sleeping in their parents' homes in some of the kibbutzim since their inception, and in which the family unit had stronger legitimation from the start. It might be regarded as symptomatic, that in spite of the "less-familial" arrangements in the Kibbutz Artzi -- when compared to the Ichud -- less women there have claimed that (even in comparison to the surrounding society) the kibbutz is a less convenient unit in the area of the family (10% versus 37% in the Ichud - Rosner al. 1978, p. 499).

On the other hand, in the Kibbutz Artzi, more kibbutz-born women, as compared to the Ichud, maintain that the kibbutz is a less convenient framework for realizing professional aspirations (55% compared to 46%). This difference can certainly not be explained by biological conditioning, and it apparently originates from differences in education, ideological orientation and personal aspirations.

NOTES

1) We have examined, separately, the correlations in the samples of married kibbutz-born young men and women, and we found that:

a. The larger the increase in the number of children, the greater the importance of the family in the mother's life ($r=.22$) and that of the father ($r=.23$). No connection between the age at marriage and the number of children has been found; nor has any connection been revealed between the age at marriage and the importance of the family (all the correlations presented here are significant on the ($p < .05$) level).

b. Significant correlations were found between the three attitudes supporting the extension of family authority in the educational and consumption areas, and in the political structure. Those who support the establishment of family-sleeping arrangements, also tend to support the extension of the family-role in the sphere of consumption ($r=.18$) and also the familial support for family members in the kibbutz general assembly ($r=.25$); there is also a connection between the two latter attitudes ($r=.13$).

c. There are no significant correlation between the number of children and the support of the extension of family authority in the different spheres; neither is there any connection between the importance of the family in the life of the subject investigated and the latter attitudes.

d. On the other hand, the supporters of the extension of the family authority tend to be less identified with kibbutz life and its values. For example: The correlation between the support of family-sleeping arrangements and the general index of commitment to the kibbutz is $-.29$; the correlation between the latter attitude and a positive attitude to the movement ideology is $-.22$. Generally speaking, supporters of the family sleeping arrangements had received less ideological and movement education than those opposing that attitude ($r=-.30$ for kibbutz-born women, and $r=-.15$ for men).

e. No correlation was found between the number of children in a family or the part the family plays in the subject's life, and his attachment to the kibbutz with its ideological commitments and attitudes.

2) The findings clarify that only in regard to 4 out of 13 tasks, did the subjects investigated claim that they were generally performed by women (bringing food stuffs, preparing "4 O'clock Coffee", clearing of kitchenette and bathroom). Whereas according to most subjects, tasks such as: cleaning of the flat, washing dishes, budgeting of money at the disposal of the family, gardening etc., were executed jointly or by the couple taking turns.

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EQUALITY BETWEEN SEXES IN THE KIBBUTS -
REGRESSION OR CHANGED MEANING ?

INTRODUCTION

The implementation of equality between the sexes has been one of the central aims of the Kibbutz movement since its inception, and the subject has been discussed often in its internal press and even at several country-wide conferences.

Ever since the rise of feminist movements' activities in recent years claiming women's equality, and the increase of public and scientific debates concerning those demands, the interest in the experience of the Kibbutz in this sphere has increased. Several scholars have been attempting to find support for their views in the unique experience of the Kibbutz movement. (M. Mednick, 1975; R. Kanter, 1976; Tiger, Shepher, 1975; S. Keller, 1979). Tiger and Shepher (1975) sum-up their extensive work, which includes numerous facts and data about women in the Kibbutz, as follows:

"We have found that the aspect of this experiment involving major changes in women's lives was substantially less successful than all others, and we believe that this fact can be useful in evaluating what may be a deeply rooted pattern of human behavioural nature" (p. 281)

In the authors' opinion, the relative failure of the Kibbutz in this matter, is an indirect proof that the feminist movements will also fail to realize their aims, because of the mothers' natural tendency to be with their offspring, the intensity of which has been proven by the Kibbutz experience. On the other hand, female researchers of feminist convictions, are attempting to prove that the Kibbutz experience on this subject is unable to serve as a test-case for the controversy regarding the importance of biological factors versus environmental ones in determining women's social status.

"The Kibbutz has never been a perfect testing-ground for gauging the importance of environmental nurture as against nature's importance, as far as the origin of equality of the sexes is concerned." (Kanter, p. 662)

Generally speaking, these investigators agree with the statement that in spite of the far-reaching institutional changes in the Kibbutz (collective education and consumption) the goal to achieve equality between the sexes has not been reached. In their opinion, however, the reasons are not woman's natural inclinations, as Tiger and Shepher claim, but the specific conditions under which the Kibbutz experiment has been carried out. First, during the pioneering period, the emphasis was on physical strength, and the masculine pattern predominated. They stressed the short-comings of the Kibbutz egalitarian ideology, which stood for the introduction of women into masculine roles, but not vice versa - introducing men into feminine roles (which, because of being feminine, were still considered inferior). (Mednick, S. Keller).

Generally speaking, the investigators agree that the changes in women's status in the Kibbutz, have taken place not against women's wishes, but with their support. However, while Tiger and Shepher regard women's natural inclinations as the cause of their attitudes, in M. Mednick's view, this is a sort of "false consciousness". In her opinion, the Kibbutz system is responsible for the failure to attain equality between the sexes, and therefore, the problem is how to make the women aware that they should struggle against the "guilty" system. Although it is important that the problem of equality between the sexes has been presented in those works in a wider theoretical context, they cannot answer certain basic questions concerning the trends of development in this field. Neither do they adequately explain the criteria for evaluating those problems, whose existence cannot be disputed. Social research which has been conducted in the Kibbutz movement in recent years enables us to delve upon some of the changes, which have taken place regarding the status of both sexes in the Kibbutz, and have not been satisfactorily analyzed in the works mentioned above.

In our discussion, we shall focus upon the problem which we consider as being central in evaluating the extent to which equality between the

sexes has been in the Kibbutz:

1. The increase in familistic trends.
2. The maintenance, and perhaps even the intensification, of the division of work and public roles, according to sex. It is generally accepted that these problems do exist, but there is far less agreement as to additional questions which have arisen in connection with them. Regarding the first problem, the main question is: Is there a contradiction between strengthening of the family with the accompanying importance it assumes in women's life-space, and their full participation carrying out occupational and public roles? Are women with many children, even in the Kibbutz, also obligated to restrict their occupational and public activity? Or perhaps does the existence of the educational and consumer collective institutions eliminate the contradiction between woman's role as a mother and her role as worker, as prevails in other societies?

As for the second problem, the question is - does the fulfilment of different roles by both sexes cause a difference in the social status and rewards which these roles entail?

Tiger and Shepher write: "If however, factual equality of the sexes depends on occupational roles, it can be achieved only if differential work prestige disappears or if men and women do the same work. The first condition is hardly achievable; in a complex society, there will be always some jobs that are differentially rated, along with the skills, talents and education needed to perform them. It seems to us, therefore, that equality of the sexes cannot exist until work allocation and consequently work status do not have gender as a criterion." (261)

However, the question which has not been answered in that book is: Is it a constant datum that the roles typed as "feminine" in the Kibbutz or outside it, really demand less skill, abilities and education than those typed "masculine"?

Is it true that women receive less education and training than men? Are feminine types of work in the Kibbutz really less prestigious and less appreciated than masculine ones? Since prestige is not the only reward,

one should continue and ask whether women do get less opportunities than men, for self-realization, expression of their talents and satisfaction of their psychological needs?

The answer to these questions is essential, both for a correct understanding of the processes taking-place in the Kibbutz particularly as far as the feasibility of applying the experience of the Kibbutz to other societies is concerned.

When focusing upon the questions to be answered, additional problems arise: How should the aim of equality between the sexes in the Kibbutz be defined? Should this be done by way of an historical research which could determine how the aim was understood in the initial stages of the Kibbutz movement, and how it was defined in later periods? Any such endeavour would meet with difficulties, since in the earlier stages, when action preceded the ideological definition and its crystallization - no generally accepted definitions existed regarding this subject. Even when attempts at defining ideologies were made, there were different and even contradictory points of emphasis.

In another work (Rosner 1969) we have shown examples of the contradictory interpretations that were current in the Kibbutz Artzi, which consistently advocated the aim of equality of the sexes. Some interpretations were influenced by the socialist ideology which tended - as far as possible - to bring women's and men's roles as well as their education, under a common denominator. Other interpretations were influenced by the psycho-analytical current which emphasizes anatomical features of women's physical attributes, and warns against "exaggerated optimism as far as activizing women in all spheres of life is concerned". Therefore, the definitions of the past cannot serve as an unambiguous criterion for evaluating present reality. It therefore seems to us that before determining to what extent the Kibbutz has succeeded or failed in realizing the aim of equality between the sexes, a clear definition of this aim is necessary. The definition suggested below is based both upon theoretical considerations, and on the changes which have taken place in the conception of equality of the sexes in the Kibbutz.

In our opinion, a distinction should be made between two aspects regarding equality of the sexes. The first aspect is: The abolition of the traditional division of roles, according to which the man is the bread-winner, and the active party in public life, while the woman is responsible for the household and the children's education within the family framework. This division, which is an outcome of the industrial revolution has had some grave social and psychological results: a) woman's confinement to the narrow limits of the home, thereby according the man dominance in the field of economy; b) the restriction of the scope of the roles of the members of both sexes, while at the same time furthering instrumental and achievement orientations of man, versus emotional and integrative orientations of the woman. The field of public activity has become the man's domain, and the private-familial zone - that of the woman.

The collective educational and consumer institutions in the Kibbutz were intended, first and foremost to enable women to work at occupations of a public nature, and not to be solely restricted to the family sphere. The man, on the other hand, is able to be a partner in the performance of family roles, which have been greatly reduced in the Kibbutz. We shall try to determine how far this aim is being realized in the Kibbutz, and what the trends of development are at present.

The second aspect regarding equality of sexes is related to the roles outside the family - the "public" ones. The sociological conceptions of social stratification distinguish between "role differentiation" when members of different groups carry out different roles, and "social stratification", where the roles fulfilled by one group obtain rewards differing from those of the other group. The types of rewards differ in different societies. The absence of rewards which can be calculated in quantitative terms, such as money, is characteristic of the Kibbutz, in contrast to the existence of rewards, whose main significance is psychological, which may vary in importance for different people or groups.

Hence, the second aspect of equality of sexes might be formulated as follows:

a. Equal rights for members of both sexes to fulfil all roles; equal facilities for fulfilling them, by acquiring equal training and equal opportunities for advancement in professional know-how and managerial responsibility.

b. Equal rewards for fulfilling identical roles (outside the Kibbutz it is the traditional demand of equal pay for equal work).

c. To the extent that members of both sexes are performing different kinds of roles, it should be assured that the role-related rewards in which members of one sex are concentrated, should not be inferior to that of the roles which members of the other sex fulfil.

According to this conception, the criterion of equality of the sexes is not the allotment of identical roles to members of both sexes, but giving equal opportunities to select the roles preferred, and which enable the realization of everyone's special abilities and talents. Moreover, the criterion for equality of the sexes is not "equalization" based on uniformity, by viewing people as being identical and interchangeable, but "equality", as the equal right to realize specific abilities and to satisfy the specific needs of every person or group of people.

At this point, the second aspect is combined with the first one. The elimination of the separation between the role of the breadwinner and that of the house-wife liberates people from the subordination to a pre-determined social role, to one granting freedom of choice between different roles. The second aspect on the other hand, assures that those performing different roles will have the same opportunities for self-realization and satisfaction of their needs.

Numerous research findings, which have accumulated during recent years, give us the opportunity to examine the extent to which the goals of equality-between-the-sexes, as defined above have been attained. Have the institutional arrangements in the Kibbutz really proven fertile ground for both sexes to realize their specific talents and abilities? Have they been able to satisfy the specific needs of each of them, both as individuals with their own personalities, capabilities and special needs, and in their

status of either man or woman?

Has the Kibbutz indeed eliminated the distinction between the man as the provider, the citizen "active" in public affairs, and the woman, as the one responsible for the domestic needs, or the care and education of the children?

From an objective point of view, this can be answered in the affirmative. This issue has been extensively revolutionized in the Kibbutz, thereby changing not only the roles of women, but also those of men. All women are included in the Kibbutz work-schedule, or - in statistical terms - as members of the labour force. (3)

The women working within the framework of the Kibbutz work-schedule should be seen as "providers", although many work in the field of education and services, which are branches from which no income is derived.

This definition is based both upon economic considerations and upon the analysis of the sociological character of the women's roles. From an economic point of view it is possible to calculate the "income" derived from work in the services, or in education, by "shadow price" methods. In the Kibbutz this "income" is a part of the collective income. The work is performed in a public place and not in the family unit. The "clients" are not part of the family. The work-orientation is similar to that in the production branches emphasizing professionalism, rationalization and goal-effectiveness. The services differ primarily in that their products are consumed by Kibbutz members or children, while the products of the production branches are sold on the market.

Men's involvement in the fulfilment of the limited domestic and educational duties remaining within the family framework is greater than that of any other form of society. The accepted norms in this field, at present, are more egalitarian than those connected with occupations and public activities of the Kibbutz. It has not been verified that the expansion of the family-roles, as a result of larger homes, increase in number of children etc., have reduced men's involvement. Certain data indicate an increase as a result of the heavier domestic responsibilities. The structural extension

of the family as indicated by a larger number of children, families consisting of more than one generation, and the increased importance which the family plays in the life of the individual, do not endanger the degree of equality between the sexes, as compared to the situations where the family is responsible for all domestic work and the education of young children. In such situations a higher birth-rate might possibly be a limiting factor for women working outside the home as "provider" for the family.

In the Kibbutz, to the contrary, the impact of the higher birth-rate upon women's work and activity is only temporary, limiting the woman in her job for no more than six months after child-birth. According to the findings of our investigations even the preference for family-sleeping arrangements and an inclusive budget do not seem to express a wish to return to the role of housewife, or a disengagement from the Kibbutz work-schedule. The above attitudes express individualistic attitudes and a diminished attachment to the Kibbutz, rather than the desire to return to the role of housewife. It follows, then, that no trend can be discerned to make changes in this major aspect of equality between the sexes. Women in the Kibbutz are able to let other women share in the upbringing of their children, thanks to their confidence in the quality and standard of the collective educational system.

The question that should be raised is if the second aspect of equality between the sexes has been realized as well? Do women fill roles which are not inferior to those of men from the point of view of stratification (i.e. the quantity and quality of the rewards they receive)? Generally, the contention has not been that women receive lower rewards, such as esteem, influence, and intrinsic satisfaction when performing roles identical to those of men. This situation differs from that prevalent in other countries and in Israel outside the Kibbutz where the demand for equal pay for equal roles has met with only partial response.

The current claim is that in most cases women fulfil tasks which differ from those of men, and that in the Kibbutz, too (like in all other societies) feminine roles are accorded less rewards. The specific argument put forward is that the branches of education and services are less highly

esteemed than others and that the working conditions connected with these positions are less satisfactory for women. This assumption has been valid in the past but is not confirmed by the data of various research investigations conducted in recent years. The lower status of service branches and the inferior work conditions in them were related both to the "productivist" orientation and to the "ascetic" values prevailing in the "pioneer" period. The main challenge of the Kibbutz in that period was to prove that Jews coming from the diaspora can succeed in hard physical agricultural work and that a collective farm can be economically efficient. A result of this orientation was both the high prestige of production and hard physical work and the low standard of living expressed by a low level of investment in the service branches. (The attitude to education deviated from this pattern since the Kibbutz was from its inception a "child oriented" society and the children had a higher standard of living than adults.)

During the past few years considerable investments have been made to improve the work conditions in the service branches and to increase the opportunities for professionalism. This change is reflected in recent research data where on the average no differences could be discerned in job satisfaction and esteem between production and service branches and between men and women. The average professional level of the types of work conventionally considered as feminine - the fields of education and the services - is higher than that of many branches considered masculine.

The opportunities for professional training in the services are not inferior to those for the production branches, and might even be considered better. However, the problematics originating from the sex-role polarization existing in the fields of work and activity should not be ignored:

A. As a result of this polarization, part of the women have to do work incompatible with their personal inclinations. This problem can be found among men as well, due to natural limitations caused by the relatively small size of the Kibbutz settlements, resulting in the emphasis of the production element of the economy, and the special attributes of the Kibbutz's working arrangements. However, it is true that these limitations are more prevalent with women than with men.

B. The existing polarization limits the elasticity of the Kibbutz work-schedule, hindering rapid adaptation to emergency situations or other drastic changes.

C. The concentration of women in a relatively small number of occupations might possibly affect the level of aspirations of adolescent girls, and indirectly, too, their achievements in disciplines which might seem non-essential for their future occupations.

D. Occupational polarization results in a certain degree of polarization in the field of public roles as well, affecting women's aspirations and ability to function in central economic roles.

E. The inferior representation of women in central public roles also results in lower active participation in the kibbutz general assemblies, which in turn tends toward a feeling that their status in the kibbutz social structure is marginal.

The extent to which the aims of equality between the sexes in the Kibbutz have been realized to this point can, in our opinion, be illustrated by the diagram on the next page.

We see that the Kibbutz has removed the partition between the feminine domestic segment and the public-masculine one. The public field includes members of both sexes, whereas in the occupational roles, a threefold division exists: feminine, masculine and neutral spheres. In the section of public roles, however, the division is dual: masculine roles and neutral roles. Generally speaking, the status of the feminine roles equals that of the masculine roles, and no difference exists between the status of women and that of men functioning in neutral roles.

Although, as a result of women's limited representation in public roles, they exert less influence, and are, therefore, in less prominent positions, they get the same satisfaction as men do from their social status. The chores and duties connected with family life have been narrowed down due to the Kibbutz set-up and men's participation in many family roles.

Illustration No. 1

- a) Division of Roles between the sexes in the Kibbutz
- b) Division of roles between the sexes in traditional manner

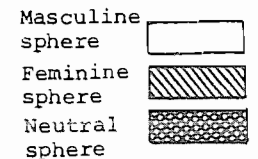
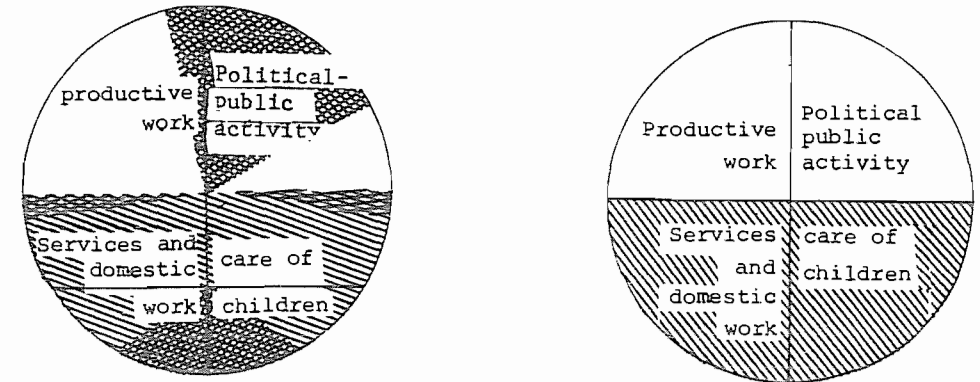
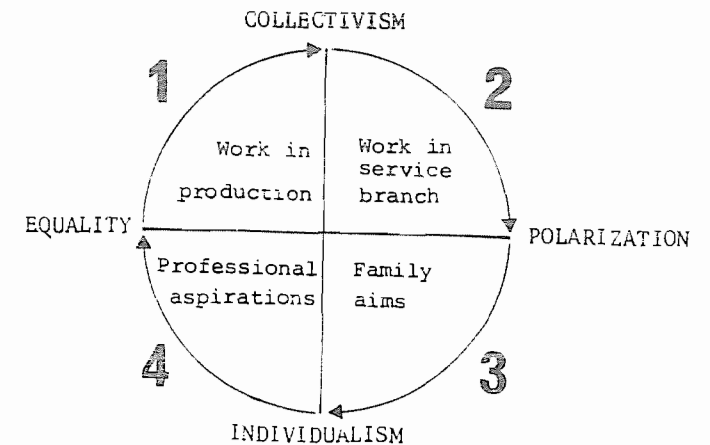


Illustration No. 2



What trends of development can be discerned at present?

Are we witnessing a continuous shifting towards increased polarization between the roles of the sexes?

A comparison of the findings from 20-30 years ago with recent statistical research data, confirm the assumption that polarization is on the increase. Will the Kibbutz have more equality between the sexes in the era of affluence than compared to that of the pioneering era? We disagree with M. Mednick's (1975) assumption that equality is characteristic of the emergency pioneering circumstances, while conditions of affluence and a higher standard of living are reviving the conventional division of roles: "Then it seemed natural for women to return to their conventional tasks: child-care and domestic work. Similarly, it seemed natural for men to remain in the production branches." This description is over-simplified.

M. Mednick justly notes that the conception of sex-equality in the pioneering period emphasized above all women's entry into masculine roles.

But during the pioneering period physical prowess was a primary condition for success in these roles, so that many women were from the start in an inferior position. They made great efforts to prove themselves capable of working in those roles and jobs. However, when, with an increase in births and the expansion of services, the question was raised, who would do the arduous manual work and who would work in the service and educational branches, the economic considerations won priority.

With the transition to the period of affluence and the rise in the standard of living, far-reaching changes from the above-mentioned points of view took place. With the advent of developed mechanization and the rise in professionalization, the focus upon physical fitness lost some of its impact, and consequently the emphasis upon masculine superiority as far as physical fitness was concerned decreased. On the other hand, when the standard of living began to rise, the quality of the services and the development of the field of consumption became more important. Therefore, the status of the branches responsible for these spheres and that of those

working in them - mainly women - began to rise considerably. This was not the only change. In contrast to the values which had characterized the pioneering period, when the Kibbutz was mainly considered to be an instrument for realizing national and social goals, more emphasis was placed upon the social content of the Kibbutz in recent years. This was expressed by greater stress being put upon the quality of life and social relations inside the Kibbutz. This changed emphasis is expressed also in the difference of outlooks between the first and second generations.⁴ While the first stressed more the instrumental role of the Kibbutz, the second generation put more emphasis on social values. This course of development furthered the importance of the roles dealing with the social, cultural and educational aspects of Kibbutz-life, in which women function in relatively large numbers. Therefore, one may assume that especially the period of affluence might contribute to the augmentation of the status of women and to the enhancement of equality between the sexes.

Another change is the transition from a collectivistic emphasis to an individualistic one. We mention "emphasis", since the change has taken place inside the collective framework of the Kibbutz, and practically no attempts have been made to introduce fundamental changes into this framework. But the change of emphasis is essential towards understanding two of the central processes which have been examined in this paper: The rise in status of the family and the polarization of the division of roles. The individualistic trend in the family-sphere is expressed by the desire for family sleeping arrangements and the extension of the family-authority versus that of the collective institutions. As far as the choice of professions is concerned, there has been a transition from collective role-allocation (decision-making by the Kibbutz institutions as to individual's work and his public roles) to a situation in which more importance is attached to the desires and aspirations of the individual. Under these circumstances the demands or preferences of groups of women - (even though they might be a minority) - for professional work deviating from what is generally considered the accepted conventional feminine types of work, receives due attention. One research at least (N. Barzilai, 1974) points

out the difference between the conceptions and images of professional women and those of other women-members of the Kibbutz. Professional women in the Kibbutz were found to have more egalitarian conceptions than other women regarding how they envisaged the sex-image differences, and those of the adaptation of work and public roles for members of both sexes.

"These young women have faith in their way of life; they are aware of the "woman problem" in the Kibbutz and regard the achievement of satisfaction at work as the condition for their self-realization. The majority of professionals desire to achieve a balance between the aspirations of the individual and the needs of the Kibbutz." (p. 232)

Their professional aspirations are not guided by the sex-typed images concerning work, but they do not reject certain jobs just because convention has stamped them as being feminine.

It follows that the personal aspirations for self-realization which characterize the second generation might narrow-down the sex-related polarization, since personal aspirations are those that count and not necessarily the sex label. However, in the short-run, the number of women able to choose "non-conventional" professions is limited, as a result of the heavy demand of educational and service branches. The changes in orientations, which have characterized women's roles at various times may be illustrated as in Illustration No. 2 on page 11.

We discern that because of the conditions prevailing during the pioneering period, the dominant pattern was to seek roles of the masculine type. The image of "chalutzah" - the woman pioneer - working at "masculine" occupations in agriculture and other branches, evolved.

When the service branches began to expand and the birth-rate increased, polarization grew. Most of the women resign themselves to adapting to the needs of the Kibbutz and become workers in the service and educational branches.

Another expression of role-polarization is the emergence of familistic trends - an attempt at expansion of the family-sphere, turning it into the principal field in which women find expression.

But the combination of work in service and educational branches, and the extension of the family does not satisfy a young girl's desire for self-realization. This results in the choice of professional roles and the crystallization of attitudes is closer to the egalitarian pole.

On the surface, the circle seems to have completed itself. Nevertheless while the initial conception of equality was founded upon identity between roles, the current conception is founded upon qualitative equality acknowledging the differences between the sexes and recognizing equal rights to self-realization in the collective and egalitarian framework of the Kibbutz. The technological conditions and the set of values of the Kibbutz make this development possible, and the present stage of Kibbutz-development bears out Holter's assumption (1971) that developed technology and socialism are the conditions of realizing equality between the sexes. Nevertheless, what differences between the sexes does this conception of equality recognize?

We consider that differences are acknowledged in three spheres:

A. The Kibbutz has never denied the maternal links of the woman to her children. But from the Kibbutz's point of view motherhood is only one of woman's several roles. Collective educational institutions were established in order to enable women to function in public roles. During the first period of collective education, when the collectivistic basis of the social structure was strongly accentuated, limitations were sometimes imposed upon the roles of parents and mothers in contrast to those of the educators. In recent years, there is a tendency to extend the educational roles of the parents. Due to this, the mothers' role in the upbringing of her infant in its first year has become more pronounced and arrangements have been made for a mother to meet her small children during work-hours also, and not only afterwards. These arrangements could be regarded as augmenting the legitimation of the ties between mother and child, in a manner that does not interfere with her public role-activities and advancement.

B. Our findings have indicated the existence of differences between the sexes, concerning the importance of some of their psychological needs.

The women put greater emphasis upon social attachments, thereby perhaps, indicating the importance of the need for affiliation. Men, however, emphasize more their aspiration to influence the course of life in the Kibbutz, thereby indicating the possible existence of a stronger tendency towards achievement orientation.⁵

These findings may also be considered an expression of the difference between emotional-expressive orientation and the instrumental-goal-directed orientation. The difference between the above orientations is not expressed in the Kibbutz in the way described by Parsons (1942): The woman accepts the emotional-tension reducing role of the mother and housewife, while relinquishing the purposeful role of the earner-provider, the person active outside the family, as personified by the man. The role of the nurse in the children's houses in the Kibbutz, has goal-oriented-instrumental characteristics, since it is a "public role, and not a domestic one.

However, in the Kibbutz work-system, and even in the sphere of public activity, women have stronger representation in roles of a tension-reducing character, those which care for the individual and stress social unity and solidarity. These are not exclusive female prerogatives: many roles, especially in the social sphere, are defined as neutral, but women share a fair amount of representation in these spheres.

C. In recent years great changes have taken place in the Kibbutz woman's outward appearance, indicating a different approach regarding the self-image of the two sexes. This tendency finds expression in efforts to cultivate one's outward appearance, and also by changes in the style of dress and in the establishment of cosmetic treatment in most of the Kibbutzim.

It can be surmised that the rising standard of living had brought about new conceptions of the style-of-life in the Kibbutzim, which have resulted in the narrowing of the gap, in this sphere, between the Kibbutz and the society surrounding it. Moreover, they are also connected with the changes in the conception of the female image, by creating a greater awareness to outward appearance, which had formerly blurred the differences between the sexes, to one accentuating special female traits, not excluding

elements of erotic attraction. In comparison with the past, we find a considerable difference, but most women continue to prefer a modest style of dress and appearance compatible with the rural environment and with a work-centred life-style. Only on Friday nights or when away from home is the appearance of Kibbutz women indistinguishable from that of women from other walks of life. In comparison to the past, a different self-image of the woman has emerged which expresses itself in the desire to cultivate those inclinations and traits, which in their opinion, suit their sex. Taking these different trends into consideration does not change the prevalent basic image of the qualities and abilities of members of both sexes, which is far more egalitarian than that current in other societies.⁶

On summing-up our discussion, we return to the questions presented in the introduction in connection with the possibility of drawing conclusions from the Kibbutz experience, as far as other societies are concerned:

1. The Kibbutz experience has proved once more that the family-unit is vital, while also noting the importance of mother-child relations.
2. Experience has proven that it is possible to limit the mother's role even in the care and upbringing of very young children, while handing over many functions in this field to professional educators, without detrimental effects to either mother or child.
3. In the Kibbutz, like in all other societies we know of, the education of young children has remained in female hands, although not those of the mother herself.
4. There is no real evidence of the existence of any connection between the allocation of roles according to sex, and the strengthening of the family. It may be assumed that factors originating in the structural changes of the Kibbutz, the economic conditions and demographic trends have generated both processes.

Thanks to the collectivistic education and consumption and to the egalitarian allocation of roles inside the family, the increased birth-rate, and the additional domestic chores do not interfere with the woman's occupational functions. This enables her to take greater part in fulfilling

public obligations when compared to a woman's participation in such roles in other societies.

5. Under the conditions of a collective and egalitarian society, the division of roles according to sex, does not lower the woman's status. As far as manifestations of this kind existed in the past, they originated from the temporary historical circumstances. With the improvement of work-conditions in the service branches, and the rise in their professional status, these differences in status are gradually disappearing.

6. It is not possible to regard the Kibbutz experiment as a "test case" for the feasibility of realizing the equality between the sexes through institutional changes, and as providing an answer to the question of "nature or nurture". The reason is that the Kibbutz experiment has evolved under special conditions: a collective society; pioneering conditions emphasizing physical strength; its small size and its limited choice of occupations. The possibility of drawing conclusions on the basis of such a single case is doubtful.

Nevertheless, the Kibbutz experiment indicates the possibilities of realizing equality between the sexes, taking into consideration particular needs of each social group, and the individual needs of its members.

In examining and evaluating the Kibbutz experiment, its special conditions should be taken into account. One relevant example is the different approach to having a larger number of children and its impact upon equality between the sexes. While some investigators regard the growing birth-rate in the Kibbutz as a regression from the goal of equality between the sexes, others think that it proves that the biological desire for many children is more powerful than the aspiration to attain equality. In our opinion, the main lesson to be learned from the Kibbutz experiment is that under Kibbutz conditions, there is no contradiction between having a large family and full and equal participation of the woman in the work schedule and public life. There is no contradiction between the desire for motherhood and the wish for self-expression through professional work, creative art or public activity. This is the great difference between the woman's position in the

Kibbutz, and that of women in other societies, including the collective moshav.⁷

The Kibbutz experiment also presents a number of problems to the feminist movement, which, in our opinion, has not properly evaluated the issue. The fact that in the Kibbutz having a relatively large number of children does not interfere with the occupational and public activity of the women, might be helpful in clarifying the feminist movement's attitudes to child-birth and motherhood. Various spokeswomen and investigators of this movement, especially in the U.S.A., express a negative attitude towards large families.⁸ Does this originate from the fact that women desiring large families are ready to give-up work outside their homes and the possibilities of personal career connected with it? Or does the negative attitude derive from a general trend, advocating the reduction of birth-rate as well as the limitation of economic growth and the moderation of the rise in the standard-of-living? Does equality between the sexes demand the relinquishment of the role of motherhood or modification thereof, even if it does not interfere with women's self-realization? This question is connected with another one, which the fighters for equality between the sexes have not clarified as yet, and that is the attitude to "femininity". Should one deny the existence of qualities and inclinations, and perhaps even values, which one sex emphasizes more than the other? Some writers and researchers regard any designation of qualities and values according to sex, as the starting-point for discrimination, since the mere fact of acknowledgement of feminine qualities results in giving women roles which are generally considered inferior. Others note the inclination to co-operation, mutual assistance, solidarity etc., as opposed to masculine inclinations to aggression, hierarchy, etc.⁹

The mere fact that qualities and inclinations of this kind exist, does not yet prove that their origin is biological or environmental. Should the feminine inclination to professions, connected with the care of people and service to them, such as nursing, welfare etc., be regarded as negative? Should they be evaluated as "inferior" professions, even if those working at them receive the same rewards and the same esteem as

those working in roles in which men predominate? Of course, it is impossible to accept a social division of work based upon ascriptive criteria and the exclusion of persons of one sex from certain professions or roles. It should be possible for representatives of both sexes to engage in profession or role of their choice. The educational system should enable the students to familiarize themselves with all available professions, and avoid labelling them according to sex. But the possibility that the majority of the members of one sex would choose a certain type of profession, of their own free will, while the majority of the other sex chooses other roles and professions, should also be taken into account, although there might not be any difference in the status and rewards of these roles. Should the educational and social system take purposeful action in directing boys towards "feminine" professions, or girls to "masculine" ones; or should it only fight the stereotypes which influence the desire to enter professions labelled according to sex? The uniqueness of the Kibbutz experiment is that it presents these problems on a "laboratory" scale, since the birth-rate among families of educated working-women is high and there is sex-role differentiation but no discrimination against women's roles, which are not considered inferior per se.

An all conclusive answer to the above questions cannot be included in this paper. Neither has the Kibbutz movement summed-up as yet, its attitude towards them.

We think that the contribution of the Kibbutz experience to the problem of the equality of the sexes is the presentation of new dimensions deviating from those existing in societies in which manifestations of deprivation and discrimination against women are wide-spread.

NOTES

1) According to Parsons' classical conception of the forties, this separation between the roles of the two sexes and the orientations relating to them, serves modern industrial society's needs. (Parsons, 1949) A number of other investigators, on the other hand, and the activists of the feminist movement, in particular, emphasize its negative results, especially for women.

The sociologist P. Van de Berghe summarizes these claims as follows: "In industrial societies, social institutions are divided into the micro-social sphere, with a complex network of interconnected agencies in the spheres of politics and economy, and the micro-social area of the family, socially defined as "woman's place". (P. 113)

2) The definition of equality suggested here is based both upon modern philosophical definitions of the idea of equality (See Ran Sigad's discussion, 1974), and upon the definitions current in the Kibbutz movement in recent years. One example is the formulation of the resolutions of the 12th conference of the Kibbutz Artzi in 1975, which emphasizes the realization of personal abilities: "The Kibbutz is the most far-reaching experiment in realizing the socialist principle of the equal value of human-beings. Its significance is: Equal rights to each person, despite any differences of capabilities or talents, to enable full expression in the fields of work, public activity, cultural creation, and in the gratification of material and cultural-psychological needs." The transition from "mechanical" equality, to a conception which has been defined as "qualitative" equality between the sexes, has been treated in "Changes in the Conception of Equality of Women in the Kibbutz". (Rosner, 1969)

3. It may be claimed that this limits the freedom of choice between the sole role of being a housewife and the double role of housewife and

"provider", which is women's lot outside the Kibbutz. However, the woman who chooses to be a housewife by implication becomes economically dependent upon her husband, who supports her and consequently she gives up her independence and the freedom of making decisions in many aspects of her life. In the Kibbutz, the participation of both sexes in the work-schedule is the foundation for equality-of-rights in all spheres of life in the Kibbutz, where the individual and not the family is the basic social unit.

4. In the summary of the chapter: "The Kibbutz as an Instrumental for Realizing National Goals, or as a Home Realizing Values", N. Cohen writes (in 1974): "When comparing the profiles regarding the accentuation of different values, the similarity of attitudes on the one hand, of women and those of members of the second generation, and on the other hand those of men and the founder generation is salient. Generally, men and members of the founder generation stress more the role of the Kibbutz in the attainment of national and socialistic goals. The sphere of self-realization and social values is more strongly emphasized by the members of the second generation and women (with one exception)". P. 189

5. There is much evidence of women's stronger need for social attachments than that of men. Therefore, the conflict between social attachments and achievement is liable to be more frequent among women (Hoffman, 1972; 1975). However, the author also points out that the desire for social relationships motivate women, in certain cases, towards achievement behaviour.

6. 90% of the characteristics out of a list of 29 characteristics, were defined by most of those investigated as neutral, compared to 25% in Germany and about 12% in the U.S.A. Only amongst a small minority the phenomenon, widespread in other societies, of evaluating characteristics considered to be feminine, has been evaluated negatively. (Rosner, 1974)

7. D. Paden-Eisenstark and B. Meir-Hacker point out the structural and ideological barriers, which prevent the realization of the professional aspirations of women who desire them. The family, household and child-care

only permit her to take part-time jobs, making studying and professional auxiliary courses difficult, while ideological reasons prevent arrangements which could facilitate them. In the Kibbutz there is no "objective barrier" preventing professional work and training for women. This is fully legitimized, since the professionalization of education (at all stages) and that of the services create a definite need for periodic study courses.

8. An example of the vagueness existing in connection with this problem is the discussion of L.W. Hoffman (1975) about the connection between the employment of women and productivity. She justly claims that when there will be more children's day-schools and when men take a greater share in the children's upbringing, the manifestation of a negative correlation between fertility and women's work (p. 108) will disappear. But for some reason or other she claims that this negative correlation will disappear only in those occupations which do not completely satisfy those employed in them. On the other hand, she assumes that when the woman has satisfactory work she will limit the number of her children even if more would not increase her burden: Herein lies a latent assumption that there is no contradiction between finding satisfaction at work and in motherhood. This means that the women who is satisfied at work will, therefore, give up the idea of many children. The Kibbutz experiment does not verify this assumption. It is doubtful whether it is justified, theoretically, to regard the number of "satisfactions" to which a person aspires to as "limited", in other words attaining satisfaction in one field will cause him to renounce satisfaction in other spheres.

9. J.L. Giele (1971) distinguishes between the "feminine" aims: cooperation; safe-guarding life; the encouragement of growth and self-realization; peace and harmony with nature, and "masculine" aims: competition, economic success, aggression etc. (p. 27 in V. Klein's book) noting that it is desirable for both sexes to put more emphasis upon these "feminine" aims.

Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir, as well, note in their discussion (1976) that certain values are characteristic to women. But they claim that these values are not the result of an external feminine nature, but an

outcome of the discrimination against women which have generated positive values as well as negative ones. Instead of discarding them, women should hand them over to men, too. (p. 79)

Meissner (1975) sums-up investigations of the behaviour of men and women workers with a statement that: men workers emphasize hierarchy and competition, while women workers cooperate, maintaining mutual support and encouragement. (p. 334)

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