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ABSTRACT

This paper provides a descriptive summary of the historical development, the basic features, the organizational structure, the patterns of child-rearing and education, and specific research findings concerning the ibbutz Movement in Israel. Four main types of collective settlements are described, along with the main characteristics and tenets representative of all kibbutzim. The philosophy of 'collective education' is presented, and the educational structure from birth through high school is outlined in detail. ' ief review of some of the research dealing with the psychological, sociological, physiological, philosphical, educational, and occupational aspects of this life-style is reported. (CS)

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US DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH EDUCATION & WELFARE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

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THE KIBBUTZ

THE HEBREW WORD FOR "GROUP"

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Man is in constant search for individual and group life-styles which allow for expression of ideals and incorporate meaningful function and implementation. The forces of nature and society which determine this pursuit are multi-dimensional and closely interrelated.

The kibbutz, a predominantly agricultural collective settlement, can be described as a society which was founded by people who viewed cooperative effort as fundamental for the equality of all persons and mandatory for the economic, social, cultural, and psychological welfare of its members.

The Kibbutz Movement arose from the Zionist-Socialist youth movement of Eastern Europe which was striving to create human relationships based on reason, justice, cooperation, and equality. The founders of the Movement--"in contrast to their East European parents who were intellectuals or merchants or artisans or laborers in industries threatened with extinction by advancing industrialization (Rapaport, 1958, p. 325)"--rebelled against the religious, paternalistic-familial, socio-economic and minority life of East European Jewry.

A handful of pioneers, who settled on Lake Galilee in Palestine in 1909, laid down the roots from which the agricultural collectives of

of present-day Israel grew. Fundamental to their trial and error experiences was the deep belief in the moral value of labor. This ideal of work, represented a cultural revolution of middle-class intellectuals who, having been reared in a culture that demeaned labor and laborers, chose to be workers. Spiro (1956) refers to the movement as "an escape from society into the world of nature, where 'adventure was still possible (p. 45)."

From this first settlement the Kibbutz Movement has grown into over 200 similar collective settlements (kibbutzim). The present-day membership represents about 3-4% of the ropulation of the State of Israel (Schlesinger, 1969). The kibbutz has survived because of its effective blending of two entirely different idealogies, Zionism and Socialism. "From its very inception the Kibbutz Movement was first and foremost a Zionist Novement, dedicated to the establishment and maintenance of a Jewish homeland in Palestine (Stern, 1965, p. 4)." The first collective was a response to the needs of the moment and represented a way of life based on complete equality, cooperative ownership of property and production, mutual aid and mutual responsibility, and adherence to the principle, "from each according to his ability and to each according to his needs (Stern, 1965, p. 7)."

Throughout the past sixty years basic internal changes have taken place in the kibbutzim and in the well-being and living standards of the members. The agricultural emphasis has in some instances been replaced with industrial and technological establishments.

The kibbutz is only one form of rural settlement in Israel. Other main types of settlements are:

(a) Moshav ovdim - The first settlement of this type was established in



1921 and is purely agricultural. Each family works its own alloted plot and retains its income for itself. Produce is sold, and supplies and equipment are bought, through central cooperatives. All land is owned by the Jewish National Fund.

- (b) Moshav shitufi The first settlement of this type was established in 1936. It is based on collective economy and ownership, but each family has its own home, is responsible for its own household functions, and child care. It tends to develop industry and agriculture.
- (c) Moshava A village settlement based on private land ownership and private enterprise. Many Moshavot have developed into towns or have become partly urbanized.
- (d) lioshav The first and largest of these settlements was established in 1933 by immigrants from Germany. There is no standard type, but they are predominantly "middle-class" agricultural settlements. They are organized in an Agricultural Union and in many ways resemble the Moshav ovdim.

Basic Features of Kibbutz Culture

Each kilbutz has a fundamental uniqueness that has been determined by its members, its location, the affluence of the group, an affiliation to a federation, and its size. At the same time there are basic features of the kibbutz culture that can be identified and classified as the main characteristics and principal tenets.

Modified by experience and circumstance the following are representative of all kibbutzim:

(a) The prevalence of the Zicnism universalistic aim of a Jewish national home where Jews have the opportunity for a "normal" national life which



in turn, enables them to interact with the rest of the world as normal human beings. This is reflected in the belief that the "normalization" of Jewis national life requires that "Jews return to physical labor and that they strike roots in the soil (Spiro, 1956, p. 34)."

- (b) The primary economic base of existence is agriculture. The land that the kibbutz is on is owned by a national agency, the Keren Kayemet, for which the kibbutz pays an annual rent and has a renewable 99 year lease.
- (c) /Individual liberty, needs, and interests are considered as long as they do not clash with the cohesiveness of the community.
- (d) "Horizontal" grouping is predominant in the kibbutz structure based on age, occupation, residential contiguity, and interests.
- member of the kibbutz is responsible for the welfare of every other member and for the welfare of the kibbutz as a whole. Group living and group experiences have the highest value.
- (f) A socialism structure prevails which is based on cooperation and equality. There is freedom from competition, private property, and exploitation.
- (g) Hen and women enjoy an equal status in the home and at work. An important psychological fact about kibbutz culture is that everyone is viewed as a worker with the same privileges and responsibilities as anyone else.

Organizational Structure of the Kibbutz

Each kibbutz is affiliated to a federation of kibbutzim which govern and guide its economical, cultural, and educational life. The federation is the uniform determinant of practices and programs. There is federation-wide planning in the fields of marieting, buying goods, constructing agricultural and industrial enterprises, in cultural activities, and in education



and child-rearing (Rabin, 1965).

Each settlement is a fairly complex deomcratic organization. Membership and total population range from 50 to over 2000 persons. "The supreme authority in all economic and social matters is the General Assembly of members. Important decisions are rendered by members at weekly meetings with each member having one vote. (Schlesinger, 1970, p. 253)." Various committees are elected for current functions and for long-range planning. An executive committee carries out the resolutions of the Assembly and prepares for the consideration and decision of the Assembly. There are standing committees, elected annually, which are concerned with village economy, planning, work assignment, education, and security. An executive staff is elected to centralize and coordinate activities of the committees and the Kibbutz as a whole. This staff usually consists of a treasurer, a secretary, a secretary of labor, and a book-keeper. There are special committees which deal with social affairs and services, and are primarily responsible for dealing with the current requirements of members in the areas of health, membership, and cultural activities.

Members shift from one area to another depending on the immediate needs of the population. Food service is rendered by each member; and reflects custom and ritual. Once a year elections of all officials and committees are held, and a program of activities for the coming year is proposed and a detailed budget is finalized.

The Dining Room is often the physical center of the Kibbutz and the focus of activity. Adults eat there three times each day; there is a bulletin board for announcements; and it is the setting for parties, celebrations, and Holiday festivals.

The organization of the family reflects the basic ideological principle of kibbutz philosophy, "the liberation of the women and the children. (Rabin, 1965, p. 7)." Married couples live in individual living units and children are cared for by professional workers in separate "children's houses." The founders of the Kibbutz saw the settlement as an extended family. The functions of the so-called "traditional" family were deemphasized and the collective aspect and the community as a whole became the focus. The "nuclear" family does exist in a psychological sense as one characteristic of all kibbutzim is the attachment of parents for their children.

Patterns of Child-Rearing and Education

Child-Rearing and Education are indivisible aspects of kibbutz living.

The pattern of "collective education" has as its primary objective that of rearing a generation which will perpetuate the collective way of life and the ideals it stands for.

Collective education begins very early—from a few days after birth through age 18. All children, without exception, are entitled to the same educational opportunities. "The first goal of kibbutz education is to give the child education in many different fields (Erandwine, 1969, p. 267)." Humanistic and cognitive knowledge are combined to perpetuate the development of "well-rounded individuals who are concerned with others as well as with themselves, who can share, are nonhostile but protective, who care about the life of the mind and the arts as well as about physical manual work (Brandwine, 1969, p. 267)."

There is a well-defined educational structure and process in the kibbutz which is determined by different age levels.



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The process begins when the child and the mother return from the hospital. 'The baby is admitted to the Infants' Pouse where he will remain for his first year. Each house accomodates up to 15 infants and contains bedrooms, each for 5 or 6 infants, workrooms, bathrooms, kitchenette, and all the equipment required for baby care. There are large in-door and out-door areas where babies can play and crawl. The Infant House is usually very attractive in color and decoration. Nothers are very much involved in infant care. For the first 6 weeks the mother does not work and is availatle when needed. Breast-feeding is encouraged and the mother maintains a general close contact. Responsibility for the overall care of the babies and the management of the Infant House is carried on by a specially trained nurse (nurses) or metapelet (metaplot). The metapelet keeps notes on children, guides young and inexperienced mothers in feeding and care, and works with a permanent group of infants under her supervision until their entrance to kindergarten. For the first few months the infant does not leave the Infant House, but is visited in the afternoons by parents and siblings. After 6 months he is brought to the parents' room for the evening visit.

Children, around 15 months, are transferred as a group from the Infant Mouse to the Toddlers' House. In some instances the Infant metapelet is transferred with them and she remains with the group until they are about 5 years old. The building contains bedrooms, each for 4 to 6 toddlers, playrooms, a dining room, service areas, porches, and a play yard. The entire area is open to the toddler and he enjoys freedom of movement under the supervision of the metapelet. It is at this point that the metapelet assumes complete responsibility for the toddler except for the evening home visit. She teaches him proper eating habits, cleanliness, orderliness,



helps him to learn to dress and undress himself, to care for his physical needs, and to play independently. Around the age of 3, spontaneous play and activity are gradually replaced by organized play activities which include short walks, storytelling, singing, group games, and simplified gymnastics. The toddler's nurse maintains close contact and communication with the parents, and mutual decisions are made as to the child's physical development d general progress. In most kibbutzim the parents help to put the child to bed, read to him, or sing him to sleep. Night care is as varied as kibbutzim vary. In some instances the metapelet, aides, and one mother spend the night in the Toddlers' House; in others the metapelet is replaced by a night watchman who is assigned to one or more childrens' houses.

Generally the children become members of the peer group known as the kindergarten at about 5 years of age. This new grouping consists of about 18 children and represents the combining of 3 groups from the Toddlers' House. The kindergarten is housed in a building of its own and contains bedrooms, each for 3 or 4 children, with special "corners" for toys and books that are stimulating for individual and independent activity. There is a play and workroom, a dining room, showers and toilets, and large porches and well equipped out-door play areas. Personnel for this phase consists of a teacher and two metaplot. The kibbutz educational authorities have worked out methodical programs designed to develop the child's senses and physical skills. Group activites and creative expression are considered vital. Art, music, and "rhythmics" are important and there is an emphasis on nature study and the natural environment. During this period the children begin to get acquainted with the Kibbutz workaday world. They visit various



branches of the economy, and begin to take care of small gardens and small animals. The children, also, make their own beds, set the table at meal time, and do other small chores as part of the day's routine.

The kindergarten stage covers a period of about three to four years and includes a transitional period which corresponds to a traditional first grade. It is during this period that the fundamental instruction of the three R's is begun. An attempt is made to incorporate these basic skills in an individual manner and according to the child's level of maturity and development. There is increased emphasis on group activities, mutual aid, discipline, and on social interaction and integration. The pattern of family contact as established during the Toddler period continues throughout child-hood.

Following the years in Kindergarten the child enters the grammar school and remains there until age 12. In this setting the building is a combination of dormitory and classroom. There are buildings for each grade and age level throughout the grammar school years. There are usually 20 to 25 children who sleep four to a bedroom; and the classroom serves a variety of purposes. It is used for instruction, recreation, parties, and a general meeting piace for the group. Each grade that enters the school acquires a new metapelet and teacher-counselor. The children become members of the "children's society," and this society is set up as a cooperative rather than a competitive unit. There is full recognition of individual differences and abilities, and each child is encouraged to follow his interests and to contribute to the group effort. The educational process is based on "project" or "topic" method and is related to life itself and the way in which the child perceives the world about him. Studies are considered an



important and significant social obligation of each member of the group.

With the twelfth year of life and completion of the sixth grade comes the high school and membership in the youth movement. The group becomes larger and includes children from other kibbutzim and from nearby cities. At this point the daily schedule includes work for 1 1/2 to 3 hours each day on a special farm, and in some instances in the fields and in industry with the adult members of the kibbutz. The curriculum structure is no longer the "project" method and individual subject matter becomes the focus. Teachers may be from outside the kibbutz membership in order to obtain the expertise needed. Music is particularly emphasized, and choral and orchestral organizations are prevalent. Sports are considered important and include volleyball, soccer, and basketball. The high school curriculum reflects the emphasis on humanities, sciences, and arts with specific emphasis on social implication of knowledge (Schlesinger, 1970).

Training and Education Beyond the High School Level

Upon graduation from high school all boys and girls must serve for two years in the Israeli army. In some instances women are involved in actual combat, but for the most part they assume clerical and nursing roles. Generally, upon completion of army duty, the young people of the kibbutz do not attend colleges and universities (Rabin, 1965). 'The kibbutz society endeavors to prepare its children for life in the kibbutz (Rabin, 1965, p. 34)." Further educational plans and occupational choice are geared to the needs of the group, and professionalism and advanced specialization in areas not relevant to the kibbutz economy are discouraged.

Special training is offered, within the kibbutzim, for teachers of all levels and metaplot. When the need arises some young people are allowed to



take two to three years of teacher-training courses and advanced study in the physical sciences or languages in nearby universities. Special talent is encouraged and opportunity is given for further study through private instruction from experts or in advanced schools (Rabin, 1965). The present-day tendency is to allow young people to leave the kibbutz for advanced educational endeavors, and there have been few "lost" to the outside society.

All young people must formally announce their candidacy for admission to the kibbutz as full-fledged members. After election to membership these young people assume the same rights and responsibilities as their elders.

Research Findings in Selected Areas of Concern

Almost every facet of kibbutzin life has been reviewed, researched, and evaluated. From the very inception of the concept of collective living researchers have been interested in the psychological, sociological, physiological, philosoph cal, educational, and occupational aspects of this lifestyle.

Rapaport (1958), in a study of kibbutz upbringing and of the forms child development takes in it, suggested the following:

- (a) That parents in the kibbutz seemed to play a similar role in the young child's life to that in familial-parental education.
- (b) That there seemed to be a greater incidence of masturbation, vail-biting, thumb-sucking, and feeding difficulties with kibbutz infants.
- (c) That individuals who grow up in a kibbutz are, in general, adapted to a collective way of life.
- (d) That by the time of puberty children had become cooperative, self-contained, sturdy, and responsible individuals.

i'is survey pointed up the need for systematic comparative studies of collective



and familial upbringing.

Rabin (1965) focused on the relationship between children and adults as a basis for personality development. This study indicated that multiple mothering, as practiced in the kibbutz, has no long-range deleterious effects upon personality development and character structure. There was some evidence of minor temporary difficulties and effects on early developmental patterns. Despite this slower developmental tempo the kibbutz child surged forth "subsequently under environmental conditions that were conducive to accelerated further growth and development (Rabin, 1965, p. 211)." Kibbutz children seemed to adequately assume their sex roles as parents and members of their society. No serious defects in the superego were noted. Intellectually the kibbutz children were at least as well developed as, and at times surpassed, non-kibbutz children. kibbutz children indicated more positive attitudes toward the family unit and less intense sibling rivalry than the parallel non-kibbutz group.

Kohen-Raz (1968) investigated the mental and motor development of kibber. Institutionalized, and home-reared infants in Israel. His findings suggest that collective education in the kibbutz does not have adverse effect on mental and motor development of infants. The data seems to indicate that eye-hand coordination, manipulation, non-verbal imitation, walking, and coordination of the trunk and body are universally invariable in their patterns of development. For equal inverest was the data that supported the ideas of early socialization and possible genetic variability with regard to the capacity to recover hidden objects, verbal imitation, vocalization, verbal expression, and motor functions of static coordination and fine coordination.

Luria, Goldwasser, M., & Goldwasser, A. (1963) compared Israeli children



between ages 11 and 13, raised in a kibbutz with children of the same age raised with their parents in other agricultural settlements (Noshav) on their responses to four incomplete stories involving some specific moral transgression. Similar incomplete stories were given to Jewish and Gentile American children of the same age and in turn compared with the kibbutz children. The results, discussed in the light of the meaning of confession, the striking importance of the peer group in moral development, and ethnic differences in sex role differentiation, indicated that kibbutz children, predominantly girls, confessed more readily than the Moshav children. Israeli children did not show any significant pattern of sex differences in frequency of confessions. "The most striking result of this study was the absence of sex differences in frequency of confession to transgression among Jewish children when compared within each social group (Luria et. al., 1963, p. 279)."

Efermann (1970), investigating children's games in two kibbutzim in Israel, concluded that such games tended to reflect the values of cooperation and cgalitarianism which are prevalent in the surrounding adults' communities. Competition was overcome by cooperation within competing play groups and egalitarianism between competing singletons.

In a study of cooperative and competitive behavior of kibbutz and urban children in Israel, Chapiro & Hadsen (1969) confirmed their hypothesis that kibbutz children would show more cooperative behavior than city children in Israel. It was also noted that kibbutz children showed performance superiority to that of the city children. They were very organized in their performance and were very active in directing one another during the game.

Davis & Olesen (1971) analyzed occupational role distance as a subcategory in the larger question of social distance using observations from



communal living on a kibbutz. Noting that there is very little social distance on a kibbutz this analysis indicated that not all distance from others needs to be extensive or protracted. They further indicated that obtaining small bits of social distance here and there may be more desirable for the individual and the enterprise.

Bettelheim (1969) studied kibbutz child rearing through informal direct observation and by talking with children, metaplot, teachers, and parents. His impressionistic account suggests an extreme difference between the founding generation and the second generation. He views the second generation as more suited to kibbutz life than the parents who devised it. He considers the society static in terms of resisting change and innovation. Bettelheim (1969) feels that kibbutz education has had a leveling impact on intellectual achievement and that this influence has reduced or produced middle level performers. (Everall he sees this system of rearing as viable as any other and able to become more so in time, "if the kibbutz should survive (Bettelheim, 1969, p. 299)."

The Kibbutz Today - Givat Brenner

This writer was privileged to visit the largest kibbutz in Israel during the summer of 1971. Imagine, if you can, the urban atmosphere of Tel Aviv, a short dusty bus ride, a winding road through orange and grapefruit groves, and the first glimpse of a vital, exciting collective settlement of over 2000 persons. This was Civat Brenner which in translation means "The Will of Brenner."

The members of this kibbutz were very receptive to visitors and eager to share their way of life and ideas. Long discussions were held with members representing various age groups, degrees of responsibility, and length



of time of residence. The most exciting aspect was visiting the various Children's Houses, eating in the main dining room, and visiting industrial and agricultural components.

Givat Brenner, founded in 1929, has a membership of over 1000 persons and a population which exceeds 2000. Its economy is predominantly agricultural, but within the last 15 years a variety of small factories have been developed. The climate, which corresponds to that of Southern California, allows for ample production of fruit and field crops. Citrus production includes oranges, grapefruits, and lemons. Grapes, pears, and apples are abundant in the summer and fall seasons. Field crops are cotton, tomatoes, and sugar beets. These agricultural products are used locally and sold to surrounding areas and, in some cases, to international markets. Long-stemmed yellow and red roses are greenhouse grown for exportation to Europe and England in the winter months. There is a dairy composed of 350 head of cattle, and milk is sold to a Dairy Chain.

There are three large factories which enjoy local use and international exporting. A bottling and canning factory bottles grapefruit and orange juice under the Israeli "Ramon" brand and the "Yappa Gold" brand which is sold in Europe, England, and America. This is Givat Brenner's largest factory and employs 150 persons. A woodworking factory exports bookcases, shelves, and dividers, and finds its largest market on the east coast of the United States. A line of children's furniture is produced which is made of formica and wood. The third factory is an aluminum foundry which makes couplings for irrigation systems which are vital to Israeli's survival. The moral value of labor is reflected in the responsibility of all members to be involved either in services or agriculture and industry.



Cultural life is emphasized within the community. There is a large library which has volumes in at least six different languages and is designed for reading, investigation, adult classes, and music practice. A movie theater presents a showing each week for adults and a separate one for children. There is a community television room and a renovated cotton gin which has become a discotheque for young people, students, and soldiers. A children's choir and a community orchestra add meaning to festivals and large gatherings.

The governing organization reflects the description of Spiro (1956) and Rabin (1965). Every adult member has one equal vote in all matters and a weekly meeting is held to discuss proposals, policies, and other pertinent business. There are elected secretariats in the areas of Labor, Education, General Matters, and the like. For each of these areas there are committees which work with the General Council. The emphasis is directed toward group suggestions and group decisions.

Special programs increase Givat Brenner's population and are designed for tourists, temporary residents, visiting students, and volunteers. The Guest House is a popular business and enjoys the reputation of the best restaurant in Israel. The olympic-sized swimming pool is a popular gathering place for the integrated populace of the kibbutz.

To become a member of Givat Brenner one must undergo a one-to-two year probationary period which allows for the recipientacy of services but the lack of vote. The entire membership totes on the prospective member and acceptance is determined by available housing, the candidate's ability to work, and the activities and actions of the probationary period.

Child rearing and education are similar to that reported by Brandwine



(1969), Schlesinger (1970), and Rabin (1965). There are Infant Houses, a Kindergarten, separate buildings for each grade level in Grammar School, and Junior High and Senior High complexes. A new vocational high school, open to the Federation of Kibbutzim, was nearing completion and was to be in use in 1972. There was a great deal of emphasis on parent-child relationships and more family time was being requested and provided. An important change occurred during our visit when the General Assembly of members voted for all children to spend Friday nights and the entire Sabbath with their families.

Of special interest to this writer was a long discussion with one of founders of Givat Brenner. His comments were tape-recorded and reflect the original intent and interest of the settling pioneers. In describing the kibbutz--

"It is a form of life for living together that has been chosen and planned for to meet certain conditions. It is not inherited—not given as a religious law—but to meet certain differences and to solve certain human conditions—a dedicated community—it is for the individual."

In relating the important aspect of Zionism--

"The essential ingredient of living in the kibbutz has to be for Zionism or should not be in the kibbutz--"

As for Socialism--

"Socialism does not mean equal ability or equal responsibility but does mean an equal standard of living for members and complete mutual help between members."

With regard to certain psychological references--

"There are certain phrases that do not apply to the kibbutz-- separation



from the parents'--the whole kibbutz is one home and the children live in this home."

And in discussing schooling--

"The school is not just a place to acquire skills—ideals and social attitudes are just as important and a part of learning—the child sees how his parents act, his elders act, and his teachers act. The kibbutz goal is to have its own members in schools as teachers—the best outside teacher is not as good as the worse inside teacher—the school begins when the child begins to take in information."

And in summing up--

"It is the essential idea of everybody being free--trying to put it on the conscience, not on legality."

Conclusions and Implications

The review of the kibbutz culture demonstrates the important interrelationship of history, crises, life-styles, and present-day goals and
aspirations. It seems that for all kibbutz members that life is "limited,
rigorous, and confined; but, also, it is full of beauty and simplicity (Verin,
1970, p. 87)."

It should be noted that most tests that have been given to kibbutz children were devised to test children in different kinds of family situations,
and that these tests might be weighted in favor of that situation. Whether
valid or not the degree of makedjustment that is reported for young children
seems to have disappeared at about the age of ten.

Parent-child relations appear to be a strong factor and may hold some meaning for the quality of relationship rather than for the amount of contact



factors have been reported which could, perhaps, be incorporated in present day-care practices throughout the world.

It is true that kibbutz population has decreased in proportion to the rising total Israeli population, but it also appears that the influence of the kibbutz continues to increase. In positions of National responsibility, in the armed forces, and with regard to agricultural production the kibbutz members and their work represent at least 50% of the nation's output. Thus it does seem that their importance is much greater than their numbers.

Even though it is evident that one cannot generalize from one kibbutz to another the similar aspects of cooperative behavior cannot be ignored. The adherence to the "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need (Spiro, 1956, p. 23)" principle combined with the principle of "ezra hadidat" (mutual aid) has been instrumental to the survival and development of this way of life. It does appear that a 'chevra' has been created where there is an intimacy of interaction and mutual concern for every member and the kibbutz as a whole.

The role of women in the kibbutz emphasizing status and equality may be an area undergoing change as many mothers have not reconciled themselves to the system of collective education resulting in separation from their children. The strenuous physical life and long hours, in some instances, have not given a feeling of emancipation. In viewing the current "Women's Lib" movement one is apt to recall the age-old saying, "The grass on the other side always looks greener."

The kibbutz, as a life-style for a particular group of people, and its aims and goals of child rearing, education, social interaction, and the like



cannot be transferred summarily into other societies. Its structure is uniquely its own and was planned for specific purposes. It seems unavoidable to criticize the non-similar and unfamiliar, and great care should be taken in interpreting and evaluating the numerous reports which have evolved from this society. In being aware of the vast differences and similarities among people and societies perhaps we can address ourselves to the development of framework and design which truly facilitates understanding and appreciation of human potential and allows for enriched human experiences.

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