キブツにおける社会変容と危機に関する考察

●中西部イスラエルにおけるキブツ・フルダを通して

Considerations on Spcial Change and Crisis in Kibbutz
: A Case Study of Kibbutz-Hulda in the Mid-West Israel

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Considerations on Social Change and Crisis in Kibbutz
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Abstract

Kibbutz, a kind of utopia-oriented society, which was founded in the year 1910 putting up the ideological idea of common value of equality and cooperation, has been facing with identity crisis under the penetrating influence of market economy. The paper tries to examine the changing aspects of kibbutz society through the monograph of settlement named Hulda located in the mid-west Israel, in which kibbutzniks have experienced radical change of its structure and functions. The historical change of Kibbutz Hulda could be divided into the following stages; (1)establishing community, (2) from agrarian romanticism to community stability, and (3)coming crisis in a market society. At present kibbutz has been transformed rapidly and conflicting with diversified sense of values generated from the problem of pluralism.

Key words ; utopia, community identity, kibbutz movement, social change,
familial community, agrarian romanticism, natural community,
identity crisis, market society,

Contents

Introduction

The subject of this paper is a comparison of three changing stages of kibbutzim, and gives lesson that can be learned from them for the future existence of the kibbutz. The paper begins with such a following social axiom that could summarize an important part of kibbutz experience as an inherent contradiction between group solidarity and personal freedom movement. In the starting point of establishing kibbutzim, the commune remained no more than an association of individuals with a precarious existence, as long as respective kibbutznik was free to join or leave a commune at any time he or she might

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have chosen to do so.

The veteran kibbutzim survived and grew because they overcame the contradiction by transforming the commune from a group of individuals into a familial community. The critical stage in moving from a commune to a stable and enduring community is the formation of family units as a core of their communes. As that familial core expanded and strengthened, it pushed the mobile elements to the periphery and ensured continuity from one generation to the next. Since the early 1950, familial core formed a decisive majority in most kibbutzim, and was thought to be primary source of stability as well as continuity. As that process of familial growth continued, the community reproduced itself, like an organic body of organization, and was further transformed from an ideological into a natural community.

However, the kibbutz of today once matured as a natural community, are finding itself in conflict with the unnatural market society rapidly spreading throughout the world. The contemporary situation in the kibbutz is under the state of pluralism in a sense that conservatism and radicalism are coexisting in kibbutz society, where market economy has brought conflict and fragmentation among value systems. How the kibbutz meets the challenge of the market economy, should be the main issue in determining the future of the kibbutz as well as any communitarian endeavors.

The following sections will try to answer to the question above by using mainly fieldwork data get during my stay at Kibbutz-Hulda from 26th, July to 24th,Sep.1998. References and bibliography in this paper owe much to the Archives of National Kibbutz Movement and Library of Social Science Department at Tel-Aviv University.

1. The First Stage: Establishing community

In the case of Kibbutz-Hulda, the first historical stage started in the year 1909 when the kibbutz was founded as an agricultural training farm to prepare young pioneers, and expanded to the year of construction of the State of Israel. After the First World War and the establishment of the British Mandate, thousands of Jewish youth who saw themselves as pioneers of a new era in Jewish history moved to Palestine in the hope of building a utopian society. Many of them were motivated by a Zionist version of agrarian romanticism. They wanted to return to the Land of Promise on which they would live their lives and work in cooperation with other Zionists.

At that time Kibbutzim could really be recognized as communes just as the term is understood in its ideal meaning. They took a great part of a relatively widespread activity that saw many communes established in Palestine during the first quarter of this century. All of those communes, and particularly the

agricultural ones, had a special attraction for the young pioneer Zionists, many of whom were still in their teens.

As it turned out, most of those young men and women were looking for adventure more than hard manual labor. The kibbutz appealed to them a new and even revolutionary way of life, but the strenuous and often monotonous agricultural work did not prove so much attraction as they imagined. The degree of mobility of the youths from kibbutz to other communities was extraordinarily high, and at the same time the communes that formed and dissolved was relatively high in number.

A report published in 1922 shows that in case of Degania with 33 members, then passing only twelve years since its foundation, there were only 6 members who remained in the founding group. Other kibbutzim that were eight years old or less had even worse records. Mahanaim with 33 members, only 4 had been in the earliest group. Kfar Giladi had only 4 members in 36 remained, and in case of Ayelet Hashahar only 4 in 33 members also, and Kiryat Anavim, only 5 in the 42 adults.

Those early communes, populated mainly by young mobile singles, met a severe experience early in 1920s for the reasons that they perceived a kind of ideological gap between revolutionary image and monotonous work. It is worthy to note that they came out of this conflict, and succeeded in forming communities with a strong familial core. This transformation from a group of mobile individuals to a familial community anticipated their future. The demographic data on 12 oldest kibbutzim shows that in 1922, they had a total population of 855. Men outnumbered women two to one, and 80% of the men were single. There were only 98 children.

By 1930 a sort of ideological gap (Arian, 1968) had get to be resolved. Population in those 12 kibbutzim had become nearly twofold, singles had been reduced and became a minority. The growth of families was shown by the fact that the population of children increased from 98 to 472. Dancing the *hora* all night, a typical Jewish dance, became less important, because matters concerning education, health, housing and consumption budgets occupied more of the member's attention. There was still a long way to go until social stability and continuity could be assured, but the foundation had been prepared and constructed. At this initial stage, the commune had become a real community. Thus the community obtained the meaning of cultural symbol in its real entity (Hazan, 1990).

The period before the proclamation of the State of Israel in 1948, the kibbutz had gradually become to recognize the power of family-based institution in the community (Ben-Rafael, 1998). We could denote the extended kinship networks and interfamily cliques within the community where adult members managed self-supporting farming.

Though between 1949 and 1952, a large wave of immigrants mainly from

Moslem countries had entered the Israel, the kibbutz failed to absorb these immigrants because of its revolutionary ideology and accepted only 4% of them. It is said that the kibbutz reached a degree of collective stability until the early 1950s. Thus so-called 'classic' kibbutz as a prototype had been formed throughout the first period.

2. The Second Stage: From agrarian romanticism to natural community

The second stage started from the mid-1950s and lasted until mid-1980s. In the period just prior to, and immediately following the establishment of the State of Israel, more than a hundred new kibbutzim were formed within a short period and there was rapid growth in the kibbutz population (see Table 1 and Table 2). The population growth came from new kibbutzim, occupied mainly by mobile singles and as such still in the form of communes (Rayman, 1981). There was a high degree of movement into and out of those young kibbutzim, but the net balance was favorable.

A radical distinctive change took place by the mid-1950s. Israel was industrializing at a rapid pace, agrarian romanticism had ceased to be a convincing ideology for most young people, and the number of youth joining kibbutzim decreased. Those who were already on kibbutzim began to leave in growing numbers, and some of the newer kibbutzim were emptied almost entirely. An atmosphere of despair and gloom fell upon the kibbutz movement. Many people, both within and outside of the kibbutz movement, came to the conclusion that the kibbutzim had terminated their historical mission, had made a decisive contribution to establishing the state of Israel, and that the time had come to dissolve them (Blasi, 1987).

The demographic data shows the dominant trend of movement of mobile singles, mostly male youth. A survey of kibbutzim in early 1955 had shown an overall male majority, with more than twice as many male singles as female singles. During the following five years, between 1956 and 1961, the number of male adults fell by 20% and the number of female adults grew by 12%. Again, as in the first stage, women were less mobile than men. However, in contrast to what happened earlier, this time there was a drop in the birth rate and in the children's population as a whole. A major contributing factor was that many veteran members were passing the age of fertility.

Then came a turn of events that altered the entire situation. Youths from the second generation, who was born and raised in the older kibbutzim, came of age in increasingly large number and changed demographic trends. Data available for 58 kibbutzim in 1957 show that only 9% of their members came from the second generation. Within a decade the population had risen to 29%. There were similar developments in the rest of the kibbutz population. During the following

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years, veteran kibbutzim that had already reached the stage of familial communities were further strengthened as the typical extended kinship network units expanded to three and even four generations. As for the group formations, common facilities within the kibbutzim including kitchen, dinning, school, beauty parlor, laundry, and common room, played a significant role to create the we-feeling consciousness among members. Meanwhile, the newer kibbutzim went through the transitional phase from commune to familial collectivity (Shelhar, 1980).

Members of the second generation tended to marry early and had more children than their parents. Marriage rates rose, and the birth rate shot up from 21.9 to 29.8 per thousand. Between the years 1971 and 1986, the population of kibbutz grew by a phenomenal 47%, and in 1986 reached 126,700 in real number, with most of the addition due to the growth of children's population. The large number of children further strengthened the familial core of the kibbutz. In the meantime, the kibbutz movement had gone through an intensive period of, in a sense, successful industrialization in farming and manufacturing. The balance of migration turned positive, with more applicants for joining than could be absorbed. However, a new problem was emerging. The kibbutz economy failed to grow despite industrialization, and many kibbutzim found themselves unable to support the increased number of adults and children.

3. The Third Stage: Coming Crisis in a market society

The path of the kibbutz has been paved with changing crises of its group solidarity and identity since early 1980s when rapid inflation and drastic fall of stocks defined the situations of the kibbutzim. The year 1977 should be noted because the right-wing Likud party won the general elections in opposition to the kibbutzim. Ben-Rafael (1998, *Ibid*; 1) says that;

> In 1980, eight years after a dramatic political setback, a sudden economic crisis shook the entire kibbutz movement to its foundations. Seventy-five years after the first kibbutz was established, it seemed that all efforts had failed to create communities based on sharing and equality and able to flourish economically as a powerful and prestigious sector of society. This crisis marked a new period of hectic change and reshaping throughout the kibbutz movement.

The recent and much publicized financial crisis of the late 1980s was just another in the series. According to data available at the time of writing, that crisis seems to have ended in 1991, though resolution of the financial problems is still under negotiation (Yizzhar, 1989).

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Meanwhile, a different kind of crisis has emerged out of growing contact with the surrounding market society. The rapid growth of a market economy poses a serious threat to the traditional way of life, and it must decide on a proper response in the form of confrontation or accommodation(Bockenheimer, 1993).

Already there are clear signs that members of the younger generation are adopting modes of behavior typical of market society, particularly a widely seen postponement of marriage, leading to a decline in births and accompanying weakness in the ability to strengthen the social solidarity. At the same time, expanding urban centers in Israel are encroaching upon kibbutz territory, threatening to engulf many of them. The consequent urbanization of the kibbutz, already began to some extent at that time is likely to produce further changes for which the financial crises have left many kibbutzim unprepared. Rapid inflation and exorbitant interest rates after the mid-1980s led to a spiraling debt load that influenced a loss of confidence in the kibbutz as a secure way of life. Uncertainly about the future resulted in a rapid rise in outward migration.

Many people left their kibbutz, and once again the question was raised if the time had not come for the kibbutz to end its historical mission. As it turned out the prevailing atmosphere of pessimism obscured favorable trends that were taking place within kibbutzim. In particular, the third generation was beginning to come of age in significant numbers just at this time.

Members of the third generation are almost entirely mobile singles, and they leave their kibbutzim in large numbers in order to travel abroad. In itself, the fact that young people wish to see something of the world should come as no surprise. They have grown up in a relatively closed community, and most of their lives within a state was as if watched by its neighbors. Television opened up cultural horizons and aroused curiosity. These young people want direct experience of things they have not known. As it turns out, what attracts them most are not the monuments of European capitals, but the huge mountains, rivers, valleys and spaces in remote places of South America and Asia.

Extensive coverage has been given in the local and foreign press to the massive exodus of young people from kibbutzim, and hasty conclusions have been drawn about their rejection of the kibbutz way of life. Too little attention has been paid to the large number of young people who do not leave, or return home after having left.

The fact of the matter is that there has been a steady increase in the number of members and candidates born and raised in kibbutzim. In the three-year period 1991-1994 alone, their numbers rose in kibbutzim of the United Kibbutz Movement from 14,911 to 19,035. At the same time, there has been a drop in the number of those coming from other backgrounds, and particularly from youth movements.

As a result, the number of sons and daughters of the kibbutz has grown

proportionately larger and now forms 42% of the total adult population of the United Kibbutz Movement, with a much higher percentage in the more veteran kibbutzim. The second largest group (30%) is made up of people who joined on an individual basis, many of them marriage partners and most from an urban background.

Members of the third generation have grown up in the kibbutz quite different from that known to their parents. One generation ago, the prevailing atmosphere in kibbutzim was showing a transition from the rather abstract and even dogmatic ideological principles of the founders, who had come from a different culture, to the more flexible familial community of the second generation.

That transition was marred in part by conflict between generations over the primacy of the kibbutz as the dominant social world, as against recognition of the family as a social reality of equal importance. It was a conflict that ended in accommodation, through a sort of implicit understanding that they were, in effect, mutually dependent. The kibbutz structure as a communal household both shapes, and is held together by the solidarity of familial bonds. A compromise was worked out that included a more prominent role for the family, including sleeping arrangements for the children with their parents. The compromise proved successful, and was one of the contributing factors in the rapid growth of population in the 1970s and early 1980s.

Most members of the third generation have grown up in a natural community that is quite different from the urban market society that dominates elsewhere in Israel (Evans, 1995). The kibbutz is their natural habitat, and in that sense any other society or way of life is unnatural for them. However, they are confronted by a conflict between attachment to their natural community, which does not seem to be adequately meeting the challenges of the time, and the seemingly successful market society surrounding them.

As a result they find it difficult to make a clear decision, with relatively large numbers of them neither leaving the kibbutz nor joining in full commitment. Like members of their age group in the surrounding secular society, and in all advanced market societies, they also postpone commitment in marriage. For the time being the large majority of them remain single. That is causing a major change in the social anatomy of the kibbutz.

Members of the second generation, not only married early but showed a clear preference in marital patterns for cultural endogamy, together with a known measure of incest avoidance in regard to family and peer group. Data for the kibbutz population from the 1940s to the 1990s show that most marital partners lived on a kibbutz before their marriage. Analysis done in May 1995 of all married kibbutz sons and daughters in the United Kibbutz Movement, confirmed the clear preference for a marriage partner with a kibbutz background. Of the women married to kibbutz's sons, 34% were found to be

kibbutz daughters, and of the men married to kibbutz daughters, 40% were found to be kibbutz sons. In addition, most other marriage partners either had been educated in the kibbutz or had come to it on their own initiative. Only a minority had entered their kibbutz as a result of marriage. However, because so few members of the third generation are married, almost all of that data apply to members of the second generation. It is still too early to tell whether cultural endogamy shall continue to prevail in the future.

Meanwhile, important changes are taking place. A few pertinent figures may serve to give an adequate idea of the extent and rapidity of change in the third generation. As mentioned above, members of the second generation married early. A generation ago, more than half of kibbutz women aged 20-24 were married, and at present only 4%. One generation ago among men aged 20-24, 22% married, and now only 1%.

The same trend holds in higher age groups where the third generation is concerned. As a result, there has been a steady decline in the birth rate along with an increase in the age of mothers at birth. These trends are common in advanced market societies, and they indicate a major change in social structure. A strong contributing factor seems to be the influence of consumerism spawned by the market culture (Rosner, 1982).

It is not clear whether consumerism is the cause of such a radical change in the kibbutz, described above as a natural and familial community. Clearly, there is still much to be learned about the social anatomy of communities that have reached their third generation and beyond, and function as open societies exposed to the full impact of the market. There is a difference between the two, but apparently not a clear contradiction.

From the point of view of social anatomy, the most pressing current problem in most kibbutzim is reproduction. Members of the second generation married early and had more children than their parents. The third generation has turned in the opposite direction. They delay marriage and have fewer children. As a result, children's population has been declining, the familial framework is weakening, and in some kibbutzim there is room for concern about their ability to continue as natural communities.

The ensuing demographic and identity crisis may prove more serious than the recent financial crisis, but the kibbutz shall not be alone in it since all advanced market societies are facing a similar situation. The question that arises is why the kibbutz, after having reached the stage of a natural community in the second generation, should suddenly find itself confronted by a phenomenon typical of urban market society in the third generation.

In recent years the kibbutzim has become diversified in its structure and functions. Ben-Rafael (*Ibid,* 1998) recognizes that the contemporary kibbutz has been getting pluralistic and multi-realistic in terms of its changing phases in economic situation and demographic stability.

It implies the multiple realities of the community with conservative, moderate change-oriented, more change-oriented, and radical attitude. A good economic situation and demographic stability is seen to be bounded to a kibbutz's conservative attitude toward change and implementation, while the kibbutzim lacking both conditions can not be founded in the conservative box (Table 3).

Concluding Remarks

As examined above the Kibbutz-Hulda experienced three stages of social change each of which suggests diversity of meaning in community life. The first stage was in a sense adventurous, the second stable, and the third rather conflicting because of changing backgrounds of each period (Table 4).

The future might be better, if instead of one kibbutz movement, there would now be two. Kibbutz members do not need to follow the United Kibbutz Movement and the Kibbutz Ha Artzi, but freely choose the various types of kibbutz's way of life. There should be no need for those who want the value of partnership and equality to be forced to feel the community as an ideology. One kibbutz movement for people who want the kibbutz and another for those who may prefer a community village.

If on the other hand, by the end of this century there are longer any kibbutzim. It will be the only failure that wasn't drowned in rivers of blood. It is an important message in a world where both the Thatcherites and the Brezhnevs prove that man is evil and must therefore be restrained by force, or the strong must be allowed to devour the weak. I see in the idea of the kibbutz one of the jewels of Israel, and may be one of the most exciting social creations of the 20th century.

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Table 1 *Change in the kibbutz population (1910-1992)*

Year	Number of settlements	Population	Yearly increase(%)
1910	1	11	
1920	12	805	
1930	29	3,877	
1940	82	26,554	
1950	214	67,539	
1960	229	77,955	
1970	229	85,100	
1980	255	111,200	
1981	259	113,700	2.2
1982	264	116,000	2.0
1983	267	117,900	1.6
1984	268	122,700	4.1
1985	268	125,200	2.0
1986	269	126,700	1.3
1987	268	127,000	0.2
1988	270	126,100	-0.7
1989	270	124,900	-0.1
1990	270	125,100	0.2
1991	270	129,300	3.4
1992	269	128,000	-1.0

Source : Maron (1994) *The Kibbutz Movement 1993 Statistical Year Book*, Yad Tabenkin: 14

Table 2 *Sources of population growth over the years (1950-1993)*

Years	natural growth	absor. balance	growth balance	population
1950-54	10,000	+2,500	12,600	76,100
1955-59	8,600	-6,800	1,800	77,900
1960-64	7,200	-4,200	3,000	80,900
1965-69	8,700	-4,900	3,800	84,700
1970-74	10,300	-800	9,500	94,200
1975-79	10,200	+1,600	11,800	106,000
1980-84	10,400	+6,300	16,700	122,700
1985-89	9,600	-7,400	2,200	124,900
1992	1,400	-2,700	-1,300	128,000
1993	1,200	-3,100	-1,900	126,100

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Table 3 *Change and implementation in kibbutzim and socioeconomic condition* *

(N=34 kibbutzim)

Relative Situation**		Conservative	Moderate change-oriented	More change-oriented	Radical	Total
Economy	demography					
+	+	5	3	2	2	12
+	−	2	1	1	1	5
−	+	1	1	3	1	6
−	−	−	3	5	3	11
Total		8	8	11	7	34

* On the basis of economic and demographic indices drawn from Takam sources for 1988, i.e.,
the peak of the mid-1980s crisis.
** + indicates a favorable situation; − indicates an unfavorable one.

Source : Topel, 1995

Table 4 *Three stages of social change in Kibbutz-Hulda*

|	Stage / Items	1909 Construction Period	1950 Stability-oriented Period	1985 Reconstruction Period
Kibbutz	Primary Driving Factor	Organizing Self-sufficient agriculture	Industrialization	Penetration of marketing economy Rapid inflation
	Community	Commune-oriented	Realization of Common interests	Differentiation of interests
	Group formation	Single immigrant Members live together	Group-size enlarged Public facilities cooperated	Leniently opened interest group
Hulda	Support System	Isolated	Supported by Israel	Support varnished Right-wing party gained power
	Demographic Mobility	Rather high because of maladjustment Moving into the outer community	Moving from and into the kibbutz	High Frequency of migration out of the kibbutz by group
	Attitude	Adventurous and revolutionary	Goal-attained satisfaction	Loss of confidence in secure life. Kibbutz ideology has been fading gradually

1948:Foundation of Israel
1977: Political control by Right Wing- Likud- Party
1985: Rapid inflation and drastic fall of stocks

APPENDIX 1

Geographical Position of Kibbutz Gordonia Hulda

ZONE 6 Judea and Northern Sharon Plain
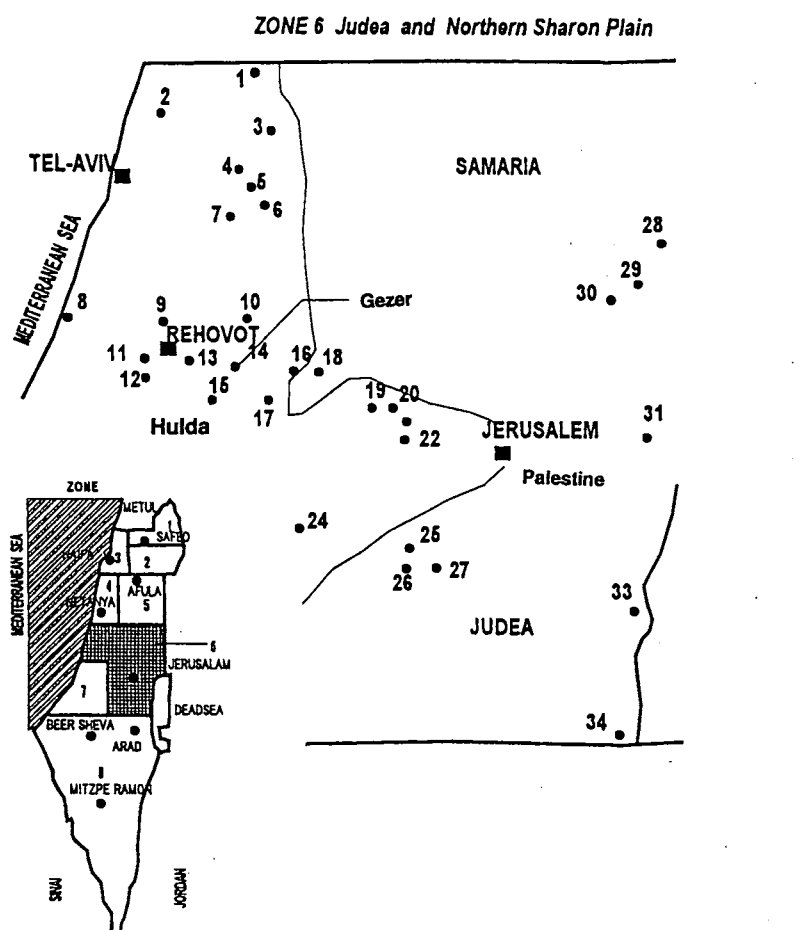
1 Nir Eliahu	13 Naan	25 Rosh Tsurim
2 Glil-Yam	14 Gezer	26 Kfar Etsion
3 Horshim	15 Hulda	27 Migdal Oz
4 Givat Hashlosha	16 Shaalabim	28 Gilgal
5 Einat	17 Nachshon	29 Naaran
6 Nachshonim	18 Mevo Horon	30 Yitav
7 Beerot Yitshak	19 Neve Ilan	31 Almog
8 Palmachim	20 Maale Hahamisha	32 Kalya
9 Netser Sireni	21 Kiryat Anavim	33 Mitspe Shalem
10 Kfar Daniel	22 Tsuba	34 Ein Gedi
11 Kvutsat Schiller	23 Ramat Rachel	
12 Givat Brenner	24 Netiv Halamed Heh	

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APPENDIX 2

General Information of Kibbutz Gordonia Hulda

HISTORY

Hulda under my study is one of the oldest kibbutzim in Israel, which was founded in 1909 as an agricultural training farm to prepare young pioneers in the field of forestry and olive growing. Although forced to close temporarily during the First World War, the farm continued to operate under difficult conditions and continuous Arab's attack until 1929. In that year, at the height of the Arab riots in Palestine, the farm had to be abandoned.

In 1931, there resettled by the members of Utopian Socialist-Zionist Gordonia youth movement from Poland, Rumania, Bessarabia and Galicia, and it became the first of nine kibbutzim established by Gordonia. The young pioneers lived in tents grouped around a stone building where the children and babies were housed, in the forest planted at the beginning of the century. The stone house, Beit Herzl, has been renovated and serves today as a museum. During renewed Arab riots in 1936, the authorities declared the site indefensible, and the kibbutz relocated in 1937 to its present site, one kilometer west of the forest.

During the 1948 War of Independence, Hulda served as a base for the elite Palmach units and was a staging point for convoys to the besieged city of Jerusalem and for the Battle of Latrun.

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL AFFAIRS

The population of the kibbutz is diverse and includes 30 older members (women over 60; men over 65), 93 younger members (70 children under the age of eighteen), and some 30 young adults currently in service in the Israel Defense Forces or recently demobilized. Additionally, approximately 25 young families who are not members reside at the kibbutz.

The community provides many cooperative public services and institutions with its residents including child care houses, a dining hall, a full care equipment for elderly members, a library, sports facilities, a sewing shop, a laundry, archives of the kibbutz movement, a cosmetician and hairdresser, and a small grocery shop. School age children attend the regional schools nearby.

ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

The kibbutz farms 1400 acres of land, irrigated by water supplied partly by the National Water Carrier and partly by recycled sewage water gathered from the Jerusalem region. The major field crop is cotton, and there is also a large wine vineyard, an avocado plantation, poultry runs, and a large milking dairy. Non- agricultural branches include a pottery studio and a commercial sewing shop.

Hulda Transformers manufactures electrical transformers and employs approximately

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thirty people, about half of them members of the kibbutz. In addition to the economic branches of the kibbutz, Hulda's members work in a range of professions outside the kibbutz and in the regional schools.

Also located on the premises of the kibbutz are the archives of the national kibbutz movement, Lotem- a school for autistic children, a grain and seed cleaning plant, a commercial welding shop, and a hall for catering to weddings and parties.

GOVERNANCE

The kibbutz is a direct democracy in which the highest governing institution is the town meeting where each member has one vote. The elected Secretariat and an economic council control day-to-day affairs. The kibbutz has elected the committee which attend various aspects of community life: education, cultural affairs, social issues, human resources, health, demography and growth, death and burial.

Like many other kibbutz communities, Hulda is in a period of transition, reexamining its ideology, social covenant and economic structure as its members attempt to meet both the demands of a changing external environment and the desires and dreams of the young generation. The inner strength of the kibbutz has always been its ability to adapt to the challenges and exigencies of the society in which it functions, and the future, although unclear, will certainly be interesting.

Contemporary Community Life in Kibbutz Hulda

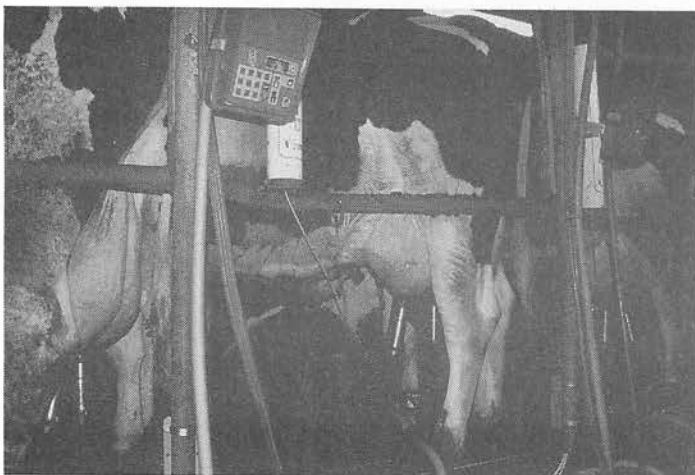Photo 1.　Housing typical of kibbutz members

Photo 2.　Very modernized cowshed
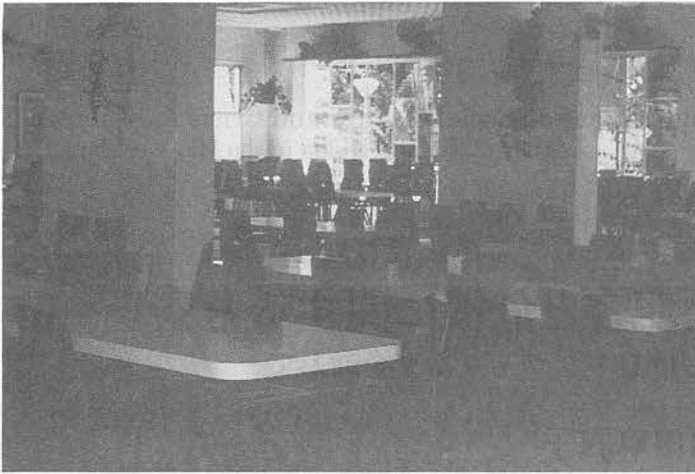It produces milk in large quantities

Photo 3. Public kitchen and dining room
These are located in dispersion,
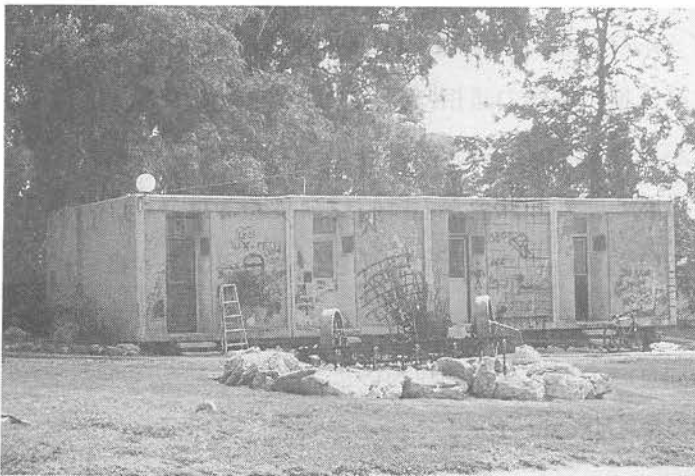and not used daily now.

Photo 4. Part of home for children
It is a very older system still
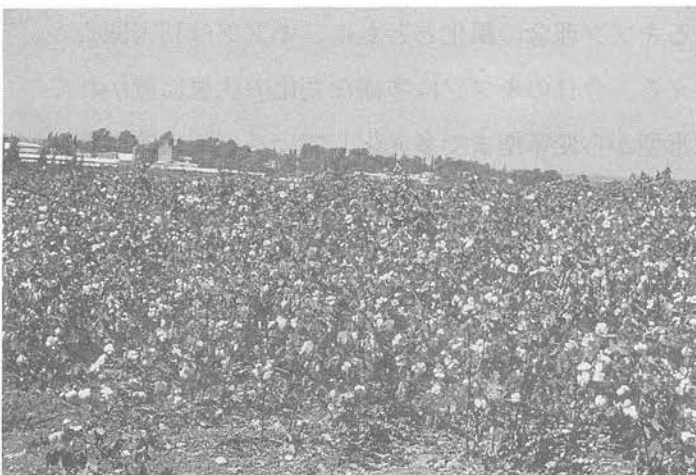sustaining in Hulda.

Photo 5. Cotton fields
It surrounds the community.

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キブツにおける社会変容と危機に関する考察
—中西部イスラエルにおけるキブツ・フルダを通して—

西田麻衣子

共同・平等という価値理念を基として 1910 年に創設されたキブツは、今日、市場経済への移行に伴なって、イデオロギーの共有が困難となり、一体感の喪失と利害葛藤の顕在化いう新たな危機に直面している。本稿では、キブツの社会変容の過程を(1)形成期(2)安定期(3)再構築期の三つの段階に分けて考察し、とりわけ第 3 期の危機の諸相に記述の焦点を合わせた。

形成期のキブツは、主に思想によって繋がったコミューン志向のコミュニティであった。パイオニア精神で移住した若者たちの流動性は高く、外の社会からは特殊な集団と見られ、アラブ人からの攻撃もあったことから自己防衛手段を取らざるをえず、孤立化の傾向にあった。イスラエル建国直後のキブツは国をあげて経済的にも支援され、コミュニティの形態を従来の思想的なものから生活基盤へと変容させ、共同意識の形成や集団規模の拡大が進みコミュニティは安定期に入った。安定期のキブツが危機に陥ったのは 1980 年代で、右翼政党の政治的支配による経済的支援の消滅と、イスラエル国内のインフレーション進展と株価の大暴落による。

これらを克服するために、経済的基盤を確保することが求められ共同体の再構築を試みることとなった。その一つとして、メンバー以外の居住者がキブツ内に住むようになったという変化がある。市場主義経済の浸透、それによるキブツ理念の風化とともに、キブツは利害関心の分立化が進み危機的状況に陥っているといえる。今日のキブツは多様な変化の状況に置かれており、経済状況と人口の安定性からみて原形型から変革型まで多元化している。将来的にキブツが再構築化を図っていくためには、流動人口の定着化と生活の安定が課題となると考える。

本研究の調査対象はキブツのなかでも 8 番目に建設されたイスラエル中西部のキブツ・フルダである。調査期間は 1998 年 7 月 26 日から 9 月 24 日まである。分析にあたってはナショナル・キブツ・ムーブメント公文書館及びテル・アビブ大学社会科学部図書館の文献も活用した。

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◆大学院生の単著論文はレフリー制に基づいて掲載しています ―――ＲＥＣ◆
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