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Creating a Collective Identity: The Case of Two Ideologically Different Communities

(Long Abstract)

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INTRODUCTION

The research engaged in the integration of two communities with different ideological backgrounds in a renewed Kibbutz, and examined how a collective identity is constructed alongside conflicts and gaps between the populations. The encounter between populations with different affiliations, created a challenge to all communities striving to create a community identity that would consider the needs of all of them. The research sought to understand how members of groups perceive their own group's internal collective identity and how they view building a collective identity for the entire settlement. Moreover, the research sought to analyze the factors that influence the process of building a collective identity by the members of the new community.

The decision to undertake research in a Kibbutz of which I am a member stemmed from the changes which the Kibbutz Movement has undergone in the last 35 years in general, and changes in the Kibbutz of which I am a member since the 1980s in particular. The uniqueness of the examined Kibbutz is that it is an expanded renewed Kibbutz. Many Kibbutzim absorbed different populations as a result of the crisis, but this particular Kibbutz is unique because it absorbed a community that started forming prior to arriving at the Kibbutz, rather than absorbing single families with no common background.

Research Background

The Kibbutz is a form of communal village first established in Israel in the first decade of the twentieth century. At present, there are about 270 Kibbutzim (plural of "Kibbutz") in the state of Israel, with some 120,000 members. The Kibbutz movement has undergone a major reorganization, following the crisis of the 1980's-90's. (Goldman, 2007)

At the end of the 1970's, a rapid process of privatization, reduced government involvement, and retreat from the welfare state commenced in Israel. The Kibbutzim were among the first victims of the new order and during the 1980's, many collapsed economically and became indebted to the banks. The economic crisis was accompanied by an ideological crisis, and during the 1990's, most Kibbutzim underwent processes of privatization and reduced member solidarity and mutual responsibility. Nowadays, no trace remains of the old communal way of life in most

Kibbutzim (only about a third is still defined as “communal”). As of the 1980's, Israeli society has been reshaping Kibbutzim capitalistically. (Goldman, 2007)

Kibbutz HK, which numbers approximately 100 members, has been forced to rethink itself and make decisions as to what and how it will face these changes as it is transformed into a Kibbutz community. Like many other Kibbutzim, Kibbutz HK expanded its community by building neighborhoods and opening them to a diverse and eclectic population.

In 2006, an ecological group numbering approximately forty families approached Kibbutz HK and expressed a desire to live in the Kibbutz and establish an educational system in the spirit of their ecological views. This meeting between two ideological groups was unique. One group, the Kibbutz community, was well established, had experienced many setbacks and reorganization, while the ecological group was younger, in its formative stages, defining itself and guarding its principles.

Gap in Knowledge

The field of establishing community neighborhoods in the Kibbutz movement, with a defined collective identity (before arriving at a settlement) and joining a settlement with a defined and recognized collective identity has not been studied yet. However, there are studies about community neighborhoods with eclectic populations (that were not crystallized before arriving at the settlement). Furthermore, there is no common formalization of a settlement vision for creating a collective identity for an entire population of a settlement; therefore, it has not been researched. This phenomenon is unique to Kibbutz HK, a renewed Kibbutz that incorporates populations of different characteristics. In addition, the significance of transition from a hegemonic and homogeneous society - the traditional Kibbutz - to a society made up of unique communities with new needs - the renewed Kibbutz - is a new phenomenon whose significance has not been researched yet.

Research Aims

1. Understand the collective identity of each group in the settlement - Kibbutz members and members of the ecological group.
2. Understand attitudes of members and residents with regard to building a collective identity for the entire population of the Kibbutz – members and residents.
3. Analyze factors that influence the process of building a collective identity.
4. Development of a social model that shows how a new identity emerges.

Research Questions

1. How do Kibbutz members and the ecological group define their collective identity?
2. What is the importance of building a collective identity for the entire population of this settlement?
3. What are factors that influence the process of building a collective identity by the members of the new community?

Importance of the Research

The studied phenomenon indeed takes places at a small Kibbutz in Israel, but it is part of a post-modern global phenomenon of locating unique communities alongside one another: transition from multiple cultures to multiple modernities. This research tries to shed light on the process of transition from a hegemonic society, for example, a traditional Kibbutz, to a multiple community society with heterogeneous needs. As such, the research will enable the examination of issues and topics that promote and delay belonging and collective identity processes, and lead to the development of a social model, which enables the integration of people, who belong to different ideological backgrounds. In this way, the study may have a universal contribution by formulating how populations made up of different cultures can live side by side culturally, educationally and socially.

I. LITERATURE REVIEW

The chapter presents the theoretical background of this research. First it presents a review of the Kibbutz movement and its historical, economic and ideological aspects, the changes it has undergone, their causes and outcome. The review then depicts the establishment of community neighborhoods as part of the solution to the demographic problem in Kibbutzim. An ecological community is explained as an example of a specific ideological community that was absorbed in the Kibbutz where the research was conducted. This is followed by basic theories with regard to approaches to the subject of community: Conflict theory and Functionalism, theories that address the practical aspects of community: Symbolic Interaction Perspective and Social Capital Theory. These theories constitute the envelope for this research.

This is followed by a discussion of collective identity, which presents different perception of a community in general and in the modern and postmodern eras in particular. Changes in communities are discussed, and factors that delay and/or influence the construction of a collective identity are defined. The next section engages in the roles of local leadership as one aspect to delaying or influence the development of a collective identity.

I.1 Kibbutz Background

Kibbutzim were founded and developed on Zionist grounds. The first steps were made prior to World War I as a move based on cooperation between young workers, who had recently immigrated to Israel, and sought to make a living by the toil of their hands, and the World Zionist Organization, whose goal then was to settle Jews in the Land of Israel and create "a legally assured home" for them, as stated in the first Zionist Congress in 1897[1] (Halamish, 2010).

[1] The World Zionist Federation is the unifying framework of cooperative/collaborative activities of all worldwide Zionist organizations, institutions and political parties ever since the First Zionist Congress held in Basle in 1897, initiated by Benjamin Ze'ev Herzl, prophet of the Zionist state, until 1948. The Zionist Federation coordinated the efforts to establish a Jewish homeland for Jewish people in the Land of Israel. Since the establishment of the state of Israel, the Zionist Federation has dealt mainly with encouraging Aliya (immigration) to Israel, deepening the links between the state of Israel and the Jewish diaspora and Zionist and Jewish education in the diaspora. https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/Zionism/First_Cong_&_Basel_Program.html https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/World_Zionist_Organization)

Kibbutz founders chose to base their lives on three core values: sharing of property and all areas of life, mutual responsibility - meaning full responsibility for the well-being of fellow Kibbutz members, and equality among members – which was expressed in equitable allocation of economic benefits regardless of personal contribution to the Kibbutz, and equal rights in decision-making. The Kibbutz had aspirations to change human nature for the better and to create a "new Hebrew person". These values represent a unique Kibbutz "identity card" and express the encounter between the national and social world view of founders and the surrounding reality of the time, since they simultaneously considered themselves as both realizers of the Zionist idea and flag bearers of social justice, and believed that the collective framework was the most appropriate for reaching the goals to which they aspired. The Kibbutz created a distinct society, with a sense of shared national task oriented goals, which acted upon its own shared values and internal rules (Lapidot, Appelbaum & Yehudai, 2006).

By the end of the 1980's, this model of community included institutions of direct democracy, such as a General Assembly and elected official committees responsible for various areas of public activity. It was also evident that the Kibbutz displayed no instances of any differential monetary remuneration for the contribution of members of the collective, independent of their place and role in the Kibbutz, their seniority and their participation in public activities. The private budgets rationed by the collective were egalitarian, but in many areas - food, cultural activities, children's education, etc. - the services were provided directly to members. The communal dining room was the symbolic center of collective life - where meals were provided and members' meetings and festivities were held (Ben-Rafael and Topel, 2009).

The sense of crisis intensified due to the ongoing decrease in the status of Kibbutzim since the change of government in 1977, their withdrawal from center of from political power, and the sense of failure that accompanied the economic crisis - a feeling that the Kibbutz Movement declined from being a social elite being a burden to the public. The government decided to withdraw the "safety net" from Kibbutzim, which led resulted not only in an economic crisis, but also, and mainly a social one. Kibbutz members' individual responses to the crisis, as well as institutional responses, were acute and for the first time, touched upon the basic elements of Kibbutz identity

– full mutual responsibility, shared property and egalitarian division of income. There were those who lost faith in the Kibbutz ability to heal and preferred to leave in the attempt to ensure their economic future (Weber, 1992). This led to ideological deliberations that led to an identity crisis which threatened the existence of Kibbutzim and the social and ideological settings.

Kibbutzim had to come up with legal solutions that would meet the changing needs of both corporation and members, and negotiate with government to get its approval for this change. Discussions were held leading to law revisions and regulations that were congruent with the new circumstances. A committee was set up in 2002 to examine possibilities, including updating legal definitions including relationships between the Kibbutzim and its individual members, thus providing the legal justification the changes, as well as examining legal definitions, the issue of registration of rights to apartments in the names of members and more (Lapidot, Apelbaum & Yehudai, 2006).

The committee's main recommendation emphasized a change in the definition of a Kibbutz to include two possible Kibbutz types: "A communal Kibbutz" - a cooperative society that is a separate settlement, organized on the basis of collective ownership of assets, self-employment, and equality and cooperation in production, consumption and education. A "Renewed Kibbutz" - maintains mutual guarantee among its members, and whose articles of association include some or all of the following: (1) Relative wages according to individual contribution or seniority; (2) Allocation of apartments; (3) Allocation of production means to its members, excluding land, water and production quotas, provided that the cooperative society maintains control over the means of production and that its articles of association restrict the negotiability of allocated production means. (Manor, 2004).

The committee's recommendation also referred to the issue of community neighborhoods. As a rule, the committee believed that absorption of members in a communal framework was more important than absorption in community extensions, but it did recognize the contribution of extensions to strengthening Kibbutzim who wished it. The committee's main recommendation in this respect was in the organizational domain: the establishment of a community association whose members

would be both Kibbutz members and extension residents, and which would manage the community's daily life. An agreement would be signed between the Kibbutz and the Association, in the attempt to maintain the Kibbutz as a distinct community with its own lifestyle. In addition, the committee recommended to state authorities that community association members serve as a statutory local committee according to local authority laws (The Public committee, 2003 p. 21).

The issue underpins the current research – the integration of populations: Kibbutz members and the residents of the extension. This situation often begets social issues that emerge from municipal issues as well as issues of belonging and ownership, and decision-making with regard to lifestyle in general and good neighbors' relationships in particular. As part of the changes in Kibbutzim, new neighborhoods were built within the Kibbutz perimeter, but it can also be said that they were built alongside the Kibbutz, in terms of ideology and in terms of civil status. Integration of populations with different social statuses emphasizes their inherent conflicts. Conflict situations are mainly reflected in decision-making processes, because not all groups who live in a Kibbutz have the right to participate in its decision-making process. There is a distinction between the collective society – which consists of all Kibbutz members, and the local committee – which consists of the entire population in the specific community. In other words, the same place occupies both a Kibbutz (An agricultural communal association and a municipal settlement with its clear definition, and whose members are only Kibbutz members, and the other residents who have property in the community (house) but are not part of the collective society. However, the community is still defined as a Kibbutz

An "expanded" Kibbutz is not similar to a traditional or even renewed Kibbutz. While Kibbutz members are a type of legal definition of a Kibbutz, residents of the settlement and members of the communal corporation, and as such partners in owning its communal assets, suburban residents are not members of the corporation.

In an expanded Kibbutz, there is no clear integration of precise values of members of a community and financial partnership that characterized the Kibbutz from its start, and in fact at least two groups with different legal status, interests and perceptions regarding the management and makeup of a settlement exist (Glass, 2008). In the opinion of the Committee, this process is likely to cause Kibbutz communities to lose

their independent identity. Nevertheless, the Committee believes that community expansion is an important tool in improving the demographic situation in some Kibbutzim, although one must ensure that identity and principles of the community of Kibbutz members are preserved (Manor, 2004).

I.2 Conflict Theory - Macro Theory

The social conflict paradigm sees society as an arena of inequality that brings about change and conflict, which can be the result of ideological or social gaps and is a vital aspect of human interaction. Conflict is an important social process and sets forth a series of basic social interests that frequently gave rise to social struggles. (Simmel, 1966). Waller (1936) showed how interests clashed with values in a way that sustained, rather than eliminated social problems. Fuller and Myers (1941) held that conflict of values figured in all phases of most social problems, regardless of the area and issues involved. They argued that all problems had a natural history that could be divided into stages of awareness, policy determination, and reform. At each one of these stages, the values and interests of different groups clashed.

Three particular questions come to the forefront, to which conflict theory must provide an answer:

1. How do conflicting groups arise from the structure of society?
2. What forms can the struggles among such groups assume?
3. How does the conflict among such groups affect a change in said social structures?

This theory is relevant because the place in which it was carried out is made up of two populations with different backgrounds. Each group has its own characteristics and interests. These groups had not yet defined between them their common interests.

I.3 Functionalism Theory – Macro Theory

A systemic approach that views a community as a whole body made up of institutions meant to serve their members. The institutions' role is to maintain stability in order to continue to exist. Conditions for their continued existence are constant clarification of aims and values and matching them to community needs. The basic needs of a community that these institutions are meant to provide answers for are: adaptation, social interaction and background of values shared by all members of the community.

When community institutions operate at their best, social consensus is reached, expressed by a balance in the social order.

According to Parsons (1997), a community has to provide an answer to four basic needs:

1. **Adaptation** - including: livelihood, shelter, food and safety. Social institutions providing these answers are economic institutions.
2. **Aims** - every society must set itself aims and a means of achieving them. Without a common agenda, it cannot exist. Responsibility lies in the hands of the political institution
3. **Social integration** - in situations where there is no social integration, society disintegrates. There is a transition from individual to collective values. In the absence of social integration, it is difficult to recruit people for social undertakings
4. **Values** - values express common conscience. The subconscious includes all those values that members of a society have internalized and according to which they operate. When these values dissipate - society disappears

This theory is relevant because it can provide an explanation for the expectations that Kibbutz members and residents have from the role of the community as an institution and organization.

I.4 Symbolic Interaction Perspective – Micro Theory

Blumer (1986) claimed that society is a product of everyday social interactions between individuals. Three premises can be identified:

1. Human beings interact with things based on the meanings those things have for them.
2. The meaning of things derives from social interactions that one has with one's fellows.
3. These meanings are managed and modified through an interpretative process people use when dealing with things they encounter.

Social interaction depends on the existence of common symbols that convey content and significance.

This theory is relevant because it argues that populations living together require common denominators to build their lives alongside one another - together. Common interests, sharing views of reality, reaching a consensus with regard to important issues are conditions that will help a community survive and develop.

I.5 Social Capital

Bourdieu defined social capital as a combination of active resources and power that derive from a constant network of acquainted links and mutual recognition. Community membership provides every member with support from the collective capital (Pavin, 2007).

Social capital is the glue that holds community membership together and without it, economic growth or human welfare would not be possible (Serageldin, 1998; Leana & Van Buren, 1999). This is a measurement that examines the extent to which individuals work together in order to advance their common goals, based on social networks, shared norms and level of trust (Putnam, 2000; Woolcock & Narayan, 2000).

Recognizing social capital as a key resource for constructing a collective identity and community in general can become a springboard for creating a leadership infrastructure, a social and cultural infrastructure. This perception is important because it takes into account all members and residents of a settlement, their skills and strengths and can become an infrastructure that joins people to one another and to a place.

I.6 Collective Identity

Collective identity is a term used by sociologists who analyze people's self-perception, the ways they differentiate themselves from others and interpretations they assign to regarding themselves as unique social entities (Ben-Rafael, 2006).

Definitions of community rely on three perspectives: primordial community, community of circumstances and generational identity.

Community in a primordial perspective – refers to irrational belonging rather than choice, and is beyond political aspects. As part of belonging to an ethnic community

over the long term allowing the development of people and nations. Links in primordial communities are strong and obligatory, links and commitment stand at the center of identity (Smith, 2000).

Community of Circumstances - Is created by social links and social circumstances and not by ethnic circumstances. (Barth, 1969) As a result of individualization, traditional categories are not enough to explain collective identities and identities of social movements. (Beck, 1992) Anderson (1991) proposed the concept of "imagined communities". Individuals, groups and entrepreneurs invent tradition and particular identities that have no real anchor in the past.

Communities in a generational perspective - Generation are not just a sociological conceptualization, but also the outcome of social constructs and cultural definitions. Members of a generation share the same generational semantics. They share common assumptions with regard to interpreting their life experiences, understanding their world over time and in their collective memory, and speaking about these experiences (Herzog, 2007). Mannheim's perception of the concept "generation" includes three basic components: (1) a common geographical place, (2) a common historical place - that is belonging to the same chronological era, and (3) a common socio-cultural place, that is generational awareness (Gilleard & Higgs, 2002).

This is an important point in this research because one can draw a comparison between the starting points of the two key groups that make up the settlement where the research was conducted. Both groups have "abandoned" traditional outlooks or other lifestyles and chose to congregate as a community. Both groups have similar issues such as a need for a geographical space, to develop a social, educational, cultural and economic agenda. The main differences are each group's ideological outlook, status in the settlement (member versus resident) and period in which each was established. The issue of time can be interesting, because renewed Kibbutzim were established at the same time as the ecological movement was crystallized. This is important because one can refer to a renewed Kibbutz and building a new community. Therefore, as Mannheim argued, generational analysis enables individuals to influence molding of their identity and herein lies an opportunity to build a separate identity for each community but a common identity for all residents of the settlement.

I.6.1 Communitarianism and Post-Communitarianism Approaches

Two leading concepts that help understand the differences the two approaches:

Gemeinschaft (community) - Pointed out that community, unlike society, is a framework that enables individuals to develop intimate relationships, commitments and loyalty to a narrow stable social construct.

Gesellschaft (society) - Relationships among group members are specific, and intended to reach a goal for which they had come together. Relationships in this framework have an individualistic, not group or community orientation. (Tonnies, 1957)

According to Etzioni (1995), at the center of the communitarian approach, stands the challenge to construct a community with moral measures that reflect the basic human needs of all its members as social creatures. Members realize collective and human values of reciprocity and solidarity. Community members participate together in discussions and decision-making processes, share practices through which they define the community and are supported by it.

The communitarian approach is similar to that of classic Kibbutzim - a community with a unified social and moral infrastructure. Individuals are part of a community and have a right to influence community life and decision-making processes, in the case of a Kibbutz, through general assemblies. Kibbutz members have a shared narrative and any change is decided upon as a participative democracy in a general assembly.

The post communitarian approach seeks to combine social unity and openness. In an open community with impregnable borders, there is space for individuals to choose to unite as communities of choice and relationships between group members are specific, as a means to achieve the goal that in fact united them in the first place. Relationships in this framework have an individualistic, not group, orientation, characterized by a lack of deep trust (Smith, 2004).

On the Kibbutz where the research was conducted, a tension exists as a result of building two types of new collective identities. Does constructing an internal Kibbutz collective identity (between Kibbutz members) require a communitarian perspective in order to attain a consensus of ideas and unity within the Kibbutz?

Building a collective identity for the entire settlement population requires a post communitarian perspective whose goal is not necessarily to reach a consensus of ideas and unity, but a consensus that there are differences between populations living in the settlement, where there is conflict and this is the essence of a good community - to deal with it.

I.6.2 Collective Identity Changes

Ben-Rafael and Topel's (2009) model to understand the change process in the Kibbutz is proposed:

1. **Dismantling and construction; consolidating uniqueness; rebranding - internal Kibbutz collective identity**

First phase: *Dismantling and Construction* - cancel arrangements, institutions or organizations and normative patterns in order to construct a new reality in their place. This phase expresses what Wittgenstein (Schatzki, 1996) called the tendency of mankind to hang together, out of a desire to build something new together, is different to the together that was.

Second phase: *Consolidate Uniqueness* - in the same reality in which a collective's dismantling and construction takes place, the very act necessitates a phase of examination and practical consolidation of a new uniqueness for a collective under new circumstances. This stage asks that players to clarify anew by their deeds their collective uniqueness in these new circumstances, which they themselves had created.

Thirds phase: *Rebranding Collective Identity* - the third phase refers to the way in which members of a collective tell about themselves as members of a collective and place themselves in relationship to others. What is on the agenda here is how these members define their collective identity - whether consensually or through differences in their opinions (Ben-Rafael & Topel, 2009).

The changing collective identity model could comprise a focus for examining the process that the examined Kibbutz was conducted, has undergone. This focus is important in order to understand whether members of the Kibbutz consolidated anew their uniqueness (phase 2) and whether members identify themselves as belonging to

the new collective, within the group of the Kibbutz members in the settlement (phase 3).

2. Pluralism in renewed Kibbutzim - Multiple Modernities - communities that have to live together?

The socio-cultural reality is characterized by an increased number of groups who highlight their uniqueness be it their religion, religiosity, or life values (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997). In such societies, cultural and language heterogeneity is possible in a private, communal environment, alongside emphasizing agreed and unified models of participation in the overall social arena - law, politics, economics and more (Montserrat & Rex, 1997). This development expressed the cultural enterprise of modernity, which advanced a number of ideological assumptions: emphasis on rationalization of social actions; autonomy of individuals, and reflexive nature of social political arrangements (Eisenstadt, 2000). Individualism became a central cultural code, and the importance of self-definition and self-variability were emphasized (Arnason, 2000).

According to these reservations, an alternative approach to the thesis of uniformity was developed, under the assumption that uniformity is not essential. This alternative, known as Multiple Modernities theory challenges this thesis with the argument that different societies are constructed from different modernities, which are molded at the same time through universal modern and particular cultural and religious aspects (Eisenstadt, 2000). According to Eisenstadt, different societies define and consolidate a variety of ideological patterns that mix particular and universal components into varied modernity programs. Combining the concept, multiple, with the concept of modernity emphasizes the relationships of different experiences of modernity in the world, to be tested, on this background, in a new process of globalization (ibid).

Distinct from pluralist societies, in which these groups are not, yet, recognized as permanent aspects of social order, in multicultural societies these groups are recognized and institutionalized at different levels. These groups, according to their strengths, interact and influence one another as well as the unique cultural style of society in that they highlight their uniqueness - according to origin, religion, gender and more (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997). In such a reality, it is not impossible that

different groups, characterized by various goals and interests, would seek to compete over alternative definitions of social order (Ben-Rafael & Steinberg, 2001).

Respective of the process that Kibbutz society has undergone in Israel, it has changed from a homogenous and ideological society to a heterogeneous and multicultural one. Kibbutz populations have become so diverse that the question arises whether a common vision still remains, or whether the differences between individuals, in whom perceptions of a Kibbutz's essence are reflected and the different levels of importance they put in its goals, knock over the basis for their existence as communities with a collective identity. No longer a unified society with a common vision able to reach agreement through participative dialogue (Pavin, 2007), but existing groups and newcomers, who make their mark on the continued development of their settlements are strengthened in renewed Kibbutzim - and as such a new balances of power are molded (Ben-Rafael, 2011).

One can identify two central factors that are likely in fact to endanger pluralism at the settlement where the research was carried out: undefined communal-ideological agenda of a renewed Kibbutz and the conflict situation created among the new residential population and the Kibbutz. This danger could be expressed by each side fortifying their own unique identity, especially as each is only beginning to define their unique identity, a key issue which this research attempts to clarify.

I.6.3 Transition from a Hegemonic and Traditional Society to a Modern Society

Kibbutzim's transformation, from settlements made up of homogenous populations with a single ideological background, which constituted Kibbutz hegemony, were also forced to change as a result of entry of populations groups with other ethical and cultural shades.

A comparative historical look shows us that the gap between the homogeneous image of society and the changing thematic repertoire of identities' systems existed even before nation states' hegemony. Different identities - primordial ethnicities and acquired civic identities, were much more complex and neither consolidated nor arranged hierarchically. This is also the case with regard to different historical societies or civilizations (Eisenstadt, 2013).

These changes force most societies in the world to consolidate new patterns of modernity, a process that is often accompanied by internal crises (ibid).

The social center, which has for many years been relatively homogenous, closed and conservative, is becoming heterogeneous and global, losing its intransigence. Old, but lower status social groups as well as new social groups demonstrate attempts at social mobility and undermining social centers through renewed interpretations of existing social categories and arrangements. Sometimes groups bring claims to redefine the collective itself. (Shavit, 2013).

A dynamic picture of identities and identifications in the postmodern era is illustrated by Zygmunt Bauman's (2007) liquid image. According to him, active modernity has strong "melting powers" over the solid structures of society – institutional and social frameworks, rights and obligations, loyalties and reciprocal relations – so that these changed from a solid to liquid state, turned into a type of liquid, struggling to preserve their existing state over a period of time. Another of Bauman's images was a kaleidoscope that he used to illustrate society's dynamism and present it as a system whose components change constantly (Ram, 2002).

Lerner (2012) spoke about a meeting of societies, one absorbs and the other emigrates. This encounter is known as cultural colonialism. The two faces of colonialism are: narcissism and inferiority complexes. One of the consequences of reciprocal colonialism is internal colonization. Both newcomers and old timers relate to each another with arrogance and admiration at the same time. Because of these ambivalent cultural approaches, both sides adopt stances of colonial objects and colonial subjects. It exposes ambivalent relations between two types of cultural dialogue that contradict one another, but also complement each other in the same subjective framework.

According to Tamir (1998), the difference between two societies does not refer to the extent of their commitment to preserving their culture or willingness to make use of state frameworks to advance their cultural interests, but the level of cultural threat that they feel.

In the settlement where the research was conducted, indeed there is a feeling of mutual arrogance and admiration and on the other hand, threat. Kibbutz members feel

that the settlement has been taken from them. Decision making processes that until now were solely in the hands of Kibbutz members, but new residents have demanded to be partners in every aspect of the settlement.

I.6.4 Factors that Promote and Delay Collective Identity Construction

1. **Everything depends on the absorbing community -** The absorption climate determines, to a large extent, the character of relationships that will be created (Horvitz, 1996)
2. **Point of view or reference of the absorbing or ruling society –** Openness to multiculturalism, melting pot, segregation or exclusion. (Glass, 2008). Coersion, tolerance, pluralism or openness. (Shamay 1999, Berry, 1990; 2001)

In contrast to striving for homogeneity that characterized past hegemonic views, at Kibbutzim too, a process of becoming heterogeneous and pluralist in patterns of life and identity is under way. These tensions are a result of the many ways in which different groups try to process their patterns of life and identities in society (Eisenstadt, 2013).

I.6.4.1 Leadership in Modern Communities

The transition from traditional leadership to leadership in modern communities requires a perception of new leadership that also requires other skills.

According to Gonen (2010) leadership must adopt a different style of leadership, which will not appear competitive to residents, and try to make them fail, but rather regard them as partners of equal worth and rights, partners who should be promoted and developed, so that they are better able to realize their goals to advance the community. This is a partnership that needs to be built with a vision common to the community as a whole that knows how to listen to it and refer to its needs, to excite it for a future community, realize its future together, with full partnership, based on the community's values.

According to Matthews (1996), the characteristics of an effective leadership promote building a collective identity are:

1. Solving problems by involving community members - in a period when social alienation is growing between members of a community, it is impossible to solve problems without involving the general population.
2. Exploit human capital - to recruit the huge reserve of unexploited civic energy.
3. To reconnect civilians to politics - whose original meaning is the wide range of official and unofficial efforts to solve common problems for the benefit of all (Matthews, 1996).

This idea is in contrast to the idea of a homogenous community with one management. In particular, Kibbutz members and residents noted the characteristics of the current leadership, which is still characterized by sectarian management and does not do enough to promote the common interests of the entire population for the benefit of the whole settlement, causes a deepening of the polarity and does not include the public in decision making processes.

I.7 Conceptual Framework

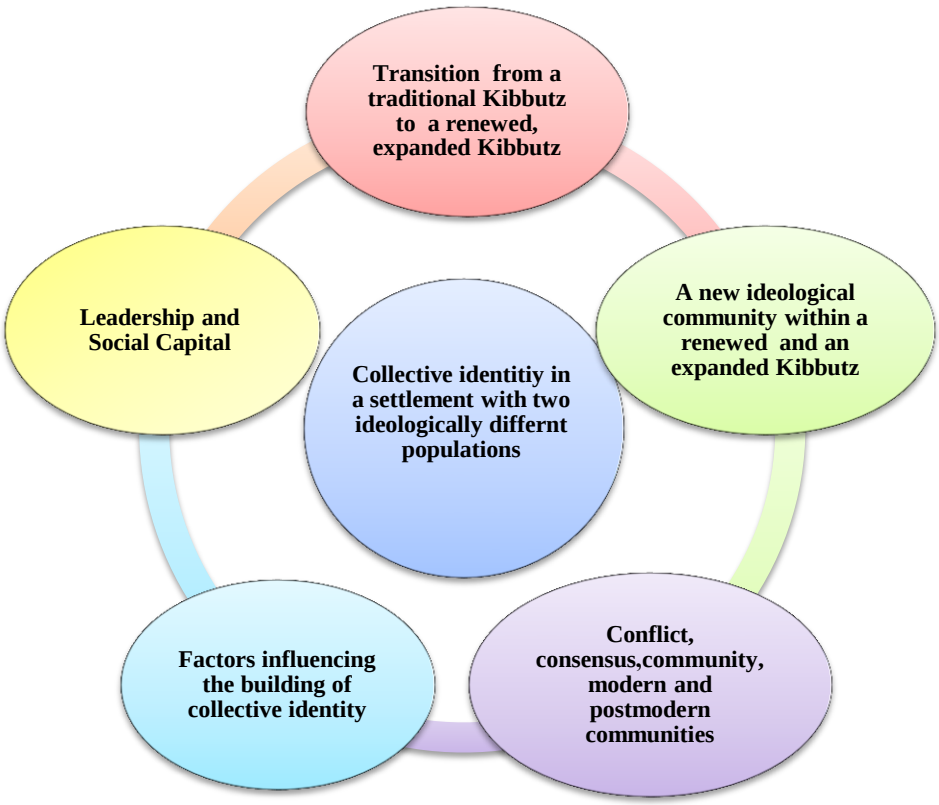


Figure 1: Conceptual Framework

The **transition from a traditional to a renewed Kibbutz and expanded**, these concepts are important because the point of origin of the change was the crisis undergone by the Kibbutz, an economic and social crisis. The expression expanded refers to a Kibbutz in which there are communities with different statuses like a new ideologically community within a renewed, expanded Kibbutz.

The concepts Community and Modern and Post communities are important to the basics definitions to understand the differences between traditional communities and modern and postmodern communities.

The concepts Conflict, Multiculturalism and Consensus - these concepts are important because the encounter between different people create conflict, a struggle over resources, ownership, hegemony and opposition. When the lives of different populations on the same settlement are a fact, communication between the sides begins and is characterized by attempts to define subjects that are common to all settlement populations and on the other hand, controversial issues are highlighted.

Identifying factors that delay and promote common building of a life on the settlement are relevant to the research framework. **The concepts leadership and social capital** are part of the factors that influence and promote the building of sharing life.

II. METHODOLOGY

II.1 Research Field - The Kibbutz Where the Research Took Place

HK was established in 1945 as a *Palmach* settlement[2]**.** In the beginning, there were problems caused by difficult terrain, which was hilly and rocky, lack of water or means of making a living. The 1950's saw the start of economic and social development. From a social point of view, absorbing Israeli youth, nuclei of youth movements[3] from South America and French speaking countries provided momentum. The local school educated Kibbutz children and absorbed outside children[4] to complete class numbers. The 1960's and 1970's also saw great social momentum – members of the second generation joined as members, together with additional group from South America, and took up roles in economic, educational and cultural systems. An Industry and tourism began to develop.

In the 1980's and 1990's, the economic crises that affected the country and the Kibbutz movement ended development and expansion. Large numbers of members left the Kibbutz, which led to a deep social crisis that was only halted by a change of lifestyle and transition to privatization leading to a general turnaround in the 2000's. Difficult economic circumstances and low levels of motivation, personal and social involvement led to a combination of factors that could have destroyed the Kibbutz's continued existence and necessitated immediate reorganization of its production and

[2] **Palmach - (acronym for Plugot Machatz - strike forces)** - a military body established in the Land of Israel in 1941 (Second World War) with the agreement of the British Government for the purpose of fighting German forces should they invade the Land of Israel. The Palmach received British military instruction as well as arms and ammunition provided by the British. At the end of the War, the Palmach assimilated with the Haganah organization against the British. A special atmosphere developed in the Palmach, which was based on comradeship between commanders and soldiers and agricultural settlement values. With the outbreak of Israel's War of Independence, Palmach units operated mainly to protect transport links and raids on Arab gangs' outposts. Palmach units were assimilated into the IDF on its establishment. In November 1948, its military headquarters were disbanded as part of the centralization of military forces in Israel. http://lib.cet.ac.il/pages/item.asp?item=10677

[3] **Settlement Group Nucleus** - is a group of people who want to settle together, or to establish a settlement. These groups are sometimes identified with a certain moral approach or political movement, in order to support their establishment.

https://he.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D7%92%D7%A8%D7%A2%D7%99%D7%9F_%D7%94%D7%AA%D7%99%D7%99%D7%A9%D7%91%D7%95%D7%AA

[4] **Outside children** - children who are not those of Kibbutz members, but come from outside and integrate in the educational framework of Kibbutz children

http://tnuathaavoda.info/terms/home/terms/1118558430.html?cat=13

consumer frameworks, to change and improve its existing situation. The economic situation was burdensome and directly influenced standards of living and as a result social areas as well. In August 1996, a process of diagnosing began aimed at improving the situation of the Kibbutz.

II.2 The Renewed Kibbutz - The Change Model

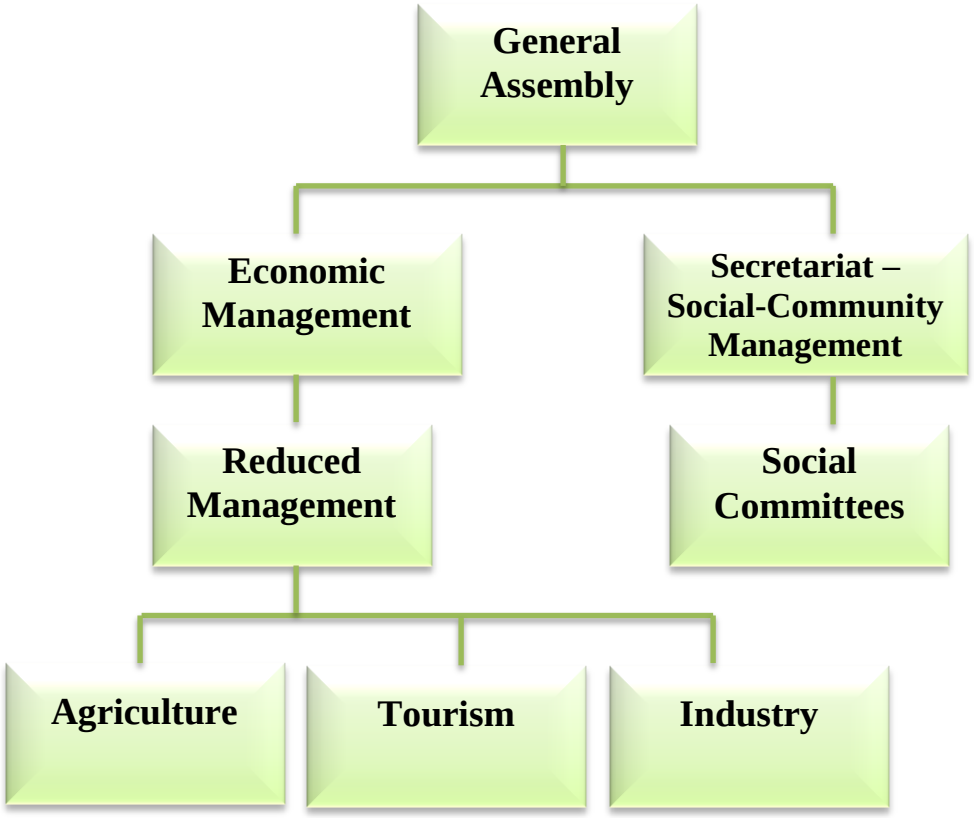


Figure 2: The Renewed Kibbutz

The General Assembly would continue to be the center of authority. Would continue to make in principle decisions regarding Kibbutz systems. **Separation between business and community**: The business system would be headed by a business board of directors, and the community system would be led by a community management headed by a community manager. **Board of directors** - the two administrative systems (production and consumer) would operate according to a pattern that adopts the business principle of a board of directors that is responsible to shareholders (i.e. the Kibbutz general assembly). **Community general manager** - the community center will operate according to a community general management pattern and report to the secretariat. S/he will be responsible for operating and safeguarding

the functioning of communal systems, committees and help branches as well as budgetary supervision and control. S/he must come from an economic business background and be deeply involved socially.

As a result of the changes, members are responsible for their own livelihood. And on the other hand, an internal security network helps members overcome temporary difficulties with regard to livelihood. Guaranteed pension for members who reach the appropriate age, massive community support for health, culture, and informal education. Mutual guarantees of the old Kibbutz have been redressed and exist in the renewed Kibbutz as well. (The diagrams and the information, were prepared following an Interview with the Kibbutz Manager, 2014)

II.2.1 The Ecological Group

The research focuses on two populations, Kibbutz members and members of the ecological community. The ecological community is a group of families, sharing the same vision to settle in the Galilee, from a true desire to live in a dynamic and active community that strives to develop in three dimensions: spiritual-cultural, social and environmental. These two populations constitute the majority of the settlement: in numbers and daily influence.

II.2.2 The Extended Kibbutz

In light of the economic and social crisis of the 1980-1990, the population of Kibbutz members reduced, many Kibbutz members left**.** In order to increase the Kibbutz population size, a number of steps were taken:

1. Since the 1990s, new immigrant families have been absorbed into the Kibbutz under the auspices of the *first residence in the homeland*[5] framework and an absorption center has been built. Some of them stayed on the Kibbutz

[5] **First residence in the Homeland** - absorption of Jewish immigrant families from all over the world in Kibbutzim. A Jewish Agency and Kibbutz Movement initiative for young couples (under the age of 45) with children. The program's aim is to absorb families of new immigrants into the Kibbutz's social framework and proposes a warm and supportive community environment that assists a soft landing in Israel, and a possibility to integrate into an absorption program that includes: learning Hebrew, fast integration into social and educational systems with an emphasis on a high level of education for children, activities to strengthen Jewish identity and attachment to the people and state, provision of employment with close company from role holders and volunteers in settlements and the area. http://www.jewishagency.org/he/aliyah/program/5402

residents; some have become members of the Kibbutz and some of them left. (Levi, 2010 - Kibbutz archive).

2. 2004 - The first community expansion was built numbering 38 residential units. This neighborhood was built by people who came as individuals.
3. 2015 – The second community expansion was built numbering 40 unite. This neighborhood was built by a group with an ecological ideology as its focus, which established an independent and separate social, cultural and educational system within the Kibbutz.
4. Kibbutz members' children, who distanced themselves from the Kibbutz in the past, some of them have returned and are building homes on the Kibbutz and integrating into a new lifestyle. (Levi, 2010 - Kibbutz archive)

In 2017, the population is approximately 500 of whom about 1/3 are children.

II.3 Researcher's Attitude

Tzabar Ben-Yehoshua (2001) defined qualitative research as research with participants and not about participants, which is based on two assumptions: (1) the closer researchers are to where the action takes place, the easier it is for them to figure out a social phenomenon; (2) locating researchers with participants makes them part of the goings on and not observers from the side lines.

Yin (2014) noted that case-study demands on researchers from an intellectual, emotional and examining self are greater than in any other research strategy. These demands require researchers to critically examine themselves despite great legitimization given in the literature to qualitative research and narrative writing by researchers, which express their place in the research.

Webber coined the term axiological neutrality arguing in sociological research there is a danger of lures and biased positions on the part of researchers because they themselves are citizens (Ricoeur, 1974).

A reflective look at my role as researcher emphasizes how many of the factors guiding me influenced the way in which data was collected.

1. Choosing the narrative interview as a research tool - what characterizes it is that interviewees tell their stories and the interviewer does not direct them with

questions and is not concerned with interpretations during the interview and ask questions based on these interpretations.

2. During the process of internalizing the change the Kibbutz underwent and the period when the ecological community arrived at the Kibbutz, I was not living there, something which allowed me as a researcher to see these processes as an outside observer (2006-2011).
3. Although I have been a Kibbutz member for approximately 38 years, the time I did not live there caused me to become distanced and I was not involved in Kibbutz life at all. When I returned (2011), I returned to a renewed and expanded Kibbutz, with a population of residents, none of whom I knew. I felt no obligation to side with any group and took a neutral position, which helped me to be active in social and educational committees common to Kibbutz members and members of the ecological groups, where there were more than a few conflicts.
4. My renewed encounter with Kibbutz members, whom I had known since I first came to the Kibbutz, aged 16, was without doubt emotional for me, but on the other hand, I felt I did not know their opinions with regard to the ecological group or how they viewed the renewed Kibbutz in contrast to their lived on a traditional Kibbutz.
5. During the research, I kept a reflective diary that helped me after each interview to document sensations. For example, there were cases when I felt emotional when I knew interviewees and the sense of intimacy that exists between them and their story expanded and became a tour of their whole life, with many detours that are unlinked to their lives on the Kibbutz. For example, instead of asking them to tell me about their experience as a Kibbutz member, I changed my request and asked them to tell me about their lives on the Kibbutz. The word experience is perceived as something unusual to their regular lives.

These aspects provided added value in the sense of alleviating research loneliness. My interaction with Kibbutz members and members of the ecological group made the research something in which many were interested and felt partners in and part of.

II.4 Research Paradigm: Qualitative

The qualitative paradigm expresses a naturalistic approach that strives to comprehend the real world naturally (not under a researcher's control), using an inclusive and dynamic world view. This paradigm represents the constructivist assumption according to which reality is the result of a combination of social and personal perceptions. (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, 2001; Yousifon, 2001).

II.5 Research Approach: Narrative

The narrative approach suits this research because it is based on the idea that identity is organized in a narrative fashion. The way in which it works, ideas, chosen events or experiences, joined together and verbalized as a story - is likely to be a source of learning about the identity of narrators and about their culture (Lieblich, 2006; Josselson, 2015). The narrative approach is a unique research approach in qualitative research, based on the interpretive and naturalistic approach that seeks to expose the meanings that people assign to themselves and phenomena in the world (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005).

II.6 Research Strategy: Case Study

A case study is an empirical inquiry about a contemporary phenomenon set within its real-world context - especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident (Yin, 2014). The intensity of the data description is the key for understanding a researched phenomenon. Data is gathered through researchers' connections with subjects, with sensitivity and understanding of social context. From this, it is possible to understand that it is not about an objective process, as researchers themselves are a research tool. Explanations are inductive. (Stake, 1995).

A case study strategy suits this research because it refers to a unique situation taking place in a certain renewed Kibbutz. Perhaps it will be possible to generalize with similar phenomena at other places that combine communities with different backgrounds, but the phenomenon is specific and unique to the Kibbutz at which the research was undertaken.

II.6.1 Description of the Case

Kibbutz HK is a renewed and expanded Kibbutz that absorbed into it populations that are not Kibbutz members.

Some of those who were absorbed arrived as individuals whilst others arrived as an organized group striving to live an ecological life. The research focused on the absorption of the ecological group into the Kibbutz and the shared lives of these two central populations - Kibbutz members and residents from the ecological group.

II.7 Research Tools - Narrative Interview

Narrative research interviews at their best seek to get full stories from people (Lieblich, 2015). Aims of a narrative interview are: (1) to document experiences of others, their ways of understanding the world and its conceptualization so that at the analysis stage it will be possible to give them meaning; (2) to create a conversation that invites interviewees to tell their stories that pertain to research questions (Josselson, 2015).

Table 1: "Small Questions" - Example

	Kibbutz Members + Members of Ecological Community
Personal identity card	Name, Place of Origin in Israel/Abroad, Age, Profession
Interview question	"Tell me about your life in H-K ".

Additional questions - asked at the end of the interview, when interviewees indicated that they have finished their stories (most of them have been answered by interviewees during they tell their story).

Table 2: 'Additional Questions'

Subject	HK Member	Member of Ecological Community
Why live at HK?	Since when have you been living at HK? Why did you stay at H-K? Do you have any doubts about your staying at the Kibbutz?	When did you decide to live at H-K? Why did you decide that H-K was the place where you wanted to live? Is it a long-term decision?
Internal Kibbutz collective identity	Do you think H-K members are a community within itself? Yes/No, in what way? How would you define relationships between Kibbutz members? Do you think your community is different to the community? In what way?	Do you think the ecological community members are a community within itself? Yes/No, in what way? How would you define relationships between community members? Do you think your community is different to the general Kibbutz? In what way?
Life changes as a result of the changes	Has your life changed as a result of the changes that have taken place on the Kibbutz? If yes, how has your life and that of your family changed with these changes?	Has your life changed as a result of your moving to H-K? If yes, how is your life different from how it was prior to your move? How is this change expressed?
Inter community communications	How do you view relationships between Kibbutz members and members of the ecological community?	
Collaboration with other groups	How would you like to see community life with all settlement residents? What would you and Kibbutz members have to do to achieve this?	
Community life	What is important to you in community life?	
Collective identity	Define your belongings to groups. do you think it is important that a collective identity among all the communities at HK be established?	
Constructing a settlement collective identity	What hinders constructing a collective identity at H-K?? What could promote constructing a collective identity at H-K?	
Belonging	Do you feel a sense of belonging to H-K? What do you feel you most belong to at H-K? What gives you a sense of belonging or what could give you a sense of belonging?	

The interviews took place between December 2015 and October 2016. They took place at the homes of interviewees or the interviewer. Interviews were recorded and sent out for transcription. Interviewees were chosen by the interviewer as suitable for the narrative interview style, which requires interviewees to speak without being interrupted by the interviewer.

Table 3: Research Population

Total Kibbutz members	89	Total ecological group members	59
Male	38	Male	27
Female	51	Female	32
Mean Age	67	Mean Age	44

Total population: Kibbutz members: 89; Ecological Group members: 59

II.8 Sampling Method

A purposeful sample is appropriate because it focuses on choosing informants who best represent the population from which it was chosen because it is possible to learn from them about a researched phenomenon (Mason, 1996).

Choice considerations for interviewees derived from my knowledge of their ability to participate in a narrative interview, which demand that interviewees talk fluently without being interrupted by intervening questions. (14 Kibbutz members, 12 Ecological group members).

Table 4: Profile of research population

Interviewees Kibbutz Members = 5	Gender	Age	Profession	Interviewees Ecological Group Members = 14	Gender	Age	Profession
1 - Ed	M	39	Agriculture	1 - Le	M	48	Academic, Social activist
2 - Ad	M	73	Electrician	2 - Ra	M	48	Yoga instructor
3 - Sh	M	61	Social Activist	3 - Vi	M	44	Academic, Education
4 - Za	M	59	Tourist guide	4 - It	M	41	Entrepreneur
5 - Itz	M	52	Engineering & Industry (B.A)	5 - Ve	F	46	Academic, Art
6 - Shm	M	64	Agriculture	6 - Zi	F	51	Academic, Alternative Therapy
7 - Yo	M	67	Taxi Driver	7 - Al	F	45	Engineer (M.A)
8 - Ta	F	83	Academic, Education and Pensioner (B.A)	8 - Ay	F	45	Alternative Medicine

Interviewees Kibbutz Members = 5	Gender	Age	Profession	Interviewees Ecological Group Members = 14	Gender	Age	Profession
9 - Ra	F	69	Education and Pensioner	9 - Or	F	47	Lawyer (B.A)
10 - Ha	F	57	Management and Education (M.A)	10 - Ro	F	47	Product Designer
11 - Da	F	64	Academic, Education (B.ED)	11 - Ga	F	47	Education
12 - No	F	41	Academic, Education (M.A)	12 - Ni	F	43	Academic, Education (B.A.)
13 - Rak	F	51	Academic, Education (M.A)				
14 - Na	F	50	Education				

II.9 Ethical Perspectives

This research relied on accepted ethical considerations.

- **Written informed consent** - All participants provided their written informed consent to participate in the research.
- **Open contract** - Explanation of the research, its aims, the rights of interviewees and researcher's commitment.
- **Latent contract** - Creating trust, refrain from judgment, to show empathy and ability to include any topic that may arise. Researchers come to learn from interviewees, there is no place for interpreting interviewees' stories. The assumption is that interviewees choose what to relate.
- **Researcher-subject relationship** - Guarantee privacy, anonymity and dignity of subjects, whose lives a researcher is studying in order to enhance his/her academic knowledge.
- **Researcher's professionalism - research questions** – It is important that researchers prepare a scenario in advance, what may/is likely to arise from specific questions.
- **Make notes in field diary** - As part of researchers' reflections.

- **Taking leave and concluding interviews** - Allow interviewees to ask questions about the research, talk about the possibility of a further meeting to clarify matters that came up in the interview, get interviewees feedback about the atmosphere during the interview (Josselson, 2007).

III. FINDINGS

III.1 How do Kibbutz members define their collective identity?

1. Belonging to a traditional-old Kibbutz provided Kibbutz members with a sense of belonging to "*something larger than themselves*." Belonging to a place with an ethos, a past and that had coped with almost impossible odds, constitutes a part of the personal identity of interviewees expressed by historical observations about the place and a sense of pride in its founders.
2. To be Kibbutz members was a social and ideological mission to which individuals were committed. The Kibbutz's needs were above any personal needs and its members related to the Kibbutz's demands as a national, and even religious, mission. Members commitment to the Kibbutz idea and its demands, was total.
3. For members, the traditional Kibbutz was a comprehensive framework of life; all their social needs were provided for. The Kibbutz structure, both physical and ideological was adjusted to a communal social life.
4. The investment in education was part of the national and social mission. Absorbing children from outside the Kibbutz, from families with difficulties, was also part of the Kibbutz's ethos to which members were committed and in which they were involved, also as an integral part of its narrative and its overall social mission.
5. The collective identity, as noted by Kibbutz members, is expressed in interpersonal relations between members and mutual concern. These constitute a local tradition that has been assimilated over years.
6. Kibbutz members do not have common interest in the renewed Kibbutz. In addition, after the change, no ideological clarification was undertaken with regard to what they wanted and what the Kibbutz's character would be.
7. Opposition and a sense of threat constitute a unifying agenda that creates a means of building a new collective identity.

8. The collective identity of the renewed Kibbutz in which the research took place is expressed according to the needs of generations. Observing the gap between the generations on the renewed Kibbutz, is carried out through age ranges or groups to which individuals belong. Each group and its needs, each generation and its contribution to the place. Observing according to generation gaps is expressed by the transition from a homogenous society, who place the needs of the entire society at its center, to a society in which individuals have a need to belong to a group with similar needs. The emphasis is belonging to a group that suits the needs of an individual.

III.1.1 How do members of the ecological nucleus define their collective identity?

1. The start of the ecological community was spontaneous - a collection of people who grouped together because of their place of residence, and with time became a community with common needs and aims.
2. The ecological community is based on a principle of combining environment and human ecology. The way the community has developed this principle is through open discourse allowing personal interpretation of these values and an ambition to include as many ways of life as possible in the settlement itself.
3. Establishing "BH", the ecological community's educational system, united the entire ecological community, despite differences existing between its members.
4. The connection of interviewees from the ecological nucleus to the place, despite them having been there for a relatively short period, is personal, emotional and of identification. The place often reminds them of their childhood regions, it constitutes a place with a history to wonder at, things which lead some of them to be committed to the processes taking place at the Kibbutz, despite the fact that they are not Kibbutz members.
5. The ecological community is made up of a collection of individuals, often without an ideological closeness between them. What is common to them is their search for a community life for personal development.
6. The collective identity of the ecological community is expressed through mutual aid and cooperation amongst its members. Implementing these values constitutes the executive arm of communal living on a day to day basis.

7. The community has the role of family[6]. The community provides its group members with protection, belonging and fill the place of family on the day-to-day.
8. The ecological community's collective identity is established. At present, after 10 years, there is renewed thinking about its aims and way and the need to have an effect beyond the borders of the place.
9. The ecological nucleus has become a community that crossed the borders of its vision. From a group of people with a dream it has become an established community with social, cultural and educational assets. New thinking is needed for its continuation.

III.2 Kibbutz Members - What is delaying the creation of a collective identity for all settlement residents?

1. Separate communication systems produce disinformation that deepens groupings and opposition.
2. Absence of meeting places prevents residents of diverse groups from getting to know one another.
3. Lack of correlation between declared ideology and actions produces a lack of belief.
4. Perceptions of the place as a source of economic opportunity is perceived as exploitation.
5. Subletting overload the Kibbutz's infrastructure which is not suitable for such a large population.
6. The settlement's leadership is not united therefore the Kibbutz is not developing.
7. The Kibbutz leadership at present is centralized and does not bring about any discourse with the overall population at the settlement.
8. Kibbutz members feel that residents of the ecological nucleus do not acknowledge the place's past and traditions.
9. The population size causes alienation - there is no possibility of getting to know all people.

[6] Reference to Kibbutz as a family appears here as a metaphor describing the day-to-day relationship among Kibbutz members. These relationships are characterized by feelings of comfort, belonging, commitment and guarantee, and is congruent with Smith's definition (2000): Links in primordial communities are strong and obligatory, links and commitment stand at the center of identity (Smith, 2000).

III.2.1 Ecological nucleus members - What is delaying the creation of a collective identity for all settlement residents?

1. Unwillingness to recognize leads to labeling, prejudices and using stereotypes.
2. Labeling leads to hiding identity in order to be accepted to the settlement and in society.
3. Discussions are lead according to camps and not the issues themselves.
4. The Kibbutz leadership does not support the general residents/population of the settlement.
5. The centralized leadership reminds some interviewees, with a Kibbutz past, of the decision-making process at traditional Kibbutzim where the leadership decided for everyone without inclusion.
6. Absence of clear decision leads residents who are not Kibbutz members to feel insecure and even fear.
7. Taking into consideration multi generation and past ideologies delays new social processes.
8. The Kibbutz is a mechanism that in itself is part of a larger one, which delay processes needed for the settlement to grow and develop.
9. Decisions taken by the Kibbutz leadership that contradict views held by the ecological nucleus harm the ethical perceptions of some residents.
10. Lack of possibilities for individuals to express their views and influence others reduces motivation.
11. The sense that the ecological nucleus constitutes a demographic threat and sense that they are second class citizens delay creation of a collective identity at the settlement.
12. Alienation and a sense of being a foreign element delay the place's adaptation and the sense of belonging.
13. The sense of being a visitor and status inequality of those who are not Kibbutz members, delays building a collective identity for all populations.
14. The established and authoritarian ways of the Kibbutz delay building a collective identity for the settlement and will result in the new group erecting its own walls.

III.3 Kibbutz members - Factors that influence the process of building a collective identity by the members of the new community

1. Defining discourse boundaries will develop clear and matter of fact communication.
2. Discussing conflicting issues leads to recognition. Recognition reduces prejudices and as such enables structuring a community capable of accepting diverse opinions.
3. Meetings of all populations over social issues could develop the discourse between the diverse populations, emphasizing what they have in common and identifying and creating common interests.
4. The role of the Kibbutz leadership is to explain and bring together the populations and to strive to promote what they share.
5. A united leadership can lead processes at the settlement.
6. Leadership that identifies the public's needs and encourages their willingness to act.
7. Leadership that does not need to set preconditions in order to lead processes.
8. Recognize the character and quality of the ecological nucleus's educational system, which is reminiscent of education at the old Kibbutz, which was a source of pride in traditional Kibbutzim.
9. Recognize the human capital in the ecological nucleus and its contribution to the entire settlement.
10. Give individuals the opportunity to have their voices heard, to lead and influence which will make them feel significant and willing to act.
11. Internal investment in unifying the populations and defining common interests will lead to a common struggle against the authorities to acquire budgets that will benefit the whole settlement.
12. Equality of status/position will serve the settlement's common interests.
13. Assigning assets to Kibbutz members will make their status equal to asset owners at the settlement (residents). This equality will allow the entire population to unite against the authorities for the benefit of the whole settlement.

III.3.1 Ecological Nucleus Members - Factors that influence the process of building a collective identity by the members of the new community

1. People's shared desire to create together, initiate, listen and invest produces a community.
2. Community responds to the individual needs of people through cooperation enabled in a community. Community is comparable with extended family.
3. To belong to the wider community, outside the boundaries of interviewees' natural group is a process of maturity expressed by the transition from being an observer, critic, non-decider, visitor regarding settlement-wide matters to a feeling of belonging and realizing one's right to promote personal needs.
4. Community is a place that allows individuals and groups to realize their dreams and visions.
5. Preserving the uniqueness of each group and responding to diverse needs and learning how to live in peace despite differences, is the settlement's vision.
6. Providing opportunities to the younger generation to have influence. The world will carry on, the new wind wants to change, to have an effect and be a central part of the processes taking place at the settlement.
7. Belonging to the place and building a common future can be done by equalizing status - everyone being Kibbutz members.
8. Common social projects, agreed by the general population, could lead to cooperation around these issues and as such reduce the polarity between the groups.
9. Defining common interests for all residents will benefit individuals and the settlement.
10. At the settlement where the research took place, both individuals and groups have the opportunity to influence and mold the place's character and fate.
11. Direct encounters between people, and mutual acceptance led to respectful relations, person to person relationships.
12. The understanding that the settlement is undergoing a process within a process: Kibbutz members are undergoing their internal change, the transition from a tradition to a renewed Kibbutz, and at the same time, opening its gates to large

populations with their own needs and aims. Change processes are complex and long-term. They take time. Trying to push and speed them up will not be beneficial.

III.4 Summary of Findings

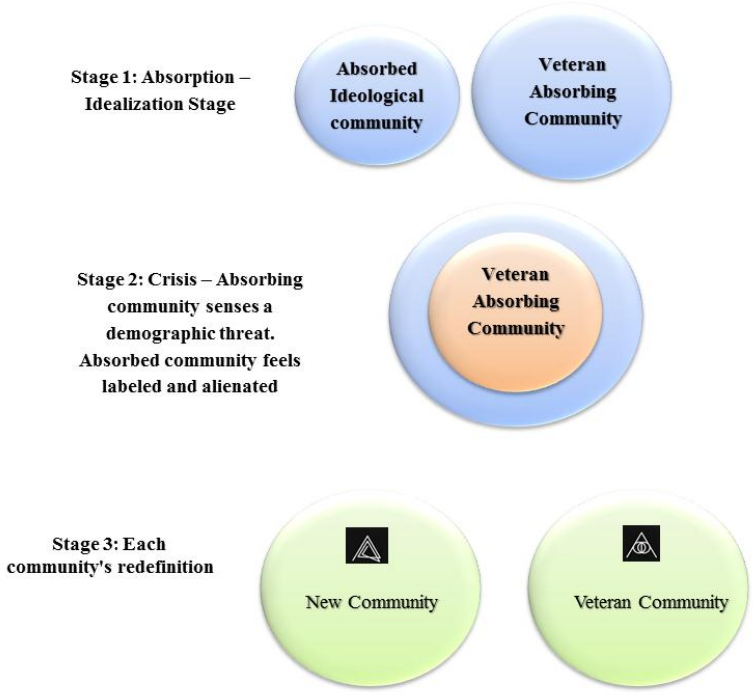
The findings emerging from interviews with14 Kibbutz members and 12 ecological community members referred to the research questions. With regard to building a **collective identity** (1) **Kibbutz members** rely on the past, individual's total commitment and the pride of belonging to something 'greater' than them. At present, pride in being a renewed Kibbutz member, with continued mutual commitment but as to a family and not a part of a collective. **Ecological community** members regard their identity as a community of individuals, which allows for personal growth, with education and their school as a foundation stone; (2) **Members of Kibbutz and ecological community** believe it is important to construct a collective identity for all settlement sector, as common interests may contribute to all, with heterogeneity and conflicts as contributors to development of the settlement. (3) **Kibbutz members** believe what hinders the development of a collective identity is ignoring the past, lack of trust and a sense of exploitation, whereas **members of the ecological community** experience alienation and division into camps and discrimination between the communities. (4) Members of both communities believe that clarifying values and aims, defining common interests on the one hand, and giving an opportunity to maintain each group's uniqueness on the other, leadership that identifies the public's needs and encourages their willingness to act build a community's identity.

IV. CONCLUSIONS

Conclusions emerging from the research are that collective identity in a community produces a space for common action within the settlement and standing united against state authorities. It reduces threat and mutual distrust levels. Factors that can influence crating a collective identity for the entire community are leadership suited to the needs of postmodern communities, whose main characteristics are diversity and differing needs, and lead towards creating common interests rooted in the human capital existing in the various communities and its contribution to the entire settlement. Mutual acknowledgement of each one's uniqueness will reduce power struggles and strengthen the desire to realize internal settlement common interests and face state authorities.

IV.1 Conceptual and Theoretical Conclusions

'Four stage model to build a collective identity in a settlement made up of populations with different ideological backgrounds'. The model is depicted in the following figure.



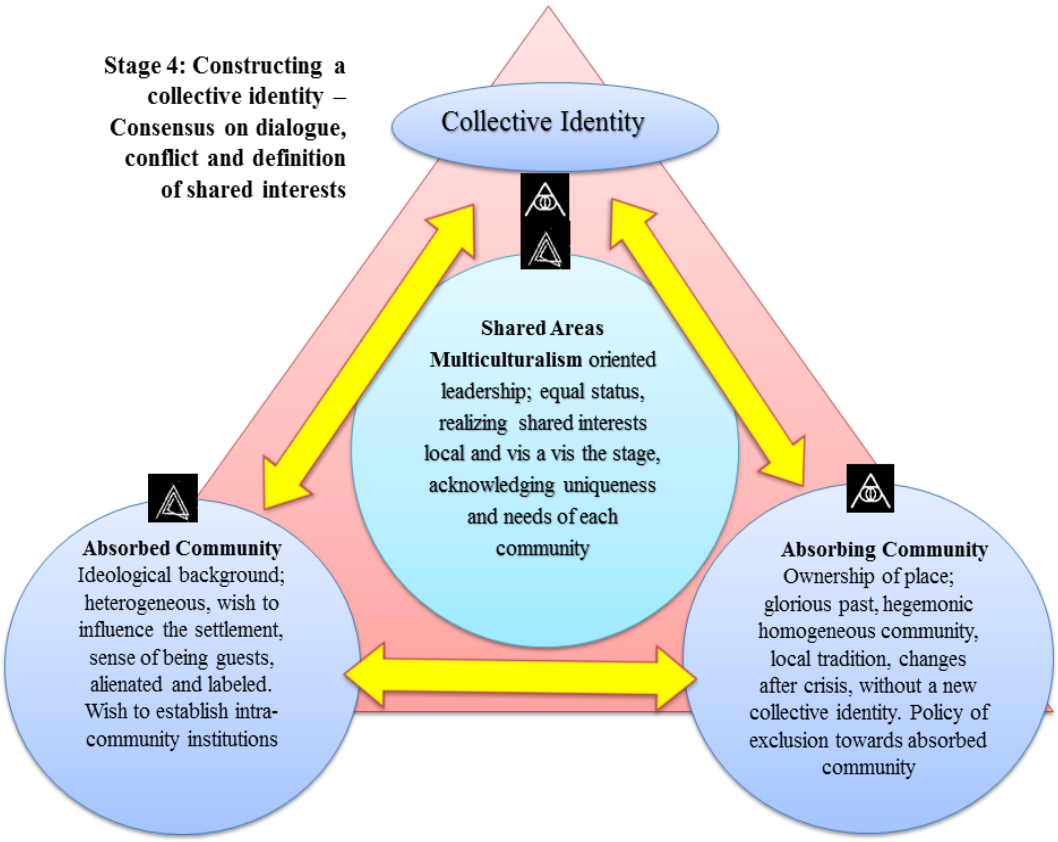


Figure 3: the four-Stage Model

The model reflects the process of building a collective identity in a settlement with an ideological background undergoing an economic and identity crisis, and compelled to increase its numbers in order to survive. It absorbs a community that also has an ideological background and unique needs.

Stage 1 - Absorbers and those absorbed - Idealization Stage - this is the stage where a new community to increase numbers of a veteran community arrive. It is a stage characterized by expectations, years of crisis and large numbers leaving the settlement, it is renewal, the settlement 'returns to life'. The newly absorbed community settles in a settlement that permits it to establish a neighborhood and educational system suited to its needs (Based on Shamay, 2000)

Stage 2 - Crisis Stage - the absorbing community senses a demographic threat, the absorbed community feels isolated and a sense that the absorbing community has a superiority complex. The absorbing community feels as if the absorbed ecological community is swallowing it up. The absorbed community feels excluded, separated and labeled. (Based on Shamay, 2000; Huntington, 2004; Glass, 2008)

Stage 3 - Redefinitions - the absorbing community consolidates itself following the struggle with the new group. Commitment to reclarification. Increasing member numbers vis-a-vis resident numbers. Process to absorb new Kibbutz members. The new community strengthens its institutions: education, society, culture and business and finishes building its neighborhood. It clarifies it type of education and redefines community members' wishes (Based on Taylor, 2003)

Stage 4 - Building a Settlement Collective Identity - adaptation stage and start of dialogue - struggles are directed at defining common interests and dealing with conflict situations. There is consensus regarding how to deal with conflicts between communities. Forums are established to discuss municipal, social and cultural issues together as well as arrangements for living together on the same settlement. (Based on Shamay, 2000).

IV.3 Contribution to Theoretical Knowledge

The contribution of this research is in a renewed conceptualization of collective identity, whose uniqueness is the creation of a common identity at a settlement with populations with different ideological backgrounds. The research presented an integrative approach combining classical theory such as conflict theory, symbolic interactionism and the theory of social capital to theories of migration, hegemonic communities and leadership in the postmodern era.

IV.4 Contribution to Applied Knowledge

Recommendation 1 - Professional Leadership - leadership on a traditional Kibbutz was mostly informal, that is to say a Kibbutz secretary (Kibbutz manager) needed no previous knowledge or awareness of multicultural processes. In traditional Kibbutzim, the needs of members were, to a certain extent, homogenous. Moving from a homogeneous and hegemonic community to a multi community settlement strengthens the needs for leadership aware of the diverse and unique needs of each community. That is to say, professional leadership is needed, combining organizational ability with a broad observation of social processes.

The research raised the importance of choosing a leadership that sees the good of an entire population equally and uniquely together. Postmodern societies made up of populations with different backgrounds, or a collection of individuals who choose

community life in order to fulfill their existence, unique needs. Such leadership, in contrast to traditional leadership, has many centers, is not hierarchic and sees community members as full partners in decision making processes and as social capital that communities bring with them as a resource to develop a settlement (Gonen, 2010; Mathews, 1996).

Recommendation 2 - Ideological Reclarification - a community post crisis of change in lifestyle should reclarify its ideas. Communities who do not do this produce within secondary communities striving to realize their interests and do not create interests shared by all populations. Such circumstances lead to disengagement, alienation and power struggles between populations, not necessarily on an ideological background. Ideological reclarification can contribute to determining common interests without harming the unique interests of each separate group.

The research findings highlight processes that characterize a community rebuilding its identity (Ben Rafael & Topel, 2009). A changing society needs to move from a hegemonic and homogeneous community to one that considers populations with different backgrounds. Attempts to operate in a new reality employing means from the old reality are not successful. Absorbing a consolidated group places the absorbing veteran society in a reality that compels it redefinition (Shamay, 1999, 2000).

Recommendation 3 - Status Equality - for communities thrown into crisis, their decision making is often from a position of survival. An example is to absorb residents with a status different to veteran residents. In this research, there are two main examples: Kibbutz members versus residents, Kibbutz members are seen as the old owners in contrast to those absorbed and the second example - home owners - residents versus Kibbutz members whose homes do not yet belong to them. Decision making is for the long term, and when the first stage in the model, the idealization stage passes, crises are expressed in status gaps and mutual expectations that are not met and deepen the sense of ownership on the side of the absorbing community and sense of inferiority among those absorbed. Therefore, it is important to try and refrain from absorption that in the long-term highlights gaps that underline alienation and power struggles and rather absorb new members at an equal status (all are members or all are residents).

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