

STABILITY AND CHANGE: PLURALISTIC ORGANIZATION OF THE SOCIAL REPRESENTATIONS OF THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM IN THE KIBBU'TZ*

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Abstract: The research investigates how social stability or change were related to multiple group membership and pluralistic organization of social representations. The ideas and attitudes of members in four kibbutzim regarding introducing change in their educational system provided us with the opportunity to do so. The children of these kibbutzim studied for the last four decades in a kibbutz-oriented shared high-school (mosad). The educational system was constructed with the aim of raising new generations of kibbutz members, and the organization of the mosad was in line with this aim. Two years ago, however, the leadership of these kibbutzim had suggested that the children would join a regional school which was, economically, more affordable, whose students came from urban and other social settings, and whose system was similar to other non-kibbutz secular schools in Israel. Our general hypotheses were that individuals would endorse a multiple set of ideas, those which supported the distinctiveness of kibbutz school and those which support integration with the Israeli society. The attitudes of old-timers in the kibbutz (vatikim), for whom the kibbutz SR would be dominant, would be against the proposed change in the educational system, whereas the attitudes of younger kibbutz members (tseirim) for whom the SR of the majority of the Israeli society would be dominant, would favour a change. The results supported these hypotheses, but additionally, showed that half of the respondents, independently of their age-group or dominance of idea, were reluctant to express a clear attitude regarding stability or change. Extensive participating in the voting process, though, showed that 60% favoured a no-change decision. The empirical data demonstrated that multiple group membership was associated with a pluralistic set of SR, that on the individual level, this incompatibility was tolerated, and did not, necessarily, imply the formation of one-sided attitude. In social practice, though, the incompatibility was solved by one-sided choice rather than by any innovative intergration of the two sets of SR.

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Social representations (SR) are common-sense knowledge (e.g., language, values, images, ideas, attitudes and scripts of actions) which is shared to a certain extent by members of a social group. These representations are constructed by individuals from socially transmitted messages, and provide a means of making sense of external messages, of communication among group members, and of achieving individual and group goals (Moscovici 1984). Most important, however, and distinctly from individually oriented theoretical concepts such as cognitive construals () or cognitive schema (). Social representations, once formed, become a special kind of reality, they become a means by which existing social regulations and power relationships are perceived, maintained and changed. Social stability reigns when dominant social representations regarding a social phenomenon are widely shared, and alternative polemic incompatible social representations are absent, recessive, or widely diffused among group members. In such a case, the widely shared SR become self-evident as if they become the reality. For instance, when schools are perceived and regulated as institutions for nurturing the academic intelligence of individual students, most members of a society perceive the situation as a self-evident reality (Ratty, & Snellman, 1996; Valsiner, 1996). Change, presupposes, then, the availability of a shared pluralistic set of SR. Research, however, has left largely unexplored Moscovici's hypotheses concerning the pluralistic organization of social representations and its relationships to stability and change (Moscovici, 1976). The present study has to do with this issue. It investigated the discourse, attitudes and the decision of members of four kibbutzim regarding of whether to maintain their kibbutz traditional unique high-school, or giving it up and join in an existing conventional Israeli high-school whose students come from a variety of social settings (urban, rural and kibbutz).

Our aim was to follow the process by which a conservative or rather an innovative choice is made. Our hypotheses were that each individual kibbutz member would have two incompatible sets of SR (ideas) regarding high-school, that these SR would be anchored in distinct group identities, that one of the two SR would be more dominant (i.e., it would have a higher evaluative value) than the other; but that individuals would be reluctant to form one-sided attitude regarding one of them. Members, however, would make one-sided decision, when additional external social factor (such as financial stress, or a demand to vote) would be imposed. A choice of social stability would be likely to result when the dominant SR the majority of voters would be conservative, and a choice of social change would be likely to result when the dominant SR of the majority of voters would be innovative. One should note, that distinct predictions were made, regarding SR on the individual and the social levels.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Our group of interest, the kibbutz is a minority group. Members of minority groups are, by definition, members of their own groups and members of the dominant society; and therefore they hold several sets of SR. These SR can overlap, clash or be independent of each other; but minorities vary in at least two aspects: the permeability of their boundaries with the dominant society, and the extent of overlap with the SR of the dominant society. The boundaries of our group of interest -- the kibbutz -- and the Israeli dominant society are wide open. Kibbutz members are only a small minority in the Israeli society; the

percentage of kibbutz members within the Israeli population along the years ranged from two to four percent, yet kibbutz members maintained a rather close and intensive relationships with many non-kibbutz Israelis. A substantial percentage of Israelis were kibbutz members sometime in their personal history, the kibbutz founders came from urban settings, and a large percentage of its current members were brought up in urban areas and joined the kibbutz voluntarily as adults; half of those born in the kibbutz have chosen to leave it and live in town (Orchan, 1984); and finally, any economic, political or ideological turbulence in the Israeli dominant society has been diffused into the internal discourse of the kibbutz, and had effects on kibbutzim (Rosolio, 1993).

Whereas openness between the kibbutz and the dominant society persists, the extent of overlap between their SR has changed along the years. Historically kibbutz members perceived themselves, and were perceived by others as an elitist small in-group, sharing their ideology with the wider dominant society, and as establishing a life style in accordance with this ideology. Some of the most important SR, shared by the two groups in the past, were ideas concerning, subordination of individual goals to collective ones, national solidarity, personal devotion to the development and the defence of the country, and socialist egalitarian ideas (Cohen & Rosner, 1988).

In the last two decades, however, the Israeli society underwent a profound ideological change. Individualistic competition, economic success, academic and technological excellence, and rights of the individual became the hallmarks of the SR in the wider dominant society. The kibbutz as a collective social system, however, could have not been similarly changed without a radical change in its life-style and in its unique identity. Consequently, the overlap between the historical SR of the kibbutz and those of the dominant society has been diminished (Rosner, Glick. & Goldenberg, 1993). Our hypothesis, then, was that under these conditions kibbutz members were left with two sets of contradictory social representations, those that were part of their historical kibbutz identity, and those that were part of their Israeli identity .

Our first issue in this research, then, had to do with the content and inter-relationships of SR in the kibbutz. A crisis in the shared educational system of four kibbutzim; one that called for new collective decisions regarding the structure of high-school, provided us with the suitable event for this investigation. For many years, the development and nurturing of a unique educational system was considered by kibbutz members and their leadership, as the most important measure for the transferal of kibbutz legacy to the second generation. In other words, the continuation of the kibbutz life-style was thought of as dependent, to a large extent, on the maintenance of a unique educational system. Several versions of schooling and child-rearing practices were used by a variety of kibbutzim, but each version included communal child-rearing, and specific teaching strategies that discouraged individual competition, and encouraged collective learning, and local autonomic curricula. kibbutz leadership and many members believed that by these kinds of educational systems their children get the best possible education in the country (Talmon-Garber 1972c1957). Recently, following the main stream ideological change, and in contrast to the past, the "best education" in Israel at large is evaluated less by collective and egalitarian criteria, and more by individual academic achievement of excellence (). This shift in values did not bypass the kibbutz. Many parents, teachers and students began to demand that kibbutz high-schoolers would get the kind of education that would equip them with the competence to get into good universities (Ravid, 1992)1.

The educational system in present sample of kibbutzim consisted of six-years elementary school in each kibbutz, and six-years mosad -- a high-school shared by several kibbutzim. Mosad students lived in dormitories attached to the school. The mosad was situated in one of the four kibbutzim, and children were visiting their parental homes in the afternoons and holidays, but slept in the mosad among their own peers. Recently, however, in the wake of economic problems, the school management which consisted of the social coordinators of the four kibbutzim and a school teacher, decided to suggest that the mosad children would join a regional high-school. Our investigation began at this very point.

OVERVIEW OF THE DESIGN

The data was collected between September, 1994, when the school management wrote a document suggesting that the maintenance of the mosad as it was, was above the financial means of the kibbutzim. At this point, the formal discussions regarding a possible change in the educational system began to take place. It ended during March, 1995, when the kibbutzim made a decision. Our data included the documentation of the formal meetings within and across kibbutzim, in depth interviews and published material regarding the issue. From these verbatim sixty sentences were extracted, reflecting the main ideas regarding the educational system. These sentences were written as a likert-style questionnaire, and administered to kibbutz members. In addition, in order to assess attitudes towards stability or change, the respondent were requested to respond to four open-ended questions. In these questions they were asked about the basic characteristics of an ideal school for their children, and in what way the alternative choices (mosad and conventional Israeli high-school) are characterized by these components. From the answers to these questions, it was possible to make a judgement of whether or not, and in what direction, a respondent had made his or her mind regarding stability or change in the educational system.

Five hypotheses were tested:

1. That the ideas of the kibbutz members regarding the mosad would consist of two sets of SR, reflecting the kibbutz and the Israeli identity, and that members would endorse the two sets of SR simultaneously.

2. Our second hypothesis was that the two sets of SR that of the kibbutz identity, and that of the Israeli identity would have distinctive evaluative valence for subgroups within the kibbutz. For instance, the kibbutz SR of vatikim -- old timers who were the early settlers of these kibbutzim, were predicted to be more dominant than the Israeli SR, whereas the Israeli SR were predicted to be more dominant for tseirim -- the younger second generation. That is because the ideas of older kibbutz members were more extensively anchored in the SR of kibbutz identity, as kibbutz founders they were expected to be more committed to these ideas, and their kibbutz identity was structured when the SR of the dominant society did not clash with that of the kibbutz. These groups were not only divided by their age, they were considered specific social categories in the kibbutz, as evident by their specific attributed names (vatikim, tseirim). Other predicted sub-divisions were gender, being a parent to a child in the mosad, being a teacher or an educational administrator, having a job in services vs. production, and finally having a job within or outside the kibbutz.

3. Respondents would be reluctant to form a clear one sided attitude regarding stability or change. That was, because both identities and their associated SR were essential for them, and they were tolerant regarding the logical inconsistencies within their SR.

4. Among those who would form an attitude, it would be predicted by one's dominant SR.

5. An institutional demand to choose between the alternative SR would facilitate the formation of a choice, and thereby, the creation of a potential for change. Hence, in spite the reluctance to choose between alternative SR, respondents would participate in the actual voting.

Conclusion: Our goal in the testing of this set of hypotheses was the investigation of how social stability or social change were related to the dynamics of the existing pluralistic SR system. Specifically, we were interested in the differences between the cognitive-affective level of the individual, where incompatibilities between SR were expected to be tolerated, and the practical-social level, where dominance of kibbutz SR was expected to be related to conservative choices and stability of the educational system, and dominance of Israeli SR was expected to be related to innovative choices and changes in the educational system.

METHOD

RESPONDENTS

Ten days before the voting on the future of the mosad, 786 anonymous self-administered questionnaires were given out to every kibbutz member who was present in the kibbutz on that date. A day later, three hundred forty one questionnaires were collected (100 males, 145, females, 96 sex unknown). The percent of respondents in each of the four kibbutzim ranged from 30% to 54%, with the mean of 45.5%.

INSTRUMENTS

The ideas of the kibbutz members were tapped by the Ideological Social Representation Questionnaire (ISRQ) The ISRQ included 60 Likert style items ranging from 1 - do not agree completely, to 5 -- completely agree. The ISR items were selected from documented formal discussions, and depth interviews regarding the future of the mosad. The final list consisted of sixty sentences (a sample of items is presented in the Results section).

Attitudes: Attitudinal SR were inferred from the answers to four open-ended items: a. "Thinking about a school you really wish for your own child, what elements should it consist of?" b. "which of these elements do you find in our present mosad?" c. "Assuming that the kibbutzim will make a decision to close the present mosad and join the one of the existing regional high-schools in the area, what are the merits of this decision?" d. "what are the disadvantages of this decision?" Three independent judges (graduated psychology students that were trained for the task) read these items and scored each respondent as: pro-mosad, anti-mosad, and did not form a clear attitude. The two first categories were scored when the three judges agreed on the scoring, or when two judges agreed, and the third judge evaluated that the respondent did not form a clear attitude.

Finally, the actual results of the voting in each kibbutz were sent to us by the management of each kibbutz.

PROCEDURE

The data was collected between September, 1994, when the formal discussions regarding a possible change in the educational system began to take place, and ended at March, 1995, when the kibbutzim made the decision. The self-administered anonymous questionnaires were given to -- and collected from -- kibbutz members by the mosad students. Interviews, selection of items for the questionnaire, and scoring of attitudes, were performed by the same three female graduate psychology students. They were specifically trained, and team training went on along the entire procedures.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The first hypothesis that the ideas of the kibbutz members regarding the future of the mosad would consist of two sets of SR, reflecting the kibbutz and the Israeli identity, and that members would endorse the two sets of SR simultaneously was supported with minor modifications: the Israeli identity was reflected in two closely related SR, the kibbutz identity was reflected in a distinct SR, and an additional SR appeared, regarding financial considerations.

The content and organization of the ideological SR were located by the method of the Similarity Structure Analysis (SSA, Borg & Lingoes, 1987; see also, Canter, 1985; Guttman, 1977; Guttman & Levi, 1975). Four facets (factors) of items with a Coefficient of Alienation of .18 were located:

1. Family -- anti mosad family oriented facet. Items of this facet were for instance: "Family values are child-rearing most important factors"; "There is no sense in the existence of a dormitory and parental homes side by side"; "Collapse of the educational system, and loss of control should not, necessarily follow the closure of the mosad", "The motivation of children to go on and live in the kibbutz is not going to be affected by mosad closure". This facet consisted of ten items with internal reliability (Cronbach Alpha) of .81.

2. Israeli -- anti mosad facet with orientation towards closer contacts with the Israeli society outside the kibbutz. Items of this facet were for instance: "Getting together of children from the kibbutz and from other Israeli settings is a valuable experience"; "One is able to bring-up wonderful children in a non-kibbutz school too"; "The mosad is a nostalgic and romantic memory of a dying era"; "High level of academic achievements are more important than social life"; "The kibbutz becomes more and more similar to the Israeli society, and so does its system of education"; "The ideological melody is a forgery, and a cover-up for fear of change". This facet consisted of nine items with internal reliability (Alpha) of .74.

3. Kibbutz -- pro mosad facet with orientation towards observing the integrity of mosad and the kibbutz as an interdependent social system. Items of this facet were for instance: "A society that gives up the project of educating its own children gives up its future"; "The preparation of children to kibbutz kind of life takes place in a school which is unique to the kibbutz"; "The crazy pursuit after achievements and redundant blocks of

knowledge! one needs to bring up a human being"; "The urban school encourages consensus rather than growth". This facet consisted of 20 items with Alpha of .88.

4. Financial. The main idea underlying this facet can be summarized by the item: "The real problem is not how much money we spend, but which kind of children we raise". That is, putting ideological principles before economic considerations. Other items were for instance: "The existence of the mosad is an economic issue; if the money to operate it would have been available, we would not have been involved in the present discussion"; "It is wrong to pose economic and ideological considerations as opposing each other"; "High costs do not, necessarily, guaranty a good product."; "In the past, unlimited resources were spent on education, to day, new winds push towards a more critical attitude"; "Slowly, slowly spiritual resources become material resources". This facet consisted of 20 items with internal reliability (Alpha) of .68.

The items of each facet were averaged. The four means were quite similar, around 3 on a four digit scale (see Table 1), but the means of the family and Israeli facets were significantly lower than the kibbutz and the financial facets (as indicated by a significant SR main effect, see Table 2), showing that, in the context of the present debate, the kibbutz identity was stronger than that of the Israeli identity.

The correlation between the family and Israeli scores was .67, and each of them was negatively correlated with the kibbutz facet ($r = -.46, -.44$), indicating a shared underlying SR for the family and Israeli facets. The ideas included in this SR were that family centered upbringing is in opposition to the collectively oriented school, academic achievement is opposed to social achievement, and the kibbutz should be changed to become closer to the Israeli society, at large. The third facet represented SR of the kibbutz as a distinct and unique identity. The main function of school, according to these SR, was not the development of academic knowledge or intelligence, but kibbutz indoctrination. Finally, the fourth facet consisted of ideas about the relationships between ideologic and economic considerations with a tendency to perceive the latter as secondary to the ideological standpoint. This facet had the highest mean and lowest variance compared to the other facets, indicating that the kibbutz members widely shared the idea that the economic aspects of the school were relatively irrelevant to the decision regarding school stability or change. The financial SR was positively correlated with the kibbutz SR, ($r = .50$) and independent of the family and Israeli SR.

The underlying ideas of the four facets clearly supported the research hypothesis, that the pluralistic kibbutz and the dominant society identities were the real agenda of the discussions regarding school. We did not find ideas concerning curricula, levels of intelligence, or teaching methods. Whereas, the kibbutz related SR implied the distinctiveness of kibbutz identity, social consistency and stability across generation, the family and Israeli related SR, implied the identity of membership in the dominant society, and a demand for openness towards new ideas and innovations. These two sets of ideas were concomitantly held; but even the ideas of the Israeli SR did not include a choice on an individualistic basis. such that each parental pair and their child would decide which school to attend (across the entire documentaion we did not find any individualistic solution).

The salient presence of the "Israeli" ideas in the social debates, and in the individual interviews, were likely to have two-fold effect: 1. the existence of an alternative set of family and Israeli SR, diminished the obviousness and the status of the kibbutz SR as a

self-evident non negotiable "reality"; and concomitantly, 2. suggested an innovative route for social change, that of the Israeli society.

The problem of how the two incompatible sets of SR were related to each other was resolved by the principle that social consistency rather than logical consistency prevailed. Members entertained the two, logically inconsistent, sets of SR simultaneously because they were members in two groups simultaneously.

TABLE 1
Intercorrelation of the School-related Social Representations (N = 343)

	Cronbach Alpha	1	2	3	4
1. Family	.81	1.00			
2. Israel	.74	.67	1.00		
3. Kibbutz	.88	-.46	-.44	1.00	
4. Financial	.68	-.05	.11	.50	1.00

TABLE 2
Two-way 2 x 4 MANOVA (age, facet)

Effects	df	F		
Age	1,307	0.01		
Facet	3,921	18.52***		
Interaction	3,921	17.07***		
Means & (S.D.)				
Age	Family	Israel	Kibbutz	Financial
Up to 45	3.15 (0.61)	3.02 (0.58)	3.06 (0.63)	3.16 (0.39)
More than 45	2.87 (0.62)	2.89 (0.58)	3.36 (0.57)	3.26 (0.40)
All	3.05 (0.67)	3.02 (0.66)	3.18 (0.64)	3.21 (0.41)

Note: *** < .001.

Our second hypothesis was that the two sets of SR that of the kibbutz identity, and that of the Israeli identity would have distinctive evaluative valence for subgroups within the kibbutz. This hypothesis was partially supported by the age-group results. The findings (Table 2) showed a significant age x facet interaction, such that kibbutz members whose age was more than 45, agreed significantly more with kibbutz school oriented ideas than younger members, and that the opposite was found for family and Israeli school oriented ideas (the difference in the ideas regarding financial aspects was not significant). The main tendencies of the two age groups, however, were quite close to each other, and no strong disagreements was apparent. The significant age - facet interaction effect, revealed, also, stronger differences among the four ideas within the older group, whereas no significant difference was found between the ideas of the younger members. The results indicate, then, that within the older group, the tendency to prevent change was stronger

than the tendency towards change. In the younger group, in contrast, the two tendencies were quite balanced.

Differences in the ideologic profile was found also between genders. The scores means and the significant sex - facet interaction (see Table 3) indicated that females tended to be higher on the family oriented ideas, whereas males tended to be higher on the kibbutz ideas; but, no significant differences were found between the four means among females, whereas the kibbutz mean was significantly higher than the other three within males. The evaluative tendencies (means) predicted preference of stability over change among males, and balanced or indecisive tendencies among females.

No significant difference was found between the facet means of other kinds of grouping within the kibbutz such as being a parent to a child in the mosad, being a teacher or a educational administrator, having a job in services vs. production, or having a job within or outside the kibbutz. It seemed, that membership in the social category of kibbutz, rather than any other within-group social category was salient during the debate.

TABLE 3
Two-way 2 x 4 MANOVA (sex, facet)

Effects	df	F				
Sex	1,307	5.73*				
Facet	3,921	1.48				
Interaction	3,921	2.82*				
Means & (S.D.)			Family	Israel	Kibbutz	Financial
Male			2.87 (.66)	2.89 (.66)	3.18 (.73)	2.86 (.41)
Female			3.22 (.69)	3.08 (.70)	3.05 (.64)	3.02 (.36)

Note: * < .05

The third hypothesis that respondents would be reluctant to form a clear one sided attitude regarding stability or change was also supported. As shown clearly on Table 4, ten days before the formal voting, 61% of the respondents across all ages, did not form any clear preference of any kind of school. The most hesitant respondents were 46 to 55 years old; 68% of this group were not able to decide which kind of school is better, and from those who did make a decision, the choice was evenly divided. Younger kibbutz members preferred a change in the school system, whereas older ones preferred to maintain the mosad as it was.

4. But, how people acted when a decision had to be made? The fourth hypothesis that among those who would form an attitude, it would be predicted by one's dominant SR was supported. The relationships between the four facets and the attitudinal SR were found by a discriminant analysis (Table 5). The three family, Israel and Kibbutz facets discriminated significantly between the two attitudinal SR, whereas, other variables such as sex, age, kind of work in the kibbutz, working inside or outside the kibbutz, being brought up in the kibbutz (or not), and having children in the mosad did not. 82.2% of the attitudes were predicted correctly by the discriminant equation. The results indicated,

that although individuals endorsed Israeli and kibbutz SR simultaneously, one's dominant idea was predictive of one's direction of choice.

TABLE 4

Attitudes towards the change of the school system Attitudes Two-way (age, attitude)
Frequency Table. Chi-square = 15.10, $p < .05$.

age	undecided	maintain	change	Row Totals
up to 25	4 50.00%	1 12.50%	3 37.50%	8
26 - 35	28 56.00%	7 14.00%	15 30.00%	50
46 - 55	81 68.07%	20 16.81%	18 15.13%	119
56 - 65	29 50.88%	15 26.32%	13 22.81%	57
66 and above	43 61.43%	19 27.14%	8 11.43%	70
Totals	185 60.85%	62 20.39%	57 18.76%	304

The final hypothesis was that in spite the reluctance to choose between alternative SR, respondents would participate in the actual voting. The simultaneous existence of the two sets of SR did not prevent a choice. When a choice was not mandatory, respondents endorsed the two sets of SR simultaneously; but once a choice became an explicit social demand (as in the voting) choice was likely to be made. Ten days after the questionnaires were collected, the kibbutz members participated in a secret vote. The results of this vote determined whether the children of the four kibbutzim were going to study and live in their mosad for the four next year, or rather the mosad would be closed, and the children would be going to live in their parental homes, and to study in a close-by non-kibbutz regional school. Almost 80% of the kibbutz members participated in the vote, and the results were in favour of the conservative alternative. 60.5% of the 562 kibbutz members who participated in the vote chose to go on and maintain the mosad system, whereas 39.5% chose to change the educational system. This trend was shared by each of the four kibbutzim. Unfortunately, we were unable to correlate antecedent ideas and attitudes with the actual voting, since the questionnaires were anonymously administered, and the voting was secret.

FINAL COMMENTS

The data and findings that were presented in the results section, were only a snapshot of two sets of SR at a specific point in time. Taking into account, however, the historical background of this picture, and the resulting decision that followed it, the unfolding of a continuous story about stability and change appeared. Social change or social stability, were socially represented in the present drama, not as a demand for an ideological

innovation, but as a demand for a decision making. During the discourse along the debates no one did try to analyze the two standpoints, and consequently, a development of a new set of ideas did not emerge. The items in the result section were a good sample of statements of individuals. They were not answers to something spoken before, or a challenge to something that came after; instead, they were expressions of the ideological belief of the speaker. It was not a logical consistency that was looked for, group membership was on the agenda, instead.

TABLE 5

Attitudes: Discriminant Function Analysis Summary, $F(7,111) = 14.39$, $p < .001$. $N = 119$

Source	Discriminant function	F (to remove)	p	
Place (kibbutz)	.08	0.04	.85	
Age	-.15	0.86	.36	
Ideas				
Family		5.00	.03	
Israel	-.66	5.66	.02	
Kibbutz	.87	8.49	.00	
Financial	.11	.03	.85	
Group cases correctly classified: 82.8%				
Means and (SD)				
	Family	Israel	Kibbutz	Financial
Mosad	2.60 (0.49)	2.62 (0.39)	3.49 (0.53)	3.01 (0.34)
School outside	3.41 (0.67)	3.30 (0.59)	2.70 (0.57)	2.95 (0.38)
Total	2.99 (0.71)	2.95 (0.60)	3.11 (0.67)	2.98 (0.36)

What can be learned from this case about SR is that when SR is anchored in an important group identity, it is very unlikely to be changed by a rational process. A force towards change, though, occurs when, at least two, incompatible sets of SR anchored within two identities are objectified by a specific social system. In this case, the incompatibility becomes obvious, and instability reigns. It is not the SR system within the individuals that suffers instability. The results showed clearly, that individuals held to the two sets of kibbutz and Israeli SR, and were reluctant to make their mind which one to prefer. The instability was objectified by the crisis in the educational system i.e., the high economic price the kibbutz had to pay. Under this conditions stability meant, that in the group as totality, the kibbutz SR with their roots in the historical past was more emotionally loaded than the Israeli SR. This was evident in the dominance of the kibbutz SR among vatikim, and in the final vote.

The present case was unique, in the sense that it availed us with data from two levels, the individual, and the system. Thus we were able to illustrate, that on the level of the individual the two sets of SR could dwell in peace, whereas, on the systemic level,

incompatibility yielded unstable solutions. The incompatibility was common to individuals and the system, but whereas, within the individual the coexistence of alternatives was a potential for change, on the systemic level it exerted instability and dynamics of change.

In sum, the import we do feel we have for research in the future, is the suggestion of three conditions for social cross-road: the prevalence of at least two incompatible sets of SR within a social group, the anchoring of these sets in important group identities, and a social demand of making a decision regarding social institutions and/or social procedures. A change in social institutions and procedures, in their turn, however, should act as facilitators of change in the extent of dominance of SR; but this is a new story to be written in a separate manuscript in the future.

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