

## **Collectivistic and Individualistic Motives Among Kibbutz Youth Volunteering for Community Service**

**Arza Avrahami<sup>1</sup> and Yechezkel Dar<sup>2</sup>**

*About one third of each age cohort of high school graduates in the Israeli kibbutz opt for a year of community service before enlistment into the military. The motives that underlie this volunteering were explored from the perspective of kibbutz youth's prolonged transition to adulthood. The analysis revealed a blend of individualistic and collectivistic orientations linked with expectations of satisfying instrumental as well as explorative and expressive needs within a context of moratorial and liminal experience. Particular combinations of motives were also found to vary by the intended field of activity during this year.*

### **INTRODUCTION**

After they finish their twelve years of schooling, about a third of each age cohort of kibbutz boys and girls volunteer for a year of community service in youth leadership, community service, or assistance to new kibbutzim. What motivates them to postpone the compulsory enlistment to the military service for a year when most of their age group goes directly into it? On the face of it, volunteering arises from collectivist values and the sense of social mission in the kibbutz, internalized by these young people during their education. But the phenomenon is in fact more complex, and volunteers appear to be motivated by a combination of collectivist and

<sup>1</sup>Member of Kibbutz Palmachim and head of the Institute of Research on Kibbutz Education, School of Education of the Kibbutz Movement, Oranim, University of Haifa. Received Ph.D. from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Research interests in sociology of youth and sociology of kibbutz education.

<sup>2</sup>Senior Lecturer in sociology of education at the School of Education, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Received Ph.D. from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Research interests in sociology of schools and youth in Israel, and in the sociology of kibbutz society and education.

individualist forces, and to express the urgent personal need of youth in a communal society to seek individual identity. The purpose of the investigation that follows is to clarify this contention, and in addition to the interest intrinsic in the clarification, to shed light on the behavior of individuals in the life stage of youth—that prolonged period between adolescence and full social adulthood.

Before addressing motives, we take a brief look at the encounter between volunteering as a phenomenon with present day youth in general and kibbutz youth in particular.

### **Volunteering for Community Service and Prolonged Transition to Adulthood**

Volunteering for social tasks is to be found in many societies and for varied motives: on one hand, altruistic or collective motives that express concern for one's fellows and the community, and on the other, sheer individualistic motives reflecting the search for intrinsic or extrinsic rewards and for satisfaction of personal needs. Motives may include compassion and empathy; religious faith and ideology; moral force and sense of social and civic obligation; the social or family norm; the desire to be useful and to do something of value; the need to belong, to join, and to acquire friends; the search for activity, interest, experience, and pleasure; the aspiration to learn and realize one's potential, to test, develop, and give expression to one's capabilities; the expectation of thanks, social recognition, and esteem; the desire to acquire professional experience and develop useful career connections; anticipation for material benefits (Warriner and Prather, 1965; Sills, 1968; Smith, 1981; Serow, 1991).

Apart from gratifying individual aspirations and inclinations, volunteering for community service has at least three profound social functions: it motivates individuals to act to meet essential needs in areas where the economic and political establishment cannot; it can bond the individual with society and increase social unity and perceived obligation (de Tocqueville, 1835/1945; Hogan, 1981), and it can contribute to role and value socialization, especially in the case of young people (Rutter and Newmann, 1989).

While volunteering is not age related, it may meet the special needs of youth. Having fewer family and economic obligations and greater mobility, it is easier for them to volunteer for social tasks for relatively long periods within pretty stable and comprehensive frameworks. Within these, moratorium and liminal experience is available, as is an amity of same-age peers. Idealistic needs can be satisfied, social horizons and contacts broad-

ened, skills developed, and compatibility with roles that carry adult status examined. The framework within which volunteering takes place generally combines codes for formal and task-oriented activities with those for non-formal activities and primary relationships. This combination complements the school in bridging the transition of youth from the family setup to the world of work. At the same time, it affords considerable scope for personal, individual, and autonomous expression, carrying with it possibilities for pleasure and immediate, symbolic, and expressive rewards (Kahane, 1975, 1988). Within the volunteer activity itself there is generally a challenge instead of the passivity and marginality that youths are likely to encounter in the unskilled occupations that are commonly offered them (Serow, 1991).

As a rule, social establishments are interested in volunteer organizations of youth because alongside the training these offer for essential social undertakings, they see a framework for relieving tensions, for role socialization, for increasing social and civic responsibility, and for the formation of elites. Hence they aid the development of such groups economically and morally, encouraging young people to volunteer.

In contemporary society there is an interesting confluence of volunteering among youth and the prolonged social maturation process beyond the accepted age of about 18. The transition to adulthood is prolonged both because the education process is prolonged, and because of rapid changes in values, behavior patterns, social arrangements, and technologies that make it difficult for young people to discover what is stable and permanent, to identify with it (Keniston, 1970). When guidelines to the issues of the bond between the individual to society, lifestyle, political role, and the choice of a profession and a mate are obscure, and the range of choices wide, a pattern of moratorial space crystallizes, beginning during adolescence and continuing into young adulthood. This space meets the explorative needs of youth and affords time for them to develop the self through trial and error, without pressure of institutionalized frameworks and roles (Erikson, 1968).

As the moratorium extended itself over many social groups, prolonged youth expressed itself in various ways: dependence on parents and on national insurance; long periods of study continuous or interrupted, with or without part-time work; occasional jobs that require little commitment, voluntary unemployment, and the postponement of a permanent work role; a bohemian lifestyle that includes living with a partner over a long period without establishing a family (Bockneck, 1980; Brake, 1985; Ochberg, 1986).

Another expression of youthfulness takes place in groups who are to varying extents on the margins of society and enable youth to experience *communitas* and a liminal lifestyle (Turner, 1969). Those who are more aware politically and ideologically are more inclined to express themselves

in volunteer activity like the American Peace Corps (Kauffman, 1963) and by participation in one-issue politics like the Green movement (Allard, 1988). Others give up routine existence entirely, taking time off for travel, even living for a period in other countries before deciding on their future (Lamdan, 1991; Mittleberg, 1988).

### **YOUTH IN THE KIBBUTZ AND VOLUNTEERING FOR COMMUNITY SERVICE**

Prolonged youth as a distinct life stage is widespread in Western society and the Israeli kibbutz is no exception. In the kibbutz, however, a particularly long role moratorium has been institutionalized, one in which society affords youth ten years of liminal experiences, within the kibbutz and particularly outside it. Almost consecutively arranged, these experiences include a year a community service; two years (for women) and three to four years (for men) of military service; a year or two of temporary work in the kibbutz; a year or two and sometimes more of leave from the kibbutz, generally for travel abroad; and two to four years of higher education not always undertaken with a clear professional goal in view.

This pattern seems to have been associated with the difficulty of reaching individuality and autonomy in a communal society that takes in education, family, residence, leisure, and employment, in such a comprehensive social structure, with strong ideological features that are open to discussion only to a very limited extent. On the other hand, the moratorium pattern rests on security of status in everything pertaining to one's personal future that kibbutz society offers its offspring. This security makes it possible for young people with problems of identity and of decision making as regards their future to remain in the youth stage for years, straddling the fence and keeping options open, without making a permanent commitment (Dar, 1993).

The year of volunteering, known as the "service year," is carried out in one of three sectors, each characterized by a different type of activity (Avrahami, 1992). Some 70% of the volunteers choose youth movement leadership in the cities, the long-term goal being to bring the kibbutz idea to the youngsters in their charge, and to induce at least some of them to try kibbutz life. They live in communes of from 3–10 persons, and work directly with the 15–18 year-old age group. They are, however, also involved in leading the younger groups as well as the clubhouse (in Hebrew the Nest) as a whole. A range of qualities are required: organizational ability, social initiative, the ability to communicate with the youngsters they lead

and to activate them as a team, as well as the intellect necessary for dealing with ideological issues. Their work is supervised by experienced adults but the volunteers have a great measure of independence. City life offers them varied experiences and recreation.

About 20% of the volunteers choose to organize in groups of 10–15 with a view to assisting a new kibbutz that is going through economic and social difficulties. Their main task is work in the various production and service branches, but they are often required to establish an independent social apparatus and to initiate social institutions of kibbutz life. However, there is a transition from school life and the youth society closely supervised by adults to a life of full-time work and of independence within their own age group. But in helping a new kibbutz they make use of the experience they have been acquiring in childhood and adolescence in their home kibbutz, and there is not much new experience to be had.

Approximately 10% opt for the urban kibbutz or commune combined with community work with adolescents in boarding schools and in disadvantaged neighborhoods. Some support themselves through this work, while others do so through entirely different work, in the building trades, for example, organized as an economic branch run by the commune. Differently from the youth movement communes where communal life of the leaders is highly instrumental, in this setting communal life is an end in itself, and the relationship between the individual and the commune is the focus of the experience. This group has much more independence than the others.

The volunteering program was initiated both as a framework for ideological socialization and as a means of implementing objectives of the kibbutz movement. In keeping with the tradition of social mission in the kibbutz, the voluntary work is also seen as a realization of the ideological messages communicated throughout the education process. Though the kibbutz movement defines the aims and frameworks of activity, the decisions if and in which sphere of activity to volunteer are matters of individual preferences. Entailing a significant detachment from the kibbutz with its strong peer group and the family, these are the first autonomous decisions regarding life outside the kibbutz that the kibbutz young adult is required to make.

A personal account of the expectations from volunteering clearly discloses a mixture of motives of collectivistic conformity and individualistic exploration:

I am embarking on a year of service . . . primarily out of the aspiration to give of myself to others, out of a belief that I have a positive reservoir which can be tapped and passed on to others. At the same time, I have a hidden desire to try in the course of the year to confront and to examine the values, beliefs and opinions that

my kibbutz and school have tried to instill in me over the last 18 years, in order to find answers to such questions as: Is the kibbutz the way of life for me? Am I capable of applying the system that they have tried to pass on to me, and is this system the right one, the just one? (Cochavi, 1981)

The year of volunteering appears to bridge between the kibbutz and family environment, and the outside world. Adjustment to new environments and tasks is facilitated by several lines of continuity with adolescence on the kibbutz: the volunteer is a representative of the kibbutz, acting to realize its values and collective aims; the content of activities is not unfamiliar; and s/he usually acts within a group that provides emotional support, instrumental guidance, and social control.

The frameworks of volunteering resemble the social structure of informal youth organizations and allow for a loose and flexible framing of the life space (Kahane, 1975). Along instrumental, task-oriented activity that encourage social initiative and responsibility, they allow for spontaneous moralistic behavior that provides immediate expressive and symbolic rewards. They also make it possible for collectivist and individualist orientations, social idealism, and egocentric self-examination to coexist. Working for the realization of collectivistic values in itself mitigates extreme individualistic tendencies. This duality of experience seems to respond to the individual's search for identity, individuation, personal freedom, and growth that are characteristic at this stage of life (Blos, 1979; Bocknek, 1980).

From the late 1970s and more so during the 1980s there was a relative increase in the numbers of volunteers opting for community service in the cities at the expense of assistance to struggling kibbutzim. This development seems to indicate an increased desire for a more individualistic experience and for a greater distance from the kibbutz during these years (Dar and Gilad, 1991).

## EMPIRICAL EXAMINATION OF MOTIVES

In order to examine value systems, we drew up a list of 12 statements that express possible motives of the volunteers. The listed items emerged from conversations with volunteers in the year before we carried out this study. With an inevitable element of the arbitrary, they can be ordered semantically from the collectivist-task orientation to one that is expressive-individualist:

### Collectivist-Task Orientation

1. Educate youth to values that I support.
2. Do something meaningful for others.

3. Actualize values that the kibbutz has neglected.
  4. Do something to meet kibbutz needs.
  5. See the kibbutz from a different angle.
  6. Fulfill kibbutz expectations that its youth will volunteer.
  7. Look for an alternative lifestyle to the kibbutz.
  8. Get to know another society, gain new experiences.
  9. Be independent among people my own age.
  10. Have a good time in a less demanding setup.
  11. Delay army service for a year.
  12. Find a girl/boyfriend.
- Expressive-Individualistic

The 12 statements were presented to 415 youths who declared themselves as volunteers at the end of Grade 12: 192 boys and 223 girls who constituted about 75% of the entire kibbutz volunteer group for the year in question. Of the volunteers, 69 chose help to new kibbutzim, 291 leadership in youth movements, and 55 the communes. To find out how volunteering is perceived by peers who go directly into the army, the same question was addressed to 465 other youths from the same age cohort. All respondents were asked to indicate on a five-point Likert scale the extent to which they identified with each statement.

Data analysis was designed first of all to answer the question of the motivational structure of volunteering as regards the connections between motives and the orientation that they express. Other questions examined were as follows: (a) Are there motivational differences between the three volunteer sectors? (b) Do volunteers comprehend motives in a way different from those youths who enlist directly? (c) Is there a gender-related difference in the perception of motives?

## RESULTS

### Orientation Expressed by Connections Between Motives

The structure of connections between motives was examined through Lingus-Guttman's two-dimensional Smallest Space Analysis (SSA; Guttman, 1968) in the matrix of correlations between the motives presented in Table I. The analysis graphically presents the structure of the connections between the variables, which are shown as points, the distances between them representing inversely the correlations between the variables. The fit between the graphic distances and the actual coefficients of corre-

Table I. Pearson Coefficients of Correlation Between Motives ( $\times 100$ )

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. Educate youth	—										
2. Do something for others	38	—									
3. Activate neglected values	38	25	—								
4. Contribute to kibbutz needs	12	17	32	—							
5. View kibbutz from outside	16	6	30	44	—						
6. Fulfill kibbutz expectations	20	16	27	32	19	—					
7. Seek alternative life style	0	9	3	13	22	10	—				
8. Widen horizons and experiences	9	12	-1	-4	3	7	26	—			
9. Be independent among peers	4	3	11	15	16	22	24	30	—		
10. Have fun	-10	-6	-4	7	6	23	30	28	27	—	
11. Delay army service	-10	-6	-3	4	4	16	19	11	6	29	—
12. Find a girl/boyfriend	-9	3	11	3	16	12	33	16	17	29	36

lation is expressed as the coefficient of alienation. When this does not exceed .15, the correlation between the graphic distances and the coefficients of correlation is at least .98. The position of one variable in relation to the others and in relation to the axes make it possible to locate fields and dimensions within the system, always on condition that they can be given theoretical and content significance. The analysis is presented in Fig. 1.

The SSA analysis disclosed along the horizontal dimension of the map four content fields, each reflecting a specific orientation. The extreme right field included task-oriented altruistic motives: do something for others, impart values to youth, actualize neglected kibbutz values. Adjacent to this field is one indicating conformity to the kibbutz with an explorative undertone: fulfill kibbutz expectations, contribute to its needs, or examine it from the outside. Left of this field is also one of clearly explorative motives but individualistic and nonconformist in direction, expressing the search for autonomous identity under moratorium conditions: independence within a peer group, find a new world and new experiences, test alternatives of the kibbutz. On the extreme left field are explorative motives egocentric in tone: postpone army service, find a girl/boyfriend, have a good time.

Examination of the scale averages of the motives in each field (see Table III below) shows that the explorative-nonconformist orientation is the strongest ( $M = 3.4$ ,  $SD = .7$ ). Second strongest is the task-oriented, altruistic ( $M = 3.4$ ,  $SD = .8$ ). Third by a considerable distance is the explorative-conformist ( $M = 2.6$ ,  $SD = .8$ ), and close to it in strength is the explorative-egocentric orientation ( $M = 2.5$ ,  $SD = .9$ ).

The fields can be perceived as arranged on some dimension of orientation that extends from more collectivist and more conformist to the



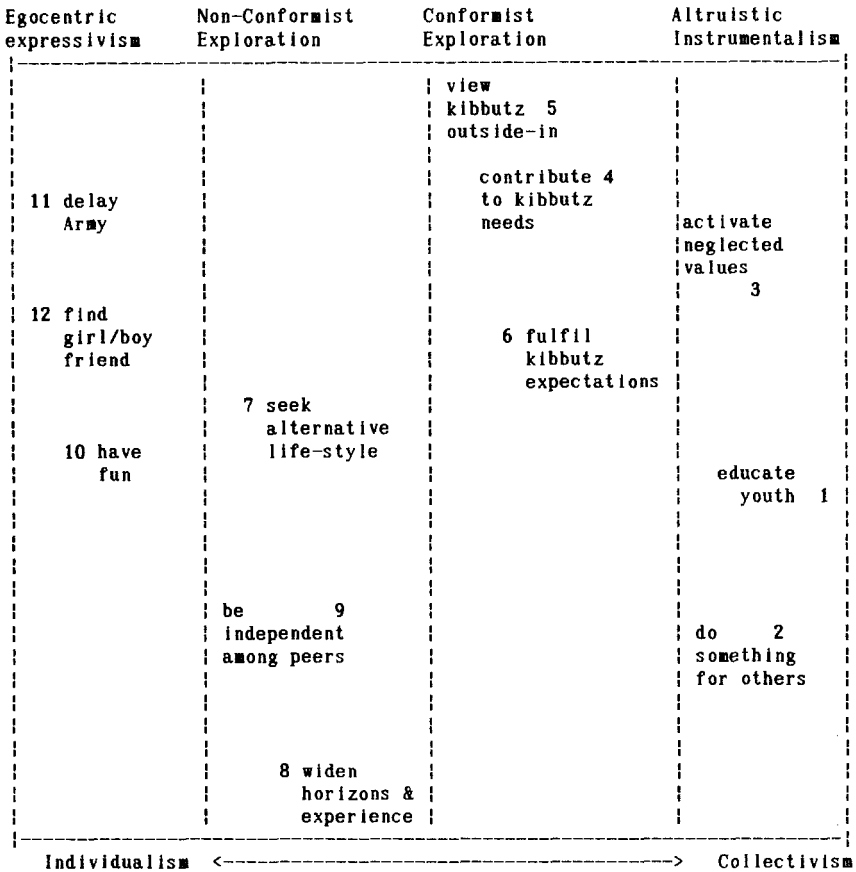


Fig. 1. Two-dimensional smallest space analysis of the associations between 12 motives. Coefficient of alienation = .13.

kibbutz to one that is individualistic and nonconformist. Hence the analysis reconstructs empirically a dimension that we assumed only in theory. The two emphases are alien to one another as can be seen (Table I) from the negative correlations between the task-oriented motivations in the right field and the expressive ones on the left. Respondents who place importance on clearly collectivist motives attach little value to motives that are clearly expressive and individualistic. However, there are significant connections between task-oriented and explorative-conformist motives on one hand, and between expressive and explorative-nonconformist motives on the other. Weaker positive relationships exist between the two groups of explorative motives. These relationships indicate that among some volun-

Table II. Profiles of Orientations (+ high, - low)

Profile	Explorative				N	% by number of orientation	
	Instrumental Altruistic	Conformist	Explorative Non-conform.	Expressive Egocentric		%	%
1	+	+	+	+	42	10.1	10.1
2	-	+	+	+	31	7.5	
3	+	-	+	+	12	2.9	
4	+	+	-	+	18	4.3	
5	+	+	+	-	25	6.	20.7
6	-	+	-	+	31	7.5	
7	-	+	+	-	12	2.9	
8	+	-	-	+	2	5.	
9	+	-	+	-	12	2.9	
10	-	-	+	+	27	6.5	
11	+	+	-	-	50	12.1	32.4
12	+	-	-	-	34	8.2	
13	-	-	-	+	36	8.7	
14	-	+	-	-	20	4.8	
15	-	-	+	-	21	5.1	26.8
16	-	-	-	-	41	9.9	9.9
% "high" on orientation Total	47	55	44	48	414	100.0	100.0

teers explorative and nonconformist tendencies are connected with expectation for expressive rewards, while among others exploration is more connected with the kibbutz, its values and its objectives, while the first tendency is the stronger one.

### Profiles of Motives

We obtained a more detailed picture of individual configurations of orientations through examination of profiles. For each respondent a profile of the four dimensions was worked out. In it the possible grade for each orientation was "high" (greater than or equal to the average) or "low" (less than the average). There were 16 profiles, as detailed in Table II, beginning with "high" in all orientations (++++) and ending with "low" in all (----).

The analysis yielded a complex picture. Each one of the orientations was emphasized by about half the respondents. Ten percent of the volunteers could be defined as "indifferent" with a low profile in four orientations (profile 16). Twenty-seven percent emphasized one dimension only (profiles 12–15), 32% emphasized two orientations (profiles 6–11), 21% emphasized three orientations (profiles 2–5), and 10% emphasized all four (profile 1). It follows, then, that some two-thirds of the volunteers have composite profiles that stress more than one orientation. In 28% the profile was not consistent for the dimension analyzed.

From the kibbutz perspective, fulfilling an altruistic task is the declared reason for volunteering, and enhancing commitment to the kibbutz way of life is the hidden reason. It is therefore interesting to focus on the two more conformist dimensions of the four and to see how they combine. (The percentages that follow should be regarded as weights; they do not add up to 100.) Forty-seven percent of the volunteers emphasize the task-oriented altruistic dimension and 55% the explorative conformist, but only 32% emphasize both together. These latter may be regarded as "task-oriented collectivist," who reflect more than do the others the influence of the main direction of kibbutz education. Among 8% altruistic task orientation is the only one and for 5% it is the explorative conformist experience.

In 45% of the profiles one or both of the above orientations appears in connection with one or both of the more individualistic orientations. Of these, the most interesting is the group of profiles (22%) displaying the combination of altruistic task orientation and explorative nonconformism. Those pertaining to this group may be regarded as "idealistic individualists" who simultaneously express idealism and the inquisitive exploration of youths trying to find themselves and their relationship to society through commitment to societal values and goals and to the needs of the community (Waterman, 1984).

It is noteworthy that 53% of the volunteers do not stress the altruistic task, 45% do not mention conformism to the kibbutz, and that the profiles of 30% do not contain either orientation: they do not include among their motives the declared reasons for volunteering as defined by the organization. These last are "expressive individualists," the most nonconformist and the most "youthful" group. For them, volunteering is first and foremost to satisfy highly personal needs preferred at this life stage over social commitment.

The analysis of profiles indicates that volunteers' motives are complex not only at the group level but also at the individual level. As regards a large number of the volunteers, it is comprised of different combinations of motives that at times conflict as to the orientation they express, and

**Table III.** Differences in Orientations and Motives by Field of Volunteering (Kibbutzim,  $N = 70$ ; Youth Movement,  $N = 290$ ; Communes,  $N = 55$ )<sup>a</sup>

Motives	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>d</i>		
			Kibbutz vs. youth movement	Kibbutz vs. commune	Youth movement vs. commune
A. Instrumental Altruistic	3.4	.8	-.51	-.77	-.26
1. Educate youth	3.5	1.2	-1.00	-.82	.21
2. Do something for others	3.7	1.0	-.39	-.70	-.31
3. Activate neglected values	3.0	1.2	.20	-.17	-.37
B. Explorative Conformist	2.6	.8	.36	.60	.24
4. Contribute to kibbutz needs	2.7	1.1	.41	.47	0
5. View kibbutz from outside	3.0	1.2	.11	.48	.38
6. Fulfill kibbutz expectations	2.1	1.1	.35	.32	0
C. Explorative Nonconformist	3.6	.7	0	.14	.14
7. Seek alternative lifestyle	2.9	1.0	0	0	0
8. Widen horizons and experience	4.4	.8	-.16	0	0
9. Be independent among peers	3.8	1.0	.19	.44	.25
D. Expressive Egocentric	2.5	.9	.22	.22	0
10. Have fun	2.8	1.2	0	.24	.25
11. Delay army service	2.4	1.3	.21	.10	-.11
12. Find a girl/boyfriend	2.3	1.1	0	.12	0

<sup>a</sup> $d < .10$  was denoted 0.

often without any clear connection or indeed without any connection to the declared motives for volunteering.

### Motives by Fields of Activity

The decision to volunteer is connected, as previously stated, with choosing one among three different fields of activity: new kibbutz, youth movement, and commune. To what extent are the differences in social structure and content of activity between fields reflected in different motives among those who choose them?

The examination of the differences in motivation by fields was carried out using a size effect measure: the differences in averages in the groups compared divided by the standard deviation of the whole sample (Cohen, 1977). Following Cohen, we interpret  $d = .2$  as a small difference between

the averages,  $d = .5$  as a medium difference, and  $d = .8$  as a large difference.

The results of the analysis (Table III) show a similar order of importance of the groups of motives in the three activity fields: first are the individualistic explorative motives, second the task-oriented altruistic, and third by a considerable distance the explorative collectivist and the expressive egocentric motives. Interfield differences are more noticeable in motives whose direction is task-oriented, collectivist, and conformist, while the differences in the explorative, nonconformist, and expressive direction are very small. There are greater differences between those who choose to help new kibbutzim and the other two groups. Generally the differences between the volunteers for youth movement leadership and for the communes are small.

The volunteers to help new kibbutzim are less task-oriented than the two other groups as regards educating youth and working for others while displaying a greater degree of conformity with the needs and expectations of the kibbutz. More than the others, they want to view it from another angle—that of the new kibbutz. This conformity appears to explain the choice of this field for volunteering. They are also somewhat more motivated than others by expressive needs. They may therefore be regarded as identifying more closely with the kibbutz and less motivated by the need to explore the novel that leads volunteers to the other two alternatives.

Some of the generally small differences between the volunteers for youth leadership and those for the communes are worth mentioning. Volunteers for the commune are somewhat more task-oriented and idealistic as regards doing for others and actualizing values that the kibbutz in their opinion now neglects. They are less interested than the volunteers for youth leadership in examining the kibbutz from outside, in independence within a peer group and less interested in having a good time.

Thus it turns out that beside basic resemblance in motivation, there are also predictable differences reflecting the nature of the volunteer work. More conformity with the kibbutz along with more expressive undertones is found among volunteers to help new kibbutzim, while among volunteers for youth leadership and the communes there is more altruistic task orientation.

### **Differences Between Volunteers and Those Who Enlist Directly and Differences by Gender**

Are volunteers a special group within their age cohort, do they have specific needs and orientations that lead them, in particular, to volunteer?

**Table IV.** Perceptions of Motives by Volunteers and Nonvolunteers: Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) by Group and Gender

Motives	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	F values of ANOVA <sup>a</sup>		
			Group	Gender	Group × Gender
1. Educate youth	3.5	1.2	30.0 <sup>d</sup>	2.3	1.8
2. Do something for others	3.4	1.0	13.4 <sup>d</sup>	13.1 <sup>d</sup>	.3
3. Activate neglected values	2.8	1.2	15.3 <sup>d</sup>	.1	1.1
4. Contribute to kibbutz needs	2.7	1.1	.2	.5	1.5
5. View the kibbutz outside-in	2.9	1.2	1.9	1.6	1.0
6. Fulfill kibbutz expectations	2.1	1.1	.6	-6.7 <sup>c</sup>	.4
7. Widen horizons and experiences	4.2	.8	46.7 <sup>d</sup>	19.0 <sup>d</sup>	1.1
8. Seek alternative lifestyle	3.0	1.2	3.2	4.5 <sup>b</sup>	.9
9. Be independent among youth	3.6	1.0	14.0 <sup>d</sup>	3.9 <sup>b</sup>	0
10. Have fun	2.9	1.2	.1	1.2	.7
11. Delay army service	2.3	1.3	16.7 <sup>d</sup>	-13.1 <sup>d</sup>	0
12. Find a girl/boyfrined	2.2	1.1	.9	-5.6 <sup>b</sup>	2.2

<sup>a</sup>Positive *F* values denote higher averages for volunteers and women; negative values denote higher averages for men.

<sup>b</sup>*p* < .05.

<sup>c</sup>*p* < .01.

<sup>d</sup>*p* < .001.

We do not have a full answer: a partial one emerges from a comparison of volunteers' motives with an evaluation of these same motives among those who enlist directly after completing school. A two-way analysis of variance of the 12 motives by group (volunteers, those enlisting directly) and by gender yields a mixed picture (Table IV).

There is little difference between volunteers and those enlisting directly in evaluating expressive and egocentric motives, and those indicating conformity with the kibbutz, all of which are evaluated lower in both groups. As to egocentric motives, those who enlist, as could be expected, place a higher value only on the desire to postpone military service. By contrast, the volunteers tend to give a higher value to task-oriented altruistic motives that challenge the individual and to explorative nonconformist motives, which are most highly valued in both groups. Although these motives are similarly ordered by both, the volunteers are higher for the following motives: to broaden horizons and experience, be independent among a peer group, do something meaningful for others, educate youth, actualize values that the kibbutz has neglected, and postpone enlistment.

From the higher value that the volunteers give to altruistic and explorative-individualistic motives, one may conclude that they more than their counterparts are motivated by moratorium needs.

The basic similarity in grading the importance of motives, the moderate differences in the averages, and the low value that both volunteers and those who enlist directly give to kibbutz-conforming motives on one hand and the desire for a good time on the other indicate sincerity and the absence of the social desirability element in volunteers' answers.

Altruistic task orientation and the tendency to the explorative and the innovative are stronger among the girls. Their greater desire to do for others may be connected with the more feminine quality of caring, a feminist viewpoint taken by psychologists (Gilligan, 1982). Their higher evaluation of the opportunity to be independent within a peer group may reflect their perception of the relatively restricted position of women in the kibbutz (Palgi, 1983). The boys are more conformist as regards the kibbutz and their motives are somewhat more expressive. More than the girls, they want to postpone military service for a year in favor of a good time within a less demanding setup (not a significant difference). Perhaps because of the mortal danger and the far greater physical and mental effort that awaits them in the army, by comparison with the girls, they are more eager for a comfortable interim period.

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

We have assumed mixed motives among kibbutz youth who volunteer for a year of community service, motives that fall along some dimension of task-oriented altruism as against expressive individualism. The assumption was based first of all on accumulated data as to volunteers' motives in other societies, especially in the United States. In particular, we relied on the assumption that volunteering gives young people the chance for a moratorium experience, for the search for identity and for autonomous expression, needs that arise from the prolonged period of youth in contemporary society. In the communal reality of the kibbutz, these needs are accentuated, both because of the difficulty of reaching autonomous individual identity under conditions of an all-embracing communalism that applies strong pressures to conform, and because of the security status that the kibbutz offers to its young people, making it possible for them to straddle the fence for a long time, avoiding commitments as to their future.

Empirical examination has indeed confirmed in detail the dimension we postulated. The content universe of these motives turned out to be divided into four fields along a semantic continuum from collectivism to in-

dividualism: from task-oriented altruism through the kibbutz-oriented conformist exploration, and nonconformist individualist exploration to the expressive egocentric.

Throughout, we found that volunteers attach importance to altruistic activity and innovative exploration, and give less weight to conformity with the kibbutz and to entirely expressive motives. While the explorative mood is central, meaningful relations were found between task-oriented motives and explorative conformist motives on one hand, and explorative nonconformist motives on the other, which indicate that among some volunteers the tendency to explorative nonconformism is connected with the expectation of expressive rewards, while among others it is connected more with the kibbutz, its values, and its goals.

Examination of a personal profiles showed that less than a third of the respondents had a single-orientation profile. Two-thirds or more of the profiles had more than one orientation, many profiles being inconsistent as to the central dimension of the analysis and a considerable number contradicted the declared purposes of volunteering. Among the profiles several interesting combinations appeared. The first was "the vital experimenter," strongly motivated at the outset by all orientations. This is a genuine moratorium type as yet unfocused, active, and curious by nature, and ready to search and to go in any direction that the community service year offers. The opposite type might be called "the indifferent," weakly motivated in all directions, apparently because of low personal energies. The third type is "the task-oriented collectivist," who combines altruistic task orientation with a high degree of conformity to the kibbutz, clearly reflecting the influence of the main direction of kibbutz education. S/he is a less moratorial type and may even incline toward a too early foreclosure (Marcia, 1980). The fourth type is "the idealistic individualist," who combines task-oriented altruism with nonconformist curiosity and individualism. S/he is another genuine moratorium type, expressing more than the others the search for an autonomous identity, not necessarily in conformity with the kibbutz but with regard to social ideals and to community needs. The fifth type is "the expressive individualist," the most liminal of all, self-absorbed, and for whom satisfying very personal needs and desires is more important at this stage than social commitments.

In view of these findings, one can see that the community service year is comprehended by those about to embark on it as a "supermarket" of possible answers to varied expectations. For half of them, the anticipated altruistic task in keeping with collective goals is the central motive; although only for a minority of these is it the sole motive—for most there is a combination of other, more individualist orientations. For the other half, however, doing for others does not occupy the place we would anticipate in



an organization of volunteers for community service, and some members of this latter group do not even express commitment to the collective that initiated the volunteering project.

The supermarket conception appears to arise on one hand from the moratorial tendencies of the youth who grew up in small, homogeneous ideological communities but who are wide open to their surroundings, practicing progressive education that sends out double messages of collective commitment and individual autonomy. On the other hand, the conception relates to the varied activities and possibilities that the three types of volunteering offer. Those with stronger moratorium tendencies, the more curious, the more individualistic, may find answers to their needs in youth leadership or in community service within an urban commune. Those less sure of their ability to meet the intellectual challenges of youth leadership will seek to satisfy their needs for independent work and social life in a new kibbutz, in surroundings without threatening novelty. This possibility of satisfying different needs is explaining in no small measure the great popularity of volunteering among youth in the kibbutz.

There is considerable similarity between volunteers' motives and the evaluation of those motives by those who enlist directly in the military. This anchors the motivation system we investigated within the general situation of youth and in particular within that of youth raised in a communal society. But beyond the basic similarity, the volunteers turned out to be a group that values altruistic and explorative motives more highly and one with more moratorium tendencies than their contemporaries who did not choose to volunteer.

In conclusion, one must remember that here we have discussed motivation among people as yet inexperienced as volunteers. Without doubt the experience has its own socializing influences, and the passing of a year at this age has a maturation effect. It would be interesting to investigate whether and in which directions orientations are changed as a result of experience in the year of community service.

## REFERENCES

- Allard, E. (1988). The current context of youth in economy, politics, and social development: The new subjectivism. In Kuczynski, J., et al. (eds.), *Perspectives on Contemporary Youth*. The United Nations University, Tokyo.
- Avrahami, A. (1992). A year of community work: A stride towards maturity for kibbutz youth. Ph.D. Thesis, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem. (In Hebrew.)
- Blos, P. (1979). *The Adolescent Passage: Developmental Issues*. International Universities Press, New York.
- Bockneck, G. (1980). *The Young Adult*. Brooks/Cole, Monterey, CA.
- Brake, M. (1985). *Youth Culture*. Tavistock, London.

- Cochavi, R. (1981). The year of service in a personal view. In *Adolescence in the Kibbutz*. (Mimeo). Tel-Aviv: Ichud Hakvutzot ve Hakibutzim. (In Hebrew).
- Cohen, J. (1977). *Statistical Power Analysis for the Behavioral Sciences*. Academic Press, New York.
- Dar, Y. (1993). Youth in the kibbutz: The prolonged transition to adulthood. *Isr. Social Sci. J.* 8: 122-146.
- Dar, Y., and Gilad, T. (1991). Changing paths in the life course of kibbutz youth: 1957-1987. *Shorashim* 7. (In Hebrew).
- de Tocqueville, A. (1945). *Democracy in America* (2 Vols.). Knopf, New York. (Originally published 1835).
- Erikson, E. H. (1968). *Identity: Youth and Crisis*. Norton, New York.
- Gilligan, C. (1984). *In a Different Voice*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.
- Guttman, L. (1968). A general non-metric technique for finding the smallest coordinate space of coordination of points. *Psychometrika* 33: 469-506.
- Hogan, H. J. (1981). Philosophical issues in voluntarism. *J. Volunt. Action Res.* 10: 90-102.
- Kahane, R. (1975). Informal youth organizations: A general model. *Sociol. Inquiry* 45: 17-28.
- Kahane, R. (1988). Multicode organizations: A conceptual framework for the analysis of boarding schools. *Sociol. Educat.* 61: 211-223.
- Kauffman, F. F. (1963). Youth and the Peace Corps. In Erikson, E. (ed.), *Youth, Change and Challenge*. Basic Books, New York.
- Keniston, K. (1970). Youth as a stage of life. *Am. Scholar* 39: 631-654.
- Lamdan, E. (1991). The "Year Off": A chapter in the maturation process of kibbutz-born youth. M.A. thesis. School of Education, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem. (In Hebrew.)
- Marcia, J. E. (1980). Identity in adolescence. In Adelson, J. (ed.), *Handbook of Adolescent Psychology*, New York.
- Mittelberg, D. (1988). Volunteers in the kibbutz: Their motives, integration process and social consequences. Ph.D. thesis, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem.
- Palgi, M. (ed.). (1983). *Gender Equality: The Israel Kibbutz Tests the Theories*. Norwood, Philadelphia, PA.
- Rutter, R., and Newmann, F. M. (1989). The potential of community service to enhance civic responsibility. *Social Educat.* 53: 371-374.
- Ochberg, R. I. (1986). College dropouts: The developmental logic of psychological moratoria. *J. Youth Adolesc.* 15: 287-302.
- Serow, R. C. (1991). Students and voluntarism: Looking into the motives of community service participants. *Amer. Educat. Res. J.* 28: 543-556.
- Sills, D. L. (1968). Voluntary associations: Sociological aspects. In *International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences* (Vol. 16). MacMillan, New York.
- Smith, D. H. (1981). Altruism, volunteers, and volunteering. *J. Volunt. Action Res.* 10: 21-36.
- Turner, V. (1969). *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*. Aldine, Chicago.
- Warriner, C. R., and Prather, J. E. (1965). Four types of voluntary associations. *Sociol. Inquiry* 35: 138-148.
- Waterman, A. S. (1984). *The Psychology of Individualism*. Praeger, New York.