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Traditional revolution: The issue of marriage on religious kibbutzim, 1929–1948 – a comparative view

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This article compares marriage patterns in the formative years of the religious kibbutz movement (1929–1948) with those in secular kibbutzim at that time. It explores how members of religious kibbutzim, who adopted many of the revolutionary values embraced by secular kibbutzim, dealt with the issue of marriage while maintaining their religious way of life. This problem serves as a case study for understanding the unique complexities that arise when revolutionary ideas are combined with traditional values. The issue of marriage on religious kibbutzim had distinctive features in relation to both religious society and the secular kibbutz. At the same time it shows that in practice, the patterns of behavior on both types of kibbutzim were fairly similar.

Keywords: kibbutz; tradition; marriage; ceremony; religion; women

"Have you ever asked yourself what is the power of a couple?" asks Ephraim in Joshua Sobol's play "Night of the Twenties," based on the diaries of members of Hashomer Hatza'ir, who were temporarily based at Bitania Ilit in 1920. Ephraim, the son of a bourgeois Viennese family, adds: "Rulers have risen and fallen, institutions have been replaced, religions have disappeared, empires have turned to ashes, entire societies have been reduced to dust, yet the couple remains. The tribal community is no longer, but Jacob and Rachel are characters of our time."[1] The traditional couple, Ephraim argues, is stronger than any social revolution.

There are numerous studies on the revolution regarding marriage and family that occurred on kibbutzim. This revolution stemmed from various causes, including the desire to break away from the traditional Jewish way of life. This study explores how members of religious kibbutzim, who adopted many of the same revolutionary values embraced by secular kibbutzim, dealt with the issue of marriage while maintaining their religious way of life. It compares marriage patterns in the formative years of the religious kibbutz movement (1929–48) with those in secular kibbutzim at that time. This problem, which confronted members of religious kibbutzim, can serve as a case study for understanding the unique complexities that arise when revolutionary ideas are combined with traditional values.

The religious kibbutz and its members

The kibbutz was a unique form of settlement based on an egalitarian cooperative way of life on national lands.[2] The kibbutz was also the spearhead of Zionist achievement and the personal aspiration of many young people in both the Yishuv (the Jewish community in pre-1948 Palestine) and the diaspora. From the 1920s onwards, the kibbutz was also of great interest to young *religious* pioneers from Europe, who sought to immigrate to

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Palestine and establish kibbutzim that would enable them to fulfill their work ethic while pursuing a religious way of life according to Jewish law.[3]

The Religious Kibbutz Movement began with the immigration of religious pioneers from Germany to Palestine in 1929 who settled in Rodges, a cooperative community in Petah Tikvah. The first religious kibbutz, Tirat Zvi, was established in 1937. At that time there were about fifty secular kibbutzim, and the religious pioneers looked to them as role models. On the eve of the War of Independence, there were fifteen groups in the religious kibbutz movement; ten of these were kibbutzim that had settled on the land while others were planning to do so.[4]

Members of religious kibbutzim advocated a combination of three values: nationalism, socialism, and religion. Because of their adoption of the egalitarian and socialist values of the secular kibbutz, religious kibbutzim took upon themselves, theoretically at least, the goal of bringing about a gender revolution and establishing equality between the sexes. Religious kibbutzim adopted socialism, supported modern religious values, and declared that they would build societies that were mixed and equal, according to the model of the secular kibbutz. They supported the full participation of women in the kibbutz economy through recognition of women's essential rights.[5]

However, religious kibbutzim adhered to Jewish tradition, which is distinctly masculine in nature and based upon separation between the sexes.[6] Members of religious kibbutzim, therefore, had to combine two different, often opposing cultures. The intended changes regarding the position of women and relations between men and women contradicted Jewish law and tradition.[7] The question of gender was, therefore, a key challenge in their quest to combine modernity with religion, egalitarian life with adherence to Jewish law.

The problematic encounter between the secular kibbutz model and the religious worldview generated a variety of questions related to Jewish law, concerning both agricultural issues such as milking cows on Shabbat, the religious day of rest, and social issues, such as raising children in communal children's houses. Questions such as these occupied members of religious kibbutzim during the early years.[8]

About 25% of religious settlers in rural settlements in Palestine resided in religious kibbutzim (1,655 in 1947).[9] Nevertheless, religious kibbutzim were autonomous islands of religious pioneers and expressed a unique approach to all aspects of life. Their members believed there had to be a reciprocal relationship between Jewish law and contemporary social conditions;[10] this belief was relevant when it came to difficult questions regarding women's place in religious society. The issue of marriage on the religious kibbutz reflects, therefore, the wider question of the ability of religious society to incorporate innovative, challenging, secular ideas.

Most members of religious kibbutzim were not married when they immigrated to Palestine in the 1930s and 1940s and joined kibbutzim out of Zionist motivations. They saw the kibbutz as the pinnacle of pioneering and as a superior way of life. Some women thought kibbutz life would bring them more opportunities for personal development and enable them to enter all areas of society and culture and enjoy equal rights in all respects.[11] However, fulfilling these new aspirations was problematic. The challenge of rebelling against old frameworks without changing traditional values was faced by religious women worldwide.[12] Gender gaps existed from the very beginning. Far fewer women than men joined religious kibbutzim, leading to a ratio of about two men for every woman. This ratio remained for a long time, and was a significant factor in the development of religious kibbutzim.[13] It should be noted that the situation was similar on secular kibbutzim.[14] There were several reasons for this disparity. There was a relatively larger number of male

pioneers and immigrants since men were given preferential immigration opportunities during the British Mandate.[15] Security concerns and an overall shortage of labor on kibbutzim also meant that men were favored over women. Some members of religious kibbutzim claimed that women were less eager to live on kibbutz than men and that fewer women were interested in creating a unique religious environment.[16] This numerical imbalance led to difficulties in finding marriage partners (which will be discussed below).

Methodology

The history of the family, including the subject of marriage, is a relatively new field of research.[17] Since ancient times the family, based on the marriage of a man and a woman, has been perceived as a powerful human phenomenon and one of the first natural partnerships in human society.[18] This in itself may be a reason why the kibbutzim challenged the traditional notion of family, and why the new family on the kibbutz is one of the most frequently studied subjects in research on kibbutz society.[19] I draw on these studies in order to analyze marriage patterns on religious kibbutzim from a comparative perspective.

The research reported here is based on material gathered from archives, institutions, and kibbutzim, including minutes of meetings, correspondence, articles, and newsletters from religious kibbutzim, supplemented by personal interviews that were critically analyzed in light of the amount of time that had elapsed since the events reported in them. A major problem in the research was the scarcity of female sources, since women's lives were often excluded from public activities and documentation. Issues such as marriage were rarely formally addressed by women, and many of the questions raised in this study cannot be properly answered due to the silence of the sources. Despite these limitations, I aim to present the issue of marriage in religious kibbutzim as fully as possible on the basis of the existing documentation.

Factors influencing marriage on kibbutz

Marriage patterns in traditional Jewish society

Until the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, most immigrants (both those who joined kibbutzim and those who did not) came from similar backgrounds: European traditional Jewish society, which perceived marriage as a religious duty with the goal of producing children. Jewish laws were made with the aim of preserving stability in marriage and the family unit.[20] Marriages were often the result of matchmaking according to various considerations and it was highly unusual for a man or woman to choose his or her spouse.[21] The family model was patriarchal, with a clear gender-based division of tasks. The man had the power and the authority, and his wife and children were dependent on him. The man was expected to earn a living and be the outward face of the family; the woman was expected to stay home and raise the children. The social and religious duty of the Jewish woman was as a wife and mother.[22]

During the nineteenth century, in the wake of social, economic, cultural, and political changes in both Jewish and non-Jewish societies, marriage patterns also began to change. The shift from arranged marriages to marriage by choice, the emergence of the romantic notion of being a couple, and the feminist concept of gender equality from the end of the eighteenth century influenced the way in which Jews regarded their functioning as a couple in general and the marriage rite in particular.[23]

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, hundreds of thousands of Jews emigrated from eastern Europe to the United States; thousands emigrated to Palestine.

Although studies show that migration has the power to bring about changes in marriage patterns,[24] tradition had an immense influence on these immigrants. Thus, even though most people made many changes when they immigrated to Palestine, adopting a new language and a new way of life, Yishuv society remained patriarchal and familial, both ideologically and demographically. Two-thirds of all Jewish immigrants to the Yishuv were already married, and most of the adults in the Yishuv were married. Marriage, the age at marriage, birth rates, and the gender-based division of roles within the family were very similar to the prevalent trends in Europe. Adults, especially women, were expected to marry, and over 95% of Jewish women during this period were married by the age of forty. The family, as the most important social unit, fulfilled many social roles in the new Zionist society.[25] This family was based primarily upon marriage patterns that had been common in Jewish society for centuries.

Nationalism and socialism

Alongside the religious background, kibbutz members were also exposed to processes of modernization and education, as well as secular and nationalist ideologies that prevailed in Europe during this period. Both nationalism and socialism were wary of the traditional institution of the family, perceiving it as an obstacle to change, a framework that demanded complete devotion and prevented total commitment to the collective. But there was a significant difference in the ways that these movements dealt with the issue of family. While nationalism sought to resolve the conflict between the family and the collective by subjecting the family to the nation's needs, socialism sought to reduce the family unit and its functions.[26] Socialist and feminist movements called, among other things, for the liberation of wives from legal and economic dependence upon their husbands.[27] These new ideas had an impact upon perceptions of marriage.

Nationalism also had an impact on marriage patterns. Research shows a connection between nationalism and marriage, and examines how marital connections influence the national identity of men and women.[28] Conflict regarding marriage has often been an integral part of national revolutions.[29] The aspiration to establish new civil laws was in opposition to religious laws, and there was tension between religious marriage patterns and the demand for civil marriage.[30] Questions were also raised regarding intermarriage among people of different national and ethnic backgrounds.[31]

Social change resulting from dramatic events such as wars and revolutions also influenced perceptions of marriage.[32] Marriage laws in Tsarist Russia, for example, were strictly based on Christian laws. Divorce was very rare, and adultery was punishable by law. Indeed, the liberalization of marriage laws was one of the Bolshevik government's first steps after the 1917 revolution. Only civil marriage was recognized, in which mutual consent from both spouses was required, and divorce became easily available.[33]

The immigrants who came to Palestine from eastern Europe had been exposed to changes such as the rejection of patriarchal authority and the acceptance of premarital sex. Changes in the age at marriage and in perceptions of marriage and divorce were particularly evident among women, both Jewish and non-Jewish.[34] Some of these immigrants saw the change in marriage patterns as an integral part of the national and socialist revolution that was being implemented in Palestine.

Religion and tradition in the kibbutz

The attitude of Jewish society to religious life comprises three main concepts: religion, tradition, and folklore. Sociologist Émile Durkheim defined religion as a set of beliefs and

practices relating to entities or supernatural forces that are perceived as holy, in which a set of prohibitions, imperatives, beliefs, customs, and ceremonies is associated with various areas of life.[35] The term "tradition" has many interpretations.[36] The historian Anita Shapira regards tradition as external manifestations of customs originating in religion. In this view, "tradition" is a secular concept, which, unlike religion, has no obligatory value, and a person can adopt or reject traditions as he/she sees fit.[37] Tradition is often viewed as the link between each generation and the cultural heritage of its past.[38] "Folklore" refers to social and cultural experiences related to the daily life of the Jewish community in general and the Jewish family in particular.[39]

The desire to break with the Jewish way of life based on religion was at the heart of the Zionist revolution.[40] Like other national societies that sought to establish new social orders, Zionism aimed to create a new society, with new gender relations, and a "new Jew" with masculine characteristics.[41] Nevertheless, in practice, tradition played a major role in the Yishuv. The centrality of the family and its importance for the continuity and the existence of the nation was also evident in the new Zionist society.[42] The Zionist movement, which sought to break away from its Jewish roots, still believed in the traditional values of the importance of procreation and perceived the mother as the base of both the family and the community.[43] This perception had a direct impact on maintaining traditional perceptions of marriage in many areas of Zionist society.

The kibbutz, under the influence of a variety of factors, including socialism, the youth culture that emerged in the European youth movements, the *Haskalah* (Jewish Enlightenment), and the increasing secularization process in nineteenth-century Europe, created a kind of secular religion whose values and symbols expressed a conscious rebellion both against religion and the Jewish way of life and against the nuclear family structure associated with bourgeois society. The kibbutz did not abandon Jewish identity but sought to redesign it. In the early days of the kibbutz, holidays with religious significance were rejected, as were symbols and ceremonies relating to the life cycle such as circumcision, bar mitzvahs, weddings, and funerals. Religious ceremonies were changed and new secular ceremonies were developed, not only in order to avoid religion, but also to create new values in its place.[44] Following the establishment of the State of Israel, opposition to Jewish traditions was moderated, and secular kibbutzim gradually became more traditional. Though religious ceremonies were not adopted in their entirety, kibbutz members were more willing to include religious elements in certain ceremonies.[45]

Alongside the rejection of religious laws, kibbutzim also sought to shape a new attitude to gender. According to Yocheved Bat-Rachel, from the secular kibbutz Ein Harod, the kibbutz strove to create a society that was "free of the restraints of tradition."[46] These restraints include both religious laws and traditional gender-related restrictions. These new concepts had a direct bearing on the concept and practice of marriage on kibbutz.

The kibbutz and the issue of marriage

The question of women and gender on kibbutz is the subject of diverse research, relating to areas such as employment, education, status, function, and motherhood.[47] As egalitarian cooperative societies, kibbutzim saw gender equality as a basic principle. Women who joined kibbutzim, aspired to create a new type of Jewish woman, one who was free of Jewish patriarchy. However, the path to implementing gender equality and establishing a new feminine identity was filled with challenges.[48]

Theoretically, the principles of cooperative equality and work ethics should have had a direct impact on gender equality. However, despite declarations of egalitarianism in

kibbutz society, there was no gender equality since kibbutzim were organized according to a gender-based division of work, according to the perception that female kibbutz members were "natural mothers."[49] Still, the principle of gender equality was one of the arguments against the institution of marriage. According to Sylvie Fogiel-Bijaoui, kibbutzim did not aim to negate the institution of the family. Rather, in accordance with socialist principles, they sought to establish an egalitarian and democratic family based on affection and love rather than the transfer of private ownership from one generation to the next.[50] This approach led to the change in marriage patterns on the kibbutz.

As early as 1944, sociologist Siegfried Landshut published a study of kibbutzim and kibbutz society. Landshut, like Aristotle before him, thought the nuclear family was the foundation of human society, and that cooperative society had to overcome nature.[51] The issue of marriage demonstrates the inherent difficulty in this. The early kibbutz movement contained an anti-familial element stemming from the rebellion against traditional Jewish life. The first kibbutzim were formed by single men; when they discussed the structure of their future settlement, few paid attention to the potential place of the family. The appearance of the first couples was problematic to the other kibbutz members, as kibbutz society demanded complete loyalty to the collective, while marriage and the family were perceived as competing elements, as a relic of the religious way of life that these pioneers had left behind, and a symbol of the bourgeois way of life that preserved gender inequality.[52] Kibbutz founders criticized matchmaking for perpetuating inequality and forcing young men and women into marriages against their will;[53] they also opposed the religious marriage ceremony in which the husband gained ownership of his wife. The goal of the kibbutz founders was to create a small community that members joined voluntarily, in which social relations were based on kinship and equality, and partnerships were based on love and free will. The ceremony and symbols of religious marriage were rejected.[54]

The kibbutz, in its early years, was seen by its members as a substitute for the family unit.[55] This perception accorded both with revolutionary ideologies and with the kibbutz members' new economic and demographic situation as young single people living far from their parents in a society with few women.[56] However, many members, who had been raised in a traditional environment, continued to perceive the family as an emotional sanctuary that was especially important amidst the harsh conditions of their life and surroundings.[57] The desire for intimate relationships led to the formation of couples on *all* kibbutzim during their early years.[58] Often, these couples were not married in formal ceremonies, but did live together. When a marriage ceremony was held, it incorporated new symbols relating to their new lives (see below). The tension between the family and the collective meant that until the 1940s, relationships were not overtly displayed in public.[59]

During the 1930s and 1940s, when families were becoming a prominent social unit on secular kibbutzim,[60] religious kibbutzim were just being established. Secular kibbutzim served as a model for religious kibbutz members in many ways, and this model included couples and families. Nonetheless, certain practices such as delayed marriages, couples living together without a religious marriage ceremony, and couples whose main purpose was not procreation, were problematic for members of religious kibbutzim.

The perception of marriage on religious kibbutzim

Members of religious kibbutzim have often defined the family as one of the more complicated issues they confronted, and it was discussed as a theoretical question long before any families were actually established.[61] The complex encounter between the collective and the intimate family unit troubled members of religious kibbutzim. The

arguments against the "old family" were similar on both secular and religious kibbutzim: the economic situation did not allow for the establishment of families; family life on the kibbutz would undermine the unity of the kibbutz, and so forth. Although it was clear to members of religious kibbutzim that if they wanted to establish a new way of life, they would have to create a new type of family, they did not want to damage the religious framework founded on the family unit.[62]

Religious communes worldwide have debated the role of family in communal life, and adopted different solutions. At one extreme are communes that prohibit sex and create an almost complete separation between male and female members; at the other extreme are communes that permit unrestricted sexual relations. Some communes took a path similar to that of kibbutzim; in other words, they permitted family life but reduced the role of the family unit.[63] Religious kibbutzim discussed the issue, but the problem became more serious when the first couples wanted to formalize their relationships.

Members of secular kibbutzim thought sexual relations should be based on mutual love and viewed sexual relations before marriage as legitimate. Despite the lack of a religious ceremony, sexual mores were conservative, due to members' traditional and moral backgrounds and because a deep emotional attachment was expected prior to sexual relations. The fact that women were a minority on secular kibbutzim also created problems. Declarations of "free love" were accompanied by the contradictory demand for restraint. Unrestricted sexual relations were not the norm and did not receive official ideological endorsement; on the contrary, sexual permissiveness was criticized, mainly under the influence of deeply ingrained traditional conservative attitudes.[64] Although extramarital affairs did occur between secular kibbutz members, couples were expected to be monogamous, and during the 1930s and 1940s divorce was rare.[65] Indeed, although secular kibbutz members clung to revolutionary ideals, their sexual behavior tended to be conservative.

On religious kibbutzim, it was assumed that members would maintain a high standard of morality and purity, which also affected relations between the sexes.[66] While sexual relations on secular kibbutzim reflected the gap between modern concepts and a conservative reality, religious kibbutzim were based on a conservative perspective that apparently should have avoided this contradiction. Nevertheless, the realities of life on religious kibbutzim created new patterns of behavior regarding the relationship between men and women.

Religious kibbutzim were established as mixed and cooperative societies. Kibbutz members were accustomed to activities such as mixed dancing, and men and women had regular contact with each other. There was greater familiarity between men and women before marriage, and relations based on personal friendships evolved gradually. These changes often clashed with tradition.[67] Most of the young people who joined religious kibbutzim came from religious Jewish backgrounds in which men and women were separated in various aspects of their life (especially in the public sphere). Therefore, on the religious kibbutz, although members of both sexes met on a regular basis, male members did not view female members as equal partners; instead, to the dismay of women who joined kibbutzim, they viewed them from a traditional perspective, as potential wives.[68] Religious perceptions made it difficult for members of religious kibbutzim to develop friendships with people of the opposite sex. According to one member, "Whenever a male member of the kibbutz befriends a female member, everyone regards them as a couple without believing that they could just be friends."[69] This tendency was unique to religious kibbutzim, as friendships between men and women on secular kibbutzim were quite common and were not regarded as entailing romantic relations. On the contrary, in the 1920s secular kibbutzim tried to downplay such relationships in order to resolve the tension between the couple and the collective.[70]

According to the religious point of view, marriage is the answer to sexual desire. However, some members of religious kibbutzim felt it was necessary to overcome this desire. As one male member explained: "This type of will power is what distinguishes humans from animals ... how it insults me when I see a male member of the kibbutz looking at a female member as a man looks at a woman. I can imagine how this type of gaze must insult the female member, and I am embarrassed for the man, and for our youth movement which didn't educate him differently."[71] Members of religious kibbutzim emphasized that despite their lack of complete separation between the sexes (unlike in religious Jewish society), they maintained what they considered to be moral relations between the two sexes. This was essentially a mixed society that sought to preserve the norms and behaviors that were the foundations of religious society.[72]

The position of religious law on the issue of marriage was clear. The most authoritative Jewish code of law (*Shulhan arukh*) states that a man must marry a woman to procreate, and this command applies to every man who reaches the age of eighteen. However, members of religious kibbutzim thought that they should plan their time of marriage, discuss the deferment of marriage, and establish a policy that would guide kibbutz members when they decided they wanted to marry.[73]

In a debate that took place on a religious kibbutz in 1941, various arguments were voiced in support of delaying marriage: as marriage was a heavy financial burden for the kibbutz because of the need for separate housing for married couples, marriages should be postponed until the kibbutz achieved financial stability; marriage deferment was essential for enabling the kibbutz to reach maturity in the sense of the members' age and experience and the social cohesion among them; marriage overemphasizes individuals' private life, increasing selfishness that could conflict with the needs of the community.[74] Another argument highlighted the priority of national needs, claiming that marriage might hamper the mobility of the group and its ability to undertake national roles.[75] Arguments such as these, which supported the subordination of individual ambitions to the general good, were also expressed on secular kibbutzim.[76]

In opposition to these arguments, marriage was described as a positive change rather than a disruption, one that helps kibbutz members by making their actions more balanced.[77] It was argued that in order to prevent physical and mental frustrations, early marriage should actually be encouraged. As one member said: "Our existence as a religious kibbutz requires us to let members know clearly that if they feel a need to advance the date of their marriage, the kibbutz cannot and does not want to hold them back."[78]

Members of religious kibbutzim realized that secular kibbutzim could not serve as role models with regard to marriage. According to Rudy Hertz, from the religious Kibbutz Yavneh, "There they scorned all conventions. Couples lived together without holy matrimony ... there was no stability in family life ... couples separated easily. ... In all the other areas of life, we learned from the secular kibbutz movement, which was older and more experienced than us. However in this field, we had to find our path for ourselves."[79] Members of religious kibbutzim required marriage in order to fulfill the commandments of Jewish law, since procreation was necessary for strengthening the nation, for preventing physical and emotional problems that could be caused from unsatisfied sexuality, and for creating the desired structure of the kibbutz, seen as a combination of family units.[80] After the Holocaust, there were even more reasons to encourage marriage, both in light of the need for increased births for the sake of the nation and in order to fulfill the emotional needs of unmarried immigrants, some of them Holocaust survivors, who had been through difficult absorption processes, had trouble adjusting to kibbutz life, and needed the support of a spouse.[81]

The practice of marriage on religious kibbutzim

Religious kibbutzim varied in their responses to the dilemma between the desire to enable kibbutz members to devote themselves to building the kibbutz without diverting substantial economic and emotional resources to families and children and the need to strengthen the nation through marriage and the establishment of families, which had great religious importance. Some religious kibbutzim put off marriage until the kibbutz had a permanent place of settlement. This was the case, for example, with Kibbutz Sde Eliyahu, whose members thought their kibbutz should be built slowly. The first marriage took place in February 1940, six years after its members had arrived in Palestine with the Youth Aliyah movement, when the kibbutz moved to a permanent site. Members of the kibbutz claim that this decision saved them from many crises. However, with the establishment of the kibbutz in its permanent location, Sde Eliyahu members believed that creating families was of great importance both to the kibbutz and to its individual members.[82] Other religious kibbutzim, such as Kibbutz Tirat Zvi, already had seven married couples amongst their members when they moved to their permanent location, and five more couples married within the following year. There was no formal policy on delaying marriage on religious kibbutzim, and members who wanted to marry were not prohibited from doing so. Nevertheless, there was an unwritten agreement that marriages would be delayed until the kibbutz was established, which distinguished religious kibbutzim from religious society, since the very discussion on the possibility of postponing marriage was new.

Although women played a decisive role in this issue, they do not seem to have participated in public decisions on it, leaving the men to make the decisions. Given the values they were raised with, they most likely aspired to marry and become mothers. There are few recorded responses from female kibbutz members arguing that marriage was a private matter about which the kibbutz did not have the authority to interfere and that the maturity of the members should be trusted.[83]

Rudy and Ilse Hertz, the first married couple on the religious Kibbutz Yavne, met at the Rodges training farm in Germany in 1930 while preparing for their emigration to Palestine. After a year of working together, their relationship strengthened. "We felt like we were meant for each other, but were still far from being a couple," Rudy recalled. "While training at Rodges, strict distance was kept between the men and the women, despite the small area in which we all lived. Personal problems were put off."[84] As the date of their move to Palestine approached, Rudy and Ilse wanted to formalize their relationship, but they hesitated to start a family when faced with an unknown future. They saw themselves as recruits to the new nation and wanted to be prepared for every challenge. For this reason, they decided to become engaged and to marry at a later date. However, their families argued that traveling together was inappropriate behavior for unmarried religious Jews, and so they were married one day before they left for Palestine.

When Rudy and Ilse came to Palestine in February 1933, they presented their marriage to the kibbutz as a *fait accompli*. Rudy remembers the reaction of other kibbutz members, who wondered, "How was it possible that new members would join the kibbutz and confront us with this fact? After all, kibbutz members who had already been there for one or two years hadn't dared to marry yet. And these, who had just arrived, were demanding such a privilege?" Indeed, until their arrival, all the kibbutz members had been single. They felt that the kibbutz was not a suitable home for families, and members who asked to stay on the kibbutz delayed their marriages. General kibbutz problems also contributed to the deferment of private matters. Nevertheless, the arrival of the first married couple proved that marriage on kibbutz was possible. "The first wave of marriages among veteran

kibbutz members who had put off their decision to marry occurred after our arrival. Reality conquered hesitations, experience was acquired, and patterns of family life on religious kibbutzim were formed," Rudy noted. He believed that establishing the first family on kibbutz was his most important contribution to the religious kibbutz.[85]

A new attitude to marriage, based on the traditional view, arose in the religious kibbutzim. The increasing percentage of married couples was seen as proof of the internal strengthening of the kibbutz. "This proves that stability is entering our lives and that we are establishing a society that will last for generations."[86] Marriage statistics indicate, however, that although the population on religious kibbutzim was comprised primarily of young adults over the age of 18, the percentage of married couples during this period was relatively small; indeed, most kibbutz members were single during the 1930s and 1940s,[87] and they tended to marry at an older age: in 1946, 60% of female kibbutz members were married, most of them 25 years old and older. Only 25% of these women had married at an earlier age. The remaining 40% were single, most of them under the age of 25.[88] Although the average age at marriage was higher than among other religious people, it should be noted that among Ashkenazi women in Palestine during this period it was 24–25 years, similar to that in Jewish communities in Europe.[89] Thus young women on religious kibbutzim did not differ from Jewish society worldwide, or from other pioneers in Israel.

These statistics also reflect the challenges faced by these young women during their emigration from the diaspora to Palestine: the long training sessions in the diaspora, immigration to Palestine, and joining a young group contending with difficult conditions. In these circumstances, a considerable amount of time elapsed before they decided to start families. The attitudes of male kibbutz members towards marriage were, of course, an additional factor

Members of religious kibbutzim argued that, with age, a person's thoughts turn more to the future, leading to increasing indifference towards the idyllic life of the kibbutz, with personal ambitions gaining priority over the satisfactions of collective life. Kibbutz members also thought that women sought self-fulfillment through marriage and family at an earlier age then men.[90] Sometimes, women who realized that that they would be unable to find a spouse decided to leave the kibbutz.[91]

The marriage ceremony on religious kibbutzim

A variety of studies dealing with ceremonies in general, and with religious ceremonies in particular, in Jewish and non-Jewish society, discuss the connections among rites, ideology, social discourse, power, and gender. Rites are seen as a reflection of culture, values, beliefs, hierarchies, and social reality, and as marking cultural and social boundaries between the sacred and the secular, between man and woman, between ruler and subject, and more. Rites can help us understand the manner in which society constructs itself.[92]

"Rites of passage" accompany people from birth to death and mark turning points in their life; whether religious or secular, they bind together meanings, emotions, and forms of behavior.[93] The marriage ceremony is perceived as the most important rite of passage in a person's life, transforming the individual's relation to his/her family and society. Marriage rites in different societies reflect identities, cultural values, and social norms and needs, and they have the power to fashion ideology. The marriage ceremony is thus perceived not only as a rite of passage but as performance, that is, an event in which the society reflects and fashions itself.[94]

Although couples on secular kibbutzim were ideologically opposed to the formal religious ceremony and were not required to formalize their relationship in that way, many

couples did so out of consideration for their parents. Thus, Meir Ya'ari, the leader of Hashomer Hatza'ir, which opposed traditional marriage, married his wife Anda in a religious ceremony out of love and respect for his parents.[95] Others underwent a Jewish marriage ceremony for bureaucratic reasons, such as immigration permits, securing their children's status, or obeying the order of the Mandate authority that required the Chief Rabbinate to register all the married couples in the Yishuv, including the kibbutzim.[96] In some kibbutzim such as Ein Harod (founded in 1921), no wedding ceremonies were held until the 1950s for ideological reasons; those who wanted or needed to get married, held the ceremony elsewhere.[97] On other kibbutzim, rabbis conducted joint ceremonies for several couples at once, some of whom already had children, while sometimes one ring served all. Such ceremonies often took place in conjunction with other important events, such as the establishment of permanent housing or during holidays. Not only was this economical, but it also provided a solution to the embarrassment that was associated with the event. During the ceremony, jokes were often made at the expense of the rabbi or the event, and symbols were incorporated to express new values (such as marriage canopies made from wheat, new songs, etc.). The ceremonies were immediately followed by work in order to downplay their importance.[98]

During the 1930s and 1940s, the economic conditions on secular kibbutzim improved; populations grew, the ratio between the sexes became more equal, couples were formed, and families were established. The resistance to religion became more moderate and there was a willingness to include traditional elements in the new marriage ceremony.[99] On religious kibbutzim, however, marriage ceremonies according to Jewish law were necessary from the outset. This raised unique questions about the marriage contract (*ketubah*) and the issue of who would be responsible for honoring it, the kibbutz member himself or the kibbutz. Were the husband and wife considered a single economic unit on the kibbutz? Was the husband responsible for supporting his wife, and was she responsible for giving him her produce? Did the terms of responsibility in the *ketubah* lack meaning for a couple living on a kibbutz?

There are few records from this period that deal with these questions.[100] One question for which there is documentation, however, concerns the issue of the wedding ring. Hannah Or was married on Kibbutz Shahal in 1934. According to Jewish tradition, her spouse was supposed to purchase a ring with his own money for the marriage ceremony; however, as was common on the kibbutz, members had no money of their own. The rabbi, therefore, went to every kibbutz member and asked them to sign a document stating that they voluntarily gave up the amount of money that was necessary for purchasing the ring.[101] This example shows how a creative solution was used to adapt Jewish law to the conditions of collective life.

Marriage did not change the position of women on secular kibbutzim. They remained members in their own right, and many continued to use their maiden names.[102] On religious kibbutzim, those who wanted to marry consulted with the kibbutz committee handling marriages. In most cases, members of the committee dealt with technical matters such as how the member's spouse would become a member of the kibbutz.[103] It was the couple's own decision to marry, but the kibbutz decided on the date of the marriage, the wedding budget, and the couple's vacation. Sometimes, kibbutzim delayed weddings due to financial difficulties; often, several weddings were held at the same time for economic reasons and also because most people did not have family in the country.[104] Some women opposed group weddings because they wanted to experience their own private happiness,[105] but many others complied with the kibbutz's decisions.

Wedding parties on religious kibbutzim were modest affairs with a limited number of guests. The bridal gown was usually supplied by the collective clothing storehouse and

used by every bride in turn. Even the veil was handed down from one bride to the next.[106] This demonstrated members' affiliation with the pioneering world, as well as their rebellion against their parents. Dress was a central form of expression for female kibbutz members, and they used it to demonstrate the change that had occurred in their image.

Weddings were often held on Friday afternoons in order to save the expense of another meat meal, and kibbutz members generally baked special cakes. Prior to the wedding, the bride and groom usually sat in separate rooms, according to the traditional custom, and the bridal canopy (in many cases, a prayer shawl) would be erected in a central place, often outside the dining room. The bride and groom would often be escorted to the bridal canopy by friends as most did not have parents. The ceremony, sometimes accompanied by an artistic program, was often described as moving. After the ceremony the couple would be taken, frequently by carriage, to a private room (*heder yihud*), with an escort of singing and dancing.[107] The ceremony followed Jewish law while expressing the new life of religious pioneers in Palestine.

Summary: Marriage as a reflection of the uniqueness of the religious kibbutz

Marriage on religious kibbutzim acquired unique features in relation to both religious society and the secular kibbutz. Unlike the latter, religious kibbutzim saw marriage as a base for the creation of a family, and the religious ceremony played an essential role in this process. However, like the secular kibbutzim, they also discussed, and practiced, the postponement of marriage for national and collective reasons, while the marriage ceremony held on religious kibbutzim included elements from the new pioneering life that distinguished it from that of religious society in general.

However, the tension between tradition and change was felt in both religious and secular kibbutzim.[108] Although religious kibbutzim placed a greater emphasis on religion, and secular kibbutzim tended to stress the need for revolution, the family ethos was dominant in all the kibbutz movements, and the actual patterns of behavior on both types of kibbutzim were not so different. Even in the radical years of the 1920s, when the official ceremony was rejected for ideological reasons, the wedding ceremony had a prominent presence in the secular kibbutzim for a variety of reasons, from the cultural need for "rites of passage" to the desire to ease the tension between the couples and the collective and, above all, to honor parents. Although many couples refused to have a rabbi perform the ceremony, a greater number than is commonly thought underwent a traditional ceremony, although they played down its religious characteristics.[109] In later years, the resemblance between religious and secular kibbutzim increased as the family became a prominent social unit in the kibbutzim,[110] along with wedding ceremonies. By the 1950s traditional marriage ceremonies were an integral part of the secular kibbutzim.

Furthermore, tradition had an undeniable influence on women's perceptions of marriage on secular kibbutzim. "Women on kibbutz took upon themselves a lot of commandments," wrote Lilia Bassewitz, one of the leading figures of the secular Kibbutz Ein Harod. "I use the word 'commandments' deliberately," she added, "in order to emphasize the relationship that exists between us and our grandmothers."[111] She succinctly expressed the complex identity of the new and revolutionary female kibbutz members, paradoxically rooted in the world of their religious grandmothers.

Testimony from women on secular kibbutzim shows that they, like their male counterparts, were trapped between revolutionary ideas and Jewish norms that were hard to escape.[112] Yafa Galili, a member of the secular Kibbutz Kiryat Anavim, testified to this difficulty. "We still haven't liberated ourselves from generations of tradition. The mark of our narrow lives is still ingrained in us. The blood of our parents flows in our veins. We must

change ourselves."[113] Other women admitted that they held traditional views: "There were many restraints in the relations between men and women. In effect, they kept their small town (*shtetl*) mentality. Subconsciously, the women wanted to be like everyone else in the world, and looked for a man to marry, even if they didn't actually have a wedding . . . ."[114] "In this corner of private life, they lived a modest and serious life," said Atara Shturman.[115] Research on the female founders of Ein Harod shows that "old frameworks were broken . . . but hearts were connected to the old world of spouse and children."[116]

Kibbutz members who remained single often described feeling isolated in a community that wanted to be a substitute for the family. Bat-Sheva Haikin, an unmarried member of the secular Kibbutz Yagur, was described in a book published after her death as representing "a new image of the Hebrew woman, upright, independent, ageless. A woman that broke the ties of generations of tradition." However, almost all the testimonies that appear in the book mention the great solitude of her life, "without the realization of love," in the words of Yitzhak Tabenkin. More than one friend noted that she had lived a personal life of "emptiness and solitude."[117] Although Bat-Sheva may have seen herself differently, it seems that despite severing the ties of tradition, society's perceptions remained rife with traditional concepts of marriage.

The little evidence on women's views presented above indicates the conservative nature of revolutionary society on the secular kibbutz, where tradition existed alongside declarations of social revolution. Lack of space prevents me from expanding further on this issue. However, the examples discussed here suggest that although the issue of marriage on religious kibbutzim had unique features, the similarity, in perception and practice, between religious and secular kibbutzim was greater than it seems at first glance. The revolution in both secular and religious kibbutzim, as shown by the case of marriage, was a conservative revolution.

Translated from Hebrew by Shoshana Brickman

Notes

1. Sobol, *Leil ha-esrim*, 28.
2. Near, *Rak shvil kavshu raglai*.
3. Fishman, *Between Religion and Ideology*, 72.
4. On the establishment of the religious kibbutzim, see Katz, *The Religious Kibbutz*.
5. Admanit, *Betokh ha-zerem*, 103; Fishman, *Between Religion and Ideology*, 22, 129.
6. Ross, *Armon ha-Torah*, 60–68; Hyman, *Gender and Assimilation*, 126–27; Barack Fishman, *A Breath of Life*, 201–5.
7. *Admanit, Betokh ha-zerem*, 103; Fishman, *Between Religion and Ideology*, 22, 164–79.
8. Auerbach, Weiser, and Emanuel, eds., *Ha-kibbutz ba-halakhah*; Fishman, *Bein dat ve-idiologiyah*, 138–63.
9. Religious Zionist Archive, Bar-Ilan University, Ramat Gan (hereafter RZA) (*Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrahi*), 267; Katzburg, *Ha-hityashvut ha-datit*, 81.
10. Admanit, *Betokh ha-zerem*, 104.
11. Rivka, "She'elat ha-haverah ba-kibbutz" (The question of the female kibbutz member), *Alim* (April 1944): 11; Leah Ehrlich, 10 January 1937, RZA (*Ha-po'alot*), 8.
12. Kaplan, *The Jewish Feminist Movement*, 12.
13. The average age of women joining the kibbutz was 23–24; see lists of kibbutz members for 1940, Central Zionist Archive, Jerusalem (hereafter CZA), S15/9754; list of members of Bachad (the religious pioneers' movement in Germany), Berlin, 25 March 1937, RZA (*Hityashvut*), 113. For more details, see Rosenberg-Friedman, *Mahapkhaniyot be'al korkhan*.
14. Fogiel-Bijaoui, "Imahot ve-mahapekhah," 152.
15. Halamish, *Merutz kaful neged ha-zman*; for fictitious marriages, see Bernstein, *Ishah be-Eretz-Yisrael*, 31.
16. Letter from David Intriligator, 1 July 1932, Religious Kibbutz Movement Archive, Tel Aviv (hereafter RKA).

17. Hareven, *Families*; Baumgarten, *Mothers and Children*.
18. This is seen already in Aristotle's writings. See Shahar, "Al toldot ha-mishpahah," 15.
19. Shepher and Fogiel-Bijaoui, *Ha-hevrah ha-kibbutzit*, 5.
20. Shuchtman, "Ma'amad ha-ishah."
21. Though this custom started to change at the beginning of the eighteenth century, it was still common in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. For more on this issue, see Ruppin, *Ha-sotziologiyah shel ha-yehudim*, 75–76; Marmorstein, "Meha-shidukh ve-ad ha-hupah," 75–76.
22. See, for example, Weinberg, *The World of Our Mothers*; Hyman, "East European Jewish Women," 270. Sometimes, the woman helped to earn money. See Rosman, "Lihiyot ishah yehudiyah," 415–34; Bernstein, "Bein ha-ishah," 32–36.
23. See Marmorstein, "Meha-shidukh ve-ad ha-hupah"; Fortune, "Mr. Jones' Wives," 587–99; Koren, "Kol ba-ramah nishma," 57–60.
24. For example, the transition from the village to the city during the industrial revolution also brought about changes in marriage, expressed, among others, in the age at marriage. See Oris, "The Age at Marriage," 391–414; Yewlett, "From Manuscript to Database," 1–12.
25. Bernstein, *Nashim ba-shulayim*, 98–101; for the age of marriage, see ibid., "Daughters of the Nation," 291–92; Alroey, "Nashim be-Eretz-Yisrael," 97–101; Razi, "Re'uyah ha-mishpa-hah," 23.
26. For the family between nationalism and socialism, see Razi, "Re'uyah ha-mishpahah," 37.
27. See Evans, *The Feminists*.
28. Carter, *The Importance of Being Monogamous*; Augustine-Adams, "She Consents Implicitly."
29. Sievens, *Stray Wives*.
30. For the case in Germany, 1841–48, see Vick, "Liberalism and Gender Dichotomy"; see also Logan, "The 1899 Cuban Marriage Law Controversy."
31. For example, marriages between Europeans and Asians in Soviet nationalism; Edgar, "Marriage, Modernity and the 'Friendship of Nations.'"
32. See, for example, Fortune, "Mr. Jones' Wives," 587–99; Oris, "The Age at Marriage," 391–414; Carter, "The Importance of Being Monogamous."
33. Semidyorkin, "Family Law Reform," 87–97.
34. For the consequences of social, economic, and cultural changes on marriage, from a historical and current perspective, see, for example, Cartwright, "Shotgun Weddings," 1–22; Engel, "Peasant Morality," 695–715; Scherbov and Van Vianen, "Marital and Fertility Careers," 129–43.
35. Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, 40–41.
36. See, for example, Yadgar, *Ha-masortiyim be-Yisrael*.
37. Shapira, "The Religious Motifs of the Labor Movement," 253–54.
38. Shoham, "Hagigot Purim be-Tel Aviv," 11.
39. Shapira, "The Religious Motifs of the Labor Movement," 254. For a discussion on the meaning of folklore, see Hasan-Rokem, "Al heker ha-tarbut ha-amamit."
40. For the complexity of the relationship between Zionism and religion in the given period and the distinction between religion, tradition, and folklore, see Almog, Reinharz, and Shapira, eds., *Zionism and Religion*. According to Anita Shapira, pioneers' were suspicious of religion and ambivalent towards tradition. Folklore, however, was regarded positively and given legitimization; see Shapira, "The Religious Motifs of the Labor Movement," 253–54.
41. Biale, *Eros and the Jews*, 176–82; Boyarin, *Carnal Israel*; Melman, "Min ha-shulayim," 246; Gluzman, "Ha-kmihah le-heteroseksu'aliyut," 148.
42. Razi, "Re'uyah ha-mishpahah," 30–31.
43. Hazan, "Bein ha-zmanim," 146–55.
44. Zeira, *Kru'im anu*; Soker, *Ha-kibbutz*, 19–23.
45. Soker, *Ha-kibbutz*, 51.
46. Bat-Rachel, *Ba-nativ she-halakhti*, 93.
47. See, for example, Fogiel-Bijaoui, *Ba'ot mi-shtikah*; Lamdan, *Mi-shtikah le-za'akah*.
48. See, for example, Fogiel-Bijaoui, "Miriam Baratz," 148–54; Bernstein, "Bein ha-ishah," 88; Near, *Rak shvil kavshu raglai*, 278.
49. Fogiel-Bijaoui, "Miriam Baratz," 163.
50. Ibid., 153.
51. Tzur, "Ha-kvutzah," 149–56.
52. For the opinion on this issue of Meir Ya'ari, leader of Hashomer Hatza'ir, see Halamish, *Meir Ya'ari*, 113–43.

53. Soker, *Ha-kibbutz*, 22; Shepher and Fogiel-Bijaoui, *Ha-hevrah ha-kibbutzit*, 5, 12; Zeira, *Kru'im anu*, 265.
54. Soker, *Ha-kibbutz*, 22.
55. See, for example, Schatz, *Al gvul ha-dmamah*, 100.
56. Fogiel-Bijaoui suggests that the concept that the kibbutz as a substitute for the family was accepted by kibbutz founders primarily because they did not have families or children. Shepher and Fogiel-Bijaoui, *Ha-hevrah ha-kibbutzit*, 13.
57. Ibid., 12.
58. Shepher, *Mavo*, 66–67.
59. Near, *Rak shvil kavshu raglai*, 280.
60. Shepher and Fogiel-Bijaoui, *Ha-hevrah ha-kibbutzit*, 29.
61. For example, Z. Gordon, "Le-she'elat ha-nisu'in" (On the question of marriage), *Alim*, nos. 16–17, April 1943, RKA.
62. David Sh., "Le-she'elat ha-mishpahah" (On the family issue), *Alim* (July–August 1942): 2–3, RKA; Yaakov D., "Le-she'elat ha-nisu'in ba-kvutzah," (On the question of marriage in the *kvutzah*), *Alim* (June–July 1942), RKA.
63. In some Christian communes, men could have sexual relations with any woman as long as there was mutual agreement. Procreation was perceived as a communal goal, and the leaders decided on couples. By contrast, the Bruderhof commune saw the family as a positive base for society and rejected the idea that there was a contradiction between family and the commune. For more details and examples, see Oved, *Edut ha-ahim*, 53.
64. Shepher and Fogiel-Bijaoui, *Ha-hevrah ha-kibbutzit*, 16–17.
65. Near, *Rak shvil kavshu raglai*, 280; Shepher and Fogiel-Bijaoui, *Ha-hevrah ha-kibbutzit*, 17; Talmon-Gerber, *Yehid ve-hevrah*, 17–18; Biale, *Eros and the Jews*, 192–95.
66. Gordon, "Le-she'elat ha-nisu'in."
67. Admanit, *Betokh ha-zerem*, 103.
68. See, for example, Shlomo Milt, "Le-she'elat ha-haverah ba-kibbutz" (On the question of the female member in the kibbutz), *Alim*, no. 12 (October–November 1941): 4, RKA; R. Shkolnik, "Le-she'elat ha-haverah ba-kibbutz" (On the question of the female member in the kibbutz), *Alim*, no. 11 (September–October 1941): 13, RKA; Y.B., "Be-kori et ha-iton" (When I read the newspaper), *Alim*, no. 13 (November 1941): 4, RKA.
69. R.A., "Mi-yomani" (From my diary), *Alim*, no. 13 (November 1941): 3, RKA.
70. Biale, *Eros and the Jews*,195; Shepher and Fogiel-Bijaoui, *Ha-hevrah ha-kibbutzit*, 17.
71. Milt, "Le-she'elat ha-haverah ba-kibbutz."
72. My interviews with Tova Ilan (29 August 1999), Lea S. (26 October 1999), and Tova D. (9 July 2000).
73. H. Klooni, Kvutzat Emunim, *Tziyunim*, no. 37, 7 February 1941, RKA.
74. Yo'el Sh., Kvutzat Emunim, *Tziyunim*, no. 35, 31 January 1941, RKA.
75. Ibid.
76. Shepher and Fogiel-Bijaoui, *Ha-hevrah ha-kibbutzit*, 12–22; Zeira, *Kru'im anu*, 265.
77. Yo'el Sh., Kvutzat Emunim, *Tziyunim*, no. 35, 31 January 1941; Binyamin K., Kvutzat Emunim, , no. 37, 14 February 1941, RKA.
78. Klooni, Kvutzat Emunim, *Tziyunim*, no. 36, 7 February 1941, RKA.
79. Rudy Hertz File, RKA.
80. Binyamin K., Kvutzat Emunim, *Tziyunim*, no. 37, 14 February 1941, RKA.
81. Rachela, "Hesped al Miriam" (Eulogy for Miriam), Gush Etzion Archive (hereafter GEA).
82. El-Arida, *Shavu'on*, no. 26, 16 February 1940, 1, Kibbutz Sde Eliyahu Archive.
83. Tz. Porsher, "Be'ayot be-hayei mishpahah" (Problems in family life), *Alim* (August–September 1942): 2, RKA.
84. Rudy Hertz File, RKA.
85. Ibid.
86. Kvutzat Alumim, "Ha-matzav ha-pnimi" (The internal situation), *Alim* (September 1942): 6, RKA; Report, November 1944, GEA 8, 3.
87. For example, in June 1940, 28% of the religious kibbutz population were married;, while in October 1945 this figure had risen to 44.3%. RKA, file 39: 230–235.
88. Ibid.; *Alonim*, no. 3 (June–July 1941), RKA; report from the third council of the Religious Kibbutz, 1944, RKA; data from Kvutzot Avraham, Herut-Herut, and Emunim, 1940, CZA S15/9754.

89. Bernstein, *Nashim ba-shulayim*, 11; Kaplan, *The Making of the Jewish Working Class*, 44; Ruppin, *Ha-sotziologiyah shel ha-yehudim*, 166–77.
90. Bernstein, *Nashim ba-shulayim*, 11; Kaplan, *The Making of the Jewish Working Class*, 44.
91. In my interview with Elisheva Vagenberg, 23 November 1999, she noted that it was hard for single women to find their place on kibbutzim comprised of couples.
92. Koren, "Kol ba-ramah nishma," 14. On the complexity of the term "rite" and its connotations, see Rubin, *Simhat ha-hayim*, 23–34; Helman, *Or ve-yam hekifu'ah*, 67.
93. Rubin, *Simhat ha-hayim*, 24–28; Adar-Bunis, *Mishpahot*, 36.
94. Koren, "Kol ba-ramah nishma," 17, 21. See also Dunak, "Ceremony and Citizenship," 402–24; Howard, "A 'Real Man's Ring.'"
95. Halamish, *Meir Ya'ari*, 116; for more examples, see: Zeira, *Kru'im anu*, 267.
96. Zeira, *Kru'im anu*, 267.
97. Kaminski, "Neshot Ein Harod," 60. I would like to thank Tammi Kaminski for this information.
98. Soker, *Ha-kibbutz*, 22, 32; Zeira, *Kru'im anu*, 267–72.
99. For the wedding ceremony and the tension between the new reality and the traditional ceremony, see Soker, *Ha-kibbutz*, 51; Zeira, *Kru'im anu*, 265–72.
100. Auerbach, Weiser, and Emanuel, eds., *Ha-kibbutz ba-halakhah*, 172–73, 275–76.
101. Alfassi, *Torah ve-avodah*, 315.
102. Shepher and Fogiel-Bijaoui, *Ha-hevrah ha-kibbutzit*, 17; Zeira, *Kru'im anu*, 269.
103. Sometimes, the kibbutz delayed the wedding until the future spouse became a member of the kibbutz. See "Nisu'in" (Marriage), *Alim* (May–June 1944): 3; Kibbutz Kfar Etzion discussed the question of whether a couple could marry before they became members. See *Alim*, 4 November 1944; Reports, 31 October 1943; Protocol, Council meeting (29 August 1947), GEA.
104. Reports on Kvutzat Emunim, 22, 28 February 1941, RZA H 132; on Hanukkah (December) 1947, five weddings were held in Kibbutz Kfar Etzion, GEA, 8b.
105. My interview with Tzipora Bilig, 26 October 1999.
106. Rudy Hertz File, RKA.
107. My interviews with Tova D., 9 July 2000, and Hannah Yair, 6 March 2001.
108. Soker, *Ha-kibbutz*, 26–44; Zeira, *Kru'im anu*.
109. Zeira, *Kru'im anu*, 272.
110. Near, *Rak shvil kavshu raglai*, 280; Shepher and Fogiel-Bijaoui, *Ha-hevrah ha-kibbutzit*, 25.
111. Bassewitz, "Ha-haverah ba-kibbutz," 163.
112. Shaham, "Bein neshot dor ha-meyasdim," 211.
113. Opaz, *Sefer ha-kvutzah*, 119.
114. Tzur, Tair, and Porat, eds., *Kan al-pnei ha-adamah*, 177.
115. From Poznansky and Shchori, "Haverot ba-kibbutz," 6.
116. Shaham, "Bein neshot dor ha-meyasdim," 213.
117. Even-Shushan, ed., *Bat-Sheva Haikin*, 186, 179, 201.

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