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Article

From Collectivism to Entrepreneurship: Personality Traits Driving Entrepreneurial Transformation in Kibbutzim

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Abstract: Purpose: This study examines the entrepreneurial transformation within kibbutzim (organizations historically rooted in collectivist ideals) as they adapt to economic and cultural shifts. Positioned as unique socioeconomic models, kibbutzim provide a compelling context for understanding social intrapreneurship, defined as entrepreneurial behaviors emerging within structured communal settings. The study explores how tensions between different community values impact the motivation to establish a new business. Methods: A paper-based survey was distributed to 256 entrepreneurs. Motivation is assessed using the push/pull theory. Self-efficacy is proposed as a mediator between the type of kibbutz (collective or privatized) and motivational factors, with proactive personality acting as a moderator of the relationship between kibbutz type and self-efficacy. Findings: The results indicate that although entrepreneurs from both types of kibbutzim exhibit lower pull motivators compared to non-kibbutz members, privatized kibbutz entrepreneurs display a higher level of push motivation than the other groups. Additionally, self-efficacy mediates the relationship between collective kibbutz members and pull motivation and between privatized kibbutz members and push motivation, but only for entrepreneurs with low levels of proactive personality traits. Conclusions: The findings underscore the influence of cultural tensions and values on entrepreneurial behaviors, offering insights into the interplay between community context and individual agency.

Keywords: intrapreneurship; kibbutz; personality traits; push/pull motivation; proactive behavior; self-efficacy; social entrepreneurship; social market economy



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1. Introduction

The “kibbutz” has long been a defining emblem of Israeli society, symbolizing egalitarian collectivism and pioneering communal values (Moskovich & Achouch, 2017; Tobiasz-Lis et al., 2024). Rooted in ideals of Zionism and socialism, kibbutzim (plural form of kibbutz) were designed to establish a new social and economic order based on shared ownership, collective labor, and equality. These communities played a central role in Israel’s nation-building, contributing significantly to its agricultural, military, and industrial development. Despite comprising only about 2% of Israel’s total population, the kibbutzim have made a significant impact on the nation’s political and economic landscape since the formal establishment of Israel in 1948. At their zenith, kibbutzim accounted for approximately 40% of Israel’s agricultural output and 9% of its industrial production (Bloch et al., 2023), embodying the ideals of cooperation and self-sufficiency.

Over the decades, kibbutzim have undergone profound transformations while adapting to the pressures of economic liberalization, globalization, and changing cultural values.

Second-generation members saw kibbutzim as strong, affluent, and stable entities. However, a significant generational shift occurred with the coming of age of the third generation, characterized by a move away from kibbutz life and a growing tendency toward individualism and capitalism driven by a desire for personal autonomy. During the 1980s, many families and young people left the kibbutzim due to the economic crisis (Tobiasz-Lis et al., 2024). This demographic shift can be attributed to the younger individuals' dissatisfaction with the limited opportunities offered by kibbutz life for engagement in the state's broader social, cultural, and economic spheres. The younger members' migration to urban areas resulted in the Israeli kibbutz community—originally designed with a young population in mind—gradually aging since then (Tobiasz-Lis et al., 2024).

In parallel with the demographic trend of an aging population, the financial crisis that Israeli kibbutzim faced in the mid-1980s triggered a shift from a collective to an individualistic perspective and the adoption of private property ownership (excluding land ownership) (Tobiasz-Lis et al., 2024). Beginning in the early 1990s and continuing into the present, this shift toward privatization resulted in kibbutz members opening personal bank accounts and receiving salaries from external employers. This transition highlights the evolving role of individual agencies in reshaping community structures (Moskovich, 2020). The shift from collectivist to entrepreneurial models within kibbutzim reflects a broader socioeconomic phenomenon, where personal motivations, proactive personality traits, and self-efficacy intersect with changing communal norms to drive innovation and economic activity. Today's kibbutzim, recognized for their inclusive nature, offer a compelling alternative to urban life, particularly for young families searching for a healthy, rural lifestyle. However, as Letzter (2023) noted, the appeal of the modern kibbutz is less rooted in its ideological origins and more in its ability to provide a comfortable environment.

Moreover, the expansion of the high-tech sector in the 1990s contributed significantly to Israel's rapid economic growth (Manos & Gidron, 2021). The resulting ideological and industrial shifts may have led aspiring entrepreneurs among younger-generation kibbutz members into a dilemma: leave the kibbutz to launch their own business or become intrapreneurs, which is defined as engaging in entrepreneurial behavior within organizations to foster both individual and collective values (Antoncic & Hisrich, 2003; Vettik-Leemet & Mets, 2024).

Intrapreneurship encompasses proactive behaviors within organizational structures, enabling individuals to innovate, solve problems, and seize opportunities (Antoncic & Hisrich, 2003; Itzkovich & Klein, 2017; Klein, 2023). Despite their unique communal ethos, kibbutzim can be seen as analogous to organizational settings where entrepreneurial behaviors have emerged to address internal and external challenges. Samuel and Heilbrunn (2017) highlighted kibbutzim as fertile grounds for intrapreneurial activity that showcase how organizational change fosters individual entrepreneurship within community structures. This perspective frames the transformation of the kibbutz not merely as an economic shift but also as a paradigm for understanding social intrapreneurship within community-based and organizational contexts. In this paper, we aim to address the following questions: *Are the cultural differences between collective and privatized kibbutzim related to the ability to become intrapreneurs? How do organizational and cultural transformations, self-efficacy, and proactive traits interact to foster intrapreneurial activities driven by push–pull motivational factors?*

By examining the roles of these factors, this study provides insights into how individual agencies interact with communal and organizational dynamics to foster entrepreneurial behaviors. In doing so, it contributes to the discourse on social intrapreneurship, offering a nuanced understanding of the interplay between individual motivations and systemic change.

The paper is structured as follows: Section 1 reviews the literature on collectivism, entrepreneurial transformation, and intrapreneurship, highlighting the theoretical underpinnings of the study. Section 2 outlines the conceptual framework, presenting the key constructs and hypotheses driving the research inquiry. Section 3 details the research design and methodology, emphasizing the data collection and analytical techniques employed. Section 4 presents the findings and discusses their implications in the context of social intrapreneurship. Finally, the conclusion synthesizes the insights gained, offering directions for future research and practical applications in fostering intrapreneurial behavior within organizations.

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1. Motivational Dynamics, Personality Traits, and Sociocultural Shifts in Kibbutz Transformation

This review builds upon the central research inquiry: What drives individual kibbutz members to transition from collective to entrepreneurial behaviors, and what roles do push and pull motivational factors, self-efficacy, and proactive traits play in this process? While acknowledging the influence of macro-level dynamics, the focus here is on micro-level mechanisms to better understand entrepreneurial motivations within the unique socioeconomic context of kibbutzim.

Framing this transition through the lens of intrapreneurship, the review situates kibbutzim as community-based organizational settings where entrepreneurial behaviors emerge to address internal and external challenges (Heilbrunn, 2005a, 2005b; Tobiasz-Lis et al., 2024). The sections are structured to provide a coherent historical, theoretical, and conceptual foundation for addressing the research inquiry and to prepare the groundwork for the conceptual framework.

2.2. The Kibbutz as a Socioeconomic Model

The kibbutz has long been a symbol of Israeli society, embodying ideals of egalitarian collectivism and pioneering communal values (Tobiasz-Lis et al., 2024; Samuel & Heilbrunn, 2017). Surprisingly, this model does not stem from ancient Jewish traditions but draws inspiration from collective movements such as Russian agricultural communes and European utopian socialist experiments. Influential thinkers like Marx (1887) and Tolstoy (1894) informed the early ethos of the kibbutz, emphasizing communal living and rejecting capitalist individualism. Zionist-socialist leaders, including Gordon (1938) and Borochoy (1905), further grounded the kibbutz vision in ideals of labor, community, and national revival.

The first kibbutz, Degania, was founded in 1910 near the Sea of Galilee by pioneers from Eastern Europe. This community aimed to create an egalitarian society based on shared ownership of land, labor, and resources. Initially focused on agriculture, kibbutzim later diversified into industrial enterprises while maintaining their collectivist ethos. However, by the mid-1980s, mounting debt, global market integration, and shifting societal values precipitated significant changes. The ‘shock’ economic liberalization policies of 1980s Israel triggered extreme inflation, depletion of foreign currency reserves, and a banking crisis in 1983, culminating in a severe economic downturn by 1985. This crisis significantly impacted the kibbutzim and plunged them into debt (Kahana & Kaminer, 2020; Palgi & Getz, 2014). They began gradually privatizing. While debt was a key factor, the broader shift toward neoliberal policies, including weakened trade unions, increased global trade, and a switch from collective to individual contracts, also promoted privatization (Palgi & Getz, 2014).

These economic challenges and organizational difficulties led to the adoption of private ownership strategies and differential salaries, marking a shift away from the traditional income-

sharing model in what became known as the privatization process (Banai & Nirenberg, 2024; Russell et al., 2015). This transition to capitalism also steered kibbutz members to integrate into the national monetary economy by opening personal bank accounts and adapting to the use of money (Azarnert, 2017; Moskovich, 2023). Socially and culturally, the collectivist ethos evolved into a business-oriented culture that emphasizes individual economic stakes and home ownership, with many members now working outside the community (Moskovich & Achouch, 2017).

Since the 1990s, many kibbutzim have transitioned from collective structures to privatized, market-oriented models (Samuel & Heilbrunn, 2017). The *collective* kibbutz kept the ideology of socialism and sharing, while a *privatized* kibbutz instituted a separation between the members' financial accounts and the kibbutz's economic situation. In these communities, each member has an individual bank account through which they manage all their expenses and income, and the kibbutz is not responsible for the members' loss or gain in revenue. On the other hand, the privatized kibbutz is not obligated to satisfy the members' needs, and they are required to pay for activities provided by it, including education, health, catering, and other benefits that were once supported by the kibbutz (Tobiasz-Lis et al., 2024). Therefore, a privatized kibbutz is akin to an urban or communal community. Currently, there are 266 kibbutzim with approximately 200,000 residents; out of these, 36 remain collective (approximately 13%), while the rest are privatized (Tobiasz-Lis et al., 2024). Most kibbutz factories were built in the 1970s and 1980s, some of them by collective kibbutzim. According to CofaceBDI data (CofaceBDI, 2021), 235 factories were operated in kibbutzim in 2021, the majority in the plastic and rubber (28%), machine and industrial equipment (19%), food and agriculture (13%), and technology and electronic (11%) industries. Regarding small and medium enterprises (SMEs), while there are no official numbers, available data show that around 2000 such organizations opened in kibbutzim in the last 15 years; a third of these were initiated by women and attained an annual turnover of ILS 100 million (USD 2.2 million) (Goldstein, 2006).

The privatization process has also led to spatial reorganization, reflecting broader social and economic shifts (Kahana & Kaminer, 2020). While these transformations are substantial, kibbutzim continue to retain elements of their original identity, adapting to both internal and external pressures (Russell et al., 2011). The persistence of communalism amid the widespread shift toward privatization highlights a complex landscape within Israeli kibbutzim, where traditional values continue to coexist with modern economic adaptations (Tobiasz-Lis et al., 2024). In addition, these transformations create opportunities for intrapreneurial activities within kibbutzim, where entrepreneurial behaviors have emerged to address evolving challenges. As Heilbrunn (2005a) noted, kibbutzim exemplify intrapreneurial dynamics as community structures adapt to external economic pressures by balancing traditional values with innovative practices.

2.3. Motivating Entrepreneurs Under Market Economy Theories: Push and Pull Factors

Economic transitions from collectivism to a market orientation have been extensively studied, focusing mainly on macro-level dynamics such as systemic inefficiencies, institutional barriers, and reform pathways (Dabrowski, 2020; Gidron & Domaradzka, 2021; Kornai, 1992; Stark, 1996; Weichang & Volchik, 2022). Kornai (1992) highlighted the inflexibility of centrally planned economies in responding to market demands, while Dabrowski (2020) suggested that different initial conditions influenced transition strategies. Similarly, Weichang and Volchik (2022) demonstrated how collective cultures, such as China and Russia, are learning from each other's reforms and transformation processes in order to advance their development. Stark (1996) proposed the concept of hybridization, where socialist and capitalist systems coexist during transitional phases, and Sachs (1993) advo-

cated for “shock therapy”, rapid systemic changes to overcome entrenched inefficiencies. While former studies shed an important light on the cultural changes that occurred over the years, they often neglect individual-level dynamics, which are crucial to understanding entrepreneurial behavior during such transitions. By examining these dynamics, this paper explores how personality traits shape entrepreneurial transformations within kibbutzim and offers insights into social intrapreneurship as a form of community-driven adaptation to market economies.

Motivational factors are central to understanding entrepreneurial behavior (Klein, 2016; Martínez-Cañas et al., 2023), particularly in the context of transitioning kibbutzim. Push factors, such as economic necessity and financial insecurity, compel individuals toward entrepreneurship as a means of survival (Dawson & Henley, 2012). Conversely, pull factors, such as aspirations for autonomy, achievement, and self-fulfillment, attract individuals to entrepreneurship by aligning with intrinsic motivations (Stephan et al., 2016). Since the collective kibbutz is built on the agenda of collectivism on the one hand and economic support in case of failure on the other, we can assume that the decision of collective kibbutz members to become entrepreneurs is not driven by necessity but by an inner desire to do so. Hence, they lean on a pull-based motivation. Conversely, the motivation that drives privatized kibbutz members is more complicated. They are not obligated to follow the kibbutz’s decisions and may choose their career path (self-employment vs. salaried employment) independently, which points to a pull motivation. However, according to the push hypothesis, people who feel financially insecure may evaluate the expected returns from entrepreneurship as more attractive than the alternative (Dawson & Henley, 2012; Martínez-Cañas et al., 2023). Since privatized kibbutz members are no longer supported by their community, they may have a higher chance of being pushed toward becoming self-employed rather than choosing to do so. As such, in privatized kibbutzim, diminished communal support heightens push motivations, whereas collective kibbutzim, with their supportive environments, foster pull-driven entrepreneurship (Heilbrunn, 2008). This dual framework of push and pull factors underscores how cultural and economic contexts influence entrepreneurial decisions in transitioning kibbutzim and sheds light on their relevance to intrapreneurial activities.

2.4. Cultural Values Shaping Intrapreneurial Behaviors with Self-Efficacy and Proactivity as an Intervening Mechanism

Cultural norms and institutional frameworks play a critical role in shaping entrepreneurial behavior. Institutional theory posits that societal norms and values heavily influence individual choices, including entrepreneurial decisions (Scott, 1995; Klein et al., 2024). Traditional kibbutzim, with their emphasis on cooperation and equality, often constrain individual entrepreneurial endeavors. However, the shift toward privatization introduced market-oriented cultural values that encourage innovation, risk-taking, and individual achievement (Heilbrunn, 2008). Performance-based cultures further facilitate this transition by prioritizing individual innovation and success (Javidan, 2004). These evolving norms also foster intrapreneurial ecosystems within kibbutzim, where cultural values mediate the tension between collectivism and individualism.

Furthermore, scholars suggest that individuals who become entrepreneurs exhibit unique traits such as entrepreneurial self-efficacy and proactivity (Frese et al., 2016; Gielnik et al., 2020; Kumar & Shukla, 2022). *Self-efficacy*, defined as the belief in one’s ability to achieve desired outcomes (Bandura, 1983, 1997), plays a pivotal role in entrepreneurial decision-making (Aima et al., 2020; Kumar & Shukla, 2022). It acts as a mediating mechanism between cultural values and entrepreneurial intentions, shaping how individuals perceive and respond to opportunities and challenges. For example, Aima et al. (2020) found that self-efficacy mediates the connection between global mindset—i.e., the ability to

interpret a situation and criteria from a global point of view—and entrepreneurial intention. In addition, Hopp and Stephan (2012) suggested that entrepreneurial motivation and entrepreneurial self-efficacy are essential determinants of whether a person will complete the implementation phase and establish a business successfully, since self-efficacy results from the cultural values and norms embedded in the individual's society. As such, we propose that in privatized kibbutzim, the focus on performance-based outcomes fosters higher self-efficacy by rewarding individual effort and achievement. Conversely, in collective kibbutzim, self-efficacy is enhanced through a supportive environment that alleviates perceived risks. This mediating role of self-efficacy highlights its importance in intrapreneurial behaviors, where confidence in one's abilities drives innovation and adaptability within organizational settings.

Proactive personality traits, characterized by initiative, adaptability, and resilience, significantly influence entrepreneurial outcomes (Rauch & Frese, 2007). Studies have suggested that a proactive personality serves as a facilitator of entrepreneurial intentions (e.g., Hubbart, 2024; Neneh, 2019; Van Ness et al., 2020). These traits moderate the relationship between self-efficacy and entrepreneurial behavior by enhancing individual adaptability in varying socioeconomic contexts. As such, we posit that in collective kibbutzim, proactivity amplifies the effects of self-efficacy by enabling individuals to leverage communal resources for entrepreneurial ventures. Conversely, in privatized kibbutzim, proactivity mitigates the pressures of push factors by channeling individual initiative into productive outcomes. This highlights the parallels between entrepreneurial and intrapreneurial dynamics, where proactivity facilitates the pursuit of innovative solutions within community or organizational constraints.

To conclude, the review synthesizes historical, cultural, psychological, and institutional perspectives to provide a comprehensive understanding of entrepreneurial transformations in kibbutzim. Key insights include the tension between collectivist and market-oriented values, the roles of motivational factors, and the mediating effects of self-efficacy and proactivity. These foundations not only underpin the subsequent conceptual framework but also illuminate the dynamics of intrapreneurial behavior in community and organizational contexts. Based on the review, we posit the following hypothesis depicted in Figure 1.

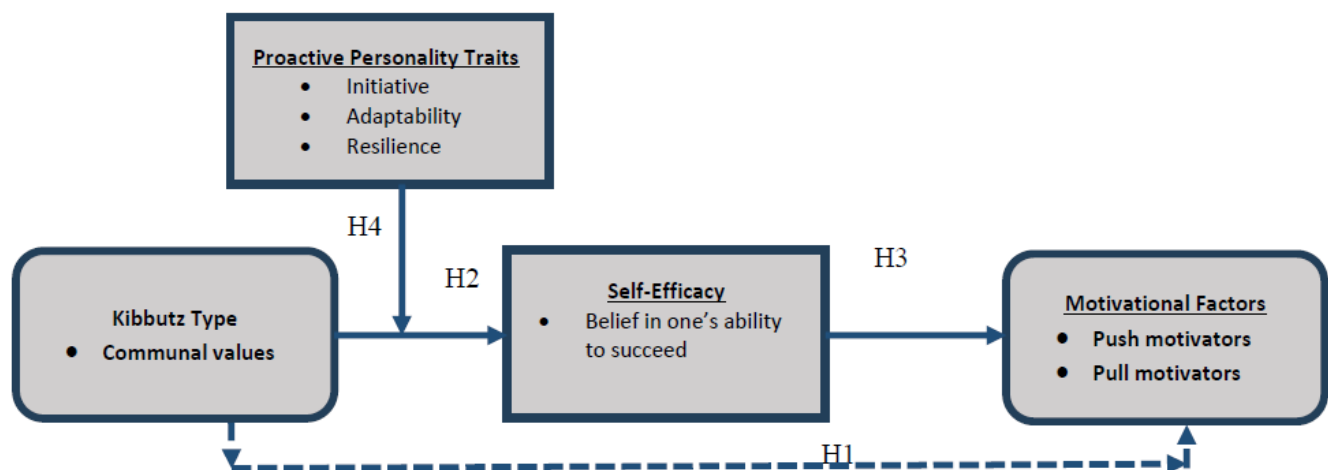


Figure 1. The present study's model and hypotheses.

H1. The transition from collectivist to entrepreneurial behavior is related to the push and pull motivational factors.

H2. The transition from collectivist to entrepreneurial behavior is related to the self-efficacy personality trait.

H3. *The transition from collectivist to entrepreneurial behavior and motivational factors is mediated by self-efficacy.*

H4. *Proactivity moderates the relationships among motivational factors, self-efficacy, and entrepreneurial success.*

3. Methodology

3.1. Conceptual Framework

The transformation of kibbutzim from collectivist to entrepreneurial models represents a profound socioeconomic evolution, driven by individual motivations, cultural contexts, and systemic pressures. This framework extends the discourse on organizational change by positioning kibbutzim as analogous to organizational settings, where entrepreneurial behaviors reflect intrapreneurial dynamics. Concomitantly with this assumption, the dependent variables in this framework are the *motivational factors*, which are categorized into push factors, such as financial necessity and diminished communal support, and pull factors, including aspirations for autonomy, creativity, and self-fulfillment. These motivations reflect both external pressures and internal aspirations, propelling individuals toward entrepreneurial endeavors within the communal context. We argue that the transition from collectivism to entrepreneurial behavior captures a shift in practices, values, and economic orientations. This transformation mirrors intrapreneurial activity, where individuals innovate and adapt within structured communal settings to address emerging challenges and opportunities.

The independent variables include the following: (1) The *type of kibbutz* (collective vs. privatized), which reflects the structural and cultural differences within kibbutzim that influence the degree and nature of entrepreneurial activity. (2) *Self-efficacy*, defined as confidence in one's ability to succeed in entrepreneurial tasks, which acts as a mediating variable. It links motivational factors with entrepreneurial outcomes, demonstrating how internal beliefs enable individuals to navigate challenges and capitalize on opportunities. Lastly, (3) *proactive personality traits*, characterized by adaptability, resilience, and initiative, which serve as a moderating variable. Proactive individuals are better equipped to translate self-efficacy into actionable entrepreneurial behaviors by amplifying the impact of motivational factors.

3.2. Sample and Procedures

A survey was conducted among entrepreneurs living in collective and privatized kibbutzim. Since the kibbutz is a unique community, questionnaires were also delivered to entrepreneurs who are not kibbutz members. Participants provided informed consent, and data confidentiality was rigorously maintained. Following [Caliendo et al. \(2014\)](#), an entrepreneur was defined as a person who establishes and owns a business. This refers mostly to persons who are already self-employed and who are mostly “the founders, owners and managers of a business under their own liability” (p. 789). The study variables were measured using adaptations of existing scales. The study's scales were translated into Hebrew and back-translated into English to check the reliability of the translation.

Overall, 256 subjects participated in the survey. Out of these, 92 entrepreneurs were privatized kibbutz members (36%), 83 were members of collective kibbutzim (33%), and the remaining 81 subjects were not kibbutz members (31%). Female respondents made up 66% of the sample, while 34% were male. Furthermore, 26% of the respondents were single, 61% were married, and 17% were either divorced or widowed. $M_{age} = 41$ years ($SD = 12.73$). $M_{entrepreneurial_years} = 10.96$ ($SD = 10.89$). $M_{employees} = 40.05$ ($SD = 75.11$); how-

ever, the median number of employees was 8, and 25% of businesses had a maximum of one additional employee.

3.3. Measures

Pull and Push motivators. The dependent variables, i.e., the type of motivational (push and pull) factors, were measured using 13 items on a 5-point Likert-type scale (1 = fully disagree; 5 = fully agree). The factorability of the 13 items was examined using principal component analysis. Initial eigenvalues indicated two factors that explained 26% and 24% of the total variance. The factor loading matrix for this result is presented in Appendix A. A Cronbach's alpha reliability test was conducted on the variables that were loaded on the first and the second factors. The results indicated good reliability for both the first ($\alpha = 0.818$) and second ($\alpha = 0.720$) factors. Based on the description of the items, the first variable, termed pull motivators, was composed using questions 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 10, and 11. The second variable, named push motivators, was composed of questions 5, 12, and 13.

Kibbutz type was measured using a question asking whether the participant is a member of a privatized kibbutz, a collective kibbutz, or resides outside the kibbutz.

Self-efficacy was measured based on Schwarzer and Jerusalem's (1995) questionnaire (sample item: "I can always manage to solve difficult problems if I try hard enough"; $\alpha = 0.93$). A 4-point Likert scale was used to score responses using a range from 1 = not at all true to 4 = exactly true.

Proactivity was measured using Bateman and Crant's (1993) 17-item scale (sample item: "No matter what the odds, if I believe in something, I will make it happen"; $\alpha = 0.94$). A 7-point scale was used to score responses on a range from 1 = strongly disagree to 7 = strongly agree.

Control variables. The participant's gender, number of years as an entrepreneur, and the number of employees in their companies were controlled.

4. Results

4.1. Descriptive Analysis and Preliminary Insights

Descriptive statistics provided an overview of key variables, including motivational factors and entrepreneurial outcomes. Correlation analyses revealed significant relationships between kibbutz type and entrepreneurial motivations. Entrepreneurs from privatized kibbutzim demonstrated higher reliance on push motivators, such as financial necessity, while those from collective kibbutzim exhibited a negative alignment with pull motivators, including aspirations for autonomy and creativity. These patterns are summarized in Table 1, which presents means, standard deviations, and correlations among the primary variables.

Table 1. Means, standard deviations, and correlations among research variables.

	<i>M (SD)</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Collective kibbutz ^a		1.00								
2. Privatized kibbutz ^b		−0.52 **	1.00							
3. Pull motivation	3.26 (0.93)	−0.13 *	−0.10	1.00						
4. Push motivation	3.76 (0.82)	0.01	0.14 *	0.30 **	1.00					
5. Proactivity	5.31 (0.80)	−0.07	−0.02	−0.11	0.07	1.00				

Table 1. Cont.

	<i>M (SD)</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
6. Self-efficacy	3.50 (0.78)	−0.17 **	0.38 **	0.27 **	0.19 **	0.05	1.00			
7. Gender (1 = male; 2 = female)		−0.02	0.08	−0.07	−0.15 *	0.09	0.21 **	1.00		
8. Tenure as entrepreneur	10.96 (10.89)	0.11 *	0.04	0.18 **	−0.16 *	−0.21 **	0.11 +	−0.09	1.00	
9. Number of employees	40.05 (75.11)	−0.18 **	−0.11	0.23 **	0.026	−0.11	−0.00	−0.15 *	0.04	1.00

Note: $N = 256$. + $p < 0.10$. * $p < 0.05$. ** $p < 0.01$. ^a 1 = entrepreneurs who live in a collective kibbutz; 2 = entrepreneurs who do not live in a collective kibbutz. ^b 1 = entrepreneurs who live in a privatized kibbutz; 2 = entrepreneurs who do not live in a privatized kibbutz.

The correlation analysis indicated a negative correlation between entrepreneurs who are members of a collective kibbutz and pull motivators, while entrepreneurs who are members of a privatized kibbutz showed a positive connection to push motivators.

4.2. Hypothesis Testing and Inferential Analysis

The hypotheses were tested using a combination of ANOVA and regression analyses. Table 2 shows the results, based on the subjects' community affiliation.

Table 2. Differences in mean scores between respondents based on their community affiliation.

	Collective Kibbutz	Privatized Kibbutz	Non-Kibbutz Member
** Pull motivator	3.1320	3.1552	3.6567
* Push motivator	3.6096	3.9506	3.5791
Proactivity	5.2177	5.2845	5.4316
** Self-efficacy	3.3169	3.9033	3.2538

Note: $N = 256$ * $p < 0.05$. ** $p < 0.01$.

The ANOVA results confirmed significant differences in motivational factors across kibbutz types, with privatized kibbutz members showing greater engagement with both push and pull motivators compared to their collective kibbutz counterparts. This applies especially to the *pull* motivator ($F_{(2, 252)} = 7.50$, $p < 0.01$). A post hoc Scheffe test indicated that the source of the differences lies outside the kibbutz; i.e., entrepreneurs who were not kibbutz members showed a higher pull motivation to establish a business compared to members of the collective or privatized kibbutzim ($p < 0.01$ in both cases). Significant differences were also found in the push motivator ($F_{(2, 252)} = 3.851$, $p < 0.05$). Based on the post hoc Scheffe test, the push motivator was found to be stronger among privatized kibbutz members compared to collective and non-kibbutz members ($p < 0.05$ in both cases), partially supporting Hypothesis 1. Lastly, self-efficacy was higher among collective kibbutz members ($F_{(2, 252)} = 21.209$, $p < 0.01$) compared to both privatized kibbutz members ($p < 0.01$) and non-kibbutz members ($p < 0.01$). This supports Hypothesis 2.

4.3. Mediation–Moderation Analysis

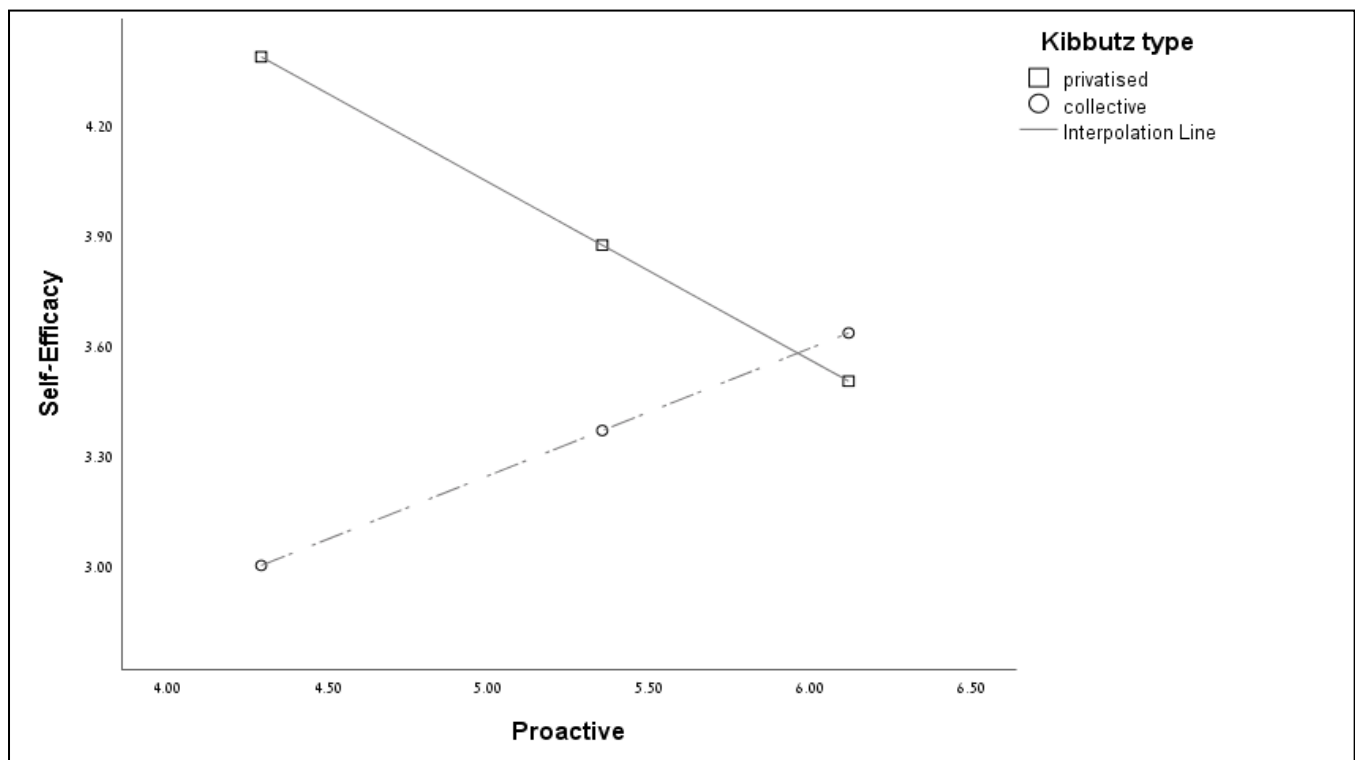
Hypotheses 3 and 4 were tested using the SPSS PROCESS macro for mediation and moderation connection and interaction effects (Hayes, 2015; Model 7). To estimate the hypothesized conditional relationships, the study used a bootstrap procedure (Preacher & Hayes, 2004) with 95% bias-corrected confidence intervals (CIs) and 5000 sampling replications. Table 3 presents the results of the conditional analyses. Entrepreneurial tenure and the number of employees were controlled in all analyses. Also, the analyzed sample included only kibbutz members.

Table 3. Regression results for mediation and conditional indirect effects on the pull and push motivations to establish a business.

		<u>Self-Efficacy¹</u>		<u>Pull Motivation</u>		<u>Push Motivation</u>	
		<i>B (SE)</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>B (SE)</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>B (SE)</i>	<i>t</i>
Constant		5.89 ** (0.60)	9.70	2.22 ** (0.35)	6.27	1.27 ** (0.41)	3.07
Entrepreneurial tenure		0.00 (0.00)	1.58	0.00 (0.00)	1.61	0.01 + (0.00)	1.79
Number of employees		0.01 * (0.00)	3.24	0.00 * (0.00)	2.20	0.01 ** (0.00)	5.08
Collective kibbutz ^a		−4.67 ** (0.70)	−6.62	0.39 * (0.14)	2.11	0.31 * (0.17)	2.13
Proactive behavior		−3.81 ** (0.00)	−3.81				
Self-efficacy				0.30 ** (0.09)	3.38	0.26 * (0.10)	2.41
Collective kibbutz ^a X proactive behavior.		0.78 ** (0.13)	5.92				
Proactivity							
Low	LLCI	−0.68					
	ULCI	−0.17					
High	LLCI	−0.01					
	ULCI	0.12					

Notes: ¹ Self-efficacy as the dependent variable. ^a 1 = collective kibbutz member; 0 = privatized kibbutz member. *N* = 162. + *p* < 0.10, * *p* < 0.05, ** *p* < 0.01.

For the *pull motivation condition*, the proactive personality moderated the connection between kibbutz type and self-efficacy ($F_{(5,156)} = 20.02$, $MSE = 0.49$, $R^2 = 0.39$, $p < 0.01$), as displayed in Figure 2. Aiken and West's (1991) interaction analysis indicated that the conditional effect was significant for participants who were members of a collective ($t = 3.81$, $b = 0.41$, $p < 0.01$) or a privatized kibbutz ($t = -4.78$, $b = -0.36$, $p < 0.01$). In collective kibbutzim, members with higher levels of proactive behavior also showed higher entrepreneurial self-efficacy; the opposite was true for privatized kibbutz entrepreneurs.

**Figure 2.** Interaction between proactive personality, kibbutz type, and self-efficacy (A solid line represents a privatized kibbutz, while a dashed line represents a communal kibbutz).

The overall moderated mediation model was supported with a moderated mediation index = 0.24 and SE = 0.08 (95% CI = 0.09; 0.41). Given that zero is not within the CI range, this indicates a significant moderating effect of kibbutz type on pull motivation on the indirect effect via self-efficacy (Hayes, 2015). The conditional indirect effect was significant for kibbutz members with low levels of proactive behavior (1 SD below the mean of proactivity; effect = -0.40 ; SE = 0.13; 95% CI = $-0.68, -0.17$) but was not significant for kibbutz members with high levels of dispositional proactive traits (1 SD above the mean of proactivity; effect = 0.03; SE = 0.03; 95% CI = $-0.01, 0.12$). The overall results appear in Table 3.

Figure 2 illustrates the interaction effects between kibbutz type, proactive personality traits, and self-efficacy, offering a visual summary of the complex relationships driving entrepreneurial outcomes. These graphical insights complement the statistical analyses and enhance the interpretability of the findings.

A similar mediation–moderation analysis was conducted for the *push motivation condition*. The proactivity trait was shown to moderate the connection between kibbutz type and self-efficacy as mentioned above ($F_{(5,156)} = 20.02$; MSE = 0.49; $R^2 = 0.39$; $p < 0.01$). The overall moderated mediation model was supported with a moderated mediation index = 0.20 and SE = 0.10 (95% CI = 0.03, 0.42). Given that zero is not within the CI range, this indicates a significant moderating effect of kibbutz type on push motivation on the indirect effect via self-efficacy (Hayes, 2015). The conditional indirect effect was significant for kibbutz members with low levels of proactive behavior (1 SD below the mean of proactivity; effect = -0.34 ; SE = 0.16; 95% CI = $-0.71, -0.06$) but was not significant for kibbutz members with high levels of dispositional proactive traits (1 SD above the mean of proactivity; effect = 0.03; SE = 0.03; 95% CI = $-0.01, 0.10$). Table 3 summarizes the results for the push motivation condition. The results of the two mediation–moderation analyses confirm both Hypothesis 3 and Hypothesis 4.

The findings provide robust evidence for the conceptual framework, validating the hypothesized relationships and emphasizing the critical role of individual motivations and contextual dynamics in fostering entrepreneurial behaviors within kibbutzim. These insights contribute to understanding the kibbutz's transformation and offer broader implications for fostering intrapreneurial behavior in structured communal and organizational environments. The analysis lays a solid foundation for the subsequent discussion and implications of this study.

5. Discussion

This study provides critical insights into the transformation of kibbutzim from collectivist models to entrepreneurial environments, framing the process as an exemplar of social intrapreneurship. While traditionally associated with external-facing innovation, kibbutz entrepreneurs can be reinterpreted as intrapreneurs operating within the unique organizational structures of their communities (Samuel & Heilbrunn, 2017; Moskovich, 2022). This perspective aligns with the existing literature on entrepreneurial motivations (Dawson & Henley, 2012; Martínez-Cañas et al., 2023) and social entrepreneurship (Vázquez-Parra et al., 2023), extending their relevance to the structured, community-based context of kibbutzim (Moskovich, 2022).

The study's findings underscore the critical roles of motivational factors, self-efficacy, and proactive personality traits in driving entrepreneurial behaviors within kibbutzim. Push factors, including economic necessity and the erosion of communal support, serve as external pressures compelling individuals toward entrepreneurial ventures. Conversely, pull factors, such as the pursuit of autonomy and creativity, operate as intrinsic motivators. Our findings demonstrate that the changes from a collective to a privatized kibbutz were

related to the push and pull motivational factors, as suggested by the first hypothesis, with an emphasis on the push factor. Members of both collective and privatized kibbutzim indicated lower levels of pull motivation as their main driver to become entrepreneurs compared to entrepreneurs who do not reside in a kibbutz. This result highlights the tension between the values embedded in members of privatized and collective kibbutzim. On the one hand, privatized kibbutzim hold a more individualistic perspective, according to which all kibbutz members should take care of their financial situation (Moskovich, 2022). On the other hand, it seems that even in such kibbutzim the values of a market-oriented or performance-based culture have not become institutionalized in informal rules and norms. Indeed, Heilbrunn (2008) suggested that despite the changes in the definition and characteristics of the kibbutz, both collective and privatized communities still share the kibbutz's original ideology, norms, goals, and values, which are more collaborative in nature. Thus, the ecosystem values of entrepreneurs from privatized kibbutzim may clash with their intrinsic motivation, while entrepreneurs who live outside the kibbutz do not face the same dissonance in values and therefore show a stronger intrinsic motivation to implement their entrepreneurial tendencies.

Contrary to the pull motivation, privatized kibbutz members show the highest levels of push motivation as their main driver to become entrepreneurs. This may be explained by the process of separation between kibbutz members and the kibbutz's responsibility toward them (Manos & Gidron, 2021). Since the members of privatized kibbutzim cannot rely on their communities to economically support them, they have had to adjust to the new financial circumstances and choose entrepreneurship as a career path, not out of an intrinsic but an extrinsic motivation. Hence, this group solves the tension between the values of collectivism and independence by pointing to necessity as their main reason for becoming entrepreneurs.

Concomitantly with the second hypothesis, self-efficacy was stronger among entrepreneurs from privatized kibbutzim and negatively related to collective kibbutz members. Furthermore, self-efficacy emerged as a central mediator in this transformation, confirming our third hypothesis. Self-efficacy was found to influence how individuals perceive opportunities and navigate challenges. These traits resonate with former findings underscoring their importance in shaping entrepreneurial outcomes within structured environments (Kumar & Shukla, 2022; Rauch & Frese, 2007). Thus, we found that privatized kibbutz members show higher levels of self-efficacy, indicating that even though the decision to establish a business derives from extrinsic motivators, those who choose this career path feel more secure in their ability to succeed as entrepreneurs. This result suggests that a highly performance-based cultural environment encourages the individuals' self-efficacy, which leads to stronger entrepreneurial behaviors (Hopp & Stephan, 2012).

Furthermore, proactive personality traits amplify the effects of self-efficacy by equipping individuals to effectively harness communal resources and overcome structural constraints, a fact that is in line with our last hypothesis. The connection between kibbutz type and self-efficacy is moderated by a proactive personality, i.e., a stronger proactive personality increases the entrepreneurs' self-efficacy, but only in the case of collective kibbutz members. Former studies have already suggested that people with a stronger proactive personality are more attuned to entrepreneurial opportunities and lean on their self-efficacy to promote entrepreneurial behaviors (e.g., Kumar & Shukla, 2022; Travis & Freeman, 2017; Van Ness et al., 2020). However, the current study discloses another layer of this argument and suggests that this connection is more explicit concerning people who have *less* confidence in their ability to establish a new business to begin with. Among members of collective kibbutzim, who show lower levels of self-efficacy compared to members of privatized communities, a stronger proactive personality leverages their self-efficacy. On

the other hand, among privatized kibbutz members, whose initial levels of proactivity are higher, a proactive personality is negatively correlated with self-efficacy. One explanation for the latter finding is that since this group was pushed, rather than pulled, into launching a business, their self-efficacy served as a substitute for a proactive personality. This means that people who are not highly proactive need at least higher levels of self-efficacy to become entrepreneurs, while those who are already proactive have a lesser need to rely on their self-efficacy and inner beliefs in their entrepreneurial abilities. Having said that, further studies are needed to explore the impact of personality traits among entrepreneurs who are pushed to establish their own businesses.

Lastly, by examining the interplay of motivational factors, self-efficacy, and proactive personality traits, the findings illuminate the micro-level mechanisms driving entrepreneurial behaviors within structured communal contexts. The economic and cultural shift from a collectivist ideology to a market orientation has been extensively discussed in the literature (Dabrowski, 2020; Gidron & Domaradzka, 2021; Stark, 1996; Weichang & Volchik, 2022). However, these studies primarily focus on macro-level transformations, such as the shift from collective values to neoliberal and capitalistic ideologies in countries like Russia and China (Weichang & Volchik, 2022). The current study offers a different perspective, focusing on micro-level changes and individual transformations within communities originally founded on collective ideologies (Kahana & Kaminer, 2020; Palgi & Getz, 2014). By validating these constructs, the study bridges the gap between individual agency and communal dynamics, providing a nuanced understanding of how personality traits and motivations foster entrepreneurial behavior in socially organized contexts. This interaction sets the stage for further exploration into how structured communities can act as incubators for social innovation and intrapreneurship.

5.1. Theoretical and Practical Implications

The present findings have important implications for academics and practitioners alike. This study advances the understanding of intrapreneurial behaviors by illustrating how structured environments like kibbutzim can nurture innovation. The kibbutz's transformation provides a unique lens for exploring how communal structures balance the preservation of collective values with the promotion of individual agency. A growing body of research on cross-cultural entrepreneurship has been published over the last two decades (Calza et al., 2020; Stephan, 2022), particularly focusing on the effects of cultural norms and values on entrepreneurship from a macro-perspective, primarily at the country level. Less attention has been given to the influence of community values, its contribution to the understanding of the entrepreneurial process (Newman et al., 2019), and how changes in macro-level values impact community values and individual behaviors. Some of the former studies inspect hybrid and sustainable entrepreneurship as a special case in which economic values come into conflict with social and environmental values (Ebrahim et al., 2014; Moskovich, 2022). This study shows another area where values are mismatched, not due to inner conflict but to changes at the community level and between norms assimilated through socialization. The changes in values that have occurred in the kibbutz since the mid-1980s can also be observed in many other countries and communities that once espoused socialistic and communal agendas but now embrace more individualistic values (Weichang & Volchik, 2022). Hence, a conflict between values concerns not only hybrid entrepreneurship but can also result from macro-changes that affect the entrepreneur's decision-making process. As research on community values and how they affect entrepreneurial behavior is in its infancy, additional studies are necessary to gain a comprehensive understanding of these phenomena.

These findings also contribute to the literature on intrapreneurship by emphasizing the role of organizational context in fostering entrepreneurial behaviors that align with both social and economic objectives. Furthermore, the study underscores the potential for structured settings to serve as incubators for social intrapreneurship, offering lessons that can be applied to corporate environments. Organizations seeking to integrate social impact initiatives into their strategies can draw inspiration from the kibbutz model, which demonstrates how proactive individuals can drive change within established frameworks.

The findings have important implications for policymakers and organizational leaders. Managers in limited liability companies have significant decision-making authority; however, they are also requested to demonstrate higher levels of responsibility and accountability. A higher level of accountability highlights the importance of managerial autonomy while operating according to the law (Peráček & Kaššaj, 2023). This may be even more important when considering ventures that are more mixed in nature, such as platforms and hybrid organizations (Funta & Horváth, 2024; Moskovich, 2022). In these types of organizations, managers serve as legal representatives of the limited liability company, and their actions are a manifestation of the company's behaviors; however, they are not always aware of the actual source of their responsibility (Funta & Horváth, 2024). Hence, when operating in hybrid organizations, managers should take into account their liability and understand how to perform according to the law.

Another area that organizations must take into consideration is how to foster intrapreneurial behaviors and innovative thinking. In structured settings, fostering self-efficacy through targeted training and promoting proactive behaviors can catalyze innovation. In addition, designing systems that balance collective objectives with individual agencies can enhance both social and economic outcomes. For organizations aiming to embed social intrapreneurship into their strategies, the kibbutz model provides a valuable blueprint for integrating entrepreneurial activities without compromising core values. Moreover, as many nascent entrepreneurs participate in educational programs and accelerators, the teaching materials must be different for people who come from a more individualistic community (and therefore may feel pushed, rather than pulled, into starting a new business) compared to candidates coming from communities that embrace more collective-oriented values, who may feel more confident regarding setting up their own business. Furthermore, practitioners should emphasize action-learning approaches in order to enhance participants' entrepreneurial abilities. Again, these programs must consider the levels of both proactive behavior and entrepreneurial self-efficacy, since one may compensate for the other. In contrast to many other personality traits, proactive behaviors and self-efficacy can be altered via learning methods such as role modeling, identifying entrepreneurial opportunities, and gaining positive success experiences (Zhao & Smallbone, 2019). Therefore, policymakers should expose aspiring entrepreneurs to entrepreneurial success stories and role models that originate from communities with similar values.

5.2. Limitations and Future Research Directions

While this study offers valuable insights, it is not without limitations. The focus on kibbutzim as a specific socioeconomic model may constrain the generalizability of the findings to other contexts. Future research should explore similar dynamics in diverse cultural and institutional settings to test the broader applicability of these insights. In addition, longitudinal studies examining the long-term impact of entrepreneurial activities on communal cohesion and identity may provide a deeper understanding of the sustainability of such transformations. Lastly, this research observed the cultural context based on the differences in the type of kibbutz—collective and privatized. The implied claim was that members of collective kibbutzim assimilate different values compared to privatized kibbutz

members. However, [Manos and Gidron \(2021\)](#) have suggested that the changes in values that affected the kibbutzim paralleled similar processes throughout Israel that transformed the collectivistic and socialist country into a start-up nation that emphasizes the values of individualism and materialism. Therefore, further studies are needed to understand the impact of the national cultural context, especially those national characteristics that contribute to the drive to become an entrepreneur.

By situating the kibbutz's entrepreneurial transformation within the framework of social intrapreneurship, this study contributes to the broader discourse on fostering innovation within structured environments. These findings provide a foundation for the future exploration of the interplay between individual agencies and communal structures, which will be further addressed in the concluding section.

6. Conclusions

This study delves into the transformative journey of kibbutzim from collectivist models to entrepreneurial ecosystems, framing the phenomenon as a compelling example of social intrapreneurship. By integrating motivational dynamics, self-efficacy, and proactive personality traits, the research highlights how individual agencies operate within structured communal contexts to drive entrepreneurial transformation. These findings not only validate the conceptual framework but also provide a nuanced understanding of how intrapreneurial activities emerge and thrive in unique sociocultural and organizational settings.

Framing the kibbutz transition as a form of intrapreneurship situates this study within broader discussions of organizational innovation and social entrepreneurship. The kibbutz, akin to an organization with its structured norms and shared resources, provides fertile ground to explore how entrepreneurial behaviors can be cultivated within collective frameworks. This perspective bridges the gap between individual motivations and organizational adaptation, offering practical insights into fostering social intrapreneurship.

The implications of this research extend beyond the kibbutzim, providing valuable insights for organizations seeking to adopt social entrepreneurial practices while addressing resistance to change. By focusing on individual traits and cultural dynamics, the study underscores strategies for fostering innovation without undermining foundational values. These insights can guide policymakers and organizational leaders in developing interventions that harmonize economic demands with the preservation of communal well-being.

In conclusion, this study contributes to the growing body of literature on social intrapreneurship, providing a comprehensive lens to understand the dynamics of entrepreneurial transformation within structured environments. It not only validates the relevance of personality traits and motivational factors but also emphasizes the adaptability of collective structures in fostering innovation and economic resilience.

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Appendix A

Factor loading of motivational factors to establish a business.

Table A1. Factor Loadings of Motivational Factors for Establishing a Business.

Item	Mean	SD	Factor 1	Factor 2
Wanted to have more time to spend with my family (11)	3.46	1.36	0.816	
Looked for more free time (8)	3.42	1.29	0.793	
Free choice to take actions (7)	3.74	1.22	0.682	
Desire to be independent and make independent decisions (4)	3.47	1.44	0.672	
Desire to earn more (1)	3.64	1.46	0.655	
Job security (2)	3.51	1.30	0.612	
Self-fulfilment (10)	3.88	1.09	0.433	
More interest in my work (3)	4.02	1.03	0.448	
I wanted more challenges (6) ^a	3.84	1.03	0.392	
I adapted to the requirements of my spouse (13)	3.21	1.34		0.726
I couldn't find another job (5)	2.85	1.35		0.623
I wanted to adjust myself to the norms prevalent in my community (12)	3.19	1.39		0.584
Cronbach's alpha			0.818	0.720

^a This item was excluded from the final analysis because its factor loading did not exceed the threshold of 0.40, indicating an insufficient contribution to the construct's measurement.

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