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Values of Veteran Israelis and New Immigrants from the Former Soviet Union: A Facet Analysis[1]

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Abstract: *Grounded on the formal faceted definition of values introduced by Levy & Guttman (1974), a mapping sentence was constructed to define values as guiding principles. Guided by the Facet Theory approach, the perceptual structure of the value system as well as value preferences are reviewed in a comparative perspective: veteran Israelis vis-à-vis new immigrants from the former Soviet Union (FSU). The data are part of a comprehensive study on Israeli society (Levy, Levinsohn & Katz 2002), conducted between June 1999 and January 2000. Two samples were investigated by means of face-to-face interviews: a national sample of Jewish Israeli adults, consisting of 2,466 respondents, and a comparable representative sample of FSU immigrants, consisting of 373 respondents. FSU immigrants attribute less importance than do veteran Israelis to each of the values under study, but they do not differ much in their value preferences. Both groups share a basic similar circular structure of values (a radex) specified by the orientations of the values, thus replicating earlier studies on values. Differences in a few details are discussed.*

Introduction

The concept of 'value' is widespread, but a short review of the literature since the 1950s reveals that the concept remains rather vague. The point of departure of research in an attempt to classify value systems is the assessment of people's relatedness to their actions (see for example Williams' overview in the *Encyclopedia of Social Sciences*, 1968). However, as value systems are multivariate, such assessments are multifarious. Guided by the facet analytic approach we shall reintroduce the faceted definition for values first presented by Levy & Guttman in 1974, and then we shall go on to theory construction in a

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comparative perspective. Value preference and perceptual structure of a value system are reviewed with special reference to the mass immigration from the former Soviet Union (FSU) that took place during the last decade of the 20th century in Israel.

Defining value as a multivariate term

From the beginning of value research in the 1950s, researchers viewed the term 'value' as a criterion for people's actions or conduct (to mention but a few: Kluckhohn 1951; Parsons 1954, 1964; Scott & Scott 1965). Accordingly, numerous varied assessments may be considered to be 'values' as indeed discussed by Williams, Jr.: "The term value may refer to interests, pleasures, likes, preferences, duties, moral obligations, desires, wants, needs, aversions, and attractions, and many other modalities of selective orientation" (Williams, Jr., 1968: 283).

Such an approach led to confusion and vagueness in defining the concept, as pointed out already in 1968 by Albert who, in her writings, adopts the following approach: "For the foreseeable future, it is doubtful whether a definition of values can be produced that embraces all the meanings assigned the term and its cognates, or that would be acceptable to all investigators" (1968: 288).

A number of years later, the concept remained vague in the literature. For example, Rokeach states in his attempt to define 'value' that "To say that a person 'has a value' is to say that he has an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally and socially preferable to alternative modes of conduct or end-states of existence" (1976: 160).

Study of change in values over time is an empirical problem. Therefore, as Guttman (1982) claims, inclusion of 'stability over time' as part of the *definition* of the concept of 'value' renders longitudinal research meaningless. However, Rokeach himself continued to claim that his definition is compatible with those suggested by Kluckhohn and Williams who, like Scott, are aware of the issue of dynamics over time, but not as part of the conceptualization. Moreover, in his later years Rokeach himself became involved in research on 'value change' (Rokeach & Ball-Rokeach 1989).

It follows then, that value systems are multivariate – as are most behavioral terms – and their study requires a definitional framework to facilitate a view of this multivariate complexity. The facet approach enables viewing each of the previous attempts at a definition as emphasizing a specific aspect of the multifaceted concept. However, something must hold all these aspects together, and this commonality is sought in terms of the kind of assessment which is the level of *importance* in value research (see discussion in Levy & Guttman 1974, 1985; Levy, 1990).

For scientific progress and accumulation, some formalization must take place. The formal definition of 'value' adopted here is the faceted definition first presented in 1974 by Levy & Guttman (see also Guttman 1982). The approach in this definition places emphasis on the universe of observations for the term – and reads as follows:

"An item belongs to the universe of value items if and only if its domain asks for a (cognitive) assessment of the importance of a

$$
\underline{A} \qquad\qquad \underline{B}
$$

$$
\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{Situational} \\ \text{behavioral} \end{array} \right\} \text{ goal in a/n } \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{cognitive} \\ \text{affective} \\ \text{instrumental} \end{array} \right\} \text{ modality in life area (y)}
$$

$$
\underline{C}
$$

for $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{itself as a} \\ \text{a more primary} \end{array} \right\}$ purpose in life area (z), and the range is ordered

from $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{very important that it should} \\ \text{to} \\ \text{very important that it should not} \end{array} \right\}$ exist for that purpose."
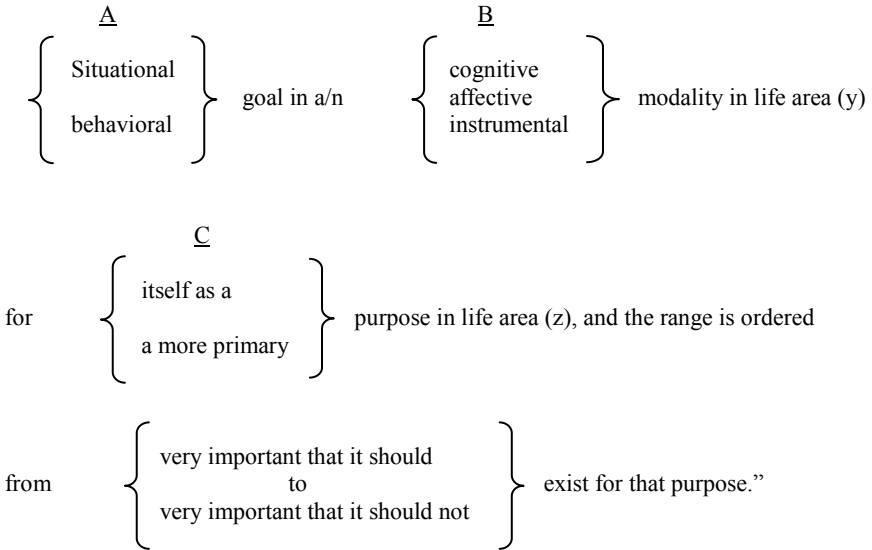
In accordance with this definition, 'value' is a special case of attitude (see discussion in Guttman 1982; Levy 1990, 1995; Levy & Guttman 1985).

The above definition specifies that the assessment of importance may be regarded as *cognitive* behavior. So of the three possible modalities of behavior, values are restricted to the cognitive. However, the situational or behavioral *goal* (Facet A) whose importance is being assessed may be of any of the three modalities (Facet B). Evidence for this can be seen, for example, from cross-cultural studies on work values (Borg 1986, 1990; Elizur 1984; Elizur et al. 1991).

It is possible to assess the extent of importance of a situation or behavior as an end in itself (guiding principle), or as a means to a more primary purpose (Facet C). It follows then that the meaning of the precept depends on the goal: "important for what?" These distinctions agree to some extent with Rokeach's classification of values (see discussion
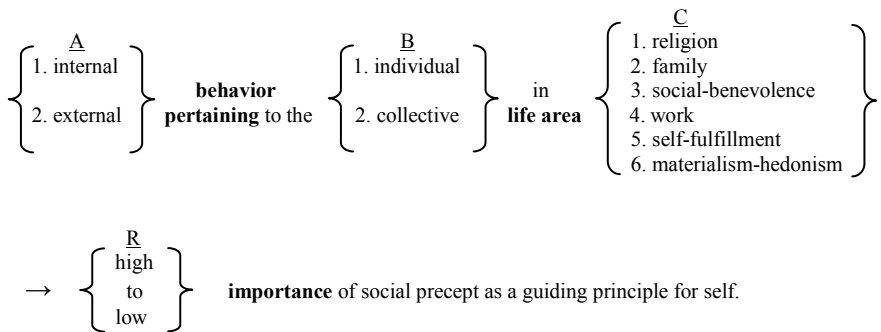
in Levy 1990; Levy & Guttman 1985), to which Schwartz & Bilsky (1987) suggested a faceted definition which is but a special case of the above definition. Though being aware of the need for a theory-oriented framework from which values could be sampled systematically for research, in their later works, as well as in most of the studies on values, not much attention is paid to the issue of formality of value definition (for example: Bubeck & Bilsky 2004; Leviatan 2006; Schwartz 1994).

The definitional frame of the study

Having defined the overall concept of 'value', we shall now present a definitional framework for the particular varieties of value items considered here. This will be done by means of a mapping sentence which incorporates the universe of the items and the population studied. The present study concerns values only as guiding principles – namely, each value is assessed as 'an end in itself' rather than as a means for a 'more primary purpose'. The following mapping sentence serves as the definitional framework for values as guiding principles:

Mapping sentence for observations on values as guiding principles

The assessment of respondent (X) of the extent of **importance for self** of a social precept as an **end-in-itself** through

$$
\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \underline{A} \\ \text{1. internal} \\ \\ \text{2. external} \end{array} \right\}
\begin{array}{c} \textbf{behavior} \\ \textbf{pertaining} \text{ to the} \end{array}
\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \underline{B} \\ \text{1. individual} \\ \\ \text{2. collective} \end{array} \right\}
\begin{array}{c} \text{in} \\ \textbf{life area} \end{array}
\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{C} \\ \text{1. religion} \\ \text{2. family} \\ \text{3. social-benevolence} \\ \text{4. work} \\ \text{5. self-fulfillment} \\ \text{6. materialism-hedonism} \end{array} \right\}
$$

$$
\rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \underline{R} \\ \text{high} \\ \text{to} \\ \text{low} \end{array} \right\}
\quad \textbf{importance} \text{ of social precept as a guiding principle for self.}
$$

Six value domains are differentiated in Facet C of the mapping sentence. Among these, at least two pairs of domains indicate competing approaches. One pair is hedonism-materialism vs. social-benevolence, and the other is religion vs. self-fulfillment. The materialistic-hedonistic values can be interpreted as being basically of an egotistic-personal nature and of a 'taking' ('having') orientation ('making a lot of money', 'having

a good time', etc.), while the values relating to the social domain are of an altruistic orientation, implying 'giving' and benevolence (such as 'contributing to society', 'helping those in need', 'being a good citizen', 'being a good friend'). Hedonism-materialism vs. social-benevolence accords with Kluckhohn's (1951) distinction between egotism and altruism in value orientation. The other pair of domains – religion vs. self-fulfillment – also expresses competing orientations, namely discipline and authoritarianism in religion vs. permissiveness and self-fulfillment. This distinction accords with the contradiction suggested by Schwartz & Bilsky (1987) between restrictive conformity and self-direction. More generally, the value domains can be classified as pertaining either to the individual or to the collective (Facet B).

The above value orientations, as expressed by the value domains, are fundamental for understanding the perceptual structure of value systems.

In addition to the content facets (ABC), the mapping sentence includes the population, labeled '(X)', and the facet of the range of responses – placed after the arrow in the mapping sentence. The research design expressed by the above mapping sentence calls for assigning to each respondent (x) a response of the range (R) for each item. Each respondent (x) has one and only one response in the range for each of the items classified by the elements of the content facets ABC.

Apart from constituting a definitional framework for observations, a mapping sentence also serves as a basis for constructing empirical hypotheses, as will be shown below (a general discussion on the role of a mapping sentence can be found in Borg & Shye 1995; Canter 1985; Guttman 1982, 1992; Guttman & Levy 1981; Levy 1976, 1985, 1990, 2005; Shye & Elizur 1994).

Respondents were presented with eighteen social values as guiding principles. These relate to all life domains specified in Facet C of the mapping sentence, expressing competing value orientations discussed above and pertaining to the individual/collective (Facet B).

Method

Samples

The data are part of a comprehensive study on a variety of aspects of Israeli society carried out by the Guttman Center at the Israel Democracy Institute (Levy, Levinsohn & Katz 2002). The research population is the adult Jewish population (20 years of age and over), residing in all types of communities in Israel (excluding kibbutzim).

The study was conducted on two samples: a national sample of Israeli Jews and a sample of immigrants from the former Soviet Union (FSU).

A national sample of veteran Israelis comprising 2,466 respondents was selected, representing the research population. Only Hebrew-speakers were interviewed. In addition, a national representative sample of the FSU immigrants who arrived in Israel after 1989 was selected. The FSU sample comprises 373 Jewish respondents.

Procedure

Interviewing by means of a structured questionnaire (that was translated into Russian for the FSU immigrants) was conducted in the second half of 1999 until the end of January 2000. Interviews were conducted face-to-face in the homes of the respondents by trained interviewers. Details concerning sampling and field work procedures can be found in Levy, Levinsohn & Katz (2002).

Analysis

The value system is analysed in a comparative perspective from two points of view: (1) value preferences – resulting in viewing the value system in accordance with rank order and (2) the structural perception of the value system.

For the structural analysis we employed the technique of Similarity Structure Analysis (SSA). SSA is an intrinsic geometrical technique for analyzing multivariate data which emphasizes content regions in the space of variables rather than coordinates. In this technique, each variable is treated as a point in a Euclidean space in such a way that the higher the correlation between two variables, the closer they are in the space. The space used is of the smallest dimensionality that allows such an inverse relationship between all the pairs of observed correlations and the geometric distances. Only the relative sizes of coefficients and the relative distances are of concern (Borg & Lingoes 1987; Guttman 1968; Lingoes 1968).

Results

Value preferences

The eighteen values under study are presented in Table 1 specifying the extent of importance attributed to them by veteran Israelis and FSU immigrants.

With the exception of one value, namely, 'to be observant', which is considered important only by a minority of both groups, most of the values (12 out of 18) are considered to be

'very important' or 'important' by almost all respondents of both groups (85%-99%). Somewhat fewer respondents, but still a majority (60%-80%), attribute importance to the remaining five values. However, the extreme positive answer ('very important') provides a wider distribution of responses (24%-87% for veteran Israelis and 8%-77% for FSU immigrants). This facilitates a better differentiation among the values, especially because the differences between veteran Israelis and the new immigrants lie in the extreme positive answers. Analysis of the responses of the FSU immigrants suggests that a 'response bias' may be at work, which is expressed in a reluctance to choose the extreme positive category ('very important') in replying to scaled questions. However, the responses of immigrants and veterans mostly coincide in rank order, in spite of percentage differences (see Levy et al. 2002). Therefore the extent of positiveness is analyzed with reference to the percent answering 'very important' (Table 1).

Table 1   **Importance of values as guiding principles for Veteran Israelis and for former Soviet Union (FSU) immigrants (percent answering 'very important')**[*]

Value	Veteran Israelis	FSU Immigrants
To honor one's parents	87	77
To raise a family	80	62
To be at peace with oneself	82	48
To be a good friend	71	54
To read and study for broadening horizons	66	51
To succeed in work	67	43
To be free to choose how to behave	64	43
To have a good time	65	37
To be a good citizen	63	29
To contribute to society	58	14
To help those in need	56	19
To believe in God	49	17
To contribute to charity	42	11
To understand other people's view	40	28
To spend time abroad	37	29
To enjoy beauty	32	28
To make a lot of money	24	17
To be observant	24	8

  * The values are presented in the order of veteran Israeli percentages.

Inspection of Table 1 reveals that FSU immigrants are differentiated from veteran Israelis in the importance they ascribe to the values. FSU immigrants attribute less importance to each of the values under study, the differences ranging between 10% and 44%. Most striking are the differences concerning values of the social-benevolence domain such as 'to be a good citizen', 'to contribute to society', 'to help those in need', etc. As evident from Table 1, these sharp differences leave only a few 'consensual' values for the FSU immigrants, while most of the values – with the exception of seven – are 'consensual' for veteran Israelis, with the majority of the veterans considering them as 'very important'. Despite these differences, both groups do not differ much in ranking the values, as shown in Table 2, which presents the value rankings for each of both groups again according to the extreme positive answer ('very important').

Table 2   Ranking of values as guiding principles for Veteran Israelis and for former Soviet Union (FSU) immigrants (percent answering 'very important')

Veteran Israelis		FSU Immigrants	
Value	**%**	**Value**	**%**
To honor one's parents	87	To honor one's parents	77
To be at peace with oneself	82	To raise a family	62
To raise a family	80		
		To be a good friend	54
To be a good friend	71	To study to broaden horizons	51
To succeed in work	67	To be at peace with oneself	48
To study to broaden horizons	66		
To have a good time	65	To succeed in work	43*
To be free to choose how to behave	64	To be free to choose how to behave	43
To be a good citizen	63	To have a good time	37
To contribute to society	58	To be a good citizen	29*
To help those in need	56	To understand other people's views	28*
		To enjoy beauty	28
To believe in God	49	To spend time abroad	29
To contribute to charity	42		
To understand other people's views	40	To help those in need	19
		To make a lot of money	17*
To spend time abroad	37	To believe in God	17
To enjoy beauty	32	To contribute to society	14
To make a lot of money	24*	To contribute to charity	11
To be observant	24	To be observant	8

* Ranking of values with identical percentage is specified in accordance with the percentage who answered 'important'.

Family values, such as 'honoring one's parents' and 'founding a family', head the value rankings of both groups – veteran Israelis as well as new FSU immigrants. Self-fulfillment or personal integrity (such as 'to be at peace with oneself' and 'to study for broadening horizons') together with good friendship follow immediately next. 'To be observant' closes both hierarchies. Materialistic-hedonistic values and a few of the social-oriented values are located towards the bottom of both rankings. However, some of the values pertaining to the collective such as 'to contribute to society' and 'to help those in need' rank higher for veteran Israelis than for FSU immigrants. Interestingly, 'to be a good citizen', unlike 'to contribute to society', is found in the middle of both rankings, meaning that FSU immigrants make a sharp distinction between the benevolence-volunteer oriented value 'to contribute to society' and the law-obedient value 'to be a good citizen', which is much higher in their ranking. For Israelis these two values are adjacent to each other in the middle of the ranking. Another outstanding difference con-cerns the value 'to enjoy beauty' that ranks low for veteran Israelis and much higher for FSU immigrants.

In sum, with the exception of a few details, these two groups share a similar value system in terms of value preferences, despite the lesser importance attributed by the FSU immigrants.

Perceptual structure of values as guiding principles

Interrelations among the values

In order to study the structure of interrelationships among the values, monotonicity coeffi-cients (Guttman 1986) were calculated among the 18 variables. These are presented in Table 3 for veteran Israelis and in Table 4 for FSU immigrants.

The monotonicity coefficients range from -0.54 up to 0.93 for veteran Israelis and from -0.15 up to 0.92 for FSU immigrants, the vast majority being positive for both groups. The highest two pairs of positive correlations for the veterans as well as for the new im-migrants are between the two family values (0.88 and 0.92, respectively) and between the two religious values (0.93 and 0.84, respectively). The few negative correlations for both groups are between values representing competing approaches, such as hedonism vs. social-benevolence, or discipline vs. permissiveness. For example, religious values of a discipline-authoritarian orientation correlate negatively with freedom of choice represent-ing permissiveness, albeit the competing approach is much more pronounced for veteran Israelis than for the FSU immigrants (monotonicity coefficients are -.043 and -.054, and -0.14 and -0.03, respectively). However most of the negative coefficients are rather weak. Hence, though values are attitudinal, Guttman's (1982) Positive Monotonicity Law of Attitude (First Law) may not hold because competing approaches may lead to negative

correlations. Similar indications from other attitudinal studies (Levy 1985) suggest that there may be a further condition for the First Law of Attitude to hold, namely, that attitudes towards an object are complementary rather than competing. This condition can be looked upon as a further classification of the single-object condition (Levy & Guttman 1985; see also Levy 1995).

Table 3   Monotonicity coefficients* among values as guiding principles for veteran Israelis

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
To raise a family	1	100	15	13	28	36	55	56	59	32	50	46	5	16	88	54	46	51	52
A lot of money	2	15	100	46	54	18	-5	6	-17	1	5	39	53	42	-2	0	-10	-8	8
Freedom of choice	3	13	46	100	78	55	32	54	-1	29	25	36	51	37	27	-43	-54	-23	31
Enjoy life	4	28	54	78	100	57	37	57	12	26	37	46	64	48	30	-20	-38	-9	38
Broaden horizons	5	36	18	55	57	100	72	68	39	52	53	48	36	21	48	-1	-7	20	47
Contribute to society	6	55	-5	32	37	72	100	71	71	60	66	47	11	9	67	34	29	55	57
At peace with self	7	56	6	54	57	68	71	100	52	51	58	48	22	20	62	18	-3	32	57
To help those in need	8	59	-17	-1	12	39	71	52	100	64	73	40	-8	-11	68	59	58	80	62
Understand others	9	32	1	29	26	52	60	51	64	100	75	34	18	11	33	16	16	48	57
To be a good citizen	10	50	5	25	37	53	66	58	73	75	100	53	17	17	60	27	21	57	66
Succeed at work	11	46	39	36	46	48	47	48	40	34	53	100	58	20	43	27	9	30	77
Spend time abroad	12	5	53	51	64	36	11	22	-8	18	17	58	100	40	3	-22	-37	-13	35
Enjoy beauty	13	16	42	37	48	21	9	20	-11	11	17	20	40	100	8	-16	-26	-12	19
To honor parents	14	88	-2	27	30	48	67	62	68	33	60	43	3	8	100	56	43	54	61
To believe in God	15	54	0	-43	-20	-1	34	18	59	16	27	27	-22	-16	56	100	93	77	23
To be observant	16	46	-10	-54	-38	-7	29	-3	58	16	21	9	-37	-26	43	93	100	78	17
Contribute to charity	17	51	-8	-23	-9	20	55	32	80	48	57	30	-13	-12	54	77	78	100	44
To be a good friend	18	52	8	31	38	47	57	57	62	57	66	77	35	19	61	23	17	44	100

*Decimal point omitted.

Table 4   Monotonicity coefficients* among values as guiding principles for FSU immigrants

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
To raise a family	1	100	18	6	33	32	29	35	30	22	31	45	16	52	92	26	12	21	49
A lot of money	2	18	100	43	58	18	0	6	-8	-4	13	43	50	27	10	-8	-6	-15	4
Freedom of choice	3	6	43	100	58	36	-8	49	-13	40	24	33	24	22	20	-14	-3	-12	27
Enjoy life	4	33	58	58	100	32	20	48	37	37	26	44	62	48	33	8	-3	20	29
Broaden horizons	5	32	18	36	32	100	45	66	56	53	72	63	39	36	51	13	16	27	48
Contribute to society	6	29	0	-8	20	45	100	33	51	39	59	21	13	24	20	50	25	60	29
At peace with self	7	35	6	49	48	66	33	100	44	56	64	47	32	47	50	33	23	25	52
To help those in need	8	30	-8	-13	37	56	51	44	100	68	68	48	33	27	48	59	58	76	54
Understand others	9	22	-4	40	37	53	39	56	68	100	74	44	32	39	38	43	38	46	71
To be a good citizen	10	31	13	24	26	72	59	64	68	74	100	61	39	37	49	29	19	53	67
Succeed at work	11	45	43	33	44	63	21	47	48	44	61	100	70	42	48	28	25	35	60
Spend time abroad	12	16	50	24	62	39	13	32	33	32	39	70	100	41	14	11	6	13	32
Enjoy beauty	13	52	27	22	48	36	24	47	27	39	37	42	41	100	56	11	13	18	44
To honor parents	14	92	10	20	33	51	20	50	48	38	49	48	14	56	100	26	28	25	59
To believe in God	15	26	-8	-14	8	13	50	33	59	43	29	28	11	11	26	100	84	73	26
To be observant	16	12	-6	-3	-3	16	25	23	58	38	19	25	6	13	28	84	100	65	18
Contribute to charity	17	21	-15	-12	20	27	60	25	76	46	53	35	13	18	25	73	65	100	28
To be a good friend	18	49	4	27	29	48	29	52	54	71	67	60	32	44	59	26	18	28	100

*Decimal point omitted.

Structural hypothesis

Structural hypotheses are based on relative sizes of correlations and hence are associated with the geometry of Similarity Structure Analysis (SSA – described above). The general hypothesis of facet theory is that the specification of formal roles for the facets in a mapping sentence provides a rationale for structural theories concerning a correspondence between the elements of the facets and regions of the SSA space representing the interrelations among the variables. The elements of the life-area facet (C) have the rationale for a polarizing facet because there is no notion of order among the life domains; therefore, it is hypothesized that each element of the facet corresponds to a different direction in the SSA space, emanating from a common origin (Levy 1985, 2005).

Having regions go off in different directions from a common origin generates a *circular* order of regions, namely, a *radex* (Guttman 1954). However, unlike in many other issues, in value research there is a partial rationale for a specific circular order of the life areas,

namely: contrasting orientations (discussed above). We hypothesize that, as already cross-culturally confirmed (Levy 1990, 1999; Schwartz 1994; Schwartz & Bilsky 1987), social-benevolence will be polarly opposite to the materialistic-hedonistic area, and that the authoritarian-disciplined religion domain will be polarly opposite to the permissive self-fulfillment and to the materialistic-hedonistic areas (Levy 1990, 1999). It follows, then, that both religion and social-benevolence areas are compatible, hence, their regions in the space are expected to be in proximity or at least on the same side of the circle.

Some may view religion and social-benevolence as relating to the term 'transcendence'. Religion pertains to an impersonal 'transcendental being' (Levy & Guttman 1985); benevolence as suggested by Schwartz (1994) may be looked upon as 'self-transcendence'. However, to classify benevolence as 'self-transcendence' is a culturally dependent moral judgement and hence cannot be part of a definition of 'value types', much like Rokeach's definition of value as an 'enduring belief'. This semantic elaboration has nothing to do with the radex theory based on the competing/compatible approaches incorporated in the values.

A further rationale for the circular order relates to whether the values – in each life area – pertain to the individual or to the collective (Facet B), thus partitioning the circular space into two vast regions. The nature of the religion area as a 'transcendental being' (not moral judgement) can be easily incorporated into this Facet (B) of the above mapping sentence to read:

> . . . **pertaining** to the {individual, collective, transcendental being} in **life area** (C).

This shows the contribution of formality for theoretical progress.

The Radex Structure of Values

By correspondence between the space regions and the elements of Facet C (life areas) of the mapping sentence, it is possible to observe the scattering of the points for each group, as expected from earlier studies (Levy 1990, 1992, 1999), in a circular structure, namely, a radex (Guttman 1954). The radex structure of veteran Israelis is presented in Figure 1 and for FSU immigrants in Figure 2.

The circular space in each of the Figures is partitioned into six regions emanating from a common origin. Each wedge-like region corresponds to a specific life area. Let us start at the upper part of the veteran Israelis circle (Figure 1) going clockwise, where the order of the wedge-like regions is as follows: religion, family, social-benevolence, work, self-fulfillment, and materialism-hedonism. The circular order for the FSU immigrants (Figure 2) is as follows: work, religion, social-benevolence, family, self-fulfillment, and materialism-hedonism. Hence, for both groups, the above structural hypothesis of polarly contrasting orientations expressed in the life areas is reconfirmed.

The values related to religiosity, society (benevolence), and family constitute, in both Figures, continuous regions on the right-hand side of the circle, which are, as expected, opposite to self-fulfillment, hedonistic, and work regions at the left-hand side of the circle.

However, there is some difference between veteran Israelis and FSU immigrants with regard to the specific location of the family domain in the right-hand side of the circle. The family area studied here is mainly in the sense of interpersonal, familial relations oriented towards the 'other', and hence its location is at the right-hand side of both circles (see also discussion in Levy 1990). But while for veteran Israelis family values are located between religion and benevolence, for the FSU immigrants family values border on benevolence and self-fulfillment, reflecting also the possible self-fulfillment involved in this domain.

The work area consists of only one value which pertains to the individual, namely, 'succeed at work'. For both groups this value is located close to the origin of the radex expressing its centrality in the respective perceptual structure of values.

In sum, then, in both spaces values pertaining to the individual (materialistic-hedonistic, self-fulfillment, succeed at work) are opposite to those pertaining to the collective and to a transcendental being. This partitioning, marked by the bold line, is according to Facet B of the mapping sentence, which differentiates between values pertaining to the individual and those pertaining to the collective. Hence, this is a further confirmation of the circular structure of values rationalized by competing orientations of the values (Bubeck & Bilsky 2004; Levy 1990, 1992, 1999; Levy & Guttman 1985; Schwartz 1994; Schwartz & Bilsky 1987).

Figure 1   The Radex Structure of Values for Veteran Israelis
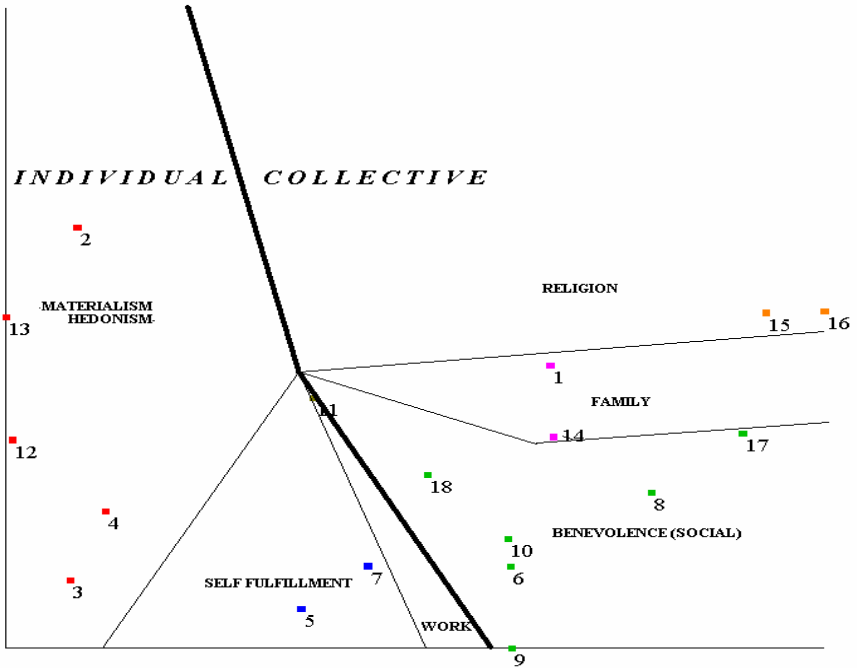
Legend: (1) To raise a family, (2) A lot of money, (3) Freedom of choice, (4) Enjoy life, (5) Broaden horizons (6) Contribute to society, (7) At peace with self, (8) To help those in need (9) Understand others, (10) To be a good citizen, (11) Succeed at work, (12) Spend time abroad, (13) Enjoy beauty, (14) To honor parents, (15) To believe in God, (16) To be observant, (17) Contribute to charity, (18) To be a good friend

Figure 2   **The Radex Structure of Values for FSU Immigrants**
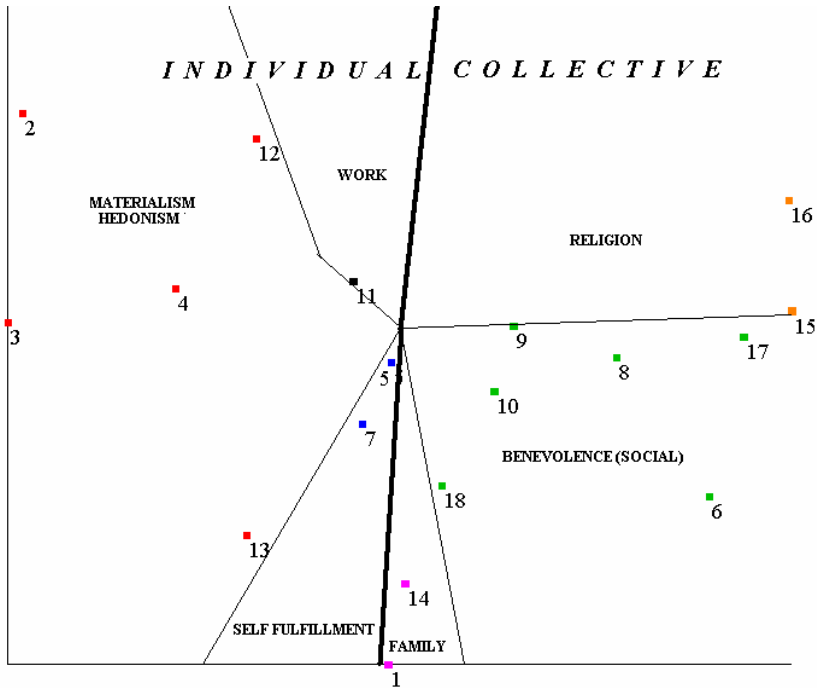
Legend: (1) To raise a family, (2) A lot of money, (3) Freedom of choice, (4) Enjoy life, (5) Broaden horizons (6) Contribute to society, (7) At peace with self, (8) To help those in need (9) Understand others, (10) To be a good citizen, (11) Succeed at work, (12) Spend time abroad, (13) Enjoy beauty, (14) To honor parents, (15) To believe in God, (16) To be observant, (17) Contribute to charity, (18) To be a good friend

Discussion and conclusions

This article reviews the value system of veteran Israelis and new immigrants to Israel from the former Soviet Union (FSU). These immigrants, who for decades were estranged from Jewish culture, had been in Israel at most 10-11 years at the time of the study (1999-2000), being still in the midst of their acculturation.

Both samples, which were national, are similar with respect to gender and age distributions (the very young group, 20-24 years of age, is somewhat less represented in the FSU sample). However, they differ with respect to their ethnic composition and some SES characteristics. The vast majority (90%) of the FSU immigrants are of European provenance, while veteran Israelis are split almost evenly between those of European-American provenance and of Asian-North African origin (47% and 53%, respectively). FSU immigrants are much better off than veteran Israelis with regard to education (53% and 21%, respectively, have an academic degree), but they are economically deprived (47% and 24%, respectively, state that their monthly income is 'below the average').

Guided by the facet-analytic approach, the definition of values adopted here is the formal faceted definition suggested in 1974 by Levy and Guttman. Leaning on this definition, a mapping sentence is introduced for defining the particular values under study. Accordingly, eighteen values, as guiding principles, were constructed, relating to a variety of domains, expressing competing as well as compatible value approaches. The analysis, which is comparative, concerns two kinds of value perceptions: value preferences and value structure.

Findings indicate that FSU immigrants attribute less importance to each of the values under study; however, both groups do not differ much in ranking the values. Namely, with the exception of a few details, both groups share a similar value system in terms of value preferences. Family and self-fulfillment values head the rankings and being observant terminates both rankings. Hence, though veteran Israelis are not estranged from Jewish culture as much as the FSU immigrants, for both groups this value ranks last. The most striking differences concern the social-benevolence domain pertaining to the collective. Most of these values rank higher for veteran Israelis than for FSU immigrants. Furthermore, FSU immigrants, unlike veteran Israelis, make a sharp distinction between 'to be a good citizen' and 'to contribute to society', with good citizenship ranking as high as for veteran Israelis, and contributing to society, which can be regarded as a volunteer-oriented value, being at the bottom. For veteran Israelis these two values rank next to each other in the middle of the rank order. On the other hand, 'to understand other people's views', which indicates tolerance, ranks higher for FSU immigrants than for veterans.

Only one 'other' oriented value is at the top of both hierarchies, namely, 'to be a good and faithful friend'. Thus, with regard to values with a 'giving' orientation, veterans and immigrants alike differentiate between the individual and the collective, the preference given to the individual rather than to the collective. This difference is much more pronounced for the FSU immigrants than for veteran Israelis.

Veteran Israelis and FSU immigrants also share basically a similar perceptual structure of values, with a few differences in details, in that the respective content facets play similar polarizing roles generating a circular structure of values (radex). The circular order is rationalized by competing orientations, thus replicating earlier cross-cultural studies on values mentioned above (Figures 1 and 2). Two differences between veteran Israelis and FSU immigrants are apparent within the overall similar structure. One concerns the location of the family domain: while for veteran Israelis family values are located between religion and benevolence, for the FSU immigrants these family values are located between social-benevolence and self-fulfillment. For both groups, then, family values border on the benevolence domain, indicating their orientation towards the 'other' ('honor parents', 'raise a family'). However, the location of these family values in the space of the FSU immigrants reflects also the contribution of the family domain to individual self-fulfillment.

The other difference is also related to the issue of self-fulfillment, with regard to the value 'enjoy beauty'. 'Enjoy beauty', in accordance with its definition, is located for both groups in the hedonistic region. However, for the FSU immigrants this value is much closer to the self-fulfillment values than it is for veteran Israelis. Hence, it seems that FSU immigrants emphasize more than do veteran Israelis the self-integrity aspects of a few values, which may be due to their higher level of education compared to that of veteran Israelis. However, the basic perceptual structure, stemming from competing/compatible approaches, remains invariant.

In conclusion, though FSU immigrants are differentiated from veteran Israelis in that they ascribe less importance to the values studied, they share a similar basic value system, with but a few differences, in terms of value structure and preference. The above study shows how lawfulness of human values can be achieved by systematic and formalized conceptualizations leading to cumulative social science. However, much still lies ahead.

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