

Towards a Typology of Values: Application of Facet Theory to the Study of French Jews

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Abstract. Facet Theory is used to develop a typology of values based on an empirical study of values among French Jews. Each of the analytic tools used revealed a unique facet of the data, which together gave a rich picture of both the study population and the concept of values. SSA revealed a polar structure of six categories of values arranged around a central value. Two axes are identified, one political, one social. POSAC identified four basic profile types of French Jews which are then re-introduced into the SSA map. The resulting typology may be verified among other populations.

1. Introduction

1.1. Previous Typologies: French Jews

In this study, we develop an axiological typology of French Jews. We chose a branch of study based on value judgments for several reasons. In the first place, the questions about values presented to Jews of France have been used for many years among other populations. This enables the construction of a universal typology for it is based on variables that are not specifically related to Judaism, although specifically Jewish values can still be expressed. Furthermore, the axiological typology avoids the debate on the nature of Judaism (a body of practices or a feeling of belonging, religion or culture, etc.) In this sense, it is scientifically more objective and more neutral, since it does not presuppose an “ideal” Jewish model. We shall also see that the axiological typology is also the most discriminating, in the sense that it enables the construction of non-hierarchical categories.

Several previous typological studies of the Jews of France are worth noting, as they provide contextual background for interpreting the results of the current analysis. Schnapper (1980) distinguished between *observers*, who continue or return to religious tradition, *militants*, who pass tradition on through political means and *Israelites* who primarily associate with non-Jews of their same social status. More recently, Hubert Hannoun (2000) distinguished between *militant* Jews, *spectator* Jews and *indifferent* Jews, based on level of attendance at community institutions. Using a more systematic approach, Regine Azria (2003) graphs a typology of traditional practices along two axes: Jewish law (*halakha*) versus custom (*minhag*), and individual versus collective

practices with five categories of French Jews: 1) *professionals*: those working in Jewish institutions or businesses 2) *faithful*: those concerned with Jewish continuity, 3) *militants or volunteers*: those who dedicate service to Jewish causes, 4) *consumers*: those who purchase goods and services related to Judaism and 5) *seekers*: disenchanting soul-searchers (p. 67). These typologies, however, do not specifically address the issue of values. They differentiate between types based on behavior. They are specific to the Jewish population and therefore the typologies are less widely applicable.

A typology based on values rather than on behavior entails a reversal of theoretical approaches. While centrifugal and centripetal movements can be perceived among the Jewish population, they are not sufficiently strong to interpret and explain reality. We hope, through this axiological study, to address questions such as: In what way do the Jews of France constitute an integrated collective? How does each member find his place in this collective?

In sociological studies of values, the notion of context is of utmost importance, as, “Values are nothing more than collective preferences, which emerge in an institutional context and which, because of the way they develop, contribute to the regulation of this context,” (Boudon and Bourricaud 1982, 601-608). The context in which the study population, the French Jewish community today, lives consists of multiple layers: the Jewish religion and culture, French culture and the culture of North African Jews who comprise 70% of the current French Jewish community. Traditional Jewish values, French Republican values and values of the Maghreb (Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia) interact to create the value structure of the study population. Nevertheless, universal typologies of value types have been developed and verified in many different cultural contexts. These typologies present a structure of value types which allows for variation in emphasis within different social contexts.

1.2. Previous Typologies: Universal Structures of Values

Guttman and Levy (1976) were the first to depict various axiological tendencies on a geometric graph as polarities revolving around a center. The main polarities on this graph are authority versus autonomy and altruism versus egoism. These two basic structures have been used and verified many times all over the world and it would seem that the universe of values is fundamentally structured in the same way in all human societies.

Today, the most widely recognized and repeatedly verified structure of values is that developed by Schwartz and colleagues over the course of over a decade. Schwartz refined Rokeach's (1973; 1976) typology of 36 values which were divided into two categories: personal or social end values and moral or beneficial instrumental values. Schwartz and colleagues (Schwartz 1999; Schwartz and Bilsky 1987; Schwartz and Sagiv 1995) expanded the list of values to 56 and proposed a universal typology of ten value-types: self-direction,

universalism, benevolence, conformity, tradition, security, power, achievement, hedonism and stimulation. Schwartz's theory utilizes the Facet Theory approach and the typology recognizes the importance of the relationship between the categories of values. His typology is graphically represented as a two-dimensional model showing categories of compatible and incompatible value-types. Schwartz notes two sets of general moral positions: self-transcendence versus self-enhancement and conservation versus openness to change. The applicability of the Schwartz model has also been tested in studies based on other measurement tools (i.e. *not* the "Schwartz Value Survey") (Bilsky and Koch 2000).

These two theoretical approaches provide theoretical guidance for the development of an axiological typology using the case study of French Jews.

2. Methodology

2.1. The Survey

During the month of January 2002, a large socio-demographic and attitudinal survey was conducted among a representative sample of French Jewry. Potential interviewees were selected based on family name. 1132 phone interviews were conducted with the head of household in 30 geographical French departments. The survey included 300 questions on issues such as Jewish identity, Jewish life, Jewish education and relationship to Israel. Several of the questions related to values.

In one question, which forms the basis of the current analysis, respondents were given 14 value items (shown in Table 1) and asked to rate the importance of each on a scale of 1-3 (one representing 'not important', two 'somewhat important', three 'very important').¹

2.2. Development of a Typology

The process by which we established a typology of the Jews of France involved nine stages, which we shall describe in brief.

Stage 1: Using the Smallest Space Analysis, we created a structural order of the values of the Jews of France (see Figure 1).

Stage 2: The semantically linked variables in each region in the SSA were transformed into indices. The central value in the structure was not retained in the following stages.

Stage 3: Once the six indexes were constructed, we verified their different frequencies.

¹ I would like to thank Shlomit Levy for her help in selecting these 14 items from a larger list of items she used with Louis Guttman.

Stage 4: We then calculated the average for each index.

Stage 5: Each index was transformed into two categories: one category representing answers below the average and one category representing answers above the average.

Stage 6: Using the POSAC (Partial Order Scalogram Analysis with Base Coordinates), from the HUDAP statistical package, we were able to establish a partial order for the 64 profiles on the basis of the six indexes assigned to each interviewee. A partial order of the 64 profiles identified by the statistical package was represented in a scalogram. The axes by which the scalogram may be divided were identified by the statistical program.

Stage 7: On the basis of this result, we created a new variable, consisting of 4 categories. Each of these categories refers respectively to one of the four areas of the scalogram.

Stage 8: Additionally, based on the last scalogram, four binary variables were created, each representing one of the four areas.

Stage 9: These four binary variables were introduced onto the graph of values as external variables. An external variable, by definition, plays no part in the order of the graph (Cohen and Amar 2002). Only the original variables can do so. Once the graph is defined and fixed, an external variable is identified based on the correlations between this variable and the original variables. The external variables are introduced one by one (see figure 1).

3. Results

3.1. Axiology (Moral Choices)

Table 1 shows the averages of the responses to each of the 14 values included in the survey question. The two values, with the most importance for the Jews of France are related to the family nucleus: *honor your parents* and *founding a family*. These are fundamentally traditional values and principle pillars of social organization related to respect and authority. Next come two values related to the individual: *Studying* and *Being oneself*. These are followed by two variables relating to relationships with others and social law: *Helping others* and *Being useful to society*. Lastly one finds values that could be described as individualistic and egoistic: *Caring for one's appearance*, *Going away on holiday* and *Earning a lot of money*.

Analysis of the results of the survey enables us to draw an axiological graph of the value system of the Jews of France. The monotonous correlation matrix of the responses to the list of 14 values was calculated then plotted on an SSA map. Of the total correlations between the 14 variables, we find only three relatively negative correlations confirming that we are dealing with a unified system. Figure 1 shows the graphic representation of the values. The distribution

Table 1. Average of responses to the item, "Assess each variable by level of importance in your life: 1 = not important, 2 = important, 3 = very important"

Honor your parents	2.73
Founding a family	2.61
Studying	2.55
Being oneself	2.52
Helping others	2.42
Enjoying life	2.37
Doing what I like	2.31
Being useful to society	2.24
Having a good time with friends	2.18
Believing in God	2.14
Going away on holiday	2.04
Caring for one's appearance	2.01
Engaging in sport	1.76
Earning a lot of money	1.70

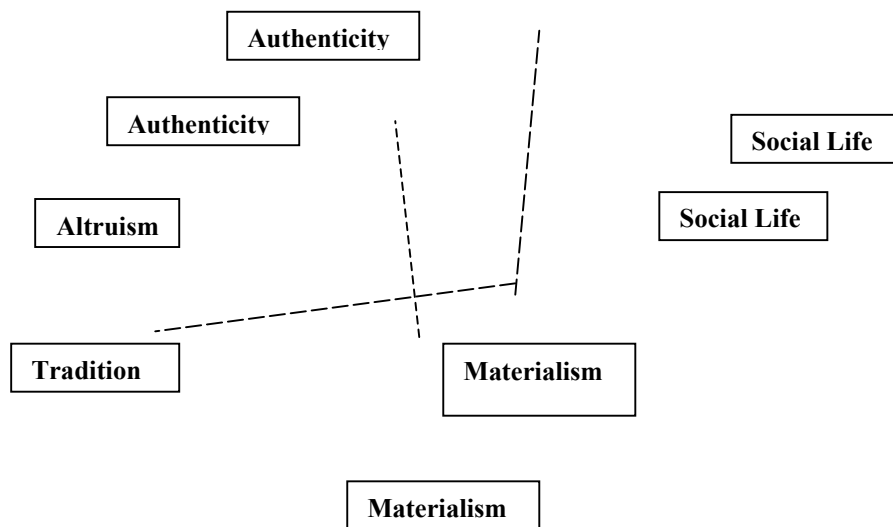


Fig. 1. Axiological graph and typology. Geometric representation (SSA) of the values of the Jews of France in 2002 with typological profiles as external variables

of the variables over the whole of the graph shows that the semantic terrain was well covered by the questionnaire.

Six axiological regions emerge, each representing a way of living and expressing life's multi-faceted character: 1) tradition (belief in God, honoring parents, founding a family), 2) altruism (helping others, being useful to society), 3) authenticity (being oneself, studying), 4) social life (having a good time with

friends, doing what I like), 5) leisure (going on holiday, engaging in sport), and 6) materialism (caring for one's appearance, earning a lot of money). In the center of the structure is a sixth region with one value "making the most of life". The same graph enables us to see, within the system, the polarities and oppositions that organize the values among themselves.

3.2. Axes of Values

The graph of the values of the Jews of France can also be read according to two diagonals that represent choice of values: a political diagonal, which deals with collective life in an organized group and a social diagonal, which deals with relationships with others. We can thus define four poles that organize the graph of values.

The two poles of the political diagonal are:

**Autonomy*: an individual (or a collective) defines his own principles of behavior and obeys only the rules chosen after examination. (*Having a good time with friends, Doing what I like, Studying, Being oneself*);

**Authority (Heteronomy)*: an individual (or a collective) looks to the outside for principles and rules. This is the pole of values that are imparted; it is thus the pole of tradition and authority. In other words, duty, discipline, and respect for values based on imitation and continuation (*Founding a family, Honor your parents, Belief in God*).

The two poles of the social diagonal are:

**Altruism*: an individual (or a collective) places the most emphasis on the wellbeing of others (*Being useful to society and Helping others*).

**Egoism*: an individual (or a collective) makes the interest of the individual the main guiding force of his behavior (*Going away on holiday and engaging in sport, Caring for one's appearance and Earning a lot of money*).

The center of the structure is a largely consensual value, *Making the most of life*. It is at the center because of its multifaceted character since everyone can impart to it the meaning they want. For some, it can mean total dedication to enjoyment and, for others it can mean enrichment, taking advantage of every moment to enrich oneself through study or work.

Given the importance of autonomy, subjectivity and self-fulfillment in modern society, one could have expected to find the value *Being oneself* at the center of the graph of values. But, we see that self-fulfillment is linked to study and training, through which an individual forges his future. In the same way, the value that is directly linked to individual liberty, *Doing what I like*, is correlated with social conviviality, *Having a good time with friends*. One assumes then that *Doing what I like* does not mean exercising one's freedom, or having total power over one's destiny. It relates more to a value that represents relaxation,

pleasure, a state in which an individual frees himself from social constraints and moves towards autonomy.

From the results of the SSA, indices were created for each of the semantic regions by adding together the variables. For example, an index for the Tradition region, designated index 1, adds together the variables *Belief in God*, *Founding a family* and *Honoring one's parents*. The frequencies of the indices were then verified. Since each of the three questions, which are the basis of this index, consist of three categories (very important, important, not important), the minimum of their total equals three and the maximum equals nine. The same process was followed for each of the regions, creating six indices. We then calculated the average for each index. For index one, we found an average of 7.6. Next, each index was transformed into two binary categories representing below and above average responses. For index one, answers of three through seven were transformed into 1, answers of eight and nine were transformed into 2.

3.3. Profiles of Value Types

Using these six binary indices, we found 64 possible profiles for the interviewees. The partial order scalogram of the 64 profiles is shown in Figure 2. Profile 1 appears on the top right-hand side of the scalogram. Profile 64 appears diagonally facing it. Between these two extreme profiles, the statistical package identified the remaining 62 profiles, according to their partial order. The statistical package enables one to locate the axes of the scalogram. It emerges that the axes are perfectly correlated with indices 1 and 2. The first designates the index of variables, *Belief in God*, *Founding a Family*, and *Honor one's parents*, which forms the Tradition region in the SSA. The second designates *Doing what I like*, and *Having a good time with friends*, which forms the Social life region.

As a result, the statistical package divides the scalogram according to these two indices, as seen in the scalogram below. Nearly all the profiles below the horizontal line fall into category 1, index 1. Similarly, nearly all the profiles to the left of the vertical line fall into category 1, index 2. On the basis of this result, we created a new variable (TYPO), consisting of four categories. Each of these categories refers respectively to one of the four areas of the scalogram. Thus all the profiles in the lower-left quadrant (26, 30, 45, 50, 51, 52, 54, 57, 58, 60, 62, 63 and 64) are included in category 1 of the new variable.

Next, four binary variables were created, each representing one of the four areas of the scalogram. These were introduced as external variables into the SSA of values, as shown in Figure 1.



Fig. 2. Partial order scalogram of 64 profiles of French Jews

This analysis, using several complementary multi-dimensional tools, enables us to distinguish four basic value profile-types among the Jewish population of France. Two are based on values of autonomy (profile 1 and profile 2) and two are based on values of authority (profile 3 and profile 4). As seen in Table 2, these four profiles are demographically balanced.

Table 2. Frequency of occurrence of the four profiles

Profile 1: <i>Individualists</i>	22%
Profile 2: <i>Universalists</i>	24%
Profile 3: <i>Traditionalists</i>	31%
Profile 4: <i>Revivalists</i>	23%
Total	100%

Profile 1, called *Individualists*, places the emphasis on values based on egoism. Profile 2, named *Universalists*, places the emphasis on autonomy and favors sociability. *Traditionalists* (Profile 3) derive the principles that govern their lives from external sources and stress values that are linked to authority. Finally, profile 4 is made up of people who combine values of autonomy with values of authority. We call this group *Revivalists*.

The order of the profiles on the graph does not indicate the character of the members of the group. This geographic organization simply highlights tendencies, propensities, which we call the dominant traits. For example, we find *Traditionalists* and *Universalists* along the political diagonal, reflecting the process of individualization characteristic of French society, with each

individual personalizing his own identity. We find *Traditionalists* next to the authority pole and *Universalists* next to the autonomy pole. This does not mean that the members of these profiles are authoritarian or autonomous. It means that these profiles have a greater tendency to conform to principles of authority or autonomy.

We find *Revivalists* at the juncture of the two diagonals, practically at the center of the graph, indicating that this profile is correlated with all the values. *Revivalists* belong as much to the Altruist/Egoist poles as to the Authority/Autonomy poles, but with an emphasis on values of authority (God, family, parents). *Revivalists* are thus trying to create a synthesis between the political and social diagonals. It is because of this synthesis that one can speak of an integrative identity approach in respect of *Revivalists*. We use the term in the sense of an internal integration within a specific collective, in this case, the Jews of France. In contrast, we could say *Traditionalists* and *Universalists* have an opposing identity approach.

As for *Individualists*, we find them on the social diagonal, very close to the Egoism pole. In their case, none of the political concepts apply. In relation to the Jewish identity pole, they constitute a marginal, almost disconnected, population. Furthermore, *Individualists* have a negative correlation with the group of values. Hence the negative attitude regarding the Authority/Autonomy poles and the passivity regarding the Altruism/Egoism poles. But *Individualists* express the least opposition towards holidays, appearances and money. It is thus the Egoism pole, which characterizes them most. Their social choices are thus directed towards individualism. This profile has a somewhat passive identity approach.

It should be noted that no profile is positioned close to the altruism pole. This does not mean that the expression of Jewish identity does not take into account the welfare of others. It simply means that it is the pole that is least correlated with the profiles. It may be linked to a decline of voluntarism in favor of the growing professionalism of community institutions and the disengagement of youth movements from the community landscape.

4. Conclusion

A wide variety of Facet Theory techniques applied to data from an empirical survey enabled the development of an axiological typology of French Jews which may be verified among other populations. Each of the various analytic tools revealed a unique facet of the data, which when taken together gave a rich picture of both the study population and the concept of values.

The SSA revealed a polar structure with five value types arranged around the central value "Making the most of one's life." Two axes may be recognized in the SSA, one political (autonomy versus authority) and one social (altruism versus egoism). These two axes are similar to the two basic dichotomies in the

Schwartz typology. They confirm also several other studies by Levy and Guttman (1985), Levy (1990), Elizur and Sagie (1996) and Cohen and Cohen (2002), just to name a few.

The altruism versus egoism axis may be said to represent the same concepts expressed in Schwartz's self-transcendence/self-enhancement dichotomy. The autonomy versus authority axis, similarly, may be said to represent the same concepts expressed in Schwartz's openness to change/conservation dichotomy. This further finding further strengthens the universality of these basic types of values.

The POSAC identified four basic profiles of French Jews: *Individualists*, *Universalists*, *Traditionalists* and *Revivalists*. Since these profiles are based on universal value types, rather than specific behaviors, the typology may be applied to other populations. It has been noted that French Jews are similar to the general French population in their general value orientation. Since the same question regarding values was included in the European Values Survey, these categories could be tested among the general French population and other sub-populations such as Muslims in France. Are the same profile types recognizable, and are they found in the same distribution as among the French Jews? Similarly, the typology could serve as the basis for a comparison between French Jews and Jews in other countries. Given the 'identity crisis' being experienced in contemporary Europe and the role of values in this crisis, a widely applicable tool for understanding and comparing values held by various sub-groups is critical.

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