

## **Identity representations and intergenerational transmission of values: the case of a religious minority in Israel**

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The main hypothesis of the paper is that social representations of identity contribute to intergenerational value transmission beyond children's perception and acceptance of their parental values. The hypothesis was tested on a sample of 412 parental pairs and their 16-18-year-old daughters or sons (N =1236) living in the Religious- Zionist Jewish communities in Israel. Parents' and children's values of Tradition and a combined Self-enhancement value score were assessed by Schwartz's value scale, and two identity representations – Religious- Zionist and Solidarity-Conflict – were tapped by an original instrument constructed specifically for this research. The values and the identity representations were divided into hegemonic vs. emancipated. Results supported the hypothesis regarding the hegemonic social representations of the value of tradition, but not for those of emancipated representations self -enhancement values. Its import to SRT literature is the unique identity definition as a social representation and the theoretical and the empirical elaboration of the concepts of hegemonic and emancipated representations

While much has been written about intergenerational value transmission, little attention has been given to the role that the social context in general and the identity representations of children play in this process. It is our main thesis that children's values are affected by two sources (among others): by their parental values, which they need to perceive correctly in order to accept, and by their own social identity representations. Our original contribution is thus an intergenerational value transmission model that combines cognitive processes with identity representation effects. We test this model on a minority group of Jewish Religious- Zionist Israelis. This population provides fertile soil for investigating value transmission owing to the saliency of their concerns about survival as a minority and about their ability to transmit their religious and political values to their offspring.

Intergenerational value transmission is not a novel issue in the developmental psychology literature (i.e. Schoenpflug 2008). There, however, the individualistic perspective led to research patterns in which parental effects on children values were investigated, whereas wider social representations effects on children's values were neglected. The present research was aimed at tapping social representational effects beyond those of parents. With this aim in mind, we chose to investigate families from the religious Zionist society – as a specific social minority group where the ideological commitment of its offspring is central to its survival, and where intergenerational value transmission is considered as their most important means for a continued existence (Meidan, 2010).

## **INTERGENERATIONAL TRANSMISSION OF VALUES**

Values are defined within the mainstream psychological literature as abstract desirable goals that become guiding principles in the life of humans and that are relatively independent of a specific social context (Rokeach, 1973). Based on this premise, Schwartz (1992) developed a conceptual model according to which ten distinctive values serve distinctive human motivations. These ten values were sorted

into four higher-order values: Self-enhancement (consisting of values of Power, Achievement and Hedonism<sup>1</sup>) as opposed to Self Transcendence (comprised of Benevolence and Universalism), and Openness to change (consisting of Self Direction and Stimulation) as opposed to Conservations values (including Security, Conformity and Tradition). This model has been investigated in more than 60 cultures with diverse languages, religions, and geographical locations. While the findings showed cultural differences in the magnitude of the values, the same structure of ten kinds of values was universally replicated (Schwartz, 1992; Schwartz & Bardi, 2001). A number of years later, Schwartz (2008) extended his theory, to offer seven cultural value orientations and applied it to understanding significant *societal phenomena*. His two theories, however, do not go beyond the classical motivational approach within North American Psychology; the cultural values are external social stimuli whereas the individual values are internal motivations. The SRT in contrast speaks about the dialog or the interaction between societies and societies' members.

As to the concept of values it is an important concept within Social Representations Theory (SRT) too, and according to Moscovici (1984) they are located at the core of societal representations. However, although Moscovici and Schwartz might agree on the centrality of the concept of values within their theories, they differ on their definition and on the centrality if the concept within their theories. For Schwartz, values are his main theoretical concern: cultural values are expressed by societal institutions such as the media and are, what Moscovici (1984) would define as, reified representations. His individual value system, in contrast, is a part of the motivational system of individuals. The concept of values, however, was underdeveloped and not operationalized within the SRT literature.

As researchers came to recognize values as central and viable concepts of culture and as core social representations (Moscovici, 1984), the importance of intergenerational value transmission in the social life of people became increasingly apparent (Cavalli-Sforza, 1993; Grusec, 1997). Any society having difficulty in transmitting its values to its offspring faces disintegration. This problem is acute for

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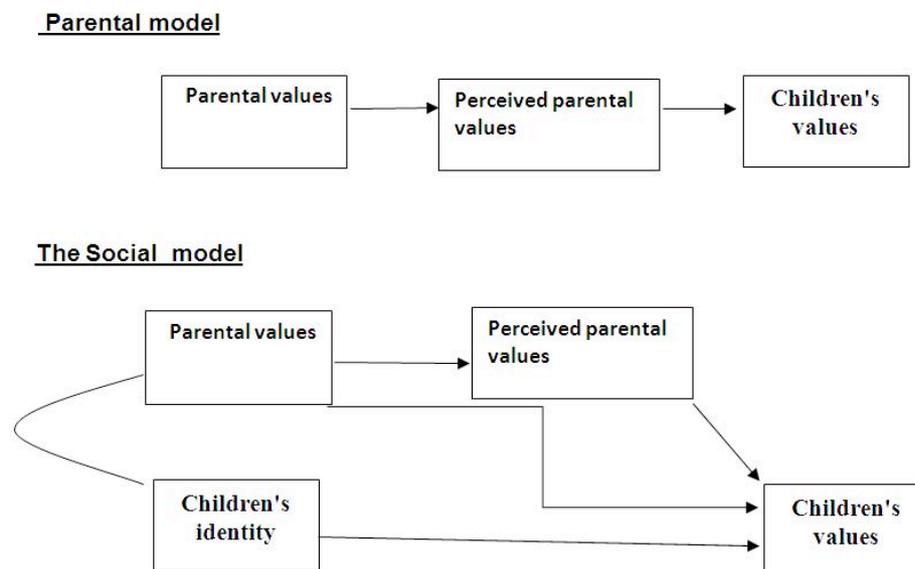
<sup>1</sup> Hedonism could belong either to the values of Self Enhancement or to Openness to Change.

minority groups, especially volitional minorities, whose society members are free to leave and join mainstream society.

Societies have a number of channels through which they transmit their values. In psychological research, however, parents are considered as central agents in passing on their own and their society's values to their children. Findings indicate that parents are aware of this task and interested in performing it (Grusec, Goodnow & Kuszynsky, 2000; Whitebeck & Gecas, 1988).

The process through which intergenerational similarity in values occur has undergone extensive research. Along these lines, Grusec and Goodnow (1994) have suggested a two-stage cognitive process (Figure 1): first, children need to *perceive* their parents' message, with the accuracy of these perceptions varying from very low to almost perfect; then, children decide the extent to which they *accept* (or reject) a specific perceived value. Where children perceive parental values accurately and decide to accept them, intergenerational similarity is high.

Figure 1. Parental and Social models of intergenerational value transmission



A number of studies investigating various kinds of values (e.g., political and religious; see Rokeach, 1973) support the two-stage model. Researchers have indeed found that those values that children perceive as their parents' mediate the effect of parental values on the values of the children (Cashmore & Goodnow, 1985; Okagi & Bevis, 1999; Westholm, 1999; Whitebeck & Gecas, 1988). They also found that the children's degree of motivation to accept parental values was positively related to the extent of the perceived threat to their autonomy (Kohn, Slomczynski, & Schoenbach, 1986; Okagi & Bevis, 1999; Westholm, 1999).

Within a different theoretical framework, Schoenpflug (2001) looked for factors in family life that affect the extent of parental transmission of values. Applying Schwartz's value scale (1992) to Turkish high school and college students living in Turkey and in Germany, she found that children who were born later in the family history accepted family values more vigorously than their first- or second-born siblings. In addition, children whose fathers had a high or medium educational level were more likely to accept parental values than children of less educated fathers. Finally, a positive attitude of fathers towards their marriage was related to children's higher acceptance of values.

Social-cultural effects on value transmission have been investigated as well. For instance, in a comparison of Turkish families in Germany and Turkish and Moroccan families in the Netherlands, Phalet and Schoenpflug (2001) found that across these cultures and national contexts, more collectivistic parents tend to have more collectivistic children. Parental academic aspirations were transmitted only in Germany. Similarly, applying Grusec's and Goodnow's two-stage model and Schwartz's value scale to a large sample of immigrant and native-born high school students and their parents in Israel, Knafo and Schwartz (2001, 2003) found that the extent of perception of parental values was similar in the two groups, but the extent of acceptance of these values was higher among the immigrants. Nonetheless, for both immigrant and native high school children, perception of the values mediated their acceptance. We posit that the group difference in the extent of value acceptance was related to the motivation of the immigrant minority to maintain its own original culture.

This context-dependent aspect of intergenerational value transmission has not been sufficiently investigated. Boehnke (2001) argues that existing research ignores the social aspects of intergenerational value transmission, focusing instead on parent-child similarities in the family (e.g. Rohan & Zanna, 1996; Whitebeck & Gecas, 1988) mainly with respect to college students and their parents (e.g., Homer, 1993). He suggests that cultural variables such as “Zeitgeist” need to be included in this area of research and proposes a research method for tapping this kind of collective effect. Our aim, then, is to describe our own theoretical and methodological approach for assessing social-collective (i.e., cultural) variables and testing their effects during intergenerational value transmission. Our contribution is the idea that in addition to the effect of parental values on that of their children through the children's perception of the values of their parents, children values are affected also by their own identity representations which they share to a large extent with others within their community. To a possible argument against the present combination of an individual and a societal levels within a single analysis (e.g., Bengston et.al., 2005), Nauck (1989) indicates an exception where families are nested within distinct cultures (Nauck 1989). We, however, overcame this obstacle by tapping the societal (community) effects as children's identity representations, i.e., through the notions of individuals as samples indicating the representations of their community. Operationally, parental values were directly assessed, whereas the community effects were indirectly assessed by an original instrument - children's identity representation (while the parental effects were controlled).

## **IDENTITY REPRESENTATIONS**

The concept of *identity representations* was our theoretical choice for signifying the contribution of the social and the collective to intergenerational value transmission. Our intention was not to disregard the known individual effects of parental values on those of their children (e.g., Grusec & Goodnow, 1994), but rather to suggest a social-cognitive model that incorporates both individual and collective aspects. Identity representations seem an appropriate vehicle for assessing these kinds of effects, since

they are largely shared by society members, refer to the group as a collective, are anchored within the representations of specific social groups, and express the group's unique and most central social issues (Duveen, 2001). This definition may look at first sight as overlapping to some extent the concept as constructed by self-categorization theory (Turner, Hogg, Oaks, Reicher, & Wetherel, 1991; Haslam, Turner, Oaks, McGarry & Reynolds, 1998). In self-categorization theory *identity* is the tendency to extend the self-concept to include others in one's society, as if one becomes a depersonalized exchangeable unit and an expert of society's cultural representations. The two critical differences between the present identity representations and self-categorization concepts are that the latter is defined as an *individual universal process*, which is instigated by the motivation to *mark* one's social borders as a means for self-enhancement; whereas, identity representations are steps made by a *collective of interacting individuals* while *making sense of their social reality*. This distinction becomes clearly highlighted by a comparison with two additional social identity theories. According to Tajfel's version of Social Identity Theory (Tajfel 1981), the motive behind social identity is *self-empowerment* through identification with one's collective that enables gaining social status. Brewer (1992) in an additional version assumes that the motive to be close to a group of others (Brewer, 1992) is the motive for individual identification. Similarly, Ethnic Identity (Phinney et.al., 1995; Quimtana et.al., 1999) refers to individual differences in the motive to preserve one's ethnic heritage. For instance, Phinney (2001) investigated the relationships between parental wishes to conserve their cultural heritage and children's verbal fluency regarding the mother's ethnic language.

From the Social Representations Theory approach, each of these *supposedly universal motivations* is a possible goal that a society in a specific context may or may not harbor. For instance, in a study performed with adolescent immigrants to Israel (Orr, Mana & Mana, 2003) representations of *empowerment*, and *inclusion* were simultaneously employed by the participants, whereas for the Zionist religious settlers' society the goal was that of marking borders (i.e., categorization) between themselves and the Jewish non-religious hegemonic Israeli society (Paryente & Orr, 2003). In each of these studies a context specific rather than a universal factor was

revealed as operating, and data based on representations of individuals was assumed to express shared collective identity representations.

Our definition of identity representations differs also from that of others within the SRT literature (see Moloney & Walker; 2007). Following Duveen (2001), our definition of *identity representations* is of representations which locate a group and its members *vis-à-vis* other societal sectors. Distinctively, however, identity representations as we define them are not features of individuals, rather, similarly to other representations they are negotiable among individuals and between them and the societal media and other institutions (Ben Asher, Wagner, & Orr, 2006). More specifically, identity representations are not only those by which individuals and societies represent themselves verbally; they are also constructed by observers and include representations that society members are not necessarily aware of. These representations are derived by the social scientist from what members of a certain society say and do, which distinguish them from other societies. Hence, Duveen's (2001) question of whether identity or representations comes first becomes irrelevant, as identities *are* representations, and their specificity is derived from their function as society markers. That is, they are the social reality as constructed by a specific society, and the social reality of a society as constructed by other relevant spectators (Orr, 2007)

### **PARENTAL VALUE TRANSMISSION: A SOCIAL MODEL**

Values are defined in the present theoretical framework as core social representations and de-contextualized desirable goals, meaning that individuals hold stable principles that do not change from one situation to another. However, each individual constructs these principles from what he or she says to – and hears from – other members within one's society and members of other societies (Moscovici, 2001; Orr, Assor & Cairns, 1995). It is therefore essential to investigate social-collective processes in addition to those already researched within personal and interpersonal paradigms (Ben-Asher, Wagner & Orr, 2006; Wagner & Hayes, 2005). The concept of identity representations seems to tap this lacking aspect, because it represents shared social

issues, as well as our sense (and our group's sense) of who we are, where we stand and what we stand for relative to members of other societies. Operationally, two models were compared: 1. *A parental model* in which parental values affect children's values through the mediation of the parental values as perceived by their children. 2. *A social model* which combines two interdependent paths: (a) a *parental path* where similarly to the parental model, parental values are source variables and parental values perceived by children mediate their effect on the criterion; (b) a *social path*, in which children's own identity representations are the source variables affecting the criterion directly (see Figure 1).

The society we chose to test our model was that of Religious Zionists in Israel. Members of this society express concerns in regard to their success to survive as a minority and their ability to pass on their specific religious values and political agenda to their children. In an effort to do so, they have developed a unique network of educational institutions aimed at upholding the societal heritage (Lasloi, 1999). This provides a fruitful ground for investigating intergenerational value transmission.

## **RELIGIOUS ZIONISTS AND THEIR IDENTITY REPRESENTATIONS**

About 100 years ago, the European ancestors of our research group withdrew from mainstream orthodox Jewish society. Their aim was to combine the preservation of religious orthodoxy with exposure to Western progressive-liberal values and culture, including nationalism (Bar-Natan, 1987; Schwartz, 1999). Later on, during the 50th of the last century and on, with the waves of Jewish newcomers from Islamic countries to the young state of Israel, the Religious Zionists population became less homogenic and included immigrants from countries that accepted the former dualistic religious-liberal ideology.

Contemporary members of the Religious-Zionist community, then, live by two systems of identity representations. They are committed to the values of the Jewish orthodox minority and its distinctive way of life, but, at the same time, embrace the ideological lifestyle and culture of the secular Israeli-Jewish majority. Like members

of the secular society, and distinctively from Jewish orthodoxy (Efron, 2003), they are consumers of the general public media, of theater, music and the cinema. They also take part in industry, science, technology, culture, politics, and the army. Similarly to members of the Jewish ultra orthodoxy, on the other hand, they dress distinctively from secular others (especially women), have specific rules of what and when to eat, pray daily, and conform to all the religious commandments. Distinctive from both the ultra-orthodox and the secular societies, they attach messianic national representations to their religious ones<sup>2</sup> (Cohen & Harel, 2004; Schachter, 2004).

Findings from a recent study of this group (Paryente & Orr, 2003, 2006) using originally devised questionnaire, revealed two negatively correlated dimensions of identity representations: "Religious-Zionist" and "Solidarity-Conflict". The former incorporates religious faith and lifestyle, ideas about the aim of Jews settling the entire land of Israel, and anxiety over the negative effects of the secular majority on the in-group younger generation. The latter dimension combines a sense of solidarity with the secular majority with a sense of conflict between that solidarity and the Religious-Zionist identity. For the religious Zionist society they are bound together: they wish to be a part of the Zionist mainstream with the hope of becoming those who carry the Messianic torch for the entire Jewish population of Israel. At the same time their religious identity is threatened by the secular majority (Paryente & Orr, 2006). Since statistically, these two aspects were correlated with each other and were negatively correlated with the Religious-Zionist identity, this locates and demarcates those who hold these representations as a distinct group. No other group members within the Israeli society posit themselves as a part of the non-religious society, and concurrently tend to *sense* it as in conflict with their religious settler's positions.

The Religious-Zionist identity was correlated with the value of Tradition and was central to the members of the group (according to means), whereas a Solidarity-Conflict identity was correlated with Self-enhancement values, such as power, achievement and hedonism and was less central to them (lower means).

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<sup>2</sup> They believe that the return of Jews from the Diaspora to Israel and the victories Israel won against the Palestinians and other Arab nations, was not a question of power balance but rather an expression of a *g'oba*; messianic divine will.

The Religious-Zionist identity consisted of conservative religious representations, and its correlation with the value of Tradition provides face validation to this new construct. Obviously, however, since the present concept of identity representations is a novel concept, we did not find any other former findings relating it to values. However, Rohan (2000) in an extensive review of the value concept, reports that right-wing authoritarian worldviews were found to be correlated with values of Tradition and conformity, thus providing specific support to the present correlation between the Religious-Zionist supposedly right-wing authoritative identity and the value of Tradition. The correlation between the Solidarity-Conflict identity and the Self-enhancement values, and the negative correlation between the two identities, on the other hand (Paryente, 2006), indicates that those who tend to identify with the Religious-Zionist identity to a less extent, tend also to identify with the Western individualistic, hedonistic, achievement oriented values of the secular Israeli Jewish majority. Additional support for this finding was provided by Knafo (2003) who reported that in his research, the self-enhancement values were significantly higher for Israeli non-religious than for religious families.

Moscovici's (1988) concepts of hegemonic and emancipated representations<sup>3</sup> are pertinent. Hegemonic representations are those which are central, i.e., unanimously and widely shared by a given society, while emancipated representations are less central, less strongly held and relatively varied across society members. In the present case, values of Tradition and Religious-Zionist identity representations can be defined as hegemonic, whereas Self-enhancement values and Solidarity-Conflict identity representations can be defined as emancipated

The focus of our previous study (Paryente & Orr, 2003; 2006), then, was on representations as markers of the religious-Zionist society. The current study takes us a step further and investigates how these markers are transmitted from one generation to the next.

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<sup>3</sup> Moscovici also mentions a third kind of representation – namely, polemical.

### **OPERATIONALIZATION OF THE PRESENT RESEARCH MODEL**

The current study tests an extended social-cognitive model combining cognitive and social effects on intergenerational value transmission. On the basis of our previous findings (Paryente & Orr, 2003, 2006) which revealed a relationship between the group's hegemonic Religious- Zionist identity representations (IR) and the value of Tradition as well as a relationship between the emancipated identity representations of Solidarity-Conflict and values of Self-enhancement (values were assessed by the Portrait Values Questionnaire, see Schwartz, Lehman, & Roccas, 1999), we divided the present research model into two related hypothetical subparts:

1. The hegemonic subpart: Filial values of Tradition are affected by those of their mothers and fathers mediated by their own perceived values of Tradition and by their Religious-National identity representations.
2. The emancipated subpart: Filial values of Self-enhancement are affected by their own solidarity conflict identity representations and by those of their mothers and fathers mediated by their perceived Self-enhancement values.

Based on our assumption that children's values result in part from their cognitive processing of parental values and in part from additional social effects, we hypothesized that a model including children's social identity representations would explain intergenerational values transmission better than a model based on parental sources alone. While we asked whether there will be any differences between the two types of values (hegemonic vs emancipated) in their relations to their respective identity representations, we did investigate whether children's Tradition and Self-enhancement values were related to Religious-Zionistic and Solidarity-Conflict identities in a similar way. We used two comparative path analyses to test the extended Social model compared to the reduced Parental Model.

## METHOD

### Participants

Four hundred and twelve Religious Zionist Israeli families ( $n = 1236$ ) participated in the study. Six hundred twenty six lived in the areas that were occupied by Israel during the 1967 war, whereas 612 lived within the former Israeli 1967 borders (we did not find any significant differences in the results of these populations; therefore the research findings refer to the entire population). Each family included father and mother (aged 38-65) and their son (208) or daughter (204) aged 16 to 18, studying in the 11<sup>th</sup> or 12<sup>th</sup> grade. High school students were investigated because the themes of identity representations occupy a greater share of their attention compared to any other age group (see Breakwell, 1986). The sample included 23.8% of parents who defined themselves as very religious, 71.8% as religious, and 4.2% as Traditional. Similar distribution was found among the children, about one quarter (23.4%) of the children defined themselves as very religious, 70.0% as religious, 5.8% as Traditional and 0.8% as secular.

### Instruments

Identity Representations Questionnaire: This 36-item Likert-style questionnaire was constructed specifically for our studies; possible responses ranged from 1 (I do not agree) to 6 (I fully agree). Based on a pilot study of interviews given to an independent sample of families from the same population (Paryente & Orr, 2003; 2006)<sup>4</sup>, two social identities were tapped: Religious- Zionist and Solidarity-conflict.

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<sup>4</sup> The pilot study consisted of three stages: In the first, 31 Religious Zionist participants (ten parental dyads and their 16-18-year-old son or daughter and a couple of twins) were interviewed. They were asked to talk about their major values, identities and possible conflicts that worry them. Four trained research assistants (advanced psychology students) drew statements from the written interviews, classifying them as Religious- Zionist or solidarity-conflict. Each assistant worked independently, and any statements for which at least three judgments converged were included in a preliminary questionnaire. In the second stage, a 101-item questionnaire (51 items for the Religious- Zionist identity and 50 for the solidarity-conflict identity) was administered to 106 high school students. In order to choose the appropriate items for the final version of the Identity Questionnaire, a reliability test was performed. The internal reliability of the Religious- Zionist identity was relatively high

Sample items ( number of items 18) tapping the former identity (Cronbach's alpha = .81) were: "As a religious woman, I believe that the Torah contains everything. We live in a modern world, so a translation is needed. That's the role of Rabbis. There are still questions to be answered, but this is the principle"; "Where a person wishes to do a meaningful thing for his society, he could become a settler<sup>5</sup>. That symbolizes for me an action for the sake of one's ideals"; "On the one hand, we are trying to raise our youth to be open to non-religious people, and on the other, this openness creates a threat of negative influence". Sample items tapping the Solidarity-conflict identity (number of items =18) (Cronbach's alpha = .67) were: "It is important for me that my children/we [parents/offspring questionnaires, respectively] meet with non-religious Israelis, because they are committed to values just like us"; "I feel that I have had enough. I do not wish to be in the middle of public controversies; I am tired of it".

Profile Value Questionnaire (Schwartz, Lehman, & Roccas, 1999). The PVQ consists of 40 descriptions of people in terms of values and the participant is asked to rate how similar the described person is to them based on Schwartz's (1992) value model. In this Likert-style questionnaire, participants are asked to rate the extent to which each description suits them, with possible scores ranging from 1 (very much like me) to 6 (not like me all). Sample items tapping the values of hedonism and achievement, respectively (as part of Self-enhancement) are: "He seeks every chance he can to have fun"; "It is important to him to do things that give him pleasure"; "Being very successful is important to her"; "She likes to impress other people." A sample item tapping the value of Tradition was: "Religious belief is important to him. He tries hard to do what his religion requires." The PVQ was administered once to parents, and twice to the children. Both boys and girls were asked to respond once about their own values and once regarding their perception of their mother's or father's values.

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(Cronbach's alpha = .90); that of the solidarity-conflict identity was lower but still acceptable (Cronbach's alpha = .65). For the final version of the identity representation questionnaire, 36 items that contributed most to the internal validity of each identity were chosen. The contribution ranged from  $r = .25$  to  $r = .75$ . In the third stage of the pilot study, the final version of the questionnaire was administered to 1,338 participants affiliated with Religious Zionist communities in Israel.

<sup>5</sup> A colloquial term referring to Jews living in settlements at the former Western Bank of the Jordan.

The statistical procedures were calculated separately for those who related to mothers ( $n = 218$ ) and for those who related to fathers ( $n = 190$ ). The predictions, though, were similar for both.

In order to control value scores for scale biases, ipsatizing scores were calculated, meaning that the responses of each participant were centered around his or her mean response (Schwartz, 1992; Schwartz & Bardi, 2001). Age, gender and education were documented as well.

### **Procedure**

Twenty-five high school students (aged 17-18), from the same Religious Zionist social group as the research participants were recruited and paid to administer the questionnaires in their own localities. They were randomly selected from student lists of public and private religious schools representing various socioeconomic and educational levels from three areas of Israel (north, center and south) and three additional regions in the West Bank (Samaria and Judea) and the Gaza Strip.

The assistants were trained to perform their task by the first writer of this study. Families were recruited by the assistants from their own localities.

The participants were told that the study deals with intergenerational value transmission among Religious Zionist families. Participant children received one of four order versions of the questionnaires (PVQ, Perceived PVQ, Identity Representations Questionnaire and personal details) parents received one of three order versions ((PVQ, Identity Representations Questionnaire and personal details). No order effect was found. The questionnaires were filled out individually in homes in the presence of the research assistant, so as to inhibit vocal communication between family members during the procedure. At the end, family members were able to ask for information regarding the research, and they were promised a copy of the report at the end of the study. The anonymity of the participants was secured by using a special family code. In order to enhance reliability the assistants were required to submit a list of the families they interviewed with phone numbers. The first author phoned one out of every three families and inquired as to whether the assistant had visited their home and administered the questionnaires to family members independently. The results

confirmed the reliability of the assistants, without any exception. The assistants reported a 30% refusal rate. Missing data did not exceed 3% and was replaced by the relevant variable mean.

## **Analyses**

In order to test the hypothetical social-cognitive model of value transmission we used structural equation modeling with AMOS model (Bollen, 1989; Kline, 1998). The transmission model specifies parental values and filial identity representations as predictor variables, filial values as dependent variables, and perceived parental values as mediating variables. The hypothetical Social model is introduced in the first step and the Parental model in the second. The final step compares the two models.

Model evaluation is based on overall statistical fit with the root mean square error approximation (RMSEA), the Goodness of Fit Index (GFI) and the Comparative Fit Index (CFI) as adjunct fit indices (Hu & Bentler, 1995). Only significant associations and effects at the 0.5 level or higher are included in the selected models. The present main hypothesis is that the explained variance of a *Social model* predicting filial values from actual and perceived parental values and from social identity representations will be greater than a similar *Parental model* which does not include effects of social identity representations. This hypothesis was tested by a model consisting of both the hegemonic value of Tradition and the religious-national identity, and the emancipated Self-enhancement values and the Solidarity-conflict identity; and was calculated separately for children whose questionnaires referred to mothers' values and for those who referred to those of their fathers.

## **RESULTS**

### **Mean differences**

As indicated in Table 1, the hegemonic values of Tradition were found to be significantly stronger than those of emancipated Self-enhancement, and the hegemonic Religious-Zionistic identity representations were stronger than those of the emancipated

Solidarity-conflict for each of the subgroups of fathers, mothers and children. Group differences within each of the values and identities indicated that the value of Tradition was significantly higher for parents, whereas that of Self-enhancement was higher for the children, and each of the values was higher for fathers compared to mothers. The Solidarity-conflict identity was higher for children compared to parents and higher for mothers compared to fathers. No significant group difference was found regarding the Religious- Zionist identity representations. These findings indicate that the value of tradition and the Religious- Zionist identity were stronger markers of the religious- Zionist society than the Self-enhancement values and the Solidarity-conflict identity representations.

**Table 1: Identity representation and parental and children's values of Tradition and Self-enhancement: Means (SD) and t-tests**

	Fathers n = 412	Mothers n=412	t-test between parents	Children n = 412	Total n = 1236	F-tests
<b>Tradition</b>	4.58 (0.81)	4.45 (0.85)	2.57*	4.16 (0.86)	4.40 (0.85)	28.06*
<b>Self-enhancement</b>	3.28 (1.02)	3.15 (0.99)	2.27*	4.09 (0.97)	3.66 (0.96)	72.03**
<b>t-test between values</b>	-19.24**	-20.10**		-3.37*		
<b>Religious- Zionist</b>	4.28 (0.69)	4.25 (0.69)	.77	4.13 (0.64)	4.15 (0.66)	3.74 n.s.
<b>Solidarity-conflict</b>	3.16 (0.85)	3.33 (0.89)	-3.22**	3.64 (0.75)	3.61 (0.77)	15.50*
<b>t-test between identities</b>	-18.91**	-15.54**		-17.84**		

\*\* $p < .000$ , \* $p < .01$ ,

## Correlations

The correlations between values and identity representations are presented in tables 2 & 3. The strongest correlation was found between the Religious-Zionistic identity and the value of Tradition. We did not find such a decisive correlation regarding the relationship between the Solidarity-Conflict identity and any of the values. Therefore we calculated a Self-enhancement score combined of the closely related values of Hedonism and Power<sup>6</sup> (the correlation between the Religious-national identity and Schwartz's original Self-enhancement dimensions which included the value of achievement was smaller compared to the present combination of values).

## Comparisons between the Parental and the Social models

To test the hypothesis that a model including children's identity representations would explain intergenerational value transmission better than one based on parental sources alone, we used AMOS (version 4.01, Arbuckle, 1999) and compared the saturated model with each of the Parental and the Social reduced model.

Path analyses, conducted separately for daughters and sons did not reveal any significant difference. Thus, the analyses were conducted for all children together, regardless of gender. The inclusion of children's own identity representation to the original model explained children's values better than the two-stage model. As predicted by our hypothesis, the  $\chi^2$  of the research model was significantly stronger ( $\chi^2(10) = 56.54, p < .05$ ) than that of the two-stage model ( $\chi^2(26) = 42.03, p = .05$ ). However, since about half of the children related their answers to perceived mothers' values, and the other half – to those of fathers, distinct parental gender path analyses were conducted.

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<sup>6</sup> Hedonism and power were adjacent in the circle of the present results. Statistically, children's self enhancement values were correlated higher with the perceived self enhancement - and the parental self enhancement values once the achievement items were omitted. Our rationale related to this findings is that hedonism and power are considered as related to the Western culture whereas achievement is an important value of their own rabbinical culture.

*Table 2: correlations between values and social identity representation*

Values	Solidarity-conflict identity representation	Religious- Zionist identity representation
Tradition	-.04	.50*
Benevolence	.04	.26*
Universalism	.20*	.10
Self direction	.14*	-.01
Stimulation	.23*	-.09
Hedonism	.28*	-.12
Achievement	.27*	-.07
Power	.24*	-.10
Security	.09	.22*
Conformity	.09	.29*
Conservation	.06	.40*
Openness to change	.22*	-.06
Self transcendence	.16*	.18*
Self-enhancement	.35*	-.12

\* $p < .01$

**Table 3: Correlations between the model's variables**

	Children's Solidarity- Conflict	Children's Religious- Zionistic	Children's tradition	Parental tradition	Perceived tradition	Children's self enhancement	Parental self enhancement	Perceived self enhancement
Children's Solidarity- Conflict		-.15*	-.15*	.01	.00	.28*	.01	.27*
Child Religious- Zionistic	-.15*		.49*	.16*	.17*	-.16*	-.11	-.10
Children's tradition	-.15*	.49*		.13*	.36*	-.20	-.02	.01
Parental Tradition	.02	.20*	.16*		.39*	.02	-.08	-.14*
Perceived tradition	-.05	.31*	.41*	.41*		.14*	-.05	-.23*
Children's self enhancement	.28*	-.16*	-.20*	.03	.05		.22*	.38*
Parental self enhancement	.07	-.16*	-.09	.01	-.14*	.28*		.52*
Perceived self enhancement	.27*	-.13	-.12	-.05	-.17*	.54*	.56*	

Note: correlations for fathers are above the diagonal and for mothers below the diagonal

\* $p < .01$

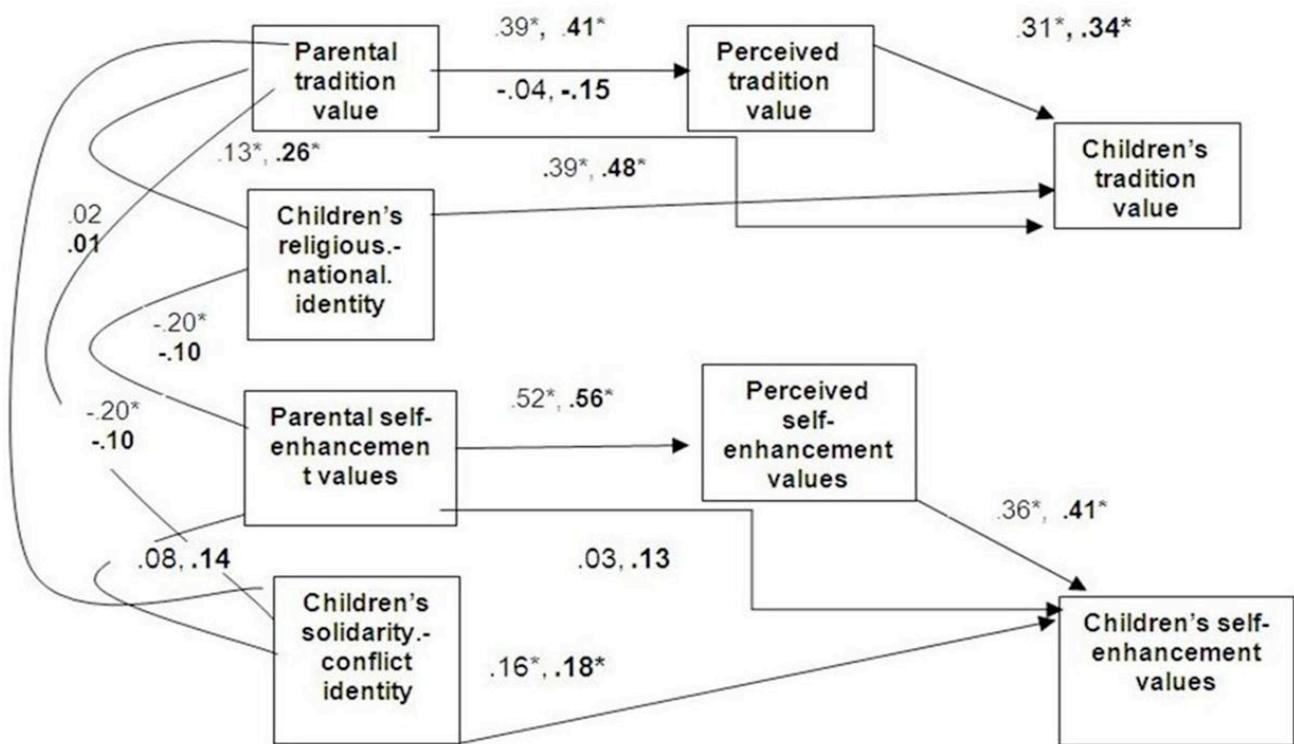
**Table 4: Chi-squares, NFI, RMSEA & CFI of the Social and Parental model**

	Social model		Parental model	
	Fathers	Mothers	fathers	mothers
Chi-square	43.99, df=14 p<.05	62.90, df=14 p<.05	38.60, df=8 p<.05	39.00, df=8 p<.05
NFI	0.82	0.84	0.79	0.79
RMSEA	0.10	0.12	0.14	0.14
CFI	0.86	0.86	0.82	0.82

The two models (fig. 2 & 3) were found to be significantly different from their saturated respective models. However, our hypothesis was aimed at testing the differences between the Parental and the Social models. The Social model differed from the Parental model in the addition of the children's identity variables. Hence, the significant effects of each of the respective identities on children's values in each of the mothers' and fathers' samples, indicated that for both parents and for each of the identities the differences between the respective models were significant ( $\beta = .39; .48$  the Religious-National identity effect on children's values of Tradition, compared to  $\beta = .16; .18$ , the Solidarity-Conflict identity effect on the Self-enhancement values; fathers, mother, respectively). The difference between the Parental and the Social models was tested by the differences between the accounted variances of each of them in each of the maternal and paternal calculations. The *Social model* explained more variance of children's values than the *Parental model* in each of the maternal and the paternal attributed effects. This difference, however, was significant in the maternal

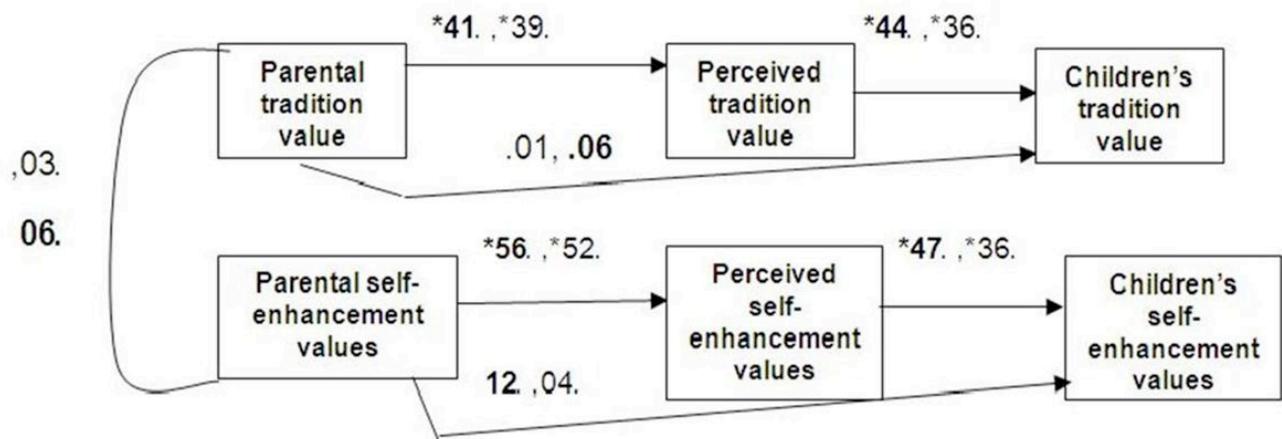
case only: the Chi-squares of difference were  $\Delta\chi^2 = 5.4$ ,  $df=6$ ,  $p=n.s.$ ;  $\Delta\chi^2 = 23.9$ ,  $df=6$ ,  $p<.001$ , fathers and mothers respectively. These findings support the main research hypothesis regarding the independent parental and social effects on children's values, in the case of mothers but not in that of fathers.

Figure 2: The social model – Beta values of fathers and mothers in this order



\*Beta .16-.50 =  $p < .000$

Figure 3: The parental model – Beta values of fathers and mothers in this order)

\*Beta .16-.50 =  $p < .000$ 

### Identity representations: differential effects

As predicted by the first research hypothesis, the effect of the children's Religious-National identity representation on their values of Tradition and Solidarity-Conflict representations on their values of Self-enhancement were significant. The children's identity-value relationships, though, were significantly lower for the children's emancipated Solidarity-Conflict identity compared to the hegemonic Religious-Zionistic identity [ $\Delta\chi^2 = 5.6, df=1, p<0.05$ ;  $\Delta\chi^2 = 9.0, df=1, p<0.01$  (fathers, mothers, respectively)]. Statistical analysis was performed following Bollen (1989).

### Perceived parental values: differential effects

The effect of parental values on children's perceived values was higher for emancipated Self-enhancement values than for values of hegemonic Tradition ( $\beta = .52, .56$  for Self-enhancement, father-mother respectively;  $\beta = .31, .34$  for Tradition

values, father-mother respectively; see Figure 2). The tests of the paths suggested that the paths are significantly different,  $\Delta\chi^2 = 4.1$   $df=1$ ,  $p<0.05$  for fathers and  $\Delta\chi^2 = 4.3$ ,  $df=1$ ,  $p<0.01$  for mothers (Bollen 1989).

## DISCUSSION

Our general and novel concern in the present research was to investigate the contribution of social effect to those of parents in the intergenerational transmission of values. To Grusec and Goodnows' (1994) model regarding children's cognitive processing of their parental values, we added a social factor, that of identity representations. Our hypothesis was that children's values are affected by the two sources; those of their parents mediated by their perception of these values and by their own identity representations which they share to a certain extent with their society. This general hypothesis was investigated on high school students and their parents from a minority group of Religious-Zionistic Jews in Israel. Our findings supported this hypothesis where children referred to their mothers' values. Where the children referred to their fathers' values, the contribution of the social to that of the parental model did not reach significance.

Additional results indicated that the hegemonic values of Tradition and the Religious-Zionistic identity representations were stronger than the emancipated values of Self-enhancement and the Solidarity-Conflict identity representations, and that the contribution of the identity representations to children's values was significantly higher in the case of the relationships between the Religious-Zionistic identity representations and the values of tradition compared to those between the Solidarity-Conflict identity representations to the values of Self-enhancement.

Seemingly paradoxical was the finding that the relationships between parental and children's Self-enhancement values was stronger than for the values of Tradition (Table 3). Based on the assumption that these findings were well founded and not mere chance effects (as the same pattern was replicated in a number of cross-sectional path analyses), we may soundly conclude that the process of intergenerational transmission of hegemonic values of Tradition differed from that of emancipated Self-

enhancement. With the aim of understanding this difference, we probed into the distinct nature of these values and the identity representations related to them.

The findings showed that the values of Tradition and the Religious-National identity representations were stronger and their variances were lower than those in the case of the values of Self-enhancement and Solidarity-Conflict identity representations. Moreover, for parents and children alike, there was a stronger relation between values of Tradition and Religious-Zionistic identity representations than between Self-enhancement values and Solidarity-conflict identity representations. Hence, it seems only fair to conclude that the values of Tradition were more important to the members of our population of Religious Zionists and more strongly related to their identity representations.

The results of the current study offer an additional criterion for Moscovici's definition of hegemonic vs emancipated: hegemonic values of Tradition were not only stronger and less varied than Self-enhancement values, but they were also more strongly related to their (respective) Religious- Zionistic identity representations. The values of Tradition, then, were more central to the identity representations of the Religious Zionist society than the emancipated values.

The findings that values of Tradition are hegemonic core representations for the society of Religious Zionists are supported also by independent literature (e.g., Cohen & Harel, 2004). They are central to its unique social agenda and lifestyle, which distinguishes its members from those of other Zionist Israeli social groups. As such, their related identity representations are strongly attached to these values and become an important component in the transmission of the group's lifestyle and agenda to the second generation. Furthermore, a comparison between the religious and the non-religious Israeli societies indicated that the values of self-enhancement were stronger for the non-religious society (Knafo, 2003)

**Hegemonic vs emancipated representations: Within-family analyses**

Ostensibly, our results are confusing and contradictory. On the one hand, the values of Tradition were higher for both parents and children and more similar to each other than those of Self-enhancement, perhaps indicating a stronger intergenerational transmission of the former. On the other hand, a stronger correlation was found between parents' and children's Self-enhancement values than between their Tradition values, perhaps pointing to the opposite conclusion. This ostensible incompatibility, however, can be explained by the argument that hegemonic and emancipated values (and perhaps other kinds of representations) are transmitted from one generation to the next by two distinctive processes.

In the case of the hegemonic values of Tradition, dominant agents of intergenerational transmission are not only within the family circle, but also in the community; they include, for instance, the group-specific school system, the peer group, the youth organization, and formal and non-formal communication outside the family. Due to the centrality of hegemonic values and their importance to the group, similar messages are transmitted from each of these sources. In the case of the emancipated Self-enhancement values, the dominant source for the transmission of values is the parents, and this transmission is expected to be at least somewhat distinct from that of other families. Since emancipated values are, by definition, less central to the group's social agenda, they are not likely to be systematically discussed within its formal social institutions and non-formal social circles; rather, such values are left to family concerns. Hence, cross-family central measurements, such as means, showed higher and more similar hegemonic values of Tradition for generations, pointing to combine parental and community effects.

The similarity of messages from a variety of hegemonic sources, while likely to have a strong effect on children, made the parental-specific message less prominent. This explains the weaker parent-child correlation found for hegemonic values than for the emancipated values of Self-enhancement. In the latter case, parental messages were less similar to each other and more distinct from those communicated by other social agents. These emancipated values probably were not

discussed within such institutions as the school and youth movement, whose function is the transmission of hegemonic messages. Hence, parental values of Self-enhancement were clearer and more obvious to the children, and therefore perceived better and more strongly accepted.

### **Hegemonic vs emancipated representations: The minority status of the group**

The society we tested was chosen because of its concerns about survival as a minority group and about its ability to pass on its religious-national values and political agenda to the next generation. While it is reasonable to assume that such a concern is mainly valid regarding their minority-specific values of Tradition, since Self-enhancement values are shared with the Jewish hegemonic majority (Cohen & Harel, 2004; Knafo, 2003), nonetheless, we did not offer any hypothesis regarding this kind of difference between the two types of values. Retrospectively, however, our findings showed social identity effects in the case of the central and possibly threatened values of Tradition, whereas such effects were weaker for the emancipated values shared with the surrounding society of Israelis.

We use the concepts of hegemonic and emancipated representations to explain the difference between the processes of intergenerational value transmission in the case of socially shared, cherished values and in the case of less shared ones, mainly in regard to hegemonic values where identity representations were a factor in the process. Clearly, these findings need to be further investigated in the same society, and in other cases of minority groups that maintain their own unique cultural (social and educational) institutions and agents.

We share Boehnke's (2001) concerns regarding neglect of the social components in the literature on intergenerational value transmission (e.g., Rohan & Zanna, 1996; Whitebeck & Gecas, 1988). Our response to these concerns is not only to add a social factor to previous models that were mainly cognitive, but also to suggest the social conditions under which social-collective components are more valid (or less so). When values are hegemonic, identity representations seem to contribute to our understanding of the intergenerational process of value transmission. In contrast, the cognitive and emotional processes taking place between parents and

children seem to be more dominant for emancipated values. Obviously, our social component was not an external social variable, but rather cognitive identity representations of a social element. Further research should include additional variables from the social surroundings, such as messages from school, youth clubs, the media and so forth.

### **Identities and social representations: A theoretical perspective**

The present study confirms Moscovici's claim that *values* should be considered as core representations, around which other representations (such as those of identity) are organized. Our aim was to clarify the concepts of *hegemonic* and *emancipated* representations, to define their distinct nature, and to offer a system of operational definitions by which these phenomena could be investigated with quantitative measures. Once hegemonic and emancipated identities were clarified, we applied the concept with the aim of enriching our understanding of the specific minority society in which we were interested.

Moscovici (1988, p. 221) draws attention to the different ways in which societies acquire their representations. As we define identities as social representations which are acquired in two different ways: as hegemonic identity representations they are constructed by communication within a society; they are widely shared, uniform and somewhat coercive. In contrast, individuals and families within a society share the identity emancipated representations to a varied extent, and we assume, also, that they are acquired by communication with surrounding societies within a shared overall social context. The critical point is that they are not those which define the societal borders. These representations enjoy certain autonomy with respect to the interacting segments of a society (Orr, 2007).

### **Additional methodological issues and further research**

Beyond the main limitation of the present research, which is the retrospective nature of part of the findings and their interpenetrations, some additional limitations should be considered.

1. The difference between the Parental and the Social models was significant in the case of mothers, but not in that of fathers, although the same predicted direction was found for each of the parental groups. Hence, these findings should be replicated in the present and additional minority groups. Whether or not the distinctive parental gender effects are replicated is theoretically important, but it is, rather, beyond the present scope of interest.

2. The study applied an original questionnaire for tapping identity representations (Paryente & Orr, 2003, 2005). The method of generating items from interviews with participants has both merits and drawbacks. On the one hand, it captures the authentic discourse of group members and does not impose that of the researcher. On the other hand, the need to maintain original forms of speech sometimes results in ambiguity. For instance, the item “It is important for me that my children meet with non-religious people. They are just like us,” combines two potentially contradictory elements: the importance of an encounter with non-religious others and a statement proclaiming similarity. It is not clear how research participants who support encounters with members of the other group and yet believe “they are not like us” would respond to this item: they might accept or reject it in its entirety, or they might give it a middle score. Our finding of a weak Solidarity-conflict identity representation may be attributed, at least partly, to an artifact of item ambiguity. Other items in this category, however, were clearly defined, and removing the problematic item did not improve the internal consistency of this variable. A replication with less ambiguous items, however, should be used in further research.

3. One might argue that the stronger correlation found between the Self-enhancement values of children and parents, as compared to their Tradition values, is an artifact of their distinct variances – small variances for Tradition values and larger ones for Self-enhancement values. If that is the case, however, then how does one

explain the opposite finding of a stronger correlation between values of Tradition and Religious-Zionistic identity representations than between Self-enhancement values and Solidarity-conflict identity representations?

4. Although a path analysis model implies causal effects, children's influence on their parents could not be ruled out. Our intention is to include this kind of effect in future research.

5. The differentiation between hegemonic and emancipated values and their distinctive transmission was done retrospectively. In the future, we plan to conduct a study that prospectively differentiates between these two kinds of values and their transmission.

Finally, replications based on samples from similar and other societies are needed in order to support the present Social model. An interesting venue might be testing the model with a sample of Arabs with Israeli citizenship. There, one needs to locate their hegemonic (Islamic and Arab) and emancipated (Israeli and Palestinian) identities.

## CONCLUSION

Parents' effects on their adolescent children in general, and on their value construction in particular, is one of the most hotly discussed issues within developmental psychology (e.g., Harris, 1995, 1998, 2000; Vandell, 2000). The present study considers this general question within a specific social-cultural context – that of a minority society with a strong and unique ideological grounding in religion. The parental responsibility of members of such a group is twofold: (1) to choose surroundings that will transmit to their children the hegemonic values of their minority society; and (2) at home, to transmit to their children, in addition, values that they cherish as part of the surrounding hegemonic society, which are not unanimously shared by others within their minority community. Transmission of one's hegemonic values, which are the underpinnings of one's existence in a unique minority society, is achieved by selecting a suitable community to belong to. Transmission of values which are hegemonic to the majority society, but emancipated within one's own society, in contrast, is the main responsibility of the family itself.

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