

Components and Symbols of Ethnic Identity: A Case Study in Informal Education and Identity Formation in Diaspora

Erik H. Cohen*

School of Education, Bar Ilan University, Israel

L'identité des membres de groupes ethniques qui vivent dans de nombreux pays est influencée par la culture environnante. Ce travail développe un outil qui peut aider les chercheurs à comprendre la façon dont les individus vivent leur identité ethnique. On analyse les composantes et les symboles qui fixent l'identification ethnique. L'application de techniques d'analyse multidimensionnelle à un ensemble de données empiriques révéla une structure identitaire sur deux axes (cognitif-affectif; particulier-universel). Cette structure permet de faire des comparaisons entre des sous-populations nationales selon leurs perceptions et accentuations diversifiées de l'identité ethnique. On examine ici les cas de membres de l'enseignement relevant de l'éducation juive informelle. 2119 de ces personnes provenant de sept pays ont fourni des définitions d'elles-mêmes et des symboles qui exprimaient leur lien avec l'héritage ethnique et religieux. Cette typologie de base pourrait être utilisée dans des études portant sur d'autres groupes ethniques dont les membres ont émigré dans divers pays d'accueil.

The ethnic identity of members of ethnic groups who live in a number of different countries is influenced by the surrounding cultures. This study develops a tool which can help researchers understand the ways in which individuals perceive their own ethnic identity. The components and symbols that determine ethnic identification are analysed. By applying multidimensional analysis techniques to a set of empirical data, we were able to uncover a structure of identity along two axes: the cognitive/affective and the specific/universal. This

* Address for correspondence: Erik H. Cohen, 38 Bethlehem Road, Jerusalem 93504, Israel. Email: msaharon@mscc.huji.ac.il

In memory of Léon Askenazi (Manitou)

This article is based on research commissioned by the Youth and Hechalutz Department (WZO) with the support of the Pincus Fund for Jewish Education in the Diaspora. I would like to extend my thanks to Dr Abraham Avihai, the head of the Youth and Hechalutz and Mr Haim Zohar, the director of the Pincus Fund at the time that this research was commissioned. Thanks also to Ruth Rossing and Allison Ofanansky for editing the English manuscript. Special thanks to Serge Moscovici, Zvi Bekerman, and Eynat Cohen for the patience and attention they dedicated to a previous version of the article. Thanks also to the anonymous reviewers for their useful comments.

structure enables us to make comparisons between national sub-populations in terms of their various emphases and perceptions of ethnic identity. We examine here the case of staff members in Jewish informal educational settings: 2,119 staff members from seven countries were surveyed on the self-definitions and symbols that express their relationship with their ethnic and religious heritage. This basic typology could be used in studies of other ethnic groups whose members have emigrated to a number of host countries.

INTRODUCTION

Ethnic Identity

Affiliation with an ethnic group has wide-ranging implications on personal and social identity, particularly in multi-ethnic societies (de Vos & Romanucci-Ross, 1982; Roosens, 1989; Banks, 1996). However, the lack of definitive external and objective boundaries has led some researchers to conclude that membership in an ethnic group is determined by a belief, held both by “insiders” and “outsiders”, that given individuals constitute such a group (Jenkins, 1997; Levine, 1997). Beyond this collective belief in kinship, a multitude of other features such as language, religion, race, cultural traits, and a sense of a shared history, as well as powerful symbols associated with the ethnic group, serve to reinforce and perpetuate this subjective feeling of belonging. A sense of belonging to an ethnic group can give individuals feelings of pride in its unique character, continuity with the past, and survival beyond the self (de Vos, 1995).

In the postmodern era, ethnic identity has remained an important aspect of how people define themselves (Roosens, 1989; Castells, 1997), despite predictions that minority cultures would be assimilated into larger nation-states and Western industrialised society (Williams, 1962; Glick, 1985). However, the nature of ethnic identity has changed. It has taken on a voluntary nature seldom found in traditional societies (Berger, 1979; Gans, 1979; Levine, 1997). Populations can move with ease while maintaining contacts around the globe. As a result of migration and integration, many people now have multiple affiliations and more complex ethnic identities (Castles & Miller, 1993). “The landscapes of group identity—the ethnoscares—around the world are no longer familiar anthropological objects, insofar as groups are no longer tightly territorialized, spatially bounded, historically unselfconscious, or culturally homogenous” (Appadurai, 1991, pp. 191–192).

The experience of being scattered across the globe while attempting to maintain a connection with other members of an ethnic group and with the country of origin is now commonly referred to as “diaspora”, a term which once referred almost exclusively to the Jewish people. It is, “used today to describe practically any population . . . which has originated in a land other than which it currently resides, and whose social, economic and political

networks cross the borders of nation-states, or, indeed, span the world" (Vertovec, 1999, p. xvi). The concept of diaspora includes a certain social structure, a type of consciousness, and a mode of cultural production (Vertovec & Cohen, 1999).

The creation or synthesis of ethnic identity can be seen as an ongoing process influenced by changes within the ethnic group itself and in relation to others with whom they are in contact. "Neither culture nor ethnicity is 'something' that people 'have', or indeed, to which they 'belong'. They are, rather, complex repertoires which people experience, use, learn and 'do' in their daily lives, within which they construct an ongoing sense of themselves and an understanding of their fellows" (Jenkins, 1997, p. 14). The formation of an ethnic identity parallels the process described for personal and social identities: an individual with a diffused self-image moves through periods of foreclosure (acceptance without question), crisis, and moratorium (questioning and experimentation) before reaching an achieved identity (Marcia, 1966; Erikson, 1976).

Ethnic identity can be said to be composed of three integrated elements: the cognitive, the affective, and the behavioral (Fishbein, 1965). The cognitive and affective elements can be seen as the psychology of identity, while behaviors reflect the sociology of identity (London & Chazan, 1990). The majority of empirical studies of identity have focused on behaviors such as attendance at community events, contributions to organisations and charities associated with the ethnic community, and observance of religious traditions (for instance, Bubis & Marks, 1975; Chrisman, 1981; Petrissans, 1991; Wilder, 1996; Wertheimer, 1997). The conclusion of a number of scholars in the field (for instance London & Chazan, 1990; Horowitz, 1998) has been that, while certainly an important aspect, behaviors are not the whole world of identity and, without corresponding studies on attitudes and opinions, data on behavior provides an incomplete picture. In this study I chose to look in-depth at the other end of the continuum, the cognitive and affective attitudes of a specific sub-population, in the hopes that it would further flesh out our collective understanding of ethnic identity.

The past half-century has seen major population migrations (Vertovec & Cohen, 1999). People who would not have considered themselves members of the same group in their countries of origin may be pulled (by language or religion) or pushed (by discrimination) into a newly emerging ethnic group. Alternatively, members of once close-knit societies have been scattered throughout a number of different nations and are attempting to preserve their cultural integrity in their new homes. As a result, the boundaries distinguishing one ethnic group from others are often unclear. Some traits, behaviors, beliefs, or symbols thought to apply to a given group may, in fact, be shared with non-members and not shared with members living in a different geographic area or belonging to a different socioeconomic class (Cohen & Horenczyk, 1999).

Examples of distinct peoples melding into a larger ethnic group may be seen among Moroccans, Tunisians, and Algerians in France or Nicaraguans, Guatemalans, and Mexicans in the United States (Darder, Torres, & Gutierrez, 1997; Rodriguez & Trueba, 1998) who are now collectively considered "North Africans" and "Hispanics". Palestinians now live in Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, the US, and Europe, where they form part of a pan-Arab community. A pan-tribal "Native American" culture has emerged in Canadian and US cities among people who have left the reservations (Price, 1976). Examples of people from a common background being dispersed can also be seen around the globe. After their civil war, Vietnamese relocated to Australia and cities throughout the United States. People from the Indian sub-continent have made new homes in Africa, the United States, the Caribbean, and Europe, and Chinese people have well-established communities in Indonesia, Australia, and the British West Indies. An example of both phenomena, the Jewish people have maintained for many centuries a core sense of common kinship, religion, and culture across national boundaries, while simultaneously adapting to the various societies in which they have lived. Recently they have come back together to create an "Israeli" culture.

The ethnic identities of immigrant groups are influenced by the host society (Castles & Miller, 1993; Cohen & Horenczyk, 1999) and over the course of generations an identity which is an interaction of the traditional culture and the dominant host society emerges (McCoy, 1992). Thus both the culture within the ethnic community and the culture of the host society must be considered in any study of "diaspora" identity. When the Chinese migrated to a number of West Indian island nations, some strove to be like the Europeans, some preserved their "Chineseness" and others blended into a multi-ethnic Caribbean society. Since most of the Chinese immigrants came from the same general region in China, the differences between these communities are attributable to political and cultural situations in the host nation (Shaw, 1985). Official policies and popular attitudes towards immigrants and minorities largely determine the structure of ethnic communities. For example, Moroccans in the Netherlands are able to form lasting communities while preserving their own cultural identity, those in France are granted civil rights but expected to adopt French culture, while those in Germany are viewed as a temporary labor pool and long-term residents have an uncertain future there (Castles & Miller, 1993).

The symbols chosen by particular sub-populations or individuals to express their ethnicity can reveal their relationship to their own ethnicity and to the host society (Simon, 1979). Foods eaten by Vietnamese in Australia and the dress of the priest at the churches attended by Greek-Americans have been used as measures of assimilation and ethnic cohesion (Simon, 1979; McCoy, 1992). New symbols may be adopted as ethnic groups evolve after migration. For example, Basque-Americans have

embraced symbols associated with sheep herding since early immigrants worked largely as shepherds (Petrissans, 1991).

What are the key components that serve to preserve old or forge new ethnic identities? How are symbols used in such ethnic movements, and what is the relationship between emotional symbols and cognitive elements of self-identification? How do sub-populations of the same ethnic group living in different host societies relate to these components and symbols of ethnicity? In this study, I endeavor to uncover a structure of ethnic identity composed of both cognitive components of identification and affective symbols associated with ethnicity.

Staff Members of Informal Education

One of the primary tools employed by communities to instill a positive identity in their members is informal education (Marten-Young, 1995; Singelis, 1998; Zou & Trueba, 1998). Informal ethnic education, in which thousands of youngsters participate every year, generally includes organised cultural, religious, and social programs outside of the classroom format, such as study groups, social activities of youth groups or community centers, and in some cases tours to the country of origin. Basque-American communities sponsor traditional games, dance, and music lessons as a way to socialise their children into Basque culture (Petrissans, 1991). Gujaratis living in Britain take their children on extended visits to India to perpetuate their cultural and religious roots (Kalka, 1990) and tours to Israel are a particularly important part of the informal educational programs for young Diaspora Jews (Chazan, 1991; Cohen, E.H., 1991, 1994, 1999; Cohen, S.M., 1986; Cohen & Wall, 1994; Mittelberg, 1994, 2000).

Since there is seldom a widely accepted curriculum or agreement as to what will be taught in informal cultural education programs, the decision (conscious or unconscious) as to what attitudes and values will be conveyed to participants rests largely in the hands of the instructors. Examining the ways in which informal educators in a number of different countries define their own ethnicity can help us in the quest to unravel the concept of ethnic identity. In informal education, the actual object of the educational act is often the staff/participant relationship (Cohen & Ifergan, 1999). Success of the educational act rests on the extent to which the educator acts as a role model for participants (Cohen, Ifergan, & Cohen, 2002).

The staff members are simultaneously teachers and pupils. An often-seen strategy for building or revitalising a community is to initiate informal educational programs and train a core of young staff people who will become the backbone of the community (Cohen, E.H., 1986, 1991; Hyman, 1976). Achievement of the objectives of ethnic or religious education programs is affected by the staff members' roles, attitudes, knowledge, values, ambivalence, and

behaviors, which relate to the ethnic or religious components of the program (Bubis & Marks, 1975, p. 16). It was eventually recognised that the historical staffing of community centers for Native Americans by outsiders reduced pride in and identification with these institutions and obstructed the development of leadership skills among tribal members (Price, 1976).

Though staff members, the core of the community, may not be representative of their less-involved peers, they are extremely relevant and constitute a highly strategic population for our study of ethnic identity. As the concept of diaspora is applied to more and more ethnic groups (Vertovec & Cohen, 1999), the widely studied and well-documented experience of the Jewish people is valuable as a case study for ethnicity in general (Goldberg & Krausz, 1993). Further research on individuals at the periphery of their particular community could confirm whether or not the structure of identity found in this survey is applicable to more assimilated elements of the population.

METHODOLOGY

An International Survey

In this article, an empirical international survey on identity among staff members of informal Jewish educational programs around the world is used as a case study. The fieldwork for this article was part of a comprehensive study carried out in 1990 and 1991 in seven countries: Argentina, Brazil, Canada, France, South Africa, the United Kingdom, and Uruguay.¹

In all, 10,616 full-time, part-time, volunteer, and paid staff members were surveyed. The survey population covers 1,202 informal education settings, which span the spectrum of religious and political ideologies. From these, a representative sample of 2,119 staff members was included in the study. Basic demographic data on the population is given in Table 1.

A comprehensive questionnaire was distributed to the staff members. Two sections of the questionnaire dealt specifically with identity. Respondents were given a list of nine components by which one could identify oneself as Jewish: birth, commitment, culture, fidelity, education, in reaction to anti-Semitism, religion, in relation to Israel, and hope. Another section dealt with more affective means of identification through a list of symbols: names, places, objects, and events that may express an individual's identity. While it is true that questionnaires are inherently cognitive in format, the questions

¹ The United States, home to the largest Diaspora Jewish community in the world, was not included in the study due to internal considerations of the funding institution, the Pincus Fund for Jewish Education in the Diaspora. Israel was also not included since I was most interested in exploring ethnic identity of minorities living among other cultures.

TABLE 1
Basic Demographic Data on the Study Population

Country	Number	Gender (%)		Age (%)				
		male	female	< 17	17–18	19–21	22–29	30+
Argentina	2,307	53	47	18	24	20	23	15
Brazil	661	59	41	24	26	27	15	8
Canada	1,841	51	49	30	14	28	16	12
France	2,564	52	48	13	20	32	20	15
South Africa	990	56	44	16	24	42	10	8
United Kingdom	2,128	51	49	38	23	19	9	11
Uruguay	125	55	45	31	34	27	3	5

dealing with expression of identity through symbols is an assessment of the affective sphere, albeit through a cognitive filter. The goal of these educational programs is to strengthen ethno-religious identity, community involvement, and relationship to Israel (Bubis & Marks, 1975; London & Chazan, 1990; Cohen, S.M., 1998).

The components were selected following a wide review of previous literature on ethnic identity. They represent the major and most commonly used concepts in defining this complex topic. The research team drew up the list of symbols based on the results of focus groups and in-depth personal interviews conducted prior to the survey.

A Multidimensional Approach

Multidimensional scaling (MDS) techniques make it possible to simultaneously compare a large number of variables and to graphically portray the underlying structure of the data. In this analysis a technique based on the theory of the late Louis Guttman known as Smallest Space Analysis (SSA) is used (Guttman, 1968; Canter, 1985; Levy, 1994; Shye, 1978). This methodology was applied because it has proven successful in a number of studies analysing attitudes (Canter, 1985; Levy, 1994). The purpose of this study is not to champion one particular technique of multidimensional analysis, but to attempt to understand the data using an appropriate analytic tool.

The Monotonicity Coefficient (MONCO) procedure, a regression-free coefficient of correlation (Guttman, 1986, pp. 80–87) was used to calculate the correlations between the chosen variables.² Based on this correlation

² Readers should be aware that the non-linear MONCO correlations are always higher than the more traditional, linear, Pearson correlations. This is because MONCO measures whether or not two items increase or decrease in the same direction. It is more sensitive (though less useful as a predictor), and recognises a wider variety of correlations as “perfect”.

matrix, points representing the variables are plotted on a cognitive “map” revealing distinct regions of correlated data (Guttman, 1968, 1982; Levy, 1994). By definition, a structure can be found for any data in $n - 1$ dimensions, where n equals the number of items in the correlation matrix. Therefore, the smaller the number of dimensions necessary to discern a structure, the stronger the significance and credibility of the findings.

External variables, such as sub-populations, can be plotted on the map (Cohen & Amar, 1993, 1999, 2002). This is done in such a way that the structure of the original map is not affected. An algorithm has been conceived to “fix” the map so that only the relationships between the original variables are considered in the structure into which the external variables will be introduced. The computer program takes into account the correlation between a single external variable and the matrix of all the primary variables, placing the external variables on the map one by one. The correlations between the external variables are not considered, and the external variables are not taken into account when placing the primary variables. In other words, only the country (external) variables are dependent on the original variables in their location. The original variables must not depend on the country variables, and neither are the country variables dependent on one another.

In order to verify the validity of applying such a methodology to this data set, seven separate SSA programs were run, each considering only the original variables of a certain country. In the maps for all seven national sub-populations, a distinction was made between the components and the symbols, a basic structural fact that supports the decision to use them as external variables. (These seven maps are available from the author on request.) The external variable procedure, though relatively new, has been used successfully in a number of data analyses by researchers from the Guttman school (Cohen, E.H., 2001, forthcoming; Levy, Levinsohn, & Katz, 1993; Lyra, Roazzi, & Cohen, 2001).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Components of Ethnic Identity

Each of the numerous Diaspora communities has had its own unique history and influences, giving different flavors to “Jewish identity” throughout the world. The components section of the questionnaire represents a cognitive, highly reflexive approach to ethnic identity, since the respondents are directly asked to define themselves. Respondents could choose as many of the components as they felt were applicable (see Table 2).

Birth was the most common component chosen by the staff members. Birth is the cornerstone of a definition of ethnic groups as, “Those human groups that entertain a subjective belief in their common descent” (Weber,

TABLE 2
Staff Members' Criteria of Identification or Self-definition: "Do you consider yourself Jewish . . ." (Percentage of Positive Answers for Each Item)

	<i>Argentina</i>	<i>Brazil</i>	<i>Canada</i>	<i>France</i>	<i>South Africa</i>	<i>United Kingdom</i>	<i>Uruguay</i>
By birth	86	85	94	87	92	95	83
By commitment	74	21	61	55	81	66	61
By culture	73	83	68	76	74	77	75
By fidelity	32	31	32	36	37	25	17
By education	74	74	56	77	74	61	86
In reaction to anti-Semitism	30	28	41	18	36	47	58
By religion	55	60	63	66	78	77	55
In relation to Israel	57	57	49	54	70	54	80
By hope	23	20	24	15	19	14	18

1968, p. 385). Though the most personal of the components, it is the least optional; inherited rather than chosen. Only in Uruguay did any other component (education) exceed that of birth. These staff members regard themselves as linked, through the fact of being born into the same ethnic group, to people with whom they have very different religious beliefs, political views, lifestyles, and experiences.

Commitment can be said to fall at the opposite end of the spectrum from birth, yet it is also a fundamental aspect of ethnic identity (Phinney, 1990) and one of three basic psychological processes necessary for group socialisation (Moreland, Levine, & Cini, 1993). It is a conscious choice dependent solely on the individual, not family, community, or any institution. It assumes a certain level of maturity. Children can be part of a group by birth, culture, education, even by religion, but it is only around the age of adolescence that people can begin to make commitments to ideals (Erikson, 1968; Piaget, 1972; Marcia, 1980; Head, 1997). In almost every country, over half of the staff members selected the component "commitment". This strong emphasis on commitment is not surprising, given the fact that this is a population that has taken on positions of responsibility within their community.

Hope in a better collective future has been put forward as an important part of the identity of persecuted peoples (Benjamin, 1997). It is the title of the national anthem of Israel. Nevertheless, hope was among the least frequently chosen components. Fidelity also ranked low on the list. It is interesting that two concepts, which superficially seem to be quite similar: commitment and fidelity, would elicit such different responses. Commitment indicates some type of action, while fidelity seems more passive; the absence of betrayal. Hope also can be seen as inactive, waiting. Perhaps the great range of options available to this generation causes these staff members to

identify more strongly with the action of commitment than with fidelity or hope. In fact, choice has been described as the quintessential feature of identity in Western society today (Berger, 1979; Gans, 1979; Ellenson, 1996; Levine, 1997).

Three-quarters of the staff members chose the component of culture. If Judaism can be said to be a culture, it must be seen as a collection of cultures. Throughout the centuries Jews have blended their unique traditions with those of the cultures in which they lived. Differences extend beyond the superficial trappings of culture such as food, music, and dress. Diaspora communities around the world have internalised the values and priorities of their surrounding cultures to the point that they associate these features with Judaism itself (Cohen & Horenczyk, 1999; Elazar, 1999). Two staff members who select the component "culture", in other words, may have in mind very different cultures when they choose that component.

Education has always played an important role in the maintenance of ethnic groups (Dashefsky & Shapiro, 1974; Adams, 1981; Horowitz, 1998; Elazar, 1999). Though in the past "ethnic education" was almost exclusively informal, more organised classes in religion, language, and tradition have become common among minority groups as neighborhoods become more integrated and learning in the home cannot be assumed (Feingold, 1999). Some groups, such as the Amish and Hutterite communities in the United States, provide their own educational systems rather than sending their children to public schools, as a means of limiting outside influences (Castile & Kushner, 1981). Most of the staff members participating in this survey received both formal and informal Jewish education (Cohen, E.H., 1992). In general this includes, in addition to Torah (Bible) study, some instruction in the Hebrew language, the holiday cycle, and history.

Reaction to prejudice (here, anti-Semitism) is the only component included in this study that comes from outside the community. It represents ethnic identity as imposed from without, rather than embraced from within. French philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre claimed that anti-Semitism is the most important and significant element in the very existence of the Jews (Sartre, 1965). However, a nation or ethnic group must be self-aware and have an internally cohesive identity (Smith, 1991; Hutchinson & Smith, 1994), and the staff members surveyed, particularly those working in Sartre's home country today, contradict his theory. Judaism, whether viewed as an inheritance or something freely chosen, is not simply a reaction to the attitudes of others. Ethnic identity for these staff members seems to come from family, community, and their own convictions more than from pressures from the outside world.

Between one-half and three-quarters of each nationality relate to the component of religion. Argentina and Uruguay have the lowest percentage of staff members identifying themselves through religion, South Africa and the

United Kingdom the highest. Many countries are becoming increasingly secular, and community or ethnicity has replaced the social identification role previously filled by religion (Gans, 1956; Fein, 1988; Rebhun, 1995; Wilder, 1996). Religion features the most strongly in the identity of staff members in South Africa and the United Kingdom. The Jewish communities in both of these countries are very traditional (Himmelfarb & DellaPergola, 1989). Therefore, it is predictable that young people employed by or volunteering for programs within the communities' institutional framework would be more likely to identify through the religion. Uruguay and Argentina, by contrast, are much less connected to the religious tradition (Himmelfarb & DellaPergola, 1989; Elazar, 1999), and the weaker connection of the staff members to the religion is an indicator of this. The religious outlook of the staff members, of course, both reflects and perpetuates that of the respective communities.

Though Israel and Jerusalem have always occupied a central role in the religion and the culture, only since the founding of the modern State of Israel have large numbers of Jews been able to visit their Holy Land and Holy City. However, actually visiting Israel and considering it key to one's identity do not seem to be necessarily linked. French and English staff members, who live the closest to Israel and are the most likely to have visited, are among the least likely to have chosen "Relationship with Israel" as a key component in their identity. Staff members in South Africa and Uruguay, who live the farthest away and are the least likely to have ever been to Israel, have the highest percentage who see their relationship with Israel as central to their identity. Perhaps for those living far from the Land of Israel, its symbolic power is even greater. Those who feel less "at home" in their home countries are also more likely to identify strongly with Israel, regardless of whether or not they have ever been there (Elazar, 1999). Indeed, a "homeland" need not be one's home, but may be any place "where terrain and people have exerted mutual and beneficial influence over several generations and which hold historic memories and sacred sites, places where heroes lived and martyrs died, and which instills in people a feeling that the land belongs to them and they to it" (Smith, 1991, p. 9).

Symbols of Ethnic Identity

The emotional and affective aspects of identity are even more difficult to determine and measure than the cognitive elements. But symbols are important and persistent elements of ethnic identity. Often the last vestiges of ethnic identity among assimilated groups are expressed through symbols (Petrissans, 1991; Gans, 1979, 1994). In order to try to gain some understanding of this aspect of identity, we gave respondents a list of names, places, and objects and asked which of these described their Jewish identity (see Table 3).

TABLE 3
 Symbols of Identity. The Phrasing of the Question Read: "Following is a List of Names, Places and Activities. Regarding Each of Them, Do You Agree or Disagree that they Express Your Jewish Identity?"

	<i>Argentina</i>	<i>Brazil</i>	<i>Canada</i>	<i>France</i>	<i>South Africa</i>	<i>United Kingdom</i>	<i>Uruguay</i>	<i>Total</i>
Sabbath candles	60	64	81	80	89	82	67	77
Your parents	89	88	90	93	87	79	90	89
Struggle for justice	75	59	81	59	76	69	72	70
Hebrew language	77	69	70	83	74	69	91	75
Albert Einstein	26	26	21	27	19	14	16	23
Kosher food*	N/A	33	69	84	77	73	N/A	73
Woody Allen	21	20	20	31	18	23	18	23
Auschwitz	76	83	84	91	89	86	94	85
State of Israel	94	92	88	97	96	88	97	92
David vs. Goliath	61	54	55	71	65	45	53	59
Jerusalem*	N/A	89	90	95	96	84	N/A	90
The patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob	84	76	76	94	93	73	76	83
Torah study	77	66	78	89	90	69	71	79
Rabbi of Lubavitch	28	39	46	46	52	25	29	38
Soviet Jews	64	61	80	82	81	84	74	77
Marc Chagall	31	27	30	40	24	24	23	31

* These items were accidentally omitted from the Spanish-language questionnaires.

This list of symbols was designed in order to give the widest possible spectrum of individuals at least one symbol with which to identify. Citing a given symbol does not necessarily indicate any related behavior on the part of the respondent. For example, a person who never lights Shabbat candles can nonetheless feel symbolically connected to this ritual. The most frequently cited symbols were Auschwitz, Israel, and Jerusalem. These represent the most prominent historic manifestations in modern Jewish life: destruction and rebirth, "crisis and survival" (Twersky, 1980). The high percentage of staff members in all countries who chose Israel and Jerusalem as symbolic of their identity seems to contradict the ambivalent response Israel received as a cognitive component of identity, and reinforces our theory that Israel functions on the symbolic rather than the cognitive level for these staff members.

The vast majority of respondents in every country also chose "Your parents". Parents can be seen as the symbolic representation of the cognitive concept of belonging to a group through birth, which we saw was the most universally accepted mode of identification. Parents also influence many of the components besides birth, such as religion, culture, and education, expanding their importance as a symbol (Herzbrun, 1993). The two symbols

least evoked were Woody Allen and Albert Einstein, followed by Marc Chagall. The appeal of these individuals is to all mankind, and they are only minimally helpful for these young people in the Diaspora in viewing themselves as distinct from the surrounding population.

Three-quarters of the staff members relate to the symbol of the Hebrew language. The revitalisation of Hebrew as a spoken language was a central tenet of early Zionism, an almost spiritual task (Gorny, 1994; Bekerman & Silverman, 1997). It allowed populations who had been separated for centuries to communicate with each other. For secular Israelis, speaking Hebrew is one of the primary ways in which they identify themselves as Jews (Bekerman & Silverman, 1997). Throughout the Diaspora, Hebrew is still used in almost all religious ceremonies and rituals. Despite the fact that 23 per cent of the staff members speak no Hebrew at all, the Hebrew language still functions as a symbol.

An Integrated World of Identity

What is the relationship between the cognitive and affective views portrayed by these data? They can be said to represent both “identity”, a cognitive description of the determining ethnic group, and “identification”, an expression of belonging to that group (Levy, 1985). A MONCO correlation matrix between the nine identification components shown in Table 2 and the 16 symbols of identity from Table 3 was calculated.³ In the 300 correlations in the matrix, all but 11 are positive. These 25 variables form a basically well-integrated universe (Guttman, 1982, 1986).

To more clearly envision the complex system of inter-relationships and the general categories they form, the Smallest Space Analysis technique was applied to the correlation matrix, and produced the map shown in Figure 1. Items closely correlated with one another form semantic regions in the map. An item which is strongly correlated with a majority of other items will be located close to the semantic center of the map (Levy, 1985).

Instrumental vs. Affective; Traditional vs. Universal

The map shows the conceptual and perceptive organisation of the 25 symbols and components. A clear structure can be recognised in only two dimensions. The components and symbols mirror each other across an equator running diagonally through the map of the world of ethnic identity. The clear distinction between them in the map confirms our hypothesis that self- and symbolic expressions are separate aspects of attitudes towards identity.

³ Those interested in seeing the correlation matrices may contact the author for a copy.

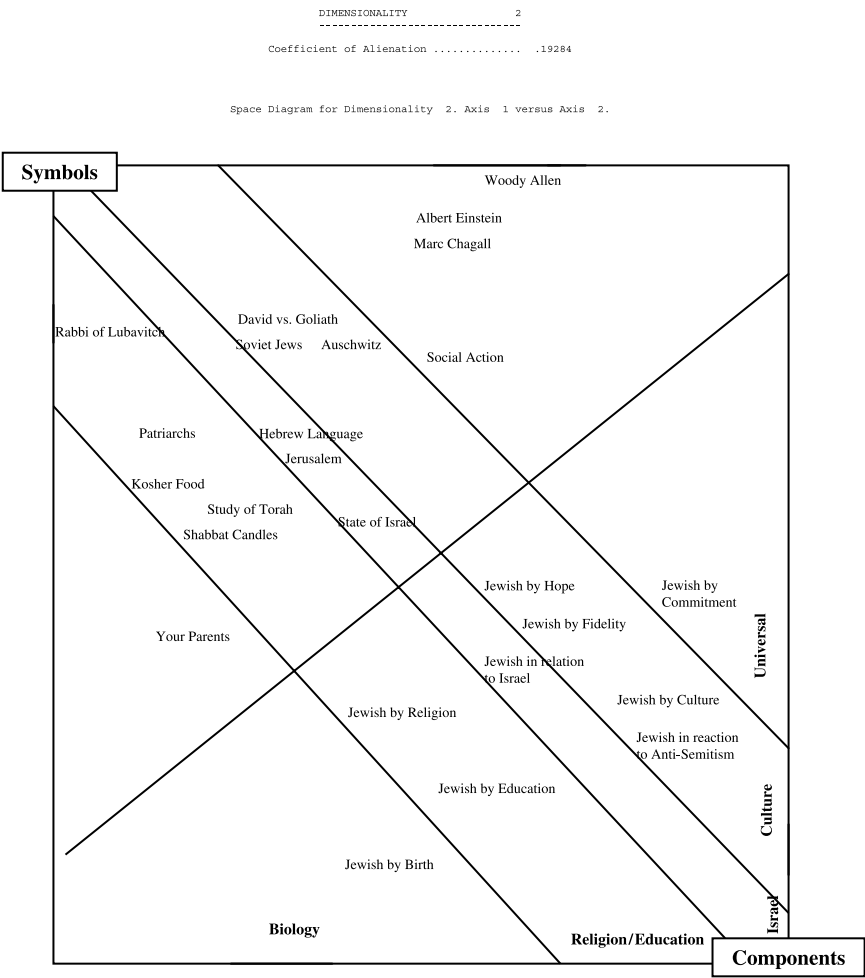


FIGURE 1. Cognitive map (SSA) of the 9 components and 16 symbols of Jewish identity.

Perpendicular to this cognitive-affective equator, the map can be divided into five strata: biology, religion/education, Israel, culture, and universal (social action, arts, and science). These are arranged in a logical order from biology, the most specific and externally determined component, at the lower left-hand corner, to its polar opposite, the individual and limitless choice of the “universal” at the upper right. In between lie religion/education, nationhood (here, Israel), and culture. A similar division was found in a study of Jewish student activists, which showed a distinction between “received”

or “primordial” characteristics such as birth and education and “chosen” or “situational” ones such as loyalty and commitment (Cohen, E.H., 1997). Components such as “in reaction to anti-Semitism” and “in relation to Israel” fall in the center. Though the historical facts are externally determined, one’s reaction or relationship to them is an individual choice. Shlomit Levy (1994) has previously noted the specific/universal continuum found here in a number of studies. This study is the first that attempted to replicate this specific/universal axis between the two spheres of cognition and affectivity.

Each stratum has a corresponding set of symbols and components. Most of the groupings are self-explanatory: “by birth” is related to the symbol of parents, and “in relation to Israel” parallels the symbols of the Hebrew language, the State of Israel, and Jerusalem. Since “by education” generally refers to some kind of religious education, the two components of religion and education have been combined in one field that encompasses the symbols Shabbat candles, kosher food, the patriarchs, Torah study, and the Rabbi of Lubavitch. These form a group of items which symbolise the traditional and historical religious aspects of ethnic identity.

The commitment component is paired with the symbol of social action in the universal region. Also in this region are the symbols of Albert Einstein, Marc Chagall, and Woody Allen, who have made contributions to all types of people through their science, art, and humor. The remaining four components are grouped together in a region that can be called culture. In addition to the culture component itself, this includes “in reaction to anti-Semitism”, “by fidelity”, and “by hope”. The contending forces of persecution, perseverance, and hope, expressed symbolically by Auschwitz and the biblical story of David and Goliath, are recurrent themes in Jewish lore and history. This grouping lies across the center of the map, midway between the traditional and the universal. Though hope and fidelity were chosen by a relatively small percentage of the staff members, these items are strongly intercorrelated with all of the others, thus placing them towards the center of the map. It can be said that hope and fidelity are inconspicuous but essential threads running through the pattern of Jewish identity.

The symbol of the Soviet Jews lies between the culture and Israel components. The struggle to get them out of the Soviet Union was historically linked with Israel, to which over a million of them have emigrated. But their plight recalls other “David and Goliath” stories of anti-Semitism and eventual victory over seemingly impossible odds.

The Seven Countries in the Structure of Ethnic Identity

In Figure 2, the seven sub-populations are plotted as external variables in the original map. It is important to understand that each external variable

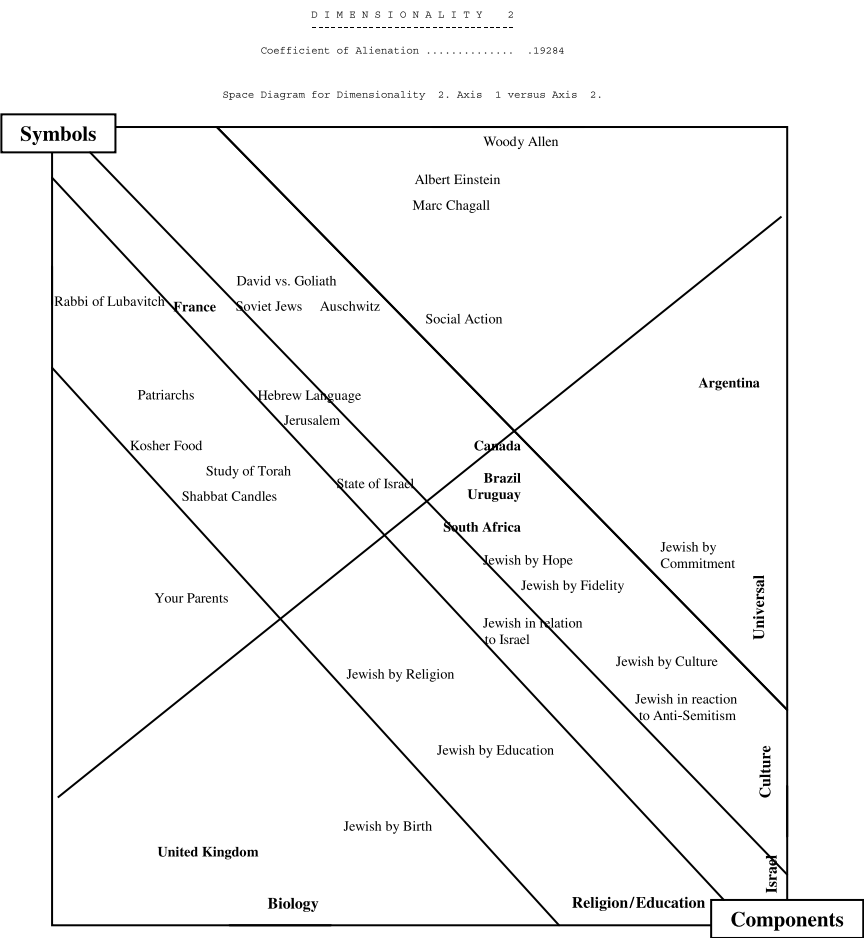


FIGURE 2. Cognitive map (SSA) of the 9 components and 16 symbols of Jewish identity with countries as external variables.

is placed according to the entire matrix line of correlations between it and the original variables. Predictions about placement of the variables cannot be made based on the distribution tables or on single correlations. The value of the SSA procedure is that it allows insights into the data not available from tables or the correlation matrix.

Four of the nations, Uruguay, Brazil, Canada, and South Africa, are grouped together in the center of the map. They straddle the border between the affective and cognitive, each playing an equal role in the development of their identity. Similarly, they lie midway between the specific and the

universal. All four are in the stratum containing the components related to culture. Their position in the "culture" region does not necessarily mean that this is the component with which they most strongly identified. The location of these nations in the center of the map shows that the identity of the staff members from these countries is a fairly even mixture of the various aspects. Staff members whose identities are more strongly influenced by one particular aspect tend to be located at the peripheries of the map.

The French staff members, for example, are found on the affective side of the map, in the "Israel" region. Although barely half these staff members declared themselves Jewish "in relation to Israel", they identified very strongly with the State of Israel as a symbol as well as with the other correlated symbols, Jerusalem and the Hebrew language. In France, religion is considered a private affair, making the formation of community difficult. For French respondents, Israel functions as a symbolic substitute for the community they cannot create at home (Cohen, E.H., 1991).

The South African Jewry is mostly Orthodox, with a high enrollment in religious community day schools. One would expect to find them in the region of religious education. The unexpected placement of the South African sub-population has been replicated in the study cited above, of student activists, many of whom go on to become staff members (Cohen, E.H., 1997). In these two separate studies young South African Jews who are intimately involved with the community are linked closely with concepts such as anti-Semitism, loyalty, hope, and struggle. South Africa has undergone radical political and social upheaval in the past decade. It seems that the old assumptions about this community must be called into question, as perhaps the basic assumptions held by the community are being called into question by changes in their country. It will be interesting to track this group of young people over the next several decades to see how these changes affect the character of this community.

The United Kingdom and Argentina, though both in the cognitive hemisphere, lie in opposite corners of the map. The staff members from the UK are in the specific region, while those from Argentina are in the universal. British Jewry is in numerical decline, both from low birth rates and from outmarriage and assimilation (Waterman & Kosmin, 1986; Ziderman, 1989). Young people at the core of the remaining community, such as these staff members, would most likely be those who received a strong religious affiliation and education from their parents. In Argentina, also, large numbers of Jews have left the community, but for different reasons. For them, the primary draw has been emigration to Israel, rather than assimilation into the surrounding culture (Himmelfarb & DellaPergola, 1989). Those who remain in Argentina are those less strongly tied to their ethnic heritage or to Israel.

Further Applications of the Typology

This structure can be used as a tool for international comparison between communities of all sizes, denominations, and ideologies. A next step in expanding this preliminary structure might be to incorporate data on the instrumental side of identity, giving a fuller picture of the entire attitude-behavior spectrum.

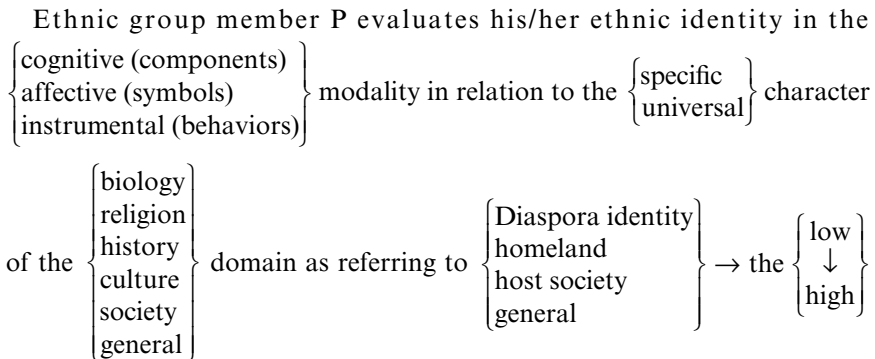
The basic typology and approach outlined in this article could be used as a theoretical framework for comparative studies of ethnic identity of other groups who have spread out from their country of origin, as perceived by their own members. For example, in recent decades Moroccans have emigrated to Canada, France, the Netherlands, and a number of other European countries. A sociologist specialising in the study of Moroccan culture could design a parallel questionnaire with appropriate symbols and adaptations of the components (i.e. substituting “in reaction to prejudice” for “in reaction to anti-Semitism”, and “in relation to Morocco” for “in relation to Israel”). Such studies could proceed in two directions: intra-ethnic (i.e. comparison of Moroccan populations scattered throughout Europe) and extra-ethnic (i.e. comparison of these Moroccan populations to their host cultures or to other immigrant groups).

In order to allow a systematic design of the field under investigation, Guttman introduced the concept of mapping sentence. A mapping sentence, a basic device of facet theory, contains a variety of facets. Each facet is one way of classifying the research variables. A properly defined set of “m” facets provides an “m”-way simultaneous classification of variables, namely, a mapping sentence. Each facet in the mapping sentence is specified as having a certain formal role in interpreting aspects of the observed empirical data (Guttman, 1959, 1965; Levy, 1976, 1985).

The mapping sentence technique for designing a definitional system for observations is proving to be useful in research efforts.

It permits the scientist to state explicitly the differential aspects of the observation procedure that he considers relevant, by including them as facets of the observation. . . . Much “noise” is typically present in empirical observation, and there is no reason to believe that the various sources of noise are independent. Expressing explicitly unremovable noise sources by means of facets permits a systematic and communicable recording of interfering experimental conditions. (Shye, 1978, p. 22)

Based on the results of the research presented in this article, it is possible to formulate a general mapping sentence, which could serve as a hypothesis for future cross-cultural studies of ethnic identity.



evaluation of his/her ethnic identity.

The Jewish people have been the subject of intensive research for decades, and this study drew on the wealth of accumulated information to design our lists of components and symbols. Social scientists interested in groups that have been largely ignored, or perhaps even newly emerging ethnic groups, will not have the same advantage. In such cases this typology can be particularly helpful as a guideline. The list of components can easily be reworded to be applicable to any ethnic group, but this does not mean that those components are necessarily relevant to all groups. Using the more general regions found in the map: ethnicity (birth or biology), religion and/or religious education, nationality, culture, and the universal, specific components can be found which fit a particular group. Preliminary lists of components will need to be tested and adapted based on a number of field studies. The lists of symbols are even more specific to individual groups, but again, the categories can be useful in helping to focus researchers' efforts to find appropriate symbols. As conceptualised through a mapping sentence, the various data sets are expected to be comparable, a key issue in cross-cultural studies.

Indeed, how may we compare two different surveys conducted in two different countries or periods of time, using different wording and even different number of items, but dealing with the same general issue, the ethnic identity in our present case? The answer of the Facet Theory approach is to design a common mapping sentence (transcending the two specific researches), and to verify its applicability in the various cases. Shlomit Levy (1976) has proved that it is possible to compare the results from two countries in the same field, even if the number of questions and their phrasing differ. Similarly, we have established (Cohen, 2000) that a unique structure can be replicated and confirmed across different studies with different questions, populations, and sets of data. According to van de Vijver (2001, p. 60), this kind of approach "has an enormous potential for cross-cultural psychology. Problems of method bias and item bias may be easier to solve using Facet

Theory” with all its procedures, mapping sentence and geometric data analysis, as designed by L. Guttman.

Of course, a particularly strong symbol, which does not belong to any of the categories in this typology, may be associated with a given ethnic group. Such symbols, if indeed they are selected by a large number of respondents or if they are strongly intercorrelated with other symbols and components, may indicate a category not included in this typology. These categories may be specific to a particular group or, if found in other surveys, may indicate a generally applicable category not uncovered by this research. Only by comparing a number of such studies done on many different cultural and ethnic groups may a widely applicable typology of identity truly be developed and verified. If a similar structure were to be found in a number of these types of studies, one could say with some confidence that the typology applies not only to Jewish identity but also to ethnic identity in a more general sense.

CONCLUSION

Social researchers need a theory-based tool for empirical comparisons of ethnic sub-populations. Based on multidimensional analysis of data collected from staff members of informal Jewish educational programs, a structure of attitudes towards their ethnic identity was uncovered and a typology developed. According to the structure of this case study, identity can be viewed along two axes: a cognitive/affective axis and a specific/universal axis. Along the cognitive/affective axis, two clear and distinct means of identification can be seen. By the cognitive means, respondents define the parameters of ethnic identification. By the affective, they express what that identification means on a more emotional, symbolic level. Along the specific/universal axis, it is possible to distinguish between five content areas, each of which cuts across both the cognitive and the affective realms of identification. Each of these five regions on the map denotes a basic aspect of personal ethno-religious identity: ethnicity (birth or biology), religion and religious education, attachment to a “mother country”, culture, and the universal.

The way the various sub-groups define themselves and the way the various symbols express their ethnicity are an interesting case of social representation of a specific identity (see for instance Moscovici, 1981, 1988; Duveen & Lloyd, 1986; Farr, 1987). Evidently, the discourse cannot be expected to be monolithic, because there is more than one strategy of negotiation between a specific ethnicity and local national identity (Sharot, 1976). International migration has brought ethnic groups into intimate contact with each other and altered the “ethnoscape” of practically every nation. By ethnoscape, Appadurai (1991, pp. 191–192) means “the landscape of persons who make

up the shifting in which we live: tourists, immigrants, refugees, exiles, guest-workers, and other moving groups and persons constitute an essential feature of the world and appear to affect the politics of and between nations to a hitherto unprecedented degree". How people perceive issues of ethnic identity is a matter of growing concern as ethnicity plays a large role in dozens of conflicts around the globe. This increased movement of people has led to fundamental changes in the nature of ethnic self-identification. Living as a minority in a multi-ethnic society gives rise to certain social, political, and economic forms, and is related to a "dual or paradoxical" consciousness among communities and individuals (Vertovec & Cohen, 1999).

The dual consciousness of immigrant populations and ethnic minorities is especially pronounced among young people raised in both their local ethnic community and the surrounding host culture. "Among such young people, facets of culture and identity are often (but not always) *self-consciously* selected, syncretized and elaborated from more than one heritage" (Vertovec & Cohen, 1999, p. xx). The typology presented here is based on the attitudes of young people directly involved with the perpetuation of ethnic identity through informal education. It may be adapted and applied to sample populations from any number of ethnic groups who have experienced a similar phenomenon of dispersal throughout many host cultures. It is hoped that this preliminary step will be useful in the quest to better understand the components and symbols by which people in Diaspora perceive their own ethnic identity.

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