

~~/~~PATTERNS OF INTERMARRIAGE AMONG AMERICAN JEWS:
Varieties, Uniformities, Dilemmas, and Prospects

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A report on the study of the impacts of marriage between Jews and non-Jews on individuals, families, and the Jewish community. Commissioned by the Jewish Communal Affairs Department of the American Jewish Committee.

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PATTERNS OF INTERMARRIAGE AMONG AMERICAN JEWS

By Egon Mayer

ABSTRACT

This report analyzes and summarizes the results of a survey of 446 families in which one of the spouses was Jewish by birth and the other was not. This sample includes 115 families (25.8%) in which the spouse who was not born Jewish converted to Judaism by the time of this study. Ninety per cent of our cases were intact families in which both husband and wife completed self-administered questionnaires and separate but identical in-depth interviews.

The data were gathered between the summer of 1976 and the fall of 1977 in eight communities around the U.S. (Cleveland, Dallas, Long Island, Los Angeles, New York City, Philadelphia, San Francisco, and Westchester) by local research staffs under the direction of the respective chapters of the American Jewish Committee. The analysis of the data was carried out centrally at the national offices of the American Jewish Committee and the Brooklyn College computer center.

The objective of the survey was to develop quantitative and qualitative information regarding the conse-

quences of the difference in the religious and ethnic background of couples on personal identity and family organization. Specific attention was focused on the ties that intermarried couples maintain with their parents, the formal and informal ties they maintain with the culture and community of their faiths of origin, the decisions they make about having and raising children, and on the possible interpersonal consequences of their background differences.

The study was undertaken with a general interest in the dynamics of Jewish continuity in contemporary American society. The particular assumptions which served as points of departure included the belief that Jewish continuity depends rather strongly on positive intergenerational ties between Jews and their parents; also on Jewishly oriented social attitudes and behavior, Jewishly influenced child rearing practices, and the positive presence of Jewish culture in the home. In the context of an intermarried family, it was further assumed that Jewish continuity also depends on the relative absence of non-Jewish religious and/or ethnic influences in the home. The general research question was whether Jewish exogamy diminishes those patterns of attitude, behavior, and family organization which are presumed to be necessary for Jewish continuity.

The findings of our survey do not permit an unequivocal answer to the question.

We have found that the great majority of Jewish exogamists enjoy good relations with their parents, speak and visit with them frequently, and about a half spend a number of the major Jewish holidays with them. The most popular holiday that intermarrieds celebrate with their parents is Passover, closely followed by the non-Jewish holiday of Thanksgiving. On the basis of our data it cannot be concluded that intermarriage between Jews and non-Jews disrupts the ties among the Jewish kin network.

While we have no comparable data on Jews who are endogamously married, we have found that Jews in intermarriages maintain closer and more frequent contacts with their parents than do their born-Gentile spouses with their's.

In gauging the impact of intermarriage on the expressions of Jewishness on the part of the born-Jewish spouse in particular and on the part of the intermarried family in general, we conceptualized "Jewishness" in terms of three separate dimensions: (a) affiliation, (b) behavior, and (c) attitudes. We have found that intermarriage has a differential effect on these three dimensions. It seems to diminish affiliational Jewishness to the greatest extent. It seems to diminish behavioral Jewishness to a somewhat lesser extent. And, it seems to have the least effect on attitudinal Jew-

ishness. (The conversion of the non-Jewish spouse to ✓ Judaism clearly strengthens the expressions of Jewishness in the intermarried family.) But it, too, has a differential effect on the three dimensions of the concept. It seems to have the greatest effect on affiliational Jewishness, a somewhat lesser effect on behavioral Jewishness, and the least effect on attitudinal expressions of Jewishness. In other words, the greatest difference between intermarried families in which the born-Gentile spouse converted and those in which the born-Gentile spouse did not convert are likely to be in their affiliations with synagogues and other Jewish organizations. There is likely to be relatively little difference in their attitudes towards social, political, and personal issues of Jewish relevance.

The question of childrearing also does not yield clear cut differences between intermarrieds among whom the born-Gentile spouse converted to Judaism, those among whom no conversion has taken place, and the general American Jewish population. The clearest differences among these three groups occur on the question of whether they provide their children with some sort of formal Jewish education. Over half (56%) of the ✓ intermarried families in which the born-Gentile spouse converted provide their children with some form of organized Jewish education. On the other hand, only ✓

about 20% of the intermarried families among whom the born-Gentile spouse did not convert provide their children with comparable Jewish education. Current estimates for the endogamously married American Jewish population are around 65-70%.

However, there are other means of Jewish identity transmission besides formalized Jewish education. On these dimensions of Jewish childrearing the differences among the three groups seem to be less glaring. About 43% of the intermarried families in which the born-Gentile spouse had not converted, circumcised or expected to circumcise their sons (for explicitly Jewish reasons). About 36% of this same group provided their children with a Jewish name, and about a third (30%) have had their children, or expected to have their children go through a Bar or Bat Mitzvah. Naturally, on all these dimension we have found much larger proportions of intermarried families among whom the born-Gentile spouse had converted to Judaism.

Perhaps the most striking finding with regard to childrearing among intermarried families is that those who are not raising their children Jewishly are simply not providing them with any particular religious or ethnic heritage. Only a minority, about 25% of those among whom the born-Gentile spouse did not convert, are actually providing their children with some sort


of religious and cultural influence which is Christian or of some other religio-ethnic source.

The effect of intermarriage on the relationship between the spouses is not readily acknowledged by intermarrieds themselves. The great majority do not believe that the differences in their religious backgrounds contribute in a significant way to any frictions between them. Our more subtle measures of marital harmony or discord also do not disclose any pervasive tension among intermarrieds as a result of differences in their religious and/or ethnic backgrounds. The most frequent sources of disagreement among them seem to be similar to those that are found in the population at large. To be sure, our sample reveals a lesser amount of general consensus on childrearing than on other issues of family concern. It would seem that Jews who marry non-Jews seek out individuals who, despite their different religious and ethnic background, share a great deal in common with them in terms of attitudes, values, ideals, and whatever else it takes to make a successful marriage.

How intermarriage finally effects the Jewishness of families in which only one of the spouses was born Jewish, and how it effects those other aspects of family life which are regarded as normatively Jewish (e.g. closeness to parents, harmony between husband and wife) depend on a host of broader influences. Parental religiosity, parents membership in a synagogue, and good

relations between the parents themselves seemed to contribute to the intermarrieds themselves maintaining closer ties with Jewish parents, the Jewish community, and Jewishness in general. These factors also seem to have a positive relationship to greater harmony among the intermarried couple. The only exception to this generalization is where Jewish exogamists have come from Orthodox Jewish backgrounds. Among that group relations with parents were more problematic, and they seemed to exhibit more frequent signs of marital discord. ✓

Conversion of the born-Gentile spouse seemed to negate most of the Jewishly adverse consequences of intermarriage. Though, interestingly, we have found that attitudinal differences between born-Jewish mates and their born-Gentile partners are greater where the latter had converted to Judaism than where she or he has remained a non-Jew. Yet, even where no conversion of the non-Jewish spouse had taken place, if a couple was married by a Rabbi they were systematically more similar to intermarrieds among whom the born-Gentile spouse had converted than they were to those couples among whom the born-Gentile spouse had not converted. Lest this final point be taken as a scientific endorsement of Rabbis officiating at "mixed marriages" several caveats ought to be noted. First, our total sample of cases in which Rabbis officiated at the marriage of couples of whom the Gentile spouse had not converted



was rather small (49 cases or just a bit over 10% of our entire sample). Therefore, our conclusions about this group are subject to considerable sampling error. Also, and more importantly, the correlation between Rabbinic officiation and the greater indications of Jewishness most probably stem from the pre-marital commitments and ties of the born-Jewish spouse to his own parents and heritage. Thus, such a correlation should not be construed as an indication of a causal connection between the former and the latter. Indeed, it is very likely the case that those with greater commitments to Jewish social networks are precisely the ones who are likely to seek out a Rabbi to perform a marriage ceremony even in the absence of conversion by the non-Jewish spouse. We might just add that this same principle is undoubtedly also at work in the apparent relationship between the conversion of the non-Jewish spouse and the greater expression of Jewishness.

In short, we might say that the outcomes of intermarriage (viz. in terms of Jewish continuity) fall along a continuum whose extreme points are represented by either the total assimilation of the born-Jewish spouse into the Gentile social world or the total assimilation of the born-Gentile spouse into the Jewish social world. While relatively few intermarriages fall at either of these two extremes, more cases fall in the range of the latter end of the continuum than at the former. Conversion of the Gentile spouse is the closest approximation of the latter end. But Rabbinic participation may be regarded as a second ap-

proximation of the same end. However, neither conversion nor Rabbinic officiation should be regarded as the determining causes of those outcomes. Rather, those outcomes are the result of a confluence of forces which shape the fate of Jewish continuity within the psycho-social matrix of each intermarried family.

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Marriage between Jews and non-Jews, persons differing in religious, ethnic, and sometimes racial backgrounds, has emerged in the last quarter of the twentieth century as one of the most troublesome communal issues of the American Jewish community.¹ Jews are as divided between themselves in discussions of the causes and consequences of intermarriage as they are divided within themselves in those instances when the matter is no longer simply an abstract issue but a personal family problem.²

To be sure, the incidence of and the communal concern about Jewish intermarriage is hardly a recent development. The Jewish aversion for exogamy has ancient roots in Biblical prohibitions which enjoined the tribes of Israel from marrying with the other tribes in Canaan.³ The violations of those prohibitions are equally ancient. In fact, the problem of intermarriage becomes so serious during the period of the Babylonian exile that when Ezra the Scribe returns to Jerusalem (444 B.C.) to reestablish the Second Temple his first and most serious political and religious program is to dissolve the numerous marriages between the Jewish priestly class and their heathen neighbors. He also reaffirmed the ancient norm against exogamy as one of the most important rules of Jewish social life. As the later history of the Jews demonstrates, Ezra, despite his Herculean efforts, could not root out intermar-

riage permanently.⁴ Especially since the beginning of the modern era the Jewish propensity for intermarriage has revealed itself without restraint wherever the Jew was politically recognized as an equal citizen with universal rights in the nation-state.⁵

The recurrence of Jewish intermarriage highlights one of the great ironies of the Jewish people's struggle for survival. For most of their long sojourn in the Diaspora Jews have waged that struggle against political, economic, and physical persecution. Therefore they have developed a profound fear of Gentile hostility and persecution. Yet, in those historically rare periods when they found themselves in relatively more hospitable social milieux, Jews have been quick to form intimate social relationships, including marriages, with Gentiles. This latter type of encounter has given rise to an equally deep fear of assimilation. These two great fears, the fear of persecution and the fear of assimilation have always stood in a dialectic relationship to one another. They have made social relationships, particularly intimate ones, between Jews and non-Jews profoundly problematic. Where persecution has threatened their lives, status, and property, Jews have wished that Gentiles would like them a little better. However, as Gentiles have learned to like Jews more, indeed, even to embrace them in matrimony, it has been feared that love

would wash away in a few short generations what fire, steel, and invidious legislation could not destroy over many centuries.

This dialectic of the two great fears is the undercurrent which has impelled the relationship of Jews to non-Jews in a complex psychological dance of approach and avoidance. The fact that even under the most hospitable circumstances the actual rate of Jewish intermarriage has never risen to its potential,⁶ highlights the sense of self-restraint with which Jews have managed their relations with their Gentile peers. However, self-restraint in relationships involving affection, friendship, or sexual attraction is always frustrating. In adults it is apt to evoke questions of legitimation (e.g. "Why should I not be friends with...?" or "Why shouldn't I marry...?"). The fear of assimilation has, no doubt, served as the basis of much of the legitimation preventing Jews from marrying non-Jews in tolerant societies; most especially in the United States. But, the high rates of intermarriage which have prevailed among the Jews of most modern societies suggest that the fear and its associated legitimations have lost their effectiveness among a substantial and apparently growing minority. The much feared assimilation which might follow on the heels of this development poses important questions for the organized Jewish community.

How can the circumstances leading to intermarriage

be avoided in an open society? How can the legitimations which have prevented intermarriage in the past be made more persuasive? Who are the significant others and what are the critical biographical periods in the life of the individual that have the greatest impact leading to or preventing intermarriage? What role, if any, can representatives of the organized Jewish community (e.g. rabbis, youth leaders, social workers, teachers) play in preventing intermarriages?

[It should be emphasized that all of these questions are directed towards the prevention of Jewish intermarriages, or (failing prevention) towards the pre-marital conversion of the non-Jewish partner. However, intermarriage patterns among American Jews during the past couple of decades have raised an additional and, perhaps, historically unique problem as well. It is what we might call the dilemma of the "Gentile Jew". The following is an illustration of this phenomenon.]

A Jewish college professor married to a Protestant woman [who did not convert] has brought up his children in a mixed college community with a secular "universalist" orientation. The children have attended a "seder" each year in the local Unitarian Church where they celebrated Passover as a festival of universal freedom.

A few years ago the family visited London, and the father took ten-year-old Erik to Hyde Park to hear the soapbox orators who traditionally espouse a variety of extremist and kooky causes. One of them was delivering an anti-Israel diatribe which got under the skins of several listeners, including Erik, the young universalist. He booed, shouted, stamped

his feet and threatened to pull down the orator and give him what was coming to him.

"I never knew he felt so strongly about it," wondered his father. "Of course we talk about Israel with concern at home, but all this emotion about it ... I had no idea."

Erik is now in high school and fascinated by history. Perhaps he will feel drawn to look deeply into the history of the Jews and will discover that universalist concerns do not necessarily conflict with Jewish affiliation.⁷

In fact, there are tens of thousands of such Eriks in America today who, along with their Gentile parents, have developed an affinity for Jewish ways of thinking and acting. ✓ Some through active study, others through the influence of a Jewish spouse or a Jewish parent have taken on a "partly Jewish" social identity. Some have become enthusiastic members of temples and other Jewish organizations, often "passing" as Jews. (Most have no desire to undergo formal conversion to Judaism because they regard conversion as essentially a religious act, and they do not regard their affinity for Jewishness as necessarily religious.) Certainly, they do not perceive the Jewishness of their own Jewish spouses or parents as "religious" in most cases.

To the extent that recent intermarriage has created a whole class of quasi-Jews or Gentile-Jews it has raised an unprecedented and profound dilemma for the organized Jewish community. How should synagogues and other Jewish organizations respond to the approaches of such non-legitimate Jews? There is apparently no halachic basis for recognizing their claims to any form of Jewish iden-

tification. On the other hand, the failure to recognize the affinities and identity needs of such people may, in fact, alienate them as well as their children and born-Jewish spouses from the Jewish community; bringing about the very assimilation that the Jewish community had always feared and fought.

Finally, there is the dilemma raised by the value complex of many modern intermarried families which is best captured by the title of Eric Berne's famous book, I'm OK--You're OK. According to this approach to interpersonal relations couples learn to accept one another as they are, without demanding any change in one another. In the context of such a relationship a Gentile wife or husband is perfectly happy with a Jewish husband or wife. Both accept, perhaps even celebrate, each other's religious or ethnic preferences. Neither expects the other to convert or to assimilate. Here, too, the communal response is problematic. Can intermarried Jews be accepted as "good Jews" just because they feel they are, and perhaps even try to act accordingly? Or, is intermarriage the act of Jewish deviance sine qua non? If it is the latter then, in fact, our very definition of the intermarriage is bound to contribute to the assimilation of those Jews who marry non-Jews. On the other hand, if intermarriage were to carry no greater stigma than the violations of the laws of the Sabbath or dietary regulations one wonders how long it would be before half the

kinship network of American Jewry would be comprised of non-Jews?

While these questions are not new by any means they have been raised to a level of urgency in recent years. According to the National Jewish Population Study,⁸ which was completed in 1971 and which is the most reliable estimate in such matters, somewhere between eight to ten percent of all families that identify themselves as "Jewish" include a husband or wife -- most often a wife -- who was not born Jewish. In at least seventy percent of those cases the non-Jewish spouse also did not convert to Judaism. The most dramatic aspect of the NJPS estimate is the increasing rate of intermarriage among young Jews since 1961. Table 1 below describes this trend.

Table 1

Percentage of Jewish Persons Intermarrying, 1900-1972

<u>Time Period</u>	<u>Per Cent Intermarrying</u>
1900-20	2.0
1921-30	3.2
1931-40	3.0
1941-45	6.7
1946-50	6.7
1951-55	6.4
1956-60	5.9
1961-65	17.4
1966-72	31.7

Judging from these figures, intermarried Jews and their families may be the fastest growing "deviant minority" within the American Jewish community. This possibility (and the facts on which it is based) has led some of the most responsible analysts of American Jewish life to sound the alarm about the erosion and possible vanishing of America's Jews in the not unforeseeable future.⁹ This alarm has forced the questions regarding the causes and consequences of Jewish intermarriage, and the most beneficial communal policies towards it to a level of primary concern.

Regretably, due to a dearth of social scientific data on the consequences of intermarriage the questions have not lent themselves to ready answers. Neither the consequences of Jewish intermarriage nor the interpersonal and family dynamics which determine them have ever been the subject of a scientific survey.¹⁰ Where intermarriages have been studied scientifically the major foci of research have been the causes of intermarriage or the demographic distribution of those who intermarry. In other words, social scientists have studied who intermarries and why. But they have not studied what happens to individuals, both Jews and non-Jews, and what happens to their families as a result of intermarriage. The assumption that intermarriage inevitably leads to Jewish assimilation as well as to other symptoms of family pathology, eventuating in the erosion of the Jewish community, has been so deeply ingrained in the Jewish social

scientific perspective that no systematic study of the matter was thought to be needed.

However, some of the coincidental findings of the National Jewish Population Study (which was not designed to study intermarriages per se) along with frequent observations by rabbis, Jewish communal workers, and parents have raised the possibility that the long presumed nexus between intermarriage and assimilation may require some modification. Increasing numbers of conversions, the phenomenon of the quasi-Jews, and non-assimilating intermarried Jews have all indicated a need to re-think the conventional wisdom and to fill in the lacunae in the social scientific knowledge about Jewish intermarriage. This study is aimed at those goals.

According to the conventional wisdom¹¹ Jews marry non-Jews because of some defect of character or flawed socialization. The very asking of the question, "Why does a Jew marry a non-Jew?" presumes that the causal matrix of such a marriage is somehow different from the causal matrix of an endogamous Jewish marriage; that somehow the latter is "normal" and the former is not. What is remarkable about the various studies which have searched for the causes of Jewish intermarriage in recent years is that they have not been able to identify a single factor or etiological chain.

Structural factors, such as growing up in towns or neighborhoods with relatively few Jews, or attending an

"out-of-town" university, or being in a highly mobile profession have all been suggested as possible causes, along with being a third-generation American.¹² Generalized alienation from the community and home, unresolved Oedipal conflicts, the sexual prudery of the Jewish home and the sexual mystique of the Gentile female or male also have been suggested as the psychological causes which impel Jews towards intermarriage.¹³ But some of the most careful studies of the causes of intermarriage have led only to equivocal conclusions.

Jerold Heiss, in a study of the premarital characteristics of the religiously intermarried, has observed,

Most of the general hypotheses [about the factors which lead to intermarriage] do not seem to apply to the Jewish group.¹⁴

Using data from a large nation-wide sample, the late Fred Sherrow has similarly cautioned against certainty about the factors which might lead young Jews to marry non-Jews.

This analysis of the various aspects of the respondents' personality, values, and aspirations has shown that to a cer-

tain extent, intermarriage can be understood in terms of deviancy from the mainstream of society and culture. This relationship should not be exaggerated

however...¹⁵

Because it is the supposed consequences of intermarriage which triggers the great fear of assimilation for many Jews, it is indeed ironic that the scientific evidence regarding its consequences is no less equivocal than is the evidence about its causes. According to the conventional wisdom intermarriage has a number of deleterious results which collectively endanger the future of the Jewish community.

- (1) Intermarriage leads to a diminishing identification with Judaism and the Jewish community on the part of the Jewish spouse.
- (2) Intermarriage leads to greater conflicts between marriage partners, and to a greater incidence of divorce.
- (3) Intermarriage leads to an alienation between the Jewish spouse and his or her parents, siblings, and extended family.
- (4) Intermarriage makes it difficult if not impossible to provide children with a stable sense of identity.
- (5) Intermarriage leads families to have fewer children.
- (6) Intermarriage raises the latent anti-Semitism of

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the non-Jewish spouse and his or her family to the surface.

Occurring independently or in combination with one another, these results are considered so ominous that the Jewish community must do all it can to prevent intermarriage from occurring. Moreover, once intermarriage does occur, the community must do all it can to prevent it from "infecting" the non-intermarried. That is the conventional wisdom on the matter.

Yet, the findings of sociological research -- despite their methodological weaknesses -- offer far more reason for optimism than is commonly acknowledged. Without reviewing the numerous studies which challenge the conventional wisdom, we may simply recall Fred Sherrow's highly competent observation,

This survey of some of the possible consequences of intermarriage has shown that many popular conceptions are either gross exaggerations or are altogether false. The close similarity between endogamous and exogamous couples suggests that differences in religious origins are not as important [in their impact on family life] as many observers feel. The data also showed that intermarriers do not especially suffer in their relations with their spouses, parents, and

in-laws -- neither absolutely nor when compared with endogamous respondents. [While] intermarriage [appears to be] related to poor relations with parents [at least for some], the causal order is ambiguous.¹⁶

Taken as a whole, then, research does not yield the conclusive evidence that intermarriage necessarily leads to the assimilation of the Jew; nor does it yield conclusive evidence that intermarriage causes instability or unhappiness in marriage, nor that children born to intermarried families necessarily suffer psychological maladies which are unique to their condition. Finally, there is no conclusive evidence that children born into intermarried families will necessarily be raised as non-Jews. It is true that intermarriages often have these unhappy results. But, then, so do many endogamous Jewish marriages. And the difference in the frequencies with which these misfortunes of family life occur among endogamous and exogamous Jewish families do not permit us to draw the stereotypes too rigidly. Most importantly, even where the indicators of family pathology or Jewish deviance cast the more negative light on intermarriages the causal order remains ambiguous. ✓

The notion that assimilation follows on the heels of intermarriage is not an iron law of Jewish human nature nor of Jewish history. Certainly where intermarriage also involves the conversion of the non-Jewish mate to

Judaism quite the opposite seems to occur. Both the convert and his or her spouse tend to become more committed to a Jewish way of life than is characteristic of American Jews in general.¹⁷ But, significantly, even where no conversion has taken place assimilation does not follow as an inevitable consequence. (Jewish men and women cling to their ethnic and religious heritage far more tenaciously than do their non-Jewish spouses.) As we shall see in the report which follows, a great many of the non-Jewish husbands and wives express an attraction for the Jewish way of life (including raising their children as Jews) despite their reluctance to undergo actual conversion. Although many wish to pass Jewishness on to their children their ability to do so does not depend entirely on them.¹⁸

To the extent that the organized Jewish community labors under the assumption that assimilation is a necessary and "natural" consequence of intermarriage, nothing is done to help such families to retain and to transmit their sense of Jewishness. Such families are shut out of the Orthodox and Conservative community as a matter of policy, and even when they are admitted among the Reform, they are stigmatized. Thus, the forecast of assimilation easily becomes a "self-fulfilling prophecy". Yet, this "prophecy" notwithstanding, many such families struggle mightily to create their own visions of a harmonious and Jewish home in which psychologically healthy Jewish children might be raised.

I am painfully aware that the reader might suspect an implied bias or a "hidden agenda" in the previous paragraph. Therefore it should be emphasized the nonesuch is intended. However, I do intend to underscore the relational perspective which serves as the intellectual scaffold for the substance of this study. From that perspective "intermarriage" is simply a label that some people apply to a particular social relationship. It has no consequences in and of itself any more than other labels, such as "marriage" or "friendship", might have.¹⁹ Its consequences stem from the meaning that people attach to the label, and more specifically from the way they choose to act towards that label. Thus, the consequences of intermarriage flow from the myriad of interactions between the couple themselves, between the couple and their respective parents and other significant role referents,²⁰ and between the couple and the communities of which they are part. Finally, the consequences of intermarriage cannot be seen as static or "frozen" resolutions any more than the consequences of any other intimate relationship. Intermarriages, as all intimate human relationships, change over time in response to the changing needs of its constituents as well as in response to the changing social context of the relationship.

The task before us is to capture some of the key moments of this flux, and to highlight what appear to be the dominant interactional patterns leading to and from marriages between American Jews and non-Jews.

Footnotes

- pp. 1-15
1. In recent years virtually every major Jewish organization in the United States has sponsored conferences and publications dealing with the subject of intermarriage. The Anglo-Jewish press, popular Jewish periodicals, as well as professional Jewish journals have published numerous articles on the seriousness of the intermarriage problem among contemporary American Jewry.
 2. Cf. "We Are Many: Our Readers Speak on Intermarriage," MOMENT 2:6 (April, 1977), pp. 34-38.
 3. Exodus, 34:12-16; Deuteronomy, 7:3-4. The Biblical injunctions against intermarriage point out that Israelites must refrain from marrying with the neighboring tribes lest they stray from the paths of the Torah and become like the other nations. These injunctions represent one of the rare instances where the Torah actually offers a reason for a prohibition.
 4. Heinrich Graetz's classic study of the history of the Jews is replete with references to instances of numerous intermarriages between Jews and Gentiles during the Roman exile, especially during the Augustan period; also during the Golden Age of Spanish Jewry, as well as among the Jews of the Byzantine Empire, and the Jews of Renaissance Italy.
 5. Cf. Uriah Z. Engelman, "Intermarriage Among Jews in Germany, U.S.S.R., and Switzerland," Jewish Social Studies 2:2 (1940), pp. 157-178; also, Milton L. Barron, "The Incidence of Intermarriage in Europe and America," American Sociological Review 11:1 (February, 1946), pp. 6-13; also, Moshe Davis, "Mixed Marriage in Western Jewry," Jewish Journal of Sociology 10:2 (December, 1968), pp. 177-211.

The Table below is from the work of M.L. Barron.

TABLE I. SUMMARY OF STUDIES OF THE INCIDENCE OF JEWISH INTERMARRIAGE

Student	Locale	Period	Rate of Intermarriage per 100 Marriages in Which Jews Were Participants ^a
Engelmann ^a	Switzerland	1888	5.39
Engelman ^a	Switzerland	1900	6.69
Engelman ^a	Switzerland	1910	8.87
Engelman ^a	Switzerland	1920 ^b	11.61
Fishberg ^a	Hungary	1895-1904	5.83
Ruppin ^a	Hungary	1907-1908	8.32
Ruppin ^a	Hungary	1925	26.44
Ruppin ^a	Hungary	1935	24.46
Fishberg ^a	Germany	1901-1904	74.72
Fishberg ^a	Germany	1905-1907	17.72
Ruppin ^a	Germany	1910-1911	21.36
Drachsler ^c	Germany	1915	51.00
Ruppin ^a	Germany	1928	34.96
Ruppin ^a	Germany	1933	43.78
Ruppin ^a	Germany	1934	23.89
Ruppin ^a	Germany	1935	15.46
Ruppin ^a	Russia in Europe	1924-1926	12.73
Ruppin ^a	Lithuania	1931	0.39
Ruppin ^a	Czechoslovakia	1933	20.45
Ruppin ^a	Latvia	1933	5.14
Silcox and Fisher ^d	Ontario	1920-1930	5.06
Silcox and Fisher ^d	Quebec	1926-1931	2.99
Silcox and Fisher ^d	Canada (excl. Quebec)	1920-1931	6.52
Silcox and Fisher ^d	Canada (all)	1926-1931	4.82
Drachsler ^c	New York City	1908-1912	2.27
Brickner ^e	Cincinnati	1916-1919	3.00
Kennedy ^f	New Haven	1870	0.00
Kennedy ^f	New Haven	1900	1.13
Kennedy ^f	New Haven	1930	2.99
Kennedy ^f	New Haven	1940	5.68
Koenig ^g	Stamford	1938 ^h	7.16
Barron	Derby	1929-1930	0.00
Barron	Derby	1940	16.67

^a "Intermarriage Among Jews in Switzerland, 1880-1920," *American Jour. of Sociology*, November, 1928, Vol. XXXIV, p. 518.

^b *The Jews: A Study of Race and Environment*, New York, The Walter Scott Publishing Co., 1911, p. 197.

^c *The Jewish Fate and Future*, London, The Macmillan Co., 1940, p. 108.

^d *Op. cit.*, p. 197.

^e *Op. cit.*, p. 108.

^f *Democracy and Assimilation*, New York, The Macmillan Co., 1920, p. 126.

^g *Op. cit.*, p. 108.

^h *Catholics, Jews and Protestants*, New York, Harper & Bros., 1934, p. 265.

ⁱ *Op. cit.*, p. 128.

^j Silcox and Fisher, *op. cit.*, p. 264.

^k "Single or Triple Melting-Pot? Intermarriage Trends in New Haven, 1870-1940," *American Jour. of Sociology*, January, 1944, Vol. XLIX, p. 333.

^l "The Socioeconomic Structure of an American Jewish Community," *Jews in a Gentile World*, edited by Isaac Graeber and Stewart Henderson Britt, 1942, Chapter VIII, pp. 235-237.

^m Data were collected in 1933. The years of marriage varied.

ⁿ The percentages of intermarriage incidence are shown in terms of each 100 marriages in which Jews participated. For example, if the Jews in Area A had representatives in 150 marriages, 50 of which were intermarriages, the percentage of intermarriage incidence was 33.33 per cent. Intermarriage percentages in other studies were not comparable with percentages for Derby, because *different bases* were used in the percentages. That is, some scholars used the total of marriages as a base, some used intermarriages, and others used marrying individuals. In order to have all incidences of intermarriage on a comparable level, the meanings of the percentages of the other studies were translated into a uniform meaning; namely, the cases of intermarriage per 100 marriages in which Jews participated.

6. If Jews chose their mates "blindly" without regard to religious or ethnic background one should expect that they would marry non-Jews in proportion to their numbers in the population. Thus, since Jews constitute about 3% of the population in America, if they chose partners without regard to religious considerations, we would find only three percent endogamously married. The remaining 97% would be married to non-Jews.
7. Elenor Lester, "Marginal Jews in Limbo, Vulnerable to Incidents that Renew Identity," The Jewish Week-American Examiner, February 26, 1978, p. 6.
8. Fred Massarik, "Explorations in Inter-marriage," American Jewish Yearbook, 1973, pp. 292-306.
9. Milton Himmelfarb, "The Vanishing Jews," Commentary 36 (September, 1963), pp. 249-251; Marshall Sklare, "Inter-marriage and the Jewish Future," Commentary 37:4 (April, 1964), pp. 46-52; Elihu Bergman, "The American Jewish Population Erosion," Midstream 23:8 (October, 1977), pp. 9-19.
10. Studies of Jewish intermarriage have been very heavily, if not exclusively, dependent on demographic surveys which gathered data on Jews and non-Jews for purposes other than an interest in intermarriage. Therefore even studies which have attempted to deal with the consequences of intermarriage have had to depend on ver limited data gathered for other purposes. See, for example, the work of Leonard J. Fein, "Some Consequences of Jewish Intermarriage," Jewish Social Studies 33:1 (January, 1971), pp. 44-58; also, Jerold S. Heiss, "Interfaith Marriage and Marital Outcome," Journal of Marriage and Family Living 23:3 (August, 1961), pp. 228-233. Other reports have been based on small scale case studies by rabbis, journalists, and psychologists, or have been the autobiographies of intermarrieds or the children of intermarrieds.
11. It is impossible to illustrate the so-called conventional wisdom with specific references to literature. However, the views which comprise it can be perceived quite distinctly from a review of the voluminous literature on the subject.
12. Louis Berman, Jews and Intermarriage: A Study in Personality and Culture (New York: Thomas Yoseloff, 1968), pp. 547-560; Erich Rosenthal, "Studies of Jewish Intermarriage in the United States," American Jewish Yearbook, 1963; also, Erich Rosenthal, "Jewish Intermarriage in Indiana," Eugenics Quarterly 15:4 (December, 1968), pp. 277-287.

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13. J.S. Slotkin, "Jewish-Gentile Inter-marriage in Chicago," American Sociological Review 7:1 (February, 1942), pp. 34-39; Louis Berman, "Decorum, Prudery, and Inter-marriage," Reconstructionist, May 31, 1968, pp. 7-14.
14. Jerold S. Heiss, "Premarital Characteristics of the Religiously Inter-married in an Urban Area," American Sociological Review 25:1 (February, 1960), p.54.
15. Fred S. Sherrow, Patterns of Religious Inter-marriage Among American College Students (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1971), p. 182.
16. Ibid., pp. 246-247.
17. Bernard Lazerwitz, "Inter-marriage and Conversion," Jewish Journal of Sociology 13:1 (June, 1971), pp. 41-63; see also his , "Jewish-Christian Marriages and Conversion: Structural Pluralism or Assimilation," (unpublished mimeograph, 1977).
18. The success of inter-marrieds in transmitting Jewishness to their children depends partly on their willingness to make the effort to educate them Jewishly. But, it surely also depends on access to suitable means (e.g. appropriate Jewish educational resources) which the Jewish community may have to provide.
19. This is an admittedly value-neutral social scientific perspective which is clearly at variance with a religiously based definition of inter-marriage. It is not intended to challenge the halachic definition. However, it is a definition of the phenomenon which more readily permits objective research than would be possible with the latter.
20. The importance of "role referents" in the formation of religious identity, and Jewish identity in particular is illustrated by Mervin F. Verbit, Referents for Religion Among Jewish College Students (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1968).

Chapter 2

THE STUDY: ITS SUBSTANCE AND ITS METHOD

In response to the growing rate of intermarriage and the variety and urgency of the questions it has posed for the larger Jewish community, the American Jewish Committee undertook the sponsorship of a nation wide study in the late spring of 1975 to determine its impacts on the individuals who are most directly involved (i.e. the intermarried couple, their children, and their parents). By extension, the study was also to develop information on the long-term consequences of intermarriage for the Jewish community as a whole. The aim of this undertaking was, and continues to be, to serve as the scientific basis for decision making with regard to the many questions raised by contemporary intermarriages in America.

The areas of social life about which the study sought to develop objective information included:

1. the qualitative and quantitative aspects of interaction between the intermarried couple and their respective parents before and since the intermarriage has taken place,
2. the religious and other social values of each spouse and the role of these in their marital adjustment to one another (i.e. do background differences make marital adjustment more difficult; which and how?),
3. the plans and practices of the intermarried couple

pertaining to childrearing, and the nature and extent of the difference between spouses in this regard,

4. the kinds of formal and informal ties maintained by the intermarried family with the Jewish community (particularly comparing the ties of the born Jewish spouse before and since intermarriage),
5. the nature and personal significance of the conversion experience in the lives of those intermarrieds who have converted, and the reasons for reluctance to convert (i.e. why do some Gentiles convert to Judaism while others do not, and what difference does it make?),
6. the religious and cultural identity patterns of intermarrieds prior to and since intermarriage.

The survey instruments with which these matters were probed included a self-administered questionnaire and an in-depth personal interview which were completed independently by each spouse in our sample of intermarried families. A copy of the full set of these instruments is in Appendix A of this report. Because the questions asked of each spouse were nearly identical we were able to check on the veracity of information pertaining to the family as a whole. We were also able to construct objective measures of consensus among couples instead of hav-

ing to accept the subjective report of one of the spouses as is more commonly done in such studies.² Finally, we were able to compare the pre- and post-marital attitudes and experiences of the two spouses, thereby gaining a deeper insight into the interactional matrix of intermarriages.

For the purposes of this study "intermarriage" was defined in the broadest possible terms as: any marriage between a person who was Jewish by birth and a person who was not Jewish by birth. Once again, halachic definitions had to be layed aside in order to permit scientific analysis.³ Since one of the questions we wished to investigate is the consequences of conversion, our definition had to include couples in which the non-Jewish partner had converted. A narrower definition might have included only couples in which the non-Jewish spouse had not converted, or possibly in which conversion had taken place prior to the current marriage. Our broader definition also included second marriages in which one of the spouses had converted to Judaism prior to their first marriage.

While the emphasis of the study was on in-tact marriages, our sample also included respondents whose marriages had been dissolved by divorce, separation, or death. In these cases only one spouse of the former couple was surveyed, providing us with some information about the dynamics of family dissolution among intermarrieds.

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Chapter 3

THE SAMPLE: ITS DESIGN AND ITS DISTRIBUTION

The design of the study called for the selection of a large representative sample of intermarried families which met our simple definitional criterion. Since eight local chapters of the American Jewish Committee volunteered to participate in the gathering of the data, the target sample size was set at eight hundred cases or one hundred from each participating community.⁴ Within each of the communities we had sought to build a comprehensive list of intermarried families from which a random sample might be drawn. Unfortunately the building of a comprehensive list of intermarried families meeting our selection criterion ~~was~~ fraught with difficulties, and our final sample undoubtedly suffered from these.

There is no central listing of marriages which includes the religious backgrounds of spouses in any of the communities where our survey was conducted.⁵ Even a reliable listing of all Jews is highly problematic in most communities. Therefore the construction of our sampling frame, or master file of intermarried families, had to proceed piece-meal, using a variety of approaches to maximize coverage and to minimize biases. All of our sampling efforts depended on "snow-ball" strategies whereby known elements in the local population were asked to provide us with the names of couples who met our selection criterion.⁶ Our decision to employ the variety of techniques which resulted in our final sample

was guided by the desire to reach as broad a range of the intermarried population as might exist, and in their proper proportions. Our choices were also conditioned by the desire to reach our target sample size, and to neutralize the biases inherent in any one sampling strategy by the use of an alternate strategy as well. Our final sample⁷ of four hundred and forty-six (446) couples of whom one of the spouses was Jewish by birth and the other was not was obtained by means of the following four strategies.

- A. Random samples of Jewish names were selected in the target communities from local Federation lists.⁸

These names were to constitute a "resource sample" which was used in "snow ball" fashion to generate names of families which met the criterion of our study. Volunteers, recruited through the local chapters of the American Jewish Committee, telephoned the individuals in our "resource sample" and asked them for names of intermarried families in the area whom they might know. This method produced approximately one half of our final sample.

- B. The volunteers who participated in our first sampling effort were asked to make contact with Jewish and non-Jewish clergymen in their respective communities, and to request from them names of families which qualified for inclusion in our sample.⁹ This method produced approximately one quarter of our final sample.

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- C. Volunteers as well as staff of the sponsoring agency contacted other local Jewish agencies which were asked to identify names of families in which only one of the spouses was born Jewish.
- D. The general press and radio stations in the various communities ran stories on the project and it need for a sample. Also, cooperating Jewish organizations were asked to run discussion groups on the problem of intermarriage at which members of the audience were asked to suggest names of families to be interviewed. The last two methods yielded about one quarter of our entire sample.

The "refusal rates" on our first method ran as high as three out of six cases, or a success ratio of 50%. The other methods were considerably more successful, with "refusal rates" of about one out of four.¹⁰

Despite our best efforts we have surely not been able to exclude all biases from our final sample. The choice of our initial strategies and the problems of self-selection and refusal have all contributed to the shape of our final sample. What we have missed will remain to be discovered through future research. But the four hundred and forty-six intermarriages which are the subject of this report provide a wealth of insights into the lives of families in which only one of the spouses is Jewish by birth. These insights will, undoubtedly, prove applicable to the broad majority of marriages of this type.

Despite our optimism about the representativeness of the final sample, we must acknowledge that it surely does not represent all intermarried families which meet our conceptual definition. To begin with, all surveys which depend on the willingness of the selected respondents to participate fail to represent those who have refused to participate. " Since we did have a rather high rate of refusals we shall have to give some thought to the possible biases in our findings as a result.

Given our dependence on "snow-ball" strategies which required that intermarrieds be identified as such by others, we also undoubtedly missed those couples who might not be so identified. These would include couples in which the born-Jewish spouse was simply not known as such by any of our informants, or in which the born-Gentile spouse was not known as such by any of our informants. From the point of view of the Jewish community these couples might be so assimilated that no member is recognized anymore as Jewish, or they may be so well integrated in the Jewish community that the entire family passes as Jews.

However, none of these weaknesses need be regarded as serious flaws in our study. First of all, our main objective is not to make demographic generalizations but to describe the consequences of particular types of family dynamics among intermarrieds (regardless of the proportion in which they occur in the population as a whole).

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Secondly, there already exists a reliable demographic description of the population of Jewish intermarrieds in the National Jewish Population Study.¹² Thus, we are able to check some of the ways in which our sample may be biased, and make the appropriate corrections in our analysis. Fortunately, as will be seen below, our sample approximates if not reproduces the NJPS sample in many significant ways. Therefore we are confident that, despite its potential weaknesses, our sample probably does represent the broad majority of existing intermarriages among American Jews today.

The eight chapters of the American Jewish Committee which participated in the collection of the survey data for this study were located in: Cleveland, Dallas, Long Island (Nassau & Suffolk counties), Greater Los Angeles, New York City (the five boroughs), Philadelphia, San Francisco, and Westchester County in New York State. The Table below summarizes the number of cases from each.

Table 2

Number and Proportion of Cases from Each Community

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Cleveland	48	10.7
Dallas	103	23.0
Long Island	45	10.1
Los Angeles	69	15.5
New York	61	13.7
Philadelphia	70	15.6
San Francisco	28	6.3
Westchester	<u>23</u>	<u>5.2</u>
	446	100.0

Since the completion of our surveys was rather a lengthy affair, often requiring as much as two hours from each couple, the total number of completed items varied according to the patience, stamina, and interest of our respondents. Therefore, in the pages which follow, the findings of our research are presented as percentages (%) of the total response rate, indicating adjustments for missing data where appropriate.

Previous studies on Jewish intermarriage have observed repeatedly that Jewish men are more apt to marry non-Jewish wives than are their sisters likely to marry non-Jewish husbands. Our findings also conform to this well established pattern, as can be seen in the table below.

Table 3

	Religion of Spouse	
	<u>Jewish by Birth</u>	<u>Not Jewish by Birth</u>
Husband	65.7	34.3
Wife	34.3	65.7
	<hr/> 100.0	<hr/> 100.0

According to the NJPS report, "the combination of husband Jewish/wife not [born] Jewish is about twice as prevalent as the combination of wife Jewish/husband not [born] Jewish." ¹³

Ninety percent of our sample was comprised of intact families in which 78.4% of the born-Jewish mates, and 85.0% of the born-gentile mates were married for the first time. About a fifth (21.6%) of our born-Jewish respondents and 15.0% of our born-gentile respondents were involved in a second marriage. The remaining ten percent of our sample was comprised largely of separated and divorced people who had once been intermarried. The composition of the households is summarized below.

Table 4

Number of Persons in Household¹⁴

	<u>N</u>	<u>Percent</u>
One	14	3.1
Two	78	17.5
Three	69	15.5
Four	127	28.5
Five	88	19.7
Six or +	52	11.6
No Ans.	<u>18</u>	<u>4.0</u>
	446	99.9

Table 5

Number of Children in Household

	<u>N</u>	<u>Percent</u>
None	101	22.6
One	69	15.4
Two	131	29.4
Three	89	19.9
Four or +	<u>56</u>	<u>12.5</u>
	446	99.8

It should be pointed out that some of the households without children included couples whose children had already grown up and moved out. In fact, only 15% of our respondents indicated that they have no children.

Our sample also cut across the full range of the marital life cycle from newlyweds to couples who had already celebrated their golden wedding anniversary, as we see on the table below

Table 6

Duration of Current Marriage

	<u>Percent</u>
Less than 6 years	26.0
6 - 9 years	17.0
10 - 14 years	18.2
15 - 19 years	10.6
20 or more years	<u>28.2</u>
	100.0

The age distribution of our respondents covers a similarly broad spectrum

Table 7

Age of Respondents

	<u>Jewish by Birth</u>		<u>Gentile by Birth</u>	
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
under 20 years	1.4		4.2	2.0
20 - 29	9.6	20.9	15.5	12.1
30 - 39	26.4	47.6	45.6	35.3
40 - 49	23.7	11.3	15.7	26.5
50 - 59	24.8	18.0	10.0	19.3
over 60 years	<u>14.1</u>	<u>2.2</u>	<u>8.9</u>	<u>4.8</u>
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

While tables 6 and 7 attest to the diversity of our sample, they also disclose some bias. The relatively low intermarriage rates among American Jews until the 1950s are a well established fact. Based on this fact a truly representative sample should not have yielded as high a proportion of couples married for twenty or more years as we obtained. Nor should we have obtained as large a proportion of respondents over the age of fifty as we did. Clearly, our selection strategies led to an oversampling in these categories. However, this bias has permitted us to make more reliable comparisons between intermarriages which occurred when the phenomenon was still very rare and those which have taken place more recently when intermarriages have become almost a common occurrence in the American Jewish community.

The relatively high proportion of born-Jewish females and born-Gentile males in the under-forty age categories confirms recent reports by the NJPS and others that the long established gap between the propensity of Jewish men and Jewish women for intermarriage may be closing.¹⁵ Our figures on table 7 also hint at the possibility that the Jewish women who intermarry tend to marry younger Gentile males more frequently than do intermarrying Jewish males marry older Gentile females.

The socio-economic patterns of our respondents also seem to be biased towards the upper middle-class, as can be seen in the following tables on occupation and income.

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Table 8

Occupation by Religion of Birth and Sex

<u>Occupational Category</u>	<u>Jewish by Birth</u>		<u>Gentile by Birth</u>	
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Professional & Technical	40.9	15.7	39.8	8.8
Managers, Administrators, Entrepreneurs	35.1	9.7	26.7	15.3
Teachers, other higher service	6.9	31.6	15.9	23.2
Skilled crafts	1.2	.7	2.3	.6
Unskilled & lower service				.5
Arts	6.9	4.9	7.2	4.7
Housewives		32.6		36.6
Other (retired, students, etc)	<u>9.0</u>	<u>6.3</u>	<u>10.0</u>	<u>13.0</u>
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Although we did find instances of Jewish housewives married to Gentile policemen, and a Jewish locksmith married to a Gentile wife, our sample tends to overrepresent professional and technical workers. We have found a somewhat greater percentage of the born-Jewish males in the professions than born-Gentile males, and also a much higher percentage of born-Jewish females in college or university level teaching than their non-Jewish female counterparts. We found twice as many born-Jewish women in primary education and related

occupations, such as social work than we found born-Gentile women. Conversely, we found substantially larger proportions of born-Gentile men in such occupations than born-Jewish men.

In short, using the husband's occupation as the criterion, intermarried families in which the husband is the born-Jewish spouse are likely to be higher on the socio-economic status scale than those in which the wife is the born-Jewish spouse. In either case, however, both spouse are likely to be employed giving the family a relatively high total income. We might note, parenthetically, that born-Jewish men are likely to be marrying women whose socio-economic status is lower than their own (i.e. they are apt to "marry down"). Born-Jewish women, on the other hand, are likely to marry men who are more nearly like themselves in occupational and socio-economic status.

As indicated earlier, the income distribution of our respondents was also skewed rather steeply upward, as the table below describes.

Table 9

The Family Income

	<u>Percent</u>
Under 8,000 dollars	1.0
8,000 - 16,999	10.2
17,000 - 25,999	17.0
26,000 - 49,999	23.5
Over 50,000 dollars	24.3
No Answer	<u>24.0</u>
	100.0

Despite the socio-economic and age biases in our sample our selection strategies very nearly reproduced the pattern of conversion of born-Gentile spouses which was reported earlier by the National Jewish Population Study. In 96 out of 446 cases, or 21.5%, the born-Gentile spouse had converted to Judaism. The sex distribution of this pattern is described in the table below.

Table 10

Sex Distribution of Converts and Non-Converts

	<u>Born-Gentile Husbands</u>	<u>Born-Gentile Wives</u>
Converted	14%	27%
Not Converted	86%	73%
	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%

In fact, the rate of conversion of the born-Gentile women in our sample is virtually identical to the NJPS rate of 26.7%. However, the rate of conversion of the born-Gentile males in our sample is much greater than the rate of 2.5% reported by the NJPS. Nevertheless, the over-all direction of our findings is perfectly consistent with the NJPS standards. The reasons for the higher rate of conversion among the born-Gentile men in our sample may include their age, the socio-economic status of the Jewish women they marry, and other as yet unknown factors. We shall explore this question further below.

It should be added that conversions by born-Jews out of Judaism and into some other religion were very few,

15 cases out of 446, or 3.3%. This, too, conforms to the pattern established by the NJPS.¹⁶ The sex distribution of our converts out of Judaism replicates earlier statistics which have also shown that Jewish men are more likely to convert to another religion than Jewish women.

Table 11

Sex Distribution of Converts out of Judaism

	Born-Jewish Husbands	Born-Jewish Wives
Converted out	3.8%	2.5%
Not Converted	96.2%	97.5%
	100.0%	100.0%

The percentages in the above table are based on the total numbers of born-Jewish men (n=290) and born-Jewish women (n=156). However, if we look at this data from the point of view of the 15 cases of conversion out of Judaism, we find that 11 of the cases, or 73% were born-Jewish men and only 4 of the cases, or 27% were born-Jewish women.

One final demographic note concerns the denominational backgrounds of our born-Jewish and born-Gentile respondents. In both cases this information was ascertained by asking respondents to indicate the type of synagogue or church with which their parents were affiliated, if any, while the individual was a teenager. The two tables below summarize their responses.

Table 12

Denomination Backgrounds of Born-Jewish Respondents

	<u>Percent of Total</u>	<u>Adjusted Percent for NA*</u>
Orthodox	11.1	16.4
Conservative	29.3	43.8
Reform	26.7	39.8
Not Affiliated*	<u>32.9</u>	<u>****</u>
	100.0	100.0

Two things are striking about the figures in the above table. One is that they very closely approximate the general affiliation patterns of the American Jewish population as reported by the NJPS. The other is that they belie the oft held assumption that individuals from Orthodox backgrounds are far less likely to intermarry than are people from Conservative or Reform parental backgrounds. This last finding is also quite consistent with Lazerwitz's analysis of the NJPS intermarriage data.¹⁷

Table 13

Religious Backgrounds of Born-Gentile Respondents

	<u>Converts</u>	<u>Non-Converts</u>
Protestant	57.3	45.1
Catholic	17.7	30.8
Other	13.5	6.3
None	<u>11.4</u>	<u>17.7</u>
	100.0	100.0

Footnotes

pp. 17-35

1. The use of two different types of instruments, the self-administered questionnaire and the in-depth interview, enabled us to obtain qualitative elaboration of quantitative information. It also provided us with a convenient means by which to separate the spouse during the survey. While one filled out the self-administered questionnaire the other was interviewed.
2. Cf. Matilda W. Riley, Sociological Research I: A Case Approach (New York: Narcourt, Brace & World, 1963), pp. 170-173. Many studies of marriage are flawed by the fact that although their logical unit of analysis is the couple or the familial group the researcher collects data from only one of the spouses. The interactional approach to the study of marriage was first developed by Ernest W. Burgess and Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., Predicting Success or Failure in Marriage (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1939), but it has rarely been followed in actual empirical research.
3. According to halachah, Jewish religious law, if a Jew marries a person who has converted to Judaism prior to marriage the status of that marriage is in no way different from any other endogamous Jewish marriage -- at least not in the eyes of the law. Some social scientists have suggested that a distinction be made between intermarriages in which one of the spouses converted to the religion of the other prior to the marriage, and mixed marriages in which both spouses retain their different religious identities even after marriage.
4. This number was chosen as a matter of convenience. Each of the participating chapters indicated that a quota of 100 surveys was one they can be reasonably be expected to attain. Moreover, we felt that 800 cases should be adequate for most statistical analyses.
5. Marriage registrations or licenses do not include information on the religious backgrounds of the spouses in any of the areas where our study was conducted, hence we could not rely on such records for sampling. However, even if such records had been available, as they were for Erich Rosenthal's studies of intermarriage in Iowa and Indiana, they

would not have been useful for the purposes of survey research because of the high rate of geographic mobility. Such records are only useful for retrospective studies of the data included on the records themselves, and, perhaps, for surveys of the very recently married.

6. In the language of social science this is also known as the "reputational method" and has been used effectively in some well respected studies, such as, Robert K. Merton, "Patterns of Influence: A Study of Interpersonal Influence and of Communications Behavior in a Local Community," in Communications Research, edited by Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Frank N. Stanton (New York: Harper & Row, 1949); also, James Coleman, Elihu Katz, and Herbert Menzel, "The Diffusion of Innovation Among Physicians," Sociometry 20 (1957), pp. 253-269. Our use of this method differs from the work of these other researchers in that we have not studied the relationship between the couples chosen and the informants doing the choosing.
7. Our failure to reach the target of 800 cases was due to a high rate of refusals, and time and budgetary limitations on how far we might extend ourselves to find replacements for them.
8. Thanks are due to Professor Mervin F. Verbit of Brooklyn College for recommending this approach to sampling intermarrieds. Naturally, he shares no responsibility for any of the flaws in its execution.
9. The use of clergy as informants produces obvious biases in the sample. However, it was judged that by asking non-Jewish as well as Jewish clergy to provide the names of intermarried couples with whom they've had contact we might counterbalance their respective biases in the sample as a whole.
10. While these may appear to be extraordinarily high rates of refusal, in fact, they are not at all uncommon with sensitive topics. In a personal communication Clyde E. Martin, a member of the famous Kinsey team, indicated that the refusal rate on the Kinsey sex surveys was something like 6 out of 7.
11. Some follow-up studies of refusers in surveys have shown that they are not very different from those who agree to cooperate -- at least not usually on the variables which are of main interest to the researcher. Cf. Jane R. Mercer and Edgar W. Butler, "Disengagement of the Aged Population and Response Differentials in Survey Research," Social Forces 46 (1967), pp. 89-96; also, Ann Cartwright, "Fami-

lies and Individuals Who Did Not Cooperate on a Sample Survey," Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly 47 (October, 1959), pp. 347-360. In our case, as in these others, the age and educational levels of respondents are likely to have contributed to refusal. The older, poorer, lesser educated, unmarried, and politically conservative are least likely to cooperate. In addition, we expect that those for whom intermarriage has presented very serious personal and/or family problems chose in most cases not to participate in the study.

- 12. Fred Massarik, "Explorations in Intermarriage," American Jewish Yearbook, 1973 based on the National Jewish Population Study. The study included a sample of 430 intermarrieds. It should be noted that in this study only one spouse was interviewed in each household. Thus, the study does not permit the analysis of interaction between spouses.
- 13. Ibid.
- 14. The distribution of American Jewish households according to size was given by the NJPS in 1971 as follows:

<u>Number in household</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1	18.4
2	31.1
3	14.1
4	20.7
5	9.8
6 or +	3.9

- 15. Cf. Allen S. Maller, "Jewish-Gentile Divorce in California," Jewish Social Studies 37:3-4 (Summer/Fall, 1975), pp. 279-290. Maller suggests that the exogamy gap between Jewish men and women is closing in recent years.
- 16. In an as yet unpublished paper Bernard Lazerwitz reports that the rate at which Jews convert out of Judaism is about 3%. He, too, has found that men are somewhat more apt to convert out than women. However, this pattern may be age related rather than sex related.
- 17. Ibid. ("Jewish-Christian Marriages and Conversions: Structural Pluralism or Assimilation?")

Chapter 4

NATURALIZED OR UNNATURAL JEWS?
Converts and Gentiles in Intermarried Families

There are two acid-tests used by most Jews to assess the impacts of intermarriage on the future of Jewish family and communal life. ✓ One is whether the children born of the marriage are raised as Jews. ✓ The other is whether the spouse who is not Jewish by birth has become Jewish. It should go without saying that, as is generally assumed, the former is strongly related to the latter. However, the question of whom do Jews marry when they "marry out" and how do these "strangers" contribute to the eventual consequences of Jewish intermarriage has never been the subject of systematic research. Given our interactional perspective on the consequences of intermarriage, which was described in the introductory chapter, this neglected subject is considered here to be essential to our understanding of the dynamics of intermarriages. Therefore, it is the subject of this first substantive chapter.

We have seen in the previous chapter that the majority of non-Jews who marry Jews do not convert to Judaism. Although, many more of them do convert (12.2% of the men and 26.9% of the women) into Judaism than do Jews convert out. Who are these converts and non-converts

who swell the ranks of the contemporary American Jewish family networks? What kinds of social attributes and attitudes do they bring with them?

Painting with broad brush-strokes we might say that the majority are women, marrying for the first time, from Protestant family backgrounds.¹ The tables below fill in some of the finer details.

Table 14

Conversion by Religious Background

	<u>Catholic</u>	<u>Protestant</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>None</u>
Convert	13.6	25.8	37.1	15.0
Non-Convert	<u>86.4</u>	<u>74.2</u>	<u>62.9</u>	<u>85.0</u>
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
n=	(125)	(213)	(35)	(73)

As these figures indicate, those coming from Catholic backgrounds are least likely to convert, while those coming from non-Christian backgrounds are most likely to convert.² In terms of the age distribution of our born-Gentile respondents, we have found that conversion seems to be prevalent among the 30-39 year olds.

Table 15

Age by Conversion

	<u>Convert</u>	<u>Non-Convert</u>
under 20 years	1.0	15.2
20 - 29	18.9	10.3
30 - 39	41.0	32.9
40 - 49	4.7	20.3
50 - 59	13.7	14.6
over 60 years	<u>3.1</u>	<u>6.6</u>
	100.0	100.0

Or, to put it more correctly, a substantially larger proportion of converts were between 20-39 years of age than was the case with non-converts. This finding confirms more casual observations by rabbis and other observers of the American Jewish social climate that conversions have been on the increase in recent years.³ Whether this trend continues is questionable. Among the youngest age group there appears to be a drastic decrease in the rate of conversion, suggesting that the trend may have "peaked" already.

Table 16
Conversion by Age

	<u>Under 20</u>	<u>20-29</u>	<u>30-39</u>	<u>40-49</u>	<u>50-59</u>	<u>Over 60</u>
Convert	2%	32%	26%	24%	20%	8%
Non-Convert	<u>98%</u>	<u>68%</u>	<u>74%</u>	<u>76%</u>	<u>80%</u>	<u>92%</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
n=	(54)	(53)	(155)	(93)	(64)	(25)

One of the demographic ramifications of the increased rates of conversion among the younger cohorts is that the Gentiles who have chosen to become Jews have tended to be well educated, as the table below indicates. It appears that, while post-graduate education seems to work against the odds of Gentile conversion, college education -- and probably the college milieu itself -- seems to be conducive to it.

Table 17

Educational Level by Conversion

	<u>Convert</u>	<u>Non-Convert</u>
High school or less	8.7	17.4
Some college	5.8	5.3
College	56.5	31.6
MA/MS or similar	23.2	22.8
MD/DDS or similar	2.8	12.2
PhD. or similar	1.4	5.8
Other	<u>1.4</u>	<u>4.8</u>
	100.0	100.0

Table 18

Conversion by Educational Level

	<u>Less than college</u>	<u>College</u>	<u>Post Graduate</u>
Convert	17.8	37.8	18.6
Non-Convert	<u>82.2</u>	<u>62.2</u>	<u>81.4</u>
	100.0	100.0	100.0

The high proportions of college and post-college educated Gentiles in our sample suggest that the Jews who marry them are likely to perceive a great deal of aesthetic and value similarity between themselves and their spouses. Conversely, the Gentiles who choose to marry Jews may be doing so, at least in part, as a result of values and ideals engendered by higher education (and possibly mobility aspirations). While we have no

direct evidence for these conjectures they are made more plausible if we bear in mind the differences between the socio-economic backgrounds of the born-Jews and born-Gentiles in our sample. This information was obtained from a question about the occupation of the fathers of our respondents.

Table 19

Fathers' Occupations by Religion of Spouse

<u>Occupational Category</u>	<u>Born-Jewish spouse</u>	<u>Born-Gentile spouse</u>
Professional & Technical	23.2	20.5
Managers, Administrators, Entrepreneurs	55.7	32.3
Teachers, other higher social service	3.3	12.7
Skilled crafts	8.7	14.0
Unskilled and lower service	2.8	5.9
Arts	1.9	3.0
Other	<u>4.5</u>	<u>10.8</u>
	100.0	100.0

Larger proportions of our born-Jewish respondents had been born into the middle and even upper middle-class than is the case for their born-Gentile spouses. Consequently, more of the born-Gentile partners experienced upward social mobility than their born-Jewish spouses. These facts are not meant to suggest that the born-Gentile spouses who had such experiences had married Jewish spouses with the intention

of "marrying up" -- though, undoubtedly that may be the case for some.⁴ What these facts do mean is that in most cases when a non-Jew marries a Jew, he or she is choosing a person who is not only desirable personally but is also desirable by the conventional standards of social status. There is a considerable body of sociological research which suggests that such a pattern of mate selection has important consequences for the social, emotional, and cultural climate of the family.⁵ We shall return to the implications of that body of literature below.

We might add that the patterns of educational attainment among the fathers of our born-Jewish and born-Gentile respondents revealed differences similar to those found in their occupational positions. While about one fifth (20.9%) of the fathers of our born-Jewish respondents had attained a Master's Degree or higher, only 12.3% of the fathers of our born-Gentile spouses had attained a similar level of education.

The religious backgrounds of our born-gentile respondents reveal some further interesting contrasts with the backgrounds of our born-Jewish respondents. We had seen earlier that about 70% of the parents of our born-Jewish respondents had belonged to a synagogue during the adolescence of our respondents. By contrast, only 57.4% of our born-gentile respondents' parents had belonged to a church. An additional twenty-one percent grew up in families where only their mother had belonged to a church.

On the other hand, as far as the religiosity of the parents is concerned, we find much higher proportions of "very religious" fathers and mothers among the parents of our born-gentile respondents.

Table 20

Religiosity of Father/Mother of Born-gentile Spouse

	<u>Father</u>	<u>Mother</u>
very religious	30.4	47.4
somewhat religious	42.3	40.3
non religious	23.1	10.7
anti religious	<u>4.2</u>	<u>1.6</u>
NO ANSWER	100.0	100.0

It is interesting to observe that there is a consistently greater difference in the religiosity and in the church affiliation of the parents of our born-gentile respondents than was the case with the parents of our born-Jewish respondents. This difference suggests that, perhaps, the non-Jews whom Jews marry are more open to the idea of a family in which husband and wife do not share a common religious system of values and practices. On the other hand, it is also possible that it is precisely this difference in parental values which had made so many of our born-gentile respondents abandon the religious identification of their birth. Consequently,

they may look for a greater degree of value homology in their own families -- even if that means conformity with their born-Jewish husbands and wives -- than they had seen with their own parents.

As we look at the relationships between the fathers and mothers of our born-gentile respondents, and the relationship between themselves and their parents we find patterns that are nearly identical to those of our born-Jewish respondents. The majority (about 60%) report that their mothers and fathers had a warm-loving relationship with each other. In terms of their own closeness to their parents, we find that on a scale of (1) to (5), where (1) is most distant and (5) is most close, our born-gentile respondents have an average score of 2.8 vis-a-vis their fathers and an average score of 3.5 vis-a-vis their mothers. It is interesting to observe that our born-Jewish respondents had recorded generally higher average score for closeness with both their mothers and fathers (3.09 for closeness with father, and 3.58 for closeness with mother). The difference in relative closeness to one's parents since marriage also seems to be greater for those of our respondents who were not born Jewish than for our born Jewish respondents. On the whole, these figures bear out the popular impression that the Jewish home milieu is a "warmer" one than the non-Jewish one. They also point to the greater equality of the relationships of the two parents to their children. What net effect these differences have on the born-gentile spouses who enter the Jewish family system by marriage will have to be conjectured below.

Since we are trying to isolate the social-psychological factors which shape the attitudes and behavior of born-Gentile spouses towards Jewry and Judaism, it should be useful to look at their early experiences with Jews as peers, at their parents' attitudes toward Jews, their own attitudes towards their own religious background -- prior to and since marriage -- and their general religiosity. The table below is a summary of these factors.)

Table 21

		<u>Convert</u>		<u>Non-Convert</u>	
A.	Composition of Peer group and Dating partners in teens:	<u>Friends</u>	<u>Dates</u>	<u>Friends</u>	<u>Dates</u>
	Mostly Jewish	7.6	5.5	4.0	7.6
	Half & Half	8.6	21.3	13.4	20.3
	Mostly non-Jewish	70.9	56.6	71.0	52.3
	Can't recall	12.9	16.6	11.6	19.8
		<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>
B.	Parental attitude towards Jews:				
	Favorable	26.0		22.0	
	Neutral	33.0		32.0	
	Negative	41.0		36.0	
		<u>100.0</u>		<u>100.0</u>	
C.	Parental reaction to marriage to Jewish partner:				
	Favorable	19.5		22.6	
	Unfavorable	31.7		29.4	
	Neutral/other	48.8		48.0	
		<u>100.0</u>		<u>100.0</u>	

NOTE: some columns may not actually sum to unity because the percentages of non-responses are not shown.

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Table 21 (cont'd)

	<u>Convert</u>	<u>Non-Convert</u>
D. Attitude towards own religious background prior to marriage:		
Favorable	36.4	47.2
Neutral	51.1	45.9
Unfavorable	12.5	6.9
	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>
E. Frequency of religious feelings (in adult):		
Often	43.9	36.3
Sometimes	48.1	42.9
Never	8.0	20.8
	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>
F. Extent of involvement with own religious background since marriage (to Jewish mate):		
More than before	3.5	9.1
No Change	50.0	62.1
Less than before	46.5	28.8
	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>
G. Extent of involvement with Judaism and/or the Jewish community since marriage:		
More than before	83.3	58.0
No Change	15.5	39.0
Less than before	1.2	3.0
	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>

The composite picture which seems to emerge from the above figures is as follows. The Gentiles who marry Jews seem to come from families which, for the most part, do not harbor negative images of or negative attitudes toward

Jews. Perhaps as a result, and probably due to a variety of other circumstantial factors, a substantial minority of about 27% begin dating with Jews when they are still in their teens. The rest will meet Jews intimately only later when they are in college or in a job.⁶ It is interesting to note that although well over a third perceive their parents as having negative attitudes towards Jews, less than a third indicate that their parents were opposed to them marrying a Jewish partner.

Despite some small differences between those who converted to Judaism and those who did not convert, the majority report neutral or negative feelings towards their own religious backgrounds even prior to marriage. These feelings do not seem to change for the large majority after marriage. Moreover, a substantial minority report a lesser involvement with their own religious backgrounds since marriage. Conversely, the large majority report a greater involvement with Judaism and the Jewish community since their marriage to a Jewish spouse.

To be sure, there are large and distinct differences in declining interest in one's own religious background and increasing interest in Jewishness between the converts and the non-converts. On the other hand, there is a striking similarity in the direction of their changing interests and involvements. In different ways, and in varying degrees both are being Judaized. It remains to be seen whether their born-Jewish spouses are similarly

being de-Judaized. We shall also want to examine in more detail the content of the acquired Jewishness of the born-Gentile mates, and its possible consequences for family organization. But before we turn to these questions let's focus more sharply on who converts, when, and why.

We have seen, already, that women are twice as likely to convert than men (26.9%:12.2%); also, that college graduates and people between the ages of 20-39 are more likely candidates for conversion than others. Protestants and non-Christians who identify with some religion prior to marriage are also more likely to convert to Judaism than Catholics or others who deny any religious identification. Interestingly, we have also found that persons marrying for the second time are significantly more likely to convert to Judaism than persons marrying for the first time, as the table below reveals.

Table 22

Conversion by Previous Marriage of Gentile-Born Spouse

	<u>Married Once</u>	<u>Previously Married</u>
Convert	20.0%	34.0%
Non-Convert	<u>80.0%</u>	<u>66.0%</u>
	100.0%	100.0%

To gain further insight into the social-psychological forces behind the decision to convert or not to convert we examined the relationship between the spouses and their respective parents. The tables below summarize our findings.

Table 23

Relative Closeness to Parents by Conversion

	<u>Convert</u>	<u>Non-Convert</u>
A. Closeness of born-Gentile spouse to his/her Father in youth:		
Not at all close	29.0	18.4
Slightly close	17.4	19.8
Moderately close	25.6	24.9
Very Close	27.9	36.9
	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>
B. Closeness of born-Jewish spouse to his/her Father in youth:		
Not at all close	7.3	15.4
Slightly close	20.8	13.4
Moderately close	26.0	24.5
Very close	35.4	37.1
	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>
C. Closeness of born-Gentile spouse to his/her Mother in youth:		
Not at all close	9.7	4.6
Slightly close	18.3	14.5
Moderately close	31.2	24.2
Very close	40.8	56.6
	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>
D. Closeness of born-Jewish spouse to his/her Mother in youth:		
Not at all close	2.1	7.1
Slightly close	8.3	12.8
Moderately close	25.0	17.7
Very close	58.3	54.7
	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>

NOTE: some of the columns (B & D) do not actually add to 100% because the proportions of missing answers have not been included; the total is given to indicate direction of computation.

These figures suggest that converts are more likely to have been distant from their parents, especially from their fathers, in their youth than those born-Gentile intermarrieds who did not convert. Perhaps equally importantly, subtables B and D suggest that the born-Jewish mates of those who have converted were closer to their parents in their youth than the born-Jews whose Gentile spouses did not convert. Taken together, the figures clearly point to both a "push" factor and a "pull" factor in the conversion process. The "push" factor, or at least one of the "push" factors, is the greater alienation of the born-Gentile spouse from his or her parents.⁷ The "pull" factor, on the other hand, appears to be the greater psychological attachment of the born-Jewish mate to his or her parents. We should also note that, in contrast to the couples in which the born-Gentile spouse converted, among those where the Gentile spouse did not convert there was relatively far less difference in the extent of their closeness to their respective parents.

In addition to psychological closeness to parents, perception of parents' religiosity also seems to play a significant role in whether the born-Gentile spouse converts or does not convert to Judaism. As will be seen in the tables below, the relative religiosity of the parents of the respective spouses also seems to exert a combination of "push" and "pull" effects on potential converts to Judaism.

Table 24

Perceived Religiosity of Parents by Conversion

	<u>Convert</u>	<u>Non-Convert</u>
A. Religiosity of Father of born-Gentile mate:		
Very religious	14.9	35.1
Somewhat religious	52.9	38.7
Non or anti relig.	32.2	26.2
	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>
B. Religiosity of Father of born-Jewish mate:		
Very religious	14.5	6.6
Somewhat religious	66.6	64.0
Non or anti relig.	12.5	19.1
	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>
C. Religiosity of Mother of born-Gentile mate:		
Very religious	36.9	50.3
Somewhat religious	40.5	40.2
Non or anti relig.	22.6	9.5
	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>
D. Religiosity of Mother of born-Jewish mate:		
Very religious	14.5	6.8
Somewhat religious	69.7	69.7
Non or anti relig.	10.4	14.8
	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>

NOTE: figures in columns B & D do not actually sum to 100% because the missing responses have been excluded; the total is given only to indicate the direction of the calculation.

Since these figures reflect the subjective evaluation of our respondents of their parents' religiosity, it should

be borne in mind that the concept of religiosity undoubtedly meant different things to those who were Jewish by birth and those who were not. This caveat notwithstanding, we find that converts are more apt to come from families where the parents are less religious than non-converts. Moreover, larger proportions of the converts seem to be married to born-Jews whose parents were more religious than non-converts.

In other words, similarly to the factor of psychological closeness to one's parents, perceived parental religiosity on the part of both spouses seems to play a role in whether the non-Jewish partner will convert or not.⁸

Where his or her parents are rather unreligious, and the prospective Jewish partner's parents are rather religious, conversion seems most likely. This point is further corroborated by the relationship between parental membership in a church or synagogue and conversion, as we see in the tables below.

Table 25

Conversion by Parental Membership in a Church

	<u>Parents Belonged to a Church</u>	<u>Parents Did Not Belong to a Church</u>
Convert	20.0%	27.0%
Non-Convert	80.0%	73.0%
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	100.0%	100.0%
n=	(232)	(66)

Table 26

Conversion by Synagogue Membership of Parents of Born-Jew

	<u>Parents Affiliated</u>			<u>Parents Not Af- filiated with any Synagogue</u>
	<u>Orthodox</u>	<u>Conservative</u>	<u>Reform</u>	
Convert	31.0	19.0	28.0	15.0
Non-Convert	69.0	81.0	72.0	85.0
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
n=	(49)	(129)	(119)	(144)

As the above two tables indicate, Gentiles whose parents did not belong to a church were more likely to convert to Judaism in an intermarriage than those whose parents did belong to a church. This likelihood is, apparently, enhanced if the Jewish partner whom he or she is marrying has parents who do belong to a synagogue, especially to one that is either Orthodox or Reform. Once again, both "push" and "pull" effects are evident.

Final evidence for a combination of the "push" and "pull" effects on the conversion process comes from the timing of it, and from the subjective reasons for it given by the respondents themselves. These are summarized in the following two tables.

Table 27

When Did Conversion Occur?

	<u>Percent</u>
Prior to meeting spouse	15.0
Prior to marriage	40.0
Prior to first child, but after marriage	22.0
After first child	6.0
No Answer	<u>15.0</u>
	100.0

This table confirms the generally acknowledged fact that the vast majority of non-Jews who convert do so prior to marriage, and for the sake of marriage. What is rather less well known is that a substantial minority, nearly a third, seem to convert only after marriage. They do so, apparently, in order to solidify the religious or cultural identity of the family. The varying intentions of the converts are given below.

Table 28

Reasons for Conversion Given by Converts

	<u>Percent</u>
Personal conviction	32.2
Influence of spouse and in-laws	38.0
For the sake of the children	8.9
Multiple of above, and other reasons	<u>20.9</u>
	100.0

How non-Jews perceive the interest of their Jewish partners in the latter's own religious and ethnic heritage, as well as how they regard their own seems to provide the matrix of forces out of which the decision to convert or not to convert is borne. In light of all the forces which seem to converge on that decision it appears to make more sense to think of conversion as a process instead of as an event.⁹ To be sure, it very properly requires a rite of passage sanctioned by religious authority. And, that is an event. However, it is probably a mistake to confuse the formal event with the much longer and less formal process itself.

Looking at conversion as a process, which is moved along by the combined forces of the "push" of the individual's rejection of his or her own religious background and the "pull" of the religious background of the Jewish spouse, permits us to regard it as the end-point of a continuum of identity choices -- the other end of which is complete loyalty to one's original religious and group identification. From this point of view conversion involves both disengagement and resocialization.¹⁰ This perspective also permits us to think of Gentiles as more or less converted, or more or less Judaized, much the same way as we might think of born-Jews as more or less assimilated or more or less apostasized.

Such a fluid perspective is more faithful to the fact that non-Jews become Jews at different times in

their relationship with Jews, and also do so as a result of different social-psychological forces. As we shall see below, they also convert with varying consequences on their identities, attitudes, and behavior. Most importantly, the process perspective is more faithful to the fact that a minority of those Gentiles who do not convert to Judaism in any formal sense nevertheless have an apparent affinity for Jewishness, and an even larger number evidence Jewishly oriented attitudes and behavior.

We have found, for example, that 15% of those non-Jews who had not converted are sympathetic to "becoming Jewish". However, in most of these cases the incentive or the "pull" factor is missing. Their spouses and in-laws have no preference for it, and in most cases there are no children involved. Indeed, many have children by a previous marriage who bear non-Jewish identities. The table below is a summary of the identity consequences of conversion and non-conversion.

Table 29

Self-Identification of Born-Gentile

	<u>Convert</u>	<u>Non-Convert</u>
Jewish	82.8	11.6
Not Jewish	8.6	78.5
Partly Jewish/ Sometimes Jewish	6.4	7.3
Uncertain	<u>2.1</u>	<u>2.6</u>
	100.0	100.0

On measures of attitudes and behavior which are pertinent to Jewish continuity, converts and non-converts show even greater overlapping than they do on the above measure of self-identification. Table 30 below is a summary of a number of items focussing on Jewish peoplehood.

Table 30

Attitudes Towards Jewish Peoplehood by Conversion

	<u>Convert</u>		<u>Non-Convert</u>	
	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
Being Jewish is important to me	66.6	7.3	12.6	26.8
It is important to me that there should always be a Jewish people	70.1	***	50.6	5.4
A Jew has greater responsibility for other Jews than for non-Jews	35.4	33.3	24.6	43.7
Jews are justified in giving special weight to Jewish interest in voting	59.4	9.4	53.4	15.1
Jews should devote more effort to developing good relations with non-Jews	42.7	9.4	40.0	10.0

NOTE: percentages do not add to unity because those expressing no opinion about these matters have not been included.

Although people who are not born-Jewish could hardly endorse Jewish chauvinism -- and only a minority do -- the majority

do affirm the importance of the continuity of Jews as a people and also endorse the political ramifications of that idea. It is not surprising that converts affirm these opinions in such large numbers. However, it is a bit of a surprise, at least to this researcher, that the difference between converts and non-converts is as small as we see above. Two additional questions which dealt with more concrete aspects of Jewish peoplehood were the following: "I regard myself as a survivor the Holocaust" Agree or Disagree?, and "Jewish foods and Jewish humor are essential to what I mean by being Jewish" Agree or Disagree. The responses of the converts and non-converts ranged as follows:

Table 31

Fate, Food, and Humor by Conversion

	<u>Convert</u>	<u>Non-Convert</u>
Regards self as survivor of Holocaust:		
Agree	25.3	9.6
Disagree	52.1	48.5
Considers Jewish foods and humor as important:		
Agree	18.4	25.1
Disagree	73.6	51.0

NOTE: those who expressed uncertainty regarding these items are not shown above, therefore the columns do not sum to unity.

The above figures suggest that the abstract affirmations of solidarity with the Jewish people by those who are not born-Jewish is difficult to concretize. Converts seem to hold the edge over non-converts in terms of identifying with the Jewish community of fate. Non-converts, on the other hand, seem to have a greater appreciation of the purely ethnic or cultural aspects of Jewish life. These tendencies, incidentally, were borne out time and again in the interviews.

When it comes to the observance of Jewish rituals or to participation in Jewish communal activities the differences between converts and non-converts appear to be more pronounced. Yet, here too, the picture is not simply black or white.

Table 32

Communal Participation and Rituals by Conversion

	<u>Often</u>	<u>Convert</u> <u>Sometimes</u>	<u>Never</u>	<u>Often</u>	<u>Non-Convert</u> <u>Sometimes</u>	<u>Never</u>
Participate in events sponsored by Jewish organizations	9.4	32.3	31.2	5.1	12.3	50.0
Attend religious services on High holiday	55.2	7.3	14.6	15.1	7.1	54.0
Fast on Yom Kippur	31.2	8.3	34.3	10.3	3.1	59.0
Light candles on the Sabbath	38.5	10.4	25.0	6.8	6.6	59.0
Light candles on Chanukah	69.8	1.0	6.3	26.3	5.7	42.0

NOTE: percentages should sum across, but do not add to unity because missing responses have not been included in table.

Clearly, converts make more active Jews than non-converts. Indeed, there is some evidence from other studies that they may be even more active than endogamously married born-Jews.¹¹ Yet, on some behavioral items we do find a noticeable minority of non-converts acting Jewishly as well. The High holidays of Rosh Hashana and Yom Kippur seem to bring 15% of them into temples and synagogues, and more than one quarter celebrate Channukah -- for the sake of the children, no doubt. It should be mentioned, also, that nearly a third of the converts (30.2%) celebrate Christmas in some form while more than half (54.8%) of the non-converts do so.¹²

Although we will deal separately with the raising of children in a later chapter, it bears noting here that converts and non-converts also vary greatly in this matter.

Table 33

Preference for Jewish Education of Child¹³

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times

	<u>Convert</u>	<u>Non-Convert</u>
.3 Would prefer	66.6	25.7
.1 Have no preference..	10.4	24.0
.1 Would oppose	****	24.3
.1 NO ANSWER	<u>23.0</u>	<u>26.0</u>
.6	100.0	100.0

Two-thirds of the converts would like to see their children receiving a "good Jewish education" against just over a quarter of the non-converts.

because

Following up on this preference pattern, our respondents report the following types of encounter between their children and institutions of Jewish education.

Table 34

Type of Jewish Education Currently Given to Children

	<u>By Convert</u>	<u>By Non-Convert</u>
Day School	16.0	3.7
Afternoon/Sunday	40.0	16.8
Home Instruction	8.3	15.4
Other/None (includes non-Jewish)	<u>33.7</u>	<u>64.1</u>
	100.0	100.0

NOTE: the figures in the above table include a very high number of non-responses, especially by those who had not converted to Judaism; for the purposes of this table the non-response was interpreted as belonging into the category of "Other/None".

In addition, the children of these families are also exposed to activities in synagogues and Jewish community centers in the following proportions.

Table 35

Children's Participation in Synagogue and Center Activities

	<u>Convert</u>		<u>Non-Convert</u>	
	<u>Synagogue</u>	<u>Center</u>	<u>Synagogue</u>	<u>Center</u>
At least once a week	25.0	17.7	10.0	8.5
Rarely	18.7	11.4	9.7	9.1
Never/Don't know	12.5	28.1	35.4	35.7
NO ANSWER	43.8	42.8	44.9	46.7
	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>

All of these figures confirm that Gentiles who convert to Judaism are more thoroughly drawn into the fabric of Jewish life than those who do not convert. That, of course, is not surprising. What is surprising, and potentially problematic for both the organized Jewish community and the individuals involved, is that a considerable minority of Gentiles who have not converted are also drawn into the various cultural networks of the community. To be sure, their proportions are small. But the questions they raise are great.

Summary

In this chapter we have outlined some of the major demographic characteristics of the Gentiles who marry Jews. We have also tried to identify some of the social-psychological forces which seem to determine whether the born-Gentile spouse will convert to Judaism or not. Finally, we have outlined some of the apparent effects of conversion on the attitudes and behavior of the Gentiles who marry Jews which are pertinent to Jewish continuity. ✓

We have found that most frequently the Gentiles who marry Jews are: (1) women, (2) Protestants, who are from (3) relatively lower in socio-economic origins than the Jewish partners whom they marry, (4) marrying for the first time. Those who convert are likely to be: (1) between the ages of 20-39, (2) women, (3) college educated, (4) relatively alienated from parents during teen years, (5) from homes where parents were relatively unreligious and most

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likely were not church members or regular church goers. By contrast, the born-Jews whom converts marry are likely to be from more religious homes in which parents were affiliated with either an Orthodox or a Reform congregation.

As far as the relationship between the born-Gentiles and the Jewish community is concerned we have found systematic differences indicating closer ties on the part of converts than non-converts. However, the differences between the two were not always equally great. We have found: (1) rather wide spread affirmation of concern for the survival of the Jewish people on the part of both, (2) a somewhat more widespread interest in the ethnic or cultural components of Jewishness among non-converts than converts, (3) and a greater sense of sharing in the Jewish community of fate, greater practice of rituals, greater participation in Jewish communal activities, and more thorough Jewish education of children among converts than non-converts. In a summary sense one might say that we have found the converts to be more Judaized than those Gentiles who have retained their original religious or group identity.

Despite the obviously more pervasive "Jewishness" of converts, we have found noticeable -- and on some dimensions, substantial -- minorities of non-converts who profess attitudes and engage in activities which are commonly recognized as normatively Jewish. Conversely, we have also found a noticeable minority of converts who, despite their formal conversion to Judaism, do not conform to

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normative patterns of Jewish thinking or behavior. In short, we have identified four types of adaption to Jewishness on the part of born-Gentiles who marry Jews. We may outline them as follows.

Figure 1

Modes of Adaptation to Jewishness by Born-Gentiles

	<u>Convert</u>	<u>Non-Convert</u>
Adopts Jewish norms and consciousness	I	II
Does not adopt Jewish norms and consciousness	III	IV

Of course, it should be kept in mind that the meaning of "adopts Jewish norms and consciousness" is also a continuum of possibilities. Thus, our typology suggests that conversion, as it is commonly understood, represents one end-point of a rather long range of adaptation possibilities to Jewishness on the part of born-Gentile spouses. Using the analogy of citizenship we may define that end-point or type as "naturalized Jews".¹⁴ At the other end of the continuum, of course, we find people who are not merely non-Jews but, in fact, identify themselves by some other reference group. They are Catholics, or Baptists, or Mexicans, or Japanese, or atheists, or whatever. But

what do we find in the middle of the continuum? There identities, norms, values, and group consciousness are as vague to the individuals as they are to the social scientists trying to define them. We have chosen, here, to identify them as "unnaturalized Jews" to convey the multivalent tugs and potentials of that group. Our figures suggest that this group constitutes the majority of non-Jews in contemporary intermarriages. The great majority of Christians who do not convert also do not maintain identification or involvement with the religious or group identities of their birth. In the language of sociology one would say that they are in a state of anomie.

Table 36

Religious Self Identification of Non-Converts

	<u>Prior to Marriage</u>	<u>Current- ly</u>
Protestant	45.0	26.0
Catholic	30.0	10.0
Other	6.0	7.0
NONE/NO ANSWER	<u>18.0</u>	<u>57.0</u>
	100.0	100.0

Footnotes

pp. 39-67

1. According to a 1971 Gallup Poll the distribution of religious groups in America is as follows:

Protestants	--	65%
Catholics	--	26%
Jews	--	3%
Others	--	2%
None	--	4%

2. By contrast our sample of exogamous Jews married spouses from other religious backgrounds in the following proportions:

Protestants	--	48%
Catholics	--	28%
Others	--	8%
No Answer or None	--	16%

3. Cf. BaMakom 1:3 (Spring, 1974), p.3. This is a publication of the B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundations from Los Angeles, California. This particular issue was devoted to the phenomenon of non-Jews seeking conversion to Judaism on the college campus.
4. The importance of status consideration both in mate selection and in marital decision making has long been an important subject of interest for students of the sociology of the family. For an overview of this issue any standard text on the sociology of the family may be consulted. See, for example, Letha and John Scanzoni, Men, Women, and Change (New York: McGraw Hill, 1976), chp. 4. In a seminal essay on the subject, Robert K. Merton, "Intermarriage and the Social Structure," Psychiatry 4:3 (August, 1941), pp. 361-374, has suggested that cross-caste intermarriages, such as marriages between Black men and White women, involve an implicit status exchange. The person with the higher socio-economic status and lower caste status in effect "buys" into the higher caste group by marrying a person who is of that higher caste status but enjoys lower socio-economic status. It is conceivable that this social-psychological mechanism may also be at work in marriages between Jewish men and Gentile women.

Some writers have also suggested that the courtship system in America tends to result in women "marrying up" in general. This general phenomenon may explain

why so many of our born-Jewish males seem to have married women from socio-economic status levels lower than their own. Cf. Willard Waller, "The Rating and Dating Complex," American Sociological Review 2 (October, 1937), pp. 727-734; also, Zick Rubin, "Do American Women Marry Up?" American Sociological Review 33 (October, 1968), pp. 750-760.

5. For the function of status differences in marital decision making, see the work of Robert O. Blood, Jr. and Donald M. Wolfe, Husbands and Wives: The Dynamics of Married Living (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1960). The perceived prestige attributes of spouses do seem to influence the outcome of marital decisions.
6. While a large minority of our sample had met while in college, most met either through their jobs or through introductions by friends.
7. This factor has been identified as one of the root causes of apostasy from one's religion of birth by David Caplovitz and Fred Sherrow, The Religious Drop-Outs: Apostasy Among College Graduates, Vol. 44, Sage Library of Social Research, (Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications, 1977), pp.49-53.
8. In the work just cited, Caplovitz and Sherrow do not deal with the religiosity of the parents themselves, which, as one might expect, would also be an important factor in the religiosity and identification patterns of young adults, both intermarried and otherwise.
9. The practical ramifications of such a view are outlined by a Hillel rabbi, Robert A. Siegel, "Conversion as Process," BaMakom 1:3 (Spring, 1974), pp.4-11.
10. This perspective is not inconsistent with a halachic view of conversion, which sees the converted Gentile as virtually re-born. However, according to the halachah such 'rebirth' does not occur in stages, nor could people in intermediary stages make any claims to being Jewish.
11. This point is made systematically by Bernard Lazewitz in his yet unpublished analysis of the data on intermarriages from the National Jewish Population Study, "Jewish-Christian Marriages and Conversions: Structural Pluralism or Assimilation," (Unpublished mimeo., 1977).

12. It is generally acknowledged that a sizeable minority of non-intermarried Jews also celebrate Christmas. Unfortunately we lack descriptive statistics on just how many do so. It should also be noted that none of the converts, and only about 20% of the non-converts attend church services as part of their celebration of Christmas.
13. These figures are almost identical to those reported by Lazerwitz in his analysis of the NJPS intermarried sample. Actually, he reports a higher proportion (@ 35%) of the non-converts raising their children as Jews. On the other hand, our Table 13 also shows that @ 35% of the Gentiles are raising their children as Jews by giving them some form of education about Judaism.
14. The concept of "naturalization" is suggested here as a way of including non-Jews in the Jewish community even in the absence of halachic conversion. We are told by many non-Jews married to Jews that one of the main reasons they would not convert to Judaism is that they do not consider themselves religious. On the other hand, many of these people do have affinities to the Jewish people -- a feeling for Jewish culture, aesthetics, humor, food, history, and the like -- and some interest in formally recognizing those ties. Since at the present religious conversion is the only way that a non-Jew can become a member of the Jewish people, non-religious Gentiles are clearly shut out. Yet, ironically, in Israel a non-Jew can become a citizen of the state and thus, in a secular sense, a member of the Jewish people. Cf. Mordecai Roshwald, "Who is a Jew in Israel?" Jewish Journal of Sociology 12:2 (1970), pp.233-266. Perhaps some such extra-halachic formulation for recognizing the secular-Jewish status of Gentiles may also be possible and desirable in dealing with non-Jews married to Jews in America.

Chapter 5

JEWS WHO MARRY NON-JEWS: DEVIANTS BY DESIGN OR BY DEFAULT

In one of the earliest social scientific studies of Jewish intermarriage in America, James S. Slotkin delineated about a half-dozen character types into which Jewish exogamists might be classified.¹ His typology was essentially a psychological one, and his pioneering efforts clearly channeled the attention of later students towards the personal traits of exogamists as possible explanations for their choice of mates.² To be sure, many have studied the social structural circumstances of Jewish exogamists as well in their search for an explanation of Jewish intermarriage. They have emphasized the importance of such factors as distance from immigrant generation, level of religious and secular education, occupational status, and the availability of a large Jewish "field of eligibles" during courtship.³ But both approaches, the psychological and the social structural, have taken as their axiomatic point of departure that the Jew who marries a non-Jew is a deviant.

From a purely statistical point of view, of course, the assumption that Jews who marry non-Jews are deviants, is correct. Since they have, at least until very recently, always constituted a tiny minority among the vast majority of endogamously married they were naturally seen as peculiarly different from the norm, by laymen and professionals alike. There is an additional, and probably more

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important reason that the study of Jewish exogamy has always assumed that exogamists are deviants. It is the fear of assimilation and the loss of group identity, so deeply ingrained in Jewish consciousness, which we discussed earlier. The validity of that fear has been, apparently, accepted by most professional students of Jewish intermarriage, at least implicitly. Thus, the questions they have tried to answer by way of research have focussed on the personal and structural factors which might account for the deviant, and presumably assimilationist, path chosen by the Jewish exogamists.

The nearly axiomatic nature of this model of Jewish exogamy has made it an almost foregone conclusion that those Jews who marry non-Jews do, indeed, "marry out" and will, eventually, be lost to the Jewish community.⁴ However, the model itself has never been the subject of systematic investigation. Are the Jews who marry non-Jews really rebels against the norms and lifestyle of their parents? Do they really mean to break with the culture and community of their ancestors? Since hints to the contrary have been gradually forthcoming in recent years,⁵ the empirical investigation of the popular assumption has been one of the key objectives of this study.

In this chapter we will examine some of the social characteristics and socialization experiences of the Jewish exogamists in our sample. But we shall refrain from assuming, a priori, that they are deviants in any but the

statistical sense. We shall try to establish empirically the ways and the extent to which they are or are not deviant from normative Jewish patterns of thinking and living, especially from those of their parents. If we are unable to establish such empirical evidence, we may have to conclude that Jewish exogamists are deviants only by default, not by design. Let us begin by examining in some detail just who are the Jews who married non-Jews.

We have seen already in the previous chapter that most Jewish exogamists (65.7%) are men, clustered in professional and executive level occupations, secularly well educated, and from largely middle-class or better family backgrounds. We have also seen, in Table 7 above, that most of the Jewish women who have married non-Jews have come from the younger age cohorts, under the age of forty. It bears noting that about two-thirds of the born-Jewish women were employed outside the home. Somewhat fewer of the born-Gentile women were so employed (which is probably a function of age differences). Also, the born-Jewish women who were employed generally held higher status occupations than the non-Jewish women who were employed outside of the home.

We have also seen in Chapter 3 that our born-Jewish respondents came proportionally from all three of the major branches of American Jewry. Nearly 70% of their parents had belonged to a synagogue of some sort, and about 58% of the men and 46% of the women had received some

type of formal Jewish education in their youth. How much and of what kind are summarized in the tables below.

Table 37

Amount and Type of Jewish Education by Sex

<u>Amount of Jewish Education</u>	<u>Born-Jewish Males</u>	<u>Born-Jewish Females</u>
1 - 5 years	39.0	38.0
6 or + years	19.0	8.0
No Answer/ None	<u>42.0</u>	<u>54.0</u>
	100.0	100.0
 <u>Type of Jewish Education</u>		
Day school or yeshiva	11.7	3.0
Sunday school or afternoon school	64.9	62.6
Yiddish school or other (e.g. tutoring)	6.5	8.4
Can't recall	<u>16.7</u>	<u>26.0</u>
	100.0	100.0

The distribution of types of Jewish education appears to be consistent with general patterns in the American Jewish community, as reported by the National Jewish Popul-

ation Study. The amount, on the other hand, seems to be considerably less for both men and women than is characteristic of the Jewish population at large.⁶ Taken together, these findings seem to corroborate arguments advanced by Geoffrey Bock and by Harold Himmelfarb that quantity of Jewish education is more important than type of Jewish schooling in the over-all Jewishness of America's Jews.⁷ In other words, if we assume for the moment that intermarriage is an indicator of relatively "weak Jewishness", it appears that those who intermarry differ from the general Jewish population more in terms of the amount of Jewish education they receive than in terms of the kind of education they receive.

We should note here the contrast between the religious education of our born-Jewish respondents and that of their born-Gentile spouses. Only 15% of our born-Gentile males and 23% of our born-Gentile females had received formal religious education. Thus, although many of our born-Jewish respondents are not as well educated Jewishly as the American Jewish population at large, most received more formal education about their Jewish backgrounds than their born-Gentile mates about their own religious backgrounds.

A number of the social structural characteristics of Jewish exogamists which have been described by earlier students of the subject are confirmed by our survey. Approximately 95% of our born-Jewish respondents are American born, and almost as large a proportion had at least

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one parent who was born in the United States. However, nearly three-quarters of our respondents (72.3%) had at least one grandparent on both the paternal and the maternal side who were foreign-born. According to NJPS estimates about 58% of the American Jewish population is native-born but of foreign parents, and only about 20% are native-born and of native-born parents. Clearly, our sample of intermarried Jews is much more pervasively "American" than the general Jewish population. Nearly half of our respondents had parents who were both born in America.

In terms of secular education we would have to classify our sample as high achievers. The table below shows their distribution in comparison to their born-Gentile mates.

Table 38

Educational Certification by Religion by Sex

<u>Educational Certification</u>	<u>Born-Jewish Spouse</u>		<u>Born-Gentile Spouse</u>	
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
High school diploma or less	4.9	7.2	10.9	18.1
Some college (eg. A.A. or similar)	2.7	10.7	5.8	5.1
B.A./B.S. or similar	41.6	42.3	27.1	45.3
M.A./M.S. or similar	14.4	31.5	22.2	22.9
M.D./J.D./DDS.	27.7	2.7	20.9	2.7
Ph.D. or similar	6.3	4.4	9.5	1.5
Other	<u>2.3</u> 100.0	<u>1.3</u> 100.0	<u>3.8</u> 100.0	<u>4.2</u> 100.0

These figures, too, show our sample of born-Jewish respondents to be different from the general Jewish population.⁸ Substantially larger proportions of our sample were in the highest achievement categories, even when we controlled for age.

While we are on the subject of secular education, it is interesting to observe that significantly more of our born-Jewish female respondents were married to born-Gentile men who were at the same educational level as they than was the case for born-Jewish men and their spouses.

Table 39

Similarity of Educational Levels by Sex

	<u>Born-Gentile Male</u>	<u>Born-Gentile Female</u>
Educational level same as born-Jewish spouse's	28.0	16.0
Educational level dif- ferent from born-Jewish spouse's	72.0	84.0

NOTE: the above difference was statistically significant at $p < .03$

All of the figures on education confirm our earlier point about the pattern of differences between born-Jewish and born-Gentile spouses on the dimension of socio-economic status.

However, the sometime held notion that certain types of academic institutions or subjects of major concentration tend to be favored by the intermarried does not seem to be borne out by our data, as the tables below show.

Table 40

Type of School at which Advanced Degree was Obtained

	<u>Born-Jewish Spouse</u>		<u>Born-Gentile Spouse</u>	
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Ivy League	19.2	10.4	15.3	5.2
Major Private	24.0	27.2	23.7	24.8
Minor Private	13.2	13.8	15.7	25.2
State University	26.4	29.2	20.2	25.2
State College	7.8	6.1	5.3	9.1
Community College	1.0	3.8	5.5	1.5
Other	<u>8.4</u>	<u>8.4</u>	<u>14.2</u>	<u>9.0</u>
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 41

Major in College

	<u>Born-Jewish Spouse</u>		<u>Born-Gentile Spouse</u>	
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Arts	1.4	4.8	15.2	8.7
Business	16.8	5.7	18.7	6.4
Education	2.4	20.0	10.2	14.9
Humanities	19.6	22.9	10.7	25.9
Sciences	26.5	8.9	16.6	13.6
Social Sciences	21.4	24.1	21.9	21.9
Other	<u>11.6</u>	<u>13.7</u>	<u>6.7</u>	<u>9.5</u>
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The figures in the above table suggest that intermarriers are distributed rather widely and in substantial proportions among the various types of institutions of higher education, as well as among the areas of major concentration. It is interesting to note, parallel with our finding of similarity in the educational levels of born-Jewish women and their born-Gentile husbands, that born-Jewish women were also significantly more likely to marry men who had attended the same college as they did.

Table 42

Proportion of Born-Jewish Respondents
Receiving Degree from Same College as Spouse

	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Degree from same college	19.6	32.6
Degree not from same col	<u>80.4</u>	<u>67.4</u>
	100.0	100.0

NOTE: the above difference was statistically significant at $p. < .01$

Inasmuch as the college social milieu has been seen by many observers as one of the factors promoting intermarriage between Jews and non-Jews, our figures suggest that it is a factor that does not effect young men and young women equally. Jewish young women are more likely to be effected by it directly than their brothers.

This last finding was corroborated by our interview data. We had asked our respondents to tell us about the circumstances under which they met their spouses. Very

much in line with the above table, 21% of our born-Jewish males indicated that they met their present mates at college, while 28% of our born-Jewish females indicated that they met their spouses this way.

Table 43

Circumstances of Meeting Reported by Born-Jews

	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Met at college	21.7	28.4
Met in some job related setting	22.1	17.4
Met through introduction by friends	33.3	22.7
Other or combination of above	<u>22.9</u>	<u>31.6</u>
	100.0	100.0

The reason that such a discrepancy seems to occur in the impact of the college setting on the mate choices of born-Jewish men and women is probably linked to the further educational goals of the men. Since more of them will seek further education, and are therefore more likely to marry at a later age, they are less likely to select their mates from among the women, be they Jewish or Gentile, whom they meet at college.

Other structural factors which have been advanced in previous research as possible explanations for the incidence of intermarriage among Jews, such as the Jewish population density of the area in which a person grows up⁹ and

the composition of his or her peers during the teen-age years,¹³ find only uncertain support in our data. Since our sample was gathered in major centers of Jewish population, in well defined Jewish communities, we are not in the position to determine whether the incidence of intermarriage is greater in places with lesser Jewish populations. However, it is interesting to observe how large a proportion of our total born-Jewish respondents had grown up in the New York metropolitan area. Although only about 30% of our sample is from this area -- including Long Island and Westchester -- nearly 40% were born in it and over 35% were raised in it during their teen-age years. It is also interesting to observe that about 60% of our respondents currently live in an area that is within a twenty-five mile radius of their parents, siblings, or some other relatives. It appears that a majority of our born-Jewish respondents grow into adulthood in densely Jewish areas of residence and settled in these same areas.

These observations appear to cast some doubt over the notion that residence in a densely Jewish (non-ghetto) area might act as an effective insulation against the incidence of intermarriage. It may well be that growing up in an area that has a very sparse Jewish population does increase the likelihood that a Jew will marry a non-Jew. But, in fact, the great majority of Jewish exogamists do not grow up in such areas.

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The relationship between one's peers and dates in the teen years and subsequent intermarriage also appears somewhat hazy in light of our data.

Table 44

Peers and Dates of Born-Jews in the Teen Years

<u>Background Composition</u>	<u>M A L E</u>		<u>F E M A L E</u>	
	<u>Peers</u>	<u>Dates</u>	<u>Peers</u>	<u>Dates</u>
All Jews	7.2	5.0	8.6	15.1
Mostly Jews	45.1	25.6	38.7	31.2
About half Jews	30.5	42.8	31.5	31.0
Mostly non-Jews	15.6	20.9	19.6	17.8
All non-Jews	.8	3.6	.8	1.6
Can't recall	<u>.8</u>	<u>2.1</u>	<u>.8</u>	<u>3.4</u>
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Keeping in mind that all of our respondents are, in fact, married to people who were not born-Jewish, it is interesting to observe that more than half of our male respondents and nearly half of our female respondents had mostly or all Jewish friends during their teen years. Among the women, nearly that same proportion had dated mostly or exclusively Jewish men. Yet, they all intermarried. The above table also highlights the fact that interdating does not mean that Jewish young men and women would date non-Jews only. The great majority have dated both. Thus, intermarriage can hardly be attributed to the unavailability of a field of eligibles. The "causes" of intermarriage must be found in other factors.

In this chapter, so far, we have looked mainly at some of the demographic and biographic characteristics of our sample of Jewish exogamists. It is interesting to note that in most respects we have not found them to differ from the American Jewish public at large. They do seem to receive substantially less formal Jewish education than the average, and they appear to be more Americanized and more educated in terms of amount of secular education. While very few had an exclusively Jewish friendship group or dated exclusively Jewish partners during the teen years, the great majority also did not mix exclusively or even mostly with non-Jews during this period. In this respect, too, they may not differ much from the American Jewish population at large. According to the National Jewish Population Study only about 40% of the non-intermarried Jews had dated Jews exclusively. The majority of the endogamously married had also dated Gentiles at least "sometimes" if not "a lot".

At this point we should direct our attention to some of the more intimate details of our respondents family circumstance, especially to their relationship with parents which might shed light on their decision to marry someone who was not Jewish by birth. This interactional perspective should also guide us toward some of the consequences of intermarriage, which are the main subject of this study. What kind of relationship did our sample of Jewish exogamists have with their parents while they were

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being raised? What kind of relationship did their parents have with each other (which might have shaped their views of endogamous Jewish marriages)? What kinds of attitudes did their parents impart to them concerning Jewish identity and religiosity? ✓

As we have seen above, more than two-thirds of the parents of our respondents had belonged to a synagogue or temple while the latter were growing up. However, our respondents do not recall their parents as being especially religious, as we have seen in Table 24, above. The great majority recall them as being "somewhat" or "slightly" religious. More than 10% recall them as even non-religious or anti religious. When we look at how parents socialized their children (viz. how Jewish intermarrieds recall their parents injunctions) we find some contrasts between objective and subjective factors. ✓

Relatively few of our respondents recall their parents as being insistent that they observe religious rituals (about 20% recall their fathers and 21% their mothers as such).¹¹ On the other hand, twice as many recall them as placing great emphasis on the individual identifying himself with the Jewish people. In other words, our respondents recall their parents, for the most part, as placing greater emphasis on the former's general "sense of being Jewish" than emphasizing any particular set of practices.¹² ✓

For most of our respondents Jewishness seems to have been transmitted as a generalized attitude rather than as a

pattern of habits and skills by which they might live as Jews. As we shall see below, this general "sense of being Jewish" does not appear to diminish as a result of intermarriage. Of course, one wonders for just how many generations it remains transmissible without specific norms of behavior. But these matters shall concern us only in later chapters. For now, our attention is still focussed on the relationship of our born-Jewish respondents to their parents.

✓ The emotional climate of the home has sometimes been blamed for impelling young Jews, men especially, into exogamy. Domineering mothers stand out as symbols of what the young man hopes to avoid in his future wife, and passive fathers stand out as symbols of what young women would not want in their husbands. While our interviews provided us with glimpses of such negative stereotypes, our survey suggested the pervasiveness of a far more pleasant home milieu. Asking our respondents to characterize the relationship between their parents, we found the following.

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Table 45
 Respondents' Perception of Parents' Relationship
 (by sex of respondent)

	<u>Expressions of Feeling by Fa- ther towards Mother</u>		<u>Expressions of Feeling by Mo- ther towards Father</u>	
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Warm, loving, Friendly	64.1	68.8	73.8	59.4
Often Rough, but basically caring	24.8	16.8	12.6	14.0
Fearful, Servile, Resentful	1.8	2.2	4.1	7.0
Domineering, Hostile, Exploitative	4.2	6.4	4.4	9.2
Cold, Loveless	2.3	3.1	2.2	1.5
Can't recall	<u>2.8</u>	<u>2.8</u>	<u>2.9</u>	<u>5.9</u>
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

These figures hardly bear out the caricature made notorious by Phillip Roth, of henpecked Jewish husbands married to ego-centric viragos. Nor does the fear of such relationships seem to play an important part in the inner life of most of our respondents. Indeed, it appears that more of the born-Jewish men perceive their mothers as having been warm, loving and friendly towards their fathers than perceive their fathers as having those emotional qualities. And only a very small minority perceive their parents of either sex as having been domineering, servile, or resentful towards the other.

While the relationship between the parents of our born-Jewish respondents seems, for the most part, to be compatible and warm, the relationship between our respondents and their parents appears to be a bit more ambiguous. We had asked our respondents to indicate the closeness of their relationship to their mothers and fathers while they were still living at home with them. For the purposes of this rating question we provided a five point scale on which a score of one (1) indicated a distant relationship and a score of five (5) indicated a very close relationship. The average amount of closeness with fathers was 3.09 and the average amount of closeness with mothers was 3.58. While these figures do point more in the direction of close relationships with parents, especially mothers, than in the direction of estrangement it is difficult to determine whether or not these scores are typical of Jews in general. It should be pointed out that only a small proportion of respondents indicated a clearly distant relationship with their parents (15.0% with fathers and 7.2% with mothers). Therefore, on the whole, we would have to conclude that Jews who marry non-Jews appear to grow up in a stable and pleasant home environment, which does not seem to cultivate seeds of eventual rejection.

While on the subject of relationship between parents and children, it is also interesting to observe the fate of these relationships in the lives of our respondents as they grew into adulthood.

Table 46

Evolution of Relationship to Parents
as Respondent Grew Into Adulthood

	<u>To Father</u>	<u>To Mother</u>
Became much more distant	5.3	6.2
Became a bit more distant	12.9	20.3
NO CHANGE	50.9	51.8
Became a bit closer	15.0	13.8
Became much closer	<u>15.9</u>	<u>7.9</u>
	100.0	100.0

If we may take our respondents at their word, and we must, their relationships with their parents did not seem to undergo any drastic changes as they grew older and established homes and families of their own. Indeed, more than 30% seem to have grown closer to their fathers, while less than 20% seem to have grown more distant from them. The fate of mothers seems to be the reverse.

The proximity of the relationship between parents and their grown children is further corroborated by information regarding visiting and telephoning habits. We find that more than a third, about 35% of our born-Jewish respondents see their parents about once a week and an other 21.3% see their parents at least once a month. About 82% speak to their parents by phone at least once a week and almost 20% speak to them daily.¹³ While these faceless statistics do not permit us to make any observa-

tions about the quality of family visits or of the phone conversations between the parents and their grown children, they strongly suggest that family ties continue to bind generation to generation despite intermarriage.

To get a sense of the quality of the relationship between parents and their exogamous children we asked our respondents whether visiting with their parents had become more pleasant or less pleasant since they have gotten married. About half (48.4%) found no change in the quality of their visits. About a third (31.7%) felt that it is more pleasant to visit their parents since they have gotten married. Less than ten (7.9%) percent felt that its more unpleasant to get together with their parents since they've gotten married. The remaining 20% simply ignored the question. This last group includes mostly respondents whose parents are deceased.

One final comment about the relationship between our respondents and their parents: we had asked our respondents to compare their own relationship with their parents to the relationship of any of their married siblings with their parents. Forty (40%) percent indicated that their relationship with parents was closer than those of their siblings, and an other 41.3% suggested that there was no difference in their respective relationships. Less than twenty (18.3%) percent thought that their siblings had better relationships with their parents.

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Since we lack comparable data on endogamously married Jews with regard to all of the above questions pertaining to relationship with parents, it is difficult to establish with certainty whether or not Jewish exogamists are "normal" or deviant in these matters. However, on the face of the data themselves they appear to be models of the former. Yet, there is one area of interaction with parents in which deviance should surface quite easily even without a comparative sample of non-intermarried Jews: that is, the interaction surrounding the whole issue of intimate relations with non-Jews.

It is generally assumed that Jewish parents are vehemently opposed to their children dating and marrying non-Jews. In this respect, then, deviance from parental values should be apparent.

But the opposition of most of the parents of our respondents seems to have been somewhat muted. To be sure, some of our respondents reported bitter fights with their parents about their own impending marriage to a non-Jew. However, the pattern of parental tolerance for social mixing with Gentiles seems to have begun early in the socialization process. We asked our respondents to indicate how their parents felt about their friendship with non-Jews, their dating non-Jews, and marriage between Jews and non-Jews in general. The table below is a summary of their responses. As we shall, while there is no clear pattern of an approving attitude regarding these matters, parental opposition is also not clearly expressed, especially not during the adolescent years.

Table 47

Parents' Attitudes Toward Friendship, Dating, and Marriage Between Jews and Gentiles

	<u>FATHER</u>			<u>MOTHER</u>		
	<u>Friend- ship</u>	<u>Dat- ing</u>	<u>Mar- riage</u>	<u>Friend- ship</u>	<u>Dat- ing</u>	<u>Mar- riage</u>
strongly opposed	.6	11.5	19.7	.9	12.7	21.3
opposed	6.7	33.4	39.5	11.0	38.9	39.7
no opinion	58.0	48.5	35.0	53.9	41.1	33.7
approved	29.2	6.6	5.8	27.6	6.3	5.1
strongly approved	<u>5.1</u>	<u>****</u>	<u>****</u>	<u>6.3</u>	<u>.9</u>	<u>.3</u>
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Because these figures report on the attitudes that intermarrieds attribute to their parents they are highly suggestive of the socialization process which seems to precede intermarriage. Jewish parents appear to grow less non-committal about their children's associations with non-Jews as those relationships mature from childhood to adulthood. Moderate opposition takes the place of the erstwhile absence of opinion or of previous approval. Despite these changes, it is interesting to observe that a substantial third of the parents remain of no opinion, and only a minority express strong opposition even to marriage between Jews and non-Jews.

To the extent that parental opposition is expressed towards exogamy, most young Jews are bound to experience

it as an abrupt change from their previous socialization. Moreover, since the apparent turn-about comes at a time in life when young adults are most liberated from their parents, the parental opposition is bound to fall on deaf ears. In other words, if intermarriage is seen as ipso facto deviance from parental norms and values, it is a form of deviance which stems as much from confusion concerning those values and norms as it does from their rejection.

Looking back over our investigation of the relationship between our respondents and their parents

our statistics lead us to conclude that, so far as the parental factor is concerned: (a) most of the parents of exogamous Jews had provided their children with socialization experiences -- especially in the realm of association with non-Jews -- which made intermarriage plausible as a non-deviant life choice, (b) most were not nearly as vehemently opposed to their offspring marrying non-Jews as one would suppose based on the conventional wisdom, and, finally, (c) the relationships of exogamous Jews with their parents did not seem to suffer dramatically as a result of their exogamy. Most importantly, our statistics and interviews do not support the notion that Jews who intermarry had grown up in homes where they had heavily strained relationships with their parents, or where parents had strained relationships among themselves. At least so far as these

domestic matters are concerned, until evidence is provided to the contrary, we will have to assume that Jewish exogamists are not all that different from their endogamous brothers and sisters.

Perhaps the most telling relationship between our respondents and their parents is reflected in the proportion of those who still identified themselves by the religion or ethnic heritage into which they were born. The table below summarizes the paths which our born-Jewish respondents have chosen. As the figures show, only a handful have opted for alternate religious identities.

Table 48

Current Religious Identification of Born-Jewish Spouses
(as reported by respondents themselves)

	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Jewish	73.0	69.0
Catholic	****	****
Protestant	1.7	.6
Unitarian	4.5	2.8
No Answer/None	<u>20.8</u>	<u>27.6</u>
	100.0	100.0

The bulk of the respondents in the last category simply did not answer the question. How one interprets their non-response, of course, will alter one's assessment of the extent to which Jewish exogamists have rejected identification with the group whose identity they bore at birth and in childhood.

The ambiguity of the last category notwithstanding, the above table plainly indicates that the great majority of Jews married to born-Gentile spouses choose to identify themselves as Jews. This finding corroborates earlier findings by the National Jewish Population Study, as well as findings by Caplovitz and Sherrow in their study of apostasy among college students, and findings by Schoenfeld in a study of intermarriage among small-town Jews in the South.

It is important to recall here that the self-identification patterns of the born-Gentile spouses to whom our Jewish respondents are married differ sharply from the identification patterns of the latter, as we have seen in the previous chapter. Of the born-Gentile males 16% had described themselves as Jewish, and of the born-Gentile females 36% described themselves as Jewish. We note parenthetically that only 14% of the born-Gentile males and 27% of the born-Gentile females had actually converted to Judaism. In other words, Gentile females who had not converted are more apt to identify as Jewish anyway. But even the majority who did not convert nor identified themselves as Jewish informally, did not retain identification with the group identity of their birth, as we have seen in Table 36 above. In short, intermarriage tends to produce more Gentiles who come to identify as Jews than it produces Jews who identify as Gentiles. Also, intermarriage is more likely to result in apostasy among the Gentile partners than among the Jewish partners.

Summary

In this chapter we had set out to describe some of the social-demographic background characteristics of our sample of Jewish exogamists, and to describe some of their socialization experiences in childhood and young adulthood which might account for their exogamous marriage choice. Inasmuch as exogamy and the assimilation to which it is presumed to lead have always been regarded as the ultimate forms of Jewish deviance, we have sought after information which might indicate the deviance of the intermarried. We have limited ourselves to indicators of deviance pertaining to self-identification and relations with parents because it is in these two areas that one is most likely to find consensus among American Jews as to just what constitutes deviance. In subsequent chapters we will look at other important indicators as well.

We have found that Jews who intermarry come from all the various sub-populations of the community pretty much in the proportion to the size the various sub-populations. While men have historically been far more frequent exogamists, we found that the gap is closing rapidly. The table below illustrates this point quite precisely.

Table 49

Sex Distribution of Born-Jewish Respondents by Age

	<u>Under</u> <u>20</u>	<u>20-29</u>	<u>30-39</u>	<u>40-49</u>	<u>50-59</u>	<u>Over</u> <u>60</u>
Male	**	46.2	50.2	79.7	72.0	90.4
Female	**	53.8	49.8	20.3	28.0	9.6
		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

** too few cases for analysis

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The main religious branches of American Jewry seem to produce their proportionate share of Jewish exogamists, as do families where parents belonged to a synagogue, as do the various types of Jewish educational institutions. On the other hand, intermarriers do appear to come disproportionately from backgrounds where the quantity of Jewish education they received was less than is generally the case for American Jews. They also come from families in which the parents are not perceived as strongly religious. For the most part Jewish exogamists also do not recall their parents as having "pushed" them towards the observance of Jewish rituals. A large minority (@ 40%) recall their parents as showing a strong preference that they identify themselves as Jews, and the great majority indicate that their parents showed an almost implicit preference for this type of identification.

Perhaps as a result, the great majority of our born-Jewish respondents continue to identify themselves as Jews despite their exogamous marriage. At least in this respect, they are clearly not deviant from identification patterns established in early socialization. They seem to share the pattern of self-identification in common not only with their parents but with the larger American Jewish population as well.

The personal relationship of Jewish intermarrieds with their parents also does not appear to be deviant. The majority appear to have had good relationships with their

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9.6
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parents prior to marriage, which continue and not infrequently improve after marriage.

As we shall see in the chapters which follow, there a number of attitudinal and behavioral dimensions on which Jewish intermarrieds differ considerably from those Jews who are endogamously married. However, as the background patterns in this chapter suggest, their deviance may be the result of long-term patterns of socialization from childhood into adulthood and not a sign of active rejection of Jewish norms and values. In that sense we may prefer to think of them as deviants by default rather than as deviants by design.

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Footnotes

pp. 71-97

1. James S. Slotkin, "Jewish-Gentile Marriage in Chicago," American Sociological Review 7:1 (February, 1942), pp. 34-39.
2. The most comprehensive summary of research in this area, to date, is the work of Louis A. Berman, Jews and Intermarriage: A Study in Personality and Culture (New York: Thomas Yoseloff, 1968).
3. Cf. Erich Rosenthal, "Studies of Jewish Intermarriage in the United States," American Jewish Yearbook, 1963; also, Sidney Goldstein and Calvin Goldscheider, "Social and Demographic Aspects of Jewish Intermarriages," Social Problems 13 (Spring, 1966), pp. 386-399.
4. For a thorough and articulate exposition of this theme see the work of the sociologist-rabbi, Albert I. Gordon, Intermarriage: Interfaith, Interracial, Interethnic, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964), pp. 348-373.
5. Most notable are the findings of the National Jewish Population Study, which reports that the great majority of intermarried Jews identify themselves and tend to identify their children as Jews whether their born-Gentile mates converted or not. See, Fred Massarik, "Explorations in Intermarriage," American Jewish Yearbook, 1973.
6. Cf. Walter I. Ackerman, "Jewish Education--For What?" American Jewish Yearbook, 1969. In this study it is estimated that about 80% of America's Jewish children receive some form of formal Jewish education. In more recent years that estimate has been recalculated downward. Some hints as to the amounts of Jewish education received by America's Jews comes from the work of Marshall Sklare and Joseph Greenblum, The Lakeville Studies, Vol. I: Jewish Identity on the Suburban Frontier, (New York: Basic Books, 1967), p. 296.

Table 9-1

Number of Years of Jewish Education
Received by Jewish Adults
(in Lakeville)

Male Female

Table 9-1
(cont'd)

<u>Years</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
1 - 4	23%	30%
5 - 6	19%	19%
7 - 8	35%	22%
9 or +	23%	29%

7. Geoffrey E. Bock, "Does Jewish Education Matter?" Paper prepared for an American Jewish Committee Colloquium on Jewish Education, 1975; Harold S. Himmelfarb, The Impact of Religious Schooling: The Effects of Jewish Education on Adult Religious Involvement, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, (University of Chicago, 1974).
8. Cf. Alvin Chenkin, "Demographic Highlights of the National Jewish Population Study," mimeo, no date, (Council of Jewish Federations & Welfare Funds, N.Y.). According to this report the educational pattern of America's Jews is as follows:

	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
High school	22.5	35.3
Some college	17.3	21.0
College	14.9	13.6
M.A./M.S., etc.	10.5	8.2
Professional	11.9	1.4
Ph.D. or similar	4.1	1.0

NOTE: figures do not sum to unity because "other" and "missing" categories are not shown.

9. Cf. Lee J. Levinger, "The Disappearing Small-town Jew," Commentary (August, 1952), p. 157.
10. Massarik, op.cit., American Jewish Yearbook, 1973 reports that intermarriers seem to show a much higher incidence of interdating prior to marriage than Jews who are endogamously married.
11. Ibid., p. 305, Table 13 corroborates this finding.
12. I believe that this finding is an important refinement of Massarik's finding cited above.

13. Unfortunately we lack any comparable data on non-intermarried Jews. On the other hand, we found that the born-Gentile spouses of our Jewish respondents tended to speak with their parents less frequently. Only 45% of them spoke to their parents at least once a week. For a very remote comparison, see, Bert N. Adams, Kinship in an Urban Setting (Chicago: Markham Publishing Co., 1968), p. 45. His data are drawn on a non-Jewish population in Greensboro, N.C. in 1963. He found that 70% of his respondents spoke to their parents at least once a week if they lived in the same city.

Chapter 6

INTERMARRIAGE AND THE JEWISH KIN NETWORK

In the previous chapters we have painted with numbers, and in broad brushstrokes, the general features of the Jews who marry non-Jews as well as their born-Gentile spouses. The purpose of these descriptive chapters was to establish some of the parameters within which intermarried couples organize their lives. We have also tried to identify some of the factors which enter into the exchange process between born-Jewish and born-Gentile mates.

However, as we indicated at the very beginning of this report, the primary objective of our study was to identify the salient consequences of intermarriage on those aspects of family and personal life which are considered to have the greatest potential effect on the future of Jewish communal life in America. Therefore, in this and subsequent chapters we will try to tease out in some detail the impacts of intermarriage on relations with parents, on the relationship between the couples themselves, on the expressions of Jewishness on the part of the born-Jews and their mates, and on childrearing plans and practices.

In this chapter we begin that process of teasing out the impacts of intermarriage by examining the relationship between exogamous Jews and their parents prior to and since their marriage.

The concern that parents have in general, and that Jewish parents have in particular, for maintaining good relations with their children has worried many -- parents as well as professionals -- that exogamous marriage tends to drive a wedge between them.¹ In other words, that intermarriage disrupts the cohesiveness of the Jewish family. Is this true? How does it happen? To whom does it happen? And, when does it happen? These are the concrete questions which we address below. To explore this area of concern we asked our respondents numerous questions about their relationships with their parents both prior to marriage, especially during the teen-age years, and currently. We have already touched on some of these questions briefly in the previous chapters. We return to them here in greater detail.

One of the first questions we asked from our respondents was their subjective rating of their emotional closeness to their parents during adolescence. The table below is a summary of their responses. This table shows, as we have already indicated in previous chapters, that the great majority of intermarriers, be they Jewish or Gentile, seem to have enjoyed rather close relationships with their parents.²

Table 50
Subjective Report of Emotional Closeness to Parents

		<u>Spouse Born-Jewish</u>		<u>Spouse Born-Gentile</u>	
		<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
T O F A T H E R	Distant	14.5	15.1	19.1	20.6
	Slightly close...	18.2	14.8	26.2	15.4
	Fairly or Quite close	55.0	47.8	46.7	46.9
	Very Close	<u>12.3</u> <u>100.0</u>	<u>22.3</u> <u>100.0</u>	<u>8.1</u> <u>100.0</u>	<u>17.1</u> <u>100.0</u>
T O M O T H E R	Distant	4.8✓	9.7	3.5	6.1
	Slightly close ..	13.7	11.4	17.2	12.9
	Fairly or Quite close	59.0	46.6	65.8	52.8
	Very close	<u>22.5</u> <u>100.0</u>	<u>32.4</u> <u>100.0</u>	<u>13.4</u> <u>100.0</u>	<u>28.1</u> <u>100.0</u>

It is interesting to note in the above table that the largest proportion of "very close" relationships are to be found between born-Jewish women and their mothers, followed by the relationship between born-Gentile women and their mothers. On the other hand, the largest proportion of "distant" relationships are found between born-Gentile women and their fathers. It is also interesting to note the rather large proportion of born-Jewish men who report having had "very close" relationships with their mothers. They stand in rather sharp contrast to the born-Gentile men. These figures

cast doubt over the notion that Jewish men marry non-Jewish women because of the negative images they have of their mothers.

What happens to these relationships as our respondents grow into adulthood and establish families of their own is summarized in the table below.

Table 51
Evolution of Relationship to Parents

	<u>Spouse Born-Jewish</u>		<u>Spouse Born-Gentile</u>	
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Became more distant	17.8	20.6	20.0	16.9
No Change	50.5	47.3	47.9	51.6
Became more close	<u>31.7</u> <u>100.0</u>	<u>32.0</u> <u>100.0</u>	<u>32.1</u> <u>100.0</u>	<u>31.5</u> <u>100.0</u>
Became more distant	27.2	27.7	27.3	18.3
No Change	49.5	49.6	49.2	53.7
Became more close	<u>23.2</u> <u>100.0</u>	<u>24.7</u> <u>100.0</u>	<u>23.5</u> <u>100.0</u>	<u>28.0</u> <u>100.0</u>

The figures in this table suggest that for the largest proportion of respondents there is no change in closeness to parents as a result of intermarriage. Indeed, more of our respondents grew closer to their parents subsequent to marriage than grew distant from them. The largest group that

grew closer to parents was born-Jewish women to their fathers. On the other hand, the largest group that grew more distant from parents was born-Jewish women to their mothers. The relationship between born-Jewish men and their mothers was the relationship which least frequently became closer after marriage.

The extent to which intermarriage effects relationships with parents is also reflected by visiting and telephoning habits of the spouses. The table below is a summary of the frequency with which intermarried couples see their respective parents prior to and since marriage.

Table 52

Frequency of Visits With Parents

		<u>Spouse Born-Jewish</u>		<u>Spouse Born-Gentile</u>		
		<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	
B E F O R E	M A R R I A G E	Once a week or +	55.8	42.8	33.1	40.3
		Few times a month	7.5	13.3	12.0	5.4
		Once a month	13.5	5.8	8.9	12.5
		Few times a year	17.5	28.3	33.7	28.3
		Once a year or -	<u>5.6</u>	<u>9.8</u>	<u>12.4</u>	<u>13.5</u>
		<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	
S I N C E	M A R R I A G E	Once a week or +	41.8	40.1	21.6	16.7
		Few times a month	16.2	14.3	16.6	10.4
		Once a month	7.7	6.9	9.9	10.2
		Few times a year	22.2	19.9	33.6	37.3
		Once a year or -	<u>12.2</u>	<u>18.8</u>	<u>18.3</u>	<u>25.5</u>
		<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	

The figures in the above table demonstrate quite plainly that most Jewish exogamists continue to see their parents rather frequently even after marriage. Well over half see their parents at least a few times a month; most at least once a week. While the proportion who see their parents once a year or less does, in fact, double subsequent to marriage, it is a group which remains a minority. Less than 5% indicated to us that they had broken off all relationships with their parents.

It should be noted that these calculations are based only on those respondents who indicated that their parents are alive.

The table also demonstrates the rather striking difference between the born-Jewish spouses and their born-Gentile spouses as far as visiting with parents is concerned. More of the Jews do it more often. It is also interesting to note that the born-Gentile women, who constitute the largest group in intermarriages with Jews, also seem to have the lowest rate of visiting interactions with their parents. Moreover, the Jewish men to whom they are married have the highest rate of visiting frequently with their parents. We might add that the conversion of the non-Jewish spouse to Judaism does not seem to have any significant effect on this pattern. As one might have guessed, the most important determinant of the visiting patterns is the residential proximity of the intermarried couple to their respective parents.³ Here, too, we found striking differences between our born-Jewish and born-

ntile

male

0.3

5.4

2.5

8.3

3.5

0.0

6.7

0.4

0.2

7.3

5.5

0.0

Gentile respondents. As the table below shows, substantially more of the Jews lived closer to their parents than was the case for their spouse.

Table 53

Residential Proximity to Parents, Siblings, and Others

		<u>Parents only</u>	<u>Siblings only</u>	<u>Parents & Siblings</u>	<u>Other Relatives</u>
B O S P O U S E W I S H	Within walking distance	7.5	2.4	2.8	2.9
	Within a 25 mile radius	8.8	14.5	24.8	8.5
	Beyond 25 miles or in another city ...	4.1	5.1	5.8	9.5
	In another state or other country ..	1.9	17.1	26.2	14.2
B O S P O U S E W I S H	Within walking distance	3.9	1.5	3.0	5.3
	Within a 25 mile radius	5.9	5.8	16.5	20.6
	Beyond 25 miles or in another city ...	5.8	6.3	13.6	6.4
	In another state or other country...	4.2	12.9	35.0	11.2

The above table is a bit deceptive because the percentages were calculated for each line across and we have not presented the figures indicating non-responses in each category. For example, the first line for the born-Jewish

spouse indicates that 15.6% of them had some relative living within walking distance, and 84.6% had no relative in walking distance. On the other hand, the first line for the born-Gentile spouses indicates that 13.7% of them had some relative living within walking distance, and 86.3% did not have any relatives in walking distance. What makes the table a bit deceptive, also, is that the category of "other relatives" included in-laws. Thus, the relatively higher figures in that category for the born-Gentile spouses indicates the presence of Jewish in-laws at closer distances. The table does demonstrate that at least twice as many of the born-Jewish spouses live within a twenty-five mile radius, including walking-distance, of their parents than do their born-Gentile mates.

Actually, about one fifth of our born-Jewish respondents lived within walking distance of their parents, and about another two-fifths lived within a twenty-five mile radius.

One of the reasons that the relationship between Jewish parents and their children is of relevance to the continuity of the Jewish people is that the family is the locale for many of the holiday celebrations which constitute the substance of Jewish continuity. Therefore we were interested to find out the extent to which intermarried families join their parents in the celebration of some of the major holidays of the Jewish calendar. The table below is a summary of our findings in this area.

Table 54
 Celebration of Holidays With Parents
 (spouse born-Jewish)

	<u>M A L E</u>			<u>F E M A L E</u>		
	<u>Al- ways</u>	<u>Some- times</u>	<u>Rarely Never</u>	<u>Al- ways</u>	<u>Some- times</u>	<u>Rarely Never</u>
Rosh HaShona	30.9	17.4	51.7	32.5	15.0	52.5
Yom Kippur	27.8	17.5	54.7	32.7	13.8	53.4
Channuka	29.9	15.2	54.9	42.1	15.4	42.5
Passover	44.8	16.8	34.4	50.3	10.6	39.0

NOTE: percentages add to unity across each line to the right.

Evidently Passover is the family celebration of prime choice among the intermarried Jews much the same way as it is among the American Jewish population in general.⁴ In view of the fact that very few of the born-Gentile husbands of Jewish wives had converted to Judaism, it is especially interesting to note that nearly a third celebrate the High Holidays with their parents.

Since we have no directly comparable data on the frequency with which endogamously married Jews celebrate these holidays with their parents, we cannot determine with certainty whether intermarriage diminishes family celebrations of Jewish holidays. On the basis of our data we can say that for approximately half of the intermarriages the Jewish kin network continues to function as a locale for the celebration of Jewish holidays, at least sometimes.

The above figures should not be read as an indication of the proportions of intermarrieds who celebrate these Jewish holidays altogether. As we shall see in a subsequent chapter, more intermarrieds celebrate the holidays than just the ones who celebrate with parents.

Perhaps even more striking than the above figures on the celebration of Jewish holidays with Jewish parents are the figures on the proportion of our respondents who spend Thanksgiving with their Jewish parents. Nearly a half (46.5%) of our born-Jewish respondents report that they spend Thanksgiving with their parents "always". By contrast, only 34.2% of our born-Gentile respondents report spending that holiday with their parents "always". Interesting, too, is the fact that born-Jewish women are far more likely (56.3%) to spend Thanksgiving with their parents than born-Jewish men (40.6%), as an annual ritual.

What is interesting about these figures is that since there are many more opportunities for the family celebration of Jewish holidays than there are opportunities for the family celebration of non-Jewish holidays, one would have thought that a "neutral" holiday like Thanksgiving would more frequently be celebrated by most intermarrieds with their Gentile parents. Apparently, that is not the case. In fact, it seems that Thanksgiving is the holiday which Jewish intermarrieds and their born-Gentile spouses celebrate most frequently with their

Rarely
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Jewish parents (apart from Passover).

As one might have predicted, the holiday that most intermarrieds spend with their Gentile parents is Christmas. Although, a surprising 25% of our respondents indicated that they "always" spend Christmas with their Jewish parents.

Table 55

Celebration of Christmas and Thanksgiving

	<u>Spouse Born-Jewish</u>		<u>Spouse Born-Gentile</u>	
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
C H R I S T M A S				
Always	20.3	29.6	54.1	52.1
Sometimes	17.0	20.4	19.2	8.0
Rarely	8.2	5.6	6.3	15.2
Never	<u>54.5</u> 100.0	<u>44.4</u> 100.0	<u>20.2</u> 100.0	<u>24.7</u> 100.0
T H A N K G I V I N G				
Always	40.6	56.3	38.2	31.5
Sometimes	29.7	16.2	29.4	22.6
Rarely	10.3	8.7	7.1	18.2
Never	<u>19.4</u> 100.0	<u>18.8</u> 100.0	<u>25.3</u> 100.0	<u>27.7</u> 100.0

Since geographic distances have a much greater effect on how frequently people visit with their parents

than on how frequently they speak with them on the telephone, we also inquired into their use of this mode of communication. Table 56 below is a summary of our findings.

Table 56
Telephone Contact With Parents

	<u>Spouse Born-Jewish</u>		<u>Spouse Born-Gentile</u>	
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
About daily	11.9	31.3	2.1	6.8
Few times a week	31.9	25.0	10.2	7.6
Once a week	33.2	35.4	40.0	41.1
About monthly	19.2	3.7	24.5	28.0
*Rarely/Never	3.8	4.6	23.2	15.3
	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>

*NOTE: actually none of our respondents indicated that they "never" speak to their parents.

These figures reinforce the impression created by the previous tables that the ties of the intermarried family with their Jewish kin network are maintained more often and more intensively than are the ties with the non-Jewish kin network. In short, if intermarriage erodes Jewish family ties at all -- and it undoubtedly does for some -- it seems to have a lesser effect on the ties of the Jewish family than on the ties of the non-Jewish one. While the many faceless numbers which support this generalization tell us nothing about the quality of interaction between the intermarrieds and their Jewish parents or in-laws, they do lend

strong support to the impression that the Jewish family continues to bind one generation to the next, despite the exogamy of its children.

To get a sense of the quality of the relationship between our respondents and their parents since the intermarriage has taken place, we asked the former to indicate whether they find visiting with their parents as enjoyable since marriage as before. We also asked our respondents whether they wished they might see their parents more frequently than they do. Finally, we asked them to evaluate their relationship with their in-laws. The following three tables summarize our findings on these issues.

Table 57

Quality of Visits with Parents Since Marriage

	<u>Spouse Jewish by Birth</u>		<u>Spouse Gentile by Birth</u>	
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
More enjoyable since marriage	31.9	41.8	36.7	37.6
No Change in quality	56.2	50.4	56.2	53.4
Less enjoyable since marriage	<u>12.0</u>	<u>7.7</u>	<u>7.0</u>	<u>9.1</u>
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

As these figures indicate, for the majority marriage had not altered the quality of their relationships with their parents. Indeed, for a substantial minority -- especially

for Jewish women -- marriage, even intermarriage, has improved the quality of interactions with parents. The respondents who enjoy spending time with their parents less since they've gotten intermarried constitute a relatively small minority. These figures tend to reinforce impressions gleaned in interviews that the parents of intermarrieds tend to be a rather accepting group. Moreover, it appears that their great emphasis on their children marrying -- especially in the case of Jewish women -- overshadows their possible misgivings about the exogamous nature of the marriage.

It is worthwhile to note that the distributions in Table 57 remain virtually unaltered when we introduce the conversion of the non-Jewish spouse as a control variable. In other words, those Jews whose born-Gentile mates converted to Judaism do not report enjoying their contacts with their parents anymore than those Jewish exogamists whose mates did not convert. By the same token, born-Gentile men and women who converted to Judaism do not seem to enjoy their post-marital visits with their parents any less than those Gentiles who did not convert to Judaism.

As the following table makes clear, most of our respondents prefer to see their parents as often as they do, and a substantial minority would prefer to see them even more frequently. Here, too, it is distance which seems to be the main intervening variable. Those who live farther from their parents often wish they might see them more frequently.

Table 58

"Would you like to have contact with parents"

	Spouse Born-Jewish		Spouse Born-Gentile	
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Less frequently than usual	11.1	7.4	3.9	8.4
Wish no change	53.7	63.2	51.4	36.4
More frequently than usual	<u>35.2</u>	<u>39.5</u>	<u>44.7</u>	<u>53.8</u>
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

It is interesting to note that in the typical intermarriage, that is, a born-Jewish male married to a born-Gentile female, it is the man who is more likely to be satisfied with the amount of contact he has with his parents and his wife who is likely to wish that she might have more contact with hers. Despite the greater closeness of the born-Jewish spouses to their parents, their born-Gentile mates do not seem to harbor any resentment towards them. We had asked our respondents to tell us whether their husbands or wives approved of the amount of contact they had with their parents. In other words, does the Jewish spouse think that his or her born-Gentile partner approves of the frequency of contact with the Jewish parents, and vice versa. The figures in the following table summarize their perceptions of the situation.

Table 59

"Does spouse approve of the frequency of contact with parents?"

	Spouse Born-Jewish		Spouse Born-Gentile	
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Approves	74.4	73.1	72.9	80.7
Has no opinion	10.1	13.1	16.9	12.4
Disapproves	10.2	8.7	9.1	4.5
Don't know/other	<u>4.8</u>	<u>4.8</u>	<u>1.0</u>	<u>2.5</u>
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

One final question which touches very closely on the maintenance of ties between Jewish exogamists and their parents is the one of how the born-Gentile son or daughter in-law gets along with them. In our interviews we probed this question and obtained the following distribution of responses.

Table 60

"How well do you get along with your spouse's parents?"

	<u>Spouse Born-Jewish</u>		<u>Spouse Born-Gentile</u>	
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
"As well as with my own"	57.9	50.9	61.1	58.5
"Better than with my own"	19.9	19.4	21.3	15.6
"Not as well as with my own"	<u>20.0</u>	<u>29.7</u>	<u>16.8</u>	<u>26.0</u>

NOTE: columns may not add to unity because of incomplete responses.

It appears that women in general, and Jewish women in particular are most likely to have a difficult relationship with their parents-in-law. The born-Gentile men, on the other hand, are most likely to get along well with their in-laws.

It is interesting to note that the conversion of the non-Jewish spouse does not appear to lead to better relationship with their Jewish parents in-law. In fact, to a slight extent, the opposite seems to occur. A larger proportion of the non-converts report that they get along as

well or better with their Jewish parents-in-law as with their own parents than is the case for converts, as the table below indicates.

Table 61

"How well do you get along with your spouse's parents?"
(born-Gentile spouse only)

	<u>Convert</u>	<u>Non-Convert</u>
"As well as with my own"	57.3	59.4
"Better than with my own"	16.8	18.9
"Not as well as with my own"	<u>25.9</u> 100.0	<u>21.4</u> 100.0

NOTE: columns may not actually sum to unity due to incomplete responses or rounding errors.

This difference between converts and non-converts may, in fact, be due to the larger proportion of women among the former and males among the latter. As we have seen in the previous table, born-Gentile men (who convert the least frequently) seem to have the best relationship with their parents-in-law. On the other hand, it is possible that because conversion of the non-Jewish spouse often results in more frequent and closer relationships between the intermarried family and their Jewish parents there are more numerous opportunities for conflicts to occur. We have also observed that those who do not convert often convey a stronger sense of individualism than those who have converted. Thus, they seem to confront their parents-in-law more as equals than as "children". Their sense of independence may result in greater cordiality -- possibly

born of respect mixed with fear -- than we have found in the relationship between the converts and their Jewish parents-in-law. Lest we overstate the case, let's be quite clear that, in fact, the great majority of the born-Gentile spouses seem to get along quite well with their Jewish in-laws regardless of whether they have converted.

Summary

The main question addressed in this chapter was whether intermarriage disrupts the cohesiveness of the Jewish family. Naturally, the question in the present context refers to the specific Jewish families from which our sample of Jewish exogamists originate and not to some abstract ideal of the Jewish family. ✓

Our data point quite consistently to a negative answer. ✓ The great majority of our respondents, Jews and non-Jews alike, report having enjoyed close relationships with their parents prior to marriage, which were not destroyed by intermarriage. Since marriage itself is most often valued by parents, especially by Jewish parents, it is more apt to improve the relationship between our respondents and their parents than to damage them. Not only is the quality of the relationship with parents apparently unaffected by the intermarriage, but more importantly, for at least half of our respondents the relationship with parents continues to serve as an important medium through which major Jewish holidays are observed.

Jewish parents may be unhappy initially about their children's plans to marry someone who is not Jewish, and who, in most cases, will not convert to Judaism. But for the majority the initial unhappiness is buried in the subsequent routines of normal family interaction. Whether the Jewish identity of the family also gets buried in the process will have to be determined by future research in this area.

Although the majority of our respondents continue to have good and frequent relationships with their parents even after their exogamous marriage, a minority seem to have suffered changed relationships as a result of intermarriage. Obviously, intermarriage itself is not a sole determining factor of such deterioration in relations with parents.

In order to summarize the effect of various factors on our respondents' relationships with their parents we combined the numerous individual items which we have discussed in this chapter into a single index of closeness which we have called KINTIES. Ten items were combined with a maximum score of '42' and a minimum score of '0'. The table below provides an over-all summary of the averages of the various subgroups in our sample. Since ^{our} ~~one~~ primary concern here is with the impact of intermarriage on the Jewish family we have not analyzed in equal detail its effects on the KINTIES of the born-Gentile spouses.

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Table 62

Summary Analysis of the Impacts of Selected Independent
on the KINTIES scores of born-Jewish respondents (x,sd)

<u>Independent Variables</u>	<u>Means</u>	<u>Standard Deviations</u>	
None -- entire sample	22.33	8.42	
Born-Jewish Males	19.37	7.10	
Born-Jewish Females	21.87	6.85	
If Rabbi officiated at intermarriage (in- cluding converts)	22.74	6.29	
If Rabbi did not of- ficiate (civil or other type ceremony)	20.31	5.50	
If Rabbi officiated, Husband was born-Jewish, Wife was Gentile and did not convert	20.15	6.89	(n=28)
If Rabbi officiated, Wife was born-Jewish, Husband was Gentile and did not convert	24.91	5.44	(n=20)
If Rabbi officiated and born-Gentile Wife converted.....			
Reform.....	21.62	5.47	
Conservative.	23.61	4.97	
Orthodox.....	18.44	4.43	
If Rabbi officiated and born-Gentile Husband converted.....			
Reform	29.23	4.66	(n=10)
If parents had belonged to a synagogue	21.53	5.92	
If parents had not be- longed to a synagogue	18.85	6.90	

Table 62 (cont'd)

<u>Independent Variables</u>	<u>Means</u>	<u>Standard Deviations</u>
Type of synagogue to which parents had belonged		
Reform	21.05	6.24
Conservative	22.25	5.87
Orthodox	18.90	6.87
If parents belonged to a synagogue and born-Gentile Wife converted		
Reform	21.68	5.78
Conservative	23.71	5.10
Orthodox	17.66	3.47
If Father's feelings for Mother were warm, loving, friendly	22.04	5.51
If Father's feelings for Mother were other than above	18.27	5.90
If Mother's feelings for Father were warm, loving, friendly	21.86	5.68
If Mother's feelings for Father were other than above	18.37	5.45

These summary statistics suggest that the closeness of Jewish exogamists to their parents is significantly effected by: (a) the closeness of the parents themselves to one another, (b) whether the parents had belonged to a Reform, Conservative, or Orthodox synagogue, (c) the sex of the intermarrying person, and (d) whether his or

her spouse had converted to Judaism. It is interesting to note that the highest KINTIES score is obtained by Jewish wives whose born-Gentile husbands had converted to Judaism under Reform auspices and whose marriages were performed by a Rabbi. Conversely, the lowest score seems to be obtained by Jewish husbands whose born-Gentile wives had converted to Judaism under Orthodox auspices and whose parents had belonged to a synagogue. This contrast suggests that among the Orthodox the phenomenon of intermarriage is associated with a greater disruption of family ties, even if the born-Gentile mate converts, than among the other branches of American Jewry.

We might also note with interest that Jewish men have a generally lower score on our index of closeness to parents than Jewish women. The conversion of the Gentile spouse and the officiation of a Rabbi at the marriage ceremony seems to have more an effect on the closeness of Jewish women to their parents than on the closeness of Jewish men to their's.

Footnotes

pp. 101-122

1. Although there is mounting evidence from opinion polls that Jewish opposition to exogamy is declining, the conventional wisdom maintains that, "The initial parental response [to intermarriage] is one of guilt and humiliation." See, Sanford Seltzer, Jews and Non-Jews in Love (New York: Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1976), pp. 12-16. See also, Albert I. Gordon, Intermarriage: Interfaith, Interracial, Interethnic (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964), pp. 174-176.
2. This finding seems to fly in the face of the widely held opinion that intermarriage is partly a result of poor relations with parents during adolescence. See, Jerold S. Heiss, "Premarital Characteristics of the Religiously Intermarried in an Urban Area," American Sociological Review 25:1 (February, 1960) pp. 47-55. Heiss, too, found that the hypothesis of poor relations during adolescence is not confirmed for his Jewish sample.
3. See, Bert N. Adams, Kinship in an Urban Setting (Chicago: Markham Publishing Co., 1968), p. 55.
4. See, Fred Massarik, "Jewish Identity," from Highlights of the National Jewish Population Study. Mimeo. (New York: Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, 1974), p. 11. It is reported that 83.4% of America's Jewish adults had observed Passover in some form during the year prior to the NJPS survey.

Chapter 7

A HOUSE DIVIDED?

One of the major arguments against intermarriage is that differences in religious background inevitably lead to conflicts over values, goals, aesthetic habits, and the like. These differences, the conventional wisdom maintains, will make marriages between Jews and non-Jews more problematic than marriages between endogamous couples would otherwise be.¹ These differences are also thought to lead to greater incidence of divorce among intermarried than among the endogamously married.²

Our aim in this chapter is to examine the presence or absence of shalom bayit, marital harmony, among our intermarried couples, and to assess the extent to which their background differences may effect this aspect of their lives. Does the fact that they don't share a common religious background lead to frequent and intense disagreements or conflicts between husbands and wives? What are the areas of everyday life in which conflicts are most likely to crop up as a result of their differences? Naturally, the areas of the greatest concern in this study were matters pertaining to the having and raising of children; participation in Jewish communal life; interaction with in-laws; and general family lifestyle. Our methods of research did not permit us to probe the much more subtle psycho-sexual matters.³

✓ Since our study focused primarily if not exclusively on in-tact families, we are not in the position to estimate such demographic matters as the rate of divorce among Jewish intermarrieds. Other studies have done so quite competently, confirming that Jewish intermarriages do, indeed, break up more frequently than endogamous Jewish marriages. However, intermarriages ended by divorce still constitute the minority phenomenon. Most intermarriages, as most marriages, remain in-tact. As we have seen in Chapter 3, nearly a third of our sample had been married for over twenty years. Therefore, our primary concern is with the intermarried couples who remain married. How do they make out?

As we have seen already in the previous chapter so-called in-law troubles seem to occur only among a minority of the couples. Most get along reasonably well with their respective parents-in-law, and the great majority are not disturbed by the extent of contact that is maintained by their spouses and the spouses' parents.

In our interviews we had asked our respondents quite openly to what extent they regarded the differences in their backgrounds as a contributory factor in misunderstandings or arguments they may have from time to time. Their responses are summarized in the table below, and according to these figures such differences play a role in family conflicts only among a minority.

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Table 63

Self Rating of the Religious Factor in Marital Conflict

"Background differences contribute to marital conflict..."	<u>Spouse Born-Jewish</u>		<u>Spouse Born-Gentile</u>	
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
"To a very great extent"	2.4	9.7	1.8	3.6
"To a moderate extent"	8.4	11.4	12.1	4.4
"To only a small extent"	24.2	21.3	19.2	19.1
✓ "Not at all"	<u>64.6</u> 100.0	<u>56.8</u> 100.0	<u>66.1</u> 100.0	<u>72.5</u> 100.0

NOTE: columns may not actually add to unity because missing answers and rounding errors are not shown.

When we introduce conversion as a possible causal factor we find that it makes little difference either way. While a slightly lesser proportion of converts report that background difference contribute to their marital conflicts "to a very great" or "to a moderate" extent, the over all pattern outlined in the above table is the same for converts as well as non-converts.

Since the above table is based on the self-ratings of individuals its figures may be read as a testimonial to the power of human denial. The figures may also be an indication of the irrelevance of religious matters in the lives of our respondents. Perhaps, they may also be a measure of the sophistication of these couples in understanding the complex forces which create conflict in the nuclear family.

Possibly as a result of such sophistication about human relations, they may be unwilling to attribute their conflicts to differences in their religious and ethnic backgrounds.

But, however one chooses to read this table, one cannot ignore the obvious. Most intermarried couples do not attribute their conflicts to family background differences. The overwhelming majority said, "We really aren't very religious, so the fact that we come from different backgrounds doesn't make all that much difference to us." Can we take them at their words?

In order to probe more deeply the extent to which differences in religious background might produce conflict or at least a lack of consensus among intermarried couples, we asked dozens of detailed questions separately from each husband and wife. These questions pertained to beliefs, values, and childrearing. In addition, we asked each respondent to estimate whether his or her spouse is likely to have the same opinion on these matters as they themselves had. For purposes of clarity we reproduce the two series of questions with which family conflict or consensus was analyzed as Exhibits 1 and 2 below. Each spouse was presented with the identical questions and was asked to answer them independently. Since one spouse was being interviewed while the other completed the self-administered questionnaire, we are certain that these questions were answered independently.

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Exhibit 1

- 47a. For each of the following items, please check (✓) under the appropriate column in Section A whether you discuss these things often, sometimes, rarely, or never with your spouse and/or your children.
- 47b. For each of the items you've checked in Section A as a subject of discussion, please place an 'X' in the appropriate column in Section B to indicate whether such discussions are a source of agreement or disagreement between you.

		SECTION A				SECTION B	
		OFTEN	SOME-TIMES	RARELY	NEVER	AGREE	DIS-AGREE
The way your parents used to be religious	SPOUSE	4	3	2	1	1	2
	CHILDREN						
The way you like to observe religious holidays	SPOUSE						
	CHILDREN						
The attitudes of Christians towards Jews	SPOUSE						
	CHILDREN						
Political affairs pertaining to Jews	SPOUSE						
	CHILDREN						
The details and meaning of Bible stories	SPOUSE						
	CHILDREN						
The history of Jews in Europe and America	SPOUSE						
	CHILDREN						
Religion in general	SPOUSE						
	CHILDREN						
The making and spending of money	SPOUSE						
	CHILDREN						
The merits and faults of your friends	SPOUSE						
	CHILDREN						
The merits and faults of your relatives	SPOUSE						
	CHILDREN						
The proper sexual mores for youngsters	SPOUSE						
	CHILDREN						
How you spend your leisure time	SPOUSE						
	CHILDREN						
The merits and faults of your children's education	SPOUSE						
	CHILDREN						
The merits and faults of the neighborhood	SPOUSE						
	CHILDREN						
The choice of your children's friends	SPOUSE						
	CHILDREN						
The merits and faults of your own childhood	SPOUSE						
	CHILDHOOD						

Exhibit 2

62a. Parents want different things for their children, and with different degrees of interest. Indicate, by checking the appropriate box on each line, your preferences with regard to the following items in Section A. If you have no children, answer these items in terms of how you think you'd feel if you did have children.

62b. In Section B, please indicate by placing an "X" in the appropriate column, whether your spouse probably agrees or disagrees with your choice of response in Section A.

[illegible]

In addition to these two series of items we also asked respondents to indicate their preference for how many children they would like to have (had), as well as the sorts of religious rites of passage they would like to observe (e.g. Bar Mitzvah, Confirmation, Baptism, or Circumcision). Here, too, we were interested in finding out not only what intermarried families do about raising their children, but also to what extent husbands and wives agree or disagree about these matters.

On the question of having or not having children there seems to be wide ranging consensus among couples.

Table 64

Extent of Consensus Regarding Having Children
(as reported by spouses)

"How closely do you and your spouse agree on the number of children you've had, or plan to have?"	<u>Spouse Born-Jewish</u>		<u>Spouse Born-Gentile</u>	
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Completely agree ...	54.2	56.8	55.7	56.2
Tend to agree ...	33.7	25.5	29.5	28.6
Tend to disagree ...	8.6	14.3	14.0	10.6
Completely disagree..	<u>3.0</u>	<u>3.4</u>	<u>.8</u>	<u>4.0</u>
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

NOTE: columns may not actually add to unity because of rounding errors.

The responses of converts and non-converts were also analyzed. Here, too, it is interesting to note that those non-Jews who converted to Judaism do not report any greater consensus with their mates on this matter than those who had not converted. Indeed, non-converts appear to exhibit a slightly greater tendency for consensus over whether to have children or not, and how many. However, the differences between converts and non-converts are not statistically significant. They also don't appear to be sociologically significant.

Where disagreement does occur it tends to take the following pattern. In marriages between born-Jewish men and born-Gentile women, both confirm that their disagreements most often stem from the fact that the wife would like to have more children than the husband. In marriages between born-Jewish women and born-Gentile men reports of the conflict are somewhat contradictory. Women seem to attribute the desire for more children to their husbands, while husbands seem to attribute the desire for more children to their wives. This confusion may be a problem in our instruments or, perhaps, an indication of genuine confusion among couples themselves. Once again, it should be emphasized that these conflicts and confusion occur only among the minority. Well over three-quarters of our respondents report consensus among themselves over this issue.

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Whether a child is to go through the rites of passage which make him or her a Jew or a Christian is also a potentially divisive issue among intermarried couples. We asked our respondents whether or not they expected their children to go through the following. Their answers imply a good deal of consensus, as well as some potential conflict.

Table 65

Proportion of Respondents Expecting Their Children to Go Through Selected Rites of Passage

Expects child to go through ...	<u>Spouse Born-Jewish</u>		<u>Spouse Born-Gentile</u>	
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Ritual circum- cision (if son)....	62.8	43.7	39.4	53.4
To be given a Hebrew name	53.2	53.3	42.0	50.1
Bar Mitzvah or Bat Mitzvah	47.5	38.2	32.1	41.8
Baptism	12.8	9.3	20.0	22.4
Church confirmation	12.5	10.3	17.2	18.7
Expects child to make his/her own choice about re- ligion	59.8	62.0	75.5	68.0

NOTE: table only reports affirmative responses to each item therefore neither columns nor rows add to unity.

Our figures reveal that a larger proportion of the Jewish respondents expect their children to go through Jewish rites of passage than seems to be agreed to by their born-Gentile spouses. Similarly, a larger proportion of the

born-Gentile spouses expect their children to go through Christian rites of passage than is agreed to by their Jewish mates. However, the differences in the proportions of Jewish men and the proportions of non-Jewish women expressing agreement with each of the above items seems to be rather small. On none of the items does the difference exceed ten percent. This pattern suggests that in ninety percent of the cases the spouses are in agreement. The similarities and differences between Jewish women and non-Jewish men seem to follow the same pattern.

Returning now to the battery of items presented in Exhibit 1 and 2 above, let us look at some of the areas of value, belief, and lifestyle in which husbands and wives may well disagree. The table below summarizes the proportions of respondents reporting agreement or disagreement on selected issues pertaining to family life. It should be emphasized that in the present context "agreement" or "disagreement" does not refer to the respondents' attitudes towards the content of the items, but to their perceptions of similarity or dissimilarity to the attitudes of their spouses towards these same items.

TABLE 66

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Table 66

Proportions of Spouses Indicating Agreement on Pertinent Family-life Issues

	<u>Spouse Born-Jewish</u>		<u>Spouse Born-Gentile</u>	
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
"The way you like to observe religious holidays"	86.8	85.8	87.3	93.2
"The attitudes of Christians toward Jews"	88.4	82.7	85.2	90.5
"Details and meaning of Bible stories"	86.0	86.9	84.6	82.0
"Religion in general"	89.3	80.1	78.9	86.1
"The making and spending of money"	77.0	61.6	63.9	72.7
"Merits and faults of friends"	87.3	84.5	91.2	87.2
"Merits and faults of relatives"	87.0	78.2	80.2	86.7
"Proper sexual mores for children"	90.6	95.1	90.3	87.8
"The merits and faults of children's education"	88.5	98.6	94.5	86.2
"The choice of children's friends"	90.8	96.6	95.8	94.2
"The merits and faults of your own childhood"	90.9	89.3	88.9	91.5
"How you spend leisure time"	84.5	78.3	81.3	80.0

NOTE: since only affirmative answers are shown, neither rows nor columns sum to unity.

The above table confirms much of the point we have made in this chapter thus far. The proportions of couples who agree on pertinent value, belief, and life style issues are greater by far than the proportions of those who disagree on such matters. However, the table also yields up some variations on the theme. Intermarriages in which the husband is born-Jewish and the wife is born-Gentile appear to be generally more harmonious than intermarriages in which it is the wife who is born-Jewish and the husband not. The topics which appear to produce some disagreement are also hinted at by this table. The making and spending of money ranks as number one among the issues which create conflict, confirming a long established pattern in the sociology of the family.⁵ Other issues which seem to produce a bit less agreement than most (hence, a bit more disagreement) are discussions about the use of leisure time (e.g. vacations), the merits and faults of relatives (e.g. in-laws), the observance of holidays, Bible stories, and religion in general.

Why intermarriages in which it is the wife who is the Jewish spouse are more prone to disagreement than intermarriages in which it is the husband who is Jewish we cannot tell at this point. We shall also have to return to the more general question of what factors tend to promote agreement among intermarried couples. But before we deal with these questions let us look at the results of the battery of items in Exhibit 2. In the table below we

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summarize the frequencies with which spouses reported agreement among themselves over selected issues pertaining to the raising of their children.

Table 67

Proportion of Spouses Indicating Agreement on Issues Pertaining to Childrearing

	<u>Spouse Born-Jewish</u>		<u>Spouse Born-Gentile</u>	
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Jewish education	85.0	84.1	61.6	83.7
Synagogue affiliation	85.2	80.1	78.1	84.8
Stand against intermarriage	78.1	83.3	84.1	84.8
Belief in God	85.6	80.2	84.6	82.6
Music appreciation	94.6	94.6	98.8	95.0
Development of agility & strength	94.7	97.0	94.5	95.5
Association with Jewish friends	85.9	91.5	85.9	87.2
Overcoming need for group identity	89.0	80.7	72.9	81.7
Lead a Christian way of life	84.7	83.3	71.2	82.7

NOTE: since only affirmative responses are shown, neither rows nor columns sum to unity.

This table reveals, once again, that intermarriages between born-Jewish men and born-Gentile women are some-

This table reveals, once again, that intermarriages between born-Jewish men and born-Gentile women are somewhat less prone to conflict than intermarriages between born-Jewish women and born-Gentile men. The table also indicates that the issues surrounding childrearing which produce disagreement stem from the differences in the spouses' religious and ethnic backgrounds. If the reader looks back to Exhibit 2 he will find that we asked a number of neutral questions such as getting a college education, being politically active, appreciating music and art, and the like. All of these items produced responses indicating agreement in ninety percent or more of the cases. By contrast, those items which dealt with the transmission of religious or ethnic identity produced noticeably less agreement.

Looking at the content of the items it is interesting to observe that the item which seems to produce the most disagreement among couples in which the husband is Jewish and the wife is not, is the question of whether their children should be discouraged from marrying someone who is not Jewish. Nearly a quarter (22%) of the Jewish male respondents do not think that their wives would agree with their answers. The items which seem to produce the most disagreement for couples in which the wife is the born-Jewish partner, are those dealing with synagogue affiliation, belief in God, and maintaining a sense of group identity. It is also interesting to note that the persons for whom the Jewish education of children presents the most

probable source of disagreement with spouse are the born-Gentile husbands. This group is also the least likely to have converted to Judaism.

In an attempt to get a summary measure of marital harmony among our respondents we took all the items on which they were asked to indicate agreement or disagreement with their spouses and added them into a single index which we have called CONSENSUS. There were a total of 73 such items, to each of which we assigned a score of '1' indicating agreement and '0' indicating disagreement. In addition, we also took eight items dealing with the desire for children, and the desire for having them go through the rites of passage mentioned above, and these too were combined into a separate index which we called UPBRING. Each of the items in this index were also given a score of '1' or '0'. Finally, we combined the two indexes, CONSENSUS and UPBRING into a single over-all measure of marital harmony which we called SHLMBYT, which could have a maximum score of 89 and, of course, a minimum score of '0'.

Table 68

Index Means on CONSENS, UPBRING, and SHLMBYT

<u>Index</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Standard Deviation</u>
CONSENS	42.9	20.29
UPBRING	4.4	2.13
SHLMBYT	53.06	21.47

In every instance the sample mean is at least ten percent above the mid-point of the index.

In an effort to discover the relative effect of a number of independent variables on marital harmony in the intermarried home, we correlated the above three indexes with (1) the sex of the born-Jewish respondent, (2) measures of the KINTIES of the respective spouses to their parents, (3) whether the born-Gentile spouse converted to Judaism, (4) whether the marriage was performed by a Rabbi, (5) whether parents of the born-Jewish spouse had belonged to a synagogue, and (6) the extent of Jewishness [MGAYER] of the born-Gentile spouse in actions [JEWPRAX] and in attitudes [GERTHINK]. These last three indexes are discussed in more detail in the following chapter. The table which follows summarizes the zero-order correlations between the three indexes of marital harmony which we outlined above and the various independent variables which we have just listed.

Table 69

Zero-order Correlates of CONSENS, UPBRING, AND SHLMBYT

	<u>CONSENS</u>	<u>UPBRING</u>	<u>SHLMBYT</u>
Jewish spouse Male ...	****	****	****
Jewish spouse Female..	****	****	****
Jewish KINTIES	-.04	.13	-.02
Gentile KINTIES .....	.16	.20	.19
Conversion to Judaism.	.02	.35	.06
Married by Rabbi .....	.06	.15	.07
Parents belonged to a synagogue	-.05	****	-.06
* JEWPRAX .....	.42	.23	.44
* GERTHINK .....	.31	.19	.33
* MGAYER .....	.39	.30	.42

* Note: these are partial correlations in which the effect of the previous independent variables have been controlled

What Table 69 suggests is that the over-all marital harmony of the intermarried couple is most strongly effected by the extent to which the non-Jewish partner is "Judaized" in actual practice [JEWPRAX] and in some over-all sense of Jewishness [MGAYER]. Ties to parents and the officiation of a Rabbi at the marriage ceremony seem to have a negligible effect on our three measures. And, interestingly, the conversion of the non-Jewish spouse to Judaism seems to effect significantly only the extent to which the couple agrees on the the upbringing of their children. On other family life issues conversion seems to have almost no effect.

Summary

In this chapter we have examined the areas of interaction and family life issues which, one expects, might contribute to or diminish marital harmony in the intermarried home. Perhaps because we have focussed on in-tact families, we have found few surprises.

The great majority of our respondents do not regard their background differences as an important source of marital discord. Somewhat surprisingly, we have found that the typical intermarriages between born-Jewish men and born-Gentile women are somewhat more likely to be free of friction than marriages between born-Jewish women and born-Gentile men. Practical issues, such as the making and spending of money or the use of leisure time, are more often the source of friction than more subtle reli-

gious or philosophical matters. The large majority of our respondents also did not seem to have any serious problems with their respective parents-in-law.

Approximately 85% of our respondents also seem to be in agreement with their mates on whether to have children or not, how many to have, and how to raise them as far as religious or ethnic identity is concerned. About 15% of the couples in which the born-Jewish spouse was the male, and about 20% of the couples in which the born-Jewish spouse was the female seemed to experience disagreement over these matters. Our instruments did not enable us to gauge the intensity of their disagreement in any psychological depth. In purely quantitative terms we have found that the conversion of the non-Jewish spouse tends to increase agreement among the spouses over issues pertaining to the raising of children. However, conversion does not seem to have a similar effect on other aspects of marital harmony. On the other hand, the more "Judaized" the non-Jewish spouse becomes, in terms of sharing in the over-all Jewish cultural complex which is likely to be part of the total Weltanschauung of the born-Jewish spouse, the greater the amount of total marital harmony is likely to be in the intermarried home.

Footnotes

pp. 124-141

1. For a typical novelistic account see, Jerome Weidman, The Enemy Camp (New York: Random House, 1958). For a more professional but similar view see, Albert I. Gordon, Intermarriage: Interfaith, Interracial, Inter-Ethnic (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964), pp. 367-370.

It is instructive to recall the work of Jerold S. Heiss, "Interfaith Marriage and Marital Outcome," Journal of Marriage and Family Living 23:3 (August, 1961), pp. 228-233, which has challenged this view on the basis of scientific survey data.
2. For a recent and authoritative appraisal see, Allen S. Maller, "Jewish-Gentile Divorce in California," Jewish Social Studies 37:3-4 (Summer/Fall, 1975), pp. 279-290.
3. Such matters are alluded to by Louis A. Berman, "Decorum, Prudery and Intermarriage," Reconstructionist, May 31, 1968, pp. 7-17; also by a number of psychologists and psychiatrists in the proceedings of a conference edited by Jack J. Zurofsky, "The Psychological Implications of Intermarriage," sponsored by the Commission on Synagogue Relations of the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of New York (April, 1966).
4. This finding is rather surprising in light of the generally well established fact of "in-law troubles" among the great majority of American middle-class couples. See, Gerald R. Leslie, The Family in Social Context, 3d Ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), pp. 287-294. Our findings may be artifacts of our instrumentation.
5. Studies of marital discord and divorce have consistently found money, children, vacations, and sex to be among the foremost causes of friction among couples.

Chapter 8

EXPRESSIONS OF JEWISHNESS IN THE INTERMARRIED FAMILY

Our substantive chapters up to this point dealt mainly with issues which are of importance to the individuals who are in intermarriages. Also, we have dealt with issues which are of importance to the families of intermarrieds. But we have not focussed on those issues which are of major concern to the Jewish community at large. In this and the following chapter we turn to those issues.

To be sure, the quality of interpersonal relations among intermarried couples, as well as their relations with parents and in-laws are also of concern to the Jewish community. They are of special concern to those agencies which endeavor to improve the personal and family lives of Jews and non-Jews alike. However, there are two areas of family life which touch most directly on the cultural integrity and continuity of the Jewish community. One is the extent to which families as a unit, and their members as individuals identify with and participate in the various aspects of Jewish cultural life. The other is the extent to which such identification and participation is transmitted to the next generation, that is, to the children of intermarriages. The present chapter deals with the former issue. The next chapter will deal with the latter.

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In order to deal with the subject of chapter systematically we have subdivided the concept of "expressions of Jewishness" into several component parts. We will examine separately attitudinal expressions, affiliational or associational expressions, and behavioral of Jewishness. Where appropriate and possible, we will also compare the expressions of converts and non-converts with one another as well as with the expressions of American Jews in general. Since affiliation with and participation in the activities of the organized Jewish community are the most obviously noticeable expressions of Jewishness we deal with them first.

Formal affiliation with a synagogue is found only among a minority of our respondents, as we see in the table below.

Table 70
Type of Congregational Affiliation

	Spouse Jewish by Birth		Spouse Gentile by Birth	
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Jewish*	30.6	23.8	11.5	20.9
Protestant	2.0	3.1	1.2	3.2
Catholic			3.0	4.3
Other	8.3	6.9	8.5	9.9
None	59.1	66.2	75.8	61.7
	<hr/> 100.0	<hr/> 100.0	<hr/> 100.0	<hr/> 100.0
Orthodox	10.2	5.2	----	5.0
Conservative	18.1	13.1	----	15.0
Reform	71.5	81.6	74.0	80.0

Those who do affiliate with a synagogue do so disproportionately with Reform temples. As one might have predicted, men are more likely to affiliate than women -- that is, among the born-Jewish spouses. It is interesting to note that among those who do affiliate with some synagogue the proportion of men affiliating with Orthodox synagogues is not too far short of the general pattern of affiliation with Orthodox synagogues among American Jews. The real short fall seems to be in the category of affiliation with Conservative synagogues. It may be useful to recall here that it is the Conservatives who seem to have produced the fewest converts according to our findings in Table 26 above.

As one might also have predicted, conversion seems to have a significant effect on the affiliation patterns of born-Gentile spouse, as we see in the table below.

Table 71

Affiliation of Born-Gentile Spouses by Conversion Type				
Type of Synagogue	<u>Conversion Type</u>			<u>NON-CONVERT</u>
	<u>Orth</u>	<u>Cons</u>	<u>Refr</u>	
Reform	53.8	20.0	67.3	4.0
Conservative	----	55.0	7.3	.4
Orthodox	15.4	----	----	.3
NONE	30.8	25.0	25.4	95.3
	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>
Actual n of cases	(13)	(20)	(55)	(313)

Though our sample of converts is admittedly small it confirms findings previously reported by Lazerwitz that the

rate of synagogue affiliation among them is much higher than among non-converts. Indeed, it is higher than among the American Jewish population at large. It is also worth noting that despite the small size of our sample of converts our figures on affiliation patterns are virtually identical to those of Lazerwitz. He found that 75% of the Jewish spouses of converts were members of a synagogue, while only 10% of the Jewish spouses of non-converts were so affiliated. Our table above indicates that just about 75% of the converts themselves are members of some synagogue. Presumably their membership includes their Jewish spouses as well.

Incidentally, the above table also gives some indication of the relative holding power of conversion among the three main branches of American Judaism. About two thirds of those converted under Reform auspices maintain affiliation with a Reform temple. By contrast, a little over a half of those converted under Conservative auspices maintain affiliation with a Conservative synagogue, and only about 15% of those converted under Orthodox auspices maintain affiliation with an Orthodox synagogue. The greatest switch occurs among those who undergo conversion among Orthodox auspices. More than half of them join a Reform temple and almost a third maintain no affiliation whatsoever.

In contrast to the rather low rate of synagogue affiliation among intermarrieds where no conversion has taken place, the frequency of attendance at High Holiday

services indicates a greater involvement in organized Jewish life.

Table 72
Frequency of Attendance in Synagogue on High
Holidays by Jewish Spouse

	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Often/Always	41.4	30.0
Sometimes	11.8	16.8
Rarely	13.2	20.7
Never	33.5	32.5
	<hr/> 100.0	<hr/> 100.0

The great majority who attend do so with their spouses and children. Less than a quarter of our born-Jewish respondents report attending High Holiday services by themselves. In other words, it appears that large proportions of our sample of Jewish intermarrieds may be found in synagogues on Rosh Hashana and Yom Kippur with their non-Jewish spouses and, at least in the cases of Jewish men, with their halachically non-Jewish children as well.

As we have seen with affiliation, so too, we find with attendance at services on High Holidays that conversion seems to make a significant difference. While nearly a third of the non-converts attend these services "always" or "sometimes" about eighty percent of the converts have such a record of attendance, as we can see below.

Table 73

Frequency of Synagogue Attendance of Born-Gentile Spouse
by Conversion

<u>Frequency</u>	<u>C O N V E R T</u>			<u>NON-CONVERT</u>
	<u>Orth</u>	<u>Cons</u>	<u>Refr</u>	
Often/Always	56.7	65.2	80.6	19.8
Sometimes	24.3	9.0	2.4	9.5
Rarely	10.0	----	8.7	16.5
Never	<u>10.0</u>	<u>25.8</u>	<u>8.4</u>	<u>53.7</u>
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

While these figures report on the attendance patterns of the born-Gentile spouses, we may extrapolate that the Jewish spouses of the converts would have a similarly high rate of attendance. The spouses of the non-converts would have a lower rate of attendance, though, of course, it would be higher than the rate of attendance for the non-converts themselves.

In order to assess the significance of the affiliation and attendance patterns which we have described so far it is useful to compare them to available figures on the affiliation and attendance patterns of American Jews in general.

According to the National Jewish Population Study the rate of affiliation with synagogues among adult Jews in the United States is about 46% or a little less than half.² Although this figure is about eight years old at the present, there are no indications from more recent

surveys that it should be revised one way or another. Basing his analysis on NJPS, Lazerwitz reports that about 64% of the endogamously married Jewish adults attended synagogue on Yom Kippur and about 58% of this population went to synagogue on Rosh Hashana. According to the NJPS about 27% of America's Jewish adults did not attend synagogue once during the survey year.

In addition to affiliation with and attendance at synagogue, another way in which Jews express their ties to the organized Jewish community is by participating in Jewish organizational activities and by giving to the major communal charity, the United Jewish Appeal and Federation drive. Here the record of our respondents does not appear to be as Jewishly affirmative as in the case of involvement with synagogue life. Very few participate on a regular basis in the activities of local Jewish organizations. On the other hand, relatively more claim to contribute to Jewish charity drives, as the following two tables show below.

Table 74

Extent of Participation in Activities of Jewish Organizations by Born Jewish Respondents

	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Often	11.8	2.4
Sometimes	21.5	25.4
Rarely	28.7	28.4
Never	38.0	43.8
	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>

Table 75

Proportion of Born-Jewish Spouses Giving Financial Support to UJA

	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Yes	59.3	33.5
No	40.7	66.5

While we lack directly comparable data on the behavior of American Jews in general regarding these matters there are impressionistic indications that only a small proportion participate regularly in the activities of Jewish communal organizations. Also, probably less than three-quarters of the American Jewish public contribute to the annual drives of UJA-Federation in any given year. Thus, inter-marrieds exhibit a similarity to the general Jewish popu-

lation on these matters as well.

The fact that on all the above dimensions of Jewish organizational affiliation and participation Jewish men seem to "score" higher than Jewish women is probably due to general differences in the behavior of men and women in the Jewish community. It does not appear to be related to intermarriage as such.

As an interesting side light, we might add, about a third of our respondents -- Jews and non-Jews alike -- indicated that they would "like to learn more" about at least one or more of the organization which we listed in our survey instrument. In fact, many of our interviewers were put into the awkward position of having to restrain themselves from providing information about Jewish organizations to interested couples in our sample lest they compromise their role as objective investigators and be perceived as proselytizers. In short, it is our impression that the above table on organizational participation doesn't fully reflect the subtle ways in which intermarried families are tied or attracted to the Jewish community.

We next move from the public expressions of Jewishness to the more private expressions. Here we will examine the observance of Jewish customs and rituals, the utilization of Jewish cultural artifacts in the home, and the expression of attitudes which are generally regarded as being consistent with contemporary Jewish norms.

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As we have seen in the chapter on the Jewish kin network a substantial minority of our intermarried respondents observe at least some of the Jewish holidays with their parents. Also, a sizeable minority attend synagogue services at least on the High Holidays. But the affirmation of Jewishness involves the observance of a great variety of personal and home rituals and customs. How do these fare in the intermarried home? To answer this question in some detail we asked our respondents, Jews and non-Jews alike, to indicate how frequently or regularly they do the following.

Exhibit 3

Jewish Rituals and Custom

1. Participate in Jewish prayer service
2. Attend synagogue throughout the year
3. Bring kosher meat into home
4. Light candles for the Sabbath
5. Make kidush for Sabbath or holidays
6. Fast on Yom Kippur
7. Light Channuka candles

In the table which follows we summarize their replies in terms of whether they do any of the above often, sometimes, rarely, or never.

Table 76

Frequency of Practice of Jewish Rituals and Customs

		<u>Spouse Born-Jewish</u>		<u>Spouse Born-Gentile</u>	
		<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Participate in Jewish prayer ser- vices.	Often	13.2	2.0	2.8	13.5
	Sometimes	23.2	20.0	19.0	21.0
	Rarely	38.4	47.2	31.9	28.7
	Never	24.8	30.8	46.3	36.8
Attend syna- gogue through- out the year.	Often	11.8	4.8	2.5	13.9
	Sometimes	21.1	22.3	18.4	19.2
	Rarely	27.4	27.1	21.8	21.5
	Never	39.1	45.8	57.4	45.5
Bring kosher meat into the home.	Often	4.8	2.7	1.1	4.9
	Sometimes	4.2	3.3	---	1.1
	Rarely	3.6	3.4	2.0	6.1
	Never	87.4	90.5	96.9	87.4
Light candles for the <u>sab- bath</u> .	Often	15.8	11.1	15.0	21.9
	Sometimes	12.0	10.9	10.1	10.0
	Rarely	10.2	18.4	14.4	11.6
	Never	61.6	59.6	60.5	56.0
Take <u>kidush</u> for the <u>sab- bath</u> or holi- days.	Often	16.5	8.1	12.5	18.4
	Sometimes	7.6	17.0	5.8	8.1
	Rarely	8.7	11.6	14.3	8.3
	Never	66.8	63.3	67.4	64.0
Fast on Yom Kippur.	Often	24.7	24.4	14.4	22.2
	Sometimes	14.2	11.4	4.5	7.0
	Rarely	14.7	13.6	10.7	10.4
	Never	45.9	49.8	70.4	60.4
Light Channu- ka candles.	Often	45.2	60.9	44.3	52.0
	Sometimes	12.0	12.2	5.0	4.5
	Rarely	7.5	4.5	20.6	3.8
	Never	35.3	21.8	30.0	39.1

NOTE: some of the columns may not sum to unity because of rounding errors or missing responses which are not shown.

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The responses of the born-Gentile spouses to the above items may be read as a validity check on the responses of their born-Jewish mates. They may also be read as a measure of the extent to which non-Jewish spouses involve themselves in the uniquely Jewish practices of their partners. These figures seem to suggest that the intermarried families which stay together tend to observe Jewish rituals and customs together as well (if the Jewish partner observes them at all).³ In other words, as our previous chapter suggested, the intermarried household is unlikely to be divided in its practice of religious customs and rituals. They either practice them together or they don't practice them at all. It is interesting to note that Channuka which seems to be celebrated by the largest proportion of our respondents is more often actively celebrated by the women -- be they Jewish or not -- than the men.

For purposes of comparison it should be noted that according to the National Jewish Population Survey the observance pattern of the American Jewish adult population is as follows. About 37% indicate that they observe the Sabbath, 75% observe the festival of Channuka, and about 26% claim to observe the rules of kashruth, that is of bringing kosher meat into the home.⁴ Additional figures for comparison were obtained from several local community surveys and are reproduced in the Appendix.

The seven items in Exhibit 3 and the table above were combined into two separate indexes of ritual or custom observance which we have called ACTYID for our born-Jewish respondents and JEWPRAX for our born-Gentile respondents. The names have no special significance apart from serving as amusing mnemonic tools and a kind of short-hand in computer analysis. In the two tables which follow below we examine the possible effects of a number of different independent variables on the average scores of our respondents on ACTYID and JEWPRAX.

Table 77

Breakdown of Means on ACTYID

<u>Independent Variable</u>	<u>Group Mean</u>	<u>Standard Deviation</u>
None -- entire sample of born-Jewish resp.	2.25	2.60
Born-Jewish Males	2.25	2.70
Born-Jewish Females	1.89	2.20
If first marriage	1.89	2.40
If second marriage	2.61	3.00
If parents belonged to a synagogue	2.41	2.70
If parents did not belong to a synagogue	1.12	1.80
Type of synagogue to which parents belonged:		
Reform	2.26	2.70
Conservative	2.37	2.70
Orthodox	3.00	2.40
Spouse converted to Judaism	4.06	
Reform	3.71	2.00
Conservative	4.65	2.50
Orthodox	4.85	2.28

Table 77 (cont'd)
Breakdown of Means on ACTYID

<u>Independent Variable</u>	<u>Group Mean</u>	<u>Standard Deviation</u>	
If spouse did not convert to Judaism	1.71	2.50	
If couple was married by Rabbi, but Gentile spouse did not convert	3.49	1.40	(n=49)
If couple was married by Rabbi, and born-Gentile spouse converted Reform	3.94	1.20	
If couple was married by Rabbi, and born-Gentile spouse converted Conservative	4.26	.60	
If couple was married by Rabbi, and born-Gentile spouse converted Orthodox	4.43	.73	

NOTE: the maximum possible score on ACTYID was 7.00.

Inasmuch as we are using the index ACTYID as an overall measure of ritual and custom observance by the born-Jewish respondents, we may make the following generalizations. Jewish exogamists whose parents did not belong to a synagogue and whose Gentile spouses did not convert to Judaism have the lowest scores on the measure of observance. Jewish men seem to be about 15% more observant than Jewish women. Jewish exogamists in first marriages are about 28% less observant than those in second marriages. Jews whose spouses converted to Judaism are more than twice as observ-

ant than those whose spouses did not convert. Those Jews whose spouses converted to Judaism and who were married in some kind of Jewish ceremony by a Rabbi were generally the most observant, with those whose spouses went through an Orthodox conversion obtaining the highest scores. However, the observance score of those whose spouses did not convert but were married by a rabbi nonetheless was much closer to those whose spouses had converted than to those whose spouses had not converted and who were also not married in some kind of Jewish ceremony. Those whose spouses did not convert and who were also not married in some kind of Jewish ceremony had an average ACTYID score of 1.05, the lowest of all subgroups in our sample.

It should be pointed out that neither the conversion of the born-Gentile spouse nor the officiation of a rabbi at the marriage ceremony of our respondents may be causally related to their habits of religious observance. In fact, there are probably numerous prior factors which determine both the individuals' level of religious observance and their desire to have their spouses convert as well as to have their marriages solemnized by a rabbi. On the other hand, the persons upon whom conversion and marriage by a rabbi is likely to have a more direct effect are the born-Gentile spouse. Therefore, we next examine their levels of Jewish religious observance through an analysis of our second observance index, JEWPRAX.

Table 78

Breakdown of Means on JEWPRAX

<u>Independent Variable</u>	<u>Group Mean</u>	<u>Standard Deviation</u>
None -- entire sample of born-Gentile resp.	2.90	3.10
Born-Gentile Males	2.34	2.40
Born-Gentile Females	3.36	3.50
If not converted, and not married by Rabbi	1.70	1.70
If not converted, but married by Rabbi	4.54	3.30 (n=49)
If married by Rabbi, and converted Reform	4.50	3.30
If married by Rabbi, and converted Conservative	7.00	4.80
If married by Rabbi, and converted Orthodox	7.00	2.50

NOTE: the maximum possible score on JEWPRAX was 7.00.

For reasons that are not clear at this point the born-Gentile women achieved higher scores than either born-Jewish men or born-Jewish women. This may be due to the way in which the questions were worded. However, more important than any single group mean is the pattern of change we observe in the above table when we introduce various independent and possibly causal factors. As we can see, marriage in some kind of Jewish ceremony under rabbinic officiation seems to produce a great change in observance pattern even in the absence of conversion. Conversion under Reform auspices does not seem to add to this relation-

ship. In fact, the relative impact of these two factors may be identical. In view of the fact that in most if not all cases a rabbi who officiates at an intermarriage in which the born-Gentile spouse did not convert is likely to be a Reform rabbi, the similarity of these two figures is, perhaps, understandable. On the other hand, those who were married by a rabbi and also converted either under Conservative or Orthodox auspices were about 36% more observant than those who did not convert but were married by a rabbi, or who converted under Reform auspices.

Once again, we must caution against attributing causality to conversion or rabbinic officiation with respect to the Jewish observance patterns of born-Gentile spouses in intermarriages. We have found, for example, that where the born-Jewish spouse's parents had belonged to a synagogue and were themselves "religious" the JEWPRAX scores of our born-Gentile respondents were significantly higher than in families in which the parents of the born-Jewish spouse had not belonged to a synagogue and were themselves not religious. To be sure, we must admit that none of the independent variables produced as a great a difference in JEWPRAX scores as conversion and rabbinic officiation.

Many American Jews, and many intermarrieds -- Jews and non-Jews alike -- frequently make the claim that although they are not particularly observant they have an emotional attachment to the Jewish people and Jewish

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culture. They often profess commitments to Jewish ideals and goals. Such sentiments are also a way of "being Jewish". Therefore we next examine the prevalence of attitudes which might be regarded as positively Jewish among our intermarrieds.

Exhibit 4 below represent the battery of items with which we sought to tap the attitudinal Jewishness of our Jewish exogamists as well as of their born-Gentile mates.

EXHIBIT 4 ABOUT HERE

These twenty-five items were subjected to factor analysis using the Principal Factoring Method with iterations, which reduced our items to eight factors.⁵ Since the first factor explained nearly forty percent of the variance on these items, we selected the items constituting that factor as the key measure of attitudinal Jewishness. The five items of that factor were the following.

Exhibit 5

Indicators of Attitudinal Jewishness

1. Being Jewish is very important to me.
2. American Jewry and Jews in Israel are parts of one one people.
3. It is important to me that there should always be a Jewish people.
4. A Jew has greater responsibility for other Jews than for non-Jews.
5. I would be quite surprised and upset if my children did not regard themselves Jewish when they grew up.

Exhibit 4

	AGREE	TEND TO AGREE	HAVE NO POSITION AT ALL	TEND TO DISAGREE	DIS-AGREE
a. How one practices or believes in religion is a matter of individual conscience, and of little importance as far as the unity of the family is concerned	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 1
b. Rabbis, as the religious representatives of the Jewish community, have the legitimate right and moral obligation to decide who is and who is not a Jew	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. A Jew ceases to be Jewish when (s)he becomes an atheist or an agnostic	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d. Women do not have sufficient opportunity in traditional Jewish practice for religious self-expression	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e. Jews should devote more effort to developing good relations with non-Jews	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f. Being Jewish is very important to me	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g. Drugs can heighten genuine religious sensitivity	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h. American Jewry and the Jews in Israel are parts of one people with a single heritage, destiny and role	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
i. The Nazi Holocaust was unique among the massacres of history	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
j. It is important to me that there should always be a Jewish people	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
k. Anti-Zionism is simply a form of anti-Semitism	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
l. Israel is the basic homeland of the Jewish people	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
m. Events since the Yom Kippur War in 1973 have increased my feeling of Jewish isolation	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
n. The differences between American Jews and Jews in Israel are more significant than the similarities	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
o. Religion should be entirely a private matter between a person and the God -- or whatever else -- (s)he believes in	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
p. If Jews behaved differently, there would be less anti-Semitism	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
q. Jews are justified in giving special weight to a candidate's attitudes toward issues of Jewish interest when casting their votes	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
r. Prayer is primarily a private and individual experience; its communal aspect is quite secondary	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
s. A Jew has greater responsibility for other Jews than for non-Jews	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
t. I personally feel myself to be a survivor of the Holocaust	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
u. I would be quite surprised and upset if my children did not regard themselves Jewish when they grew up	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
v. I would certainly not discourage my children from marrying a person just because (s)he was not born Jewish	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
w. God revealed himself to man in Jesus Christ	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
x. Reincarnation expresses my idea of what happens to people when they die	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
y. Jewish foods and Jewish humor are essential to what I mean by being Jewish	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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Since a number of the items in Exhibit 4 have appeared in previous Jewish opinion surveys such as NJPS and other local community studies, we will first present the distribution of responses to selected items in terms of the proportion of born-Jewish and born-Gentile men and women who agree, disagree or have no opinion about them.

Table 79

Distribution of Responses on Jewish Opinionnaire

<u>Item Code</u>		<u>Spouse Born-Jewish</u>		<u>Spouse Born-Gentile</u>	
		<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
F.	Agree	76.6	80.0	20.8	41.9
	Disagree	13.5	12.5	40.6	30.2
	No Opinion	10.0	7.5	37.3	27.9
H.	Agree	48.7	53.0	33.6	50.4
	Disagree	41.3	33.0	50.6	27.3
	No Opinion	10.0	14.0	14.7	20.9
J.	Agree	86.8	88.4	66.5	74.0
	Disagree	6.4	4.0	10.5	3.2
	No Opinion	6.8	7.7	24.0	21.4
S.	Agree	51.5	39.5	30.8	35.8
	Disagree	40.0	50.1	53.7	56.0
	No Opinion	8.5	10.4	14.6	8.2
U.	Agree	54.1	44.5	15.5	38.1
	Disagree	31.0	37.9	56.6	40.1
	No Opinion	14.8	17.5	26.7	21.8
B.	Agree	15.7	8.8	22.6	15.6
	Disagree	70.5	76.5	55.0	63.5
	No Opinion	13.8	14.7	21.3	20.8
C.	Agree	19.9	10.0	21.8	22.3
	Disagree	72.9	83.0	57.2	55.3
	No Opinion	7.2	7.0	20.9	22.4
Q.	Agree	80.4	78.3	74.1	68.8
	Disagree	14.1	14.5	16.4	18.6
	No Opinion	5.6	7.3	8.5	12.6

NOTE: some columns may not sum to unity due to rounding errors and missing responses which are not shown.

According to the published report of the National Jewish Population Study 84.8% of America's Jews agreed with the statement, "It is important that there should always be a Jewish people" (our item J above). The statement, "I am happy to be Jewish" which is comparable to our item F generated agreement on the part of 89% of the respondents in the NJPS. In a survey of the Houston Jewish community in 1975 the statement, "A Jew ceases to be Jewish if he becomes an atheist," (our item C) generated agreement from 42% of the respondents.⁶ In the same survey the statement, "A Jew should accept greater responsibility for his fellow Jews than for non-Jews," (our item S) was agreed to by 61.4% of the survey respondents, and the statement, "A Jew should give special consideration to the position of political candidates on issues of Jewish interest," (similar to our item Q) generated agreement on the part of 87.6% of the respondents. The statement, "An American Jew should feel a special cultural and religious bond with Israel," (comparable to our item H) also appeared on the Houston survey, and it generated 83.4% agreement. The discrepancy between that rate of agreement and the rate found among our respondents may be due to the somewhat stronger wording of our item.

On the basis of these other surveys we may note that while intermarrieds are slightly less happy about being Jewish than American Jews in general, they are as concerned as the latter that there should always be a Jewish people. A much smaller proportion of intermarrieds are willing to

accept the statement that a Jew ceases to be Jewish when he or she becomes an atheist than is the case for the American Jewish population at large. Fewer intermarrieds are willing to take a greater responsibility for Jews than for non-Jews than the Jewish population in general. But almost as many of the former agree with giving special attention to the position of political candidates on Jewish interest as the latter.

In sum, we note that on most items of attitude which are of special relevance to contemporary American Jewry intermarried Jews are not too dissimilar from their endogamous brethren. It is also interesting to note that a large proportion of the born-Gentile women approximate the attitudes of their Jewish husbands on most of the issues covered in our "Jewish Opinionnaire" above. The difference between the born-Gentile men and their Jewish wives is much greater on most items. This finding once again confirms a point we made earlier about the relations between intermarried spouses. Jewish men married to Gentile women seem to make more harmonious couples than Jewish women married to Gentile men. ✓

As we had done with the items measuring the observance of rituals and customs, so too, we combined the five items in Exhibit 5 into a single measure of what might be called attitudinal Jewishness. We called the index THINK-YID if the items were answered by born-Jewish respondents, and GERTHINK if they were answered by the born-Gentile respondents. The tables which follow analyze the pattern of

responses of the various subgroups of our sample on these two indexes.

Table 80

Breakdown of Means on THINKYID

<u>Independent Variable</u>	<u>Group Mean</u>	<u>Standard Deviation</u>
None -- entire sample of born-Jewish resp.	2.87	1.70
Born-Jewish Males	3.01	1.60
Born-Jewish Females	2.87	1.60
If parents belonged to a synagogue	3.12	1.50
If parents did not belong to a synagogue	2.57	1.60
Type of synagogue to which parents belonged:		
Reform	2.98	1.40
Conservative	3.11	1.60
Orthodox	3.20	1.70
Spouse converted to Judaism	4.01	
Reform	3.98	1.08
Conservative	3.87	1.30
Orthodox	4.56	.67
If spouse did not convert to Judaism	2.74	1.54
If spouse did not convert, but couple was married by a Rabbi	3.49	1.40
If couple was married by a Rabbi, and spouse converted.....		
Reform	3.94	1.24
Conservative	4.26	.61
Orthodox	4.43	.77

It should be kept in mind that the maximum possible score on THINKYID was 5.00. Thus, most subgroups in our sample scored rather high on this index. In other words, intermarried Jews -- as probably most American Jews -- express a higher level of Jewishness when Jewishness is measured in terms of attitudes than when it is measured in terms of practice. It is also interesting to note that the differences between the various subgroups on this index are not quite as great as the differences we found on the index ACTYID. While conversion of the born-Gentile spouse and marriage under Jewish auspices seems to be related to a significantly higher score, the differences produced by these factors are not as large as those which these same factors produced on the measure of behavioral Jewishness.

Put another way, we might say that although intermarriage appears to diminish the relative "Jewishness" of the exogamous Jew, it doesn't effect all aspects of Jewishness equally. It seems to effect formal affiliation the most. It effects personal and home observance a little less, and it seems to have the least effect on what we've called attitudinal Jewishness.

While intermarriage tends to diminish the "Jewishness" of the born-Jewish spouse, it clearly has the opposite effect on the born-Gentile mate. We have seen this to be the case as far as affiliation and observance are concerned. In the table which follows we examine the attitudinal Jewishness of the born-Gentile spouses.

Table 81
Breakdown of Means on GERTHINK

<u>Independent Variable</u>	<u>Group Mean</u>	<u>Standard Deviation</u>
None -- entire sample of born-Gentile resp.	1.50	1.50
Born-Gentile Males	1.32	1.90
Born-Gentile Females	1.54	1.24
If not converted, and not married by Rabbi	1.20	1.20
If not converted, but married by Rabbi	1.73	1.10
If married by Rabbi, and converted.....		
Reform	1.86	1.25
Conservative	2.54	1.10
Orthodox	2.85	.40

NOTE: maximum score on GERTHINK was 5.00.

Looking back at Table 78 one discovers some interesting contrasts between the observance patterns and the attitude patterns of born-Gentile partners in intermarriages. It seems that they become "more Jewish" in terms of behavior than in terms of attitude. It is also quite striking to notice how little difference conversion or rabbinic officiation at the marriage seem to make on our respondents' attitudinal Jewishness as compared to the impact of those factors on the measure of traditional observance. As was the case with our born-Jewish respondents, so too, we find that their born-Gentile spouses exhibit a

rather uniform pattern of attitudes. We might also note that spouses seem to achieve a greater uniformity of Jewish observance patterns than they achieve uniformity of attitudes. Since THINKYID and GERTHINK are comprised of the identical items one cannot help but be struck by the differences in average scores. While the average for our born-Jewish respondents was 2.87, the average for our born-Gentile respondents was 1.50. More interestingly, the difference seems to increase when we introduce the factors of conversion and rabbinic officiation at the marriage.

In other words, in intermarriages which were performed by a rabbi and in which the born-Gentile spouse converts to Judaism the difference in attitudinal Jewishness between husband and wife is greater than it is in intermarriages which were not performed by a rabbi and in which the born-Gentile spouse does not convert to Judaism. Whether this greater difference makes marital adjustment more difficult among the former than among the latter we cannot tell for sure. However, this finding does suggest that one must be alert to the possible unanticipated consequences of efforts which would seek to increase the Jewishness of the intermarried family.

One final measure of the expression of Jewishness in the intermarried home was a series of cultural artifacts about which our respondents were asked to indicate

whether they possess them, use them, or do not have them. The intent of this battery of items was to evaluate the extent to which the ambiance or the symbolic content of the home is Jewish in character. Exhibit 6 below is our Jewish Visual Culture inventory on which our measurements were based.

EXHIBIT 6 ABOUT HERE

In the table which follows the exhibit we summarize the frequency with which our born-Jewish male and female respondents possess or utilize these objects. We also indicate in the table what proportion of our respondents reported that their parents had and used these things.

TABLE 82 ABOUT HERE

Where data are available we will compare the response patterns of our sample of intermarrieds with the patterns one might find among contemporary American Jews in general.

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JEWISH VISUAL CULTURE INVENTORY

INSTRUCTIONS:

The following is a list of ritual and ceremonial items, or Jewish cultural artifacts which might be found in the American Jewish home. Please check(✓) the way in which each of the following items were/are displayed or used in your own home and in the home of your parents.

		VISIBLY DISPLAYED IN HOME (4)	USED REGU- LARLY (ON APPROPRIATE OCCASIONS) (3)	PRESENT IN HOME, BUT NOT USED REGULARLY (2)	NOT PRESENT IN HOME (1)	DON'T KNOW IF IT IS/WAS PRESENT (0)
Mezzuzah on doorpost	RESPONDENT					
	PARENT					
Sabbath candle sticks	RESPONDENT					
	PARENT					
Kiddush cup	RESPONDENT					
	PARENT					
Chanukah menorah	RESPONDENT					
	PARENT					
Havdalah set	RESPONDENT					
	PARENT					
Talit (prayer shawl)	RESPONDENT					
	PARENT					
T'fillin (phylacteries)	RESPONDENT					
	PARENT					
Seder plate	RESPONDENT					
	PARENT					
Bible(Five Books of Moses)	RESPONDENT					
	PARENT					
Jewish prayer book	RESPONDENT					
	PARENT					
Succah	RESPONDENT					
	PARENT					
Separate set of dishes for meat/dairy/Passover	RESPONDENT					
	PARENT					
Yarmulka (skull cap)	RESPONDENT					
	PARENT					
Books of Jewish content	RESPONDENT					
	PARENT					
Musical records of Jewish content	RESPONDENT					
	PARENT					
Jewish or Israeli objects of art	RESPONDENT					
	PARENT					
Posters or other memora- bilias of Jewish content	RESPONDENT					
	PARENT					
Jewish encyclopedia	RESPONDENT					
	PARENT					
Chanukah dreidl (a game)	RESPONDENT					
	PARENT					

Table 82

Distribution of Born-Jewish Respondents and their
Parents on (JVC) Jewish Visual Culture Inventory

		<u>Possess, Use or Display</u>	<u>Possess but not Use</u>	<u>Does not Possess</u>
MEZZUZAH	Male	39.2	6.3	53.5
	Female	26.0	10.6	62.2
	Parent	54.7	9.1	36.1
SABBATH CANDLE	Male	28.8	18.6	51.7
	Female	24.2	26.5	49.3
	Parent	45.2	23.3	31.3
KIDUSH CUP	Male	27.0	15.8	56.3
	Female	15.0	15.0	70.0
	Parent	32.8	22.3	44.9
MENOPAH	Male	54.6	13.5	30.9
	Female	70.5	6.7	21.7
	Parent	66.9	14.7	18.4
HAMDALAH SET	Male	7.1	7.0	85.9
	Female	1.3	6.4	92.3
	Parent	12.1	6.5	81.4
TALITH	Male	18.7	22.1	59.3
	Female	5.7	3.7	90.5
	Parent	27.8	24.4	47.7
T'FILLIN	Male	9.3	17.3	73.4
	Female	1.2	7.1	91.7
	Parent	14.0	21.8	64.2
SEDER PLATE	Male	28.0	9.0	62.6
	Female	31.4	3.1	65.6
	Parent	47.2	13.5	39.3
JEWISH BIBLE	Male	34.4	42.4	22.8
	Female	23.7	39.2	37.1
	Parent	35.5	43.7	20.7
JEWISH PRAYER BK	Male	38.9	31.1	29.5
	Female	25.8	22.2	51.9
	Parent	46.1	31.0	22.9
JEWISH BOOKS	Male	44.3	34.1	21.2
	Female	39.1	34.5	26.4
	Parent	47.5	35.0	17.4

NOTE: percentages add to unity across each row.

cont'd.

Table 82 (cont'd)

		<u>Possess, Use or Display</u>	<u>Possess but not Use</u>	<u>Does not Possess</u>
RATE SHES	Male	7.7	3.6	88.7
	Female	5.4	3.0	91.7
	Parent	22.3	7.1	70.6
H	Male	32.1	34.0	33.4
	Female	23.7	22.5	53.8
	Parent	38.5	26.1	27.8
ISH MUSI- RECORDS	Male	26.6	17.0	55.1
	Female	20.0	17.6	62.4
	Parent	25.5	22.5	52.0
ISH OBJET T	Male	40.4	14.1	45.5
	Female	41.5	17.5	40.9
	Parent	44.9	18.6	37.6
ERS, ETC.	Male	22.4	13.1	64.5
	Female	23.7	7.1	69.2
	Parent	24.9	14.8	60.3

It is interesting to note that Jewish men are more likely to possess, use, and/or display all of the items in our JVC inventory except a menorah, a seder plate, Jewish or Israeli art objects, and posters or other Jewish memorabilia. Also, as one might have guessed, the parents of our respondents are more likely to have had and used these objects than our respondents themselves.

For purposes of comparison we should note that in a survey of the Dallas Jewish community in 1974 about 63% of the respondents indicated that they possess and or use a Mezzuzah on at least one door in their homes.⁷ In the Houston survey in 1975 about 87% of the respon-

dents indicated that they possess a Jewish Bible in their homes. About the same proportion also indicated possession of a Jewish prayer book, and about 80% had books of some Jewish content in their homes.

In order to simplify the analysis of our inventory, we combined its nineteen items into a single JVC index. The scoring of items enabled respondents to obtain a maximum score of two and a minimum score of zero on each for a combined index range of '0' to '38'. The average score of our respondents was 11.16 with a standard deviation of 9.50. By contrast, their parents average score was 13.90 with a standard deviation of 9.80. Perhaps it is useful to point out that those parents who had belonged to a synagogue had an average JVC score of 17.03, while those had not belonged to a synagogue had an average JVC score of 8.50. Similarly, Orthodox parents had a JVC score of 22.97 on the average, while Conservative had 17.45 and Reform parents obtained an average JVC score of 12.62.

The parental scores are important, not only for their intrinsic interest, but also because a correlation procedure between the JVC scores of our respondents and those of their parents yielded a Pearson's $r = .63$ with $r^2 = .40$. These numbers may seem like gobbledegook to the lay reader. What they signify is that by knowing the JVC scores of the parents we could correctly predict about 40% of the JVC scores of their children. That is a rather strong relationship between the two scores.

A more detailed breakdown of the average JVC scores of various subgroups in our sample is summarized in the table below.

Table 83

Breakdown of JVC Scores by Selected Independent Variables

<u>Independent Variables</u>	<u>Means</u>	<u>Standard Deviations</u>	
None -- entire sample	11.16	9.50	
If born-Gentile spouse did not convert	9.61	9.20	
If born-Gentile spouse converted			
Reform	14.79	8.00	
Conservative	23.55	8.98	
Orthodox	26.56	5.56	
If born-Jewish spouse regarded his or her own background as important to self prior to marriage	15.04	9.73	(n=122)
If born-Jewish spouse did not regard own background as important to self prior to marriage	7.33	7.64	(n=123)
If born-Jewish spouse has frequent "religious feelings"	14.43	10.60	
If born-Jewish spouse rarely or never has "religious feelings"	8.37	8.40	
If couple consulted with Rabbi prior to marriage	14.12	10.00	
If born-Jewish spouse received no formal Jewish education	10.43	9.35	

Cont'd....

Table 83 (cont'd)

<u>Independent Variables</u>	<u>Means</u>	<u>Standard Deviations</u>
If born-Jewish spouse received six or more years of Jewish education	14.80	11.20

As we have seen with previous measures of Jewishness, there are numerous factors which seem to increase the extent to which the ambiance of the intermarried home will contain Jewish cultural components. Conversion of the non-Jewish spouse in general, and the type of conversion in particular seems to make a great difference in the JVC of the home. However, the impact of conversion is very likely to be mediated by -- if it itself is not a product of -- the attitude of the born-Jewish spouse towards his or her background prior to marriage and the extent to which this individual continues to have "religious feelings". Interestingly, we have found that the background and attitudinal characteristics of the born-Gentile spouse seem to have little relationship to the Jewish Visual Cultural climate of the home. It appears that the extent to which such a climate is created depends primarily if not exclusively on the disposition of the born-Jewish spouse, and meets with little if any resistance from his or her born-Gentile mate.

Summary

In order to summarize the various possible relation-

ships between the different measures of Jewishness of the born-Jewish spouses as well as of their born-Gentile mates, and to assess the effect of selected causal factors on both we performed both zero-order and partial correlation procedures on them. The final table in chapter is a round-up of these interdependencies.

Table 84

Correlation Coefficients of Various Indexes of Jewishness

	<u>THINK YID</u>	<u>ACT YID</u>	<u>YID ID</u>	<u>GER THINK</u>	<u>JEW PRAX</u>	<u>MGAYER</u>	<u>JVC</u>
THINKYID		.36	.65	.17	.24	.27	.42
ACTYID			.86	.27	.45	.45	.57
YIDID				.30	.51	.54	.66
GERTHINK					.61	.73	.23
JEWPRAX						.91	.48
MGAYER							.52

NOTE: the above coefficients have been controlled for the possible effects of sex of born-Jewish respondent, conversion of the born-Gentile respondent, whether couple was married by a Rabbi, and whether the parents of the born-Jewish respondent had belonged to a synagogue.

The following are the unpartialled correlations of these control variables with the above

Maleness	.03	.10	.13	.05	.13	.15	.12
Femaleness	-.06	-.11	-.15	-.08	-.15	-.16	-.12
Conversion of Gentile Spouse	.36	.34	.42	.27	.39	.47	.39
Married by Rabbi	.18	.13	.19	.05	.19	.20	.23
Parents be- longed to a synagogue	.13	.11	.11	.16	.13	.11	.22

The above table suggests a number of general insights into the expressions of Jewishness among intermarried couples, and the factors which might effect them. While the gender of the born-Jewish spouse seems to have little, if any, effect on the expressions of Jewishness, what little it does have seems to favor the males over the females. That is, intermarriages in which the husband was born Jewish are likely to exhibit more Jewishness than intermarriages in which the wife is the born Jewish partner. (Of the three "external controls" on the Jewishness of the intermarrieds (i.e. conversion, marriage by Rabbi, and parental membership in a synagogue) the first has the greatest effect, the second a substantially lesser effect, and the third has the least effect on virtually all the measures of Jewishness.)

We also find that conversion bears a different relationship to the Jewishness of the born-Jewish spouse than it does to the Jewishness of the born-Gentile one. For the former conversion seems to have a slightly greater association with attitudinal Jewishness [THINKYID] than with Jewish practice [ACTYID]. However, for the born-Gentile spouse conversion has a substantially stronger association with Jewish practice [JEWPRAX] than it has with attitudinal Jewishness [GERTHINK]. In other words, a Jew who influences his or her spouse to convert because of a strong attitudinal disposition towards being Jewish is likely to find that the conversion has a far greater effect on his born-Gentile spouse's behavior

than it has on her attitudes on Jewishly relevant issues. In short, it is apparently simpler to modify behavior than it is to modify habits of thought.

Returning to some of the findings in the earlier part of this chapter we note that in order to analyze the impact of intermarriage on Jewishness we have had to conceptualize Jewishness in terms of four dimensions: affiliational Jewishness, behavioral Jewishness, attitudinal Jewishness, and the symbolic Jewishness of the intermarried home. We have found that intermarriage does not effect each of these dimensions equally, though it does seem to effect them in the same direction (viz. it lessens them in comparison to the parents of the born-Jewish respondents or in comparison to the American Jewish population at large).

Intermarriage seems to have the greatest effect in diminishing the affiliational Jewishness of intermarried Jews and their spouses. It seems to diminish their behavioral Jewishness to a lesser extent, and seems to have the least effect on their attitudinal expressions of Jewishness. Interestingly, the conversion of the non-Jewish spouse seems to have the greatest effect in increasing the affiliational Jewishness of the intermarrieds. It seems to have a somewhat lesser effect on their behavior and it seems to have the least effect on attitudinal expressions of Jewishness.

Footnotes

pp. 143-178

1. Bernard Lazerwitz, "Jewish-Christian Marriages and Conversions: Structural Pluralism or Assimilation," unpublished mimeo, 1977.
2. Fred Massarik, "Jewish Identity," Highlights of the National Jewish Population Study. (New York: Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, 1974), p.2.
3. This seems to be an inversion of the famous slogan, "The family that prays together stays together." Here, it seems, a family that stays together either prays together or not at all.
4. Massarik, op.cit.
5. For a discussion of this technique see, Norman H. Nie, et al, SPSS: Statistical Package for the Social Sciences 2d Edition. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1975), pp. 468-481.
6. Sam Schulman, et al, A Social and Demographic Survey of the Jewish Community of Houston, Texas (Houston: Jewish Community Council, 1976), p. 57.
7. Betty J. Maynard, The Dallas Jewish Community Study (Dallas: Jewish Welfare Federation of Dallas, 1974), p. 109.

Chapter 9 RAISING CHILDREN IN INTERMARRIED FAMILIES

What intermarried couples do about having and raising children has the greatest significance for the future of the Jewish community. Needless to say, it also has the greatest impact on the well-being of the children themselves. Therefore, it constitutes an essential part of the study of the consequences of intermarriage. Our survey instruments included numerous questions on this aspect of intermarried family life, and our analysis of these items is the subject of this chapter.

However, before we turn to the task at hand we should emphasize an important caveat about our findings. What we report here is only what our respondents told us about their practices and plans regarding the having and raising of children. Since we did not interview or otherwise survey the children themselves, we have no way of checking on the veracity, the meaning, or the impact of what our respondents claim they do. Regretably, there are no surveys on the children of intermarriages, at least not of Jewish intermarriages, against which we might check our findings. Such a survey should be the next item on the American Jewish research agenda.

As we have seen in Table 5, one third of our respondents had two children, and more than a third had three or more children. Only about a fifth of our sample was

childless. However, an ideological resistance to having children -- or to having any more than the couple had already at the time of the interview -- was found only among 12% of our born-Jewish respondents and 16% of our born-Gentile respondents. We have also seen in a previous chapter of this report that the great majority of couples tend to agree on having children. In short, while intermarriages as a class may result in fewer numbers of children, as some studies have suggested, in fact, the great majority of intermarrieds do desire and do have children.

The question of how many children our respondents would like to have, or would like to have had elicited the following pattern of responses.

Table 85

Preferred Number of Children by Religion by Sex

	<u>Spouse Born-Jewish</u>		<u>Spouse Born-Gentile</u>	
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
None	19.6	18.1	21.6	17.4
1	3.9	11.7	6.5	3.8
2	37.2	39.3	47.0	37.5
3	22.8	16.4	19.1	25.3
4 or +	<u>16.5</u>	<u>13.5</u>	<u>5.7</u>	<u>16.0</u>
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

This table confirms that the most typical intermarriages, that is marriages between born-Jewish men and born-Gentile women, are most likely to produce children. However, even

among the marriages between born-Jewish women and born-Gentile the modal number of children desired is two, and well over two-thirds of such couples desire at least two children.

Of the couples who did not have any children, or who indicated that they did not prefer to have any more children the primary reasons were age, health, and children from previous marriages. In other words, the lower rate of fecundity which has been attributed to intermarriages in previous studies may be the result of factors which are not directly related to the difference in the religious background of the spouses (e.g. that their's is a second marriage, that they married at a later age, or undetermined health factors). It is useful to recall here that about one quarter of our born-Jewish respondents and about twenty percent of our born-Gentile respondents had been previously married. Of those who had been previously married about a third had had children in their prior marriages.

The preference patterns we have seen in the table above appear to have an interesting relationship to the age of our respondents, as we see in the table below. If we discount the small subgroup of respondents who are under the age of twenty, our figures suggest that the the norm of having two or three children has increased considerably during the past fifteen or twenty years among intermarrying Jews. The percentage of those prefer-

Table 86

Preferred Number of Children by Age of Born-Jewish Mate

<u>Number of Children</u>	<u>Under 20</u>	<u>20-29</u>	<u>30-39</u>	<u>40-49</u>	<u>50-59</u>	<u>Over 60</u>
None	57.9	19.3	15.8	15.9	24.9	22.7
1		4.6	9.2	6.2	4.1	9.0
2	10.8	47.9	50.3	29.8	18.1	47.7
3	12.3	26.1	13.2	30.5	22.7	9.0
4 or +	<u>20.0</u> <u>100.0</u>	<u>2.0</u> <u>100.0</u>	<u>8.8</u> <u>100.0</u>	<u>11.6</u> <u>100.0</u>	<u>22.7</u> <u>100.0</u>	<u>11.4</u> <u>100.0</u>
N=	(22)	(58)	(146)	(83)	(96)	(44)

ring no children seems to have declined as has the percentage of those preferring four or more. Those preferring only one child have remained a statistical minority.

In short, we expect that there are likely to be few if any factors effecting the fecundity of intermarriages which are unique to intermarrieds as such. If intermarriages will continue to produce fewer children than endogamous Jewish marriages, which we doubt, the reasons for that fact will probably have to be sought in other characteristics of the couple than in the differences in their backgrounds. That the religious homogeneity of couples may not, by itself, effect that preference for having children is further suggested by a comparison of the preference patterns of the converted and the non-converted born-Gentile respondents in our sample.

Table 87

Preferred Number of Children by Conversion of Born-Gentile Spouse

<u>Number of Children</u>	<u>Convert</u>	<u>Non-Convert</u>
None	21.0	20.4
1	3.2	6.1
2	35.8	41.4
3	31.6	19.8
4 or +	<u>8.4</u>	<u>12.0</u>
	100.0	100.0

Perhaps what is most striking about the above table is the equality in the proportions of convert and non-converts who express a preference for having no children. This finding is especially surprising in light of the finding in Table 85 that born-Gentile women are the least likely to prefer having no children. Inasmuch as that group is also most likely to convert to Judaism it is, indeed, striking to see this great similarity among converts and non-converts. We are also struck by the closeness of the proportions of those who express a preference for two children. While it is true that about a third more of the converts express a preference for three children than is the case with non-converts, the non-converts hold about the same margin over converts when it comes to preference for four or more children.

In other words, all other things being equal, inter-

marriages in which the born-Gentile spouse converts to Judaism are not likely to produce very many more children than those in which the born-Gentile spouse remains unconverted. If our estimates are correct the former will produce an average of 2.25 children while the latter will produce 2.16. In making these hazardous predictions we are assuming that in the long run couples tend to have as many children as they prefer. We are also painfully aware that such predictions can be rendered obsolete very rapidly by changing societal circumstances. Our main point is simply the similarity between the preferences of those couples in which the born-Gentile spouse converted to Judaism and those in which he or she did not.

Whether the size of the future Jewish community is diminished by intermarriage is only partly determined by the fertility plans and practices of intermarrieds. Perhaps of equal importance are the choices that intermarried couples make in raising their children. These choices are analyzed below.

The first question to consider is whether the children who are born to intermarried couples are regarded by their parents as having been "born Jewish" or not. And, are spouses agreed among themselves regarding their children's "ancestral" or "religious" identity at birth. The table which follows summarizes the responses of our sample to these questions.

Table 88

Religious or Ethnic Identity Ascribed to Children at Birth

	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Adjusted % for NA*</u>
Jewish	41.0	59.0
Jewish and other	2.5	3.5
Not Jewish	26.0	<u>37.5</u>
*NO ANSWER	<u>30.5</u>	<u>100.0</u>
	<u>100.0</u>	

This table suggests that intermarrieds follow one of three strategies in defining their children's religious or ethnic identities at birth. By far the largest proportion regard their children as "born Jewish", followed by another large minority who apparently choose not to identify their children in terms of religious or ethnic categories. It is useful to recall here that in Table 65 in Chapter 7 we found that the majority of our respondents, born-Jews and born-Gentiles alike, expected that their children would make their own choices about their religious identities when they grew up. The third group, a minority of 26% of the respondents regard their children as having been born with some religious or ethnic identity other than Jewish. It is interesting to note that only a negligible minority perceive their children as possessing a "dual identity of "Jewish-Protestant" or "Jewish-Catholic" or some such combination.

As we have seen in Chapter 7 (Table 65) about 63%

of our born-Jewish respondents who were male expected to circumcise or have already circumcised their sons, and 53% of the born-Gentile women in our sample indicated that they would do so or did so as well. A little over half of the typical intermarried couples -- man born Jewish, woman born Gentile -- expected to or did assign a Hebrew name to their children. We have also found that a little over 40% of these couples expected to or did have their children go through a Bar or Bat Mitzvah.

By contrast, we have found only about 10% of our sample providing or intending to provide their children with an explicitly Gentile religious identity by means of Christian or other religious but non-Jewish rites of passage.

In other words, somewhere between 40-50 percent of the children of intermarriages are likely to be thought of by their parents, hence to some extent socialized, as Jews. About 10 percent are likely to be raised as Christians or as members of some other faith-community. The remaining 40-50 percent are in a kind of religious and ethnic no-man's land. As we have seen above, their cultural milieux is more likely to contain Jewish symbolic components than it is to contain explicitly Christian or other religious or ethnic components. But what meaning these symbolic elements will have for their conceptions of identity remains unclear.

When it comes to the formal socialization of children through educational institutions we have found large and significant differences between families in which the born-Gentile spouse converted to Judaism and families in which he or she did not convert. We have already seen in Chapter 4 (Table 34) that only about 20% of the families of non-converts send their children to some sort of Jewish educational institution. By contrast, 56% of the families of converts send their children to some such institution. Conversely, 64% of the families of non-converts report providing no Jewish education to their children whatsoever. About 34% of the families of converts indicate that they do not provide their children with any form of Jewish education. If we ignore the differences between the families of converts and non-converts we may summarize the Jewish education received by the children of intermarriages as shown in the table below.

TABLE 89 ABOUT HERE

The reader will note that the proportion of families who are providing their children with some non-Jewish religious education conforms quite accurately to the figures in Table 88 above regarding the proportion who consider their children as having been born into some other faith-community.

The figures on this table also indicate quite sharply that the largest proportion of intermarrieds really do not

have a clear strategy for providing their children with formal Jewish education.

Table 89

Types of Jewish Education Given to Children

	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Adjusted for "NO ANSWER"</u>
DAY SCHOOL:		
Reform	3.1	5.4
Conservative ...	4.1	6.9
Orthodox	1.2	2.3
Afternoon or Sunday school	23.4	40.1
Home instruction only	11.3	19.3
Other	15.0	<u>25.8</u>
NO ANSWER	<u>41.9</u>	100.0
	100.0	

In addition to the question of Jewish education we also asked our respondents to indicate other ways in which they plan or actually are transmitting Jewishness to their children. We have already presented some of these items in chapter seven in connection with our analysis of the extent of consensus among intermarried couples. However, because of the importance of the subject, it bears repeating in the present context. Therefore, we present below the battery of items by which we evaluated the desires of our respondents with regard to the "Judaization" of their

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Exhibit 7

- 62a. Parents want different things for their children, and with different degrees of interest. Indicate, by checking the appropriate box on each line, your preferences with regard to the following items in Section A. If you have no children, answer these items in terms of how you think you'd feel if you did have children.
- 62b. In Section B, please indicate by placing an "X" in the appropriate column, whether your spouse probably agrees or disagrees with your choice of response in Section A.

	SECTION A							SECTION B	
	VERY STRONGLY EN- COURAGE	ACTIVE- LY EN- COURAGE	PREFER	MAKES NO DIFFER- ENCE	PREFER NOT	ACTIVE- LY DIS- COURAGE	VERY STRONGLY DIS- COURAGE	A- GREE	DISA- GREE
	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	1	2
Get a good Jewish education									
Be a political liberal									
Settle in Israel									
Belong to a synagogue									
Not marry a non-Jew									
Contribute to United Jewish Appeal and/or other Jewish causes									
Believe in God									
Observe the Sabbath									
Have a kosher home									
Get a college education									
Appreciate music and/or art									
Develop physical strength and agility									
Enjoy religious celebrations									
Have mostly Jewish friends									
Be politically active									
Marry and have children									
Develop charm and poise									
Lead their lives as good Christians									
Overcome the need to identify with any particular religious group									

Exhibit 8

64. Thinking of the social contacts your children make during the course of a typical week, about how much contact would you say they have with each of the following? If you have no children please check here ().

If your children have already outgrown the activities listed below please answer the question by thinking back to the time to when these activities were relevant to them.

	FREQUENT (More Than Once A Week)	OCCA- SIONAL (Once A Week)	RARE (Less Than Once A Week)	NEVER OR HARDLY EVER	DON'T KNOW
a. Recreational instructors (e.g., piano lessons, ballet).....	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 1
* b. Hebrew or Yiddish teachers.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. Non-Jewish religious teachers....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
* d. Jewish friends.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e. Non-Jewish friends.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f. Some church or other religious activities.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
* g. Some synagogue related activities	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
* h. Jewish organizational activities (e.g., "Y" or Center).....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
i. Christian organizational activities.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Some of the items from the above exhibits were used to measure the ways and means by which respondents claim to transmit Jewishness to their children. We should also recall here the findings of Table 65 in Chapter 7 in which we saw the extent to which intermarried couples expected their children to pass through traditional Jewish rites of passage.

TABLE 90 ABOUT HERE

Table 90

Proportion of Converts and Non-Converts Whose Children Have Gone Through or Are Expected to Go Through Selected Rites of Passage (Born-Gentile Respondents' Replies)

	<u>Converts</u>	<u>Non-Converts</u>
Ritual circumcision (if son)	72.4	42.9
Be given a Hebrew name	82.4	36.5
Bar Mitzvah or Bat Mitzvah	71.1	29.8
Baptism	6.0	26.5
Church Confirmation	10.0	19.0

If we assume that all of the born-Jewish respondents who are married to non-converted Gentiles will have followed their spouses' wishes with respect to the rites of passage through which children go, we may expect that 43% of their sons will be circumcised with a Jewish purpose. More than a third will be given a Hebrew name and nearly a third will go through a Bar Mitzvah or Bat Mitzvah ceremony. By contrast, fewer of the children of non-converts will go through Christian rites of passage.

It is interesting to note, for the sake of comparison, that in a survey of the Dallas Jewish community it was found that 68% of the men had been Bar Mitzvahed and only about 4% of the women had gone through a Bat Mitzvah.

The Jewish items in the above table, including an additional item concerning Pidyan HaBen, were combined into a single index of Jewish rites of passage which we

labelled RITUALS. The items from exhibits seven and eight which were marked with an asterisk were combined into two separate indexes, EDGOALS and EDMEANS. The former is considered to be a measure of the extent to which respondents would like their children to be raised as Jews. The latter is considered to be a measure of the extent to which they are, in fact, being raised as Jews. One is a measure of aspirations. The other is a measure of actual child-rearing practice. The tables which follow are analyses of the scores of various subgroups in our sample on these three indexes of Jewish childrearing.

Table 91

Breakdown of Means on RITUALS

<u>Independent Variables</u>	<u>Means</u>	<u>Standard Deviations</u>
None -- entire sample	1.70	1.43
If born-Jewish male	1.71	1.43
If born-Jewish female	1.40	1.42
If Jewish spouse's parents belonged to a synagogue	1.78	1.45
Type... Reform	1.27	1.32
Conservative	1.99	1.40
Orthodox	2.37	1.50
If born-Gentile spouse did not convert	1.41	1.39
If born-Gentile spouse converted		
Reform	2.30	1.19
Conservative	2.93	1.00
Orthodox	3.25	.76

NOTE: maximum score on RITUALS was '4', minimum, '0'.

This table confirms the pattern suggested by the previous one, Table 90, that the children of converts will pass through more Jewish rites of passage (that is, they'll be more "Judaized") than the children of non-converts. Although the difference was not statistically significant, it is interesting to note that the children of born-Jewish men will be slightly more "Judaized" through Jewish rites of passage than the children of born-Jewish women. It is also interesting to see that, all other things being equal, the grandchildren of Jews who belong to a Reform temple and whose children have intermarried will be less "Judaized" by means of Jewish rites of passage than the comparable grandchildren of Jews who belong to Conservative or Orthodox synagogues.

We should add, although we had no space left on the table itself, that even in the absence of conversion where the marriage ceremony of the couple was performed by a Rabbi, the RITUALS score of our respondents was 2.4 with a standard deviation of 1.4. In other words, it was in the same range of scores as those of intermarriages in which the born-Gentile spouse had converted to Judaism.

Turning now to the aspirations of our respondents for the more general Jewish upbringing of their children, we next analyze the index EDGOALS. On this index the maximum score was '6' and the minimum score was '0'.

Table 92

Breakdown of Means on EDGOALS

<u>Independent Variables</u>	<u>Means</u>	<u>Standard Deviations</u>
None -- entire sample of born-Jewish resp.	2.09	2.05
If born-Jewish male	2.36	2.07
If born-Jewish female	1.80	1.85
If parents belonged to a synagogue	2.39	1.99
If parents did not belong to a synagogue	1.47	1.80
Type of synagogue to which parents belonged:		
Reform	2.14	1.85
Conservative	2.39	2.05
Orthodox	2.97	2.26
If both Jewish parents are currently alive	2.27	1.91
If neither Jewish parents alive	1.76	2.00
If born-Gentile spouse did not convert, and marriage not performed by Rabbi	1.62	1.50
If born-Gentile spouse did not convert, but marriage was performed by a Rabbi	2.74	2.04
If marriage was performed by a Rabbi, and born-Gentile spouse was converted.....		
Reform	3.19	1.70
Conservative	3.94	1.80
Orthodox	4.86	1.44

In light of the fact that the maximum score on the above index, EDGOALS, was '6' it is important to note that the crude mean of the sample as a whole was well below the mid-point. It rose above that point only for the minority whose spouses converted to Judaism and whose marriages were performed by a Rabbi. While we found considerable consensus even among born-Gentile respondents who had not converted that they would prefer and encourage their children to "get a good Jewish education" -- 45% endorsed that idea -- we found little consensus even among converts on the other five items of the index. We should add that in contrast to 45% of the non-converts who indicated that they would like their children to "get a good Jewish education" about 90% of the converts expressed that desire. The only other item which received support from about 80% of the converts and also from about 20% of the non-converts is the desire that their children should belong to a synagogue. The other items concerning their preference that their children should not marry non-Jews, should have exclusively Jewish friends, should keep kosher and should observe the Sabbath received almost no support from respondents whose spouses had not converted to Judaism and only a slight support from converts or their born Jewish mates.

The above table indicates that Jewish men have a significantly greater desire for the Jewish upbringing

of their children than Jewish women, and those whose parents had belonged to a synagogue while they themselves were adolescents at home have a greater desire for the Jewish upbringing of their children than those whose parents had not belonged to a synagogue. Moreover, the ones whose parents belonged to a Reform temple will desire significantly less Jewishness on the part of their children -- at least as we are measuring it by our index -- than those whose parents had belonged to a Conservative or Orthodox synagogue.

As expected, those whose spouses had converted to Judaism obtained the highest score on our measure of EDGOALS; with those whose spouses underwent an Orthodox conversion obtaining the highest scores. However, even in those cases where the born-Gentile spouse did not convert, if the marriage was performed by a Rabbi, the respondents obtained a significantly higher EDGOALS score than those whose marriages were performed in a civil or other non-Jewish ceremony.

When we look at the actual Jewish socialization of the children of intermarrieds we, again, find some startling differences among various subgroups. Looking back at Exhibit 8 we have found that about 15% of the children of non-converts come into contact with Jewish religious instructors at least once a week. By contrast, about 42% of the children of converts come into such contact with Jewish socialization. Along the same lines we have found

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that only about 8% of the children of non-converts participate in some synagogue related activity at least once a week, while about 25% of the children of converts do so. An almost identical pattern is found in their patterns of participation in Jewish community center or 'Y' activities. We may note parenthetically that there is very little difference in the rate at which the children of converts and the children of non-converts come into contact with such recreational instruction as piano lessons, ballet lessons, or the like. Fifty percent of the children of converts and 42% of the children of non-converts were exposed to such socialization experiences at least once a week. In the table below we summarize the extent to which the children of our respondents are exposed, at least once a week, to the specifically Jewish items in Exhibit 8, which we combined into a single index called EDMEANS.

Table 93

Breakdown of Means on EDMEANS

<u>Independent Variables</u>	<u>Means</u>	<u>Standard Deviations</u>
None -- entire sample	1.15	1.62
If born-Jewish male	1.29	1.84
If born-Jewish female	1.00	1.14
If parents did not belong to a synagogue	1.00	1.13
If parents belonged to a synagogue....		
Reform	1.43	2.00
Conservative	1.00	1.31
Orthodox	1.44	1.40

Table 93 (cont'd)

<u>Independent Variables</u>	<u>Means</u>	<u>Standard Deviations</u>
If both parents are currently alive	.99	1.26
If only Mother is currently alive	1.66	2.61
If only Father is currently alive	.94	1.21
If neither parent is alive	1.24	1.11
If born-Gentile spouse did not convert, and marriage was not performed by a Rabbi	.86	.99
If born-Gentile spouse did not convert, but marriage was performed by a Rabbi	1.47	1.49
If marriage was performed by a Rabbi, and born-Gentile spouse converted		
Reform	1.63	1.45
Conservative	2.53	1.20
Orthodox	2.15	1.05

NOTE: maximum score on EDMEANS is '4', minimum is '0'.

As was the case with the average scores on EDGOALS, very few respondents scored above the mid-point on the index measuring actual Jewish socialization practices. While the children of converts differ significantly from the children of non-converts in receiving proportionally more Jewish socialization, in absolute terms they, too, receive rather little.

Once again we note that the children of intermarriages in which the born-Jewish spouse is the husband seem to receive more extensive Jewish socialization than in those intermarriages where the born-Jewish spouse is the wife. There are a number of surprising findings for which we have no ready explanation. We see, for example, that where the parents of the born-Jewish spouse had belonged to a Reform or an Orthodox synagogue children are likely to receive more Jewish socialization than where the former's parents had belonged to a Conservative synagogue. We are also struck by the different effect that the parents of the born-Jewish spouse seem to have on the aspirations of the intermarried Jew for the Jewish socialization of his children as compared to the actual Jewish socialization experiences of his children

In Table 92 we have seen that where both parents of the born-Jewish spouse were alive the EDGOALS score of the respondents was 27% higher than of those whose parents were not alive. On the other hand, with respect to the actual socialization of the children, as measured by EDMEANS in Table 93, we find that those whose parents are alive scored 20% lower than those whose parents were no longer alive. Perhaps more interesting still, those of whose parents only the Father was living scored the lowest. While those of whose parents only the Mother was alive scored the highest, about 40% higher than those of whose parents both were alive.

As we have seen in connection with other measures of Jewishness, conversion of the non-Jewish spouse seems to be related to the largest quantity of Jewish socialization. However, here too, we come up with a surprising finding which departs from earlier measures in our study. Those who underwent conversion through Conservative auspices seem to provide their children with the most Jewish socialization, followed by those who underwent Orthodox conversion. On most other measures of Jewishness those who underwent Orthodox conversion seem to score the highest.

Once again we find that those who did not convert, but whose marriages were performed by a Rabbi score significantly higher on this measure of Jewish child socialization than those who did not convert and also were not married in some kind of Jewish ceremony. In fact, this latter group seems to have the lowest score on EDMEANS of all subgroups in our sample.

Summary

In order to be able to discuss the impact of intermarriage on the Jewishness of the children in general terms, we combined the three indexes of Jewish socialization plus the type of formal Jewish education that such families provide their children into a global index of Jewish identity transmission which we've called KIDYID. The maximum score that our respondents could achieve on this index was '21' and the minimum, '0'. The table be-

low summarizes the average scores of the various major subgroups in our sample on this global index.

Table 94

Breakdown of Means on KIDYID

<u>Independent Variables</u>	<u>Means</u>	<u>Standard Deviations</u>
None -- entire sample	7.36	5.46
If born-Jewish male	7.97	5.57
If born-Jewish female	6.84	5.00
If first marriage for born-Jewish spouse	6.98	5.41
If second marriage for born-Jewish spouse	8.73	5.62
If parents did not belong to a synagogue	6.16	5.61
If parents did belong to a synagogue		
Reform	7.40	5.25
Conservative	8.30	5.40
Orthodox	9.64	5.16
If both parents of the born-Jewish spouse are currently alive	8.00	5.26
If only Father of born Jewish spouse is alive	7.30	4.80
If only Mother of born Jewish spouse is alive	8.80	6.50
If neither parents of born-Jewish spouse is alive	6.74	4.41
If parents of the born Gentile spouse had belonged to a church	7.16	5.33
If parents of the born Gentile spouse did not belong to a church	8.54	5.58

Table 94 (cont'd)

<u>Independent Variables</u>	<u>Means</u>	<u>Standard Deviations</u>
If the attitudes of the parents of the born-Gentile spouse towards Jews were:		
Favorable	8.22	5.00
Neutral	7.60	6.00
Unfavorable	6.50	4.70
If the parents of the born-Gentile spouse are both alive	7.22	5.10
If only Father of born-Gentile spouse is alive	9.00	6.30
If only Mother of born-Gentile spouse is alive	8.61	5.50
If neither parent of born-Gentile spouse is alive	5.63	5.30
If born-Jewish spouse regarded his or her own Jewish background important to self even prior to marriage	9.38	4.70
If born-Jewish spouse did not regard own background as important	6.00	5.20
If born-Gentile spouse regarded his or her own background as important prior to marriage	8.60	6.55
If born-Gentile spouse did not regard own background as important	7.00	4.75
If born-Gentile spouse disliked his or her own religious background	8.95	5.00

Cont'd...

Table 94 (cont'd)

<u>Independent Variables</u>	<u>Means</u>	<u>Standard Deviations</u>
If born-Gentile spouse did not convert, and marriage was not performed by a Rabbi	5.65	4.27
If born-Gentile spouse did not convert, but marriage was performed by a Rabbi	10.30	5.60
If marriage was performed by a Rabbi, and born-Gentile spouse converted.....		
Reform	10.50	4.20
Conservative	14.70	3.70
Orthodox	16.00	3.60
If born-Jewish spouse received no formal Jewish education:		
Male	7.11	5.40
Female	6.30	4.70
If born-Jewish spouse received 1-5 years of Jewish education:		
Male	8.42	5.41
Female	7.00	5.34
If born-Jewish spouse received six or more years of Jewish education:		
Male	9.17	6.13
Female	10.60	4.47

This rather extensive summary table highlights the complex and interactive social and psychological forces which seem to determine the extent to which the children

of intermarrieds are socialized as Jews. Jewish men consistently surpass Jewish women in the amount of Jewish socialization they provide for their children. The only exception to this trend is among those who have received six or more years of Jewish education themselves. In this category Jewish women seem to surpass Jewish men in socializing their children Jewishly.

Having living Jewish grandparents seems to enhance the amount of Jewish socialization that the children of intermarrieds are likely to receive, especially if a Jewish grandmother is living. Oddly enough, even living Gentile grandparents seem to have a positive influence on the Jewish socialization of the children of the intermarried couple. One of the lowest scores on KIDYID was achieved by those Gentile in-laws were no longer living. The absence of grandparents, be they Jewish or Gentile, seems to be associated with lower than average scores on over-all Jewish socialization.

If the parents of the born-Jewish spouse had belonged to a synagogue, they were likely to provide their children with more Jewish socialization than if their parents did not belong to a synagogue. Those whose parents had belonged to an Orthodox synagogue achieved the highest scores, followed by those whose parents had belonged to a Conservative synagogue. Interestingly, if the parents of the born-Gentile spouse had belonged to a church, the children of the intermarriage were apt to receive less Jewish social-

ization than if they had not belonged to a church. However, having had Jewish parents who did not belong to a synagogue seems to be associated with significantly less Jewish socialization of the children of the intermarriage than having had Gentile parents who had belonged to a church while the born-Gentile spouse was growing up. In short, the Jewish socialization of the born-Jewish spouse seems to make a greater difference in the Jewish socialization of the children of the intermarriage than does the Christian socialization of the born-Gentile spouse.

This point seems to be borne out again when we examine the relationship between the Jewish socialization of the children, KIDYID, the attitudes that the respective spouses had towards their own religious and ethnic backgrounds prior to marriage. We have seen that those Jewish respondents who considered their backgrounds important to themselves prior to marriage provided their children with about 36% more Jewish socialization than those who did not regard their backgrounds as important to themselves. On the other hand, those Gentile spouses who did not consider their own religious backgrounds as important to themselves did not provide their children with more Jewish socialization than those who did consider their own Gentile backgrounds as important. In fact, quite the contrary is the case. Surprisingly, even those born-Gentile spouses who regarded their own backgrounds as important to themselves prior to marriage tended to provide

their children with more Jewish socialization than the population average. But, again, the attitudes of the born-Jewish spouses seem to be associated with greater differences in the Jewish socialization of the children than the attitudes of the born-Gentile spouses.

As was the case with previous measures of Jewishness, the conversion of the non-Jewish spouse and the officiation of a Rabbi at the marriage ceremony seem to be associated with the greatest amount of Jewish socialization of the children in intermarriages.

In order to determine the relative strength of various potentially causal factors in shaping the different measures of Jewish socialization, which we have discussed in this chapter, we have performed both zero-order and partial correlation procedures on the four indexes. The results of these procedures are summarized in the final table below.

Table 95
Partial Correlation Coefficients of Factors Effecting RITUALS, EDGOALS, EDMEANS, and KIDYID, Controlling for the Effects of Sex of Born-Jewish Respondent, Conversion of Born-Gentile Spouse, Whether Parents of Born-Jew Had Belonged to a Synagogue, and Whether Couple was Married by a Rabbi.

	RITUALS	EDGOALS	EDMEANS	KIDYID
THINKYID	.37	.52	.15	.49
ACTYID	.31	.52	.51	.58
YIDYID	.39	.63	.45	.66
GERTHINK	.15	.21	.10	.22
JEWPRAX	.28	.41	.25	.42

Cont'd...

Table 95 (cont'd)

	<u>RITUALS</u>	<u>EDGOALS</u>	<u>EDMEANS</u>	<u>KIDYID</u>
MGAYER	.27	.42	.23	.42
KINTIES (Jewish)	.11	.10	***	.14
KINTIES (Gentile)	-.05	.02	-.01	***
CONSENS	****	.14	.12	.09
UPBRING	.34	.16	.12	.33
SHLMBYT	.04	.14	.12	.12
JVC	.43	.56	.28	.58
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
RITUALS		.37	.14	.66
EDGOALS			.28	.74
EDMEANS				.59
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----

The last subset of coefficients in the above table is simply a summary of the internal relationships among the various separate measures of Jewish socialization. As we can see, there is a rather small relationship between the aspirations people have for the Jewish socialization of their children, and their actual socialization of them. The high correlations between the individual indexes and the global index, KIDYID, cannot be treated at face value because they are largely artifacts of the way the global index was constructed.

Looking back at the other possibly causal factor which impact on the various measures of Jewish socialization, we find that the over-all Jewish identity of the born-Jewish spouse [YIDID] has the highest correlation with the over-all Jewish socialization of children in intermarriages. Attitudinal Jewishness has the smallest effect on the over-all Jewish socialization of the children, and behavioral Jewishness clearly has a stronger effect on the Jewish socialization that intermarrieds will provide than attitudinal Jewishness.

Agreement among intermarried couples with regard to the upbringing of their children seems to have a modest influence only on providing their children with some Jewish rites of passage. It seems to have only a negligible effect on other aspect of Jewish socialization. However, the general Jewish climate of the home [JVC] seems to have a definite positive relationship to the Jewish upbringing of the children who are raised in intermarried homes.

The extent to which the intermarried couple maintain ties with their respective parents seems to have a very weak relationship to how they socialize their children. But, the relationship is clearly stronger and more in the positive direction in the case of ties with the parents of the born-Jewish spouse than with the parents of the born-Gentile spouse. Again, we see that the influence of the Jewish kin network is potentially stronger on the

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intermarried couple than is the influence of the Gentile kin network.

Finally, we see that the over-all Jewishness of the born-Gentile spouse also bears a strong relationship to the Jewish socialization of children in intermarriages. But that relationship is secondary -- and probably only mediates -- the influence of the born Jewish spouse's extent of Jewishness. Once again, we see that behavioral Jewishness [JEWPRAX] has a greater effect on the Jewish socialization of the children than attitudinal Jewishness [GERTHINK]. But the effect of neither of these is as important as the behavioral and attitudinal Jewishness of the spouse who was Jewish by birth.

We should point out, almost as an afterthought, that the effects of the Jewishness of the respective spouses -- in terms of attitude, behavior, and the symbolic Jewishness of the ambiance of the home -- were consistently stronger than the unpartialed effects of the sex of the born-Jewish spouse, whether the parents of the born-Jew had belonged to a synagogue, whether the couple was married by a Rabbi, and even whether the born-Gentile spouse had converted or not.

Appendix A

The Survey Instrument

FAITH, ETHNICITY AND THE MARRIAGE BOND

A SURVEY ON THE ROLE OF RELIGIOUS AND CULTURAL BACKGROUND IN FAMILY LIFE

THIS IS PART I OF OUR SURVEY. IT WAS SPECIFICALLY DESIGNED TO BE COMPLETED BY PERSONS WHO WERE BORN JEWS. PLEASE COMPLETE THE QUESTIONNAIRE ON YOUR OWN, BEARING IN MIND THAT THERE ARE NO RIGHT OR WRONG ANSWERS TO THE QUESTIONS. WE ARE INTERESTED IN YOUR PERSONAL RESPONSES.

NATURALLY, YOUR ANSWERS WILL BE KEPT IN THE STRICTEST CONFIDENCE AND WILL BE USED IN COMBINATION WITH THE ANSWERS OF HUNDREDS OF OTHER RESPONDENTS FOR PURPOSES OF STATISTICAL ANALYSIS.



American Jewish Committee
Institute of Human Relations

IN THIS SECTION OF OUR SURVEY WE ARE TRYING TO LEARN ABOUT THE BASIC COMPOSITION OF YOUR HOUSEHOLD.

DIRECTIONS: Please list the names of all the members of your family, beginning with yourself, who live in your household. Be sure, also, to list children who are living away from home. Then, in the appropriate spaces, please provide the desired information for each of the persons you've listed. Thank you.

FAMILY (LAST) NAME: _____

	#1	#2	#3	#4
NAMES OF FAMILY MEMBERS	Self	Husband/Wife		
RELATIONSHIP TO YOURSELF	Self	Husband/Wife		
DATE OF BIRTH				
PLACE OF BIRTH				
RELIGION OF BIRTH				
SEX (MALE/FEMALE)				
DATE OF PRESENT MARRIAGE				
PRESENT ADDRESS				
PLACE OF RESIDENCE PRIOR TO PRESENT ADDRESS				
NUMBER OF RESIDENTIAL MOVES IN PAST 5 YEARS (PLEASE GIVE DATES)				
PARENTS' PLACE OF BIRTH				
GRANDPARENTS' PLACE OF BIRTH				
PRESENT OCCUPATION				
ACADEMIC OR PROFESSIONAL DEGREE (e.g., M.A.; DDS)				
NAME OF COLLEGE ATTENDED				
MAJOR IN COLLEGE (IF ANY)				
TOTAL YEARS OF SECULAR EDUCATION ACHIEVED				
TOTAL YEARS OF RELIGIOUS OR SPECIAL ETHNIC EDUCATION ACHIEVED				
HOURS PER WEEK OF RELIGIOUS OR SPECIAL ETHNIC EDUCATION				
RELIGIOUS IDENTITY OF SCHOOL (e.g., CATHOLIC; HEBREW DAY)				
PRESENT RELIGIOUS IDENTITY				
TYPE OF CONGREGATIONAL OR CHURCH AFFILIATION (IF ANY)				
IF NOT BORN JEWISH (AND IF CONVERTED), TYPE OF CONVERSION (e.g., ORTHODOX, REFORM, CONSERVATIVE, OTHER)				
NUMBER OF PREVIOUS MARRIAGES (IF ANY, GIVE DATES)				

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CHILDREN AND OTHER DEPENDENTS

[illegible]

PERSONAL PROFILE

Inasmuch as our study is designed to learn something about the cultural dynamics of families with a mixed ethnic and religious heritage, we need to learn some details of the background of each partner. Please complete all of the following questions in the appropriate spaces. Please do not consult your spouse or anyone else in filling out this questionnaire. Once again, you may be assured that your answers will be kept in the strictest confidence.

SECTION I.

In this section of our survey we would like to have some information about your family circumstances when you were a teen-ager. We are especially interested in your parents, siblings, friends; their attitudes and your relationship to them. (FILL IN OR CHECK.)

	Father	Mother
1. In what year were your parents born?	_____	_____
2. As a teen-ager, did you live in the home of your parents? CHECK ANSWER.	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 1 No <input type="checkbox"/> 2	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 1 No <input type="checkbox"/> 2
3. What were the occupations of your parents when you were a teen-ager?	_____	_____
4. What was the highest level of education your parents achieved?		
Secular - Degree	_____	_____
Religious - Total # of years.....	_____	_____
5. Did either of your parents belong to any synagogue for any length of time while you were a teen-ager?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 1 No <input type="checkbox"/> 2	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 1 No <input type="checkbox"/> 2
IF "YES" IN Q.5:		
5a. What kind? (e.g., Conservative)	_____	_____
5b. For how long?	_____	_____
6. Using the observance of the Sabbath and Kashruth rules as a yard-stick, would you describe your parents as:		
(CHECK ONE FOR EACH PARENT)		
	Very religious <input type="checkbox"/> 5	Very religious <input type="checkbox"/> 5
	Somewhat <input type="checkbox"/> 4	Somewhat <input type="checkbox"/> 4
	Hardly at all <input type="checkbox"/> 3	Hardly at all <input type="checkbox"/> 3
	Completely non-religious <input type="checkbox"/> 2	Completely non-religious <input type="checkbox"/> 2
	Anti-religious <input type="checkbox"/> 1	Anti-religious <input type="checkbox"/> 1
7. What is/was your parents Hebrew name? (IF YOU DON'T KNOW, WRITE "DON'T KNOW")	_____	_____
8. Into what religion and/or denomination was each of your parents born? (e.g., Orthodox Jew, Catholic, Lutheran)	_____	_____

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Using the following categories -- Strongly Favored, Favored, No Opinion, Opposed, and Strongly Opposed - how would you describe your parents attitudes toward each of the following: (PLEASE CHECK ONE CATEGORY FOR BOTH MOTHER AND FATHER FOR EACH ITEM LISTED ON THE LEFT IN GRID BELOW.)

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		STRONGLY FAVORED	FAVORED	NO OPINION	OPPOSED	STRONGLY OPPOSED
Your practice of Jewish rituals	FATHER	5	4	3	2	1
	MOTHER					
Your self identification as a Jew	FATHER					
	MOTHER					
Your friendship with non-Jews	FATHER					
	MOTHER					
Your dating non-Jews	FATHER					
	MOTHER					
The welfare of Israel	FATHER					
	MOTHER					
Working for the welfare of the local Jewish community	FATHER					
	MOTHER					
Helping to improve the welfare of other ethnic groups	FATHER					
	MOTHER					
Your Jewish education	FATHER					
	MOTHER					
Their own social contacts with and attitudes toward non-Jews	FATHER					
	MOTHER					
Jewish families celebrating Christmas	FATHER					
	MOTHER					
Jews participating in non-Jewish religious services	FATHER					
	MOTHER					
Marriage between Jews and Christians	FATHER					
	MOTHER					

Were your parents alive at the time of your present marriage?

Father
Yes ☐ 1 No ☐ 2
Mother
Yes ☐ 1 No ☐ 2

YES" TO EITHER FATHER OR MOTHER IN Q.10:

Are your parents alive today?

Yes ☐ 1 No ☐ 2
Yes ☐ 1 No ☐ 2

12. If you think back to the friends you had between your early teens and the time you finished high school, how would you describe the composition of your peer group? (PLEASE CHECK ONE OF THE BOXES UNDER THE COLUMN HEADED Q.12 IN THE GRID BELOW.)

13. Using the same categories as in the previous questions, how would you characterize your choice of "dates" before you ever got married? (PLEASE CHECK ONE OF THE BOXES UNDER THE COLUMN HEADED Q.13 IN THE GRID BELOW.)

	Q.12 PEERS	Q.13 DATES
Completely made up of Jews	6	6
Mostly made up of Jews	5	5
Pretty well mixed, including Jews and non-Jews	4	4
Mostly non-Jewish, including a few Jews	3	3
Completely non-Jewish	2	2
I was mostly unaware of their religious and/or ethnic background	1	1

14. What is the name of the town or city in which you spent most of your teen years? (e.g., Little Rock, Ark.) _____

IF YOUR PARENTS WERE SEPARATED OR DIVORCED, PLEASE CHECK HERE () AND SKIP THE NEXT TWO QUESTIONS..

15. Using the following categories, how would you describe the feelings and attitudes you recall your father having toward your mother when you were growing up? (PLEASE CHECK ONE OF THE BOXES UNDER THE COLUMN HEADED Q.15 IN THE GRID BELOW.)

16. Using the same categories as in the previous question, please indicate how you recall the feelings and attitudes that your mother had toward your father when you were growing up. (PLEASE CHECK ONE OF THE BOXES UNDER THE COLUMN HEADED Q.16 IN THE GRID BELOW.)

	Q.15 FATHER	Q.16 MOTHER
Warm, loving, friendly	6	6
Often rough, but basically caring	5	5
Fearful, servile, resentful	4	4
Domineering, hostile, exploiting	3	3
Cold, loveless, unemotional	2	2
Can't really tell	1	1

17. Using obviously very general categories, how would you describe your relationship to your father while you were still living in your parents' home? (PLEASE CHECK ONE OF THE BOXES UNDER THE COLUMN HEADED Q.17 IN THE GRID BELOW.)
18. Using the same categories, how would you describe your relationship to your mother while you were still living in your parents' home? (PLEASE CHECK ONE OF THE BOXES UNDER THE COLUMN HEADED Q.18 IN THE GRID BELOW.)

	Q.17 FATHER	Q.18 MOTHER
Quite distant	1	1
Somewhat close	2	2
Fairly close	3	3
Quite close	4	4
Extremely close	5	5

19. As you grew older, entered college and/or career, and became more independent, how did your relationship change with your father and mother? (PLEASE CHECK ONE BOX UNDER BOTH "FATHER" AND "MOTHER" BELOW.)

	FATHER		MOTHER
No change	<input type="checkbox"/> 0 GO TO Q.20		<input type="checkbox"/> 0 GO TO Q.20
Became much closer.....	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	} ANSWER Q.19a	<input type="checkbox"/> 4
Became a bit closer.....	<input type="checkbox"/> 3		<input type="checkbox"/> 3
Became a bit more distant	<input type="checkbox"/> 2		<input type="checkbox"/> 2
Became much more distant	<input type="checkbox"/> 1		<input type="checkbox"/> 1
			} ANSWER Q.19b

IF ANY CHANGE CHECKED IN Q.19 UNDER COLUMN HEADED "FATHER:"

- 19a. What do you think was the most important cause of this change in your relationship with your father?

IF ANY CHANGE CHECKED IN Q.19 UNDER COLUMN HEADED "MOTHER:"

- 19b. What do you think was the most important cause of this change in your relationship with your mother?

20. Are you presently living in the same household with your parents?

Yes ☐ 1

No ☐ 2

IF "NO" IN Q.20:

21. At what age did you first move out of their home and set up your own residence?

____ If this was in connection with your college education, please check ☐

SECTION II.

In this section of our survey we would like to obtain information about your current involvements with your family and community.

IF

25.

22. Using the categories below, how close do each of the following relations -- parents, brother(s) and sister(s), other relatives -- live to you? (PLEASE CHECK ONE BOX UNDER EACH OF THE COLUMN HEADINGS BELOW.)

	PARENTS	BROTHER(S) & SISTER(S)	OTHER RELATIONS (e.g., In-Laws)
Within walking distance	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Within a twenty-five mile radius.	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
In another city - beyond twenty-five miles	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
In another state or in another country - beyond a hundred miles.	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

- 23a. Before you got married, how often did you see at least one of your parents or other family members?

Q.23a

About once a day ☐ 8

More than once a day. ☐ 7

About once a week.... ☐ 6

A few times a month.. ☐ 5

About once a month... ☐ 4

A few times a year... ☐ 3

About once a year.... ☐ 2

Less than once a year ☐ 1

Never ☐ 0

Q.23b

ANSWER
Q.23c

- 23b. Since you've been married to your present spouse, how often do you see your parents or other family members?

☐

☐

☐

☐

☐

☐

☐

☐

☐

GOTO Q.26

IF SEEN IN PAST COUPLE OF YEARS IN Q.23:

- 23c. Do you usually see them; Alone ☐ 1
With spouse..... ☐ 2
Alone and with spouse ☐ 3

24. Whose idea is it usually to get together? Your idea ☐ 1
Your spouse's idea ☐ 2
One of your parent's idea ☐ 3
It varies ☐ 4

- 24a. Since you've gotten married, do you enjoy seeing your parents and/or other members of your family ...

Much more than before ☐ 1

A bit more than before ☐ 2

About as much as before ☐ 3

A bit less than before ☐ 4

Much less than before ☐ 5

25.

26

26

27

II

27

IF PARENTS DECEASED, SKIP QUESTIONS 25 - 27a AND CHECK HERE ☐

25. How often do you celebrate the following occasions with your parents?
(PLEASE CHECK A BOX UNDER ONE OF THE COLUMN HEADINGS FOR EACH OCCASION LISTED BELOW.)

	REGU- LARLY	SOME- TIMES	RARELY	HARDLY EVER OR NEVER
Rosh HaShana	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 1
Yom Kippur	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Hannuka	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Passover	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Christmas	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Thanksgiving	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Birthdays	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Anniversaries	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

- 25a. As often as you celebrate these occasions with parents, do you do so mostly Alone ☐ 1
With spouse ☐ 2
Sometimes alone ☐ 3

26. Do you wish that you could see your parents more often or less often than you generally do?

Much less often ☐ 1
A bit less often ☐ 2
Do not wish any change ☐ 3
A bit more often ☐ 4
A lot more often ☐ 5

- 26a.. How does your spouse feel about the frequency with which you see your parents?

27. How frequently do you speak to your parents on the telephone?

About once a day ☐ 5
More than once a week ☐ 4
About once a week ☐ 3
Not more than once a month ... ☐ 2
Only on special occasions or
in cases of emergency ☐ 1
Never ☐ 0

IF "SPEAK TO" AT ALL IN Q.27:

- 27a. Most of the time who calls whom?

You call them ☐ 1
They call you ☐ 2
There is no noticeable pattern ☐ 3

28. If you have any married brother(s) or sister(s), how would you compare your relationship to your parents with their relationship to your parents?

Mine is much more distant.....☐ 1
Mine is somewhat more distant..☐ 2
About the same.....☐ 3
Mine is a bit closer.....☐ 4
Mine is much closer.....☐ 5

29. In the past couple of years how often have you seen at least one of your brother(s) or sister(s)?

If you have no brother or sister, check here ☐ and skip Q.29a.

About once a day☐ 7
More than once a week☐ 6
About once a week☐ 5
About once a month☐ 4
A few times a year☐ 3
Not more than once a year☐ 2
Less than once a year☐ 1

29a. When you have seen your brother(s) or sister(s), has it been ...

By yourself☐ 1
With spouse☐ 2
Sometimes alone, sometimes
with spouse☐ 3

30. In which of the following social circumstances do you regularly come in contact with members of your family such as parents, brother(s) or sister(s), cousins, etc.? (CHECK ALL THOSE THAT APPLY.)

Business activity☐ 5
Enjoyment of leisure time☐ 4
Special family occasions☐ 3
Holidays☐ 2
Only when it is obligatory
(e.g., weddings, funerals,
etc.).....☐ 1

31. Can you list by name those three or four organizations, outside of your work, in which you are most actively involved?

31a. Is your spouse also actively involved in any of these organizations?

YES ☐

NO ☐

32. Can you please list by name those few charities to which you contribute most regularly and most generously?

32a. If you do not contribute to any, please check here. ☐

33. In which of the following types of ceremony was your present marriage contracted? (PLEASE CHECK ONE BOX UNDER THE COLUMN HEADED "COLUMN 33" IN THE GRID BELOW.)

33a. If previously married, what type of ceremony was performed for your first marriage? (PLEASE CHECK THE APPROPRIATE BOX UNDER THE COLUMN HEADED "COLUMN 33a" IN THE GRID BELOW.)

	COLUMN 33	COLUMN 33a
Formal synagogue ceremony	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ceremony in Rabbi's study	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/>
Civil ceremony only	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/>
Formal church ceremony	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/>
Both Jewish and Christian ceremony	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other (PLEASE EXPLAIN)		
	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	<input type="checkbox"/>

34a. Of the following, please check ☒ those who were present at your wedding. Of those present, whom would you have preferred not to have attended?

	ATTENDED	PREFERRED NOT TO ATTEND
Your parents	<input type="checkbox"/> 9	<input type="checkbox"/> 0
Your brother(s) & sister(s)...	<input type="checkbox"/> 8	<input type="checkbox"/> 1
Your grandparents	<input type="checkbox"/> 7	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
Your cousins	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	<input type="checkbox"/> 3
Your aunt(s) & uncle(s)	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 4
School friends	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
Other friends & associates ...	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 6
Spouse's parents	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 7
Spouse's brother(s) & sister(s)	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 8
Other of spouse's relatives ..	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 9

34b. Altogether, about how many people were present at the celebration of your wedding?

35. How would you describe the composition of the friends you now associate with most frequently? (PLEASE CHECK ONE.)

Completely made up of Jews...	<input type="checkbox"/> 6
Mostly made up of Jews	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
Pretty well mixed, including Jews and non-Jews	<input type="checkbox"/> 4
Mostly non-Jewish, including a few Jews	<input type="checkbox"/> 3
Completely non-Jewish	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
Not aware of religious or ethnic background of friends	<input type="checkbox"/> 1

36. The following is a list of Jewish organizations, movements or activities which can be found in today's American Jewish community. Please indicate the extent to which you are involved with each by placing a check in a box under each of the Column Headings that apply for each item.

	NEVER HEARD OF IT	HEARD OF IT BUT NOT FAMI- LIAR	FAMI- LIAR WITH IT	GIVE IT FIN- ANCIAL SUP- PORT	ACTIVE- LY IN- VOLVED IN ITS PROGRAM	OPPOSE ITS GOALS AND PRO- GRAMS
A. United Jewish Appeal	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 0
B. Federation of Jewish Philanthropies	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
C. Zionist Organization of America	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
D. Synagogue Council of America	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
E. Jewish Defense League	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
F. American Jewish Committee	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
G. American Jewish Congress	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
H. Jews for Jesus	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I. National Conference of Christians and Jews	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
J. Jewish Family Service	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
K. The Hineni movement	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
L. The Lubavitch, Chabad movement	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
M. The Veritan movement	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
N. Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry ..	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
O. Jewish Board or Bureau of Education	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
P. Hasidism	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Q. The Havurah movement	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
R. Jewish studies programs on college campuses	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
S. Parades celebrating Israeli Independence Day	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
T. Governmental aid for Jewish education	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
U. Annual commemorations for the Jewish victims of the Holocaust	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
V. Hadassah Women's Organization	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

37. In the space on the right, indicate by the letter in front of each item above, those organizations or activities with which you would like to become more familiar.

43. Fo
ca
gr

- a. How indi as t
- b. Rabb comm tion
- c. A Je or a
- d. Wome Jewi
- e. Jewe tior
- f. Beir
- g. Drug
- h. Amer peop
- i. The hist
- j. It alw
- k. Ant:
- l. Isra
- m. Ever my
- n. The Isra
- o. Rel per bel
- p. If Sem
- q. Jew dat cas
- r. Pra enc
- s. A J for
- t. I p Hol
- u. I w not
- v. I w mar
- w. God
- x. Rel peo
- y. Jew I m

THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION IN COMPLETING THIS QUESTIONNAIRE.
PLEASE KEEP IT IN A SAFE PLACE AND RETURN IT WHEN OUR INTERVIEWER CALLS FOR IT.

Questionnaire addendum

43. For each of the following statements, please check a box under one of the columns to indicate whether you agree, tend to agree, have no position at all, tend to disagree, or disagree.

TEND HAVE NO
TO POSITION TEND TO DIS-
AGREE AGREE AT ALL DISAGREE AGREE

- | | | | | | |
|--|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| a. How one practices or believes in religion is a matter of individual conscience, and of little importance as far as the unity of the family is concerned | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |
| b. Rabbis, as the religious representatives of the Jewish community, have the legitimate right and moral obligation to decide who is and who is not a Jew | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. A Jew ceases to be Jewish when (s)he becomes an atheist or an agnostic | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| d. Women do not have sufficient opportunity in traditional Jewish practice for religious self-expression | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| e. Jews should devote more effort to developing good relations with non-Jews | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| f. Being Jewish is very important to me | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| g. Drugs can heighten genuine religious sensitivity | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| h. American Jewry and the Jews in Israel are parts of one people with a single heritage, destiny and role | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| i. The Nazi Holocaust was unique among the massacres of history | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| j. It is important to me that there should always be a Jewish people | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| k. Anti-Zionism is simply a form of anti-Semitism | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| l. Israel is the basic homeland of the Jewish people | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| m. Events since the Yom Kippur War in 1973 have increased my feeling of Jewish isolation | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| n. The differences between American Jews and Jews in Israel are more significant than the similarities | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| o. Religion should be entirely a private matter between a person and the God -- or whatever else -- (s)he believes in | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| p. If Jews behaved differently, there would be less anti-Semitism | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| q. Jews are justified in giving special weight to a candidate's attitudes toward issues of Jewish interest when casting their votes | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| r. Prayer is primarily a private and individual experience; its communal aspect is quite secondary | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| s. A Jew has greater responsibility for other Jews than for non-Jews | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| t. I personally feel myself to be a survivor of the Holocaust | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| u. I would be quite surprised and upset if my children did not regard themselves Jewish when they grew up | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| v. I would certainly not discourage my children from marrying a person just because (s)he was not born Jewish | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| w. God revealed himself to man in Jesus Christ | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| x. Reincarnation expresses my idea of what happens to people when they die | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| y. Jewish foods and Jewish humor are essential to what I mean by being Jewish | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

INSTRUCTIONS: With the question which follows below we are interested in finding out how frequently you discuss certain topics with your spouse and/or children. We would also like to find out whether discussions of these subjects create any disagreement between you.

47a. For each of the following items, please check () under the appropriate column in Section A whether you discuss these things often, sometimes, rarely, or never with your spouse and/or your children.

47b. For each of the items you've checked in Section A as a subject of discussion, please place an 'X' in the appropriate column in Section B to indicate whether such discussions are a source of agreement or disagreement between you.

		SECTION A				SECTION B	
		OFTEN	SOME-TIMES	RARELY	NEVER	AGREE	DIS-AGREE
The way your parents used to be religious	SPOUSE	4	3	2	1	1	2
	CHILDREN						
The way you like to observe religious holidays	SPOUSE						
	CHILDREN						
The attitudes of Christians towards Jews	SPOUSE						
	CHILDREN						
Political affairs pertaining to Jews	SPOUSE						
	CHILDREN						
The details and meaning of Bible stories	SPOUSE						
	CHILDREN						
The history of Jews in Europe and America	SPOUSE						
	CHILDREN						
Religion in general	SPOUSE						
	CHILDREN						
The making and spending of money	SPOUSE						
	CHILDREN						
The merits and faults of your friends	SPOUSE						
	CHILDREN						
The merits and faults of your relatives	SPOUSE						
	CHILDREN						
The proper sexual mores for youngsters	SPOUSE						
	CHILDREN						
How you spend your leisure time	SPOUSE						
	CHILDREN						
The merits and faults of your children's education	SPOUSE						
	CHILDREN						
The merits and faults of the neighborhood	SPOUSE						
	CHILDREN						
The choice of your children's friends	SPOUSE						
	CHILDREN						
The merits and faults of your own childhood	SPOUSE						
	CHILDHOOD						

- 48a. For each activity listed in the grid below, please indicate, by placing a "✓" under the appropriate column heading in Section A, how frequently you participate in that particular activity.
- 48b. For each activity that you checked off in Q.48a as having participated in "Often," "Sometimes" or "Rarely," please indicate by placing a "✓" under the appropriate column in Section B whether you usually do this alone, with spouse, or with children.
- 48c. Again, for each activity that you checked off in Q.48a as having participated in "Often," "Sometimes," or "Rarely," please indicate by placing an "X" in Section C if your parents did this more frequently than you, less frequently or about the same as you.

	SECTION A				SECTION B			SECTION C		
	OFTEN	SOME-TIMES	RARE-LY	NEV-ER	A-LONE	WITH SPOUSE	W/CHIL-DREN	PARENTS DID		
	4	3	2	1	1	2	3	MORE	LESS	SAME
Participate in Jewish prayer services										
Participate in non-Jewish prayer services										
Attend synagogue throughout the year										
Participate in individual psychotherapy (or group therapy)										
Keep kosher outside of the home										
Bring only kosher meat into home										
Participate in events sponsored by Jewish organizations (e.g., march on behalf of Israel, or fund raising)										
Refrain from working or traveling on sabbath										
Build and/or visit a Sukkah										
Attend religious services on Rosh Hashana and Yom Kippur										
Celebrate Christmas										
Attend church on Christmas and/or Easter										
Attend spiritual meetings of a non-denominational nature										
Practice Yoga, Transcendental Meditation, or some other Eastern meditative exercise										
Smoke marijuana										
Participate in spiritual or meditative retreats										
Participate in "marriage encounter"										
Light Sabbath candles (or spouse)										
Make Kidush on Sabbath & holidays (or spouse does so)										
Light Chanukah candles										
Fast on Yom Kippur										
Celebrate Purim										

49. Are there any activities mentioned above which you do not participate in, but possibly would like to? Please indicate which one(s) in the space provided below.
- _____
- _____

62a. Parents want different things for their children, and with different degrees of interest. Indicate, by checking the appropriate box on each line, your preferences with regard to the following items in Section A. If you have no children, answer these items in terms of how you think you'd feel if you did have children.

62b. In Section B, please indicate by placing an "X" in the appropriate column, whether your spouse probably agrees or disagrees with your choice of response in Section A.

	SECTION A							SECTION B	
	VERY STRONGLY EN- COURAGE	ACTIVE- LY EN- COURAGE	PREFER	MAKES NO DIFFER- ENCE	PREFER NOT	ACTIVE- LY DIS- COURAGE	VERY STRONGLY DIS- COURAGE	A- GREE	DISA- GREE
Get a good Jewish education	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	1	2
Be a political liberal									
Settle in Israel									
Belong to a synagogue									
Not marry a non-Jew									
Contribute to United Jewish Appeal and/or other Jewish causes									
Believe in God									
Observe the Sabbath									
Have a kosher home									
Get a college education									
Appreciate music and/or art									
Develop physical strength and agility									
Enjoy religious celebrations									
Have mostly Jewish friends									
Be politically active									
Marry and have children									
Develop charm and poise									
Lead their lives as good Christians									
Overcome the need to identify with any particular religious group									

64. Thinking of the social contacts your children make during the course of a typical week, about how much contact would you say they have with each of the following? If you have no children please check here ().

If your children have already outgrown the activities listed below please answer the question by thinking back to the time to when these activities were relevant to them.

	FREQUENT (More Than Once A Week)	OCCA- SIONAL (Once A Week)	RARE (Less Than Once A Week)	NEVER OR HARDLY EVER	DON'T KNOW
a. Recreational instructors (e.g., piano lessons, ballet).....	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 1
b. Hebrew or Yiddish teachers.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. Non-Jewish religious teachers....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d. Jewish friends.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e. Non-Jewish friends.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f. Some church or other religious activities.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g. Some synagogue related activities	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h. Jewish organizational activities (e.g., "Y" or Center).....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
i. Christian organizational activities.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

For purposes of statistical analysis, would you please check off in which of the following groups is the total income of your household (of all members combined) before taxes for the past 12 months?

Under \$5,000....	<input type="checkbox"/> 1
\$5,000-7,999....	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
\$8,000-10,999...	<input type="checkbox"/> 3
\$11,000-13,999..	<input type="checkbox"/> 4
\$14,000-16,999..	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
\$17,000-19,999..	<input type="checkbox"/> 6
\$20,000-22,999..	<input type="checkbox"/> 7
\$23,000-25,999..	<input type="checkbox"/> 8
\$26,000-49,999..	<input type="checkbox"/> 9
\$50,000 or more.	<input type="checkbox"/> 0

JEWISH VISUAL CULTURE INVENTORY

INSTRUCTIONS:

The following is a list of ritual and ceremonial items, or Jewish cultural artifacts which might be found in the American Jewish home. Please check(✓) the way in which each of the following items were/are displayed or used in your own home and in the home of your parents.

		VISIBLY DISPLAYED IN HOME (4)	USED REGU- LARLY (ON APPROPRIATE OCCASIONS) (3)	PRESENT IN HOME, BUT NOT USED REGULARLY (2)	NOT PRESENT IN HOME (1)	DON'T KNOW IF IT IS/WAS PRESENT (0)
Mezzuzah on doorpost	RESPONDENT					
	PARENT					
Sabbath candle sticks	RESPONDENT					
	PARENT					
Kiddush cup	RESPONDENT					
	PARENT					
Chanukah menorah	RESPONDENT					
	PARENT					
Havdalah set	RESPONDENT					
	PARENT					
Talit (prayer shawl)	RESPONDENT					
	PARENT					
T'fillin (phylacteries)	RESPONDENT					
	PARENT					
Seder plate	RESPONDENT					
	PARENT					
Bible(Five Books of Moses)	RESPONDENT					
	PARENT					
Jewish prayer book	RESPONDENT					
	PARENT					
Succah	RESPONDENT					
	PARENT					
Separate set of dishes for meat/dairy/Passover	RESPONDENT					
	PARENT					
Yarmulka (skull cap)	RESPONDENT					
	PARENT					
Books of Jewish content	RESPONDENT					
	PARENT					
Musical records of Jewish content	RESPONDENT					
	PARENT					
Jewish or Israeli objects of art	RESPONDENT					
	PARENT					
Posters or other memora- bilia of Jewish content	RESPONDENT					
	PARENT					
Jewish encyclopedia	RESPONDENT					
	PARENT					
Chanukah dreidl (a game)	RESPONDENT					
	PARENT					

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR COOPERATION IN FILLING OUT THIS QUESTIONNAIRE. YOU MAY BE SURE THAT ALL THE INFORMATION YOU HAVE PROVIDED WILL REMAIN STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.

is which
of the
parents.

FAITH, ETHNICITY AND THE MARRIAGE BOND

A SURVEY ON THE ROLE OF RELIGIOUS AND CULTURAL BACKGROUND IN FAMILY LIFE

DON'T
KNOW
IF IT
IS/WAS
PRESENT
(0)

THIS IS PART I OF OUR SURVEY. IT WAS SPECIFICALLY DESIGNED TO BE COMPLETED BY PERSONS WHO WERE NOT BORN JEWISH. PLEASE COMPLETE THE QUESTIONNAIRE ON YOUR OWN, BEARING IN MIND THAT THERE ARE NO RIGHT OR WRONG ANSWERS TO THE QUESTIONS. WE ARE INTERESTED IN YOUR PERSONAL RESPONSES.

NATURALLY, YOUR ANSWERS WILL BE KEPT IN THE STRICTEST CONFIDENCE AND WILL BE USED IN COMBINATION WITH THE ANSWERS OF HUNDREDS OF OTHER RESPONDENTS FOR PURPOSES OF STATISTICAL ANALYSIS.



American Jewish Committee
Institute of Human Relations

YOU
CON-

PERSONAL PROFILE

Inasmuch as our study is designed to learn something about the cultural dynamics of families with a mixed ethnic and religious heritage, we need to learn some details of the background of each partner. Please complete all of the following questions in the appropriate spaces. Please do not consult your spouse or anyone else in filling out this questionnaire. Once again, you may be assured that your answers will be kept in the strictest confidence.

SECTION I.

In this section of our survey we would like to have some information about your family circumstances when you were a teen-ager. We are especially interested in your parents, siblings, friends; their attitudes and your relationship to them.

	Father	Mother
1. In what year were your parents born?		
2. As a teen-ager, did you live in the home of your parents?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 1 No <input type="checkbox"/> 2	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 1 No <input type="checkbox"/> 2
3. What were the occupations of your parents when you were a teen-ager?		
4. What was the highest level of education your parents achieved?		
Secular - Degree		
Religious - Total # of years		
5. Did either of your parents belong to any church for any length of time while you were a teen-ager?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 1 No <input type="checkbox"/> 2	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 1 No <input type="checkbox"/> 2
IF "YES" IN Q.5:		
5a. What kind? (e.g., Catholic, Methodist, etc.)		
5b. For how long?		
6. Please check the box next to the statement that best indicates how your parents regarded religion and/or their ethnic cultural heritage.		
An essential part of daily life	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 1
A taken-for-granted matter, not a subject of much concern	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
More or less ignored, they made no attempt to impart it to me	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 3
At best, a subject of scorn and derision	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 4
7. If you think back to the time when you were still living in your parents home, how would you describe their attitudes toward Jews? (PLEASE CHECK ONE BOX AT RIGHT.)		
They had stereotyped negative images of Jews	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Didn't know any Jews and never thought or spoke about them one way or the other.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Met Jews only in formal business or casual social contexts, and did not regard them in any special way	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Had a few close Jewish friends and generally thought highly of Jews	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Had many Jewish friends, and saw no difference between themselves and Jews as a group	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Father	Mother
8. Into what religion and/or denomination was each of your parents born? (e.g., Orthodox Jew, Catholic, Lutheran)		

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Using the following categories -- Strongly Favored, Favored, No Opinion, Opposed, and Strongly Opposed -- how would you describe your parents attitudes toward each of the following: (PLEASE CHECK ONE CATEGORY FOR BOTH MOTHER AND FATHER FOR EACH ITEM LISTED ON THE LEFT IN GRID BELOW.)

		STRONGLY FAVORED	FAVORED	UN- CONCERNED	OPPOSED	STRONGLY OPPOSED
Your attendance at church services	FATHER	5	4	3	2	1
	MOTHER					
Your friendship with Jews	FATHER					
	MOTHER					
Your dating Jews	FATHER					
	MOTHER					
Your participation in such church sponsored activities as dances, charity drives, etc.	FATHER					
	MOTHER					
Your familiarity with your parents' religious heritage	FATHER					
	MOTHER					
Your participation in such Jewish celebrations such as Passover or Chanukah	FATHER					
	MOTHER					
Helping to improve the social welfare of other ethnic groups	FATHER					
	MOTHER					
The general social welfare or civil rights of Jews	FATHER					
	MOTHER					
Your parents' social contacts with Jews	FATHER					
	MOTHER					
Inter-faith religious celebrations between Christians and Jews	FATHER					
	MOTHER					
Marriage between Christians and Jews	FATHER					
	MOTHER					
The economic behavior of Jews	FATHER					
	MOTHER					
The political behavior of Jews	FATHER					
	MOTHER					

10. Were your parents alive at the time of your present marriage?

Father: Yes ☐ 1 No ☐ 2

Mother: Yes ☐ 1 No ☐ 2

"YES" TO EITHER FATHER OR MOTHER IN Q.10:

11. Are your parents alive today?

Father: Yes ☐ 1 No ☐ 2

Mother: Yes ☐ 1 No ☐ 2

12. If you think back to the friends you had between your early teens and the time you finished high school, how would you describe the composition of your peer group? (PLEASE CHECK ONE OF THE BOXES UNDER THE COLUMN HEADED Q.12 IN THE GRID BELOW.)

13. Using the same categories as in the previous questions, how would you characterize your choice of "dates" before you ever got married? (PLEASE CHECK ONE OF THE BOXES UNDER THE COLUMN HEADED Q.13 IN THE GRID BELOW.)

	Q.12 PEERS	Q.13 DATES
Completely made up of Jews	6	6
Mostly made up of Jews	5	5
Pretty well mixed, including Jews and non-Jews	4	4
Mostly non-Jewish, including a few Jews	3	3
Completely non-Jewish	2	2
I was mostly unaware of their religious and/or ethnic background	1	1

14. What is the name of the town or city in which you spent most of your teen years? (e.g., Little Rock, Ark.) _____

IF YOUR PARENTS WERE SEPARATED OR DIVORCED, PLEASE CHECK HERE () AND SKIP THE NEXT TWO QUESTIONS.

15. Using the following categories, how would you describe the feelings and attitudes you recall your father having toward your mother when you were growing up? (PLEASE CHECK ONE OF THE BOXES UNDER THE COLUMN HEADED Q.15 IN THE GRID BELOW.)

16. Using the same categories as in the previous question, please indicate how you recall the feelings and attitudes that your mother had toward your father when you were growing up. (PLEASE CHECK ONE OF THE BOXES UNDER THE COLUMN HEADED Q.16 IN THE GRID BELOW.)

	Q.15 FATHER	Q.16 MOTHER
Warm, loving, friendly	6	6
Often rough, but basically caring	5	5
Fearful, servile, resentful	4	4
Domineering, hostile, exploiting	3	3
Cold, loveless, unemotional	2	2
Can't really tell	1	1

17. Using obviously very general categories, how would you describe your relationship to your father while you were still living in your parents' home? (PLEASE CHECK ONE OF THE BOXES UNDER THE COLUMN HEADED Q.17 IN THE GRID BELOW.)
18. Using the same categories, how would you describe your relationship to your mother while you were still living in your parents' home? (PLEASE CHECK ONE OF THE BOXES UNDER THE COLUMN HEADED Q.18 IN THE GRID BELOW.)

	Q.17 FATHER	Q.18 MOTHER
Quite distant	1	1
Somewhat close	2	2
Fairly close	3	3
Quite close	4	4
Extremely close	5	5

19. As you grew older, entered college and/or career, and became more independent, how did your relationship change with your father and mother? (PLEASE CHECK ONE BOX UNDER BOTH "FATHER" AND "MOTHER" BELOW.)

	FATHER		MOTHER
No change	<input type="checkbox"/> 0 GO TO Q.20		<input type="checkbox"/> 0 GO TO Q.20
Became much closer.....	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	} ANSWER Q.19a	<input type="checkbox"/> 4
Became a bit closer.....	<input type="checkbox"/> 3		<input type="checkbox"/> 3
Became a bit more distant	<input type="checkbox"/> 2		<input type="checkbox"/> 2
Became much more distant	<input type="checkbox"/> 1		<input type="checkbox"/> 1
			} ANSWER Q.19b

IF ANY CHANGE CHECKED IN Q.19 UNDER COLUMN HEADED "FATHER:"

- 19a. What do you think was the most important cause of this change in your relationship with your father?

IF ANY CHANGE CHECKED IN Q.19 UNDER COLUMN HEADED "MOTHER:"

- 19b. What do you think was the most important cause of this change in your relationship with your mother?

20. Are you presently living in the same household with your parents?

Yes ☐ 1 No ☐ 2

IF "NO" IN Q.20:

21. At what age did you first move out of their home and set up your own residence?

_____ If this was in connection with your college education, please check ☐

SECTION II.

In this section of our survey we would like to obtain information about your current involvements with your family and community.

22. Using the categories below, how close do each of the following relations -- parents, brother(s) and sister(s), other relatives -- live to you?
(PLEASE CHECK ONE BOX UNDER EACH OF THE COLUMN HEADINGS BELOW.)

	PARENTS	BROTHER(S) & SISTER(S)	OTHER RELATIONS (e.g., In-Laws)
Within walking distance	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Within a twenty-five mile radius.	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
In another city - beyond twenty-five miles	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
In another state or in another country - beyond a hundred miles.	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

		Q.23a	Q.23b	
23a. Before you got married, how often did you see at least one of your parents or other family members?	About once a day	<input type="checkbox"/> 8	<input type="checkbox"/>	ANSWER Q.23c
	More than once a day.	<input type="checkbox"/> 7	<input type="checkbox"/>	
	About once a week....	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	<input type="checkbox"/>	
	A few times a month..	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/>	
23b. Since you've been married to your present spouse, how often do you see your parents or other family members?	About once a month...	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/>	
	A few times a year...	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/>	
	About once a year....	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/>	
	Less than once a year	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/>	
	Never	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/>	GOTO Q.26

IF SEEN IN PAST COUPLE OF YEARS IN Q.23:

23c. Do you usually see them: Alone ☐ 1
With spouse..... ☐ 2
Alone and with spouse ☐ 3

24. Whose idea is it usually to get together? Your idea ☐ 1
Your spouse's idea ☐ 2
One of your parent's idea ☐ 3
It varies ☐ 4

24a. Since you've gotten married, do you enjoy seeing your parents and/or other members of your family ...

Much more than before	<input type="checkbox"/> 1
A bit more than before	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
About as much as before	<input type="checkbox"/> 3
A bit less than before	<input type="checkbox"/> 4
Much less than before	<input type="checkbox"/> 5

IF PARENTS DECEASED, SKIP QUESTIONS 25 - 27a AND CHECK HERE ☐

25. How often do you celebrate the following occasions with your parents?
(PLEASE CHECK A BOX UNDER ONE OF THE COLUMN HEADINGS FOR EACH OCCASION LISTED BELOW.)

	REGU- LARLY	SOME- TIMES	RARELY	HARDLY EVER OR NEVER
Christmas	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 1
Easter	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Thanksgiving	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
New Year's Eve (or Day) ..	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Your birthday/ their birthday	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other festive occasions				

EXPLAIN: _____

_____ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

- 25a. As often as you celebrate these occasions with parents, do you do so mostly

Alone ☐ 1

With spouse ☐ 2

Sometimes alone ☐ 3

26. Do you wish that you could see your parents more often or less often than you generally do?

Much less often ☐ 1

A bit less often ☐ 2

Do not wish any change ☐ 3

A bit more often ☐ 4

A lot more often ☐ 5

- 26a. How does your spouse feel about the frequency with which you see your parents?

27. How frequently do you speak to your parents on the telephone?

About once a day ☐ 5

More than once a week ☐ 4

About once a week ☐ 3

Not more than once a month ... ☐ 2

Only on special occasions or
in cases of emergency ☐ 1

Never ☐ 0

IF "SPEAK TO" AT ALL IN Q.27:

- 27a. Most of the time who calls whom?

You call them ☐ 1

They call you ☐ 2

There is no noticeable pattern ☐ 3

28. If you have any married brother(s) or sister(s), how would you compare your relationship to your parents with their relationship to your parents?
- Mine is much more distant.....☐ 1
Mine is somewhat more distant..☐ 2
About the same.....☐ 3
Mine is a bit closer.....☐ 4
Mine is much closer.....☐ 5

29. In the past couple of years how often have you seen at least one of your brother(s) or sister(s)?
- If you have no brother or sister, check here ☐ and skip Q.29a.
- About once a day☐ 7
More than once a week☐ 6
About once a week☐ 5
About once a month☐ 4
A few times a year☐ 3
Not more than once a year☐ 2
Less than once a year☐ 1

- 29a. When you have seen your brother(s) or sister(s), has it been ...
- By yourself☐ 1
With spouse☐ 2
Sometimes alone, sometimes with spouse☐ 3

30. In which of the following social circumstances do you regularly come in contact with members of your family such as parents, brother(s) or sister(s), cousins, etc.? (CHECK ALL THOSE THAT APPLY.)
- Business activity☐ 5
Enjoyment of leisure time☐ 4
Special family occasions☐ 3
Holidays☐ 2
Only when it is obligatory (e.g., weddings, funerals, etc.).....☐ 1

31. Can you list by name those three or four organizations, outside of your work, in which you are most actively involved?

- 31a. Is your spouse also actively involved in any of these organizations?

YES ☐ NO ☐

32. Can you please list by name those few charities to which you contribute most regularly and most generously?

- 32a. If you do not contribute to any, please check here. ☐

33. In which of the following types of ceremony was your present marriage contracted? (PLEASE CHECK ONE BOX UNDER THE COLUMN HEADED "COLUMN 33" IN THE GRID BELOW.)

33a. If previously married, what type of ceremony was performed for your first marriage? (PLEASE CHECK THE APPROPRIATE BOX UNDER THE COLUMN HEADED "COLUMN 33a" IN THE GRID BELOW.)

	COLUMN 33	COLUMN 33a
Formal synagogue ceremony	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ceremony in Rabbi's study	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/>
Civil ceremony only	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/>
Formal church ceremony	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/>
Both Jewish and Christian ceremony	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other (PLEASE EXPLAIN)		
_____	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	<input type="checkbox"/>

34a. Of the following, please check ☒ those who were present at your wedding. Of those present, whom would you have preferred not to have attended?

	ATTENDED	PREFERRED NOT TO ATTEND
Your parents	<input type="checkbox"/> 9	<input type="checkbox"/> 0
Your brother(s) & sister(s)...	<input type="checkbox"/> 8	<input type="checkbox"/> 1
Your grandparents	<input type="checkbox"/> 7	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
Your cousins	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	<input type="checkbox"/> 3
Your aunt(s) & uncle(s)	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 4
School friends	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
Other friends & associates ...	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 6
Spouse's parents	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 7
Spouse's brother(s) & sister(s)	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 8
Other of spouse's relatives ..	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 9

34b. Altogether, about how many people were present at the celebration of your wedding?

35. How would you describe the composition of the friends you now associate with most frequently? (PLEASE CHECK ONE.)

Completely made up of Jews...	<input type="checkbox"/> 6
Mostly made up of Jews	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
Pretty well mixed, including Jews and non-Jews	<input type="checkbox"/> 4
Mostly non-Jewish, including a few Jews	<input type="checkbox"/> 3
Completely non-Jewish	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
Not aware of religious or ethnic background of friends	<input type="checkbox"/> 1

36. The following is a list of Jewish organizations, movements or activities which can be found in today's American Jewish community. Please indicate the extent to which you are involved with each by placing a check in a box under each of the Column Headings that apply for each item.

	NEVER HEARD OF IT	HEARD OF IT BUT NOT FAMI- LIAR	FAMI- LIAR WITH IT	GIVE IT FIN- ANCIAL SUP- PORT	ACTIVE- LY IN- VOLVED IN ITS PROGRAM	OPPOSE ITS GOALS AND PRO- GRAMS
A. United Jewish Appeal	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 0
B. Federation of Jewish Philanthropies	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
C. Zionist Organization of America	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
D. Synagogue Council of America	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
E. Jewish Defense League	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
F. American Jewish Committee	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
G. American Jewish Congress	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
H. Jews for Jesus	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I. National Conference of Christians and Jews	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
J. Jewish Family Service	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
K. The Hineni movement	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
L. The Lubavitch, Chabad movement	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
M. The Veritan movement	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
N. Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry ..	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
O. Jewish Board or Bureau of Education ..	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
P. Hasidism	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Q. The Havurah movement	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
R. Jewish studies programs on college campuses	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
S. Parades celebrating Israeli Independence Day	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
T. Governmental aid for Jewish education	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
U. Annual commemorations for the Jewish victims of the Holocaust	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
V. Hadassah Women's Organization	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

37. In the space on the right, indicate by the letter in front of each item above, those organizations or activities with which you would like to become more familiar.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION IN COMPLETING THIS QUESTIONNAIRE.

PLEASE KEEP IT IN A SAFE PLACE AND RETURN IT WHEN OUR INTERVIEWER CALLS FOR IT.

Questionnaire addendum

43. For each of the following statements, please check a box under one of the columns to indicate whether you agree, tend to agree, have no position at all, tend to disagree, or disagree.

TEND HAVE NO
TO POSITION TEND TO DIS-
AGREE AGREE AT ALL DISAGREE AGREE

- | | | | | | |
|--|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| a. How one practices or believes in religion is a matter of individual conscience, and of little importance as far as the unity of the family is concerned | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |
| b. Rabbis, as the religious representatives of the Jewish community, have the legitimate right and moral obligation to decide who is and who is not a Jew | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. A Jew ceases to be Jewish when (s)he becomes an atheist or an agnostic | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| d. Women do not have sufficient opportunity in traditional Jewish practice for religious self-expression | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| e. Jews should devote more effort to developing good relations with non-Jews | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| f. Being Jewish is very important to me | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| g. Drugs can heighten genuine religious sensitivity | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| h. American Jewry and the Jews in Israel are parts of one people with a single heritage, destiny and role | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| i. The Nazi Holocaust was unique among the massacres of history | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| j. It is important to me that there should always be a Jewish people | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| k. Anti-Zionism is simply a form of anti-Semitism | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| l. Israel is the basic homeland of the Jewish people | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| m. Events since the Yom Kippur War in 1973 have increased my feeling of Jewish isolation | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| n. The differences between American Jews and Jews in Israel are more significant than the similarities | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| o. Religion should be entirely a private matter between a person and the God -- or whatever else -- (s)he believes in | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| p. If Jews behaved differently, there would be less anti-Semitism | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| q. Jews are justified in giving special weight to a candidate's attitudes toward issues of Jewish interest when casting their votes | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| r. Prayer is primarily a private and individual experience; its communal aspect is quite secondary | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| s. A Jew has greater responsibility for other Jews than for non-Jews | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| t. I personally feel myself to be a survivor of the Holocaust | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| u. I would be quite surprised and upset if my children did not regard themselves Jewish when they grew up | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| v. I would certainly not discourage my children from marrying a person just because (s)he was not born Jewish | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| w. God revealed himself to man in Jesus Christ | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| x. Reincarnation expresses my idea of what happens to people when they die | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| y. Jewish foods and Jewish humor are essential to what I mean by being Jewish | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

INSTRUCTIONS: With the question which follows below we are interested in finding out how frequently you discuss certain topics with your spouse and/or children. We would also like to find out whether discussions of these subjects create any disagreement between you.

47a. For each of the following items, please check () under the appropriate column in Section A whether you discuss these things often, sometimes, rarely, or never with your spouse and/or your children.

47b. For each of the items you've checked in Section A as a subject of discussion, please place an 'X' in the appropriate column in Section B to indicate whether such discussions are a source of agreement or disagreement between you.

		SECTION A				SECTION B	
		OFTEN	SOME-TIMES	RARELY	NEVER	AGREE	DIS-AGREE
The way your parents used to be religious	SPOUSE	4	3	2	1	1	2
	CHILDREN						
The way you like to observe religious holidays	SPOUSE						
	CHILDREN						
The attitudes of Christians towards Jews	SPOUSE						
	CHILDREN						
Political affairs pertaining to Jews	SPOUSE						
	CHILDREN						
The details and meaning of Bible stories	SPOUSE						
	CHILDREN						
The history of Jews in Europe and America	SPOUSE						
	CHILDREN						
Religion in general	SPOUSE						
	CHILDREN						
The making and spending of money	SPOUSE						
	CHILDREN						
The merits and faults of your friends	SPOUSE						
	CHILDREN						
The merits and faults of your relatives	SPOUSE						
	CHILDREN						
The proper sexual mores for youngsters	SPOUSE						
	CHILDREN						
How you spend your leisure time	SPOUSE						
	CHILDREN						
The merits and faults of your children's education	SPOUSE						
	CHILDREN						
The merits and faults of the neighborhood	SPOUSE						
	CHILDREN						
The choice of your children's friends	SPOUSE						
	CHILDREN						
The merits and faults of your own childhood	SPOUSE						
	CHILDREN						

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- 48a. For each activity listed in the grid below, please indicate, by placing a "✓" under the appropriate column heading in Section A, how frequently you participate in that particular activity.
- 48b. For each activity that you checked off in Q.48a as having participated in "Often," "Sometimes" or "Rarely," please indicate by placing a "✓" under the appropriate column in Section B whether you usually do this alone, with spouse, or with children.
- 48c. Again, for each activity that you checked off in Q.48a as having participated in "Often," "Sometimes," or "Rarely," please indicate by placing an "X" in Section C if your parents did this more frequently than you, less frequently or about the same as you.

	SECTION A				SECTION B			SECTION C		
	OFTEN	SOME-TIMES	RARE- LY	NEV- ER	A- LONE	WITH SPOUSE	W/CHIL- DREN	PARENTS DID		
	4	3	2	1	1	2	3	MORE 1	LESS 2	SAME 3
Participate in Jewish prayer services										
Participate in non-Jewish prayer services										
Attend synagogue throughout the year										
Participate in individual psychotherapy (or group therapy)										
Keep kosher outside of the home										
Bring only kosher meat into home										
Participate in events sponsored by Jewish organizations (e.g., march on behalf of Israel, or fund raising)										
Refrain from working or traveling on sabbath										
Build and/or visit a Sukkah										
Attend religious services on Rosh Hashana and Yom Kippur										
Celebrate Christmas										
Attend church on Christmas and/or Easter										
Attend spiritual meetings of a non-denominational nature										
Practice Yoga, Transcendental Meditation, or some other Eastern meditative exercise										
Smoke marijuana										
Participate in spiritual or meditative retreats										
Participate in "marriage encounter"										
Light Sabbath candles (or spouse)										
Make <u>Kidush</u> on Sabbath & holidays (or spouse does so)										
Light Chanukah candles										
Fast on Yom Kippur										
Celebrate Purim										

49. Are there any activities mentioned above which you do not participate in, but possibly would like to? Please indicate which one(s) in the space provided below.

62a. Parents want different things for their children, and with different degrees of interest. Indicate, by checking the appropriate box on each line, your preferences with regard to the following items in Section A. If you have no children, answer these items in terms of how you think you'd feel if you did have children.

62b. In Section B, please indicate by placing an "X" in the appropriate column, whether your spouse probably agrees or disagrees with your choice of response in Section A.

	SECTION A							SECTION B	
	VERY STRONGLY EN- COURAGE	ACTIVE- LY EN- COURAGE	PREFER	MAKES NO DIFFER- ENCE	PREFER NOT	ACTIVE- LY DIS- COURAGE	VERY STRONGLY DIS- COURAGE	A- GREE	DISA- GREE
	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	1	2
Get a good Jewish education									
Be a political liberal									
Settle in Israel									
Belong to a synagogue									
Not marry a non-Jew									
Contribute to United Jewish Appeal and/or other Jewish causes									
Believe in God									
Observe the Sabbath									
Have a kosher home									
Get a college education									
Appreciate music and/or art									
Develop physical strength and agility									
Enjoy religious celebrations									
Have mostly Jewish friends									
Be politically active									
Marry and have children									
Develop charm and poise									
Lead their lives as good Christians									
Overcome the need to identify with any particular religious group									

[illegible]

Survey on the Role of Religious and Cultural Background in Family Life

In the appropriate space on this cover sheet please fill in the name of the person for whom this interview schedule is being completed. At the end of the interview also please be sure to indicate in the appropriate space how long it took to complete this interview.

Please record the highlights of the respondent's answers verbatim where the questions are open-ended. Keep your notes and any additional observations as legible as possible. Someone else will have to read them. Thank you for your good efforts.

Duration of Interview	min.
1	1
2	2
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98	98
99	99
100	100

Yes ☐ No ☐

Current Marital Status

11

INTERVIEWER:

Say to respondent, "First I would like to ask you some questions about yourself before you got married."

1. How did you meet each other?

CODING CATEGORIES

- ☐ school setting
- ☐ work setting
- ☐ introduced by friends
- ☐ other

FILL IN VERBATIM & CHECK APPROPRIATE CATEGORY BELOW THE QUESTION.

2. How soon after you met did you become aware of your wife's/husband's religious or ethnic background?

CODING CATEGORIES

- ☐ before ever meeting
- ☐ after first meeting
- ☐ after several meetings
- ☐ long after many meetings
- ☐ only when the subject of marriage came up
- ☐ other

FILL IN VERBATIM & CODE

3. How long was your courtship?

FILL IN VERBATIM

4. Did you "live together" for any length of time before you got married?

CODING CATEGORIES

— Yes

— No

— Other

5. Can you recall how you felt at that time about the fact that you did not share the same religious background?

CODE ANSWER

___ 1 I was pleased about it

___ 2 I had no distinct feelings about it

___ 3 I was troubled by it a little

___ 4 I was troubled by it a great deal

___ 9 I can't recall my feelings now

6. How did your parents and family react to your plans of marrying someone from a different religious/ethnic background?

FILL IN VERBATIM

PROBE: What seemed to bother them the most?

background?

PROBE: What seemed to bother
them the most?

7. Did you personally anticipate any possible difficulties in your marriage relationship because of the differences in your backgrounds?

CODE ANSWER

___ 1 Yes IF 'YES' ASK QUESTION 8

___ 2 No

___ 3 Can't remember

8. Which of the following concerned you the most as possible difficulties in the future?

INTERVIEWER: RANK ANSWERS IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE '1', '2', etc.

___ a parents' feelings

___ b family pressure

___ c attitudes of in-laws

___ d personal religious/cultural feelings

___ e anti-Semitism

___ f community pressure

___ g raising children

___ h other

9. Did you consult any clergy for advice about your marriage plans?

CODE ANSWER

___ 1 Yes IF 'YES' ASK QUESTION 10.

___ 2 No

___ 3 Other

10. Which of the following types of clergy did you consult?

CODE ANSWER: CHECK EACH THAT APPLIES

- ___ 1 campus rabbi
 ___ 2 rabbi known to parents or family
 ___ 3 other rabbi
 ___ 4 campus priest or minister
 ___ 5 other priest or minister
 ___ 6 Other

11. How responsive did you find the various clergymen whom you consulted in dealing with your needs and concerns?

FILL IN VERBATIM

12. Did the fact that you and your wife/husband come from different religious or ethnic backgrounds make you hesitate at any point about getting married?

CODE ANSWER

- ___ 1 Yes
 ___ 2 No
 ___ 3 Can't remember
 ___ 4 Other

INTERVIEWER: Say to respondent, "I would now like to ask you some questions about your feelings toward religious or spiritual matters."

13. Thinking back to the time just prior to your getting married, how important would you say your own religious background was to you?

CODING CATEGORIES

- ___1___ very important
___2___ somewhat important
___3___ unimportant
___4___ actually tried to avoid it
___5___ was actively opposed to it

FILL IN VERBATIM & CODE

14. How would you describe your feelings toward organized Jewish worship?

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERS '9' ASK

Do you ever feel like you would like to know more about it?

- ___1___ Yes
___2___ No

CODE ANSWER

- ___1___ Like it very much
___2___ Like it somewhat
___3___ Don't care about it
___4___ Dislike it somewhat
___5___ Dislike it very much

___9___ Don't really know enough about it

15. How would you describe your feelings toward organized Christian worship?

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERS '9' ASK

Do you ever feel like you would like to know more about it?

___1 Yes

___2 No

CODE ANSWER

___1 Like it very much

___2 Like it somewhat

___3 Don't care about it

___4 Dislike it somewhat

___5 Dislike it very much

___9 Don't really know enough about it

16. How often do you experience feelings which you would describe as religious or spiritual?

CODE ANSWER

___4 Often

___3 Occasionally

___2 Rarely

___1 Never

IF RESPONDENT EVER HAS SUCH FEELINGS ASK QUESTION 17.

17. How would you describe these religious or spiritual feelings?

PROBE: under what circumstances do you have these feelings?

FILL IN VERBATIM

INTERVIEWER:

The following questions are to be asked only from respondents who were not born Jewish. For respondents who were born Jewish continue with Question 27.

18. Do you regard yourself as Jewish?

CODE ANSWER

- ___1 Yes IF 'YES' ASK QUESTION 19, etc.
___2 No IF 'NO' SKIP TO QUESTION 23
___3 Sometimes Yes
___4 Confused about it
___5 Other
-

19. How did you become Jewish?

CODE ANSWER

- ___1 Formal Orthodox conversion
___2 Formal Conservative conversion
___3 Formal Reform conversion
___4 Formal conversion, but don't know which branch of Jewish rabbinat
___5 Informal conversion, by pledge to spouse and family
___6 Informal conversion, by personal resolution
___7 Other IF 'OTHER' PLEASE PROBE AND FILL IN VERBATIM

IF ANY TYPE OF FORMAL CON-
VERSION TOOK PLACE ASK
QUESTION 20.

20. Could you describe some of your feelings about the various aspects of the conversion process and the people who administered it.

FILL IN VERBATIM

21. At what point did you decide to become Jewish?

CODE ANSWER

- ___4 Before I ever met my present spouse.
 ___3 When I decided to marry my present spouse
 ___2 After I married my present spouse
 ___1 After our first child was born
 ___5 Other IF 'OTHER' PLEASE FILL IN

22. Who or what most influenced you to become Jewish?

FILL IN VERBATIM

23. All couples have misunderstandings and adjustment problems from time to time. To what extent would you attribute the misunderstandings and adjustment problems you have to the fact that you and your husband/wife do not share a common religious or ethnic heritage from birth?

CODE ANSWER

- 1 To a very large extent
2 To a moderate extent
3 To only a small extent
4 To no extent at all

24. Do you think you would ever like to be Jewish?

CODE ANSWER

- 1 Yes, definitely } ASK QUESTION 25
2 Yes, at times
3 Never thought about it
4 No, don't think so } ASK QUESTION 26
5 No, definitely not

25. What is the most important reason for you, which might make you become Jewish?

FILL IN VERBATIM

26. What is the most important reason for you, which stands in your way of becoming Jewish?

FILL IN VERBATIM

INTERVIEWER: If your respondent was born Jewish continue with QUESTION 27.

27. All couples have misunderstandings and adjustment problems from time to time. To what extent would you attribute the misunderstandings and adjustment problems you may have to the fact that you and your wife/husband come from different religious or ethnic backgrounds?

CODE ANSWER

- 1 To a very large extent
2 To a moderate extent
3 To only a small extent
4 To no extent at all

28. Did you ever consider converting to another religion?

CODE ANSWER

- 1 Yes IF 'YES' ASK QUESTIONS 29 & 30
2 No
3 Other

29. To which religion did you consider conversion?

FILL IN VERBATIM

30. Why didn't you actually convert?

FILL IN VERBATIM

INTERVIEWER:

Say to respondent, "I would now like to ask you some questions about your family life since you been married."

31. Are there any problems which you and your wife/husband have had to face on account of your religious background differences, which you did not foresee when you first got married?

IF 'YES' CODE ANSWER AND GO TO NEXT QUESTION

IF 'NO' CHECK HERE []
AND SKIP NEXT QUESTION

32. How have you or are you resolving these problems?

FILL IN VERBATIM

FILL IN VERBATIM IF CODING CATEGORIES ARE NOT ADEQUATE check each that applies

- ___1___ intolerance of parents or in-laws
___2___ spouse's strong feelings about own religion
___3___ giving children an ethnic/religious identity
___4___ other PLEASE EXPLAIN BELOW

33. How well would say you get along with your wife's/husband's parents and family?

CODE ANSWER

- ___1___ Better than with my own
___2___ As well as with my own

INTERVIEWER:

Say to respondent, "I would now like to ask you some questions about your experiences with and feelings towards the Jewish community."

34. Would you say that your involvement with and feelings towards the Jewish community have changed in any way since you've been married?

CODE ANSWER

___ 1 Yes, more involved with it

___ 2 No

___ 3 Yes, less involved with it

IF 'YES' EITHER WAY, ASK WHY

AND FILL IN ANSWER

ASK Q. 35 ONLY OF PERSON NOT BORN JEWISH

35. Would you say that your involvement with and feelings towards the religion or ethnic heritage of your birth have changed in any way since you've been married?

CODE ANSWER

___ 1 Yes, more involved with it

___ 2 No

___ 3 Yes, less involved with it

IF 'YES' EITHER WAY, ASK WHY

AND FILL IN ANSWER

36. What kinds of services do you

FILL IN VERBATIM & CODE

36. What kinds of services do you think the Jewish community can provide for you and your family?

FILL IN VERBATIM & CODE

CODING CATEGORIES

- ___ 1 religious services
___ 2 recreation for children
___ 3 recreation for adults
___ 4 education for children
___ 5 education for adults
___ other

37. Are you satisfied with the services which the Jewish community makes available to you?

CODE ANSWER & FILL IN VERBATIM REASONS BELOW

- ___ 1 Yes
___ 2 No IF 'NO' ASK WHY?
___ 3 Other

38. Do you feel that families such as yours, in which husband and wife come from different religious backgrounds, have any special needs of which the organized Jewish community ought to be aware?

CODE ANSWER

- ___ 1 Yes IF 'YES' ASK "WHAT ARE THEY?"
___ 2 No IF 'NO' ASK "WHAT ARE THEY?"
___ 3 Uncertain

39. Have you ever had any experience with any segment or organization of the Jewish community where you felt discriminated against because you and your wife/husband do not come from the same religious & ethnic background?

FILL IN VERBATIM & CODE: PROBE FOR DETAILS

CODING CATEGORIES

- ___ 1 Yes, in social gathering
___ 2 Yes, related to children
___ 3 Yes, in synagogue setting
___ 4 Yes, other
___ 5 No

40. Using your own experience as the guide, how would you compare the way that the Jewish community treats people or families with mixed religious backgrounds to the way other communities treat such people or families?

FILL IN VERBATIM & CODE

CODING CATEGORIES

- ___ 1 Jewish community more tolerant and inviting
___ 2 see no difference between Jewish and other communities
___ 3 Jewish community less tolerant
___ 4 can't really say

INTERVIEWER:

Say to respondent, "I would now like to ask you a few questions about **having and raising** children."

NOTE:

If respondent has no children or has grown children, ask that he/she should answer your questions anyway, either hypothetically or retrospectively.

IF: respondent has no children, CHECK BOX HERE[] 1

IF: respondent has grown children, CHECK BOX HERE[] 2

IF: spouse has own children living at home, CHECK BOX HERE[] 3

IF: respondent has children living with former spouse, CHECK BOX HERE[] 4

41. How many children would you like to have (had)?

FILL IN VERBATIM.

42. How closely would you say that you and your wife/husband agree on the number of children you've had or plan to have?

CODE ANSWER

___4 Completely agree

___3 Tend to agree

___2 Tend to disagree

___1 Completely disagree

ASK Q. 43

43. Which of you would like to have (had) more and which fewer number of children?

CODE ANSWER

___1 Wife more

___2 Husband more

___4 Husband fewer

INTERVIEWER: If respondent was previously married, ask

44. Do you have any children by a previous marriage

CODE ANSWER

1 Yes IF 'YES' ASK HOW MANY?

FILL IN HOW MANY, IF 'YES'

2 No

9 Not previously married

INTERVIEWER:

Say to respondent, "I am going to list a number rituals or activities through which some parents transmit their religious heritage to their children. Could you please tell me whether you have done any of these with your children? Would you do so or do you plan to do so? You may just reply 'YES' or 'NO' to each item. It is also possible that you may have never heard of some of the things I will now list."

CODE ANSWER

NH

45. Ritual circumcision (for son)	1 Yes	2 No	3 Undecided	—
46. Pidyan haBen/Pidyan ha Bat	1	2	3	—
47. Baptism	1	2	3	—
48. a Hebrew name	1	2	3	—
49. Bar Mitzvah/Bat Mitzvah	1	2	3	—
50. Church Confirmation	1	2	3	—
51. a choice about what religion they wish to choose when they grow up	1	2	3 Undecided	—

52. some form of education about

INTERVIEWER:

If respondent's children are receiving some form of religious education, ask

52. some form of education about

INTERVIEWER: If respondent's children are receiving some form of religious education, ask

53. What sort of Jewish education are your children getting, or are you planning to give them?

CODE ANSWER

6 Orthodox day school

5 Conservative day school

4 Reform day school

3 afternoon or Sunday Hebrew school

2 whatever we teach them at home

I other PLEASE EXPLAIN

54. How do your children like their experience with (above)?

FILL IN VERBATIM & PROBE WHAT THEY LIKE AND DISLIKE

55. Until what age would you like or do you expect your children to receive Jewish education?

FILL IN VERBATIM

Son(s)

Daughter(s)

56. What sort of non-Jewish religious instruction are you providing or planning to provide for your child(ren)?

FILL IN VERBATIM

INTERVIEWER: Say to respondent, "Finally, I would like to ask you just a few more questions about how you spend time in your family?"

57. About how much time do you spend at work each day?

FILL IN VERBATIM

58. About how much time do you spend travelling to and from work?

FILL IN VERBATIM

59. About how much time do you spend alone with your wife/husband (without watching television)?

FILL IN VERBATIM

60. About how much time do you spend with your child(ren) (not including TV watching time)?

FILL IN VERBATIM

61. Have you read any books of Jewish content in the past year?

CODE ANSWER

1 Yes IF 'YES' ASK QUESTION 62.

2 No

61. Have you read any books or Jewish
content in the past year?

CODE ANSWER

1 Yes IF 'YES' ASK QUESTION 62.

2 No

19

62. Could you tell me the name of the
most recent book?

FILL IN VERBATIM

63. Do you regularly read any magazines
or newspapers of Jewish content?

CODE ANSWER

1 Yes IF 'YES' ASK QUESTION 64.

2 No

64. Could you tell me the name(s) of
the magazines or newspapers?

FILL IN VERBATIM

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR BEING SUCH A GOOD AND PATIENT RESPONDENT. DO YOU HAVE ANY
QUESTIONS YOU WOULD LIKE TO ASK ME?

CAN YOU THINK OF ANY ANYONE YOU KNOW WHOSE FAMILIES ARE OF A MIXED-FAITH BACKGROUND
AND WHOM I MIGHT ALSO INTERVIEW?

AJC/JCAD
76-750-182

Respondent's
name: _____

ADDENDUM TO INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

INTERVIEWER:

Please ascertain the answers to the following additional questions in the course of the interview.

1. Race or ethnic background of the spouse who was not born Jewish FILL IN
(e.g. Black, Chinese, etc.) _____
2. If the spouse whom you are interviewing was previously married, what was the religious and/or ethnic background of the previous spouse FILL IN

3. ASCERTAIN THIS INFORMATION AFTER YOU'VE ASKED QUESTION #19 OF THE SPOUSE WHO WAS NOT BORN JEWISH

a. Did you incur any financial costs in connection with the conversion?

IF "YES" ASK

b. What was the amount of these costs?

c. To whom were the monies paid, and for what services?

4. ASCERTAIN THIS INFORMATION AFTER YOU'VE ASKED QUESTION #28

If the spouse who was born Jewish converted, when and why did (s)he convert and to what religion? FILL IN.....