



THE JACOB RADER MARCUS CENTER OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

Preserving American Jewish History

MS-603: Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum Collection, 1945-1992.

Series C: Interreligious Activities. 1952-1992

Box 24, Folder 3, Intermarriage, 1967-1978.

D R A F T

Date

Mr. Manfred R. Lehmann
Lehmann Trading Corp.
225 West 34th Street
New York, N. Y. 10001

Dear Mr. Lehmann:

I must confess we simply do not see eye to eye. My own reaction on reading the article in TIME Magazine was largely that of gratification. I find it encouraging that "the number of non-Jewish secular campuses in the United States offering Judaic studies have jumped from 7 to 100," and that there is a great demand in secular and Christian universities for teachers of Jewish theology, history, literature and culture.

My feeling that this is a development to be welcomed is not significantly dampened by the information that an Episcopalian co-ed now claims herself willing to marry a Jew.

Recent studies indicate that intermarriage is on the rise among the young generation in the United States. Like yourself, and like most American rabbis, I am concerned about this information. But I do not assume any direct relationship between intermarriage and inter-religious dialogue. On the contrary, my own presuppositions are that intermarriage more likely is a result of lack of Jewish commitment, which in turn is related to inadequate or juvenile Jewish education. To the extent that major universities are beginning to take Judaic studies seriously, and to seek scholars that can present Judaism,

Jewish history, culture, etc. on a meaningful and intellectual demanding level, I believe college students can only *g* benefit from it, and such a development may help to counteract some of the disinterest among the younger generation.

I hope I do not interpret you correctly, but I get the impression that you appear to believe that Judaism can only survive in an atmosphere of Christian hostility and repression. I need not remind you that more of our people have been lost by pogroms, massacres and as a result of Christian hostility than through attrition or inter-marriage.

Sincerely yours,

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
Director
Interreligious Affairs Department

MHT:as

July 24, 1967

✓
Mr. Manfred R. Lehmann
Young Israel of Lawrence-Cedarhurst
26 Columbia Avenue
Cedarhurst, L.I., N. Y.

Dear Mr. Lehmann:

AMERICAN JEWISH

It is particularly difficult to reply conscientiously to a letter so filled with sweeping generalizations and inaccurate accusations as your of July 4th; one is always tempted to dismiss such personal invective as crank mail. However, because of your ahavat Israel and your obvious concern for a vital and continuing Jewry, I feel I owe you the courtesy of a frank and sincere reply.

Your major argument as I understand it, is that the ecumenical climate is a smoke screen set up by the Roman Catholic Church to achieve through "soft sell" what it has been unable to achieve through centuries of repression and force--the conversion of Jews; and that interreligious dialogue is a devious tool of this plan, "exposing unsuspecting Jewish lay masses to trained Christian theologians and missionaries."

To answer these charges directly, let me ask you how many Jews have been converted to Christianity as a result of ecumenical developments or interreligious dialogue? All of those "captive Jewish audience" which have been delivered "on a silver platter" thus fulfilling "the dream of the Church throughout history," have they indeed accepted baptism? May I ask you to put aside these hollow verbiages and look at the realities? American Jews are simply not converting to Christianity or other religions in any numbers, and there is absolutely no evidence to support your contention that Catholic initiatives toward interreligious cooperation have weakened Jewish loyalty or commitment. (In fact, the near unanimous response of the entire Jewish community during the recent Middle East

crisis would indicate exactly the contrary. That Jewish identity and loyalty are deeply imbedded, even among Jews who consider themselves secularist and who had little or no formal affiliation.)

You have a somewhat quaint view of the dialogue process, apparently envisioning Jewish amei ha-aretz ranged against panals of the masters of casuistry. The image of the Jewish taxi driver sitting down to talk religion with Catholic theologians and biblical scholars might indeed be as frightening as it is amusing, but it just doesn't happen that way. Interreligious dialogue is pretty much on the peer level, theologians with theologians, educators with educators, laymen with laymen, or mixtures of these groups with similar mixtures. One interesting by-product of lay dialogue, incidentally, has been an increased interest on the part of the Jewish participants in deepening their understanding of their own tradition. In several communities where Jewish groups have been involved in dialogue with Christians, they have requested or initiated courses in Jewish Adult Education. It is quite possible that some of this interest may have been caused by simple embarrassment over their inability to respond adequately to questions asked by non-Jews, and you might reply that this is hardly a noble motive for Jewish study. But our own tradition teaches it is better to learn Torah for any reason than not to learn it at all.

I would like to touch on two attitudes I find implicit in your comments. First, as regards the Roman Catholic Church, I am as aware of its record of persecution and hostility against Jews as you. But I think it is still essential to see the church today as it really is, and not as an abstraction. Your own image seems to me to approximate the John Birch Society view of Communism: i.e., it is "the" arch enemy, a changeless and monolithic conspiracy within which any appearance of division or diversity is illusory, intended to entrap the innocent, and that those who believe otherwise are either dupes or traitors. It is my own belief that the divisions within the church today are authentic, not illusory, that those who advocate religious liberty, the elimination of anti-Semitism from Christian teaching and the promotion of understanding and respect for Jews and Judaism really mean it. They may indeed be a minority but they have already made extensive--if not radical--changes in religious textbooks, teacher training and seminary education. Such changes are a result of many factors, but ongoing dialogue with Jewish scholars and rabbis is certainly one among them.

Without ignoring the record of Catholic anti-Semitism, we must still make critical distinctions. Whatever the Crusaders did, no American Catholic ever crowded Jews into a synagogue and set it on fire. Whatever Polish and German Catholics did during the Hitler era, Italian Catholics saved Jews and American Catholics fought and helped defeat the Nazi machine. While the "official" church remained silent at the outbreak of the Middle East crisis--and we have

certainly been critical of this silence--it is also true that some of the forthright and eloquent declarations in support of Israel came from highly placed Catholic prelates, including Cardinals Cushing and Shehan and Archbishop Hallinan, and from the Catholic press.

Second, I find myself distressed by your implicit assumption that Judaism and Jewish commitment are so precarious and delicate that exposure to, and meeting with, people of other faiths will cause them to evaporate. You express a fear that interreligious dialogue will lead to assimilation and intermarriage. Assimilation and intermarriage are problems we have faced from the beginning of our history. Indeed, these problems may be particularly acute in a free and open society where the survival of any religious or cultural sub-group depends more on its internal resources than on the outside pressures to convert. My own reading of Jewish history informs me that our ranks have been more depleted by harsh and repressive measures than by free choice; that despite the glorious heroism of Jewish martyrs throughout history, we lost more Jews as a result of repression than we ever lost by genuinely voluntary conversion. You may read Jewish history otherwise, but your implication that I am a traitor to the cause of Judaism is dishonorable beyond reply.

A few points of personal privilege. To declare that I have single-handedly "accomplished for the Church in a short time what the Church could not accomplish in almost 2000 years" is the silliest kind of theatrical ranting. You exaggerate my powers. Second, "Christian charity" is not a term I have invoked, and you are knocking down a straw man by attacking the concept. In fact, to the best of my knowledge, no Jew involved in interreligious dialogue has ever used that term.

I doubt if my response will persuade you of my point of view. But I hope that future letters by you to myself or others who believe firmly and honestly in the benefits of interreligious dialogue and cooperation with other faith communities will stick to the issues, will reflect some elementary decency of approach, and will be free of personal vituperation.

Sincerely,

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, Director
Interreligious Affairs Department

MHT:as

November 27, 1967

Mr. Moshe Yinnon
Editor
HADOAR
120 West 16th St.
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Yinnon:

In a recent issue of HADOAR you carried a letter by a Mr. Manfred Lehman of Cedarhurst, Long Island.

The letter was little short of scurrilous. When I received his original diatribe I responded to it by refuting each of the unsubstantiated arguments that he set up in such a vehement fashion.

Mr. Lehman, as another expression of his sense of fair play, sent copies of his letter to a number of Anglo-Jewish publications, including the JTA. None of them saw fit to publish his venomous attack. One publication had the good judgment to call me and ask for my side of the case. When they read my reply to Mr. Lehman, they decided that it was not worthwhile to publish his statement.

Therefore, I am rather surprised that a publication of the stature of HADOAR should have made a decision to carry such an unworthy document. At the very least, it seems to me that you might have shown me the courtesy of asking if I had a reply. I would have been glad to share with you a copy of the letter that I sent to Mr. Lehman, to which incidentally he has not responded.

Under the circumstances, I must ask you to extend to me the same courtesy that you have shown to Mr. Lehman and to reprint my reply to him in your next issue of HADOAR.

Sincerely yours,

MHT:MSB

Rabbi Mare H. Tanenbaum

bcc: Rabbi Jacob B. Agus

March 2, 1978

Bertram Gold, Milton Himmelfarb, Selma Hirsh,
Will Katz, Ira Silverman, Marc Tanenbaum ✓
Yehuda Rosenman

Attached is the working draft of the summary report of the Study on the Effects of Inter-marriage.

I hope that you will have an opportunity to review this report before our meeting this Monday, March 6, 2:00 P.M., in Conference Room C.

We are interested in your thoughts and suggestions regarding the following:

1. The structure and language of the report.
2. The nature and content of Egon's analysis and implications of the data.
3. The p.r. implications of Egon's approach.
4. AJC strategy in publishing and using the Study report.

I look forward to seeing you on Monday.

YR:jh
enc.

First Draft
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MIXED BLESSINGS UNDER THE CANOPY

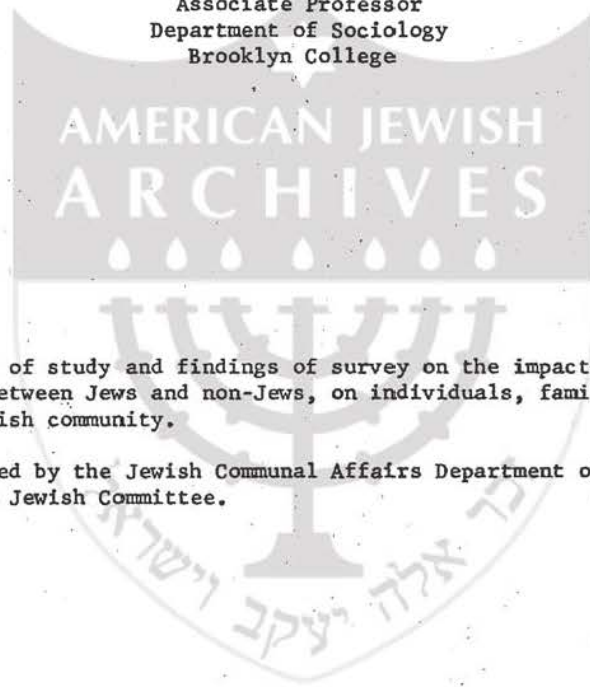
by Egon Mayer

Associate Professor
Department of Sociology
Brooklyn College

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

Summary of study and findings of survey on the impacts of marriage between Jews and non-Jews, on individuals, families, and the Jewish community.

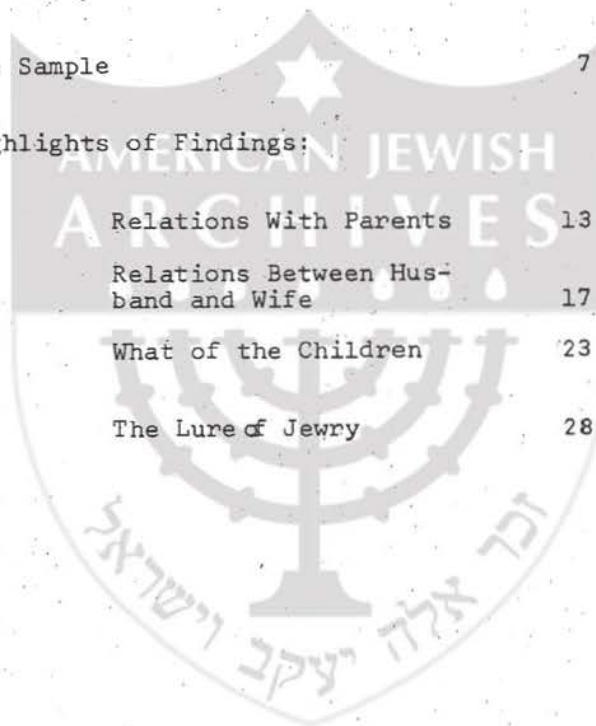
Sponsored by the Jewish Communal Affairs Department of the American Jewish Committee.



MIXED BLESSINGS UNDER THE CANOPY

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MIXED BLESSINGS UNDER THE CANOPY:

some impacts of marriage between persons of Jewish and non-Jewish ancestry, on their identities, their families, and the Jewish community based on a survey, 1978

by Egon Mayer

INTRODUCTION

Two great fears have haunted the Jewish mind since Biblical times: the fear of persecution, and the fear of assimilation. To be sure, the fear of persecution has nearly always been the more dominant fear. But in those historically rare periods when the Jew found himself in relatively tolerant and hospitable milieux, there also developed an equally deep fear of becoming "like the other nations." These two great fears have always stood in a dialectic relationship to one another, making relationships -- especially intimate relationships -- between Jews and non-Jews profoundly problematic. The fear of persecution has often made Jews wish that they were better liked and accepted by their gentile neighbors. Yet, when a climate of good-will and tolerance led to intimate relations, marriage, between Jew and gentile the great fear of assimilation has always reared its head.

It seems that persecution is not an unalloyed curse, nor is tolerance an unalloyed blessing. In times of the former Jews fear for their lives and property. In times of the latter they fear for their souls, their identity, their ultimate future. American Jews live, now, in one of these latter times.

According to the most reliable estimates, based on the National Jewish Population Study of 1971, somewhere between eight to ten percent of all families identified

as "Jewish" include a husband or a wife -- most often a wife -- who was not born Jewish. In at least seventy percent of the cases that spouse has also not converted to Judaism. Moreover, following the conclusions of that study, the proportions of non-Jews who are becoming members of the Jewish family system are increasing by dramatic leaps since the mid-1960s. It may be argued that intermarried Jewish families are the fastest growing segment of the American Jewish community. At present such families may include as many as 750,000 Jews and quasi-Jews, and by all indications their numbers are on the increase.

The glaring statistics heralding the trend of increasing Jewish intermarriages have triggered one of the primordial fears of the Jewish psyche: the fear of assimilation. Yet, as serious and pervasive as the alarm has been, there had not existed until now a single reliable scientific study which would establish the actual consequences of Jewish intermarriage. The assumption that intermarriage necessarily leads to the assimilation of the Jew, to other symptoms of family pathology, and ultimately to the erosion of the Jewish community had been so deeply ingrained in the Jewish collective mind that no scientific study of the matter was thought needed. However, some of the coincidental findings of the National Jewish Population Study -- it was not designed to study intermarriages -- along with frequent observations by rabbis, Jewish communal workers, and parents have raised the possibility that the conventional wisdom regarding the nexus between intermarriage and assimilation may require modification. Increasing numbers of conversions by non-Jews into Judaism as well as apparently increasing numbers of families who identify themselves as "Jewish" and wish to raise their children as Jews even in the ab-

sence of conversion by the non-Jewish mate have led to a more reasoned concern with the phenomenon of Jewish intermarriage, resulting in the present study.

THE STUDY

Beginning in the late spring of 1975 the American Jewish Committee undertook the sponsorship of a nation wide study to determine the impacts of intermarriage on the individuals who are most directly involved, as well as on their families and, by extrapolation, on the larger Jewish community. The aim of the study was to develop a reliable body of data on the basis of which the critical questions surrounding intermarriage may be answered. In general, the questions the study was designed to answer were as follows.

1. How has the mixed religious background of the couple effected husbands' and wives' relationships with their own and each other's parents?
2. How has the mixed religious background of the couple effect the personal relationship between husbands and wives?
3. What effects did the mixed religious background of the couple have on their plans for raising a family (e.g. desired family size, identity of children, and education of children)?
4. What kinds of formal and informal ties have intermarried families maintained with the Jewish community?
5. What is the significance of the conversion process in the lives of intermarried couples (e.g. why do some convert while others do not, and what are the consequences)?

6. What identity factors seem to predispose Jews to marry non-Jews, and non-Jews to marry Jews; what may be the consequences of these factors on their identities in adult life?

Apart from any theological or halachic considerations -- which clearly lie outside of the scope of this study -- it is believed that the above questions touch on all the major communal issues pertaining to Jewish intermarriage. It is hoped that the answers to them might provide the concerned American Jewish public with greater insight in to the meaning of the contemporary phenomenon, and might provide communal leaders with the requisite information for formulating enlightened policy responses to the dilemmas posed by marriage between Jews and non-Jews.

For the purposes of this study "intermarriage" was defined in the broadest possible terms as: any marriage between a person who was born Jewish and one who was not born Jewish. Conversion by either spouse prior to marriage was precisely one of the topics we wished to study in greater detail (e.g. who converts, when, why, how, and with what consequences). While the emphasis of our study was on fully in-tact marriages, our sample also included some former marriages which had been dissolved either by separation/divorce or death. From these we had hoped to gain some insight into the role of religious background differences in family dissolution.

The design of the study called for an in-depth survey of a representative sample of families which met our sample selection criterion. However, since the conduct of the research depended heavily on the voluntary cooperation of local chapters of the sponsoring agency around the country, the sample selection process was invariably tailored to local needs and capabilities. This administrative limitation, along with the impossibility of developing a comprehensive list of our target population,

precluded the possibility of random sample selection as means of assuring representativeness. Therefore, we resorted to a variety of sampling strategies in the hope that we would reach all the various segments of the target population in appropriate proportions, that we would get enough cases of each type for analytic purposes, and that the potential for bias inherent in any one of our selection techniques would be neutralized by the biases inherent in the other techniques. Our final sample of four hundred and forty-six ($n=446$) sample families was obtained through the following four strategies. (in descending order of importance).

- A. Random samples of Jewish names were selected in the target communities from local Federation lists. 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. This method produced approximately one quarter of our final sample.
- 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 its 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.

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.

Our survey instruments included both a self-administered questionnaire and a personal interview of an open ended nature with both spouses in the intermarriages (except in cases of separation, divorce, or widowhood). We were thus enabled to learn not only about the individuals in such marriages, but also about the interaction between them. Because our surveys were exhaustively long, including upwards of four hundred questions asked of each spouse, we shall only summarize the highlights of our findings in this brief report. A more complete report, to be published later, will also include comparable data from a control sample of endogamous Jewish families.

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THE SAMPLE

Eight chapters of the American Jewish Committee co-operated in the collection of the survey data: Cleveland, Dallas, Long Island, Los Angeles, New York City, Philadelphia, San Francisco, and Westchester County. The following table summarizes the returns from each.

Table 1
Number and Proportion of Surveys from Each Community

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

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 2
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

Ninety-five 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 five 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 3
Household Size

	<u>Percent</u>
Single adult	3.2
Couple or single adult with child	18.2
Couple with child	16.1
Couple with 2 children	29.6
Couple with 3 children	20.5
Couple with 4 children	8.1
Couple with 5 or more children	<hr/> 4.0
	100.0*

*NOTE: actual totals may not add to one hundred percent because of rounding errors

The so-called typical family had two children living with both of their natural parents. Only about a fifth of our

✓ respondents (22.6%) had no children. The families cut across the full range of the marital life cycle all the way from newlyweds to couples who had celebrated their golden wedding anniversary, as the table below indicates.

Table 4
Duration of Current Marriage

	<u>Percent</u>
less than 6 years	26.1
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 5
Age of Respondent

	<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
60 - 69	11.2	2.2	7.9	3.7
70 or over	<u>2.9</u>		<u>1.0</u>	<u>1.1</u>
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The higher proportion of born-gentile males in the younger age categories confirms the growing recognition of the increase of exogamy among young Jewish women. The figures also confirm an observation we had made only casually during our research: that Jewish women are more frequently found with born-gentile husbands who are younger than

are born-gentile women found with younger born-Jewish husbands.

The socio-economic patterns of our respondents were skewed distinctly toward the upper middle class. But here too we found distinct differences between families according to the differences in the sex of the spouse who was Jewish by birth.

Table 6
Occupation of Spouses

	<u>Jewish by Birth</u>		<u>Gentile by Birth</u>	
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Free professions	25.6	3.1	20.1	2.7
Bureaucratized professions	10.1	3.1	14.7	3.3
Academic professions	5.2	9.5	5.0	2.8
Entrepreneurs	18.9	3.4	14.2	5.4
Business Executives	15.0	4.9	11.4	7.4
Technical workers	2.1	2.0	7.7	1.4
Primary education, etc.	4.0	18.9	7.1	9.4
Office workers	.4	7.3		6.5
Health workers	.4	2.0		3.4
Public administrators	1.2	1.4	1.1	2.5
Skilled service	1.2	.7	2.3	.6
Unskilled service				.5
Arts	6.9	4.9	7.2	4.7
Housewives		32.6		36.6
Other	<u>9.0</u>	<u>6.3</u>	<u>10.0</u>	<u>13.0</u>
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

As these figures indicate, a somewhat greater proportion of the born-Jewish males are in the so-called free professions, and a much higher proportion of born-Jewish females are in academia than their born-gentile counterparts. Also, higher proportions of the born-Jewish males are in private business or executive level management, and exactly twice as many born-Jewish women are in primary and secondary education or

social work than their born-gentile counterparts. Substantially larger proportions of born-gentile men are in primary and secondary education, social work, and technical occupations, such as crafts, mechanics, or computer operations than their born-Jewish counterparts.

In short, using husband's occupation as the criterion, intermarried families in which the husband is the born-Jewish spouse are likely to be somewhat higher on the socio-economic scale than those families in which the wife is the born-Jewish spouse. In either case, however, both spouses are likely to be employed, giving the family a relatively high income, as seen from the table below.

Table 7

The Family Income

	<u>Percent</u>
Under 8,000	1.0
8,000 - 16,999	10.2
17,000 - 25,999	17.0
26,000 - 49,999	23.5
50,000 or over	24.3
NO ANSWER	<u>24.0</u>
	100.0

Numerical descriptions of family patterns tend to be rather bland stuff; hardly the object of intellectual titillation. Yet, the tables above do suggest a number of useful, and perhaps important insights into the character of America's intermarried Jewish families.

At least in demographic terms, the broad majority of the intermarried families appear to be just like the typical American Jewish family. "They" seem very much like "us". This demographic "normalcy" must inevitably lead intermarried families to ignore the stigmatizing label of

"intermarriage" and to think of themselves simply as a family, more or less like all other families. Perhaps equally importantly, the "normalcy" of their family patterns is bound to lead their friends, family, and neighbors to also ignore the invidious label and to regard them as a typical American -- and possibly, typical Jewish -- family. Here we confront one of the dilemmas of Jewish exogamy.

The marriage of Jews to non-Jews is often opposed by their parents, friends, and the Jewish community at large because it allegedly leads to family pathologies, such as childlessness, divorce, and more subtle problems. On the other hand, to the extent that the large majority of such families do not exhibit those symptoms of family pathology, it is feared that "normal" intermarried families will, by example, lead to the normalization of exogamy among Jews. And, of course, it is dreaded that such normalization will inevitably lead to the assimilation and disappearance of the Jew in the larger society. The contradiction between wanting to prevent family pathology, and the fear of the consequences of the normalization of intermarriage is one of the dilemmas of the American Jewish community as it tries to cope with Jewish intermarriages. A second, and perhaps even more profound dilemma is posed by "normal" families of Jews married to non-Jews who fail to assimilate as feared by the conventional wisdom. To these we shall return in a later section of this report.

In the section which follows below we turn to those highlights of our research which promise fruitful insights into the major questions of the study, as they were outlined above.

HIGHLIGHTS OF FINDINGS

Preface

As we have described above, the survey instruments were lengthy and complex. Over four hundred questions, both structured and open-ended, were asked of each partner in the intermarriage. When all these questions and the comparisons between them were finally converted into computer code, we had produced a total of 975 variables or items of information on each intermarriage in our sample. A thorough description and analysis of our findings will require a far longer presentation than is possible in this brief report. Therefore, the findings we present below are very general conclusions whose refinement and substantiation will have to await later publication.

Relations with Parents

The concern that parents have in general, and that Jewish parents have in particular, for maintaining good relationships with their children has worried many that intermarriage drives a wedge between them. The popular Jewish image of parents who tearfully sit shiva to mourn their exogamous sons and daughters is a typical reflection of this concern. To explore this area of concern we asked all our respondents numerous questions about their relationships with their parents both currently and before they were married.

One of the first questions asked respondents to rate the degree of their closeness to their fathers and mothers on an arbitrary scale of one-to-five where (1) indicated the most distant relationship and (5) indicated the closest relationship. This question was a retrospective one, referring back to the time when our respondents were adolescents or young adults prior to marriage.

Table 8

Degree of Emotional Closeness to Parents

	<u>Spouse Jewish by Birth</u>		<u>Spouse Gentile by Birth</u>	
	<u>to Father</u>	<u>to Mother</u>	<u>to Father</u>	<u>to Mother</u>
Least close	14.9	6.6	20.6	5.7
Somewhat close	17.1	12.8	19.5	15.5
Fairly close	27.1	21.0	25.1	25.9
Quite Close	25.2	33.0	20.9	29.6
Extremely close	<u>15.6</u>	<u>26.6</u>	<u>13.9</u>	<u>23.3</u>
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Comparing the average ratings of our born-Jewish respondents with those of our born-gentile respondents we found the former to be consistently higher. While born-Jewish respondents report an average of 3.09 vis-a-vis their fathers and 3.58 vis-a-vis their mothers, the averages for our born-gentile respondents were 2.88 vis-a-vis their fathers and 3.49 vis-a-vis their mothers. The difference between the relative closeness to one's parents also seems to be smaller for our born-Jewish respondents than for their born-gentile spouses.

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

Table 9

Evolution of Relationship to Parents

	<u>Spouse Jewish by Birth</u>		<u>Spouse Gentile by Birth</u>	
	<u>to Father</u>	<u>to Mother</u>	<u>to Father</u>	<u>to Mother</u>
Became more distant	18.2	26.5	19.6	24.6
No Change	50.9	51.8	46.6	46.4
Became more close	<u>30.9</u>	<u>21.7</u>	<u>33.9</u>	<u>28.8</u>
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

It appears that our born-Jewish respondents had enjoyed somewhat closer relationships with their parents than had

their gentile-born spouses. These relationships, in turn, had undergone change for fewer of them than for their non-Jewish spouses. However, regardless of the individual's religion of birth, larger proportions of both spouses had experienced an increased closeness to their parents as they grew into adulthood than those who had experienced a greater distance from them. The only exception to this generalization appears to be the oft maligned Jewish mother. The measure of closeness to parents is also indicated by the frequency with which the intermarried couple visit their respective parents. Here the closeness of the Jewish component of the family becomes quite apparent.

Table 10
Frequency of Visits with Parents

	Spouse Jewish by Birth		Spouse Gentile by Birth	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Less than once a year	2.8		6.1	10.3
About once a year	8.6	11.6	14.9	13.3
A few times a year	24.5	23.2	31.5	32.0
Once a month	8.6	8.5	11.4	10.5
Few times a month	15.2	16.3	17.8	10.8
About once a week	32.7	31.7	13.8	17.3
More times a week	<u>7.3</u>	<u>8.5</u>	<u>4.4</u>	<u>5.7</u>
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

These figures reveal quite clearly that the ties with the Jewish side of the intermarried family are maintained more closely by much larger proportions of our respondents than those maintained with the non-Jewish side of the family. In short, if intermarriage erodes family ties at all -- and it no doubt does for some -- it clearly has a lesser effect on the ties of the Jewish family than on the ties of the non-Jewish one. While the many face-

less statistics which support this generalization tell us nothing about the quality of the visits and telephone conversations -- about 61% of our born-Jewish respondents speak to their parents by phone at least once a week -- they give strong support to the impression that the Jewish family continues to bind generation to generation despite exogamy.

To get a sense of the quality of the relationship between parents and their exogamous children, at least from the latter's point of view, we asked our respondents whether visiting with their parents had become more or less pleasant since they had gotten married.

Table 11
Quality of Visits with Parents Since Marriage

	Spouse Jewish by Birth		Spouse Gentile by Birth	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
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.

One final question to be considered in this section is how well husbands and wives from different religious backgrounds get along with each other's parents, that is, their in-laws.

If we take our respondents' words at face value, and in surveys of this kind we must, it appears that they do get along with their in-laws quite well. The table below summarizes the pattern of their feelings about the subject.

Table 12
Getting Along With In-Laws

	Spouse <u>Jewish by Birth</u>	Spouse <u>Gentile by Birth</u>
"Better than with my own parents"	20.1	18.7
"As well as with my own parents"	55.2	58.6
"Not as well as with my own parents"	<u>24.7</u>	<u>22.7</u>
	100.0	100.0

A further breakdown by sex of the respondent indicates that born-gentile sons in-law get along better with the parents of their Jewish mates than do born-gentile daughters in-law. However, none of these figures undermine our over-all observation about the impact of intermarriage on the solidarity of the Jewish family. Jewish parents may be unhappy initially by their children's plans to marry someone who was not born Jewish, and who in most cases will not convert. However, for the majority that initial unhappiness seems to be buried in the subsequent routines of normal family interaction. Whether the Jewish identity of the family also gets buried in the process will yet remain to be seen.

Relations Between Husband and Wife

One of the major "popular" arguments against marriage between Jew and non-Jew -- apart from the obvious religious considerations -- is that differences in religious background will inevitably lead to a conflict-ridden relationship which is bound to end in divorce or a lifetime of unhappiness, or both. Since our study focused primarily on

in-tact families we are not in the position to estimate accurately such demographic matters as the divorce rate among Jewish intermarrieds. Other studies have done so quite competently, indicating that intermarrieds tend to divorce somewhat more frequently than those who are endogamously married.

Our aim in this section of the report is to assess the impact of the mixed religious backgrounds of the spouses on their in-tact relationships. Does the fact that they don't share a common religious ancestry lead to frequent and intense disagreements and conflicts between them? And, what are the areas of everyday life in which conflicts seem to crop up most often as a result of their religious background differences? Naturally, the areas of the greatest concern for this study were matters pertaining to the having and raising of children, participation in Jewish communal life, relations with the larger family, and general family life style. Our methods of research did not permit us to probe much more subtle psycho-sexual matters.

In our open-ended interviews we had asked our respondents quite openly to what extent they regarded the differences in their religious backgrounds as a contributory factor in the misunderstandings or arguments they may have between them from time to time. Their answers are summarized in the table below.

Table 13

The Religious Factor in Marital Conflict
(reported by the participants)

	<u>Spouse Jewish by Birth</u>	<u>Spouse Gentile by Birth</u>
"To a very great extent"	4.9	3.7
"To a moderate extent"	9.3	6.9
"To only a small extent"	23.6	19.8
"Not at all"	<u>62.3</u>	<u>69.6</u>
	100.0	100.0

While this table may be a testimonial to the power of human denial, it may also well be an indication of the irrelevance of religious or ethnic matters in the lives of our respondents. Perhaps, it may also be a measure of their sophistication in understanding the complex forces which create conflicts between husbands and wives (i.e. that those forces cannot be reduced to the differences in religious backgrounds). But however one chooses to read Table 13, above, one cannot ignore the obvious. Most intermarried couples do not seem to interpret their conflicts in terms of the differences in their religious backgrounds. It is also interesting to note that it is the spouse who was not born Jewish who is less likely to interpret conflicts in terms of their religious differences.

Considering the popular myth that when conflicts arise in an intermarriage the spouses are quick to resort to negative stereotypes of each other's religious or ethnic group and are likely to blame their problems on those stereotypes, the findings of the above table are most illuminating. It seems that non-Jewish spouses do not become rabid anti-Semites after all at the first sign of marital conflict (as popular Jewish myths would have one believe).

Let us look at some of the areas in which husbands and wives might well disagree, and see how our intermarried respondents reacted to them. On the matter of having children and the number of children to have, we found that 85% of our respondents agreed with one another, and 15% disagreed. On religious matters in general we found very few couples who disagreed, confirming their own self reports that differences in their religious backgrounds mattered little in their personal conflicts. The table below summarizes the proportions of respondents reporting agreement or disagreement on a variety of issues pertinent to family life.

Table 14

Proportions of Spouses Indicating Agreement or Disagreement on Pertinent Family-life Issues *

	<u>Spouse</u> <u>Jewish by Birth</u>		<u>Spouse</u> <u>Gentile by Birth</u>		
	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	
The observance of religious holidays	86.0	14.0	91.0	9.0	100.0
Religion in general	86.0	14.0	83.2	16.8	100.0
Making and spending money	71.6	28.4	68.7	31.3	100.0
Merits and faults of friends	86.0	14.0	88.0	12.0	100.0
Merits and faults of relatives	84.0	16.0	84.0	16.0	100.0
How leisure time is spent	82.0	18.0	80.0	20.0	100.0
The adequacy of the neighborhood	90.0	10.0	89.0	11.0	100.0
Attitudes of Christians towards Jews	86.0	14.0	89.0	11.0	100.0

*NOTE: Since husband and wife completed their questionnaires independently of one another their perceptions of agreement on issues may differ. However, as the table makes clear, only small differences were found in their perceptions.

As the above table illustrates, the proportions of couples who are conflicted over pertinent, and possibly important, family issues are consistently smaller by far than the proportions of couples who agree on such matters. The making and spending of money, and the use of leisure time stand out as the only two issues which seem to cause proportionally more disagreement among couples than issues of a religious or ethnic nature. In the table which follows we inquire, in a similar fashion, into the value consensus of our respondents on matters pertaining to the upbringing of their children. Here, as we shall see, couples reveal a greater proportion of disagreement. But dissensus is hardly of epidemic proportions.

Table 15

Proportions of Spouses Indicating Agreement/
Disagreement Over Matters Pertaining to the
Upbringing of their Children *

	Spouse Jewish by Birth		Spouse Gentile by Birth		
	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree	
✓ Desire for Jewish education	85.0	15.0	74.0	26.0	100.0
Desire that child belong to synagogue	84.0	16.0	81.0	19.0	100.0
Desire that child not marry a non-Jew	80.0	20.0	85.0	15.0	100.0
Desire that child believe in God	84.0	16.0	83.0	17.0	100.0
Desire that child appreciate music	96.0	4.0	94.0	6.0	100.0
Desire that child be strong & agile	96.0	4.0	94.0	6.0	100.0
Desire that child have mostly Jewish friends	88.0	12.0	86.0	14.0	100.0
Desire that child lead a Christian way of life	85.0	15.0	80.0	20.0	100.0
Desire that child overcome need to identify with any religious group	86.0	14.0	80.0	20.0	100.0

*NOTE: Agreement or Disagreement in the above table does not mean that spouses agree or disagree with the value statements. The table refers to the proportion of spouses who agree or disagree with each other in their responses to these value statements.

It is interesting to observe that there is less parallelism in the perceptions of husbands and wives in Table 15 than in Table 14. The issues in Table 15 are apparently of a more sensitive nature, and therefore are, probably, more often avoided. The non-Jewish spouses in Table 15 seem to perceive disagreement between themselves and their mates more frequently than the born-Jewish spouses. The issues of educating the children, and whether they would approve

exogamy for their children even though they themselves are intermarried seem to produce the largest proportion of disagreement for our respondents. However, even the issues which produce the highest proportion of disagreement among the spouses exhibit a very large base of consensus.

Intermarriages are certainly not immune to conflict and value dissensus. However, until we have matching evidence from endogamously married couples, we have no firm reason to suppose that such marriages are much more conflict-ridden. Our in-depth interviews with individuals whose intermarriages had failed provided indications time and again that what ultimately divided these couples was far more complex and pervasive than the differences in their religious or ethnic backgrounds. Conversely, as the tables above hint, the differences in religious or ethnic background which divide intermarried couples are often embedded in and camouflaged by a much wider body of value consensus based on other shared characteristics or experiences.

Finally, our findings tend to dispell the myth that children growing up in intermarried homes are subject to the crosspressures of many widely differring and intensely conflicted norms and values. While we did not have an opportunity to survey the children of our sample families, the data seem to suggest that intermarried parents manage to spare them from any extraordinary conflict -- or, at least try to do so. How well they succeed is quite another matter, which ought to be investigated by future research.

In the following section we turn more specifically to the values and identities which intermarried parents try to impart to their children, and the ways they hope to do so.

What of the Children?

What intermarried families do, or plan to do about the education and general upbringing of their 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. We have therefore included numerous questions in our survey instruments to try to analyze this aspect of the intermarriage phenomenon in as great a detail as possible.

As we have seen earlier, one third of our respondents had two children, and more than another 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 already had at the time of our interview -- was found only among 12% of our born-Jewish respondents and among 16% of our gentile-born respondents. In the previous section of the report we have seen that couples tend to agree, for the most part, on whether to have any children and how many to have.

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

Table 16

Preference for Numbers of Children

<u>N of Children</u>	<u>Spouse Jewish by Birth</u>	<u>Spouse Gentile by Birth</u>
0	21.1	20.5
1	6.4	5.4
2	37.1	40.2
3	19.7	22.3
4	11.4	6.7
5 or +	<u>4.3</u>	<u>5.0</u>
	100.0	100.0

In light of the age distribution of our sample there is no reason to suppose that this distribution will not be nearly achieved. But more important than the arithmetic are the implications of the table. It suggests that the norm of child-bearing is still quite pervasive among the majority of families, even if they are intermarried families. The table also confirms that the two or three child family is still a preferred ideal for the majority. Finally, the table seems to dispell the frequently held notion that, in light of the differences in their religious backgrounds, intermarried avoid having children.

The question of what identity intermarried couples transmit to their children, at least as far as religious or ethnic heritage is concerned, is a bit more complicated. For the sake of simplicity we asked our born-Jewish respondents to indicate the religious or ethnic identity they ascribed to their children at birth. We found that approximately 45% regarded their children as having been "born Jewish". About another 25% considered that their children were "not born Jewish". The remaining 30% chose not to answer the question. When we asked more specifically how they plan to raise their children with respect to religious or ethnic identity, we obtained the following.

Table 17

Proportion of Respondents Who Prefer
That Their Children ...

	<u>Spouse Jewish by Birth</u>	<u>Spouse Gentile by Birth</u>
...receive Jewish education	63.3	46.4
...belong to a synagogue	43.1	31.3
...not marry a non-Jew	27.1	14.7
...believe in God	62.7	67.1
...observe the Sabbath	28.9	34.7
...keep a kosher home	6.4	7.0
...have mostly Jewish friends	19.3	12.0

Table 17, cont'd.
Proportion of Respondents Who
Prefer That Their Children ...

	Spouse <u>Jewish by Birth</u>	Spouse <u>Gentile by Birth</u>
...be Bar Mitzvah or Bat Mitzvah	44.0	40.0
...be ritually cir- cumcised (if boy)	57.0	50.0
...have a Hebrew name	53.5	47.5
...be confirmed in a Church	12.0	17.6
...have a choice a- bout their reli- gious preference when they mature	61.0	70.0
...be Baptised	12.0	22.0

What is striking about these preferences is the very small proportion of respondents who wish to have their children take on a distinctly Christian identity through baptism or confirmation in a church. One is not surprised by the rather high proportion of respondents who want their children to make their own religious preferences when they become adults. However, from the perspective of the needs of the Jewish community, it is encouraging to note that for the majority that eventual choice will have been guided by very definite Jewish cues. A definite preference for Jewish education is indicated by two-thirds of our respondents who are Jewish by birth, and by nearly half of the spouses who were not born Jewish.

Translating the preferences into concrete action, particularly with regard to the Jewish education of the children, seems to be a source of problem for a substantial number of the families we interviewed. The educational choices which the families seem to have made break down as follows.

Table 18

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	

To be sure, at least one quarter of those who did not answer this question, in fact, had no children. But the high rate of non-response reveals a problem which was voiced in our interviews time and again. "Yes," the parents said, "we would like our children to get some sort of Jewish education. But what kind?" A great many were afraid to expose their children to settings in which they would be stigmatized, and in which the curriculum -- at least the way our respondents perceived it -- would teach their children "how bad the 'goyim' are". In other words, a very large proportion of our respondents voiced a fear commonly heard from non-observant Jews: that by sending their children to some form of conventional Jewish school, a conflict would be created for the child between what he or she experiences at home and what is taught at school.

The relatively high proportion of parents who indicated "home instruction" as the means by which they expect their children to receive Jewish education actually hope that their children will learn about "being Jewish"

through the process of socialization in general. In view of the fact that nearly 90% of our born-Jewish respondents had received no more than two years of formal Jewish education themselves, the efficacy of "home instruction" is at best dubious.

It bears pointing out that very few of the children of intermarriages are receiving any non-Jewish religious instruction. About five percent are receiving instruction in Catholic schools and another four percent are receiving instruction in some form of Protestant school. Another 20% are receiving some form of religious instruction which is neither Jewish, nor Catholic, nor Protestant. The remainder of about 70% are receiving no non-Jewish religious instruction.

Summarizing the welter of percentages, it appears that if the children of intermarriages get any religious education at all it is most likely to be some form of Jewish education. However, despite the preference that a great many of the intermarried families have for giving their children some form of education about Judaism, most are clearly at a loss about how that preference is to be translated into action.

We see, then, that whether the children of intermarried families will remain Jews or not depends to a very large extent on the communal and family ties which their parents retain with the Jewish world, and through which their socialization will transpire. The impact of intermarriage on the couples themselves is also bound to vary according to their ties, both formal and informal, with the Jewish community. Put simply, the question is whether the Jewish spouse will assimilate into the social world of his or her born-gentile spouse, or vice versa. It is this question that we explore in the following section of this report.

The Lure of Jewry

The ties which bind exogamous Jews to their parents have been examined already in an earlier section, above. In this section we focus on some of the ties which bind the intermarried couple -- the spouse who is Jewish by birth as well as the one who is not -- to the Jewish community as a whole.

As one might expect, in terms of formal affiliation with a synagogue very few intermarried families have any ties to the Jewish community, as we can see from Table 19 below.

Table 19
Type of Congregational Affiliation

	Spouse Jewish by Birth	Spouse Gentile by Birth
Reform	12.9	8.7
Conservative	4.7	3.5
Orthodox	2.6	.7
"Just Jewish"	8.5	5.0

Catholic	.2	3.8
Protestant	2.7	2.8
Other	7.9	9.6
NONE/NO ANSWER	<u>60.6</u>	<u>65.4</u>
	100.0	100.0

Although the subject of conversion will be examined in detail in the following section, it is worthwhile to note here that about 22% of our gentile-born spouses report having undergone formal conversion to Judaism: 14% under Reform auspices, 5% under Conservative auspices, and 3% under Orthodox auspices. The relative proportions of born-gentile spouses who maintain a tie to the congregations of one of the three main movements are evidently much lower than the proportions of those who are converted in those movements.

However, the larger significance of the above table is the image of widespread disaffiliation it conveys. It is striking that intermarried couples are attracted neither by Jewish congregations nor by Christian or other religious corporate bodies. Indeed, the disaffiliation of the spouse who was not born Jewish is even more pervasive. One can only conclude that these couples have no need for the fellowship, spiritual fulfillment, or services that such bodies have to offer. Or, perhaps, if they have the needs, they have not found the suitable congregations of any faith or branch of Judaism with which they might comfortably affiliate.

In contrast to the low level of formal affiliation with any synagogue, about forty (40%) percent of the intermarried families report having given financial support to the UJA sometime in the recent past. The majority also indicated a general familiarity with a list of twenty-five popular Jewish organizations or movements. Perhaps most importantly, just about a third of all our respondents, born-Jews and born-gentiles alike, indicated that they would "like to learn more about" at least one or more of these organizations. Indeed, many of our interviewers were periodically put into the awkward position of having to restrain themselves from giving out 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 grey picture of disaffiliation conveyed by the statistics in Table 19 doesn't adequately capture the ways in which intermarried families are tied or attracted to the Jewish community.

To probe these ties and attraction in more detail we compared the composition of the peer groups of our respondents at the time they were adolescents and currently. Table 20 below is a summary of that comparison.

Table 20

Composition of Friends in Adolescence and Currently

	<u>Spouse Jewish by Birth</u>		<u>Spouse Gentile by Birth</u>	
	<u>Then</u>	<u>Now</u>	<u>Then</u>	<u>Now</u>
All Jewish	7.9	1.3	1.0	1.0
Mostly Jewish	42.9	26.8	3.8	27.4
Pretty well mixed	30.7	57.2	12.2	61.1
Mostly non-Jewish	17.0	12.5	33.1	8.6
All non-Jewish	<u>1.6</u>	<u>2.1</u>	<u>49.0</u>	<u>2.1</u>
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

As this table suggests, substantially larger proportions of the spouses who were not born Jewish were attracted to a currently Jewish or evenly mixed social milieu than were born-Jews attracted to more heavily or exclusively non-Jewish social groups.

The ties to the Jewish community, perhaps via the binding power of the Jewish family, are further suggested by the nature of the ceremonies through which our inter-married couples were married.

Table 21

Types of Ceremony in Which Marriage was Solemnized

	<u>Percent</u>
Ceremony in Synagogue	19.6
Ceremony in Rabbi's study	6.9
Civil ceremony	32.2
Ceremony in Church	8.8
Ceremony by Rabbi and other clergy	5.5
Other (e.g. Jewish judge, non-Christian clergy)	<u>26.0</u>
	100.0

As this table shows, ceremonies which are under obviously Christian auspices, or which involve the clergy of the Catholic or Protestant churches are avoided by the vast majority. While civil and other "unconventional" ceremonies are most often chosen to solemnize intermarriages, our interviews suggest that these have strong Jewish components (e.g. the use of Jewish judges, a "catered affair, just like a real Jewish wedding" after the civil ceremony). Indeed, it is interesting to note that although only 26.5% of the marriages were solemnized exclusively by a rabbi, 32.3% of our born-Jewish respondents report that they had consulted a rabbi about having their marriage performed. By contrast, only 9.3% of our gentile-born spouses had consulted a priest or a minister about having their weddings performed by them.

It would seem that when it comes to the legitimization of the marriage a substantial minority, if not the majority, would prefer the legitimacy conferred by the Jewish community. Most others would settle for the legitimacy conferred by the secular state, and only a relatively small minority seek the legitimacy conferred by other organized religious bodies. What is, perhaps, most striking about this observation is that it applies not only to the spouse who was born Jewish but also to the gentile-born person whom he or she will marry.

We finally asked our respondents in the most general terms how their feelings towards and involvements with the Jewish community had changed since they have gotten married to each other. If intermarriage, indeed, leads to assimilation, and to disaffection from the Jewish community one would expect such changes indicated by their answers. The following two tables indicate our respondents answers regarding this matter.

Table 22

Changes in Involvement With and Feelings Towards the Jewish Community (whatever the notion "Jewish Community" meant to respondent)

	<u>Spouse Jewish by Birth</u>	<u>Spouse Gentile by Birth</u>
More involved, more positive	32.8	63.7
No Change	54.5	33.8
Less involved, less positive	<u>11.8</u>	<u>2.5</u>
	100.0	100.0

By contrast when the same question was asked of the wife or husband who was not Jewish by birth regarding their religious or ethnic communities of origin, we obtained the following pattern of responses.

Table 23

Changes in Involvement With and Feelings Toward Religious or Ethnic Community of Ancestry by Spouse Who was Not Born Jewish

	<u>Percent</u>
More involved, more positive	7.9
No Change	59.4
Less Involved, less positive	<u>32.7</u>
	100.0

Taken together, these two tables provide a number of useful insights about the relative attraction of the Jewish community and the religio-ethnic community of the spouse who was not born Jewish. The statistics indicate that large proportions of both spouses become more involved with and more favorably disposed towards the Jewish community after marriage. We also find that far fewer of the born-

Jews become disenchanted with the Jewish community than do born-gentiles with their communities of ancestry. Perhaps most interesting of all is the finding that nearly two-thirds of the born-gentile spouses report a greater involvement, interest, and favorable attitude towards the Jewish community since their marriage than they had before. While we do not have precisely comparable figures on the attitudes of the born-Jewish spouse towards the community of his or her born-gentile mate, our interviews did not disclose a complementarity on their part. In short, it appears that the Jewish community, however defined by each of our respondents, is a more powerful magnet for social involvement (in terms of friendships, family celebrations, residential choice, and even religious fantasy) than are the communities in which the born-gentile spouses have their ancestral roots.

The ways in which this attraction is expressed in actual social behavior can be described in considerable detail on the basis of our in-depth interviews. However, the limitations of length on this summary report prevent us from exploring these details. In general, the attraction is crystallized around holidays, family celebrations, Jewish cultural and political affairs, and an interest in Jewish history.

What is so significant about the apparently magnetic power of the Jewish community is that it seems to retain the emotional affinities of exogamous Jews even after they intermarry, contrary to the assumptions of the assimilationist model of exogamy. Moreover, it also seems to draw into its orbit the interests and emotions of spouses who were not born Jewish and who do not convert to Judaism. How this curious lure of Jewry is laced into the identities of the intermarried couple is treated in the subsequent two sections. First, in the following section, we shall examine the nature of conversion and the identity of the gentile-born spouses in the intermarriage.