

Intermarriage among Jews in France: Preliminary Remarks

Erik H. Cohen
School of Education
Bar Ilan University

Introduction

Rising rates of intermarriage have become a key issue of concern to Jewish communities throughout the Diaspora (DellaPergola 1976, 1989, 2002). In France, the second largest Jewish Diaspora community (following the United States), 30% of the heads of Jewish households have a non-Jewish spouse. Though still considerably lower than American and CIS intermarriage rates, which have been calculated at 50% and above (Kosmin et al. 1991; Gitelman 2002), this figure represents an increase of 30% since a previous study conducted in 1988 (Cohen 1991). In examining endogamy versus exogamy, it is important to include information about couples that are not married, but are living together. Eighty-three percent of the live-in partners of Jewish adults are not Jewish. Cohabitation without marriage seems to be a way of solving the issue of intermarriage by circumventing it.

Before discussing the specifics of intermarriage among Jews in France, it is important to note a few demographic and historical facts about this population that distinguishes it from other major Jewish Diaspora populations. In 2002, using two

independent methodologies, I calculated that there were approximately half a million Jews living in France. Exact figures are difficult to obtain, as French censuses do not record religious affiliation. 70% of French Jews are Sephardic, mostly from the former French colonies in North Africa, Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia. The large immigration boom of Jews into France is now over. Most of those who were born outside of France are of an older generation that immigrated in the 1960s. In 1988, 60% of the heads of Jewish households were born outside France (primarily Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia). Today that number has fallen to 50%. Only 33% received primary education outside France, indicating that many immigrated as children. A large segment of the other 50%, that is, Jews born in France, is made up of the children of immigrants.

The immigration of North African Jews brought about a fundamental change in the Jewish population of France. The Sephardic Jews are relatively more traditional and more religiously observant than the existing French Jewish population. They are also more overtly Jewish and more community-oriented. Since the time of the Revolution, French Republican political culture has relegated all affiliations other than that of French citizen strictly to the private realm. Most French Jews welcome this type of emancipation and are highly assimilated into French culture. However, as a result of many factors (among them, the betrayal of French Jewry by the Vichy government, the immigration of tens of thousands of Sephardic Jews, and the significant role of Israel in the French Jewish conscience), French Jews in the last half-century have begun to form a more public type of community. The Six Day War of 1967 was also a strong factor in the renewal of the Jewish population in France. The fear that the State of Israel would be destroyed aroused many assimilated Jews out of their apathy and thousands of French

Jews volunteered to help with the war effort (mostly replacing civilians called to military duty). The pride in Israel's victory heightened Jewish identity and identification with Israel among Diaspora Jewry in France and around the world (Chevalier 1978; Cohen, E.H. 1986; Cohen and Cohen 2000; Collectif 1968; Girard 1983; Greilsammer 1978; Greilsammer & Salzberg 1978; Korcaz 1969).

Marriage patterns are a basic aspect of community stability or change. Endogamy and exogamy rates are widely used as an indicator of community assimilation (Grebler, Moore and Guzman 1970; Alba 1976; Reitz 1980; Blau, Becker, and Fitzpatrick 1984; Romano 1988; Spickard 1989; Rimor and Katz 1993). The nature and character of the French Jewish community in the 21st century will be affected by the trend of increasing rates of intermarriage. At the same time, current attitudes towards intermarriage are informed by the nature and character of the French Jewish community, and its educational system, social patterns, etc. These changes within the Jewish community are taking place within the context of a larger public debate about the nature of ethnic and religious identity in an increasingly multi-ethnic France.

The survey and analysis

In January 2002, 1,132 French Jewish heads of households (both male and female) were interviewed. Households were contacted by phone based on their last names. Only individuals who identified themselves as Jewish were interviewed. Results are analyzed using both basic cross-tabulations and a multi-dimensional analytic tool known as Smallest Space Analysis (SSA), a method used with great success in a number of studies (Canter, 1985; Levy, 1994). SSA graphically portrays the correlations between

multiple subjects and variables in such a way that closely correlated items are plotted close together and distantly or negatively correlated items are far apart (Guttman 1968; Canter 1985; Levy 1994). The structure of the data according to the perspective of the respondents may be easily observed in this visual model.

Once the primary variables are plotted on the SSA map, sub-populations may be introduced as external variables. The structure of the primary variables is fixed and external variables we introduced one at a time in such a way that they do not affect the structure. Only the correlation between a single external variable and the entire matrix of primary variables is considered. The correlation between the various external variables is not considered. The external variables are not considered when plotting the primary variables (Cohen & Amar 2002).

Results of survey

Of the 1,132 respondents, 58% are married and 9% are living with a partner. Ten percent are widowed, 9% divorced, and 14% are single. In the following discussion, only those currently with a partner or spouse are considered. Converts to Judaism are considered Jews and these marriages are considered endogamous. Of those respondents who are married, 75% have a Jewish spouse. (An additional 1% are married to converts to Judaism.) Of those living together, only 17% have a Jewish partner, attesting to the role cohabitation plays in dodging the issue of exogamy. Of those who are divorced or separated, 50% have (or had) a Jewish spouse. Endogamous marriages have a divorce rate of 8.2%, while exogamous marriages have a divorce rate of 20%. Of those who are widowed, 87% were married to a Jew, reflecting the lower rate of intermarriage that

existed when these primarily elderly people were getting married. In contrast, the youngest segment of the married population (between the ages of 20 and 30) is most likely to have a non-Jewish spouse, with intermarriage rates reaching 40%.

Intermarriage rates are affected by the demographics and social arrangement of the “marriage market” (Kalmijn 1998). Over half (56%) of French Jews live in Paris or its suburbs. Jews living in the provinces have a higher intermarriage rate than those in Paris and the area right around the city. Jews in Paris and the Paris region are more likely to meet potential Jewish spouses because of both their larger numbers and greater opportunities to be involved in Jewish community events.

Table 1: Intermarriage among French Jews by gender and place of residence

	With a Jewish partner	With a non-Jewish partner	Total
Total	70	30	100
<i>Gender</i>			
Jewish men	65	35	100
Jewish women	75	25	100
<i>Place of residence</i>			
Paris	80	20	100
Paris region (outside the city)	79	21	100
Provinces	59	41	100

French Jewish men are more likely to marry non-Jews than are French Jewish women (Table 1). Thirty-five percent of Jewish men, compared to 25% of Jewish women, are married to or living with non-Jews. This has important repercussions for future generations, as according to Jewish traditional law (*halacha*), Judaism is passed down through the mother. Children of a Jewish father and a non-Jewish mother are *not*

considered Jewish unless they convert, while children of a Jewish mother and a non-Jewish father are considered Jewish from birth. The birthrate in endogamous Jewish marriages is higher than in exogamous marriages. Twenty percent of those in exogamous marriages have no children, versus only 7% of those in endogamous Jewish marriages. Only 18% of those in exogamous marriages have 3 or more children, compared to 44% of those in endogamous Jewish marriages.

Self-definitions: traditional Jews, secular Israelites

Self-definition is an important aspect of ethnic and religious identity. French Jews define themselves using one or both of the terms “Israelite” and “Jew” (*Juif*). The changes in preference over time are a telling indication of changes within the community. The term “Israelite” had been the preferred label of the community since the time of Napoleon. It indicated both a belief in the religion of Moses, and a loyalty to the Republic of France. Since the end of WWII, however, the term “Jew” has come back into common usage. Today, only 5% of the French Jewish population choose to call themselves exclusively by the term Israelite. An additional 30% use both terms. Often, the choice of term used is linked to the context of the conversation. Among other Jews, the term Jew is used more often, while with non-Jews Israelite is preferred. The percentage of respondents married to Jews and to non-Jews who define themselves only by the term Israelite is essentially the same. However, those married to non-Jews are less likely to use both the terms Israelite and Jew (17%, compared to 35% of those married to Jews). If 77% of the intermarried population use only the term Jew, this indicates a different dynamic than the one noted above. Though their spouses have not converted, these Jews

apparently use the “in-family” term, and do not define themselves as Israelite *vis à vis* their non-Jewish spouses.

Table 2: Intermarriage among French Jews by type of Jewish identification

	Endogamous	Exogamous
“Jew”	60	77
“Israelite”	5	6
Both “Jew” and “Israelite”	35	17

Both the French State and the vast majority of the general French population are deeply secular. Despite the official relegation of religion to the private realm, the Jewish population in France is relatively traditional and religious. Fifty-one percent describe themselves as “traditional.” Since the label “traditional” is subject to wide interpretation and its implications differ in various countries, we also collected information about specific behaviors such as keeping kosher at home and out, lighting Shabbat candles, and attending services on holidays. Though levels of observance among the French Jews who call themselves traditional vary, they are generally more religiously observant than non-Orthodox populations in other Diaspora countries and Israel, but not as stringent as ultra-Orthodox populations.

Logically, the religious affiliation of those married to Jews and to non-Jews differs significantly. Sixty-five percent of those calling themselves traditional are married to Jews, compared to 24% of those married to non-Jews. Only 18% of those married to Jews say they are non-practicing, compared to 54% of those married to non-Jews. Those married to Jews reported higher levels of practice on all items related to religious ritual. For example, 70% of those married to Jews say they “always” or “often” keep kosher at

home, while 70% of those married to non-Jews say they “never” do. Over 65% of those married to Jews light candles and make Kiddush, basic blessings welcoming the Sabbath, compared to less than 20% of those married to non-Jews. The trend away from religious traditionalism is seen throughout the Jewish community, but it is related to intermarriage. Of the Jews married to non-Jews, 58% describe themselves as less religious than their parents, compared to 33% of those married to Jews.

Table 3: Intermarriage among French Jews by religious denomination

	Endogamous	Exogamous
Non-practicing/secular	18	54
Religiously liberal	11	21
Traditional	65	24
Orthodox	7	1

Table 4: Intermarriage among French Jews by various kinds of Jewish practice

	Endogamous	Exogamous
Always keep kosher at home	58	8
Always keep kosher out	39	5
Regularly light Shabbat candles	64	18
Regularly make Kiddush	67	19
Never work on Shabbat	62	30
Never watch TV on Shabbat	25	12
Regularly attend synagogue	31	6
Very often participate in Jewish community	41	8
Speak Hebrew	29	13

It may seem surprising and even contradictory that Jews who eat only kosher food and observe the Sabbath would be married to non-Jews who did not convert. This finding shows the complexity of Jewish identity. Judaism is not only a religion but a culture, an ethnicity, and a family heritage. Jews may maintain religious traditions for reasons that

are not religious. Maintaining a kosher home, for example, may be important to make possible visits by more religious family members. The Friday night family dinner with blessings over bread and wine may have sentimental value for Jews who grew up in a traditional home but chose themselves to marry outside the faith. In addition, we cannot overlook the force of love and attraction that may cause a person to marry outside one's religion, even while he or she is still a believer in that religion. The seemingly contradictory findings on intermarriage and Jewish ritual and traditional observance remind us of the complexity of the emotions involved in these issues. Jewish identity is multi-faceted, and intermarriage is only one possible indicator of assimilation versus continuity.

Community participation

In addition to lower levels of ritual observance, Jews married to non-Jews have fewer social ties to the Jewish community. Only 14% say that most or all of their friends are Jewish, compared to 58% of those married to Jews. Only 6% regularly attend synagogue, a setting for community relations in addition to prayer, and 8% say they participate in Jewish community events very often, compared to 31% and 41% respectively among those married to Jews. Those married to Jews listen to Jewish radio programs and read Jewish newspaper more often than those married to non-Jews. Jewish internet sites seem to have made scant inroads so far, as neither population reported viewing them often.

The data collected in this study shows the importance of Israel to French Jews (Table 5). Israel plays a larger role in their identification with Judaism than does the local

French Jewish community. The Jewish State may be considered a substitute for the strong local Jewish community they are not able to build in the existing French political culture. Here, too, the Jews in endogamous couples more strongly identify with Israel and with Israeli or Zionist issues. Those married to Jews are more likely to have visited Israel, to have friends and/or family in Israel, to be considering becoming an Israeli citizen, and to encourage their children to become Israeli citizens.

These issues touch on the core of the discourse surrounding universality versus communality in France. French Jews have been criticized as being “communitarian”. The term communitarian is vague and undefined, making it difficult for the Jewish community to defend itself and its loyalty to France. According to a self-described communitarian writer, “Communitarians take issue with the idea that the individual stands and should stand in direct unmediated relationship with the state and with society. ...Communitarians argue for the continuing significance of status and local networks, and the potential of other intermediate institutions” (Frazer 2000: 21-22). Republican ideals demand that the individual is only a citizen, that is, in an unmediated relationship with the state. Those who criticize the French Jews for being communitarian often refer both to formation of a distinct community with its own institutions, such as schools, community centers and media, and to the Jewish community’s support of Israel. Supporting Israel may be perceived by some as an allegiance to another nation and a split from French foreign policy, which has historically been pro-Arab.

Table 5: Intermarriage among French Jews by level of participation in local and Israeli Jewish community

	Endogamous	Exogamous
All/most friends are Jewish	58	14
Visited Israel at least once	82	59
Visited Israel six or more times	36	16
Have family or friends in Israel	87	77
Would encourage children to make aliya	49	37
Daily use of Jewish media sources:		
Radio	32	9
Newspapers	31	9
Internet sites	8	4

Education

Education plays an important role in French national identity, the identity of minority populations and, by extension, in exogamy rates. France's Jewish population is well educated, with 60% holding high school degrees, compared to only 24% of the general French population. The public school system has been an integral part of imparting Republican ideals of universalism and laity (public neutrality). The schools are strictly secular, with public displays of ethnic or religious affiliation prohibited. Alongside the French public school system there exist state-licensed private schools: Catholic, Jewish, Protestant, and recently Muslim.

As mentioned above, Jews have been increasingly criticized for being communitarian, and enrolling children in separate educational institutions is criticized by some as an indicator of communitarianism. Sending one's children to a private, parochial school is viewed by some as bordering on unpatriotic, and can impede one's access to certain career paths (Shurkin, 2000; Laborde, 2001). Nevertheless, the French Jewish day

school system has rebuilt itself since its virtual destruction in WWII. Jewish day schools follow state curriculum requirements and teach French history, government, language, and other secular subjects. In addition, pupils study Jewish history, Jewish culture, and Hebrew. In the 2001-2002 school year, 28,391 pupils were enrolled in Jewish day schools (Petit-Ohayon, 2002), approximately 26% of Jewish school-aged children. Eighty-two percent of the endogamous Jews said they would send their children to Jewish schools, compared to 54% of those in exogamous relationships.

Among parents who themselves were educated in Jewish day schools, 23% have a non-Jewish spouse. Of Jewish parents who were educated in French public schools, 31% have a non-Jewish spouse. This difference is not as great as one would perhaps expect, given the immersion in a Jewish environment, with emphasis on Jewish continuity and increased opportunities to meet potential Jewish spouses. However, in the present survey we did not ask how long or at what ages these adults learned in Jewish day schools. Some may have spent only a year or two of their very early elementary education at Jewish day schools, spending their adolescent years in public schools. This finding should be investigated further in future studies. Its implications regarding the impact of Jewish day schooling on marriage trends are significant.

There is a further link between education and endogamy rates. More highly educated French Jews are more likely to marry non-Jews. Forty percent of French Jews continue their studies at the university level. Of those with a baccalaureate plus four additional years of study, 41% have a non-Jewish spouse or partner, compared to 25% of those without a baccalaureate. The differences between men's and women's intermarriage rates almost disappear among the most highly educated. 42% of Jewish

women with a baccalaureate plus four additional years of study are married to non-Jews, compared to only 16% of those without a college degree. There are several possible reasons for this. College campuses provide many opportunities for Jewish and non-Jewish students to meet and socialize. Highly educated people are also likely to be universalists (see next section for definition) and are less concerned with preserving ethnic or religious boundaries.

Typology of French Jews and intermarriage

In a comprehensive study of the Jews in France, conducted in 2002, I proposed that the community could be understood using four typological profiles: the individualists, the universalists, the traditionalists and the revivalists. The four typologies—universalists, individualists, traditionalists and revivalists—represent relatively subtle differences and not distinct sects. French Jewry as a whole is integrated into French society, accepts the terms of their political emancipation, and has internalized the values of the Republic. The four profiles reflect different positions on the question concerning to what extent Jews may preserve their culture, religion, and sense of community *within* the Republic of France.

Individualists emphasize egoistic values such as going away on holiday and caring for one's appearance. Universalists emphasize autonomy and sociability, for example, having a good time with friends and doing what one likes. Universalists and individualists both value independence; however, among these two groups, individualists' values are more ego-related, while the concerns of the universalists are more social than personal. Traditionalists stress values that are linked to authority such as belief in God,

founding a family, and honoring one’s parents. Revivalists combine values of autonomy (having a good time with friends, doing what one likes) with values of authority (belief in God, founding a family, honoring one’s parents). Traditionalists and revivalists are similar in their valuing of religion and family. The revivalists, however, are similar to the universalists in that they value sociability and personal enjoyment. The revivalists, as a group, are also younger and better educated than the traditionalists. They seem to represent a hybrid of universal and community values emerging among French Jews in their child-raising years. Interestingly, those who fit the revivalist profile are the most likely to describe themselves as “very happy” and “very satisfied” with their lives, though are more worried than the individualists or universalists.

This study examines the beliefs, values and attitudes of French Jews married to or living with other Jews as compared to those who are married to or living with non-Jews, using the above typological scheme as a reference. In the data analysis, the sample surveyed was fairly evenly distributed among the four profiles. Twenty-four percent of French Jews fit the universalist profile, 22% the individualist profile, 31% the traditionalist profile, and 23% the revivalist profile. The distribution within these profiles of those in endogamous and exogamous relationships is significantly different. Thirty-nine percent of those married to Jews fit the traditionalist and 27% the revivalist profiles, compared to 23% and 15% respectively of those married to non-Jews.

Table 6: Intermarriage among French Jews by the typology categories

	Endogamous	Exogamous
Individualist	18	28
Universalist	17	34
Traditionalist	39	23
Revivalist	27	15

Values and concerns

A number of the questions posed to the respondents are related to values and concerns. Some of these are general and some relate specifically to the Jewish community. The findings on most items show little or no difference in attitude between those in endogamous and those in exogamous relationships (see Tables 7 and 8). In terms of happiness and satisfaction there is almost no difference, though the in-married Jews are more likely to describe themselves as very worried (13% compared to 7%). In fact, they say they are more worried about every concern listed, with the exception of pollution, which differs by only one percentage point. Those married to Jews are more than 15% more likely to say they are very worried about the future of Israel and, logically, about intermarriage.

Table 7: Intermarriage among French Jews by types of concerns

	Endogamous	Exogamous
<u>Concerns</u>		
Very happy	23	27
Very satisfied	18	13
Very worried	13	7

Table 7 (cont.): Intermarriage among French Jews by types of concerns

Very worried about:

Terrorism	81	71
Anti-Semitism	77	71
Racism	70	68
Future of Israel	70	51
AIDS	52	47
Drugs	58	40
Islam	51	40
Unemployment	26	19
Pollution	31	32
Food insecurity	37	24
Intermarriage	35	7
Foreigners	12	8

Table 8: Intermarriage among French Jews by values

<u>Values</u>	Endogamous	Exogamous
<i>Very important to:</i>		
Learn	56	57
Do what I want	37	35
Establish a family	73	56
Make a lot of money	9	7
Have a good time with friends	27	26
Go on vacation	22	21
Believe in God	53	22
Participate in sports	13	13
Be oneself	52	51
Honor one's parents	79	63
Make the most of life	38	38
Care for one's appearance	21	17
Be useful to society	33	26
Help others	47	37

These differences between the in-married and out-married French Jews, in terms of the weight of various values for themselves and their children (Tables 8 and 9), give us some insight about the relationship between intermarriage and the value system of a community. They are over 15% more likely to think that establishing a family, belief in God, and honoring one's parents are important. There was no value to which the intermarried Jews gave greater importance, except the importance of learning, which exceeds the endogamous Jews by one percentage point. They attributed more importance to instilling in one's children virtually all the ethics listed in the questionnaire, but only in relation to religious faith was the difference greater than 15% (44% versus 19% of those married to non-Jews). More of those married to non-Jews attributed importance to instilling in their children values of imagination and independence, though the difference was not great. Predictably, those married to non-Jews themselves are far less likely to say

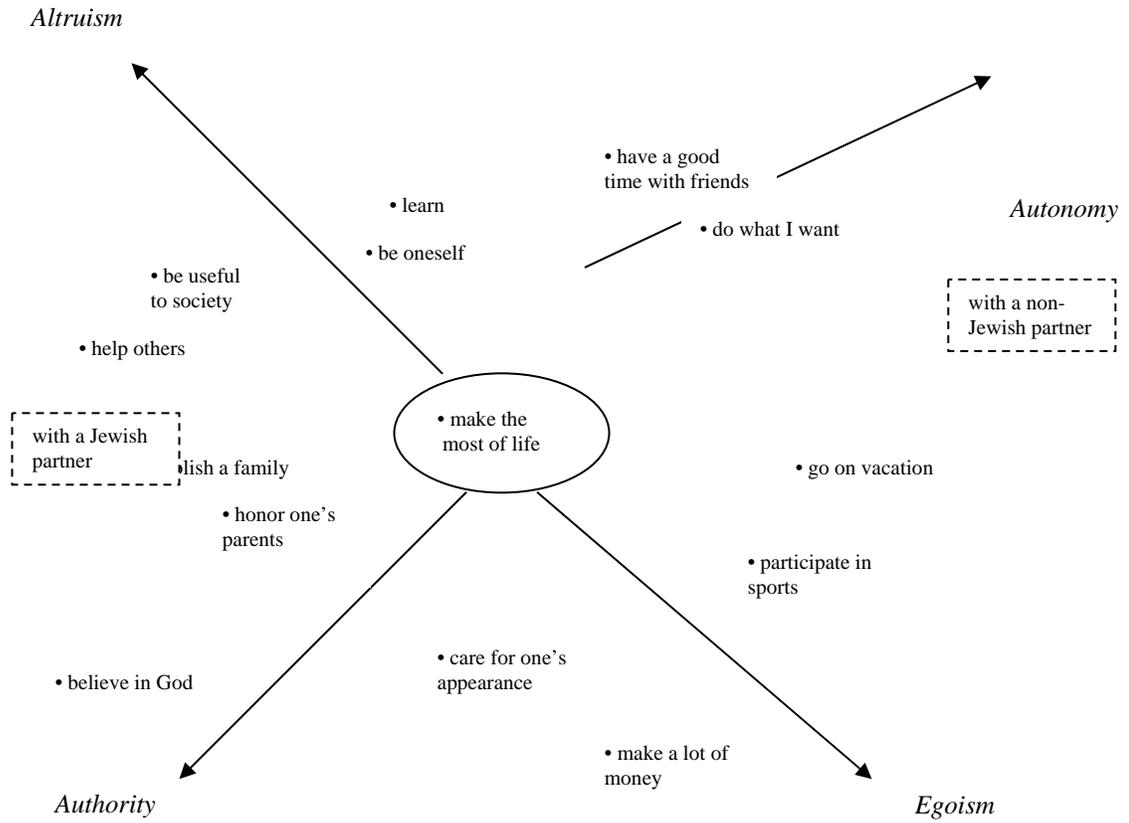
they would vehemently oppose their own children marrying a non-Jew, though a small percentage (3%) said they would. Less than a third (27%) of those married to Jews said they would vehemently oppose a non-Jewish spouse for their children.

Table 9: Intermarriage among French Jews by values to teach children

	Endogamous	Exogamous
Very important to teach children:		
Tolerance	79	80
Responsibility	65	55
Good manners	47	35
Dedication to work	46	36
Generosity	52	43
Determination	49	46
Economy, thrift	20	14
Obedience	26	18
Independence	34	37
Imagination	29	36
Religious faith	44	19
Spontaneity	26	19
Would vehemently oppose one's child marrying a non-Jew	27	3

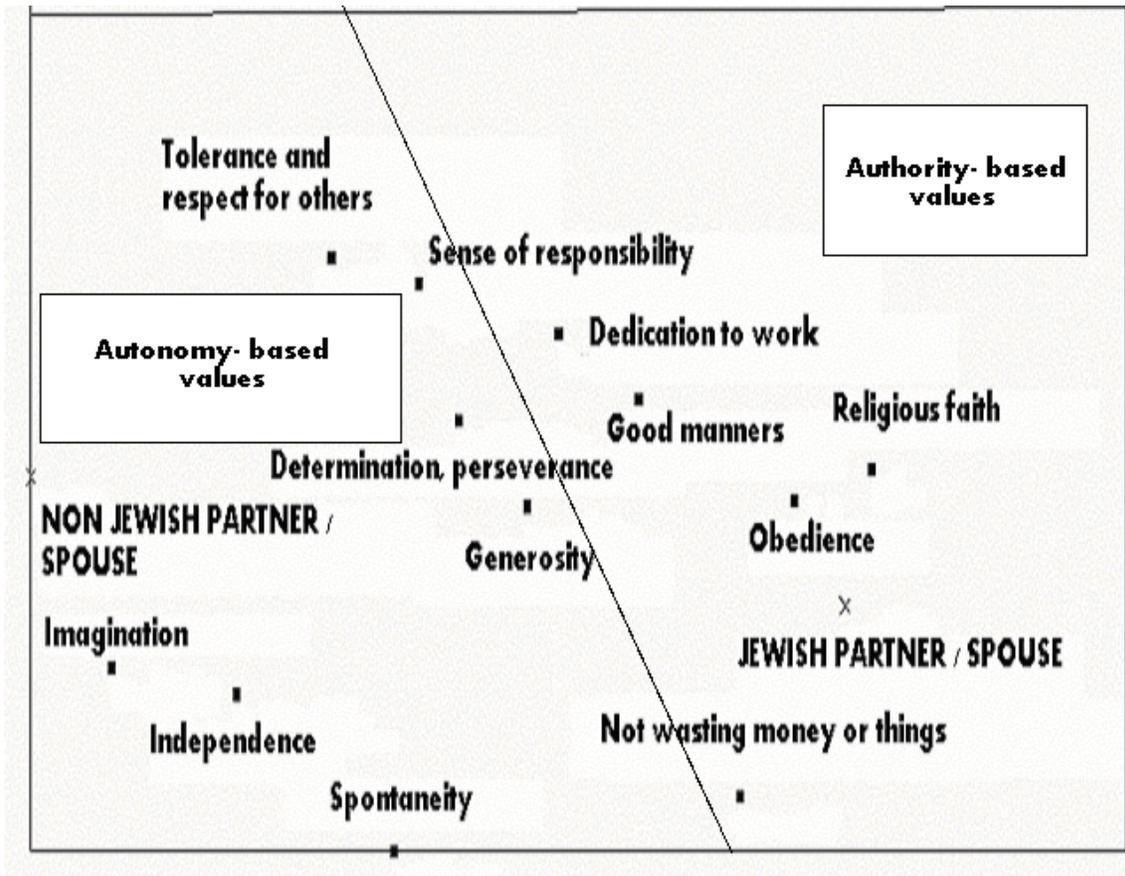
Using the SSA technique, I further examined the values held by French Jews who are married to Jews and those married to non-Jews. First, I calculated the correlation between the 14 values included on the questionnaire, for the entire survey population. I then introduced, as external variables, two sub-populations: those married to Jews and those married to non-Jews (Figure 1).

Figure 1: SSA of values held by French Jews, with external variables of endogamous and exogamous relationships



The next SSA (Figure 2) shows the structural relationship between the values respondents said are important to teach to their children. As in Figure 1, the values associated with obedience to an outside authority (parents, God, or religious tradition) are placed opposite those associated with autonomy and personal decisions. Jews in endogamous marriages are likely to support teaching their children authority-based values such as religious faith and obedience. Those with non-Jewish spouses or partners are more likely to support teaching their children autonomy-based values such as independence, imagination and spontaneity.

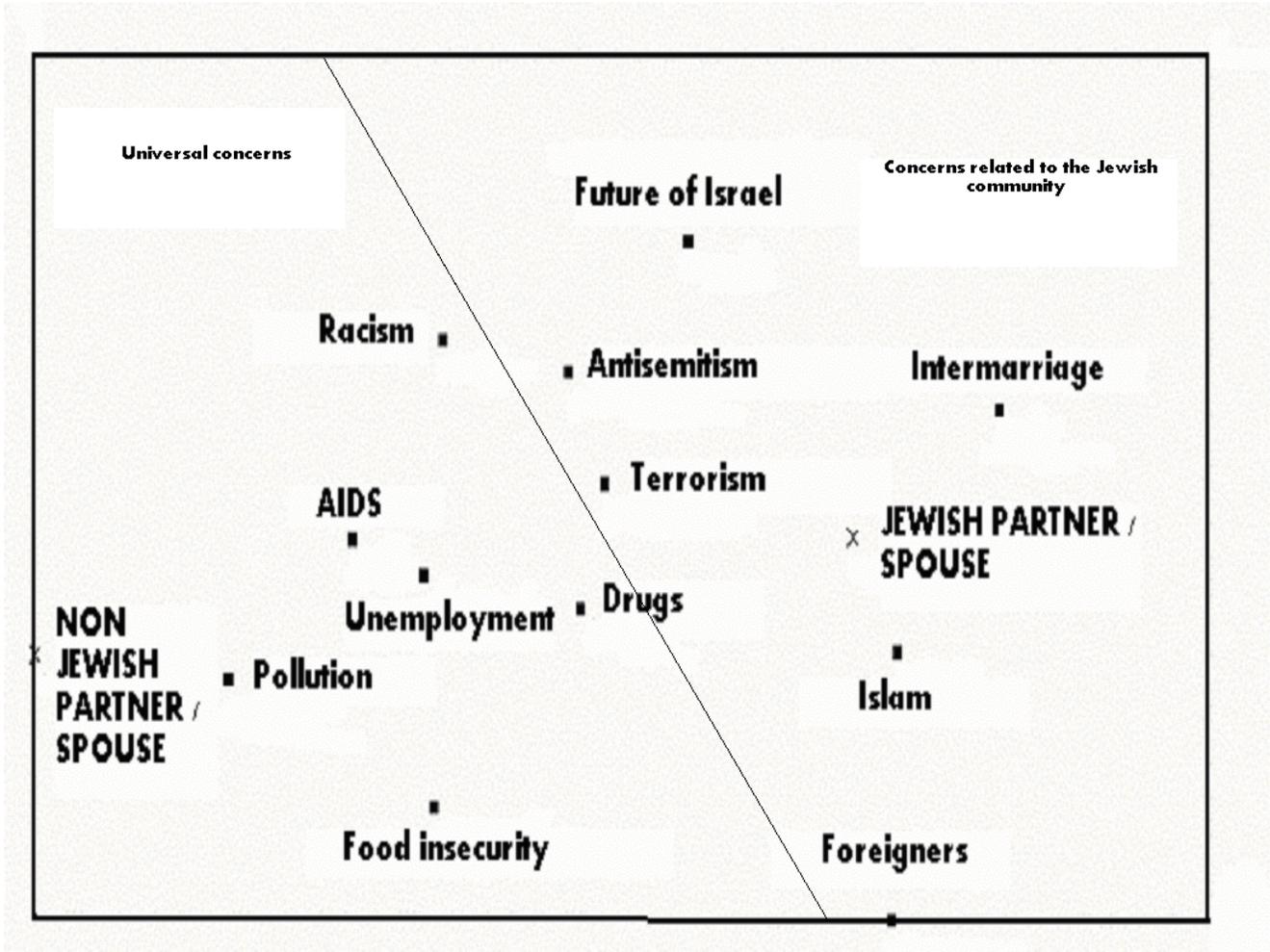
Figure 2: SSA of the values to be taught to children and the status of the spouse/partner as External Variables



The values may be divided along two axes: one showing the altruistic-egoistic dichotomy and the other showing values of autonomy versus obeying an authority (Figure 2). The region between altruism and autonomy contains values related to personal development. Those between autonomy and egoism relate to recreationⁱ. Those between egoism and authority relate to success. Those between authority and altruism relate to tradition, family, and community. The French Jews in endogamous relationships are strongly correlated with the value of belief in God. They are also close to the values honoring one's parents and establishing a family. Those married to non-Jews are closely correlated with values such as going on vacation and participating in sports. The in-married Jews are more strongly motivated by values defined by an outside authority such as tradition, religion, and family. The out-married Jews are more strongly motivated by the principle of individualism. The Jews married to non-Jews, therefore, can be said to be more thoroughly accepting of the French individualistic cultureⁱⁱ. Individuals who marry outside their religious group may be motivated by ideals of love that transcends all boundaries and social taboos. Those who consider spouses only within their religious group may be concerned with religious, community, and/or family obligations.

Figure 3 shows the structural relationship between the concerns of French Jews, with endogamous and exogamous marriages/partnerships shown as external variables. We can recognize a distinction between concerns which are universal, such as AIDS, unemployment, or pollution, and those more directly related to the Jewish community, such as intermarriage, the future of Israel, and Islam. The closely related, but significantly different concerns of racism and anti-Semitism highlight the border between the two regions.

Figure 3: SSA of concerns with status of spouse/partner as external variables



Some of the concerns placed in the region labeled "concerns related to the Jewish community" are also concerns of the French population at large. Terrorism, fear of foreigners and concern with the rise of fundamentalist Islam are topics of concern discussed frequently in the French media, and are certainly not specific to French Jews. The grouping of these concerns together with more specifically Jewish concerns, such as the future of Israel and anti-Semitism, can be understood in the context of recent events in France. Between September 2000 (the outbreak of the 'second *intifada*' in Israel) and November 2001, 300 "hostile acts" against Jews in the Paris region were reported by the

Representative Council of the Jews of France (CRIF). Most of these hostile acts were perpetrated by Muslim immigrants or children of immigrants and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict was often used as the justification for attacks on French Jews. Thus, foreigners, Islam, terrorism, anti-Semitism, and the future of Israel are inextricably linked in the minds of many French Jews. Those with Jewish partners are more concerned with the issues related to the Jewish community. Those with non-Jewish partners are more concerned with universal issues.

Conclusion

The choice of spouse is a decision that is influenced by many factors and that, in turn, affects every aspect of one's life. The seemingly simple statistic of intermarriage rates represents a much wider and complex set of social conditions, political considerations, religious convictions and personal values. In this paper, I have explored some of the larger issues related to intermarriage among French Jews. Compared to other Diaspora communities, exogamy rates are relatively low; but the incidence of intermarriage is rising, especially among the most highly educated segment of the population. Attitudes towards intermarriage are affected by the French Republican position against the formation of distinct ethno-religious communities and so-called communitarian values. Significant differences may be seen between French Jews with Jewish and with non-Jewish spouses or partners on certain aspects of self-identification, behavior, values, and concerns. Those with Jewish partners, in general, are more traditional and religiously observant, more involved in the Jewish community, and have

more authoritarian-based values and concerns more closely related to the Jewish community. Those with non-Jewish partners are more independent. They tend to be less involved with the Jewish community and have more universal values and concerns. These differences will affect the children of these respective types of marriages and thus the nature of the Jewish community in the next generation.

Acknowledgments:

This article is based on research commissioned by the *Fonds Social Juif Unifié* and United Jewish Appeal of France, in collaboration with the Aliya Department of the Jewish Agency for Israel (Research and Evaluation Office), with the support of the L.A. Pincus Fund for Jewish Education in the Diaspora, Israel.

I would like to extend my thanks to Allison Ofanansky for helping me organize and edit the English manuscript.

References

- Alba, R.D. (1976). Social assimilation among American Catholic national-origin groups, *American Sociological Review*, 41: 1030-46.
- Blau, P., Becker, C. and Fitzpatrick, K. (1984). Intersecting social affiliation and intermarriage, *Social Forces*, 62(3): 585-605.
- Canter, D., ed. (1985). *Facet Theory: Approaches to Social Sciences*. New York, NY: Springer-Verlag.
- Carmel, P. (2003). France bakes in the heat, community struggles to bury dead, *JTA Global News Service of the Jewish People*. August 17, 2003 <http://www.jta.org/page_view_story.asp?strwebhead=Heat+wave+fills+French+morgues&intcategoryid=2>.
- Chevalier, Y. (1978). Les mutations de la communauté juive de France, in *Yod, Revue des Etudes Hébraïques et Juives Modernes et Contemporaines*, No. 6, Publications Orientalistes de France, pp. 45-54.
- Cohen, E.H. (1986). *Les volontaires juifs de France vers Israël durant la guerre de Kippour, Contribution à l'étude des relations Israël-Diaspora*. Paris: University de Nanterre, PhD Dissertation, June 1986.
- Cohen, E. H. (1991). *L'étude et l'éducation juive en France*, Paris : Editions du Cerf.
- Cohen, E. H. (2002). *The Jews of France: Values and Identity, Highlights*. Paris: FSJU.
- Cohen, E. H. and Amar, R. (2002). External variables as points in Smallest Space Analysis: A theoretical, mathematical and computer-based contribution. *Bulletin de Méthodologie Sociologique*, 75: 40-56.
- Cohen, E.H. and Cohen, E. (2000). *The Israel Experience* (in Hebrew). Jerusalem, Israel: The Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies.
- Collectif, (1968). La guerre des Six Jours a-t-elle modifié la conscience juive en France? in *L'Arche*, No. 133: 35-40.
- DellaPergola, S. (1976). *Demographic Perspectives of Mixed Marriage, Encyclopaedia Judaica, Year Book, 1975-1976*, Jerusalem, pp. 198-209.
- DellaPergola, S., (1989). *Recent Trends in Jewish Marriage*. Paper presented at Symposium on World Jewish population: Research and Policies, Jerusalem, October 19-22, 1987; Jerusalem: Institute of Contemporary Jewry, Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

- DellaPergola, S., (2002). Demography, in the *Oxford Handbook of Jewish Studies*, pp. 797-823.
- Frazer, E. (2000). Communitarianism, in G. Browning, A. Halcli, and F. Webster (eds) *Understanding Contemporary Society*, pp. 178-190. London: Sage.
- Gitelman, Z. (2002). *Being Jewish in Russia and Ukraine*. Talk at Visegradi Shul, Budapest, June 18, 2002. Published in Hungarian in *Szombat* 9. Viewed online Oct. 26 2003 <<http://www.pestisul.hu/eddigi/2002-06-ZGit-Talk.html>>.
- Girard, P. (1983). *Les Juifs de France*, Ed. Bruno Huisman, Collection Index.
- Grebler, L., Moore, J.W. and Guzman, R. (1970). *The Mexican-American People: The Nation's Second Largest Minority*. New York: Free Press.
- Greilsammer, A. (1978). Jews of France: "From Neutrality to Involvement". *Forum*, Jerusalem, 12-19.
- Greilsammer, A. and Salzberg, M. (1978). The organized Jewish community in France, in *Tefutsot Israel*, Vol. XVI, No. 4, (Hebrew).
- Guttman, L. (1968). A general nonmetric technique for finding the smallest co-ordinate space for a configuration of points, *Psychometrika*, 33(4): 469-506.
- Kalmijn, M. (1998). Intermarriage and homogamy: Causes, patterns, trends, *Annual Review of Sociology*, 24: 395-421.
- Korcaz, S. (1969). *Les Juifs de France et l'Etat d'Israël*, Ed Denoël, Paris.
- Kosmin, B.A. et al. (1991). *Highlights of the CJF 1990 National Jewish Population Survey*. New York: Council of Jewish Federations.
- Laborde, C. (2001). The culture(s) of the republic: Nationalism and multiculturalism in French republican thought. *Political Theory*, 29(5), 716-735.
- Levy, S. (1994). *Louis Guttman on Theory and Methodology: Selected Writings*. Aldershot: Dartmouth.
- Petit-Ohayon, P. (2002) *Basic data on the Jewish day schools in France*. Paris: Department of Education of the Jewish Central Federative Organization (FSJU).
- Reitz, J.G. (1980). *The Survival of Ethnic Groups*, Toronto: McGraw Hill-Ryerson.
- Rimor, M. and Katz, E. (1993). *Jewish Involvement of the Baby Boom Generation: Interrogating the 1990 National Jewish Population Survey*. Jerusalem: The Louis Guttman Israel Institute of Applied Social Research.

Romano, D. (1988). *Intercultural Marriage: Promises and Pitfalls*, Yarmouth, ME: Intercultural Press, Inc.

Shurkin, M.R. (2000). Decolonization and the renewal of French Judaism: Reflections on the contemporary French Jewish scene. *Jewish Social Studies* 6: 156-171.

Slater, P.E. (1970). *The Pursuit of Loneliness*. New York: Penguin.

Spickard, P. (1989). *Mixed Blood, Intermarriage and Ethnic Identity in Twentieth-Century America*, Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press.

ⁱ The emphasis placed on recreation in France was brought into painful highlight this summer by the deaths of over ten thousand elderly French citizens left at home while their families went on vacation. The situation in the Jewish community mirrored that in French society at large, with death rates in the Jewish community tripling in August. "It's August and the rabbis are all away on holiday, and they haven't left replacements," Jacques B'Chiri, head of the Consistoire burial board, told JTA. "...As for the ritual cleansing of the bodies after death, known as *taharah*, B'Chiri said that the Consistoire was coping, ``but there's nobody around to say *Shema Yisrael* or light candles." (Carmel 2003).

ⁱⁱ The concept of assimilating into an individualistic culture and of 'rebellling' by maintaining ties with a traditional culture is somewhat ironic, and has been discussed as a sociological phenomenon (Slater 1970).