Double or Nothing

Jewish Families and Mixed Marriage in the United States

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Living Mixed Traditions

Moderator

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Bruce Phillips, Professor of Sociology and Judaic Studies, Hebrew Union College, Los Angeles

Discussant

Christopher Winship, Harvard University

Sherry Israel: We began this morning in the foreground, with the lived experience of one participant in an intermarried family. We moved to background, with American Jewish history and the sociology of assimilation or integration in America. What we're going to hear in the next panel is something in between. Our main speakers, both sociologists, have been doing research into the negotiations and realities of the lives of intermarried families. The first speaker, Arnold

Dashefsky is professor of sociology at the University of Connecticut. The second speaker, Bruce Phillips is professor of sociology and Judaic studies at Hebrew Union College and the University of California and the University of Southern California. Our discussants are Professor Christopher Winship of Harvard University and Dr. Zachary Heller of Hebrew College.

Arnold Dashefsky: I am both pleased and honored to be invited to participate in this important conference. Pleased, because I have an opportunity to learn from my colleagues from a variety of disciplinary perspectives on a topic of mutual academic interest, and honored to be in such distinguished company. Before I continue, I wanted to comment on the sense of loss I feel today, which I am sure is shared by many others assembled here. We've lost two colleagues who did much to advance the scholarly, dispassionate study of intermarriage in the social sciences and the Jewish community. I'm referring, of course, to Egon Mayer of Brooklyn College, who passed away a few months ago and whose obituary in the *New York Times* noted that he "spent more than a quarter of a century studying the behavior of American Jews, but no topic was more difficult than interfaith marriage. And with his research in the 1980s, Dr. Mayer tackled it head on"—both in his pioneering work *Love and Tradition* and in his earlier American Jewish Committee research. I also feel the loss of Marshall Sklare of Brandeis University, who passed away more than a decade ago. While much of the social science research in the 1950s and 1960s that related to Jews examined dimensions of anti-Semitism, Marshall's research focused on the nature of Jewish identity, including his article published exactly forty years ago this month, April 1964, "Intermarriage and the Jewish Future." He set the stage for understanding mixed marriage by arguing, "The Jew who intermarries generally does so because he or she wishes to marry rather than because he or she wishes to intermarry." We owe a great debt to both Marshall Sklare and Egon Mayer. Their research on intermarriage were bookends to a generation.

My initial remarks do not detract from this celebratory occasion which this conference marks, the publication of the very important new book by my colleague, Sylvia Barack Fishman.

The research which both Sylvia and my copanelist Bruce Phillips have undertaken has not emerged de novo. This research was already being recognized in the general periodical literature when, as some of you may recall, *Look* Magazine published its famous article in 1964, "The Vanishing American Jew." Of course, most people did not take this observation very seriously, since before American Jews showed many signs of disappearing, *Look* magazine vanished. Now indeed, there is a body of twentieth century literature on which current research on intermarriage builds. Eric Rosenthal, in his research, showed high rates of intermarriage in Iowa and Indiana. Rosenthal concluded the following: "In the absence of large-scale immigration and of a substantial rise in the birth rate, the current level of intermarriage formation is going to be of ever-increasing significance in the future demographic balance of the Jewish population in the United States." It might have seemed, in the 1960s, that Rosenthal's prediction, based on research in two small states with small Jewish populations, was an overgeneralization, but in retrospect, he appears to have been quite prescient. He also mentioned the 1957 US sample census. Aside from that census report in 1957, no other data existed at the national level throughout the first two-thirds of the twentieth century. To be sure, there are a number of local Jewish community studies that reported rates either lower or higher than the national average. The national picture changed with the emergence of the first national Jewish population survey in 1971, which reported that while the overall rate of intermarriage for all Jewish persons was only about nine percent, the rate among recent marriages was 32 percent. Nearly a generation later, the second national Jewish population survey (NJPS 1990) revealed that the overall national figure for Jewish individuals who were intermarried had risen from the nine percent of

twenty years before to 28 percent, and recent intermarriage (within five years of the study) had risen from 32 percent to the famous figure of 52 percent. The latest NJPS, with which all of you are undoubtedly familiar, reported a 31 percent overall intermarriage rate for Jewish individuals in their first marriage. The authors also recalculated the famous 52 percent for 1990 to exclude the non-Jews who were once Jewish and arrived at a new figure for the recently married of 43 percent. In the most recent period reported, the last five years before the study, that figure rose slightly to 47 percent. These figures are similar to those which were uncovered in the American Jewish identity survey, a similar survey with a much smaller sample that appeared at about the same time.

We can look at male-only intermarriage by denominational preference for the 1971 and 1990 NJPS. The findings document a dramatic increase in that twenty year period across all denominational categories, ranging from a tripling of the rate among those who prefer Orthodox, to a quintupling among those who prefer Reform. But in addition, the gap across the three denominations has widened substantially, with Conservative rates of intermarriage nearly twice those of the Orthodox and the Reform more than four times greater than the latter.

Despite the methodological rigor, and even disregarding the methodological limitations that are inevitably associated with such research, quantitative studies cannot answer all the questions that we may have about intermarriage. One needs to seek a balance between the quantitative and qualitative approaches, as suggested by some in the sociological literature. Sylvia says it very nicely:

> “Current information about Jewish families in general and about mixed-married families in particular has come primarily from statistical surveys such as the 1990 NJPS and population surveys of individual cities. Survey research is of critical importance in

helping us to see the big picture. However, although such statistical research excels in determining the broad parameters of behavior, it is not a refined enough instrument for understanding why people and societies behavior as they do or what might influence their future attitudes and behaviors. Qualitative research based on systematic personal interviews and focus group discussions provides effective techniques for looking at specific targeted types of individuals and societies. When designing qualitative research projects, researchers characteristically search for representative paradigms rather than for huge numbers of informants."

Sylvia's current, qualitative research study, based on personal in-depth interviews and focus group interviews, delves into the memories respondents have of their childhood and teenage years as these related to their families of origin and their ethnoreligious or religioethnic connections. Only in a qualitative study would we learn about the self-consciousness that one woman recollected when she brought sandwiches to school on challah instead of white bread, or the intrafamilial dynamics surrounding interdating. Such research also permits an examination of the negotiations surrounding the wedding and the symbolic meaning associated with the ceremony and the officiate selected. Likewise, such research can reveal that for Jewish partners, Jewishness could become more important as the marriage loomed than it was when they were teens or college students. As one of Sylvia's informants put it, "I never felt so Jewish until I married my Christian wife."

It appears that the interactions with the other can lead to the intensification of one's own identity as well as a sensitivity to those of other religioethnic backgrounds, as Sylvia points out in part one of the book, "Through the Looking Glass." In part two, with its focus on living in mixed traditions, we learn of the intricate dynamics of interpersonal relationships of interfaith

couples, which could be carefully described and analyzed only in a qualitative study. We learn from a teenage focus group participant that "Christmas and Hanukkah are when all my parents talk about—whether we have a double or single religion in our household—gets real." Moreover, we learn from a Christian partner that to him, reading about the baby Jesus on Christmas Eve is a cultural activity, because it is a part of the majority culture, whereas reading from the Hagaddah at the Passover Seder is religious because it refers to a minority, the Jews.

In addition, we learn that in mixed households with an exclusive Jewish emphasis, Christian members of the extended family still regard the children as half and half and do not want the half-Christian children to miss out on Christian holidays. In sum, Sylvia points out, "Above all, holiday observances emerge as a process rather than a static condition in mixed-married households." We also read the poignant story of the father who had a mock *bris*, or circumcision, for his son and spoke of how he hoped that "God has a sense of humor." Furthermore, from the chapter on life cycles, we learn that "the lack of passion Jewish spouses show for Judaism has an important impact on the ethnoreligious family dynamic. All the 'not asking' adds up and teaches non-Jewish spouses that Jewish things are 'not that important.'" Finally, only in a study like this one can we learn of the salience of the ethnoreligious identities of the two "Manishewitz sisters" (that's a pseudonym, but that's the name in the book): One, Cerise, assumes a dual identity while the other, Sarah, assumes a Jewish identity.

I'm indebted to Sylvia for many conversations that we have had and the guidance she has provided to me and my colleagues as we were developing and carrying out our own research on interfaith couples. Permit me to briefly share with you the nature of our research. The aim of our research is to understand through a longitudinal study the relationship of intermarried couples to Judaism and the Jewish community. In such a longitudinal study, we expect to observe,

understand and account for the development of the dynamic family relationships negotiated by the intermarried couple. We want to learn about how they react to the Jewish community and its institutions, among other topics. Like Sylvia, we are gathering data in four communities representing different regions of the country with differing demographic characteristics: Boston in the northeast, Atlanta in the south, St. Louis in the Midwest, and the San Francisco Bay Area in the west. So far, we have conducted more than 220 individual interviews in all four areas. When we finish later this year, we hope to have up to 200 couple interviews with 400 individuals involved in interfaith marriages in these four localities.

Our sample of respondents is drawn from existing lists such as the National Dovetail Interfaith Group as well as from local groups and individual referrals. After we conduct a brief screening process, we ask a bunch of questions in a written questionnaire about topics such as Jewish education, Jewish experiences in childhood and adolescence, dating and marriage, the wedding ceremony, and raising children. After the questionnaire is completed, we conduct a personal interview with each spouse separately, in the privacy of their own home. There we explore a variety of issues, including religious identity both in childhood and today, the social and communal dimensions of the wedding ceremony, the perception of the organized religious community, and the specific needs of the interfaith family. In the interview, we [also] explore family dimensions, including the raising of the children, the role of grandparents, the challenges children face, if any, as a result of the interfaith background, and the role of religion in their identity. Finally we explore, personal dimensions, including the role of intermarriage in discussions with friends, concerns about anti-Semitism, and areas of agreement or disagreement on religious matters. We conclude the interview by soliciting additional names to build our snowball sample of respondents.

I'll go out on a limb and offer some preliminary observations, which I have the right to recant after we complete the study. Bruce identified six categories of interfaith marriages in *Re-Examining Intermarriage*: the dual religious; the Christian; the Judaic; the Judeo-Christian; the interfaithless; and the Christocentric. First of all, we have found that most of our couples fall into the Judaic or dual-religion categories, although they represent a little less than half of the national sample that Bruce gathered. Second, among those interviewees claiming to be raising their children as Jewish, there are some Christian observances, as you might expect, especially around the celebration of Christmas and Easter. Third, many non-Jewish spouses do not regard the Jewish heritage of their spouse or children as negative. Rather, these non-Jews recognize that Christianity and its Bible are rooted in Jewish sources. Furthermore, they appreciate the Jewish subcultural value system, with its emphasis on family solidarity and ethical behavior. They find it very appealing in the modern world. Fourth, while we attempted to control for gender by soliciting the participation of households with Jewish and Christian spouses equally divided between husbands and wives, a majority of the households we have interviewed thus far are comprised of Jewish females.

To conclude this brief review of our study, I would simply note that while our research is not based on a probability sample, its main strength is its longitudinal nature and its reliance on both qualitative and quantitative data sources. Given adequate funding – we're always looking for additional funding – we intend to go back to our respondents two more times after their initial interview.

Many of you have probably come here today because you agree with Peter Y. Medding, Gary A. Tobin, Sylvia Barack Fishman, and Mordechai Rimor, who wrote a little over a decade ago:

> The size of the Jewish population, the vitality of Jewish life and the future of the American Jewish community all depend upon a clear understanding of the phenomenon and appropriate actions by individual Jews, scholars and communal bodies—the phenomenon of intermarriage, in other words.

Sylvia's important new book greatly aids in this endeavor by examining in a nuanced way the interpersonal dynamics experienced by interfaith couples and their families. Sylvia challenges us to think about how best to examine mixed marriage at three levels: theory, research, and social and communal policy. At the theoretical level, shall we think of intermarriage as a rational exchange of statuses which furthers mobility, à la Robert Merton's famous essay? Or is it, as Professor Alba suggested, a cultural transformation and the inevitable progression of assimilation, as in the work of Milton Gordon? Or is it a combination of both, as suggested by Ariella Kaysar? At the methodological level, shall we continue to rely on research that draws on only one method or can we better encourage the multimethod approach, which Sylvia has demonstrated so ably? Concomitantly, shall we rely only on representative samples as data sources, or shall we consider nonprobability samples as well? And at the policy level, should the organized community reaffirm Jewish tradition and more strongly endorse endogamy, thereby forcefully decrying exogamy, or should the community accept the regnant ideology of multiculturalism and diversity so well established on many American college campuses and therefore, more vigorously embrace mixed-marriage couples? Underlying this debate is the question of whether one should conceive of Jewish identity in 21st century American society as a journey. I like to contrast the journey of the straight way – figuratively, the traditional trajectory embodied in Jewish religious law or *halakhah* – with a round-about path – a more circuitous byway to being Jewish, whose entry points do not necessarily follow the traditional road but

rather individual choices. This latter theme has been the subject of recent research so well presented by Bethamie Horowitz. Related to this debate is the shifting historical pattern in Jewish civilization as to how to deal with strangers, which reflects broad social and political forces.

To conclude, I want to address the question of the utility of the research we are discussing. To the practitioners here today, I would suggest that best practices should be informed by the best of current research. To my fellow academicians, I would urge that we continue this dialogue about our current research interests guided by advances in social scientific theory and method. To the lay leaders and policy-makers in attendance, I would urge you to stay abreast of social science findings and debates. And to the rabbis in attendance, I quote Conservative Rabbi Bradley Shavit Artson, who stated, "*Halakha* should reflect sociology."

Finally, to all assembled, I would modestly suggest that to ignore the findings of social science in regard to communal policy would be similar to American politicians ignoring the economic advice given by economists because it's not politically palatable. As an empiricist, I offer you in conclusion a truth derived from a well-known rabbinic work, written nearly 2,000 years ago. We began the morning with the rabbinic quote, so I don't feel out of place offering a rabbinic quote as my concluding remark. It's of course the remark from *Pirke Avot*, Ethics of the Sages: "Who is wise? The one who sees what is being born."

Balancing Religions in the Interfatih Family

Bruce A. Phillips: In 1990 the Council of Jewish Federations sponsored a groundbreaking national survey of American Jewry. The finding that overshadowed all others was the intermarriage figure: fifty-two percent of marriages involving Jews involved marriage with a non-Jew (1985 and 1990). The typical response among Jewish intellectuals and social scientists

was policy oriented: did these results indicate a need for outreach to intermarried couples[1], or did they argue instead for a "circling of the wagons"[2] to stem the tide of increasing intermarriage?

The underlying assumption of this debate for both positions is that intermarriage leads to assimilation. Advocates of outreach argued that bringing intermarried Jewish families back into the Jewish fold would minimize the impact of intermarriage. Proponents of "circling the wagons" argued that outreach legitimizes and thus further increases intermarriage. Both positions view intermarriage in terms of "loyalty" to the Jewish community. Missing from this debate was the perspective of the intermarried couples themselves.

The perspective of social group members is usually studied through qualitative methods as contrasted with quantitative models which are used to test existing hypotheses."[3] Qualitative and quantitative methods are separated both by separate groups of practitioners and by different areas of analysis. Quantitative researchers have concentrated on substantive areas most open to statistical analysis, while qualitative researchers have focused on questions outside the realm of survey research such as urban settings and systems of personal meaning. In 1967 Glaser and Straus[4] sought bridge the two methodological worlds with the introduction of "grounded theory." The "Grounded Theory" was designed to create theories from rigorous and systematic qualitative examination of the social world:

1 Kosmin, B. (1990). "The Demographic Imperatives of Outreach." Journal of Jewish Communal Service, volume 66, # 3, pages 208-223.

2 Bayme, S. (1992). "Ensuring Jewish Continuity: Policy Challenges and Implications for Jewish communal Professionals." Journal of Jewish Communal Service, Vol. 68 # 4, pp.: 336-341.

3 See for example, William Spradley, The Ethnographic Interview

4 Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss, The Discovery of Grounded Theory

> A **grounded theory** is one that is inductively derived form the study of the phenomenon It represents. That is, it is discovered, developed, and provisionally verified through systematic data collection and analysis of data pertaining to that phenomenon. [5]

By producing testable theory, grounded theory is a natural bridge between quantitative and qualitative research. Even within the qualitative work, Strauss and Corbin emphasize the importance of "provisional verification" which is internal to the research project. Most researchers doing qualitative work do not have the opportunity to go beyond this internal verification, [6] and grounded theory remains primarily in the realm of qualitative research.

Sylvia Fishman's work on American Jewry is an outstanding exception to the separation of qualitative from quantitative research. In Jewish Life and American Culture, she employed "an interdisciplinary methodology called triangulation, which casts a wide net to bring together data culled from three different types of sources in the social sciences and humanities including (1) statistical studies (survey research), (2) qualitative data culled from interviews and focus groups and (3) cultural artifacts found in popular and material culture, literature, and film."[7] In Double or Nothing?, Sylvia Fishman fruitfully applies the triangulation approach to the study of intermarriage. In-depth qualitative interviews provide her main source of data. Fishman shows how the themes identified in the qualitative interviews are mirrored in the artifacts of popular culture, and demonstrates that the patterns of religious identification and practiced are quantitatively reflected in the data of the 2000 National Jewish Population Survey.

In my paper I present research I conducted in the 1990s which combined qualitative and

5 Anselm Straus and Juliet Corbin, Basics of Qualitative Research, page 23.

6 See Anselm Straus and Juliet Corbin, Grounded theory in Practice. The ten examples of grounded theory studies presented illustrate the process of developing grounded theory but do not test any of the theories quantitatively.

7 Sylvia Fishman, Jewish Life and American Culture. 2000. Albany. SUNY Press.

quantitative methods. Both my qualitative and quantitative findings are consistent with those presented by Sylvia Fishman in Double or Nothing?, and thus corroborate her work. My own emphasis was more on the quantitative analysis while Sylvia Fishman's concentrated more on the qualitative data. This divergence in emphasis presents a variant approach to combining qualitative and quantitative methods and because of the differences, provides support for analysis presented by Sylvia Fishman in Double or Nothing?.

Developing a Grounded Theory of Religious Dynamics in Interfaith Families

In 1993 I embarked on a follow-up study to the 1990 National Jewish Population Survey in which intermarried couples in the 1990 sample were re-interviewed by telephone specifically about intermarriage. This follow-up study integrated qualitative and quantitative methods at the beginning and the end of the research. Two kinds of qualitative methods were used to develop the questionnaire: in-depth interviews and content analysis of the Dovetail monthly newsletter for interfaith couples. Following the grounded theory model, these qualitative interviews were used to develop the theoretical understanding of intermarriage that informed the questionnaire. In the process of data analysis, insights from the qualitative research were used to make sense out of seemingly contradictory survey findings.

Prior to the survey, I and three students spent a year interviewing intermarried couples in Northern California, Southern California, and Texas to learn how intermarried couples make decisions about the religious life of their families. I also did a content analysis a newsletter written by and for interfaith families called Dovetail. This publication deals almost exclusively with the religious issues faced by Jews and Christians in interfaith marriages and most of the themes that emerged in the interviews also appeared in the pages of Dovetail. Both the

interviews and the articles were analyzed using the coding techniques elaborated by Strauss [8]and Strauss and Corbin.[9]The "grounded theory" that emerged suggests that interfaith marriages are challenged by two different kinds of religious tension and that there are three strategies employed by interfaith couples to resolve these tensions.

Intermarriage Tensions

Before marriage, partners of different faiths typically discount the potential for conflict. Typically they claim that religion is not important to one or both partners and thus will not be problematic in the marriage, or that they have the intellectual and emotional resources with which to resolve potential conflicts. Once married however, our informants often experienced tensions around religious issues in the family. The various religious tensions described by the informants could be grouped into two categories. One type of religious tensions experienced had to do with an experience "otherness" when confronting the religion of the partner. The second type of tension was the desire to maintain one's individuality within the marriage as expressed through religion. .

"Otherness" is a feeling of being left out of, or even being threatened by the religion of the spouse. For Jews, centuries of persecution in Europe and decades of discrimination in the United States make Christianity seem hostile. A non-Jewish spouse was frustrated by her husband's refusal to celebrate Christmas because "He initially felt that participating in a Christmas celebration was in some way a betrayal of his own religion."[10] A self described "cultural Jew" with no religious attachment to Judaism recalled that "I was horrified and enraged"[11] when her Catholic husband-to-be announced he wanted "a

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[8] Anselm Strauss, Qualitative Analysis For Social Scientists, 1987.
[9] Anselm Strauss and Juliet Corbin, Basics of Qualitative Research, 1990.
[10] Susan W. Hammond "A December Compromise" Dovetail , Vol. 4 #2 Oct. /November 1995 pages 3-4
[11] Abbie H. Fink and Austin E Galvin "Struggling to Come Together: The Score at Half-time" Dovetail vol. 4 number 6 June/July 1996 page 9.

true Catholic wedding." The prospect of Holy water made another "cultural Jew" uncomfortable about her wedding.[12]

While Judaism in and of itself is not threatening to Christians, it can seem pretty strange up close for non-Jews married to Jews. One non-Jewish spouse who did "not have many positive feelings about Christianity" herself nonetheless related that: "It [Judaism] all seems totally strange, especially the Orthodox synagogue we went to...and the celebrations". The strangest and most difficult Jewish observance for a non-Jewish spouse is the ritual circumcision ("*bris*") on the eighth day following birth. A traditional *bris* is done in the home by a *mohel* or ritual circumciser. As one informant put it: "It was so different from anything that I had ever experienced." Several non-Jews related that the *bris* caused considerable distress. One non-Jewish spouse reported that the couple's most intense conflict in their marriage was over the circumcision of their son (done by a Jewish pediatrician who also recited the appropriate blessings). The wife complained that this was "totally outside anything I had ever experienced." As soon as she knew that she would have a son, "it was like a black cloud over me." The prospect of the *bris* was so upsetting that she "had trouble getting close to my son for the first eight days because I knew that I would have to give him up to have this thing done and out of self protection I just couldn't do it." She ultimately went along with it "because I knew it meant so much to David," but she remained angry about it: ""I came to resent the religion and David for it. I did not go to the *bris* and I wanted to have nothing to do with it".

Even when not threatening, the religion of the spouse is experienced as "something not me." Religion in intermarriage functions as an expression of one's individuality. A person's religious upbringing, even if that religion is no longer important, is part of his or her background and thus part of

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[12] Jean Saucier, "Both Sides Now," Dovetail vol. 7 no 4 Feb. /march 1999 page 10.

"who I am." Issues of personal identity were frequently mentioned in connection with wedding ceremonies. Each partner wanted "something of me" included in the ceremony, as represented by a religious or ethnic tradition. A female informant who was married by a Jewish judge in a totally secular ceremony reflected that how much she missed the Jewish ceremony she never had. The lack of traditional Jewish wedding ceremonies made her wedding feel inauthentic to her:

> Because I didn't have a Jewish ceremony, I never really felt married. When I go to Jewish weddings I am reminded of how important it is that we [she and her husband] have a Jewish wedding at some point. I need this [a Jewish wedding] to happen

A second female informant related that on her tenth anniversary, she and her husband had a Jewish religious marriage conducted by a rabbi because she "didn't really feel married" without a Jewish wedding ceremony.

Non-Jews can feel the same way about having Judaism imposed on them. One Dovetail writer explained that she was concerned that her wedding not be "too Jewish," she could not feel that it was her wedding:

> We met with a rabbi friend of my fiancée. I told him that I did not want to be overwhelmed with someone else's religion….He assured me that the ceremony wouldn't be 'too' Jewish: he promised to take out some of the Hebrew and to change 'the faith of Israel' to 'the faith of mankind." [13]

The arrival of children raises the issue personal identity because the religious identification of the child is also identification with the parent. This theme was particularly striking when articulated by persons who themselves do not identify with Judaism as a religion. Even self-described atheists and secular Jews were surprised at how important it was to them to pass on their Jewish identity to their children. One Jewish informant who was himself opposed to organized religion nonetheless wanted his daughter to be Jewish: "We knew all along that she would be exposed to everything...When Mara came around, I was really concerned that she have

[13] Laime Vaitkus, "Planning our interfaith Wedding" Dovetail, vol. 4 number 4 Feb./March 1996 page 5.

a Jewish identity...It's very organic." Another informant admitted that he was not sure why he wanted to raise his child as a Jew other than because he himself was a Jew: I really do want to expose our child to Jewish culture and heritage...I value that and my own experience. It's hard to say exactly what's important about it, but it's part of me." A third informant acknowledged that she herself did not understand her own feelings I this regard: "I was not an active Jew when I got married, but for some unconscious reason it was very important I to me that my children be Jewish... It was a link to the past and somehow I knew that."

Non-Jewish informants can feel the same way. A non-Jewish spouse informant stated that: "You always want your kids to be what you are, whatever that is....If Jerry wanted to join a synagogue, I would let him, but if he wanted to take Austin, I would resent that."

Many Dovetail writers have also discussed the relationship between the religious and parental identifications of the children. A lay person who helps with interfaith naming ceremonies explained that including both traditions includes both parents:

> As I helped one interfaith couple create a naming ceremony in which their son was given a Hebrew name, we needed to find a way to honor this child's Jewish lineage as well as his Irish Catholic ancestry. Even though this family had agreed to raise their child as a Jew, both parents also wanted to feel that their respective families were being acknowledged and had a place in their son's life.[14]

Strategies For Tension Reduction In Mixed Marriages

The pages of Dovetail are filled with strategies for tension reduction in interfaith marriages. Our informants, too, readily shared. The coding strategies of grounded theory (Strauss, 1987), suggested three groupings that I call neutrality, reciprocity, and efficiency.

[14] Laya Tamar, Creating innovative Rituals in an interfaith Home" Dovetail Vol. 3#1 August/Sept. 1994.

Neutrality

The simplest strategy to reduce religious tensions is to avoid religion altogether. I call this strategy neutrality, and it begins with the wedding ceremony. As described above, couples typically experience their first conflicts around the religious content of the ceremony. The most common strategy for reducing tensions around the wedding ceremony is to have a civil ceremony performed by a Justice of the Peace. Many of our informants turned to a civil ceremony specifically to avoid religious tensions. One informant explained that they chose a non-religious ceremony in a fancy restaurant "... so as not to offend our parents and because it was really easier for us...Neither of us had strong feelings either way so we figured why stir things up…I don't think my parents would have been thrilled to have me being married in a church but to be honest I don't know that I would have been either." Another couple reported they chose a civil ceremony specifically to avoid tensions within their respective families. "The ceremony was performed by an attorney; it was nondenominational. We did not want to offend either side of the family, so we did not approach [either] a rabbi or a priest."

Non-Jewish women also find themselves giving up their dreams for a church wedding. A non-Jewish wife who always "believed that one needs to be married in a church with the white dress" realized that this was unacceptable to her husband and in-laws and instead settled for a secular wedding ".... in a little white chapel by a lay minister. There was mention of a God, but no specific religion."

Dovetail has devoted special coverage to the intricacies of the interfaith wedding ceremony. In one issue readers were invited to write in and discuss their own experiences. Many writers acknowledged the advantages of a civil ceremony: "Given that I am a practicing Catholic and that my husband is an observant Conservative Jew, we decided to be married in a civil

ceremony performed by a federal judge who is a friend of ours."[15] Another related that "... when we mentioned this [a church wedding] to his mother, the expression on her face led us to quickly drop the idea."[16] A Catholic Priest related that : "While I've done marriages in synagogue, most of the interfaith marriages I've done have been in neutral territories-non-denominational churches or catering establishments."[17]

Within the intermarried home, neutrality means taking the holidays outside of the home. A Jewish informant explained that: "We celebrate everything Jewish with my family outside of our home." A non-Jewish spouse similarly explained that: "We don't do anything in our house. We go to [Husband's] family for the Jewish holidays, and we go to my family for Christmas and Easter."

Another solution is to neutralize Christmas by making it a "non-religious" celebration. One informant explained that "In the house, there is nothing religious and we don't do anything religious, except have a Christmas tree, but we don't' consider that religious anyway." A non-Jewish spouse similarly explained that "There is nothing 'Christian in the house. We celebrate Christmas, but in the pagan sense, not in the Christian sense. We have a tree but it is not a religious symbol… Christmas is a time for family, and we make it clear to children that they are Jewish."

Reciprocity

The reciprocity strategy brings the two religions into the home but balances them. The religiously neutral mixed marriage avoids conflict by keeping religion out of the home. The religiously reciprocal mixed marriage balances Judaism and Christianity so that neither is

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[15] Carol Weiss Rubel, "A Very Civil Ceremony"--Dovetail vol. 7 no 4 Feb. /march 1999 page 7
[16] Laime Vaitkus, "Planning our interfaith WeddinG,"Dovetail, vol. 4 number 4 Feb./March 1996 page 5.

dominant. The operating philosophy is: "You do yours and I'll do mine." Its corollary is "you don't do what is most offensive to me, and I'll drop what is most offensive to you."

Reciprocity begins with the wedding. A writer in Dovetail who had a civil ceremony nonetheless carefully choreographed the wedding ceremony with an equal representation of symbols from both faith traditions: "We spent much energy making certain that people were included and that elements from both Catholic and Jewish traditions were incorporated into our ceremony...We wanted to establish an atmosphere of respect and difference between equals from the outset of our marriage."[18] A Jewish lay person who specializes in creating customized intermarriage ceremonies suggested some ways to strike a balance: "Make sure that whenever anything is said in Hebrew, English immediately follows."[19]

In the home, reciprocity means making equal room for both religions. A Jewish informant explained that "… on Christmas we are Catholic and on Chanukah we are Jewish, otherwise we are always both." A non-Jewish wife in a home where only Jewish holidays were celebrated related that her mother was disappointed that her family did not celebrate Christmas, asking accusingly what it was "you are they only carrying on [Husband]'s traditions and none of ours?" A Dovetail writer explained to her children that "…some people are Jewish, and some people are Christian. Since in our family, Mommy is Christian and Daddy is Jewish, we celebrate both Mommy's and Daddy's holidays.[20]

"Balance" is a particularly important aspect of reciprocity where children are concerned. It often starts with the baby naming ceremony. One couple carefully balanced Jewish and Christian elements in a home-made baby naming ceremony and happily reported that: "We

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[17] Msgr. Edward Connors "Reflections from a Roman Catholics Priest," Dovetail Vol., 5 No 4, Feb./March 1997 Page 11
[18] -Carol Weiss Rubel,"A Very Civil Ceremony," Dovetail vol. 7 no 4 Feb. /march 1999 page 7.
[19] Noah Saunders, "An interfaith Officiant's View," Dovetail vol. 7 no 4 Feb. /march 1999 page 5 page 5

seemed to strike a balance, and the day of welcoming turned out to be warm and wonderful.[21] Another writer combined Jewish and Christian baby-naming observances on an equal footing: "When our son, Jared, was born we had an interfaith ceremony in our home. Jared was given a full Hebrew name, then baptized."[22] As the children grow older, "balance" typically means exposing the children to both religions and then letting them decide. This theme was prevalent throughout the in-depth qualitative interviews: A non-Jewish spouse in Texas opined that "It is not our decision to tell our children what religion to be, but only our job to inform them on both religions." A Jewish husband in Northern California explained that "You can celebrate both religions and learn about both. If he [his son] wants to switch later, that's fine--when they're old enough." A Jewish husband explained that because his wife " couldn't raise her [the daughter] as a Jew and I couldn't raise her as anything else," that they would have to leave it to their daughter to decide: " We'll just introduce her to what's out there and when she's old enough she can make an educated choice." A Dovetail writer similarly related that "We gradually realized that for us to label our child as one religion without regard to the other would deny half of who that child is. For us, the answer is an interfaith identity. Our goal is to give our child the best of both worlds."[23]

Efficiency

For some couples, trying to strike a balance is just too much work or too stressful, and one partner defers to the religion of other. A non-Jewish wife found that practicing two religions separately, even if equally, was divisive to the family. The family began going to church because

[20] Joan C. Hawxhurst, "Questions Kids Ask about the Holidays" Dovetail, Vol. 6 Number 2 October/November 1997
[21] Loretta Fox, "A Matter of Trust" Dovetail Vol. 7 No 5 June/July 1999 page 10.
[22] Randi Field, "A different Path," Dovetail Vol. 7 No 5 June/July 1999 page 7.
[23] Loretta Fox, "A Matter of Trust" Dovetail Vol. 7 No 5 June/July 1999 page 10

" I wanted the family to be together. I am happy that we are now doing something as a family even if I have pangs of guilt that it is not Jewish." A non-Jewish husband related that the pressure for a religious shift came from their daughter. He had agreed to raise the children as Jews, and they had joined the local temple in Dallas. The daughter, however, wanted to go to Methodist Sunday school with her school and neighborhood friends.

A couple writing in Dovetail began by practicing Judaism and Christianity separately, but found this too painful, and ended up combining them in one home: "At temple on Friday night with the kids I would feel a sadness at Austin's absence,. And he at church on Sunday would feel the same"[24]

Some families found keeping two religions to be too much work unless both spouses participated. A Jewish wife who ended up doing the Christmas planning as well being responsible for Hanukkah decided that if she had to do all the work, the family would celebrate Jewish holidays exclusively: "I used to do it [Christmas] for [non-Jewish Husband] but I realized that I was doing it all and told him that if he wanted it, he would have to participate in making it happen. But he didn't, so we stopped. Now we celebrate [only] Chanukah and Passover." Conversely, a Jewish wife explained that it was too much work for her to maintain a Jewish home without the support of her religiously indifferent husband, so they observed nothing.

Sometimes the most efficient solution is to let the partner with the greatest investment in his or her religion take responsibility for the religion of the household. A Jewish husband who felt his own religious background was not strong enough to raise Jewish children let his wife raise them as Christians: "She's probably more religious than I am in terms of bringing someone up with a religious background...Sure, I'd like them to be Jewish, but she's better able to do it."

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[24] Abbie H Find and Austin E. Galvin "Struggling to Come Together: the Score at Half time Dovetail June/July 1996 page 8

A Jewish wife explained that: "We both agreed that whichever one of us took responsibility for providing the foundation would raise the child in their religion. "

On the other side, some Christian husbands deferred to their more religiously committed Jewish wives to raise the children as Jews. One such husband in Texas related that "Marlene grew up in a Conservative family in Cleveland, surrounded by a large Jewish population. She went to religious school and Hebrew school. I was raised Methodist, but my family was not very religious. A Catholic husband similarly related that "because I didn't have a strong religious faith, and my wife is a child of Holocaust survivors, we agreed we would raise the children Jewish."

Individual Meanings

Possibly the most important insight derived from the qualitative interviews was the importance of individual meanings in mixed marriages. This would become particularly important in the data analysis phase of the survey. Individual meaning is the social of endowing religious meaning on an otherwise neutral object. This meaning might only be clear to the individual. A Dovetail writer who did not want a church wedding was engaged to a man who did not want a hotel wedding. Finally "… we did find a hotel that he felt good about. It had a raised step up, so he felt that was holy, for lack of a better word." [25] Another Dovetail writer related that her husband and his family wanted a *khuppa*, [Jewish wedding canopy], but the non-Jewish writer and her mother strongly objected to this. The florist suggested an arch made of flowers and the groom's mother thought it was a great idea because it looked like a *khuppa.* The non-Jewish bride, however, insisted that no one actually call it a *khuppa* so that it could serve as whatever symbol people wanted: "So to my mother and me it was a trellis rose arbor, and to his

mother, it was a *khuppa*.. We were all pleased."[26]

Personal meaning is closely related to Christmas celebration. As discussed above, some informants said that Christmas was not celebrated as a religious holiday. This act of personal meaning thereby was thought to reduce the religious encroachment of Christmas. A non-Jewish husband, for example explained that "For me, the tree isn't a religious symbol but something I was raised with." Another explained that having a Christmas tree did not compromise the Jewish character of their home: "For 364 days a year, this is a Jewish home, but on just one day a year I want something for me."

Testing Grounded Theory

I was able to test the theoretical understanding of the religious dynamics of the mixed married family that was developed from the qualitative phase of the research in a national telephone survey conducted in 1993 in which mixed married households interviewed in the 1990 National Jewish Population Survey were re-interviewed.[27] The qualitative materials discussed above suggested three specific hypotheses:

(1) The balance of religious influences between husband and wife will influence the type of wedding ceremony, but neutrality should be the dominant pattern.

(2) Within the home, the religious practices of the household will be consistent with the balance of religious influences in the household, based on the assumption that the partner who is the most religious will have the greatest influence on the religious practice of the household.

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[25] Jean Saucier, "Both sides Now, Dovetail. vol. 7 no 4 Feb. /march 1999 page 9
[26] Planning our interfaith Wedding by Laime Vaitkus DT vol. 4 number 4 Feb./March 1966 page 5
[27] See Bruce Philips, Re-Examining Intermarriage 1996.

(3) All mixed marriages will have a mixture of Jewish and Christian elements, reflecting the desire of both partners to have a symbolic presence.

A Typology of Mixed Marriage

The "balance of religious influences" referred to in the first and second hypothesis was measured by a simple typology based on the religious identification of each spouse.[28] There are three categories of Jews in this typology. Jews by religion answered "Judaism" for their current religion. Secular Jews are ethnically Jewish but answered "none" or "atheist" to the question on current religion.[29] Christian Jews were raised in mixed married. They identify as ethnically Jewish but as Christians by religion. The non-Jewish categories are parallel. Christians are non-Jews who identify as Christians. Secular Non-Jews are not ethnically Jewish and answered "none" or "atheist" to the question on current religion.[30] Non-Jews who had converted to Judaism would be comparable to "Christian Jews," in this typology, but they were considered Jews in this study, and thus were not included in the mixed married analysis.
In an analysis not shown here, I validated that secular people are less religious than respondents and spouses who identify as Jewish or Christian using standard questions on religious belief from the Gallup Polls that were included in the survey. In this section I present survey findings that both validate and are explained by the grounded theory described above. I look at the wedding ceremony and religious observance in the home.

The three Jewish and two non-Jewish categories produced five types of mixed marriages, shown in Table 1. The "Judaic" marriage consists of a Jew by religion and a secular non-Jew. Conversely, the "Christian" marriage consists of a Christian and a secular non-Jew. In the secular category both the Jew

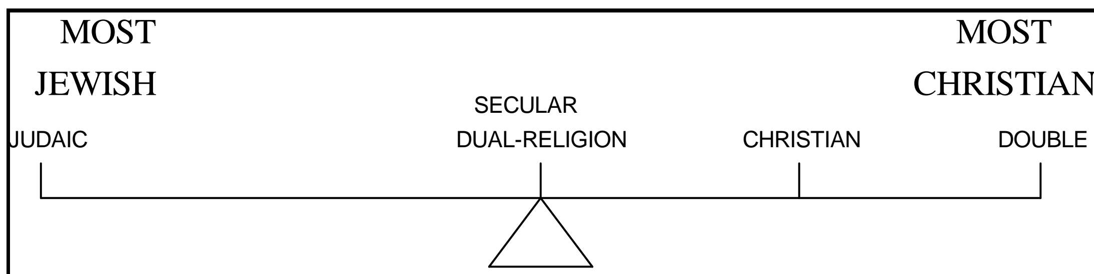
[28] The exact wording was "What is your current religion?" and "What is (NAME'S) current religion?"
29 I also included in this category the few Jews that identified with an Eastern religion such as Buddhism or a "New Age" religion.
30 I also included in this category the non- Jews that identified with an Eastern religion such as Buddhism or a "New Age" religion.

and the non-Jew are secular. "Jew" here is used only as an ethnic category. A Jew by religion married to a Christian is called "Dual Religion" in this typology. The bottom of table 1 has two special categories that include "Christian Jews" who were raised in mixed marriages and identify as Christians. The "Special Christian" category is made up of a secular non-Jew married to a Christian Jew. The Christian in this case is the Jew. In the analysis that follows I fold this category into the "Christian" category since one spouse is Christian and one is secular. In the Double Christian category, both spouses identify as Christian, even though one is ethnically Jewish. Figure 1 presents the hypothesized balance of religious practice according to the Mixed Marriage Typology.

TABLE 1: Construction of the Mixed Marriage Typology

	Non Jewish Spouse	
Jewish Spouse	Secular	Christian
Jew by Religion	JUDAIC	DUAL RELIGION
Secular Jew	SECULAR	CHRISTIAN
Christian Jew	SPECIAL CHRISTIAN	DOUBLE CHRISTIAN

Figure 1: Intermarriage Typology as a Continuum



Wedding Ceremony

The survey asked who performed the wedding, where it took place, and the religious content of the ceremony.[31] Consistent with our first hypothesis, neutrality is the prevailing wedding pattern

31 "Who officiated at the marriage ceremony?" ; "In what kind of place did you get married?";
"How would you describe your marriage ceremony? Was it....."a Jewish ceremony only, a Christian ceremony only, some other religious ceremony such as a 'new age' ceremony or one that you wrote yourselves, a mixture of a Jewish ceremony and a Christian ceremony, a mixture of a Jewish ceremony and a ceremony from some other religion, a civil ceremony?"

in Judaic, Dual Religion, and Secular marriages (Table 2). Although Dual Religion couples were the most likely to have dual officiation, the most prevalent officiant by far was a Justice of the Peace.

Table 2: Officiant by Typology of Mixed Marriage

	Typology of Mixed Marriage				
Who Performed Wedding?	Judaic	Dual Religion	Secular	Christian	Double Christian
Rabbi or Cantor	25.8%	21.6%	6.3%	3.0%	1.7%
Rabbi & Minister	4.0%	14.2%	0.0%	3.1%	.0%
Justice of the Peace	46.6%	44.5%	47.9%	33.0%	36.8%
Lay minister	12.2%	6.9%	13.4%	17.6%	12.5%
A Christian Minister	11.5%	12.8%	32.4%	43.5%	49.0%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N=	48	127	32	55	96

As discussed above, intermarried couples are able to inject personally meaningful symbols into the wedding ceremony. The ceremony allows for creativity on the part of the participants to work in elements of their respective tradition into the ceremony. Table 3 shows that the type of ceremony is closely related but to, but not entirely consistent with the officiant. Respondents married by rabbis reported Jewish ceremonies exclusively. Respondents married by a Rabbi and Minister officiating together had a joint ceremony. Respondents married Judges and Justices of the Peace were mostly married in civil ceremonies (85 percent), but a significant minority of respondents who were married by a Justice of the Peace (15 percent) described their ceremony as religious in some way. Half of the respondents who were married by lay ministers reported ceremonies in a non-Western religion, but more than a quarter of them reported what the respondent described as a Christian ceremony. The qualitative materials described above provide insight into this pattern. A lay minister is less “Christian” than an ordained minister, and

probably more open to "watering down" the ceremony to accommodate the Jewish spouse. Only 62 percent of the respondents who were married by a Christian minister reported being married in a Christian ceremony. The remaining 38 percent were about equally distributed among civil ceremonies, combined Jewish-Christian ceremonies, and ceremonies outside of Judaism and Christianity. Again the qualitative interviews make sense out of what otherwise might seem to be an inconsistent set of answers.

A few respondents who were married by Christian ministers report that their ceremony was exclusively Jewish. This seemingly inconsistent answer is consistent with the grounded theory described above. A Jewish ceremony performed by a Christian minister can be understood as a kind of compromise: your clergy, my ceremony. What probably made the ceremony "Jewish" was the inclusion of Jewish symbols such as breaking the glass or standing under a *huppah* .

Table 3: Description of Wedding Ceremony by Who Performed the Ceremony

	Who Performed Wedding				
Marriage Ceremony	Rabbi	Rabbi & Minister	Justice of the Peace	Lay Minister	Christian Minister
Civil ceremony	.0%	.0%	85.0%	1.1%	9.8%
Christian ceremony only	.0%	.0%	1.9%	29.4%	62.3%
Some other religion	.0%	5.6%	9.2%	48.8%	15.5%
Jewish & Christian	.0%	94.4%	3.3%	12.0%	11.2%
Jewish ceremony only	100.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%
Don't Know/Refused	.0%	.0%	.6%	8.7%	1.1%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Weighted N=	45	22	147	40	103

The desire for compromise and reducing tensions that emerged from the qualitative research is further evident in Table 4, which looks at the type of ceremony in conjunction with the setting of the ceremony. Virtually all (96 percent) of the civil ceremonies took place in a

neutral location (the most popular being a Judge's chambers). Similarly, three quarters of the "other religion" ceremonies were in neutral locations, primarily private homes.

Only a small percentage of Jewish ceremonies (15 percent) were conducted in a synagogue; most (45 percent) took place in a hotel While we do not have data for the percentage of endogamous Jewish marriages that take place in a synagogue, it is probably greater than 15 percent. This could reflect a number of possibilities: a rabbi was not found to perform the ceremony or the non-Jewish spouse assented to a Jewish ceremony but wanted a neutral location.

Almost 60 percent of the combined Jewish and Christian ceremonies were performed in a neutral location.

Table 4: Setting of Ceremony by Type of Ceremony

	Type of Ceremony				
Setting of Ceremony	Civil	Christian	Some Other Religion	Jewish & Christian	Jewish Only
Religious Settings					
A synagogue	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	15.1
A church	1.3	81.4	20.3	40.2	5.4
Rabbi's office	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.5
Minister's office	1.0	0.0	1.1	0.0	0.0
Neutral Settings					
A private home	26.0	11.7	40.6	12.4	14.1
A restaurant	17.2	1.5	20.4	25.0	44.6
A public place	4.8	2.0	13.4	1.9	9.9
Judge's chambers	49.6	3.2	4.2	20.5	4.4
Don't know	0.0	.08	0.0	0.0	0.0
Refused	0.0	.09	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Home Observance

A large number of questions were asked about religious observance that were informed

by the nuances of the qualitative interviews. I combine them here as a summary index of Christian and Jewish Observance. For example, the distinction made between observing a holiday inside or outside the home was included in the questionnaire with regard to Christmas and Passover as was the distinction made between celebrating Christmas as a religious or secular holiday. The Jewish counterpart is celebrating Passover as a religious holiday versus a family get together. Jewish and Christian Observance Indexes were constructed as a summary measure. The construction of these two indexes is shown in Table 5, and the data in Table 6.

Table 5: Construction of Jewish and Christian Observance Indexes

Christian Observance Index (10 pts total)		Jewish Observance Index (10 pts total)	
OBSERVANCE	Score	OBSERVANCE	Score
Christmas in the Home (2 pts total)		Hanukkah in the Home (2 pts total)	
Had Christmas tree	1	Lit menorah	1
Exchanged Christmas presents	1	Exchanged Hanukkah presents	1
Family Get Together at Christmas (2 pts total)		Attended a Seder (2 pts total))	
At own home	2	Seder at home	2
With family or friends	1	Seder outside the home	1
No family get together	0	No seder	0
How Christmas was Celebrated (2 pts total)		High Holidays (3 pts total))	
Not celebrated	0	Resp and Spouse went	3
As secular holidays	1	Resp went alone	2
As religious holiday	2	No synagogue attendance, but Resp. did not go to work	1
Church on Easter (3 pts total)		No Observance	0
No Easter celebration	0	High Holiday Dinner (2 pts total)	
Easter celebrated but not in church	1	At Home	2
Non-Jewish spouse went to church	2	Outside the home	1
Other family member also went to church	3	No High Holiday Dinner	0
How Easter was Celebrated (1 pt total)		How Passover Celebrated 1 pt total)	
As a religious holiday	1	As a religious holiday	1
As an American or family holiday only	0	As family holiday only	0

Table 6: Mean Jewish and Christian Observance Indexes by Typology of Mixed Marriage

Typology of Mixed Marriage	Index of Jewish Observance	Index of Christian Observance
Judaic	4.4	3.7
Dual Religion	4.4	5.5
Secular	1.7	4.0
Christian	1.4	5.7
Double Christian	1.0	7.1

Table 6 validates the second and third hypotheses derived from the qualitative interviews. The second hypothesis stipulated that religious observance in the intermarried home would be influenced by the respective religious commitment of the husband and wife. In this case I have used a simple measure of religious commitment, namely the "current religion" of each spouse. As predicted, the Judaic household has the highest score on the Index of Jewish Observance, and the lowest score on the Index of Christian Observance. Conversely, the Double Christian household has the lowest score on the Index of Jewish Observance, and the highest score on the Index of Christian Observance. The Christian household is less Christian than the Double Christian household, reflecting the influence of the secular partner.

The qualitative interviews suggest that Dual Religion couples should balance Jewish and Christian observance. In Table 6 the Dual Religion household is seen to be just as Jewish as the Judaic household, and the Christian Index score is comparable to the Jewish Index score. The two indexes, though similar, are not mirror images of each other. In order to test the "balance" hypothesis we must look at specific holidays that the partners try to balance.

The Christmas tree and the menorah are perhaps the most perfectly comparable observances, because each is an object that is symbolic of its holiday. As Table 7 shows, the menorah and the Christmas tree are consistent with the typology. More Judaic couples have

Hanukkah menorahs than have Christmas trees. In the Dual Religion family the two symbols are equally balanced. In Secular, Christian, and Double Christian families, Christmas trees outnumber Hanukkah menorahs.

Table 7: Presence of Christmas Tree and Hannukah Menorah by Intermarriage Typology

Typology of Mixed Marriage	% Who Had Christmas Tree	% Who Had Hannukah Menorah
Judaic	59.7%	85.6%
Dual Religion	77.6%	78.8%
Secular	82.6%	44.9%
Christian	80.8%	17.7%
Double Christian	87.3%	24.4%

The third hypothesis predicted that regardless of the balance of religious traditions, both Judaism and Christianity should be represented in all intermarried households. This was in fact the case. The mean Judaic Observance score for the Double Christian household was 1.0. Table 7 is instructive in this regard. Half of the secular households, a quarter of the Double Christian household sand 18 percent of the Christian households reported lighting a Hannukah menorah, even though no one practices Judaism in any of these households. Seen in isolation, this finding would be considered anomalous and might even raise questions about the quality of the research. The qualitative research made this finding both understandable and even predictable by introducing an understanding of how religious symbols function as symbols of personal meaning.

As a quantitative researcher I find typologies useful for the same reason that qualitative researchers often find them objectionable: they are abstractions that reduce data to categories. Because this intermarriage typology is grounded in qualitative analysis, it substantiates the generalizability of the in-depth interviews. It also substantiates Sylvia Fishman conclusion that

interfaith couples negotiate to invent new traditions that reflect their own balances of religious commitments. Table 8 applies the Intermarriage Typology to data from the 2000 National Jewish Population Survey, looking how children are being raised by the religious composition of the family. Endogamous couples almost universally raise their children as Jews, but mixed- married couples do not. Among the mixed-married couples, Jews married to secular non-Jews are the most likely to raise their children in Judaism, but less than two-third do so (61 percent). Mixed-married couples in which both the Jewish and non-Jewish parents are completely secular predominantly raise their children in no religion at all (79%). A Dual-religion couple is made up of a Jew by religion married to a Christian. Only a quarter of the children in Dual-religion couples are being raised as Jews, and just under a third are being raised as Christians. Although the parents identify with two different religions, less than a tenth of the children are being raised in two religions. The two categories of Christian and Double Christian couples are combined. They overwhelmingly are raising their children as Christians.

Table 8 How children are Being raised by Religious Identification of Parents (NJPS 2000)

	Parents are In-Married	Parents are Mixed Married				Jewish Parent is Single parent	All
How Child is Being Raised		JUDAIC Jew by Religion & Secular NJ	SECULAR Both Jew & NJ are Secular	DUAL Jew by Religion & Christian	CHRISTIAN & DOUBLE CHRISTIAN*		
In Judaism	95.7%	60.5%	6.4%	25.9%	1.4%	52.1%	43.0%
In no religion	1.7%	26.0%	78.6%	34.9%	13.9%	35.4%	22.7%
In two Religions	.2%	9.5%	0.0%	9.0%	1.3%	2.0%	2.3%
As a Christian	2.4%	3.9%	15.0%	30.2%	83.4%	10.5%	32.0%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

*Christian Jews were not included in the UJC report of findings and are thus excluded from the Tables in the Appendix of Doulbe or Nothing? as well.

Conclusion

I began by referring to the "In-reach/ Outreach" debate that erupted following the release of the Highlights report of the 1990 National Jewish Population Survey. As Jack Wertheimer recently acknowledged in the pages of Commentary, that debate has been pushed aside by the sheer magnitude of intermarriage.[32] Because it is so engagingly written and elegantly argued, Double or Nothing? is accessible to the Jewish public, and I am confident that its conclusions will be widely discussed. Sylvia Fishman's emphasis on the impact of Jewish education affirms that assimilation is by no means the inevitable future of American Jewry. Her highly cogent presentation of the dynamics within intermarried families will be immensely valuable not only to persons doing outreach, but to all Jewish institutions that will inevitably find themselves interacting with intermarried couples and encountering the impact of intermarriage on American Jewish life.

Christopher Winship: I've been asked to keep my remarks short and will do so. Let me start by congratulating Sylvia Barack Fishman on a very nice book: lots of powerful insights and provocative questions. Bruce Phillips, I think your research, particularly the typology, is opening some new doors. And Arnie Dashefsky, I'm looking forward to the results from the survey. In both your papers, there is discussion about how we need both qualitative and quantitative research. This is a line I've been pushing for about 25 years, so I'm delighted to hear it. I'd like to add to that, though, and to say that it's time for us to be bringing in a lot more theory. We've got an enormous of descriptive material, yet we don't have a lot of theoretical perspective in terms of how to think about it. So let me suggest a couple of things.

[32] Jack Wertheimer, "Living with Intermarriage." Commentary

Bruce, in your typology, you're starting to lay out the tools we need for developing life-cycle models of how families' understanding of their religious identity changes over time. Certainly, in the data, there's very strong evidence that this is not static, it's not once and for all. And fortunately, we have Arnie starting to collect the data that will actually allow us to examine how things change over time and to develop a life-cycle model. In reading these papers, as well as hearing the talks in the earlier session, what keeps coming back to me is that we need analysis and theory to understand why intermarriage rates change both over time and over place. We've got an enormous amount of variation out there. Jonathan Sarna did a nice job of discussing historical and geographic trends. Richard Alba brought in other religious groups. With Bruce's classification system, we're going to be able to do even a better job of understanding how intermarriages differ across both time and place.

Now I'd like to suggest five reasons that intermarriage might differ across time and place. At least four of them were in Jonathan's talk this morning: whether prejudice has fallen, and non-Jews are more willing to marry Jews; increase in status; how segregated Jews are, both residentially and in terms of employment and schooling, from non-Jews; and of course, the thing we all worry about, the diminishing commitment to a Jewish identity. I don't think we have the research yet to tell us anything about the relative importance of these, and if we're going to try to understand intermarriage and its consequences for the Jewish community, I think it's enormously important that we know that. I want to suggest a fifth factor, which is that intermarriage rates are going to change over time depending on how society manages ethnic and religious diversity. Richard Alba started to hint at this.

I crudely characterize American society into three periods. Prior to World War II, most sociologists and cultural historians talk about America as being dominated by an Anglo-

Protestant elite. Entrance into the elite parts of society followed an assimilationist model. One was supposed to give up one's non-Protestant, non-WASP ethnicity and become part of Protestant America. That's the period in which the notion of assimilation is most relevant. After World War II, it's not that the Protestants went away, but we moved much closer—particularly within religion, but in ethnicity too—to a secular model, with a notion of privatization: that large parts of public life, even of schools and employment, should be religion-free zones. You're supposed to do that ethnicity/religious thing at home, in synagogue, but not in your public identity. For at least the past fifteen years, we've been moving into a pluralist model, in which racial and ethnic religious differences are publicly celebrated. This became most clear to me when an undergraduate student of mine at Harvard, named Robert, went to graduate school and suddenly became Roberto. I found it took about three years for me to learn how to relate to him as a Hispanic as opposed to the kind of neutralized person he'd been as an undergraduate.

The Jewish community must think about how it feels about the pluralist model. If we look back to the secularization period, we can see some major plusses. It's a period in which anti-Semitism falls dramatically, and I think it's no accident it falls in a period where American society comes to see things in much less religious terms. As we move into pluralism, I suspect many Jews will be happy with the idea that one does one's ethnicity publicly, but unhappy with the idea that one should also do one's religion publicly. For all of you from Boston, we've had Barry Shrage telling us for a decade and a half that the Jewish ethnicity project has failed. The notion that you can divide off ethnicity from religion is not viable. I don't know whether Barry is right, but he's certainly been lecturing to us for a long, long time. That brings up a hard set of issues. As I am sure everybody here in this room is aware, since George Bush became president, we've had a huge debate about faith-based programs. I don't want to talk about the relationship

between church and state, but I think one has to see that debate as part of a much broader one about whether religion should come back into the public sphere, and whether we should have religious and ethnic identities as part of who we are, as opposed to having neutral, secularized identities.

What the consequence of that is for intermarriage is a deep question. If we look at the fifties, sixties, seventies, we can say, "Terrific, anti-Semitism went down"— but intermarriage went through the roof. If we go to a pluralist model, is intermarriage going to continue to increase, or is it precisely the way in which Jewish culture may become revitalized and strengthened as it encounters other cultures directly within the public sphere? I don't think we know the answer. We have a lot of research to do. It's a very exciting period. We're just getting started, and I look forward to the next conference.

Zachary Heller: I'm going to restrict myself to a few brief comments. I of course add my congratulations to Sylvia and the wonderful nature of the book, both its content and its felicitous style. I would like to suggest, as I've already done to several colleagues out in the rest of the world, that this volume be incorporated into the bibliography both of rabbinical school programs and Jewish social service training programs.

I come to this not as a sociologist, although I have a background and degree in the field, but as a Jewish policy-planner. We in the Jewish community have to make choices about how we target and use both our energies and our funds to deal with any major issue. There is a range of factors that go into peoples' decisions to enter into exogamous marriages, and only some of them can be dealt with by the concerned community. Exogamy as an act of rebellion against or rejection of a dysfunctional parental family or as a statement of personal independence from communal pressure for identification is not really addressable by the community. We ought to

set aside other personal factors that are similarly not subject to intervention regarding intermarriage. We should deal only with factors where the Jewish community can have some real effect.

Various forms of Jewish education certainly must be a top communal priority. That is obviously a major assumption of the community, but "Jewish education" is a very, very broad field and a very amorphous term. What should be its content, and what should be taught at different periods of life are very much open to question. One of the major questions that we still have to deal with is how we should relate to young people vis à vis potential intermarriage. Bruce Phillips, in "Re-Examining Intermarriage," indicates that programs of formal education and informal peer experiences such as youth groups and summer camps are most effective in the early to middle high school years, in terms of influencing personal decisions towards endogamy or exogamy. Unfortunately, many communities don't yet understand that we've got to target the high school years.

Intermarriage is not monolithic but diverse. It therefore behooves Jewish policy-planners to focus upon and to target those couples or families for retention in the Jewish community where there is the most reasonable expectation of being received positively and eliciting some interest. As we just heard, Bruce's taxonomy still remains an exceptionally important tool for us in creating policy. As one who spent 34 or 35 years as a congregational rabbi before coming to the world of policy-planning, I think that Sylvia has given us an important insight with pragmatic policy implications regarding the roles of rabbis in the Jewishness of mixed-married families. She describes the real tension between an a priori, before-the-fact refusal to condone or officiate at an intermarriage and the need for *keruv,* for drawing near after the fact. She indicates that often, even couples who had what they consider negative experiences at a time of marriage

relating to the ceremony or who officiated, later in life discover a personal religious mentor in the community when a child is born or is ready for religious education. "The familial religious mentor," she writes, "tended to be a person that they had found later through some other post-marriage avenue." This implies that rabbis who as a matter of conscience will not officiate at an intermarriage may still be able to play an important role in drawing these or similar couples into the Jewish fold. They may especially be able to draw the Jewish spouse closer to Judaism after the heat of the original moment has passed. Here, mobility may be a positive valent, since the rabbi in the new location is rarely the rabbi who originally refused to officiate *ab initio*. Within the Jewish legal framework, we have two related concepts: *lehatkhila*—how you deal with something a priori, before the fact, *de jure;* and *bediavad*—what you do *de facto,* once it's real.

One further comment, with which I end. My first encounter with the group Dovetail, which has been referred to this morning, and which has been a source of subjects for both our research and others, gave me the distinct impression that all were philosophically committed to raising their children in a dual religious framework. Both experience and statistical evidence indicates that the vast majority of children of such marriages usually marry non-Jews themselves. From a policy perspective, it would then seem that efforts to reach this cohort would be of limited or minimal value. But according to the Dovetail website and my interviews with their board members, what you see is not always what you get. People often claim they are committed to a dual religious family as a holding operation. It's a way of saying "How will this play out?" Often Jewish spouses, but sometimes Christian ones, hope that after a period of time they will win their spouse over to their family background of origin. Interaction with the other can lead to an intensification of one's own identity.

I'd like to conclude with two brief comments. One observation that I'd like to throw into

the hopper for future discussion and research is that the more a phenomenon becomes accepted within the community—this is not just intermarriage but many areas—the more there is a tendency among some to consider it normative or even a desideratum. Is this a defense mechanism to justify one's actions or that of family or associates, or is this a considered position emanating from some deeply held philosophic belief? This is not an accusation but a serious question that I think needs further investigation and analysis. And second, Arnie mentioned, in closing, the comment of a colleague, that "*Halakha* should follow sociology." I'm a great fan of sociologists. Some of my best friends seated here are sociologists, and my academic training before my rabbinic studies was in sociology, but I think that this suggestion is a bit off base. We do not determine what is normative by what we see out in the marketplace. Otherwise, no parents today would be telling their daughters that walking around with a bare midriff and a costume that sometimes defies description is beyond the pale. If we look at the census of how American Jews really function, then every rabbi would have to basically indicate that *Shabbat*, *kashrut* and other basic elements of Jewish practice should be set aside, since they're not normative. I think that it's a mistaken comment. Sociology is something from which we can learn a great deal, and the ancient rabbis told their colleagues to go out and see what the reality of life is, but I don't think they were talking about writing the prescription for Jewish practice and for the norms of the Jewish community based upon these observations.

Sherry Israel: We now know, that the phenomenon of intermarriage involving Jews and non-Jews is not unitary. It's very complex. There's been a lot of focus in the Jewish community on people getting intermarried, and Chris, your list really had to do with the intermarriage rate. But what we have been hearing, and what we already know if we stop and think about it, is that getting intermarried is only the first step. For those who intermarry, just as for those who were

endogamous, marriage is a continuing negotiation. In intermarriage, some of what is negotiated is religious and ethnic practice, identity, ideology and the phenomenology of the home. There has not been a great deal of research yet, but that's beginning. And Jewish social policy has to take account not just of the first of these factors but of the ongoing life of those in exogamous marriages.

None of our speakers so far has addressed the issue of gender, although we heard that the sample had more women in it than men. Yet we know that there are strong differences in the ways men and women as Jews in America today deal with their Jewishness, as well as in the roles of husbands and wives in the families. I think that requires more attention. And finally, there are threshold events in people's lives and in the lives of families: marriage, the birth of the first child, the entry of the child into school, the entry of the child into adolescence. When your first child becomes Bar Mitzvah, you know you've entered middle age. Those are times when people are particularly susceptible and open to influence. Institutionally, if you're talking public policy, the Jewish community has not been sensitive to the need for Jewish mentors, educators, rabbis, and others to be available to families to deal with those threshold times. So we're blessed to have the amount of research we've been exposed to so far, but there's lots more to do.