

EXO GAMY IN FIRST MARRIAGES AND REMARRIAGES:

An Analysis of Mate Selection in First and
Second Marriages Among American Jews in the
1990s, and Its Theoretical Implications

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ABSTRACT

What factors account for the decision to marry exogamously in second marriages in a community with a long history of valuing endogamous marriage? That question is addressed by an analysis of a subsample of remarried Jewish respondents drawn from the 1990 National Jewish Population Survey. While several demographic and family background factors: sex, denominational family background, religious education, year of marriage, and academic attainment are found to predict a first intermarriage, only two are significantly related to exogamy in remarriage: academic attainment and year of marriage. Surprisingly, academic attainment increases the likelihood of endogamy in first marriage, but exogamy in remarriage. The findings suggest that previous theories bearing on the subject require greater integration of structural, cultural, and interactionist assumptions about mate selection.

INTRODUCTION

Although the factors determining mate selection have long been the subject of sociological inquiry (Adams, 1979), with but rare exceptions, the literature dealing with that subject has reflected a rather singular focus upon the decisions of the young, never-before married person (Peters, 1976; Rodgers and Conrad, 1986). The literature dealing with religio-ethnic exogamy and endogamy is equally singular in its focus upon those marrying for the first

time (Heiss, 1960; Sherrow, 1971; Merton, 1941; Mayer, 1980).

In his review of the research literature on Jewish intermarriage, Erich Rosenthal (1963) did point out that there was a significantly higher incidence of divorce among those who intermarry, and a greater likelihood of exogamy among those who were in second marriages than those in first. These findings were also corroborated by Kosmin, Lerer, and Mayer (1989) on a much larger and nationally representative sample than Rosenthal had available in the early 1960s. However, neither of these studies nor any others dealing with the aforementioned topics has examined the possible determinants of the exogamy/endogamy differential between first marriages and second marriages.

Cherlin (1981) and others (Goode, 1956; Spanier and Glick, 1980; Smith, Zick and Duncan, 1991) have described the various social-demographic factors that seem to play a role in determining whether a person will remarry at all after divorce or widowhood. These students of the remarriage phenomenon have focused largely on how various factors correlate with the odds of remarriage, the desire for remarriage, and the success of remarriage. However, the determinants of mate selection, a subject of considerable interest in the sociological literature dealing with marriage in general, have been apparently overlooked in studies of remarriage. Specifically, those same background factors that have been examined in terms of their influence on the odds of remarriage in general have been left unexamined in terms of their possible influence upon mate selection. More specifically, such studies have left unexamined the relationship of those variables with a person's religious background and their joint influence upon a decision to cross the religious boundary in mate selection the second time around.

The research reported here is designed to begin filling that gap in our knowledge by linking the issues raised in the remarriage literature with those raised in the pertinent literature on intermarriage. Reviewing two decades of change in divorce and remarriage patterns, Glick (1984), and Glick and Lin (1986) identified (a) sex, (b) age at divorce, (c) parenthood and number of children, (d) years divorced, and (e) level of education as key independent variables that are correlated with varying propensity for remarriage. They note that:

- (a) age for age, the remarriage rate is greater for men than for women;
- (b) women who divorce at a younger age are more likely to remarry than women who divorce at a later age;

- (c) childless women are more likely to remarry than women with children; those with fewer children are more likely to remarry than those with more children;
- (d) the longer the duration of divorce for women the less the likelihood of remarriage; and
- (e) women with higher education levels were less likely to remarry than those with lower levels of education.

The research on the remarriage prospects of divorced men is not nearly as well developed. But the literature on the remarriage prospects of widows has received careful attention from Cleveland and Turco (1976), Gentry, Rosenman and Schulman (1987), and most recently from Smith, Zick and Duncan (1991). The pertinent literature suggests that the odds of a person remarrying follow the general logic of exchange theory. To wit, that a person's chances of remarriage are affected by her—and, as well, presumably his—relative “worth” on the existing marriage market. Put another way, the more highly desired social attributes a person possesses *and* the more variety the available marriage market provides in the way of persons of the opposite sex, the more likely is one to remarry. In this respect, at least, the principles of remarriage do not differ at all from the principles of marriage in general.

This logic would further suggest that the more socially desirable attributes a person possesses in a given marriage market, the more “leverage” (s)he has in obtaining a mate who likewise possesses equivalent attributes (Becker, 1973).

In the present paper this line of thinking is applied to the prospects for endogamy on the part of remarriers in a community where, in fact, endogamy is a positively sanctioned value. The question addressed by the research is whether the socio-demographic attributes that are generally helpful in accounting for the odds of remarriage are also helpful in explaining the odds of endogamy in a community where endogamous marriage is a historically valued norm.

As such, the present research does not focus at all on the question of who is more likely to marry or remarry. Rather, it focuses on the question of *who remarries whom*. More specifically, who marries “in” and who marries “out” upon remarriage in the Jewish community, a community in which the norm of endogamy has a long and robust history.

As will be seen below, inasmuch as the focus on remarriages necessitates comparisons with first-and-only marriages, the present analysis has the additional residual benefit of clarifying

the strength of independent variables that appear to be related to mate selection in the first instance.

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

Intermarriage as Status Exchange

Looking at the data on black-white interracial marriages in the 1930s and '40s, Robert Merton (1941) argued that the prevalence of black male-white female unions (as against black female-white male unions) was understandable in terms of "status exchange": black males with higher achieved statuses, but lower ascribed status were marrying white women who had a higher ascribed status but lower achieved status than their black spouses. Merton theorized that such unions provided maximum gain to both parties: the black men found a suitable entree into white society through marriage, and their white wives found a suitable entree into a higher socio-economic stratum than they might otherwise gain access to.

At the heart of this "status exchange theory" is the assumption that marriages between members of a minority and the majority typically results in the entry of the former into the social world of the latter. In part, this theory assumes that a minority group member desires this outcome i.e., integration into the host society and that the marriage market is a way to attain this goal.

The theory rests on at least two additional assumptions about motivation. The first is that both partners to such intermarriages are driven by mobility aspirations that are, in fact, met by the marriage. The second is that such mobility aspirations outweigh whatever norms of endogamy might have been socialized into the marriage partners previously. In other words, mate selection is seen as part and parcel of a broader set of actions designed to enhance one's overall social status.

Merton's theory about exogamy also rests on the assumption that the conduct of individuals somehow reflects a rational calculus in which assets are weighed against liabilities; costs against rewards. In such a scheme one expects mate selection, as all other human endeavor, to reflect the maximizing principle.

Applying Merton's theory to the situation of American Jews, one can assume at the outset that all members of this minority group share the same ascribed status in the eyes of the majority. Historically, the ascribed status of Jews has been somewhat lower than the ascribed status of white, Anglo-Saxon, Americans.

Thus, given Merton's exchange model, one might expect outmarrying Jews to be more upwardly mobile than their endogamous peers; men and higher achievers rather than women and/or lower achievers.

Intermarriage as Cultural Drift

In his seminal work, *Assimilation in American Life*, Milton Gordon (1964) offers a more macro-structural argument about intermarriage. He contends that as members of minorities enter into both the formal and informal structures of the majority society, they gradually get absorbed into social networks that will result in interethnic and interfaith friendships, romances and ultimately marriages. In the absence of any overt barriers to social integration, he maintains, members of minorities will be absorbed into the majority via intermarriage.

In contrast with the rational calculus implied by Merton's exchange model, Gordon's theory suggests a more subtle, multi-generational process affecting group norms and values in general rather than motivations of individual. In fact, Gordon's theory about assimilation sees intermarriage as the end result of a long process in the amalgamation of minority into majority. He does not specifically develop a theory of mate selection at the individual level. But we would contend that for such a macro social process to express itself in the growing incidence of intermarriage, there must occur some kind of transformation in the values and motivations of individuals, which in turn enters the Mertonian mate selection calculus. This paper suggests that, as a matter of fact, the two theories are complementary and fit well with the historical experience of American Jewish intermarriage.

Unlike interracial marriages in the 1930s and '40s, which were subject to an enormous amount of external control due to prejudice, intermarriage between Jews and non-Jews in the second half of the twentieth century is regulated predominantly by the internalized norms of endogamy on the part of the individuals involved. Due to the increased social acceptance of Jews (Smith, 1992), particularly in the United States, it is far easier in the latter case to attribute mate selection to individual motivation rather than to external pressure—and even more so in the case of second marriages, where the amount of social pressure that can be exerted upon the couple by their respective families or communities can be expected to be quite limited.

Thus, the question arises whether exogamy is driven by individualistic mobility aspirations along the lines of the exchange model described by Merton or by the decline of culturally-bred and internalized values that are unique to a given group, but which are eroded by assimilation? Or, do the facts pertaining to intermarriage in the first as well as the second instance suggest possible modifications in both theoretical perspectives? From the perspective of assimilation theory as described by Gordon, one would expect intermarriage to be a reflection more of a general transformation of cultural values and norms than of an individualized and rational calculus of advantage seeking in the marriage market. Yet, as we will argue, assimilation most likely changes the value basis of mate selection, introducing new criteria into one's socio-emotional calculus, even as it alters the make-up of one's relevant marriage market. Thus, structural factors and socio-emotional factors work their influence upon mate selection simultaneously.

DATA & METHODOLOGY

The data for this study are taken from the 1990 National Jewish Population Survey (NJPS) (Kosmin *et al*, 1991). Using an omnibus survey that contacted 125,000 households by means of random-digit dialing, NJPS obtained a nationally representative sample of 2,441 households in which at least one person was of Jewish parentage. These households constitute the sample from which the sub-sample for the present study was drawn. Information on each household was reported on by means of a telephone interview with a qualified adult respondent. It is the personal characteristics of these respondents and their marital histories that constitute the data base for the present analysis. The sample includes 202 respondents who satisfy the following criteria for being included in the analysis below:

- (a) they self-identified exclusively as either currently Jewish by religion or ethnicity, and
- (b) previously married, and now remarried

The basic marital history of the sample is described in Table 1.

In all, 1,582 of the households surveyed included at least one ever-married respondent. These households included a total of 2,422 *currently married persons*. When weighted they represent a total of 2,944,040 currently married Jewish adults in a household that has at least one person of Jewish descent. The analysis that follows is based on the unweighted number of

Table 1
Marital Status and Number Times Married:
NJPS Respondents 18+

MARITAL STATUS						
XTimes married	Never married	Married	Divorced	Separated	Widowed	Total
0	465					
1		986	147	27	136	1,296
2		194	28	4	20	246
3		29	4	1	4	38
4		2				2
		1,211	179	32	160	1,582

respondents in the relevant households. The reason for limiting the analysis to respondents only is that the survey provides the most fulsome and accurate marital history only with respect to the respondent in each household.

Of the 1,211 *currently married respondents* 986 (81%) are in their first-and-only marriage, while 225 or nineteen percent are in a re-marriage. Among the latter group a total of 202 provided sufficient marital history to be included in the present analysis of mate selection in re-marriages.

FINDINGS

Table 2 describes the distribution of exogamous and endogamous remarriers by their type of first marriage. As shown in Table 2, about fifty-nine percent of the total sub-sample under analysis in this study was in an endogamous union in their first marriage.

Table 2
Number & Percentage of Endogamous and Exogamous
Remarriages By First Marriages

Second Marriage	First Marriage		% in second marriage	N of cases
	Endogamous	Exogamous		
Endogamous	58.4	26.6	45.3	87
Exogamous	41.6	73.4	54.7	105
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	—
% in first marriage	58.8	41.2	100.0	—
N of cases	113	79	—	192

However, only about forty-five percent ended up in an endogamous marriage upon remarriage.

To be sure, the majority (58.4%) of those who had been in endogamous marriage in their first marriage entered an endogamous marriage upon remarriage. However, nearly forty-two percent of the previously endogamous respondents switched to an exogamous marriage upon remarriage. The switch from exogamy in a first marriage to endogamy in the second marriage was not nearly as great. Only about twenty-seven percent of the previously exogamous switched to an endogamous marriage upon remarriage. Although the phenomenon of switching is not the focus of the present study, it will be commented upon in somewhat more detail later on.

Tables 3 and 4 below present a series of bi-variate crosstabulations of the data for remarriers as regards their first and current marriage, and comparisons with the sub-population that is currently in their first marriage.

Table 3 looks at the percentage of respondents in the sub-sample who "married out" in their second marriage and compares their percentage of exogamy in their respective first marriages by sex, age at marriage, the highest academic degree achieved, year of marriage, and the degree of Americanization of the respondent as measured by the number of grandparents born in the USA. The last two variables are introduced in order to examine the possible role of historical/contextual variables in shaping the propensity for intermarriage. The table also examines the relationship of the same demographic variables to the pattern of exogamy among those in their first-and-only marriage. It is worthwhile to note in Table 3 that the pattern of exogamy among those who remarry appears to be substantially different from those who are in a first-and-only marriage. Analysis of mate selection patterns among those (n=1042) in a first-and-only marriage found only 34% in an exogamous marriage; that is, seven percentage points fewer than among the *first* marriages of the sample of remarriers studied here. This table also indicates that almost two thirds of first-and-only marriages whether male or female who are currently married for the first time, are in endogamous marriages.

Those currently in their first marriage, who married at a younger age (before age 30), were less likely to intermarry (34%) than those who married after age 30 (42%). These patterns of the first-and-only marriers contrast sharply with the first or previous marriages of the remarriers. Among the latter more than 41% of both men and women were exogamous in their first

Table 3

Percentage of Exogamy in Previous and Remarriages, and in First-and-Only Marriages By Sex, Age at Marriage, Year of Marriage, Highest Earned Degree, and Ethnic Generation

	PREV MAR		REMARRIAGE		FIRST/ONLY	
Independent Variables	%	N	%	N	%	N
SEX						
Male	41.2	97	59.2	103	34.4	514
Female	41.1	95	52.5	101	34.3	528
Chi sq.	ns		ns		ns	
AGE AT MAR						
30 or less	40.9	181	60.9	46	33.7	909
31 or over	40.0	10			40.0	121
Chi sq.	ns					
31 - 40			53.7	80	42.0	112
41 - 50			59.0	49	44.4	9
51 or +			46.4	28		
Chi sq.			ns		ns	
HIGHEST DEGREE						
HS or less	49.4	77	50.6	83	37.2	360
BA or similar	43.2	44	47.8	46	35.4	347
MA or similar	25.0	40	61.0	41	34.1	167
PhD/MD/LLD etc.	26.1	23	64.0	25	24.6	134
Chi sq.	p=.03		ns		p=.07	
YEAR OF MARRIAGE						
Pre-1965	25.6	82	29.4	17	14.7	381
1965-74	44.9	69	40.5	37	29.9	177
1975-84	68.8	32	62.0	79	49.1	289
1985-90			62.3	69	57.3	185
Chi sq.	p=.0001		p=.01		p=.000	
GENERATION IN US						
First/Second	25.0	92	45.8	96	19.5	446
Third/Fourth	54.7	95	64.7	102	45.1	570
Chi sq.	p=.0001		p=.01		p=.000	

marriage, and their age at marriage seems to have been unrelated to their likelihood of exogamy.

The linear trend of exogamy among the various birth cohorts is clear and prominent among all the sub-populations, regardless of whether we look at first-and-only marriages or the previous or current marriages of the remarriers by year of marriage.

Higher education is associated with endogamous first marriages both among remarriers and those in first-and-only marriages; where about 75% of those with Ph.D., MD., LL.D., or an equivalent degree have a Jewish spouse, compared with only about two-thirds among those who have only completed high school.

The generation effect on intermarriage seems to be quite consistently robust. Among first-and-only marriers over 80% who were of first and second generations in the U.S. chose a Jewish spouse, while only 55% of the third and fourth generations in the U.S. were in endogamous marriages. Among remarriers the incidence of exogamy was consistently greater. But, the effect of the generational background differences appears to remain robust.

Table 3 suggests that, in fact, the sub-population of remarriers differed even in their own first marriages from those who are in first-and-only marriages. It appears that in virtually every analytic category the incidence of exogamy is *greater* among the previous marriages of the remarriers than among first-and-only marriages.

This finding suggests that whatever factors are driving the exogamy differential between first and second marriages within the population of remarriers, those factors may mask or perhaps augment some other underlying factor(s) that differentiate this population from those who are and/or remain in their current-first-and-only marriages. In other words, the former apparently come from a population that is prone to greater intermarriage regardless of whether they are entering their first or second marriages.

Neither the sex nor the age at marriage of respondents appears to be significantly related to the exogamy/endogamy differential, in either first or second marriages. Educational attainment is significantly related to the likelihood of exogamy in first marriages—for remarriers and moderately for those in a first-and-only marriage—but in the opposite direction from what one might have expected on the basis of either Merton's or Gordon's theory. Those with the highest academic degrees are the *least* likely to outmarry the first time. Curiously, that pattern is

reversed in second marriages, though the bi-variate analysis did not prove to be statistically significant.

It is interesting to note in the Table 3, that of the five independent variables only two—year of marriage and generations-in-US—remain significantly related to the exogamy/endogamy differential in both first and second marriages. The finding concerning generation-in-the-US lends support to Gordon's perspective on the acculturation-and-intermarriage of American Jews. Furthermore, the finding concerning year of marriage suggests a certain secular trend affecting American society in general.

At least from these data Merton's theory does not appear to offer a suitable explanation for exogamy/endogamy differentials in either first or second marriages. In other words, Jewish exogamy does not appear to be product of any rationally motivated status exchange. Rather, it appears to be driven by other apparently historical-macro-social forces.

The question remains whether the process of assimilation suggested by Gordon is, indeed, solely a macro-social or structural phenomenon characterizing a whole group, or might it be influenced by the personal attributes, attitudes and behavior of individuals. In the latter case there would be at least a suggestion of some degree of control and rational decision-making over the process, possibly entailing some type of exchange orientation. In that case one would be justified in applying the theories of Gordon and Merton in combination.

If the processes of assimilation are subject to individual control, it is hypothesized that Jews with stronger family commitment to the Jewish tradition would be less likely to intermarry. On the other hand, if they are macro-cultural processes over which the individual has no control, they should influence all members of the group more or less evenly. In the present instance three proxy variables were used to differentiate among respondents in terms of their possible levels of Jewish traditionalism in their upbringing: (a) amount of Jewish education received; (b) type of Jewish education received; and (c) denomination in which person was raised.

Table 4 looks at the possible influence of Jewish cultural/religious factors upon the exogamy differentials among the sub-population of marriage types. As with the demographic variables, the findings related to the religio-cultural variables also underscore substantial differences between those who are remarriers and those who are in first-and-only marriages.

As seen in Table 4, only denominational background and type

Table 4
Percentage of Exogamy in Previous Marriages and Remarriages
By Jewish Denominational Background, Type of Religious
Education, and Amount of Religious Education

Independent Variables	PREV MAR		REMARRIAGE		FIRST/ONLY	
	%	N	%	N	%	N
DENOMINATION						
Orthodox	21.2	33	42.4	33	11.3	221
Conservative	29.6	71	50.0	76	29.5	349
Reform	58.7	46	63.3	49	44.3	264
Other ¹	58.5	41	68.8	45	53.5	187
Chi sq.	p=.0001		p=.05		p=.000	
TYPE OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION						
Day School	28.6	7	28.6	7	18.1	94
Part-time	27.0	74	51.3	78	25.9	402
Sunday	47.9	48	58.0	50	40.9	198
Chi sq.	p=.02		ns		p=.000	
YRS OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION						
None	42.9	7	71.4	7	33.3	24
4 or less	43.4	53	62.5	56	32.8	232
5-8	20.5	44	45.7	46	28.0	261
9 or more	40.0	30	40.6	32	25.7	206
Chi sq.	ns		ns		ns	

¹"Other" indicates: Catholic; Christian; Israelite/Hebrew; mixed Jewish plus other religion; some religion other than Jewish or Christian; no religion; or unknown.

of Jewish education have proven to be significantly related to the probability of exogamy—and then only in the first marriage be they the first marriage of remarriers, or the first and only marriage. Their relationship to exogamy/endogamy differentials did not prove to be as significant in second marriages. Indeed, the relationship of an Orthodox background to exogamy/endogamy seems to diminish most sharply from first to second marriages, as do the relationships of part-time Hebrew school and Sunday school.

Bi-variate relationships lead to several preliminary conclusions:

- (1) Remarriers as a group are more prone to intermarry than persons who marry only once and stay married.
- (2) Remarriages are more likely than first marriages to be intermarriages.
- (3) Jewish men are no more likely to marry exogamously, at least in their first marriage, than are Jewish women.
- (4) While Jewish men appear to be somewhat more likely to marry exogamously upon remarriage than Jewish women, the obtained difference has not proven to be statistically significant.
- (5) Those remarrying at a later age are only slightly more likely to marry endogamously. The exogamy differential by age has not proven to be statistically significant.
- (6) Those with higher degrees (a proxy for achieved status) are more likely to marry endogamously in their first marriage. However, higher educational attainment appears to have no significant relationship to the endogamy/exogamy alternative in second marriages.
- (7) Year of marriage has a statistically significant relationship to the endogamy/exogamy differential in both first and second marriages. The more recent the marriage, the more likely it is to be an intermarriage.
- (8) The greater the distance from the immigrant generation, the more likely it is that both the first and the second marriage will be an intermarriage.
- (9) The more traditional one's upbringing (as indicated by denominational background, as well as by the type of Jewish education received) the less likely are they to marry exogamously the first time, but such background factors seem to be unrelated to the likelihood of intermarriage in second marriages.

In short, it would appear that such individual demographic attributes as sex, and age at marriage, are not at all significantly related to the probability of intermarriage, at least when looked at in uncontrolled relationships. On the other hand, the achievement of higher education seems to be related to the higher likelihood of *endogamy* rather than *exogamy*. Conversely, the degree of traditionalism of one's upbringing seems to be significantly related to the exogamy/endogamy differential—but only for first marriages. Thus, the general theory of social assimilation first proposed by Gordon seems to be a more

suitable explanation for the observed trends than Merton's exchange theory. However, Gordon's theory also fails to do justice to the complexity of the exogamy / endogamy differentials observed among modern American Jews.

PREDICTING EXOGAMY IN FIRST AND SECOND MARRIAGE

The simultaneous influence of all the aforementioned independent variables upon the likelihood of exogamy is described in three regression analyses, which will be summarized in Table 5.

In previous research it had been found that the best predictor for a second inter-faith marriage is a first inter-faith marriage (Kosmin, Lerer and Mayer, 1989). This finding is supported by the preliminary analysis in the present study (see Table 2) in which 73% of the respondents whose marriage was exogamous the second time were exogamous in their first marriage as well.

Parenthetically, it should be noted that multiple regression was used rather than logistic regression since the distributions of the dependent variables were in the range of 40-60%. In this range the results of both forms of analysis are virtually the same.

In the first regression analysis the dependent variable is the type of the first marriage (PREV MAR) of the remarriers (i.e. whether it was exogamous or not). In the second analysis, the dependent variable is exogamy in the second marriage. It should be noted that in the second analysis the type (exogamy or endogamy) of first marriage is also entered into the regression equation as an independent variable.

The third regression analysis treats exogamy as an outcome or dependent variable in the first marriage. The idea is to compare the type of first marriage between those who are still in their first marriage and those who remarried (see Table 5).

The following seven independent variables (a-to-g) were used in the first and third regression, while eleven variables (a-to-k) were used in the second analysis. Age at marriage and year of marriage refer either to the first or the second marriage depending on their relevancy.

- a) Sex (1=Men, 2=Women);
- b) Age at marriage (First and Second);
- c) Year of marriage

- (1=Pre-1965, 2=65 to 74, 3=75 to 84, 4=85 to 90);
- d) Highest degree of education achieved (1=High school, 2=BA or equivalent, 3=MA or equivalent, 4=PhD or equivalent);
- e) Generations in the U.S. (0=Foreign-born - 4=All grandparents US born);
- f) Jewish denomination raised (1=Orthodox, 2=Conservative, 3=Reform, 4=Secular, 5=Other);
- g) Jewish education (It is often argued that there is an essential difference between the effects of a part-time as opposed daily Jewish education and Jewish education can not be considered as a continuous variable from none to daily, therefore this variable was separated into separate dummy variables: day school, and part-time school, using no Jewish education as a baseline);
- h) Type of first marriage (1=Endogamous, 2=Exogamous);
- i) How first marriage ended (1=Divorced, 2=Widowed);
- j) Children from previous marriage (1=Yes, 2=No);
- k) Household income for 1990.

The influence of the above listed independent variables upon the likelihood of exogamy in first-and-only marriages and in the first marriages of remarriers, shown in Table 5, indicates a number of uniformities as well as some intriguing discontinuities.

Only four independent variables—highest academic degree, year of marriage, generation in US, and Jewish denomination raised—have a consistently robust influence upon the likelihood of exogamy in both first marriage types. However, as we see in Table 5, two of these variables—generation-in-the-US, and denomination raised—lose their significance in predicting the likelihood of exogamy in remarriages.

While sex has a statistically significant influence upon the latter it appears not to be significant among the former. Both quantity and quality of Jewish education appear to have a significant impact on the likelihood of exogamy among those in a first-and-only marriage, but have apparently no significant impact on the likelihood of exogamy in the first marriages of remarriers.

As seen above, the variables that proved to be statistically significant related to the likelihood of exogamy differently. However, relatively few of the independent variables that proved to be significantly related to the outcome in question for first marriages continued to be significant in remarriages.

Table 5
Regression Coefficients of Exogamous Outcome in First
Marriages and Remarriages: First/Only Marriage versus
Previous and Current Marriage of Remarriers

Independent Variables	PREV MAR		RE-MARRIAGE		FIRST/ONLY MAR	
	Beta	P	Beta	P	Beta	P
a. Sex	-.17	.022	-.10	.238	-.05.	106
b. Age at Marriage	.02	.791	-.05	.592	.05	.111
c. Highest Degree	-.22	.001	.18	.032	-.10	.001
d. Year of Marriage	.21	.005	.21	.025	.27	.001
e. Generation in U.S.	.30	.001	-.12	.220	.17	.001
f. Raised Denomination	.20	.006	.07	.390	.10	.002
g. Type of Jewish Ed.						
Day school	.03	.658	-.12	.148	.11	.002
Part time	-.09	.245	-.06	.456	-.12	.001
h. Previous Inter-marriage			.26	.003		
i. How marriage Ended			-.13	.142		
j. Children from Previous Marriage			-.08	.315		
k. Income			-.13	.123		
	R ² =.31		R ² =.21		R ² =.22	

First Marriage:

The figures shown above indicate that socio-demographic variables such as educational degree, generation in the U.S. and the year of marriage are highly statistically significant in explaining a first intermarriage. Even the sex of respondents proved to be significant under the controlled test of multiple regression, despite the fact that it did not appear to be so in

Table 3. Respondents who are more Americanized, i.e. more generations in the U.S., are more likely to be in an exogamous marriage than respondents who are foreign born; the more recently respondents got married the more likely they were to be in an exogamous marriage; respondents with higher education are less likely to have exogamous marriage; men are more likely than women to marry exogamously. The only demographic variable which was not found significant was age at first marriage.

In addition, Jewish background, mainly via the denomination in which the respondent was raised, has a strong effect on first intermarriage. The more Orthodox the upbringing the less likely are the respondents to intermarry. Surprisingly, the type of his/her Jewish education showed significant statistical relationship to probability of exogamy only among respondents in first and only marriage. Among the remarriers in their second or first marriage whether their Jewish education was part-time or daily was not significantly different from those with no Jewish education. Overall the model proved to have more explanatory power for the analysis of first marriages of the remarriers, where $R^2=.31$, compared to only .22 for first and only marriage.

Second marriage:

The most important predictor of exogamy in remarriage is the type of first marriage. Respondents who had been in an exogamous marriage the first time were more likely to intermarry when they remarried. However, in contrast with the regression equation of the remarriers' first marriage, the socio-demographic variables are less powerful in explaining second intermarriage. Yet, educational level and year of marriage are statistically significant. The effect of year of marriage on second intermarriage is very similar to its effect on first intermarriage. The more recent the marriage the higher the likelihood of intermarriage.

It is interesting to note some of the changes in the influence of a number of the independent variables between first and second marriages among the remarriers. Perhaps, most noteworthy is the shift in the direction of the effects of educational degree. Higher degree (PhD; MD or similar) is associated with a greater likelihood of *endogamy* in first marriage, but with a greater likelihood of *exogamy* in second marriage—even after controlling for other socio-demographic and background factors.

Degree of "Americanization" as measured by generations in

US played a major role in explaining a first intermarriage for remarriers and those who are currently in their first marriage. By contrast, generations-in-the-US is not statistically significant in explaining exogamy in second marriages. Indeed, whereas in the first instance a positive effect was found between generations-in-the-US and exogamy, in second marriages the effect turned out to be negative, albeit insignificant.

Interestingly, none of the Jewish background variables are statistically significant in accounting for exogamy in second marriages even though denominational background was found to be significant in the first marriage.

Neither the presence of children from a previous marriage, nor the current household income proved to have a significant effect on the likelihood of exogamy.

The fact that a previous intermarriage, and a later year of marriage increase the likelihood of a second intermarriage are not surprising. As we have discussed before, the effect of higher education is more complicated. The "turn-about" in which higher education increases the likelihood of endogamy in a first marriage while in a second marriage it increases the likelihood of exogamy might help account for the phenomenon of "switching," especially for those who switched from a first endogamous to a second exogamous marriage. The relationship between higher education and switching among the respondents is seen in Table 6.

This table sheds further light on the contradictory effects of educational degree in first and second marriages found in the regression analyses. Table 6 shows that higher education seems to have an important relationship to switching from an endogamous first marriage to exogamous second marriage. Yet,

Table 6
Switching from Exogamy or Endogamy in Second Marriage
By Education
(percent)

SWITCHING FROM 1st MARRIAGE	EDUCATION			
	High school	BA, RN	M.A.	Ph.D.
To Exogamy	50.0	53.8	82.3	83.3
To Endogamy	50.0	46.2	17.4	16.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N of cases	18	13	23	12

respondents with high school or B.A. degrees are as likely to switch from endogamous to exogamous marriage as to switch from exogamous to endogamous marriages. In other words, educational attainment up to completion of the first college degree is not significantly related to switching. In contrast, respondents with higher degrees above the BA or equivalent switched almost exclusively from endogamous first marriages to exogamous second marriages. Regrettably, the small number of cases involved in "switching" prevents us from exploring this phenomenon further here. However, it remains a fertile issue for future research.

DISCUSSION

In the multiple regression analysis of exogamy (Table 5) it can be observed that the selected independent variables influence the likelihood of exogamy differently in each of the three types of marriage events.

In first-and-only marriages, which are presumably the type that all marriers wish for at the outset, year of marriage has the strongest influence upon the likelihood of exogamy, followed by generation-in-the-US. These two essentially historical variables support Gordon's theory.

For those whose first marriage ultimately proves to be a "previous marriage," the influence of generation-in-the-US was even stronger in predicting exogamy. Curiously, in the subsequent remarriages of this latter group the influence of generations in US is diminished to insignificance.

For remarriages the most important predictor of exogamy was a previous intermarriage. The only independent variable that remains consistently significant and in the same direction across all three marriage events was year of marriage. The juxtaposition of these two observations strongly suggests the joint influence of historical forces—a la Gordon—and personal biographical factors in the determination of exogamy.

Higher educational attainment would be expected to increase one's general worth in the overall societal marriage market, and therefore increase the likelihood that one would fit in more comfortably with social networks beyond the Jewish group. Yet, this variable actually decreases the likelihood of exogamy in the first marriage. This fact alone is sufficient to cast doubt on the adequacy of both Merton's status exchange theory as well as Gordon's assimilation theory in accounting for exogamy.

The adequacy of these theories is further complicated by the

fact that while in first marriages demographic characteristics and personal background seem to have a strong effect on intermarriage, in second marriages these variables do not seem to contribute as strongly to the decision to intermarry. The influence of education now appears to be in the expected direction, and the year of marriage continues to be a positive, highly significant factor.

It would seem to us that a full explanation for intermarriage in both first and second marriages, but most particularly in the latter, needs to take into account rational factors such as are suggested by Merton, as well as contextual changes suggested by Gordon. These factors, in turn, are undoubtedly filtered through the prism of values and personal perceptions of need and opportunity, which ultimately produce a decision regarding mate selection.

As individuals, especially those with postgraduate qualifications, change in the course of the life cycle and become more remote from the background set by their family of orientation, they move into the wider society. Over time the outlook and values of professional peers come to predominate over the influence of one's early family socialization. Moreover, even as the respondents in the present study have passed through successive stages of the life cycle—from first to second marriages—American society has moved towards a more secularized and tolerant social climate particularly for Jews. Achieved status continues its ascendancy over ascribed status. The contradictory effect of higher education on exogamy between first and second marriage may well be the result of the influence of social class upon mate selection. Whereas the linkage between higher education and social class makes endogamy more likely in the first marriage, that same linkage makes exogamy more likely in the second marriage.

The only two variables which were consistently significant in both first and second marriages is educational degree, a reflection of personal achievement, and the year of marriage, a period effect. However, while the effect of education reverses itself between endogamy and exogamy between first and second marriages, the apparent influence of the era remains consistent in its direction.

Explaining these two lines of influence requires us to focus upon the meaning of educational achievement and human capital investment. Initially, they are strongly linked to parental background influences (*viz.* motivation for economic and social success) and, as such, can be seen as a Jewish trait. Those who

attain higher education therefore are likely to be more generally conforming to norms and values into which they were socialized; in NJPS 71% of males and 57% of females age 25-65 are college graduates. This also explains why they are more likely to marry endogamously in their first marriages.

However, for older adults functioning in the wider American society as high status professionals, higher education is a personal asset to be traded, an attribute of worth. In a post industrial society increased education translates into greater autonomy so it becomes an American trait. As parental upbringing erodes as an influence over all adults it erodes even faster for the well educated who have washed higher up the tide of secular societal trends and adopt the cosmopolitan of elite high culture.

High educational attainment which started out as an attractive *Jewish* trait, enhancing endogamous marriage, translates over time into a vehicle for social and geographical mobility. As the prophylactic effects of parental upbringing erode, high social status becomes the personal vehicle for majority group acceptance and entry into wider marriage markets, resulting in ever greater exogamy for such individuals.

Following this line of analysis, it would seem that both Merton and Gordon have underestimated the ways in which individuals utilize their societal assets to attain complex values in the interaction processes that comprise mate selection. Reflected in the persistent growth of Jewish exogamy over the past three decades is an apparent secular trend, marking a shift in overall Jewish marriage values. But, as we have seen, this value shift is strongly filtered by personal and family background factors.

The key contribution of this paper has been the application of intermarriage data from a national survey of American Jews to two major theoretical frameworks that have attempted to account for intermarriage and social assimilation in the United States. As such, the study casts new light on the complex interplay between the mating choices of individuals, the evolution of norms and values within a minority group, and the historical relationship between minority and majority groups.

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