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Gender and American Jews

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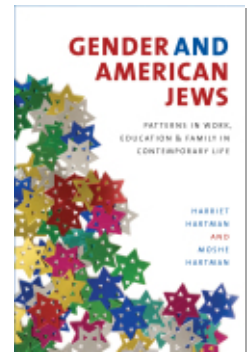
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Intermarriage and Gendered Patterns of Secular Achievement

Perhaps the most direct test of the integration of American Jews into the broader population is intermarriage. It might be expected that Jews married to non-Jews would be less differentiated from the broader U.S. society in a number of ways, and there is no reason to expect that secular achievement and patterns of gender difference would be exceptional in this respect. Intermarried Jews are typically less invested in their Jewish ethnic or religious capital than are other Jews (cf. Phillips and Fishman, 2006), and their social capital clearly extends beyond Jewish social circles. Their pool for marriage partners extends beyond Jews to the larger pool of non-Jews,¹ and from the evidence we have in the National Jewish Population Survey, supported by qualitative studies, this often is a persistent pattern since childhood: intermarried Jews are more likely than intramarried Jews to have had a non-Jewish parent, to say that their closest high school friends included non-Jews, and to have had less positive interactions in Jewish-oriented social environments (Phillips and Fishman, 2006).

Seeking, or being willing to accept, a non-Jewish marriage partner might reflect putting economic considerations above cultural or religious considerations, especially if the Jewish spouse has an occupational status that differs from that of the majority of American Jews. Status harmonization has been found to be a motivation for switching to a different religious denomination (Sherkat and Wilson, 1995; Wilson, 1966) and also for endogamy or intermarriage (O'Leary and Finnas, 2002). As the boundaries between Jews and non-Jews become blurred (Alba, 2006), however, status differences between the intermarried and the intramarried may also narrow.

Kalmijn (1994) found that economic homogamy is a more important factor than cultural homogamy for individuals who are older when they marry, and as we will see later in this chapter, intermarriages occur more often when the man and/or woman is older (either as later first marriages

or remarriages). This may be a variant of “trading up” in remarriage—that is, giving up cultural homogeneity for higher economic status or economic homogeneity.

Once one has intermarried, social contacts and knowing how to get along among non-Jews (to the extent that this differs from getting along with Jews) provide social capital that might prove fruitful for getting a job or promotion, resulting in different occupational patterns and even rewards. In this chapter we consider the differences in the secular achievement of Jewish men and women who are intermarried from those who are intramarried and consider whether patterns of gender equality differ as well.

EDUCATION AND INTERMARRIAGE

Jews who have married non-Jews do not differ significantly from Jews who have married Jews in terms of their education (Table 10.1). Similar proportions have college degrees, graduate degrees, and doctoral or professional degrees. The slightly higher percentages of women with doctoral or professional degrees among intermarried women may well be attributed to the older average age of intramarried women. It certainly is not the case that the intermarried are more similar to the broader U.S. population than are the intramarried in this respect.

FAMILY BEHAVIOR AND INTERMARRIAGE

In terms of family behavior, we see certain differences between intramarried and intermarried American Jews (Table 10.2). Men and women who are intermarried were married (first marriage) at an older age than were intramarried Jews. Fishman’s interviews with intermarried couples suggests that, for some, marriage was postponed *because* of the religious differences

Table 10.1 Educational Attainment of Married American Jews (Ages 25–64), by Inter-marriage and Gender

Education	Men		Women	
	Jewish spouse	Non-Jewish spouse	Jewish spouse	Non-Jewish spouse
B.A.+ (%)	69.0	69.2	59.5	60.6
Graduate degrees (%)	37.3	35.4	26.1	29.2
Ph.D., professional degree (%)	14.5	14.5	4.3	7.4
(n) ^a	(582)	(283)	(731)	(263)

^aUnweighted *n* in parentheses; calculations performed using person-weights provided with dataset.

Table 10.2 Family Characteristics of Intramarried and Intermarried American Jews and Non-Hispanic Whites (Ages 35–64), by Gender

Family characteristic	Men			Women		
	Intramarried	Intermarried	U.S. non-Hispanic whites	Intramarried	Intermarried	U.S. non-Hispanic whites
Age at first marriage (mean)	26.2	28.5	22.4	24.3	25.7	20.2
Married more than once (%)	20.0	34.0*	27.4	15.5	29.1*	28.4
Ever divorced (%)	18.7	31.4*	33.2	14.7	26.8*	36.2
Age at current marriage (if remarried) (mean)	44.3	40.3		44.0	40.5	
Childless (%)				9.7	20.3*	16.3
Age at birth of first child (mean)				27.3	27.2	24.5
Age at birth of last child (mean)				32.1	31.6	30.1
Number of children (mean)				2.2	1.6*	2.1
Four or more children (%)				9.5	8.9	13.9
(<i>n</i> , thousands) ^a	(375.6)	(166.8)	(45,167.5)	(402.6)	(139.1)	(46,592.5)

Data sources: NIPES, 2000–01; SIPP, 2001.

**t*-test between intramarried and intermarried men or women is significant at $p < 0.05$.

^aData for Jews weighted by person-weights provided with dataset.

(Phillips and Fishman, 2006); therefore, it would be inaccurate to conclude that intermarriage is a “last resort” when intramarriage has not happened. A clearer difference is seen with regard to remarriage: 35% of remarriages are intermarriages, compared with 19.7% of first marriages. This is true for both men and women, although there are somewhat higher proportions of intermarriage among remarried men than among remarried women. Therefore, we see in Table 10.2 that both men and women who are intermarried are more likely to have been divorced and to have been married more than once than are men and women with Jewish spouses. Remarriages, however, do occur on the average at about the same age for those marrying Jews or non-Jews.

A second major difference that we see is in patterns of childbirth. A higher proportion of intermarried women have no children, and intermarried women have fewer children than intramarried women. The timing of childbirth among those who have children is similar for both groups of Jewish women.

The family characteristics of the intermarried are not more similar to the broader population than are those of the intramarried. Their older age at first marriage and fewer children actually make intermarried Jews less like those in the broader population than are intramarried Jews. There are similarities only in the proportion of those who have married more than once and the proportion of those who have ever been divorced.

HOMOGAMY AND INTERMARRIAGE

One question that may be asked is whether the intermarried have traded cultural homogamy (being of the same religion or ethnicity) for other kinds of marital homogamy. We look at educational homogamy and age homogamy (husband and wife within 5 years of each other)—two characteristics that may well affect choice of marriage partner—for men and women who are intramarried and intermarried, for first and subsequent marriages (Table 10.3).

We see some tendency for intermarriages to be more homogamous with respect to education, but not with respect to age. Age homogamy is quite high in first marriages whether they are intra- or intermarriages, for both men and women (around 80% of first marriages are between spouses within 5 years of each other). Remarriages are less homogamous with respect to age, probably reflecting a more restricted marriage market, which makes age homogamy less likely. Intermarriage seems to be an obstacle to age homogamy for men, but not for women (remarried, intermarried men are the most likely to be more than 5 years older than their wives).

Educational homogamy tends to be greater for intermarriages, especially for women and especially for those who have remarried (there is

Table 10.3 Age and Educational Homogamy of First Marriages and Remarriages, by Inter-marriage and Gender

	Men		Women	
	Intramarried	Intermarried	Intramarried	Intermarried
<i>First marriage (n)^a</i>	(495)	(198)	(677)	(194)
Within five years of spouse's age (%)	85.1	80.8	78.9	81.5
Same educational attainment as spouse (%)	40.7	41.4	37.0	44.8
<i>Remarriage (n)^a</i>	(113)	(90)	(108)	(78)
Within five years of spouse's age (%)	58.4	42.9	59.4	62.6
Same educational attainment as spouse (%)	25.4	33.0	26.9	37.7

^aUnweighted *n* in parentheses; calculations performed using person-weights provided with dataset.

hardly any difference in educational homogamy between intramarried and intermarried men in their first marriage). As with age, there is less educational homogamy in remarriages than in first marriages, for both men and women. But intermarried couples are more likely to have the same educational attainment, for both men and women in remarriages and for women in first marriages. Recalling from Chapter 3 that educational homogamy is greater among American Jews than in the broader U.S. population, we see again that the intermarried are even more distinct than the intramarried from the broader population.

LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION PATTERNS AND INTERMARRIAGE

Intermarriages are also characterized by higher percentages of dual earners, that is, both husband and wife participating in the labor force, than are intramarriages. To some extent this is because a higher proportion of intermarried women have no children, but they are also more active in the labor force when they have no children than are women with no children who have Jewish spouses (Figure 10.1). We see this as part of a more general pattern among intermarried couples.

Intermarried wives are more likely to share the economic role of labor force participation with their husbands, especially when they have no

young children at home. Intermarried couples are also more likely to have wives who earn more than their husbands when they are employed and to have higher occupational prestige than their husbands, as we shall see later.

Both Jewish husbands and wives who are intermarried are less likely to be in managerial/executive, business/finance, or professional occupations (Table 10.4). As a result, while there is only a slight difference in terms of occupational homogamy between intermarried and intramarried couples, when intramarried spouses have similar occupations, both are more likely to be in managerial/executive, business/finance, or professional positions, whereas both spouses in occupationally homogamous intermarried couples are more likely to have other kinds of occupations.

As a result, intermarried Jewish men are more similar in their occupational distribution to the broader white population than are Jewish men with Jewish spouses (Figure 10.2). Although the comparison among women shows a similar tendency, the difference between the two groups of Jewish women is smaller.

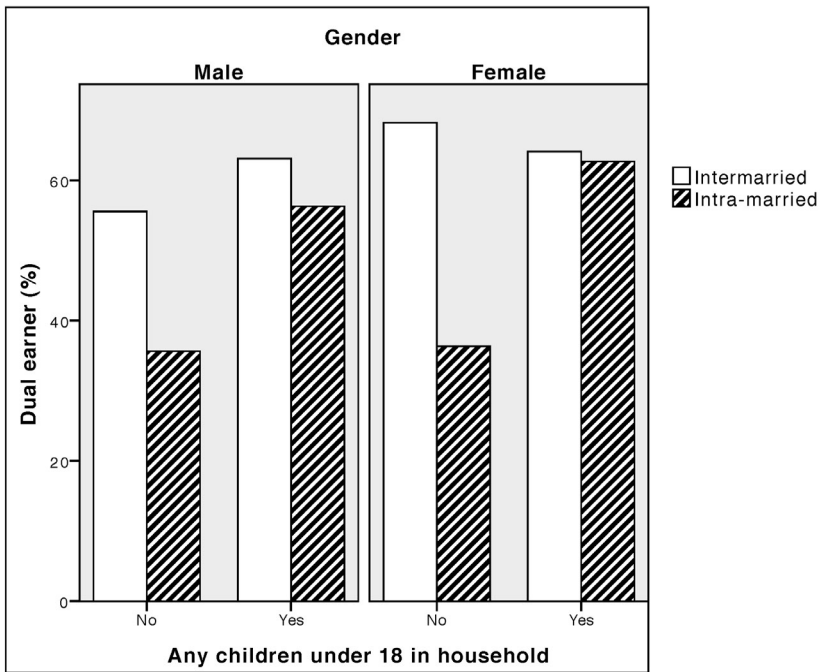


Figure 10.1. Percentage of dual-earner households, by gender, inter- or intramarriage, and presence of children under age 18.

Table 10.4 Occupations of Intermarried and Intramarried Couples

	Jewish spouse	Non-Jewish spouse
Husband's occupation		
manager/business/professional (%)	64.4	54.9
Wife's occupation		
manager/business/professional (%)	63.3	55.9
Spouses with same occupation		
for Jewish husbands (%)	35.2	34.1
Spouses with same occupation		
for Jewish wives (%)	30.9	27.6
Both spouses' occupation		
managerial/business/professional (%)	45.0	35.7
Husband, but not wife,		
manager/business/professional (%)	19.4	19.2
Wife, but not husband,		
manager/business/professional (%)	18.3	20.2
Neither spouse		
manager/business/professional (%)	17.3	24.9
(Unweighted <i>n</i>) ^a	(770)	(421)

^aUnweighted *n* in parentheses; calculations performed using person-weights provided with dataset.

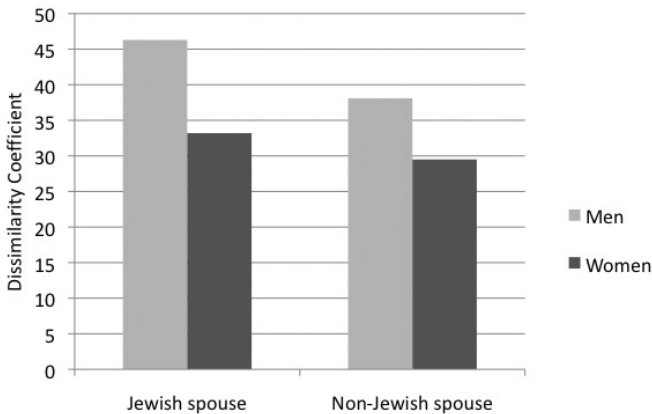


Figure 10.2. Occupational dissimilarity between American non-Hispanic whites and Jews, by gender and inter- or intramarriage, 2000–01. *Data sources:* NJPS, 2000–01; U.S. Census, 2000.

Given that there is little difference in education between respondents who have Jewish spouses and those who do not, the occupational differences may be a result of ties with the non-Jewish spouse and his or her family and friends, which provides social capital valued differently in the broader population.

INTERMARRIAGE, REMARRIAGE, AND SECULAR ACHIEVEMENT

Given that intermarriage is more common among the remarried and that remarriage is associated both with lower achievement of husbands and with women's high achievement relative to that of their husbands (Chapter 5), we wanted to see whether remarriage and intermarriage interact in terms of spouse's occupational achievement. That is, the findings about remarriage might be a result of the higher proportion of remarriages that are intermarriages; or the findings about intermarriage might be a result of the higher proportion of intermarriages that are remarriages. We therefore looked at respondents' occupational achievement by gender, controlling for whether the current marriage was a first marriage or a remarriage, as well as whether the respondent had a Jewish or a non-Jewish spouse (Table 10.5).

Looking first at respondents currently in their first marriage, women with Jewish husbands have somewhat lower educational achievement than intermarried wives, but are more likely to be in managerial/executive, business/finance, or professional occupations, have similar median annual incomes, and have higher occupational prestige. However, they are less likely to be in marriages where the wife has a higher education, higher annual earnings, or higher occupational prestige than the husband, suggesting that their Jewish husbands have an even higher occupational status than they do. Similarly, men with Jewish wives are more likely to be in managerial/executive, business/finance, or professional occupations, have a similar education but higher income, and have higher occupational prestige than intermarried husbands. Their wives are less likely than intermarried husbands to have a higher income or higher occupational prestige than they do.

Among second (or later) marriages, women with Jewish husbands are more likely to have higher education than their husbands, to be in a managerial/executive, business/finance, or professional occupation, to have greater occupational prestige than their husbands, and to have the same income as their husbands than are wives of non-Jewish husbands. However, intermarried wives are also somewhat more likely to be in marriages where they have a higher education, income, and occupational prestige than their husbands. Similarly, among the husbands, those with Jewish wives have a higher education and higher occupational prestige than those

Table 10. 5 Education and Occupational Characteristics of Intermarried and Intramarried Men and Women^a

Characteristic	Spouse's religion					
	First marriage			Remarriage		
	Jewish	Non-Jewish	Jewish	Jewish	Non-Jewish	Non-Jewish
<i>Women</i>						
B.A. or higher (%)	57.5 (193)	63.9 (668)	59.4 (668)	50.9 (186)	50.9 (186)	(78)
Mgr/Exec/Bus/finance/ professional (%)	64.1 (424)	55.1 (159)	68.2 (159)	62.3 (106)	62.3 (106)	(67)
Mean occupational prestige	53.68 (398)	51.70 (154)	53.69 (154)	51.8 (77)	51.8 (77)	(64)
Median annual income (\$)	37,500 (180)	37,500 (89)	42,500 (89)	42,500 (39)	42,500 (39)	(37)
Wife's education greater than husband's (%)	21.8 (653)	30.3 (191)	30.3 (191)	33.7 (182)	33.7 (182)	(76)
Wife's annual income greater than husband's (%)	18.1 (144)	19.0 (75)	17.2 (75)	21.8 (28)	21.8 (28)	(33)
Wife's occupational prestige greater than husband's (%)	50.3 (186)	57.8 (77)	62.4 (77)	67.2 (36)	67.2 (36)	(32)

<i>Men</i>								
B.A. or higher (%)	68.0	(486)	71.2	(198)	70.2	(112)	62.4	(89)
Mgr/Exec/Bus/finance/ professional (%)	67.0	(354)	55.5	(181)	52.4	(77)	57.7	(67)
Mean occupational prestige	55.83	(329)	52.55	(165)	54.55	(67)	53.70	(61)
Median annual income (\$)	72,500	(182)	67,500	(114)	72,500	(44)	72,500	(37)
Wife's education greater than husband's (%)	21.8	(653)	30.3	(191)	30.3	(182)	33.7	(76)
Wife's annual income greater than husband's (%)	18.1	(144)	19.0	(75)	17.2	(28)	21.8	(33)
Wife's occupational prestige greater than husband's (%)	50.3	(186)	57.8	(77)	62.4	(36)	67.2	(32)

^aUnweighted *n* in parentheses; calculations performed using person-weights provided with dataset.

with non-Jewish wives, but income is the same for both sets of husbands, and intramarried men are slightly less likely to be in managerial/executive, business/finance, or professional occupations than their intermarried counterparts. Although remarried men who have Jewish wives are more likely to have wives with a higher education and income than they have, they are less likely to have wives with higher occupational prestige than they have.

Comparing the achievements of intramarried men and women who are in first versus second marriages, we find that the main difference between wives in their first marriage to Jewish men and those in their second or other marriage to Jewish men is that the latter are more likely to have a higher education, higher income, and greater occupational prestige than their husbands. This is also true for the husbands with respect to income and education, but not occupational prestige. Comparing the achievements of intermarried men and women who are in a first versus a second marriage, we find similarly that wives in second or other marriages are more likely to have a higher education, income, and occupational prestige than their husbands, even though they themselves are less likely to be college graduates. Comparing intermarried husbands in first marriages with those who are remarried, we see that the latter have lower educational achievement (are less likely to be college graduates), but have a slightly higher median annual income and occupational prestige; their wives are more likely to have a higher education and greater occupational prestige than intermarried husbands in first marriages, but they are less likely to be in marriages where the wife earns more than the husband.

In conclusion, intermarried men and women tend to have less occupational and educational achievement than their intramarried counterparts, in first marriages as well as in remarriages, but remarriage itself seems to have an effect, in that remarried husbands are more likely than husbands in first marriages to have wives with a higher occupational status than themselves. It seems that intermarriage offers intermarried men higher economic status through their wives, particularly men who have lower educational and occupational achievement than their intramarried male counterparts.

JEWISHNESS AND INTERMARRIAGE

It is not surprising that intermarried Jews tend to be less identified with Jewishness, in terms of both religion and ethnicity. On each of our Jewish identity factors, both men and women who are intermarried have weaker Jewish identity than their intramarried counterparts (Figure 10.3). From the NJPS data, we cannot determine whether this precedes intermarriage, though it is likely that weaker Jewish identity allows Jewish boundaries to

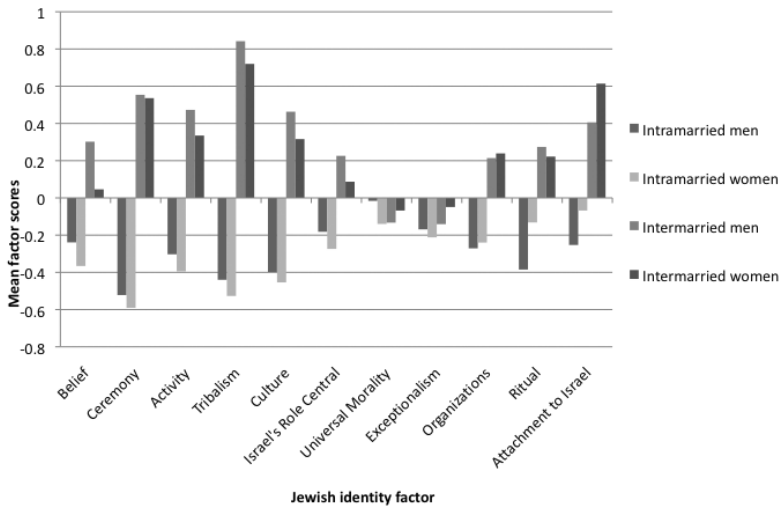


Figure 10.3. Jewish identity factor scores, by gender and inter- or intramarriage.

be permeated and then is not reinforced by the spouse's Jewish identity (unless the spouse converts and is committed to being Jewish; see also Fishman, 2004).

The biggest differences are found with respect to the understanding that being Jewish involves being active in contemporary Jewish life and practice (Activity), participating in collective rituals (Ceremony), and having personal attachment to the Jewish people (Tribalism). There are two factors on which the intermarried and the intramarried are very similar: that being Jewish expresses a universal morality and heritage (Universal Morality) and that American Jews are a distinctive group (Exceptionalism). These two factors are quite compatible with American pluralism from any perspective, religious or ethnic, Jewish or non-Jewish; they are also compatible with positive views of intermarriage that see it as an act transcending one's own narrow ethnic identity and opting for a more general "American" one, but not negating one's own roots (Fishman, 2004).

On almost every factor, women have stronger Jewish identity than men, and this is true for both intramarried and intermarried women. This may be one of the reasons that children of intermarried Jewish women are more likely to be raised in the Jewish tradition than are children of intermarried Jewish men (Fishman, 2004). However, the gender differences are somewhat smaller than we saw in Chapter 6 once we separate the intermarried and the intramarried. The gender differences are reversed for the intermarried on three factors: that being Jewish expresses a universal morality, American Jewish exceptionalism, and personal attachment to Israel. The

gender differences are reversed for the intramarried on two factors as well: personal halachic ritual performance and personal attachment to Israel. As noted in Chapter 6, the critical variable in personal attachment to Israel on which there is this reversed gender difference is familiarity with the social and political situation in Israel. There is very little gender difference in organizational involvement for either group.

It is interesting that almost as high a proportion of the intermarried had some formal Jewish education (81.2% of men and 66.2% of women) as did the intramarried (83.5% of men and 72.2% of women), although the intermarried who had some Jewish education had fewer years on average (4.5 years for men and 3.5 years for women) than the intramarried (5.6 years for men and 4.8 years for women). Their exposure to formal Jewish education undermines the idea that there is something fundamentally different between those who marry Jews and those who do not; to some degree those who intermarry are probably exposed to similar “Jewish capital” as those who do not; but their fewer years of Jewish education suggest that not all of their Jewish experience was positive or continuous, and is one of the ways in which their upbringing provides less “Jewish capital” than does that of those who intramarried (Phillips and Fishman, 2006).

JEWISHNESS, SECULAR BEHAVIOR, AND INTERMARRIAGE

In this final section of the chapter, we consider how the different expressions of Jewish identity are related to the secular behavior patterns of intramarried and intermarried couples. We look first at a family characteristic that we have seen differs between intramarried and intermarried couples: fertility. We continue with the labor force participation of women and conclude with occupational prestige, a measure of occupational achievement (for both men and women).

We use a multiple regression analysis to predict the number of live children born to women 35 and older (for whom most childbearing has been completed) and perform separate analyses for intramarried and intermarried women (Table 10.6). Among the independent variables, as indicators of Jewish identity we chose one indicator of private religious behavior, Ritual; an indicator of public religious behavior, Ceremony; an indicator of private ethnic attachment, Tribalism; and an indicator of public ethnic behavior, Organizations. We included years of formal Jewish education as an independent variable, along with the common demographic variables related to variation in number of children born: age, as an indicator of age cohort; age at marriage; whether or not a woman has been married more than once; and her level of education.

Table 10.6 Multiple Regression Analysis of Number of Live Births for Intramarried and Intermarried Women (Ages 35 and Over), by Jewish Identity, Age, Family Characteristics, and Education^a

Independent variable	Intramarried women		Intermarried women	
<i>Jewish Identity Factor^b</i>				
Ritual	-0.449	(-.337)*	-0.087	(-.042)
Ceremony	-0.269	(-.138)*	-0.104	(-.090)
Tribalism	-0.025	(-.014)	0.104	(.061)
Organizations	0.083	(.072)**	-0.142	(-.083)
Formal Jewish				
education (years)	0.068	(.192)*	-0.027	(-.081)
Age	0.006	(.056)	0.001	(.009)
Age at first marriage	-0.070	(-.272)*	-0.099	(-.535)*
Number of marriages	-0.282	(-.076)*	-0.341	(-.131)**
Education	-0.148	(-.129)*	-0.061	(-.059)
R ²	0.301		0.297	
(Unweighted <i>n</i>)	(550)		(184)	

^aData are unstandardized coefficients and (in parentheses) standardized coefficients, β .

^bStronger expressions of Jewish identity on these factors are lower; weaker expressions are higher.

*Statistically significant at $p < 0.05$; **significant at $p < 0.10$.

Clearly, their Jewish identity has a greater impact on the fertility of intramarried than on that of intermarried women. Among the intramarried, both private and public religious expressions of Jewish identity are related positively to having more children, and involvement in public ethnic behavior (Organizations) is related negatively to having more children (actually, it may be the other direction of influence: women with fewer children may have more time to participate in volunteer organizations). In addition, the more years of formal Jewish education the woman has had, the more children she has. Comparing the standardized regression coefficients in parentheses, we can see that the private religious expressions of Jewish identity have the strongest influence on fertility, followed by the age at first marriage. None of these “Jewishness” factors have any relationship to the fertility of intermarried women.

Intramarried women’s fertility is most strongly related to their level of secular education (the more education, the fewer children). For both groups of women, an earlier age at marriage is related to having more children, and being married more than once is related to having fewer children. The former has a much stronger effect than the latter among both groups of women.

Jewish identity is also related to the extent of women's participation in the labor force for the intramarried, but not for the intermarried (Table 10.7), although the relationship is much weaker than that for fertility. In this multiple regression analysis, the dependent variable is the extent of labor force participation (0, none; 1, part time; 2, full time). The independent variables are, as in the preceding analysis, an indicator of private religious expression of Jewish identity (Ritual), public religious Jewish identity (Ceremony), private ethnic Jewish identity (Tribalism), and public ethnic Jewish identity (Organizations). Years of formal Jewish education are also independent variables. Secular education, age, age at marriage, number of marriages, and number of children under 18 in the household are also entered into the equation as independent variables. We limit the analysis to the main ages of labor force participation, 35–64. We are looking only at currently married women (so that we can divide them by the religion of their spouse).

Here we can see that for intramarried women, those who are more active in the civilian labor force are less active in Jewish volunteer organizations.

Table 10.7 Multiple Regression Analysis of Labor Force Participation of Intramarried and Intermarried Women (Ages 35–64), by Jewish Identity, Age, Family Characteristics, and Education^a

Independent variable	Intramarried women		Intermarried women	
<i>Jewish Identity Factor^b</i>				
Ritual	-0.015	(-.020)	-0.027	(-.020)
Ceremony	-0.066	(-.971)	-0.116	(-.153)
Tribalism	0.076	(.068)	0.026	(.107)
Organizations	0.091	(.117)*	0.026	(.019)
Formal Jewish				
education (years)	-0.004	(-.021)	0.005	(.025)
Age	-0.009	(-.117)*	-0.006	(-.067)
Age at first marriage	0.000	(.003)	0.017	(.016)
Number of marriages	0.325	(.133) *	0.161	(.141)
Number of children				
under 18 in household	-0.101	(-.174)*	-0.209	(-.280)*
Education	0.148	(.193)*	0.094	(.130)**
R ²	.111		.139	
(Unweighted <i>n</i>)	(443)		(211)	

^aData are unstandardized coefficients and (in parentheses) standardized coefficients, β .

^bStronger expressions of Jewish identity on these factors are lower; weaker expressions are higher.

*Statistically significant at $p < 0.05$; **significant at $p < 0.10$.

This may be related to their allocation of time (the more one volunteers, the less time one has to work in the labor force full time and vice versa). For both groups of women, an important influence on the extent of labor force participation is having children under the age of 18 in the household. Education also has an important influence on how much women work in the labor force. So here we see, as we did earlier, that investment in Jewish identity does not hold women back from participating in the labor force, except to the extent that it introduces time constraints if they are involved in volunteer organizations.

Finally, we look at an indicator of occupational achievement, occupational prestige, for both men and women, intramarried and intermarried (Table 10.8). Our independent variables are again four expressions of Jewish identity—private religious (Ritual), public religious (Ceremony), private ethnic (Tribalism), and public ethnic (Organizations)—and years of formal Jewish education. Age, age at first marriage, number of marriages, number of children under 18 present in the household, and education are also entered as independent variables. We also introduce the variable of hours of work, which may influence occupational achievement.

Among all groups (men and women, intramarried or intermarried), of all the variables education has the strongest relationship by far with occupational prestige. For intermarried men and women, age is also related to occupational prestige (older men and women have higher occupational prestige). This suggests that perhaps the patterns of intermarriage are changing, with intermarriage occurring among Jews with less occupational achievement than used to be the case.

The various expressions of Jewish identity have no relationship to intramarried women's occupational prestige. For intramarried men, however, occupational prestige is higher among those with strong ethnic ties to other Jews, both in terms of personal attachment to the Jewish people (Tribalism) and involvement in Jewish organizations (Organizations). This suggests that men use their ethnic ties to further their occupational advancement. Among intermarried men and women, however, ties to fellow Jews appear to be negatively related to occupational prestige. Perhaps those who maintain strong ties to fellow Jews are not as well integrated into their non-Jewish circles or have investments in conflicting social capital, which hampers their achievement. This would seem to be an important avenue to explore in terms of understanding the impact of intermarriage on other aspects of secular and social life.

Finally, we wanted to see whether the likelihood of wives earning more than their husbands, which was more common among the intermarried than the intramarried, was at all related to Jewish identity factors. However,

Table 10.8 Multiple Regression Analysis of Occupational Prestige of Intramarried and Intermarried American Jews (Ages 35–64), by Jewish Identity, Age, Family Characteristics, and Education

Independent variable	Intramarried		Intermarried	
<i>Women</i>				
<i>Jewish Identity Factor^b</i>				
Ritual	0.466	(.044)	-2.509	(-.120)
Ceremony	0.240	(.014)	-1.233	(-.103)
Tribalism	-1.364	(-.085)	3.757	(.215)*
Organizations	-1.024	(-.092)	-2.240	(-.104)
Formal Jewish education (years)	0.030	(.010)	-0.133	(-.034)
Age	0.023	(.020)	0.223	(.159)*
Number of marriages	-0.688	(-.020)	-2.322	(-.081)
Number of children under 18 in household	0.850	(.103)	-0.452	(-.039)
Education	4.235	(.384)*	5.625	(.494)*
R ²	0.166		0.297	
(Unweighted <i>n</i>)	(330)		(171)	
<i>Men</i>				
<i>Jewish Identity Factor^b</i>				
Ritual	-0.578	(-.045)	-2.003	(-.095)
Ceremony	0.222	(.013)	-1.123	(-.094)
Tribalism	-2.897	(-.157)*	3.757	(.215)*
Organizations	-1.029	(-.092)**	-2.254	(-.105)
Formal Jewish education (years)	-0.213	(-.058)	-0.469	(-.114)
Age	-0.103	(-.073)	0.223	(.159)*
Number of marriages	0.958	(.026)	-2.322	(-.081)
Number of children under 18 in household	0.252	(.024)	-0.408	(-.035)
Education	4.875	(.402)*	4.887	(.390)*
R ²	0.177		0.157	
(Unweighted <i>n</i>)	(293)		(190)	

^aData are unstandardized coefficients and (in parentheses) standardized coefficients, β .

^bStronger expressions of Jewish identity on these factors are lower; weaker expressions are higher.

*Statistically significant at $p < 0.05$; **significant at $p < 0.10$.

as Table 10.9 shows, Jewish identity factors have no significant relationships to the comparison of the husband's and wife's incomes. The only significant factors that we could identify are the husband's and wife's education (significantly related to the income comparison in most of the subgroups): the lower the husband's level of education, the higher is the wife's income relative to his; the higher the wife's level of education, the higher is her income relative to her husband's. The family situation (remarriage or first marriage, number of children under 18 at home), the Jewish identity factors, age, and occupational homogamy are not related to the comparison of wife's to husband's income.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

We have seen that intermarried American Jews differ from intramarried American Jews in that they marry later, have fewer children, are more likely to marry a spouse with similar education, are more likely to be dual earners, and are more likely to be in marriages in which the wife earns more than her husband and has higher occupational prestige than her husband. Intermarried Jews are less likely to be in managerial/executive, business/finance, or professional occupations than their intramarried counterparts. We suggested that among remarried men who are intermarried, cultural homogamy might be traded for the higher economic status their wives' contribute to the marriage. This is consonant with research that shows that economic motivations may outweigh cultural considerations when marriage is entered into by older men and women (Kalmijn, 1994), since intermarriages are more likely to be remarriages, and remarriages take place when the couple is older than do first marriages. However, our results also refine earlier research, in that we show that there is a gender differentiation: men and women's intermarriage may be motivated by different factors, or selection in the marriage market may work differently for men and women, at least among American Jews. The findings are consistent with the increasing importance of women's earning potential in determining their marriage prospects, here extended to the "remarriage market." Among men, the dynamic seems less straightforward: men's economic status seems to play an important role in the Jewish marriage market (just as women's economic status does), but men who do not measure up to the Jewish "standard" may feel more comfortable (or successful) seeking non-Jewish partners. Whether they themselves are opting out of the culturally homogamous marriage market or being pushed out remains to be demonstrated by other kinds of research.

It is not surprising that intermarried Jews express weaker Jewish identity in almost every aspect. Furthermore, their Jewish identity has less to do

Table 10.9 Multiple Regression Analysis of Ratio of Wife's to Husband's Income in Intramarried and Intermarried American Jewish Couples (Ages 35 and Over), by Jewish Identity, Age, Family Characteristics, and Education

Independent variable	Intramarried		Intermarried	
<i>Women</i>				
<i>Jewish identity factor^b</i>				
Ritual	-0.022	(-.036)	-0.118	(-.116)
Ceremony	0.024	(.027)	0.013	(.021)
Tribalism	0.012	(.014)	-0.079	(-.087)
Organizations	0.079	(.154)	-0.266	(-.255)
Formal Jewish education (years)	0.022	(.138)	0.011	(.066)
Age	0.002	(.039)	-0.005	(-.077)
Number of marriages	0.081	(.045)	-0.007	(-.005)
Number of children under 18 in household	-0.088	(-.174)	-0.110	(-.187)
Husband's education	-0.136	(-.287)*	-0.092	(-.188)
Wife's education	0.051	(.089)	0.108	(.190)
Occupational homogamy	0.010	(.007)	-0.060	(-.042)
R ²	0.126		0.162	
(Unweighted <i>n</i>)	(117)		(70)	
<i>Men</i>				
<i>Jewish Identity Factor^b</i>				
Ritual	0.129	(.070)	-0.238	(.203)
Ceremony	-0.051	(-.061)	-0.100	(-.166)
Tribalism	-0.130	(-.175)	0.019	(.020)
Organizations	0.095	(.175)	0.006	(.008)
Formal Jewish education (years)	-0.001	(-.007)	-0.012	(-.066)
Age	-0.007	(-.168)	0.003	(.005)
Number of marriages	-0.002	(-.001)	-0.147	(-.107)
Number of children under 18 in household	-0.045	(-.092)	-0.129	(-.190)
Husband's education	-0.178	(-.386)*	-0.144	(-.270)*
Wife's education	0.122	(.254)*	0.144	(.272)*
Occupational homogamy	-0.039	(-.030)	0.249	(.179)
R ²	0.212		0.189	
(Unweighted <i>n</i>)	(103)		(76)	

^aData are unstandardized coefficients and (in parentheses) standardized coefficients, β .

^bStronger expressions of Jewish identity on these factors are lower; weaker expressions are higher.

*Statistically significant at $p < 0.05$; **significant at $p < 0.10$.

with their fertility, women's labor force participation, and occupational prestige than it does for their intermarried counterparts. Inter-marriage appears to distance the Jews involved by making whatever Jewish identity they have less relevant to their day-to-day lives. Although one can argue that this distancing may indeed be a motivation for intermarriage, we also show that intermarried Jews do not appear to start out significantly differently than intramarried Jews: many were exposed to at least some formal Jewish education, although for fewer years than their intramarried counterparts. But the Jewish capital that they have accumulated may actually make some of their secular achievement more difficult: among intermarried men and women, the stronger their ethnic attachment to Jews, the lower is their occupational prestige. Investment in social capital that conflicts with their marriage circle might actually be one reason for their lower occupational achievement.

Their overall weaker Jewish identity does not result in family behavior that is more similar to that of the broader population than the family behavior of their intramarried counterparts, but it does result in greater similarity to the broader population in patterns of occupational achievement.

We need data that follow the patterns of Jewish identity, first-marriage decisions and dynamics, divorce, and remarriage longitudinally, so that the role of changing Jewish identity and its effect on secular behavior in day-to-day life can be better understood, for both American Jewish men and women.

