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INTERMARRIAGE · DIVORCE AND REMARRIAGE AMONG AMERICAN JEWS 1982–87

by

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INTERMARRIAGE, DIVORCE, AND REMARRIAGE
Among American Jews, 1982-87

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The listing of the authors' names is in alphabetical order and implies no order of priority in their respective contributions to this study. They also wish to thank Dr. Marcia Kramer Mayer for her invaluable assistance in the preparation of this paper. The authors would like to acknowledge the work of the following principal investigators, who collected the original data on which the present study is based: Floyd J. Fowler, Peter Friedman, Bruce Phillips, Ann Schorr, Ira M. Sheskin, William Yancey and Eve Weinberg; and express their appreciation to the Federations who deposited their study tapes at the North American Jewish Data Bank.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The marital histories of 6,457 ever married, never widowed, Jewish adults from nine cities around the United States (representing a population of 1.2 million American Jews) were analyzed in order to determine the extent of intermarriage, divorce, and intermarriage upon remarriage, and their possible causal relationship with seven social-demographic factors.

The principal findings of the study are as follows:

1. The social composition of the American Jewish family is growing ever more complex by virtue of increasing rates of intermarriage, divorce and remarriage. Among those who are under 40 years-old, 50% of the males and 38% of the females are currently either intermarried, divorced or both. The evidence suggests that these proportions are bound to increase over the coming years, both for these individuals and for the American Jewish population as a whole.

2. The current percentage of intermarriage among American Jews is 14% at first marriage, and 40% at second marriage, with significant differences between men and women in every age group.

3. The rate of intermarriage has increased about five-fold for men (from 7% among those over 60 to 37% among those under 40), and twelve-fold for women (from 2% among those over 60 to 24% among those under 40). These figures also show that the absolute difference in the rates of intermarriage of Jewish men and Jewish women is growing.

4. The current rate of divorce from first marriages is 19%, with a significant difference between intermarried and inmarried individuals. Among the inmarried, the rate of divorce is 17% and among the intermarried it is 32%.

5. There is a significant difference in the divorce rates of Jewish men and women who intermarry. Among women the rate is 38%, while among men it is 25%. The difference between inmarried and intermarried Jewish women is wider still.

6. The divorce rates of both sexes are nearly double among the inmarried, as one moves from the over-60 year-olds to the 40-59 year-old age group. Given the typical duration of marriage, it cannot yet be determined from the available data what the final divorce rate of the under-40 group will look like.

7. Upon remarriage there is considerable "switching" from inmarriage to intermarriage and vice-versa. Thirty-two percent of former inmarriers marry out upon remarriage. Conversely, 42% of those who were intermarried in their first marriage choose a Jewish partner upon remarriage.

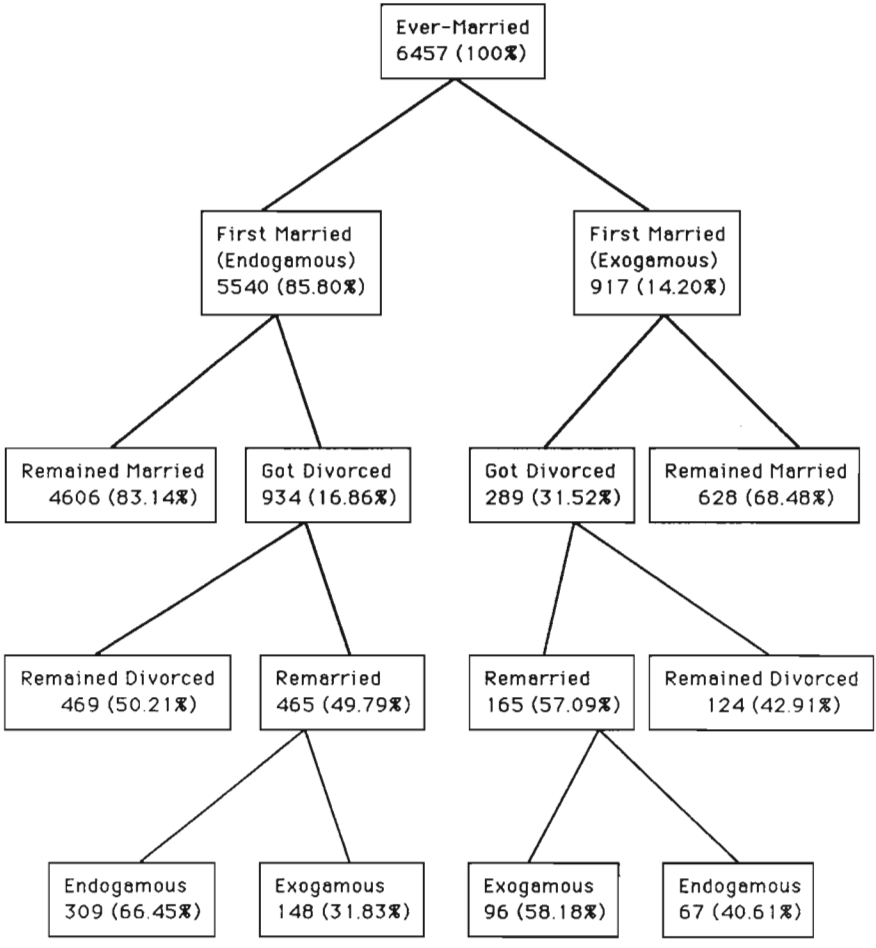
8. The factors most significantly associated with an increased chance of a first intermarriage are young age and maleness. In intermarriage upon remarriage the significant causal factors are youth and a prior intermarriage.

9. The factors most associated with preventing a first intermarriage are having Jewish friends, higher income, higher education and some Jewish

education (in that order of importance). In second marriages, the chance of intermarriage was inhibited solely by the presence of Jewish friends.

10. The most significant predictor of divorce is intermarriage.

11. Of the factors that diminish the likelihood of divorce, Jewish friends are the most prominent, but only for the inmarried. Indeed, the presence of Jewish friends appears to exacerbate the likelihood of divorce for the intermarried. Higher income also appears to diminish the chance of divorce, but again only for the inmarried and not the intermarried.



Percentages are in each case calculated on a base of the box immediately above. Totals may not sum to the number in boxes immediately above due to missing information.

BACKGROUND

The function of similarity of religious background (**homogamy**) in mate selection and in marital stability has been of abiding concern to students of family life. Yet, this concern has received relatively little research attention. Textbooks on the sociology of the family routinely report that (1) most people tend to marry within their own religion and (2) marriages that are between people of the same religion are more likely to remain intact over the life cycle than those that are between people of different religious backgrounds. But these observations have received only sporadic and rather unsystematic observation in the research literature. The present paper is intended to fill some of the gaps surrounding the sociological understanding of the factors that tend to promote **intermarriage** among American Jews, and its relationship with subsequent divorce and remarriage. The term **intermarriage** as used here refers to a marriage between a currently Jewish person and a spouse who is neither currently Jewish nor was born Jewish. This is often referred to as a **mixed** or **interfaith** marriage.

Because governmentally sponsored collection of demographic information routinely avoids inquiry into people's religious identity and/or affiliation, social scientists in America are dependent on privately sponsored studies of religious communities to determine the extent of intermarriage (viz. marriage between people who were not raised in the same religion). For example, the National Center for Health Statistics (a government agency) has determined that 76% of those who wed for the first time in 1983 had a "religious ceremony" compared with 60% of people who remarried in that year. But it does not report the religious backgrounds of the couples getting married, nor what proportion have the same or differing religious backgrounds.

Glenn (1982) reports that as of 1980 approximately 21% of Catholics and 11% of Protestants married someone of a different religious background. Virtually identical results are reported from a series of NORC General Social Surveys in the late 1970s by Jon P. Alston et al. (1976). Good statistics on Jewish intermarriage are harder to obtain because Jews comprise less than 3% of the total U.S. population, so only small numbers of Jews tend to appear in privately sponsored general population surveys. Therefore, rates of Jewish intermarriage have had to be estimated largely from special studies of the Jewish community per se. The authoritative National Jewish Population Study of 1970/71 showed that American Jews had an over-all national intermarriage rate of 9% among all "ever-married" respondents. More recent national surveys of the American Jewish population (Cohen, 1984, 1986, 1988) found rates of 13-15%, confirming a generally shared observation that **religious homogamy** has been declining steadily since the mid-1960s for American Jews as it has for all of the major religious groups in the U.S.

Though religious communities have watched the rising rates of intermarriage with a growing sense of alarm, social scientists have spent little effort determining the causes of the trend. Most have accepted implicitly the notion that (1) the romantic ideology has vanquished religious and social control over mate selection and (2) the American tendency toward assimilation expresses itself in intermarriage.

In a pioneering study of some of the predetermining factors of intermarriage, Jerold S. Heiss (1960) found six that seemed to have some effect upon intermarriage: (1) parents' tie to religion; (2) respondents' satisfaction with their own relationship with parents during childhood; (3) stressful relationships of members in family of origin; (4) weak ties to parents in childhood; (5) early emancipation from parents; and (6) parental conflict. However, Heiss noted that not all of these were equally significant for all of the religious groups in question. Indeed, while five out of the six were statistically significant in explaining Catholic intermarriage, only two were so in explaining Protestant, and only one factor (stressful relationships of members in family of origin) seemed to be statistically significant in explaining Jewish intermarriage.

In a series of seminal studies of Jewish intermarriage in the 1950s in Iowa, Indiana, and in Washington, D.C., Erich Rosenthal (1963) found that the probability of intermarriage rose with (1) decreasing Jewish population size (viz. a reduced "marriage market"); (2) older age at marriage; (3) increased number of generations in US; (4) higher socio-economic status of family of origin; (5) degree of religiousness in the family, and (6) prior divorce. However, the data upon which these findings rest were weighted towards very small, isolated Jewish populations, at least in Indiana and Iowa, and they are by now quite outdated. Since Rosenthal's studies the search for the causes of intermarriage has been largely abandoned, in favor of a focus on the consequences of intermarriage as it effects the community and Jewish identity (Mayer, 1989).

It is Rosenthal's set of findings that marks the point of departure for the present paper. Rosenthal seems to have been the only researcher to remark upon the curious connection between divorce and **subsequent** intermarriage in the United States. With the aid of the superior communal and official reporting systems on religious marriages in Great Britain, Kosmin (1982) found a similar pattern of higher exogamy rates among Jewish divorces during the 1970s. A parallel finding (Kosmin and Waterman, 1986) was that remarriage of Jewish divorcees in synagogue marriage ceremonies was below the expected rate given the remarriage rate of the group as a whole.

To be sure, several other researchers have noted the converse relationship, namely, that between intermarriage and **subsequent** divorce. Landis (1948), Heiss (1961), Christensen and Barber (1967), Bahr (1981) and Heaton et al. (1985) each showed that the likelihood of a marriage terminating in divorce is considerably increased when husband and wife are not of the same Christian

denomination. But none of these studies examined the impact of divorce on subsequent intermarriage in cases of remarriage. Moreover, because of the nature of their samples, none included enough Jews in their study to determine whether their findings concerning marriages between Catholics and Protestants, or between Mormons and Christians, is true for marriages between Jews and Christians as well.

THE RESEARCH PROBLEMS

The present study represents several advances in the social scientific study of intermarriage. First, it enables us to ascertain whether the relationship that has been found in previous studies between intermarriage and subsequent divorce in general applies to the experience of Jewish intermarriages in particular. Furthermore, it links the study of intermarriage upon re-marriage to the relationship between divorce and intermarriage. Finally, it develops a more comprehensive model of the causal factors of intermarriage in general, and Jewish intermarriage in particular, than has been characteristic of the literature in the field.

Just as the rate of intermarriage has shown a steady upward trend since the early 1960s, between the 1950s and the 1980s the rate of divorce in American society at large has nearly tripled. According to the Population Reference Bureau (1984), the rate of divorce in 1950 was 9 per thousand marriages. By 1980 it had risen to 23 per thousand.

To illustrate this trend in one particular Jewish community, the most recent Boston Jewish population study shows that in 1975, 88% of 30-39 year-olds and 90% of 40-49 year-olds were married, as against only 3% and 2%, respectively, that were divorced. In contrast, by 1985 among Boston Jews, only 69% of 30-39 year-olds and 84% of 40-49 year-olds were married, and 8% and 12% were divorced, respectively. Similar trends of rising divorce rates can be observed in the various other Jewish communities that have been surveyed in the last decade.

While studies of intermarriage trends have paid at least some attention to the extent of subsequent divorce, studies of divorce trends have paid no attention at all to the possible role of intermarriage in driving the numbers. Typically, sociological reflection on the rising rate of divorce has tended to identify such factors as (1) later age of marriage; (2) labor force participation of women; (3) race and class -- Blacks and lower SES groups divorce more; and (4) generalized individualism. The present study goes beyond these in an attempt also to show the contribution that the intermarriage rate makes to the overall divorce rate, at least for American Jews in the mid-1980s. In short, the research presented here addresses three key questions:

1. What social-demographic attributes of individuals explain the rising rate of divorce and intermarriage?
2. Is intermarriage (**exogamy**) more apt to terminate in divorce than marriage between two Jews (**endogamy**) or is the divorce rate found among intermarriers explained by other social-demographic attributes?
3. Is intermarriage more apt to occur among remarriers than among first-time marriers, and if so, what impact does that fact have on the over-all intermarriage rate?

THE METHOD

The data analyzed in this report have been extracted from demographic surveys conducted by local Jewish community federations over the past seven years. The primary purpose of these surveys has been to develop accurate profiles of local Jewish populations in order to assess human service needs and facilitate communal planning. None of the surveys was designed specifically to inquire into the subject that is the focus of the present study. Therefore, the variables and measures used to illuminate the subject have had to be limited to those available. These data are primarily useful to shed light on aggregate phenomena and group patterns in which the associations between intermarriage, divorce and remarriage express themselves. Such data cannot reflect the motivations of individuals.

With this basic caveat in mind, the study will examine the statistical associations between intermarriage on first marriage, divorce, remarriage and subsequent intermarriage upon second marriage treated as **dependent** variables, and the respondents' (1) age, (2) sex, (3) education, (4) immigrant generational status, (5) number of Jewish friends, (6) Jewish education and (7) income treated as **independent** variables. In the final section of the paper first intermarriage also serves as an independent variable in regression equations accounting for divorce, remarriage and second intermarriage. Due to reporting variations from community to community, the totals for any given table may vary due to missing information.

THE SAMPLE

The 1970 National Jewish Population Study was the first and to date remains the only large-scale national random sample survey of the American Jewish population. In the 1980s, more than 20 local Jewish communities throughout the United States carried out self-studies of their populations. In 1986 the Council of Jewish Federations founded the North American Jewish Data Bank at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York, which has collected, compiled and begun to analyze the data from these various localized surveys. The present study is based upon

aggregated demographic data collected during 1982-87 in nine major Jewish population centers in America.

Between them, these surveys included a total of **9,526** adult Jewish respondents, selected in pure or modified random digit dialing procedures, and interviewed by telephone in the following communities: Boston, Chicago, Cleveland, Denver, Houston, Miami, Palm Beach, Philadelphia and Phoenix. These cities represent approximately 20% of the American Jewish population. The sample under study here includes **6,839** of these Jewish adult respondents. The criteria for inclusion in this sample, in addition to responding affirmatively to the question of Jewishness, were that the respondent had ever been married but never widowed, and that there was pertinent background information about the respondent's current and (if any) previous spouse. In short, the present report analyzes surveys findings reflecting rates of divorce, intermarriage and remarriage among 6,839 ever married, Jewish adults in nine major cities across the U.S. in the decade of the 1980s.

Excluded from the analysis were the "never married" (n=1,360 or 14.3% of the original sample), the "widowed" (n=1,106 or 11.6%), and those divorced or separated from persons about whom there was not enough information for analytic purposes (n=221).

Table 1

The Cities and the Present Sample

City	1987 Population	N in Sample	Date of Study
Boston	228,000	970	1985
Chicago	248,000	897	1983
Cleveland	65,000	637	1987
Denver	45,000	538	1982
Houston	42,000	418	1986
Miami	241,000	972	1982
Palm Beach	55,000	752	1987
Philadelphia	250,000	1,048	1983
Phoenix	50,000	607	1983
TOTAL	**1,224,000**	**6,839**	

Note: Subsequent tables may not add to the total above due to exclusion of cases containing missing information.

The present sample excludes cities, such as New York and Baltimore, and cases for which there was insufficient information about current or previous spouses. Consequently, the report overrepresents Conservative and Reform Jews and the younger adult Jewish population, and underrepresents Orthodox Jews, immigrants and the elderly. As noted earlier, it also excludes the never married.

PROFILE OF THE RESPONDENTS

The median age of respondents is 48 years. Just over 59% of them are women, and more than 52% completed college. Indeed, more than 24% have an advanced degree beyond the college BS/BA. About 44% are employed full-time and another 12% are employed part-time. Their median household income, indexed to 1985 dollars, is $59,500. In terms of Jewish denominational identification, 39% of respondents describe themselves as Conservative, 37% as Reform, 6% as Orthodox and 18% as secular or "just Jewish." In terms of generational status the sample is 9% foreign-born (first generation), 36% second generation (American-born of foreign-born parents), 41% third generation Americans (i.e. at least one parent U.S. born) and 14% fourth generation or more Americans (i.e. at least one grandparent U.S. born). The table below summarizes the current marital status of respondents.

Table 2

Current Marital Status by Sex

Category	Male	Female	Percent	Total
Married	92%	90%	89.2	6,102
Divorced/Separated	8%	10%	10.8	737
	100%	100%	100.0	
N =	2,801	4,038		6,839
If Married:				
Endogamous	81%	90%	85.0	4,956
Exogamous	19%	10%	15.0	877
	100%	100%	100.0	5,833

A closer examination of the marriage patterns in the sample reveals that among the married men, 81% are in endogamous marriages and 19% are in exogamous marriages. By contrast, among the married women 90% are in endogamous marriages and only 10% are in exogamous marriages. This finding confirms on a contemporary data set the long standing observation that Jewish men are substantially more likely to marry out than are Jewish women.

The broad categories of Table 2 yielded to more refined analysis of "marriage types" categorized by sex and by age in Table 3 as follows.

THE PROPORTIONS OF INTERMARRIED, DIVORCED, REMARRIED AND SECOND TIME INTERMARRIED

This section of the paper describes the marital patterns outlined above by treating each outcome as the result of a dichotomous choice between the following alternatives:

1. endogamy or exogamy in the first marriage;
2. remaining in the first marriage or getting divorced;
3. if divorced, remaining divorced or remarrying;
4. if remarrying, endogamy or exogamy in the current marriage.

These outcomes are summarized in the table below. In subsequent tables these outcomes will be further analyzed to determine the extent to which they are explained by the independent variables at hand.

Table 4 reveals a number of statistically significant differences among the groups:

1. a much higher first marriage divorce rate among exogamists than among endogamists (32% vs. 17%);
2. a higher rate of remarriage among divorced exogamists than among divorced endogamists (57% vs 50%);
3. a much higher rate of exogamy among remarriages than in first marriages (40% vs 14%); and
4. an apparently substantial amount of "switching" from endogamy to exogamy, in-marriage to out-marriage, as well as from exogamy to endogamy upon remarriage.

Table 3

Marriage Type By Sex,and Age

Sex & Age Groups

	Men			Women				
Category	<40	40-59	>60	<40	40-59	>60	Prcnt	Total
A First marriage, spouse Jewish	50	66	83	64	74	87	71.5	4,618
B First marriage, spouse Gentile	30	8	5	16	3	1	9.5	616
C Divorced from a Jew	6	10	3	7	11	5	7.2	465
D Divorced from a Gentile	4	2	1	3	2	1	1.9	124
E Remarried a Jew; prev. spouse Jewish	3	6	6	3	6	5	4.9	316
F Remarried a Jew; previous spouse Gentile	1	1	-	2	1	1	1.1	68
G Remarried a Gentile prev. spouse Jewish	4	5	1	2	2	1	2.4	153
H Remarried a Gentile; prev. spouse Gentile	3	3	1	3	1	-	1.5	97
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
N of Respondents	820	913	919	1,307	1,443	1,016		6,457

*Columns may not actually sum to 100% due to rounding

Table 4

Summary of Marital Outcomes of 6,457 Respondents

1. First marriage endogamous	5,542	(86%)
First marriage exogamous	915	(14%)
	6,457	100%

	First Marriage			
	Endogamous	Exogamous	All	%
2. Remained married	4,607 (83%)	627 (68%)	5,234	81.0
Got divorced	935 (17%)	288 (32%)	1,223	19.0
	Chi sq = 109.13	**p< .0001**	6,457	
3. Remained divorced	469 (50%)	124 (43%)	593	48.5
Remarried	465 (50%)	164 (57%)	629	51.5
	Chi sq = 3.91	**p< .05**	1,222	
4. Remarried:				
Endogamous	309 (68%)	67 (41%)	376	60.6
Exogamous	148 (32%)	96 (59%)	244	39.4
	Chi sq = 34.28	**p< .0001**	620	

Note: Loss of total cases from one stage to the next reflects missing data.

In the sections that follow, these and related observations about the marriage patterns are subject to analysis in an attempt to determine what factors may predispose modern American Jews to intermarry, divorce, remarry, and enter intermarriages upon remarriage. First, the analysis will focus on the relationship of age and sex, the principal demographic attributes, to the four marital conditions that are the dependent variables in the study. Then the analysis attempts to estimate, by means of regression equations, the power of the broader range of independent variables in predicting each of the possible outcomes of the four marital conditions.

THE DEMOGRAPHY OF EXOGAMY

The overall rate of intermarriage in first marriages is 14% for the sample. This proportion refers only to marriages between a respondent who is currently Jewish and someone who is not, i.e., it does not reflect conversion. Men are nearly twice as likely to have an exogamous first marriage as women (19% v 10%). The sex differential in exogamy is proportionately less but absolutely more in second marriages, in which the intermarriage rates of men and women is 47% and 33% respectively.

The incidence of exogamy in first marriages has increased dramatically in recent decades for both men and women as evidenced by the age-specific rates of intermarriage in first marriages, show below.

Examination of the simultaneous effect of several variables is made possible by the technique of **loglinear analysis**. **Logit**, which is the test utilized in this study, is a special case of loglinear analysis in which one variable is used as the **dependent** variable and the log odds of its expected cell frequencies are analyzed across the various combinations of the variables that are designated as **independent**. In **Logit** analysis, several models of the relationship between the dependent and the independent variables are compared in order to see which of the models best fits the data (i.e. when expected and observed frequencies are the **least** discrepant). The results of logit for this and subsequent tables are presented in the appendix.

Table 5

First Marriage
Intermarriage Rates by Age and Sex

Total N = 6,418

	Men (n = 2,652)			Women (n = 3,766)		
	<40	40-59	>60	<40	40-59	>60
First Marriage						
Endogamous	63%	86%	93%	76%	94%	98%
Exogamous	37%	14%	7%	24%	6%	2%
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100
N =	**820**	**913**	**919**	**1,307**	**1,443**	**1,016**

The results of logit analysis (see Appendix A) show that neither sex nor age by itself is sufficient to account for the differential patterns observed in the table. The model of causation that takes into account both sex and age together best fits the data.

Apart from the obvious and significant differences between men and women in all age categories, and substantial differences between the three age cohorts in general, the table suggests some subtle trends as well:

1. The intermarriage rate of women has grown proportionately faster than the intermarriage rate of men (12-fold vs. 5-fold increase). However, the differential may be simply a reflection of the lower starting rate among women, or a demographic pressure toward catching up.
2. While the intermarriage rates of both men and women have grown dramatically, the gross percentage differences between the proportion of intermarrying Jewish men and women have actually increased (from 5% among the over 60 to 8% among the 40-59 year-olds to 13% among those under 40).
3. Even though exogamy is more frequent on remarriage than on first marriage, a comparison of Table 8, below, with Table 5 shows that the **net effect** of divorce upon the rate of **current** exogamy for the Jewish community as a whole is only very slightly **positive.** The percentage of the sample that is **currently intermarried** (877/5833 including both those who are in first marriages and all those in subsequent marriages) is 15% in contrast to the 14% who were intermarried in first marriages. Given the much higher rate of intermarriage in second marriages, the very slight increase in the current intermarriage rate over the first-time intermarriage rate appears to be the result of the much higher rate of divorce among exogamists in first marriages, the fact that so many remain divorced, and that apparently intermarriages upon remarriage also remain highly divorce-prone.

THE DEMOGRAPHY OF DIVORCE FROM FIRST MARRIAGE

Table 4 indicated that there is a statistically significant relationship between exogamy and divorce. Put another way, it would seem that divorce is far more likely to follow an exogamous first marriage than an endogamous one. Following the structure of marital history outlined in Table 4, the section below focuses on what happens to first marriages: whether they are more likely to remain intact for some segments of the population than others.

Logit analysis indicates that none of the main effect models fits the data (see Appendix B).

Table 6

Divorce from First Marriages, by Age, Sex, and Type

Type of First Marriage	Men			Women		
	<40	40-59	>60	<40	40-59	>60
Endogamous	20%	24%	11%	16%	21%	12%
Exogamous	20%	43%	25%	33%	52%	51%
Over-all %	20	26	12	20	22	12
Total N	820	913	919	1,207	1,043	1,016
Endogamous	515	787	858	994	1,354	995
Exogamous	305	126	61	313	89	21

Table 6 illustrates the significant rise in the rates of divorce in all the age groups under comparison, except for exogamous women. The rates of increase are most clear in the comparison between those over 60 and those aged 40-59 years.

The table also gives clear evidence that intermarriage increases the likelihood of divorce rather sharply. However, its impact seems to be different for Jewish men than it is for Jewish women. Intermarriage appears to increase the probability of divorce from a first marriage more for Jewish women in every age group than it does for Jewish men.

Table 6 bears out the findings reported by such scholars as Christensen and Barber (1967), Bahr (1981) and Heaton (1985) about the higher rate of divorce among intermarried, demonstrating that the social dynamics that operate in Christian intermarriages -- largely Catholics and Protestants -- hold true for Jewish intermarriages as well.

Yet another way to look at these same divorce statistics is to look at the proportion of all divorces contributed by endogamous as compared to exogamous marriages. From this perspective, it appears that endogamous marriages, which comprise 86% of the sample, contribute 76% of the divorces, while exogamous marriage, which comprise just 14% of the sample, contribute almost 24% of the divorces. This calculation confirms, yet another way, that intermarriages in general seem to be more divorce-prone than marriages between two Jews.

Further calculations from the above percentages suggest that had those in exogamous first marriages had the same rate of divorce as those in endogamous marriages, there would have been a total of 2% fewer divorces overall. In other words, intermarriage adds 2% to the total divorce population from first marriages.

Perhaps, even more important than its net effect on the overall divorce rate, the calculations above suggest that Jews who intermarry have an 85% greater likelihood of getting divorced than Jews who married other Jews. These two calculations lead to the conclusion that the risk of divorce to the individual who intermarries is greatly increased by the fact of intermarriage. But the increase of divorce produced in the community as a whole is quite small.

THE DEMOGRAPHY OF REMARRIAGE

To follow in more detail the progress of the marriage-divorce-remarriage cycle first shown in Table 4, the following section focuses attention on the dichotomous outcomes of divorce among Jewish men and women: that is, whether those who divorced from a first marriage remained divorced or remarried.

The results of **Logit** analysis (see Appendix C) show that none of the main effect models fit the data in explaining who is more likely to remain divorced or to remarry. This is so despite the fact that in Table 4 a slightly significant statistical association was found between exogamy/endogamy on the one hand and the likelihood of remarriage on the other. However, it must be noted that the analysis on this table is handicapped by subsamples with small cell sizes, particularly in the oldest age cohort.

It is instructive to note in the above table that, apart from previously divorced endogamous Jewish men, over the age of 60 (of whom only 93 cases were found in the entire sample), who had the highest rate of remarriage (95%), the two groups with the highest propensity for remarriage were exogamous, middle-aged Jewish men and exogamous Jewish women under the age of 40.

Among women in general, there is more of a tendency for exogamous divorcees to remarry than is the case for endogamous divorcees, particularly in the youngest age cohort. Among men, younger and middle-aged exogamists are more likely to remarry than their endogamist age-peers.

Among endogamists, Jewish men are more likely to remarry in every age category than Jewish women. On the other hand, among exogamists, Jewish men are more likely to remarry if they are over 40, while among Jewish women it is those under the age of 40 who are more likely to remarry.

It is possible that these differences in remarriage patterns are best accounted for by the presence or absence of children (a factor about which there was insufficient data for the present analysis).

Table 7

Remarriage, by Age, Sex, and Type of First Marriage

Type of First Marriage	Men			Women		
	≤40	40-59	≥60	≤40	40-59	≥60
Endogamous	52%	53%	95%	38%	45%	52%
Exogamous	50%	64%	60%	63%	48%	55%
Over-all %	52	56	72	50	45	52
Number of Divorced	163	239	108	267	324	124
Endog	103	186	93	155	278	112
Exog	60	53	15	112	46	12

THE DEMOGRAPHY OF EXOGAMY UPON REMARRIAGE

Further refining the remarrying subsample, this section focuses attention upon the final dichotomous choice presented in Table 4, namely whether those remarrying enter an endogamous or an exogamous new marriage.

Looking back at the pattern of marriage types in Table 3, it was shown that while a first intermarriage is more likely to result in divorce than a first endogamous marriage, a divorce from that first endogamous marriage results in a much greater likelihood of intermarriage. In other words, the rate of intermarriage in remarriages far exceeds that for first marriages. The **overall intermarriage rate** of the sample in first marriages was 916/6447 (categories B,D,F,H,/R) or 14% while the dissolved endogamous first marriages produced an intermarriage rate of 33% in remarriages (Category G/G+E or 153/469).

Perhaps, of even greater interest is the fact that of all the dissolved exogamous first marriages, 24% produced endogamous Jewish marriages upon remarriage, as shown below. In other words, the data point to both continuity in mate selection, but also a substantial amount of switching from endogamy to exogamy and vice versa in remarriages.

Logit analysis for the above table (see Appendix D) showed that the only model that fit the data well was one that took age, sex and first intermarriage into account (viz. youth, maleness and a first intermarriage were the strongest predictors of a second intermarriage).

This table highlights the highly significant "switching" phenomenon we referred to in Table 4, to exogamy by previous endogamists, and to endogamy by previous exogamists. It also underscores the curious resistance to and apparent ambivalence of Jewish women towards exogamy. They are significantly more likely to divorce a gentile partner in a first marriage. They are less likely to "switch" to exogamy after having been divorced from an endogamous marriage. Moreover, those Jewish women who had been in an exogamous marriage the first time are much more likely to "switch" back to endogamy upon remarriage than Jewish men.

Table 8

Exogamy Upon Remarriage, by Age, Sex, and Type of First Marriage

Total N = 630

	Men (n = 295)			Women (n = 335)		
First Marriage	≤40	40-59	≥60	≤40	40-59	≥60
Endogamous	55%	45%	19%	42%	25%	14%
Exogamous	73%	68%	66%	53%	50%	16%
Total %	62%	41%	24%	48%	29%	14%
Number of Remarriages	84	133	78	124	147	64
1st Marriage Totals						
Endog	54	99	69	60	125	58
Exog	30	34	9	64	2	6

THE RELATIVE INFLUENCE OF KEY FACTORS

All of the previous tables have attempted to show the relationship of some key demographic/biographic characteristics to the various marital patterns of our sample. However, each of these tables treated the relationships in aggregate categories. Moreover, the tables only showed the relationships of two or three independent variables to the dependent variables at a time, with no simultaneous control for any additional variables which might have an effect on the dependent variable. Therefore, in the section that follows a series of regression equations are presented to show the relative influence of age, sex, education, income, immigrant generational status, Jewish education and Jewish friendship upon the various marital outcomes.

The **independent** variables used in this study were:

Age (18-97);

Sex (1=male, 2=female);

General education (1=lowest level-to-7=highest level -- elementary to graduate school);

Jewish education (0=no, 1=yes);

Generation in US (0=foreign born-to-3=both parents US born);

Number of Jewish friends (0=none-to-3=all), and

Family income (whole dollars, indexed to 1985).

The relationship of these independent variables to the various types of marriage patterns is examined in a series of multiple regression analyses. The **dependent** variables used in these equations are:

1. **FRSTMAR: status of first marriage** (0=endogamous, 1=exogamous); n of cases included in equation = 3,289
2. **EVRDVRCD: ever divorced** (0=no, 1=yes); n of cases = 3,289
3. **DIVENDOG: divorce from an endogamous marriage** (0=no, 1=yes); n of cases = 2,758
4. **DIVEXOG: divorce from an exogamous marriage** (0=no, 1=yes); n of cases = 531
5. **EVEREMAR: ever remarried after divorce** (0=no, 1=yes); n of cases = 745
6. **REMARENDOG: remarriage after divorce from a first endogamous marriage** (0=no, 1=yes); n of cases = 570
7. **REMAREXOG: remarriage after divorce from a first exogamous marriage** (0=no, 1=yes); n of cases = 175
8. **SCNDMAR: status of second marriage** (0=endogamous, 1=exogamous); n of cases = 337
9. **SWITCHEXOG: switch to exogamy after divorce from endogamous marriage** (0=no, 1=yes); n of cases = 265
10. **SWITCHENDOG: switch to endogamy after divorce from an exogamous marriage** (0=no, 1=yes); n of cases = 92

It should be noted that the number of cases included in the regression analyses is dramatically reduced by the incidence of missing data on any of the eight independent variables and on any of the dependent variables.

The first table presented in this section shows the relative effect of the key independent variables upon the four key dependent variables by means of the regression coefficient (b), its standardized coefficient (Beta), their significance, and the total variance they explain (adjusted R2).

Table 9

Regression Coefficients for a Model to Predict The Four Different Marital Outcomes Using Key Independent Variables as Main Effects

	Dependent Variables							
	I FRSTMAR		II EVRDVRCD		III EVEREMAR		IV SCNDMAR	
Independent Variables	b	B	b	B	b	B	b	B
Age	-.01	-.23c	.01	.04	.01	.17c	-.01	-.17b
Sex	-.08	-.10c	.02	.02	-.04	-.04	-.06	-.06
Edu	-.02	-.05b	.01	.03	-.03	-.07a	-.02	-.05
Gen	.01	.03	.02	.04a	.03	.05	-.01	-.03
JEd	-.03	-.04b	-.01	-.01	-.05	-.05	.03	.03
JFr	-.12	-.28c	-.06	-.12c	.00	.01	-.17	-.31c
Inc	-.00	-.08c	-.00	-.08c	.00	.35c	-.00	-.00
Frstmar			.07	.07c	.11	.09a	.16	.14b
Constant	.93		.23		.07		1.16	
Adj. R2 =	**17.9%**		**2.9%**		**12.8%**		**17.7%**	
N =	3,289		3,289		745		357	

a: $p < .05$; b: $p < .01$; c: $p < .001$

In order to better comprehend the relationships described above, dependent variables II, III and IV were also entered into a second set of regression equations that examine the joint effect of the key independent variables upon them, in interaction with the status of first marriages. The purpose of this second set of equations is to see whether the independent variables effect the dependent variables differently when the respondent's first marriage is endogamous and when it is exogamous.

Table 10

Regression Coefficients Showing Effect of Interaction of FRSTMAR and Independent Variables Upon Three Marital Outcomes

	Dependent Variables					
	EVRDVRCD		EVEREMAR		SCNDMAR	
Independent Variables	b	B	b	B	b	B
Age	.00	.01	.01	.18c	-.01	-.17
Sex	-.01	-.01	-.08	-.08	-.05	-.06
Edu	.01	.03	-.02	-.04	-.03	-.09
Gen	.02	.05a	.02	.04	-.02	-.04
JEd	.02	.02	-.05	-.04	-.03	-.03
JFr	-.07	-.14c	.01	.02	-.20	-.35c
Inc	-.00	-.09c	.00	.31c	.00	.06
Frstmar	-.43	-.38c	-.01	-.01	-.06	-.05
FRST*Age	.01	.38c	-.00	-.05	.00	.03
FRST*Sex	.15	.20c	.15	.22	-.06	-.08
FRST*Edu	-.02	-.08	-.03	-.14	.06	.26
FRST*Gen	-.02	-.05	.03	.05	-.01	-.01
FRST*JEd	-.17	-.13c	-.05	-.04	.22	.16
FRST*JFr	.07	.10b	-.04	-.06	.09	.15
FRST*Inc	.00	.03	.00	.15a	-.00	.31b
Constant	.34		.08		1.29	
Adj. R2 =	**5.7%**		**13.1%**		**18.8%**	
N =	3,289		745		357	

a: $p < .05$; b: $p < .01$; c: $p < .001$

Tables 9 and 10 suggest the following conclusions:

1. Predicting a First Intermarriage. The likelihood that the first marriage of a modern American Jew will be endogamous (i.e. with another Jew) is most strongly determined by the Jewishness of his/her friendship network (Beta -.28), by his or her age (Beta -.23) and by gender (Beta -.10).

Having more Jewish friends, and being older appear to be the strongest predictors of an endogamous Jewish marriage. Gender also seems to have a significant effect, with females more likely to in-marry, males more likely to out-marry.

In addition, respondents with a higher income and higher level of general education were somewhat more likely to in-marry. Respondents who had at least some Jewish education were also more likely to in-marry than those with no Jewish education. But the effect of Jewish education appears to be quite small as compared to the other independent variables that have a significant relationship to intermarriage. All other things being equal, having mostly Jewish friends proved to have the strongest relationship to diminishing the likelihood of a first intermarriage.

Interestingly, the number of generations in the U.S. was the only variable which did not prove to have significant relationships with the likelihood of endogamous or exogamous first marriage. This finding is particularly noteworthy in light of the fact that in most studies of American Jewish identity generational status is prominently featured as an explanatory variable. Perhaps this apparent anomaly is due to the fact that in the present analysis a number of variables are controlled for, whereas in most other studies these same variables are embedded in the generation variable. Most likely, in other studies where generation is found to be a significant explanatory variable it functions as a proxy for such other factors as age, education, income, and Jewish friends.

2. Predicting Divorce From First Marriage. The second column of Table 9 shows the least amount of explained variance (Adj R2=2%) in the series of regression analyses. The results suggest that the independent variables available in this study are not very useful in accounting for the likelihood of divorce.

The variables that do emerge as significant in producing divorce are: fewer Jewish friends, lower income and intermarriage. It is interesting to note that intermarriage appears to have a relatively smaller effect upon the likelihood of divorce than having more Jewish friends.

While the likelihood of divorce remains the most difficult of the dependent variables to predict, knowledge of the status of the first marriage (exogamy/endogamy) doubles predictive power from 2.9% to 5.7%. As seen in the first column of Table 10, the explanatory power of the independent variables is substantially improved (Adj. R2=5.7%) when the status of the first marriage (exogamy/endogamy) is introduced into an interaction with the key independent variables.

Testing for interaction between a first intermarriage and the other independent variables resulted in four significant interactions: those with age, sex, Jewish education and Jewish friends. Though all of the possible interactions are presented in Table 10, each of the significant interactions was examined separately in order to separate out the effect of the other interactions.

The interaction between first intermarriage and age shows that among those whose first marriage was exogamous, divorce is more likely in the older age groups than in the younger. However, age does not seem to have a significant effect among the previously endogamous.

The interaction of first intermarriage and having Jewish friends shows that the Jewish friends variable decreases them. likelihood of divorce in endogamous marriage, while somewhat increasing the likelihood of a divorce in an exogamous marriage. Put another way, Jewish friends can serve as a solidifying factor for endogamous Jews, while they, apparently, serve as a source of stress or, at the very least do not provide a source of support for their exogamous friends.

The interaction between first intermarriage and sex shows that while there is only a slight difference between men and women who first in-married (slightly more men divorced), there is a larger difference between them in exogamous marriages. Many more exogamous Jewish women than men divorce.

While having Jewish friends clearly diminishes the likelihood of divorce among the endogamously married, Jewish education does not appear to have any significant effect, as can be seen in Table 9 (Beta .01). When Jewish education is introduced in interaction with the status of first marriage, it continues to have no effect upon the marriages of those who are endogamous. Curiously, it does appear to have some effect upon lessening the divorce-proneness of the intermarried.

3. Predicting Remarriage. The most significant predictors of remarriage after a divorce are income and age (Beta .35 and .17 respectively in Table 9): those who are younger and have higher incomes are more apt to remarry. The table further suggests that a prior intermarriage is also likely to be a significant factor in explaining remarriage -- perhaps because those who were previously intermarried operate in a significantly wider marriage market, and are also probably less likely to have children.

Introducing the effect of interaction between the status of the first marriage and the key independent variables produced no improvement in their overall predictive power (Adj R2 remained unchanged). The only interaction that seems to be significant in explaining remarriage is between first intermarriage and income. For example, those in higher income categories, who were exogamously married, show a slightly greater propensity for remarriage than those in lower income categories. However, it should be noted that when the effect of income is examined separately without the effect of the other interaction it loses its significance (p=.11).

The interaction between first intermarriage and sex only approaches significance (p=.09). It shows that remarriage was somewhat more likely for respondents who were older and/or men, if they were previously endogamous, and somewhat more likely for women if they were previously exogamous. The strongest predictor of remarriage was higher income (Beta .31) for those who were previously endogamous. But, income barely had any significance in interaction with a first exogamy in predicting remarriage.

4. Predicting Intermarriage Upon Remarriage. The final columns of Tables 9 and 10 focus on the likelihood of intermarriage upon remarriage. The results of the multiple regression show that the most important variable explaining second intermarriage is the number of Jewish friends. Respondents without a Jewish friendship network are the most apt to intermarry upon remarriage. The second most important explanatory variable is age. The younger the person who remarries, the more likely they are to intermarry. The last significant explanatory variable is previous intermarriage (which itself is highly associated with younger age). Interestingly, its significance is relatively weak, contrary to what one might have expected.

The only significant interaction is between first intermarriage and income (when examined separately, without controlling for the other interactions, its significance declines). For those whose first marriage was endogamous, income does not seem to be related to the likelihood of a second intermarriage. However, for those whose first marriage was exogamous, lower income seems to be related to a higher probability of intermarriage upon remarriage.

Tables 9 and 10 focus on the main and the interaction effects of the independent variables on the dichotomous outcomes of four possible conditions of marriage. In doing so, however, they do not adequately highlight some of the unique dynamics of those independent variables as they function in endogamous and exogamous marriages. Therefore, Tables 11 and 12 examine the differential effect of the independent variables upon marital outcomes 2 and 3 (viz. divorce and remarriage). Finally, Table 13 examines the effect of the independent variables upon the likelihood of "switching" from endogamy to exogamy and exogamy to endogamy upon remarriage.

Table 11 compares the likelihood of divorce from either an endogamous or an exogamous marriage. It should be noted at the outset that, given the nature of the independent variables, divorce from an endogamous marriage is less well accounted for than divorce from an exogamous marriage. Only 2% of the variance is explained in the case of the former, while 12% of the variance is explained in the latter. The most important variables in explaining who divorced and who stayed married are Jewish friends and income. Higher income and a greater number of Jewish friends both lessen the likelihood of divorce from an endogamous marriage.

Table 11

Regression Coefficients Showing the Relative Effects of Key Independent Variables Upon DIVENDOG or DIVEXOG, The Likelihood of Remarriage After Divorce From Endogamous or Exogamous Marriage

Independent Variables	Dependent Variables: DIVENDOG b	DIVENDOG B	DIVEXOG b	DIVEXOG B
Age	.00	.00	.01	.26c
Sex	-.01	-.01	.14	.15c
Edu	.01	.03	-.01	-.02
Gen	.02	.05a	.00	-.01
JEd	-.02	-.02	.15	.14c
JFr	-.07	-.13c	.00	.00
Inc	-.00	-.10c	.00	-.04
	N = 2,758; Adj. R2 = 2%		N = 531; Adj. R2 = 12%	

a: $p < .05$
b: $p < .01$
c: $p < .001$

In addition, although less important than the first two variables, is generations in the U.S. Respondents who are "more American," with more generations in the U.S. were more likely to get divorced. None of the other factors appears to have a significant effect upon that marital outcome.

The most important variables in explaining divorce from exogamous marriage (in which the regression accounts for 12% of the variance) are sex and age. The likelihood of divorce from an exogamous marriage is greater for Jewish women than for Jewish men, and is greater for those who are older than those who are younger. The only additional variable which has significant relationships with divorce from exogamous marriage is not having Jewish education. Respondents

with no Jewish education are more likely to get divorced. None of the other variables appear to have a significant relationship with this marital outcome. It is noteworthy that divorce from an exogamous marriage is one of the few outcomes that seems to be unaffected by whether one has more or fewer Jewish friends. Yet it is more likely for those who have had no Jewish education than for those who have had some.

The next analysis focuses upon the relationship between the independent variables and whether remarriage followed divorce from an endogamous or an exogamous marriage.

Table 12 shows the differential likelihood of remarriage after divorce according to type of first marriage. The likelihood of remarriage after an endogamous first marriage, like the probability of divorce itself, seems unaffected by all but two of the independent variables. Only age and income seem to explain a significant amount of the probability of such remarriage. The older the respondents, and the higher their incomes, the more likely they are to remarry. However, the apparent effect of age on this as on other variables may be simply a reflection of the duration of the first marriage rather than chronological maturation of the individual. Likewise, the statistical association with income may be the result of a consequent rather than a causal relationship. Sex has a slight effect ($p=.06$) with men more likely to remarry.

Remarriage after divorce from an exogamous marriage seems to be more strongly affected by income. The higher the income the higher the likelihood of remarriage. Income is the only significant variable in explaining remarriage among those previously intermarried. It may well be a proxy for the lesser likelihood of children from a prior intermarriage and therefore the greater chance of outside income for women.

Table 12

Regression Coefficients Showing the Relative Effects of Key Independent Variables Upon REMARENDOG and REMAREXOG, The Likelihood of Remarriage After Divorce From an Endogamous or Exogamous Marriage

Independent Variables	Dependent Variables: REMARENDOG b	REMARENDOG B	REMAREXOG b	REMAREXOG B
Age	.01	.18c	.01	.14
Sex	-.08	-.08	.07	.07
Edu	-.02	-.04	-.05	-.14
Gen	.02	.04	.05	.09
JEd	.05	.04	.10	.10
JFr	.01	.02	-.03	-.06
Inc	.00	.31c	.00	.48c
	N = 570; Adj. R2 = 12%		N = 175; Adj. R2 = 17%	

c: $p < .001$

In addition, age and general education, although only approaching significance (p=.06 for both), seem to play some role in promoting the outcome. The older the respondents the more likely they are to remarry. More general education seems to have a negative effect on remarriage among divorced exogamists; whereas the level of general education has no significant effect upon the likelihood of remarriage of those previously divorced from a Jewish partner.

The final analysis of the four marriage outcomes focuses on whether respondents "switched" upon remarriage from endogamy to exogamy or vice versa. In other words, the table below deals with the degree to which the independent variables available in this study help to predict

Table 13

Regression Coefficients Showing the Relative Effects of Key Independent Variables Upon SWITCHEXOG and SWITCHENDOG, The Likelihood of Switching to Exogamy or Endogamy Upon Remarriage

Independent Variables	Dependent Variables: SWITCHEXOG b	SWITCHEXOG B	SWITCHENDOG b	SWITCHENDOG B
Age	-.01	-.18b	.01	.14
Sex	-.05	-.06	.11	.11
Edu	-.03	-.10	-.03	-.08
Gen	-.02	-.04	.02	.05
JEd	.03	.03	.19	.19
JFr	-.20	-.34c	.10	.20
Inc	.00	.07	.00	.28b
	N = 265; Adj. R2 = 12%		N = 92; Adj. R2 = 14%	

b: $p < .01$
c: $p < .001$

whether or not Jews who were previously in an endogamous marriage switched to exogamy upon remarriage, and Jews who were previously in an exogamous marriage switched to endogamy.

Table 13 deals with the intriguing phenomenon of switching, in both directions, between endogamy and exogamy on remarriage. The people most likely to switch to an exogamous marriage after divorce from an endogamous one are younger respondents, with relatively few Jewish friends. Indeed, the absence of Jewish friends appears to be the single strongest predictor of the tendency to switch to exogamy.

The people most likely to switch to an endogamous marriage after divorce from an exogamous marriage are respondents with higher income. Jewish education and Jewish friends,

although not significant (p=.07 for both), are the only variables in addition to income which appear to be important in explaining switching to endogamous marriage. Respondents with more Jewish friends were more likely to switch to endogamous marriage. Surprisingly, respondents without Jewish education were more likely to switch to endogamous marriage than those who had at least some Jewish education.

Tables 9-13 suggest that the variables treated as independent, in fact, were able to explain as much as 18% of the variance on at least one of the dependent variables. Indeed, on eight out of the ten dependent variables the independent variables jointly account for between 12-18% of the variance. The only dependent variable that seems not to be accounted for to any appreciable degree by the available independent variables was divorce from an endogamous marriage.

CONCLUSIONS

This study set out to investigate several key research questions as well as to establish the baseline trends of intermarriage and divorce in a cross-section sample of the contemporary American Jewish population. Looking back at the chart presented earlier, it can now be concluded that:

1. The overall rate of intermarriage in first marriages is 14% for the sample, 19% for men and 10% for women. Indeed, for males under the age of 40 the rate of exogamy reaches 37%, making this group the most likely source of intermarriage.

2. The overall rate of divorce from first marriages is 19% for the sample, 17% for endogamous first marriages and 32% for exogamous first marriages. While the rate of divorce of endogamous men and women is virtually identical, as one would expect, for exogamous men and women it differs sharply. Among women the rate is 38% while among men it is only 25%, suggesting that exogamous Jewish women are not only at a significantly higher risk of divorce than exogamous Jewish men, but are at an even higher risk when compared with endogamous Jewish women.

3. The overall proportion of those who remarried following divorce is 52% for the total sample, 50% following an endogamous marriage and 57% following an exogamous marriage. The three groups that produced significantly higher rates of remarriage were over 60-year-old endogamous men (95%), middle-aged exogamous men (64%) and younger, under 40-year-old, exogamous females (63%). Indeed, younger endogamous females had the lowest rate of remarriage (38%).

4. The overall proportion of intermarriage upon remarriage is 40% of remarriers, that is, nearly three times the rate of intermarriage in first marriages. This increase is due to the fact that 32% of former endogamists intermarried in second marriages. The potential increase in the overall proportion of intermarriers is offset, however, because only 58% of former exogamists intermarry the second time, 42% switching to endogamy.

These basic demographic trends set the parameters within which the key research questions are addressed. It will be recalled that two of these questions were: whether exogamous marriages are more divorce prone than endogamous marriages, and whether intermarriage is more apt to occur among remarriages than in first marriages. These questions can be answered affirmatively quite easily from the above information. The final, but most broad ranging research question regarding how social-demographic attributes might explain divorce and intermarriage patterns has produced a more complex set of results. In general, one can conceive of these attributes as factors either inhibiting or facilitating each of the four marital outcomes. The regression analyses helped identify a small number of those which were significant.

5. Intermarriage in the first instance was facilitated by young age and maleness. In the second instance it was further facilitated by young age and a first intermarriage. On the other hand, it was inhibited most potently by the presence of Jewish friends, followed by higher income, higher education and some Jewish education. Intermarriage in the second instance was inhibited only by the presence of Jewish friends. None of the other factors, which serve to inhibit a first intermarriage, proved to be operative in second intermarriages.

6. The most significant facilitator of divorce in the present study is intermarriage. None of the other social- demographic attributes accounted for much of the variance. However, the effect of intermarriage upon divorce seems to be mediated by age and sex. As was noted above, younger exogamous women were the most prone to divorce, while older endogamous men were the least likely to divorce. The presence of Jewish friends served as a significant inhibitor upon the likelihood of divorce, as did high income.

7. Though intermarriage is a very strong predictor of divorce, it is not as strong a predictor of a second intermarriage, due to the phenomenon of "switching" (viz. a significant number of previous endogamist switch to exogamy upon remarriage, and a significant number of previous exogamists also switch to endogamy the second time around). A Jewish friendship network appears to mitigate switching to exogamy upon remarriage. But the data do not permit one to conclude that such a network also stimulates switching to endogamy for those who were previously in an exogamous marriage.

Having explored the ways in which demographic variables might effect marital outcomes, we are left with the fact that most of the variance in each of the dependent variables remains unexplained by them. And, properly so, because these outcomes are most profoundly shaped by individual, inter- and intrapersonal processes that are not reflected in demographic data. As was seen at the outset, for example, Heiss (1960) had shown that family stress appears to be linked to a higher likelihood of intermarriage among Jews. That, among other issues (such as, the role of children, personality factors, values and community contexts) should be the target of future research in this area.

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APPENDIX A

The result of the logit analysis for first marriage (endogamous, exogamous) by sex (male, female) and age (18-39, 40-49, 60+).

Model	LRchi sq	df	p
1st MAR	679.45	5	.000
1st MAR, AGE	103.35	3	.000
1st MAR, SEX	612.01	4	.000
1st MAR, SEX, AGE	4.94	2	.085

APPENDIX B

The result of the logit analysis for divorce (divorced or stayed married by first marriage (endogamous, exogamous) sex (male, female) and age (18-39, 40-49, 60+).

Model	Chi sq	df	p
DIVORCE	239.94	11	.000
DIVORCE, 1st MAR	141.34	10	.000
DIVORCE, SEX	239.62	10	.000
DIVORCE, AGE	135.27	9	.000
DIVORCE, 1st MAR, SEX	141.09	9	.000
DIVORCE, 1st MAR, AGE	45.32	8	.000
DIVORCE, AGE, SEX	33.32	8	.000
DIVORCE, 1st MAR, AGE, SEX	45.30	7	.000

APPENDIX C

The result of the logit analysis for remarriage (remarried or stayed divorced) by first marriage (endogamous, exogamous) sex (male, female) and age (18-39, 40-49, 60+).

Model	LR chi sq	df	p
REMARRY	44.84	11	.000
REMARRY, 1st MAR	40.63	10	.000
REMARRY, SEX	32.85	10	.000
REMARRY, AGE	32.75	9	.000
REMARRY, 1st MAR, SEX	38.95	9	.001
REMARRY, 1st MAR, AGE	25.85	8	.001
REMARRY, AGE, SEX	21.90	8	.005
REMARRY, 1st MAR, AGE, SEX	15.63	7	.029

APPENDIX D

The result of the logit analysis for second marriage (endogamous, exogamous by first marriage (endogamous, exogamous) sex (male, female) and age (18-39, 40-49, 60+).

Model	LR chi sq	df	p
2nd MAR	86.41	11	.000
2nd MAR, 1st MAR	55.03	10	.000
2nd MAR, SEX	72.58	10	.000
2nd MAR, AGE	45.10	9	.000
2nd MAR, 1st MAR, SEX	36.87	9	.000
2nd MAR, 1st MAR, AGE	27.08	8	.001
2nd MAR, AGE, SEX	23.93	8	.002
DIVORCE, 1st MAR, AGE, SEX	5.25	7	.630

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