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Jews in couples

Marriage, intermarriage, cohabitation and divorce in Britain

David Graham

The **Institute for Jewish Policy Research (JPR)** is a London-based independent research organisation, consultancy and think-tank. It aims to enhance the prospects of Jewish communities in the United Kingdom and across Europe by conducting research and informing policy development in dialogue with those best placed to positively influence Jewish life.

Author

Dr David Graham is a Senior Research Fellow at JPR and Honorary Associate at the Department of Hebrew, Biblical and Jewish Studies, University of Sydney. He has spent many years writing about Jewish identity and the demography of Jews in Britain, and has published widely for academic, professional and general interest audiences both nationally and internationally. His most recent publications include a series of papers examining the Jewish population of the UK based on 2011 UK Census data, two major studies of Australian Jewry based on the 2011 Australian Census, and a flagship report on Jews in the UK based on data from the 2013 National Jewish Community Survey. He holds a DPhil in geography from the University of Oxford.

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Executive summary

Couples: marriage and cohabitation

- There were 124,113 Jews living in couples in 2011, or six out of ten Jewish adults (59%), a higher proportion than in any other religious or ethnic group.
- Most Jews in couples are married (89%) but one out of ten (11%) cohabits.
- Between 2001 and 2011 there was a 17% increase in the number of cohabiting Jews. There was no increase in the number of married Jews.
- Cohabitation is most common among Jews in their late twenties, with one in three living in a couple cohabiting (34%).
- The average age at first marriage for Jewish men is currently 32 years and for Jewish women is 29 years, similar to the general population in England and Wales (age 32 for men, age 30 for women).
- On average, Jews marrying for the first time are doing so seven years later than they were in the 1970s.
- First marriage occurs seven years earlier for religious Jews than for secular Jews.
- Just over 2,200 Jews live in same sex couples, or 1.8% of all Jews in partnerships. In 2011 about a third of this group was in a civil partnership.

Intermarriage

- Among married Jews, 78% are in-married ('*endogamous*') and 22% are intermarried ('*exogamous*'). Among cohabiting Jews, 32% are endogamous and 68% are exogamous.
- 21,135 Jews have non-Jewish partners (mainly Christian), 11,416 have partners of 'No Religion' (almost all of whom are not Jewish) and 4,160 have partners who did not state a religion. Thus, up to 36,711 Jews have non-Jewish partners.
- Between 2001 and 2011, the Jewish married population became slightly more exogamous, with 2% fewer endogamous Jews and 3% more exogamous Jews (with non-Jewish or 'No Religion' spouses).
- Cohabiting Jews became more endogamous: cohabitational endogamy increased from 28% of all cohabiting Jews in 2001 to 32% in 2011, whereas exogamous cohabitation decreased from 72% to 68%.
- The intermarriage rate is estimated to be 26% for those marrying since 2010. Although this is the highest level to date and is reflective of an upward trend, it has risen by only two percentage points since the 1990s.
- Intermarriage in the United States is twice the level of the UK and this has been the case since the 1970s.
- Jewish men and women are equally likely to be intermarried but men are more likely to have non-Jewish (Christian) partners, whereas Jewish women are more likely to have partners of 'No Religion.'
- People in their early forties are more likely to be intermarried than any other age group.
- Almost all children of in-married Jewish couples are raised as Jews (96%), whereas this is the case for 31% of the children of intermarried Jews.

- Intermarried Jewish men are four times less likely to raise Jewish children than intermarried Jewish women.
- Intermarried Jews have fewer children than in-married Jews. On average, in-married couples have 2.4 dependent children, compared with 2.1 among intermarried couples.
- Intermarriage appears to at least double the chances of having intermarried children.
- The partners and dependent children of Jews who did not report Jewish in the census number 52,993 people.
- Intermarried Jews exhibit far weaker levels of Jewish practice and performance than in-married Jews. For example, 91% of in-married Jews light candles on Friday night at least occasionally, compared with 36% of exogamous Jews.
- Intermarried Jews have weaker Jewish backgrounds. 11% of those raised in 'Traditional' homes are currently intermarried, compared with almost half (47%) of those raised in non-practising (secular/cultural) homes.

Divorce

- There are an estimated 16,346 Jews in Great Britain whose legal partnership status is currently divorced.
- Just over half of the currently divorced Jewish population lives alone (51%), while one in five cohabits (19%) and a further one in five (20%) is a lone parent. Female divorcées are more likely to live alone and far more likely to be single parents than male divorcés.
- Jewish divorce increased between 2001 and 2011 by between 8% and 11%.
- Jews are less likely to be divorced than average but more likely to be divorced than people with Asian and Arab backgrounds.
- The more religious a person is, the less likely they are to be divorced.
- 17% of adult Jews are currently, or have previously been, divorced, amounting to just over 40,000 people.
- The average age at first divorce for Jews is 40 years old, which is slightly younger than in the general population.
- The divorce to marriage ratio is 34% and has been around this level since the 1980s; it suggests that for every ten Jews marrying, three are divorcing in any period. This compares with 47% among the general population.
- About 76% of Jews who married under religious Jewish auspices and subsequently divorced, obtained a *get* (a religiously sanctioned dissolution).

Divorce and intermarriage

- Intermarried Jews are more than twice as likely to divorce as in-married Jews.
- Intermarriage is two and half times more common among the re-married than among those in their first marriage (45% v 18% respectively).
- Among those who remarried following a divorce from an in-marriage, 34% subsequently intermarried; among those divorcing from an intermarriage the equivalent proportion is 61%.

Jews in couples: an introduction

Partnerships, especially marriages, continue to dominate the life choices of the majority of Jewish adults in Britain. Most choose to continue the tradition of publicly legitimising their union through a Jewish religious ceremony. Partnerships not only provide companionship but they are the foundation of reproduction which underlies the demographic fabric of the Jewish community. Yet the vast majority of communal attention given to Jewish partnerships tends to be dominated by one topic alone—intermarriage. And while the marriage of Jews to non-Jews remains central to Jewish anxiety about the future perpetuation of the community, there is more to Jewish partnership formation than intermarriage.

In addition to the question of to *whom* Jews partner, we should also consider the *type* of partnerships chosen, the *timing* of the partnership and, where applicable, partnership *dissolution*. As is shown here, there has been a large increase in the number of Jews cohabiting, whereas change in the numbers marrying (to Jews or anybody else) is static. We also report that Jews are marrying seven years later than they were just a generation ago, so even if every single partnership was a fertile in-marriage, there would still be downward pressure on Jewish fertility. And when marriages end, the after-effects disproportionately impact women more than men, with men being more likely to re-partner and women far more likely to become single parents.

Yet despite the fact that most Jews form couples and that most of those couples consist of Jews partnering other Jews, intermarriage will no doubt remain a key topic of interest to most readers. This report brings the widest collection of British data that has ever been amassed on this topic.

This exploration of Jewish partnerships is a natural extension of JPR's report on Jewish households.[1] There we focused on the Jewish family life-cycle, highlighting the complex ways living arrangements change throughout one's life. Here the focus is limited to couples who live together. Yet this is itself a technical and complex topic that has not previously received the analytical attention it deserves. Here we substantially extend the findings on intermarriage we reported in our preliminary findings report based on JPR's 2013 National Jewish Community Survey (NJCS)[2] and update our first ever assessment of census data on this topic from 2001.[3] We also draw on the broader literature and on multiple data sources to provide historical context and comparisons from around the world.

This report therefore completes our analysis of Jewish families, of which intermarriage is very much a sub-topic. We explore Jewish partnerships in their myriad forms, as well as partnership dissolution, drawing on two primary sources: the 2011 Census conducted by the Office for National Statistics (ONS) and the 2013 National Jewish Community Survey conducted by JPR.

This is the first time it has been possible to bring a census and a nationwide communal survey together in an effort to understand the numbers underlying Jewish partnership formation in Great Britain. These two sources complement each other where the weakness of one are more than compensated for by the strengths of the other. And here is yet another example of the ways in which the Jewish community greatly benefits from the inclusion of a religion question in the national census.

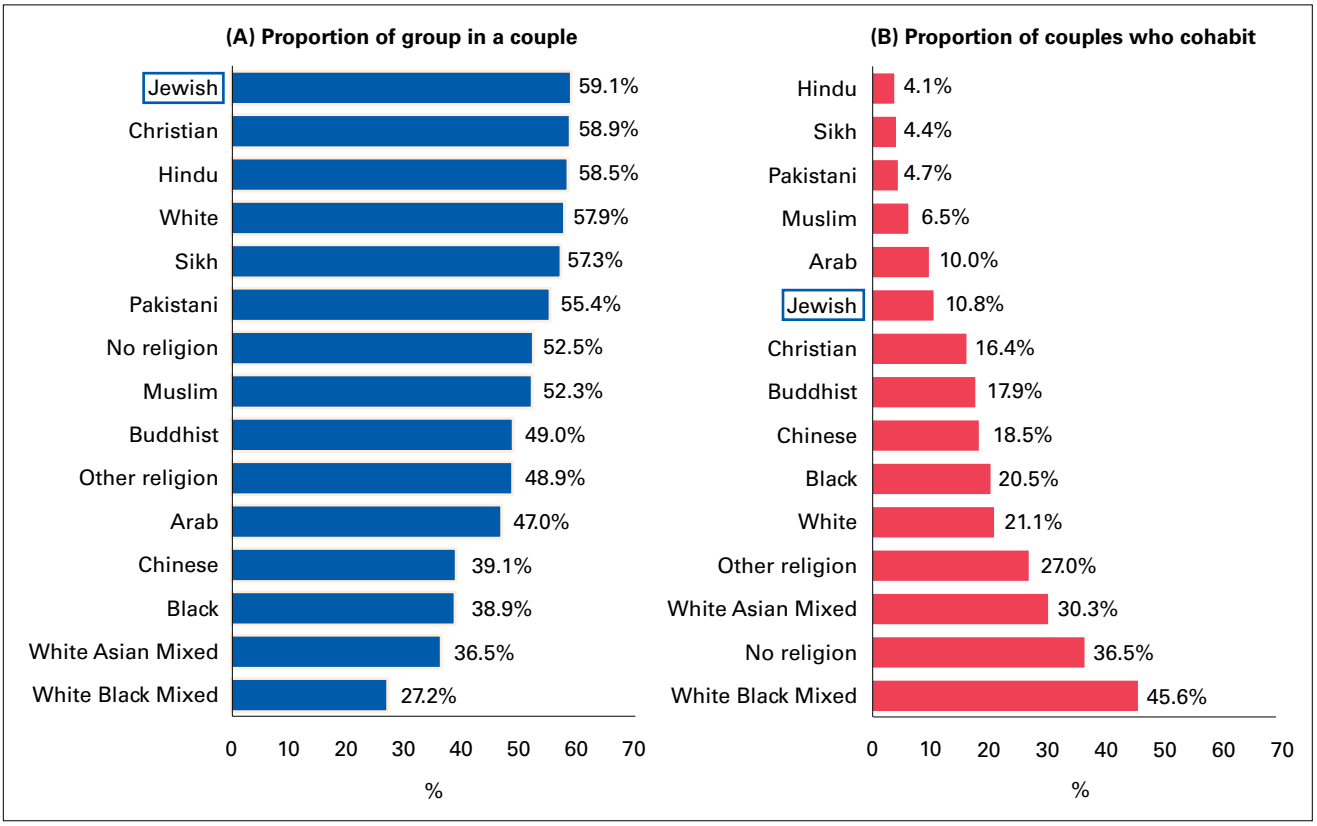
1 Graham, D. and Caputo, M.L. (2015). *Jewish families and Jewish households: Census insights about how we live*. London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research.
2 Graham, D., Staetsky, L.D. and Boyd, J. (2014). *Jews in the United Kingdom in 2013: Preliminary findings from the National Jewish Community Survey.* London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research, pp.19-21.
3 Graham, D., Schmool, M. and Waterman, S. (2007). *Jews in Britain: a snapshot from the 2001 Census*, London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research, pp.58-62.

Couples: marriage and cohabitation

Jews are more likely to live as couples than any other group in England and Wales, coming just ahead of Christians and Hindus (Figure 1 (A)). The fact that so many Jews are in couples is partly due to their older than average age profile and low male mortality, but it is also a reflection of a Jewish cultural norm to form families.[4] Of the six out of ten Jewish adults living in a couple (59%), most are married but 11% cohabit, although Jews are not the least likely group to do so.[5] Again a reflection of cultural norms, cohabitation is least common among Hindus, Sikhs, Pakistanis and other Muslims, and is most common among people of No Religion, of whom one in three adults in a couple cohabits (36%) and people with

Six out of ten Jewish adults live as couples, more than any other group

Figure 1. Proportion of adults in a couple by religious/ethnic group by couple type, England and Wales, 2011



Source: ONS 2011 Census SAR, all people aged 16 and above, N=1.28m

4 Graham, D. (2013). *A Tale of Two Jewish Populations*. London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research; Staetsky, L.D. (2011). "Mortality of British Jews at the Turn of the 20th Century in a Comparative Perspective," *European Journal of Population* 27:361-385.

5 Unless otherwise stated all references to married couples in this report include people in registered same sex civil partnerships (see footnote 13, page 9).

mixed Black and White ethnicity where almost half cohabit (46%).

Over the decade between the 2001 and 2011 Censuses, the number of Jews in partnerships increased only slightly, alongside a very small decline in the number of married Jews (Table 1). However, this largely static picture should be contrasted with a large increase in the total number of Jews cohabiting (up 17%), although cohabitees still only constitute 11% of all Jews in couples, up from 9% of all partnered Jews in 2001. Thus we have witnessed a small shift away from marriage and towards cohabitation, a pattern mirrored in the general population, albeit to a far greater extent.[6]

Table 1. Number of Jewish adults by partnership type, 2001 and 2011, England and Wales*

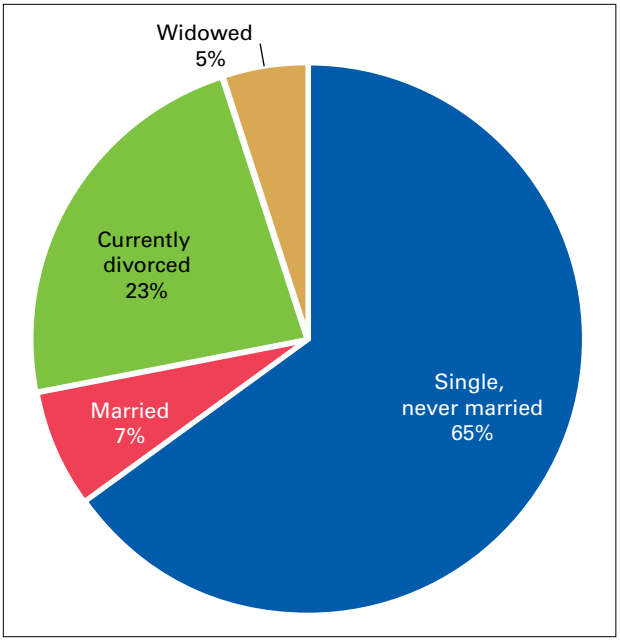
Total …	2001	2011	Change
… who are married	111,697	110,995	-<1%
… who cohabit	11,236	13,118	+17%
… in partnerships	122,933	124,113	+1%
… aged 16 and above	215,350	210,426	-2%

Source: ONS 2011 Census Tables CT0458, CT0459, CT0460, and CT0461, CT0291; and 2001 Census Tables C0400, C0629, and M277
* All Jews aged 16 and above. In Scotland a further 2,361 Jews are married and 346 cohabiting in 2011 (Source: NRS 2011 Census Tables AT048 and AT049)

Compared with marriage, cohabitation is different in type and in status. It holds no legal basis[7] and, as a result, tends to be a more fluid arrangement (for example, termination does not require the involvement of lawyers). This also means there is no legal status equivalent to 'divorced' for anyone who formerly cohabited, but cohabitees may be legally married to, or divorced from, someone else altogether. Of the 13,118 cohabiting Jews, two out of three (65%) were unmarried (i.e. 'single, never married') but one in three was either divorced (23%) or legally married to someone else (7% of all cohabitees) (Figure 2). This is largely what the picture looked like in 2001.[8]

The biggest change in partnerships that took place between 2001 and 2011 was a 17% increase in the number of Jews cohabiting

Figure 2. Partnership status of cohabiting Jews aged 16 and above, England and Wales, 2011 (N=13,118)



Source: Proportions derived from ONS 2011 SAR; N reference from 2011 Census Tables CT0460 and CT0461

Partnership type by age and Jewish identity

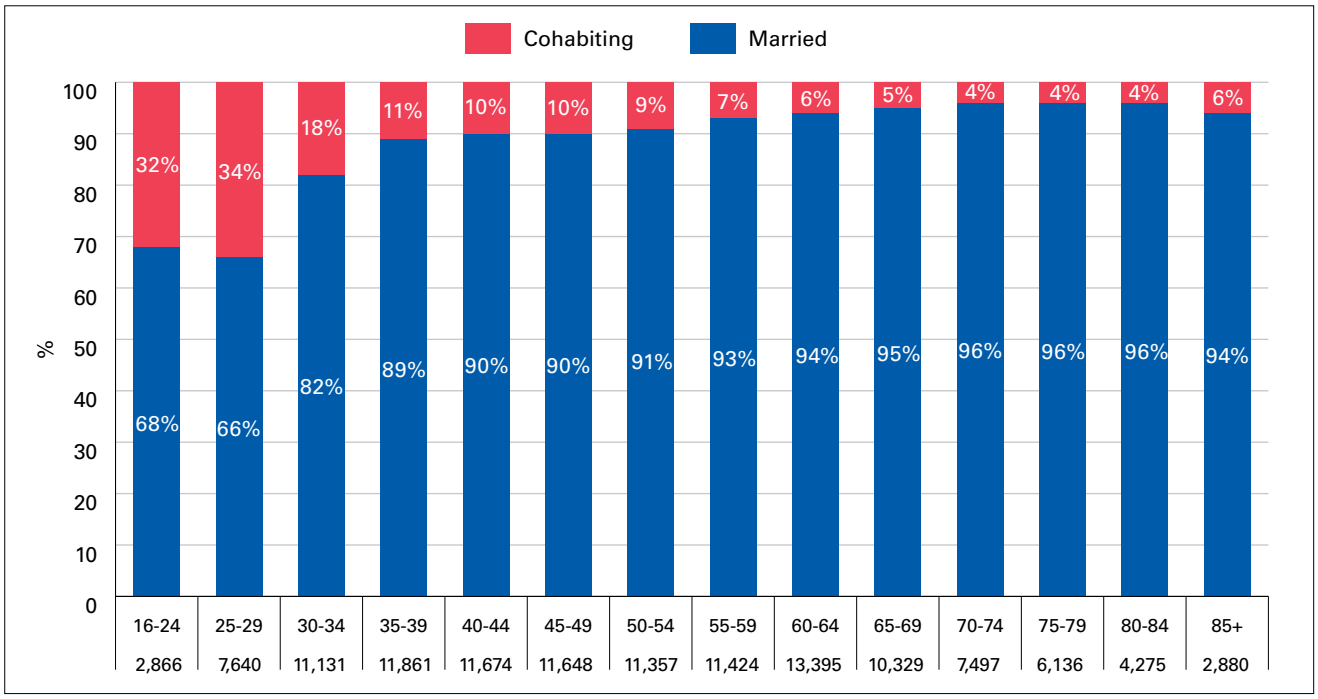
Younger Jews are more likely to cohabit than older Jews. Less than 10% of Jews aged 50 years and above cohabit, whereas over a third of those in their mid to late twenties do so (34%) (Figure 3). However, we can also see that the very youngest cohort bucks the trend, a result of Orthodox, and especially *haredi* (strictly Orthodox) Jews, marrying at very young ages and shunning cohabitation. Indeed, the likelihood of cohabitation is closely related to religious lifestyle.

6 The growth in cohabitation generally was twice the level as it was among Jews (for men: 18% Jews v 39% in general; for women: 15% Jews v 38% in general). Source ONS 2011 Census Tables CT0458, CT0459, CT0460, and CT0461; and 2001 Census Tables C0400 and C0629.

7 See for example: "'Common law marriage' and cohabitation", www.parliament.co.uk, February 2016.

8 Source 2001 SAR. The 2001 figures are: Single, never married: 67%; Legally married: 7%; Divorced: 22%; Widowed: 4%.

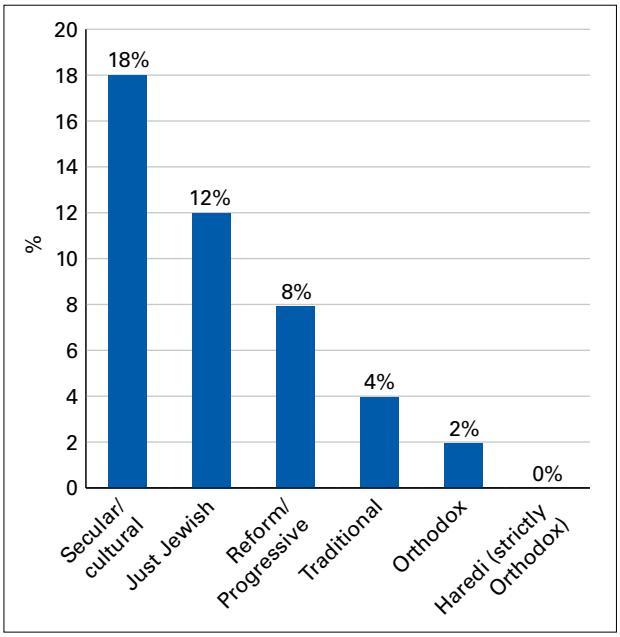
Figure 3. Proportion of all partnered Jews by age band and partnership type, England and Wales, 2011



Source: 2011 Census tables CT0458, CT0459, CT0460, and CT0461

The more secular a person defines him or herself, the more likely it is that they cohabit: almost one out of five (18%) secular/cultural Jews in a couple cohabits, compared with almost no Orthodox Jews (2%) and no haredi Jews (Figure 4).

Figure 4. Proportion of all Jewish people in partnerships who cohabit by type of Jewish practice



Source: NJCS 2013 N=2,505 (weighted)

Younger and more secular Jews are the most likely to cohabit

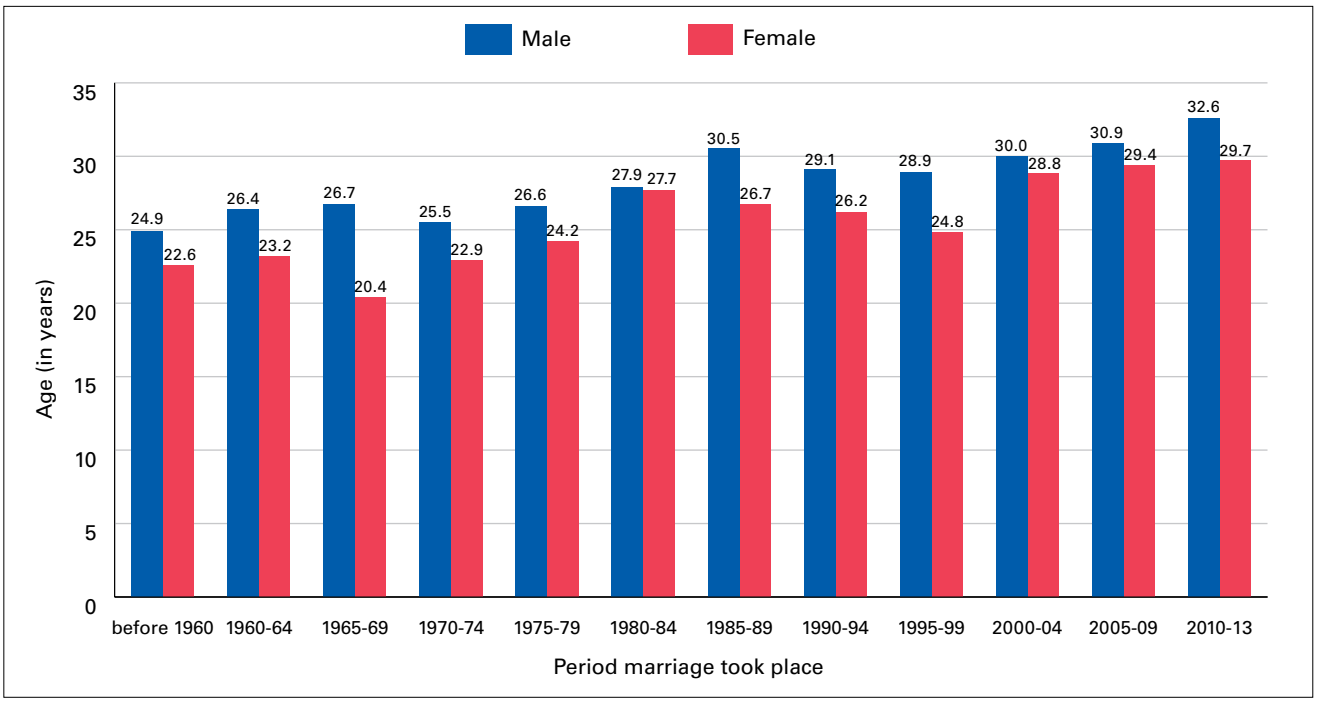
Age at marriage

Whilst married Jews are older than cohabiting Jews (54 years and 45 years respectively),[9] how old are Jews when they *first* marry? This is an important piece of demographic information, since younger marital age corresponds to higher levels of fertility. Since women tend to marry earlier than men, it is important to distinguish between the sexes. Our survey indicates that the average age at first marriage for Jewish men is 28.5 years and for women it is 26.5 years. However, this is not the full picture, since the age at first marriage has been steadily increasing over time, both for Jews and for the rest of the population.[10] In the early 1970s, on average, Jewish men first married at 25 years and Jewish women at 22 years (Figure 5). Twenty years

9 Source: 2011 Census Tables CT0458, CT0459, CT0460, and CT0461.

10 ONS 2014 *Statistical Bulletin Marriages in England and Wales* (Provisional), 2012, p.8.

Figure 5. Average age at first marriage by period marriage took place by sex

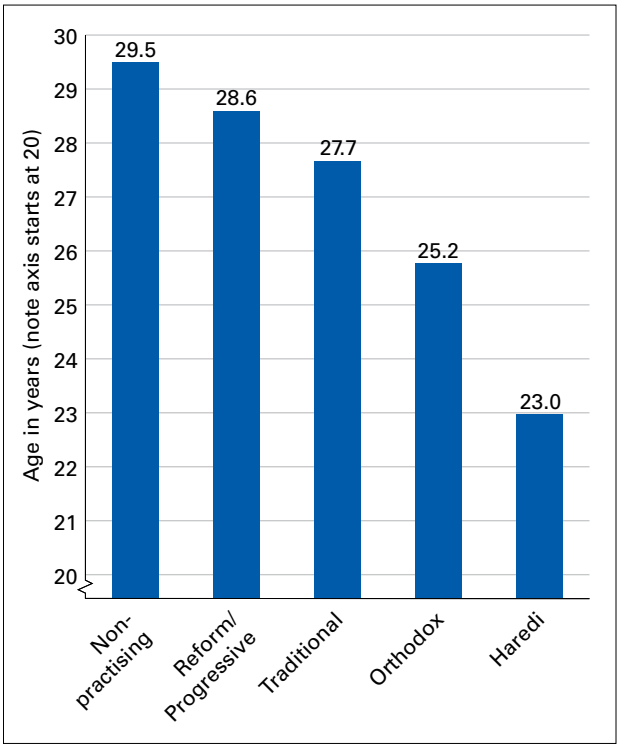


Source: NJCS 2013 N=2,048; data relate to all currently married and widowed respondents who have never been divorced.

later, in the early 1990s, men were marrying at 29 years and women at 26 years. By the most recent period (2010-2013) the average age at first marriage for Jewish men was 32 years and for Jewish women 29 years. This is very similar to the general picture in England and Wales today, with men marrying for the first time at age 32 and women at age 30.[11] This is the result of an upward creep in the average age at first marriage for both Jewish men and women, which has risen by seven years in just over one generation. It is a consequence of several social developments, including the mass entry of women into higher education and the professions and Jews increasingly opting to cohabit before marrying. Since Jews overwhelmingly restrict childbearing to within marriage,[12] the impact is likely to constrain Jewish fertility overall.

Age at marriage is closely associated with the type of Jewish lifestyle people choose to lead. Thus the more religious someone is, the younger they are likely to be at first marriage and vice versa. Non-practising Jews in our sample were almost 30 years old on average when they first got married, whereas haredi Jews were 23 years old (Figure 6).

Figure 6. Age at first marriage by current Jewish lifestyle



Source: NJCS 2013 N=1,781; data relate to all currently married respondents who have never been divorced.

11 ONS 2014, op. cit.

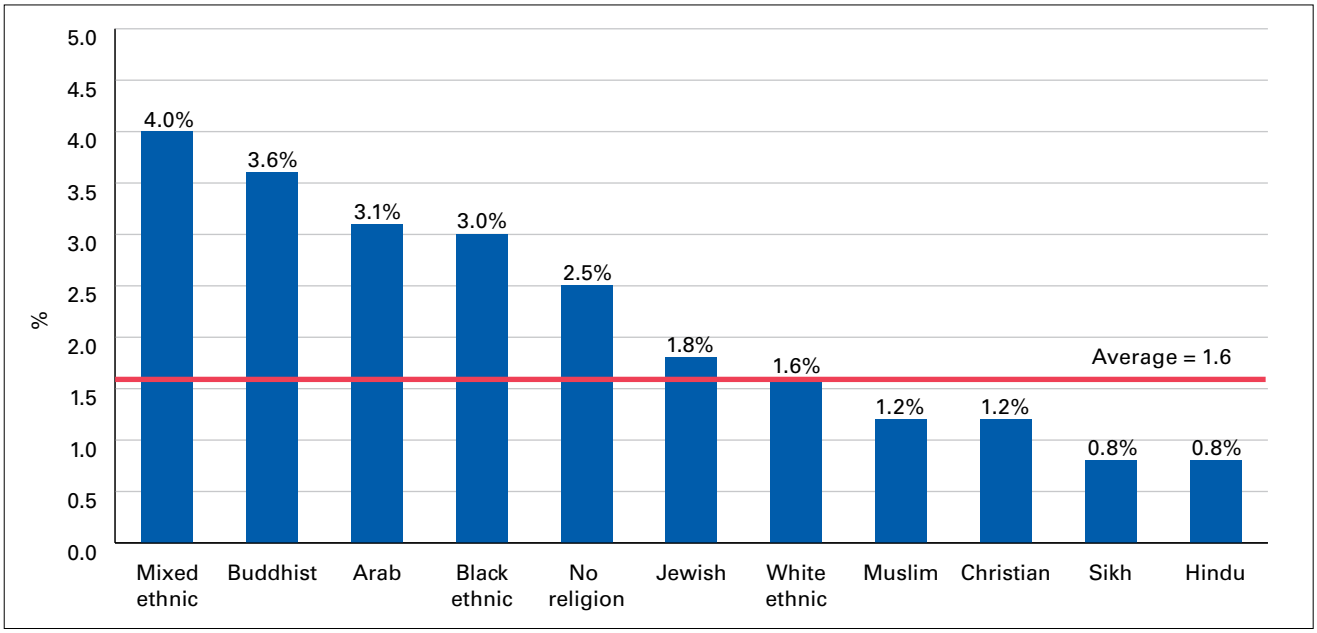
12 88% of Jewish children live in married couple households, compared with 3% who live in cohabiting couple households (Graham and Caputo, 2015, op. cit. p.23.).

Same sex couples

In 2011, the year the Census took place, same sex couples[13] were recorded either as civil partnerships or as cohabitions. Of the 124,113 partnered Jews in England and Wales, 1.8% reported being in a same sex couple, which we estimate to be about 2,200 people,[14] with a further 48 Jews of this status living in Scotland.[15] About one in three Jews living in a same sex couple was in a formal civil partnership. The prevalence of Jews in same sex couples is slightly higher than the national average of 1.6% and is notably higher than the Christian proportion (1.2%), which may reflect a more conservative attitude towards family formation among those who identify as Christian (Figure 7). Same sex couple prevalence is highest among people of mixed ethnicity (4.0%), as well as Buddhists (3.6%). It is lowest among people of Asian background, including Hindus and Sikhs.

Today the average age at first marriage for Jews is 32 for men and 29 for women. This is seven years older than it was in the 1970s

Figure 7. Same-sex couples as a proportion of all people in partnerships for selected religious and ethnic groups, England and Wales, 2011



Source: ONS 2011 Census SAR, N=1.28m

13 The legal status of same sex unions has been evolving in recent years. Prior to the introduction of the Civil Partnership Act 2004, same sex couples had no legal status and were therefore classified within the cohabitation data in the 2001 Census. With the introduction of the 2004 Act, same sex couples who registered a civil partnership were granted the same rights and responsibilities as married opposite-sex couples across the United Kingdom, though these were not marriages. Hence in the 2011 Census they are labelled Civil Partnerships. The Marriage (Same Sex Couples) Act 2013 made same sex marriage legal in England and Wales from March 2014 onwards, but since this postdates the 2011 Census, it is not relevant to this analysis.

14 2011 SAR and Table 1.

15 NRS Table AT050 2011 – Religion of people in (same sex) cohabiting couples by age, Scotland; Table AT047 2011 – Religion by marital status by sex, Scotland.

Intermarriage

Few statistics relating to Jewish partnerships garner more attention, nor generate as much debate as those relating to intermarriage. The marriage of Jews to non-Jews has always occurred[16] but only in the last generation have the statistics raised communal anxiety to a level where strategic programming has been sought as a response.[17] The main concern is that intermarried couples are far less likely to raise their children as Jewish, with the inevitable consequence of Jewish ethnic erosion. As Marshall Sklare wrote as early as 1970, "intermarriage strikes at the very core of Jewish group existence."[18] However, today there are widely differing views on how Jewish intermarriage should be interpreted and understood and perhaps more importantly, addressed by policy makers.

Is intermarriage good for the Jews?

It can and has been argued that intermarriage is good. From the top-down perspective of the 'melting pot,' intermarriage demonstrates ethnic harmony and successful social integration. For much of Jewish history such acceptance could only be dreamt of.[19] In this sense it is thought to be indicative of good race relations, and diminished racism, social and spatial segregation and intergroup antagonism.[20]

From a bottom-up perspective, it has even been suggested that far from threatening the survival of Jewish life, intermarriage could possibly sustain it. In America, data show intermarriage may have actually *enlarged* the Jewish population.[21] Citing figures from the 2012 Pew Research Center survey of Jewish Americans, Theodore Sasson has argued that a majority of young adults in the United States whose parents are intermarried identify as Jewish in some way (59%), as opposed to identifying as religious nones (no religion) or as non-Jews. Therefore, the Jewish population must have *increased* as a result of intermarriage, with the argument going something like this: if all couples have an average of two children each, then two in-married Jews will produce fewer children than two intermarried Jews—one couple will produce two children, versus two couples who will produce four children. Assuming all children of in-marriage are raised Jewish, if more than half of the children of intermarriage are raised Jewish then there will be numerically more Jewish children as a result of intermarriage than in-marriage. As Sasson points out, 59% is more than half.

However, both of these views—societal acceptance and Jewish demographic expansion—paint an overly optimistic picture of the outcome of intermarriage from the perspective of ethnic preservation, and can be countered by persuasive arguments and data. In terms of the top-down view, another word for social integration is assimilation, memorably highlighted by Milton M. Gordon's pivotal work on the subject, in which he wrote that acceptance into a society

16 See, for example, Barron, M.L. (1946). "The incidence of Jewish intermarriage in Europe and America," *American Sociological Review* 11 (1) 6-13; Sklare, M. (1970). "Intermarriage and Jewish Survival," *Commentary* 49:3 pp.51-58; Wirth, L. (1956) (first published 1928). *The Ghetto*. Chicago: Phoenix Books, The University of Chicago Press, p.67.

17 Kahn-Harris, K. and Gidley, B. (2010). *Turbulent Times: The British Jewish Community Today*. London: Continuum; Sacks, J. (1995) (first published 1994). *Will We Have Jewish Grandchildren: Jewish Continuity and how to achieve it*. London: Vallentine Mitchell.

18 Sklare, op. cit. p.51.

19 Roth, C. (1978) (first published 1941). *A History of the Jews in England*. Oxford: Clarendon Press; Wirth, op. cit.; Lipman, V.D. (1990). *A History of the Jews in Britain since 1858*. Leicester University Press.

20 Qian, Z. and Lichter, D.T. (2007). "Social Boundaries and Marital Assimilation: Interpreting Trends in Racial and Ethnic Intermarriage," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 72 (February:68-94).

21 Sasson, T. (2013). "New Analysis Of Pew Data: Children of Intermarriage Increasingly Identify as Jews," *Tablet Magazine*, November 11th.

through intermarriage comes at a price, the price being "the disappearance of the ethnic group as a separate entity and the evaporation of its distinctive values."[22] Equating intermarriage with disappearance, or at least ethnic erosion, is why so many Jewish leaders, and parents, argue that it is a highly troubling phenomenon.[23]

Looking at the issue from the bottom-up shows that far from expanding the community, intermarriage is demographically corrosive. That is because expansion depends on the assumption that the children of intermarried Jews share the same level of Jewish commitment as the children of in-married Jews. But this is empirically not the case. Children of intermarriages who identify as Jewish do so very weakly.[24] As Steven M. Cohen points out, the very same Pew data analysed by Sasson show that Jewishly identifying adult children of intermarried Jews are not raising their own children as Jewish by religion or otherwise, not least because they are highly unlikely to marry a Jew themselves.[25]

As we will see below, this report adds the British experience to this debate, although before looking at the data, a technical note is required. From the outset the topic is beset by problems of nomenclature. As we have already seen, many Jews in couples cohabit with non-Jewish partners, so the term *intermarriage* is inaccurate if used to describe these people. Due to this and several other inaccuracies,[26] sociologists generally use the term 'exogamy' (meaning outside the group) and contrast this with 'endogamy' (inside the group). These two terms are used here, as is the more colloquial term *intermarriage* when appropriate and meaningful.

The prevalence of intermarriage

There are different ways to measure intermarriage but they essentially boil down to two approaches: prevalence and rate. The prevalence of intermarriage relates to the whole population of intermarried people, i.e. all people who are currently intermarried; whereas the intermarriage rate is time specific and relates to all people who intermarried in a particular time period.

Turning first to prevalence, what proportion of Jews in England and Wales is intermarried? According to the 2011 Census, three out of four married Jews (75%) have a Jewish spouse (endogamous), and a further 15% are out-married (exogamous), the vast majority of whom are Christian (93%).[27] Yet this still leaves a further 10% of married Jews whose spouse reported 'No Religion,' or whose religion was 'Not Stated,' presenting a classification dilemma. Are these endogamous or exogamous Jews?

Both the census and survey data provide evidence indicating that some people who reported 'No Religion' or 'Religion Not Stated' in the 2011 Census nevertheless reported Jewish by ethnic or cultural group. This was equivalent to 2.5% of the 'Jewish by religion' population.[28] Further evidence suggests that relatively few of these people were actually partnered.[29] In addition, we know that the

22 Gordon, M.M. (1964). *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.80-81.

23 Sacks, op. cit.; Cohen, S.M. (2006). 'A tale of two Jewries: The "inconvenient truth" for American Jews.' Jewish Life Network/Steinhardt Foundation, New York, pp.11-12; Wasserstein, B. (1996). *Vanishing Diaspora: The Jews in Europe Since 1945*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

24 Phillips, B.A. (1997). *Re-examining Intermarriage: Trends, Textures, Strategies*. Los Angeles, CA: The Wilstein Institute of Jewish Policy Studies and The American Jewish Committee, p.30.

25 Cohen S.M. 'Can Intermarriage Lead to an Increase in the Number of Jews in America?', *Mosaic Magazine*, November 9, 2015.

26 Other labels present difficulties. The opposite of intermarriage is technically '*intramarriage*,' but more usually the term *in-marriage* is used. But the opposite of in-marriage is out-marriage, not intermarriage. Separately, intermarriage also implies that a marriage is current and that the non-Jewish partner is a 'non-Jew.' The term therefore not only excludes cohabiting couples but it also glosses over the identity of the 'other' partner who may have No Religion, a potentially ambiguous category in this context.

27 Source: see note to Table 2.

28 In the 2011 Census 2,225 people who reported 'Religion Not Stated' and a further 4,297 people who reported 'No Religion' nevertheless identified as Jewish by ethnic group. But without further and costly investigation we do not know how many of these 6,522 people is partnered, let alone endogamous to Jews, or even adults: 23% of all No Religion respondents and 21% of all Not Stated respondents were aged under 16 in 2011 (Source: ONS 2011 Census Tables CT0291 and CT0275).

29 NJCS 2013 suggested that up to 9% of adult Jews reported 'No Religion' in the 2011 Census rather than 'Jewish,' of whom only 38% were married. Further, we do not know how many of these people reported their ethnic group as Jewish.

Table 2. All partnered Jews by religion of partner and partnership type, total counts and percentages, England and Wales, 2011

Religion of partner*	Married		Cohabiting		Total	
	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent
Jewish	83,494	78%	3,908	32%	87,402	73%
No Religion	8,001	7%	3,415	28%	11,416	10%
Not Jewish	16,239	15%	4,896	40%	21,135	18%
Total	**107,734**	**100%**	**13,118**	**100%**	**119,953**	**100%**

* Data exclude 3,261 married Jews and 899 cohabiting Jews with partners who did not report a religion (Not Stated). Columns may not sum to 100% due to rounding. Source: ONS 2011 Census Tables CT0458, CT0459, CT0460, and CT0461.

huge rise in people reporting No Religion between 2001 and 2011 has been linked to the concomitant decline in people reporting Christianity (especially Anglicanism).[30] All of this strongly suggests that *Jews with partners of No Religion should be interpreted as being exogamous*, whereas Jews with partners whose religion is Not Stated should be considered non-respondents (the census question on religion being voluntary). Therefore, these people have been excluded from prevalence calculations but included in footnotes to tables. Though this approach may exclude some endogamous couples, they would be few in number and highly unlikely to change the overall picture of intermarriage.

Taking this approach to the census data, we calculate the prevalence of marital endogamy to be 78%, and exogamy to be 22% (Table 2). By contrast, the prevalence of exogamy among cohabiting Jews is far higher. Less than one out of three cohabiting Jews has a Jewish partner (32%) and two out of five has a non-Jewish partner (40%) of whom a majority is Christian (93%). So overall, the prevalence of exogamy among cohabiting Jews is 68% (Table 2).

30 Between 2001 and 2011 the number of people opting for 'No Religion' in the census increased by 83% in England and Wales (ONS 2011 Tables KS209 and 2001 KS07). Census and survey data show this significant rise in 'No Religion' runs alongside a concomitant decline in Anglicanism (Park, A., Curtice, J. and Utting, D. (2012). *British Social Attitudes* #28, NatCen p.180). Longitudinal census data point to the same conclusion: most of the growth in No Religion is accounted for by Christians in 2001 switching to 'No Religion' in 2011 (see: Simpson, L., Jivraj, S. and Warren, J. (2014). *The stability of ethnic group and religion in the Censuses of England and Wales 2001-2011*, Manchester: The Cathie Marsh Centre for Census and Survey Research, p.23).

Among married Jews, 78% are in-married and 22% are intermarried. Among cohabiting Jews, 32% are endogamous and 68% are exogamous

Thus, 21,135 Jews have non-Jewish partners (mainly Christian); a further 11,416 have partners of No Religion; and 4,160 have partners who did not state a religion in the 2011 Census. As noted, there is compelling evidence indicating that the vast majority of these Jews are in exogamous partnerships, suggesting that up to 36,711 Jews have non-Jewish partners. This is the equivalent to 17% of the entire adult Jewish population. (The number of children in this category is discussed below.)

At least 32,500 Jews had non-Jewish partners in 2011

Why are the patterns of exogamy between married and cohabiting Jews so different? We noted above that cohabitation is a more fluid and less committed form of partnership than marriage and is more attractive to younger and less religious Jews. This alone would make exogamy a more likely outcome than endogamy. Given the large increase in cohabitation between 2001

and 2011 (up 17%, Table 1) this is something that could become an increasingly central factor in communal life. However, there are important and, at this point, unanswered questions about whether or not exogamous cohabitation necessarily leads to marital exogamy.

How does the prevalence of intermarriage in Britain compare with other Jewish communities elsewhere? Although direct comparisons can be problematic due to differing methodologies, some comparisons can be made especially where similar census questions are asked. For example, in Australia marital endogamy is only slightly more prevalent at 80%,[31] compared with England and Wales (78%, Table 2). But compared with the United States (where there is no religion question in the census), survey data indicate the prevalence of marital endogamy is 56%,[32] i.e. far lower than in either Britain or Australia.

Change in intermarriage, 2001 to 2011

Did the total number of intermarried Jews in England and Wales increase between the last two censuses? Although direct comparisons are complicated by definitional changes,[33] overall the number of Jews married to other Jews (endogamy) declined but only slightly (down 2%) (Table 3). However, the question of whether the number of intermarriages concomitantly increased depends on how we classify exogamy. The number of Jews reporting a non-Jewish spouse declined by 10%, but the number of Jews with spouses of No Religion increased by 44%, most of whom will have been non-Jews. As discussed (see footnote 30), between 2001 and 2011 there was a substantial movement away from people reporting Christian and towards reporting No Religion, and we find that in 2011 there were 1,824 fewer Jews with non-Jewish partners but 2,454 more Jews with partners of No Religion, so it is reasonable to view this as an increase in exogamy. Thus, the overall picture can be summarised as a small movement towards marital exogamy: endogamy declined by 2%, whilst exogamy (non-Jewish or No Religion spouses) rose by 3%.

Between 2001 and 2011 the Jewish married population became slightly more exogamous, whereas cohabiting Jews became more endogamous

Among cohabiting Jews, there were 29% more endogamous Jews but also 9% more exogamous Jews (the combined change of No Religion and Not Jewish partners), indicating there was a net shift away from exogamy in this group (Table 3) (see discussion below).

Looking at the proportional data, despite the increase in the number of exogamous Jews between 2001 and 2011, there was little change in the likelihood of intermarriage overall. Endogamy accounted for 78% of all married Jews in 2011, the same as in 2001 (Table 4). The main change, as noted, was due to the shift in exogamous partners from reporting Christian to reporting No Religion, reflecting a now familiar story—British society, as a whole, shifting away from organised religion (especially Christianity) and towards No Religion.

A slightly different picture emerges among cohabiting Jews. Here there was also a shift among exogamous partners reporting Christian to No

31 Graham, D. (2014). *The Jewish Population of Australia: Key findings from the 2011 Census*. Sydney: JCA; and Melbourne: Monash University Australian Centre for Jewish Civilisation, p.20, Table 9 (excluding non-response).

32 Pew Research Center (2013). *A Portrait of Jewish Americans: Findings from a Pew Research Center Survey of U.S. Jews*. Washington DC, p.36.

33 The introduction of civil partnership legislation in 2004 legalising same sex unions complicates comparisons of partnership data between 2001 and 2011. Marital endogamy data in 2011 will be slightly inflated compared with 2001 data since they include a very small number of endogamous same-sex Jews in civil partnerships who were counted as cohabitees in 2001. Another technicality relates to the unit of marriage, which in 2001 related to male/female couples but in 2011 relates to male/female, male/male and female/female couples, complicating direct comparisons. For example, in 2001, 42,687 Jewish men were married to Jewish women, but in 2011 41,761 Jewish men were classified as having Jewish spouses (male or female), compared with 41,733 Jewish women with male or female spouses. Since the number of Jews in same sex couples is very small (see page 9) we believe direct comparisons are broadly robust.

Table 3. Change in total number of Jews in partnerships by type and religion of partner, 2001 and 2011, England and Wales

Married Jews	Religion of partner*	2001	2011	Percent change
	Jewish	85,374	83,494	-2%
	No Religion	5,547	8,001	44%
	Not Jewish	18,063	16,239	-10%
	Total	**108,984**	**107,734**	**-1%**
Cohabiting Jews	Religion of partner	2001	2011	Percent change
	Jewish	3,020	3,908	29%
	No Religion	2,502	3,415	36%
	Not Jewish	5,120	4,896	-4%
	Total	**10,642**	**12,219**	**15%**

* In addition, in 2001 there were 2,713 married Jews and 594 cohabiting Jews with partners who did not report a religion (Not Stated). The equivalent figures for 2011 were 3,261 and 899 respectively. Source: ONS 2001 Tables C0400, C0629; 2011 Tables CT0458, CT0459, CT0460, CT0461.

Table 4. Prevalence of endogamy and exogamy among married and cohabiting Jews, 2001 to 2011, England and Wales

Married Jews	Religion of partner	2001 (N=108,984)	2011 (N=107,734)
	Jewish	78%	78%
	No Religion	5%	7%
	Not Jewish	17%	15%
	Total	**100%**	**100%**
Cohabiting Jews	Religion of partner	2001 (N=10,642)	2011 (N=12,219)
	Jewish	28%	32%
	No Religion	24%	28%
	Not Jewish	48%	40%
	Total	**100%**	**100%**

Source: ONS 2001 Tables C0400, C0629; 2011 Tables CT0458, CT0459, CT0460, CT0461.

Religion, but in addition, endogamy increased from 28% to 32% of all such partnerships (Table 4) which, as we saw, was an absolute rise of 29% (Table 3). Why might this increase in cohabitational endogamy have occurred? It is possible that as cohabitation has become more common generally, Jews who would previously have not considered premarital cohabitation as acceptable now attach less stigma to this arrangement.

In summary, marital exogamy increased very slightly between the 2001 and 2011 Censuses (from 21.7% to 22.5%), whereas exogamous cohabitation *decreased* from 72% to 68%. Yet since only about 11% of partnered Jews cohabit, the overall picture is more or less static—up from 26% in 2001 to 27% in 2011. These definitive census figures strongly suggest that the doom-laden predictions of the 1990s about accelerating intermarriage have not come to pass.[34]

34 Sacks, op. cit.; Kahn-Harris and Gidley (2010), op. cit.

Doom-laden predictions of rampant intermarriage have not come to pass

Can we therefore conclude that intermarriage is now stable and that communal anxiety is no longer warranted, assuming it was ever warranted in the past? Indeed, have communal intervention programmes such as mass Jewish schooling and trips to Israel finally turned the intermarriage tide?[35] In order to draw such conclusions we need more than census data because, whilst the census is second-to-none in providing data on the *prevalence* of intermarriage (the size of the current intermarried population), it is less useful when it

35 Saxe, L., Phillips, B., Sasson, T., Hecht, S., Shain, M., Wright, G., Kadushin, C. (2011). "Intermarriage: The Impact and Lessons of Taglit-Birthright Israel, *Contemporary Jewry* (31), 151-172.

comes to measuring the *intermarriage rate* (change in the number of intermarriages over time). Only survey data can provide this information.[36]

Estimating the intermarriage rate

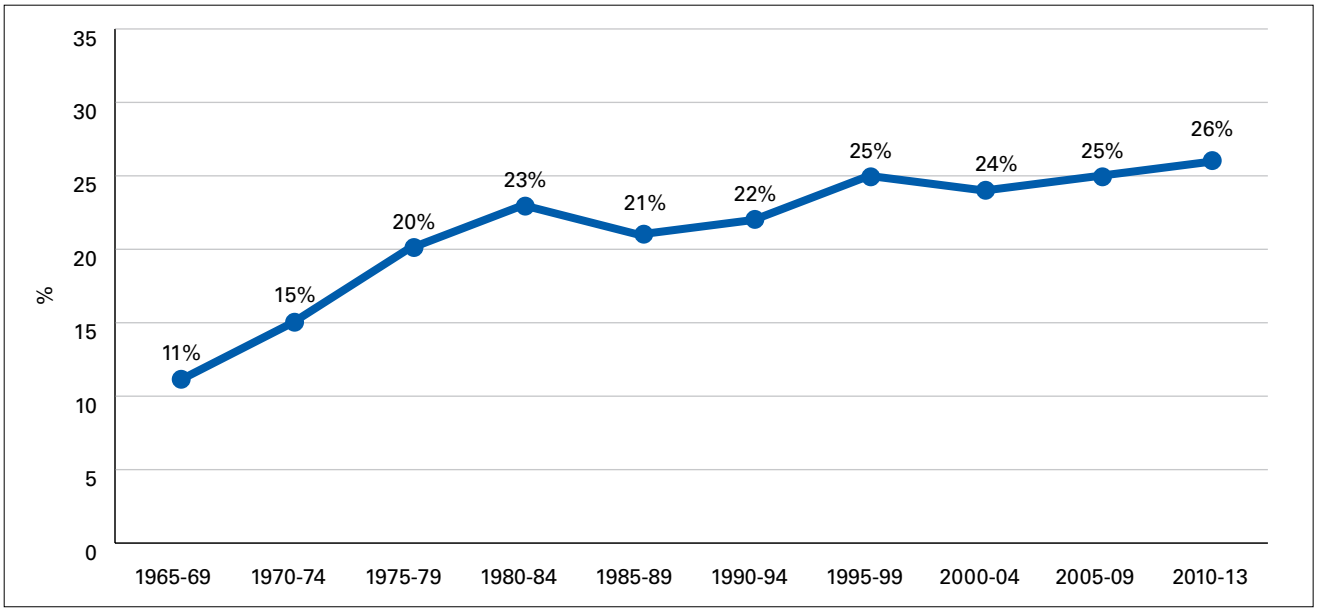
In the preliminary findings report from JPR's 2013 National Jewish Community Survey, we stated that "the steep rise in the prevalence of intermarriage which took place prior to the 1980s has slowed considerably, and is now almost 'flat'."[37] We also said that this finding was worthy of further investigation in the future. Evidently, the census data do seem to back up the survey finding that intermarriage is stable—at least in the recent period, since there are no census data on religion (and therefore on intermarriage) prior to 2001.

Nevertheless, whilst the picture shows no sign of recent runaway intermarriage, it is apparent that since at least the early 1970s, the intermarriage rate has been steadily rising (Figure 8). The rate of increase was steepest from 1965 to 1984, (more than doubling in that period from 11% to 23%) but since then has risen more gradually. In the most recent period (2010-2013) it stood at 26%, the highest level to date.

At 26% the intermarriage rate is the highest in a generation. However, it has only risen very slowly since the late 1980s

To provide some context, we can directly compare these figures with those recently published in the United States. It is apparent that for almost fifty years the US intermarriage rate has been around twice that of the UK (Figure 9). This said, the US experienced a substantial rise from

Figure 8. Intermarriage rate by period marriage took place*

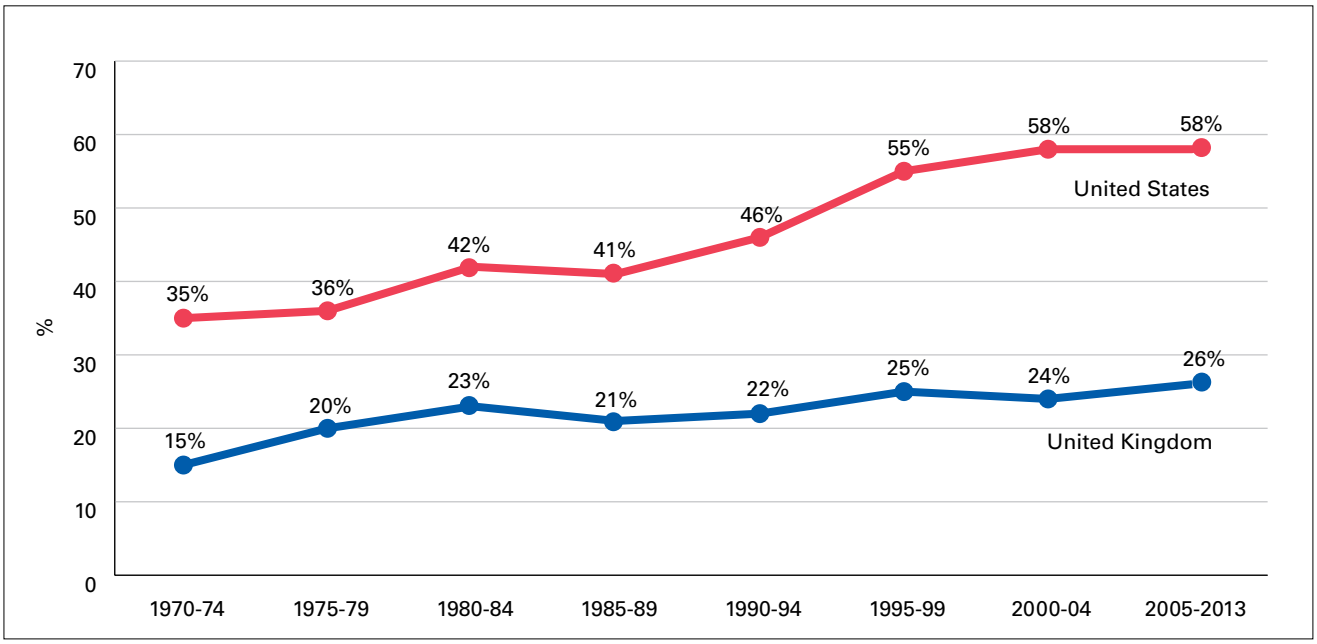


* NJCS 2013, N=2,077 (weighted). Relates to all currently married respondents who are living with their spouse. The data only include people in their first and only marriage, and exclude any first marriages that had been terminated by separation or death as of 2013.

36 In practice, there are numerous challenges associated with measuring intermarriage rates. Although in the following section data are referred to as rates, they are really *estimates of rates* (or best available approximation of incidence), since these data were captured at one point in time, rather than at regular time intervals. They therefore exclude marriages that are no longer intact, as a result of death, divorce or separation. Thus there is a possibility these estimates are not as robust as they could theoretically be. We must also accept that survey data are likely to understate intermarriage levels relative to census data

37 Graham, Staetsky and Boyd (2014), op. cit. p.20.

Figure 9. Intermarriage rate by period marriage took place, the United Kingdom and the United States



Source: JPR NJCS 2013 (UK); Pew 2012 op cit p35 (US)

the mid-1980s to the mid-1990s which was not mirrored in the UK, suggesting different social processes may be operating in each country. Yet it is notable that both communities have experienced only a minimal increase over the last twenty years or so. Why is intermarriage slowing down, and does one explanation apply to both countries? This is not a question that has an obvious answer, but one thing does seem clear: it is unlikely to be related to the impact of any boost to Jewish educational programming that might have occurred since intermarriage became the number one communal anxiety—such as Jewish school expansion and trips to Israel—since the intermarriage slowdown pre-dates the main communal intervention drives.[38] Evidently, more work is required to explore what social processes are operating that might explain why the increase in the intermarriage rate has slowed to a virtual halt in the US and the UK over the last two decades.

The intermarriage rate in the US is consistently twice as high as in the UK

Intermarriage by sex and age

Just as Jews who marry exhibit different patterns of exogamy to those who cohabit (Table 2), so too do Jewish men when compared with Jewish women. Although there is little difference in the propensity of Jewish men and women to have an endogamous partner (for example, 77% of married men are endogamous, compared with 78% of married women), men are more likely to have a partner who is non-Jewish and women are more likely to have a partner who reports No Religion (Table 5). This trend was also seen in 2001 and has been previously noted in the US and in the 2011 Australian Census data.[39]

In part, this is the result of differences in the way men and women choose to identify religiously, in that men are far more likely than women to report No Religion. For example, in 2011, for every 100

38 Kahn-Harris and Gidley (2010), op. cit.; Saxe, L., Kadushin, C., Kelner, S., Rosen, M.I. and Yereslove, E. (2002). *A Mega-Experiment in Jewish Education: the impact of birthright israel, birthright israel* [sic], Research Report 3, The Cohen Centre for Modern Jewish Studies, Brandeis University: Waltham, Massachusetts.

39 Graham, Schmool and Waterman (2007), op. cit. p.60; Kosmin, B.A., Lerer, N. and Mayer, E. (1989). *Intermarriage divorce and remarriage among American Jews 1982-87*, North American Jewish Data Bank, Family Research Series, No. 1 August 1989, p.12; Source: Graham, D. (2014), op. cit., p.20.

females of No Religion, there were 122 men of No Religion. Among people aged 40 to 79 years, the ages between which marriage is most common, the ratio is 100 females to 150 males,[40] i.e. Jewish women are simply more likely to meet a partner who declares 'No Religion' than are Jewish men.

Table 5. Intermarriage by sex, married and cohabiting Jews, England and Wales 2011

Religion of Partner*	Married		Cohabiting	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
Jewish	77%	78%	32%	32%
No Religion	6%	9%	24%	32%
Not Jewish	17%	13%	44%	36%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
N	54,125	53,609	6,190	6,029

* In addition there were 1,643 married Jewish males, 1,618 married Jewish females, 443 cohabiting Jewish males and 456 cohabiting Jewish females with partners who did not report a religion (Not Stated). Source: ONS 2011 Census Tables CT0458, CT0459, CT0460, and CT0461.

Jewish men have non-Jewish wives; Jewish women have No Religion husbands

It is also the case that age is closely related to the likelihood of being intermarried. Marital exogamy is most likely to occur among people in their forties, where almost one in three married Jews has a spouse who is not Jewish or who reported No Religion (30%) (Figure 10A). Beyond that age marital endogamy becomes increasingly likely, but it is most prevalent among Jews aged under 25 years where it reaches over 90%. This very high level of endogamy is due to the fact that most Jews marrying at such young ages are Orthodox or haredi (page 8).

For cohabiting Jews the relationship between age and exogamy is similar (Figure 10B). Initially exogamy increases with age, peaking at 78% among people in their late forties, before declining steadily. Yet it is not until we reach cohabitees in their late seventies that we find more than 50% of the cohort is endogamous.

40 ONS 2011 Census Table DC2107EW.

Intermarriage is highest among Jews aged 40-44

Children of intermarried couples

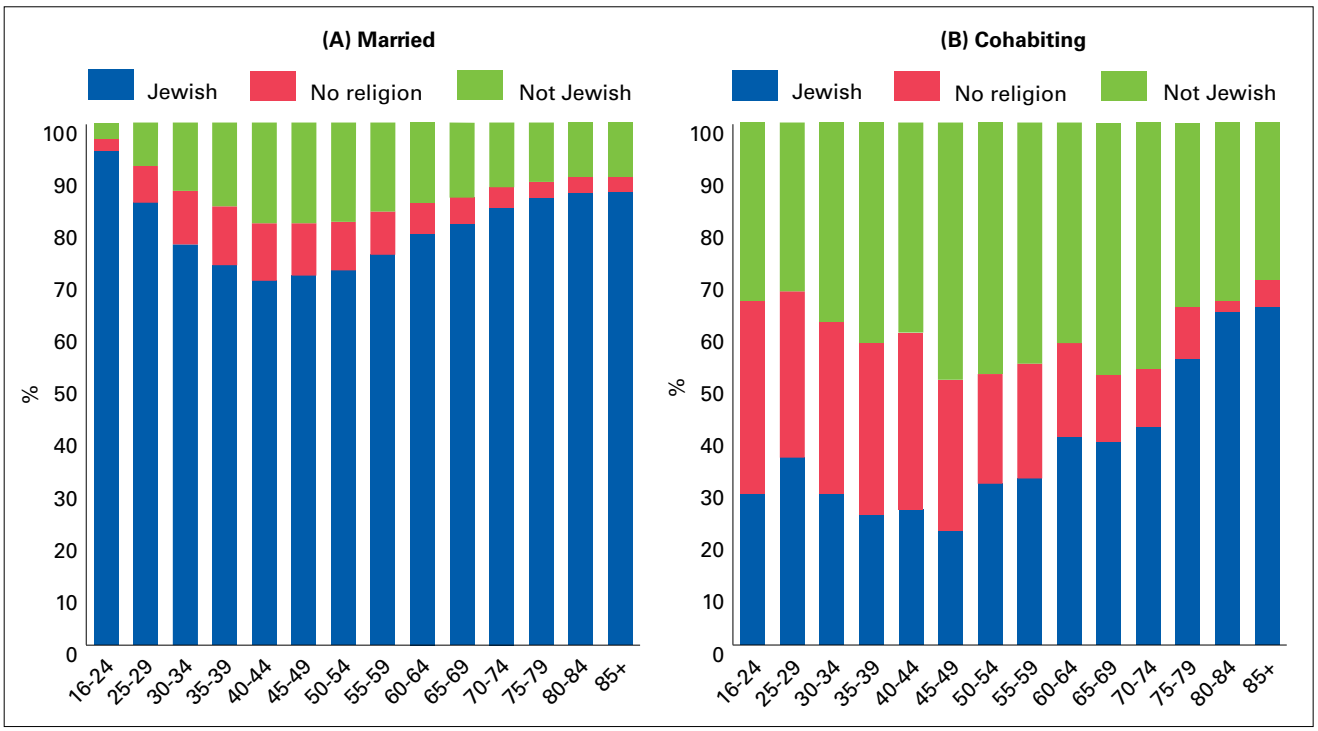
Much of the anxiety about intermarriage stems from concerns that children of intermarried parents are far less likely to be raised Jewish than children of in-married parents. This is because the family is the central mechanism of transmission of Jewish identity. As Sidney Goldstein has previously explained, "Marriage and the family have been the basic institutions for Judaism, playing a key role in providing for the future, first through reproduction and then by serving as major agents of socialisation and the transmission of values, attitudes, goals and aspirations."[41] An understanding of the extent to which Jewishness is being 'transmitted' from parents to children can be obtained from census data and this shows that children of endogamous Jews are far more likely to be raised Jewish than children of exogamous Jews.

Using the religion reported for the youngest dependent child as a proxy for the religion of any other children in the household, we find that when both parents are Jewish, almost all children (96%) are reported as Jewish, i.e. they are being raised as Jews. But this proportion decreases to 31% when one of the parents is not Jewish (not Jewish or No Religion). In other words, intermarried Jews are three times less likely to raise Jewish children than in-married Jews. When one parent is Jewish and one parent reports No Religion, the proportion is slightly higher at 41% not being raised Jewish, but when one parent is not Jewish (again mainly Christian), then just a quarter (25%) of the children are raised as Jews (Table 6).

The data also show that the gender of the Jewish parent in exogamous couples makes a big difference to the likelihood of children being raised Jewish. For Jewish women married to non-Jewish men, 44% are raising their children as Jews, but for Jewish men married to non-Jewish women, just 10% are raising Jewish children (Table 7). A

41 Goldstein, S. (1993) *Profile of American Jewry: Insights from the 1990 National Jewish Population Survey*, Occasional Papers No 6, CUNY, New York, p.116.

Figure 10. Religion of partner by age, married (A) and cohabiting (B) Jews, England and Wales, 2011*



* Jews whose partner reported Not Stated are not included. The relationship between age and religion Not Stated is fairly stable across age groups, running at between 6% and 8% from age 18 to 80, rising to 10% for people in their late nineties (Census Table CT0291). Source: ONS 2011 Census tables CT0458, CT0459, CT0460, and CT0461.

Table 6. Total number and religion of children* by religion of each parent, England and Wales, 2011

Religion of parents	Total number of children	Number raised Jewish	Proportion Jewish
Both parents Jewish	42,142	40,562	96%
One parent Jewish, one parent No Religion	6,978	2,869	41%
One parent Jewish, one parent Not Jewish	12,426	3,102	25%
One parent Jewish, one parent religion not stated	2,487	1,218	49%
Totals	**64,033**	**47,751**	**75%**

* Data relate to all dependent children in married couple families with at least one Jewish parent. The religion of the child relates to the youngest child present. Source: ONS Census Tables CT0577 and CT0578.

similarly wide gap exists for exogamous couples where one spouse has No Religion. Put simply, intermarried men are four times less likely to raise their children as Jewish than intermarried women.

The 2011 Australian Census provides a tremendous opportunity to compare these figures and what we find is remarkable similarity. Among endogamous couples in both countries almost all children are being raised Jewish (Table 8). We also see that when an exogamous parent is not Jewish, they are less likely to raise Jewish children than when they report No Religion. The propensities are slightly lower in England and Wales than in Australia, and further work is required to establish

Intermarried Jews are three times less likely to raise Jewish children than in-married Jews

Table 7. Total number and religion of children* by religion and sex of each parent, England and Wales, 2011

	Total number of children	Number raised Jewish	Proportion raised Jewish
Father Jewish, Mother No Religion	2,746	459	17%
Mother Jewish, Father No Religion	4,232	2,410	57%
Father Jewish, Mother Not Jewish	7,106	742	10%
Mother Jewish, Father Not Jewish	5,320	2,360	44%

* Data relate to all dependent children in married couple families with at least one Jewish parent. The religion of the child relates to the youngest child present. Source: ONS Census Tables CT0577 and CT0578.

Intermarried men are four times less likely to raise Jewish children than intermarried women

why this might be the case. But we can also see that the gender bias is virtually mirrored in both countries, with exogamous Jewish men being four times less likely to raise Jewish children than intermarried Jewish women.

Whilst the religion in which children are raised provides a good indication of the extent to which they are likely to participate in Jewish life as adults, it is nevertheless instructive to understand whether the adult children of exogamous couples are themselves exogamous. Survey data can shed some light on this question and these indicate large differences in the likelihood of endogamous and exogamous couples having intermarried children. Among endogamous couples with children above school age, 26% reported having at least one out-married child, compared with 48% of exogamous couples.[42] Although this is likely to be an underestimate (since less engaged Jews were less likely to participate in the survey), it does

42 NJCS 2013, N=1,892. Pearson Chi-Square test significant at 99%. The data are imperfect as they do not indicate whether couples had any other endogamous children, or how many of their children were exogamous. They also assume that the children in question were born and raised by the respondents (i.e. the parent's exogamous status may have changed since raising children).

Table 8. Proportion of children being raised Jewish by religion and sex of parents, England and Wales and Australia

Religion of parents	England and Wales, 2011 Census	Australia, 2011 Census
Both parents Jewish	96%	97%
One parent Jewish, one parent No Religion	41%	47%
One parent Jewish, one parent Not Jewish	25%	35%
Mother Jewish, Father Not Jewish	44%	48%
Father Jewish, Mother Not Jewish	10%	14%

* Data relate to all dependent children in married couple families with at least one Jewish parent. The religion of the child relates to the youngest child present. Source: ONS Census Tables CT0577 and CT0578; Graham, D. (2014) op. cit. - additional unpublished analysis of Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) data on the 2011 Australian Census was carried out by the author.

suggest that exogamy at least doubles the chances of children becoming exogamous themselves.

We also noted that exogamous women are less likely to have exogamous children than are exogamous men. 44% of exogamous women reported having exogamous children, compared with 51% of exogamous men.[43]

A final and important demographic question on which the census can also shed some light regarding the children of intermarried couples is

43 NJCS 2013, N=1,892. Pearson Chi-Square test significant at 99%.

whether there are differences in fertility between endogamous and exogamous Jews. We find that on average, endogamous married couples had 2.4 dependent children, whereas exogamous couples had 2.1 children (slightly more when the spouse was not Jewish (2.2) and slightly less when the spouse reported No Religion (2.0)).[44] Although these figures are not total fertility rates, they are indicative of such measures and so we can reasonably conclude that endogamous couples are reproducing at above replacement level (generally considered to be 2.1 children per couple), indicating demographic expansion, whereas intermarried couples are reproducing at replacement level, indicating demographic stagnation.

Intermarried couples have 2.1 children per couple, whereas in-married Jews have 2.4 children per couple

The 'enlarged' Jewish population

Knowing how many Jews are partnered to non-Jews and how many children are being raised at home by Jews as non-Jews provides an indication of the extent of what is known as the 'enlarged' Jewish population. Sergio DellaPergola makes a pragmatic distinction between the *core* and the *enlarged* Jewish population. The 'core' population includes those who "identify themselves as Jews or … are identified by [others] as Jews, and those of Jewish parentage who are identificationally indifferent or agnostic but do not formally identify with another religious group," whereas the 'enlarged' population includes the core plus "all other persons of Jewish parentage who are not Jews currently … and all the additional non-Jewish members (spouses, children, etc.) in mixed religious households."[45]

The 2011 Census enumerated 265,073 Jews in England and Wales and 6,222 Jews in Scotland and Northern Ireland.[46] To this can be added the 36,711 people identified here who are the partners of Jews who either reported being non-Jewish or No Religion/Not Stated, the vast majority of whom will also have been non-Jews (see Table 2 p.12, and footnotes 28-30). In addition, we identified 16,282 dependent children living with at least one married Jewish parent but who were not reported as Jewish. Thus, the 2011 Census enumerated a further 52,993 partners and children living with Jews but who did not report Jewish in the census. This means that the enlarged Jewish population of Great Britain numbers at least 324,288 people, or 20% larger than the Jewish by religion population of 271,295.

This figure is a minimum since it is known to exclude certain other groups who were also enumerated in the census but for whom data have not been analysed. These are primarily non-dependent children who did not report Jewish but who also live in these households; dependent and non-dependent children of cohabiting couples who did not report Jewish; and all equivalent intermarriage data for Scotland and Northern Ireland. However, it is unlikely any of these groups would be particularly large.[47]

The non-Jewish spouses and children of Jews number at least 52,993 people, so the 'enlarged' UK Jewish population stands at a minimum of 324,288 people

44 Source: ONS 2011 Census Tables CT0577 and CT0578.

45 DellaPergola, S. (2005). "Was it the demography? A reassessment of US Jewish population estimates, 1945-2001," *Contemporary Jewry* 25, 85-130 (p.89); DellaPergola. S. (1991). "New Data on Demography and Identification among Jews in the US: Trends Inconsistencies and Disagreements," *Contemporary Jewry* 12:67-97.

46 Source: ONS 2011 Census Tables KS209 adjusted following ONS 2015 correction, KS209SC (NRS), and QS218NI (NISRA).

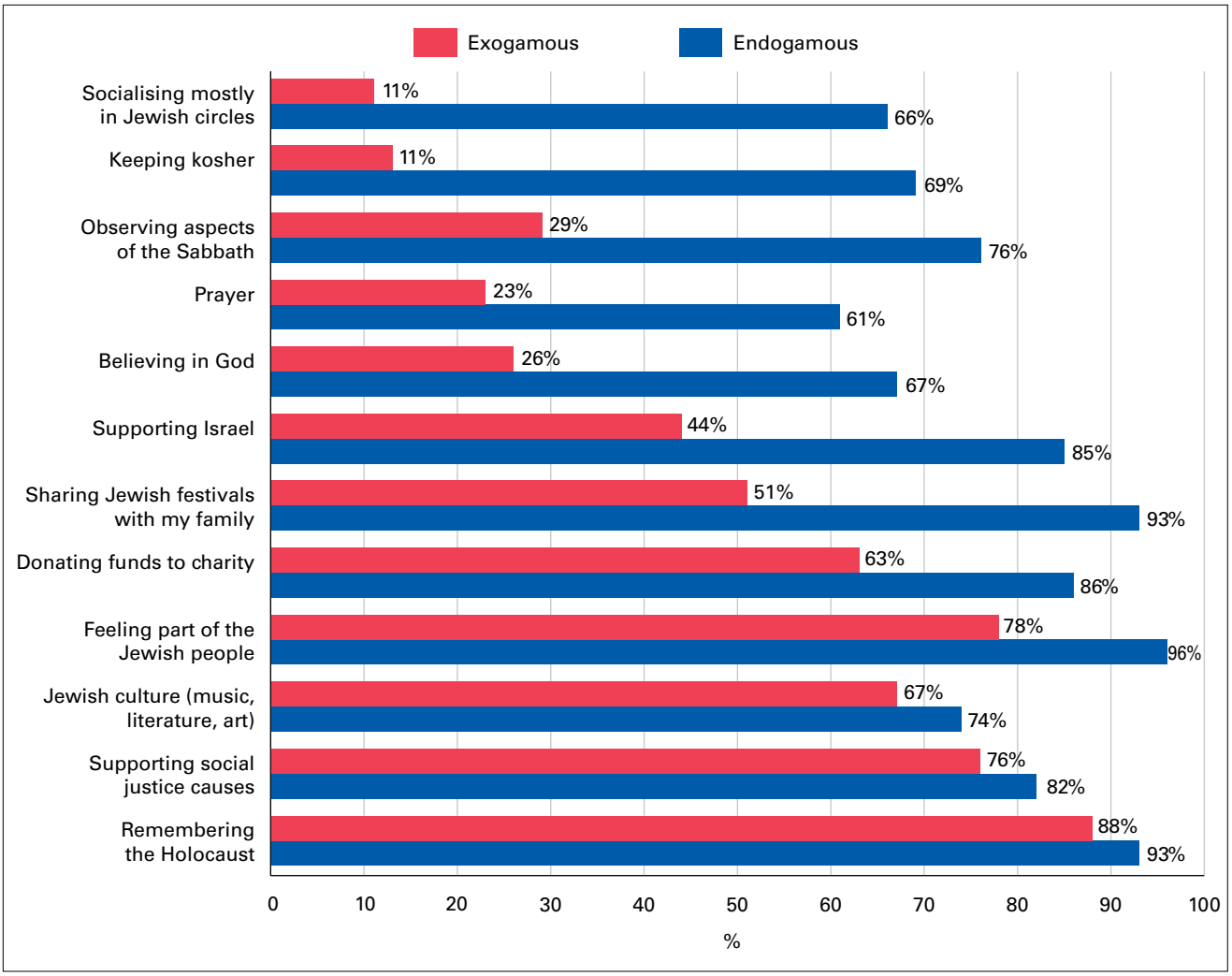
47 Since the religion question in the census is voluntary, there will always be a question mark about how many 'core' Jews did not respond Jewish. Some of these, no doubt, are now included in the 'enlarged' figures published here, but there is no way of assessing the number confidently. NJCS data suggest that no more than 10% of Jews chose not to report Jewish in the census, but because of this overlap it would be incorrect to simply increase the enlarged figure by this amount.

Jewish identity and intermarriage

As we have shown, exogamy does not occur randomly. Both gender and age impact on the likelihood of an exogamous partnership outcome. However, another critical factor is Jewish identity. In our preliminary findings report we noted how intermarriage is related to identity, and that intermarried Jews exhibited weaker Jewish ties and behaviours than endogamous Jews.[48] Examining this relationship further, we again find that attitudinally, on every variable measured, married exogamous Jews have a weaker sense of Jewishness than married endogamous Jews. The gap is smallest on ethical/cultural variables, but it widens as the variables become increasingly socially exclusivist, or onerous, or related to religious observance. Thus, exogamous Jews are almost as likely as endogamous Jews to regard social justice and Jewish culture to be important aspects of their Jewish identity, but they fall far behind in terms of 'sharing festivals with family' and 'supporting Israel.' The gap is widest for religious practices, such as observing the Sabbath or keeping kosher, and particularly for 'socialising mostly in Jewish circles' (Figure 11).

These attitudinal traits correspond with actual Jewish behaviour, where we found that on every

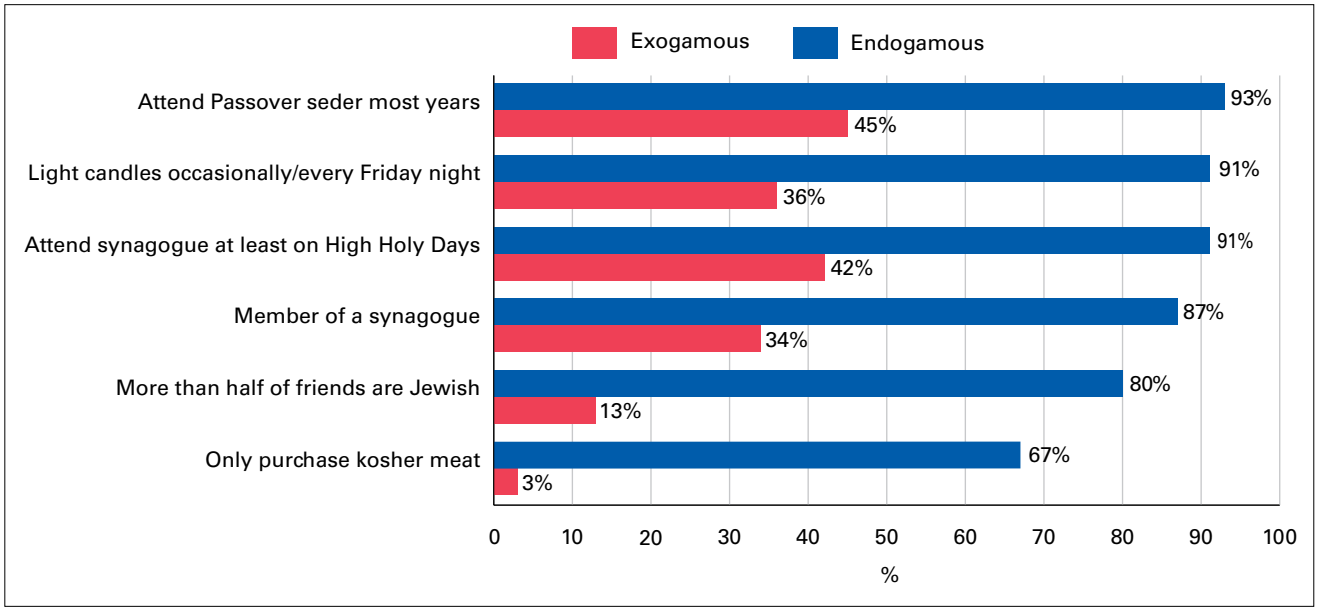
Figure 11. Comparison of attitudes towards various aspects of Jewish identity for married endogamous and exogamous Jews*



* Response to question "How important or unimportant is each of the following to your own sense of Jewish identity?" Responses aggregate 'Very important' and 'Fairly important'. Data have been ordered by the size of the gap between exogamous and endogamous respondents.
Source: NJCS 2013 N=2,380.

48 Graham, Staetsky and Boyd (2014), op. cit. pp.20-21.

Figure 12. Comparison of Jewish practice between married endogamous and exogamous Jews



Source: NJCS 2013 N=2,380.

behavioural variable examined, exogamous married Jews perform more weakly than endogamous Jews, and in most cases the difference is substantial. Judaism is observed far less in the home: for example, whereas 91% of endogamous respondents light Friday night (Shabbat) candles occasionally or more often, only 36% of exogamous Jews do so (Figure 12). Similarly, kosher meat is purchased for two out of three endogamous homes but in almost no exogamous homes.

Outside the home exogamous Jews are less than half as likely to attend a synagogue service (42% v 91%) (despite some synagogues openly welcoming intermarried couples), and they are similarly less likely to attend a Passover seder most years, the single most commonly observed Jewish ritual of all. Finally, exogamous Jews do not generally mix in Jewish circles, whereas endogamous Jews do so to a great extent (Figure 12).

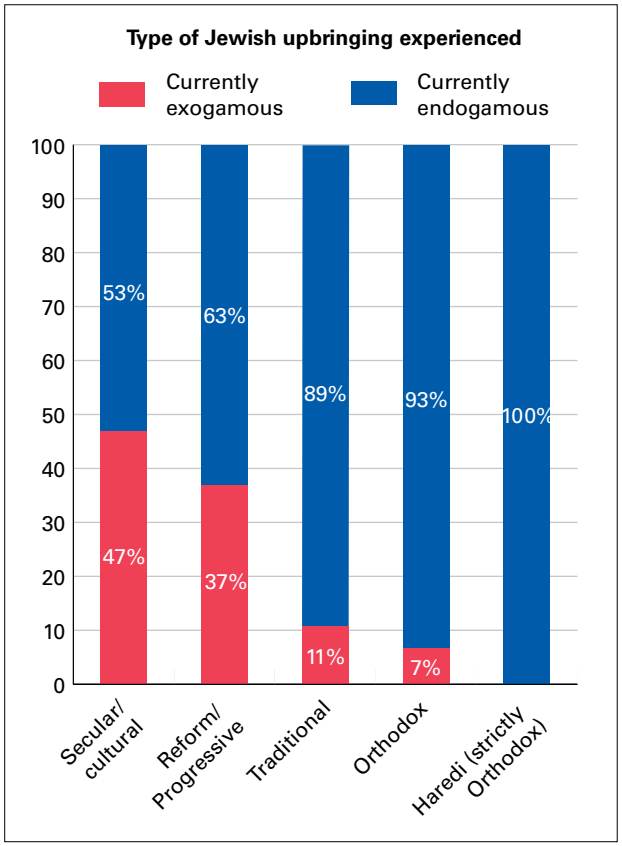
Whilst it might be expected that someone who shares their life with a non-Jew will exhibit weaker levels of Jewish attachment in general, and Jewish practice in particular, it does not necessarily follow that their background is Jewishly weaker too. However, the type of Jewish background a respondent experienced while growing up is also closely related to whether or not they are currently intermarried. We found that the more

Attitudinally, but especially behaviourally, exogamous Jews exhibit far weaker levels of Jewish attachment and engagement than endogamous Jews

Jewishly traditional/religious the upbringing a person experienced, the more likely they were to be endogamous. Of those raised in non-practising (secular/cultural) households who are now married, almost half (47%) are exogamous, compared with 11% of those raised in Traditional households and effectively no one raised in haredi homes (Figure 13).[49] This relationship between background and endogamy has been noted in many studies in the past, especially in the United

49 Similar results were also reported in our preliminary findings report (Table 3 p.20) although they differ slightly, since here we are focusing solely on respondents who were currently married and living with their spouse, whereas previously the data included respondents who were married but separated.

Figure 13. Type of Jewish upbringing by exogamous/endogamous marital status



Source: NJCS 2013, N=1,998

States.[50] For example, Cohen has argued that there are two Jewish communities:

'The gaps between the in-married and intermarried are so large and persistent that it seems that we are developing into two distinct populations: the in-married and the intermarried. The former is far more engaged […] the latter segment is far less engaged […]. The identity chasm between in-married and intermarried is wide, which suggests the imagery of "Two Jewries."'[51]

What then are the key drivers of exogamy? In future work we will statistically examine which variables are most closely associated with exogamy. Meanwhile, other studies have found that "the factors most significantly associated with an increased chance of a first intermarriage are young age and maleness… 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)."[52]

Does the haredi population attenuate the apparent extent of intermarriage?

Having established the relationship between endogamy and Jewish background, it is pertinent to ask, given the substantial growth of Britain's haredi community in recent years,[53] whether the picture painted of endogamy in the community is in some way 'flattened' by the haredi presence? In other words, how much more prevalent is exogamy once we remove haredim from the picture?

Though the census does not identify different levels of religious practice, we can nevertheless point to geographical areas where the ratio of haredi to non-haredi Jews is particularly high. This is because haredim tend to cluster in high density spaces where there are relatively few non-haredi Jews living.[54] Using these places as proxies, we find that endogamy in 'haredi areas' is high (93%), but since this sub-sample constitutes only 10% of all married Jews, the removal of haredim from the data barely changes the overall picture. Removing the haredi data raises exogamy from 22% to 24%. So on this evidence we can conclude that haredim have only a slight dampening effect on the overall picture of exogamy.

50 Cohen, S.M. (2006). *A Tale of Two Jewries: The 'Inconvenient Truth' For American Jews*. Jewish Life Network/Steinhardt Foundation; Fishman, Sylvia Barack (2004). *Double or Nothing: Jewish Families and Mixed Marriage*. Hanover, New Hampshire: Brandeis University Press/University Press of New England; Phillips, Bruce (1997). *Re-examining Intermarriage: Trends, textures and strategies*. Boston, Los Angeles, and New York: Susan and David Wilstein Institute of Jewish Policy Studies/American Jewish Committee.

51 Cohen (2006), op. cit. p.10.

52 Kosmin et. al. (1989), op. cit. p.1.

53 Staetsky. L.D. and Boyd. J. (2015). *Strictly Orthodox rising: What the demography of British Jews tells us about the future of the community*. London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research.

54 Specifically, these are the Local Authorities (LA) of Hackney, Haringey, Salford and Gateshead. The majority of Jews in these LAs are haredi. There are also haredim living in other clusters, especially in parts of Barnet (Golders Green, Hendon, Edgware), but in these places they are in the Jewish minority and cannot be separated out in these census data.

Table 9. Prevalence of endogamy/exogamy of married Jews in haredi and non-haredi areas, England and Wales, 2011

Religion of partner*	Areas with the largest concentration of Haredi Jews	All other areas	All areas
Jewish	93%	76%	78%
Not Jewish/No Religion	7%	24%	22%
Total	100%	100%	100%
N	11,125	96,609	107,734

* In addition there were 279 Jews with 'Not Stated' spouses in haredi areas, 2,982 in non-haredi areas and 3,216 in total. Source: ONS 2011 Census Table CT0458, CT0459.

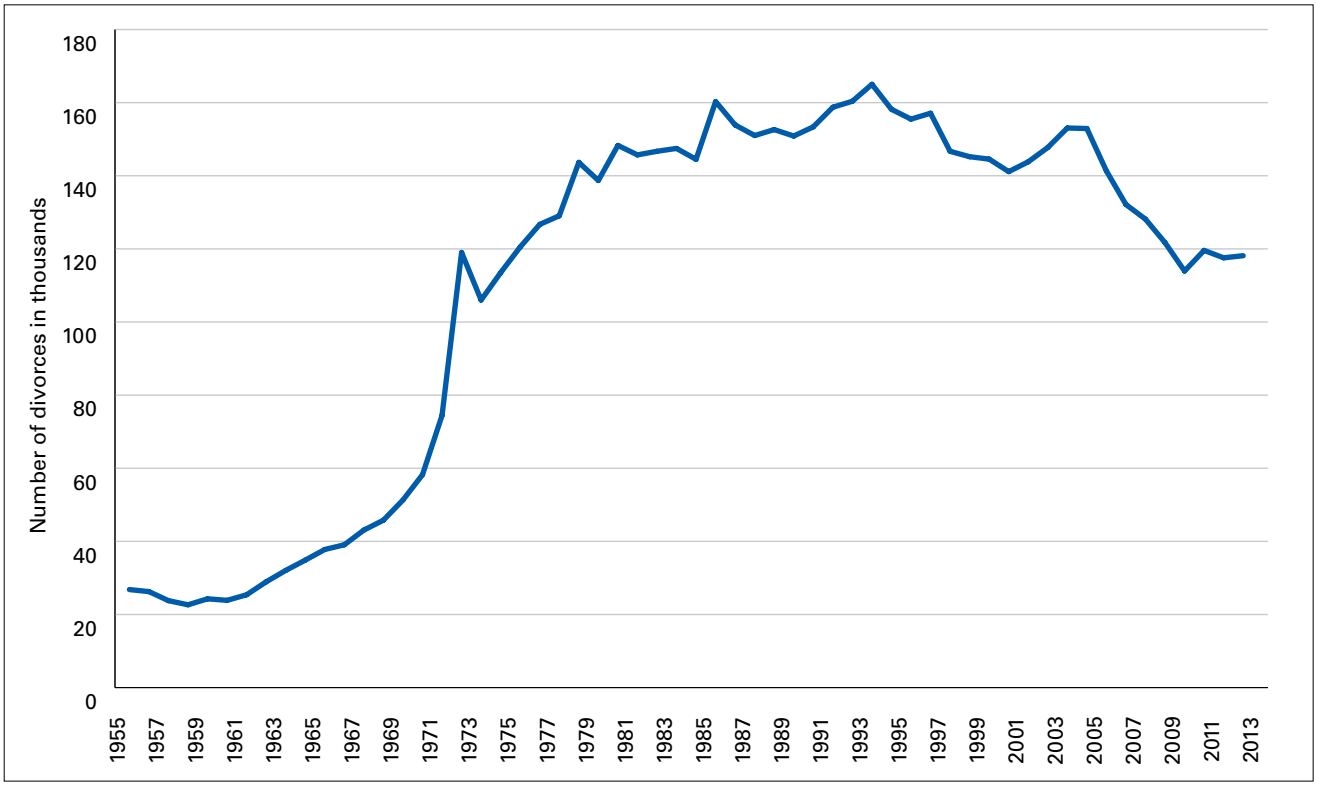
Divorce

In this final section we turn to the dissolution of Jewish partnerships. Since religion is not recorded on divorce documents, and rabbinically ordained divorce through a *beit din* (a Jewish court of law) is far from universal (see below), high quality data on this key topic have been lacking.

Since marriages (within which we include civil partnerships) are legally recognised unions, their dissolution can only be enacted legally, unless one of the partners dies. So while divorce, like cohabitation, may be sensitive to social and cultural norms, unlike cohabitation it is also sensitive to legislative change. The introduction of the Divorce Reform Act 1969 (which came into effect in England and Wales on 1st January 1971) significantly lowered the bar for couples to divorce, resulting in a rapid increase in divorce nationally during the 1970s (Figure 14). The number of divorces peaked in the 1990s and has since declined. Unfortunately, such data pertaining specifically to Jews are not available.

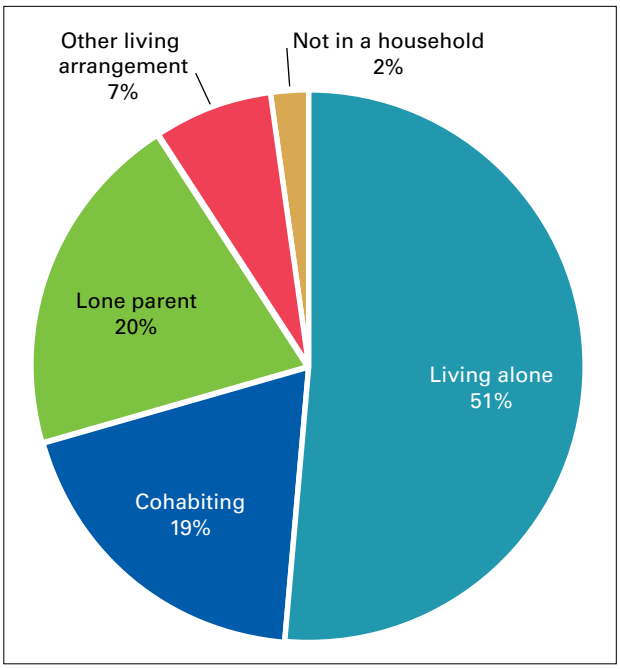
It is also necessary to distinguish between those who are *currently divorced*—i.e. their current marital status is divorced—and those who have been divorced in the past but are now remarried. This second group does not appear in the currently divorced data, so a complete picture of divorce also requires information on those who have *ever been divorced*, i.e. those whose current status is divorced, as well as those who are previously divorced even if they are now currently married. The census provides data on the 'currently divorced' population, but only surveys can tell us about the broader 'ever been divorced' population.

Figure 14. Number of divorces in the general population, England and Wales, 1955 to 2013



Source: ONS 2015 Divorces in England and Wales, 2013, Figure 1, page 3.

Figure 15. Living arrangements for all currently divorced Jews, England and Wales, 2011 (N=~15,933)



Source: ONS 2011 SAR

16,000 Jews are divorced and have not remarried. Of these, half live alone and one in five is a lone parent

Currently divorced Jews

There are an estimated 16,346 Jews in Great Britain whose legal status is currently divorced.[55] The vast majority (97.4%) of this group lives in England or Wales and the following section is focused on these estimated 15,933 people.

Life paths vary considerably following divorce, and while some people remarry, many do not, either by choice or as a result of circumstance. Of those whose current legal status is 'divorced' (i.e. who have not remarried), just over half live alone (51%), while one in five cohabits (19%), presumably with a new partner, and a further one in five (20%) is a lone parent (Figure 15).

55 This estimate is derived using 2011 SAR data and adding 413 Scottish divorces (NRS 2011 Census Table AT047). Divorce data include a very small number of Jews who have formally terminated civil partnership agreements.

However, these figures mask important differences between men and women. First, people who are currently divorced are far more likely to be female than male: almost six out of ten currently divorced Jews are women (59%), suggesting lower remarriage rates for female divorcées (see below). Second, of all currently divorced Jews who live alone, most are female, again almost six out of ten (58%), and of those who cohabit, a majority is male (55%). It is therefore apparent, even in terms of re-marriage, that male divorcés re-partner more frequently than female divorcées. This is related to many things, not least the fact that men tend to marry women younger than themselves, so have access to a larger marriage market than women, since there are more unmarried younger women than unmarried older men (see Figure 5 page 8). It may also be related to the fact that the vast majority of currently divorced Jewish lone parents is female (83%) and this status alone may deter potential suitors.[56] In summary, divorce takes a greater long-term demographic toll on women than it does on men, with women being less likely to re-partner, more likely to live alone, and more likely to be single parents than men. This female divorce penalty is persistent, dating back to at least the 1960s.[57]

Divorce takes a far greater toll on Jewish women compared with Jewish men

There are various ways of measuring change in the size of the currently divorced Jewish population between 2001 and 2011, but each points to the same conclusion: divorce has increased over the decade. It is estimated that there are 3.7% more currently divorced Jews in 2011 than in 2001 (from an estimated 15,367 to 15,933, England and Wales).[58] Yet since divorce is sensitive to the size of the married population, we can also assess the prevalence relative to how many married people there are. In 2001 the currently divorced Jewish

56 ONS 2011 SAR.
57 Krausz, E. (1968). "The Edgware Survey: Demographic Results," *Jewish Journal of Sociology* Vol X No 1, p.92.
58 Source: ONS 2001 SAR (N=8,076) and ONS 2011 SAR.

population was 12.9% of the currently married Jewish population. This ratio increased to 13.8% in 2011, also suggesting a slight increase in the prevalence of divorce among Jews in England and Wales over the decade.[59] Compared with the 'ever partnered' Jewish population, the prevalence of Jewish divorces again increased from 9.5% in 2001 to 10.5% in 2011. Though these appear to be small increases, they do suggest that divorce increased by between 8% and 11% between the two censuses.

Divorce among Jews increased by between 8% and 11% from 2001 to 2011

How does the prevalence of currently divorced Jews compare with other groups? On average, the currently divorced population of England and Wales is equivalent to 19.3% of the currently married population, indicating that Jews, at 13.8%, are rather less likely to be currently divorced than is generally the case. The finding that Jews exhibit a lower than average level of divorce has been noted in the past.[60] However, they are some way from being the least likely group to be currently divorced. Table 10 shows that people with Asian backgrounds are the least likely to be divorced, especially Bangladeshis (4%), whereas people with black backgrounds (40% among Black Caribbeans) and those with an 'Other religion' (42%) are the most likely to be divorced.

Table 10. Currently divorced population as a proportion of the currently married population, by religion and ethnicity, England and Wales, 2011

Sub-group	Size of currently divorced population relative to size of currently married population
Bangladeshi	4%
Hindu	5%
Pakistani	5%
Indian	6%
Sikh	7%
Muslim	8%
Arab	11%
Jewish	**14%**
Christian	18%
National average	19%
Buddhist	20%
White	21%
White and Asian Mixed	22%
No religion	26%
White and Black African Mixed	30%
White and Black Caribbean Mixed	38%
Black Caribbean	40%
Other religion	42%

Source: ONS 2011 SAR N=2.3m

'Ever divorced' Jews

While the census is invaluable for gaining an understanding of the size and makeup of the currently divorced population, it does not provide a complete picture of divorce prevalence since it excludes divorcés who have remarried. So if we want to truly understand how many Jews have experienced a divorce, an important question to ask is how many Jews have ever been divorced, i.e. not just those who are currently divorced but also those who are currently re-married or widowed from a second or higher order marriage? Such data are unavailable from the census, but survey data show that whereas 6.9% of the Jewish population is *currently divorced*, 17.0% is *ever divorced*. In other words, almost two and a half times more Jews have experienced a divorce than the number whose marital status is currently divorced.[61] Extrapolating the estimated 2011 Census figure of about 16,350 currently divorced Jews in Britain, implies an *additional* 23,900 or so Jews who have been divorced at least once in the past. Thus, in 2011, as many as 40,250 Jews were either currently or previously divorced, almost one out of five Jews aged 16 or above in Britain (19%).

59 These are estimates for all people aged 16 and above. Source: ONS 2001 SAR N=6,709; ONS 2011 SAR N=10,605.

60 Kosmin, B.A. (1982). *Divorce in Anglo-Jewry 1970-1980: an investigation*. London: West-Central Jewish Community Development Centre.

61 NJCS 2013, N=3,720.

Two and a half times more Jews have experienced a divorce than the number whose marital status is currently divorced. This amounts to over 40,000 people

Multiple divorce is relatively rare among Jews. The majority of this group has experienced one divorce only (87%), whilst 11% have experienced two divorces.[62] Just 1.5% have experienced more than two divorces.

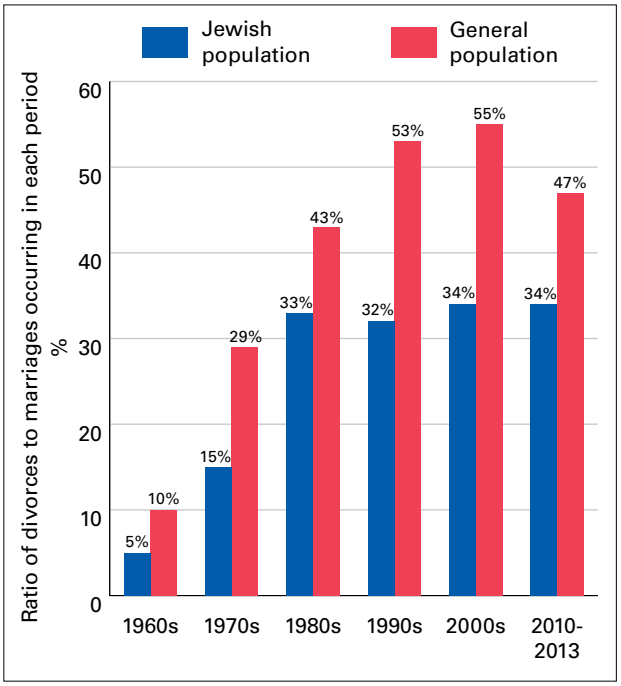
The census shows that Jewish women are more likely to be currently divorced than men at every age group except for those aged 80 and above (where the proportions are the same). Among women aged 65-69 almost 17% is currently divorced. However that is not the same as the average age at divorce.[63] We found that the average age at (first) divorce for Jews is 40 years old.[64] In the general population the average age at (any) divorce was older, 45 years for men and 43 years for women.[65] The average age at divorce has been increasing generally, consistent with rises in the average age at marriage.

The divorce rate

The national divorce rate[66] rose steadily from the early 1970s, when it stood at 9 people divorcing for every 1,000 people who were married per year, peaking at 14 per 1,000 in the early 1990s and falling back to 10 per 1,000 by 2013. Unfortunately, since no data exist on the total number of Jews divorcing each year, the Jewish divorce rate cannot be calculated.

62 NJCS, excluding non-respondents, N=618 (unweighted).
63 ONS 2011 SAR, N=13,227.
64 NJCS 2013, N=3,736.
65 ONS 2015, "Divorces in England and Wales, 2013," p.7. Note divorce rates for males and females have been averaged out here.
66 There are different approaches to calculating the divorce rate. Here the number of people divorcing in the time period is divided by the number of extant married people in that same period. (Source: ONS 2015, op. cit. Figure 2, p.4 and p.13).

Figure 16. Ratio of divorces to marriages by period, Jewish and general population*



* Jewish population data are survey based, whereas General population data are from actual records. ONS data for 2013 were unavailable. Percentages derived by the author.
Source: Jewish population NJCS 2013 N=3,736 (UK), General population ONS 2015 *Divorces in England and Wales, 2013* Figure 1 page 3.

Jews are less likely to divorce than people in the general population

In the absence of relevant data to assess the Jewish divorce rate, alternative approaches must be sought if we are to obtain an understanding of how the propensity for Jews to divorce has changed over time. One method available to us is the divorce to marriage ratio. This compares the number of divorces occurring in a particular period with the number of marriages occurring in the same period. One weakness of this approach is that divorces in a period may or may not be directly related to the marriages that took place during that same period, i.e. they may relate to marriages predating it. To be clear, this approach does *not* give us the divorce rate, but it is indicative of the path of the divorce rate over the period. It shows that the propensity for Jews to divorce rose rapidly in the 1970s in line with the legislative changes

already noted, but since the 1980s, it has been relatively stable at around 32% to 34% (Figure 16). This means that in the most recent period (2010-2013), for every ten Jews marrying, three Jews were divorcing (from marriages that may or may not have occurred between 2010 and 2013). But perhaps a better indication of the meaning of this data is to contrast it with the equivalent figures for the general population. When we do this, we can see that Jews are considerably less likely to divorce (concurring with the census findings shown in Table 10), although there is a suggestion in the data that the gap may have been closing in recent years.

Divorce and Jewish identity

The more religious or Jewishly engaged a person is, the less likely it is they have ever been divorced (Figure 17). Almost one in five non-practising respondents had been divorced (18%), compared with less than one in ten Orthodox respondents (7%) and under one in twenty haredi respondents (4%). This divorce gradient was also noted in terms of Jewish upbringing, i.e. the more religious the person's upbringing, the less likely they were to have ever been divorced.

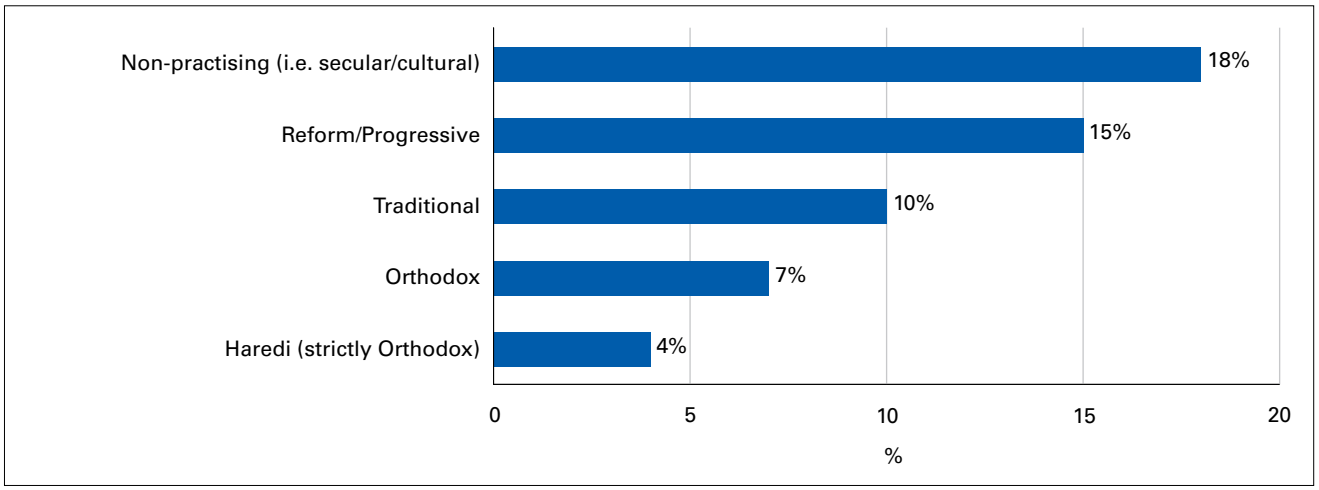
The more religious a person, the less likely they are to divorce

What might account for these differences in the propensity of Jews to divorce? There may be multiple reasons contributing to this pattern. For example, the way people give meaning and purpose to marriage may differ depending on one's level of religiosity. For more religious Jews marriage may be more closely associated with procreation than for less religious Jews. Indeed, the more religious Jews are, the more likely they are to have children, and the presence of children may make divorce less likely. Also, religious Jews may be better able to access help from the community if their marriage is struggling (such as from a rabbi), or it may simply be more socially unacceptable for more religious people to divorce.

Religious divorce

Although Jews must divorce civilly (i.e. through the courts of the land), in most cases a couple must also divorce in accordance with Jewish law if either partner wishes to remarry under Jewish auspices, a process which involves the provision of a *get*.[67] In practice, not all Jews who marry, even endogamously, marry under religious auspices. Our survey data show that one in twenty people who married endogamously did not do so under any Jewish religious authority (5.4%). So among those Jews who did marry under religious auspices and who subsequently divorced, how many obtained a *get*? The survey indicates that three out of four divorcing couples obtained a get (76%).[68] Note we cannot assume that the one in four who

Figure 17. Ever divorced by current Jewish practice



Source: NJCS 2013 N=3,735 (weighted data)

67 A Mishnaic Hebrew term for the dissolution document.

68 NJCS 2013 N=431 (weighted).

did not obtain a get were due to refusals on the part of the husband. It is far more likely that no get was sought, perhaps because there was no remarriage, or because any remarriage was exogamous.

Divorce v intermarriage

Finally, we turn to the relationship between divorce and intermarriage. Two questions are posed. First, does intermarriage increase the chances of a couple subsequently divorcing? And second, if a divorcé remarries, are they more or less likely to marry a Jew than they were the first time round?

We have already seen that the more religious a person is, the less likely they are to divorce (Figure 17), and since exogamy is more prevalent among the less religious (Figure 11 and Figure 12), we might also expect to find that divorce is more common among the formerly exogamous than endogamous. And indeed, this is the case. Focusing on all Jews who are 'ever married' but who have not been divorced more than once, 13% of those who married endogamously are 'ever divorced', compared with 29% of those who married exogamously (Table 11).[69] In other words, exogamous marriages are more than twice as likely to result in divorce as endogamous marriages. This finding has been noted before in Britain, with Kosmin finding higher exogamy rates among Jewish divorcés in the 1970s,[70] and one statistical analysis of United States data concluding that of the variables tested "the most significant predictor of divorce is intermarriage."[71] The increased risk of divorce of intermarriages between other ethnic and religious groups has also been noted.[72]

Intermarriages are more than twice as likely to result in divorce as endogamous marriages

69 The relatively few Jews who divorced more than once (page 28) have been set aside in order to simplify the analysis.

70 Kosmin, Barry A. (1982). *Divorce in Anglo-Jewry. 1970-80: An Investigation*. London: West Central, cited in Kosmin et. al. (1989), op. cit. p.4.

71 Kosmin et. al. (1989), op. cit. p.2.

72 Kalmijn, M., de Graaf, P.M. and Janssen, J.P.G. (2005). "Intermarriage and the risk of divorce in the Netherlands: The effects of differences in religion and in nationality, 1974-94," *Population Studies*, Vol. 59, No. 1, pp.71-85; Lehrer, E.L. and Chiswick, C.U. (1993). "Religion as a Determinate of Marital Stability," *Demography*, Vol.30, No. 3, 385-404.

Table 11. Likelihood of (up to one) divorce for all ever married Jews by type of marriage

	Type of marriage	
	Endogamous	Exogamous
Never divorced	87%	71%
Divorced (once)	13%	29%
Total	100%	100%

Source: NJCS 2013, weighted. N=2,562.

Remarriage and intermarriage

What, then, are the patterns of marriage and exogamy following a divorce? The survey found that following one divorce, over half of Jews had remarried (58%), but remarriage was more likely to occur among previously endogamous Jews than previously exogamous Jews (63% of previously endogamous Jews remarried, compared with 51% of previously exogamous Jews).[73] This may be related to differing attitudes; exogamous Jews are more likely to be secular and the more secular Jews are, the more likely they are to cohabit (Figure 4, p.7). Therefore, having experienced a divorce, secular Jews may simply be more likely to opt for cohabitation over marriage than more religious Jews.

When Jews remarry, are they more or less likely to marry a Jewish person than they were the first time around? We found that upon remarriage, the chances of exogamy increase considerably. Whereas 18% of Jews who have only been married once are exogamous, exogamy among remarried Jews stands at 45%.[74] In other words, exogamy is two and half times more likely to occur among remarrying Jews than among those marrying for the first time.

We should note, however, that because divorce is more likely to occur among the less religious and the exogamous, this does not necessarily mean that individuals who remarry have changed their preferences the second time around. Thus, although quite a bit of switching between endogamous and exogamous unions does occur, the likelihood of exogamy following divorce is

73 NJCS 2013, N=431 (weighted).

74 NJCS 2013, N=431 (weighted).

Table 12. Likelihood of exogamy following a divorce, based on status of first marriage

		Previous marriage	
		Endogamous	Exogamous
Current marriage	Endogamous	66%	39%
	Exogamous	34%	61%
	Total	100%	100%

Source: NJCS 2013 weighted N=431 Pearson Chi-Square significant at 0.001.

closely related to whether or not the person was previously intermarried. Following a divorce from an endogamous marriage, 34% of Jews went on to marry a non-Jew, but this compares with 61% who did so but who were formerly exogamous (Table 12). So we find that the majority does not switch upon remarriage; thus intermarriage begets intermarriage.

Upon remarriage, formerly intermarried Jews are twice as likely to marry a non-Jew as formerly in-married Jews

Similar results have been previously noted in the United States. For example, one study showed that upon remarriage, 32% of the formerly endogamous became exogamous, whereas 59% of the formerly exogamous remained exogamous.[75]

75 Kosmin et. al. (1989), op. cit. Percentages derived from data presented on page 2.

Summary and conclusions about Jewish couples

It is difficult, when discussing Jewish partnerships, to divert attention away from intermarriage. For many, it is the single most important issue of modern Jewish life. But to focus solely on the topic is to miss a bigger, and arguably more important, picture: the formation and dissolution of partnerships in contemporary Jewish life.

Jews are more likely to live in a couple than any other religious or ethnic group. This is testament to a familial culture in which partnership formation is strongly encouraged, and although Jews are not the most likely group to be married, this institution nevertheless continues to dominate Jewish partnership formation. The evidence presented here shows that the traditional picture of Jewish married life remains robust in Britain.

But that is not to say that married bliss pervades all. Although Jews are less likely to divorce than is generally the case, almost one in five Jewish adults has divorced at some time in their adult life, and the more secular they are, the more likely this is to have happened. It is Jewish women who take a disproportionate brunt of the long-term fallout of this aspect of decoupling – they are less likely than men to re-partner, and more likely than men to live alone or as single parents.

Further, whilst marriage undoubtedly dominates partnership status, it is cohabitation, and not marriage, that is growing the fastest. For some, cohabitation is a prelude to marriage, but for others, it is a less committed and therefore more fluid and less stable alternative. But cohabitation also impacts directly on Jewish fertility rates. Jews are far less likely to have children when cohabiting than they are when married, and even in situations where cohabitation leads directly to marriage, the effect is to delay having children. Importantly, the later marriage occurs, the fewer children couples tend to have. In other words, rising cohabitation reduces Jewish fertility.

So the fundamental point here is that *Jewish partnerships have a potentially far greater social and demographic impact on the Jewish future than just intermarriage*. Yet it is intermarriage that

seems to consistently garner attention and anxiety like few other topics in contemporary Jewish life. But just how big an issue is intermarriage in Britain these days?

"An unfolding tragedy" signalling "the end of optimism" is how the former Chief Rabbi Jonathan Sacks chose to describe the looming threat of unchecked intermarriage in Britain 1995.[76] Ten years later a BBC report on the issue claimed Jewish leaders feared that "British Jewry may die out" as a result of intermarriage.[77] A further eight years on, we now have unparalleled data with which to assess these prognoses which were based on scant British evidence and much extrapolation of United States data. With the benefit of two censuses and a national survey, we can see that while intermarriage is clearly broad in scope, with one in four Jews in Britain 'marrying out,' it seems unlikely to engulf the community any time soon if the long-term trend is anything to judge by. That is because although the intermarriage rate has been steadily rising since at least the early 1970s and is currently higher than it has been in a generation, the rate of increase since the early 1980s has been modest at most.

Since the largely stable picture of intermarriage began prior to the huge investment in Jewish educational programming initiatives, such as the expansion of Jewish schooling and the broadening of Israel Experience programmes, it is self-evident that whatever effect these may or may not have had on intermarriage rates, other factors must also have been at play which explain why the feared 'tragedy' failed to unfold.[78] Moreover, with

76 Sacks (1995), op. cit. p.24 and p.25.
77 Dixon, M. 'Intermarriage "threatens UK Jewry,"' *BBC News*, 20 March 2005.
78 Numerous scholarly articles question the extent to which these programmes have really impacted Jewish identity. For a list of references see: Graham, D.J. (2014). "The Impact of Communal Intervention

intermarriage in the United States being consistently twice the level or more of that in the UK, it is questionable whether basing concerns on American data (in particular, the 1990 National Jewish Population Survey which reported a US intermarriage rate of 52%)[79] were relevant or even comparable to the situation in the UK. The result of all this is that any programming that was developed by the community in direct response to a perceived intermarriage 'crisis' was based on at least something of a false premise.

Nevertheless, though some have attempted to paint an optimistic demographic picture of intermarriage,[80] such arguments almost certainly look awry. It is not simply that intermarried Jews exhibit weaker Jewish behaviour, practice and attachment on just about every variable we can measure—it is, after all, those with the weakest Jewish backgrounds and upbringings who are most likely to intermarry in the first place—but rather, that, compared with in-married Jews, intermarried Jews produce fewer children, are one-third as likely to raise their children as Jews, are twice as likely to get divorced and at least twice as likely to have intermarried children themselves. Indeed, much of the anxiety about intermarriage stems less from the intermarriage itself and more from very well grounded concerns that the children of intermarried couples are far less likely to be raised Jewish than children of in-married couples. It is therefore little wonder that intermarriage has been a cause of anxiety in the community for almost fifty years. Looking ahead though, how concerned should community leaders and Jewish parents be?

On the one hand, it is projected that the community is becoming more religious, almost entirely a result of a burgeoning Orthodox community rather than of any particular educational programming intervention.[81] A more religious community means less intermarriage, on average, with the real future possibility of a slowdown in the underlying intermarriage rate and perhaps even a decline. On the other hand, there is the present reality of 52,993 non-Jews living with Jews in Britain. These are the non-Jewish partners of Jews, as well as the children of Jews who are not being raised, or at least identified, as Jewish. This population is also likely to increase in the future due to secularisation.

What then is the intermarriage forecast given these two major changes pulling very much in opposite directions? As we have shown, predicting the future of intermarriage is a perilous exercise. It is simply not possible even to project how things may turn out over the next decade or two with any level of statistical confidence. But the benefit of hindsight tells us that we should not assume the experiences of other countries, especially the United States, are necessarily a good model on which to base future British extrapolations. The US is unique and this exceptionalism renders it incomparable with the British situation. By having simultaneously expanding religious and secular populations, Britain may also be unique, as may be other, more readily comparable countries, which do not have a growing haredi community, but have also exhibited limited growth in intermarriage in the recent past.[82]

In sum, whilst the extent of British Jewish intermarriage is sizeable, we see no reason to believe there is any sign of an impending 'intermarriage tragedy,' as many feared in the 1990s. Much of this anxiety was based on the mistaken assumption that the UK Jewish community is travelling along the same path as the American Jewish community. A full assessment of data on intermarriage and partnerships more generally suggests that the attention of Jewish community leaders should instead be focused on what are potentially far more demographically impactful statistics: that one in five Jews has been divorced at least once; that cohabitation—a fluid and often reproductively sterile form of partnering—is increasing rapidly, whilst marriage is stagnating; and that the female age at first marriage is approaching a point where childbearing becomes increasingly difficult, with negative ramifications for fertility and the Jewish future.

Programs on Jewish Identity: An Analysis of Jewish Students in Britain," *Contemporary Jewry* 34:31–57.

79 Kosmin, B.A., Goldstein, S., Waksberg, J., Lerer, N., Keysar, A. and Scheckner, J. (1991). *Highlights of the CJF 1990 National Jewish Population Survey*, New York: The Council for Jewish Federations.

80 Sasson (2013), op. cit.

81 Staetsky, L.D. and Boyd, J. (2015). *Strictly Orthodox rising: What the demography of British Jews tells us about the future of the community*. London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research, p.12.

82 Graham (2014), op. cit., p.19.

Appendix – about the data

Two principal data sources have been used to compile this report: (I) Britain's national census (2011 and 2001); and (II) the National Jewish Community Survey (NJCS).

The 2011 Census

The 2011 Census was carried out on 27th March 2011 across the UK by three agencies working in parallel. These were the Office for National Statistics (England and Wales) (ONS), National Records of Scotland (NRS), and the Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency (NISRA).

Completing the census is compulsory but the religion question is voluntary. The census form used in England can be viewed here. [83]

All census data, including 2001 Census data, are © Crown Copyright.

Note, on 26th February 2015 ONS published a correction[84] to the original set of religion data which showed the Jewish population[85] was slightly bigger than first reported. Data in this study, however, relate to the original pre-corrected figures.

Commissioned census tables

The majority of the census data in this report was not published as standard output by ONS and is therefore based on specially commissioned census tables purchased at cost by JPR from ONS for this analysis.

Census sample (SAR) data

The other principal source of census data is the 2011 Census Microdata Individual Safeguarded Sample (Regional) file, also known as a Sample of Anonymised Records (SAR). This is an anonymised sample of 5% of the entire 2011 Census dataset, or 2.85 million records with 13,340 Jewish records in a format that is more analytically versatile and accessible than the enumerated census data. (There is a separate 3% sample SAR from the 2001 Census.) Although this does not contain data on intermarriage, it does provide information about marital status and living arrangements by religion that are not available as standard ONS census output. The SAR dataset is free of charge under an ONS licence agreement.

NJCS survey

The National Jewish Community Survey (NJCS) was carried out by JPR in 2013. It was a nationwide study with 3,736 responses. As we reported in our preliminary findings report, the nature of sampling a group such as the Jewish population means "it is reasonable to assume that the communally uninvolved may be underrepresented, though the survey does include significant numbers of such respondents."[86] As such, weights were developed to adjust for age, sex and synagogue affiliation. It is therefore likely the sample underrepresents exogamous Jews and so the survey results in this report are based on weighted data.

83 http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/guide-method/census/2011/the-2011-census/2011-census-questionnaire-content/2011-census-questionnaire-for-england.pdf

84 http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/guide-method/census/2011/census-data/census-products--issues-and-corrections/index.html

85 http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/guide-method/census/2011/census-data/census-products--issues-and-corrections/religion-correction-factors.xls

86 Graham, Staetsky and Boyd (2014), op. cit. p.42.

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ORT House, 126 Albert Street, London NW1 7NE
tel +44 (0)20 7424 9265
e-mail jpr@jpr.org.uk
website www.jpr.org.uk

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