

---

# Jewish Families Today: Insights from Literature and Advisors

November 2023

---

## Introduction

**Jewish Families Today** is a qualitative study that seeks to explore the interests, needs, hopes, and challenges of contemporary Jewish families in the United States. The study is conducted by Rosov Consulting in partnership with the Crown Family Philanthropies, the Harold Grinspoon Foundation, and the Jim Joseph Foundation. We are particularly interested in learning more about the experiences of a wide diversity of Jewish families. This can include those raising children in more than one religious or ethnic/cultural tradition; people of color; LGBTQ+ people; single parents; and families experiencing economic insecurity. Such families make up an ever-growing proportion of Jewish communities and may, at times, feel marginalized in many existing Jewish communal settings. These and all families—Jewish and otherwise—have been rocked by phenomena like the COVID-19 pandemic, political polarization, rising antisemitism, school shootings, increasing housing costs, and more frequent and widespread climate catastrophes. In other words, it is not an easy time to raise children.

Given this context, research into Jewish family life is particularly timely. To inform our study design, we embarked on a review of recent research literature and interviewed our expert advisors: Tani Prell, Jonathan Shmidt Chapman, Dr. Meir Muller, and Dr. Amy Susman-Stillman (brief biographies provided below). Since the topic is broad and spans multiple disciplines, we focused our efforts on recent publications most relevant to the populations and phenomena of interest. These include nationwide surveys like the 2020 Pew study of Jewish Americans (Cooperman et al., 2021), privately sponsored community studies, and empirical academic research, both qualitative and quantitative. We begin below by defining key concepts and proceed to summarize research on factors shaping family life, including gender roles and broad economic conditions such as lack of affordable childcare and housing. We then devote sections to interfaith families, multiethnic families and people of color, and LGBTQ+ families. As this paper was written before the start of the Israel-Hamas war in October 2023, this topic is not addressed here; it is, however, examined in the broader research project.

Rather than an exhaustive literature review, this document represents an overview of key insights that have influenced the design and execution of the Jewish Families Today study. We share these insights publicly with the hope that they may also prove useful to Jewish community professionals and researchers who work with families raising young children.

## What Is a Jewish Family? Delimiting the Scope

In his broad review of scholarship on the Jewish family, anthropologist Jonathan Boyarin emphasizes that definitions vary widely across sociohistorical contexts and academic disciplines. There is often a normative dimension to such definitions: what we imagine families *should* look like. Boyarin advises researchers to “work with ever more flexible and contingent notions of what ‘family’ might mean, or we risk falling behind the reality” (Boyarin, 2013, p. 111). He outlines three areas of recommended focus for contemporary research. The first two encompass (a) Haredi/ultra-Orthodox families and (b) a less-defined conceptual “middle ground” of those who embrace (if not achieve) some traditional norms (i.e., heterosexual marriage and endogamy) while generally integrating into broader society. The third category is:

The space where previously unimagined or unacceptable patterns of biological and social kinship are engaged in reshaping the bounds of Jewish identity and replenishing the repertoire of possible Jewish family forms, which now come to include, along with intermarriage, single parenting, same-sex [*sic*] marriage, and the inclusion of Jews and non-Jews in the same family. (Boyarin, 2013, p. 161)

In these terms, the Jewish Families Today project stands to contribute most to Boyarin’s latter category. His discussion encourages us to articulate specifically what we mean when we say “Jewish family.” Although we take seriously the influence of extended family networks (see more below), our base unit of analysis is a household consisting of one to two parents of any gender identity and one or more children. While the meaning of “Jewish” has been debated in countless tomes, and is beyond our scope here, suffice to say that we embrace a broad definition of Jewishness that privileges self-understanding over external criteria. Beyond parents’ particular identities, we are primarily interested in their hopes and desires for their children, that is, their interpretation and valuation of the Jewish imperative of intergenerational transmission (Boyarin, 2013, pp. 2; 28). For this reason, to delimit the population of individuals eligible for the Jewish Families Today study, we have employed the language of “parents raising children between the ages of 0–8, who wish to include some kind of Jewish content or experiences in those children’s lives.”

## Key Concepts

### Family Systems

As Pomson and Schnoor (2018) explain, while the individual is often front and center in studies of religious identity, a systems-level view is more productive in exploring processes of meaning-making within families (pp. 8–12). This approach has been embraced widely in current studies of Jewish families (e.g., Horwitz, 2019). Drawing on Bronfenbrenner and Morris (2006), among others (see the bibliography), Hartman (2020) proposes an “open systems model” in order to account for not only the interpersonal dynamics between family members (the “microsystem”), but also broader social and environmental influences at the “meso-” and “macro-”-system levels. Such influences include extended families, which Miller and Pomson (2021) observe are a critical source of “Jewish social capital” for parents raising children. Indeed, the lack of such networks can render parents feeling “on their own” in crafting a Jewish life. The importance of grandparents and other relatives was echoed throughout the literature and in our interview with Jonathan Shmidt Chapman

(personal communication, June 21, 2023). We apply this insight in the Jewish Families Today project by ensuring that questions about the role of extended family are adequately addressed in our interviews and analysis. We similarly apply a systems-level approach in designing our sampling frames and recruitment strategies, as discussed below.

## Structural Factors and Intersectionality

Macro-level influences include what some social scientists call *political economic* or simply *structural* factors: institutional structures, policies, processes, and hegemonic (dominant) ideologies, all of which are largely beyond an individual's control, that powerfully influence their life course (e.g., Hart & Boyden, 2018). We organize the following discussion around those factors as they interact with parents' values and desires to shape their decisions. Within these discussions, we zero in on the unique challenges of different populations of interest (people of color; LGBTQ+; economically vulnerable; single parents; etc.). We emphasize throughout that such processes and categories are not discrete nor mutually exclusive. Rather, they are intersectional, meaning they interact with one another to shape any given individual's particular identity and circumstances. (For a concise explanation of intersectionality, see Flowers, 2019.) With this in mind, we have designed our participant screening tools to capture information that will allow us to recruit participants from a wide range of life circumstances. Likewise, in our focus groups and interviews, we seek to assess the influence of structural factors on caregiver decision making.

## Broad Economic Processes and Policies

### Childcare Availability and Workplace Policies

Among the structural factors that most directly impact family life are the availability of childcare and workplace policies that affect working parents. The challenges of securing affordable, high-quality childcare and early childhood education are well documented in multiple studies (see, for example, publications from the federal Office of Planning, Research, and Evaluation, such as Hill et al., 2021; Friese et al., 2017; and the RAPID survey project from the Stanford Center on Early Childhood, <https://rapidsurveyproject.com/>). Even for those who wish to prioritize Jewish experiences for their child, the need for affordability and proximity may eclipse other considerations in parents' decisions. A related issue is workplace policies surrounding parental leave and flexible work arrangements, both in terms of location and scheduling. These and other challenges were brought to the fore by the COVID-19 pandemic. As suggested by Amy Susman-Stillman in our conversations, a consequence of the pandemic is that parents prioritize quality of life and time with family in their decisions around work and family (including, in some cases, the decision to have fewer children; personal communication, July 25, 2023).

### Housing, Geography, and Space

Rising costs of other basic necessities, in addition to childcare, can hit young families particularly hard and influence their decisions regarding community engagement. Housing costs, in particular, impact where families can live, including *where in the country or state* and *where within a given metropolitan area*. This, in turn, may either facilitate or constrain their ability to participate in Jewish communal life, a prominent theme in recent community studies (e.g., Chertok et al., 2019). Younger Jews are often priced out of the more densely

populated city hubs into surrounding areas, which sometimes limits their access to Jewish resources (Schoenfeld, 2020; Weil, 2022). In this, Jewish parents form part of a general trend of young families moving away from cities since the COVID-19 pandemic (O'Brien, 2023). The geographic location's impact on families' ability to engage in Jewish communal life is complemented by their social positioning in terms of gender, sexuality, race/ethnicity, and socioeconomic status (to name a few). For example, as we discuss below, more innovative communities formed by LGBTQ+ Jews are usually centered in urban hubs. For an LGBTQ+ family that has been forced to relocate to a smaller city or town, it may be harder to cultivate community than it would be for cisgender, heterosexual Jewish parents in the same location. Each family's set of intersecting identities interplay with the cultural nuances in their local community, potentially stymieing or encouraging Jewish communal participation (Rostosky et al., 2017).

## Economic Vulnerability: Impact on Jewish Engagement

Given these general political economic conditions of increasing financial pressure on a shrinking middle class, a growing cadre of voices from communal organizations, funders, and research are calling for renewed attention to the “substantial minority of American Jews [who] continue to live with economic distress and insecurity,” estimated as exceeding 40% of the US Jewish population in some sociodemographic segments (Kotler-Berkowitz, 2020, p. 63). In addition to imposing greater constraints on childcare and housing choices—which in and of themselves impact decisions around family engagement—research shows that economic vulnerability is “associated with other adverse situations and reduced communal participation” (Kotler-Berkowitz, p. 64). In other words, those struggling financially are less likely to participate in Jewish life.

These insights urge us to inquire directly about childcare and housing challenges in our focus groups and how those factors influence parents' decisions regarding children's care and activities. We are sensitive to the possibility that discourse on limited availability of Jewish resources may be a way of silently signaling economic constraints while preferring not to speak (publicly) about such matters.

## Gender: Roles and Expectations

Harriet Hartman summarizes decades-long research on distinctive patterns of gender, family, education, and work observed in American Jewish families:

Jews show distinction from the broader American population in how their families are central, affecting career and labor force choices, and the predominance and stability of their two-parent families. Newer developments indicate the willingness to use fertility treatments when natural fertility is challenged, and it is disproportionately challenged among American Jewish women; and the disproportionate inclusion of Jews among single parents by choice ... both related to the importance of having children among many American Jews. (Hartman, 2020, p. 165)

According to Hartman (2020), the “distinctive centrality of the family in Jewish life” results in more Jewish women cutting back on paid labor while children are young, to the potential detriment of their careers (p. 164). Throughout the literature, we see the outsize pressures experienced by women and those of other

gender identities who take on traditional women's roles. In a recent study of working women from Atlanta Jewish households, their struggles included discrimination and harassment in the workplace, finding affordable childcare, and juggling the competing demands of work, household management, children's social and extracurricular activities, and sometimes eldercare responsibilities (to say nothing of their own health and well-being). Consistent with other research on the unrealistic cultural expectations placed on American women (e.g., Collins, 2019), those in the study often felt guilty for not "doing it all" (Chertok, Minkin, & Brookner, 2020, p. 7).

Such feelings were magnified during the COVID-19 pandemic, as families lost (already insufficient) institutional childcare support. Limonic (2023) characterizes this as the intensification in the prevailing ideology and practice of "intensive mothering," defined by Sharon Hays (1998) as "child-centered, expert guided, emotionally absorbing, labor intensive and financially expensive" (Limonic, 2023, p. 8). Because of their now-constant presence in their children's lives, many became even more identified with their roles as mothers and were quick to label themselves as "good" or "bad" according to their ability to meet their children's needs. These feelings may have been amplified for women working to create a Jewish home environment, given that women in general are responsible for curating religious life (Chertok, Minkin, & Brookner, 2020; di Leonardo, 1987), as well as the numerous religious holidays and prominence of home-based rituals in Judaism.

Considerably less research is dedicated to contemporary Jewish fatherhood. Historically, Jewish fathers in the United States have embraced hegemonic ideals of successful masculinity in terms of pursuing high-paid careers to provide for their families (Hartman, 2020). Younger men, however, are more likely to experience conflict between the demands of their careers and desire to spend more time with their children (McGinity, 2014). More research is needed into how Jewish American men are approaching fatherhood given changing gender norms and expectations, in addition to the challenging structural conditions discussed above.

Single parents face additional hurdles in both navigating challenging economic conditions and meeting socially sanctioned gender roles, within and beyond Jewish communal contexts. As Susman-Stillman mentioned, it is important to distinguish between divorced or other parents in a co-parenting arrangement and single parents who have adopted or conceived a child through assisted reproductive technologies. Both may struggle with Jewish communal programs and policies designed with a heterosexual nuclear family in mind. Those who are co-parenting may or may not have assistance with childcare, doctor's appointments, etc. They also likely have more delicate negotiations regarding both their children's schedules and their religious upbringing. Both the design and execution of our interview guides incorporate sensitivity to how gender mediates the challenges parents face and how those challenges differ for single versus partnered parents. Aware that participants may filter their responses according to deep-seated beliefs about what constitutes a "good (Jewish) mother/father/parent," we take care to establish a nonjudgmental environment within focus groups and interviews.

## Interfaith/Dual-Faith/Conversionary Families

The study of families with members of different faith traditions—whether adults continue to practice or not—has some terminological inconsistencies that bear explanation. Some use “interfaith” to describe all couples where parents were raised in different traditions (e.g., McGinity, 2014). Others prefer “conversionary” to describe couples in which one partner has converted to Judaism. “Dual faith” can more accurately denote families that actively pursue two distinct faith traditions. Further complicating the picture, research with Boston interfaith families recently found that the majority of non-Jewish spouses considered themselves atheist or agnostic (Shain et al., 2019), that is, their relationship to Judaism and Jewishness is not about “faith,” per se. For convenience, however, we use the term “interfaith” to refer to all couples and their families in which one partner is Jewish (in some way) and the other is from a different religious, cultural, or ethnic background, including those in which one partner has converted to Judaism, those in which each partner adheres to a different faith tradition, and those who do not consider themselves to be religious. All such families face similar challenges in negotiating which elements of the parents’ childhood heritage to perpetuate or discard.

The last decade has seen a flourishing of innovative research with interfaith families that effectively dispels the still-common tropes in communal discourse about the “dangers” they pose to Jewish continuity. This work is timely: the Pew Research Center’s *Jewish Americans in 2020* study found that the percentage of married, non-Orthodox Jews with a non-Jewish spouse increases every decade. For those who married between 2010–2020, 72% are in interfaith partnerships, up from 54% of marriages that occurred in 2000–2009 and 41% from 1990–1999 (Cooperman et al., 2021, p. 39). In short, interfaith families make up an ever-greater majority of non-Orthodox Jewish families in the United States. The majority of such families—around 70%—are raising their children as Jewish in some way (Cooperman et al., p. 40). Ethnographic research with interfaith families demonstrates the nuanced and generative processes in which they engage as they make purposeful decisions about their Jewish lives. (Just like all American Jewish families do—a central point of Thompson’s, 2014, work.) Consistent with the typical responsibility of women for the family’s religious life, non-Jewish women in interfaith households often serve as key “agents of Jewish continuity” (Thompson, 2014, p. 7; McGinity, 2009). Mehta (2018) discusses how the Reform Movement’s promotion of “Jewish only” households has meant that Christian spouses often felt obligated to eliminate any religious or cultural practices they grew up with.

A recent community study of interfaith families in Toronto (Chertok, Minkin, & Glazer, 2020) found that couples felt more welcome in Jewish communal spaces when events had a “cultural” rather than religious focus; when hosts formally acknowledged the presence of non-Jewish participants; and when rituals and traditions were explained. On the other hand, families felt unwelcomed when the non-Jewish spouse experienced pressure to convert or hide their non-Jewish identity. Many also resented communal discourse characterizing intermarriage as a “problem.” Reinforcing Miller and Pomson’s (2021) observation on the importance of Jewish social capital, those with local Jewish family members had easier access to Jewish communal spaces. Despite the acknowledgment of patrilineal descent in the Reform and Reconstructionist Movements, popular understandings still privilege matrilineal descent, limiting options for community in

families where the father is Jewish, but the mother is not. In response to such challenges, there are multiple examples of interfaith families forming support groups, *havurot*, and other groups to foster communities that meet their needs and identities (Milligan, 2020; Thompson, 2014). In our conversations, both Tani Prell and Meir Muller encourage inquiry into these kinds of emergent communities. Prell emphasizes that the Jewish element of intersectional identities may or may not be the main defining quality of such groups (personal conversation, Tani Prell, June 28, 2023; Meir Muller, July 20, 2023).

## Multiethnic Families and Jewish People of Color

The work of scholars like Samira Mehta (2018, 2021; 2023) and Helen Kim and Noah Samuel Leavitt (2016) with Jewish-Asian families make a particular contribution to understanding the experience of interfaith families that are also multiethnic. Although the aforementioned “Jewish only” recommendations of Reform and Reconstructionist denominations for interfaith families were designed to guard the minority (Judaism)

against interference by the majority (Christianity), the power dynamic becomes more complicated when the Christian partner represents a marginalized racial/ethnic group, and the Jewish partner is racialized as white. We acknowledge that Ashkenazi Jewish positioning within US racial classification schemes is complicated, even as their current experience overlaps in many ways with that of others who are racialized as white. (For further discussion, see Goldstein, 2008; Hahn Tapper et al., 2023; and Levine-Rasky, 2020.)

Whereas some “ethnic” or “cultural” practices are seen as nonthreatening within Jewish communal spaces, others are seen as problematic. Mehta gives the examples of Asian religious traditions, which are often coded as “cultural” and therefore innocuous, largely because of the broader appropriation of such practices in American society, for example, the practice of meditation and the yin yang symbol. On the other hand, Christmas cookies and Easter egg hunts are coded as religious practices (and therefore incompatible with a Jewish home), even though both are arguably devoid of strictly religious meaning for many who engage in them (Mehta, 2021). The rather arbitrary nature of such determinations can make for complicated decision making within interfaith families. Along the same lines, practices that are popularly characterized as “quintessentially Jewish”—such as vaguely defined manners of dressing and speaking—can further alienate members of Jewish communities who bring different modalities to the table.

As we continue to discuss the experience of Jewish individuals who are considered “other” on ethnic/racial grounds, a note on terminology is warranted. The relatively recent “Jews of Color” (JOC) umbrella is an important coalition-building tool for drawing attention to the marginalization of Jews who are racialized as nonwhite (Bitton, 2023; McKinney, 2001). For example, research, memoir, and essay literature by Black Jews recounts experiences of racism in Jewish communal spaces, ranging from openly hostile treatment; to well-intentioned but invasive questioning about one’s background; to quiet social exclusion (e.g., MaNishtana, 2012; Walker, 2002; Mevorach, 1997). Benor (2016) has analyzed the complicated self-presentation strategies of Black Jews in different social spheres. Organizations like Jews of Color Initiative, Jews in All Hues, and B’chol Lashon have arisen to support and celebrate the intersectional identities of Jews who ascribe to multiple ethnic/racial identities, as well as to assist Jewish institutions in identifying and dismantling discriminatory practices.



As researchers, however, we should avoid uncritically applying the JOC label to all who do not match an imagined American Jewish norm (i.e., light-skinned, Ashkenazi, English-speaking). Doing so can obscure the unique, intersectional identities and circumstances of different groups (Bitton, 2023). For example, while both may be labeled “Latino/a,” the experience of Spanish-speaking, Latin American Jewish immigrants in the United States (Limonic, 2019; Ronay-Jinich, 2022) is vastly different from that of Southwestern Hispanics who embrace Judaism as part of their Crypto-Jewish heritage (Kunin, 2009).

Taking the above into consideration, the Jewish Families Today project privileges self-identification in our research instruments. With care and respect, we inquire into experiences of discrimination or exclusion among people of color in Jewish spaces. Mindful of the stigma attached to some cultural practices seen as incompatible with Jewishness, we will encourage participants’ honest reflection on which elements of their heritage they wish to continue, which they have chosen not to, and why. We will maintain curiosity about the kinds of communities people may be forming, in which “Jewish” may or not be the most prominent element of their intersectional identities.

## LGBTQ+ Jewish Families

Research on LGBTQ+ Jews is an emerging field. Hartman and Sheskin (2021) note that community studies only began including questions about LGBTQ+ individuals in the mid-2000s. They estimate that anywhere between 1% to 11% of Jewish households have a member who is LGBTQ+. Of the three most prominent Jewish denominations in the United States, the Orthodox Movement does not condone same-sex marriage, limiting the visibility of LGBTQ+ Orthodox Jews (OU Staff, 2022). While the Conservative Movement is committed to embracing LGBTQ+ Jews, the Conservative Movement’s Rabbinic Assembly only ruled to accept LGBTQ+ rabbis in 2006, also limiting the underlying inclusion of LGBTQ+ Jews in Conservative Jewish spaces. The Reform Movement has supported and advocated for LGBTQ+ rights and inclusion for over 50 years (Religious Action Center, n.d.). Regarding LGBTQ+ parents, specifically, there is a relative paucity of literature, which underscores the importance of including them in our research. A 2015 study with LGBTQ+ parents found that their concerns and priorities with regard to Jewish life were similar to those of heterosexual couples. In other words, it was difficult to isolate the influence of their LGBTQ+ identities in their decision making. Nonetheless, two factors “were strongly correlated with Jewish engagement: welcoming Jewish institutions and an existing support system of family and/or friends” (Krasner, 2015, p. 94). While division of household/childrearing labor was more likely to be divided according to pragmatic considerations (e.g., schedules and work arrangements), some couples divided labor according to typically gendered roles of “breadwinners” versus “caregivers” (Krasner, 2015, p. 98). Interestingly, for same-sex couples that were also interfaith, many of the Christian partners were more favorably inclined toward Judaism because they viewed the Jewish community as more welcoming of LGBTQ+ people, especially if their own particular Christian background was Catholic or Evangelical Protestant.

Since LGBTQ+ people are frequently marginalized in Jewish institutions, affinity-based organizations such as Keshet have organized to foster community. Subsets of LGBTQ+ Jews are highly engaged in these organizations, which have a stronger presence in larger Jewish population centers; those who live outside

such centers have less access to them. Research has found that home-based practice can be particularly rich in LGBTQ+ families, even when not involved in broader communities, as parents may reinterpret traditional practices and texts to fit their family's identities (Acosta, 2020).

## Conclusions

This brief review affirms the timeliness of the Jewish Families Today research project. Jewish families in the United States are increasingly diverse. These unique, intersectional identities contribute to widely varying Jewish experiences and expressions. Until now, research has tended to have a fragmenting effect; it has explored these diverse identities in siloed fashion, surfacing what is distinctive about the lived experiences of each distinct population. This literature review is a first step in probing for commonalities of lived experience among these differences.

Already, some common themes emerge. For example, despite the primacy of the nuclear family in research and programming, grandparents and other extended family are key players supporting a family's entrée in organized Jewish life. Across young families, challenges related to affordable housing and childcare (in addition to other rising costs) exert strong influences in parents' choices for care, education, and community engagement. Parents grapple with unrealistic gender expectations, often seeking more equitable and humane conditions in which to work and spend time with their families. Decisions about if, how, when, and where to be Jewish must be negotiated in every family, although these negotiations may be more visible for those that are interfaith/dual faith, multiethnic, or LGBTQ+. Informal and/or affinity-based communities of practice (Wenger, 2006) are emerging that may better fulfill families' desires for community, especially for those who experience racism or other forms of discrimination in mainstream institutions.

We remain vigilant to the nuance of each family's intersectional experience even as we explore the possibility of shared meaning. We ask, is a *community of difference* submerged beneath these fragments? In other words, at a historical moment when community is no longer anchored in sameness (shared origins, kinship, and shared beliefs), do we find the seeds of what scholars characterize as postmodern community where diverse individuals might come together around shared values and shared experiences of difference? Just as this review has provided useful scaffolding for the data collection phase of the Jewish Families Today project, we hope it may inform other researchers and Jewish communal professionals in their efforts to better serve families with young children.

## External Advisors and Consultants to the Jewish Families Today Project

### DEI Consultant

[Tani Prell](#) is a renowned independent consultant and educator with an illustrious track record of working with Jewish organizations on matters of antiracism, diversity, equity, and inclusion. She is the creative director for the national Jewish nonprofit Be'chol Lashon and past Chicago director of 18Doors.

### Expert Advisors

[Dr. Meir Muller](#) is an ordained rabbi, associate professor of early childhood education at the University of South Carolina, and co-founder of the Cutler Jewish Day School in Columbia, South Carolina. His research expertise spans issues of racial equity, justice pedagogy, constructivist theory and pedagogy, Jewish education, and pre-service teacher preparation.

[Dr. Amy Susman-Stillman](#) has extensive experience as an applied researcher and evaluator in the early childhood space. She is currently the vice president of evaluation at Northside Achievement Zone, an organization that leads a collaborative of schools and nonprofits in North Minneapolis to provide comprehensive support to children of color and their families.

[Jonathan Shmidt Chapman](#) is a celebrated innovator at the intersection of early childhood experiences and the performing arts. He is founder and CEO of the K'ilu Company, which creates products, experiences, and resources that bring Jewish tradition to life for children and their families through immersive theater experience. He is also the 2023 Covenant Foundation Jewish Family Education Fellow.

## Bibliography

- Acosta, K. L. (2020). Religion in the lives of LGBTQ-parent families. In A. E. Goldberg & K. R. Allen (Eds.), *LGBTQ-parent families: innovations in research and implications for practice* (pp. 215–227). Springer International Publishing. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-35610-1\\_13](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-35610-1_13)
- Benor, S. B. (2016). Black and Jewish: Language and multiple strategies for self-presentation. *American Jewish History*, 100(1), 51–71. <https://doi.org/10.1353/ajh.2016.0001>
- Berns, R. M. (2016). *Child, family, school, community: socialization and support*. Cengage Learning.
- Bitton, M. (2023). Personal reflection: Am I a Jew of Color? Negotiating competing definitions of JOC. *Contemporary Jewry*. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12397-023-09478-x>
- Boyarin, J. (2013). *Jewish families*. Rutgers University Press.
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979). *The ecology of human development: Experiments by nature and design*. Harvard University Press.
- Bronfenbrenner, U., & Morris, P. A. (2006). The bioecological model of human development. In J. R. Saffran, J. Werker, & L. Werner (Eds.) *Handbook of child development*. Wiley.
- Chertok, F., Brookner, M., & Minkin, R. (2019). *We'll cross that bridge when we come to it: Life stages and the needs of interfaith couples in greater Boston*. Brandeis University.
- Chertok, F., Minkin, R., & Brookner, M. (2020). *All in her day's work: Women from Atlanta Jewish households in the workplace*. Brandeis University; Jewish Women's Fund of Atlanta.
- Chertok, F., Minkin, R., & Glazer, T. (2020). *Swimming upstream: Interfaith families in Greater Toronto*. Brandeis University.
- Collins, C. (2019). *Making motherhood work*. Princeton University Press.
- Cooperman, A., & Kotler-Berkowitz, L. (2019). *Advancing research on Jewish poverty: A more unified approach to measuring economic deprivation and vulnerability*. The Harry and Jeanette Weinberg Foundation.
- Cooperman, A., Alper, B. A., & Schiller, A. (2021). *Jewish Americans in 2020*. Pew Research Center.
- Dollahite, D., Hatch, T., & Marks, L. (2022). Relational implications of Jewish family ritual and practice. In O. Leaman (Ed.), *The Routledge handbook of Jewish ritual and practice*. Routledge/Taylor Francis.
- di Leonardo, M. (1987). The female world of cards and holidays: Women, families, and the work of kinship. *Signs*, 12(3), 440–453. <https://doi.org/10.1086/494338>
- Flowers, H. (2019, July 18). *Intersectionality part one: Intersectionality defined*. National Institutes of Health Office of Equity, Diversity, and Inclusion Blog. <https://www.edi.nih.gov/blog/communities/intersectionality-part-one-intersectionality-defined>
- Friese, S., Lin, V.-K., Forry, N., & Tout, K. (2017). *Defining and measuring access to high-quality early care and education (ECE): A guidebook for policymakers and researchers*. Office of Planning, Research and Evaluation, Administration for Children and Families, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. <https://www.acf.hhs.gov/opre/report/defining-and-measuring-access-high-quality-early-care-and-education-ece-guidebook>
- Goldstein, E. L. (2008). *The price of whiteness: Jews, race, and American identity*. Princeton University Press.

- Hahn Tapper, A. J., Kelman, A. Y., & Saperstein, A. (2023). Counting on whiteness: Religion, race, ethnicity, and the politics of Jewish demography. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 62(1), 28–48. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jssr.12814>
- Hart, J., & Boyden, J. (2018). Childhood (Re)materialized: Bringing political economy into the field. In S. Spyrou, R. Rosen, & D. T. Cook (Eds.), *Reimagining Childhood Studies* (pp. 75–89). Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Hartman, H. (2020). The 2019 Sklare Address: How gender and family still matter for contemporary Jewry. *Contemporary Jewry*, 40(2), 161–185. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12397-020-09338-y>
- Hartman, H. & Sheskin, I. M. (2021, November 4). *Who are the Jewish LGBT households and how involved are they in their Jewish identity?* EJewish Philanthropy. <https://ejewishphilanthropy.com/who-are-the-jewish-lgbt-households-and-how-involved-are-they-in-their-jewish-identity/>
- Hays, S. (1998). *The cultural contradictions of motherhood* (first edition). Yale University Press.
- Hill, Z., Gebhart, T., Schaefer, C., & Halle, T. (2021). *Parents' reasons for searching for early care and education and results of search: An analysis using the access framework*. Office of Planning, Research and Evaluation, Administration for Children and Families, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. <https://www.acf.hhs.gov/opre/report/parents-reasons-searching-early-care-and-education-and-results-search-analysis-using>
- Horwitz, I. M. (2019). Foregrounding the family: An ethnography of how families make decisions about Hebrew school. *Contemporary Jewry*, 39(1), 155–172. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12397-019-09281-7>
- Kim, H. K. & Leavitt, N. S. (2016). *JewAsian: Race, religion and identity for America's newest Jews*. University of Nebraska Press.
- Kotler-Berkowitz, L. (2020). The vulnerable among us. In A. Dashefsky & I. Sheskin (Eds.), *American Jewish Year Book 2021* (pp. 63–65).
- Krasner, J. (2015). “We all still have to potty train”: Same-Sex couple families and the American Jewish community. In S. Barack Fishman (Ed.), *Love, marriage, and Jewish families: Paradoxes of a social revolution* (pp. 73–107). Brandeis University Press.
- Kunin, S. D. (2009). *Juggling identities: Identity and authenticity among the Crypto-Jews*. Columbia University Press.
- Levine-Rasky, C. (2020). Jewish whiteness and its others. *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies*, 19(3), 362–381. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14725886.2020.1718342>
- Limonic, L. (2019). *Kugel and frijoles: Latino Jews in the United States*. Wayne State University Press.
- Limonic, L. (2023). Pandemic-intensified motherhood: Making sense of increased mothering pressures during COVID-19. *Journal of the Motherhood Initiative for Research and Community Involvement*, 14(1), Article 1.
- MaNishtana. (2012). *Thoughts from a unicorn: 100% Black. 100% Jewish. 0% Safe*. Independently published.
- Marks, L. D. (2023). Family dinners and family relationships following the initial onset of the COVID-19 pandemic. *Marriage & Family Review*, 59(2), 95–120.
- McGinity, K. R. (2009). *Still Jewish: A history of women and intermarriage in America* (first edition). NYU Press.
- McGinity, K. R. (2014). *Marrying out: Jewish men, intermarriage, & fatherhood*. Indiana University Press.
- McKinney, S. (2001). Writing and art by Jewish women of color: Introduction. *Bridges*, 9(1), 4–8.

- Mehta, S. K. (2018). *Beyond Chrismukkah: The Christian-Jewish interfaith family in the United States*. UNC Press Books.
- Mehta, S. K. (2021). Asian American Jews, race, and religious identity. *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 89(3), 978–1005. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jaarel/lfab058>
- Mehta, S. (2023). *The racism of people who love you: Essays on mixed race belonging*. Beacon Press.
- Mevorach, K. G. (1997). *Black, Jewish, and interracial: It's not the color of your skin, but the race of your kin, and other myths of identity*. Duke University Press.
- Miller, H., & Pomson, A. (2021). The view along the way: A longitudinal study of Jewish lives. *Journal of Jewish Education*, 87(2), 144–161. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15244113.2020.1854062>
- Milligan, A. K. (2020). Creating Jewish mothers: A feminist ethnographic investigation of the mothers circle of coastal Virginia and the interfaith parents circle. *Nashim: A Journal of Jewish Women's Studies & Gender Issues*, 37(1), 37–61.
- O'Brien, C. (2023, June 29). *Analysis: Young families have not returned to large cities post-pandemic*. Economic Innovation Group. <https://eig.org/2023-family-exodus/>
- OU Staff (2022, November 17). *Orthodox Union: Clarifying Statement with Regard to the Respect for Marriage Act*. <https://www.ou.org/news/orthodox-union-clarifying-statement-with-regard-to-the-respect-for-marriage-act/>
- Parke, R. D., & Burel, R. (2006). Socialization in the family: Ethnic and ecological perspectives. In W. Damon & R. M. Lerner, *Handbook of child psychology*. Wiley.
- Pomson, A., & Schnoor, R. F. (2018). *Jewish family: Identity and self-formation at home*. Indiana University Press.
- Religious Action Center (n.d.). *LGBTQ Rights and Position of the Reform Movement*. Retrieved August 11, 2023, from <https://rac.org/lgbtq-rights-and-position-reform-movement>.
- Ronay-Jinich, A. (2022). *Intersectional identity and heritage language: Latinx Jewish families and their educational choices*. Master's thesis, Mill's College, Oakland, CA.
- Rostosky, S. S., Abreu, R. L., & Mahoney, L. (2017). A qualitative study of parenting and religiosity/spirituality in LBGQT families. *Psychology of Religion and Spirituality*, 9 (4), 437–445. <https://doi.org/10.1037/rel0000077>
- Shain, M., Saxe, L., Chertok, F., Wright, G., Hecht, S., & Sasson, T. (2019). *Beyond welcoming: Engaging intermarried couples in Jewish Life*. Brandeis University.
- Thompson, J. A. (2014). *Jewish on their own terms: How intermarried couples are changing American Judaism*. Rutgers University Press.
- Walker, R. (2002). *Black, White & Jewish: Autobiography of a shifting self*. Riverhead Books.
- Weil, M. (2022, September 29). *Jews on the move: The geographic dimension of Jewish survival in North America*. eJewishPhilanthropy. <https://ejewishphilanthropy.com/jews-on-the-move-the-geographic-dimension-of-jewish-survival-in-north-america/>
- Wenger, E. (2006). *Communities of practice—A brief introduction*. [http://www.ewenger.com/theory/communities\\_of\\_practice\\_intro.htm](http://www.ewenger.com/theory/communities_of_practice_intro.htm)



[info@rosovconsulting.com](mailto:info@rosovconsulting.com)  
[www.rosovconsulting.com](http://www.rosovconsulting.com)



**USA**

2095 Rose Street  
Suite 101  
Berkeley, CA 94709



Tel 510-848-2502



**ISRAEL**

Emek Refaim 43/a  
Second Floor  
Jerusalem 9314103



Tel 972-2-582-4322