policies such as flexible schedules, on-site subsidized childcare centers, better nonstandard childcare benefits, automatic care leaves, and tenure-clock stoppages, as well as measures aimed at changing departmental and institutional cultures. The goal is to shift universities, given the demographic realities of today's scientists, toward creating more open and supportive structures. This will help retain more academic scientists and more diverse academic scientists.

Based on compelling research, the book has potential to reshape the conversation about academic science, most notably because it suggests that not only women but men also are making choices to leave universities due to lack of family support. They also note that enrollment growth in graduate programs in science is mostly driven by international students, which suggests the need for more analysis of how nationality intersects with gender in the trends they describe. Yet the book could also say more about how changes might take place. Have grants from the NSF aimed at transforming institutions made a difference? Have unions taken up these calls? At my campus, we have many of the policies Ecklund and Lincoln call for as a result of union negotiating, although changes in institutional culture have been more challenging to achieve. Knowing whether there were any institutions among the twenty included in the study where academic scientists feel more supported, and how gains were won at those institutions, could help create blueprints for change.

Milkman provides a deeply important overview of gender inequality and labor in the United States that makes key points about gender ideologies underlying occupational gender segregation as well as increasing inequality in the post-industrial period. Ecklund and Lincoln focus on a group of relatively privileged, highly educated workers in this post-industrial period, and they show that even among this group, gender ideologies continue to powerfully affect the experiences of these workers. Diverse worker movements are necessary to fight back against workplace inequalities and to ensure a society where families are supported and where less-educated as well as educated women as well as men have true workplace opportunity.

Four Perspectives on Contemporary American Judaism

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JewAsian: Race, Religion, and Identity for America's Newest Jews, by **Helen Kiyong Kim** and **Noah Samuel Leavitt.** Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2016. 198 pp. $35.00 cloth. ISBN: 9780803285651.

Coming of Age in Jewish America: Bar and Bat Mitzvah Reinterpreted, by **Patricia Keer Munro.** New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2016. 232 pp. $90.00 cloth. ISBN: 9780813575940.

Jews and the American Religious Landscape, by **Uzi Rebhun.** New York: Columbia University Press, 2016. 208 pp. $60.00 cloth. ISBN: 9780231178266.

Summoned: Identification and Religious Life in a Jewish Neighborhood, by **Iddo Tavory.** Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016. 224 pp. $85.00 cloth. ISBN: 9780226321868.

I begin this essay with a discussion of Uzi Rebhun's book, *Jews and the American Religious Landscape*, because it offers an overview of the rich data on the demographics of Jews as of 2007. Also, this work provides us with a broad contextual understanding in which to situate the other books reviewed here. But Rebhun does not stop

with an analysis of recent data. He goes further by comparing his findings to data from recent decades all the way back to the 1950s, a time when, for example, intermarriage was infrequent and it was understood that "marrying out" brought a great shame upon the family.

The book is informative, although in many cases I wished for more current numbers—in the early 2010s, the Pew Foundation did intensive studies of the Jewish population as well as a separate study of the Orthodox. This work provides data and reflection on several of the central issues facing contemporary Jews: population size, spatial and economic stratification, intermarriage, religious identification, and political orientation. Throughout the book, the material on Jews is continually presented in comparison with members of the overall contemporary American Christian majority as well as data from many of the Protestant denominations, other religious minorities, and the non-religious.

As indicated in the title, the book begins with a broad overview of historical and contemporary trends and patterns in the American religious landscape. The primary data is drawn from the 2007 Pew Religious Landscape Survey. The longitudinal component of Rebhun's findings serves to contextualize the religious composition of contemporary America. This is an important feature of his study, as the past several decades have witnessed monumental transformations in religious group affiliation. For example, the share of mainline Protestants has been diminished as Evangelical Christians have risen to forefront. Further, the share of the religiously unaffiliated has grown robustly.

Rebhun reports that religion is central in the lives of most Americans, although its power has been diminished. Beginning in the 1960s, religion in America has come to be seen as a voluntary choice, which allows people to choose no religious identification, to affiliate with more than one tradition, and even to choose when and where to be religious or identify with "no religion." Currently, religion is more diverse than it has ever been in American history, creating a complicated pluralistic situation in which people are able to freely select aspects of various religious traditions, cultures, rituals, and values or create a new form of religion that synthesizes different traditions and practices. These general processes of change in U.S. religiosity are, of course, visible in patterns in the Jewish community as well. The book's goal is to provide a thorough, detailed analysis of the current state of the Jewish community in comparison with the corresponding conditions of most American religious groups.

Among Jews and members of the groups they are compared with, demography and religion have been, and remain, intertwined. One's religion shapes patterns of fertility, residency, conversion, migration, and mortality. For example, the number of children people have is intimately related to their religious group's position on the appropriate age for marriage and birth control. Jews marry later than others in the United States; their fertility rates are correspondingly lower. Residential patterns can be a result of, and shape, the frequency of interactions with one's fellow religionists, thereby influencing the cohesion of the group. Religious groups show different social and economic trends, although there is a remarkably high degree of consistency within groups.

Jews show a high degree of residential cohesion—the largest percentage (48 percent) of American Jews live in the Northeast—generally living in urban and suburban areas. Rebhun presents statistics to show that Jews in the United States have attained higher levels of educational and economic achievement compared with other religious groups, as well as compared with the U.S. population as a whole. Jewish intermarriage rates have grown faster and higher than those among Protestants and Catholics. The Pew 2010 study of American Jews claimed that 58 percent of American Jews have intermarried, although others show that these rates are biased toward the choices of younger Jews and the general rate is lower. Jewish men are more likely to marry out of the religion than are Jewish women, as are Jews in the Northeast and Midwest. The author analyzed the impact of these factors on levels of religious identification, concluding that religious identification is lower among Jews than non-Jews and those with the strongest religious identity are from Mormon, black Protestant, and Evangelical

backgrounds. Jews tend to affiliate more with the Democratic Party rather than the Republican.

The statistical data about Jews presented throughout this book show signs of religious decline. Since the 1950s, there has been a decrease in the percentage of those who identify with the religion, follow religious tenets, or claim that Judaism is central to their lives, and there has been a significant increase in the rate of intermarriage. Rebhun recognizes that these trends constitute the basis for many discussions and much handwringing about the possibilities for Jewish survival, and he presents both sides of this argument. He concludes, however, that the high rates of Jewish residential and occupational groupings will provide a solid base for the maintenance of cohesion among American Jews in the United States, creating strong conditions for Jewish survival.

Coming of Age in Jewish America: Bar and Bat Mitzvah Reinterpreted, by Patricia Keer Munro, is a lively, thoughtful book exploring various dimensions of the contemporary bar or bat mitzvah, as it is currently practiced within Independent, Reform, Conservative, and Orthodox Jewish congregations. Munro's presentation is based on extensive ethnographic research and participant observation among different Jewish communities in the San Francisco Bay area. She and her research assistants conducted over two hundred interviews with the various actors—rabbis and leaders as well as family members—whose interactions create bar mitzvah rituals and celebrations suitable for and within these various congregations. Their research in these distinctive communities was thorough, as was Munro's incorporation of the large body of literature pertaining to the topic—including ritual theory, studies of the American Jewish community, feminism, and religion—and studies of other religious groups struggling with the tensions between tradition and modernity in contemporary U.S. society.

Munro chose to focus on this coming-of-age ritual because Judaism, like other religions, has come to be seen as a matter of individual choice. In the absence of any compulsion to participate in traditional practices, the bar or bat mitzvah ritual has taken on a central role as the ''primary means of inculcating Jewish beliefs and practices in children, and in their families.'' In a time and place in which individual choice is paramount, the actual bar or bat mitzvah becomes a ritual whose form and content is negotiated between rabbis, religious leaders, teachers, and family members. This ceremony, which symbolizes a family's connection to the Jewish communities of the past and future, has to be performed in a way that suits the goals of the rabbis and teachers, who see this ritual as a means of inculcating a high standard of Jewish learning and ritual observance, and the families and young adults who would like the ceremony to reflect their own individual values and identities as Jews.

Just as all religions are transformed through their interactions with the larger society, the contemporary bar and bat mitzvah is a highly visible Jewish coming-of-age ritual that reflects the various people involved and their communities' ways of negotiating between tradition and contemporary life. Munro analyzes several key components of this ceremony that reveal how each bar and bat mitzvah is a product of negotiations between the needs and perspectives of the various individuals involved. One is the actual meaning of this event, and another is finding a balance between the personal and public aspects of the ceremony. In general, families want to see a stellar performance by their bar or bat mitzvah child at the ceremony, whereas the religious leaders desire for the event to be one moment in a life dedicated to Jewish study and ritual observance.

In addition, the influence of the larger American context brings new challenges that must be addressed in many areas of contemporary Jewish life. For example, the high rate of Jewish intermarriage has created a multitude of families that include one Jewish and one non-Jewish parent. This creates an issue at the time of the bar or bat mitzvah because traditional Jewish law forbids non-Jews from participation in public ritual ceremonies, such as a synagogue service. According to Munro, both parents want to be involved and to have an important role in this significant moment in their child's life. To balance *halacha* (Jewish law) with congregants' family lives, rabbis create compromises that allow all members of

the family to be equally involved in the child's coming-of-age ceremony. Feminism has influenced traditional Judaism by expanding women's roles in public ritual ceremonies and has led to the normative status of the bat mitzvah ceremony, whereas in the past it was primarily a coming-of-age ritual for boys.

The very nature of the bar and bat mitzvah ceremonies—their celebration as a ritual event for boys and girls, punctuated by a major social event in grand parties and gifts—is clearly a modern invention. Historically it was not an occasion celebrated with festive social gatherings. Rather, the meaning of the bar mitzvah was for boys to go through a rite of passage that transformed the boy into a religiously obligated and responsible adult in the Jewish world. To mark this change in status, the rabbis in the Talmud created a special benediction spoken by the father thanking God for relieving him of the responsibility for his son's conduct and sins, which until that moment redounded to the father. Our current modes of celebrating bar and bat mitzvahs show how, in their confrontation with modernity, Jews have modernized their practices, making them relevant and exciting to modern-day Jews.

Munro argues that this contemporary adaptation of the ancient practice has become a creative, modern construction that, by including Jewish education for the whole family, might make participants more inclined to create a Jewish home. Intermarriage does not necessarily lose Jews or signal the ultimate decline of Judaism; rather, it has the potential to bring more families into Jewish communities.

In *JewAsian: Race, Religion, and Identity for America's Newest Jews*, Helen Kiyong Kim and Noah Samuel Leavitt, who are themselves an intermarried couple, share Munro's optimistic view about Jewish intermarriage in the United States. In contrast to the group I call the "oy vey'ers," who see any diminution of Jewish social cohesion and a decline in religious participation as threatening to the future of Jewish survival, both sets of authors argue that marrying out can actually contribute to Jewish continuity by opening the possibility that many of these couples will create Jewish homes and families. Although there are no statistics portraying the rate of Jewish-Asian intermarriage, the authors assert that such unions are on the rise.

The authors of this book are an Asian woman and a Jewish man; their choice of subject is inspired at least partly by their own experiences of the joys and challenges of creating a Jewish home when the mother (or father) is not of Jewish origin. Their research is situated in, and stimulated by, the growth of statistical and qualitative studies of people in the United States who marry across racial and ethnic lines. The authors use a case study based on interviews with 34 Jewish/Asian intermarried couples and their children to analyze how various categories of identification such as race, religion, ethnicity, and multiple identities shape the daily lives of all members of these families. They seek to analyze how adults from Asian and Jewish backgrounds construe and manage their multiple identifications in their daily lives inside and outside of their homes. This case study contributes to the growing body of sociological literature interrogating the many meanings of race, religion, and ethnicity as they emerge in everyday lives.

Jewish-Asian marriages are generally between an Asian woman and a Jewish man. The authors contend these two groups bear many experiences in common and many cultural similarities. In the United States, both groups have been victims of racism and violence. Jews and Asians come from ancient cultures, and many of the participants in this study spoke of their desire to retain ties with their ages-old traditions. Even as these intermarried adults maintain connections with different pasts, there are, Kim and Leavitt argue, many values shared by Asians and Jews that support and give substance to their attraction to each other: a deep commitment to education, hard work, and strong families. Members of both groups have attained similarly high levels of academic and economic success in the United States.

Although Kim and Leavitt claim Asian women who are married to Jewish men become integrated and absorbed into the fabric of Jewish life in the United States, the children of these couples tell a different story: they are not always welcomed by either of their communities of origin, even in major cities. These kids received numerous comments

challenging their mixed identities, such as, ''Funny, you don't look Jewish.'' Or, if the father was the Jewish parent, ''You can't be Jewish because it does not count if it is the father's side. The religion is passed down only through the mother,'' a stance that has been untrue ever since the Reform movement decided in 1983 that children raised in a Jewish home would be counted as Jews, no matter if the father is the Jewish partner.

Over time, however, these offspring came to feel that neither of the traditions in which they were raised was necessarily dominant. Instead, most identified as multiracial rather than ''half-Jewish'' and ''half-Asian.'' Their comments are surely shaped by their social context, which is that in the United States there has been a growing acceptance of multi-racial and multi-ethnic identities. Since 2010, the U.S. Census has created new categories to include individuals who identify as multi-ethnic or multi-racial.

Kim and Leavitt and Munro have created Jewish homes and are raising Jewish families, reinforcing Munro's thesis that non-Jewish parents are eager to participate in Jewish rituals and create Jewish households. They contend, based on their own experiences and their research findings, that intermarriage can have a positive effect on Jewish communities in the United States because it provides opportunities for the creation of more Jewish households. A significant portion of intermarried Jews and Asians create Jewish homes and raise Jewish children.

The more common view is that intermarriage is dangerous to the very survival of Jewish life in the United States. Marrying out necessarily leads to religious and ethnic decline because, so goes the argument, the children of an intermarried couple will not be raised as Jews. The more children raised without knowledge of Judaism, the more diluted the traditions will become until little is left. The authors of the books reviewed thus far all disagree with this gloom and doom perspective. Their own and their interviewees' lives belie it. As Rebhun asserts after presenting the intermarriage debate, ''Intermarriage does not pose a serious threat to the Jewish continuity of much of American Jewry'' (p. 18).

Summoned: Identification and Religious Life in a Jewish Neighborhood, by Iddo Tavory, differs from the other books discussed in this essay: it does not address the various transformations and accommodations the Jewish religion has made to stay relevant to, and survive, the challenges of life in contemporary U.S. society. Instead, Tavory applies a particular theoretical orientation in sociology—symbolic interactionism—to analyze the processes through which Orthodox communities create ba'alei (male) and ba'a lot (female) teshuvah—that is, Jews who become Orthodox as adults. These terms, which are widely used in the research literature on this topic, are not used by Tavory. I imagine he might have avoided this language in order to situate his book in the theoretical literature of one particular perspective in sociology and avoid association with the broad and interdisciplinary fields of Jewish Studies.

Summoned is an excellent model of a contemporary symbolic interactionist ethnography. It highlights the numerous ways people are active agents in the ongoing processes of interaction through which they create identifications—in specific contexts—with particular social groups and institutions with whom they associate. People are situated in various social contexts within which they make choices about the selves they are creating. They construct their lives through sustained interactions with members of a community of others that, over time, will shape their identifications as a particular type of person within a group. It is through these ongoing, meaningful interactions with others, within their contextual, situational, and contingent relations, that individuals come to be seen as members of a certain category of people.

The interactionist perspective calls our attention to how people become who they are through interactions with certain others that shape their identifications and what they do in their daily lives. Various identifications are summoned into being or changed through interactions with particular interlocutors. As Tavory expresses it, over time, the linkages between the interactions surrounding summoning and acceptance create a process that leads to the internalization of—in this case—the Orthodox techniques of the body: those distinctly gendered, embodied, embedded, and taken-for-granted ritual practices and ways of being

in the world that constitute the members' daily lives. Orthodox Jews, who are obligated to follow hundreds of laws regarding corporeal rituals throughout their daily lives, constitute a case study par excellence of how embodied routines are an essential, and understudied, aspect of socialization. It is not only a cultural tool kit that must be learned to become identified as a member of a group; the bodily knowledge is even more fundamental to the practice and performance of an Orthodox identification. This process is not a one-time occurrence; it is solidified and deepened through the continuous process of summoning and responding through which those called to be members internalize the rhythms, syncopations, and connections that bring predictable forms of identification into being. The more one is summoned and accepts, the more deeply the marks of membership