



THE 2017 GREATER PITTSBURGH JEWISH COMMUNITY STUDY

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Jewish Community
Foundation
OF GREATER PITTSBURGH

Version 1.1

Revised March 20, 2018

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Established in 2005 and housed at the Cohen Center for Modern Jewish Studies, the Steinhardt Social Research Institute (SSRI) uses innovative research methods to collect and analyze sociodemographic data on the Jewish community.

The Cohen Center for Modern Jewish Studies (CMJS), founded in 1980, is dedicated to providing independent, high-quality research on issues related to contemporary Jewish life.

Jewish Federation Acknowledgments

The Jewish Federation of Greater Pittsburgh has taken the lead for the past decade on measuring our community's progress by developing the Community Scorecard. This 2017 Pittsburgh Jewish Community Study is the next step in a continuous process to provide real facts for the Jewish Federation, Jewish organizations, synagogues, and interested individuals to make informed decisions based on data. But now the real work begins: to leverage the strengths that make our community top-notch and to seize opportunities that address areas for improvement.

We are grateful to many people who helped bring this study to fruition. Our thanks to the Jewish Community Foundation of the Jewish Federation, that funded this project in its entirety, the first of its kind in more than 15 years. Our thanks as well go to the Cohen Center for Modern Jewish Studies and Steinhardt Social Research Institute at Brandeis University for shepherding the research, patiently answering our questions and bringing their expertise to our work. Most of all, thanks to our volunteers and to you, the Jewish community, for participating and for supporting this project.

There are many questions that come from what we learn in these pages. For example, how will we continue to foster Jewish education with a changed population of school-age Jewish children? How will we welcome interfaith families and those who identify as "just Jewish"? What will be our approach to synagogues as the number of Jews belonging to synagogues has declined? Where, throughout the greater Jewish Pittsburgh community, are the gaps in services?

Take your time to familiarize yourself with these numbers. Ask questions. Start conversations. The full report can be found at the Jewish Federation of Greater Pittsburgh's website, www.jfedpgh.org.

Bring your own experience and understanding to the study. But be open to new and surprising facts. Please join us as we strive to become the BEST Jewish community of 49,200 possible. To do so, your participation is invaluable.

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CMJS/SSRI Acknowledgments

The Brandeis research team is grateful to the Jewish Federation of Greater Pittsburgh for the opportunity to collaborate to develop and conduct the 2017 Greater Pittsburgh Jewish Community Study. The study was proposed and sponsored by the Jewish Federation of Greater Pittsburgh, whose staff, Board of Directors, and community study committee provided valuable input on the study design, questionnaire, and report. We are particularly grateful to Community Scorecard Director Raimy Rubin, Committee Chair Evan Indianer, and Cindy Shapira, Chair of the Federation Board of Directors when the study began, who helped us learn about the community and ensured that our work would be of the highest quality and utility for the Pittsburgh Jewish community. We appreciate the generosity of the organizations that shared contact information with us for the purposes of this study. Finally, we thank the 2,111 respondents who completed the survey. Without their willingness to spend time answering numerous questions about their lives, there could be no study.

We appreciate the efforts of the staff of Abt Associates, who served as the call center for this study. We were pleased to work with Benjamin Phillips, our former colleague at CMJS/SSRI, who directed the project at Abt Associates, assisted by Valrie Horton. Dennis Daly oversaw administration of the data collection operation.

This project could not have been conducted without the assistance of a large group of our colleagues and students at the Cohen Center for Modern Jewish Studies and Steinhardt Social Research Institute. We deeply appreciate their efforts. Elizabeth Tighe, Daniel Parmer, and Raquel Magidin led the efforts of the American Jewish Population Project team to develop the population estimates for this study. Matthew Feinberg ably managed the process of combining lists and deduplicating them. Camille Evans, Lev Paasche-Orlow, and Tamar Shachaf Schneider helped prepare mailings for the primary sample and cleaned data. Camille Evans, Yaoyao Gao, Jeff Hart, Leora Kagedan, Eve Litvak, Lev Paasche-Orlow, Tamar Shachaf Schneider, Joanna Spyra, and Gal Zahori spent countless hours searching for missing contact information for members of the sample. Breanna Vizlakh prepared a Russian-language version of the survey, which Sofiya Nuryyeva used to complete several interviews with respondents over the phone. Jeff Hart, Tamar Shachaf Schneider, Joanna Spyra, and Gal Zahori coded responses to open-ended questions in the survey. Jeff also developed Stata code to simplify the compiling of the Codebook and Comparison Charts. Naomi Weinblatt helped to prepare tables for the report. Deborah Grant provided editorial advice and feedback, and she and Masha Lokshin organized the report for its final layout. Masha Lokshin and Ilana Friedman provided logistical support throughout the study.

Special thanks go to Sarah Harpaz, whose dedication to our work is deeply appreciated. Sarah managed the logistics of the study from Brandeis, liaising with the call center; fielding questions, concerns, compliments, and complaints from members of the sample; helping with reminders; assisting in the development and testing of the questionnaire; building the maps; and participating in countless other tasks necessary to the proper conduct of the study.

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Executive Summary

The 2017 Greater Pittsburgh Jewish Community Study was developed to provide communal leaders, planners, and members with understanding of the size and character of the community. The Cohen Center for Modern Jewish Studies and Steinhardt Social Research Institute at Brandeis University conducted the study on behalf of the Jewish Federation of Greater Pittsburgh. Interviews with over 2,100 Jewish households residing in the Pittsburgh area form the basis of the report.

Key findings include:

Greater Pittsburgh's Jewish community numbers nearly 50,000 Jewish adults and children in nearly 27,000 households. Greater Pittsburgh's Jews constitute a little over 2% of the area population. The Jewish community has grown 17% since its last community study in 2002.

The composition of the Jewish community has changed since 2002. The largest shares of the population are adults ages 18-29 and 60-69. Because there are fewer adults in their 30s and 40s than there were in 2002, there are also fewer children. However, nearly 40% of Jewish children in the community are ages 0-5. Newcomers to the community are also replacing those who move away. Both developments signal that the growth of the community is likely to continue.

The community is spreading out geographically. Younger adults and families are more prevalent in the city, and older adults reside in greater numbers in the suburbs and outlying areas.

The Pittsburgh Jewish community is highly educated. Pittsburgh-area Jewish adults have even higher levels of educational attainment than the US Jewish community as a whole, with 84% of local Jewish adults having at least a college degree compared with 58% of all US Jewish adults.

The Pittsburgh Jewish community is mostly middle class. One-third (33%) of Pittsburgh-area Jews describe themselves as prosperous (7%) or living very comfortably (26%), and another 45% say they are living reasonably comfortably. Fifteen percent say they are just getting along, and 8% say they are nearly poor or poor.

Geographic Distribution

The Greater Pittsburgh Jewish community, as defined by the Federation catchment area, includes all of Allegheny, Beaver, Butler, Washington, and Westmoreland Counties. The present report compares Squirrel Hill, the rest of the city of Pittsburgh, the South Hills, the North Hills, and the rest of the region. Squirrel Hill has historically been the center of Jewish life in Greater Pittsburgh and remains home to 26% of all Pittsburgh-area Jewish households. Another 31% of Jewish households are in the rest of the city of Pittsburgh, primarily in neighborhoods surrounding Squirrel Hill. The South Hills area is now home to 20% of all Jewish households, and 9% reside in the North Hills. The remaining 14% of Jewish households are distributed through the rest of the five-county area.

Children

Overall, 76% of children in Jewish households are being raised Jewish in some way.

Seventy-one percent are being raised exclusively Jewish, either by religion (56%) or culturally (15%).

Among children with intermarried parents, 33% are being raised exclusively Jewish, either by religion or culturally. Another 11% are being raised both Jewish and in another religion. Fifty-one percent are being raised in no religion or with no decision yet made about how to raise the children. Six percent are being raised in a religion other than Judaism. (The total adds up to more than 100% due to rounding.) The proportion of children raised Jewish by intermarried parents is lower than the national average.

Overall, 52% of Jewish children in grades K-12 participated in at least one Jewish educational program in the past year. Forty-five percent of Jewish children in grades K-12 are enrolled in Jewish part-time school, day school, or a Jewish tutoring program, and 41% participated in a Jewish youth group or attended a Jewish day camp or overnight camp. Twenty-eight percent of preschool-aged Jewish children are enrolled in a Jewish preschool.

Jewish Engagement and Synagogue Membership

Jewish behavior includes family and home-based practices, ritual practices, personal activities, and organizational participation. Examining an index that combines multiple measures of Jewish life, members of the Greater Pittsburgh Jewish community can be thought of as displaying five patterns of Jewish engagement. These groupings provide a deeper way of understanding Jewish engagement aside from denominational affiliation and ritual behavior.

Pittsburgh-area Jews display similar patterns of denominational affiliation as the overall US Jewish population. Thirty-four percent of Jewish adults identify as Reform, more than any other denomination. Thirty percent say they have no specific denomination.

In the Greater Pittsburgh area, 35% of households belong to a synagogue or another Jewish worship community of some type. These households include 38% of Jewish adults, similar to the national average (39%). The proportion of member households has declined since 2002 (53%).

The largest group of synagogue members (19% of households) are dues-paying members of local “brick-and-mortar” synagogues. The remaining synagogue members (16% of households) belong to independent minyanim or chavurot, Chabad, or non-local congregations, or consider themselves members of brick-and-mortar synagogues but do not pay dues.

Community

Jewish community ties are important to Pittsburgh-area Jews. Eighty percent of Jewish adults say that being Jewish is somewhat or very much a matter of community. About two-thirds (63%) say it is important to feel connected to the Jewish community in Pittsburgh, and 43% feel

somewhat or very connected to the local Jewish community. Two-thirds (65%) feel very connected to the global Jewish community.

Nearly one-third (30%) of Pittsburgh-area Jewish households say they are members of the JCC. This includes 20% who say they pay dues, and 10% who consider themselves members but do not pay dues. Membership rates are highest in Squirrel Hill (40%), the South Hills (29%), and the rest of the city of Pittsburgh (25%).

Nearly one-third (32%) say they are members of another Jewish organization besides a synagogue or the JCC. Half of senior citizens belong to a Jewish organization other than a synagogue or the JCC.

Thirty-nine percent of Jewish adults engaged in some volunteer activity in the past month, either with a Jewish organization or with a non-Jewish organization. Eighteen percent volunteered with a Jewish organization in any capacity, including 15% who have taken on leadership roles such as serving on a board or committee. Twenty-eight percent volunteered for non-Jewish organizations, including 8% who also volunteered for Jewish organizations.

Ninety-three percent of Jewish adults made charitable donations in the past year. Seventy-six percent donated to at least one Jewish organization; 63% donated to a Jewish organization that serves the Pittsburgh-area Jewish community. The causes volunteers and donors deem most important are education (83% “very important”), health/medical causes (79%), social justice (73%), and women’s rights (72%).

Israel

Approximately three-fifths (59%) of Pittsburgh-area Jewish adults have visited Israel or lived there. One-quarter (24%) have visited once. Another quarter (28%) have visited multiple times, and 7% lived there at some point, including 3% who are Israeli citizens. The proportion of Pittsburgh-area Jewish adults who have visited Israel has increased since 2002 (44%).

Approximately one-third (33%) of Pittsburgh-area Jewish adults feel very connected to Israel. By contrast, 17% feel not at all connected to Israel.

Health and Well-Being

The majority of Pittsburgh-area Jewish households are financially comfortable. One-third (33%) describe themselves as being prosperous (7%) or very comfortable (26%), and another 45% say they are living reasonably comfortably. There are some households who are struggling and say they are just getting by (15%) or are nearly poor or poor (8%).

Economic insecurity is a concern for some households. One-quarter (25%) of Jewish households lack sufficient savings to cover three months of expenses, and 13% say they could not cover an emergency \$400 expense with cash, money currently in a bank account, or on a credit card they could pay in full. Thirteen percent skipped at least one rent, mortgage, or utility payment in

the past year due to financial hardship. Four percent of households say that financial constraints have prevented them from participating in Jewish life in some way in the Pittsburgh area in the past year.

One-quarter (25%) of Jewish households include at least one person with a chronic health issue or disability. This number includes those who are limited in the amount of work, school, or housework they can do as a result of an impairment, disability, or chronic physical or mental health issue. Eight percent of households indicate that health issues have constrained them from participating in Jewish life in some way in the Pittsburgh area in the past year.

Chapter 1. Introduction

The goals of the 2017 Greater Pittsburgh Jewish Community Study were to understand the size and character of the local Jewish population and to provide the community with high-quality data to drive decision-making for policy and planning. Multiple methods were used to generate population estimates of the Jewish community and to assess the attitudes and behaviors of those who identify as Jewish. The central component of the study was a survey that asked a broad set of questions about Jewish identity, attitudes, and engagement with the community. The survey was administered both as a telephone interview and as an online instrument.

The study was designed to help the Greater Pittsburgh Jewish community and its communal agencies learn about the size and demographic characteristics of their community, synagogue and other affiliations, interest in and utilization of programs and services, and ways that Pittsburgh Jews relate to one another. The findings are intended to inform communal planning and resource allocation.

About This Study

This study follows an enduring tradition of efforts to describe and understand the Greater Pittsburgh Jewish community. Earlier demographic studies were conducted in 1938, 1963, 1984, and 2002 (reports are held at the Berman Jewish Databank). Since 2014, the Pittsburgh Jewish Community Scorecard has tracked key metrics in Jewish engagement, affiliation, social services and philanthropy, connection to the surrounding community, and capacity building. All communities change considerably over time and these studies have provided essential data for planning purposes. The 2017 study, initiated and funded by the Jewish Federation of Greater Pittsburgh (Federation), established the following goals:

- To estimate the size and geographic distribution of the Jewish population
- To develop a portrait of the socio-demographic characteristics, affiliations, attitudes, behaviors, needs, and interests of the Jewish community as a whole and of subgroups within the community
- To identify emerging needs and changes in the community over time
- To help the community make data-driven decisions for communal planning

The study was conducted by researchers from the Cohen Center for Modern Jewish Studies/Steinhardt Social Research Institute (CMJS/SSRI) at Brandeis University. Informed by previous research and in consultation with Federation, its community study technical committee, and representatives of Jewish organizations in the Greater Pittsburgh area, CMJS/SSRI developed a research strategy and survey instrument to address the community's needs.

Methodology

Community studies rely upon scientific methods to collect information from selected members of the community and, from those responses, extrapolate a generalized portrait of the community as a whole. Over time, it has become increasingly complicated to conduct such studies, and particularly to obtain an unbiased, representative sample of community members. The 2017 Greater Pittsburgh Jewish Community Study used innovative methods developed by CMJS/SSRI¹ to overcome these challenges.

The central obstacle is that Jews are a relatively small group and traditional methods for identifying a representative sample of Jews are no longer feasible. The classic methodology, random-digit dialing (RDD), relies on telephone calls to randomly selected households in a specified geographic area and phone interviews with household members. Changes in telephone technology (e.g., caller ID) and fewer people answering the phone for unknown callers have reduced response rates for such surveys below 10%.² An even greater challenge is that over half of all households no longer have landline telephones and rely exclusively on cell phones.³ Because of phone number portability,⁴ cell phones frequently have an area code, exchange, and billing address that are not associated with the geographic location in which the user resides. In Jewish community studies, this has proven to be especially problematic for ensuring that the survey reaches young adults and newcomers to the community. It is no longer possible to select a range of phone numbers and assume the owners of those numbers will live in the specified area and be willing to answer the phone and complete a survey.

This study addresses these challenges by using several methods, described in detail in Appendix A:

- ***Enhanced RDD.*** The enhanced RDD method synthesized hundreds of national surveys conducted by government agencies and other organizations that include questions about religious identification. The synthesis used the data from these surveys along with information collected from Pittsburgh-area residents to estimate the size of the Jewish population in the region.
- ***Comprehensive list-based sample.*** The study selected respondents primarily based on their appearance on the membership and contact lists of dozens of Pittsburgh-area Jewish organizations. This approach ensured that anyone in the Greater Pittsburgh area who has had even minimal contact with any area Jewish organization was represented.
- ***Ethnic names sample.*** The comprehensive list-based sample was supplemented with a list of households in the area comprised of individuals who have a distinctly Jewish first or last name. Such households typically make up 20-25% of Jewish households in a community but are not significantly different from Jewish households that do not have distinctive Jewish names.⁵
- ***Multiple survey modes.*** CMJS approached survey participants by postal mail, phone, and email. Multiple attempts were made to reach each respondent and update contact information and the respondent's status when initial efforts were unsuccessful.

In consultation with Federation, the geographic focus of the 2017 Greater Pittsburgh Jewish Community Study included households in Allegheny, Beaver, Butler, Washington, and Westmoreland Counties. This area is distinct from the Pittsburgh Metropolitan Statistical Area,

which also includes Armstrong and Fayette Counties. Although this study focused solely on the five-county area defined by Federation, anyone who lived in an adjacent county and was associated in any way with a local Jewish organization was still eligible to participate in the survey.

The study was based on a sampling frame of over 81,000 households. From this frame, two samples were drawn: a primary sample of 14,562 households who were contacted by postal mail, phone, and email, and a supplementary sample of 14,997 households who were contacted by email only. The primary sample was designed to be representative of the entire community and was used as the basis for population estimates and analyses of the community as a whole. The response rate⁶ for this sample was 28.6% (AAPOR RR3) and the cooperation rate⁷ was 75.3% (AAPOR CR1). In total, over 2,000 Jewish households were interviewed (Table 1.1). Because households in the supplemental sample were only contacted by email, highly engaged households were expected to be more likely to complete the survey. Accordingly, statistical adjustments were used to account for the different likelihood of response in the two samples. Survey weights were developed to ensure that the full sample—primary and supplemental combined—represented the entire community in terms of key factors including age, Jewish denomination, and synagogue membership.

Throughout this report, for purposes of analysis and reporting, estimates about the entire community were derived solely from the primary sample. The combined, or full, sample was used for analyses of subgroups—such as families with children—where the increased number of respondents supported more robust analysis.

Table 1.1 Summary of survey respondents

	Primary n	Supplemental n	Total n
Completed eligible households	1,215	896	2,111
From lists	1,200	896	2,096
Ethnic name sample (de-duplicated)	15	--	15
Total households on lists	--	--	81,125
Drawn sample size	14,562	14,997	29,559
Completed screeners	3,778	1,906	5,684
Response rate (AAPOR RR3)	28.6%	20.3%	--

Undercounted Populations

Although the goal of the study was to develop a comprehensive understanding of the Jewish community, some groups are nevertheless likely to be undercounted and/or underrepresented. In particular, residents of institutional settings such as college dormitories, hospitals, and nursing homes, as well as adults who have never associated with any Jewish organization in the Greater Pittsburgh area are less likely to have been identified and contacted to complete the survey. Although we cannot produce a completely accurate estimate of these individuals, the undercounts are unlikely to introduce significant bias into the reported estimates. Where appropriate, we have noted the limitations of the methods.

How to Read This Report

Community studies are household surveys. They are designed to represent the views of the entire population by interviewing a randomly selected sample of households from the community. To extrapolate respondent data to the entire community, the data are adjusted (i.e., “weighted”) by assigning each respondent a weight so that his/her responses represent the proportion of the overall community that has similar demographic characteristics. The weighted respondent thus stands in for that segment of the population, and not only the household from which it was collected. (See Appendix A for more detail.) Unless otherwise specified, this report presents weighted survey data in the form of percentages or proportions. **These data should be read not as the percentage or proportion of respondents who answered each question in a given way, but as the percentage or proportion of the population that it is estimated would answer each question in that way had each member of the population been surveyed.**

No estimate should be considered an exact measurement. The reported estimate of any value, known as a “point estimate,” is the most likely value for the variable in question given available data, but the true value may be slightly higher or slightly lower. Because estimates are derived from data collected from a representative sample of the population, there is a degree of uncertainty. The amount of uncertainty depends on multiple factors, the most important of which is the number of survey respondents who provided the data from which any given estimate is derived. The uncertainty is quantified as a set of values that range from a value slightly less than the reported estimate to a value a similar percentage above it. By convention, this range, known as a “confidence interval,” is calculated to reflect 95% certainty that the true value for the population falls within the defined range. (See Appendix A for details about the magnitude of confidence intervals around estimates in this study.)

When size estimates of subpopulations (e.g., synagogue members, intermarried families, families with children, etc.) are provided, they are calculated as the weighted number of households or individuals for which the respondents provided sufficient information to classify them as members of the subgroup. When data are missing, those respondents are counted as if they are not members of the subgroups for purposes of estimation. Accordingly, all subpopulation estimates may undercount information on those least likely to complete the survey or answer particular questions. Missing information cannot be imputed reliably in many such cases because the information that could serve as the basis for imputation is also missing. Refer to the codebook (Appendix D) for the actual number of responses to each question.

Some tables and figures that present proportions do not add up to 100%. In most cases, this is a function of rounding, with proportional estimates rounded to the nearest whole number. In some cases, however, this is a result of respondents having the opportunity to select more than one response to a question. In such cases, the text of the report will indicate that multiple responses were possible. When a table shows “0,” it means no respondents selected that option, “<1” indicates that the estimate rounded down to 0, and “--” indicates that there were insufficient responses to report reliable estimates.

For simplicity, not all groups will be displayed in all tables. For example, if the proportion of respondents who made a donation to a Jewish organization is shown, the proportion who did not donate will not be displayed.

Reporting Qualitative Data

The survey included several questions that called for open-ended responses. These were used to elicit more information about respondents' opinions and experiences than could be provided in the multiple choice or checkbox formats typical of survey questions. All such responses were categorized, or "coded," to identify topics and themes mentioned by multiple respondents. Because a consistent set of response options were not offered to respondents, it would be misleading to report weighted estimates of responses to these questions. Instead, we report the total number of respondents whose answers fit a particular code or theme. This number appears in parentheses after the response, without a percentage sign, or in tables labeled as "n" or number of responses. In most cases, sample quotes are also provided, edited for clarity and with identifying information removed.

Comparisons Across Surveys

As part of the goal to assess trends, comparisons of answers to a number of questions are made to earlier local data (in particular, the 2002 study) and data from national studies (in particular, Pew's 2013 *A Portrait of Jewish Americans*). Although these analyses are informative, comparisons across studies are not as precise and reliable as the data from the present study. Exact comparisons are not possible for several reasons. The most important of these, noted above, is that the methods used to develop sample frames in the present study differ from those used in 2002.

Report Overview

This report begins with a portrait of the Greater Pittsburgh Jewish community as a whole and continues with more in-depth looks at topics of relevance to community members and leaders.

Chapter 2. Demographic Snapshot

This chapter provides an overview of the composition of the Greater Pittsburgh Jewish community: its size, demographic characteristics, and geographic distribution.

Chapter 3. Patterns of Jewish Engagement

This chapter describes the multifaceted ways in which the Jews of Greater Pittsburgh define and express their Jewish identities. It uses a set of behavioral measures to characterize Jewish engagement based on participation in Jewish life, both communally and individually. This characterization yields a typology of five patterns of engagement that will be used throughout the report to understand the behaviors and attitudes of members of the Greater Pittsburgh Jewish community.

Chapters 4-7. Jewish Children, Synagogue and Ritual Life, Social and Community Life, Connections to Israel

Each of these chapters focuses on a particular aspect of Jewish life and describes key behaviors and attitudes.

Chapter 8. Education, Income, and Health

This chapter assesses the living conditions of Jewish households in Greater Pittsburgh, in particular with regard to economic well-being, economic hardship, and health and social service concerns.

Chapter 9. Conclusions and Future Directions

The final chapter summarizes the findings of the study and makes recommendations for the future.

Report Appendices

The appendices, available in a separate document, include:

Appendix A. Methodology: Details of data collection and analysis.

Appendix B. Latent Class Analysis: Details of the latent class analysis method that was used to develop the index of Jewish engagement.

Appendix C. Comparison Charts: Details cross-tabulations of all survey data for key subgroups of the population.

Appendix D. Survey Instrument and Codebook: Survey questions and weighted responses.

Appendix E. Maps: Series of maps that show the distribution of the population and different subgroups across the region.

Appendix F. Study Documentation: Pre-notification letter and briefing materials for interviewers.

Chapter 2. Demographic Snapshot of the Greater Pittsburgh Jewish Community

Knowledge of the size, geographic distribution, and basic socio-demographic characteristics of the Greater Pittsburgh Jewish community provides context for understanding the character, behavior, and attitudes of community members. Pittsburgh Jewry is not homogenous. The ways in which Pittsburgh Jews identify as Jewish and engage with the Jewish community vary significantly in terms of who they are, where they live, their household composition, their ages, and their Jewish identities. This demographic overview describes the size of the community and the basic characteristics of community members.

Jewish Population Estimate

The 2017 community study estimates that the Greater Pittsburgh Jewish community, as defined by the borders of the Jewish Federation of Greater Pittsburgh's catchment area,⁸ numbers about 49,200 Jewish adults and children. Pittsburgh's Jews constitute just over 2% of the area population.⁹ From 2002 to 2017, Pittsburgh's Jewish population grew by about 17%. The overall regional population grew 2% from 2005 to 2016, but the population of Allegheny County, where the vast majority of the Jewish community lives, declined by 2%. It is often more appropriate, however, to compare the Jewish community to the non-Hispanic white college-educated population, which increased by 29% from 2005 to 2016 across both the full five-county area and Allegheny County alone.

The findings of previous studies of the Jewish community of Greater Pittsburgh indicate that the size of the community has been relatively stable, with a slight overall decline over the past 80 years. The 1938 study,¹⁰ the earliest existing written report, estimated that there were 54,000 Jewish individuals in Pittsburgh. Between 1938 and 1963, the Jewish population declined to 45,000.¹¹ The 1984 study¹² estimated the local Jewish population at 44,906 individuals, essentially the same as in 1963. Finally, the 2002 study¹³ estimated the Jewish population at 42,200 individuals.

Greater Pittsburgh Jewish Community Population Estimates, 2017

Total Jews	49,200
Adults	
Jewish	42,800
Non-Jewish	7,800
Children	
Jewish	6,400
Non-Jewish	2,000
Total people	59,000
Total households	26,800

Jewish Adults

Estimates of the size of the Jewish population rest on a set of fundamental questions about who is counted as Jewish for the purposes of the study. Recent studies, such as Pew Research Center's 2013 *A Portrait of Jewish Americans*, classify respondents according to their responses to a series of screening questions: What is your religion? Do you consider yourself to be Jewish aside from religion? Were either of your parents Jewish? Were you raised Jewish? Based on the answers to these questions, Jews have been categorized as "Jews by religion" (JBR)—if they respond to a

question about religion by stating that they are solely Jewish—and “Jews of no religion” (JNR)—if their religion is not Judaism, but they consider themselves Jewish in some other way. Jews by religion tend to be more engaged with Judaism than Jews of no religion, but many JBRs and JNRs look similar in terms of Jewish behaviors and attitudes. For the purposes of this study, and to ensure that Pittsburgh Jewry could be compared to the population nationwide, a variant of Pew’s scheme was employed, supplemented by several other measures of identity. Included in the Jewish population are those adults who indicate they are Jewish and another religion; we refer to this category as “Jews of multiple religions” (JMR).

Among Jewish adults in the Greater Pittsburgh area, 82% (35,100 individuals) identify as Jewish by religion (JBR). This proportion is higher than that of the overall United States Jewish population as reported by Pew (78%).¹⁴ The remaining Jewish adults (18%) identify as Jews of no religion (JNR) or Jews of multiple religions (JMR). A little more than half of these individuals (4,300) have no religion but say they consider themselves Jewish for ethnic or cultural reasons. The remainder (3,400) consider themselves to be Jewish along with another religion.¹⁵

Jewish Households

Pittsburgh’s Jewish population resides in an estimated 26,800 households. Households are classified as Jewish if they include at least one Jewish adult (Table 2.1).

Adults and children who live in Jewish households include Jews and non-Jews (Table 2.2). Non-Jewish adults include three groups: those who report that they are not Jewish in any way (listed as not Jewish); those who say they are Jewish but were not born to Jewish parents, were not raised Jewish, and did not convert (listed as Jewish affinity); those who have Jewish parents or were raised Jewish but do not currently consider themselves to be Jewish in any way (listed as Jewish background). Non-Jewish children include those who are being raised with no religion or a religion other than Judaism. Of the non-Jewish children, nearly all are being raised with no religion or their parents have not yet decided on their religion.

Jewish households in Greater Pittsburgh include an estimated 7,800 non-Jewish adults and 2,000 non-Jewish children. These 9,800 individuals bring the total population of people living in Jewish households in the region to approximately 59,000 people (50,600 adults and 8,400 children).

Table 2.1 Jewish population of Greater Pittsburgh area, summary (rounded to nearest 100)

	2017	2002	Change 2002 to 2017
Households with at least one Jewish adult	26,800	20,900	28%
Total Jewish adults and children	49,200	42,200	17%
Total people in Jewish households	59,000	54,200	9%

In addition to the adults listed here, the study found fewer than 500 adults who have a Jewish background but do not consider themselves Jewish in any way and do not live with any other Jewish adults. These individuals are not included in Table 2.2. The study also found fewer than 400 adults of Jewish affinity who live outside of Jewish households in the Pittsburgh area. These individuals are not included in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2 Jewish population of Greater Pittsburgh area, detail
(rounded to nearest 100; sums may not add up due to rounding)

	2017	2002	Change 2002 to 2017
Jewish adults	42,800	33,800	27%
JBR adults	35,100		
JNR adults	4,300		
JMR adults	3,400		
Non-Jewish adults	7,800	8,700	-10%
Jewish background	500		
Jewish affinity	1,000		
Not Jewish	6,200		
Jewish children	6,400	8,300	-24%
JBR children	4,700		
JNR children	1,300		
JMR children	400		
Non-Jewish children	2,000	3,300	-39%
No religion	1,600		
Not yet decided	200		
Other religion	200		

Age and Gender Composition

The Pittsburgh Jewish community is slightly older than the US Jewish community as a whole. The mean age of Pittsburgh’s Jewish adults based on the present population estimate is 51 and the median is 54, older than the median age of Jewish adults nationally, 50.¹⁶ The mean age of all Pittsburgh Jews is 45 and the median is 50. Compared to the national Jewish population, the Pittsburgh Jewish community has more seniors and fewer adults under age 50 (Table 2.3).

Table 2.3. Age of Jewish adults in Pittsburgh and nationally (%)

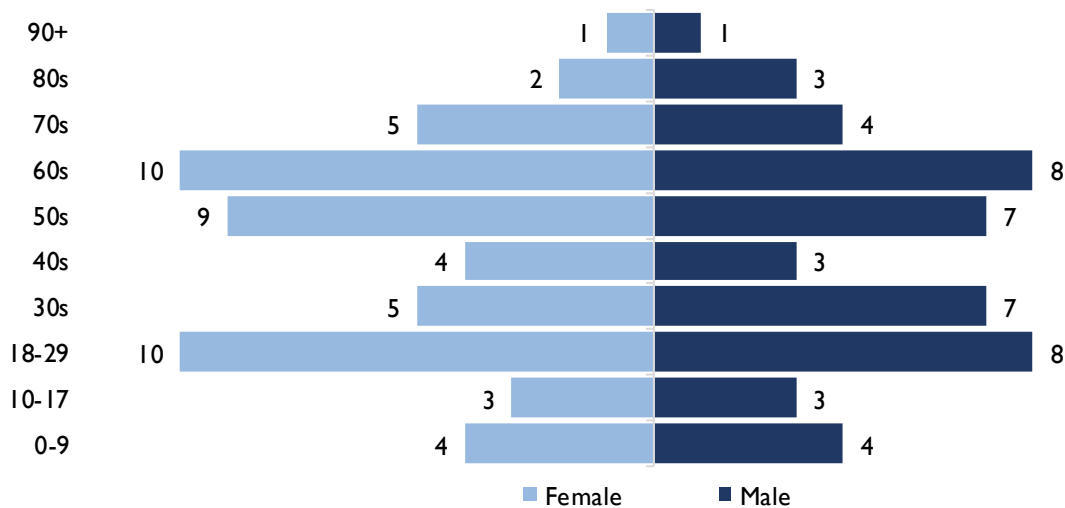
	Pittsburgh	National ¹⁷
18-34	24	28
35-49	17	20
50-64	31	30
65+	28	22

The age-gender pyramid (Figure 2.1) shows the distribution of the population. The largest shares of the adult Jewish population are between ages 18-29 and 60-69. There are notably fewer Jews in their 30s and 40s.

Two indicators suggest that the community may be getting younger. Younger adults, ages 18-29, constitute nearly one-fifth (18%) of the Greater Pittsburgh Jewish population. Thirty-eight percent of these young adults are married, cohabiting, or engaged, but only 1% have children. Additionally, nearly 40% of children being raised Jewish in some way in the community are ages 0-5 (see Chapter 4). Taken together, these developments signal that the community may expect to see continued growth.

Overall, the Greater Pittsburgh Jewish community has more females than males (53% and 47%, respectively), with 1% of adults identifying as a gender other than male or female.

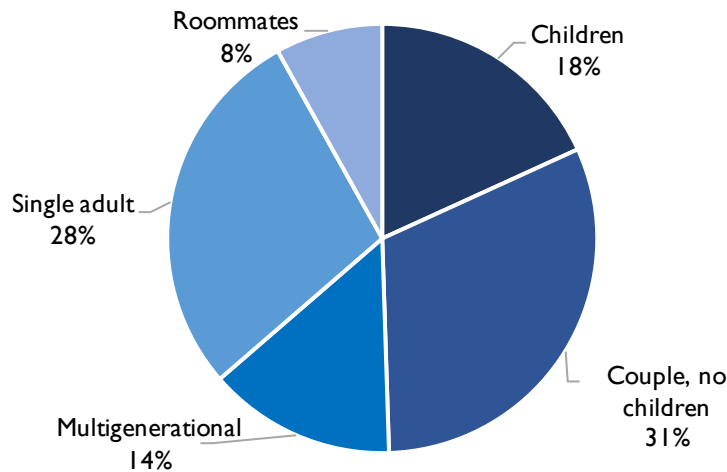
Figure 2.1 Age-gender distribution of Jews in Greater Pittsburgh (% of Jewish individuals)¹⁸



Household Composition

Households with children under age 18 (comprising single-parent, two-parent, or multigenerational households) make up 18% of Jewish households in Greater Pittsburgh (Figure 2.2). The remaining households consist of single adults (28%), couples without children (31%), and households with parents and adult children living together (multigenerational households; 14%). Among households in which a single adult resides, 33% are seniors ages 65 and older, 41% are 50-64, and the remaining 26% are 18-49 years of age.

Figure 2.2 Household composition (% Jewish households)



Overall, about three-fifths of households (61%) include a married, engaged, or cohabiting couple, living with or without children or other relatives. This rate has decreased from 2002, when it was 66%. Eighteen percent of households today include children, compared to 30% in 2002. Among households with children, the mean number of children ages 17 and younger is 1.7. The mean size of all households is 2.2 individuals.

Jewish Identity by Age

Jewish identity can vary by age, with the number and proportion of Jews of no religion (JNR) or Jews of multiple religions (JMR) tending to be greatest in the millennial generation.¹⁹ As displayed in Table 2.4, however, that is not the case in Greater Pittsburgh. Jews younger than 35 and those ages 65 and older have larger shares of JBRs.

Table 2.4 Jewish identity by age (% of Jewish adults)

	JBR	JNR/ JMR	Total
Overall	82	18	100%
Age			
18-34	89	11	100%
35-49	74	26	100%
50-64	78	22	100%
65 +	84	16	100%

Jewish Denominations

Historically, denominational affiliation has been one of the basic indicators of Jewish identity and practice. Overall, two-thirds of Pittsburgh’s Jewish adults identify with a formal Jewish denomination, and the remainder indicate they are secular, just Jewish, or have no specific denomination (Table 2.5). The largest denomination, Reform, includes one-third of Jewish adults.

The proportion of Pittsburgh Jews who identify as Reform or Conservative has declined since 2002 (Table 2.6). Fourteen years ago, these two groups accounted for nearly three-quarters (73%) of Pittsburgh Jews. Today, they are 56%. By contrast, those who claim no denomination—that is, those who are secular, culturally Jewish, “just Jewish,” or have no specific denomination—have increased from 17% to 30% of

the population. Notably, there has also been an increase in the Orthodox population, from 7% to 9%. Pittsburgh Jews are equally likely as US Jews overall to claim a denominational affiliation.

Inmarriage and Inter marriage

Sixty-one percent of Jewish households include a couple who is married or partnered. Of those couples, 56% are inmarried and 44% are intermarried. Ten percent of inmarried couples include someone who converted to Judaism. Regarding individual Jewish adults, nearly two-thirds (65%) are married or partnered (Table 2.7).

Table 2.5 Age by denomination (% of Jewish adults)

	Overall	18-34	35-49	50-64	65 +
Orthodox	9	12	12	9	6
Conservative	22	27	11	25	21
Reform	34	24	33	30	39
Other	5	5	4	6	3
Just Jewish	15	18	11	21	10
Secular	15	14	29	9	21
	100	100	100	100	100

Table 2.6 Denomination of Jews in 2017 compared to 2002 and the national Jewish community (% of Jewish adults)

	Pittsburgh 2017	Pittsburgh 2002	Pew 2013
Orthodox	9	7	10
Conservative	22	32	18
Reform	34	41	36
Reconstructionist/Renewal	3	2	n/a
Secular/Just Jewish	30	17	30
Other	2	1	6
	100	100	100

Table 2.7 Age by inmarriage (% by age of respondent; includes engaged couples and partners who live together)

	Overall	18-34	35-49	50-64	65 +
Unmarried	35	52	14	38	29
Married	65	48	86	62	71
	100	100	100	100	100
Inmarried (of married)	71	60	56	76	81
Intermarried (of married)	29	40	44	24	19
	100	100	100	100	100

Among them, 71% are inmarried and 29% are intermarried. Those in the youngest age group, ages 18-34, are least likely to be married or partnered (48%), but of those who are, 60% have a Jewish spouse/partner. The proportion of households that include a married couple, as well as the intermarriage rate, are similar to what was found in 2002.²⁰

Jewish Young Adults

Young adults, ages 18 to 44, constitute 37% of Pittsburgh's adult Jewish population. Nearly one-quarter are students, with 18% attending school full-time and 5% attending part-time. The majority (68%) of students are undergraduates, with the rest in graduate or professional programs. Two-in-three (64%) young adult Jews identify with a specific denomination. Eleven percent are Orthodox, 22% are Conservative, and 26% are Reform. Overall, 61% of Jewish young adults are married or living with a partner or significant other. Of these, 54% are married to or living with someone who is Jewish. Among the 39% of Jewish young adults who are not married or living with a partner or significant other, 8% are currently dating. There are not enough data to know how many of these young adults are dating Jews.

Other Groups

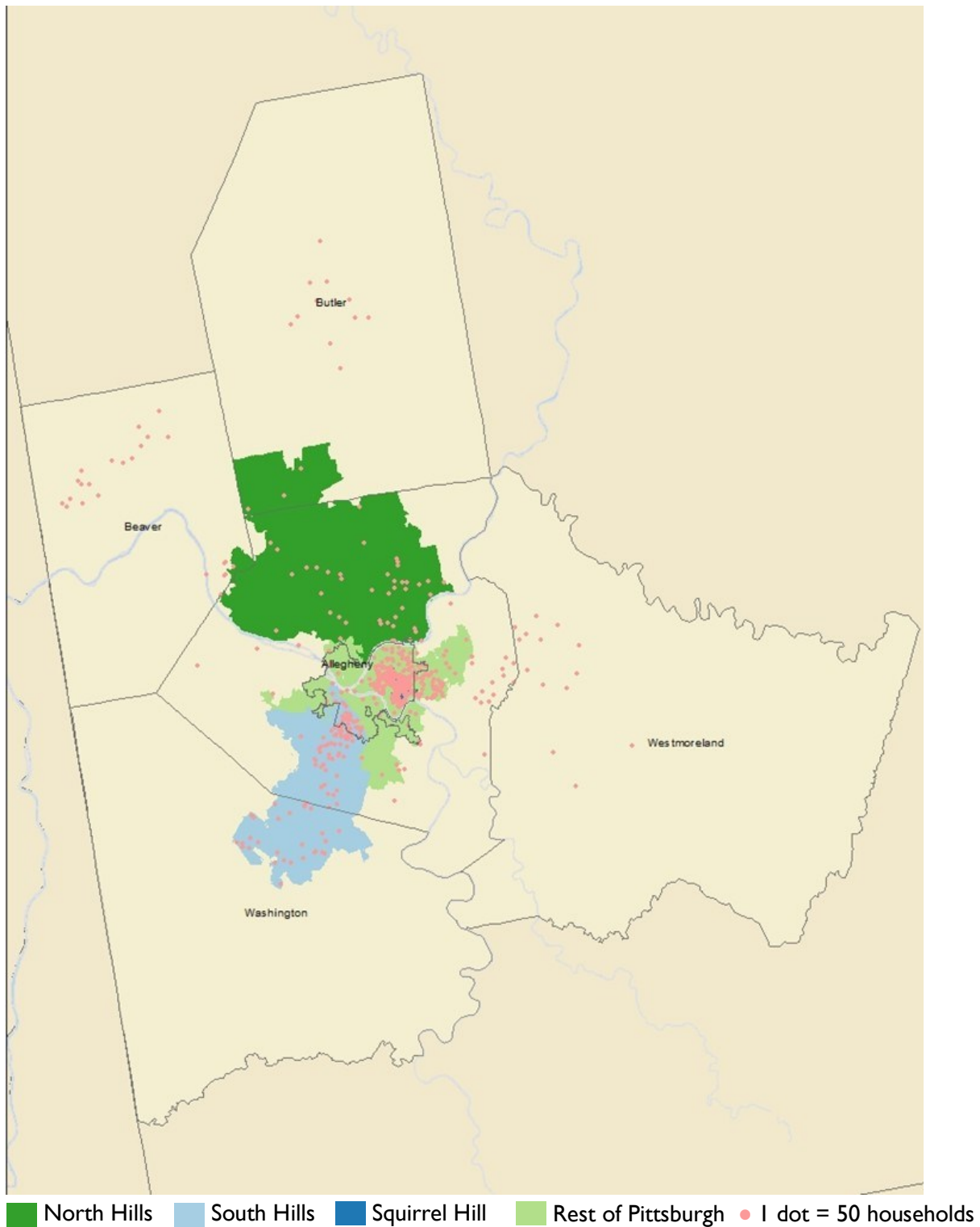
Multiple stakeholders in the Greater Pittsburgh Jewish community expressed interest in other groups of Jews living in the area, including Israelis, LGBTQ Jews, and Jews of color. Too few respondents were interviewed to be able to estimate characteristics of these groups. Only the sizes of these groups could be estimated with any reliability. Three percent of the adult Jewish population are Israeli, and 3% are LGBTQ. One percent are Jews of color or of Hispanic or Latino origin.²¹ Eleven percent of Jewish households include someone who identifies as Sephardic or Mizrahi.

Geographic Distribution

The Jews of Greater Pittsburgh can be divided among five regions: Squirrel Hill (the most concentrated Jewish neighborhood), the rest of the city of Pittsburgh, the South Hills, the North Hills, and the surrounding suburbs. The distribution of Jews in Greater Pittsburgh is described in Table 2.8. The community continues to grow in its traditional enclave of Squirrel Hill, but since 2002, a greater share of newcomers has chosen to live in other areas within the region. Maps showing the distribution of Jewish households appear below (Figures 2.3 and 2.4).

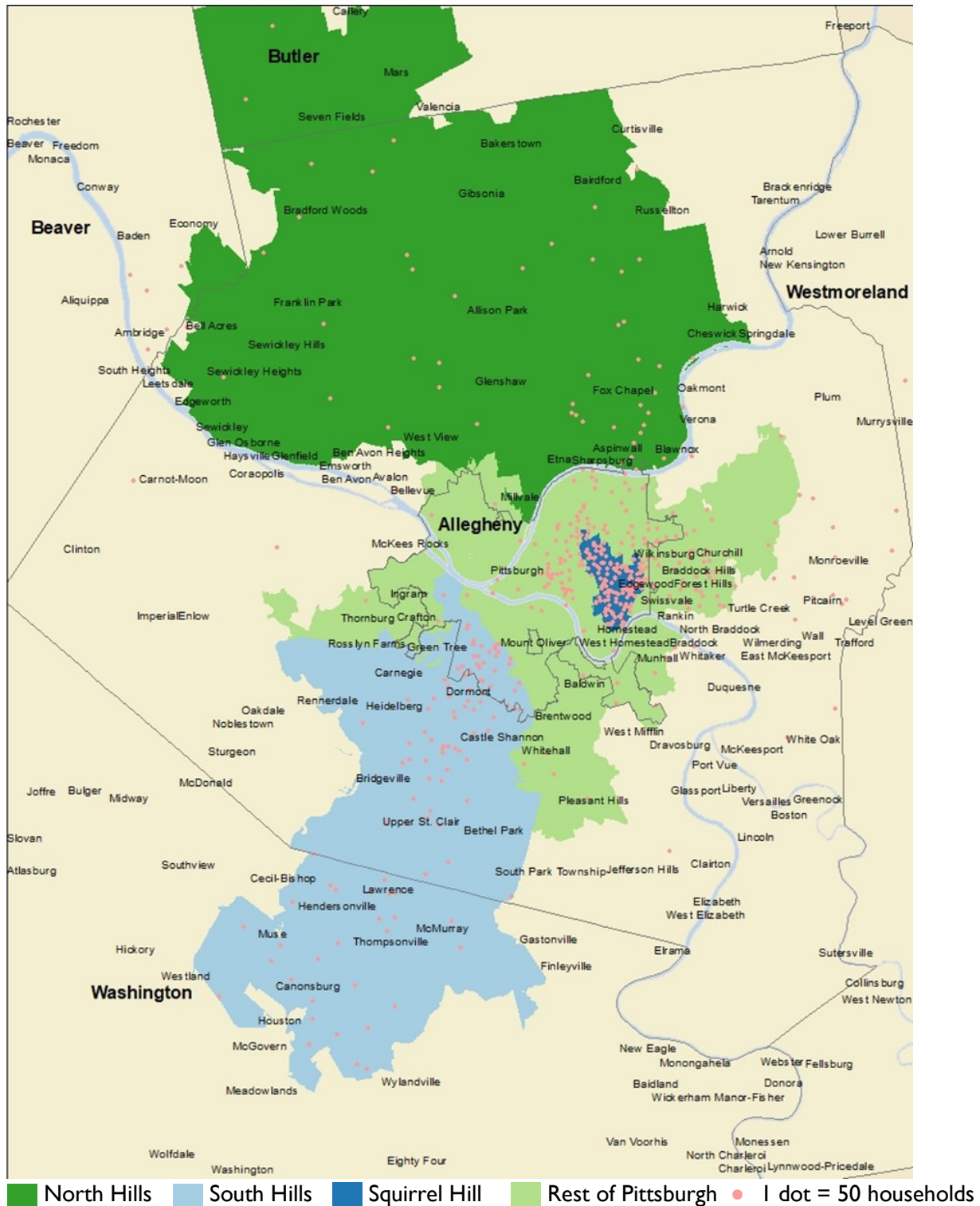
About half (55%) of Jewish adults ages 50-64 live outside the city of Pittsburgh (Table 2.9). About two-thirds of each other age group live in the city. Nearly half (48%) of Jewish children are being raised in Squirrel Hill.

Figure 2.3 Dot density map of Jewish households in Greater Pittsburgh area



Note: Dots are randomly placed within the ZIP codes in which they reside.

Figure 2.4 Dot density map of Jewish households in Greater Pittsburgh area (detail view of Pittsburgh)



Note: Dots are randomly placed within the ZIP codes in which they reside.

Reasons for Moving to Pittsburgh

Respondents who moved to the Pittsburgh area in the last five years were asked why they moved to the area. Overall, 186 respondents provided answers, which were coded thematically. The most commonly cited reasons were for a job (72), to study in a particular college or university (55), or to be closer to family (32).

Plans to Move Away

Of all Jewish adults, 18% have plans to move out of the Pittsburgh area in the next three years, though nearly one-third of these are current students. Overall, 181 respondents provided at least one reason why they planned to move. Forty-one of these respondents are currently students, who expect to graduate and move away to pursue further educational opportunities or begin their careers. Among all respondents, the most frequently cited reasons for moving away were for a job (50), for family reasons (31), to study (27), to retire (14), or for the opportunity to live somewhere with better weather (12).

Table 2.8 Geographic distribution of Pittsburgh's Jews

Geographic region ²²	Jewish households	Jewish individuals
Squirrel Hill	26	30
Rest of Pittsburgh	31	26
Suburbs:	43	44
South Hills (Mt. Lebanon, Upper St. Clair)	20	18
North Hills (Hampton, Fox Chapel, O'Hara)	9	11
Rest of region	14	15

Table 2.9 Geographic region of Jews by age (% of Jewish individuals)

	0-17	18-34	35-49	50-64	65 +
Squirrel Hill	48	36	25	26	33
Rest of Pittsburgh	20	32	38	20	30
Suburbs	32	33	37	55	38

Chapter 3. Patterns of Jewish Engagement

The diversity of Greater Pittsburgh Jewry is reflected not only by the varied demographics of the residents, but in the many types of Jewish identification and means of engagement in Jewish life. Examining the ways in which Pittsburgh-area Jews not only view, but also enact their Jewish identities, is necessary to understand this population and the ways in which Jewish life in the region can be enhanced.

Background: Classifications of Jewish identity

As discussed in Chapter 2, many Jewish demographic studies, including most recently Pew (2013), classify Jewish adults as either “Jewish by religion” (JBR; they respond that they are “Jewish” when asked about their religious identity) or “Jews of no religion” (JNR; they consider themselves to be Jewish in a way other than religion). For purposes of this report and comparability with other studies, we used a variant of this set of classifications for the population estimates.

Although research has shown that Jewish adults who are “JBR” are, overall, more engaged Jewishly than those who are “JNR,” these classifications are too broad to provide insight about the range of Jewish behaviors and attitudes within each group. We developed a new set of categories specifically for this study that are based on behavior rather than self-identification. We refer to these categories as the “Index of Jewish Engagement.”

Index of Jewish Engagement

We specifically designed the Index of Jewish Engagement to identify opportunities for increased engagement for groups with different needs and interests. The Index focuses on the ways in which individuals occupy and involve themselves in Jewish life. Such behaviors are concrete and measurable expressions of Jewish identity. In many cases, behaviors are correlated with demographic characteristics, background, and attitudes. Jewish adults’ decisions to take part in activities may reflect the value and meaning they find in these activities, the priority they place on them, the level of skills and resources that enable them to participate, and the opportunities available and known to them. We are interested in how Pittsburgh-area Jews think about their Jewish identities and participate in Jewish life.

To develop the Index, we selected a range of Jewish behaviors that were included in the survey instrument. The set of Jewish behaviors used to develop the typology are inclusive of the different ways—public and private—that contemporary Jews engage with Jewish life. Cultural activities, such as participation in educational programs, reading Jewish literature, and using Jewish sources on the web are included in addition to religious activities, such as attendance at religious services and observance of Jewish laws of Shabbat and kashrut. Some of the activities are located primarily within institutions (e.g., synagogue membership), while others are home-based (e.g., Passover seders). These behaviors are classified into four dimensions of Jewish life: family and home-based

practices, ritual practices, personal activities, and organizational participation. The behavioral measures include:

- **Family holiday celebrations:** Participating in a Passover seder and lighting Hanukkah candles. Family holiday celebrations are practiced by many US Jews for religious and other reasons, e.g., social, familial, cultural, and ethnic. In contrast to High Holy Day services, these can be practiced at home without institutional affiliation.
- **Ritual practices:** Keeping kosher, lighting Shabbat candles or having a Shabbat dinner, attending religious services regularly, attending High Holy Day services, fasting on Yom Kippur.
- **Personal activities:** Engaging in cultural activities (book, music, TV, museum), reading Jewish material (newsletter, website), following news about Israel.
- **Communal activities:** Belonging to a synagogue, belonging to a JCC or other Jewish organization, attending Jewish activity, volunteering for Jewish organizations, donating to Jewish causes.

We employed a statistical tool, latent class analysis (LCA),²³ to cluster similar patterns of behavior based on respondents' answers to survey questions. LCA identifies groups of behaviors that "cluster" together by analyzing patterns of responses. The result of the LCA analysis was the identification of five unique patterns of Jewish engagement.

Patterns of Jewish Engagement

Within the set of behaviors listed above, Jewish individuals make unique choices regarding their participation in Jewish private and communal life. Nonetheless, individual sets of choices can be clustered into patterns of behavior that are similar to one another. Applying LCA to the data from the survey responses yielded five distinct patterns of behavior and engagement with Jewish life in Greater Pittsburgh. The patterns are summarized in Figure 3.1 and described below. Table 3.1 shows, for each pattern, the level of participation in each of the 15 behaviors that were used to construct the Index of Jewish Engagement.

Using LCA, each Jewish adult in the community was classified into one of the five engagement groups according to the pattern that most closely matches the individual's participation in different types of Jewish behaviors. The classification enables us to understand the characteristics of people who participate in Jewish life in different ways: the demographics, background, and attitudes that are associated with each pattern of participation. For purposes of this report, the names of the engagement groups will be used to refer to the groups of Jewish adults who most closely adhere to each pattern. The names of the groups were developed specifically for this study and are intended to highlight the behaviors that distinguish each group from the others.

The five patterns differ both in degree and types of engagement with a broad set of Jewish behaviors. Two patterns exhibit engagement with all aspects of Jewish life including holiday, ritual, personal, and communal behaviors. For Jews with the "Immersed" pattern, all behaviors are practiced by large majorities of the group, with the exception of volunteering and cultural activities. Those with the "Connected" pattern have high participation in many of the activities, though less

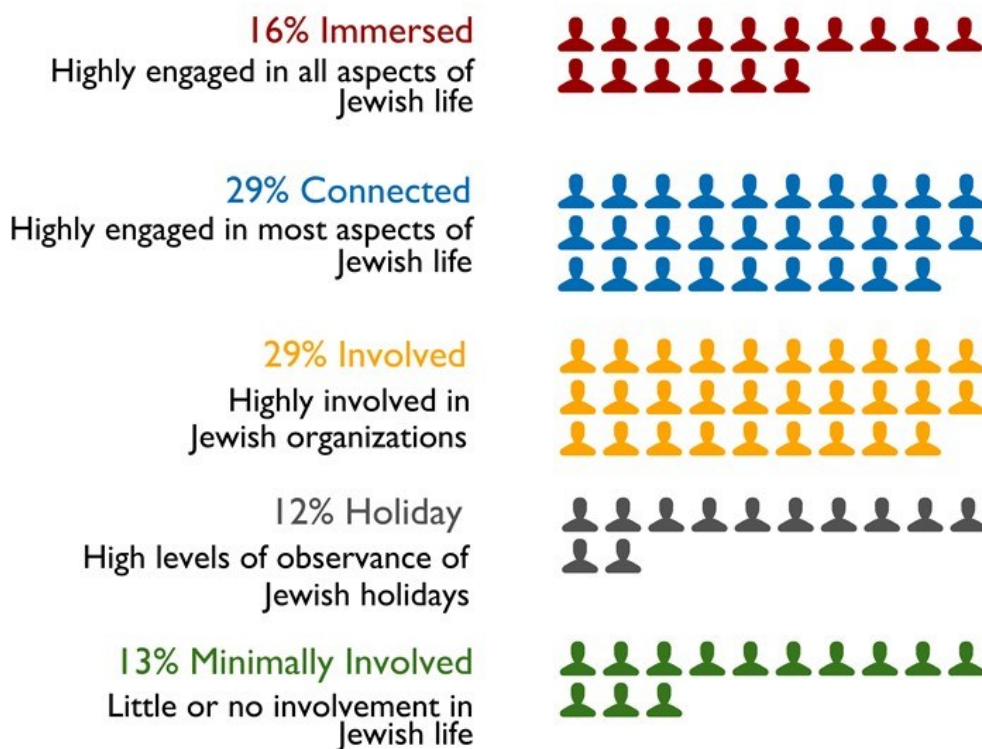
so than the Immersed group. However, the Connected attend Shabbat dinners and services and observe kashrut much less often than do the Immersed.

Two groups represent medium levels of engagement. In comparing these two groups, the “Involved” group has lower levels of Jewish holiday observance and synagogue membership, but a greater share participate in Jewish personal activities and Jewish organizations aside from synagogues. In contrast, the “Holiday” group has higher levels of kashrut observance, Jewish holiday observance, and synagogue membership, but lower participation in Jewish personal and communal activities.

The lowest level of engagement is found in the “Minimally Involved” group, in which only minorities participate in any of the activities listed, including 2% of the total population who participate in none of them.

As shown in Figure 3.1, the Connected and Involved patterns describe the largest groups, each comprising 29% of Jewish adults. The Immersed pattern reflects 16% of the Jewish population. Each of the other groups accounts for less than one-in-seven Pittsburgh Jewish adults. The remainder of this chapter describes the distinguishing characteristics of each of the five groups.

Figure 3.1 Patterns of Jewish engagement



Jewish Behaviors and Jewish Engagement

As shown in Table 3.1, the Jewish behaviors across the five engagement patterns vary widely, but all patterns include at least some behaviors that represent a connection to Jewish life. This section focuses on the 15 behaviors used to construct the typology of Jewish engagement. Later chapters of this report relate these patterns to specific areas of Jewish communal engagement and attitudes about Judaism and Jewish life.

Family Holidays

The home-based holidays of Passover and Hanukkah are widely observed. They are almost universal in the Immersed and Connected groups and widespread in the Involved and Holiday groups. Only a minority in the Minimally Involved group observe them.

Table 3.1 Behaviors used to construct Index of Jewish Engagement

	Immersed	Connected	Involved	Holiday	Minimally Involved
Family holidays					
Passover seder (typically)	100%	98%	77%	70%	10%
Hanukkah (typically)	100%	97%	73%	97%	14%
Ritual					
Kosher at home or always	66%	6%	3%	28%	1%
Shabbat candles or dinner (usually/always)	99%	26%	21%	24%	0%
Services at least monthly	89%	23%	1%	2%	0%
Yom Kippur fast (all or part of day)	99%	92%	46%	72%	2%
High Holy Day services (any in 2016)	100%	95%	8%	42%	0%
Personal activities					
Jewish cultural activities weekly or more (book, music, TV, museum)	54%	14%	14%	4%	1%
Jewish news or websites monthly or more	100%	91%	97%	42%	19%
Israel news monthly or more	93%	79%	78%	57%	56%
Communal activities					
Synagogue member	96%	67%	5%	22%	0%
Organization member (JCC, formal, informal)	79%	64%	58%	25%	10%
Organization activity in past year	99%	98%	99%	< 1%	9%
Volunteered with or for a Jewish organization in past month	41%	33%	12%	5%	1%
Donated to a Jewish organization in past year	95%	90%	71%	33%	14%

Ritual Activities

Other than kashrut, all ritual practices are observed by almost all of those in the Immersed group. Observance of the High Holy Days, through synagogue attendance and fasting on Yom Kippur, is nearly universal among those in the Connected group. Among those in the Involved group, almost half (46%) fast on Yom Kippur, but few (8%) attend High Holy Day services. Less than half (42%) of those in the Holiday group attend services on High Holy Days, but a larger share (72%) fast on Yom Kippur. Very few in the Minimally Involved group follow any Jewish rituals.

Personal Activities

Nearly all those from the Immersed group visit Jewish websites and seek news about Israel regularly, and half participate in cultural activities weekly. The Connected and Involved groups are similar in their participation in Jewish personal activities, with over 90% visiting Jewish websites and over three-quarters seeking news about Israel regularly. Those in the Holiday group participate less frequently, with about half visiting Jewish websites (42%) and seeking news about Israel (57%). A minority of those in the Minimally Involved group (19%) access Jewish news and websites, but about half (56%) do seek out news about Israel monthly.

Communal Activities

Communal activities include memberships and participation in synagogue and organizational life. Nearly all (96%) of the Immersed group are synagogue members, as are 67% of the Connected and 22% of the Holiday groups. Few or none of the other groups are synagogue members. Organization membership, activity, and support through donations is highest among those in the Immersed group, followed by the Connected and Involved groups.

Demographics and Jewish Engagement

Respondents' demographic characteristics and their patterns of engagement are linked. Tables 3.2, 3.3, and 3.4 show the distribution of selected demographic characteristics within the Jewish engagement categories. To best understand demographic patterns, it is useful to compare the distribution of each demographic category across the engagement groups to that of the overall adult Jewish population, shown in the bottom row of each table. This comparison indicates where each engagement group differs from the overall population. See Appendix B for a table showing the distribution of engagement groups within each demographic characteristic (i.e., column totals rather than row totals).

Note that the overall rows in these tables do not necessarily match those given elsewhere in the report because they are based only on the subset of Jewish adults who provided sufficient information for assignment of a Jewish engagement category.

There are some age differences across the engagement groups (Table 3.2). The Holiday group has the largest proportion, 38%, of 18-to-34 year olds and the smallest proportion, 17%, of those ages

65 and over. The Minimally Involved group includes the smallest proportion of adults ages 18-34, 6%, and fully half of adults ages 50-64.

The proportion of Jewish adults who are married, married to a Jewish person, and have children varies across groups (Table 3.3). About three-quarters of the Immersed and Connected group members are

married, compared to about half of those in the Holiday and Minimally Involved groups. Large majorities of those in the Connected (86%) and Immersed (84%) groups are inmarried, compared to two-thirds (67%) of the Involved, a little over half of the Holiday (52%), and one-sixth (16%) of those in the Minimally Involved groups. The Minimally Involved group members have the highest rate of parents with minor children (25%), and the Holiday (15%) and Involved (14%) groups have the smallest share of parents.

Table 3.2 Age by Jewish engagement (% of Jewish adults)

AGE	18-34	35-49	50-64	65 +	Total
Immersed	34	15	27	23	100
Connected	21	17	29	33	100
Involved	23	18	23	36	100
Holiday	38	14	31	17	100
Minimally Involved	6	24	50	20	100
Overall	24	17	31	28	100

Table 3.3 Marriage and children by Jewish engagement (% of Jewish adults)

	Married	Unmarried	Inmarried (of married)	Intermarried (of married)	Has children	No children
Immersed	73	27	84	16	21	79
Connected	78	22	86	14	19	81
Involved	61	39	67	33	14	86
Holiday	52	48	52	48	15	85
Minimally Involved	49	51	16	84	25	75
Overall	65	35	71	29	18	82

Within the Immersed, Involved, and Holiday groups, about one-third (of the adults describe themselves as prosperous or very comfortable (Table 3.4). In the other groups, around half characterize their standard of living as prosperous or very comfortable.

Table 3.4 Standard of living by Jewish engagement (% of Jewish adults)

	Prosperous / very comfortable	Not prosperous	
Immersed	34	66	100
Connected	51	49	100
Involved	34	66	100
Holiday	37	63	100
Minimally Involved	45	55	100
Overall	42	58	100

Jewish Background and Jewish Engagement

The following tables describe the Jewish identity and Jewish backgrounds of those in each Jewish engagement category. Tables 3.5, 3.6, and 3.7 show the distribution of selected Jewish identity characteristics across the Jewish engagement categories (row totals) in comparison to the overall Jewish adult population (last row). See Appendix B for a table showing the distribution of engagement groups within each demographic characteristic (i.e., column totals rather than row totals).

Note that the overall rows in these tables do not necessarily match those given elsewhere in the report because they are based only on the subset of Jewish adults who provided sufficient information for assignment of a Jewish engagement category.

Jewish denomination corresponds closely to Jewish engagement but is not identical (Table 3.5). The Immersed group has the largest share of Orthodox (46%), the Holiday group has the largest share of Conservative (41%), and the Connected group has the largest share of Reform Jews (54%). Of the Minimally Involved group, 81% do not identify with any denomination.

Table 3.5 Denomination by Jewish engagement (% of Jewish adults)

	Orthodox	Conservative	Reform	Other	None	
Immersed	46	32	15	3	3	100
Connected	2	28	54	7	8	100
Involved	1	9	31	3	56	100
Holiday	2	41	29	3	25	100
Minimally Involved	0	0	11	7	81	100
Overall	9	22	34	5	30	100

All of those in the Immersed group (100%) and the vast majority of those in the Connected (97%) and Holiday (89%) groups are Jewish by religion (JBR; Table 3.6). In comparison, about three-quarters (76%) of those in the Involved group are JBR. The Minimally Involved group has the largest proportion (71%) who identify as Jews of no religion (JNR) or Jews of multiple religions (JMR).

Table 3.6 Jewish identity by Jewish engagement (% of Jewish adults)

	JBR	JNR/ JMR	Total
Immersed	100	< 1	100
Connected	97	3	100
Involved	76	24	100
Holiday	89	11	100
Minimally Involved	29	71	100
Overall	82	18	100

Jewish engagement in adulthood is also linked to Jewish background. Overall, 74% of Greater Pittsburgh Jewish adults were raised by two Jewish parents (Table 3.7); this rate is higher for the Immersed and Connected groups and lower for the Minimally Involved group. The majority of those in the Immersed group (83%) and the Holiday group (63%) had some Jewish education in childhood, as did slightly more than half of those in the Connected and Involved groups (57%). One-fifth (21%) of those in the Minimally Involved group had any Jewish education in childhood.

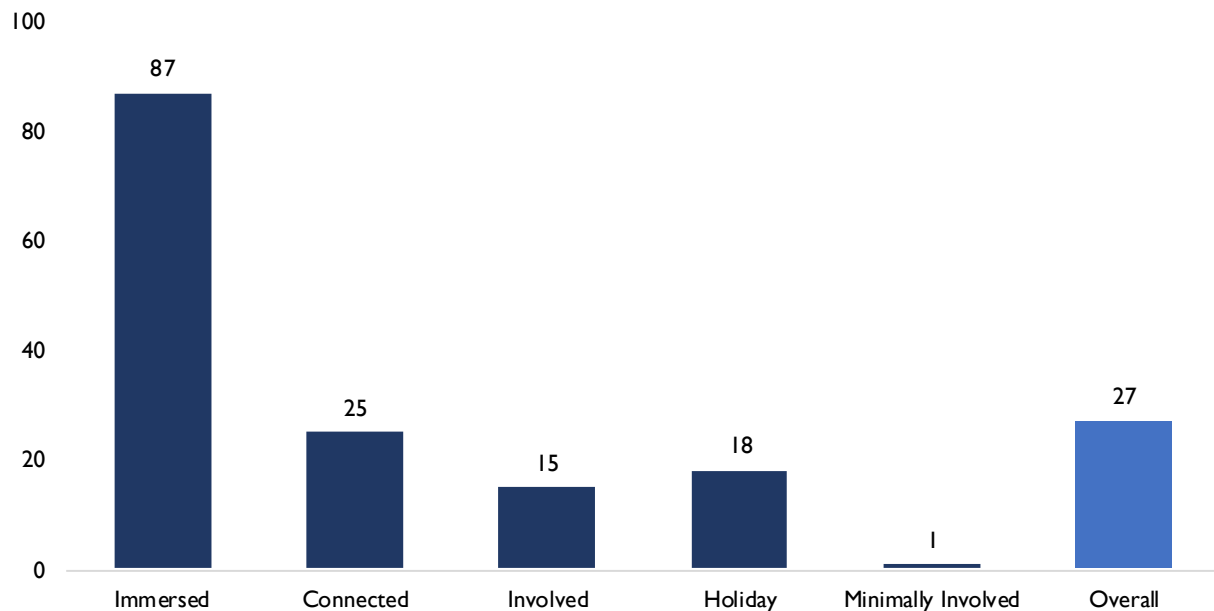
Table 3.7 Jewish background by Jewish engagement (% of Jewish adults)

Jewish background	Parents inmarried	Had Jewish education
Immersed	87	83
Connected	90	57
Involved	73	57
Holiday	75	63
Minimally Involved	38	21
Overall	74	59

Attitudes about Being Jewish and Jewish Engagement

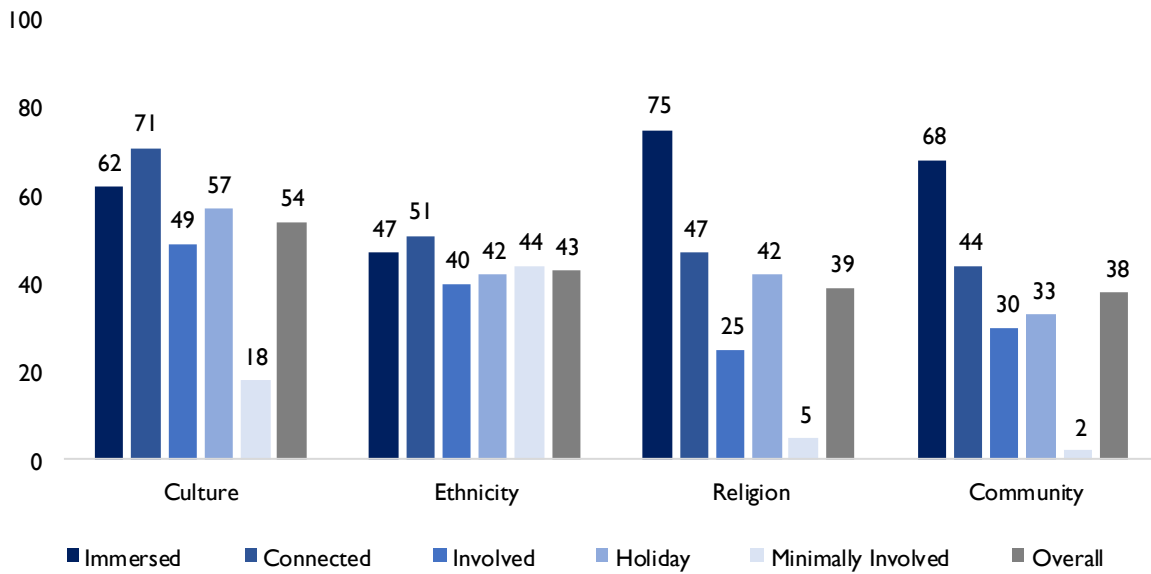
Just as Jewish behaviors vary across the engagement groups, so too do attitudes about being Jewish (Figures 3.2, 3.3, and 3.4). The figures below show responses to a set of attitudinal questions that illustrate the differences among the groups. As is evident from Figure 3.2, over four-in-five (87%) in the Immersed group consider Judaism to be very much part of their daily lives, with the proportions in the other groups being much less. The same pattern is evident in response to a question about whether Judaism is a matter of religion and a community (Figure 3.3). Across all groups, there is general agreement about whether Judaism is an ethnicity—an average of 43% of all groups very much agree. The Minimally Involved are least likely to consider Judaism a matter of

Figure 3.2 Being Jewish in daily life by Jewish engagement (% very much/very important)



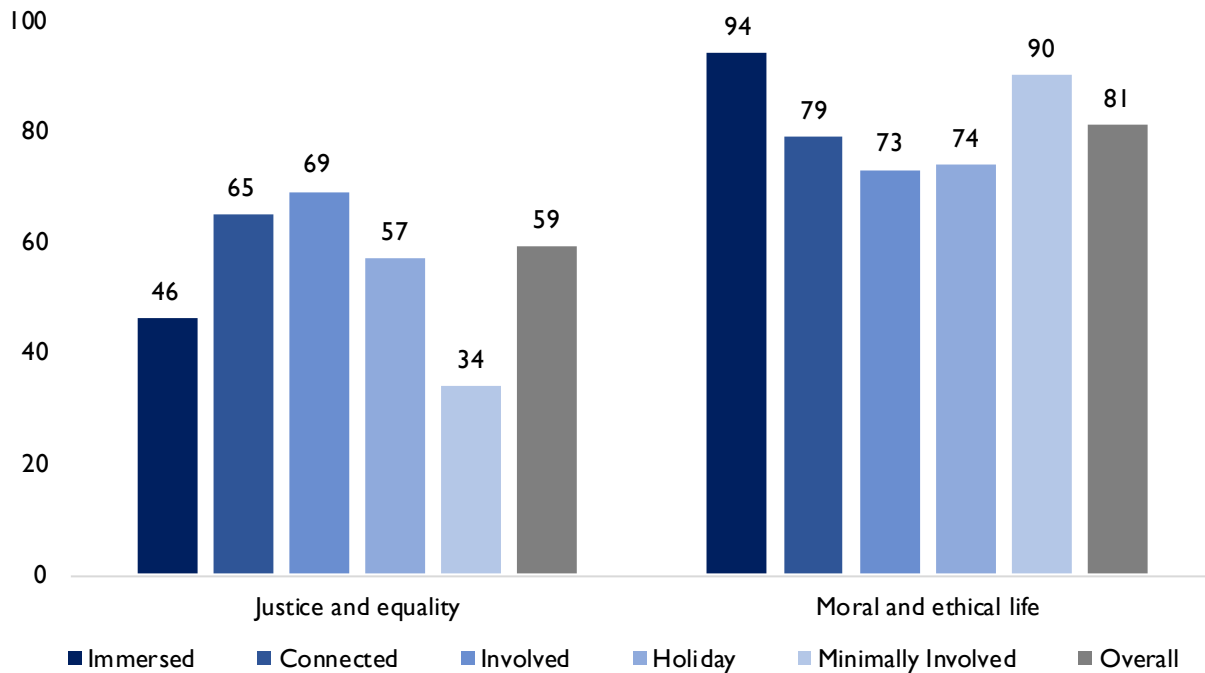
Question: "To what extent do you feel that being Jewish is part of your daily life?"

Figure 3.3 Meaning of being Jewish by Jewish engagement (% very much)



Question: "To you personally, to what extent is being Jewish a matter of: Culture, Ethnicity, Religion, Community?"

Figure 3.4 Aspects of being Jewish by Jewish engagement (% essential)

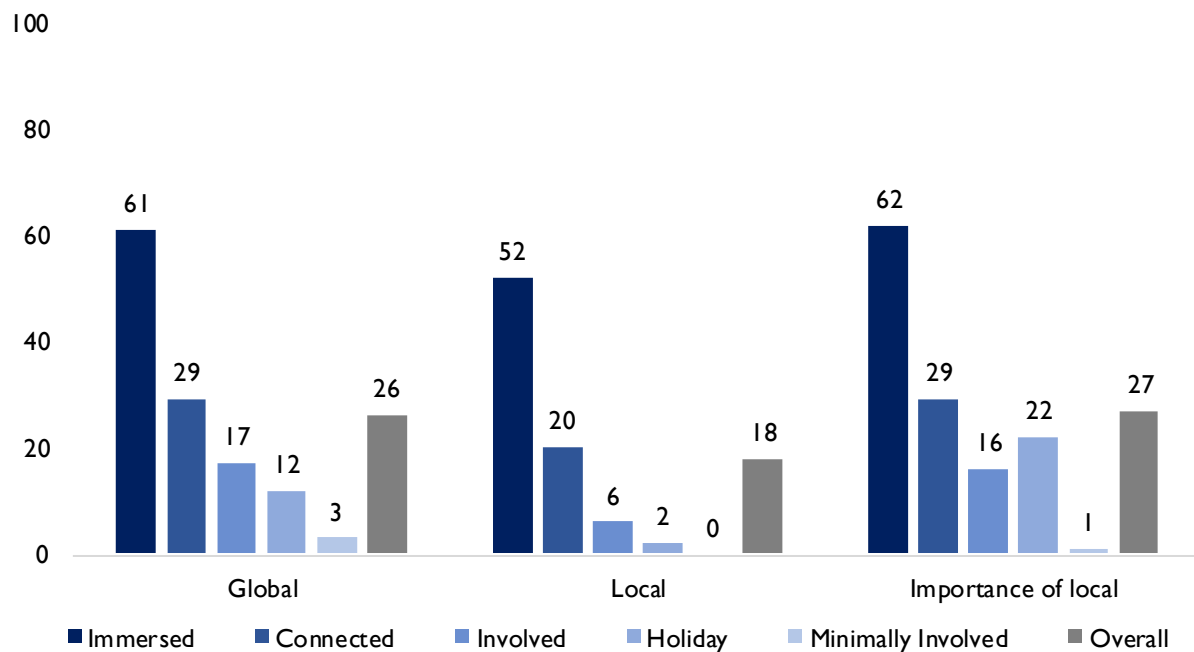


Questions: "Thinking about what being Jewish means to you, how important is working for justice and equality?"
 "Thinking about what being Jewish means to you, how important is leading a moral and ethical life?"

culture compared to the other groups. When it comes to the question of whether justice, equality, and leading a moral and ethical life are an essential part of being Jewish, there is general agreement among the Connected, Involved, and Holiday groups on the one hand, and the Immersed and Minimally Involved group on the other (Figure 3.4).

Those in the Immersed group feel the strongest connections to the community,²⁴ with 61% of adults feeling very connected to the global Jewish community and 52% to the local Jewish community (Figure 3.5). An even larger share of the group, 62%, consider it very important to be connected to the local Jewish community. Among the remaining groups, the share who feel connected to the Jewish community is successively smaller but the pattern is similar: a larger share feel more connected to the global community than the local Jewish community, and more people believe it is very important to be connected to the local Jewish community than feel they are very much part of that community.

Figure 3.5 Jewish connections by Jewish engagement (% very much)



Questions: “To what extent do you feel like part of a worldwide Jewish community?”

“To what extent do you feel like part of the Jewish community in Greater Pittsburgh?”

“To what extent do you feel it is important to feel connected to the Jewish community in Greater Pittsburgh?”

Chapter 4. Jewish Children

In the Greater Pittsburgh area with approximately 6,400 Jewish children, there are 11 Jewish early childhood centers, three Jewish day schools and yeshivot, and 15 part-time schools.²⁵ The community is also served by at least 19 summer overnight and day camps.

The focus of this chapter is on the choices that parents make regarding how to raise their children and how families take advantage—or, in some cases, do not—of Pittsburgh’s Jewish educational opportunities. The goal is to describe the landscape of educational programs, including Jewish preschools, formal Jewish education programs, both part-time and full-time; as well as informal Jewish education programs, including camp and youth groups.

Jewish Children

Raising Jewish children does not start with educational institutions. Parents make initial decisions regarding how to raise their children: Jewish religiously or culturally, no religion, multiple religions, or another religion. Among the 8,400 children who live in Greater Pittsburgh Jewish households, there are 6,400 children being raised Jewish (Table 4.1).

Another 1,600 children are being raised in no religion. Parents have not yet decided how to raise an additional 200 children. Two hundred children are being raised exclusively in a religion other than Judaism.

Of **all children** in Jewish households, over half (56%) are being raised by inmarried parents, 38% by intermarried parents, and the remainder, 6%, by single parents.

Among **Jewish children**, three-quarters (73%) have inmarried parents, 22% have intermarried parents, and 4% have single parents. Over half (56%) of children in Jewish homes are being raised Jewish by religion (Table 4.2). Another 15% are

being raised as secular or cultural Jews. Five percent of children are being raised Jewish and another religion, 19% have no religion, and 2% are being raised in a different religion.

Table 4.1 Greater Pittsburgh child population estimates

Age	Jewish	All children
0-5	2,400	3,800
6-12	2,300	2,500
13-17	1,700	2,100
Total	6,400	8,400

Table 4.2 Religion of children in Jewish households (number and % of children)

	Number	Percent
Jewish by religion	4,700	56
Secular/culturally Jewish	1,300	15
Jewish and another religion	400	5
Another religion	200	2
No religion	1,600	19
Not yet decided	200	2

Religion of Children by Household Characteristics

Overall, 76% of children in Jewish households are being raised Jewish in some way (Table 4.3). Nearly all parents who are part of the Immersed, Connected, and Holiday engagement groups are raising their children Jewish in some way, as are the majority (73%) of parents in the Involved group. No children with parents who are part of the Minimally Involved group are being raised Jewish in any way.²⁶ Nearly all children in Jewish households in Squirrel Hill (90%) and the South Hills (88%) are being raised Jewish, compared with just over half of children (54%) in the rest of the City of Pittsburgh and two-thirds (67%) in the North Hills.

Nearly all children of inmarried parents are being raised exclusively Jewish, with 86% being raised Jewish by religion and 13% raised as secular or cultural Jews (Figure 4.1). Among children of intermarried parents, one-third (33%) are being raised exclusively Jewish, and another 11% are being raised Jewish and another religion (Figure 4.2). Only six percent are being raised in another religion, but half of children of intermarried parents are being raised with no religion or with no decision yet made.

These rates have remained steady since 2002, but because there are fewer children overall today than there were in 2002, the number of children in each category is smaller. Nevertheless, these findings suggest both a challenge and an opportunity for the Greater Pittsburgh Jewish community. Very few interfaith families who are not explicitly raising their children as Jews have enrolled them in any sort of Jewish educational program. As the Pew study and other research show,²⁷ children of intermarried parents are much more likely to grow up identifying as Jewish if they are exposed to high-quality Jewish educational experiences as children. By contrast, even if parents intend to raise

Table 4.3 Children raised Jewish by household characteristics (% of children in Jewish households)

Overall	76
ENGAGEMENT	
Immersed	99
Connected	100
Involved	73
Holiday	97
Minimally Involved	--
REGION	
Squirrel Hill	90
Rest of Pittsburgh	54
South Hills	88
North Hills	67
Rest of region	83
HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE	
Inmarried	99
Intermarried	44
Single adult(s)	60
SYNAGOGUE	
Member	98
Non-member	60
DENOMINATION	
Orthodox	100
Conservative	99
Reform	86
Other	100
None	45

their children as Jews, those children who do not participate in Jewish educational programs tend to have significantly weaker ties to the Jewish community when they become adults. Should these children seek to explore their Jewish heritage in the future, their ability to find Jewish programs that match their interests and feel comfortable will be the two most important factors in determining whether they identify as Jews in adulthood.

Figure 4.1 Religion raised, children of inmarriage (%)

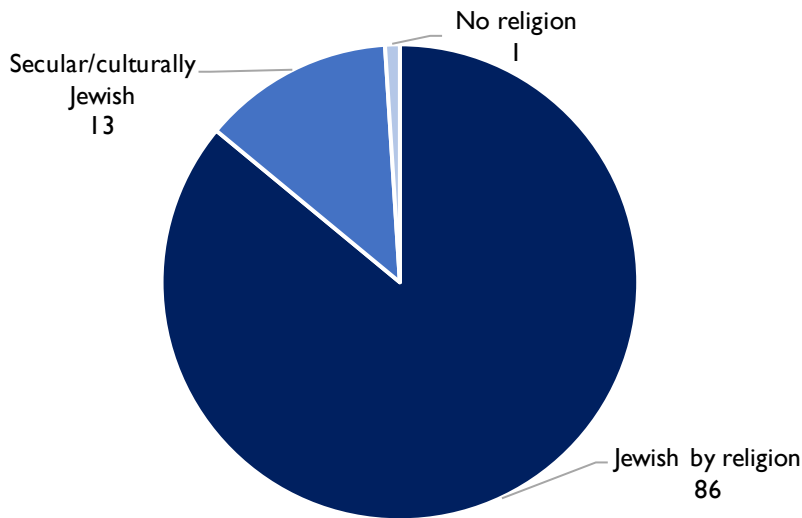
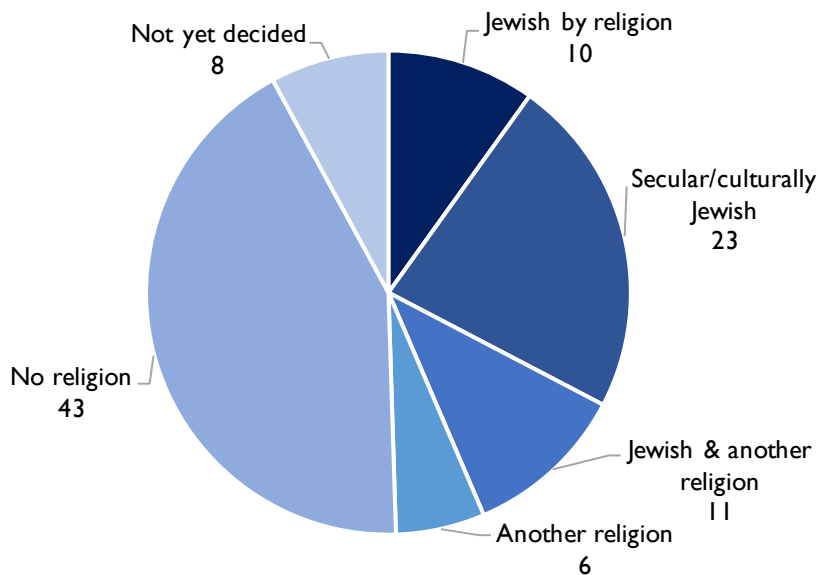


Figure 4.2 Religion raised, children of intermarriage (%)



Participation in Jewish Education

Jewish education is provided in the context of Jewish preschools; formal classroom settings, such as day school and part-time supplementary school; and informal settings, including camp, youth groups, and peer trips to Israel. Overall, nearly one-half (45%) of Jewish children²⁸ are enrolled in some form of formal Jewish education. Table 4.4 shows the overall numbers of children in each form of Jewish education. This table also displays the proportion of Jewish children who are enrolled in each form of Jewish education, among Jewish children who are age-eligible to attend that form of Jewish education.

Of Jewish children who are not yet in kindergarten, 28% are currently enrolled in a Jewish preschool program (Table 4.4). Formal Jewish education includes part-time and full-time school programs, as well as private tutoring and classes. Almost one-quarter (24%) of Jewish children in grades K-12 are enrolled in part-time schools, including 31% of those in grades K-8 and 15% of those in grades 9-12. For full-time day schools, 19% of K-12 students are enrolled, including 21% of K-8 Jewish students and 8% of Jewish high school students.

In addition to enrollment in Jewish educational institutions, 11% of children participate in some other form of Jewish learning, such as bar or bat mitzvah tutoring, Hebrew or Yiddish language lessons, or Rosh Chodesh clubs.

Table 4.4 Children in Jewish education (number and % of Jewish children)

	Jewish student enrollment	Proportion of age-eligible Jewish children (%)
JEWISH PRESCHOOL²⁹	600	28
FORMAL JEWISH EDUCATION		
PART-TIME SCHOOL		
K-8	800	31
9-12	200	15
K-12	1,000	24
DAY SCHOOL³⁰		
K-8	600	21
9-12	200	8
K-12	800	19
Jewish tutoring, K-12	500	11
Any formal Jewish education, K-12	1,900	45
INFORMAL JEWISH EDUCATION		
Jewish day camp, K-12	1,200	29
Jewish overnight camp, K-12	600	16
Jewish youth group, 6-12	400	20
Peer Israel trip, 9-12	200	15
ANY JEWISH EDUCATION, K-12	2,100	52

Informal Jewish education refers to camps and youth groups. Twenty-nine percent of Jewish children in grades K-12 attended Jewish day camp in summer 2017, and 16% attended an overnight Jewish camp. Thirty-seven percent of all Jewish children in grades K-12 attended at least one camp. One-fifth of Jewish children in grades 6-12 participated in a Jewish youth group during the 2016-17 school year. Fifteen percent of Jewish high school students have traveled to Israel on a peer trip.

More than half (52%) of Jewish children in grades K-12 participated in some form of Jewish education during the 2016-17 school year.

Drivers of Participation in Jewish Education

Because decisions to participate in Jewish education are typically made by parents, those outcomes are linked with the characteristics and overall engagement of adults. Tables 4.5 and 4.6 describe the households who participate in various forms of Jewish education. In these two tables, for each household characteristic listed, the table shows the proportion of Jewish households with Jewish age-eligible children who have at least one child enrolled in that form of Jewish education.

Table 4.5 Household participation in formal Jewish education (% of households with age-eligible children who have at least one child enrolled; row %)

	Pre-K	Part-time school, K-12	Day school, K-12	Jewish tutoring, K-12
Overall	33	27	12	15
ENGAGEMENT PATTERN				
Immersed	64	57	33	36
Connected	32	41	9	17
Involved	--	3	2	3
Holiday	--	40	7	12
Minimally Involved	--	--	--	--
PITTSBURGH REGION				
Squirrel Hill	46	28	22	15
Rest of Pittsburgh	37	13	8	8
South Hills	55	37	1	14
North Hills	30	39	1	17
Rest of region	--	24	2	16
MARRIAGE				
Inmarried	40	29	14	17
Intermarried	38	19	3	11
Single adult(s)	--	32	9	11
FINANCIAL STATUS				
Prosperous/very comfortable	43	29	8	13
Not prosperous	43	30	14	15

Formal Jewish Education: Preschool, Part-time school, Day school

Families in the Immersed group participate in formal Jewish education at higher rates than other groups.

One-fifth (19%) of intermarried households with Jewish children in grades K-12 have at least one child in part-time school, in contrast to 29% and 32% of inmarried and unmarried households. Households with higher self-described standards of living are just as likely as less affluent families to send their children to Jewish pre-schools and part-time schools, but less likely to send their children to Jewish day schools. About half of households with age-eligible children in the South Hills (55%) and Squirrel Hill (46%) send their children to a Jewish early childhood program, compared to about one-third in the rest of the city of Pittsburgh (37%) and the North Hills (30%).

Respondents with children not enrolled in a Jewish early childhood program were asked about the motivating factors behind their choices. No one reason was critical for a majority of parents. More than half (57%) said they were not interested. One-tenth cited cost and 16% concerns over location or transportation. Seven percent said they could not find a good fit for their child. One-sixth (16%) cited some other reason, including convenience, alternative care plans, a perception of the superior quality of secular programs, or an explicit desire to have children cared for in secular settings.

Informal Jewish Education: Camps and Youth Groups

For most forms of informal education, participation follows expected patterns of engagement (Table 4.6). Participation is highest among families in the Immersed group. However, Israel travel is an exception: households in the Connected group with teenagers are about equally likely to have sent a child on a youth trip to Israel.

Participation in camp, youth group, and Israel travel is higher for inmarried than intermarried families. Israel trips and youth groups are the most common informal education activities for intermarried families with Jewish school-age children. Families who are financially prosperous are equally likely to participate in overnight Jewish camp as other families. They are, however, less likely to have sent children to high-school Israel group trips.

Parents who did not send their child to a Jewish camp primarily cite a preference for other activities (56%) or a lack of interest (45%). Cost is less widely regarded as an important reason to reject Jewish camp (26%). Only 1% cited a lack of an age-appropriate option, while 20% claimed some other reason, including a preference for other summer camps, conflict with family vacations, and the lack of good options for special-needs children. Additionally, several families whose children are enrolled in formal educational programs during the year chose to give their children a “break” from year-round Jewish educational programming.

Table 4.6 Household participation in informal Jewish education (% of households with age-eligible children who have at least one child enrolled; row %)

	Day camp K-12	Overnight camp, K-12	Youth group 6-12	Israel trip 9-12
Overall	29	17	22	19
ENGAGEMENT PATTERN				
Immersed	57	38	46	33
Connected	22	20	32	35
Involved	14	14	9	--
Holiday	15	0	--	--
Minimally Involved	--	--	--	--
PITTSBURGH REGION				
Squirrel Hill	46	33	20	23
Rest of Pittsburgh	28	19	9	7
South Hills	20	18	31	12
North Hills	15	12	36	29
Rest of region	3	7	--	--
MARRIAGE				
Inmarried	29	23	31	25
Intermarried	13	5	11	10
Single adult(s)	38	36	16	13
FINANCIAL STATUS				
Prosperous/very comfortable	27	24	25	13
Not prosperous	28	18	29	28

Chapter 5. Synagogue and Ritual Life

Religious and ritual observance constitute one way Pittsburgh Jews express their Jewish identities. Synagogues have long been the central communal and religious “home” for American Jews, and membership in a congregation is one of the key ways Jews affiliate with the Jewish community. Synagogue membership notwithstanding, many Jews participate in rituals on a daily or intermittent basis at home. Some Jews perform rituals for religious reasons, while other Jews are motivated by civic, familial, and cultural reasons.

Synagogues and Congregations

In the Greater Pittsburgh Jewish community, 35% of households (approximately 9,400) belong to a synagogue or another Jewish worship community of some type (Table 5.1). Thirty-eight percent of Jewish adults live in synagogue-member households, comparable to that of the rest of the country (39%) but lower than rates found in 2002 (53%).

Synagogue affiliation models appear to be changing. In many cities, even as overall synagogue membership rates are declining, alternatives to “brick-and-mortar” synagogues such as independent minyanim have grown in popularity, and voluntary contributions have replaced dues in some congregations.³¹ For this study, respondents indicated whether they were members of “a Jewish congregation, such as a synagogue, temple, minyan, chavurah, or High Holy Day congregation.” Members were asked to name each congregation (up to five) and, for each one, to indicate whether they pay dues, consider themselves members without paying dues, or dues are not required for membership. Using this information, all congregations that could be identified were coded with a type and denomination. One-fifth of Jewish households (19%) indicate that they are dues-paying members of a brick-and-mortar synagogue (Table 5.1a).

Synagogue membership is nearly universal among those in the Immersed group (94%), and nearly two-thirds (63%) of those in the Connected group and about one-fifth (21%) of the Holiday group are synagogue members. Very few in the Involved or Minimally Involved groups have joined a congregation. Rates of congregational membership are similar across all regions.

Those who have lived in the community for less than 10 years are

Table 5.1a Synagogue membership (% of Jewish households; row %)

	Any synagogue member	Brick-and-mortar, dues-paying
Overall	35	19
ENGAGEMENT		
Immersed	94	50
Connected	63	45
Involved	4	2
Holiday	21	5
Minimally Involved	0	0
REGION		
Squirrel Hill	36	21
Rest of Pittsburgh	36	18
South Hills ³²	37	26
North Hills	32	25
Rest of region	36	16

the most likely to be members of any congregation (39%; Table 5.1b) but the least likely to pay dues to a brick-and-mortar synagogue (6%). Pittsburgh's longest-term Jewish residents are less likely to be members of a congregation (30%); most who are members belong to congregations with traditional building or membership structures. About half (54%) of inmarried households are synagogue members of any type, compared to about three-tenths (30%) of intermarried households. Although adults ages 18-34 are as likely as those 65 and older to belong to any type of congregation, very few of the former group pay dues to a brick-and-mortar synagogue. As might be expected, nearly all (90%) Orthodox Jews are members of a congregation of some sort. Nearly half of Pittsburgh's Orthodox Jewish population are dues-paying members of brick-and-mortar synagogues. However, a higher proportion than otherwise might be expected are members of congregations that do not require dues for membership. The strong presence of Chabad throughout the Greater Pittsburgh area partially explains this finding.

Table 5.1b Synagogue membership (% of Jewish households; row %)

	Any synagogue member	Brick-and-mortar, dues-paying
LENGTH OF RESIDENCE		
< 10 years	39	6
10-19 years	32	17
20 + years	30	19
HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE		
Inmarried	54	37
Intermarried	30	6
Single adult(s)	21	13
Household has child(ren)	34	17
No children	31	17
RESPONDENT AGE		
18-34	35	3
35-49	25	14
50-64	25	16
65 +	36	28
DENOMINATION		
Orthodox	90	45
Conservative	57	25
Reform	40	30
Other	25	18
None	5	2

Among synagogue member households, 76% are dues-paying members of brick-and-mortar synagogues, and 12% indicate that they are members of synagogues but do not pay dues—including those congregations where dues are not required (Table 5.2). Overall, 15% of synagogue member households belong to an alternative congregational structure, including a minyan or chavurah (8% of member households; 3% of all households) and Chabad (7% of member households; 3% of all households). Five percent of member households belong to synagogues that are out of the region, and 22% belong to congregations that could not be identified from the responses. Eleven percent of member households belong to multiple synagogues or worship groups. In all, 2% of member households belong to both a brick-and-mortar synagogue and an alternative.

Among households who are members of brick-and-mortar synagogues, nearly all (93%)³³ are members of Orthodox (20%), Conservative (24%) or Reform (52%) congregations (Table 5.3). Eight percent are members of synagogues with other denominations (e.g., Renewal or Reconstructionist) or no denomination.

Of households that do not currently belong to a synagogue, 40% (or 26% of all households) formerly did so. Respondents who indicated that no one in their households were members of Jewish congregations were asked to identify the reasons why they were not members. About half (45%) of these respondents indicated that they did not join because they were not religious, one-quarter cited the cost of membership, and one-quarter indicated membership was not a priority. Seventeen percent had not joined because of the lack of a good fit for them, and 12% said they were not members because they had no children at home.

Respondents were also given the opportunity to cite other reasons for not joining a synagogue, and 120 did so. Of these, the most common reasons cited were not liking the rabbi or the leadership of the congregation (15) and social reasons, such as not feeling welcome (10). Small numbers of respondents cited other reasons such as not going often enough or political disagreement with members or congregational leaders, and others indicated plans to join in the future.

Table 5.2 Household membership in congregations of different types (% of synagogue member households)

Congregation type	% of households
Brick-and-mortar synagogue, pays dues	76
Brick-and-mortar synagogue, doesn't pay dues	12
Independent	8
Chabad	7
Unknown	22
Out of area	5
Note: Total exceeds 100% because some households are members of more than one type of congregation.	

Table 5.3 Denomination of brick-and-mortar synagogues (% of brick-and-mortar member households)

	% of households
Orthodox	20
Conservative	24
Reform	52
Other denomination, nondenominational	8
Note: Total exceeds 100% because some households are members of more than one type of congregation.	

Several respondents elaborated on their reasons for not joining a synagogue. One wrote, “They never seemed interested in childless adults.” Another said he or she has donated to and attended High Holy Day services at a local congregation for decades but did not join. One respondent felt there was too much pressure to volunteer: “Chairing a committee and participating on others didn’t seem enough for some reason.”

Synagogue Participation

Both members and non-members of synagogues participate to varying degrees in synagogue life, including attending religious services or other synagogue-based programs, volunteering, or donating (Tables 5.4a and 5.4b). Over three-quarters (79%) of Jewish adults attended at least one religious service in the past year, with attendance nearly universal among those who are part of the Immersed and Connected groups. Almost one-quarter of adult Jews (24%) attended monthly or more, and 52% attended High Holiday services. Nearly all (89%) of those in the Immersed group and three-fifths (60%) of those in the Connected group say they “very much” felt comfortable the last time they attended services, compared to, on average, one-third of respondents in the other engagement groups. Notably, the Immersed group is the only engagement group in which a majority say their spiritual needs were “very much” met the last time they attended services, as well as the only group in which a minority say they felt at all disconnected from the people in the congregation. The only substantial difference by region is that those who live in Squirrel Hill are most likely to report they attended services monthly or more, and South Hills residents are far less likely to have attended High Holy Day services.

Table 5.4a Synagogue participation (% of Jewish adults)

	Attended services ever	Attended services monthly or more	Attended High Holy Day services	Felt comfortable, very much	Spiritual needs met, very much	Felt disconnected, at all
Overall	79	24	52	57	25	62
ENGAGEMENT						
Immersed	100	89	100	89	58	32
Connected	97	23	95	60	29	62
Involved	52	1	8	37	9	82
Holiday	64	2	42	36	8	69
Minimally Involved	5	0	0	16	6	88
REGION						
Squirrel Hill	78	35	66	62	35	57
Rest of Pittsburgh	67	22	52	54	26	60
South Hills	55	10	30	71	19	64
North Hills	71	13	57	49	25	69
Rest of region	69	21	51	40	22	72

Table 5.4b Synagogue participation (% of Jewish adults)

	Attended services ever	Attended services monthly or more	Attended High Holiday services	Felt comfortable, very much	Spiritual needs met, very much	Felt disconnected, at all
LENGTH OF RESIDENCE						
< 10 years	84	36	70	60	23	67
10-19 years	71	25	52	45	25	77
20 + years	65	20	49	57	28	59
HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE						
Inmarried	80	29	68	55	29	63
Intermarried	50	14	34	53	26	62
Single adult(s)	65	20	43	59	24	62
Household has child(ren)	69	21	56	57	26	70
No children	69	23	52	56	30	61
RESPONDENT AGE						
18-34	89	28	62	66	23	69
35-49	66	18	49	49	33	66
50-64	60	19	49	55	26	59
65 +	61	23	48	54	29	57
DENOMINATION						
Orthodox	99	82	93	87	75	32
Conservative	80	33	74	59	22	52
Reform	82	21	65	58	29	63
Other	79	19	62	50	14	74
None	40	2	13	34	5	89
SYNAGOGUE						
Member	96	50	92	73	44	51
Non-member	54	7	30	42	13	72

Newcomers to the community attended services more frequently than more established residents and were most likely to say they “very much” felt comfortable and that their spiritual needs were met the last time they attended services (Table 5.4b). Young adults were also among the most frequent attendees and among the most content in their experience at services.

Ritual Practices

The majority of Pittsburgh’s Jewish adults mark Jewish holidays over the course of the year, with 79% lighting Chanukah candles and 76% attending a Passover seder (Tables 5.5a and 5.5b). Chanukah celebrations are nearly universal among the Immersed, Connected, and Holiday engagement groups but less frequent among members of the Involved and Minimally Involved groups. By contrast, Shabbat candle-lighting is widespread among those in the Immersed group but is less frequent for all other groups. Notably, residents of South Hills were less likely to participate in most of the rituals assessed in this study than residents of other areas.

Table 5.5a Ritual practices (% of Jewish adults)

	Light Hanukkah candles	Attend Passover seder	Ever light Shabbat candles	Have Shabbat meal	Fast on Yom Kippur*	Observe any kosher law
Overall	79	76	45	31	56	40
ENGAGEMENT						
Immersed	100	100	96	94	86	90
Connected	97	98	52	24	75	37
Involved	73	77	44	20	40	23
Holiday	97	70	16	21	53	43
Minimally Involved	14	10	5	0	1	4
REGION						
Squirrel Hill	85	87	58	43	66	43
Rest of Pittsburgh	77	80	38	30	46	31
South Hills	68	58	42	40	47	43
North Hills	88	84	33	16	58	26
Rest of region	84	71	40	24	58	37

*Note. The 44% of those who did not fast (not shown in table) includes 10% who could not do so for medical reasons.

Table 5.5b Ritual practices (% of Jewish adults)

	Light Hanukkah Candles	Attend Passover seder	Ever light Shabbat candles	Have Shabbat meal	Fast on Yom Kippur	Observe any kosher law
LENGTH OF RESIDENCE						
< 10 years	92	90	60	40	66	45
10-19 years	82	78	53	33	50	39
20 + years	77	75	40	31	53	37
HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE						
Inmarried	94	93	61	35	63	43
Intermarried	69	62	26	18	37	31
Single adult(s)	67	66	33	40	53	44
Household has child(ren)	82	76	53	36	57	32
No children	79	78	42	32	55	40
RESPONDENT AGE						
18-34	95	90	57	56	75	57
35-49	76	75	44	31	53	31
50-64	74	66	37	25	45	33
65 +	75	80	40	22	47	30
DENOMINATION						
Orthodox	99	99	91	89	89	93
Conservative	96	86	48	44	66	67
Reform	87	86	47	22	63	24
Other	76	78	34	30	57	27
None	57	57	28	22	29	21
SYNAGOGUE						
Member	96	97	69	52	76	67
Non-member	70	66	30	22	43	28

Compared to 2002, similar proportions of Jews in the community usually or always light Shabbat candles and keep kosher, and a smaller proportion attend religious services monthly or more (Table 5.6). Compared to US Jews as a whole, Pittsburgh-area Jews are more likely to attend Passover seders but attend services slightly less frequently. They light Shabbat candles at about the same rates as the national Jewish community.

Table 5.6 Ritual practices in Pittsburgh 2017, Pittsburgh 2002, and Pew 2013
(% of Jewish adults)

	Pittsburgh 2017	Pittsburgh 2002	Pew 2013
Shabbat Candles			
Never	55	48	53
Sometimes	24	28	24
Usually	7	8	6
Always	14	17	16
Religious service attendance			
Never	31	14	22
Less than monthly	46	53	55
Monthly or more	24	33	23
Other rituals			
Keep kosher home	15	19	--
Seder last year	76	--	70

Chapter 6. Social and Community Life

The Greater Pittsburgh Jewish community offers diverse avenues for communal participation. Pittsburgh-area Jews join local, regional, and national membership organizations and attend an array of cultural, educational, and religious events. They volunteer and donate their time to Jewish and non-Jewish causes. Through their participation, they make Jewish friends and strengthen their ties to the local community. This chapter describes the multiple ways in which Pittsburgh-area Jews interact and participate with their local peers and institutions and points to measures that can enhance these connections.

Organizations and Activities

Pittsburgh-area Jews participate in a wide range of Jewish organizations and activities. Three-in-ten households say they currently belong to a Jewish Community Center (JCC) (two-in-ten pay dues), and nearly one-third (32%) of households belong to at least one Jewish organization other than a synagogue or JCC, such as Hadassah or AIPAC (Table 6.1a). Overall, one-fifth (21%) of Jewish households pay dues to a Jewish organization aside from a synagogue or the JCC.

Table 6.1a Household memberships and activities (% of Jewish households)

	JCC member (dues and no dues)	Other organization member (dues and no dues)	Other organization (dues)
Overall	30	32	21
ENGAGEMENT			
Immersed	34	45	32
Connected	27	54	37
Involved	36	42	32
Holiday	13	4	0
Minimally Involved	8	1	0
REGION			
Squirrel Hill	40	43	32
Rest of Pittsburgh	25	30	21
South Hills	29	28	22
North Hills	12	30	18
Rest of region	6	23	13

Those in the Connected group are most likely to be members of an organization. Residents of Squirrel Hill and the South Hills are most likely to be members of the JCC, followed by residents of the rest of the city of Pittsburgh. A little over one-fifth of residents who have resided in Greater Pittsburgh for at least 10 years pay dues to a Jewish organization other than a synagogue or JCC, compared to about one-in-ten residents who have been in the area fewer than ten years (Table 6.1b). Older adults ages 65 and older are most likely to pay membership dues to a Jewish organization.

Table 6.1b Household memberships and activities (% of Jewish households)

	JCC member (dues and no dues)	Other organization member (dues and no dues)	Other organization (dues)
LENGTH OF RESIDENCE			
< 10 years	25	25	12
10-19 years	33	29	20
20 + years	26	34	25
HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE			
Inmarried	33	44	30
Intermarried	20	14	8
Single adult(s)	25	33	25
Household has child(ren)	41	16	11
No children	24	35	25
RESPONDENT AGE			
18-34	37	29	21
35-49	30	17	10
50-64	14	21	12
65 +	29	49	38
SYNAGOGUE			
Member	31	54	41
Non-member	24	25	17
DENOMINATION			
Orthodox	35	42	33
Conservative	20	37	26
Reform	27	44	30
Other	16	28	19
None	29	20	15

Families with children are more likely to be members of the JCC than households without children, but less likely to be members of other Jewish organizations. Community members between the ages of 50 and 64 are less likely than other age groups to belong to the JCC.

Nearly half (45%) of Jews in Greater Pittsburgh attended a program or event within the past year, with 11% doing so at least monthly, and 34% doing so less than monthly (Table 6.2a). Seven-in-ten (68%) read a Jewish organization's materials in the past year, with 36% doing so at least monthly, and 32% doing so less than monthly. Those in the Immersed and Connected groups are most likely to pay dues, attend programs, and read organizations' materials. The Involved group is distinguished from the remaining engagement groups by the moderate level of participation in the community across these items.

Residents of Squirrel Hill attend Jewish programs more frequently than residents of other neighborhoods, likely because most of the programs are hosted by institutions in the neighborhood. In turn, because programs are more accessible to residents of Squirrel Hill, it is likely that they read materials from Jewish organizations more frequently due to their connections with those organizations.

Table 6.2a Organizational participation in past year (% of Jewish adults)

	Attend program		Read materials	
	Monthly +	< Monthly	Monthly +	< Monthly
Overall	11	34	36	32
ENGAGEMENT				
Immersed	37	39	79	17
Connected	11	53	54	33
Involved	7	38	35	58
Holiday	0	< 1	0	0
Minimally Involved	2	3	0	5
REGION				
Squirrel Hill	19	41	49	28
Rest of Pittsburgh	14	40	45	27
South Hills	7	23	25	32
North Hills	4	25	33	36
Rest of region	3	24	29	33

Sixty percent of newcomers have attended programs in the Jewish community in the past year, and they are among the most frequent attendees as well., but younger adults, especially those ages 18-34, attend programs most frequently (Table 6.2b).

Table 6.2b Organizational participation in past year (% of Jewish adults)

	Attend program		Read materials	
	Monthly +	< Monthly	Monthly +	< Monthly
LENGTH OF RESIDENCE				
< 10 years	23	37	39	26
10-19 years	19	34	43	34
20 + years	8	33	39	30
HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE				
Inmarried	14	44	51	31
Intermarried	13	22	31	25
Single adult(s)	8	26	29	32
Household has child(ren)	12	38	35	24
No children	12	33	41	31
RESPONDENT AGE				
18-34	18	29	38	30
35-49	11	34	40	28
50-64	10	32	38	25
65 +	10	40	44	34
SYNAGOGUE				
Member	18	49	62	24
Non-member	8	25	27	33
DENOMINATION				
Orthodox	22	40	77	18
Conservative	19	33	51	22
Reform	10	43	40	35
Other	9	45	45	20
None	6	21	21	34

Sources of Information

More than half of the community say they learn about Jewish events and programs online (56%), from family or friends (51%), or from synagogue or organizational newsletters (44%) (Table 6.3). One-third (32%) say they hear about events and programs from the *Pittsburgh Jewish Chronicle* or another Jewish periodical, and one-fifth (20%) receive community news directly from a rabbi or another Jewish communal professional.

Table 6.3 Sources of information (% of Jewish adults)

Online	56
Family or friends	51
Synagogue or organization newsletter	44
<i>Pittsburgh Jewish Chronicle</i> or other local Jewish periodical	32
Rabbi or communal professional	20

Travel to Jewish Programs

More than eight-out-of-ten Jewish adults (83%) say they would be willing to travel on a regular basis to attend a Jewish-sponsored program or event. Among those who would do so, 11% would go farther than 40 minutes away, nearly half (45%) would go farther than 20 minutes away, and 90% would go farther than 10 minutes away (Table 6.4). Those living in Squirrel Hill and the city of Pittsburgh are less willing to travel as long as those living farther out in the suburbs.

Table 6.4 Time willing to travel to Jewish programs (% Jewish adults willing to travel)

	Less than 10 min	10-20 min	21-40 min	41-60 min	Over one hour
Overall	10	44	34	8	3
REGION					
Squirrel Hill	21	46	26	4	4
Rest of Pittsburgh	11	56	24	8	2
South Hills	6	44	46	4	1
North Hills	2	31	57	7	3
Rest of region	4	38	27	28	3

Volunteering

In the Pittsburgh Jewish community, 39% of Jewish adults say they did some volunteer activity in the past month (Table 6.5a). Nearly one-fifth (18%) of the overall population volunteered with at least one Jewish organization, and 28% volunteered with a non-Jewish organization. These include 8% who volunteered for both (not shown in table). Fifteen percent of Jewish adults volunteered in a leadership position in a Jewish organization. Those in the Immersed and Connected groups were most likely to volunteer under Jewish auspices, while about one-third of Immersed, Connected, and Involved volunteered for non-Jewish groups.

Table 6.5a Volunteering (% of Jewish adults)

	Any volunteering	Non-Jewish organization	Any Jewish organization	Leadership role (Jewish org)	Other role (Jewish org)
Overall	39	28	18	15	7
ENGAGEMENT					
Immersed	56	32	41	35	18
Connected	52	36	33	26	12
Involved	43	36	12	9	6
Holiday	20	18	5	3	1
Minimally Involved	14	14	1	< 1	< 1
REGION					
Squirrel Hill	50	34	27	23	11
Rest of Pittsburgh	48	35	25	20	10
South Hills	23	16	13	9	6
North Hills	35	24	18	16	5
Rest of region	38	34	12	8	6

Although there are no significant differences in Jewish volunteering by duration of residence in the Pittsburgh area, those who have lived in the area for less time tend to be more active volunteers with non-Jewish organizations (Table 6.5b). By contrast, although residents ages 35-49 or 50-64 are most likely to report volunteering for leadership roles in Jewish organizations, the 35 to 49-year-olds are the least likely group to volunteer at all for non-Jewish organizations. Conservative Jews report the highest overall levels of taking leadership roles in Jewish organizations, while Orthodox Jews report the lowest rates of volunteering for non-Jewish organizations.

Table 6.5b Volunteering (% of Jewish adults)

	Any volunteering	Non-Jewish volunteering	Any Jewish organization	Leadership role (Jewish org)	Other role (Jewish org)
LENGTH OF RESIDENCE					
< 10 years	51	38	20	17	9
10-19 years	43	30	24	19	12
20 + years	39	28	21	17	8
HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE					
Inmarried	50	34	28	25	10
Intermarried	39	32	13	10	4
Single adult(s)	31	23	15	9	9
Household has child(ren)	47	31	26	21	10
No child(ren)	40	30	20	16	8
RESPONDENT AGE					
18-34	42	32	16	13	8
35-49	37	22	24	20	11
50-64	41	28	26	22	9
65 +	46	37	18	14	8
SYNAGOGUE					
Member	53	34	36	31	13
Non-member	35	28	12	8	6
DENOMINATION					
Orthodox	32	10	28	22	13
Conservative	47	33	29	26	9
Reform	49	35	24	19	10
Other	47	32	33	13	16
None	33	28	9	7	5

Overall, Pittsburgh-area Jews believe it is important to be involved with organizations supporting a wide variety of causes (Tables 6.6a and 6.6b). Education is very important to 83% of the community, and all engagement groups value that cause highly. Nearly as many believe that health and medicine (79%) is very important, as do almost three-quarters about social justice and women's rights. Those in the Immersed group assign greater weight to causes related to Israel than do individuals from other groups. In every other engagement group, Israel appears to be less important than every other topic respondents were asked to value.

Unsurprisingly, older residents, who also tend to be those who have lived in the area the longest, believe health-related causes are more important than younger residents. Orthodox and Conservative Jews believe Israel is more important than adherents to other denominations or no denomination. The greatest difference between synagogue members and non-members, and between inmarried and intermarried couples, is also on Israel, with synagogue members and inmarried couples expressing greater interest.

Table 6.6a Very important causes (% of Jewish adults)

	Education	Health/ medicine	Social justice	Women's rights	Environ- ment	Arts/ culture	Politics	Israel
Overall	83	79	73	72	65	61	59	53
ENGAGEMENT								
Immersed	85	78	59	56	63	53	44	75
Connected	81	75	76	79	60	61	67	53
Involved	86	83	82	80	76	71	64	54
Holiday	65	83	74	55	76	67	72	50
Minimally Involved	84	89	57	87	57	59	48	30
REGION								
Squirrel Hill	85	77	79	74	71	56	63	51
Rest of Pittsburgh	84	79	82	81	74	76	68	50
South Hills	82	88	61	76	59	58	43	58
North Hills	86	78	65	71	55	58	54	55
Rest of region	68	81	55	58	58	61	63	60

Table 6.6b Very important causes (% of Jewish adults)

	Education	Health/ medicine	Social justice	Women's rights	Environ- ment	Arts / culture	Politics	Israel
LENGTH OF RESIDENCE								
< 10 years	74	68	67	67	66	59	53	35
10-19 years	80	75	72	71	66	68	62	47
20 + years	83	84	73	75	66	63	62	59
HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE								
Inmarried	84	79	72	76	64	63	66	58
Intermarried	80	79	72	67	73	72	69	43
Single adult(s)	79	83	71	73	66	57	48	54
Household has child(ren)	81	77	70	72	66	58	63	51
No child(ren)	82	81	72	74	66	64	60	54
RESPONDENT AGE								
18-34	73	77	71	65	75	59	39	50
35-49	88	80	74	79	66	66	62	55
50-64	78	81	63	72	56	56	59	52
65 +	88	86	82	82	73	70	77	55
SYNAGOGUE								
Member	85	78	74	73	62	55	61	66
Non-member	80	82	71	74	69	68	60	46
DENOMINATION								
Orthodox	93	76	51	44	53	39	40	93
Conservative	68	80	66	59	63	62	62	64
Reform	82	79	77	79	67	59	67	47
Other	67	73	96	89	84	80	65	30
None	88	84	73	84	68	72	57	46

Philanthropy

Within the Greater Pittsburgh Jewish community, nearly all (93%) Jewish adults report making a charitable contribution in the past year (Table 6.7a). Three-quarters (76%) of Jewish adults donated to at least one Jewish organization. Nearly two-thirds (63%) of Jewish adults donated to a Jewish organization that serves the Pittsburgh Jewish community. Just over half (55%) of the community gave less than \$2,500 to nonprofits, one-quarter contributed \$2,500 or more, and the remainder declined to indicate an amount.

Nearly all of those in the Involved and the Immersed groups donated to a nonprofit organization in the past year, as did majorities of all groups (Table 6.7a). However, although nearly everyone in the Immersed and Connected groups made donations to Jewish organizations, seven-in-ten in the Involved group, one-third of the Holiday group, and one-eighth in the Minimally Involved group did so.

Table 6.7a Philanthropy (% of Jewish adults)

	Any donation	Any Jewish donation	Any local Jewish donation
Overall	93	76	63
ENGAGEMENT			
Immersed	95	94	87
Connected	94	89	64
Involved	90	71	58
Holiday	77	33	28
Minimally Involved	90	14	10
REGION			
Squirrel Hill	92	81	66
Rest of Pittsburgh	92	65	50
South Hills	91	72	65
North Hills	97	76	60
Rest of region	80	53	43

Long-term residents, who are typically older than newcomers, are more likely to make donations both in general and to Jewish organizations (Table 6.7b). Inmarried couples, synagogue members, and adherents of Orthodox, Conservative, or Reform Judaism are also more likely to donate to Jewish organizations in general, though the Orthodox are more likely than members of any other denominational grouping to donate to local Jewish organizations.

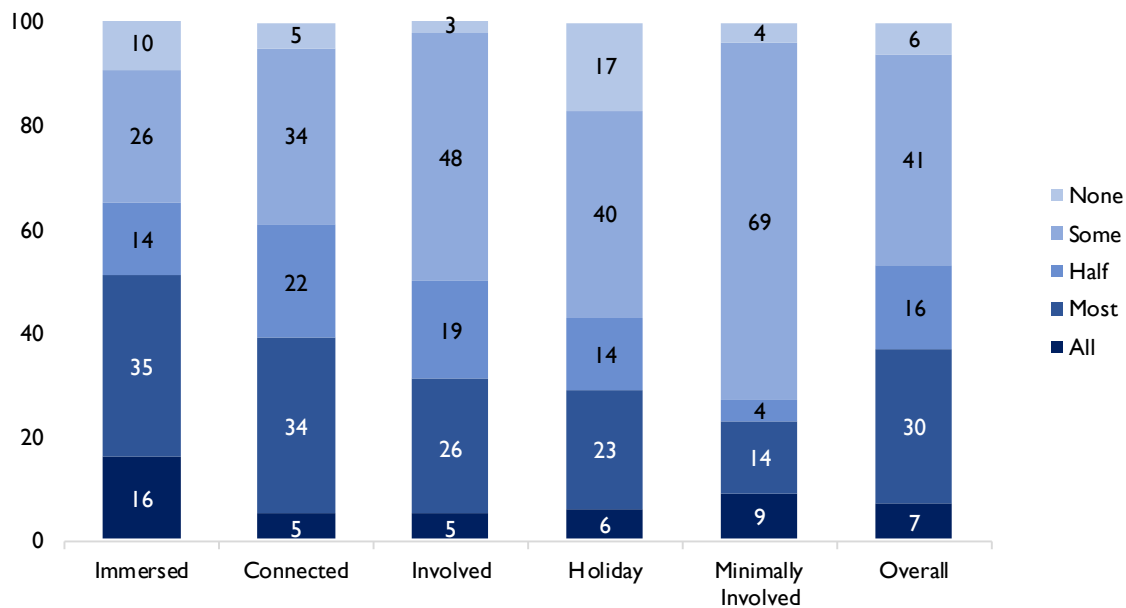
Table 6.7b Philanthropy (% of Jewish adults)

	Any donation	Any Jewish donation	Any local Jewish donation
LENGTH OF RESIDENCE			
< 10 years	82	63	44
10-19 years	85	61	46
20 + years	93	74	61
HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE			
Inmarried	95	84	63
Intermarried	93	55	45
Single adult(s)	83	61	55
Household has child(ren)	91	62	42
No children	90	73	60
RESPONDENT AGE			
18-34	80	66	51
35-49	91	59	47
50-64	95	74	59
65 +	95	79	66
SYNAGOGUE			
Member	94	91	73
Non-member	88	58	47
DENOMINATION			
Orthodox	90	89	83
Conservative	89	75	56
Reform	92	78	64
Other	83	51	42
None	92	53	44

Informal Involvement in the Jewish Community

Community engagement is closely tied to personal connections and friendships among Jews. The vast majority (94%) of Jews in Greater Pittsburgh have at least some connection to other Jews, and 53% say at least half of their closest friends are Jewish (Figure 6.1). Sixty-five percent of the Immersed group respondents and 61% of respondents from the Connected group indicate that half or more of their close friends are Jewish, reflecting their deep engagement in the Jewish community.

Figure 6.1 Jewish friends by engagement (% of Jewish adults)



Informal and Cultural Activities

Informal and cultural activities include Jewish activities that are not sponsored by organizations, such as seeing Jewish theater, reading Jewish books, eating Jewish foods, and discussing Jewish topics (Tables 6.8a, 6.8b, 6.8c, and 6.8d).

Overall, 86% of Pittsburgh Jews discussed Jewish topics (e.g., culture, religion, Israel, etc.) in the past month, including all or nearly all in the Immersed, Connected, and the Involved groups. About two-thirds (68%) ate Jewish foods. Slightly fewer (65%) searched for Jewish content on the internet in the past month, including nearly all (95%) of those in the Immersed group and three-quarters of those in the Connected (72%) and Involved (71%) groups.

Table 6.8a Participation in informal and cultural activities (% of Jewish adults)

	Discuss Jewish topics		Eat Jewish foods		Jewish info. online	
	< Weekly	Weekly +	< Weekly	Weekly +	< Weekly	Weekly +
Overall	39	47	29	39	31	34
ENGAGEMENT						
Immersed	15	85	17	78	24	71
Connected	36	59	39	31	39	33
Involved	49	41	38	32	31	40
Holiday	48	25	30	29	35	5
Minimally Involved	28	10	21	3	20	3
REGION						
Squirrel Hill	35	56	32	41	28	41
Rest of Pittsburgh	29	56	38	32	32	32
South Hills	54	38	28	54	32	46
North Hills	42	35	29	24	30	24
Rest of region	35	45	26	32	39	30

Question: "In the past month, how often did you...

- eat Jewish foods, aside from Shabbat and holiday meals?
- talk about Jewish topics (such as culture, Israel, religion, etc.)?
- look for Jewish information online?
- access Jewish-focused culture (such as books, TV, music, or a museum)?
- study a Jewish religious text (such as the Torah or Talmud)?"

Over three-quarters of each age group discussed Jewish topics in the past month, with over half of Jewish adults ages 50 and older and just under half of those under age 50 having done so at least weekly. More than three-fifths of each age group sought Jewish content on the internet at least once per month, with two-fifths (43%) of young adults ages 18-34 having done so at least weekly. Across most of these activities, Orthodox and Conservative Jews participated more frequently than others.

Table 6.8b Participation in informal and cultural activities (% of Jewish adults)

	Discuss Jewish topics		Eat Jewish foods		Jewish info. online	
	< Weekly	Weekly +	< Weekly	Weekly +	< Weekly	Weekly +
LENGTH OF RESIDENCE						
< 10 years	37	50	31	39	22	43
10-19 years	42	50	35	31	38	36
20 + years	36	50	32	38	33	34
HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE						
Inmarried	30	60	33	40	30	41
Intermarried	37	35	32	19	30	25
Single adult(s)	46	43	29	45	35	35
Household has child(ren)	35	41	31	23	24	32
No children	37	52	32	40	34	36
RESPONDENT AGE						
18-34	45	46	29	47	25	43
35-49	31	46	31	26	32	32
50-64	36	52	36	36	44	32
65 +	30	55	32	34	28	33
SYNAGOGUE						
Member	27	68	31	48	34	43
Non-member	42	38	33	30	30	31
DENOMINATION						
Orthodox	18	81	10	85	27	67
Conservative	30	64	30	53	41	32
Reform	42	46	38	24	32	32
Other	21	56	42	22	43	39
None	43	33	31	28	25	32

Half (49%) of Pittsburgh Jews report that they accessed Jewish-focused culture, such as books, music, museums, or TV programs in the past month, including 79% of the Immersed and over half of the Involved (56%) and Connected (51%) groups. Residents of Squirrel Hill (62%) and the South Hills (54%) are far more likely to access Jewish-focused culture than residents of other neighborhoods. One-quarter of adults had studied a Jewish text in the past month, including 80% of those in the Immersed group.

Table 6.8c Participation in informal and cultural activities (% of Jewish adults)

	Jewish culture		Study Jewish text	
	< Weekly	Weekly +	< Weekly	Weekly +
Overall	30	19	12	13
ENGAGEMENT				
Immersed	25	54	25	55
Connected	37	14	14	5
Involved	42	14	8	3
Holiday	13	4	1	0
Minimally Involved	15	1	2	2
REGION				
Squirrel Hill	34	28	12	26
Rest of Pittsburgh	29	19	14	8
South Hills	40	14	8	8
North Hills	27	9	12	4
Rest of region	23	12	11	5

Adults ages 18-34 are the most avid consumers of Jewish-focused culture, with one-quarter (26%) having sought such activities at least once per week. About half (53%) of inmarried Jews accessed Jewish-focused culture monthly, including one-fifth (22%) who did so weekly; by contrast, about one-third (32%) of intermarried Jews accessed Jewish-focused culture at least once per month, including 10% who did so weekly. Nearly nine-in-ten (88%) Orthodox respondents studied Jewish texts monthly, including four-fifths (81%) who studied weekly or more often.

Table 6.8d Participation in informal and cultural activities (% of Jewish adults)

	Jewish culture		Study Jewish text	
	< Weekly	Weekly +	< Weekly	Weekly +
LENGTH OF RESIDENCE				
< 10 years	21	21	19	13
10-19 years	36	23	15	16
20 + years	33	18	10	12
HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE				
Inmarried	31	22	12	15
Intermarried	22	10	16	6
Single adult(s)	36	20	8	13
Household has child(ren)	22	19	9	13
No children	33	19	12	12
RESPONDENT AGE				
18-34	29	26	16	15
35-49	31	17	9	11
50-64	31	18	13	15
65 +	34	16	9	10
SYNAGOGUE				
Member	33	30	15	28
Non-member	30	12	10	3
DENOMINATION				
Orthodox	23	60	7	81
Conservative	21	16	18	9
Reform	37	16	12	7
Other	24	30	26	6
None	35	11	6	2

Antisemitism

There is some concern among Pittsburgh’s Jewish community about local antisemitism. At the time of the survey, a wave of over 120 highly publicized bomb threats and a series of vandalism incidents targeted Jewish institutions throughout the United States. Although the threats were false and the responsible party was arrested more than a month before the survey launched, the incidents may have increased respondents’ sense of concern.

Although 14% of local Jews say they are not at all concerned about antisemitism in the Greater Pittsburgh area, more than two-thirds (70%) indicate they have some concern, and 16% note they are very much concerned. Members of the Connected, Involved, and Holiday groups express slightly higher levels of concern than members of the Immersed or Minimally Involved groups. There is no significant difference in the level of concern across neighborhoods.

Table 6.9a Concerned about antisemitism (% of Jewish adults)

	Not at all	A little/ somewhat	Very much
Overall	14	70	16
ENGAGEMENT			
Immersed	21	63	16
Connected	13	67	20
Involved	15	61	25
Holiday	10	68	22
Minimally Involved	9	84	7
REGION			
Squirrel Hill	19	63	18
Rest of Pittsburgh	16	67	16
South Hills	6	82	12
North Hills	15	66	19
Rest of region	9	54	37

Older Jews are more concerned about antisemitism than younger Jews, with one-third (33%) of senior citizens and 10% of 18-to-34-year-olds being very much concerned. Similarly, those who have lived in the area for ten or more years express greater levels of concern than those who arrived more recently, though this difference is correlated with age.

Table 6.9b Concerned about antisemitism (% of Jewish adults)

	Not at all	A little/ somewhat	Very much
LENGTH OF RESIDENCE			
< 10 years	23	70	7
10-19 years	18	67	14
20 + years	12	66	22
HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE			
Inmarried	14	63	23
Intermarried	14	71	14
Single adult(s)	14	69	17
Household has child(ren)	13	65	13
No children	14	74	20
RESPONDENT AGE			
18-34	21	69	10
35-49	13	71	16
50-64	10	76	15
65 +	14	54	33
SYNAGOGUE			
Member	17	63	20
Non-member	12	69	19
DENOMINATION			
Orthodox	34	51	14
Conservative	7	70	24
Reform	15	61	24
Other	12	71	18
None	12	67	12

Sixteen percent of Pittsburgh Jews directly experienced antisemitism within the past year, and 213 respondents described the incidents in question. The most frequent experiences are listed in Table 6.10 along with the number of respondents who cited each experience.

Table 6.10 Types of antisemitic experiences

Type of experience	Number of respondents
General comments – conversational or aggressive	80
Discrimination (e.g., jobs, lack of religious accommodation)	23
Insults	21
Stereotypes	19
Internet	15
Vandalism or physical threat/attack	14
Neo-Nazism	13
“Jokes”	12
Anti-Israel, BDS	11
Politically motivated (right- or left-wing)	11
Microaggressions	10

Most respondents describe their incidents as very minor. As an example of the comments, one respondent wrote:

This is difficult because we live in a suburb where we are a minority. I would not call it antisemitism of the violent kind, but what one might call microaggressions—people saying nasty things about voting for liberal causes, presuming that we have certain practices because we are Jewish, and not accommodating our needs. (Last year the school scheduled a dance on Yom Kippur and we had to go and explain... They are better now, but really!)

Some of the incidents are menacing:

A person driving a car cut me off and proceeded to call me a ‘dumb Jew’ while I was walking across a street on my way to shul. The person then spit in my direction and told me to ‘go back to Squirrel Hill.’ (I live in [another neighborhood].)

Several respondents cite tension around politics:

During the last presidential election, a young, immature neighbor placed a Trump sign in our yard with a note on the back, something like ‘from your friendly neighborhood youth Hitler.’ I honestly don’t think they even knew we were Jewish but it hurt deeply.

Bernie Sanders was referred to as one of MY people.

A few cite incidents in the workplace:

I am a college professor...Antisemitism is considered politically correct by virtually all faculty in [respondent's department].

A colleague told me that as a Jew, I should have to dissociate myself from Israeli military policies and Jewish ethno-chauvinistic racism' before I should be allowed in progressive spaces.

A coworker of mine said that a child we were working with looked ugly and Jewish. And then she said another child would have survived the Holocaust because she has blonde hair.

These incidents are disturbing, but it is important to emphasize that 84% of Jews in Greater Pittsburgh report that they did not directly experience any antisemitism in the past year, and most who did experienced relatively minor incidents. The perception of antisemitism in the community may be worse than the reality. Nevertheless, the community must remain vigilant to ensure that all of its members feel safe and secure to enjoy a rich life in both the Jewish community and the wider community around them.

Chapter 7. Connections to Israel

The Pittsburgh Jewish community has strong ties to Israel, grounded in religious, cultural, and familial connections. For many Jewish adults, Israel is central to their Jewish identity. Travel to Israel is frequent and friendships with Israelis are common.

Approximately three-fifths (59%) of Pittsburgh's Jews have been to Israel (Table 7.1a, Figure 7.1). One-quarter (24%) of Jewish adults have been to Israel once, and a similar proportion (28%) have visited more than once. Seven percent, including the 3% who are Israeli citizens, have lived in Israel at some point.

Travel to Israel has increased since 2002, when 44% of Pittsburgh's Jews had been to Israel.³⁴ Pittsburgh's numbers also represents a substantially higher proportion than among US Jews in general, of whom, as of 2013, 43% had been to Israel.³⁵

Those in the Immersed group are the most likely to have been to Israel (86%), followed by those in the Connected group (67%). Among those in the Minimally Involved group, one-sixth (16%) have been to Israel. Three-quarters (73%) of Squirrel Hill's Jewish residents have been to Israel, including 51% who have visited multiple times or lived there.

Table 7.1a Frequency of Israel travel (row %; of Jewish adults)

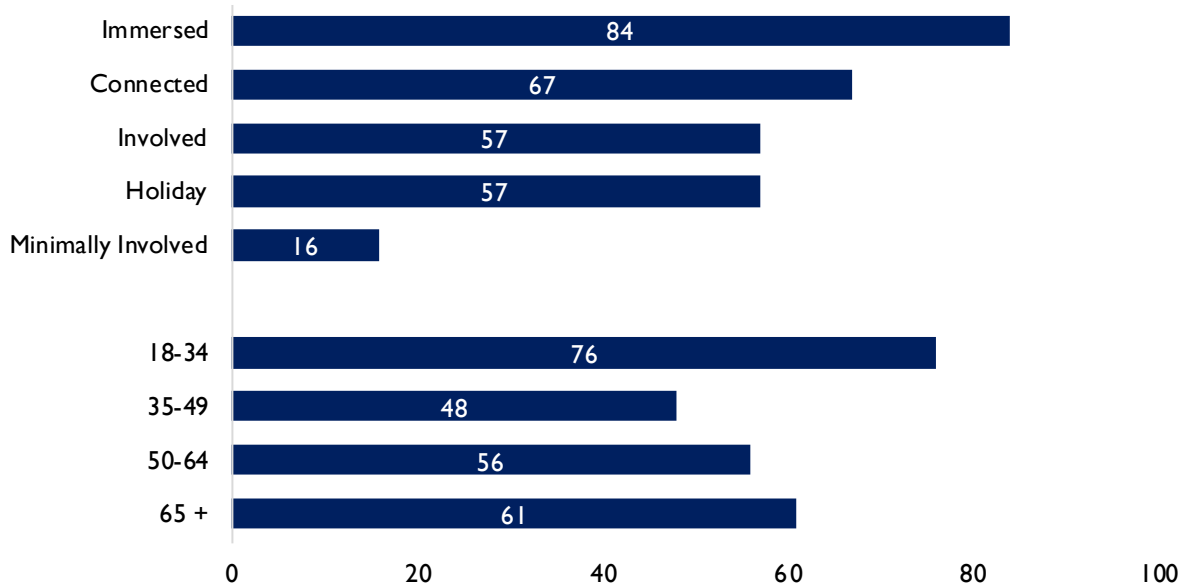
	Never	Once	Multiple	Lived/Israeli
Overall	41	24	28	7
ENGAGEMENT				
Immersed	14	21	56	9
Connected	33	28	33	6
Involved	43	20	30	7
Holiday	43	32	10	15
Minimally Involved	84	9	4	2
REGION				
Squirrel Hill	27	22	42	9
Rest of Pittsburgh	42	25	27	5
South Hills	47	13	29	11
North Hills	43	34	19	4
Rest of region	56	24	16	4

Two-thirds (66%) of inmarried Jews have been to Israel, compared to half (48%) of intermarried Jews and 57% of those who are unmarried. Three-quarters (76%) of Jews ages 18-34 have been to Israel, compared to about three-fifths (57%) of those ages 50 and older and just under half (48%) of those ages 35-49.

Table 7.1b Frequency of Israel travel (row %; of Jewish adults)

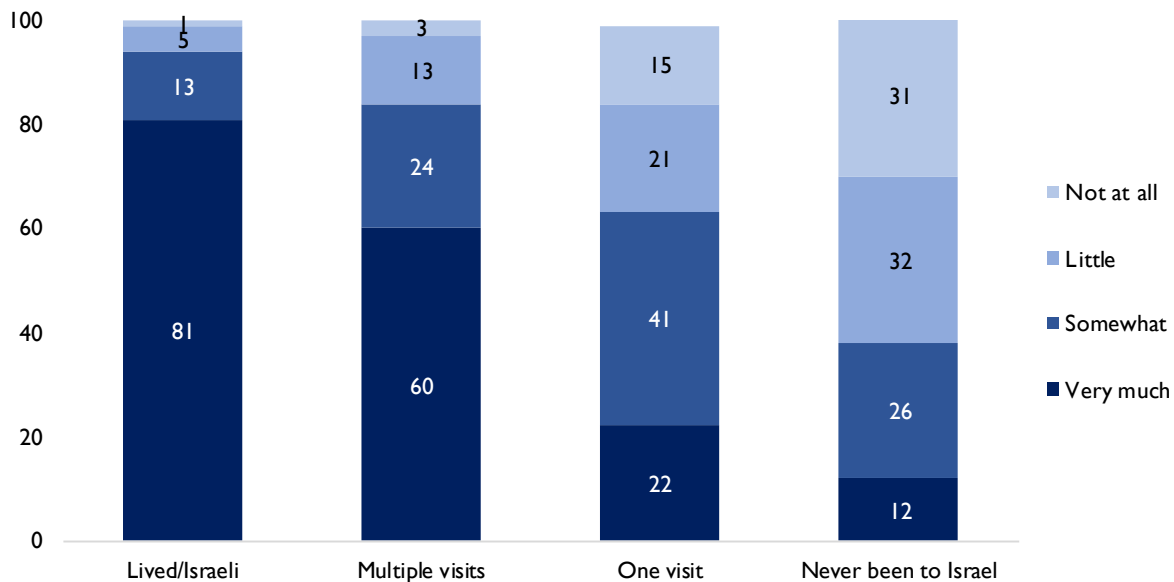
	Never	Once	Multiple	Lived/Israeli
LENGTH OF RESIDENCE				
< 10 years	29	30	32	9
10-19 years	42	20	27	11
20 + years	43	21	30	6
HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE				
Inmarried	35	20	38	8
Intermarried	52	31	14	3
Single adult(s)	42	21	27	9
Household has child(ren)	45	17	29	9
No children	40	24	30	7
RESPONDENT AGE				
18-34	24	27	43	6
35-49	52	19	22	8
50-64	46	19	24	11
65 +	39	26	31	4
SYNAGOGUE				
Member	26	21	46	7
Non-member	49	23	20	7
DENOMINATION				
Orthodox	18	11	60	11
Conservative	29	29	30	12
Reform	44	29	25	2
Other	43	26	23	7
None	51	15	26	8

Figure 7.1 Israel travel by engagement and age (% of Jewish adults)



Pittsburgh Jews’ sense of connection to Israel is strongly correlated with the frequency with which they have visited the country. Of those who have never been to Israel, one-third (31%) feel not at all connected, and 38% feel somewhat or very much connected to Israel. By contrast, only 15% of those who have visited Israel once and 3% of those who have visited multiple times do not feel at all connected to Israel. Of one-time visitors, 63% feel somewhat or very connected, as do 86% of those who have visited Israel multiple times, lived in Israel, or are Israeli.

Figure 7.2 Connection to Israel by frequency of Israel travel (% of Jewish adults)



Aside from travel to Israel, Pittsburgh-area Jews connect to Israel through their family and friends who live there. Over half (53%) of Pittsburgh-area Jews indicate that they have close family or friends living in Israel. Engagement with Israel is further facilitated by fluency in the Hebrew language. Among Jewish adults who are not Israeli, 6% can understand most or all of what they read in Hebrew and another 33% can understand some Hebrew. One-third of Pittsburgh-area Jews say they do not know the Hebrew alphabet, compared to 48% of all US Jews.³⁶

Types of Israel Travel

Among those who have traveled to Israel, about one-third (32%) have gone with a Jewish organization on a mission or other sponsored trip, and three-in-ten (28%) have traveled on an educational or volunteer program (Table 7.2a). Two-fifths (40%) of those under age 46 who have traveled to Israel have gone on Birthright Israel trips, representing 9% of the overall adult population. The Connected group has the highest proportion who have gone on a Birthright trip, possibly because Jews from the Immersed group were ineligible, having previously visited Israel on other peer-group educational trips.³⁷

Table 7.2a Types of Israel travel (% of Jewish adults who have been to Israel)

	Birthright (< 46 years old)	Education/ volunteer	Federation/ org. mission
Overall	40	28	32
ENGAGEMENT			
Immersed	48	43	35
Connected	56	18	50
Involved	24	11	21
Holiday	45	39	16
Minimally Involved	--	14	22
REGION			
Squirrel Hill	55	31	30
Rest of Pittsburgh	61	22	40
South Hills	16	29	21
North Hills	15	23	39
Rest of region	11	6	44

Table 7.2b Types of Israel travel (% of Jewish adults who have been to Israel)

	Birthright (< 46 years old)	Education/ volunteer	Federation/ org. mission
LENGTH OF RESIDENCE			
< 10 years	69	20	28
10-19 years	55	31	27
20 + years	18	25	36
HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE			
Inmarried	50	22	45
Intermarried	59	15	24
Single adult(s)	31	34	21
Household has child(ren)	40	27	38
No children	45	24	33
RESPONDENT AGE			
18-34	51	26	19
35-49	17	26	47
50-64	n/a	29	40
65 +	n/a	18	37
SYNAGOGUE			
Member	44	32	45
Non-member	43	19	24
DENOMINATION			
Orthodox	18	54	20
Conservative	57	29	37
Reform	57	17	47
Other	51	29	31
None	31	15	21

Emotional Connection to Israel

Feelings of connection to Israel are intimately tied not only to Israel travel, but also to Jewish engagement. The strongest connections to Israel are found among the Immersed group (63% very much) and the Holiday group (34% very much; Table 7.3). About three-quarters (76%) of Jewish residents of the outer suburbs are somewhat or very much connected to Israel, more than in any other area in Greater Pittsburgh. Contrary to the popular stereotype, adults ages 18-34 are among the most connected to Israel in the Greater Pittsburgh Jewish community, with two-fifths (40%) feeling very connected.

Table 7.3 Emotional connection to Israel (row %; % of Jewish adults)

	Not at all	A little	Somewhat	Very much
Overall	17	21	30	33
ENGAGEMENT				
Immersed	9	5	23	63
Connected	9	27	38	26
Involved	21	18	29	32
Holiday	17	24	25	34
Minimally Involved	36	42	11	11
REGION				
Squirrel Hill	14	22	26	39
Rest of Pittsburgh	29	20	29	21
South Hills	10	30	17	43
North Hills	16	23	35	26
Rest of region	8	15	37	39
LENGTH OF RESIDENCE				
< 10 years	21	28	28	23
10-19 years	23	24	27	27
20 + years	15	20	28	36
HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE				
Inmarried	12	20	33	35
Intermarried	39	23	23	15
Single adult(s)	10	24	24	41
Household has child(ren)	29	26	21	24
No children	14	21	29	36
RESPONDENT AGE				
18-34	16	21	23	40
35-49	35	20	22	22
50-64	10	27	26	36
65 +	13	20	34	33
SYNAGOGUE				
Member	6	18	32	44
Non-member	23	24	26	27
DENOMINATION				
Orthodox	2	1	20	77
Conservative	10	16	32	42
Reform	15	24	38	22
Other	17	20	23	40
None	27	30	18	25

News about Israel

Almost half (48%) of Pittsburgh-area Jews follow news about Israel at least once a week (Tables 7.4a and 7.4b). Those who have lived in Israel or have been there multiple times follow news more

Table 7.4a Following news about Israel in past month (row %)

	Never	< Weekly	< Daily	Daily +
Overall	24	28	35	13
ENGAGEMENT				
Immersed	7	23	36	35
Connected	21	29	39	11
Involved	22	32	33	13
Holiday	43	42	11	4
Minimally Involved	44	12	42	2
REGION				
Squirrel Hill	25	30	24	21
Rest of Pittsburgh	28	27	34	12
South Hills	10	24	56	9
North Hills	34	29	26	11
Rest of region	27	33	31	9
LENGTH OF RESIDENCE				
< 10 years	31	31	26	12
10-19 years	25	35	26	14
20 + years	23	27	37	14
HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE				
Inmarried	21	31	28	21
Intermarried	43	22	28	7
Single adult(s)	18	29	45	8
Household has child(ren)	42	23	20	14
No children	20	29	37	14
RESPONDENT AGE				
18-34	30	31	33	7
35-49	36	26	24	13
50-64	17	29	39	15
65 +	20	24	36	19
SYNAGOGUE				
Member	18	25	36	22
Non-member	28	30	32	9
DENOMINATION				
Orthodox	6	27	24	43
Conservative	17	31	39	12
Reform	28	31	30	10
Other	19	28	39	14
None	31	24	36	9

closely, with two-fifths (40%) and one-fifth (21%), respectively, following news about Israel daily. The Immersed group members follow Israel news most closely, with one-third (35%) following news on a daily basis. About one-fifth of Jewish residents of Squirrel Hill (21%) also follow news about Israel on a daily basis.

Table 7.4b Following news about Israel in past month (row %)

	Never	< Weekly	< Daily	Daily +
TRAVEL TO ISRAEL				
Never	36	26	32	6
Once	21	32	37	10
Multiple	15	27	37	21
Lived	5	36	19	40
CONNECTION TO ISRAEL				
Not at all	55	25	18	3
A little/somewhat	25	32	38	5
Very much	8	25	35	32

Community Connection to Israel

About one-quarter (23%) of Jewish adults in Greater Pittsburgh can correctly identify Karmiel-Misgav as the community's partnership region in Israel. Another 25% are aware of a partnership region but cannot identify it. Five percent believe there is no partnership region, and almost half (46%) are not sure if there is a partnership region.

Chapter 8. Education, Income, and Health

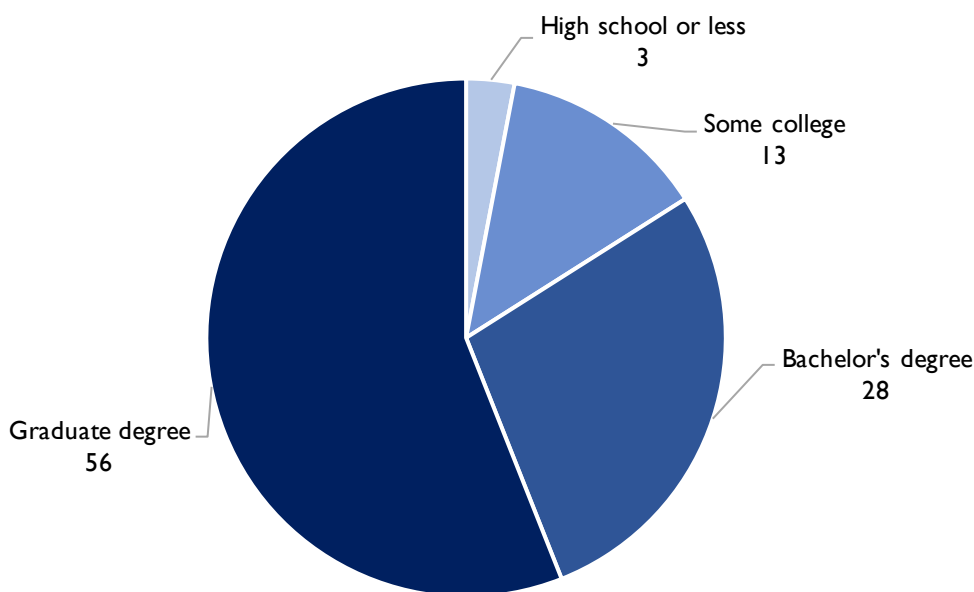
The Greater Pittsburgh Jewish community devotes a significant share of its resources toward caring for families and individuals who have economic, social, and health needs. The relative affluence of the Greater Pittsburgh Jewish community, both financially and in terms of human capital, has meant the organized Jewish community has been able to meet many of these needs.

Nevertheless, it is clear that there are some unmet needs in the community. Aside from the expenses associated with affiliating with Jewish organizations, providing Jewish education for children, purchasing kosher food, and other means of engaging in Jewish life, less affluent families are also more likely to be struggling with basic necessities such as adequate housing and good health. There are underserved households throughout the community, but particularly among the Orthodox, families with children, and young adults.

Educational Attainment and Employment

The Jewish population of Greater Pittsburgh is highly educated, not only in comparison with the overall American population, but also in comparison with the US Jewish population as a whole. Eighty-four percent of Jewish adults in Greater Pittsburgh have earned at least a bachelor's degree, including over half (56%) with at least one post-graduate degree (Figure 8.1). Among Jews in the United States, over half have attained at least a bachelor's degree (58%), including one-quarter (28%) who have graduate degrees (Pew, 2013). In the US population overall, 30% of adults aged 25 and older hold bachelor's degrees, including 12% who hold advanced degrees.³⁸

Figure 8.1 Educational attainment (% of Jewish adults)



Commensurate with their high levels of education, the Jews of Greater Pittsburgh work in fields requiring significant training, including medicine and healthcare (13%); science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) fields (12%); business and finance (12%); and education (12%). Substantial proportions also work in the legal system (7%) or social services (6%).

Over half (54%) of Jewish adults in the community are currently full- (45%) or part-time (9%) employees. An additional quarter of the population (26%) is retired. The remaining one-fifth are stay-at-home parents, unemployed, on temporary leave, or studying for a degree.

Economic Well-Being and Income

For the US Jewish community as a whole, high educational attainment has made the community collectively much more affluent than Americans overall. In Pittsburgh, however, the Jewish community's high rate of college education has made Pittsburgh's Jews only slightly more affluent than the community around them. Among those who responded to the question about income, one-in-three (33%) households have total income of \$100,000 per year or greater,³⁹ including 14% whose household income was \$200,000 per year or greater (Table 8.1). On the lower end of the spectrum, 37% indicate their household income was less than \$50,000 per year, including 17% with household incomes less than \$25,000 per year. By contrast, data from the US Census Bureau indicate that only 5% of all households in the five-county study area have annual income of \$200,000 or greater, and 46% have annual income less than \$50,000, including 23% under \$25,000.⁴⁰

The estimates of the proportions of Jewish households in each income bracket have not changed significantly from 2002. In both studies, similar proportions of Jewish households reported annual income of \$100,000 or above (32% in 2002; 33% in 2017), and similar proportions reported income below \$50,000 (38% in 2002; 37% in 2017). It is difficult to know whether these numbers are similar because income increases tended to occur within income brackets, or whether they reflect general stagnation of middle class wages.⁴¹ The shifting demographics of the community, with an increase in young adults since 2002, may also have resulted in a similar overall income profile today.

Table 8.1 Household income (% of households)

INCOME (of responding households)	Jewish households	All households
\$200,000 +	14	5
\$150-199,999	5	5
\$100-149,999	14	14
\$75-\$99,999	20	13
\$50-\$74,999	10	18
\$25-\$49,999	20	23
Less than \$25,000	17	23

The survey also asked respondents to indicate their self-perceived standard of living (Table 8.2). Overall, one-third (33%) of the community describes itself as “prosperous” or “living very comfortably,” and nearly half (45%) say they are “living reasonably comfortably.” But nearly one-quarter (23%) say they are “just getting along,” “nearly poor,” or “poor,” a possible indication of economic vulnerability.

Table 8.2 Standard of living (% of Jewish households)

Prosperous	7
Living very comfortably	26
Living reasonably comfortably	45
Just getting along	15
Nearly poor	7
Poor	1

Of respondents who answered both the income and standard of living questions, all who indicate that they are “nearly poor” or “poor” report household income below \$50,000. By contrast, 10% of those who say they are “prosperous” or “very comfortable” report household income below \$50,000. Of respondents who say they are “just getting along,” four-fifths (82%) report household income below \$50,000 and one-sixth (16%) say their household income is at least \$50,000 but less than \$100,000.

Jewish households in Greater Pittsburgh also display relatively high confidence in their ability to afford their own retirement. Seven-in-ten (72%) Jewish households in Greater Pittsburgh are somewhat or very confident in their ability to finance their retirement; the remainder are not very confident, not at all confident, or not sure.

Although there are small differences in economic well-being based on Jewish engagement and other demographic groups, most are not significant (Tables 8.3a and 8.3b). Those who are part of

Table 8.3a Household income and standard of living by household characteristics (% of Jewish households; row %)⁴²

	Income				Standard of living			
	<\$50k	\$50-99k	\$100-199k	\$200k +	Nearly poor/poor	Just getting along	Reasonably comfortable	Prosp/v. comf
Overall	37	30	19	14	8	15	45	33
ENGAGEMENT								
Immersed	26	29	36	9	3	11	62	24
Connected	31	26	26	16	2	11	46	41
Involved	52	23	18	7	4	24	46	26
Holiday	43	27	24	7	17	9	34	41
Minimally Involved	26	57	7	10	3	16	39	42
REGION								
Squirrel Hill	44	25	20	11	3	12	50	35
Rest of Pittsburgh	31	36	27	7	4	14	53	29
South Hills	30	34	43	13	1	11	50	38

the Holiday group are more likely to describe themselves as nearly poor or poor. Geographically, residents of areas outside of Pittsburgh and the immediate suburbs are most likely to describe themselves as nearly poor or poor.

Those who have been in the community for fewer than 10 years are the most affluent, with nearly half (48%) reporting six-figure household incomes, and 86% saying they are at least reasonably comfortable. One-in-ten young adults (10%) ages 18-34 say they are nearly poor or poor.

Table 8.3b Household income and standard of living by household characteristics
(% of Jewish households) (row %)

	Income				Standard of living			
	<\$50 k	\$50- 99k	\$100- 199k	\$200k +	Nearly poor/poor	Just getting along	Reasonably comfortable	Prosp/ v. comf
LENGTH OF RESIDENCE								
< 10 years	30	23	39	9	2	12	54	32
10-19 years	39	29	21	11	5	20	39	35
20 + years	39	31	18	11	5	16	45	34
HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE								
Inmarried	13	31	33	22	1	9	49	41
Intermarried	19	32	33	16	8	8	51	33
Single adult(s)	59	27	11	3	5	23	42	30
Household has child(ren)	16	40	27	16	5	16	52	28
No children	42	27	21	10	4	16	45	35
RESPONDENT AGE								
18-34	56	19	23	3	10	30	37	23
35-49	15	49	23	14	3	14	57	26
50-64	24	36	20	20	6	10	40	44
65 +	44	24	22	9	1	11	52	37
SYNAGOGUE								
Member	29	29	25	17	2	9	50	38
Non-member	41	30	21	9	5	18	45	32
DENOMINATION								
Orthodox	39	44	12	5	5	14	66	15
Conservative	37	18	34	11	8	7	54	31
Reform	32	32	22	15	2	12	44	42
Other	20	61	16	4	1	8	29	62
None	46	27	16	10	5	26	42	28

Economic Insecurity and Poverty

Although the Greater Pittsburgh Jewish community as a whole is comfortably middle class, some households struggle with significant economic challenges. As one measure of economic need, respondents indicated whether they received government benefits or skipped necessities in the past year (Table 8.4). These benefits included Social Security Disability Insurance (SSDI) or Supplemental Security Income (SSI); energy or utility assistance; SNAP (Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program), Medicaid, subsidized housing, or day care assistance; or unemployment benefits. However, it is important to note that some of these benefits are not entirely restricted to low-income households (e.g., SSDI, Medicaid); accordingly, receipt of these benefits is only a possible indicator of financial need, not a definite indicator. Overall, 16% of households receive some form of public benefit.

Respondents were also asked about life changes that had occurred in the previous year that resulted in economic hardship. Overall, 14% report encountering such a hardship. Nine percent report a change in health, such as major illness; 7% report a change in employment, such as a reduction in pay; 2% report a change in family structure, such as divorce; and 1% report a change in housing, such as foreclosure.

In addition to the questions on public benefits, hardships, and insecurities, 24% of respondents are not confident in their ability to save for retirement, and 4% say they have been constrained from participating in Jewish life in the community due to financial issues. Seventy-three respondents cite specific ways that financial issues have prevented them from participating in Jewish communal life. The most commonly cited challenges are the high costs of program or event fees (25 respondents) and synagogue dues or High Holy Day tickets (13).

Nearly one-fifth (17%) of those in the Immersed and Holiday groups have received at least one public benefit in the past year. Similar proportions of the Immersed (14%), Connected (17%), and Involved (17%) groups have experienced economic

Table 8.4 Economic needs (% of Jewish households)

PUBLIC BENEFITS	
SSDI or SSI	9
Energy/utility assistance	7
SNAP, Medicaid, subsidized housing, or day care assistance	6
Unemployment	< 1
HARDSHIPS⁴²	
Employment	7
Housing	1
Health	9
Family structure	2
INSECURITIES	
Skipped rent, mortgage, or utility payment	13
Insufficient savings for three months of expenses	25
Inability to pay emergency \$400 expense	13
Received Jewish scholarship	4
Financial constraint in Jewish life	4

hardship in the past year due to changes in their personal or familial circumstances. Over two-fifths (42%) of the Minimally Involved say they are not confident in their ability to save for retirement, and 17% of those in the Holiday group say they cannot afford an emergency \$400 expense. Geographically, residents outside of the city of Pittsburgh and the immediate suburbs are most likely to be unable to afford an emergency \$400 expense. Residents of the North Hills express the lowest level of potential need as measured by receipt of public benefits.

Table 8.5a Economic insecurity by household characteristics (% of Jewish households)

	Any public benefit	Any hardship	Not confident for retirement	Unable to pay emergency \$400
Overall	16	14	24	13
ENGAGEMENT				
Immersed	17	14	29	10
Connected	14	17	31	4
Involved	12	17	24	9
Holiday	17	5	27	17
Minimally Involved	9	9	42	7
REGION				
Squirrel Hill	13	12	20	5
Rest of Pittsburgh	14	21	23	9
South Hills	10	9	16	1
North Hills	1	11	20	7
Rest of region	22	10	45	22

Rates of receiving public benefits are fairly stable across age groups, though young adults are the least able to afford emergency expenses. Senior citizens experienced the fewest economic hardships in the past year, are most confident in their ability to afford retirement, and are best able to afford emergency expenses. Households with children experienced more hardship and are less able to afford emergency expenses than households without children.

Table 8.5b Economic insecurity by household characteristics (% of Jewish households)

	Any public benefit	Any hardship	Not confident for retirement	Unable to pay emergency \$400
LENGTH OF RESIDENCE				
< 10 years	7	18	26	6
10-19 years	19	20	32	18
20 + years	14	12	28	8
HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE				
Inmarried	7	15	20	5
Intermarried	13	12	21	10
Single adult(s)	17	14	36	9
Household has child(ren)	14	23	31	13
No children	13	12	28	7
RESPONDENT AGE				
18-34	15	19	22	16
35-49	13	16	31	10
50-64	11	16	38	10
65 +	13	9	15	2
SYNAGOGUE				
Member	17	16	19	8
Non-member	12	13	29	8
DENOMINATION				
Orthodox	29	13	29	14
Conservative	17	10	22	9
Reform	8	15	23	6
Other	5	15	52	3
None	13	16	26	10

Health Status and Needs

Understanding the health status of individuals in the community is important because poor health can be an indicator of needs for community-based services and may prevent individuals from participating in the community's programs.

Overall, almost a quarter (22%) of Jewish households in Greater Pittsburgh include at least one person who is in fair or poor health (Tables 8.6a and 8.6b). One-quarter (25%) of households include at least one person who is limited in the amount of work, school, or housework he or she can do as a result of an impairment, disability, or chronic physical or mental health problem. One-third (38%) of households include someone in need of counseling or mental health services. One-third (35%) of those in the Involved group say that someone in the household is limited in the kind or amount of work, school, or housework they can do due to an impairment, disability, or chronic physical or mental health condition.

Table 8.6a Health challenges for anyone in household (% of Jewish households)

	Anyone in poor health	Impairment/disability	Require mental health services*
Overall	22	25	38
ENGAGEMENT			
Immersed	17	20	25
Connected	18	30	30
Involved	22	35	28
Holiday	9	27	30
Minimally Involved	19	21	18
REGION			
Squirrel Hill	16	31	26
Rest of Pittsburgh	19	27	30
South Hills	17	22	23
North Hills	18	17	32
Rest of region	19	34	25

*Note: Discrepancies between the overall proportion and the engagement group estimates result from the former being a measure of households and the latter being a measure of individuals.

Young adults ages 18-34 (53%) and households with children (40%) report the highest rates of need for mental health services. Senior citizens report the highest rates of impairments or disabilities (40%).

Some members of the Greater Pittsburgh Jewish community have elderly parents in the area and are either already providing significant care to them or are planning for the possibility of doing so

in the future. Nine percent indicate that they have a parent living in the area in a household other than their own who requires elder care services. Four percent have parents living in independent living facilities, assisted living facilities, or nursing homes in the Greater Pittsburgh area.

Additionally, 2% of households are providing regular caregiving to one or more non-elderly family members.

Eight percent of households include someone who was constrained by health issues from participating in the Greater Pittsburgh Jewish community in the past year. Of the 120 respondents who shared details on their specific constraints, the most common obstacles are mobility issues (54), mental or emotional challenges (22), and chronic illness or disease (21).

Table 8.6b Health challenges for anyone in household (% of Jewish households)

	Anyone in poor health	Impairment/disability	Require mental health services
LENGTH OF RESIDENCE			
< 10 years	10	12	39
10-19 years	22	20	45
20 + years	23	31	27
HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE			
Inmarried	23	22	27
Intermarried	10	21	30
Single adult(s)	25	32	32
Household has child(ren)	14	12	40
No children	22	29	29
RESPONDENT AGE			
18-34	24	18	53
35-49	11	10	36
50-64	19	24	28
65 +	24	40	15
SYNAGOGUE			
Member	21	30	27
Non-member	20	25	32
DENOMINATION			
Orthodox	27	26	29
Conservative	9	24	21
Reform	19	36	27
Other	6	11	34
None	31	23	38

Chapter 9. Conclusions and Future Directions

The 2017 Greater Pittsburgh Jewish Community Study provides a detailed sociodemographic portrait of the Pittsburgh-area Jewish community and describes community members' participation in Jewish communal life, their private Jewish activities, and their attitudes about Judaism and Israel. The study was designed to contribute to a better understanding of contemporary Jewish life in Greater Pittsburgh and to inform policy-making and planning by Jewish communal organizations.

This chapter highlights the ways in which Greater Pittsburgh's Jews are engaged with Jewish life and identifies a number of opportunities to enhance that engagement over the coming years. Some of the key findings of the study of the Greater Pittsburgh Jewish community are summarized below, with a focus on findings that can point the way toward planning for the community's future. This chapter also contextualizes the findings by including commentary from some of the more than 2,000 survey respondents who shared their perceptions of the strengths of the community, the gaps they perceive in communal services, and their thoughts regarding what the community could do to make them feel more welcome.

Community Size and Growth

The Greater Pittsburgh Jewish community has grown over the 15 years since its last community study and now includes 49,200 Jewish individuals living in 26,800 households. However, its composition has shifted. Today, there are proportionally fewer adults in their 30s and 40s, fewer families with children, more senior citizens, and more single young adults than there were in 2002. The community appears to be poised for continued growth in the near future, especially if the young adults and families who come to Pittsburgh for school or work decide to stay in the area. The prevalence of young children indicates the potential for growth as those families age, and the strong regional economy can be expected to attract and retain a skilled workforce in the years ahead.

The size of the community is seen as an asset to many of its members. Although 120 respondents mentioned the size of the community as one of its strengths, some considered it to be a large community, others a small one. One respondent summarized both views:

Small enough that it is not overwhelming, but big enough that there are choices within the community.

The People

According to its members, the greatest strengths of the community lie in its people (528), who they find to be united (181), welcoming (145), and supportive (107), and actively engaged with community life (85).

The community is very active and engaged. It is tight-knit. Lots of opportunities to get involved and participate if you look for them.

The Jewish community of Pittsburgh is a tight-knit, committed group of individuals dedicated to volunteerism, education, social justice, and providing needed services to children, elderly, and the downtrodden. I am proud to be part of this community.

By contrast, 35 respondents wrote that a friendlier environment would make them feel more welcome, and 39 desired more outreach to newcomers and less-affiliated people.

There is a missing level of outreach to the people who consider themselves Jewish, unaffiliated, and generally younger and professional. There does not seem to be a whole lot of room for people generally identified as millennial or in the 25 to 40-year-old range who have not been raised in the community. It can be difficult to penetrate the established community if you don't already have some kind of way in.

Being more accepting and welcoming of people who are new to the region and whose families haven't lived in the area for generations.

I think there are some cliques and the personal call or genuine friendliness—not just to get you to come to the event, but once you are there—go a long way.

Organizations and Leadership

Pittsburgh's Jewish community includes many strong institutions. Thirty-five percent of households belong to synagogues, 30% say they belong to the JCC, and 24% pay dues to another Jewish organization. In addition, 76% of adults make donations to at least one Jewish organization.

A total of 326 respondents considered Pittsburgh's organizations and leadership to be one of the sources of the community's strength. Specifically, 79 mentioned leaders, 72 mentioned the JCC, 68 mentioned synagogues and rabbis, and 48 mentioned the Federation.

There are many organizations and events to choose from, and many people dedicated to them, both professionals and volunteers.

The JCC is extremely diverse, welcoming, and offers programming that fits my family's lifestyle, especially because it is multi-generational and emphasizes wellness. I am in that building about three to five days a week and thankful it exists. I think it is by far the best Jewish organization (in my experience) in Pittsburgh.

Pittsburgh has mostly strong synagogues with excellent clergy and loyal communities that work not only within the Jewish community, but also reach out to other communities as well. We are a small community, and fairly close together, which makes it easier to communicate.

The Federation is very well run by smart, committed professionals that communicate and work well across all segments of the Jewish community. The JCC is equally well run and an important center for children and seniors.

Focus on Growth in Squirrel Hill and Beyond

Squirrel Hill remains both the geographic and institutional center of the Greater Pittsburgh Jewish community, and the Jewish community is growing there and in adjacent neighborhoods. The density of the Jewish population and its institutions in Squirrel Hill make it an attractive neighborhood for Jewish households looking to be especially active in Jewish life (140).

I think Squirrel Hill is an amazing asset to the Jewish community. It's a vibrant oasis of thriving Judaism in the heart of the East End (which is the best part of Pittsburgh!). It is concentrated in one area of the city, which is good because it really feels like a community.

Concentration in one central area that is a great walkable neighborhood.

Proximity to urban center.

The community is also growing in its suburbs in the North and South Hills, where communal resources may not be as readily available. These suburbs must be supported to ensure that they will continue to grow as hubs of Jewish life in Greater Pittsburgh. A total of 39 respondents indicated that programs and activities in the suburbs were lacking, and 44 respondents indicated that outreach to the suburbs would make them feel welcome.

Making an effort to include the suburban communities.

Have local branches in the suburbs other than downtown Pittsburgh so it's easier to travel to activities.

There definitely seems to be a strong community, however, much of it is focused in the East End part of town. Living in the South Hills, despite having two to three temples, there is a feeling that we are a minority and not connected to the stronger community in Squirrel Hill.

Have more programs in the North Hills. There is very little offered for us here. We come in to the city for our worship and programming.

Recognizing the Jewish families who live in the surrounding area beyond the North and South Hills, who may not have the same access or opportunities to engage in Jewish communal life, is also important. It may be worthwhile to reach out to Jewish residents and institutions of Beaver, Butler, Washington, and Westmoreland counties to ensure that they feel the community is meeting their needs.

I would like to see a greater connection/inclusion of Greensburg with the Pittsburgh area. We sometimes feel left out and that is discouraging, because we would feel so much better if we were ALWAYS included.

There should be more available to those outside city limits if needed—Greater Pittsburgh includes Westmoreland, Washington, Fayette, Butler, Indiana counties for example—but there is next to nothing available without travel to Pittsburgh.

Patterns of Jewish Engagement

The study was designed to help the Jewish community of Pittsburgh develop programs and activities to enhance Jewish engagement. To aid the creation of initiatives that serve community members “where they are,” the community must first follow a Talmudic dictum to “go out and see what the people are doing” and construct their plans based on what they observe. In line with that goal, survey responses were used to develop an Index of Jewish Engagement.

The categories that comprise Greater Pittsburgh’s Index of Jewish Engagement provide a new tool for understanding the community. Five patterns of engagement were identified. The Immersed pattern, which describes 16% of Jewish adults in the community, is actively engaged in all aspects of Jewish life: home- and synagogue-based holidays and ritual practices, personal activities, and communal involvement. The Connected pattern, which describes 29% of Jewish adults, is actively engaged in most aspects of Jewish life, but at lower rates than members of the Immersed group. The Involved pattern also describes 29% of Jewish adults, who are highly engaged in Jewish organizations aside from synagogues. The Holiday pattern, which describes 12% of Jewish adults, reflects people who celebrate religious rituals associated with Jewish holidays but are not particularly involved in synagogues or other Jewish organizations. Finally, the Minimally Involved pattern describes the 13% of Jewish adults in the Pittsburgh area who are largely unaffiliated and have little to no contact with Jewish organizations or institutions.

These patterns are not based on predefined labels; rather, they are developed from community members’ actual behaviors across a variety of dimensions. The Index synthesizes many of these behaviors and illustrates how they are patterned. It describes how each engagement group enacts Judaism and reflects the diversity of behavior within extant demographic and interest groups. Each group is diverse, including older and younger adults, unmarried and intermarried families, households with and without children, newcomers to the community and those who have lived in the area for decades, and people from all neighborhood groupings in the region. Denomination is correlated with engagement group, but there are Orthodox individuals in nearly every engagement group as well as people who do not identify with any particular denomination. Although the groups reflect different patterns of behavior, they make it clear that simplistic dichotomies—engaged/not engaged and religious/not religious—are inadequate descriptors of the nuances of communal and private Jewish life in Greater Pittsburgh. Involving each group in Jewish life may require a different approach. We hope that the Index will help Jewish organizations in Greater Pittsburgh to think creatively about their engagement efforts.

Religious Diversity and Collaboration

The diversity of Jewish life in Pittsburgh is perceived by its members as a strength. Community members feel that Pittsburgh offers abundant opportunities for Jews of all denominations and levels of practice (177), and particularly value the ways that the denominations collaborate for events and programs that are open to the entire community (151), specifically mentioning the community-wide *Tikkun Leil Shavuot* (Shavuot study session).

There is a lot of diversity—whatever you are looking for in terms of involvement and community you can likely find a congregation to meet your needs/wants.

There are many different synagogues and organizations that people can join in order to practice both the religious and traditional/cultural aspects of Judaism, no matter what branch of Judaism they may practice.

So many different people from varying backgrounds and levels of faith, many synagogues and Jewish activities (social action events etc.). Great Jewish friends and network. We also have a pluralistic chevra kadisha [Jewish burial society] that I belong to.

I like that there is an openness across denominational lines. For the most part it doesn't seem to matter what type of Jewish person you consider yourself, you are generally welcome at the mainstream Conservative, Reconstructionist, and Reform congregations.

Activities that try to bring a cross-section of Jews together such as Mitzvah Day, Jewish Film Festival, etc.

Invest in Jewish Education

As the number of Jewish children in the Greater Pittsburgh area decreased between 2002 and 2017, enrollment in local Jewish day schools, yeshivot, and Hebrew schools also declined. Based on the demographic findings of the present study, however, it is likely that the community will have more children of school age in the coming decade. Nearly 40% of Jewish children in the community today are ages 0-5, and although adults ages 18-29 constitute nearly 20% of the total Jewish population, few of these young adults are parents. As they begin to start families, it is likely that the number of children in the community will grow. It is critical for the community to continue to invest in high-quality Jewish educational programs and be prepared for likely increases in enrollment in the next few years.

Pittsburgh's schools and education system were identified as one of its strengths by 51 respondents.

JCC is the bedrock. JCC and Community Day School are the two most important organizations for the future of the Pittsburgh Jewish community.

Community Day School is a tremendous asset that provides a top-quality education for families of all Jewish backgrounds regardless of ability to pay and fosters academic success and a love of Israel and Judaism.

Although 51 respondents highlighted the schools and educational offerings, 53 indicated educational options that they felt were missing from the community. In particular, most of the 53 respondents mentioned the need for adult education, especially for the non-Orthodox and less affiliated.

There is almost a total absence of adult education, especially free adult education, outside of the Orthodox institutions.

I really miss the Agency for Jewish Learning! They were a central location for excellent classes. I also miss the weekly morning Torah study that one of the Reform rabbis used to hold at a local coffee shop. It was a great way to study and discuss in an informal setting and still get to work on time.

Outreach to Intermarried Families

Few intermarried families in Greater Pittsburgh feel very much a part of the local Jewish community, but these families have over one-third of all children in Jewish households in the area. Of these children, one-third (33%) are being raised exclusively Jewish, and another 11% are being raised in both Judaism and another religion. About half of the children of intermarried parents are being raised either in no religion, or their parents have not yet decided how to raise them. As these children grow into adolescence and adulthood, it is likely they will wish to explore their heritage.

It is noteworthy that, for intermarried families who are raising their children Jewish in some way, nearly as many are sending their children to Jewish preschool as are inmarried families. Ensuring that there are high-quality Jewish educational programs available for them is likely key to developing their Jewish identities. If the community can increase its outreach to intermarried families to make them feel more a part of the community, and if the community can offer them programs that stimulate their interests and meet their needs, there may be a significant opportunity to increase their Jewish engagement and encourage their children to develop their Jewish identities.

Interfaith couples and families felt that there were gaps in programs that met their needs (14) and felt that the community could do more to make them feel welcome (35).

Understand and embrace interfaith relationships—or young-adult children of interfaith relationships as a wholly important future of the Pittsburgh Jewish Community.

Interfaith outreach that has Jewish content beyond food and happy hours.

Be more welcoming of those of us who are patrilineal Jews. Even with conversion and being ethnically Jewish, I'm still not welcomed in some areas of the Pittsburgh Jewish Community.

We have a mix of religions in our home, though in practice we only practice Judaism. We found that we were not always welcomed or respected at [our area] congregations. Even Reform ones.

Focus on Young Adults

Jewish young adults in Greater Pittsburgh defy the stereotype of unengaged, disinterested young Jews. The vast majority of Jewish young adults ages 18-34 have some level of engagement with Jewish institutions and activities, and their rates of organizational membership and ritual observance typically match or exceed those of older adults in the community. Overall, Jewish young adults in the community are pleased with the options available to them to engage in Jewish life, but they would like local organizations that provide young adult programming to work more collaboratively and less competitively.

Young adults (57) described the types of programs that would be more appealing to them.

Cohesive young adult Jewish programming (there are a lot of separate groups that can be cliquy and plan over top of one another).

A range of social opportunities for 20 to 30-year-olds to meet each other in cultural, non-religious settings and programs that appeal to them.

Articulate a welcoming, spiritual, and socially aware vision of Judaism divorced from the guilt-ridden, intermarriage-is-evil, 'Judaism must exist for its own sake' that most Jewish organizations currently use to try to appeal to young adults/millennials. Come to where I am and meet my spiritual/religious needs, don't assume I fit the stereotype from decades ago.

Diversity of Ages and Family Structure

Certain subgroups of the community, however, indicated that their needs were not fully met. One possible unmet need is in providing services for those with health issues. Eight percent of Jewish households in Greater Pittsburgh include someone whose health issues constrained their participation in Jewish life over the past year. Mobility issues, emotional challenges, and chronic illnesses were the most common obstacles. One-quarter of Jewish households in the community include at least one person who is limited in the amount of work, school, or housework he or she can do as a result of an impairment, disability, or chronic physical or mental health condition.

Twenty-eight percent of Pittsburgh's Jewish adults are ages 65 and older, and 93 respondents indicated that more services were needed for seniors. The most requested service was housing.

A senior life care community located within greater Pittsburgh.

For those who foresee the need to eventually move from our homes or apartments there is no facility in our area to move without going to a retirement community sponsored by Christian organizations.

I wish the Jewish community offered more senior residences that are of good quality and not so very expensive.

Among Pittsburgh's Jewish households, 28% include a person living alone. One-third (33%) of single Jewish adults living alone are ages 65 or older, 41% ages 50-64, and 26% under the age of 50. Respondents (50) pointed out the needs for programs geared to singles of all ages, as well as adults without children. A common theme was that programs were too focused on younger singles, and on people with traditional family structures.

There are no programs for Jewish singles after the age of 30.

Services for mature singles (such as divorced people). Congregations do not reach out to this group either, which is why I stopped membership to the congregation I had belonged to for many years.

Not everyone has a family. I am single and have no relatives in the area. It often seems as though so much is geared towards families and family life.

Don't assume everyone is heterosexual, looking for a partner, and child-oriented.

Again....I can't stress this enough....everything is geared toward the assumption that everyone is always part of a family.....I am not. I would like to be recognized as a valuable, life-long, contributing member of the Jewish community as an individual and not be overlooked or ignored or made to feel that my life experience and perspective is irrelevant because I am not part of a family!!!

Promoting Ties to Israel

Nearly three-fifths of Jewish adults in Greater Pittsburgh have visited Israel at least once. Seven percent of Jewish adults say they have lived in Israel at some point, including about 3% who are Israeli citizens. Pittsburgh-area Jewish young adults have participated in Birthright Israel at high rates, and many members of the community have visited on other educational or volunteer tours or on a mission sponsored by Federation or another Jewish organization. Overall, nearly two-thirds of Jewish adults in the community feel somewhat or very connected to Israel, half seek news about Israel at least once per week, and half say they have close friends or family living in Israel.

Despite these close ties to Israel, only about one-quarter of Jewish adults in the community can correctly identify Karmiel-Misgav as Pittsburgh's partnership region in Israel. Another quarter say they are aware that there is a partnership region but cannot identify it. Clearly, there is substantial interest in Israel, and there is likely much that can be done to promote engagement by members of the Pittsburgh Jewish community with their counterparts in Karmiel-Misgav.

Support for Families in Need

Collectively, the Jewish community of Greater Pittsburgh is mostly middle class, but nearly one-quarter of the community describes itself as just getting along, nearly poor, or poor. Sixteen percent of households receive at least one public benefit that may be a measure of economic insecurity. Four percent have felt constrained from participating in Jewish life due to financial issues, particularly as a result of high program costs or fees or the cost of synagogue dues or High Holy Day tickets. The proportion of Jewish households with significant economic pressures is particularly high in the outlying areas farther from the geographic center of the community, where the Jewish community has the most resources available to offer assistance. To best serve Jewish families in need in the community, it may be necessary to raise the community's awareness of available resources, particularly for those who live outside of Squirrel Hill and the city of Pittsburgh, and to raise additional resources to subsidize costs of participation or membership for less affluent households.

The community's finances were seen as a strength by 62 respondents, who remarked on the charitable and generous nature of community members.

A group of people who have the financial capability to support those in the community who need the resources the community provides.

Thirty-two respondents said that affordability was a problem at schools, camps, and the JCC, and 32 said that scholarships and reduced costs would help them to participate in the community, in particular with synagogue and JCC memberships.

I do feel that there is a big price tag to any organized Jewish community either through synagogue membership or JCC membership. That's unfortunate for unaffiliated Jews.

The membership dues of the JCC are extremely high. There are arrangements for those who cannot afford the dues, and the ones who can do not have a problem. Those people who fall into the middle category are most affected.

I think that there could be more community-based religious services that help make everyone feel welcome, and not just people who are able to contribute financially.

Concluding Thoughts

The Jewish population of Greater Pittsburgh has increased, and the community shows signs of likely growth in the future. Although many members of the community appreciate its size, religious diversity, and strong institutions, the data suggest many opportunities to strengthen Jewish engagement and reach diverse populations. We hope that this portrait of the community will stimulate a discussion about how to take advantage of the Pittsburgh Jewish community's many strengths.

Notes

¹ See Aronson, J.K., Boxer, M., & Saxe, L. (2016). “All politics is local”: Challenges in the study of local Jewish communities. *Contemporary Jewry*, 36, 361-380.

² See <http://www.people-press.org/2012/05/15/assessing-the-representativeness-of-public-opinion-surveys/>.

³ See <https://www.cdc.gov/nchs/data/nhis/earlyrelease/wireless201712.pdf>.

⁴ Lavrakas, P.J., Shuttles, C.D., Stech, C., & Fienberg, H. (2007). The state of surveying cell phone numbers in the United States, 2007 and beyond. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 71, 840-854.

⁵ Boxer, M., & Rieser, M. A rose(n) by any other name: How distinctive are distinctive Jewish names? Paper presented at the Association for Jewish Studies annual conference, December 20, 2016.

⁶ In survey research, the response rate is the number of completed surveys divided by the number of potential respondents eligible to participate in the survey. The rate can be calculated in several different ways, depending on factors such as whether partially completed surveys are treated as complete, the treatment of respondents who were not successfully reached, etc. For more details, see AAPOR. (2016). *Standard Definitions: Final Dispositions of Case Codes and Outcome Rates for Surveys*. Available online at http://www.aapor.org/AAPOR_Main/media/publications/Standard-Definitions20169theditionfinal.pdf.

⁷ In survey research, the cooperation rate is the proportion of all respondents interviewed among all potential respondents ever contacted. The rate can be calculated in several different ways, depending on whether partially completed surveys are treated as cooperative and whether those who are incapable of cooperating (e.g., due to language barrier or health issues) are included. See AAPOR, 2016.

⁸ Allegheny, Beaver, Butler, Washington, and Westmoreland Counties.

⁹ Based on data from the US Census Bureau’s Population Division County Characteristics Resident Population Estimates File, 2016 vintage. The 2017 data were not available at the time of analysis.

¹⁰ Taylor, M. (1943). A sample study of the Jewish population of Pittsburgh, 1938. In S.M. Robison (ed.), *Jewish Population Studies*, New York: Conference on Jewish Relations.

¹¹ Kuntz, L. (1963). *The Jewish Community of Pittsburgh: A Population Study*. Pittsburgh: United Jewish Federation of Pittsburgh.

¹² Schoor, A.G. (1984). *Survey of Greater Pittsburgh’s Jewish Population, 1984*. Pittsburgh: United Jewish Federation of Pittsburgh.

¹³ Ukeles, J.B., & Miller, R. (2002). *The 2002 Pittsburgh Jewish Community Study*. Pittsburgh: Jewish Healthcare Foundation and Jewish Federation of Greater Pittsburgh.

¹⁴ If the Jews of multiple religions were excluded from the total Jewish population, as was done in the Pew study, the resulting proportion of Jews by religion would be 91%.

¹⁵ The definitions used in this study are similar but not identical to those used in the Pew Research Center’s *A Portrait of Jewish Americans* (2013). Adults who are Jewish and a second religion, if they were raised Jewish or have Jewish parents, are classified by Pew as “Jewish Background” and are not included among the Jewish “count.” This study classifies them as Jews of Multiple Religions and includes them in the count of both Jewish adults and Jewish children.

¹⁶ Pew, 2013.

¹⁷ Pew, 2013.

¹⁸ The 1% of the population who identify as neither male nor female are not represented in the figure.

¹⁹ Pew, 2013.

²⁰ In 2002, 66% of households included a married or partnered couple, and of married couples, 36% were intermarried.

²¹ By self-definition; the relevant survey questions, depending on household size and configuration, were, “Do you consider yourself to be a person of color or of Hispanic or Latino origin?” or “Does anyone in your household consider themselves to be a person of color or of Hispanic or Latino origin?”

²² “**Squirrel Hill**” is comprised of the ZIP codes 15217 and 15232; “**Rest of Pittsburgh**” is comprised of the ZIP codes 15120, 15201, 15203, 15205, 15206, 15207, 15208, 15210, 15211, 15212, 15213, 15214, 15218, 15219, 15221, 15222, 15224, 15227, 15233, 15235, and 15236—it does not include 15106 and 15220, parts of which overlap with the city of Pittsburgh; “**South Hills**” is comprised of Mt. Lebanon, Upper St. Clair, Chartiers Valley, Keystone Oaks, and Peters Twp.: ZIP codes 15017, 15102, 15106 (part of which overlaps with the city of Pittsburgh), 15142, 15216, 15220 (part of which overlaps with the city of Pittsburgh), 15226, 15228, 15234, 15241, 15243, 15317, and 15367; “**North Hills**” is comprised of Fox Chapel, North Hills, North Allegheny, Hampton, Pine Richland, Seneca Valley, Mars Area, and Quaker Valley: ZIP codes 15015, 15024, 15044, 15090, 15101, 15116, 15143, 15215, 15237, 15238, 16046, and 16066; “**Rest of Suburbs**” includes the remaining portions of Allegheny, Butler, and Washington counties and all of Beaver and Westmoreland counties: ZIP codes 15001, 15003, 15009, 15010, 15025, 15027, 15042, 15045, 15046, 15050, 15055, 15057, 15061, 15062, 15063, 15068, 15071, 15085, 15104, 15108, 15112, 15122, 15126, 15129, 15131, 15132, 15136, 15139, 15145, 15146, 15147, 15202, 15209, 15229, 15239, 15301, 15601, 15632, 15636, 15642, 15658, 15666, 15668, 16001, 16002, 16023, 16045, 16053, 16057, and 16063.

²³ A description of latent class analysis and details of how it was applied to our data are provided in Appendix B.

²⁴ Feelings of connection to the local Jewish community are highly correlated with proximity to the geographic center of the Jewish community. Nearly three-quarters (73% of the Immersed group live in Squirrel Hill or the rest of the City of Pittsburgh; 66% of Squirrel Hill residents and 38% of residents of the rest of city say they feel somewhat or very connected to the local Jewish community, and 75% of Squirrel Hill residents and 60% of residents of the rest of the city say they feel it is somewhat or very important to feel connected to the local Jewish community. These figures are higher than for other neighborhoods in Greater Pittsburgh. For more details, see Appendix C.

²⁵ Figures taken from the Pittsburgh Jewish Community Scorecard.

²⁶ Because people in the Minimally Involved group may be less inclined to participate in a Jewish community survey, it is likely that there are some children with Minimally Involved parents who are being raised Jewish in some way. However, no survey respondent from the Minimally Involved group is raising Jewish children.

²⁷ See, for example, Sasson, T., Saxe, L., Chertok, F., Shain, M., Hecht, S., & Wright, G. (2015). *Millennial Children of Inter marriage: Touchpoints and Trajectories of Jewish Engagement*. Waltham, MA: Maurice and Marilyn Cohen Center for Modern Jewish Studies, Brandeis University.

²⁸ For most of this report, “children” refers to individuals under the age of 18. For the purposes of analyses of Jewish educational programs, however, “children” includes 18- and 19-year-old individuals who are currently enrolled in high school.

²⁹ In addition to the 28% of age-eligible Jewish children who are enrolled in Jewish preschools, 47% are enrolled in non-Jewish preschools, and the remainder are not enrolled in any preschool.

³⁰ Enrollment figures for day school are rounded to the nearest 100.

³¹ Olitzky, K.M., & Judson, D. (2002). *The Rituals and Practices of a Jewish Life: A Handbook for Personal Spiritual Renewal*. Woodstock, VT: Jewish Lights Publishing; Olitzky, K.M., & Olitzky, A.S. (2015). *New Membership & Financial Alternatives for the American Synagogue: From Traditional Dues to Fair Share to Gifts from the Heart*. Woodstock, VT: Jewish Lights Publishing.

³² For this table, three respondents with unusually large weights were removed from the analysis because they unduly skewed results in the South Hills.

³³ Total does not add up to 96%, as is suggested by Table 5.3, because some households are members of multiple congregations with different denominational affiliations.

³⁴ Ukeles & Miller, 2002.

³⁵ Pew, 2013.

³⁶ Pew, 2013.

³⁷ Until 2014, those who participated in peer educational programs after age 13 were ineligible for Birthright Israel. That rule has been relaxed. Currently, an applicant is ineligible only if he or she has been on an educational program for more than three months.

³⁸ Based on data from the US Census Bureau's Population Division County Characteristics Resident Population Estimates File, 2012-2016 vintage. The 2017 data were not available at the time of analysis.

³⁹ Twenty-seven percent of respondents specifically indicated that they preferred not to answer the income question and are excluded from this analysis. However, of respondents who did not answer the income question, 78% had at least a bachelor's degree, including 48% with one or more advanced degrees. Further, 89% indicated they were living at least "reasonably comfortably," including 6% who described themselves as "prosperous" and 34% who were living "very comfortably." Eight percent described themselves as "just getting along." Two percent said they were "nearly poor," and 1% said they were "poor."

⁴⁰ Based on data from the US Census Bureau's Population Division County Characteristics Resident Population Estimates File, 2012-2016 vintage. The 2017 data were not available at the time of analysis.

⁴¹ See, e.g., Price, M., & Herzenberg, S. (2017). *The State of Working Pennsylvania 2017*. Harrisburg, PA: Keystone Research Center.

⁴² For this and all subsequent tables in this chapter, two respondents with unusually large weights were removed from subgroup analyses because they unduly skewed results. These respondents still contribute to the overall population analyses.

⁴³ Respondents were asked whether they or anyone in their households experienced economic hardship in the past year because of changes in employment (e.g., job loss, reduction in pay, or returning to school), housing (e.g., receiving a foreclosure notice or a new mortgage), health (e.g., illness or medical emergency), or family structure (e.g., death of a relative, divorce, or birth of a child).