

The 2002 Pittsburgh Jewish Community Study

INTERMARRIAGE & RAISING CHILDREN JEWISH

United Jewish Federation of Greater Pittsburgh

in partnership with the

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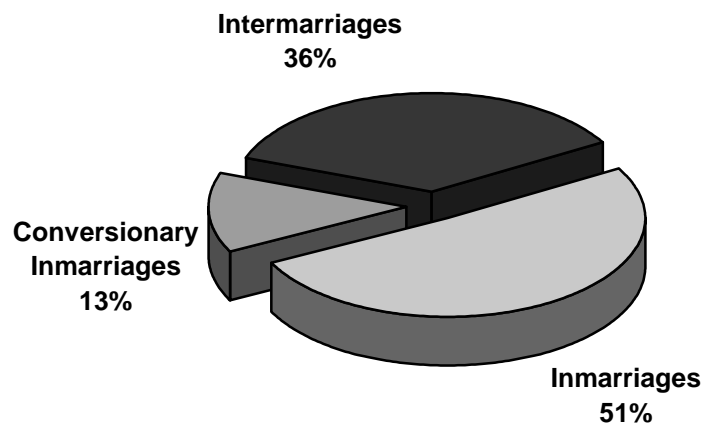
INTERMARRIAGE & RAISING CHILDREN JEWISH

Intermarriage Within the Jewish Community — and Whether Interfaith Jewish Couples Raise Their Children as Jewish — are important issues in Greater Pittsburgh, as well as for the American Jewish community nationally.

In 2002, one-in-three married couples in the Pittsburgh Jewish community is intermarried — a Jewish born person is married to a non-Jewish born person, and the non-Jewish born person does not consider himself/herself to be Jewish.¹

- **36%** of current marriages are **intermarriages** between a Jewish person and a non-Jewish person.
- In 64% of current marriages, both spouses consider themselves to be Jewish:
 - 51% of current marriages are **inmarriages**: a Jewish born respondent and spouse;
 - 13% of current respondent/spouse marriages are **conversionary-inmarried marriages** - they involve a Jewish born partner and a non-Jewish born partner who considered himself/herself to be Jewish at the time of the survey interview.

Exhibit 93. Inmarriage and Intermarriage:
Percentages of Married Respondent/Spouse Couples,
2002 Pittsburgh Jewish Community Study



¹The intermarriage/inmarriage data is based on an analysis of respondents and spouses only, and does not include other household members (if any); the 1984 Pittsburgh study focused on respondent/spouse intermarriage rates.

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While 36% of currently married respondent/spouse couples are interfaith — Only 24% of Jewish-Born Respondents and Spouses Are Married to Someone Who Is NOT Jewish:²

- 67% of Jewish-Born Respondents-Spouses Married Another Born Jew;
- 9% Married a non-Jewish born person who now considers himself/herself to be Jewish.

Exhibit 94 Inmarriage and Inter-marriage: Percentages by Married Respondent/Spouse Couples and by Jewish-Born Persons, 2002 Pittsburgh Jewish Community Study

Type Of Marriage	Percent Of Marriages	Percent Of Jewish Born Persons
Inmarriage	51%	67%
Conversionary Marriage	13	9
Inter-marriage	36	24
Total	100%	100%

² Confusion over calculations of inmarriage/intermarriage rates by couples and by Jewish born persons is not uncommon. The “couples” intermarriage rate is always higher than the “Jewish persons” intermarried rate.

As an example, consider three married couples: (1) Couple A: both Jewish born; (b) Couple B: both Jewish born; (c) Couple C: one person born Jewish, spouse is non-Jewish born and does not consider self Jewish. There are three couples; one is intermarried — “couples” intermarriage rate is 33%.

There are six people; five were born Jewish. Only one of the five Jews is married to a non-Jew — “Jewish persons” intermarriage rate is 20%.

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Intermarriages Rates in the 2002 Pittsburgh Study Appear To Be Higher Than Intermarriage Rates in Comparable Regional Jewish Communities.

The Intermarriage Rate has significantly increased since the 1984 study.³

Exhibit 95. Inmarriage and Intermarriage Rate Comparisons:
Percentages of Married Couples,
Pittsburgh 2002, Pittsburgh 1984, Baltimore 1999, Cleveland 1996,
Detroit 1990, Philadelphia 1996

Community, Year	Couples/Marriages		TOTAL
	Inmarriages & Conversionary Inmarriages	Intermarriages	
Pittsburgh, 2002	64%	36	100%
Pittsburgh, 1984	87%	13	100%
Baltimore, 1999	83%	17	100%
Cleveland, 1996	77%	23	100%
Detroit, 1990	85%	15	100%
Philadelphia, 1996	78%	22	100%

³ Data from the 1984 study had already indicated that the intermarriage rate was going to increase significantly in Pittsburgh. While the overall intermarriage rate was 13%, 24% of married respondents under the age of 40 were intermarried, compared to 17% of respondents ages 40-49, and 7% of respondents ages 50 and over.

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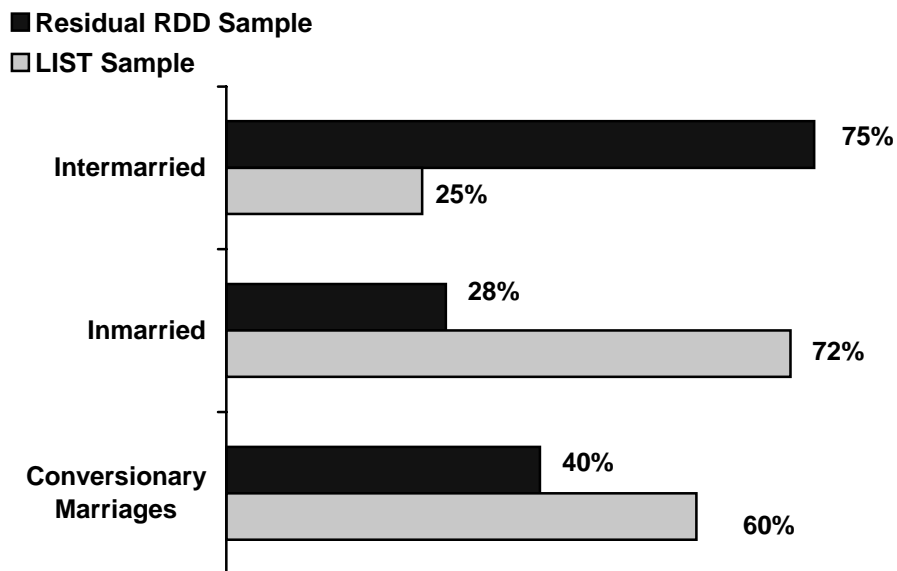
The 2002 Pittsburgh Jewish Community Study Intermarriage Statistics Reflect the Sample Design and Survey Interviewing Effort to Locate, Identify and Interview Jewish Households NOT Known to the Jewish Community — and to Then Statistically Project the Number of Intermarried Jewish Households Accurately and Completely.

- 75% of the Intermarried Respondents/Spouses were located and interviewed through the residual RDD (random digit dialing) sampling frame; only 25% of the interfaith Jewish households were “known” to the Jewish community with working phone numbers on the Federation List.

Non-Jewish Respondents in Interfaith Jewish Households Were Also Interviewed — If They Felt Comfortable Discussing Their Household’s Jewish Life.

- 37% of Intermarried Respondents/Spouses were non-Jewish; completing interviews with these respondents provided a thorough and complete portrait of interfaith Jewish households in Greater Pittsburgh.

Exhibit 96. Percentages of Inmarried Respondents/Spouses Located and Interviewed by Residual RDD or Federation LIST Sampling Frames, 2002 Pittsburgh Jewish Community Study



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Intermarriage Rates in Pittsburgh are Dramatically Higher for 1990s Marriages.

- Prior to 1970, 13% of the currently married Jewish couples are intermarried;
- From 1970 to 1979, the intermarriage rate rises to 37%;
- During the 1980s, the rate remains at 36%;
- 59% of currently married couples, married after 1990, are intermarried.⁴

Exhibit 97. Inmarriage and Intermarriages Rates by Year of Marriage, Married Respondents/Spouses Only, 2002 Pittsburgh Jewish Community Study.

	Year of Marriage for Currently Married Respondents			
	Prior to 1970	1970 – 1979	1980 – 1989	1990 +
Inmarriages	80%	44%	45%	29%
Conversionary Marriages	7	19	19	12
Intermarriages	13	37	36	59
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

⁴ Rates are for currently married respondents. In order to simplify the questionnaire (and avoid making some respondents uncomfortable) divorced, separated, and widowed Jewish respondents were not asked if they had been married to a Jewish or a non-Jewish person, so the data can only be interpreted as strongly suggestive of time period shifts in intermarriage rates.

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Intermarriage Rates in Pittsburgh are Significantly Higher for Younger Survey Respondents (many of whom are recently married, of course).

- 58% of the currently married young adult respondents (ages 22-39) are intermarried;
- Only 12% of currently married senior respondents are intermarried.

Exhibit 98. Inmarriage and Inter marriages Rates by Age of Respondent, Married Respondents/Spouses Only, 2002 Pittsburgh Jewish Community Study.

	Age of Currently Married Respondents			
	22-39	40-49	50-64	65+
Inmarriages	31%	35%	55%	80%
Conversionary Marriages	11	21	12	8
Inter marriages	58	44	33	12
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

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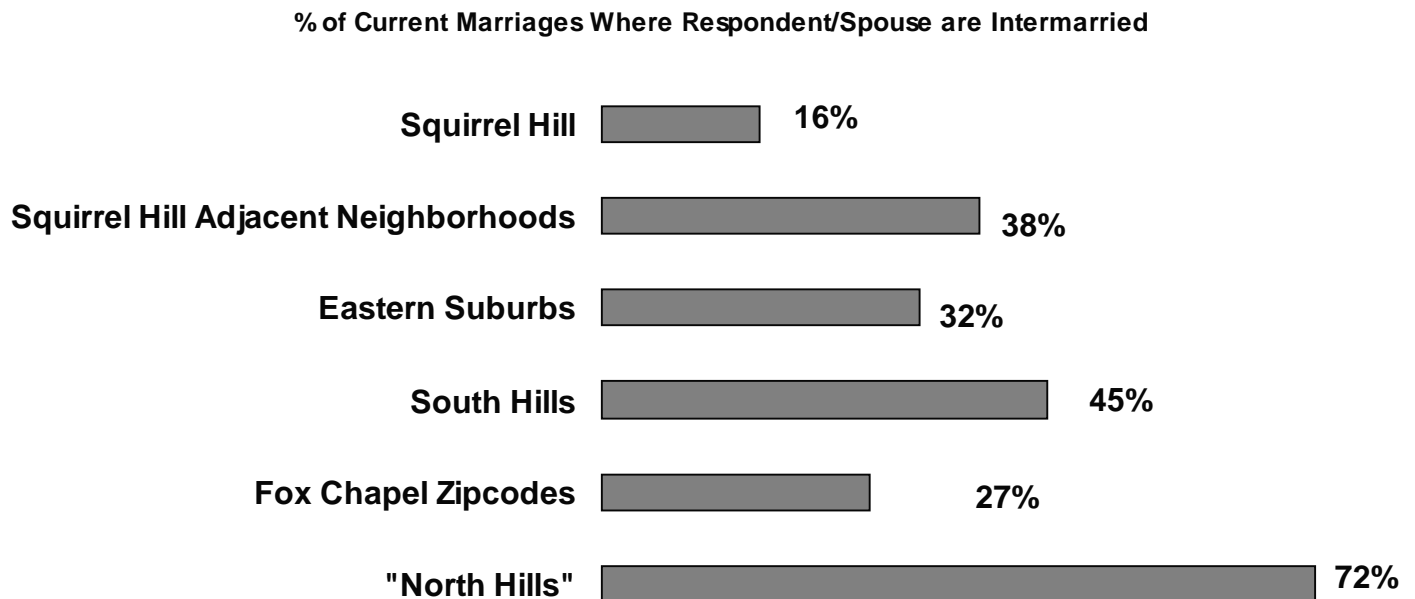
Geographic Area Within Greater Pittsburgh is Strongly Correlated With Inter-marriage Patterns.

- Only 16% of Squirrel Hill currently married couples are intermarried;
- 45% of South Hills married couples are intermarried.

While Previous Geographic Analyses Have Combined Fox Chapel and the North Hills Area — despite small numbers of interviews in the two areas separately, the intermarriage rates in the two areas appear to be so radically different that they are presented separately.⁵

- 27% of Fox Chapel married respondents (zip codes 15218 and 15238) report that they are intermarried;
- 72% of “North Hills” married respondents are intermarried.

Exhibit 99. Intermarriage Rates by Geographic Area, Currently Married Couples, 2002 Pittsburgh Jewish Community Study.



⁵ The number of married couples with complete information for inmarriage/intermarriage analysis was 43 in the North Hills and 47 in the two Fox Chapel zip codes. The combined intermarriage rate was 53%.

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The Impact of a Jewish Childhood on Marriage Patterns is Strong.

Jewish respondents marry a non-Jewish born person:

- 71% of the time when the Jewish respondent does not have any Jewish childhood experiences;
- 28% of the time when the Jewish respondent has multiple Jewish experiences or day school enrollment for at least three years.⁶

Exhibit 100. Percent of Jewish Respondents Who Marry a non-Jewish Born Person by Respondent Jewish Educational/Informal Experiences, 2002 Pittsburgh Jewish Community Study.

Respondent's Level of Jewish Childhood Experiences	% Respondents who Married a Non-Jewish Born Person
None	71%
Minimal – Less than 5 years Jewish Education, or No Jewish Education but Informal Experiences (Camp, Youth Group, etc.)	43%
Moderate – 5 years Jewish Education Plus either camp, youth group, or Israel travel.	33%
Multiple – 5 years Jewish Education plus at least <u>two</u> Informal Experiences or 3 Years of Day School	28%

⁶ The data in this exhibit have been organized to answer the often asked question of the impact of Jewish education / Jewish childhood experiences on Jewish persons marrying another Jewish-born person.

Intermarriage analyses are never quite straightforward, however, and it would be inaccurate to conclude that higher levels of childhood Jewish education/experiences are related to lower intermarriage rates. While Jewish respondents with higher levels of childhood experiences are more likely to marry a Jewish person, Jewish respondents without any Jewish childhood experiences are much more likely to report that their non-Jewish born partner considers himself/herself Jewish (and to be in a “conversionary” inmarriage).

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Jewish Respondents in Interfaith Households Are Much Less Likely to Report that They Fast on Yom Kippur Than Inmarried Jewish Respondents.

- 76% of inmarried Jewish respondents always/usually fast on Yom Kippur;
- 36% of intermarried Jewish respondents fast on Yom Kippur.

Exhibit 101. Percent of Jewish Respondents Who Always/Usually Fast on Yom Kippur by Respondent Inmarriage/Intermarriage Status, 2002 Pittsburgh Jewish Community Study.

On Yom Kippur, Respondent:	Jewish Respondents in Intermarried Households	Inmarried Jewish Respondents ⁷
Always	29%	66%
Usually	7	10
Sometimes	28	8
Never	36	16
Total	100%	100%

⁷ Inmarried and conversionary inmarried combined.

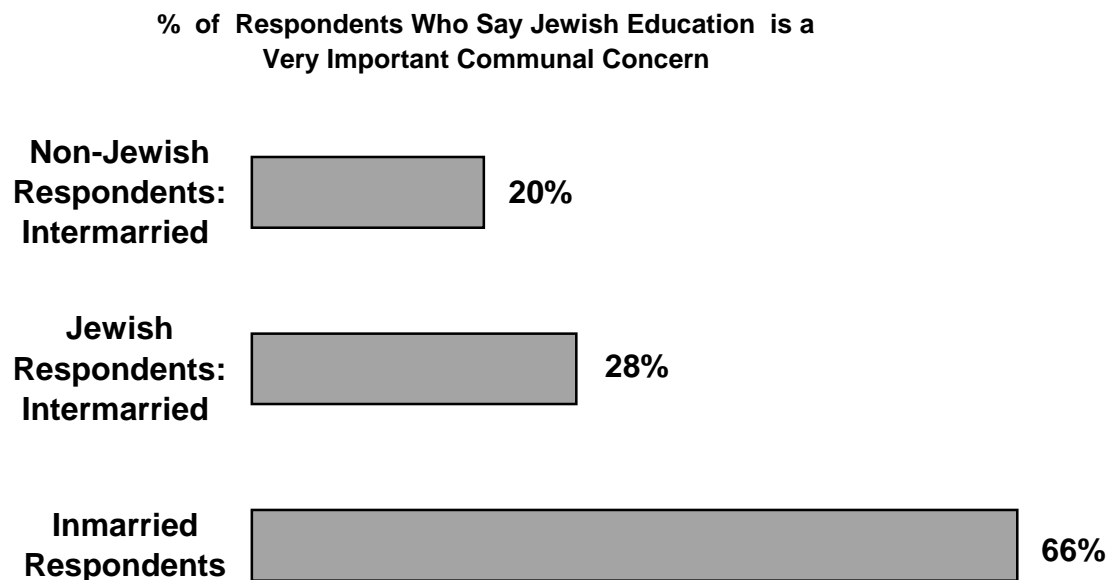
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Jewish Education is a Very Important Jewish Communal Concern for Inmarried Respondents Compared to Intermarried Household Respondents.

In **Inmarried Households**, 66% of Survey Respondents View Jewish Education As a Very Important Communal Concern.

In **Intermarried Households**: (a) 20% of non-Jewish respondents report that Jewish education is a very important communal issue, and (b) 28% of Jewish respondents view Jewish education similarly.⁸

Exhibit 102. Percent of Survey Respondents Who View Jewish Education as a “Very Important” Jewish Communal Concern by Inter-marriage Status and Jewish/non-Jewish Identity of Inter-married Household Respondent, 2002 Pittsburgh Jewish Community Study



⁸A total of 200 interfaith Jewish households answered the survey; 66 non-Jewish respondents and 134 Jewish respondents completed the interview in interfaith households.

While the number of interviews with non-Jewish interfaith respondents is relatively small (N=66), the opportunity to compare the responses of Jewish and non-Jewish respondents in interfaith Jewish marriages is too valuable to be ignored. Differences of at least 10%-15% should exist before even tentative conclusions should be embraced. All data are suggestive – and at times – fascinating.

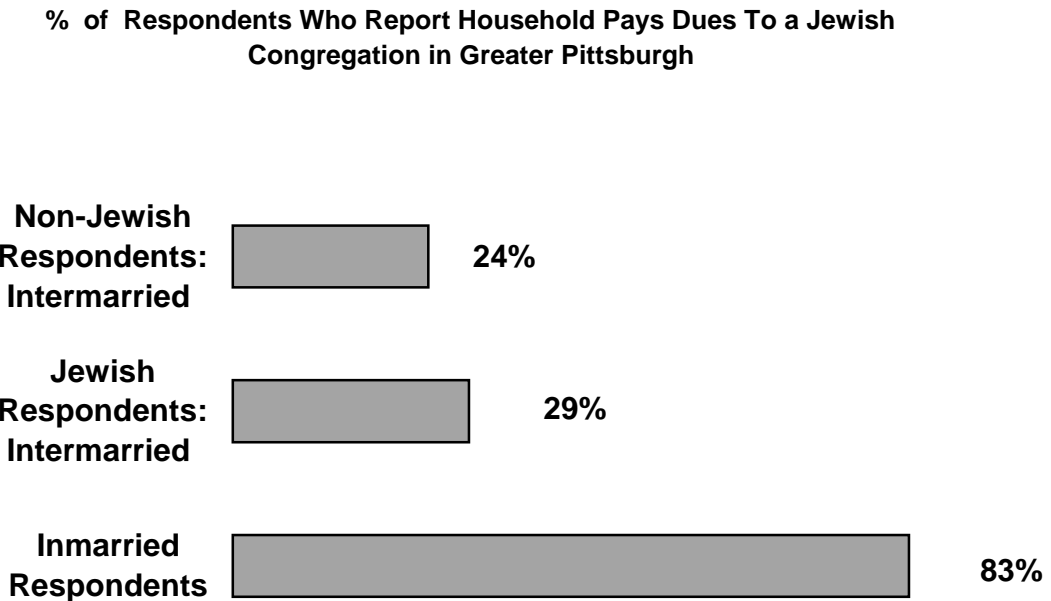
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Congregation Membership Varies Enormously By Inmarried/Intermarried Status of the Household.

Intermarried non-Jewish and Jewish Respondents Report Similar Rates of Congregation Membership/non-Membership:

- 83% of surveyed inmarried Jewish households report congregation membership in Pittsburgh;
- In Intermarried Households: 24% of non-Jewish intermarried respondents say that their household pays dues to a synagogue/temple, similarly, 29% of Jewish interfaith respondents report household congregation membership.

Exhibit 103. Percent of Survey Respondents Who Report Household Pays Dues to a Jewish Congregation by Inter-marriage Status and Jewish/non-Jewish Identity of Intermarried Household Respondent, 2002 Pittsburgh Jewish Community Study



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Jewish Ritual Observance is Much Higher in Inmarried Jewish Households Than in Intermarried Households.

- 93% of inmarried respondents report always/usually attending a Passover Seder compared to 65% of Jewish respondents in interfaith households and 36% of non-Jewish interfaith household respondents.
- While differences between inmarried and intermarried households are strong for all Jewish ritual observance indicators, non-Jewish and Jewish respondents in interfaith households report more similar behavior patterns on the ritual indicators other than Passover Seders.

Exhibit 104. Jewish Ritual Observance by Inter-marriage Status and Jewish/non-Jewish Identity of Inter-married Household Respondent, 2002 Pittsburgh Jewish Community Study

% Reporting Jewish Behavior Always/Usually Observed	Non-Jewish Respondents in Inter-married Households	Jewish Respondents in Inter-married Households	Inmarried Jewish Respondents
Attends Passover Seder	36%	65%	93%
Lights Chanukah Candles	47%	56%	90%
Lights Shabbat Candles	11%	6%	43%
Keeps Kosher Home	3%	1%	27%

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11,400 Children Live in Pittsburgh Jewish Households.

Intermarried Jewish Households Include 4,400 Children.

- 39% of All Children Under Age 18 Living in the Pittsburgh Jewish Community Reside in an Interfaith Jewish Household.

Exhibit 105. Number and Percentage of Children in Pittsburgh Jewish Households by Whether the Household is Inmarried or Intermarried, 2002 Pittsburgh Jewish Community Study

Type of Marriage	Number of Children	Percent
Intermarried Households	4,400	39%
Conversionary Inmarried Households	1,600	14
Inmarried Households	4,000	35
“Other Household Types”*	1,400	11
TOTAL	11,400	100%

* “Other Household Types” include unmarried partners, divorced-separated-widowed-single parents, and never married households.

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Approximately Half of all Children in Intermarried Households are Being Raised “Jewish” or “Jewish & Something Else.”

- **4,400 children are being raised in intermarried households:**
 - 36% are being raised Jewish;
 - 11% are being raised as Jewish and something else;
 - **40% are definitely not being raised as Jewish;**
 - 14% are “undecided”⁹ according to the survey respondent.

Exhibit 106. Number and Percentage of Children in Pittsburgh Jewish Households by Whether the Household is Inmarried or Intermarried, 2002 Pittsburgh Jewish Community Study

Intermarried Households Only		
Children Being Raised As:	Number	Percent
Jewish	1600	36%
Jewish & Something Else	500	11
Not Being Raised Jewish	1700	40
Undecided	600	14
Total	4,400	100%

⁹ Jewish persons estimates in Exhibit 1, etc., combine the “not being raised” Jewish and the “undecided” as non-Jewish, and include the “Jewish & Something Else” along with the Jewish raised.

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5,600 Children Are Being Raised in Inmarried and Conversionary-Inmarried Jewish Households: 98%-99% are Being Raised Jewish.

In Intermarried Jewish Households, Both Jewish and non-Jewish Survey Respondents Agree that One-Third of the Children are Being Raised Jewish.

- But, when the child is not being raised Jewish (or Jewish & Something Else), non-Jewish interfaith household respondents are more likely to report that the child's religious identity is "undecided" while Jewish interfaith household respondents report that the child is "not being raised Jewish."

Exhibit 107. Are Children Being Raised by Inter marriage¹⁰ Status and Jewish/non-Jewish Identity of Inter married Household Respondent, 2002 Pittsburgh Jewish Community Study

Children Being Raised As:	Non-Jewish Respondents in Inter married Households	Jewish Respondents in Inter married Households	In married Respondents
Jewish	35%	36%	98%
Jewish & Something Else	14	8	<1%
Not Being Raised Jewish	29	48	<1%
Undecided	22	8	1
Total	100%	100%	100%

¹⁰In married and conversionary in married Jewish households combined. The conversionary-in married household behave almost identically with two-born Jewish person households in terms of child rearing: 99% of in married and 96% of conversionary-in married Jewish households report raising their children "Jewish."

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In Inmarried Households, 98% of All Children – Male and Female – Are Being Raised Jewish.

In Intermarried Households, Male Children are More Likely to be Raised Jewish:

- 47% of male children and 25% of female children are being raised Jewish.

Exhibit 108. Are Children Being Raised in Interfaith Households by Gender of Child, 2002 Pittsburgh Jewish Community Study

Intermarried Households Only		
Children Being Raised As:	Male Children	Female Children
Jewish	47%	25%
Jewish & Something Else	10	11
Not Being Raised Jewish	36	44
Undecided	7	20
TOTAL	100% [N= an estimated 2,200 Male Children]	100% [N= an estimated 2,200 Female Children]

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Even Among Children Being Raised “Jewish” or “Jewish and Something Else” in Intermarried Jewish Households, Interfaith Household Jewish-Raised Children Are Less Likely to be Receiving a Jewish Education.

- 24% of children being raised “Jewish/Jewish & Something Else” in interfaith households have not had any Jewish education.
- only 2% of Jewish children in inmarried Jewish households have not had any Jewish education.

Exhibit 109. Jewish Education of Children Ages 6-17 Being Raised Jewish by Household Inmarriage / Intermarriage Status,¹¹
2002 Pittsburgh Jewish Community Study

Jewish Education of Children Ages 6-17 Being Raised Jewish	Intermarried Households	Inmarried & Conversionary Households
Current Day School	4%	33%
Previous Day School	9	15
Current Supplemental School	42	44
Prior Supplemental School	21	7
No Jewish Education	24	2
TOTAL	100%	100%

¹¹Data was also collected for children ages 6-17 residing in “other household types.” For all Jewish households included in the survey, 24% of Jewish-raised children ages 6-17 are reported to be currently enrolled in a Jewish Day School (a projected 1,500 children). This number exceeds the actual number enrolled in Day Schools in Pittsburgh, hardly surprising since: (a) survey data on Jewish education are always susceptible to “guilt” inflation by respondents, and (b) regardless of how carefully the survey questionnaire attempted to define fulltime Day School attendance, some confusion always remains between Jewish Day Schools and going to Jewish (supplementary) schools during the daytime.

For these reasons, the data on Jewish education of children ages 6-17 is viewed as non-definitive and probably overstated. Thus, we have focused on cross-tabulation analysis in this section, since patterns of relationships typically can supercede the problems of “guilt” variable overstatement.

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Estimates of Children (ages 6-17) in Interfaith Households Who Are Currently Reported to be Receiving a Jewish Education Vary By Whether the Interfaith Household Respondent Was Jewish or non-Jewish.¹²

- Non-Jewish respondents are more likely to report “no Jewish education” for the children ages 6-17 being raised Jewish in their interfaith households: 43%.
- only 7% of Jewish-raised children in intermarried Jewish households have not had any Jewish education, according to the Jewish respondent in an interfaith household.

Exhibit 110. Jewish Education of Children Ages 6-17 Being Raised Jewish by Household Inmarriage / Intermarriage Status and Whether Respondent in Intermarried Households Was Jewish or non-Jewish, 2002 Pittsburgh Jewish Community Study

Jewish Education of Children Ages 6-17 Being Raised Jewish	Non-Jewish Respondents in Intermarried Households	Jewish Respondents in Intermarried Households	Inmarried Respondents
Current Day School	2%	6%	33%
Previous Day School	10	9	15
Current Supplemental School	38	47	44
Prior Supplemental School	8	32	7
No Jewish Education	43	7	2
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%

¹² Again, the number of interviews with non-Jewish respondents is small, so the data are suggestive only, but the implications for understanding the reality of interfaith Jewish family life in Pittsburgh are enormous, as are the potential implications of these differences (if representative of differences within all interfaith households) for Jewish population studies that deliberately exclude non-Jewish respondents.

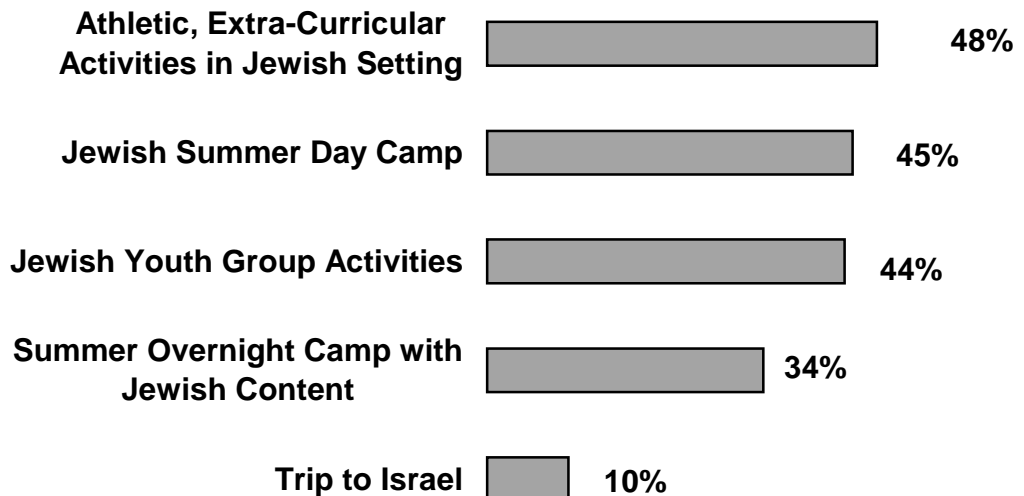
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Informal Jewish Experiences — Jewish Summer Camps, Recreational-Athletic Participation in a Jewish Setting, Jewish Youth Activities — Are An Important Part of the Pittsburgh’s Jewish Communities Commitment to Children in Jewish Households.¹³

- 48% of Pittsburgh Jewish households with a child/children ages 6-17 report that at least one child had ever been “...involved in athletic or other extra-curricular activities at a JCC, synagogue, or other Jewish setting;”
- 45% report that a child ages 6-17 had “...gone to a summer day camp with Jewish content” while 34% report similar summer overnight camp Jewish experiences for a child in the household.

Exhibit 111. Informal Jewish Experiences of All Children Ages 6-17, 2002 Pittsburgh Jewish Community Study

% of Households Reporting A Child Ages 6-17 Has Ever Participated in:



¹³ This question was asked of all households with children ages 6-17, regardless of whether the children in the household were being raised Jewish. The question was also asked on a collective basis (“any child”) and not on a child-by-child basis.

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Children Ages 6-17 in Interfaith Jewish Households Are Much Less Likely To Be Involved in Informal Jewish Experiences Than Children in Inmarried and Conversionary-Inmarried Households.

Exhibit 112. Jewish Informal Experiences of Children Ages 6-17 by Household Inmarriage / Intermarriage Status and Whether Respondent in Intermarried Households Was Jewish or non-Jewish, 2002 Pittsburgh Jewish Community Study

Has Any Child Ages 6-17 Ever Participated in:	Non-Jewish Respondents in Intermarried Households	Jewish Respondents in Intermarried Households	Inmarried Respondents
Athletic, Extra-Curricular Activities in a Jewish Setting	28%	40%	67%
Summer Day Camp with Jewish Content	12%	20%	75%
Jewish Youth Group Activities	28%	26%	63%
Summer Overnight Camp with Jewish Content	8%	13%	52%
Trip to Israel	<1%	3%	18%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%

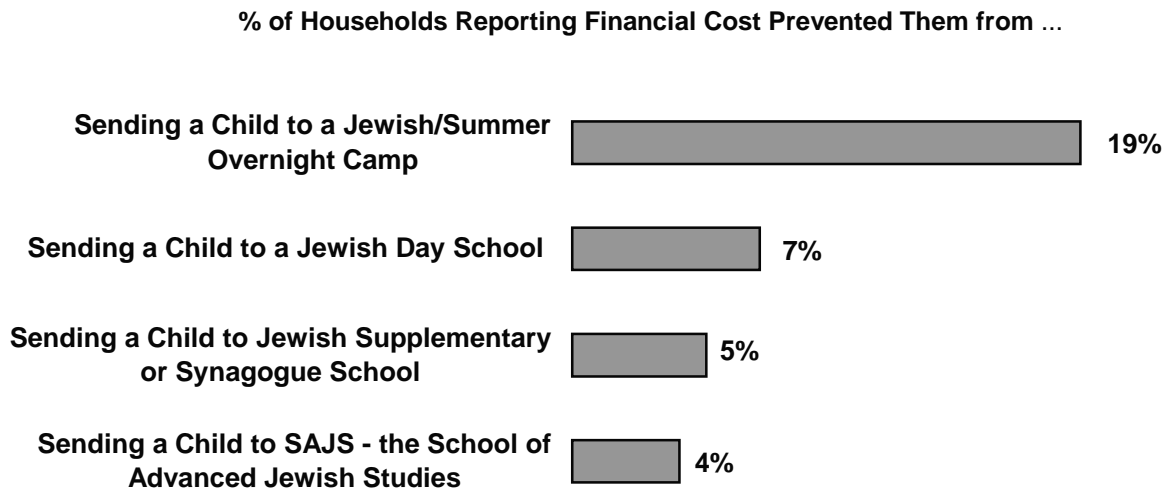
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The “Cost of Being Jewish” Has Had Some Impact on Activities for Children:

19% of households report that during the previous five years financial cost had prevented them from sending a child to a summer overnight camp with Jewish content.

But, in Pittsburgh, the vast majority of households report that sending a child to a Jewish day school has not been prevented by financial cost – only 7% report that financial cost had prevented Jewish day school attendance.¹⁴

Exhibit 113. Impact of the Financial Cost of Being Jewish on Child-Related Activities, 2002 Pittsburgh Jewish Community Study



¹⁴This series of questions related to children in the household paralleled the questions on the impact of financial cost for adults, and was modeled after the NJPS 2000 questionnaire (SAJS was obviously added for the Pittsburgh study). When the NJPS data is released, comparisons between the national data and the Pittsburgh data will be available.

Respondents in inmarried Jewish households answer: 21% report Jewish overnight summer camp was prevented by financial cost, 12% Jewish Day School prevented, 5% Jewish Supplementary/Synagogue School, and 4% SAJS.