

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO



Tree of Life: A Study of Jewish American Reactive
Identity, Community, and Politics

By

Joshua Dillon Adler Quirk

June 2023

A paper submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Arts
degree in the Master of Arts Program in the Social Sciences

Faculty Advisor: Laurie Zoloth
Preceptor: Yan Xu

Table of Contents

ABSTRACT	4
1 INTRODUCTION	4
1.1 QUESTION	5
2 LITERATURE	7
3 THE TREE OF LIFE	9
3.1 SQUIRREL HILL	9
4 METHODOLOGY AND FINDINGS	11
5 COHEN CENTER DATA AND TYPOLOGY OF JEWISH ENGAGEMENT	11
5.1 METHODOLOGICAL LIMITATIONS	12
5.2 THE TYPOLOGY	13
6 SYNAGOGUE MEMBERSHIP AND ENGAGEMENT	15
7 ORGANIZATION MEMBERSHIP AND ACTIVITIES	17
8 VOLUNTEERISM AND DONATIONS	19
8.1 INTERSECTIONALITY	21
8.2 REBUILDING THE SYNAGOGUE	21
9 WHAT ABOUT CIVIC ACTION?	23
10 POLITICAL LEANING AND CIVIC DUTY	24
10.1 COMMUNITY CIVIC ACTION	26
10.2 ONGOING POLITICAL ENGAGEMENT	29
11 GUN POLICY AND ADVOCACY	30
12 SECURITY	32

13 IMPLICATIONS OF PATTERNS OF POLITICAL ENGAGEMENT	34
14 THE COMPLEXITY OF AMERICAN JEWISH IDENTIFICATION	35
15 HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES ON THE NATURE OF AMERICAN JUDAISM	36
16 THE MANIFESTATION OF AMERICAN JEWISHNESS AFTER THE TREE OF LIFE	37
16.1 JEWISH VALUES	38
16.2 ANTISEMITISM AND RESILIENCE	39
17 REFLECTIONS: IMPLICATIONS AND LIMITATIONS	40
17.1 ADDITIONAL IMPLICATIONS	41
17.2 LIMITATIONS	42
18 CONCLUSION	43
19 BIBLIOGRAPHY	45

Abstract

The effects of hate crimes on individual social and emotional responses have often been studied, but less has been said about their impact on community engagement. Using survey data from Brandeis University's Cohen Center, news articles, and reports, I interrogated the ways in which the Tree of Life shooting in Pittsburgh caused the local Jewish community to change their interactions with community institutions or politics. Rates of (and zeal for) synagogue membership and engagement, organization membership and activity participation, and volunteerism and donations increased following the shooting. Involvement in political advocacy and civic action also swelled, particularly with respect to issues relevant to the safety and identity of Jewish people, but predominantly among left-leaning people. Drawing upon surveys of American Jewish self-identification and secondary sources tackling the question of the changing nature of Jewish identity, I place the changes demonstrated in Pittsburgh within an intellectual tradition of understanding Jewishness as dynamic and multifaceted.

Introduction

Over the past several years, hate crimes - defined "as a committed criminal offense which is motivated, in whole or in part, by the offender's bias(es)..." against certain groups as defined by the law - have proliferated in the United States (Federal Bureau of Investigation 2020). The politicization of categories such as race, ethnicity, and religion during the Trump administration has had a positive correlation with these shifts (Edwards and Rushin 2018; Fisher, Dugan, and Chenoweth 2018). Even positive government attention, which has been afforded to minorities to an extent under the Biden administration, can cause hate crimes to become more rampant (Dugan and Chenoweth 2020). In an age where racial, ethnic, and religious categories are central to every debate and feature prominently, both as positives and negatives, in more-accessible-than-

ever media coverage, the incidence of hate crimes seemingly will remain significant, entailing that studying their impacts on minority groups is a worthwhile intellectual project to undertake.

American Jews have been the subjects of a substantial amount of this targeted violence. Derogatory remarks from high-profile celebrities, relationships between elected politicians and known white nationalists and antisemites, as well as the persistence of the Israel-Palestine conflict have thrust issues of antisemitism and Jewish hate further into popular discourse, culminating in recent shootings at synagogues in Pennsylvania, California, and Texas (Hagen 2022). High profile events such as these, however, have merely typified broader trends. The Anti-Defamation League identified an all-time high of 2,717 antisemitic incidents in 2021, which included forms of violence such as assault, harassment, and vandalism (Anti-Defamation League [ADL] 2022). Newly released supplemental statistics reveal that the number of antisemitic hate crimes rose by nearly 20% in 2021 from previous totals (ADL 2023). The Department of Justice (2023) released their hate crime statistics for 2021, which publicized that 31.9% of the 1,005 religion-related incidents reported over the course of the year were perpetrated because of anti-Jewish bias, the highest rate among religious groups.

Although American Jews are unique in their myriad forms of self-identification, on the whole they say that their Jewish identity is very important to them (Pew Research Center [Pew] 2021). This particular character led me to wonder how a community of Jewish Americans would respond to victimization by a hate crime, especially concerning their engagement with community and political activities.

Question

In light of this background, I am interested in the effects of mass shooting victimization on patterns of community and political engagement among American Jews. In particular, I

analyze whether the Tree of Life shooting, perpetrated by an antisemite at a Pittsburgh synagogue, changed how members of the city's Jewish community interacted in Jewish public life, both with each other and with political issues pertaining to their experience, including conversations over the prevalence of antisemitism and hate as well as the use of guns. I am defining this phenomenon as 'reactive identity,' which describes increased engagement in community and politics influenced by connection to one's Jewish identity.

There are also a number of related questions which I explored. I considered how long the effects lasted, which groups within the community exhibited the most pronounced shifts, and what forms of community and political action the response took; did more people begin to participate in pre-existing activities, services, and movements, or was there new initiative? I also examined whether there was an intersectional dimension to the engagement with respect to collaboration on political advocacy or solidarity with other groups affected by mass shootings or targeted violence motivated by ethnic, racial, or religious hate. Finally, I interrogated how my findings enhance an understanding of American Jewish identity, pondering questions about what this identity constitutes by assessing theoretical, historical, and self-identificatory definitions and frameworks.

In order to answer these questions, I employed a range of methods and data. I accessed government statistics and academic articles to explore the context of hate crime and reactive ethnicity research. I then utilized a combination of quantitative data, national surveys of Jewish identity, records from local Jewish organizations, and newspaper articles to inform my analysis of the changes in cultural and political behavior after the Tree of Life shooting, finding there to be a positive correlation between the shooting and patterns in these areas. Finally, I reflected on my findings by considering survey data and academic sources on American Jewish identity

which examine the evolution of collective identity and consciousness among the American Jewish community. I argue that the trends discovered in the Tree of Life reflect broader patterns within the American Jewish community and their forms of self-identification. Thus, my findings contribute to both an understanding of the effects of hate crimes on communities as well as the nature of American Judaism.

Literature

Research has been conducted on the upshot of hate crimes on victims, but the conclusions of this work tend to center around individual behavioral and psychological responses to victimization, finding that mental trauma, anger, fear, sadness, vulnerability, and changing social behavior are common reactions (Barnes and Ephross 1994; Iganski and Lagou 2016; Paterson, Brown, and Walters 2018; Vogel-Scibilia 2020). While the strength of community following threats such as violent attacks has often been highlighted anecdotally, there have been fewer empirical studies into the cultural and civic responses of these communities. Studies on reactive ethnicity present a useful model upon which to formulate research into this topic, as I derive my conception of reactive identity from this literature. In one such example of a project on reactive ethnicity, Fouka (2020) displays that when German migrants in the United States were faced with forced assimilation policies, they became more likely to marry other Germans and give German names to their children, and were less likely to volunteer for the United States army. In this way, they experienced ‘reactive ethnicity:’ a heightened cultural consciousness resulting from a threat to their ethnic group. Because American Jews have a complicated ethnic past, I chose to adjust the operative phrase that I use throughout the paper, instead preferring the more all-encompassing term ‘reactive identity.’

While reactive ethnicity provides an intellectual starting place, hate crimes present a unique treatment, as they are unequalled in terms of their potentially deadly nature. Members of a targeted community could hardly be blamed for attempting to hide their identity in the wake of an event that has taken the lives of their family, friends, and community; fear, anger, and sadness, along with psychological distress such as PTSD, depression, and anxiety, are the predominant emotional and mental health outcomes on hate crime victims (Barnes and Ephross 1994; Shultz et al. 2014). A study of Squirrel Hill would likely find similar emotions to be prevalent within the community, both among those directly and indirectly affected, as Oppenheimer (2021) does in his recent book on the topic. Thus, in many ways, a language restriction policy is incomparable to a mass shooting and the reaction that it might engender. Therefore, it is important to look at the literature on mass shootings and their reverberations in the affected community.

Nevertheless, in cases that present a more comparable threat, such as mass deportation, there are marked social effects that indicate the possibility of group solidarity and collective action, despite the undeniable role that fear plays in weakening community response (Hagan, Rodriguez, and Castro 2011). The strong ramifications of mass shootings on emotions, moreover, have been found to dissipate over time, be limited to individuals within the city of the incident, and be highly politicized (Sharkey and Shen 2021). Religious affiliation and community may also protect against the negative emotional impact of traumatic events on those who are affected only indirectly (San Roman et al. 2019). Social support is linked closely to getting over trauma derived from events such as mass shootings, especially when that support is delivered by those who are similar, or who experienced the trauma similarly (Schildkraut, Sokolowski, and Nicoletti 2020).

Studies and theories related to public opinion have also generally shown that major events such as mass shootings influence the opinions of those impacted on policy related to topics such as gun control. Although victimization by mass shooting tends to generate the impetus for political action, partisan divides shape debates on topics such as guns in these circumstances (Jose, Holman, and Silver 2021; Newman and Hartman 2019; Philpott-Jones 2018; Yousaf 2021).

The Tree of Life

On October 27, 2018, in the deadliest antisemitic attack in the history of the United States, a gunman killed 11 and wounded several others at the Tree of Life Synagogue in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. The alleged perpetrator, whose trial process is underway in 2023, shouted antisemitic slurs as he committed the act of violence and has posted further vitriol online in the past, illuminating his transparent motivations (Robertson, Mele, and Tavernise 2018). The attack came amid the 2018 midterm elections, which catalyzed a proliferation of hate crimes. Jewish people were one of the groups targeted heavily by Trumpian rhetoric, and antisemitism has been a media staple in recent years, spurred on not only by this language but also by trending topics such as the Israel-Palestine conflict and ignorant comments from highly visible celebrities. The Anti-Defamation League reported that antisemitic incidents increased by 57% in 2017, at the time accounting for the largest year-to-year increase in nearly four decades (Robertson, Mele, and Tavernise 2018).

Squirrel Hill

The Tree of Life, located in Squirrel Hill, is a staple of Pittsburgh's active Jewish community. In fact, on the day of the attack, three local congregations of different denominations were worshipping there. The neighborhood is the center of Pittsburgh's Jewish population, which

at the time consisted of nearly 50,000 people in total and had grown by 17 percent over the previous decade and a half (Boxer et al. 2018). Despite not being majority Jewish – contemporary estimates are between 33 and 40 percent, and the population has never exceeded more than 50 percent (Wilson 2017a) - the average Pittsburgh resident would describe Squirrel Hill as “the Jewish heartland” (Burstin 2017, 68) of the city. For instance, in the town’s post office, an Orthodox Jew stands at the center of the mural depicting modern life in the neighborhood (Wilson 2017b). This legacy not only stems from the area’s modern demographic makeup and cultural character, but a long history of Jewish migration, a brief summary of which is indispensable to portraying an image of the community that I discuss. The Squirrel Hill Historical Society provides a comprehensive history of the neighborhood, conveying the long story of the area’s Jewish population. Beginning in the first decade of the 20th century, Jewish migrants began to flow into the neighborhood. The World Wars gave rise to additional migration waves from Europe, and by the second half of the century, Jewish institutions started to crop up more regularly. These included the Jewish Community Center, which remains central, both geographically and ideologically, to Squirrel Hill (Burstin 2017). Although changing demography in the 21st century has diversified the neighborhood further, Jewish-owned businesses as well as Jewish schools, religious institutions, and organizations characterize the less than 4 square miles which constitute the neighborhood (Wilson 2017c). Indicative of this relationship is the fact that almost all of the beneficiaries of the Jewish Federation of Greater Pittsburgh as well as the officially listed Jewish organizations in the city are located in Squirrel Hill (Burstin 2017). The nature of the community, therefore, makes it a pertinent location for study.

Methodology and Findings

Employing a mixed methods approach, I assessed shifts in the cultural and civic engagement of Pittsburgh's Jewish community in response to the Tree of Life shooting. To measure these outcomes, I employed survey data collected by researchers at Brandeis University's Steinhardt Social Research Institute in the Cohen Center for Modern Jewish Studies (2018), which provide considerable insight into patterns of community engagement and political identification. I accessed surveys of Jewish identity and records from Jewish organizations such as synagogues and community centers for further insight into these trends. I also collected qualitative data, which consists largely of local newspapers that document interviews with community leaders, members, and victims as well as personal accounts. Ultimately, I observed that Jewish people in Pittsburgh did experience reactive identity following the Tree of Life shooting in the form of increased cultural engagement in the local Jewish community, in spite of the fear and sadness which also became manifest. Community engagement remained strong even during the Covid-19 pandemic, although further research into long-term outcomes is necessary to confirm whether this stability was derived from continued reactive identity or a symptom of the pandemic. Moreover, there was an increased desire to express one's Jewishness in public, particularly by becoming vocal on issues that unified the community, such as legislation against gun violence. However, these shifts in civic engagement did not transcend splits in political ideology between different denominations, although the unity of the Jewish community overcame political differences for some.

Cohen Center Data and Typology of Jewish Engagement

The Cohen Center's (2018) report provides a view of the Jewish community in Pittsburgh in the year before the shooting. The data was collected using surveys, from which larger

conclusions about the community were drawn. From a frame of over 81,000 households, the researchers drew two samples (Boxer et al. 2018). One was a primary sample of 14,562 households contacted by email, phone, and post, while a supplemental sample was constructed of 14,997 households reached only by email, with the primary sample being used as representative of the community as a whole and the basis for general analysis (Boxer et al. 2018). Within the primary sample, 28.6% responded and 75.3% cooperated, and combined with the supplemental sample data, 2,111 households were interviewed in total (Boxer et al. 2018). Statistical adjustments were made to account for the differences in contact method between the two samples, designed to capture an accurate illustration of the community. The report's estimates about the entire community are derived solely from the primary sample, while the full sample was used for subgroup analysis.

Methodological Limitations

There were several methodological obstacles to such a study, with the preeminent one being the size of the Jewish population and therefore the difficulty in creating a substantial representative sample. Difficulties with random-digit-dialing as a data collection method also have noticeably reduced response rates in similar studies, and the reliance on cell phones makes it harder to connect with community members, particularly young people and new arrivals. The researchers sought to address these concerns by employing enhanced random-digit-dialing, a comprehensive list-based sample, an ethnic names sample, and multiple survey models. Nevertheless, some populations might have been undercounted or underrepresented, such as college students living on campus, residents of nursing homes, or individuals without any precursory affiliation with Jewish organizations in the area (Boxer et al. 2018). Nevertheless, considering that young people and new arrivals are less likely to be deeply involved in the

Jewish community, any discrepancies would overestimate engagement, which, for the purposes of my analysis, would only serve to underestimate the growth in community engagement after the Tree of Life shooting.

The Typology

The researchers focused on four Jewish behaviors in establishing an index of community engagement: family holiday celebrations, ritual practices, personal activities, and communal activities (Boxer et al. 2018). They then employed a latent class analysis to evaluate these four indicators, sorting respondents into the 5 distinct patterns of behavior depicted in Figure 1. Each category correlates to a level of involvement in the Jewish community: immersed, connected, involved, holiday, and minimally involved. The resulting categorizations signal that although a large proportion of the Jewish population is involved to some extent in the Jewish community, levels of engagement varied substantially, as only 16% were considered to be truly immersed in all aspects of Jewish life (Figure 1).

Of particular relevance to my project are the communal activities, which include belonging to a synagogue, belonging to a JCC or other Jewish organization, attending Jewish activities, volunteering for Jewish organizations, and donating to Jewish causes. Table 1 illustrates the percentage of the Jewish population estimated to be involved in each of these categories within each tier of the index. Although family holidays, rituals, and personal activities were also evaluated in determining the level of engagement, communal activities are the component that is essential for my work. The patterns suggest that, for the most part, the more involved in communal activities an individual becomes, the closer they become to being immersed in the Jewish community. An alternative interpretation is that the average person immersed in all aspects of Jewish life would likely be involved in communal activities, while

less immersed individuals are less likely to be (Table 1). Moreover, the more immersed in Jewish culture, the greater extent to which people reported that they felt like a part of the local Jewish community. 52% of people in the immersed category said they felt very connected to Pittsburgh’s Jewish community, while only 20% of connected, 6% of involved, 2% of holiday, and 0% of minimally involved said the same (Boxer et al. 2018).

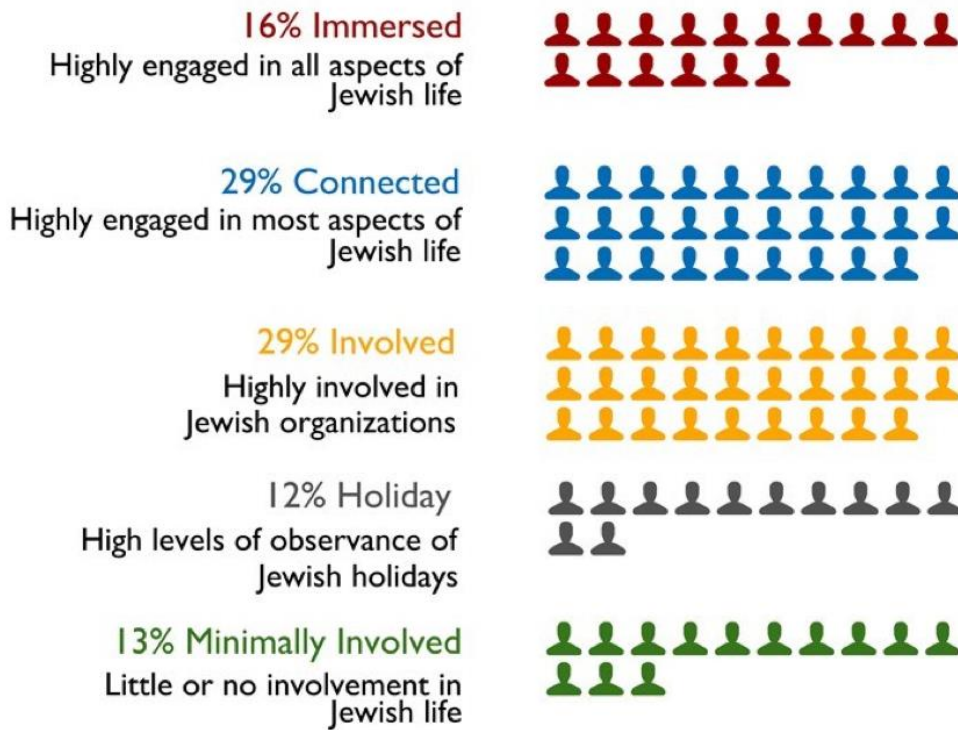


Figure 1 *Index of Jewish Engagement in Pittsburgh*

Table 1 *Communal Activity Behaviors Used to Construct an Index of Jewish Engagement*

	Immersed	Connected	Involved	Holiday	Minimally Involved
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

Note: Data collected by the Steinhardt Social Research Institute in Brandeis University's Cohen Center for Modern Jewish Studies. All data are expressed in percentages.

Although an equivalent index following the Tree of Life shooting is unavailable, the Cohen Center's index is still useful when paired with available quantitative and qualitative data measuring community engagement following the attack, providing a baseline understanding of engagement prior. The index provides a strong foundation that suggests communal activity is a strong proxy for Jewish engagement as a whole. Therefore, increased synagogue membership and engagement, participation in Jewish activities, and donations and volunteerism following the shooting would indicate a reinforced connection with one's Jewish identity as a consequence of the attack.

Synagogue Membership and Engagement

Synagogue membership and engagement improved following the Tree of Life shooting.

In the years preceding the attack, the future of Pittsburgh's many congregations looked bleak.

Membership was dwindling, resulting in too few resources to maintain Pittsburgh's many

synagogues, which began to rent out their spaces to make ends meet (Staitman 2015). On the day of the shooting, diminishing resources and minimal attendance were apparent; The Tree of Life was hosting, as it usually did, for three congregations (its own congregation in addition to Dor Hadash and New Light), and yet only 75 people were present (Roberston, Mele, and Tavernise 2018). Although nearly 1,500 people frequented the Tree of Life Synagogue during the High Holidays, this proportion shows that only a small percentage of the congregants were, to borrow a term from the Cohen Center's index, truly 'immersed' in Jewish engagement, since 89% of this category would be expected to attend monthly services (Table 1). Following the attack, however, membership at the affected congregations began to multiply, despite the national trends which had been endangering the futures of brick-and-mortar synagogues. 100 people, a 33% increase from the day of the shooting, gathered one week later for the next service outside the Tree of Life, while more than 1,000 attended public services at nearby synagogues and hundreds paid respects to the victims by attending their funerals (Stanglin 2018).

While this outpouring of support is natural after a tragedy, it was not a mere demonstration of sympathy but indicative of an eagerness among many to embrace the Jewish community as their own. Janice Gordon, the membership chair for Dor Hadash – one of the synagogues whose congregation was worshiping at the Tree of Life that day – reported that in the weeks following the shooting, she noticed both a significant number of new congregation members as well as a restored interest from individuals who had not renewed their membership recently (Rullo 2022). More surprisingly, perhaps, is that this trend has remained somewhat consistent over the past four years, indicating a newfound longing for Jewish identification through community engagement. Gordon noted that as of 2022, volunteerism and attendance had skyrocketed along with membership and that young adults, who are typically hard to recruit into

religious engagement, were plenty in number among the newcomers. Despite only 3% of Pittsburgh Jews between the ages of 18 and 34 being full members of brick-and-mortar synagogues (Boxer et al. 2018) prior to the shooting, consistent with the national average and much lower than the 19% of households overall, several young adults who grew up in the area and attended the Tree of Life to varying degrees, primarily in their youth and on holidays, established the Tree of Life Young Jewish Community in order to bring more young adults to the synagogue and preserve it for the future. Although the founders of this group had been raised in Jewish households, and many of their parents were members of the congregation, they were not moved to become ‘connected’ or ‘immersed’ until the shooting impacted their community. Co-founder Zach Schwartz bluntly shared what induced his response: “It was not even a question that we would do something; it was definite. It’s horrible to say it, but what happened drove me to action, to make sure that Tree of Life has a legacy” (Tabachnick 2019b). Most of those involved admitted that only engaging in the community during the High Holidays was no longer enough. Finally, collective action was not limited to those who had themselves, or through family, been involved with the synagogue in the past, with one such individual citing the importance of community engagement in healing despite being a recent transplant in the area. Therefore, although synagogues in Pittsburgh have not been immune to the national tendency towards decreased membership and attendance (Rullo 2021; Tabachnick 2022), exacerbated by the Covid-19 pandemic, vibrant community engagement in synagogue life still grew in Pittsburgh following the attack.

Organization Membership and Activities

The months after the shooting also saw an increase in organization membership and slight spikes in activity participation. I accessed annual reports from the Jewish Community

Center of Pittsburgh (JCC) as source material. The JCC’s Chair of the Board and President/CEO explicitly mention October 27th in a community letter that begins the organization’s 2018-19 annual report, as they reference its impression as an urgent reminder of the organization’s mission to “fill [a] role as “helpers” and neighbors” (Jewish Community Center of Greater Pittsburgh [JCCGP] 2019). Community Center membership grew from 19,960 to 21,480 members over the period, which is an increase of more than 7.5% over the fiscal year (JCCGP 2018; JCCGP 2019). Moreover, an additional 3,500 people accessed center activities, an 11% increase from the 32,000 people served in 2017-18 (JCCGP 2018; JCCGP 2019). Furthermore, the Center for Loving Kindness, instituted in 2017 with the core tenets to “love your neighbor as yourself” and “not stand idle while your neighbor bleeds” (JCCGP 2018) facilitated over 18,000 interactions with community members through crisis response, vigils, counseling, and community support events, 17,000 more individuals than were served in the initiative’s inaugural year (JCCGP 2019). Activity participation numbers did not universally rise, with several programs reaching equal numbers to previous highs. However, participation among young people – a 10% increase in the number of unique campers who participated in activities, and an 11% increase in teens involved in one or more programs – is notable (JCCGP 2019). Because as much as 98-99% of ‘immersed,’ ‘connected,’ and ‘involved’ Jewish people in Pittsburgh were estimated to have participated in at least one Jewish organization activity in 2017 (Table 1), these increases in the number of unique participants reveal that individuals who had been considered as part of either the ‘minimally involved’ or ‘holiday’ categories had become involved in a greater capacity. This development could feasibly stem from natural growth and investment as well as remodeling. However, the Center’s explicit references to the shooting support the conclusion that, at least in part, the tragedy triggered an increased desire to affiliate with the

Jewish community among individuals in the area. It is also true that sustained membership and participation allow the JCC to stay open, meaning that there may be a somewhat endogenous relationship between these factors and the success of the organization. Nevertheless, the Tree of Life shooting was independent of each of these variables.

It is less clear that these effects have lasted over time. While the JCC has continued to grow – between 2019 and 2021, participation almost doubled among neurodiverse children and multiplied considerably among older adults, for instance (JCCGP 2022) – the onset of the Covid reduced the center’s funding and forced its services to change. Activities came to include providing grab and go meals for seniors, checking in with isolated members, and administering Covid tests and vaccinations. Participation numbers and membership dwindled in most programs, but began to rebound: membership dropped from 4,170 in March 2020 to 2,004 in February 2021 before rising to 3,100 in July 2022 (JCCGP 2022). Due to the pandemic, it is impossible to quantitatively discern the long-term impacts of the shooting on organization membership and activities.

Volunteerism and Donations

The shooting garnered national attention and therefore several million dollars in donations. Although Jewish people do tend to donate to Jewish organizations when they are immersed in the community, this monetary support does not mark boosted engagement, given that a lot of the funds came from outside the community. However, there are indications that spending time and money on community causes was a commonplace reaction following the shooting.

Service and volunteerism became a source of remembrance. In the weeks following the shooting, victims were memorialized as people who devoted themselves to helping others and

serving their community (Tabachnick and Reinherz 2018). Volunteerism became a means of connecting with those whom the community had lost. The 10.27 Healing Partnership, founded as a resiliency center dedicated to providing healing services at the local JCC, has sponsored service events, particularly in remembrance of those who lost their lives in the attack. In 2021, for instance, they hosted a day of commemoration and service, which included a book drive, cemetery cleanup, book labeling event, patio beautification, and more (Nuebel 2021). They have also regularly partnered with other organizations, such as Repair the World Pittsburgh, including as co-hosts of the 2022 iteration of what has become an annual day of service to honor the shooting victims. The day featured 19 different service opportunities throughout the local area, which were selected in honor of the passions of those who died in the building (Reinherz 2022b). Repair the World's mission of "[mobilizing] young Jews to serve" (Repair the World 2022) seems to have been successful as well, as eighth grader Gabi Kunzman's (2021) excellent guest opinion piece, in which she delivers an entreaty for volunteerism, donation, and participation in community events, seems to indicate. Others have volunteered through participation in activism, advocacy, and community-building initiatives with the aforementioned Tree of Life Young Jewish Community as well as groups such as Bend the Arc: Pittsburgh, local congregations, the JCC, and Hillel JUC, among many others. The sentiment has become salient in individuals throughout the community, who have discovered meaning by serving others, whether that be by donating blood or gardening. Even the formation of more formal institutions aimed at helping others, such as the 10.27 Healing Partnership, has only been possible as a consequence of willing community engagement; despite being funded by a federal grant, the center was formed only after nearly a year of weekly meetings between representatives of local organizations and community groups, whose input was instrumental in designing the services provided (10.27

Healing Partnership 2023). Of course, plenty of volunteerism was done in the community before the shooting, but the impetus of commemoration and the reinvigorated connectedness of the community have manifested in these new forms of engagement in volunteerism in the past few years.

Intersectionality

The large influx of donations also reflected attempted intersectionality between historically minoritized groups. One rabbi, who visited the Tree of Life hours after the shooting, recounted promises from Black pastors and Muslim leaders to help raise money for the Jewish community and stand up against antisemitism (Pesner 2022). Within days two Muslim groups had raised more than \$200,000 for the victims and their families (Haag 2018). This support has been largely reciprocal, especially in liberal activism concerning bigoted speech and gun violence.

Rebuilding the Synagogue

The process of distributing the large amount of donated funds, underpinned by the goal of rebuilding and reuniting the community, as well as the community-centered plans for the money's usage, reflect an additional, atypical form of engagement. Whereas prior to the shooting, funds would have been invested by synagogue leaders, perhaps with some community input but not necessarily, community members were integral to the decision-making process with respect to the millions that were ultimately donated. The three affected congregations agreed to inaugurate an independent committee which was to decide on the distribution of the funds, with representatives from each synagogue emphasizing the nature of the committee's deliberations: "One of the principles that guided the Committee's deliberations... was 'shalom b'bayit' —the need to arrive at recommendations that would foster healing in the congregations, among

victims' families and harmony throughout the wider Jewish community" (CBS News Pittsburgh 2020). With the nearly 1.3 million dollars which were distributed to the Tree of Life, the congregation planned not only to reconstruct the synagogue but to make it a center for community life. The Tree of Life's president, Samuel Schachner, testified to these aims, speaking about how he has held services across the city to ensure that the shooter could not stop the congregation from worshipping and sharing the plans for the donor money (Beauchamp 2019). These included constructing a new synagogue building as well as reconstructing the old building, which will include a memorial to the victims, a sanctuary, museum, and center for fighting antisemitism, in addition to a Tree of Life nonprofit organization which will run the complex and offer additional events and services (Gratzinger 2022). The new organization is also going to absorb the Holocaust Center of Pittsburgh, making the Tree of Life a citywide center for Jewish identity and indicating that the tragedy has not only mobilized and unified those in Squirrel Hill but become both a symbolic and physical hub for Jewish people across the city. Community members were involved in the process of deciding on these plans, convening regularly to provide feedback and thoughts on the future of the synagogue through the medium of regular forums. Within the first 9 months after the shooting, 7 sessions had been held with regular attendance of between 15 and 40 people, who contributed to a more than 30-page document of ideas for the vision of the building (Tabachnick 2019c). Moreover, these sessions not only solicited feedback but also mutual support among attendees, who did not always share the same opinions but were united by a recognition of collective grief and hope. The final plan which arose from these discussions underpins the fundamental goal of unity held by the congregation members. The available funding provided a unique possibility for community members to express their wishes on such important changes, a type of engagement that does not typically occur but which

represented an increased inclination towards volunteerism as well as engagement in synagogue affairs.

What About Civic Action?

In summation, the Tree of Life shooting elicited an amplification of engagement with Jewish culture through community by Jews in Pittsburgh. People became members of their local synagogue and attended services and events, created organizations to incentivize further engagement, became JCC members and took advantage of the Center's services, volunteered and donated, and made decisions across congregations as a united Jewish community in the name of healing and moving forward together. The second half of my question, however, remains unanswered: did the shooting alter patterns of civic engagement? I found that while the shooting did cause Jewish people to embrace their identity publicly in debates over legislation, they did so largely within previously established partisan groups and actively avoided politicizing the shooting by seeking to keep external media and political campaigns from using the tragedy to further their agendas. More specifically, people remained split in their opinions on politics, but the shooting did cause many Jewish people to use their identity to strongly decry hate speech and push for legislative action on gun violence, two topics which they saw as essential to the preservation of their Jewish identity. Nevertheless, firsthand accounts of these shifts still emphasized the sense of unity that was critical to these efforts as well as the role that a reinvigorated appreciation of Jewishness played in inspiring collective action. Therefore, I observed reactive identity through the Jewish population's expression of identity in civic debates that pertained directly to their community's experience of victimization.

Political Leaning and Civic Duty

As part of the American Jewish Population Project, researchers at Brandeis University compiled data that estimates the political leaning and political party identification of Pittsburgh's overall population as well as its Jewish community, represented in Table 2 and Figures 2 and 3. The Jewish adult population of Pittsburgh experienced a slight reduction in conservative-leaning (-6.5%) from 2015 to 2019 (Table 2). However, inconsistent with studies that demonstrate a slight decrease in Republican vote share following mass shootings (Yousaf 2021), there was a 3.3% increase in Jewish adults who identified as Republican (Table 2). This modest growth in Republican identification among Pittsburgh Jews reflected national trends within the group, whose support reached all-time highs in the past decade according to Gallup data (Newport 2015; Newport 2019). The number of Democrat-identifying Jewish adults in Pittsburgh also remained relatively consistent over the period (Table 2). However, a considerable number of these adults became self-identified liberals, up more than 14% in the 4 years from 2015 to 2019 before dipping back down by 6% in 2020 (Table 2). One potentially convincing explanation for these drastic shifts is that they were initiated by the Trump administration. After all, Jewish people nationwide believe that antisemitism burgeoned during his presidency (American Jewish Center [AJC] 2019; AJC 2020). Nevertheless, the stable number of Republican-identifying people and the number of liberal people overall in Pittsburgh indicate that the 'Trump effect' was somewhat limited to those who already would have been opposed to his presidency in the first place given pre-established political convictions. Still, the increase in the number of liberals suggests some causal effect of the period on political beliefs.

Table 2 *Political Views and Political Parties of Pittsburgh Adults Over Time*

	Political View			Political Party		
	Conservative	Liberal	Other	Republican	Democrat	Other
Total (2015)	38.2	21.4	40.4	26.9	42.9	30.2
Jewish (2015)	20.7	38.3	41	14.7	63.5	21.8
Total (2019)	38.4	24.3	37.4	29.2	38.3	32.6
Jewish (2019)	14.2	52.4	33.4	18	59	22.9
Total (2020)	38.3	24.7	37	29.3	36.8	34
Jewish (2020)	17.3	46.2	36.5	14.7	61.5	23.7

Note: Jewish refers to adults who self-identified as Jewish, and Total refers to the entire population. All data is expressed in percentages.

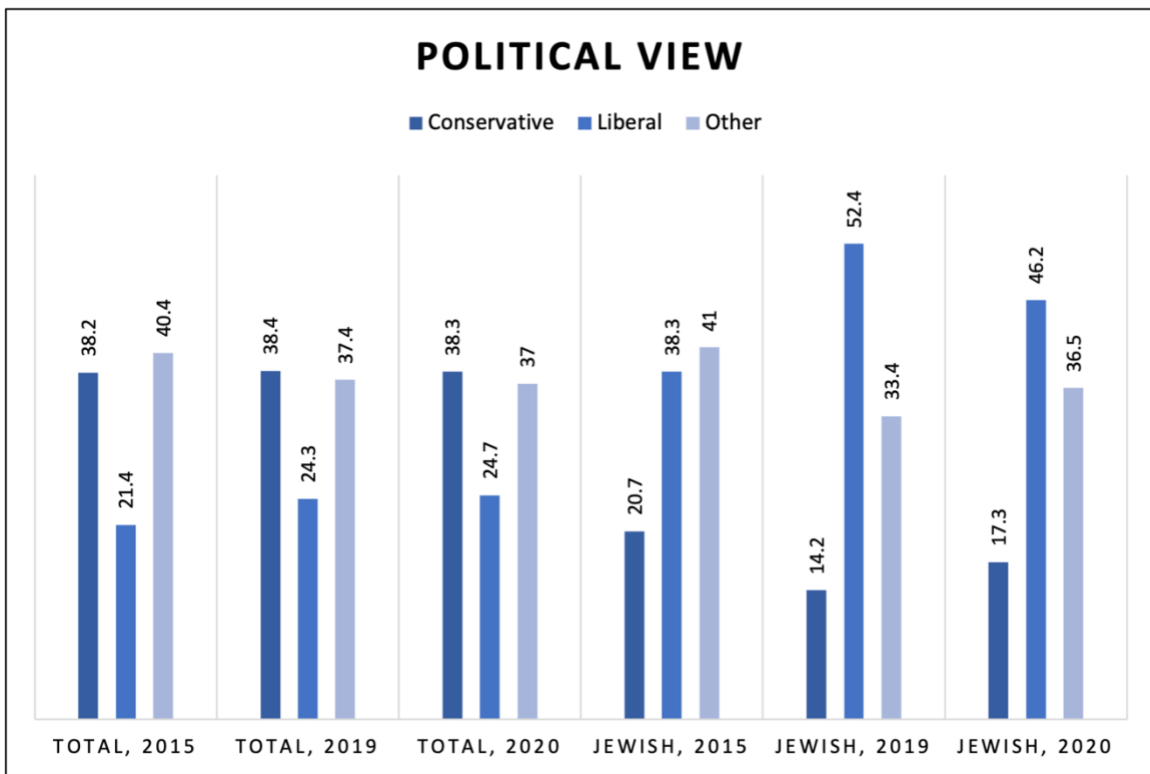


Figure 2 *Political Views of Pittsburgh Adults Over Time*

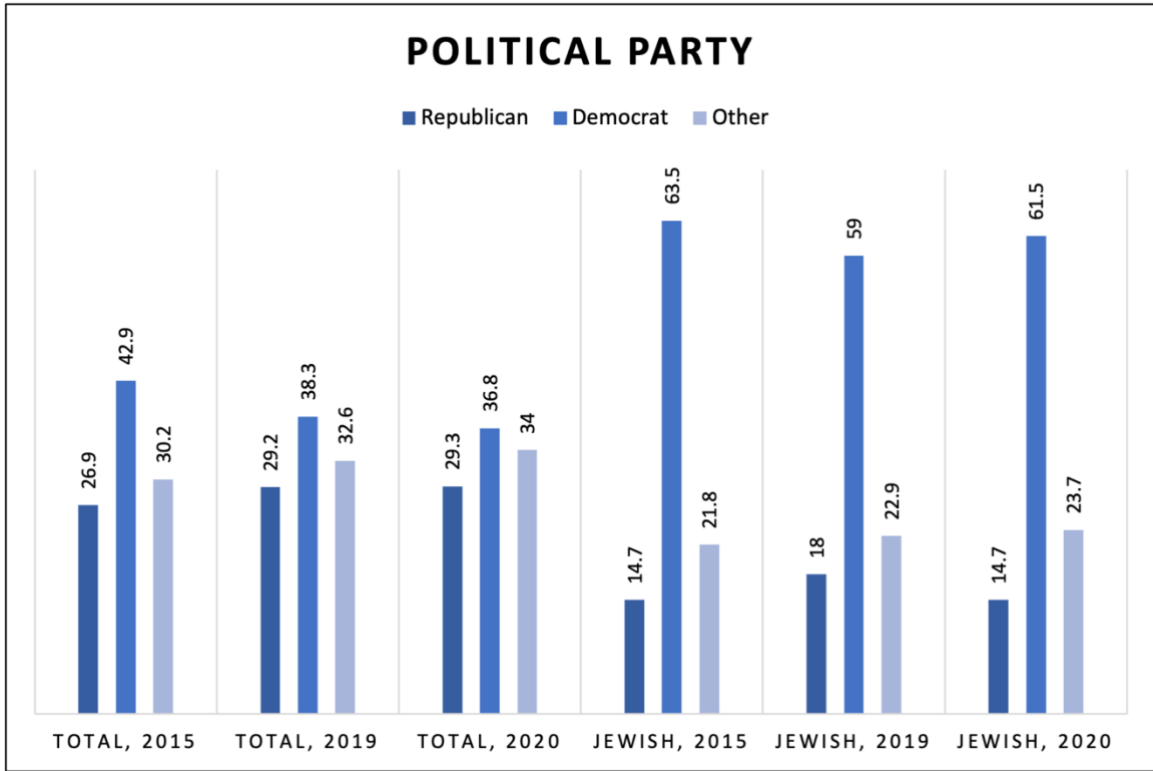


Figure 3 *Political Party Affiliations of Pittsburgh Adults Over Time*

Community Civic Action

Testimony from community members provides insight into the nature of these trends. Numerous Squirrel Hill activists and community members indicated that they were propelled by the events of the shooting to engage in political endeavors, including activism and voting. Many of these people also specified that while previously they did not always advocate for issues with their Jewish identity at the forefront of their minds, the shooting caused them to incorporate Jewish issues and priorities into these movements (Beauchamp 2022). These predominantly included advocacy for gun control as well as against hate speech and divisive rhetoric targeting minority groups, reflecting long-standing Jewish values as well as a direct response to the shooting itself. Numerous Jewish community members organized on these issues quickly and in large numbers. One couple, Jeremy Burton and Lynn Hyde, spoke about their reinvigorated

commitment to improving the country through action, a sentiment which was resonant among interviewed community members. They described a further embrace of their Jewish faith through civic action, which for them took the form of donations to groups such as HIAS and the local police - groups that are involved in Jewish affairs and the protection of the Jewish community, respectively - as well as phone banking for candidates in the run-up to the midterm elections that closely followed the shooting (McCausland 2018). Likewise, students at the local high school sought out opportunities to contribute, organizing a vigil for the dead which was attended by over 1,000 people. The leaders of the event cited that while they hoped to provide an occasion to bring people together to mourn and celebrate the dead, they also wanted to inspire collective action about issues affecting their community. Several attendees recalled a chant of “Vote!” breaking out among the crowd, led by the young organizers (McCausland 2018). One individual, who attended a vigil that night across the country, remembered his youth in Squirrel Hill and made a plea for people to vote in midterm elections (Orbach 2019). As did others who spoke following the shooting about their heightened interest in political participation, he asserted a link between engaging in civic duty as an American and being Jewish in America; in the face of a growing, tangible threat of hate targeted towards Jewish people, it had now become a responsibility unlike ever before for those affected to vote and advocate for change on behalf of their community (Orbach 2019).

Thus, community members on the whole claimed that their experience of hate and violence galvanized them to fight against antisemitism and for religious respect, issues which united the community. The Tree of Life Young Jewish Community was among the groups to arrange events about these movements, seeing them as a way to foster a common voice. Although the Jewish community has rifts in political ideology, a collective commitment to

Jewish identity was revived and manifested in public, with this core sentiment bringing together Jewish people on both sides of the political spectrum and across disparate denominations.

Nevertheless, while community members acknowledged their intensified civic duty during the 2018 midterms, they overall did not assert inclinations that the event had a noticeable effect on their pre-existing political views, and therefore their vote or partisan leaning. Moreover, many expressed that community unity was equally as important, if not more so, as civic engagement. The president of Dor Hadash, the most progressive of the congregations affected directly by the shooting, summarized the clash in sentiments by saying that the shooting did not change people's vote, but people were motivated to use their voice on issues that they might have supported invisibly in the past (Magid 2022). She specified that there was a heightened vigor among the liberal-leaning members of her congregation to act, but emphasized that they tried actively not to antagonize those within the community who failed to share their views (Magid 2022). Even as members of this congregation and others began to engage furiously in activism around topics such as white supremacy, gun control, and immigration, citing that mere hate was not the only enemy to fight, tensions existed between approaches of tolerance, resignation, and activism (Green 2019). These anecdotes illuminate why percentages of Democrats and Republicans did not change so much even as more people became liberal; the shooting did not change people's deep-rooted political party affiliations, but it did actuate many who already voted Democrats to take political action and identify as more progressive than before.

The community's feelings about Donald Trump also help to explain this phenomenon. After Trump visited Pittsburgh following the shooting, a liberal Jewish activist group held a march against his visit, garnering 60,000 new subscribers, donors, and participants in mere weeks, representing 66% growth in total membership for the organization (Beauchamp 2022).

This outrage at his visit stemmed from a belief that Trump's anti-immigrant, white nationalist rhetoric had in some way inspired the shooter or validated his bigotry (McGreal 2022). The shooting had solidified for many that this type of rhetoric could potentially be fatal: a threat that amounted to more than just words (Rosen 2018). Nonetheless, conservative Jewish people were more split, with some defending Trump's visit as a genuine show of respect for the victims (Tabachnick 2019a). Among those welcoming Trump's presence was the Tree of Life's own Rabbi Jeffrey Meyers. The split opinions over Trump further show that, to the extent that the Tree of Life shooting mobilized civic action, in Squirrel Hill that largely entailed liberal action.

Ongoing Political Engagement

The Tree of Life and Pittsburgh's Jewish community have also remained influential in subsequent elections. In the recent 2022 Pennsylvania Governor race, eventual winner Josh Shapiro regularly referenced his Judaism in his campaign, even running ads about his family and faith and claiming his Judaism as the driving force of his passion for public service (Smith 2022). Shapiro, a Democrat, managed to draw in moderate Jewish voters given his religious commitment. A member of the conservative New Light Congregation stated her appreciation for the fact that Shapiro was not afraid to extend his Judaism into the public sphere (Van Etten and Smith 2023). His role as Attorney-General during the Tree of Life attack also created a strong base of support among the Squirrel Hill community, who appreciated the swift and effective response by law enforcement. His opponent, Republican Doug Mastriano, used Christian and white nationalist imagery and messaging in his campaign, against which both Shapiro and Pittsburgh Jews as a whole fought. Mastriano's ties to the platform Gab, where the alleged shooter posted his manifesto, as well as subsequent threats to Shapiro on the platform, distressed even conservative Jews about Mastriano's candidacy (Hall 2022). Thus, the candidates'

respective associations with the Jewish community of Pittsburgh and the Tree of Life shooter were central to the election, reflecting the ongoing influence of the tragedy in politics. While the evocation of the Tree of Life is certainly a political tool, the success of the tactic is a result of the Jewish community's continued investment in protecting their own interests through politics. Unless Shapiro is entirely disingenuous, which would be rather unbelievable considering his lifelong devotion to the Jewish faith, his election to the office of Governor is at least in part a manifestation of the force of Jewish identity politics following the Tree of Life shooting. He was symbolically sworn into office on three Hebrew Bibles, including the one present in the Tree of Life on the day of the attack (Van Etten and Smith 2023).

Gun Policy and Advocacy

Conversations regarding gun policy also materialized with regularity. These took the form of most arguments about this topic, with some believing that security and access to guns were the answer, while others fought for stricter control. While the prevalence of this heightened partisan sentiment is unsurprising, given previous research about community responses to gun violence, it did reveal that community members had by and large become more outspoken about the topic of guns, regardless of their stance on the issue. Squirrel Hill Stands Against Gun Violence was formed following the shooting by residents, many of whom were community leaders or members of the affected congregations, and quickly rose to prominence by campaigning for stricter gun control measures (Reinherz 2019a).

Many community members reflected this desire for legislation to minimize access to guns, celebrating after local restrictions - which included limiting assault weapon access, banning high-capacity magazines, and allowing for weapon confiscation from certain people - were put into place by the City Council a few months after the shooting (Tabachnick 2019a).

Although these restrictions were ultimately blocked by the courts, the widespread support for their passage exposed an impetus for change. While liberal community members such as those at Dor Hadash were the most vocal proponents of such policy, some conservative Jews were also in support. A leader of the local Republican Jewish Coalition noted that the shooting opened his eyes to the true extent of the damage that can be caused by assault weapons, and members of the conservative New Light Congregation also supported the legislation openly (Tabachnick 2019a). Nevertheless, some conservative community members, particularly those who had strong pre-existing opinions on guns, were either skeptical of the efficacy of such restrictions or opposed to them altogether, demonstrating that the shared identity among community residents did not overcome differences in political opinion (Rullo 2019a). Still, people on both sides of the aisle insisted that their efforts were not strictly political, but linked to their community's interests. Advocates for gun restrictions, for example, alleged that their work was a way in which to honor those who had been victimized at the Tree of Life. Civic engagement, therefore, was seen as a form of expressing one's Jewish identity in solidarity with the victims and their loved ones rather than a strictly oppositional, political action.

The conversation over gun restrictions has not dwindled in the years since the shooting. Squirrel Hill Against Gun Violence has continued to host numerous events (CBS News Pittsburgh 2019) and has since partnered with CeaseFire PA, an organization aimed at ending gun violence in the state. This partnership reveals not only that activism on gun violence to avert hate crime has been unrelenting, but that the Squirrel Hill community has been inspired to address guns as a problem in society as a whole. While the Squirrel Hill Against Gun Violence website does provide the shooting as motivation for the group's formation, the descriptions of the work it does focus primarily on gun violence prevention in general, as they partner with non-

Jewish people and communities from across the state and country. The mission of CeaseFire PA is even broader, as it not only focuses on mass shootings as a motive for pursuing restrictions but also suicide, domestic violence, racial disparities in gun victimization, youth exposure to dangerous weapons, and more (CeaseFire PA n.d.). At a local rally on the anniversary of the attack, leaders of the two affiliated groups spoke both about guns as dangerous weapons in the context of attacks on Jews as well as their role in suicide, accidental deaths, and hate towards several minority groups (Reinherz 2019a). Gun violence prevention continues to be a pressing political talking point, as 86% of Pennsylvania voters cared about candidates' stance on the topic in the 2022 election cycle, and similar numbers wanted at least some limitations on gun access (Hall 2022).

Security

Discussions about enhanced security have also taken place, as fears about antisemitism prompted the Jewish Federation of Greater Pittsburgh to bolster its security provisions even before the shooting. In 2016, they appointed Brad Orsini as the first-ever director of community security, whose job it became to monitor any hate speech directed at Jewish leaders and conduct training sessions on what to do in the event of a mass shooting (Caruso and Hughes 2019). Orsini described how the trainings, one of which was conducted at the Tree of Life just weeks prior to the shooting, helped those in the building to save lives that day. Run, hide, and fight techniques, the creation of additional exits, and the allowance of a phone for security purposes in the synagogue were among the measures implemented (Maxouris 2019). Survivors discussed their experiences in pre-recorded video messages, with Rabbi Jeffrey Meyers and several congregation members describing how having a phone accessible was critical to their survival, in addition to the training which enabled them to more quickly spring into action to protect

themselves and their fellow congregants (Kaufman 2019). Additional measures such as family reunification, mental health support, and initial interviews at the JCC had also been pre-planned, allowing for a safe and timely protocol for the emergency (Kaufman 2019).

In the wake of the shooting, security has multiplied. The federation began to assign large numbers of security staff to each event hosted in Jewish spaces and enforced a stringent ticketing policy (Boden 2019). Significant funding has been directed to security at places such as synagogues and schools, which represent potential targets of hate-induced violence: more than \$700,000 was allocated by the federation to security measures, and a \$5,000,000 bill was passed that improved security measures for houses of worship (Caruso and Hughes 2019). In addition to physical upgrades, this security has entailed hundreds of police officers and other security guards posted outside of these buildings with increased presence and frequency. This augmented concern for security has been reemphasized as attacks on Jewish places of worship have occurred across the country. After hostages were taken in a Texas synagogue, further resources were dedicated to security in Pittsburgh (CBS News Pittsburgh 2022), culminating in a 2022 agreement among lawmakers to provide \$4,500,000 in security grants, which were to be distributed among vulnerable nonprofit groups, including synagogues, in order to modernize their security measures (Micek 2022). This investment was the result of a bipartisan effort, revealing that the interest in security was present among the vast majority of the community, irrespective of their political beliefs. Pittsburgh has also been a catalyst for security actions across the country. In 2022, the Jewish Federations of North America reported the success of helping local Jewish community organizations in their attempt to build security capacity, citing a \$130,000,000 campaign as well as numerous grants directed at this goal (Kellner 2022).

Of course, security concerns necessarily entailed further discussion of the ironic presence of guns at the site of gun violence as the primary form of protection against future attacks. Despite the campaigns for stricter gun control, a large number of community members felt more comfortable with the enlarged security force, and many even expressed that they were interested in bringing their own firearms to their places of worship (Caruso and Hughes 2019). However, rabbis across the country have also expressed concerns about finding a balance between securing their places of worship and being a welcoming place for all to attend (Maxouris 2019). These divides, therefore, persist despite the common goal of protecting all Jewish people.

Implications of Patterns of Political Engagement

These examples demonstrate the persisting importance of the Tree of Life shooting in the development of civic engagement and political attitudes within Squirrel Hill's Jewish populace. Despite the visible impacts of the event on these characteristics of the community, existing differences in belief were not alleviated, even as people sweepingly cited their aspiration to prioritize community over politics. How does one reconcile these splits? While a simple conclusion might be warranted - no matter the impact of an event, people will still largely maintain their longstanding beliefs - I find this explanation to be reductive, too harshly emphasizing difference rather than acknowledging shared identity. In reflecting on my findings, I delve into the complexity of American Jewishness, not as a way of emphasizing fundamental differences, but in order to posit that these differences are merely a product of divergent perspectives on a common identity. That is, American Jews share characteristics that will continue to unite them even as Judaism in the United States strays further away from the religion's original form.

The Complexity of American Jewish Identification

Modern American Jewish identity is complex. Regular national polls on the topic reveal as much. Despite their formal categorization with respect to hate crime statistics as a religious group, 27% of the Jewish population are Jews of no religion, 52% of Jews seldom or never attend religious services, and the denominational affiliations of practitioners are varied (Pew 2021). While a higher-than-average percentage lean and vote Democrat, Orthodox Jews consist of an equally large majority of Republicans (Pew 2021). Orthodox Jews are also among the most religious groups in the United States, especially ironic when one takes into account the substantial number of American Jews who do not believe religion to be an important component of their Jewish identity (Pew 2021). Many measure their Jewish identity through ancestry or cultural practice, or through individual characteristics such as intellectual curiosity, ethics, and social justice; still, variation in ancestry, culture, and personal values, along with religious practice, make for radically different interpretations of these seemingly universal categories (Pew 2021). These contrasts in beliefs and practices manifest in vastly different private and public lives among American Jews, entailing that members of dissimilar subgroups often do not interact in any meaningful ways related to their identity. Members of each branch frequently assert that they have a lot in common with other members of their own denomination and very little, or nothing, in common with those of other branches, despite nominally sharing a religion (Pew 2021).

However, as shown by the response to the Tree of Life shooting, these differences were tempered somewhat by shared experience and community. In seeking out an explanation for the reaction of the Squirrel Hill community to victimization, I consulted additional sources, including behavioral studies, polls, and histories of American Jews, which have sought to

conceptualize the nature of American Jewish identity in order to ascertain which elements seemed to become manifest following the shooting.

Historical Perspectives on the Nature of American Judaism

Bethamie Horowitz (2002) provides an overview of the typical study of contemporary American Jewishness and proposes an alternative manner of approaching questions on the topic. The two most prominent types of research questions about American Jews have in the past centered largely around their “sociological distinctiveness” from other ethnic and religious groups and analysis of “the declining level of Jewish practice” (Horowitz 2002, 14). These approaches are still common, as evidenced by scientific studies which seek to identify the degree of ethnic identification among American Jews and the regular polls by organizations such as Pew Research Center, Gallup, and the American Jewish Committee, which generally feature an understanding of identity through measurement in these two areas, even if they are limited to changes over short periods.

These approaches have, more importantly, been taken up regularly in academic literature. The sociological distinctiveness approach is a staple of research on immigration, which tends to emphasize comparisons of ethnicity among white, European groups who began to migrate en masse to America in the late 19th and early 20th century. While varied in its methods and findings, this line of inquiry concludes that American Jews are somewhat distinct from other groups in that they have managed to preserve certain patterns, institutions, and values over time (Alba 1990; Horowitz 2002; Lipset & Raab 1995). While early sociological studies of migration assumed there to be positive, straight-line assimilation for all migrant groups (Park and Burgess 1921; Warner and Srole 1945), this theory has gradually been developed to better account for the actualities of the immigrant experience in the United States.

This line of inquiry finds a natural foil in the second approach, through which many scholars have emphasized the progressively declining level of Jewish practice as a result of assimilation. These findings hinge on the contention that European Jews began as the most ‘Jewish’ people, and any amount of Americanization through processes such as acculturation or secularization weaken Jewish identity (Horowitz 1998). Accordingly, the approach emphasizes particular religious and communal aspects of Judaism, while devaluing other activities which might be connected to a broader sense of Jewish identity, such as volunteerism or activism.

Despite their fundamentally different outcomes, both of these approaches seek to answer the question of how Jewish contemporary American Jews are, relying on a similar normative account of Jewish identity. Rather than maintaining this notion, I prefer Horowitz’s (2002) alternative approach, which asks, in what ways are contemporary American Jews Jewish? Answering this question necessitates a move away from a rigid, conventional understanding of Jewish identity. Kelman (1999) provides an alternative framework for understanding levels of Jewish identification: “vicarious” identity, resulting from a feeling of obligation, “conferred” identity, stemming from community or group identification, and “authentic” identity, emerging as a consequence of the internalization of Jewish values over time. Within these categories, there is an expansion of the definition of Jewishness to allow for the inclusion of all distinctively meaningful elements of Jewish identification rather than viewing it as a static, normative set of criteria to which people must adhere in order to be perceived as truly Jewish.

The Manifestation of American Jewishness After the Tree of Life

In the case of the Tree of Life, this model helps to make sense of how scholars and Jewish people alike can reconcile the changing boundaries of Jewish self-identification. While those who currently live in Squirrel Hill do not identify in the same ways as did Squirrel Hill

residents a century ago, they are not any less Jewish than their ancestors. Allowing the capacity for development, moreover, helps to explain why community members might have consolidated elements of their Jewishness following the Tree of Life shooting. Horowitz conceptualizes this process as ‘journey,’ through which “a person’s Jewishness can wax, wane, and change in emphasis. It is very responsive to social relationships, historical experiences, and personal events” (Horowitz 2002, 27). The Tree of Life shooting, therefore, is a formative event in the journeys of those who experienced it both directly and indirectly, giving way to new measures of self-identification. Using Kelman’s three degrees of identification and relating them to my findings about Squirrel Hill, many community members would have experienced an intensified “conferred” Jewish identity, to which they have testified in the years following the shooting: community has been at the center of their reinforced Judaism Moreover, many described internalization of certain Jewish values which can be included within an expanded definition of Jewishness, such as activism and volunteerism, among others. While more traditional members of the community remained steadfast in their ingrained beliefs, these too reflect equally justifiable “authentic” Jewish identities. Such a conception of Jewishness may transform Jewish dogma somewhat, but it does not seek to abandon old-fashioned convictions.

Jewish Values

Moreover, some of the expanded values that became manifest following the Tree of Life shooting are invoked regularly among American Jews as essential to their identification and have been present in some capacity throughout the Jewish tradition. For example, Jewish concepts of Tikkun Olam and Tzedakah - Hebrew phrases which roughly translate as ‘to mend the world’ and ‘to make the world a more just place’ - were commonly mentioned among Squirrel Hill residents as motivating their engagement. Dor Hadash, for instance, is a congregation already

dedicated to Tikkun Olam. Thus, while characterizing things like volunteerism and political activism as inherently Jewish may not appeal to some who maintain conventional persuasions, these activists reflect beliefs that have been traditional within the Jewish community. Both conservative and progressive Jews have used these terms over time, and Tikkun Olam especially has become a fundamental feature of being Jewish in the modern-day United States (Krasner, 2013). Commitments to creating intersectionality among minority groups and supporting refugees are some of the ways in which this conviction has been established in practice; the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS) is perhaps the most visible example of the long-term commitment to repairing the world, using Jewish ethics as a guide to support refugees and provide other social justice services for more than a century. In recent years, it has been progressive, secular groups who operationalized the term in their activism (Krasner 2013). In the case of Squirrel Hill, this progressive movement gained strength after the shooting, with many young, unaffiliated Jews becoming invested in their identity and community. While there are objections citing the secular nature of these activities, it is clear from the statements of community members and national polls that the values associated with Jewishness have shifted for many. This pervasive sentiment was evident in a recent documentary including many survivors, leaders, and citizens, which was fittingly entitled “Repairing the World: Stories from the Tree of Life.” Connecting Jewish principles with American ones is a means of keeping tradition alive while embracing those who choose to explore and express their Judaism in new ways.

Antisemitism and Resilience

Fear of antisemitism, moreover, connects the American Jewish community. Psychiatric research supports anecdotal evidence, as very strong and intermediate antisemitism induced

stronger Jewish bonding without decreases in Jewish identification, whereas mild antisemitism curtailed Jewish identity (Freeman 2020). Therefore, although assimilation has occurred, the targeting of Jewish people continues to give meaning to Jewish resistance. The rising prevalence of antisemitism contradicts accounts from the turn of the century which claimed that external threats to American Judaism were diminishing, and thus that rapid assimilation was causing Jewish identity to fade (Dershowitz 2000). Ironically, therefore, the revival of antisemitism in the United States might strengthen Jewish identity, especially if Jewishness is allowed to take on a myriad of forms.

Themes of resilience and survival resonate throughout the Jewish tradition, especially as Jews have dealt with persecution throughout their existence. In the modern context, the Holocaust is the predominant example of the resilience of Jews, and the post-Holocaust period saw the development of a Jewish predisposition to heal in community and through Jewish values. Survival of the Holocaust has even been viewed in and of itself as a form of Tikkun (Krasner, 2013). In Squirrel Hill, pride in Jewish identity was linked closely both to strength in the face of an attack and community togetherness in healing.

Reflections: Implications and Limitations

These reflections beget a few implications for the project. The first is whether or not trends in Squirrel Hill are indicative of what would happen following attacks on Jewish people in other places. The consolidation of identity was likely compounded by the nature of Squirrel Hill's Jewish community, as higher quantities of social contact create a stronger perception of Jewish identity (Amyot and Sigelman 1996). Thus, communities which have a reduced concentration of Jewish residents and institutions might be less likely to display discernible shifts in community and civic engagement, since the opportunities for solidarity and support are

lessened. The diversity of American Jews also makes it difficult to arrive at universal conclusions about the group as a whole. In this study, Squirrel Hill's strong leaning towards liberalism allows for more accurate assessments of the whole community, but Pittsburgh's Jewish community still contains all denominations, political affiliations, and nuanced Jewish identities. Therefore, predictions about the repercussions of antisemitic hate crimes with respect to Jewish cultural and civic engagement cannot be confidently made. Nevertheless, I would expect parallel patterns to emerge in communities with significant numbers of Jewish residents as well as concerning individual action; for instance, antisemitic attacks might prompt the seeking out of opportunities where there weren't many previously. Further research into other instances of Jewish reactive identity is much-needed, especially as antisemitism continues to pose a threat to the safety of Jewish people in the United States. Given the link between political rhetoric and hate-fueled violence, a greater focus on affected communities is essential, and more studies on reactive identity (or ethnicity) can offer potential models and partners for future advocacy. In the United States context, the communities in Texas and California which were similarly targeted are potential case studies, and there is no shortage of victims of antisemitism who can provide insight into the responses of their family, friends, community, and themselves to their victimization.

Additional Implications

The project also suggests that Jewish principles and community can be a source of healing. In a set of interviews with members of Pittsburgh's Jewish community, Vogel-Sciliba (2020) found that respondents centered their healing process around resilience acquired through personal identity, family and community values, social integration, and altruism. These responses align with the actions taken by community members following the shooting, indicating

that community and civic engagement can have a positive correlation with healing. Other research reveals that ethnic identity can be used effectively as part of mitigating the effects of discrimination on mental health (Iturbide, Raffaelli, and Carlo 2009). Thus, there is a link between embracing one's Jewishness and dealing with forms of targeted hate, a relationship that merits further analysis.

Of course, these conclusions naturally bring about the unsavory implication that antisemitic events contribute to strengthening Jewish self-identification. Reconciling with this correlation requires examination, as it seems that one of the important factors impeding even greater Jewish assimilation is prejudice from outsiders. Redefining the bounds of Jewishness and developing other approaches to including people in Jewish life are necessary to maintain Judaism in the United States.

Limitations

This study also has methodological and theoretical limitations. While mixed methods provide a multifaceted view of Pittsburgh's Jewish community, the limited quantitative data collected after the Tree of Life shooting restricts the usefulness of the Cohen Center's collected data in interpreting whether the shifts in cultural and civic engagement among the community were statistically significant relative to their previous levels. The qualitative data used often relies upon people's own assessment of the source of their own changing motivations. Regardless, the study still presents valuable insights. The available quantitative data demonstrate increased engagement in several cultural areas, while identity is necessarily a subjective trait. Moreover, one could confidently say that a violent, fatal attack is a strong, reasonable motivation for those affected to engage more closely with their culture and advocate for changes related to issues affecting their community. While rising perceptions of antisemitism (AJC 2019; AJC

2020; Cohen 2010) could be posited as the source of these shifts, the mobilization in Pittsburgh signals considerable growth not only from previous levels in the city but also relative to national trends, overall and within specific subgroups such as young adults.

Conclusion

In the case of Squirrel Hill, victimization by a fatal hate crime did trigger positive shifts when evaluating several measures of community and civic engagement. These effects have not entirely diminished after several years, and youth, who are gradually becoming less Jewish, were among the most prominent groups to increase their engagement. Despite differences in the forms that the response took among community members with varying degrees of religiosity and political affiliations, especially concerning issues such as gun control, there was a seemingly ubiquitous sense that people were motivated to engage in American public life as Jews. Moreover, community members universally referenced the importance of maintaining the strength of the Jewish community through their engagement, regardless of the forms it took for each individual. Adopting more expansive definitions of Jewishness facilitates this progressive, multifaceted understanding of Jewish identity, which allows for a wider range of expression and will be necessary in order to preserve Jewish culture in the face of the simultaneous forces of assimilation and persecution. Future study is necessary to understand not only the ways that Jewish communities respond to victimization but also ways in which to promote greater engagement in American Judaism through the implementation of new perspectives and practices.

Finally, this project is an attempt to recognize the resilience of Squirrel Hill and the Jewish people as a whole, as well as honor those who perished. In the face of extraordinary fear, trauma, and sadness, those directly and indirectly affected by the shooting managed to celebrate

the legacy of the family, friends, and neighbors who lost their lives on October 27th through their unmistakable pride in their Jewish identity and community. In this way, Squirrel Hill continues to honor the 11 victims: Joyce Fienberg, Richard Gottfried, Rose Mallinger, Jerry Rabinowitz, Cecil Rosenthal, David Rosenthal, Bernice Simon, Sylvan Simon, Daniel Stein, Melvin Wax, and Irving Younger.

Bibliography

- 10.27 Healing Partnership. 2023. "Commemorative Volunteering and Service Opportunities." <https://1027healingpartnership.org/service/>
- "ADL Audit Finds Antisemitic Incidents in United States Reached All-Time High in 2021." Anti-Defamation League, April 25, 2022. <https://www.adl.org/resources/press-release/adl-audit-finds-antisemitic-incidents-united-states-reached-all-time-high>
- "ADL: Newly Released FBI Data Reflects Concerning Record-High Numbers of Reported Hate Crime Incidents in America in 2021." Anti-Defamation League, March 13, 2023. <https://www.adl.org/resources/press-release/adl-newly-released-fbi-data-reflects-concerning-record-high-numbers>
- "AJC Survey of American Jews on Antisemitism in America." American Jewish Center, 2019. <https://www.ajc.org/AntisemitismSurvey2019>
- Alba, Richard D. 1990. *Ethnic Identity: The Transformation of White America*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- American Jewish Population Project. 2016a. "Jewish Population Estimates 2015: Metro Areas by Party Identification." *Cohen Center for Modern Jewish Studies and Steinhardt Social Research Institute*. https://ajpp.brandeis.edu/file_viewer/2015_MetroPartyID.pdf
- American Jewish Population Project. 2016b. "Jewish Population Estimates 2015: Metro Areas by Political Views." *Cohen Center for Modern Jewish Studies and Steinhardt Social Research Institute*. https://ajpp.brandeis.edu/file_viewer/2015_MetroPolVw.pdf
- American Jewish Population Project. 2019a. "Political Party Identification: Jewish Adults by Metro Area, 2019." *Cohen Center for Modern Jewish Studies and Steinhardt Social Research Institute*. https://ajpp.brandeis.edu/file_viewer/2019_MetroAreabyPartyID.pdf
- American Jewish Population Project. 2019b. "Political Views: Jewish Adults by Metro Area, 2019." *Cohen Center for Modern Jewish Studies and Steinhardt Social Research Institute*. https://ajpp.brandeis.edu/file_viewer/2019_MetroAreabyPolVw.pdf
- American Jewish Population Project. 2021a. "Jewish Population Estimates 2020: Top 40 Metro Areas by Political View." *Cohen Center for Modern Jewish Studies and Steinhardt Social Research Institute*. https://ajpp.brandeis.edu/file_viewer/MetrobyPolVw2020.pdf
- American Jewish Population Project. 2021b. "Jewish Population Estimates 2020: Top 40 Metro Areas by Political Party." *Cohen Center for Modern Jewish Studies and Steinhardt Social Research Institute*. https://ajpp.brandeis.edu/file_viewer/MetrobyPartyID2020.pdf
- Amyot, Robert P. and Lee Sigelman. 1996. "Jews without Judaism? Assimilation and Jewish Identity in the United States." *Social Science Quarterly* 77, no. 1: 177-189. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/42863438>

- Barnes, Arnold and Paul H. Ephross. 1994. "The Impact of Hate Violence on Victims: Emotional and Behavioral Responses to Attacks." *Social Work* 39, no. 3: 247-251.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/sw/39.3.247>
- Beauchamp, Zack. 2019. "How the Pittsburgh shooting changed American Jews." *Vox*, October 25, 2019. <https://www.vox.com/the-highlight/2019/10/18/20899208/tree-of-life-anniversary-pittsburgh-shooting-american-jews>
- Boden, Sarah. 2019. "Security at Pittsburgh area synagogues expected to be strict this year." *WHYY News*, September 30, 2019.
<https://whyy.org/articles/security-at-pittsburgh-area-synagogues-expected-to-be-strict-this-year/>
- Boxer, Matthew, Matthew Brookner, Janet Krasner Aronson, and Leonard Saxe. 2018. "The 2017 Greater Pittsburgh Jewish Community Study." Cohen Center for Modern Jewish Studies and Steinhardt Social Research Institute.
<https://jfedpgh.org/file/scorecard/pittsburghjewishcommstudy021918.2.pdf>
- Burstin, Barbara. 2017. "Squirrel Hill's Jewish History." In *Squirrel Hill | A Neighborhood History*, edited by Helen Wilson, 68-78. Charleston: The History Press.
- Caruso, Stephen and Sarah A. Hughes. 2019. "'We can't ignore signs of hate': One year later, Pittsburgh still healing from Tree of Life shooting." *Pennsylvania Capital-Star*, October 27, 2019. <https://www.penncapital-star.com/government-politics/we-cant-ignore-signs-of-hate-one-year-later-pittsburgh-still-healing-from-tree-of-life-shooting/>
- CeaseFire PA. n.d. "Issues." Accessed April 1, 2023. <https://www.ceasefirepa.org/issues/>
- Cohen, Haley. 2022. "US midterm exit poll: Increased number of Jews vote for Republican Party." *The Jerusalem Post*, November 10, 2022. <https://www.jpost.com/american-politics/article-721990>
- Cohen, Jeffrey E. 2010. "Perceptions of Anti-Semitism among American Jews, 2000-05, A Survey Analysis." *Political Psychology* 31, no. 1: 85-107. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9221.2009.00746.x>
- "Crime in the United States." Federal Bureau of Investigation, date. <https://www.fbi.gov/how-we-can-help-you/need-an-fbi-service-or-more-information/ucr/publications#Hate-Crime%20Statistics>
- Dershowitz, Alan M. 2000. *The Vanishing American Jew: In Search of Jewish Identity for the Next Century*. New York: Little, Brown and Company.
- Dugan, Laura and Erica Chenoweth. 2020. "Threat, emboldenment, or both? The Effects of Political Power on Violent Hate Crimes." *Criminology* 58, no. 4: 714-746.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/1745-9125.12259>

- Edwards, Griffin S. and Stephen Rushin. 2018. "The Effect of President Trump's Election on Hate Crimes." *Social Science Research Network*. <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3102652>
- Fine, Lawrence. 2018. "The Pittsburgh Attack Inspired Calls for *Tikkun Olam*. What to Know About the Evolution of an Influential Jewish Idea." *Time*, November 1, 2018. <https://time.com/5441818/pittsburgh-tikkun-olam-history/>
- Fisher, Daren G., Laura Dugan, and Erica Chenoweth. 2018. "Does US presidential rhetoric affect asymmetric political violence?" *Critical Studies on Terrorism* 12, no. 1: 132-150. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17539153.2018.1494120>
- Fouka, Vasiliki. 2020. "Backlash: The Unintended Effects of Language Prohibition in U.S. Schools after World War I." *Review of Economic Studies* 87: 204-239. doi:10.1093/restud/rdz024
- Freeman, Stanley J. J. 2020. "A Social Psychiatrist Looks at Antisemitism and Jewish Identity." In *Anti-Semitism and Psychiatry*, edited by H. Steven Moffic, John R. Peteet, Ahmed Hankir, and Mary V. Seeman, 75-82. Cham: Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-37745-8_6
- Friedlander, Myrna L., Michelle L. Friedman, Matthew J. Miller, Michael V. Ellis, Lee K. Friedlander, and Vadim G. Mikhaylov. 2010. "Introducing a brief measure of cultural and religious identification in American Jewish identity." *Journal of Counseling Psychology* 57, no. 3: 345-360. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0019577>
- Gratzinger, Ollie. 2022. "See The New Design Plans For Tree of Life in Pittsburgh." *Pittsburgh Magazine*, May 3, 2022. <https://www.pittsburghmagazine.com/see-the-new-design-plans-for-tree-of-life-in-pittsburgh/>
- Green, Emma. 2019. "The Fight to Make Meaning Out of a Massacre." *The Atlantic*, September 29, 2019. <https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2019/09/pittsburgh-politics-violence-gun-reform/598885/>
- Haag, Matthew. 2018. "Muslim Groups Raise Thousands for Pittsburgh Synagogue Shooting Victims." *The New York Times*, October 29, 2018. <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/29/us/muslims-raise-money-pittsburgh-synagogue.html>
- Hagan, Jacqueline M., Nestor Rodriguez, and Brianna Castro. 2011. "Social effects of mass deportations by the United States government 2000–10." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 34, no. 8: 1374-1391. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2011.575233>
- Hagen, Lisa. 2022. "Antisemitism is on the rise, and it's not just about Ye." *NPR*, December 1, 2022. <https://www.npr.org/2022/11/30/1139971241/anti-semitism-is-on-the-rise-and-not-just-among-high-profile-figures>
- Hall, Peter. 2022. "Ads target Mastriano for using social media site where Tree of Life shooter posted manifesto." *Pennsylvania Capital-Star*, October 13, 2022.

- <https://www.penncapital-star.com/campaigns-elections/ads-target-mastriano-for-using-social-media-site-where-tree-of-life-shooter-posted-manifesto/>
- Horowitz, Bethamie. 1998. "Connections and Journeys: Shifting Identities Among American Jews." *Contemporary Jewry* 19, no. 1: 63-94. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23455338>
- Horowitz, Bethamie. 2002. "Reframing the Study of Contemporary American Jewish Identity." *Contemporary Jewry* 23, no. 1: 14-34. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23455293>
- "Hundreds Gather In Squirrel Hill To Call For Gun Control Reform." *CBS News Pittsburgh*, August 8, 2019. <https://www.cbsnews.com/pittsburgh/news/gun-control-rally-squirrel-hill/>
- Iganski, Paul S. and Spiridoula Lagou. 2016. "The psychological impact of hate crimes on victims: an exploratory analysis of data from the U.S. National Crime Victimization Survey." <https://psycnet.apa.org/record/2017-02795-012>
- Iturbide, Maria I., Marcela Raffaelli, and Gustavo Carlo. 2009. "Protective Effects of Ethnic Identity on Mexican American College Students' Psychological Well-Being." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 31, no. 4: 536-552. doi:10.1177/0739986309345992
- "JCC Annual Report 2018." Jewish Community Center of Greater Pittsburgh, August 28, 2018. <https://jccpgh.org/app/uploads/2018/09/annual-report-2018.pdf>
- "JCC Annual Report 2018-19." Jewish Community Center of Greater Pittsburgh, August 2019. <https://jccpgh.org/app/uploads/2019/09/JCC-Annual-Report-2019-digital.pdf>
- "Jewish Americans in 2020." Pew Research Center, May 11, 2021. <https://www.pewresearch.org/religion/2021/05/11/jewish-americans-in-2020/>
- "Jewish Community Center of Greater Pittsburgh Annual Report 2021-2022." Jewish Community Center of Greater Pittsburgh, 2022. <https://jccpgh.org/app/uploads/2022/09/JCC-Annual-Report-2022.pdf>
- "Jewish Federation of Greater Pittsburgh Adding Extra Security After Texas Synagogue Hostage Situation." *CBS News Pittsburgh*, January 18, 2022. <https://www.cbsnews.com/pittsburgh/news/pittsburgh-security-texas-synagogue-hostage-situation/>
- Jose, Rupa, Alison E. Holman, and Roxane C. Silver. 2021. "How Americans feel about guns after mass shootings: The case of the 2016 Orlando nightclub massacre." *Psychology of Violence* 11, no. 4: 354-363. <https://doi.org/10.1037/vio0000346>
- Kaufman, Jane. 2019. "Pittsburgh security rep, survivors of synagogue shooting share safety tips, experience." *Cleveland Jewish News*, November 7, 2019. https://www.clevelandjewishnews.com/news/local_news/pittsburgh-security-rep-

survivors-of-synagogue-shooting-share-safety-tips-experience/article_6a381114-017d-11ea-9b74-5304b9911b91.html

Kellner, Mark A. 2022. "U.S. Jewish leader says security improved four years after Pittsburgh synagogue attack." *The Washington Times*, October 26, 2022. <https://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2022/oct/26/us-jewish-leader-says-security-improved-four-years/>

Kelman, Herbert C. 1999. "The Place of Ethnic Identity in the Development of Personal Identity: A Challenge for the Jewish Family." In *Studies in Contemporary Jewry*, edited by Peter Y. Medding. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195128208.003.0001>

Krasner, Jonathan. 2013. "The Place of Tikkun Olam in American Jewish Life." *Jewish Political Studies Review* 25, no. 3/4: 59-98. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43150879>

Kunzman, Gabi. 2021. "Embracing each other's differences." *Pittsburgh Jewish Chronicle*, October 14, 2021. <https://jewishchronicle.timesofisrael.com/embracing-each-others-differences/>

Lipset, Seymour M. and Earl Raab. 1995. *Jews and the New American Scene*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Magid, Jacob. 2020. "2 years after shooting, Pittsburgh Jews choose community unity over politics." *Pittsburgh Jewish Chronicle*, November 3, 2020. <https://jewishchronicle.timesofisrael.com/2-years-after-shooting-pittsburgh-jews-choose-community-unity-over-politics/>

Maxouris, Christina. 2019. "Fortified synagogues and security guards 'everybody knows.' How life changed a year after the Tree of Life massacre." *CNN*, October 27, 2019. <https://www.cnn.com/2019/10/27/us/synagogue-security-pittsburgh-shooting-a-year-later/index.html>

McCausland, Phil. 2018. "Squirrel Hill residents look to election to combat hateful political rhetoric." *NBC News*, October 29, 2018. <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/squirrel-hill-residents-look-election-combat-hateful-political-rhetoric-n925461>

McGreal, Chris. 2022. "Pittsburgh Jews decry pro-Israel group's support for Republican extremists." *The Guardian*, November 3, 2022. <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2022/nov/03/pittsburgh-jews-denounce-aipac-republican-extremists-pro-israel-lobby>

Micek, John L. 2022. "Lawmakers, Jewish leaders announce \$4.5M in security grants; call for permanent funding." *Pennsylvania Capital-Star*, January 27, 2022. <https://www.penncapital-star.com/blog/lawmakers-jewish-leaders-announce-4-5m-in-security-grants-call-for-permanent-funding/>

- “More Than \$5.4M From Tree Of Life Donations To Go Victims’ Families, Survivors, Congregations And First Responders.” *CBS News Pittsburgh*, March 9, 2020. <https://www.cbsnews.com/pittsburgh/news/tree-of-life-donations-distributed/>
- Newman, Benjamin J. and Todd K. Hartman. 2019. “Mass Shootings and Public Support for Gun Control.” *British Journal of Political Science* 49(4): 1527-1553. doi:10.1017/S0007123417000333
- Newport, Frank. 2015. “About Three in 10 American Jews Identify as Republicans.” *Gallup*, January 6, 2015. <https://news.gallup.com/poll/180422/three-american-jews-identify-republicans.aspx>
- Newport, Frank. 2019. “American Jews, Politics and Israel.” *Gallup*, August 27, 2019. <https://news.gallup.com/opinion/polling-matters/265898/american-jews-politics-israel.aspx>
- Nuebel, Kaitlyn. 2021. “How Pittsburgh is Honoring the Victims From the Tree of Life Shooting.” *Pittsburgh Magazine*, October 19, 2021. <https://www.pittsburghmagazine.com/how-pittsburgh-is-honoring-the-victims-from-the-tree-of-life-shooting/>
- Oppenheimer, Mark. 2021. *Squirrel Hill | The Tree of Life Synagogue Shooting and the Soul of a Neighborhood*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Orbach, Ben. 2019. “Don’t offer thoughts and prayers; tell us you will vote.” *CNN*, May 31, 2019. <https://www.cnn.com/2018/10/29/opinions/pittsburgh-synagogue-shooting-opinion-orbach/index.html>
- Park, Robert E. and Ernest W. Burgess. 1921. *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Paterson, Jenny L., Rupert Brown, and Mark A Walters. 2018. “The Short and Longer Term Effects of Hate Crimes Experienced Directly, Indirectly, and Through the Media.” *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 45, no. 7: 994-1010. doi:10.1177/0146167218802835
- Pesner, Jonah D. 2022. “Muslim, Jewish and Christian Solidarity after the Tree of Life Massacre.” Religious Action Center of Reform Judaism, October 27, 2022. <https://rac.org/blog/muslim-jewish-and-christian-solidarity-after-tree-life-massacre>
- Philpott-Jones, Sean. 2018. “Mass Shootings, Mental Illness, and Gun Control.” *Hastings Center Report* 48, no. 2: 7-9. <https://doi.org/10.1002/hast.832>

- Reinherz, Adam. 2019a. "Local groups mark year of legislative inaction." *Pittsburgh Jewish Chronicle*, October 31, 2019. <https://jewishchronicle.timesofisrael.com/local-groups-mark-year-of-legislative-inaction/>
- Reinherz, Adam. 2019b. "Public memorial strikes tone of remembering and repairing together." *Pittsburgh Jewish Chronicle*, October 31, 2019. <https://jewishchronicle.timesofisrael.com/public-memorial-strikes-tone-of-remembering-and-repairing-together/>
- Reinherz, Adam. 2019c. "Shabbat together caps campus days of kindness" *Pittsburgh Jewish Chronicle*, November 22, 2019. <https://jewishchronicle.timesofisrael.com/shabbat-together-caps-campus-days-of-kindness/>
- Reinherz, Adam. 2020. "Studying community: Youth groups are rich source for Jewish engagement." *Pittsburgh Jewish Chronicle*, August 3, 2020. <https://jewishchronicle.timesofisrael.com/studying-community-youth-groups-serve-as-fount-for-jewish-engagement/>
- Reinherz, Adam. 2022a. "Repair the World volunteers find meaning in helping others." *Pittsburgh Jewish Chronicle*, November 20, 2022. <https://jewishchronicle.timesofisrael.com/repair-the-world-volunteers-find-meaning-in-helping-others/>
- Reinherz, Adam. 2022b. "Service, commemoration and study planned in memory of lives lost on Oct. 27, 2018." *Pittsburgh Jewish Chronicle*, October 13, 2022. <https://jewishchronicle.timesofisrael.com/service-commemoration-and-study-planned-in-memory-of-lives-lost-on-oct-27-2018/>
- Repair the World. 2022. "About Us." Accessed April 1, 2023. <https://werrepair.org/about/>
- Robertson, Campbell, Christopher Mele, and Sabrina Tavernise. 2018. "11 Killed in Synagogue Massacre; Suspect Charged With 29 Counts." *The New York Times*, October 27, 2018. <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/27/us/active-shooter-pittsburgh-synagogue-shooting.html>
- Robertson, Campbell. 2019. "Memorializing Tragedy at a Pittsburgh Synagogue Through Faith, History and Good Works." *The New York Times*, October 26, 2019. <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/26/us/Synagogue-shooting-pittsburgh-memorials.html>
- Rogowski, Jon C. and Patrick D. Tucker. 2019. "Critical Events and Attitude Change: Support for Gun Control After Mass Shootings." *Political Science Research and Methods* 7, no. 4: 903-911. doi:10.1017/psrm.2018.21
- Rosen, Jack. 2018. "How Pittsburgh shaped the midterm elections." *Washington Examiner*, November 14, 2018. <https://www.washingtonexaminer.com/opinion/op-eds/how-pittsburgh-shaped-the-midterm-elections>

- Rullo, David. 2019a. "Pittsburgh Jews react to judge striking down gun laws passed by City Council." *Pittsburgh Jewish Chronicle*, November 6, 2019. <https://jewishchronicle.timesofisrael.com/pittsburgh-jews-react-to-judge-striking-down-gun-laws-passed-by-city-council/>
- Rullo, David. 2019b. "Resiliency center to open at Squirrel Hill JCC." *Pittsburgh Jewish Chronicle*, August 21, 2019. <https://jewishchronicle.timesofisrael.com/resiliency-center-to-open-at-squirrel-hill-jcc/>
- Rullo, David. 2021. "Membership and revenue down for some Pittsburgh congregations." *Pittsburgh Jewish Chronicle*, March 9, 2021. <https://jewishchronicle.timesofisrael.com/membership-and-revenue-down-for-some-pittsburgh-congregations/>
- Rullo, David. 2022. "Membership is growing at Dor Hadash, bucking national trend." *Pittsburgh Jewish Chronicle*, February 21, 2022. <https://jewishchronicle.timesofisrael.com/membership-is-growing-at-dor-hadash-bucking-national-trend/>
- San Roman, L., David K. Mosher, Joshua N. Hook, Laura E. Captari, Jamie D. Aten, Edwards B. Davis, Daryl R. Van Tongeren, Don E. Davis, Hugh Heinrichsen, and Clark D. Campbell. 2019. "Religious support buffers the indirect negative psychological effects of mass shooting in church-affiliated individuals." *Psychological Trauma: Theory, Research, Practice, and Policy* 11, no. 6: 571-577. <https://doi.org/10.1037/tra0000448>
- Schildkraut, Jaelyn, Evelyn S. Sokolowski, and John Nicoletti. 2020. "The Survivor Network: The Role of Shared Experiences in Mass Shootings Recovery." *Victims & Offenders* 16, no. 1: 20-49. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15564886.2020.1764426>
- Sharkey, Patrick and Yinzhi Shen. 2021. "The effect of mass shootings on daily emotions is limited by time, geographic proximity, and political affiliation." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 118, no. 23. <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.2100846118>
- Shultz, James M., Siri Thoresen, Brian W. Flynn, Glenn W. Muschert, Jon A. Shaw, Zelde Espinel, Frank G. Walter, et al. 2014. "Multiple Vantage Points on the Mental Health Effects of Mass Shootings." *Current Psychiatry Reports* 16, no. 469. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11920-014-0469-5>
- Smith, Peter. 2022. "In Pa. governor's race, faith surfaces in contrasting ways." *AP News*, October 27, 2022. <https://apnews.com/article/abortion-pennsylvania-dc54eb97f65116e52ce1022947e14cd5>
- Squirrel Hill Stands Against Gun Violence. 2019. "About Us." <https://www.squirrelhillstandsagainstgunviolence.org/about>

- Staitman, Mark N. 2015. “Let’s have ‘the talk’: As synagogue resources dwindle, the time has come for transformative change.” *Pittsburgh Jewish Chronicle*, June 11, 2015. <https://jewishchronicle.timesofisrael.com/lets-have-the-talk-as-synagogue-resources-dwindle-the-time-has-come-for-transformative-change/>
- Stanglin, Doug. 2018. “‘We’ll all struggle together for answers’: One week after synagogue shooting, Pittsburgh tries to heal.” *USA Today*, November 3, 2018. <https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/2018/11/03/pittsburgh-synagogue-shooting-shabat-service-vigils-tree-life/1871835002/>
- “The State of Antisemitism in America 2020: AJC’s Survey of American Jews.” American Jewish Center, 2020. <https://www.ajc.org/AntisemitismReport2020/Survey-of-American-Jews>
- Tabachnick, Toby and Adam Reinherz. 2018. “Lives of Tree of Life victims celebrated during week of funerals.” *Pittsburgh Jewish Chronicle*, November 9, 2018. <https://jewishchronicle.timesofisrael.com/lives-of-tree-of-life-victims-celebrated-during-week-of-funerals/>
- Tabachnick, Toby. 2019a. “Local gun restrictions widely praised in Jewish Pittsburgh.” *Pittsburgh Jewish Chronicle*, April 11, 2019. <https://jewishchronicle.timesofisrael.com/local-gun-restrictions-widely-praised-in-jewish-pittsburgh/>
- Tabachnick, Toby. 2019b. “Millennials harvesting ideas to grow Tree of Life.” *Pittsburgh Jewish Chronicle*, July 2, 2019. <https://jewishchronicle.timesofisrael.com/millennials-harvesting-ideas-to-grow-tree-of-life/>
- Tabachnick, Toby. 2019c. “Tree of Life: On the road to rebuilding.” *Pittsburgh Jewish Chronicle*, August 7, 2019. <https://jewishchronicle.timesofisrael.com/tree-of-life-on-the-road-to-rebuilding/>
- Tabachnick, Toby. 2022. “Chronicle poll results: Number of synagogues in Pittsburgh.” *Pittsburgh Jewish Chronicle*, August 10, 2022. <https://jewishchronicle.timesofisrael.com/chronicle-poll-results-number-of-synagogues-in-pittsburgh/>
- “Updated 2021 Hate Crimes Statistics.” Department of Justice, March 2023. <https://www.justice.gov/crs/highlights/2021-hate-crime-statistics>
- Van Etten, Avery and Peter Smith. 2023. “Gov.-elect Shapiro to take oath on Bible from Tree of Life synagogue.” *ABC27 News*, January 13, 2023. <https://www.abc27.com/pennsylvania-governor-election-2022/gov-elect-shapiro-to-take-oath-on-bible-from-tree-of-life-synagogue/>

- Vogel-Scibilia, Suzanne. 2020. "Community Resilience and the Pittsburgh Synagogue Shooting." In *Anti-Semitism and Psychiatry*, edited by H. Steven Moffic, John R. Peteet, Ahmed Hankir, and Mary V. Seeman, 223-241. Cham: Springer.
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-37745-8_18
- Warner, W. Lloyd and Leo Srole. 1945. *The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Weisskirch, Robert S, Su Y. Kim, Seth J. Schwartz, and Susan K Whitbourne. 2016. "The Complexity of Ethnic Identity Among Jewish American Emerging Adults." *Identity* 16, no. 3: 127-141. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15283488.2016.1190724>
- Wilson, Helen. 2017a. "The Development of Squirrel Hill." In *Squirrel Hill | A Neighborhood History*, edited by Helen Wilson, 27-36. Charleston: The History Press.
- Wilson, Helen. 2017b. "The Mural in the Post Office." In *Squirrel Hill | A Neighborhood History*, edited by Helen Wilson, 37-40. Charleston: The History Press.
- Wilson, Helen. 2017c. "Squirrel Hill Today." In *Squirrel Hill | A Neighborhood History*, edited by Helen Wilson, 15-21. Charleston: The History Press.
- Wolfson, Charlie. 2022. "Voter turnout surged in most of Allegheny County, but sagged where it was already weak." *PublicSource*, November 15, 2022.
<https://www.publicsource.org/pittsburgh-voter-turnout-midterm-election-2022-fetterman-oz-allegheny-county/>
- Yousaf, Hasin. 2021. "Sticking to One's Guns: Mass Shootings and the Political Economy of Gun Control in the United States." *Journal of the European Economic Association* 19(5): 2765-2802. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jeea/jvab013>