Psychological sense of community in Jewish adolescents of Perth, Western Australia

Darren M. Stein

Edith Cowan University

Follow this and additional works at: https://ro.ecu.edu.au/theses

Part of the Race and Ethnicity Commons

Recommended Citation

This Thesis is posted at Research Online.
https://ro.ecu.edu.au/theses/1369
Edith Cowan University

Copyright Warning

You may print or download ONE copy of this document for the purpose of your own research or study.

The University does not authorize you to copy, communicate or otherwise make available electronically to any other person any copyright material contained on this site.

You are reminded of the following:

- Copyright owners are entitled to take legal action against persons who infringe their copyright.

- A reproduction of material that is protected by copyright may be a copyright infringement. Where the reproduction of such material is done without attribution of authorship, with false attribution of authorship or the authorship is treated in a derogatory manner, this may be a breach of the author’s moral rights contained in Part IX of the Copyright Act 1968 (Cth).

- Courts have the power to impose a wide range of civil and criminal sanctions for infringement of copyright, infringement of moral rights and other offences under the Copyright Act 1968 (Cth). Higher penalties may apply, and higher damages may be awarded, for offences and infringements involving the conversion of material into digital or electronic form.
USE OF THESIS

The Use of Thesis statement is not included in this version of the thesis.
Psychological Sense Of Community In Jewish Adolescents Of Perth, Western Australia.

Darren M. Stein
School Of Psychology
Faculty Of Community Services, Education And Social Sciences
Edith Cowan University, Joondalup

Thesis For Admission To The Degree Of:
Master Of Psychology

Supervisors:
Associate Professor Andrew Ellerman
Dr Lynne Cohen

Running Head:
PSC in Jewish adolescents

Date Of Submission:
27th March 2000
Abstract

This paper explores Psychological Sense of Community (PSC) in the Jewish adolescent population of Perth. The main aim was to investigate the differences between student attending the private Jewish School (Carmel) or another school within the metropolitan area. Participants were recruited from Carmel School, WA Maccabi (Jewish sport club) and by using a snowball sampling technique. The total sample included 167 students (60 males and 107 females) in years 10, 11 and 12. Participants' PSC was assessed by the modified Sense of Community Index (SCI). Results showed significantly higher PSC in Carmel students (p< .05), males (p< .01) and Somewhat observant individuals (p< .01). No relationship was found between PSC and whether one lived in the central Jewish suburbs. The relationship between PSC and length of time lived in the community was not a positive, linear one as expected. Results that were contrary to those in the literature may be effected by the community's traditional gender stereotypes and high numbers of migrants. Limitations of the study and implications for future research are discussed.
Declaration

I, Darren M. Stein, certify that this thesis does not, to the best of my knowledge and belief:

(i) incorporate without acknowledgement any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any institution of higher education;

(ii) contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text; or

(iii) contain any defamatory material.
Acknowledgements

Thank you to the students of Perth who participated in this study and to Christina Dullard (principal of Carmel School) and Joan Hillman (WA Maccabi secretary) in providing access to the Jewish adolescent population.

I give tribute and my most sincere appreciation to my supervisors, Andrew and Lynne for all of their advice and encouragement.

Thank you also to Moira, Neil and Julie Anne for revealing and nurturing the Community Environmental Psychologist within me.

I am indebted to all of my past, present and future educators and mentors: academic and otherwise.

Eternal love, gratitude and respect for the wise one who showed me the path when I was only 14 years of age (you know who you are).

A special place will always be reserved for my parents, Ron and Denise. Thank you for the sacrifices you made to give me a life of freedom and safety, for never doubting my abilities and always encouraging me to fulfil my potential.

I dedicate this thesis to all those who have played a role in the moulding of the person who stands proudly before them.
# Table Of Contents

Abstract
Declaration
Acknowledgements
Table Of Contents
List Of Figures
List Of Tables
Introduction

## Chapter 1: Background Of The Perth Jewish Community

Modern Jewish History
Western Australian Jewry
- Late Nineteenth Century
- Early Twentieth Century
- Mid Twentieth Century
- Late Twentieth Century
The Built Environment
- Sporting, Communal And Educational Facilities
- Religious Facilities
Inter- Faction Tension Within The Perth Jewish Community

## Chapter 2: Literature Review

Psychological Sense Of Community
Measures Of Psychological Sense Of Community
Adolescent Psychological Sense Of Community
Social Identity Theory
Identity Formation
The Schooling Environment
Additional Literature
Summary
Chapter 3: Hypotheses Formation

PSC And School
PSC And Gender
PSC And Religious Observance
PSC And Length Of Time Lived In The Community
PSC And Age
PSC And Residential Location
Summary

Chapter 4: Method

Population And Sample
Participants
Materials
Procedure
Ethical Considerations

Chapter 5: Results

Chapter 6: Discussion

The Relationship Between PSC And School
The Relationship Between PSC And Gender
The Relationship Between PSC And Religious Observance
The Relationship Between PSC And Length Of Time Lived In The Community
The Relationship Between PSC And Age
The Relationship Between PSC And Residential Location
Summary
Chapter 7: Limitations And Implications For Future Research

Limitations Of The Research

Future Research

1. Cross-Sectional Versus Longitudinal Methodology
2. Longitudinal Comparison With Same Aged Participants

Practical Implications Of The Research

Conclusion

References

Appendix A: Questionnaire Cover Letter

Appendix B: Student Demographics and Modified SCI Index
List Of Figures

Figure 1: The Relationship Between PSC Score And Length Of Time Lived In Perth 62

Figure 2: Suburbs Of Participants' Residences In The Perth Metropolitan Area 78
List Of Tables

Table 1: A Comparison Between Freud's Five Stages Of Psychosexual Development And Erikson's Eight Stages Of Psychosocial Development 38

Table 2: Summary Of Demographics Of Participants 59

Table 3: Summary Of Standard Regression Analysis For Variables Predicting PSC 65
Introduction

The purpose of this project is to examine the Psychological Sense of Community (PSC) of the adolescent Jewish population of Perth, Western Australia. At present, no research on the PSC of this community has been published. It is hoped that this preliminary study will develop the opportunity and provide encouragement towards further research to be carried out on this population group as well as similar samples throughout Australia and in other countries.

Particular interest is directed towards the participants' schooling location, as Carmel Senior High School is the only formal Jewish education facility of its kind in Perth. Despite the importance placed on formal education by the Jewish population of Perth, personal communication with several members of the community led to the speculation that Carmel School may not play a role in increasing the level of PSC in the community.

Being a small, closely knit community of less than 7,000 members, it is believed that all Jewish students (regardless of the school they attend) are able to associate with other Jewish adolescents of corresponding ages and can voluntarily participate in Jewish activities through an extensive network of social and sporting events. As the Jewish community is extremely active in the promotion of such events, it is believed by many adults that students who do not attend Carmel School may actually possess higher levels of PSC than those who do.

The Jewish people are a group worthy of research within the area of PSC due to the following reasons. The Jews have a long, recorded history that dates back almost six thousand years. They have suffered several distinct periods of persecution, the most recent being the Holocaust. In addition, no studies of the Jewish population
of Perth, Western Australia have been published. These points provide the rationale for examining the PSC of Jews.
Chapter I: Background Of The Perth Jewish Community

Modern Jewish History

The late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (the Age of Enlightenment) laid the foundation for major changes in Western society. The democratic revolutions in America and France proclaimed doctrines of the natural rights of equality and freedom for man. These new concepts helped to spearhead Jewish emancipation in Western Europe where Jewish leaders and their supporters struggled to gain equal rights in civil, political and religious spheres for Europe’s Jewish minority. With Jewish emancipation the Jewish population was gradually accepted into the general community. This produced important changes in Jewish beliefs and practices which led to a diversification of Jewish life. As the Jewish lifestyle came to resemble that of non-Jews, many Jews slowly discarded their distinctive religious practices and rigid observances.

Before these changes, a ‘Jew’ was described as an individual who subscribed to the system of beliefs and practices developed by the Jews of Central and Eastern Europe (Ashkenazim) and to a lesser extent, Spain and other Mediterranean countries (Sephardim). Active participation in the religion involved daily prayer, participation in religious services, the observance of the Sabbath, festivals and fasts and adherence to certain dietary laws. The religion was practised within a congregation (Mossenson, 1990). Judaism was a complete way of life that regulated every aspect of an individual’s waking hours and was oriented to the rigorous fulfilment of all religious commandments (Zborowski & Herzog, 1965). The religious requirements of being a Jew were all encompassing and made demands on everyday life, so much so that the
multitudinous aspects of the religion created a distinctive community (Fletcher, 1978). For example, Jews were required to observe restrictive dietary laws (Kashrut) forbidding the consumption of pork, fish without scales, animals without a cloven hoof that did not chew their cud and the combining of milk and meat products. In addition Jewish males wore Yamulkas (skullcaps), did not shave their facial hair, prayed daily as well as after meals and did not work during the Sabbath (between sunset on Friday and sunset on Saturday).

In more recent times defining a Jew has become a more difficult process. As the religion entered the twentieth century, it was considered by many as involving a range of options rather than a rigid, all-or-nothing type of following (Freedman, 1955). Several factors contributed to this less stringent approach to the religion, such as, the modernisation of Orthodox practices, the emergence of the liberal or reform movement, the growth of the nationalist movement (Zionism) and the development of Jewish secular socialism. As a result of these developments, the Jewish culture became less uniform, and manifested itself in many variations. The reasons given for the rise of such movements was that Jews had to adapt to the dual pressures of emancipation and secularisation, while simultaneously attempting to observe their distinctive religious practices.

**Western Australian Jewry**

*Late Nineteenth Century.* The origins of Western Australian Jewry began with the colonisation of the State. At least twenty-seven convicts are believed to have been Jewish (Erickson, 1984) and the first free Jewish settlers (Lionel and William Samson) arrived two months after the colony was founded (Levi & Bergman, 1974). The geographic isolation and the economic struggles facing the new colony meant that few settlers were attracted to Western Australia. No organised
Jewish community developed for over half a century during which time many Jews married non-Jews as there was an insufficient number of Jewish women. The primary reason for this gender imbalance within the Jewish population was that thousands of single men migrated to Australia in search of gold during the period of 1850 to 1880 (Mossenson, 1990; Rutland, 1988).

During the gold rush era, the publication of anti-Semitic commentaries were common, however. *The West Australian* and *The Kalgoorlie Boulder* (the State's most influential and widely read publications), were sensitive in their regard towards Jews. One of the reasons behind *The West Australian*’s allegiance was the public role achieved by Reverend Freedman (the spiritual leader of the Perth Hebrew Congregation) through the incorporation of the Anglo principles of service, citizenship and loyalty into the ethos of the Jewish community (Mossenson, 1990).

As stated previously, the Jewish religion is practiced within a congregation who gather for prayer in a synagogue. The first congregation was founded in Fremantle in 1887 and opened its synagogue in 1902. The Perth Hebrew Congregation (PHC) was founded in 1892 and its synagogue was established in 1897 in Brisbane Street, Perth. In 1908 the Fremantle Congregation was absorbed into the PHC after the building that housed the synagogue in Fremantle was sold.

**Early Twentieth Century.** By the outbreak of the First World War, Western Australia experienced its second wave of Jewish migration and the community expanded to almost 1800 people (Mossenson, 1990; Rutland, 1988; Census of Western Australia, 1891, 1901). During this time, the demography of Perth Jewry changed dramatically due to the arrival of immigrants from Eastern Europe and Palestine (referred to as Yiddishers because they spoke the Yiddish language). Although the State's Jewish population had increased relatively rapidly, it would
have been larger if not for the emigration of families to Melbourne and Sydney (Jewish Observer, 1920a, 1920b; Westralian Judean, 1925).

Approximately three quarters of Jews chose to live in the metropolitan area with the greatest concentration of homes being located within a one kilometre radius from the PHC Synagogue (Mossenson, 1990). Jewish law does not permit the use of transportation during the Sabbath (sunset on Friday to sunset the following day), hence the close proximity of homesteads to the synagogue.

By 1920, the characteristic of Western Australian Jewry as an immigrant community began to recede and before the end of the decade, the distinctions that separated the Anglo and Yiddisher Jews had diminished considerably. This was a result of both the acculturation of the Yiddishers (who had taken over the responsibility of many community roles) and the many marriages that took place between the children of the two groups (Mossenson, 1990). These marriages provided the foundation for a greater level of cohesion within the community as it evolved from two distinct cultures into one. The new culture consisted of the Anglo principles of citizenship, public service and loyalty as well as the Yiddisher emphasis on traditional Jewish cultural values and support for Zionist aspirations.

Perth Jewry appeared to enter a period of prosperity as the gender imbalance decreased and the PHC enlarged its role in the community. By 1928, its synagogue was one of the largest in Australia, seating almost nine hundred congregants. However, The Great Depression severely crippled Western Australia due to the State’s dependence on primary production. The tremendous growth experienced since the turn of the century came to a sudden halt. Within the Jewish community many members experienced financial difficulties and charitable and relief work became major areas of activity, proving the value of a strong sense of community.
The Philanthropic Society, Free Loan Society, The Immigration Society and the Ladies' Benevolent Society proved to be the major providers of assistance to community members in need (Rutland, 1988; Mossenson, 1990). "That those suffering privations were helped as much as they were was a tribute to the ancient Hebrew precept, 'if thy brother becomes poor thou shalt help him.'" (Mossenson, 1990, p. 125).

Mid Twentieth Century. The community had barely begun to recover from the collapse of the world market when impacted by another global event. This was the Holocaust that took place during the Second World War. Perth Jewry's response bore many similarities to that of the First World War with the added incentive to defeat Germany and their attempted annihilation of the Jewish people. Once again, hundreds of members of the Jewish community signed up to fight for Australia and their Jewish brethren.

Despite its remotesness, even Western Australian Jewry could not escape the repercussions of Hitler's rise to power. The spread of Nazi doctrines in Western Australia worried the local community extensively as it had previously been relatively free from such propagandist attacks. Fringe groups circulated anti-Semitic materials and the lesser press heaped blame on the Jews for the current economic status. Copies of The Protocols of the Elders of Zion (a forged anti-Semitic publication) were circulated and a self-styled Nazi party emerged (Westralian Judean, 1934a; 1934b; 1936a; 1936b; 1936c; Perth Hebrew Congregation, 1939). The Westralian Judean publication alerted the community to the deteriorating situation and deplored the indifference of world leaders to the plight of world Jewry.

The general acceptance of Western Australia's Jews by the general population changed drastically with the rise to power of Germany's Nazi Party
The foundations were laid to forcibly alter all aspects of Jewish communal life, not only in Australia, but worldwide. Arguably, a positive side-effect was the unification of Jewish communities as they struggled to survive the anti-Semitic onslaught. Even Australia failed to escape this racist consensual validation, with examples such as the development of Australian anti-Semitic political groups (e.g. Australia First Movement). Racism had a marked effect on all Australian Jewry, forcing many of its assimilated Jews to reassess their concept of Judaism. Rather than abandon their religious beliefs and practices, they strengthened their sense of Jewish identity (Rutland, 1988) and introduced a stronger sense of community.

As the war continued, Jewish refugees fled Europe in search of asylum to different countries such as Australia. Unfortunately, Australia's immigration department was non-existent (it was established in 1945) and the only official policy regarding immigration was the concern to maintain the country's Anglo-Celtic composition (Jupp, 1991). This was commonly known as the White Australia Policy.

With the intention of using migrants for the country's economic progression, a committee was established in 1944 to examine the issue of immigration. The emergent report stressed the following points (Australian Archives Office, 1944; Rutland, 1988): White aliens must be regarded as an asset to the country and not an immigrant admitted as a result of sufferance; Desirable nationalities for consideration (apart from the British) included, in order of preference, Americans, Scandinavians, Dutch, Belgians, Swiss, Yugoslavs, Greeks and Albanians (Jupp, 1991). A suggestion followed that the country should accept any white alien who can successfully assimilate into Australian life and contribute in a satisfactory nature to the economic development of the country as long as there were no objections to that individual's character or health (Rutland, 1988).
Due to the fact that Australia was in need of people willing to work in remote areas involved in activities such as building roads and hydro-electric systems, the Jews were considered to be neither suitable nor desirable immigrants. The reasons for this assumption included (Australian Archives Office, 1944; Rutland, 1988): Jews had a tendency to settle in close proximity to the center of a city; Jews had a tendency to become conspicuous through their acquiring of property and settling in certain districts near the central business district; and professional and tertiary educated classes of Jews had greater difficulty in settling into Australia. In support of these statements, the Polish Jews who had settled in Melbourne prior to 1938 were used as an example by the sub-committee. These Jews were involved mainly in the textile industry and lived and worked close to the city center of Melbourne. Hence, they could not be regarded as desirable immigrants.

This standpoint was officially opposed in 1945 by Alec Masel, the president of the Executive Council of Australian Jewry, through a memorandum stressing the value of selected Jewish immigration. It was stated that potential Jewish migrants who matched the needs of the Commonwealth were available and that those criteria were wide enough for the admission of the humanitarian motive (Executive Council of Australian Jewry, 1945). It was also noted that previous Jewish migrants had played an active role in Australia's development and that Holocaust survivors would be determined to build a new life where they could forget their recent tragedies. The Federal government (led by Prime Minister Curtin) never responded (Rutland, 1988).

That same year the Minister for Immigration (Arthur Calwell) met with the Executive Council of Australian Jewry and decided to allow two thousand landing permits to the close relatives of existing Jewish Australian residents. Conditions were placed on the holders of these permits whereby only those who had spent time in a
concentration camp, forced labour camp or survived the war through hiding were granted entry. In addition, their Australian relatives had to guarantee their upkeep for a minimum of five years following their arrival into the country (Sydney Jewish News, 1945).

Two years later, the end of the refugee migration scheme was announced and all migrant applications to Australia were to be considered on the basis of their qualifications and in direct response to Australia's economic requirements. While this appeared just, the Jewish population continued to be faced with difficulties. In 1947, Calwell and the International Refugee Organisation agreed to accept four thousand Europeans into Australia and twelve thousand the following year. The conditions of entry included the migrants working for two years in order to repay their passage fees. Calwell assured the Australian Jews that fifteen percent of the accepted migrants would consist of European Jews (proportionate to the percentage of Jews remaining in Europe). Unbeknown to the Australian Jewish community, all Jews were secretly and intentionally excluded as the government believed that they would neither fulfil their work contract nor assimilate into Australian communal life (Rutland, 1988).

By May 1949, all European nationalities were eligible to apply to migrate to Australia, except for Jewish families. For a Jew to be admitted into the country they needed to be deemed exceptional, between the ages of seventeen and twenty-five and their family units were not able to accompany them. In addition, these young Jews had to sign a clause agreeing that they would only settle in remote areas (Rutland, 1988). During this third wave of Jewish migration, many more Jews entered the country by hiding their Jewish identity than those who were legally permitted entry (Rutland, 1988).
Despite the restrictions, lies and attempts to restrict Jewish migration into Australia, in the decade following the Second World War the Jewish population had increased throughout the country. By 1955, Melbourne had increased its Jewish population by 62 percent to 26,658 individuals, Sydney had increased by 46 percent to 21,483 individuals and Western Australia had increased by almost 13 percent to 2,833 individuals. Relatively smaller Jewish communities also existed in Queensland and South Australia (Mossenson, 1990; Rutland, 1988; Sydney Jewish News, 1955).

While Jewish refugee applications for migration were being carefully screened and evaluated, Australia’s Immigration Planning Council held a different attitude towards German Nazis. Sir John Storey, chairman of the council, believed that ex-members of the Nazi Party should not necessarily be excluded in the selection of migrants from Germany as he believed that people were not necessarily Nazis because they were members of the Nazi Party and that such membership was a compulsion that led to hundreds of quiescent [sic] Nazis (Sydney Morning Herald, 1950). As a result of the hypocrisy of this position (following the questioning of the suitability of Jewish refugees), the Immigration Planning Council landed an irreparable blow to Australian Jewry by considering Nazis for entry into Australia in order to become citizens.

Prejudice against Jewish refugees continued even after the Second World War ended. The non-Jewish population of Western Australia did not welcome the arrival of the newcomers, regarding them as aliens and resenting their admission into a nation still overwhelmingly Anglo-Celtic in its origins. Condemnation of the new immigrants by major national newspapers enjoyed wide approval. Topics of such prejudice included the disapproval of Australia’s immigration policies and the false belief that the newcomers were replacing Australians in the workforce. An example
of these biases occurred towards the end of the 1940’s when the Furniture Trades Union of Employees complained that unskilled Jewish refugees had overrun their trade. A subsequent investigation revealed that three refugees were working in the industry which at the time employed 130 people (Welfare Society, 1939a; Welfare Society, 1939b; Mossenson, 1990). As tensions and disapproval continued to mount, regulations were officially passed concerning the refugee’s public behaviour. They were prevented from exerting pressure on any section of the Australian industry or commerce (Mossenson, 1990), were not permitted to congregate in the capital cities and in order to maintain a low public profile, refugee parents were encouraged to urge their sons to pursue farming as a profession. In addition, Yiddish was not to be spoken in public and the belief that migrants should be successful for Australia rather than for themselves, was expected to be upheld.

Thousands of Jews had been displaced since the Second World War and did not wish to return to their former homes as their entire communities had often been eradicated. To compound their problems, they were not accepted by any of the countries of the free world. On the 15th of May, 1948 David Ben Gurion declared Israel an independent state and in the following years, thousands of Jews migrated there, not only from war-torn Europe, but from all over the world, including Australia. For the first time in history, the Jews had a sanctified homeland. With the creation of Israel came a new set of problems for the Jews of the world, as no distinction was made between being an Israeli and being a Jew. To the rest of the world they were one and the same and anti-Israel demonstrations were aimed at all Jews, not only those living in Israel itself. Suddenly, Australian Jews who had never even visited Israel were being targeted by anti-Zionist campaigners.
In the late 1960's intermittent pro-Palestinian feelings began to manifest themselves in Australia, through the Friends of Palestine and the Palestine Human Rights Committee. After the 1973 Yom Kippur war in Israel, pro-Palestinian Liberation Army (PLO) sentiment increased in Australia. Western Australia did not entirely escape the repercussions of the Arab-Israeli struggles and on occasions experienced propaganda emanating from local extremists.

Support for Israel and the Zionist ideals that supported it permeated much of the life of the Jewish community in Western Australia and the other States where Jews lived. Throughout the diaspora, the maintenance and continuation of the religious and spiritual homeland was considered a priority. Habonim (a socialist youth organisation) was the sole Zionist youth organisation in Perth until 1983 when B'nei Akivah (a religious youth organisation) was formed following its success in the eastern States.

Late Twentieth Century. In 1986, the Immigration Planning Council's admission of Nazi Party members into Australia became public and the issue of Nazi war criminals living in Australia became a priority of utmost urgency. ABC radio began broadcasting a series of five talks on their Background Briefing program entitled, "Nazis in Australia". This was accompanied by episodes on the issue by the current affairs television program, Four Corners. It was discovered that inadequate screening had allowed Nazi war criminals to enter Australia and identified sixty individuals as possible suspects. At present, Australia has yet to experience the same success rate as the remainder of the world in convicting these individuals of war crimes due to a lack of finance and irrefutable evidence.

Threats to the survival of the Jewish population have also been internal in nature, stemming from within the Jewish community itself. Gentilli (1941) published
a study on the demography of Australian Jewry and stated that if left to its own devices, Perth Jewry could not sustain itself. Major reasons for this prediction were the continued rate of intermarriage and the trend towards smaller families, thus leading to an aging population. Only the intake of people from external sources, namely immigration, could avert the certainties associated with an aging and declining population.

There was an increase in immigration for Perth Jewry during the 1980's that alleviated the possibility of the population’s self-destruction. This fourth wave of the State’s Jewish immigration consisted mainly of South African Jews. Superficially the similarities between the last two periods of migration seemed to resemble one another as both consisted of Jewish people fleeing their country of origin as a result of fear for their safety. Apart from both waves consisting of Jews, there were no real similarities between the groups. Rather than gaining entrance into Australia as refugees, the South African migrants were often highly successful and economically self-sufficient. Instead of fleeing their country out of a fear of religious persecution, the South African migrants immigrated because they did not approve of South Africa’s Apartheid legislation and feared the political and social problems that continued to grow within the country (Collins, 1991). One of the most desirable features of the South African migrants was the injection of young married couples with children who considerably improved the age composition of the Jewish community (Mossenson, 1990).

While South Africans were the predominant immigrant group during the 1980's, other nationalities included Russian, Scottish and Israeli migrants. In order to ease the stress of migration and provide temporary accommodation, Shalom House was established in Yokine as a joint venture by the Welfare Society and the State
Government. By the end of 1987, Shalom House had accommodated 59 people, of whom more than eighty-five percent were South Africans.

The Built Environment

The built environment plays a significant role in maintaining contact between various members of the Jewish community. The synagogues are the community’s religious centres, WA Maccabi is the main sporting club and Carmel School is the sole private education centre for primary and secondary students. The Perth Jewish community enjoys convenient, specialized and centralized facilities which are largely attributed to the location of Maccabean Memorial Grounds on the border of the neighbouring suburbs of Dianella and Yokine.

After 1945, Perth Jewry experienced a general move to a particular geographical location (as in Melbourne and Sydney) and relocated to the adjoining, northern suburbs of Yokine, Dianella, and Noranda. It was the purchase of the land in 1952 that spurred the upgrading and centralization of the community’s facilities. As the built environment can be geographically as well as practically separated into religious and non-religious facilities, they will be discussed separately.

Sporting, Communal And Education Facilities. The Maccabi Memorial Grounds house the community’s primary non-religious facilities of sport, education and care of the elderly. It was the Maccabean Soccer Club who initially sought to acquire this land in order to establish playing fields and the club. Following a community appeal to raise funds, nine hectares of the land was purchased at a cost of £2,200. The acquisition and subsequent development of this land became a major contributor to propelling the community towards self-sufficiency. The grounds were named the Maccabean Memorial Grounds and the name of the soccer club was changed to Western Australian Maccabi (WA Maccabi) in order to conform to the
World Union of Jewish Sport. From the outset, WA Maccabi opened their teams to all members of the Jewish community.

In 1957 the Seeligson Kindergarten was opened, in honour of Phineas Seeligson who left the Perth Jewish community most of his acquired fortune when he died in 1935. Carmel School opened in 1959 with a grade one class consisting of seven children. In 1963 the school relocated to its current location in the Maccabean Memorial Grounds. Carmel School has increased to its current size of over one thousand enrolled students and remains the only Jewish education facility in Perth.

The Maccabean Memorial Grounds have also been used to house the facilities that care for the community’s elderly. The Maurice Zefferet home for the aged opened in 1961 with twenty-eight residents. Several additions have established the provision of permanent, medical facilities. In 1973 a communal building was built on the Maccabean Memorial Grounds. This became known as the Jewish Centre and with its existence came the completion of over twenty years of transformation of the Maccabean Memorial Grounds into the hub of non-religious, Jewish communal life in Perth. In addition, the two youth movement groups’ (Habonim and B’nei Akivah) offices and weekly meetings are also located here.

**Religious Facilities.** Following the appointment of Rabbi Coleman as the leader of the PHC in 1965, it was decided by the community that a more centrally located synagogue would increase attendance at religious Orthodox services. In 1967, the State Government granted one hectare of land to the congregation. The location of this site was in Yokine and was a short distance from the Maccabean Memorial Grounds. In 1974 a new synagogue was built that provided seating for over one thousand congregants.
Synagogues are presently located in Yokine, Mt Lawley, Dianella and Noranda, all within a five kilometre radius from the Maccabi Memorial Grounds. These suburbs have the highest concentration of Jewish residences, maintaining a relationship between synagogue location and population density that was present as early as 1920.

Inter-Faction Tension Within The Perth Jewish Community

Progressive Judaism (commonly referred to as Liberal or Reform Judaism) emerged as a less orthodox option of Judaism (Freehof, 1961). As Progressive Jews dispense with the majority of the laws and biblical elements contained in traditional Judaism, much resentment followed the establishment of the movement in Perth (as in other capital cities) in 1935. In addition, there was concern that in a small community such as Perth, the development of a second synagogue would detract from the PHC. Despite this, by 1952 Progressive Judaism began to flourish and the congregation purchased land in Mount Lawley to build a synagogue called Temple David.

With the settlement of the new South African migrants in the 1980’s came another division within the Jewish community. A group of Noranda residents formed the Northern Suburbs Jewish Congregation and were able to obtain a block of land in a centrally located position on which to build their synagogue. The formation of this third congregation resulted in the second Orthodox congregation in Perth. A third Jewish faction, Lubavitch (an ultra-orthodox organisation), joined the previously existing Orthodox and Liberal congregations in 1988. A residence in Noranda (Chabad House) was purchased in order to be used as their center for prayer and meetings.
The arrival of Rabbi Freilich from Sydney in 1988 as the spiritual leader of the PHC won popular approval. Rabbi Freilich’s appointment coincided with a period in the Jewish community where tensions were high and community contact between the factions was relatively strained. His attitude and willingness to cooperate was primarily responsible for alleviating much of the tensions and misunderstandings that existed between the congregations, especially between the two orthodox congregations.

Despite being fewer in number and less intense in their voracity, tensions do remain within the community. Arguably, the oldest and most sensitive issue lies with Carmel School’s enrollment procedures and the conditions placed upon certain members of the Reform movement if they wish to attend the school. In accordance with its policy as an Orthodox education facility, Carmel School will enrol students with non-Jewish mothers, or parents who have converted to Judaism through the Progressive system, however, they are not entitled to the same principles and practices as their orthodox counterparts, for example they cannot become head boy or head girl and the males are not allowed to lay tephillin during morning prayer. This is due to the Orthodox synagogue’s failure to recognize them as Jews.

Apart from this, the community appears to exist peacefully and continues to experience consistent and amicable contact with one another. Currently, the majority of Perth Jewry belong to a communal, social, Zionist or sporting body and only a minority are not attached to a religious congregation (Mossenson, 1990; Rutland, 1988). Many of the contemporary problems facing the Jews of Perth are the same as those facing society in general. These include divorce, deferment or total avoidance of marriage, the trend towards smaller families, an increase in the number of women in the workforce and concerns over drug use. Fortunately, family ties and values
retain much of their traditional strength and religious celebrations remain powerful elements in the maintenance of Jewish identity (Rutland, 1988).

“If Australia can continue to act as a magnet for Jews from less secure countries, the community’s birth rate increases and its Jewish qualities is maintained and enriched there will be many colourful chapters yet in the Australian Jewish success story” (Rutland, 1988 p.398;).
Psychological Sense of Community

Throughout history, the presence of communities has been a constant phenomenon. The word “community” is versatile and can be used to describe many different groups of people. For example, communities can consist of people sharing the same skin colour (black or white community), background (indigenous or ethnic community), socio-economic status (upper-class or working-class community), neighbourhood (Paddington or Stirling community), values and beliefs (Greenpeace or Ku Klux Klan), sexual preferences (heterosexual or homosexual community), religious affiliation (Jewish or Christian community) or belong to a particular age bracket (adolescent or elderly community).

Across all communities, there exists a commonality between members and individuals may belong to more than one community at the same time (McMillan & Chavis, 1986; Pretty, Andrewes & Collett, 1994; Sarason, 1974). An example of such multiple membership can be found in the present study where all individuals who were eligible to participate belonged to both the Perth Jewish community as well as the adolescent community. Therefore the same individual may simultaneously have a different sense of community within several different settings (McMillan & Chavis, 1986; Pretty et al., 1994; Sarason, 1974).

The emotions associated with belonging to a community have been referred to by Sarason (1974) as a Sense of Community (SOC) or Psychological Sense of Community (PSC). Although the terms SOC and PSC are often used interchangeably, PSC has been used in this research. There has been considerable
debate about PSC, its antecedents and definition. Despite these present difficulties, community psychologists and other social scientists have begun to understand more and more about this area of human interaction.

The most widely accepted model of PSC was developed by McMillan and Chavis (1986) who proposed that sense of community consists of four major components: Membership, Influence, Integration and Fulfillment of Needs and Shared Emotional Connection.

Membership draws on the social psychology works of social identity theory, social categorisation and intergroup conflict, specifically the "us-versus-them" effect (Linville, Fischer & Salovey, 1989; Schaller & Maass, 1989; Wilder, 1986) and refers to an individual’s sense of belonging to a referent group or community, as in the case of this study. Therefore, membership is concerned with the relationship between the community’s acceptance of an individual and the individual’s confidence of being a member of that community. Membership is thought by McMillan and Chavis (1986) to include the following five attributes: Boundaries (distinctions between the in-group and out-group), Emotional Safety (the protection of group intimacy), Sense of Belonging and Identification (the feeling that one belongs in a community and is willing to make sacrifices for that community), Personal Investment (working for the community leads to a feelings that they have earned their membership and that the membership is valuable and meaningful) and a Common Symbol System (means of identifying who belongs to a community).

Influence describes the bi-directional relationship that occurs between the community and its members. The community must be able to exert influence over the behaviour of the individual (conformity) and the individual must feel confident that they are an influential member within that community.
The Integration and Fulfillment of Needs incorporates learning theory's principle of reinforcement. The level of reinforcement is regarded as being individually-specific and differs between community members. Goodness-of-fit best explains the dynamics of this component. As long as the needs of a member are met by a community, that member will continue to be positively reinforced by the community and their PSC will be high (McMillan & Chavis, 1986).

Shared Emotional Connection has its origins in a shared history between community members who must have participated in and identified with that past. The following seven features are considered to be important components of a Shared Emotional Connection: Contact Hypothesis and Quality of Interaction (increasing the amount of positive interactions between members will lead to closeness and improve their bond between them), Closure to Events (unambiguous and resolved community tasks will increase cohesion), Shared Valant Event Hypothesis (important shared events will lead to increased cohesion), Investment (the more one invests into the community the greater their PSC), Effect of Honour and Humiliation on Community Members (public reward and humiliation effects member attraction to a community) and Spiritual Bond (the intangible connection between members).

McMillan (1996) revisited the theory of sense of community and renamed and rearranged the four components of Membership, Influence, Integration and Fulfillment of Needs and Shared Emotional Connection into Spirit, Trust, Trade and Art, respectively. In the revised theory, Spirit replaces Membership by maintaining the essential elements, but places a greater emphasis on the friendships that develop as a result of group membership. Trust replaces Influence and explains that members need to be aware of community norms in order to become more cohesive by learning what is required and expected of one another. Trade replaces the Integration and
Fulfillment of Needs and expands on the original descriptor by incorporating similarity as an essential bonding force within the community. Intra-community groups help facilitate self-sufficiency whereby members can aid one another as a result of their diversity. Art replaces Shared Emotional Connection but very little difference is identified apart from the fact that Art must involve an event with a dramatic impact.

Measures of Psychological Sense of Community

Despite being more than twenty years since Sarason (1974) published his book on PSC, a standardized and operational definition for the construct has not emerged (Hill, 1996). This may be a result of the lack of agreement between researchers concerning the dimensions of PSC.

One of the earliest attempts to measure PSC was the development of a scale by Glynn (1981) which consisted of thirteen open-ended questions on community, sixty forced questions on actual community and sixty forced questions on ideal community. Dimensions of PSC included in the scale were the objective evaluation of community structure, supportive relationships in the community, similarity and relationship patterns of community residents, individual involvement in the community, quality of community environment and community security. Glynn (1981) reported high reliability scores for both the Actual (.97) and the Ideal scales (.92).

A tool to measure PSC within the city domain was developed by Davidson and Cotter (1986). A factor analysis of their seventeen item scale with a four-point Likert scoring system showed one dimension which was labeled PSC. The scale had high internal reliability with alpha scores of .81 and .85 for two studies performed.
Furthermore, a scale that assessed the three dimensions of attraction to neighbouring, degree of neighbouring and PSC was developed by Buckner (1988). His analysis showed that there was actually only one dimension that he labeled Cohesion. The final scale, the Neighbourhood Cohesion Scale (NCS), contained eighteen items with a five-point Likert scoring system and displayed a high internal consistency value of .95 (Buckner, 1988).

In an attempt to overcome the shortcoming of Glynn's (1981) instrument being long and costly, Nasar and Julian (1995) developed a short form of the instrument for use in neighbourhoods. This comprised three scales of twenty-eight, nineteen and eleven items respectively. The shortest of the three scales was chosen in order to provide a shorter instrument than Glynn (1981), Davidson and Cotter (1986) and Buckner (1988) had created. The eleven item scale was reported to have a high reliability value of .87 (Nasar & Julian, 1995).

A major theoretical discussion of PSC (McMillan & Chavis, 1986) inspired the development of one of the most widely used instrument for the assessment of PSC, the Sense of Community Index (SCI). The SCI was developed by Chavis, Hogge, McMillan and Wandersman (1986) and consisted of twenty-three items using a five-point Likert response scale. The items on the SCI relate to the four elements of PSC identified by McMillan and Chavis (1986). A very high level of consensus between judges was evident with an inter-rater reliability score of .97 (Chavis, et al, 1986). While the SCI contains enough information to allow such highly reliable ratings, the scale only accounted for twenty-five percent of total variance. Four years later, a short form of the SCI was developed by Perkins, Florin, Rich, Wandersman and Chavis (1990) and consisted of twelve items with a Yes or No response format. A reliability coefficient of .8 was reported (Perkins, et al.,
1990). The SCI is the most widely used and validated measure of PSC (Chavis & Pretty, 1999; Chipeur & Pretty, 1999).

As this study was concerned with the PSC of adolescents, the following sections discuss the period of adolescence according to the psychological literature of PSC. Social Identity Theory and Identity Formation. Additional aspects of the psychological literature that are relevant to the adolescent, Jewish population of Perth, Western Australia are also mentioned, including the school environment and immigration.

Adolescent Psychological Sense of Community

Since the term PSC was defined, there have been numerous studies in various contexts on the topic. Several of these include adolescents (Comerci, 1989), families (Davidson, Cotter & Stovall, 1991), hospitals (Lounsbury & DeNeui, 1995), immigrant groups (Regis, 1988), neighbourhoods (Doolittle & MacDonald, 1978; Glynn, 1986; Nasar & Julian, 1995), religious congregations (Pargament, Silverman, Johnson, Echemendia & Snyder, 1983), schools (Hansell, 1982), unions (Catano, Pretty, Southwell & Cole, 1993), universities (McArthy, Pretty & Catano, 1990; Pretty, 1990) and the workplace (Burroughs & Eby, 1998; Pretty & McArthy, 1991).

Most of the studies listed previously, have suggested that PSC is a significant and important factor in the lives of individuals and is something that communities should strive to achieve. However, while much of the attention has been paid to the positive benefits associated with a heightened sense of PSC, several negative consequences have reportedly been associated with the absence or reduced level of PSC within a community. These include negative social psychological effects such as an increased prevalence of drug use, increased personal stress and family crises, increased feelings of isolation, alienation and loneliness, stifled growth towards self-
actualization and the hindrance of the human needs of affiliation and social interest (Burroughs & Eby, 1998; Davidson & Cotter, 1986; Glynn, 1981; Senge, Roberts, Ross, Smith & Kleiner, 1994). These findings support the benefits associated with the development and maintenance of a heightened PSC within a particular community.

The previous statement is relevant to the adolescent community, as adolescence encompasses a psychological and physical maturational process during which dramatic intra-individual changes occur (Comerci, 1989; Gleitman, 1991; Peterson, 1989) as well as a period of self-discovery, growth and experimentation. During this developmental stage, the temptation to try new things is at its peak for the majority of individuals. The many negative social issues prevalent in the modern city provide an opportunity for adolescents to become involved in illicit drug use and crime. The presence of a high level of PSC may counteract such negative effects (Glynn, 1981). This is supported by Wilkinson and Repucci (1973) who worked with adolescent delinquent males and suggested that the presence of PSC may counteract such negative effects. For these reasons, adolescence is one developmental stage where PSC may be relevant in combating some of these temptations that may lead to a downward spiral into antisocial behaviour.

On a more positive level, PSC is an important aspect of an adolescent’s social environment and higher levels have been shown to be significantly correlated to several beneficial effects. Some of these benefits include reduced loneliness and anxiety, greater scholastic performance, increased social acceptance and self-worth and higher self-reported levels of happiness (Pretty et al., 1994; Pretty & Chipuer, 1998; Pretty, Conroy, Dugay, Fowler & Williams, 1996).
Therefore, positive, practical implications may be derived by examining PSC and adolescent populations. It has been mentioned previously that the adolescent stage of development is one of psychological and physical maturation. The following section explains the psychological change associated with adolescent development by incorporating Social Identity Theory as both a compliment and alternative to McMillan and Chavis’ (1986) theoretical model of PSC.

Social Identity Theory

Social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) is a theory of the role of social groups and categories in the formation of identity and self-concept. In addition, it deals with intergroup behaviour and focuses on the social categorisation and “us-versus-them” effect (Linville, et al., 1989; Schaller & Maass, 1989; Wilder, 1986). As mentioned previously, these biases are incorporated in McMillan and Chavis’ (1986) model of PSC in the component they termed “Membership”. For the purposes of this paper and understanding group dynamics, it is appropriate to discuss the theory and its relationship with PSC.

The primary factor of social identity theory is the premise that an individual belongs to many social categories which creates a sense of belonging and definition of that individual (Hogg, Terry & White, 1995). According to Jackson, Sullivan, Harnish and Hodge (1996), a fundamental assumption of social identity theory is that group members tend to evaluate the in-group more favourably than the out-group in their attempt to achieve positive social identity. This is known as the in-group favourability bias (Mullen, Brown & Smith, 1992).

The emphasis of social identity theory focuses on intergroup relationships (Jackson, et al., 1996) and is therefore applicable to all circumstances of intergroup relations and group behaviour. There are distinct similarities between social identity
theory and the membership component of McMillan and Chavis' (1986) theory of PSC. However, McMillan and Chavis' (1986) model of PSC is not a theory of intergroup relations and therefore the two theories do not compete in this sense. Hence, there is no need to prefer one to the other and social identity theory should not be discarded merely as a weaker version of the McMillan and Chavis' (1986) "membership" component in explaining group dynamics. There are pertinent aspects of the theory that apply to PSC and are not included in McMillan and Chavis' (1986) theory of PSC. The most salient of these are the three strategies used by individuals to achieve positive social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

The first set of strategies include Social Mobility and involve the changes an individual is prepared to make in order to move from or disassociate with the ingroup (Jackson, et al., 1996). The second group of strategies include Social Creativity and involve changes to various elements in order for more positive comparisons to be made for the ingroup. The third order includes Social Change, whereby direct competition is created with the out-group in order to actually effect the relative status between the groups.

The implications of this aspect of social identity theory is directly related to both PSC and the Jewish population of Perth. In the past, there was a high level of assimilation by the Jews of Perth into the general population which was a result of social mobility strategies as many Jews did not want to be discriminated against or be different to the general population. Therefore, they associated less with the Jewish ingroup in order to move away from that community, and assimilated into the gentile community. The Second World War stimulated social creativity strategies to be employed by the Jewish community in order to close ranks and support one another during times of hardship and discrimination (Mossenson, 1990; Rutland,
Jewish community members focussed on their support of one another, family values and providing for those in need. Social change strategies continue to be present within Jewish communities as competition between various factions of the religion oppose one another's beliefs and practices. An example is the conflict between Orthodox and Progressive Jews that was discussed previously.

The level of understanding provided by Social Identity Theory, on the development of adolescent identity, is not sufficient on its own. Therefore, the literature on Identity Formation is discussed in the following section.

Identity Formation

Several theories of identity formation exist within the psychological literature (Fernald, 1997; Gleitman, 1991; Kail & Cavanaugh, 2000; Peterson, 1989), including psychodynamic theories (Freud's psychoanalytic theory of personality and Erikson's psychosocial development theory), learning theories (Skinner's behaviourism and Bandura's social learning theory), cognitive theories (Piaget's stages of cognitive development and Kohlberg's moral reasoning theory) and ecological theories (Bronfenbrenner's systems theory).

The origins of identity formation lie in Freud's psychoanalytic theories of personality and psychosexual human development. Freud was the first person to hold the view that people matured psychologically according to universal principles and social experiences. He believed that the maturational process was completed by the adolescent stage of development. Contrary to Freud, Erikson believed that human development continued throughout the human lifespan and developed a theory of psychosocial development with eight stages, each involving a fundamental bipolar conflict (Erikson, 1968). Both theories are based on the epigenetic principle, assuming the order of development to be biologically fixed (refer to Table 1.).
Psychological research generally supports Erikson's landmark theory of psychosocial development (Marcia, 1980, 1991) and for this reason it has been explicitly chosen as an appropriate theory of identity formation to complement the PSC literature for the present study.

Table 1.
A Comparison Between Freud's Five Stages Of Psychosexual Development And Erikson's Eight Stages Of Psychosocial Development.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Freud's Stages</th>
<th>Erikson's Stages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0 - 1 Years</td>
<td>1. Oral</td>
<td>1. Basic Trust vs. Mistrust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 - 3 Years</td>
<td>2. Anal</td>
<td>2. Autonomy vs. Shame and Doubt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 - 6 Years</td>
<td>3. Phallic</td>
<td>3. Initiative vs. Guilt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Years – Puberty</td>
<td>4. Latency</td>
<td>4. Industry vs. Inferiority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adolescence</td>
<td>5. Genital</td>
<td>5. Identity vs. Role Confusion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young Adulthood</td>
<td></td>
<td>6. Intimacy vs. Isolation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Adulthood</td>
<td></td>
<td>7. Generativity vs. Stagnation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Later Life</td>
<td></td>
<td>8. Integrity vs. Despair</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Erikson’s theory of psychosocial development divided the eight stages into specific stages or crises. For example, introjection (the first sense of “I”) initially appears during infancy as a result of the trust that develops between an infant and parent. Identification is believed to occur during childhood when the individual assumes the roles and values of others whom they admire. Once the individual is able to select the desirable components and discard the undesirable ones of their
childhood identifications, they enter into the period of identity formation, which normally occurs during adolescence.

The fifth stage of Erikson’s theory, identity versus role confusion, is particularly relevant to this study. This stage moves from Freud’s biological orientation to personality development (Kroger, 1989). During identity formation, individuals aspire to develop an identity that is sensitive to their own needs and talents by evolving into a trustworthy and autonomous person (Fernald, 1997; Kail & Cavanaugh, 2000; Peterson, 1989). The developmental succession continues after adolescence but shifts from an individual perspective (“I”) to a collective one (“we”).

Being a member of a minority ethnic group may place additional stresses on Jewish adolescents. In addition to the conflicts and choices that must be resolved by adolescents of the general population, Jewish adolescents have others to consider as they attempt to formulate their individual identity. For example, Jewish adolescents may question the level of religious observance according to which they had been raised and decide to be more, less or as observant as their parents. In addition, adolescents who were enrolled at Carmel School because it was congruent with their parents’ ideals (for their children to receive an academically focussed, Jewish education) may question this reasoning and decide to either remain at Carmel or transfer to another educational institution.

Intra-individual conflicts may emerge for many reasons including, where families do not support or approve of the adolescent’s choices. The adolescent is then faced with the question of whether to modify his or her identity in order to continue to receive the support of their family or whether to allow their beliefs to emerge regardless of the consequences. A contemporary example of such a conflict is
whether a homosexual adolescent of disapproving parents chooses to “come out of the closet” or continue to hide their true sexual identity.

One of the criticisms of Erikson’s theory (1968) is that conflicts of identity formation only occur in cultural contexts where choices of social, ideological and vocational roles are available to adolescents (Marcia, 1983 as cited in Kroger, 1989). As this study involves Jewish adolescents in Western Australia, a State in a westernised country where individuals are able to make such choices, this criticism may or may not apply to this group.

As stated, the primary psychosocial task of adolescence is the individual’s construction of a functional identity (Erikson, 1968). Markstrom-Adams (1992) summarises the distinguishable characteristics of a healthy identity into four factors and discusses several intervening factors in the formation of identity. The four factors of the healthy identity include “an understanding of the sameness and continuity of the self over space and time; having direction and purpose for one’s life as shown through identifiable values and goals; a self that is integrated and characterised by a sense of wholeness; and the self that is defined is valued by significant others” (Markstrom-Adams, 1992, p.173).

As the process of identity formation is not an entirely individualistic process, Markstrom-Adams (1992) discussed the influence of the social environment according to ethnic and racial group membership. As alluded to previously, according to the literature on identity formation and ethnic and racial group membership, the task of identity formation is more complex for individuals who are members of such groups. The fundamental problem is embedded in the conflict that occurs as a result of individual membership of the mainstream culture as well as that of the ethnic or racial minority group. For some individuals it is not possible to
merge the two cultures into a manageable blend for the process of successful identity formation to take place (Katz, 1981). When this takes place, identity diffusion occurs as the individual oscillates between the two identities of the mainstream and minority cultures. Markstrom-Adams (1992) suggested that ethnic racial prejudice and discrimination may limit an individual’s opportunity to explore his or her identity process.

The Schooling Environment

The literature is not unanimous on the relationship between PSC and the schooling environment. Schools may not be able to provide a high level PSC as they are created from the theory and practice of formal organizations with a fiscal motivation rather than from that of community development (Sergiovanni, 1994). Should this idea be true, PSC in the Jewish adolescent population should not be related to the school environment and it would therefore make no difference to an adolescent’s PSC (towards the Jewish community) whether they attended Carmel School or another educational institution.

Pretty and Chipuer (1998) advised schools aiming towards increasing adolescent PSC to strive for a balance between cooperation, mutual respect, support and competition, individual initiative and interdependence. As Carmel School was developed along these ideals, in order to provide an education that is specific to the Jewish adolescent (Dullard, 1998, personal communication), a reduced PSC in its students compared to those students attending other schools may indicate an important issue that would require a separate study.

Despite the suggestion made by Sergiovanni (1994), there is a considerable amount of research to support the finding that students’ adjustment and well-being has been tied to their educative community (Cook, 1987; Janosik, Creamer & Cross,
1988; McArthy et al., 1990). Although the majority of these studies have involved tertiary institutions, only Janosik et al. (1988) included variables that were exclusive to such institutions by studying the effect of residential boarding facilities. Burroughs and Eby (1998) have suggested that individuals often find sources of meaning, identity and support in their workplace rather than their neighbourhood, as that is where they spend the majority of their time. Therefore, adolescents’ schools are the environment where they spend a large portion of their time and therefore, may provide a similar source of meaning, identity and support. If this is the case, Carmel School students should possess a higher level of PSC towards the Jewish community.

The literature on PSC and the schooling environment has also suggested that students attending private schools would develop a higher PSC than students attending public schools (Lounsbury & DeNeui, 1995). As Carmel School is a private school, this may have implications for the current study, although some students who do not attend Carmel School do attend other private schools within the Perth metropolitan area.

While the literature supports the expectation that Carmel students will either have a higher PSC or, in at least one case, the same PSC as Jewish students who attend other schools, one cannot assume that this will be the case in the present study. Firstly, none of the studies reviewed in this paper have involved a Jewish adolescent population sample. While PSC has been studied in many contexts, it is believed that its development and correlates may be situation and setting specific (Hill, 1996). Secondly, one cannot assume generality between population samples based purely on the grounds of age. The results of a study on the PSC of adolescent Inuits cannot be assumed to hold true for a similar study of adolescent Aborigines. In addition, much
of the work on adolescent PSC continues to be conducted in the United States and Great Britain, and may not generalize to Australia.

Finally, one must take heed of the opinion within the community that is suggestive of the fact that it is the students who do not attend Carmel School that may present with a higher PSC. These statements have been made by concerned community stakeholders and must be considered rather than discarded or ignored as anecdotal. As stated by Calvino (1998), the community psychologist must consider the end that is being pursued and not focus only on the means of achieving that end. The community psychologist who does so must also be prepared to defend their methodology as it may come under scrutiny from more methodologically and politically dogmatic social scientists.

As with Pretty and Chipuer's (1998) study of Queensland students, the responses of the Jewish participants in this study may provide an insight into their experience of their two main interdependent communities — their school and their religious community. Membership of both communities is to some extent involuntary and is usually determined by their adults or legal guardians.

Additional Relevant Literature

Two additional areas of Psychological research must be considered in order to discuss the Perth Jewish population. The first area is directly related to the community as a whole and consists of research that may be related to Jewish communities. The second area involves research on immigration.

PSC has been shown to be high in communities that have been forced to invest considerable energies and resources in order to continue to survive (McMillan & Chavis, 1986; Lounsbury & DeNeui, 1995; Sarason, 1974). Throughout history, members of Jewish communities have faced anti-Semitic prejudice. The height of
such prejudice arguably came about at the hands of Nazi Germany before and during the Second World War where more than six million Jews (as well as other minority groups and so-called undesirables) were murdered. The modern-day Jewish communities of the world support the previous statement by their active presence and unity, and it is expected that this will be portrayed by the results of this study through an overall heightened level of PSC.

As mentioned previously, the Jewish immigrant population consists mainly of South African expatriates as well as migrants from Scotland, Russia and Israel. Therefore, it is necessary to include information on migration to supplement the literature on PSC in order to better understand the dynamics that exist within the Jewish community of Perth, both as a whole and within the adolescent sub-group. PSC displayed by an immigrant towards the receiving community is correlated to the degree he or she relates to the group (Regis, 1988). Within the Jewish community, there seems to be less concern for where the individual originated from as compared to whether or not they are Jewish. It is the membership to the religion that appears to be of paramount importance in establishing a bi-directional acceptance between the migrant and the established community (community members, personal communication, 1998).

Stamm and Fortini-Campbell (1979) as cited by Regis (1988) have reported that higher PSC and a feeling of closeness exist between immigrant groups that are proximate (live in the same locality of the new society) as well as native (originate from the same location as the immigrant). As the majority of the Jewish population of Perth lives within a very small radius, proximity is an important variable to examine. It must be noted that Stamm and Fortini-Campbell (1979) intended proximity to be studied in order to differentiate between members of the same
immigrant group living in different locations (Regis, 1988). As mentioned, the Jews appear to live in close proximity and therefore the Jewish residential location is worthy of examination, focusing on the importance of living in close contact with other members.

Relocation stress is related to immigration and is an additional area of the literature that warrants discussion in relation to the PSC of the Perth Jewish community. Raviv, Keinan, Abazon and Raviv (1990) explored the relationship between adolescents and moving as a stressful life event and found that despite the process of moving being stressful across all ages, it is particularly so for children and adolescents. In addition, these researchers also found females reported more stress than males and that adolescents who moved from one city to another experienced more stress than those who moved between houses in the same city. Factors to consider as adolescents tackle relocation stress include difficulties in adaptation to the new environment and the adoption of a regressive attitude (Holland, Kaplan & Davis, 1974), loss of control due to a reduction in one's mastery over their psychosocial environment (Fisher, 1986) having to leave one social circle and assimilate into another and changing schools and adapting to new methods of teaching and working (Lehr & Hendrikson, 1968).

Summary

Much of the current information on PSC has emerged as a result of the preliminary works of Sarason (1974) and McMillan and Chavis (1986). PSC has been studied in many different environments during the past twenty-five years but despite this, a generic definition of PSC has yet to be reached and several different measures of PSC have been, and continue to be, used to assess the construct.
Increased PSC has been found to be positively correlated with several beneficial effects such as increased self-worth and higher self-reported levels of happiness. Reduced levels of PSC have been shown to be positively correlated with several negative consequences such as increased drug usage and stress. As adolescence is a dynamic period of individual development and includes experimentation and rebelliousness, it may be particularly important to understand the relationship between PSC and the adolescent population.
Chapter 3: Hypotheses Formation

The following section provides information as to how each hypothesis was formulated for this study as well as providing a rationale for the expected results. Hill (1996) has stated that while several variables have been shown to be correlated with PSC (length of time spent in a community, income, age, education, race, gender, home ownership, number of children, number of neighbours know by first name and additional length of time one expects to live in the community), for each of these there is at least one study where the relationship was not supported. While this is not peculiar within the psychological literature, Hill's comment has been taken into consideration prior to selecting the relevant variables and formulating the hypotheses for this study.

PSC and School

An overview of the literature presented two possible explanations for predicting the relationship between PSC and School. The first supported the expectation that students who attend Carmel School would have a significantly higher PSC than students who did not. However, the literature may also be interpreted to expect that no significant difference between the two groups will exist. A third expectation based on the commentary of community members, suggests that Carmel students will present with a lower PSC than students attending other schools. The community reported that most of the youth movement affiliates attend other schools than Carmel School and are concerned that the education at Carmel School may be having a negative effect on the PSC of its students.
As stated previously, the voice of the community should not be ignored based purely on past research and is also deserving of exploration. As stated by Reason and Rowan (1981), the researcher should always consider the knower as well as the known. In addition, Wicker (1989) discussed the Substantive Domain as the processes and problems as seen and experienced by the individuals involved. Therefore, the researcher has opted to explore the communal concerns, and contrary to the psychological literature, expects Carmel students to have the lower PSC of the two groups.

**PSC and Gender**

In comparison to the previous point, there appears to be little controversy within the literature on the relationship between PSC and gender. Reports have generally found females to present with a higher PSC than males (Deaux, 1984; Eagly & Crowley, 1986; Eisenberg & Lennon, 1983; Lounsbury & DeNeui, 1995; Nolen-Hoekstra, 1987). Pretty et al., (1994) did not support this finding and reported no significant differences to exist between the PSC of adolescent males and females. No study was found of adolescents where males had a higher PSC than females. Thus, based on the overwhelming majority of studies reporting a similar direction with females significantly higher than males, a similar result may be expected in this study.

**PSC and Religious Observance**

As mentioned previously, a modern-day Jew is less conspicuous than in the past. By the end of the late nineteenth century the religion began to diversify and these changes resulted in Judaism dividing into several factions that practiced the religion differently. In Australia, a Jew may belong to one of a number of Jewish factions including Hassidic, Kolel, Lubavitch, Progressive (Liberal or Reform),
Mizrachi, Modern Orthodox or Orthodox. At present there is no research that has compared PSC and these factions of the Jewish religion.

One may expect the relationship between PSC and religious observance to be similar to that between PSC and the length of time one has lived in the community, whereby the lowest PSC would be found in the least observant individuals and the highest PSC with more observant individuals. However, this may be different in the Perth Jewish community.

The Perth Jewish population is small, largely Anglicised (Mossenson, 1990; Rutland, 1988) and the majority of its members belong to the mainstream Orthodox and Progressive factions. A large constituency of the community is not religiously observant and only some of those individuals preserve the fundamental laws of Kashrut (diet) and observation of the Sabbath (Zborowski & Herzog, 1965). As a substantially smaller number of individuals rigidly follow all the religious laws, it is possible that this has the potential for intra-community prejudice to exist. This is similar to the intergroup conflict effect that was discussed earlier, as the more observant individuals are considered to adhere to antiquated customs, by their secular counterparts (Baron & Byrne, 1991; Hewstone, Stroebe, Codal & Stephenson, 1993; Linville, et al., 1989; Schaller & Maass, 1989; Wilder, 1986).

If so, Perth Jewry may be separated into at least three groups rather than two. The first group involves the majority of the population, the semi-observant individuals who may or may not attend synagogue regularly but most likely attend on the religious holidays. They may or may not follow the laws of Kashrut. These individuals are expected to have the highest level of PSC because they have the strongest ‘goodness-of-fit’ with the comparatively secular characteristics of the Perth Jewish community. The second group involves the most observant individuals
who practice their religion in a more dogmatic manner. The third group involves the
non-observant individuals. These individuals only attend synagogue on the most
important holidays, do not abide by the laws of Kashrut and do not observe the
Sabbath. As both of these groups would not share the same identification with the
majority of the Jewish community they are expected to present with a lower PSC.

Therefore, it is predicted that an inverted-U relationship will exist between
PSC and religious observance, whereby the least and most observant individuals
would have the lowest sense of community and the highest PSC being found with
those individuals who consider themselves somewhere between the two extremes.

**PSC and Length of Time Lived in the Community**

One of the earliest reported and most consistent factors in predicting PSC is
the length of time one has lived within a particular community. Several studies have
found that PSC is positively correlated to the length of time one has been involved in
a particular community (Buckner, 1988; Riger & Lavarakas, 1981; Pretty, et al., 1996;

Two studies have not supported this result (Davidson & Cotter, 1986; Pretty & McArthly, 1991). In attempting to explain how their results did not support this
hypothesis, Davidson and Cotter (1986) suggested that perhaps it is not the length of
time in a community or neighbourhood that is important, but rather what one
achieves with that time. With no intention of further complicating the definitive
literature on PSC, it is this author’s view that ‘what one does with one’s time’ is far
too subjective and unfounded a variable to consider in favour of the length of time
one has lived in a community. As the Perth Jewish community consists of a large
number of migrants, it is uncertain how this will effect the result of this relationship.
For example, Carlisle, (1992) has suggested that migrants can take up to eighteen months or longer before they settle into their new environment.

Therefore, in accordance with the majority of the findings, a positive correlation between PSC and length of time in the Perth Jewish community is expected. It must be noted, that this expectation has been made with some degree of caution as a large percentage of the Perth Jewish population are migrants. It is not certain if and how this additional component will effect these results due to factors such as acclimatization and acculturation for both immigrants and residents.

PSC and Age

Due to a lack of resources, a wide range of ages could not be examined. Based on this limitation, the age of participants was deliberately chosen to include students in the final three years of secondary school. The reason for this was alluded to previously and related to these years of adolescence being a period of great change within an individual (identity formation) as they strive to identify themselves and discover their role in their environment (Peterson, 1989). In addition, Feldman and Newcomb (1969) alluded to a Disengagement Model where senior students begin to loosen their bonds with an educational institution as they prepare to move on following graduation. This would occur as they prepared to embark on their public, tertiary education or begin full-time work in a secular world during which time they would be developing their individual sense of identity (Erikson, 1963).

Although the Disengagement Model was originally formulated from research of college students, it may apply to secondary students. As there is no private Jewish tertiary institution in Australia, all students who complete their secondary studies and intend to further their education will have to prepare to do so at a different and foreign institution. At least three studies (Lounsbury & DeNeui, 1995; Pretty et al,
1994; Pretty et al, 1996) have been supportive of a model of disengagement. All found PSC to be reduced in students in their final year (or two) of schooling as compared to earlier years. The expectation for this study is that a significant negative relationship will exist between PSC and age with students in Year Twelve presenting with the lowest PSC and students in Year Ten with the highest.

**PSC and Residential Location**

The next issue to be considered is the relationship between PSC and residential location. Within a city, there is a tendency for “like” members of ethnic and minority groups to reside in close proximity to one another (Gifford, 1997). The Perth Jewish community as a whole is a minority group numbering less than eight thousand individuals compared to Perth’s population being in excess of one and a half million people. In addition, a large percentage of the Jewish population consists of migrants.

A proximal cluster of residences is present in the Perth Jewish community whereby the majority of individuals choose to reside in the neighbouring, northern suburbs of Yokine, Dianella and Noranda. Reasons for living in these suburbs are tied to the location of several important community centers such as the major Orthodox synagogue (PHC) situated in Yokine and a second Orthodox synagogue (NSC) in Noranda. Carmel School Kindergarten, Primary School and High School as well as WA Maccabi, The Jewish Centre and offices of the two youth movements (Habonim and B’nei Akivah) are located in Dianella.

Expected results for this hypothesis should show that Jews living in Noranda, Dianella and Yokine would have a higher PSC than Jews living in other suburbs of the Perth metropolitan area. It is also expected that the further one lives from these core suburbs, the lower would be their respective PSC (Puddifoot, 1995).
Summary

The expectation that there would be a difference between PSC and whether the adolescents attended Carmel Senior High School or another school formed the initial basis for this study. Five other hypotheses were also included to explore and describe the Perth Jewish community in a manner that had not been carried out to date.

The six hypotheses for this particular study are as follows:

1. PSC will be related to whether or not an individual attended Carmel Senior High School with non-Carmel students having the higher PSC.
2. PSC will be related to gender with females having a higher PSC than males.
3. PSC will be related to an individual’s self-perceived level of observance with moderately observant individuals having a higher PSC than those who are most or least religious (inverted-U shape).
4. PSC will be related to the length of time one has lived in Perth with a higher PSC being associated with a longer time lived in Perth.
5. PSC will be related to an individual’s age with the highest PSC in Year 10 students and the lowest in Year 12 students.
6. PSC will be related to one’s residential location with the highest PSC being found in those individuals that reside in the “Jewish” suburbs of Yokine, Dianella and Noranda, and the lowest PSC found in those who live furthest from these Jewish suburbs.
Chapter 4: Method

Population and Sample

One of the benefits of studying a small population is the opportunity to sample a relatively large proportion of the population. With an estimation of between five and six thousand people, the Jewish population of Western Australia can be described as small. With such a population size it should be easier practically and economically to obtain a large sample, thereby permitting a more representative and accurate picture to be constructed by the researcher. It must be understood that within the relevant religious group, there are different factions and some may or may not recognize the membership of others into the religion. This study included anyone who considers themselves to be Jewish.

In 1991 there were 4,322 Jews reported to be living in Western Australia (Census of Population and Housing, 1991). Within five years this figure had increased by 8.1 percent to 4702 (Census of Population and Housing, 1996). Estimates within the Jewish community believed the population to consist of 5500 Jews in 1991 and 6000 Jews in 1996, thus representing a very similar increase of 8.3 percent. Estimations of the 1996 Jewish population in Western Australia, the percentage of Jews that did not complete the Religion item on the 1996 census was 21.5 per cent. This is relatively similar to Mossenson’s (1990) figures where he reports that 28.8% of Jews did not complete the Religion item in the 1986 Census of Population and Housing. Therefore, the official statistics are likely to be underestimates and have been used to indicate the minimum known amount of Jewish people living in Western Australia.
According to the figures of the 1996 Census of Population and Housing, 215 Jewish adolescents between the ages of 14 and 18 live in Perth, Western Australia. However, one should assess the worth of a census and this is particularly relevant to the present study for two reasons. Firstly, the item on the national census pertaining to Religion is optional and many individuals choose not to complete it. In total 367,491 Australian individuals did not complete this item on the 1996 Census of Population and Housing. Secondly, it has been suggested that many Jews would not complete the religion item as a result of their experiences during the Holocaust (Rutland, 1988). Members of the Jewish community who believe the figures of the census to be understated included religious leaders, school principals and the Maccabi organisation. Their opinions are well supported in the literature (supported by Lippmann, 1968; Porush 1975; Price, 1964; Rubinstein, 1986; Rutland, 1988).

Participants

Participants were recruited from two sources. The first group sampled were students attending Carmel School. The second group were members of the Jewish community of Perth who did not attend Carmel School. The total sample numbered 167 students consisting of 60 males and 107 females. Of these, 54 males and 80 females attended Carmel School and 6 males and 27 females attended other schools.

One hundred and thirty four students aged between fifteen and seventeen years were recruited from Carmel School. According to the school principal (personal communication, 1998), there were 140 students aged between fourteen and eighteen years enrolled which represents a response rate of 95.7 per cent.

From the census data, it can be established that there were at least 215 Jewish individuals aged between fifteen and seventeen years in the whole of Western Australia, of whom 140 attended Carmel School. Therefore, no less than 75 students
must have attended other schools. Fifty students who did not attend Carmel School were contacted. Thirty-three completed surveys were obtained from individuals aged between fifteen and eighteen years and not enrolled at Carmel School. The 33 returned surveys represented a response rate of 66 percent.

Materials

A three-page questionnaire was distributed to all participants. The first page was a cover letter explaining the study and can referred to in Appendix A. This letter also requested that students show the package to their parents or legal guardian before completing the questionnaire.

The second page was a demographics section consisting of nine questions. Participants were asked to respond to questions concerning the suburb they lived in, school year, gender, faction of Judaism to which they belonged, self-perceived level of observance, school, country of birth, length of time they had lived in Perth and whether or not they affiliated with a Jewish youth movement.

A modified version of the Sense of Community Index (Chavis, Florin, Rich & Wandersman, 1987) was used to assess PSC. The original scale consisted of twelve items and used a yes/no response format. The possible score range for the original scale was between zero (lowest possible PSC) and twelve (highest possible PSC). Four of the items were negatively worded and required reverse scoring to be employed during the analysis stage. The original published data reported an inter-item scale reliability coefficient (Cronbach’s Alpha) of .71. The second and third pages of the questionnaire can be referred to in Appendix B.

For this study the scale was modified to include a 5-point Likert scale for responses. The response alternatives included: “Strongly Disagree”, “Disagree”, “Unsure”, “Agree” and “Strongly Agree”. The possible score range for the scale
used in this study ranged from twelve (lowest possible PSC) to sixty (highest possible PSC). A five-point Likert scale was chosen rather than a forced, "Yes/No" response format in order to allow respondents to note the intensity of their responses (Nasar & Julian, 1995).

Procedure

Different recruitment procedures were used for those participants attending Carmel School and those who did not. For the Carmel School sample, the school principal collected the questionnaires from the researcher and distributed them to the relevant students.

In accordance with school policy, the principal of Carmel School felt that parental consent was not required as the school had approved the study. It should be noted, however, that the School of Psychology's Ethics committee would only approve the study if such consent was indicated and for that reason it was sought. The students returned their completed questionnaires to the school the following week and these were collected by the researcher for analysis.

Questionnaires for students not attending Carmel School were distributed by making personal telephone contact with potential participants. These students were located through a snowball sampling technique that began with the secretary of the Maccabi sporting club who provided the names and telephone numbers of members of Maccabi who did not attend Carmel. No breech of confidentiality was committed as the Maccabi organisation actively supported the study. Students at Carmel School were also asked to list the names of Jewish adolescents they knew who were of the target age group, but did not attend Carmel School. The two lists were cross-referenced to provide a list of fifty individuals who were then contacted by telephone in order to obtain agreement for participation and organize a time and place for the
researcher to deliver the questionnaire. A time was made for the researcher to collect the surveys the following day. The non-Carmel students were also asked to identify any other Jewish students that they knew who did not attend Carmel School.

It must be noted that the use of a snowball sampling technique is likely to result in under-recruitment. One of the technique’s disadvantages is its inefficiency in sampling fringe members of the community. In other words, those members of the Jewish community who have the least amount of contact with other Jews would be less likely to be sampled.

Ethical Considerations

The cover letter that accompanied the questionnaire explained the study. This letter also requested that students show the package to their parents or legal guardian before completing the questionnaire in order to meet the ethical requirements associated with conducting research with minors as well as to receive parental consent. A consent form was not used in order to maintain the anonymity of the participants. It was assumed that the completed questionnaires returned to the researcher had received the appropriate consent.
Chapter 5: Results

All statistical analyses were performed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS), version 8.0. An alpha level of .05 was used for all statistical tests unless otherwise stated. Univariate analysis using independent samples t tests and correlations for PSC and the demographic variables was the first stage of analysis. Finally, a standard multiple regression was used to explore the joint explanatory power of the socio demographic data to predict PSC scores. The results of the demographics are summarised in Table 2.

Table 2.

Summary Of Demographics Of Participants.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Descriptors</th>
<th>Carmel</th>
<th>Non-Carmel</th>
<th>Combined</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Sample Size</td>
<td>n = 134</td>
<td>n = 33</td>
<td>N = 167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Mean PSC (SD)</td>
<td>39.1 (5.7)</td>
<td>36.4 (6.3)</td>
<td>38.6 (5.9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Males</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Females</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Youth Movement Affiliation</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Residing in Jewish Suburbs</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>96%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Australian Born</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. South African Born</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The mean and median length of time participants had lived in Perth was between five and seven years. The majority of participants reported being “Somewhat” observant (45%). This response category was defined according to participant’s self-report that they observed only some of the religious laws.

Cronbach’s alpha for internal consistency of the items of the modified SCI provided a moderately high alpha score of .72. This is close to the score of .71 found by McArthy et al. (1990) in their assessment of PSC and student burnout using the modified SCI. Removal of item eight (“I have almost no influence over what the Perth Jewish community is like”) would have increased the alpha score to a slightly higher .74, but since the improvement was marginal, the item was retained.

In order to assess the six hypotheses, independent samples t tests and bivariate correlations were performed between PSC and School, Gender, Level of Observance, Amount Of Time Lived In Perth, School Year and residential location (Suburb). Where necessary, appropriate quadratic tests and post hoc evaluations were also conducted.

The first hypothesis predicted that students attending Carmel School would have a lower PSC than similar aged Jewish students from other schools. As can be seen in Table 2, Carmel students have a higher mean PSC than students who did not attend Carmel School (M=39.13 versus M=36.45 respectively). While the difference was significant, t(165)=2.38, p< .05, the direction was contrary to that predicted.

The second hypothesis anticipated that females would have a higher PSC than males. Males (M=41.00, SD=5.40) were found to have a higher PSC than females (M=37.26, SD=5.73). The difference was significant, t(165) = 4.13, p< .01, but again in the opposite direction to that expected.
The third hypothesis suggested that PSC would be related to the self-perceived level of observance of an individual. The relationship was expected to take the shape of an inverted-U. As the Extremely observant group contained only two individuals, it was collapsed with the Rather observant group. Exploration of the results showed that the predicted relationship was non-linear and therefore a quadratic one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was used to test the differences. Results showed a significant relationship between self-perceived level of observance and PSC, $r(3)=10.68$, $p<.01$. The highest mean PSC scores were found in the Somewhat observant and Minimally observant groups ($M=40.83$, $SD=5.36$ and $M=36.95$, $SD=5.62$ respectively). The lowest PSC scores were found in community members who did not consider themselves to be at all observant ($M=31.89$, $SD=7.04$) and those who were either Extremely or Rather observant in the collapsed group ($M=38.95$, $SD=3.32$).

Post Hoc tests, using Tukey’s honestly significant difference test showed the following significant correlations: The PSC of Not At All observant individuals was significantly different to the PSC of Extremely and Rather observant individuals ($p<.01$), Somewhat observant individuals ($p<.01$) and Minimally observant individuals ($p<.05$). In addition, the PSC of Somewhat observant individuals was also significantly different to the PSC of Minimally observant individuals ($p<.01$).

The fourth hypothesis proposed that there would be a positive, linear correlation between PSC and the length of time that one had lived in Perth. While this was confirmed ($r=-.18$, $p<.05$), exploration of this result showed that the direction of the relationship for PSC and Length of Time Lived In Perth was non-linear. Surprisingly, the two highest PSC scores were experienced with those people who had been living in Perth for less than three years or more than eleven years.
respectively (refer to Figure 1). Due to the non-linear nature of this relationship, a one-way ANOVA was performed. Results described a significant quadratic effect, $F(6)=3.79, p<.01$ between the length of time one had lived in Perth and their respective PSC.

Post Hoc tests, using Tukey’s honestly significant difference test showed the following significant differences: The PSC of individuals who had lived in Perth for between five and seven years was significantly different to the PSC of individuals who had lived in Perth all of their lives ($p<.05$), less than one year ($p<.05$) and for between one and two years ($p<.05$). In addition, the PSC of individuals who had lived in Perth for less than one year was also significantly different to the PSC of individuals who had lived in Perth for between eight and ten years ($p<.05$).

![Figure 1: The Relationship Between PSC Score And Length Of Time Lived In Perth](image)
The fifth hypothesis anticipated that PSC would be correlated with a student's School Year. The results, while significant ($r = -0.29, p < 0.01$), only partially supported the hypothesis. As the relationship appeared to be quadratic rather than linear, a one-way ANOVA was performed. Results showed a significant difference between PSC for the three School Year groups, $F(2) = 13.63, p < 0.01$. PSC was significantly higher for individuals in Year Ten ($M = 42.35, SD = 4.36$) compared to individuals in Years Eleven ($M = 37.09, SD = 4.63$) and Twelve ($M = 37.56, SD = 6.91$). Therefore, this result partially supports the fifth hypothesis as a statistically significant difference was present and Year Ten students did indeed present with the highest Sense of Community out of the three age groups.

The final hypothesis considered one's residential location to be correlated with PSC. The Jewish suburbs were classified according to the centers of Jewish activity as well as being where the community's central buildings were located and included Yokine, Dianella and Noranda. The non-Jewish suburbs included all the other suburbs that were reported by participants and included Mirrabooka, Menora, Mount Lawley, Coolbinia, City Beach, Peppermint Grove and Mosman Park.

It was expected that those living within the 'Jewish suburbs' of Yokine, Dianella and Noranda ($n = 120, M = 40.28, SD = 5.88$) would experience a higher PSC than those living outside of this central, residential area ($n = 47, M = 34.43, SD = 3.13$). The result of this hypothesis was not statistically significant, $t(147) = 1.17, p > 0.05$, despite the trend being in the expected direction. It should be noted that there were only a very small number of individuals living in three of the areas that were located furthest away from the Jewish core, making it difficult to statistically detect any differences. In addition, it is difficult to ascertain which suburbs represent the Jewish core and which do not. In order to analyse the data exhaustively, several alternative
classifications of the data pertaining to suburb groupings were performed in order to try and identify any type of relationship. All such attempts to find a significant relationship failed.

To evaluate the assumptions of regression, the guidelines outlined in Tabachnick and Fidell (1996) were followed. The data was examined for univariate outliers by examining standardized scores and histograms. Cases with standardized scores in excess of +/- 3.00 were considered potential outliers. No cases were identified.

A standard multiple regression was performed with the set of nine demographic variables used to predict PSC. The results are summarized in Table 3. The analysis of results showed that Length of Time Living in Perth was the strongest predictor of PSC. This was followed in descending order of strength by Self Perceived Level of Religious Observance, Sex, School Year and School. The regression equation explained 30 percent of the variance in PSC (adjusted R²).
Table 3.

Summary Of Standard Regression Analysis For Variables Predicting PSC.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>SE  B</th>
<th>β</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>School</td>
<td>-3.26</td>
<td>1.12</td>
<td>-0.22*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>-1.83</td>
<td>0.54</td>
<td>-0.24**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>-3.43</td>
<td>0.88</td>
<td>-0.27**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birthplace (Australian vs Other)</td>
<td>0.64</td>
<td>0.71</td>
<td>0.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level Of Observance</td>
<td>-2.20</td>
<td>0.58</td>
<td>-0.30**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type Of Judaism</td>
<td>-0.12</td>
<td>0.96</td>
<td>-0.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth Movement Affiliation</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>0.96</td>
<td>0.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Length Of Time In Perth</td>
<td>-0.94</td>
<td>0.21</td>
<td>-0.39**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. *p < .05, **p < .01

\[ R = .59; R^2 = .35; \Delta R^2 = .30; \]

\[ F(10) = 7.99, p < .01 \]

In order to explore any additional effects that may have been present within the community, a supplementary series of t tests and correlations were performed of which the results are described below.

As more than one individual unexpectedly belonged to both youth groups, the responses for the final demographics question pertaining to youth movement affiliation was entered as the following two separate responses, “Do you attend Habonim?” and “Do you attend B’nei Akivah?” Both response formats were either “Yes” or “No”. By transforming the response format in this manner, rigorous analyses continued without having to send out corrected questionnaires. This was
particularly relevant for the standard multiple regression to be carried out with
integrity. It was impossible to foresee this error through either pilot testing or further
scrutineering as, considering their vastly different ideals, it was not expected that an
individual would belong to more than one youth movement.

School was significantly correlated with Type of Judaism ($r=.17, p<.05$) and
Youth Movement Affiliation ($r=-.25, p<.01$). The vast majority of Carmel students
belonged to the Orthodox Jewish faction (92%). The remaining numbers consisted of
Reform or Liberal Jews (5%) and Lubavitch Jews (3%). For those students who did
not attend Carmel there was a greater proportion of Reform or Liberal Jews (27%)
although the majority was also made up of Orthodox Jews (73%).

It was expected that participants who were involved in a youth movement
would have a higher PSC than those individuals who did not. Results for the
independent sample $t$ test did not support this hypothesis as no significant difference
was found, $t(165)=1.01, p=.88$.

Almost 45 percent of students attending Carmel School affiliated with a
youth movement. The majority of these attended Habonim (63%) and the remainder
attended B'nei Akivah (40%). Some students reported an affiliation with both
groups, hence the totals adding up to more than one hundred percent. More than half
of the upper high school did not affiliate with a youth movement (55%), whereas
over sixty percent of students attending other school than Carmel affiliated with a
youth movement (64%). All of these students reported an affiliation with Habonim
(100%).

The highest levels of PSC were found in students who affiliated with both
youth movements (mean PSC = 47), followed by those who affiliated with the B'nei
Akivah youth movement (mean PSC = 39.27) and Habonim Youth Movement (mean
PSC = 38.72) respectively. The lowest levels of PSC were present in those individuals who did not affiliate with a youth movement (mean PSC = 38.16). The differences between the groups were not significant.
Chapter 6: Discussion

This study investigated PSC within the adolescent Jewish community of Perth, Western Australia by incorporating a quantitative research methodology using a modified SCI questionnaire. In this chapter, each of the hypotheses of the study will be considered as well as relevant subsidiary information.

The Relationship Between PSC And School

Although the primary reason for conducting this study was to assess the levels of PSC within the Jewish adolescent population of Perth, Western Australia, specific attention was placed upon adolescents who attended Carmel School and those who did not. It was expected that Carmel School students would present with a lower PSC than Jewish students attending other schools. The results of this study did not support this hypothesis.

Based on this result, it must be queried whether the correct choice was made to consider community opinion over the PSC literature base. This decision is supported by the following reasons. Firstly, the relevant psychological literature was not written exclusively about Jews, adolescents, students or Australians. The literature base consisted of many studies performed over the past few decades in a variety of different environments with different populations (Burroughs & Eby, 1998; Davidson et al., 1991; Glynn, 1986; Lounsbury & DeNeui, 1995; Nasar & Julian, 1995; Pargament et al., 1983; Pretty & McArthy, 1991; Regis, 1988). As none of those studies involved Jewish adolescents, it was not considered appropriate to refute the community's expectations. Secondly, when a community aspires to a general opinion that opposed the general trend of the literature, the researcher must
consider the substantive domain and contextual nature of the research (Reason & Rowan, 1981; Wicker, 1989).

As the two youth movement groups are the major source of voluntary participation in the adolescent community’s cultural and Zionistic education, affiliation was considered to be an important indicator of PSC. Community opinion suggested that most students who attended the youth movement group meetings did not attend Carmel School. While less than half of the total sample did not affiliate with either youth movement, School did play a role in determining affiliation as almost 45 percent of Carmel students were affiliates compared to almost 64 percent of Jewish students from other schools. Therefore, the relationship between PSC and School was also examined as to whether a student was affiliated with a Jewish youth movement.

Since PSC was significantly correlated with School, and School was significantly correlated with Youth Movement Affiliation, PSC was examined against Youth Movement Affiliation in order to attempt to identify whether PSC was also related to Youth Movement Affiliation. The following results emerged from the analysis. Firstly, PSC was significantly higher in Carmel School students than students attending other schools. Secondly, fewer Carmel School students affiliated with a youth movement than students attending other schools. The analysis between youth movement affiliation and PSC in order to identify whether there was a relationship between the two variables reported no significant differences.

Further exploration of these results showed that the highest level of PSC was found in those adolescents who attended either both B’nei Akivah and Habonim’s meetings or only the B’nei Akivah youth movement’s meetings. It must be noted that only two individuals were affiliated of both youth movements. The lowest level of
PSC was found in those adolescents who did not attend any youth movement meetings. As no significant differences are present between PSC and youth movement affiliation, it is not possible to assume that youth movements have a positive effect on the PSC of the Jewish adolescent community. A relationship does however exist, where individuals (from all schools) with higher levels of PSC attend such meetings. Therefore the relationship between low PSC and not attending Carmel School cannot be explained by the youth movements having a negative effect on PSC and other explanations may be indicated.

One possible explanation for the difference in PSC, School and Youth Movement Affiliation is that Carmel School provides its students with an academic, cultural and Zionistic education and therefore its students would be less inclined to need or seek this type of information elsewhere. On the other hand, students who attend other schools in the Perth metropolitan area may have a choice between attending either a public or private institution, but not a Jewish one. As they would not receive a similar Jewish education as students attending Carmel School, they may choose to receive this through the youth movement groups as this is one way such an education is available to them.

While the content of the cultural and Zionistic education may be very similar between Carmel School and the youth movement groups (youth movement leaders frequently visit Carmel School as guest lecturers), the environment and social setting possibly play an important role. An important distinction between the two groups lies in the fact that students at Carmel School would study these issues with colleagues whom they are in contact with for five days per week, whereas the youth movement affiliates would only meet once per week with students from a variety of different schools.
These explanations may be plausible in explaining why fewer of Carmel's students were affiliated with a youth movement and yet presented with a higher level of PSC as a group than those students who attended other schools. In addition, while causality on the benefits of youth movements towards increasing levels of PSC cannot be assumed, affiliation of the two youth movement groups has at least been shown to possess higher levels of PSC albeit not significantly so. Those who affiliate with either of the youth movements have been shown to have a higher PSC than those who do not. Therefore, it can be assumed that the gap in PSC between adolescents who attend Carmel School and those who do not may be larger without the presence of the youth movements. This suggestion may imply that the youth movements could make their meetings more attractive to more Jewish adolescents from other schools in order to increase the overall PSC of Perth's Jewish adolescent student community through contact and in turn, reducing the difference in PSC between students of Carmel School and other schools in the Perth metropolitan area.

A final issue which should be considered is the tendency to over-simplify this relationship and assume that adolescents with higher levels of PSC are more likely to be attracted to youth movement meetings, hence the higher PSC scores associated with their members. If this is the case, then a higher number of Carmel School students would have attended youth movement meetings as it is these students who were found to have the highest levels of PSC in the Jewish community.

It would appear that the community was correct in assuming that youth movement group participation was higher in students who did not attend Carmel School. The community was also correct in their assumption that PSC would be highest for those adolescents who attend youth movement group meetings. However, the fact that Carmel School students presented with the highest levels of PSC
indicates that it may be incorrect to assume that PSC within the Jewish adolescent population was so strongly related to voluntary cultural education. As a result, the relationship between PSC and Jewish adolescents may be far more complex than this.

**The Relationship Between PSC And Gender**

Jewish adolescent males presented with a higher PSC than females, thus refuting one of the more consistent findings in the PSC literature (Deaux, 1984; Eagly & Crowley, 1986; Eisenberg & Lennon, 1983; Lounsbury & De Neui, 1995; Nolen-Hoekstra, 1987). Context and cultural values may help explain this result as, within the Jewish religion, males take a more dominant role.

The orthodox religious services held in the synagogue are exclusively based around male participation and do not require the presence of females. Communal prayer can only take place if a ‘minyan’ (quorum of ten males) is present. During ‘shacharis’ (morning prayer) it is the males who lay ‘tefillin’ (leather wrappings for the arm and forehead) and only the males wear a “tallis” (sheet like, upper body wrapping). Adolescent males are required to have a ‘bar mitzvah’ (spiritual entrance into manhood) at the age of thirteen, while females can opt whether or not to celebrate their ‘bat mitzvah’ a year earlier. The bar mitzvah is necessary for the male as one can only be counted for a minyan and read from the Torah once this has taken place. If a married couple intend to divorce, it is the male who determines whether it will take place.

Within the Orthodox education system of Carmel School, males and females would follow these laws in their daily activities. While the majority of these students would only engage in these religious practices at school, merely partaking in them may provide an environment of inclusion that may increase male membership into
the community. Whether this leads to an increase in male PSC or a decrease in female PSC (or both) is uncertain.

The literature on relocation stress may further contribute to explain this result. As stated previously, it has been found that in adolescents who have migrated from one city to another, females experience more stress than males (Raviv et al., 1990). As only 52 percent of the sample was born in Perth, 48 percent of participants were migrants. However, as only 14 percent of the migrant population had lived in Perth for less than two years, it is unlikely that this explanation alone is sufficient to explain the relationship between PSC and gender.

Perhaps Judaism is a relatively traditional religion and adolescent females may be torn between the way they are expected to behave and the way the world has changed since their parents were adolescents. This discrepancy may be sustained by parental expectations that both sexes attend university, but females are also expected to be primarily responsible for domestic organisation after marriage as well as child rearing.

On the one hand, the traditional Jewish woman is expected to take care of the household duties and would also be aware that the world has changed and many women now consider a professional career to be an integral part of their lives. As participants were adolescents, the females sampled in this study may rebel against the cultural expectations by withdrawing from the community as they prepare for university education and the possibility of marriage to a Jewish male who may or may not share the expectations of their parents. This is linked to the mobilisation strategy of social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

While it may be the case for Australian, and possibly worldwide communities of the Jewish religion, that males may have a higher PSC, this finding needs to be
replicated in other ages and Jewish communities before assuming such a
generalisation. It must be noted that while this finding may further support the
argument against generality in the area of PSC, the results should be considered with
a degree of caution as the majority of the sample in this study attended Carmel
School and for the reasons stated previously, the difference between males and
females may be exaggerated. In addition, 64 percent of the total sample was female
and this may further increase the likelihood of a significant difference, assuming that
being enrolled at Carmel School created an environment for increased male PSC.
However, while this may provide a tenable explanation for increased male PSC, one
can only assume causality between Carmel School and decreased female PSC, if one
argues that females want to actively partake in the religious activities. While this
may provide the basis for future research between religious exclusion of females and
PSC in Jewish communities, this relationship needs to be explored further.

On the other hand, the result can at least be partially explained according to
the literature on relocation stress (Fisher, 1986; Holland et al., 1974; Lehr &
Hendrikson, 1968; Raviv et al., 1990). Reports in this area of psychology suggested
that female children and adolescents experienced more stress as a result of entering a
new environment, leaving familiar surroundings and friends in order to enter new
social groups, make new friends and go to a new school. As a large percentage of the
Perth Jewish population are migrants, relocation stress may provide an explanation
of this result.

The Relationship Between PSC And Religious Observance

The expectation that there would be an inverted-U relationship between PSC
and self-perceived level of Observance was supported. As the Jewish population of
Perth is both small and relatively secular in nature, community members who
considered themselves to be Rather or Extremely religious was expected to be a minority. This was supported by the results where less than 13 percent of participants belonged to either these two groups. The majority of the sample considered themselves to be either Somewhat (43%) or Minimally (39%) observant. Less than 6 percent of participants considered themselves to be Not At All observant.

Owing to the small size of the community, it was expected that the most religious Jews would neither find the support to maintain their beliefs and practices nor the numbers of people necessary to sustain social relationships based on common interests. These were expected to result in a low PSC. Similarly, Jews that considered themselves Not At All religious would not involve themselves in the Jewish community's religious and cultural activities, and thus would also present with a low PSC. In contrast, those participants who presented with the highest PSC were expected to do so as they would receive from the community the amount they expected through their membership of sporting, social, religious and cultural groups. As the religion itself would be less of a factor than their membership to Jewish clubs, they would be most satisfied with the Jewish community.

While the hypothesis was supported, it is not possible to ascertain whether the reasons provided for the assumption were true. This study did not investigate any specific questions relating to why participants felt a certain way toward their community.

The Relationship Between PSC And Length Of Time Lived In The Community

One of the most consistent findings in the PSC literature is the relationship between PSC and the length of time lived in a community (Buckner, 1988; Pretty et al., 1996; Riger & Lavrakas, 1981; Robinson & Wilkinson, 1995). In accordance with the results of many of the studies, it was anticipated that PSC would be
positively correlated with the length of time one had lived in Perth. The results of this study did not support this hypothesis.

The quadratic nature of the relationship between Jewish adolescent's PSC and the length of time they had lived in the Perth Jewish community had two sections that can be clearly identified by referring to Figure 1 in an earlier section of this paper. The first part occurred in individuals who had lived in Perth for less than five to seven years. For this subgroup, the relationship between PSC and length of time in Perth was negative whereas PSC steadily decreased over time. The second part occurred in individuals who had lived in Perth for more than five to seven years, including those who were born in Perth. For this subgroup, the relationship followed the results of the literature with PSC increasing steadily over time (Carlisle, 1992).

A primary reason for explaining this effect is related to the high numbers of migrants within the Perth Jewish community. Slightly more than half of the adolescent community was born in Perth (52%) and the remainder is comprised of migrants. The largest migrant group is South Africa migrants who make up almost 40 percent of the Jewish adolescent community.

Once again, this may be used as an argument against generality in the area of PSC, as many of the world's Jewish community's consist of high levels of immigrants. Whether a case can be successfully argued for generality of these results for all Jewish communities needs to be explored further.

The Relationship Between PSC And Age

Age and PSC was expected to be negatively correlated. This was partially supported by the results of the study. While it was shown that the youngest age group (students in year ten) did present with the highest PSC, students in year twelve unexpectedly presented with a higher PSC than students in year eleven. The analysis
of this hypothesis must be undertaken with a degree of caution as the age groups are situated so closely to one another and students in both Years Eleven and Twelve would be preparing to respectively undertake or complete their tertiary entrance examinations in order to gain entrance to university (Erikson, 1963; Feldman & Newcomb, 1969; Lounsbury & DeNeui, 1995; Pretty et al., 1994).

The Relationship Between PSC And Residential Location

It was also expected the highest Psychological Sense of Community scores would be found with those individuals who lived in the suburbs where the highest concentration of Jews lived (Gifford, 1997). The results of the study did not show that Suburb was in any way related to Psychological Sense of Community. This was an interesting result because of the significance placed upon the built environment by the Jewish population. As mentioned, the Jewish suburbs of Yokine, Dianella and Noranda were classified according to the centers of Jewish activity as well as being where the community's central buildings were located. The non-Jewish suburbs included all the other suburbs. The lack of a significant difference may be explained by viewing a map of the suburbs where the participants resided (refer to Figure 2.).
While the suburbs of Yokine, Dianella and Noranda were those where the centers of Jewish cultural and communal activity were directly located, the majority of the other suburbs were also nearby with examples including the suburbs of Menora, Coolbinia, Mount Lawley and Mirrabooka. Only the suburbs of City Beach,
Peppermint Grove and Mosman Park were located more than five kilometers from the core of community activity.

An interesting effect, and one that was alluded to in the formulation of the respective hypothesis, did emerge. The equal lowest mean PSC scores were found in those individuals who lived the furthest distance from the Jewish suburbs and those who lived in the suburb of Mirrabooka. Unfortunately, less than two percent of the total sample lived in these suburbs. Therefore the small participant numbers made statistical analyses difficult, even when collapsing them into one group. Taking this into consideration, the relationship between the built environment and distance from the Jewish core and PSC, is worthy of future research in the Perth Jewish community.

Summary

Based on the results of this study, it appears that an argument in favour of the generality of PSC cannot be supported for the Jewish community of Perth. The most noticeable delineations from the general PSC literature included the relationships between PSC and gender and the length of time one had lived in the Perth Jewish community. An additional result that was found to be contrary to the literature was the relationship between PSC, gender and length of time lived in Perth. Reported results of both PSC and studies on relocation stress expected PSC to be lower for new migrants as they attempt to assimilate into their new community. However, in the Perth Jewish community the two highest levels of PSC were found in those individuals who had lived in Perth for less than one year or between one and two years, respectively. Two factors may partially explain why Jewish migrants to Perth may not experience the relocation stress of other populations. A large percentage of Jewish migrants originate from South Africa and arguably share many things in
common. It may be possible that the heightened levels of PSC in those who have lived in Perth for less than two years is a remnant of a high PSC within Jewish communities in South Africa. These migrants may they have carried this into their Australian communities, for their first year or two in Perth. In addition, the presence of Shalom House, a welcoming committee and extensive social support plays an active role in introducing new migrants to the Perth Jewish community’s facilities and people. While these may reduce the amount of stress associated with relocating to a new country or city, they do not explain the reason why PSC is higher for the most recent migrants.

The following factors are believed to collectively contribute to the unexpected results: High levels of migration (the majority of which are from South Africa), males traditionally being the more active gender, small population size, the presence of only one private, Jewish school, conflicts of identity between mainstream and minority cultures (particularly for females) and very small numbers of the most religiously observant individuals.

In summary, the Perth Jewish adolescent community appears to hold some unique views on the construct of PSC and future research needs to assess whether these characteristics are generic across all Jewish communities, other Australian Jewish communities or specific to the Perth Jewish community. The following chapter examines the limitations and practical implications of this study as well as provide recommendations for future research.
Chapter 7: Limitations And Implications Of The Research

The focus of this research was to examine PSC in Jewish adolescents. These views provided an interesting challenge as there were a number of approaches that required consideration.

Limitations Of The Research

One of the difficulties of investigating PSC in Jewish adolescents is the problem with recruitment. The recruitment of participants who did not attend Carmel School began with a list of names from the secretary of WA Maccabi consisting of members of the sporting club. This meant that the list included members of WA Maccabi who were involved in a community activity (sport) and perhaps would have had a different PSC than those who did not partake in any sports.

Furthermore, many of the additional participants who were contacted as a result of the snowball sampling technique were mainly involved in the youth movement groups and therefore the same effect applies to them as the WA Maccabi members. In addition, a limitation of using a snowball sampling technique is the increased likelihood towards under-recruitment of marginal participants. In the Jewish community, individuals who have the least amount of contact with community members would be less likely to be recruited as participants for this study.

Importantly, it must be noted that while it is impossible to know exactly how many Jewish adolescents are living in Perth and not attending Carmel School, as a result of an imperfect census, it is necessary to identify this limitation to the study. Based on the results of this study, it may be assumed that if the whole Jewish
adolescent population was sampled, there would be an even greater difference in the level of PSC between Carmel School students and those attending other schools.

In addition, it is difficult to determine for research purposes who is a Jew and who is not. While religious law may state that anyone who is born unto a Jewish mother is a member of the Jewish faith, one must also consider the beliefs of each individual. The very definition of a Jew also plays a part in determining who should be included in a study such as this and who should not. This is both a limitation of this study and an important implication for future researchers intending to conduct research in an area where membership to a defined group is an issue.

As a result of limited resources, a relatively small population sample had to be chosen. For this reason, it was necessary to use an age group that was accessible and indicative of change and personal growth, yet mature enough to have an individual opinion of their surroundings. It was decided that the final three years of high school would be the most appropriate for the purpose of this study as these students were in different stages of their schooling. Year Ten students would have acclimatized into their secondary school surroundings. Year Eleven students would be in the process of working towards completion of their high schools certificate and Year Twelve students would be preparing to leave the school in order embark on their tertiary studies or engage in full-time work outside of the schooling environment.

Furthermore, it would have been useful to compare the PSC of individuals with WA Maccabi membership as an additional variable in order to further explore the relationship between PSC and voluntary community activities. Unfortunately this could not have been examined prior to analysing the results by cross-referencing the
responses against the list of WA Maccabi members as no names were provided on the response sheet.

This issue is also related to the relationship between self-perceived level of observance and PSC. As all community members are eligible to join WA Maccabi, a higher PSC would be expected in participants who perceived themselves to be Not At All observant and who were members of WA Maccabi compared to those who were not. However, as membership to WA Maccabi was not assessed, the relationship between non-religious and non-cultural community activities and PSC is one possible option for future research.

Finally, conducting research on the Perth Jewish community is hindered by the availability of published studies. It is hoped that the present research goes some way to addressing the void that exists within the PSC and cultural Psychology literature.

Future Research

Since psychological research of PSC using Jewish adolescents is very sparse, there are many studies which could be undertaken. From this study two possible areas of future research are:

1. Cross-Sectional Versus Longitudinal Methodology. This study was conducted with the intention of providing preliminary research with Jewish adolescents of Perth, Western Australia and therefore was cross-sectional in design. As PSC has been shown to change over time, it is sensible to examine the construct longitudinally. This study could serve as a baseline study and be followed by subsequent examinations of PSC across determined intervals. A recommendation for future research with the Jewish population would be to cross-reference trends in the data with community and worldwide events of specific relevance to the target group.
in order to identify how these effect the population. The reason that this is especially significant for the Jewish population of Perth is twofold. Firstly, there is a high level of migration among the Jewish population and secondly, the Jews have often been targets of Anti-Semitism and prejudice. For example, it would have been interesting to see how the wave of South African immigration effected the PSC of the community towards the end of the 1980's or how the Arab-Israeli conflict manifests itself in Australian Jews. This would raise ethical considerations concerning the anonymity of participants which would need to be addressed.

2. Longitudinal Comparisons With Same Aged Participants. As has already been mentioned, a general level of PSC within the Jewish adolescent community has been reported in this study and this could provide a starting point for comparisons to be made with future adolescents as they enter this period of their schooling. Future research could also focus the comparison of PSC of Jewish adolescents every five years (as an arbitrary time period) in order to identify shifts in the population. These could then be cross-referenced with a wealth of different variables in order to further explain and understand the construct of PSC.

Practical Implications Of The Research

Apart from contributing to the PSC literature in religious minority groups, the present study can also be applied to the areas of schooling and youth movement affiliation within Perth and other Australian Jewish communities. Adolescents with low PSC who do not attend Carmel School may be targeted in order to attempt to increase their levels of PSC. In addition, although the relationship between PSC and youth movement affiliation was not significant, there appears to be a trend in the results that may warrant further attention.
Conclusion

The results of this study have provided the preliminary work for research to continue with PSC and its relationship with the adolescent, Perth Jewish community. Furthermore, attention must also be directed to the larger Australian Jewish communities in Sydney and Melbourne. The size of the Jewish populations in each of these cities is greater than five times the size of Perth's Jewish community. Therefore, it is expected that these bigger populations consist of larger sub-communities of more (and less) observant individuals. In addition, there is a choice between several private, Jewish schools to attend rather than just one. These factors must be researched prior to assuming any generality in PSC of Jewish communities in Australia and the world. In addition, continued research should be performed with other age groups within the Perth Jewish community in order to examine the macro-system of the community.
References

Australian Archives Office, CA 12, Prime Minister's Department (1944).

Correspondence Files, Multi-number series (Third System), 1934-1950, CRS A461.


Census of Western Australia (1891). Australian Bureau of Statistics.

Census of Western Australia (1901). Australian Bureau of Statistics.


Gentilli, J. (1941). The twilight of Australian Jewry, Australian Jewish Forum in


*Jewish Observer* (1920a). May.

*Jewish Observer* (1920b). June.


Westralean Judean (1925). *April.*

Westralean Judean (1934a). *September.*

Westralean Judean (1934b). *October.*


Westralean Judean (1936b). *June.*

Westralean Judean (1936c). *November.*


Appendix A

Questionnaire Cover Letter
Dear Student,

Welcome to the Jewish Psychological Sense of Community (PSC) Study. This study is currently being carried out with Jewish high school students in years 10, 11 and 12 and living in Perth. The aim of the study is to assess the attitudes of Jewish students towards their environment and general community.

Before completing the questionnaire, please give this package to your parents or legal guardian for approval. If they consent to your participation in this study, you may complete the questionnaire.

If you attend Carmel School, please complete the attached questionnaire and return it to your school tomorrow. If you do not attend Carmel School, please complete the attached questionnaire and have it ready for me to collect according to the time and place as arranged. Your response sheets will remain completely anonymous and will be stored in a locked safety box.

Please ensure that you have answered all of the questions. It should take less than five minutes to complete.

If you have any queries or problems, please contact me at home on 9375 1128 or on my mobile on 0417 184 568.

Thank you for your assistance in assessing the needs of Jewish students in Perth, Western Australia.

Yours sincerely,

Darren M. Stein
Appendix B

Student Demographics
Modified SCI Index
Student Demographics

Instructions: Please fill in all appropriate spaces and tick the appropriate boxes.

Address (Suburb only)?

Age?

Gender?

Type Of Judaism?
(Orthodox, Reform, Lubavitch, etc)

How Observant Are You?

Name Of School?

Country Of Birth?

Length Of Time Lived In Perth?

Youth Movement Affiliation?
### Sense Of Community Index

**Instructions:** The following statements refer to your opinions about the **Perth Jewish Community**, please circle one appropriate number for each of the twelve items.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Neither/Unsure</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. I think the Perth Jewish community is a good place for me to live.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. People in the Perth Jewish community do not share the same values.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. I want the same thing from the Perth Jewish community as other Jews.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. I can recognize most of the people who are part of the community.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. I feel at home in the Perth Jewish community.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Very few Perth Jews know me.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. I care about what Jewish community members think of my actions.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. I have almost no influence over what the Jewish community is like.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. If there is a problem within the community, its members can solve it.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. It is very important for me to live in the Perth Jewish community.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. People in this community generally don't get along with each other.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. I expect to live in this community for a long time.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>