INTRODUCTION

Debra Renée Kaufman, in a review of Moses Rischin and John Livingson’s *Jews of the American West*, commented that it was important to bring the margins into the mainstream:¹

...as a feminist scholar, I know a great deal about marginalisation and being on the periphery. I also know the joy of helping to bring the margins into the mainstream.

She added that the religious and ethnic Jewish experience in America ‘varied by region and historic moment’, and gave as an example the fact that there were almost no Eastern European Jewish migrants in the West.²

This article aims to bring the focus of the more marginal Australian Jewish communities into the centre. It will provide a brief historical overview and then examine the major contemporary issues and problems confronting the smaller Jewish communities of Queensland, Western Australia, South Australia and the Australian Capital Territory (ACT), which are usually overshadowed by the dominant Jewish communities of Victoria and New South Wales.

Fortunately, Australia has reliable (if under-enumerated) data on its Jewish communities. The Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) conducts a population census every five years and the responses to all questions are tabulated without sampling. A standard question at the census, unchanged since the federation of Australia in 1901, requires respondents to state their religious affiliation. The definition of ‘Jewish’ relies on self-identification, consistent with the approach used by the Australian Bureau of Statistics and other central statistical agencies throughout the world. However, some Jews may consistently decide for a number of reasons not to disclose their religious denomination: it is not compulsory to answer this question. There may be the fear of antisemitism, distrust of government agencies, or reluctance to divulge personal details. Moreover, those who regard themselves as
Jewish but who are not observant may not wish to have their identity linked only with religion. An estimate of 20 to 25 per cent has been accepted as a constant under-enumeration factor by a number of Australian demographers. In 2001 and again in 2006, very reliable statistics for Sydney were gathered from educational bodies and they confirm a census under-enumeration of around 20 per cent. Therefore, whilst the census gives a total of 86,000 Jews in Australia, the likely total based on 20 per cent of under-enumeration is closer to 105,000.³

Most Australian Jews live in Melbourne and Sydney — 46 and 41 per cent respectively. These two cities represent 18 and 21 per cent of the overall population. The rest of Australia (including the smaller capital cities, regional, and rural communities) accounts for 61 per cent of the total Australian population but only for 13 per cent of Australian Jews. More than half of these are recent immigrants from South Africa living in the isolated city of Perth in Western Australia, 3000 kilometres from Sydney and Melbourne. The spread of this population is shown in the table and map below, which are based on actual census figures that have not been readjusted for under-enumeration.⁴

CENSUS 2006 Religious Affiliation: Judaism

Map showing location and Jewish Communities, Census 2006
A series of focus-group discussions was held in Brisbane, the Gold Coast, Canberra, Adelaide, and Perth from November 2005 to November 2007. These discussions were part of a larger project on the political sociology of Australian Jewry, through a Linkage Grant supported by the Australian Research Council and a number of Jewish communal bodies. Each focus group included stakeholders from the major Jewish communal organizations, encompassing the main leadership, women’s groups, and the youth groups. The major issues canvassed included education, succession, assistance from the larger Jewish communities, communal unity (especially in relation to cooperation between the Orthodox and Reform communities), anti-Semitism, and anti-Israel manifestations. The question of communal leadership received particular attention in Queensland because of the complications arising from two distinct communities in Brisbane and the Gold Coast. In Western Australia, on the other hand, there is a strong, well-established structure of communal organizations, reinforced by immigration from South Africa. These discussions reflect the importance of increased support needed by the smaller communities from their larger counterparts in Victoria and New South Wales.

Commenting about regional settlement, Deborah Dash Moore has noted the impact of chain migration in the United States: it produced concentrations of immigrants from specific sections of Europe — such as the Ukraine in Philadelphia or Bavaria in Cleveland. In a complex sentence, she stressed:

"The mix of peoples, including subsequent migrations from different areas than the initial Jewish population, and forces of urban geography in turn produced aspects of Jewish life that exerted an influence on Jews growing up in the city."
She also pointed out a ‘predictive power of where a person chooses to live in terms of socio-economic status and social psychology, even generations removed from immigration’.\(^6\) Another factor in the United States is that Jewish settlement in the West and other parts was largely due to internal migration from the major centres on the East coast.

The effect of immigration has also profoundly influenced the character of Australian Jewry since 1945 but the effects have varied considerably from one centre to another. Although the Jewish communities of Queensland, Western Australia, South Australia, and the Australian Capital Territory (ACT) vary greatly, their recent history reflects the dominant role of immigration. Thus, South African migration to Perth has been a major factor in recent developments there. In contrast, the development of the Gold Coast in Queensland is mainly the result of internal migration, mostly from Melbourne.

It is also important to consider the location, including proximity to the two dominant communities of Melbourne and Sydney. It is worth pointing out that L. S. Weissbach notes in her study of Jewish life in small-town America that ‘geography is a vital factor in determining the way history unfolds’.\(^7\) Through the qualitative data gathered during the study we hope to shed more light on commonalities and differences in the smaller communities, the impact of place, and the challenges of survival.

**THE QUEENSLAND JEWISH COMMUNITIES**

The growth of Queensland Jewry has been slow and patchy. A number of Jewish families settled in Brisbane after the colony of Queensland separated from New South Wales in 1859. The Brisbane Hebrew Congregation was established in 1865, under the leadership of Jonas M. Myers, who proved to be the backbone of the community for 43 years. It took time, however, for a synagogue to be built, and it was only in 1886 that the present synagogue in Margaret Street was built. It is still standing today and caters for the main Orthodox community in Brisbane. In the early 1900s some eastern European Jews (who escaped from Tsarist Russia via China) settled in Brisbane and established the South Brisbane Hebrew Community, which has remained a very small group. A few German Jewish refugees found their way to Brisbane and after the Second World War, some Holocaust survivors settled in the area with the assistance of the Australian Jewish Welfare Society. In 1981 the Brisbane Progressive Jewish Congregation was incorporated and in 1990 Sinai College was established as a primary Jewish day school in Brisbane in the grounds of the Jewish Communal Centre in Burbank. It caters for both Jewish and non-Jewish students up to Year 7 (ages 5 to 12).\(^8\)
Since 1980, migration to Queensland has been largely ‘internal’ arrivals from other Jewish communities, particularly from Melbourne. The 2006 census recorded a population in Brisbane of 1,843, which gives an adjusted figure (taking into account the under-enumeration) of between 2,200 and 2,500. Over the last decade the Brisbane Jewry has been growing from 1,553 in 1996 to 1,633 in 2001 and to 1,843 in 2006. The demographic history of the other Queensland community, in the Gold Coast local government area, is strikingly different. Until the 1970s, the Jewish presence on the Gold Coast was largely transient, made up of temporary visitors from the southern States, especially Victoria. Since then, it has grown steadily, numbering 963 in 1996, 1,080 in 2001 and 1,176 permanent residents at the 2006 census (giving an adjusted figure of approximately 1,400). Unlike Perth, where immigration has been dominated by households with young children, the Gold Coast community is (on average) older than Australian Jewry as a whole. Relations between the Jews in Brisbane and the residents of the Gold Coast are complex, as shown by the focus-group discussions recorded in this article.

**THE BRISBANE FOCUS GROUP**

The most important issue identified by this group was described as ‘involvement’, rendered particularly difficult by the small size of the community. ‘The work of AUJS [the Australasian Union of Jewish Students], for example, suffered from the fact that it was difficult to recruit Jewish students’. The AUJS representative said that his university age peers, who should have been the backbone of Jewish activities, were leaving Brisbane for Sydney and Melbourne. Another participant described the Brisbane community as ‘friendly’, but comfortable with being secular: ‘To go to synagogue regularly is seen as a bit weird’. The community was also seen as lacking in Yiddishkeit, and the speaker declared: ‘if my grandchildren weren’t living in Brisbane, I would leave’.

Susan Bures, the editor of the Australian Jewish News, queried in an article written in the late 1980s whether we should ‘say Kaddish for Brisbane Jewry’. This was deeply resented at the time, and several participants pointed out that although Brisbane had a comparatively large proportion of older people, it also had a large number of teenage children who would be served by Sinai College (the local Jewish school). One speaker commented that the number of children aged between five and 16 was the highest that anyone could remember. (There were estimates numbering 450.) The problem was that there was a gap between generations: no individuals in the 25–45 age group were participating in the focus group. However, the Zionist youth movements (particularly Betar) were strong and their...
members who had attended leadership programmes in Israel would provide the base for the community leaders.

The president of the Women’s International Zionist Organization (WIZO) struck a hopeful note when she described the establishment of the Kesher group of Friends of WIZO: 12

I find it fascinating that Kesher has non-Jewish members who then decided to join WIZO and start their own groups. They were attracted by the community spirit. I don’t see Brisbane as a hopeless Jewish community — it’s possible for us to work together.

It is worth noting that Joseph Saragosi, a local millionaire philanthropist, was a major source of support for Sinai College. He died a few weeks before the focus-group discussion took place, but his son (Lewis) has remained on the board of the school and he participated in the focus group. At the end of the session, the group recited Kaddish (memorial prayer) for the late Mr Saragosi.

Community Organization

The existence of twin communities has brought about a divided organizational structure and a degree of friction. Since 1998, Brisbane and the Gold Coast have had three representative bodies: the Queensland Jewish Board of Deputies, which acts as an umbrella organization for the two Jewish Community Councils (JCC) in Brisbane and the Gold Coast. One participant explained the situation as follows: 13

Approximately seven years ago, when the Board of Deputies was one organization covering both Brisbane and the Gold Coast, I felt that it did represent the community competently and capably. But since then, the Board of Deputies has shared that responsibility with the Jewish Community Council. The Board still represents us on a local through to national government level, which I feel is still working and functioning very effectively, for example on issues regarding security and antisemitism. But as far as the JCC goes, the relationship between the two has ceased to exist. The Board still meets with the heads of the JCC, but the mechanism for getting information has ceased. So I don’t feel that the JCC is being effective in representing the two communities.

A member of the Board of Deputies commented further on the consequences of the split: 14

Under the previous Board of Deputies structure, there was an opportunity for every president to hear about the issues other organizations were facing, and to be able to communicate with each other. Tonight is one of the first nights in a long time that the presidents and representatives of the various organizations are talking and bouncing around ideas.

Another participant recalled that multi-level meetings were held regularly and attracted many delegates. However, delegates from the Gold
Coast complained that the meetings were always held in Brisbane, and involved too much travel, so it was decided to have separate meetings of the Community Councils and to convert the Board into an umbrella structure, which encompassed the two Councils. Unfortunately, the structure did not work, and the distance between the Gold Coast and Brisbane seemed to be unbridgeable. As an illustration, one participant mentioned that the Jewish National Fund was about to launch a major campaign on the Gold Coast, but only three individuals from Brisbane would be attending. A further comment contrasted the situation with Melbourne and Sydney: ‘It’s a mind-set issue. In Melbourne and Sydney people wouldn’t think it was of any consequence to drive across town for fifty minutes to get to a meeting. That type of commuting is part of their life’.

Some participants put forward a more radical approach. They argued that the two communities had become quite separate and there was no real demand for amalgamation. The answer might be to recognise the differences and create a federation of Queensland Jewish communities.

**Relations with interstate Jewish communities**

Despite some complaints about isolation, there was general agreement that there was much useful contact with the larger communities and with the national communal bodies such as the Executive Council of Australian Jewry (ECAJ) and AUJS. This was partly as a result of personal links, but also owing to positive steps such as teleconferences. ‘What it really comes down to is the fact that we are Boundary Riders — not in the big house in the middle, but out chasing the flock’.

On the other hand, a delegate from the Board of Deputies argued that more could be done to help: professional staff from Melbourne and Sydney could come to Brisbane for a few days at a time and give the benefit of their expertise. A similar point was made by other speakers, who complained that overseas emissaries did not always come to Queensland, allegedly because of shortage of funds.

**Anti-Jewish and anti-Israel manifestations**

The group generally agreed that this was not a problem in Queensland. ‘Redneck’ elements (that is, whites from a lower socio-economic status), who used to make crank calls, had apparently transferred their activities to the Muslim population. The League of Rights, a right-wing antisemitic organization (established after the Second World War) used to be strong in Queensland, but was now moribund. The Muslim community itself had not exhibited the kind of radicalism found in the southern cities, and had responded positively to inter-
faith initiatives: Christians, Jews, and Muslims came to the local Muslim school for a meeting chaired by well-known journalist, Geraldine Doogue, presenter for ABC Radio National. One local peculiarity was the presence of large numbers of Muslim tourists on the Gold Coast during the winter: they were said to be escaping from the extreme heat in Arabia. This was welcomed by the tourist industry and had not created any significant problems.

THE GOLD COAST FOCUS GROUP

The major problem identified by the Gold Coast participants was the same as in Brisbane: ‘involvement’. This was spelt out in more detail by one of the rabbis, who deplored the level of apathy in the community and its origin in the lack of basic Jewish education: ‘When a person is educated and appreciates what it’s all about, then you have an assurance of continuity’. Another rabbi observed that a lack of involvement was evident despite the fact that there were three synagogues — Modern Orthodox, Chabad, and Progressive. ‘Every so often I run into someone and by chance discover that they’re Jewish’. He also noted that a significant number of Israelis were living in the area, but that they chose not to socialise with the local Jewish community.

The ‘disappearing Israelis’ were also commented on by another participant:

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\text{The only one who can bring them out is the Chabad rabbi. He seems to play the Pied Piper with them. He doesn’t charge them for anything and provides them with free food. In a strange way they don’t want to join anything but they do want to participate. He was able to get a hundred to attend the first night Seder at Passover.}
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The problems of Jewish education were also stressed by another participant, who spoke of the effect of small numbers: that was why the day-school, King Solomon College, could provide only primary education.

An interesting comment on the issue of ‘involvement’ was made by a speaker, who complained that a high degree of communal activity could have detrimental effects on kinship relations:

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\text{As a result of the time we have had to spend in all those community organizations, it has turned our children off having any Jewish involvement. Our children, who now live in Sydney, don’t put their hands up to belong to any Jewish organizations.}
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Community Organization

A range of views (as in Brisbane) was expressed about the structure of the Board of Deputies and the Community Councils. One particularly
caustic reaction was to describe the situation as being like ‘Chelm’ (the mythical Jewish shtetl populated by idiots). The speaker went on to say that he had never in his life seen such a silly structure:

The Board of Deputies is a myth. It is the roof body of the two Councils, which means that technically it consists of only three people. It doesn’t do anything for the community that I know of, but the Community Councils aren’t doing much either. It is essential for us to have a good working Board of Deputies, which can be a full member of the Executive Council of Australian Jewry and act as a representative body. Our Board of Deputies cannot speak with a clear voice for the Jewish community. It’s a paper tiger.

Another speaker traced the history of relations between the Brisbane and Gold Coast communities:

The Gold Coast was a little brother to Brisbane for a long time, but it started to grow and assume its own identity... We started off very informally. There were nine or ten organizations, which used to meet every couple of months, particularly to arrange a communal diary so we didn’t clash with each other’s functions. That worked for quite some time and then people wanted to formalise the arrangement... I agree that having two separate Community Councils is quite useless. It’s not achieving anything. When we have a meeting the same people come and the same people don’t come.

A speaker who grew up on the Gold Coast recalled that there had been close contacts in her young days between members of youth organizations in the two centres, but that it was now ‘extremely difficult to develop such joint activities’.

There was considerable discussion about the problem of travel between Brisbane and the Gold Coast, a problem believed by nearly all to be merely psychological:

Brisbane and the Gold Coast are more distant from each other than we are from New York... I know people who work in Brisbane and live on the Coast, and vice versa, and they travel every day. There’s a psychological barrier which stops people from travelling to Jewish events, but they will travel for work and to attend sporting events.

A representative from the Jewish National Fund (JNF) noted that the organization used teleconferences to maintain contact for people who could not come to meetings.

Anti-Jewish Manifestations

There was virtually unanimous agreement that the community had been free of anti-Jewish or anti-Israel activity. One participant (who was an immigrant from France) observed that, in comparison with
his native land, antisemitism was practically non-existent. He had never experienced any hostile remarks when he wore his kippah (skullcap) in public. Other speakers noted the generally positive response to the public celebration of Hanukah. On the other hand, one participant was concerned about the influx of Muslim tourists from the Middle East during the holiday season. Another noted the persistence of stereotypes, expressed in such phrases as ‘playing on the Jewish piano’ (cash register).24

There was great concern about anti-Israel statements in the mass media, but that had no particular local connotation. There was stress on the positive aspects. The former Queensland Premier, Peter Beattie, had taken part in a trade delegation organized by the local branch of the Australia-Israel Chamber of Commerce. Griffith University in Queensland had established a multi-faith centre to which the Jewish community made substantial contributions. An annual multi-faith service is held on Australia Day, in which the Jewish community plays a major part: Sheikh Taj al-Hilaly, the previous, controversial Mufti of Australia from the Lakemba mosque in Sydney (known for making anti-Jewish and anti-Israel statements) attended the last meeting but was not invited to speak.

**THE PERTH JEWISH COMMUNITY**

Jews have been present in Western Australia since the 1840s. The first Jew to be elected to an Australian parliament was Lionel Samson, who was chosen to represent Fremantle in 1849, several years before Baron Lionel de Rothschild took his seat in the United Kingdom parliament in 1858. However, Perth Jewry began to develop only in the 1890s with the discovery of gold in the Coolgardie and Kalgoorlie areas. The Perth Hebrew Congregation (PHC) then grew in numbers, with its members migrating mainly from eastern Europe; some came from Safed in Palestine, mainly through chain migration, which continued until after the First World War, with a tight, strongly Zionistic community emerging. After 1945, very few Holocaust survivors settled in Perth: they had been encouraged by the local leadership to move on to Melbourne and Sydney for fear that Perth Jewry might not afford to support them. The Liberal movement developed in the 1950s, with Temple David established in 1952 in the Mount Lawley area. In 1974 the Perth Hebrew Congregation also moved to Mount Lawley, where Carmel School had already been established in 1958: it had developed gradually from a kindergarten to a full primary and then high school. Perth Jewry also built the Maurice Zeffert Old Age Home in Mount Lawley, so that all the key communal institutions were clustered.25

The fact that by the 1960s Perth had developed a strong communal structure, was closer to South Africa, and was less expensive than the
larger centres made it an attractive place for Jewish migrants from South Africa; 12 per cent of them settled in Perth and the impact of that migration has been spectacular. The demographic history of Western Australian Jewry has been studied in detail by Dr O. B. Tofler (himself an immigrant from Sydney). He has shown that between 1940 and 1970, the Jewish population of Perth and Fremantle remained virtually static around a figure of 3,000. Since 1970 it has increased to approximately 7,000, helped by a baby boom in the 1980s. These numbers differ considerably from census results. The census of 2006 registered a Jewish population in Western Australia of 5,082. We know that it is widely accepted that there has been under-enumeration by a ratio of at least 20 per cent. Dr Tofler’s results, based on extensive community surveys, are more reliable. (Some community leaders believe that the actual figure is closer to 8,000, which may indicate an element of wishful thinking.)

According to Dr Tofler’s research, one-third of the present Jewish population in Perth originated from South Africa, adding a strong ‘Litvak’ (Lithuanian) element to the established community, whose forebears came from the United Kingdom, Russia, Germany, and Palestine. South African immigration has also been a strong stimulus to Jewish day school education, especially through Carmel School; pupils from South African households have predominated in that school.

**THE PERTH FOCUS GROUP**

The Perth focus-group displayed a range of views across a scale ranging from optimism to pessimism. One of the pessimists pointed to a ‘mis-perception’ that the community was united and going in the same direction:

> It isn’t. There are a number of fragmented organizations, and that fragmentation impacts quite severely on support for the various organizations.

The same speaker maintained, however:

> We have a powerful small dynamo in Perth, but we need to get it coordinated. I get very despondent and upset when I see the lamentable financial condition of some of our organizations.

Pessimism about the future revolved around issues similar to those in other communities, such as the danger of assimilation and the age gap between the present generation of community leaders and the younger age groups in their 20s and 30s. As is the case in other small communities, there was concern about the loss of young people who move to the larger centres in the eastern States.
Keeping the kids in Perth is one of the biggest problems we have... They leave here pretty soon after finishing university, which leads to the problem about future leadership.

Pessimism is also fuelled by the small size and the isolation of the community. The ‘tyranny of distance’ was referred to by a number of participants: ‘Perth isn’t on the way to anything — we’re the most isolated Jewish community in the world’.31 Another speaker referred to the problem that visiting emissaries were usually fitted in between Sydney and Melbourne:32

People want to hear a good speaker, but Perth does unfortunately get shoved in between Melbourne and Sydney or at a time when it’s not really convenient.

However, an optimistic view is clearly expressed by Dr Tofler, who noted a slowdown of the trend for couples to leave Western Australia for the eastern States, and who also drew attention to the growth of Jewish activity in the shape of developments such as the increase of kasher food outlets, the establishment of a Jewish Community Appeal, and the formation of a Jewish male choir. Dr Tofler’s demographic analysis shows that the immigration of large numbers from South Africa has transformed Perth Jewry — but migration has slowed down since the 1990s and the size of the community has not significantly altered. Only one of the participants in the focus group was a South African immigrant, and he stressed the need for efforts to attract more migrants from South Africa, where the social situation had continued to deteriorate, and many Jews would be seeking to emigrate:33

We need, as a community, to ensure that they consider Perth as one of their options. About eight years ago, we had a ‘Committee for 10,000 by 2000’, but it seems to have died. I think the South Africans have a lot to offer, and the community should try to make immigration continue.

These statements were echoed by another speaker, who praised Carmel School for its efforts to recruit pupils from South Africa:34

They send envoys and deputations. They’ve shown scripted films of life in Perth, not just confined to the schools. And earlier in the piece it had a dramatic effect in inducing migration from South Africa... Other organizations should undertake similar actions.

A particular feature of the focus group was the frequency of references to Hasbarah [in Hebrew, literally ‘explanation’ but it refers to efforts to explain Israeli government actions and promote Israel]. ‘I think that the most important issue facing us is Hasbarah — explaining ourselves to the wider community’.35 Another speaker stressed that Hasbarah was a necessity for all small and large communities around the world.
‘We have to get people to understand that Jews, and Israel, are not an evil force in the world’. Hasbarah, stressed another speaker, does have a great effect on our survival and how we are viewed around the world. Hasbara was further emphasised by one of the participants who had worked closely with the Australia-Israel Jewish Affairs Council (AIJAC), which had supported efforts to establish good relations with Federal and State politicians. On the other hand, ‘grass roots Hasbara’ was described as more important in the long term:

Links to parliamentarians and so on are extremely important. But for the long haul, each and every member of the community should be prepared to stand up and be identified . . . I send greetings to family and friends for Rosh Hashanah (the Jewish New Year), but in the last couple of years I’ve started broadcasting them far and wide to all my business associates. Some people thank me, some people ask what’s that, others display their knowledge and reply in an appropriate way, showing that they understand the meaning of Rosh Hashanah. We have a couple of hundred people we send greetings to, and if everybody in our community was doing that sort of thing, it would have an enormous impact.

A counterpart to this view was presented by a speaker who criticised the Jewish residents for keeping a low profile, which he described as ‘security negative’:

We keep a low profile, we try not to be seen. We should stand up and say: ‘We’re Jewish, we’re proud of it, we make a difference to this community’.

A speaker whose son had studied law at the University of Western Australia (UWA) provided a practical example of Hasbarah. Referring to the custom of having a Friday night family dinner on the Sabbath, he noted:

The Law department was having a final year dinner on a Friday night, and he excused himself because he had Shabbat at home [and] the organisers of this Law function changed the date to a Saturday night. After that, we had law students who came to our home on Friday nights. A number of them were Asians, who were enthralled by the experience. This was all because my son wanted his profile as a Jew to be known at the university. He has made lifelong friends among these non-Jews, who were captivated by a Shabbat in a Jewish home.

The activities of the Australasian Union of Jewish Students (AUJS) in promoting a positive image were commended by a number of people. Although one of the AUJS representatives deplored the apathy among Jewish students, he also noted the strength of the organization, reflected in the fact that four out of the last five national presidents had come from Perth. One way of overcoming apathy was to try new approaches, like the recent ‘Jew Year’s Eve’ party, organised by a brand-new umbrella organization. The party, held the night before
Rosh Hashanah, attracted 260 people between the ages of 18 to 30 years.

One feature of the Perth focus-group, by contrast with the other communities both large and small, was that education did not figure largely in the discussion. Carmel School is obviously regarded as a success story, and the few references to it were uniformly favourable. A few speakers stressed the importance of Jewish education, but did not discuss it at length, while another speaker was concerned about the crucial importance of finding Jewish educators for the next generation. Relations between the various religious streams also elicited little discussion, with the exception of the representative from the Progressive synagogue, Temple David, who described his personal experience:

My wife was not born Jewish and we got married through Temple David. She’s not accepted by the mainstream Jewish community. There are a lot of Jews in Perth, converted through Temple David, who are not accepted by the mainstream Jewish community. Many members of Temple David have partners who were born other than Jewish and have through the Temple gone through a Reform or Progressive conversion. And for those concerned about assimilation, until such time as Jews who are Jews through anything other than an Orthodox conversion are accepted, then we will assimilate.

Anti-Jewish and anti-Israel manifestations

There was general agreement that there had been no significant rise in anti-Jewish or anti-Israel sentiment in recent years, despite incidents such as the daubing of swastikas on the premises of the Perth Hebrew Congregation. At the political level, successive State Premiers and Opposition leaders have expressed their support for Israel.

The main exception was the rise of anti-Israel and anti-Jewish manifestations in the academic world, described by the AUJS representatives:

In 2003 there was a definite increase during the second intifada of antisemitic taunts on campus. People would come up to AUJS stalls, ripping down our posters or placing swastikas on them. With the recent war in Lebanon, we found a large increase of antisemitic acts. People were heckled at UWA for holding meetings to promote peace.

Another speaker commented on events at Perth’s Murdoch University, where anti-Israel literature was distributed, which condemned Israel as a destructive force.

THE ADELAIDE JEWISH COMMUNITY

By far the most negative focus-group interview was with Jewish residents in Adelaide, although they do not constitute the smallest of
the communities. The colony of South Australia was founded in 1836 for free settlers (not as a convict settlement) with 11 commissioners; one of them was Jewish: Jacob Montefiore, nephew of Sir Moses Montefiore. In the early 1840s a number of younger sons of influential Sephardi and Ashkenazi families settled in Adelaide and in 1846 for the first time services were held for the high holy days (Jewish New Year and Yom Kippur, the Day of Atonement). The congregation developed rapidly, was granted land to build a synagogue and in 1851 the Adelaide Hebrew Congregation consecrated its new premises, in a street called Synagogue Place. The building was expanded in 1872 and services were attended there until 1988. The congregation moved to a new community centre in Glenside in 1990. Today, the 1872 synagogue building in the city still stands, but it is used as a nightclub.

In the nineteenth century South Australian Jewry was well entrenched, integrated, and highly respected — as were the country’s other Jewish communities. Emancipists Emanuel and Vaiban Solomon established a thriving trading business and there were six Jewish Members in the House of Assembly and one in the Legislative Council. But the community remained very small and there was a high rate of assimilation. Only a few refugees from Nazism and survivors of the Holocaust migrated to Adelaide, unlike the case in Melbourne and Sydney, which received significant numbers.

Egyptian Jews constituted the major wave of immigration to South Australia. They had either voluntarily left after the Suez Crisis of 1956 or had been expelled. Discussing this wave of migration, Racheline Barda commented:

Where did the Egyptian Jews settle once they landed in Australia? In view of their predominantly urban background, it was obvious they would be attracted to the three capital cities, Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide. Big cities usually offer better work opportunities as well as a stronger community network. Strangely enough, the city that attracted them most, at least initially was the smallest of the three, Adelaide, the preferred place of settlement for nearly half of the pre-1955 arrivals. It was certainly the place where they became the most visible and where they formed the largest single ethnic group within the broader Jewish community. Out of a population of 985 Jews in Adelaide recorded by the 1961 census, they numbered about 400, although the people I interviewed quoted much higher numbers. Whatever the case may be, they had a much more significant impact on the Adelaide community than their compatriots in Melbourne and Sydney.

That population transfer was largely the result of family sponsorship and of chain migration. One early arrival, Max Liberman, established a successful textile factory and energetically sponsored his relatives and friends within three years of his arrival. The minister of the Adelaide
Hebrew Congregation and his wife actively helped to integrate them into the local community. The Egyptian migrants enriched the local Jewry. One of them later served as Lord Mayor of Adelaide from 1993 to 1997. As was the case with many Jewish entrepreneurs, Liberman moved from textiles into the construction industry. He was largely responsible for the development of a number of satellite towns around Adelaide, Perth, and Sydney and served as Chairman of the South Australia Housing Trust from 1975 to 1980.

Adelaide Jewry, in spite of its small size, can boast that it has most of the institutions of an established Jewish community. Apart from the Adelaide Hebrew Congregation (which is nominally Orthodox) there has been a Reform Temple, Beit Shalom, since the 1960s. A Jewish day school (Massada College) was established in 1980, and it has catered for children aged from five to 12. Social, sporting, and Zionist organizations operate — including the Maccabi Club, initially built and fostered by the Egyptian Jewish migrants, the Jewish National Fund (JNF), the Women’s International Zionist Organization (WIZO); and Zionist Youth organizations. The South Australian Jewish Board of Deputies was founded in 1950 but it later followed Melbourne’s decision to change its name to the Jewish Community Council of South Australia (JCCSA).

Despite these developments, Adelaide Jewry has failed since 1960 to attract many newcomers from South Africa, Russia, and Israel and it has continued to decline in numbers. A number of South African migrants were attracted to Adelaide in the 1980s, partly as a result of Adelaide Hebrew Congregation’s ‘Think Adelaide’ campaign. Most of them had moved by the mid-1990s to the larger centres. In 1998, Bernard Hyams published Surviving: it highlighted the problem of Adelaide Jewry. Now, as the 2007 focus-group interview showed, the Jewish residents of Adelaide are clearly struggling to survive as a community.

**THE ADELAIDE FOCUS GROUP**

In 2007, we gathered a representative group of all the main community organizations: the Jewish Community Council of South Australia, the Adelaide Hebrew Congregation [orthodox], Beit Shalom [progressive], JNF, WIZO, UIA, and the two Zionist youth organizations, Habonim and Netzer. All participants presented a picture of an ageing and dwindling community, which had lost the critical mass of its members as a result of either assimilation or migration. Those who left had gone to Victoria or to other Jewish centres in Australia, or to Israel. It is mainly the young who are leaving; a member of the group commented that his daughter went to Israel in 2002 with 11 other high-school graduates; only two of that young group were still
in Adelaide in 2007. It is now feared that when the older generation become grandparents they will also choose to move away to join their children and grandchildren. One participant stressed that the dwindling community is not a result of assimilation but of the young residents wishing to preserve their Jewish identity by moving to a larger Jewish centre where they are more likely to meet a suitable Jewish partner and maintain a Jewish lifestyle.46 Those remaining in Adelaide have commented that some of the individuals who had previously been involved in communal endeavours had also lost interest and drifted away, adding to the sense of decline.

The dwindling numbers create challenges at every level, such as finding new leaders to replace those who have retired or died, or simply attracting enough people to attend synagogue or community functions. The generation between the ages of 25 to 45 was the ‘me’ generation, focused on career and building a family with no time to spare for community work. This particularly affected participation in the women’s organizations such as WIZO, which was struggling to find younger women willing to be actively involved. One interviewee commented:47

But it still boils down to the lack of numbers in our community and as much as we try, if there is a lack of births, a lack of weddings, all of these things. All we seem to do is have the funerals. That is the problem with Adelaide. We need to increase the baby booms, from one to at least two or three. So it is a huge concern.

The leaders of the two Zionist youth organizations in the focus group believed that there was no Jewish future in the area.

However, there are still some institutions which contribute to Adelaide Jewry, especially the school and orthodox synagogue and the Beit Shalom Temple; but there are no funds to maintain their premises properly or to provide adequately for the salaries of rabbis and other professional staff. In his history of the community, Hyams commented on various episodes which highlighted the rivalry between the Orthodox and Progressive congregations in Adelaide in the 1980s and 1990s.48 The situation has been further exacerbated because of the major legal problems involving the Adelaide Hebrew Congregation (AHC) after the dismissal of their rabbi. The leaders of the AHC believed that they had been given no support from the larger centres when they had to deal with a very serious problem.49 The rabbi remained in Adelaide and in March 2009 is said to have gathered in competition a congregation in his home.

One institution significantly affected by the decline in numbers is Massada College, the Jewish day school. At its prime in the late 1990s, it had an enrolment of more than 100 students: a third of them were not Jewish. By 2007 the numbers further declined to fewer
than 45 students, with concerns expressed that future enrolments would be even smaller. One member also noted that many of the pupils come from homes where there is minimal Jewish observance and the task of the Jewish Studies teacher is, therefore, more onerous.

As mentioned earlier, there is resentment that Adelaide is always bypassed when international speakers or Israeli entertainers are brought to Australia. One person described Adelaide ‘as the city one flies over to get somewhere else in Australia’. There is a sense that the community is just ‘a poor cousin’, neglected by the larger communities of Melbourne and Sydney. Attempts have been made to remedy the situation: the Jewish Community Council asked for advice from the Executive Council of Australian Jewry and a strategic plan was developed. Resources had to be used more effectively. For instance, the school campus and community centre should be put to more use and links with Melbourne Jewry should be strengthened: Melbourne youth leaders should come to Adelaide regularly and direct educational programmes. There are also too many different community organizations, and it is essential to establish more co-operation between the orthodox and the progressive synagogues. In these circumstances of general malaise and soul-searching, more women had assumed key leadership positions.

One tentative solution canvassed was to encourage more immigration to Adelaide: only a few South Africans and Russians have come — not enough to have an impact. Some Israelis have settled in Adelaide and its vicinity, but only a few involve themselves with the community. They have tended to remain aloof from their local co-religionists — preferring to have close relationships with fellow Israelis. Thus, their arrival has failed to strengthen the local community in terms of the Jewish structures of the area.

Anti-Jewish and Anti-Israel Manifestations

Members of the focus-group believed that Adelaide Jews were generally respected by the wider Australian society. There seemed to have been fewer antisemitic incidents recently. Long-term Holocaust denier, Dr Fredrick Toben (whose Adelaide Institute continues to operate on the web) propagates antisemitic messages, but the interviewees believed that this had very little impact on the local Jewish community. They noted that the major area of concern was the Australian Friends of Palestine (AFPA) and the pro-Palestinian activities on university campuses. During the 2007 federal election campaign, the AFPA in Adelaide ran a public campaign against the then Liberal Minister for Ageing, Christopher Pyne, elected to federal parliament in 1993, and a former president of the Australian Parliamentary Friends of Israel. The AFPA criticised Pyne for being an ‘uncritical supporter of
Israel’, but the campaign failed and he was re-elected. The focus-group interviewees expressed concern about the activities of an independent member of the state parliament, Kris Hanna, who visited Israel and Palestine in 2007, supported by the Friends of Palestine. Hanna is an outspoken supporter of the Palestinian cause, writing in his website blog against what he calls the ‘separation wall’. In contrast, state Labor parliamentarian, Michael Atkinson, supports Israel and spoke positively about Israel at a Jewish National Fund function at the end of 2007.

**THE AUSTRALIAN CAPITAL TERRITORY’S JEWISH COMMUNITY**

Canberra is one of the newer communities of Australian Jewry; it developed only after the Second World War. In the nineteenth century, there had been Jews in the area — the Jewish community of Goulburn being the most notable. By the early twentieth century most of them had either become assimilated or moved to Sydney or Melbourne. After federation of the various Australian colonies to create a united nation in 1901, the decision was made to develop a new federal capital, but the building of Canberra began only in the 1920s and the new parliament house opened in 1927. In 1933, there were only four Jews in Canberra, two of whom were the Governor-General, Sir Isaac Isaacs, and his wife, but by the 1947 census there were 26. The first service was held in 1949 and the congregation was inaugurated in 1951, but was slow to develop, meeting in private homes and halls for 20 years. In 1959 the Commonwealth Government gave a leasehold grant of land free of all rents and taxes to Canberra Jewry and the foundation stone was laid by the then Prime Minister, Robert G. Menzies. However, the Canberra National Jewish Memorial Centre was opened only in 1971, this development being made possible with government assistance and with funding from other Jewish communities.

However, one issue had to be resolved before beginning to plan the erection of the building: what would be the rôles of the Orthodox and the Reform branches of Judaism? Eventually, a compromise agreement was reached, whereby there is only one permanent place in the building exclusively dedicated to worship as a consecrated Orthodox synagogue, while Liberal services are held in the auditorium. This plan was approved by the Sydney Beth Din but not by the Melbourne Beth Din, which withdrew its support for the project. Since the opening of the centre, the Orthodox and Liberal congregations have functioned in harmony: there is some overlapping of personnel and there is often a combined kiddush after services. Sylvia Deutsch has described this continuing cooperation as ‘a shining example of unbroken communal harmony’.

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In 2006 there were more than 600 Jews in the Canberra area, of whom 350 were members of the community — consisting largely of public servants, and of students and staff at the Australian National University. Thus, it is not a wealthy business-based community and it tends to be transient. Moreover, Orthodox Jews experience difficulties in observing a strictly religious life style: there is no local kosher meat outlet or mikvah for ritual bathing; they have to rely on Sydney or Melbourne. As a result, there are only a handful of households who can maintain the Orthodox traditions, such as keeping the Sabbath strictly. At present Chabad are seeking to build a mikvah, but the location is away from the community centre in Canberra and there is concern that this might have a negative impact by splitting the community.

One key factor is the location of the community in the federal heartland of the nation. In 1958 the Israeli Embassy moved from Sydney to Canberra, and its staff over the years have further invigorated the congregation and that has added an extra dimension to Canberra Jewry. In 1986, the president of Israel (Chaim Herzog) dedicated the David Ben-Gurion memorial gardens, which complement the memorial groves to the Australian Jewish service personnel, honouring the memory of the Australian Jews who died in the two world wars. The Zionist Federation of Australia decided in the 1990s to provide an office in Canberra; but it has not been able to maintain it. The one policy for which there has been bipartisan support was the right of the State of Israel to exist.

THE FOCUS GROUP OF THE AUSTRALIAN CAPITAL TERRITORY

The focus group of Canberra Jewry raised issues similar to those in the Adelaide group: problems of continuity and assimilation; the low levels of Jewish literacy; the lack of a critical mass in terms of numbers; the need for greater cohesion in the community; and financial challenges. A major concern was that of involving the ‘lost generation’ of the residents aged between 30 to 50, especially those with young children. One comment was: ‘Somehow we are not doing anything they want or they’re not telling us what they want’. Another suggestion was about broadening the leadership base ‘because it is the same small group of people who tend to [do] ten jobs each and we can’t seem to broaden that’. Australian Jews also must provide communal security on a voluntary basis and in Canberra they have to rely on a very small group of people to do so. It is a vital necessity: the Canberra Jewish Community Centre was attacked four times and there was attempted arson during the 2006 Lebanon war.
However, the members of the focus group were not despondent. Most of them were either academics or public servants — some of them in very senior posts. On several occasions during the discussion there were comments on: (a) the intellectual level of the community; (b) the fact that several Canberra Jews had a good knowledge of Jewish traditions and Jewish practice; and (c) they had members who could lead a service and read from the Torah. One participant stated:

I suspect that a lot of the reason why we are different, one of the reasons why we are so much more active, when I compare this community say to the Brisbane one where I was brought up, is just I think the intellectual community here. I mean the average member of this community has at least a basic degree and maybe a higher degree. It’s just not so in these other communities, and it shows.

Another key factor is the National Canberra Jewish Centre, which is unusual as both the orthodox and progressive congregations use the same facility for their services and members of the two congregations meet afterwards for *kiddush*. This creates a sense of unity and purpose within the community. One member said:

We provide an enormously wide range of activities and that range of activities has increased in the last year and more so in the last five years. So, in many ways, I am fairly optimistic.

Another member was of the same opinion:

...at the same time this community, in common parlance, punches well above its weight. We do far more than you would normally expect from a community of this small size.

An added advantage is the presence of the Israeli embassy in Canberra; its staff have joined the congregations. Since Canberra is the national capital, it attracts many visitors (including key Jewish figures) and the local residents therefore do not complain of being bypassed as is the case of Adelaide, Brisbane, and Perth.

As to Jewish education, Canberra was aware that it did not have the funds to provide and maintain a Jewish day-school. Both Adelaide and Brisbane had to struggle to maintain their Jewish schools. One solution was to provide innovative Jewish educational programmes which targeted parents as well as children — such as the one which was run over the Christmas holidays. It was successful, and it was suggested that it could be extended. The need for family education was discussed, as it had been in Adelaide. One of the Sunday *heder* teachers complained that parents seemed to use the classes as ‘a babysitting service’ — dropping off their children and then going shopping. The group believed that more needed to be done to involve parents in their children’s Jewish education: for example, the tutor would not prepare a boy for his Barmitzvah unless his parents also attended the
child’s class. Some participants canvassed the idea of free classes, which would teach basic Judaism — or even a fun course such as ‘how to cook Jewish blintzes’, which would be offered to parents on a Sunday morning.

Another important issue was about ways of increasing Jewish involvement and attracting new members. One suggestion was that when a person attended a Friday night service for the first time, it was very important to extend an invitation to a Friday night dinner. Such hospitality is usually remembered and it could help to draw new members into the community.

Again and again the isolation of Canberra was stressed: greater support was needed and more speakers should be willing to come from the two major centres of Sydney and Melbourne. Offers of assistance were not always followed through, while the individuals who did come, did so sporadically. One example was the monthly adult education programme (developed by the Melton Center at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and offered through its Sydney branch) which lasted for three years, had been very positive but after it ended there had been no follow up. Moreover, when speakers were available, they requested very high fees, which the community is unable to pay. Some may find it surprising that not many dedicated Australian Jews or visiting Israelis are willing to volunteer to visit Canberra at no great cost to the small community which is eager to receive them.

Anti-Jewish and Anti-Israel Manifestations

When the discussion turned to the problem of antisemitism in Canberra, it was stressed that the situation in the Middle East affected attitudes to Australian Jews. It was also believed that Israel’s image had declined since 1967 and that whilst Israel had once been seen as having the moral high ground, that image had been tarnished after the Six-Day War of 1967 and there has been resentment against Israeli settlements in the occupied territories in the West Bank. One of the participants commented:

I think people make absolutely no distinction between the two, and the old idea of a Jewish identity distinct from a Zionist Israel identity certainly doesn’t rub outside. So, whatever happens in Israel happens to Jews here.

Anti-Israel feelings in Canberra were seen to be strong in three key institutions, described by one participant as the ‘trinity of ignorance’: these institutions were some of the church leaders; the media, especially the Canberra Times; and the Australian National University. That university’s attitude was very worrying, both because of the Islamic Centre and the radicalism of left-wing student bodies such
as Socialist Alliance. In 2005 when the Australasian Union of Jewish Students wanted to provide a stall for Israel Week, there was a great deal of opposition until they were finally permitted to do so and only if they paid for their own security. Some members of the focus group suggested that there was a need to speak diplomatically to people of influence in Canberra about the situation in the Middle East.

There was a generally positive outlook in the final discussion about communal structures — in spite of concerns about financial and other problems. Members of the focus group praised the democratic procedures: the meetings were open and everyone had a free voice. One comment was:

It is not easy, but I think we do surprisingly well. We are mainly cohesive. It is not just religious/orthodox or whether we’ve got a mikvah, or what we do with someone who wants a Bar Mitzvah who is perhaps not too Kosher being Jewish — all of those sorts of issues are tackled [in a] very adult [fashion] and are very effective. I think we ought to be very proud…

CONCLUSION

Common Themes

Despite the obvious differences between Western Australia, Queensland, South Australia, and the ACT, at least four common themes emerged from the focus — group discussions.

Continuity and Survival

As in all small communities, the participants in the focus groups were concerned about continuity and survival. The ageing of the present population, and the departure of young people to the larger centres of Melbourne and Sydney, were mentioned frequently in the discussions.

Neglect and Isolation

There was a sense of grievance about the fact that the larger communities had failed to provide sufficient support for the smaller, more isolated centres. That resentment was particularly strong in Queensland and Adelaide. In Western Australia, there was more emphasis on the brevity of visits from overseas emissaries, who were said to make a short stop in Perth on their arrival in Australia before proceeding to the eastern States, and a similarly short stop on their way out of the country.
Israeli Migration

There were three main waves of recent immigration: from South Africa, the former Soviet Union, and Israel. The Israelis are most likely to settle outside Melbourne and Sydney, with 16.1 per cent living in the smaller states, including 7.1 per cent in Western Australia and 6.3 per cent in Queensland, but they do not generally live in areas of high Jewish concentration and, as was made clear in the focus-group discussions, it is very difficult to involve them in Jewish activities. They, therefore, do little to reinforce the local Jewish communities.

Day-School and Jewish Education

The uncertain future of day-school education was a matter of particular concern in Brisbane, where the community had struggled to maintain its school (with the fortunate assistance of a notable local philanthropist). Although the school did survive and recruited an experienced Jewish educationist from overseas, it can maintain its numbers only by enrolling a significant number of non-Jewish students. In Adelaide, it was clear that the Jewish day-school numbers were declining to the point where it was no longer viable. In Western Australia, there was much more confidence in the future of Carmel School, but there was considerable stress on the need to recruit more students from South Africa.

Tensions between the Orthodox and Progressive communities

In smaller communities, co-operation between the different branches of Judaism is important for survival. Tensions between the different branches hinder community development. For example, in Adelaide there is a sense of rivalry between the Progressive and Orthodox congregations, so that they do not try to work together to deal with the problems facing the community. Maintaining buildings in two different locations is a drain on Adelaide Jewry’s limited finances. In contrast, the Canberra community — which is much smaller — is also more united and is better able to maintain communal viability. There is just one centre, which serves the needs of both the Orthodox and the Progressive congregations and, even if the Jewish residents are dispersed, the area in Canberra is more concentrated and there has been one location from which all activities flow.

Antisemitism and anti-Israel activities

By contrast with the larger centres, focus-group participants agreed that there were remarkably few manifestations of anti-Jewish or anti-Israel sentiment among the general population, and gave a number of examples of good relationships at a variety of levels.
Impact of Size, Place, and Geography

Our study confirmed that size alone is not a criterion for viability. There is a comparatively small difference in size between the Jewish residents of Western Australia and of Queensland, but the Western Australian community is active and much less concerned about its ongoing viability. That is because most of the population is concentrated in Perth — in and around the Mount Lawley area. This geographical concentration already existed in the 1970s before the major wave of South African migrants. Whilst the radius has been widened in recent years, newer settlement patterns are contiguous with that area and that has enabled Carmel School to develop into a full primary and high school and to endure. A strong Jewish school has been a definite pull factor for immigration. Perth’s very isolation reinforces the community, since members are less likely to think of moving away.

In contrast, the Adelaide Jewish community is much more dispersed. Whilst the Perth Hebrew Congregation had already sold its inner city synagogue in the 1950s, the Adelaide Hebrew Congregation made that move only at the end of the 1980s. However, the community is not concentrated around Glenside; there were hopes in the 1980s and early 1990s that there would be a sufficient number of students to develop Massada into a high school, but those hopes were not fulfilled. Hyams has argued that this is a major factor in the movement of South African families to the larger centres. The close proximity of the strong Jewish community in Melbourne acts as a magnet, with a number of influential families from Adelaide moving there.

Similarly, Queensland Jewry faces the problem of dispersed populations, with different centres in Brisbane and the Gold Coast, each with small Jewish primary schools. In Brisbane itself, the Brisbane Hebrew Congregation is still situated in the city centre and the Jewish residents are dispersed across a large area. The creation of a Jewish community centre in Burbank, where the Sinai School is located, has not had the desired effect of creating a Jewish greater concentration.

Jewish residents in various towns or geographical areas are clearly affected by the general trends of the wider society. That is most obvious in the contrast between Melbourne and Sydney and the smaller communities. As mentioned above, that situation is well known in America and has occasioned comment.

Increasing Concentration in Melbourne and Sydney

Jewish communities in the United States have recently shown a trend to move away from the major Jewish centres to more outlying areas. Sidney Goldstein has noted in various studies the redistribution of
American Jews, in surveys of 1970 and 1990. ‘Americanisation’ and secularisation are said to be the cause of this drift away from the main Jewish centres.\textsuperscript{73} One researcher has described this process as being the ‘youth drain’.\textsuperscript{74} The young people leave the smaller communities mainly in order to achieve upward social mobility. There is an increasing professionalisation of American Jewry, with the consequent loosening of family ties and increasing secularisation.\textsuperscript{75} However, the situation in Australia is in marked contrast. The persons we interviewed commented that young Jews were moving to the larger centres of Melbourne and Sydney because of their desire for a fuller Jewish lifestyle, and for opportunities to meet a Jewish partner in those large cities — not as a result of a weaker Jewish identity.

\textbf{ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS}

This study was made possible by an Australian Research Council Linkage Grant — with community partners being the Executive Council of Australian Jewry (ECAJ), the Jewish Community Appeal (JCA), the New South Wales Jewish Board of Deputies, the Jewish Community Council of Victoria, and Isi Leibler, who made his unique library and personal archive in Jerusalem available to the researchers. We would also like to thank all the Jewish Community Councils and Boards of Deputies for assisting us in organising the focus-group meetings and providing venues for these discussions.

\textbf{NOTES}

\begin{enumerate}
\item Ibid.
\item Gary Eckstein, personal email communication, 2006.
\item Ibid.
\end{enumerate}
SMALLER JEWISH COMMUNITIES IN AUSTRALIA


9 Information and figures provided by G. Eckstein.

Brisbane Focus Group meeting held at the Brisbane Hebrew Congregation, Margaret Street, Brisbane, 8 November 2005. The members of the group were interviewed by S. Encel, assisted by S. Saxon.

11 Ibid.

12 Ibid.

13 Ibid.

14 Ibid.

15 Ibid.

16 Ibid.

17 Gold Coast Jewish Community Focus Group Meeting, Katranski Hall, Gold Coast Congregation, 10 November 2005. The interviews were carried out by S. Encel, assisted by Sandy Saxon.

18 Ibid.

19 Ibid.

20 Ibid.

21 Ibid.

22 Ibid.

23 Ibid.

24 Ibid.


28 Perth Jewish Community Focus Group Meeting, The Jewish Centre, Perth, 29 October 2006. S. Encel and S. D. Rutland conducted the interview.

29 Ibid.

30 Ibid.

31 Ibid.

32 Ibid.


34 Perth Focus Group interview, 29 October 2006.

35 Ibid.

36 Ibid.

37 Ibid.

38 Ibid.

39 Ibid.

40 Ibid.

41 Ibid.
SUZANNE D. RUTLAND AND SOL ENCEL

44 Barda, op. cit. in note 42 above, pp. 394–395.
47 Ibid.
48 Hyams, op. cit. in note 45 above, pp. 193–194.
50 Adelaide Focus Group interview, 21 November 2007.
51 Ibid.
52 AJN, 13 November 2007.
54 Adelaide Focus Group interview, 21 November 2007.
58 Deutsch, op. cit. in note 56 above, p. 117.
59 ACT (Australian Capital Territory) Jewish Community Focus Group interview, Canberra Jewish Centre, 2 April 2006, interviewed by S. Encel and S. D. Rutland.
60 Ibid.
61 Ibid.
62 Ibid.
63 Ibid.
64 Ibid.
65 Ibid.
66 Ibid.
67 A whole discussion at the group was devoted to the position of the Centre for Arabic, Islamic and Asian Studies. It was believed that the funding for that centre, which was matched dollar for dollar by the university, comes from the Emirates and Iran, with funding for a Turkish lecturer from Turkey. This Centre is an important acquisition for the university since it brings in both money and students. One member of the group stated that one of his son’s friends had written an essay which favoured Israel: he was called in by his tutor and told that he would receive either a credit or a distinction. On the other hand, he was told that he could obtain a higher mark if he took a
more critical line towards Israel. Another member of the group commented that the Centre was ‘a paid propaganda machine operating through the ANU’.

A particularly worrying incident occurred at Australian National University in 2006. A member of Australasian Union of Jewish Students (AUJS) put an anti-racism AUJS sticker on a Socialist Alliance discussion-board on racism for Orientation Week. A member of Socialist Alliance, a left-wing group, immediately ripped the sticker down. When the AUJS member asked why he had removed it, the Socialist Alliance member abused her and accused Israel of being racist. The interviewee commented that left-wing members on campus were ignorant of the situation and could not differentiate between Judaism and Israel.

Ibid.


