Measurement and Spatial Effects of the Immigrant Created Cultural Diversity in Sydney

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Summary

This paper analyses the contribution to the creation of a culturally diverse Sydney landscape by ethnic communities following the arrival of over a million and half non-English speaking settlers since 1948. Through fragmented collective actions, around 450 communal places were established to satisfy collectively perceived needs: places of worship, social and sports clubs, schools, childcare and aged care. Immigrants organised to overcome problems of social deprivation and scarcity of public places. They created needed collective goods on their own, through mutuality and compensated for their own meagre material resources with engendered social capital, time and energy. The diversity and intensity of development reflects differences in the perception of the settlement needs, urgency and aims within diverse ethnic groups. Immigrants enhanced the quality of life and developed a liveable city. Collected data inform on the outcome, developed capacities, investment patterns, annual income and expenditure, usage, management and employment patterns, gender and youth participation, functions and generated activities.

Keywords: Settlement, Ethnic, Collective Goods, Communal Places, Spatial Clusters

JEL Classification: D71, E22, F22, I31, J15, J17, L31, Z13

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Introduction

This contribution analyses the creation of a culturally diverse landscape dispersed throughout the metropolitan area of Sydney by ethnic communities following the arrival of over a million and a half settlers from the continental Europe, Asia, Africa, Latin America and Pacific Islands since 1948. People from over sixty ethnic[1] groups developed through fragmented collective efforts at least 450 communal places to satisfy their own collectively perceived needs, including places of worship, social and sports clubs, schools, childcare and aged care. By creating new diverse social resources, immigrants enhanced the quality of life and contributed to the development of a liveable global city (Connell 2000). Diversity is quintessential to Sydney`s demographic, cultural, social and spatial landscape. Only a short distance from the harbour, CBD, and the key Australian symbol, the Opera House, the new symbolically potent urban landmarks signify the dynamic cultural diversity of a cosmopolitan city.

The development of social and physical infrastructure is time and place specific reflecting the contextual situation. Many post-war immigrants had little or no prior contact with Australia, and to many Australia was an unknown second choice of destination. Before World War Two only 1.8 per cent of a total population of 7,7 million (Price, ed.1979, A 92-5) were of Non-English speaking background (mostly Germans, Italians, Chinese, Greeks, Croatians, Maltese, Lebanese and European Jews). The pre-war settlers of non-English speaking origin, immigrants who remained permanently, developed around thirty culturally specific infrastructure (churches, temples, clubs, and only one retirement hostel) in Sydney. This infrastructure could hardly offer any support to numerous new arrivals, and consequently the post-war settlers had to create their own social infrastructure

The indicators of this human endeavour are based upon data obtained from 393 communal places that were established by diverse ethnic collective actions. The diversity and intensity of development reflects differences in the perception of the settlement needs, urgency and aims within diverse ethnic groups in the defined social environment. New culturally diverse urban landmarks, signifiers of the transferred cultural and symbolic capital and of the post-war (sub)urban development are established, while many

abandoned churches and some other earlier established public places (clubs, squash halls) are preserved and revitalised.

This development is presented in four segments starting with a brief theoretical discussion of collective goods and collective action, the method applied by communities to solve perceived problems. The post-war Australian context of rapid demographic increase through a diversified immigration program and settlement crisis grounds the analysis of measurement and spatiality of the outcome. The second part of this presentation informs about the outcome of the undertaken collective actions over the fifty years period, established communal places and collective goods. This tangible outcome provides grounds for diverse measurements of the process of production and of the later stages of organizational life, maintenance, consumption and sustainability. Micro spatial effects of created cultural diversity are mapped and observed in several localities closing this analysis on causes, outcomes and consequences of collective actions that involved tens of thousands of immigrants.

COLLECTIVE GOODS

Communal places developed by ethnic communities are considered to be collective goods not only because of the nature of their supply, but also because of the consumption patterns. Collective goods are comprehended as a product of action by actors who decide to accomplish aims collectively rather than individually (Buchanan and Tullock 1965, 13). They are products of the individual`s private commitment towards a joint purpose, but the commitment is exercised collectively by individuals who pool their resources to create a common good. Without their joint efforts, members of ethnic collectives would most likely have no adequate place to enjoy spiritual life, socialize, transfer culture to the young or care for the elderly. These places, characterised by their intrinsic social significance for a group of people, have the property of *quasi* public goods (Buchanan 1987, 18-21; Stiglitz 2000, 14).

These privately produced and maintained collective goods have different forms of exclusion of non-members, at least in the first instance, as actors form groups “in order to consume various *excludable jointly produced goods*- goods whose attainment involves the co-operation of at least two individual producers”, and that levels of exclusion could vary (Hechter 1987, 10,36). The existence of selective incentives

(Olson 1965, 51) limits consumption of collective goods only to those who contribute because they jointly develop it to satisfy a perceived collective need. Hence, the development of ethnic communal places is not a uniform experience as collectives make a decision to commit their time, energy and money to establish a place of worship, club, school or some other necessary facilities, instead of using their own homes, or renting and sharing available facilities.

The benefits of this development are primarily social, as places are developed where participants can feel at home, have continuous social intercourse, worship collectively, transfer and maintain culture, relax, or take care of elderly. The individual contribution of money and time is outweighed by social benefits. For many immigrants, the rationale of collective action is located in minimising the encountered social cost, and it could be stated that the Pareto criterion (Stiglitz 2000, 57) applies in this case, because a group of individuals is significantly better off without being likely to make anyone else worse off. The intensity of the immigrants` preoccupation with communal well-being is signified by the presence of developed communal places in all migration destination countries.

Similar to public goods, collective goods are characterised by the property of non-depletability in consumption. Ethnic communal places are liminal (Zukin 1992, 222) in the sense that they are both communal, and private at the same time, however, many would be transformed from communal to public spaces even during their life-span, although some would cease to function. Still, collective goods are to some extent competitive as immigrants may choose, for example, among regional or non-regional co-ethnic clubs, or to join the religious organization closer to the home address, although some decide to participate in the life of mainstream social institutions.

Ethnic communal places have tangible and measurable material and economic values as a capitalised asset, but they also embody important intangible symbolic and social values. The *visible* communal places developed by “others” through voluntary grass-roots collective acts differ from the other public places not only by the mode of production, but also by the diversity of symbols they introduce and the established sense of attachment (Relph 1976, 37). The resultant fragmented collective actions[2] represent a rich source of data and information with properties that enable different measurements and representations of diversity identified through their spatial and phenomenological

properties.

COLLECTIVE ACTION

Motivation for the development of collective goods arises out of the awareness of social and cultural deprivation during settlement. Their production is qualified by intensity of the perceived need, and the intensity of emotional commitment and compliance in solving perceived problems. Social influences on decisions vary and could be social rewards and penalties, moral and ideological considerations, ignorance about available alternatives and desire for self-development through participation (Frank1997, 624; Hardin 1982, 22, 102-120). Subsequently, groups of immigrants commit their resources to improve the quality of their life leading to the development of places that satisfy a certain collectively perceived spiritual and secular need in a new social environment. Participation in a collective act is a cost-minimising act because the gained benefits are expected to be greater than the cost of joining or sharing the cost of producing a collective good as participants benefit from the intrinsic jointness of production of a good that an individual cannot produce alone (Buchanan and Tullock 1965, 44; Hechter 1987, 37).

The purpose of collective action is to advance common or collective interests and solve perceived problems through provision of collective goods that cannot be provided otherwise or efficiently through the channels of the host environment (Hechter, et al 1982, 415; Hannerz 1974, 60; Olson 1965,5). A reference to Durkheim`s (1964, 283) notions of "collective conscience", as system of functions determining an equilibrium, and of "moral density" or "dynamic density", therefore on the intensity of relations between individuals, helps in the comprehension of a collective action. This is indicative of possible collective ends or values that emerge in human interaction during settlement that could shape the course of social relations, but also become the core of collective motivations and define the outcome of interaction among members of a collective.

Ethnic collective action is identified as a local response to diverse settlement social and cultural constraints, deprivation and the inadequate supply of mainstream social infrastructure. This settlement experience confirms an observation by Polanyi (1957, 46) that individual economic interests are not always the most important ones, as many immigrants pursue non-economic aims as well, including the maintenance of social ties and the enhancement of collective wellbeing. It has been found that marginalisation and

alienation, and enhanced sense of solidarity among people undergoing similar settlement experience stimulates attachment among co-ethnic immigrants, and aids in defining the course of collective action and mobilization of resources (Hechter et al 1982, 421). Immigrants pull resources in prescriptive collective actions to achieve material and social outcomes that could not be reached individually: making collective roots and a home in a new environment.

A group of people enters into collective arrangements and make decisions about joint investment, resources, location, construction, management, control, maintenance and service delivery. Besides these anticipated and measurable inputs and outcomes, there are diverse, and much less quantifiable, social outcomes. The collective defines goals to be achieved with the intent of "achieving position in relation to the environment" (Luhmann 1995, 198), while Coleman (1990, 300) argues that social relationships develop among individual actors who attempt to make the best use of available resources over which they have control.

Immigrants resort to mutual help to solve collectively perceived problems, often at the expense of household needs, business aspirations and remittances. Such a collective act is made feasible by the enhanced social capital during settlement in the new social environment. Social capital, understood as a joint interaction of norms, networks and trust (Putnam 1993, 17; Coleman 1990, 302; Bourdieu 1993, 32) could be considered to be at its highest level among people encountering settlement constraints. Social capital as the *bonding* thread (Portes 1995, 12) supports any form of mutual help and facilitates development of communal infrastructure during settlement. Moreover, social capital is itself enhanced as a result of successful communal endeavour: developed communal places, which are also identified as an indicator of social capital. Furthermore, through the defined node in social space, a communal place, comprehended as *bridging* social capital (Putnam 2000, 23) as an externality is engendered towards the rest of community, expanding not only beyond ethnic, but also social and physical boundaries.

Solidarity intensifies due to common settlement experience among co-ethnic immigrants, although some may have arrived with no previous mutual contacts. Immigrant solidarity, networks and enhanced trust are key factors behind the self-reliance, mutuality and collaboration on tasks deemed to be for a common good. A high level of mutual trust

and a common settlement experience encourages individuals to join forces to solve perceived needs. The problem is further aggravated because there is no response by either public or market mainstream social structures, and as in most instances there is no earlier developed co-ethnic social infrastructure.

SOCIAL DYNAMICS

The development of communal organizations is the outcome of fragmented ethnic collective acts in the new environment. In their study, Gamm and Putnam (2001, 207-210) emphasise that the growth of associations in the USA from 1870 to 1920 was due to the effects of industrialisation, urbanization, a structured division between work and leisure time, and network-based immigration. This situation is reflected in the post-1945 Australian social context and settler experience, reflected in the appropriation of communal places. The arrival of over three million settlers of non-English speaking background since 1948 has impacted on cultural and social life in Australia[3]. This immigration is characterised by the heterogeneity of its structure and the predominantly urban settlement induced by the needs of housing, construction, industrialisation, that demanded both labour and markets, and defence (Collins 1984, 4; Logan, et al 1981, 41-2). The expanded immigration programme and the breakdown of diverse immigration barriers, and in particular, with reference to non-Caucasians, increased the share of immigrants from non-English speaking countries to 13.5 per cent by 2001 (ABS 2001).

Immigrants settle mostly in major coastal cities. In Sydney, which is a favourite destination, the first major change in demographic structure occurred during the 1950-1960 period when 50,000 European refugees arrived (Burnley 2001,129; Kunz 1988, 43-5). The share of non-English speakers in Sydney increased from 2.2 per cent out of a million and a half inhabitants in 1947 to 23.4 per cent out of four million in 2001 (Spearritt 1977; ABS 2001). It is estimated that people of non-English speaking background, first and second generation, together comprise over 54 per cent of the Sydney population (Burnley, et al 1997,33). The demographic dynamics reflecting changes in immigration patterns and different waves of arrival of people from non-English speaking countries in selected Census years is presented in Table 1.

The post-war intensification of cultural diversity is best identified by data on language use and religious diversity. In Sydney, 734,198 speakers of over 5 years of age daily use one

of twenty major (non-English) languages in 1996, while the other languages are spoken by an additional 175,182 inhabitants, or around 27.0 per cent of all inhabitants in 2001 (ABS 2001; EAC 1998).

Table1. Australian population[1] born in Non-English Speaking Countries, by regions,1954-2001

Regions	1954	1971	1978	2001
Western Europe	147,118	281,874	279,133	272,997
Eastern Europe	148,493	166,047	160,261	140,612
Southern Europe[2]	197,427	669,450	696,570	633,587
Middle East[3]	7,871	70,348	115,150	213,942
Southern Asia[4]	n.a[7]	35,028	57,737	186,612
South East Asia	n.a[7]	35,940	63,913	497,076
China, Hong Kong[5]	11,831	23,184	43,672	234,404
Korea, Japan	966	4,929	10,363	64,427
Latin America	1,719	12,879	38,131	75,691
Pacific Islands	4,426	17,461	21,563	99,361
Africa[6]	n.a[7]	21,054	26,066	141,696
Total	519,851	1,338,194	1,512,499	2,560,405
Share of NESB (%)	5.79	10.49	10.61	13.50
Total Population	8,986,530	12,755,638	14,263,078	18,972,350

Notes: 1. Excluding British Isles, Canada, USA, New Zealand, Carribean and South Africa.
2. Includes countries of former Yugoslavia. 3. Includes North Africa, Middle East. 4. Also, Central Asia from 2001. 5. Singapore in 1978. 6. Does not include South Africa. 7. Data for 1954 not included: assumed non-indigenous emigration.

Source: Price, Ch.(1980).Australian Immigration, A Bibliography and Digest, No.4. A 92-5.
Price, Ch., Martin, J.I. (1976). Australian Immigration: A Bibliography and Digest, No.3.
ABS (2002). Census of Population and Housing. Cat. No. 2015.0. p. 92.

The changes in the religious structure indicate major cultural changes as Australia is now home to all major world religions. Although there was immigration of European Orthodox, Middle-Eastern Christians, Muslim and Buddhist believers already in the 19th century, they were barely recorded statistically in 1947, due to the drastic entry restrictions. Now, followers of these and other newly arrived religious denominations make up over 19 per cent of the total Sydney population. The large-scale arrival of continental Europeans and later of Asian and Latin American settlers greatly increased the number of Roman Catholic believers who now make up around 29 per cent of the total Sydney population, making it by far the largest religious denomination. These cultural changes increased pressures on already existing religious and educational systems developed earlier by predominantly Irish Catholic settlers. Nevertheless, some Roman Catholic communities developed their own churches, schools and community centers.

These settlers, permanent immigrants, brought new forms of culture, social life and recreation as well as social needs, but Australia was not prepared for the effects of its own ambitious immigration program. The large numbers of immigrants of diverse cultural background meant on additional and differentiated demand for goods and services that could not be satisfied by the limitations of the entrenched local culture and a non-responsive welfare state (Jakubowicz 1989, 275; Lewins 1978; Cox 1975, 182). Moreover, assimilation was the official policy until the late 1960s, as well as the White Australia immigration policy. Although many issues were generated by the arrival of a large number of people of different ethnic and social background, policy makers for years showed no interest in solving diverse settlement issues, like housing, unemployment, recognition of classifications and skills, and diverse other social and welfare problems (Cutts 1992; CIE 1992, xv; Jupp 1991,106; Cox 1987, 90). Despite the policy changes since the 1970s and three decades of application of multicultural policies at diverse levels of society, many non-English speaking migrants still do not feel welcome (SMH 12, 2005; Dunn 2001; Betts 1999, 316; Hage 1998, 16;).

Sydney, as a major settlement place was not well endowed with public places and welfare services, including childcare places, to which access was further limited due to cultural and linguistic differences (Brennan 1998, 144; Thompson 1994, 205; Spearritt 1978, 36,241, Sandercock 1977). In the time of plenty of work, but the urban gloom, the after-work options were for many the “pub and races” (Patrikareas 2000; Margo 2000).

Table 2. Ethnic Soccer Clubs in Sydney Championships[1]

Second Division 1960	First Division 1967
Pan Hellenic	Pan Hellenic
Polonia	Hakoah
Corinthians	Prague
Toongabbie	Apia
St George-Budapest	Polonia
Dalmatinac	Yugal
Blacktown	Croatia
Lidcombe	St George-Budapest
Sutherland	Melita Eagles
Julia	**Manly**
White Eagles	

Note: 1. Names in bold indicate clubs that are primarily territorially based.
Source: Korban, R. (1994). 40 Lat Klubu Sportowego Polonia-Sydney

To many European immigrants football was the major leisure and recreation activity, a mode of communication, a display of organizational skills and inter-community contacts.

It is a generally accepted fact that European immigrants resurrected the “global game” on the continent where British culture was firmly embedded, except for football. B*occe* and wine enjoyed in the backyards of the semi-rural Sydney suburbs brought trouble to many Southern European immigrants (Powell 1994). This led eventually to the establishment of diverse Croatian and Italian clubs *bocce* pitches, while German, Hungarian and Slovenian clubs developed clubs with bowling alleys. Table 2. illustrates the predominance of immigrant-organised football clubs (local born players joined too) in the Sydney Championships in the 1950s and 1960s[4], rare clubs had names of local Sydney origin - in 1967 only: Manly.

ETHNIC COLLECTIVE ACTION IN SYDNEY

Very soon settlers became conscious not only of their marginalisation and various deprivations, but also of their own potential and the awareness that some of their collectively perceived needs could be satisfied only by their own efforts through the appropriation of physical objects. This germinated diverse tasks of mutual interest by various ethnic groups (Martin 1978) and some organizations purchased and adapted abandoned halls, churches and even squash courts in older suburbs, and consequently around 85 churches, some dating from the 19th Century, acquired a new lease of life. However, the majority of collectives appropriated available vacant land, in distant semi-rural suburbs, and constructed necessary premises.

Diverse collectives emerged out of ethnic groups, as many smaller units, collectives, evolved on the basis of regional, ideological and religious affiliation, locality of settlement and perceived specific social and welfare issues, corresponding to Anderson`s argument on “imagined communities” (1991). These fragmented acts enabled many diverse groups of settlers to acquire a place of action and commitment where their communal needs were met, a place of belonging and a feeling of home established. Indeed, for many it was at one stage also a place of resistance to social and assimilation pressures (Pile 1997). Today, these symbolic places, nodes, embedded in the social and urban landscape of Sydney create the mainframe of an everyday and expanding cultural diversity.

The outcome of these fragmented collective actions is reflected in a new culturally diversified social space imbued with various forms of spiritual life, leisure, recreation,

transfer and maintenance of culture, childcare and care of elderly. Through the appropriation and production of space (Lefebvre 1991, 164) by many culturally diverse groups in response to local settlement problems within the existing social context a new social space is established. The dynamics of the appropriation of space over five consecutive ten-year periods by 393 respondent organizations is presented in Table 3.

Table 3. Developed Ethnic Communal Space: by type and periods of development, Sydney, 1950-2000 (Estimated persons; developed units)

Type/ period	1950-1960 %	1961-1970 %	1971-1980 %	1981-1990 %	1991-2000 %	Capacity-persons[6] (100 %)	All units by type (n)
Religious[1]	11.9	21.1	18.7	24.3	24.0	120,029	208
Clubs[2]	17.9	26.7	15.8	30.0	9.6	49,151	94
Education[3]	0.4	0.6	22.3	48.5	28.2	10,792	44
Aged care[4]	17.5	23.4	10.0	27.6	21.5	2,270	47
Units/period[5]	12.2	14.5	17.0	29.8	26.5	…	393

Note: 1. Includes places in halls, Sunday school classrooms. 2. Includes sports clubs, but not spectators at sporting events. 3. Includes places in childcare and in tertiary institutions (hostel). 4. Beds in aged care; does not Includes places in general welfare organizations.5. Including eleven general welfare places. 6. Indicates capacity places, not the actual users, attendants, volunteers.
Source: Lalich, W.F. 2004, *Ethnic Community Capital*, Unpublished Ph D Thesis, UTS, Sydney.

With these fragmented collective efforts over four hundred and seventy thousand square metres of functional communal space was established where 180,000 persons can find a place of their own at any given moment. Collected data show that over 56 per cent of 393 units were developed since 1980 indicating persistence of felt needs, accumulation of capital, and arrival of migrants from new sources. The development of schools, childcare centres and aged care was facilitated during the last two decades by government support. In this period around 77 per cent of all school and childcare capacities together with 49 per cent of all aged care were developed. The need for aged care was large at the beginning of the post-war settlement, and some just arrived groups of displaced persons had very soon to approach this problem. The indicated development reflects changes in immigration patterns, transfer and maintenance of culture, language and heritage, considerations of communal wellbeing, and the impact of public support.

The dynamics of this development reflects changes and processes within the ethnic

communities that define goals and identify investment capabilities (access to human, material, financial and organizational resources). The arrival of large numbers of immigrants of the same origin and cultural background created necessary thresholds. However, as immigration is structured not only by ethnicity, age and gender, but also by regional, cultural, class and ideological differences it impacts on the perception of priorities, patterns and dynamics of development. Hence changes in the development priorities and the emphasis of the orientation of ethnic communal action due to the settlement encounters, maintenance of transferred cultures and the ageing process are reflected in the outcomes of collective actions. The development emphasis changed from the satisfaction of the immediate social and cultural needs of the first generation of mostly male immigrants and places of worship to the long-term maintenance of transferred cultures, religions and languages, and to the organised care for weaker members of the community across generational changes.

The continuous intensive development of places of worship significantly increased during the last two decades due to the new sources of immigrants. Over 48 per cent of all religious capacities were developed since 1980 responding to demand for places of worship by newly arrived Buddhist, Muslim, Hindu and Oriental Christians believers. Many earlier-arrived European Christians built new and larger churches reflecting the increased prosperity and replacing the older unsatisfactory places of worship and community halls. Social and sports clubs developed mostly during the first four decades, but decreased rapidly in the last decade. This reflects ageing of the post-war immigrants who developed clubs to meet their own social and recreational needs, generational changes, changes in the structure of immigrants and in the society, in particular in the hospitality industry. Among some major observations are the following ones:

- European immigrants have built over 90 percent of all leisure capacities reflecting cultural differences, social deprivation and the evolution of Sydney,
- European Orthodox, non-European Christians, Buddhists, Hindus and Muslims had a major role in the development of places of worship,
- non-European settlers developed most facilities since 1980,
- despite a long tradition of an Irish-dominant local Roman Catholic Church, language and culture specific Catholic churches were developed,
- Asian and Pacific Islands Christian communities primarily developed churches,
- European (Mediterranean), Jewish and Muslim immigrants have developed all respondent day schools and the majority of childcare centers.

This development is also the factor of exogenous factors, the socio-economic

environment, public (un) awareness about immigrants` welfare and the intensity of communication links with the place of origin. The analysis of post-war development is divided into two ideologically different periods, in which the initial period until the 1970s corresponds broadly to the assimilation pressures, with little public support for migrant initiatives. In the second period, delineated with the year 1980, the development of ethnic day and community schools, childcare, welfare and aged care received public support as public awareness of unsatisfactory conditions facing immigrants surfaced (Henderson, Harcourt, et al 1970). The Whitlam Labour government (1972-1974) introduced various policy measures, and from 1974-75 migrant welfare and educational organizations received material help (Jakubowicz, et al 1984, 38-9). Moreover, the Galbally Commission in 1978 qualified existing social constraints encountered by new settlers as unsatisfactory, recommending major policy changes, recognizing ethnic organizations as major service providers to migrants, which were fully accepted by the conservative Coalition Government of Malcolm Fraser. The support for ethnic schools and aged care places is a continuous feature of government policy.

Measurement of diversity

This development pattern allows for various measurements at different stages of the organizational life cycle, to the production and consumption stages. Many social costs and benefits are not readily assessed in monetary terms and are difficult to estimate (Baumol and Blinder 1985, 543), making it difficult to fully recognize, comprehend and measure the extent of the impact of ethnic collective action on social texture. Data on appropriated places, constructed space and human engagement identify the dynamics of collective action, tangible outcomes and social significance. Also, data on human engagement provide insights into financial involvement and participation in activities that enabled this important development. Furthermore, certain measurement, expressed through human engagement, current activities, established phenomenological relations, and participation of the second generation can provide insights not only into the social effects of this development, but also on their future potential.

Ethnic communal places are representative of current cultural, ethnic and social diversity. These landmarks are replete with symbolic meaning and collective memory reflecting the days of hardship during the settlement, but also human endeavour aimed at improving the quality of life. More surprisingly, a country that over the last quarter

century proclaims itself to be a multicultural one has no quality official information even on the number of such places developed, although this property in Sydney alone can be currently valued at around a billion Euro. The available estimates, product of the goodwill and cooperation of the contacted ethnic organizations, make it possible to develop not only an insight, but also some relevant measurements qualifying not only the production but also the consumption of these places. The interpretations of achieved and maintained diversity can be made at diverse hierarchical, functional and spatial levels reflecting not only ethnic, social, cultural, but also the territorial impact of developed ethnic communal places.

The development process

This property is mostly developed out of immigrants` own income and voluntary work often involving whole families. People in need of new roots compensated for their own meagre material resources with engendered social capital, skills, time, and energy. This engagement was often a major sacrifice for people with small and insecure incomes; still, they managed to overcome problems of social deprivation and scarcity of public places. Data in table 4 introduces an insight into human participation in this important social development.

Table 4. Management patterns of Ethnic Community Capital, by type and gender, Sydney, 1950-2000, Estimate (%)

Participation	Gender	Religions (n206)	Leisure (n94)	Education (n44)	Welfare (n47)	Total (n391)
Employed[1]	Male	70.6	53.8	31.3	16.3	36.0
	Female	29.4	46.2	68.7	83.7	64.0
	Total (n)	595	1,196	1,208	1,832	4,831
Management[2]	Male	82.1	77.0	71.1	68.5	78.7
	Female	17.9	23.0	28.9	31.5	21.3
	Total (n)	2,235	1,150	190	445	4,110
Volunteers	Male	37.6	49.0	30.3	33.1	39.3
	Female	62.4	51.0	69.7	66.9	60.7
	Total (n)	8,967	2,286	350	1,528	13,671
Total (n)	All	11,887	5,172	1,748	3,805	22,612
Total (%)	All	52.6	22.9	7.7	16.8	100.0

Notes: 1. 53.0% are full-time employees. 2. Boards and committee members, volunteers only.
Source: Lalich, W.F. 2004, *Ethnic Community Capital*, Unpublished Ph D Thesis, UTS, Sydney.

Very few organizations kept data on voluntary work, and the best available data is on the current engagement in both, voluntary and paid capacities. However, this data, irrespective of their limitations can provide grounds to establish at least conservative estimates of the past voluntary labour, although respondents often claim that "there are volunteers available according to the need" and "people help on request"**.** However, the collected data indicate that besides nearly 18,000 volunteers participating at diverse levels and activities there are over 4,800 persons employed by these ethnic communal organizations.

It could be assessed that recorded volunteers donate annually around 1,8 million hours (2 hours per week) a year that could be valued at a minimum of 34 million Australian dollars or around 20 million Euro[5]. This estimate does not account for any special skills needed for the management of these institutions, neither for voluntary work in evening and weekend hours. Through historical projection of data on current volunteers over the life-span of these organizations, taking into account diverse limiting assumptions, an estimate could be derived about the amount and value of human voluntary labour contributed towards production and maintenance of these key nodes of cultural diversity in Sydney since 1950. During this period these organizations invested in total around 650 million Euro towards this great development under the constraints of hardship, excluding various donated materials and in particular diverse and often irreplaceable cultural and symbolic artefacts.

Table 5 Sources of investment in ethnic communal places,
Sydney, Estimate, 1950-2000
(%; Australian dollars `000)

Sources	Initial investment (n200)	Development investment (n88)
Individuals	23.6	19.4
Accumulated collective	25.1	35.3
Internal loans	4.9	2.6
Gifts	2.3	1.6
Head bodies	2.0	1.0
Banks	26.8	28.4
State	5.6	11.1
Overseas	9.7	.6
Total %	100.0	100.0
Total A$`000	206,682	731,760
Average per unit A$`000	557	1,972

Source: Lalich, W.F. 2004, *Ethnic Community Capital*, Unpublished Ph D Thesis, UTS, Sydney.

The total financial investment, being only partly representative of the total material involvement, is shown in the Table 5. However, this data can be further desegregated as the size of investment and its sources differed at two different stages, at the initial phase of development and the later stage of (re) development when ethnic collectives and their organizations established their own place in society, networks and the confidence of banks missing badly at the early stage of development. The recorded government funding, or segment of taxes returned to support immigrant welfare, mostly supported the development of educational and welfare institutions after 1980, while the limited overseas funding was mainly concentrated on several organizations, excluding leisure ones. The investment from overseas is mostly recorded during the initial stages of development, but in total amounted to around nine per cent of the total.

The major source of finance is located in a particular collective, in its members, either through direct contributions or expressed in earlier contributions that accumulated over the time or were materialised through the sale of property purchased at an earlier stage of development. In some instances members of collectives provided internal loans or donated various financial or material gifts. Head bodies are not always ethnically defined, being mostly diverse religious institutions. On the other hand, the development of leisure organizations depended very much on bank loans, but which are always repaid either from contributions or intentional participation in commercial activities, and therefore is again mostly sourced out of members` money. More detailed information can be developed by further desegregation of data according to categories and time periods.

Consumption Stage

The social importance of these places is indicated by the ability of over 180,000 persons to worship, socialise, participate in sport, attend day school or childcare, or have a place in a nursing home at any given moment. The annual income of around 130 million Euro supports the life of these important places, employment, maintenance and the pursuit of over 5,500 indicated activities. Many of the developed places have expanded their initial function beyond the original intent, showing changes in the community needs, and even the more utilitarian schools and aged care places often record over nine activities. The established functions and generated activities contribute to the development of the impact and create a communication network often beyond the organizational limits.

Data in Table 6 display a rich content of activities generated by this important social process, indicating its vitality and role in social space. The outcome, generic activities that directly relate to the established key function and generated new activities, is compared with the results presented in seminal work by Warner whose findings are adapted to relate research findings. Although the source and categorization of data used by Warner differ, as they do not originate from ethnic organizations, they nevertheless provide similar results indicating capability of established places to generate additional activities constructing social space, new communicative and linkage effects.

Table 6. The Incidence of Activities at Ethnic Communal Places, Sydney, 2000 (%)

Generic activities	Places of Worship (n 206)	Places of Leisure (n 94)	Education (n 33)	Aged care and welfare (n 47)	Adapted From W. L. W arner[5]
Communal	20.3	20.5	23.9	21.1	20.8
Functional/Religious	12.3	8.1[1]	10.8[3]	14.6[4]	8.8
Social	14.4	17.6	10.2	10.1	16.7
Sub-total	47.0	46.2	44.9	45.8	46.3
Generated activities					
Commercial	4.0	6.2	4.6	8.6	13.6
Culture	7.4	8.4	7.2	8.0	
Education	12.2	6.2	6.6[2]	9.2	3.9
Entertainment	8.4	18.1	8.5	13.1	28.5
Recreation/sports	6.0	2.1[2]	10.2	5.6	8.4
Welfare	8.3	6.1	12.1	7.3[2]	
Youth	6.7	6.7	5.9	2.4	
Total	53.0	53.8	55.1	54.2	54.4
Total (%)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
All activities	3011	1770	305	465	5800

Notes: 1. Sports and recreation. 2. Religious. 3. Education. 4.Welfare. 5. Adapted from W. Lloyd Warner (1963:136). Yankee City. Yale University Press, New Haven.
Source: Lalich, W.F. 2004, *Ethnic Community Capital*, Unpublished Ph D Thesis, UTS, Sydney.

Furthermore, the established qualitative information tells of the created sense of place, satisfaction with the developed place, but also various externality effects related to the neighbourhood, second generation and place of origin. This information is indicative not only of their social sustainability, but also of the expected longevity responding to generational changes in the dynamic contemporary world and the expanding transnational space. The available indicators enable not only the understanding of the historical process and the current organizational life, but also can provide input for possible comparisons of

impact on diverse spatial formations and social structures.

Respondents clearly indicate the importance of belonging, of an established feeling of the home of a community in both leisure and religious places. Data in the last Table 7. shows the richness of associations developed towards these places built through communal effort. To many it is a centre of life, identification contributing to the argument on the special property of these communal places, built from below but expanding in significance beyond the original intent of their builders.

Table 7. Significance of Selected Communal Places, Sydney, 2000 (%)

Relational signifier	Significance		Functional signifier	Significance	
	Leisure (n181) [1]	Worship (n286) [2]		Leisure (n161)[1]	Worship (n355) [2]
Home of the community	14.3	13.1	Meeting people	15.8	12.3
Centre of life	9.6	7.3	Transfer of cultural roots	7.3	8.7
Create a way of life	6.4	5.3	Provision of help	5.3	8.6
Achievement	6.1	5.3	Share heritage	4.4	7.8
Feeling of sameness	5.3	3.7	Multiculturalism	2.9	5.8
Place advantages	4.7	2.5	Enable activities	2.4	2.1
Identification with	3.2	1.9	Escape isolation	2.1	1.9
Other	3.2	4.4	Other	7.0	9.3
Sub total	52.8	43.5	Sub-total	47.2	56.5

Notes: 1. 342=100. 2. 641=100.
Source: Lalich, W.F. 2004, *Ethnic Community Capital*, Unpublished Ph D Thesis, UTS, Sydney.

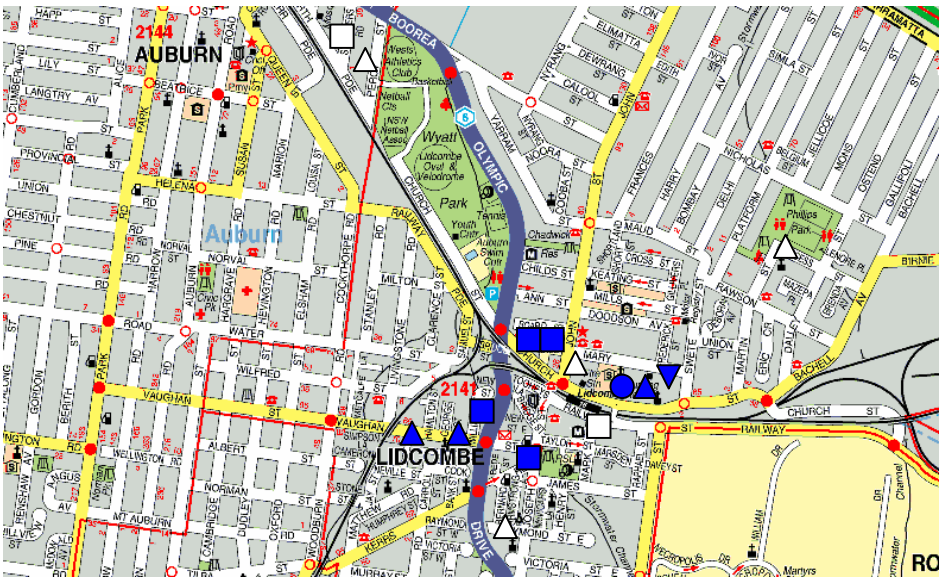
Spatial impact

Mapping of these key elements of urban diversity highlights the additional spatial dimension of the immigrant created cultural and social resources and their impact on urban morphology. Ethnic communal places are dispersed throughout the metropolitan area defining many suburbs, but, nearly fifty per cent of all contacted form clusters of different ethnic, functional and temporal description. Clusters are considered to be any grouping of communal places that are within short travel distance, of no more than one local train station distance. Except for two instances, clusters developed as a result of autonomous and independent intervention in space by ethnic collectives. Only two out of nineteen clusters can be described as mono-ethnic, although these do not cover total development by their ethnic groups. The additional two clusters can be described as

mono-functional, one each consisting of religious and social clubs in two distant parts of the city. The following examples of developed clusters provide an insight into their origins, and in the intensity of the social and spatial impact of ethnic communal places

The dynamic cluster located around two adjacent Lidcombe- Auburn railway stations halfway between the CBD and outer suburbs. Lidcombe, a major railway intersection close to a major Sydney cemetery and to the Olympic site was discovered in the early1950`s by Ukrainian and Russian displaced persons. In many ways this is the Ukrainian hub in Sydney, consisting of a church, childcare, home for aged, nunnery, social club, scout house, two community halls, language school, archives, public monument and Credit Union Office. However the ethnic communal content of Lidcombe evolved too, and contains also Russian Orthodox Old Believers Church, Armenian, Slovak, Syrian and Samoan churches, Chinese and Russian clubs. Very close to the adjacent Auburn Station are Turkish Community House and a recently finished beautiful mosque. Like many other clusters, this cluster developed close to railway stations providing easy access. Although considerations of the co-ethnic concentration is important in decision making, the accessibility and the availability of construction space or of adequate building as well as the price is equally important in making a location choice. Moreover, most of the older places now survive with a depleted number of co-ethnics residing in their vicinity.

Map1. Locations of Ethnic Communal Places: Cluster Lidcombe-Auburn

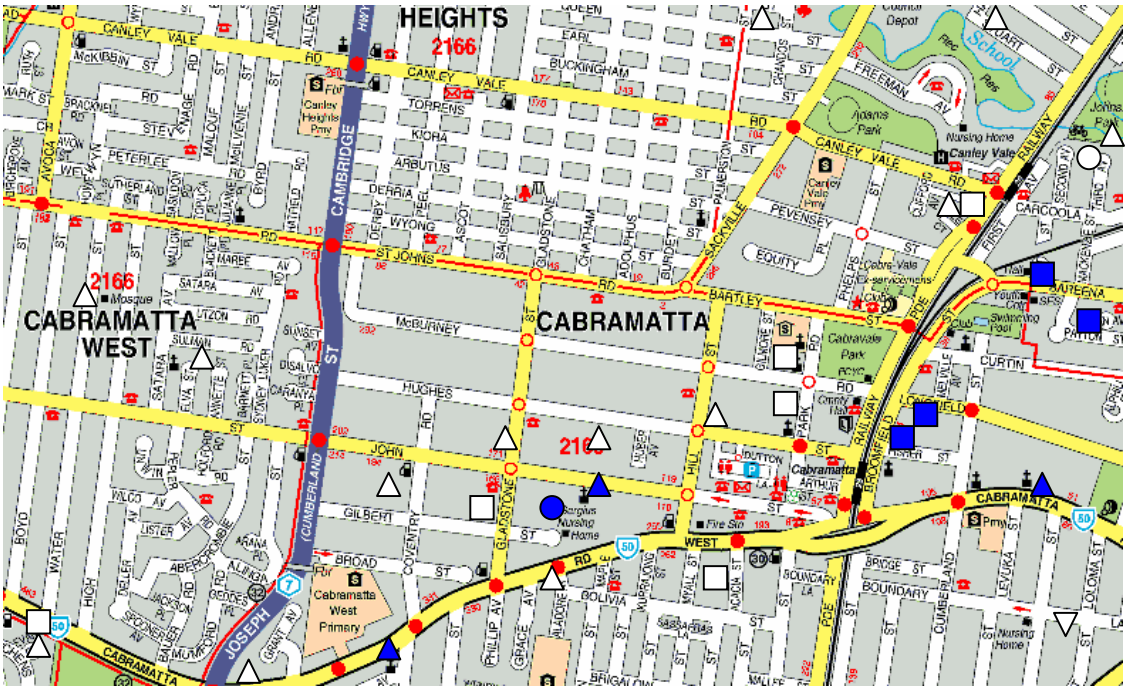


△ Religious □ Leisure ▽ Child care ○ Aged care ■ European

Source: UBD Universal Press, Sydney 2001. CD-ROM

The spatial dynamics and continuous changes in urban morphology is illustrated with the changes in the Cabramatta-Canley Vale cultural cluster developed around two adjacent railway stations in south-western Sydney. The initial cluster of clubs, halls and churches was developed in this sparsely populated semi-rural part of the metropolitan area by post-war Austrian, German, Macedonian, Polish, Russian, Serbian and Ukrainian displaced persons. To this small commercial center gravitated also pre-war Italian and Croatian farmers and gardeners, but also former residents from worn-down inner city suburbs who were re-settled in new housing developments at the urban periphery.

Map 2. Locations of Ethnic Communal Places: Cluster Cabramatta-Canley Vale, 2000



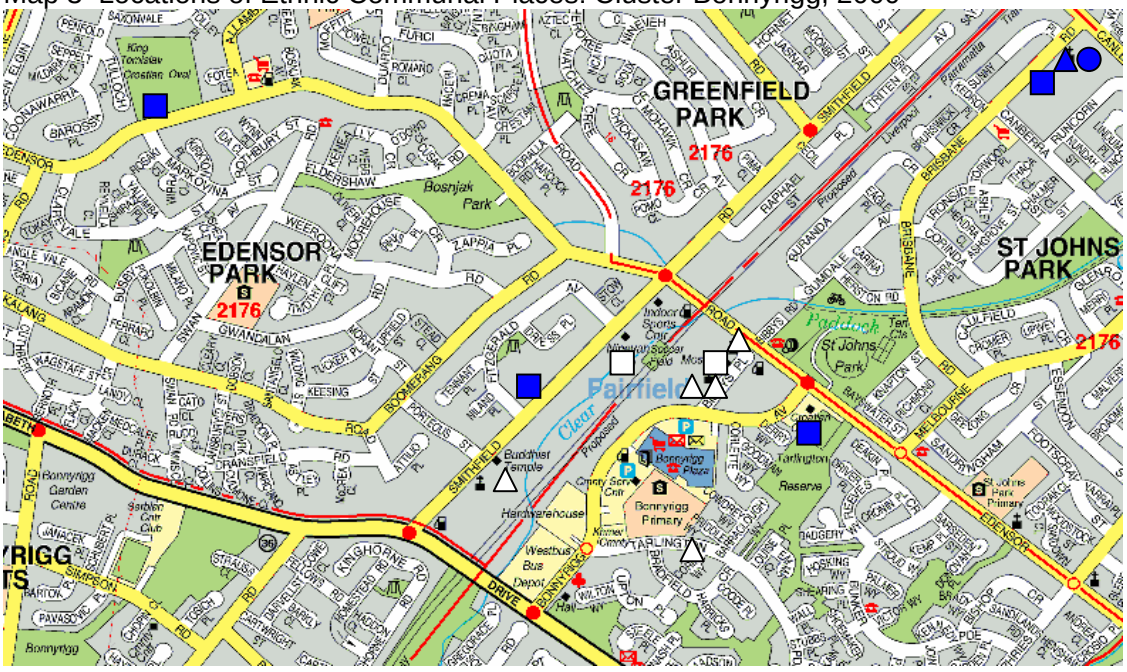
Source: UBD Universal Press, Sydney 2001. CD-ROM

The ageing of the earlier settlers, continuous spatial and social mobility, and arrival of new settlers mostly from South-East Asia defines suburban dynamics. In fifty years the whole suburb changed its demographic and social structure, and it is now even billed as “Sydney`s Gate to Asia” or “Vietnamatta”. Besides commercial restructuring to serve new settlers, there are now Chinese and Vietnamese Buddhist temples and churches, but also a Lebanese mosque and a Samoan church, indicating the fluidity of development.

The third example of spatial impact is the development of the Bonnyrigg cluster ten to

fifteen minutes by car to the west from Cabramatta and Canley Vale stations. It evolved since the early 1960`s when a small group of the pre-war Croatian immigrants bought a block of land for 180 pounds. They developed a hall with restaurant, *bocce* and football grounds like many other Southern- Europeans. Very soon Hungarian refugees established their own club and bowling alley. Assyrian migrants started in 1969 to develop their own Nineveh club with football grounds. With the arrival of many South-East Asian refugees the government of New South Wales leased land at sixty years in this semi-industrial zone for the development of Khmer, Lao and Vietnamese temples, Chinese Presbyterian Church, Turkish Mosque and Vietnamese community hall. Today this location, situated on one of major metropolitan crossroads, is a powerful compact landmark of diversity situated in the heart of the gravitational pull for 360,000 people living at less than ten kilometres distance, but having little other mainstream public content. Very close are a large Chinese Buddhist temple, built on donated 6 acres of land, Armenian, Croatian, Italian, Serbian and Slovenian clubs, Croatian Catholic Church and aged care centre.

Map 3 Locations of Ethnic Communal Places: Cluster Bonnyrigg, 2000



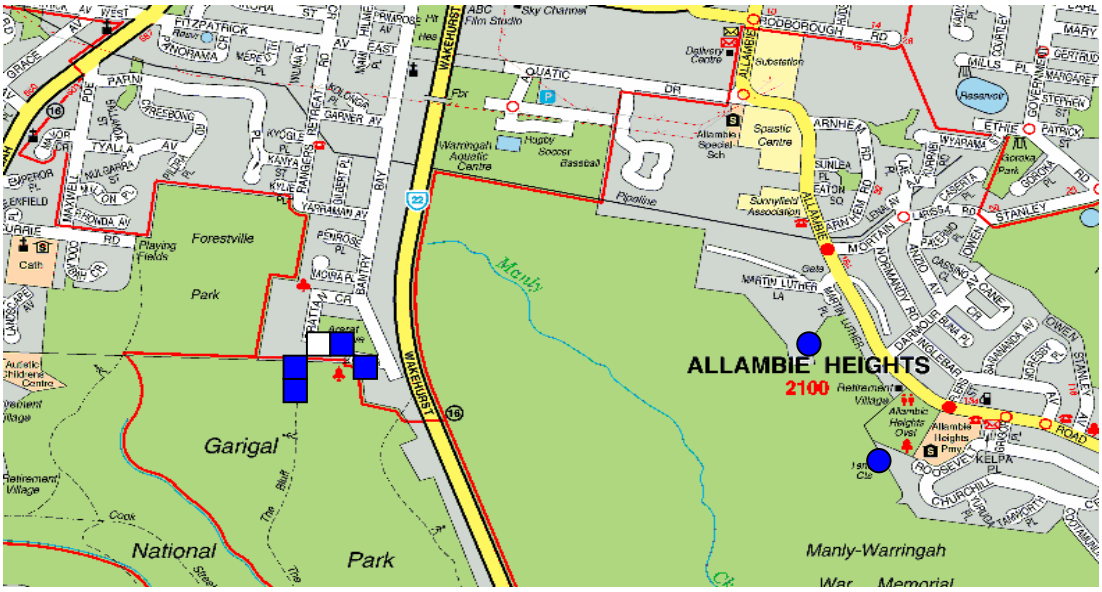
Source: UBD Universal Press, Sydney 2001. CD-ROM

Bonnyrigg cluster, a very dynamic visible symbol of diversity impacted on the recent reconstruction of the adjacent Baptist church and the resurrection of the Bowling club. The Croatian Jadran-Hajduk Club now has a joint football club with the descendants of Maltese

migrants, the ageing factor and cultural adaptation of descendents impacts on the sustainability of many earlier established places. These places signify culture transfer and new roots established in distant part of the world, but also are heritage symbols of the post-war patterns of the urban, cultural and social development of (Australian) cities, appropriating multiple heritage significance.

The final example of the cluster development was created away from any major communication network, and at the edge of one of the inner-metropolitan protected green zones. A cluster of leisure clubs in Frenchs Forrest in northern Sydney was started initially on leased land, but in the 1980`s leaseholders were given the option to purchase properties from the State Government. Austrian, Czech, Armenian, Danish and Dutch social clubs were developed on two sides of the communal football pitch having beautiful views of distant southern business districts. Across the park, further away, are German and Italian retirement homes with chapels. The German Martin Luther home carries the tradition of the Lutheran Church, developed in the heart of Sydney in the early 1880`s. Very few users of these social clubs live nearby, and their sustainability is a major issue due to the changing immigration patterns, rapid expansion of hospitality industry, and the acculturation of the second generation.

Map 4. Locations of Ethnic Communal Places: Cluster Frenchs Forest, 2000



☐ Leisure ○ Aged care ■ European

Note: 1. To the right in the Allembie Heights are two (German, Italian) retirement villages.
Source: UBD Universal Press, Sydney 2001. CD-ROM

Conclusion

The presented examples show how immigrants through their own volition, investment of available human and material resources impacted on diverse parts of the metropolitan area. Migrants-settlers impacted on urban diversity not only through commercial edifices, dwellings, gardens and signage, but what is even more visible and of temporal significance, through the development of communal or public places. These ethnic landmarks embedded in Sydney `s social and physical landscape define its configuration and image beyond the expectation of people who changed immigration policy and the intent of people who were willing to settle ”down under”.

Collective goods developed through collective actions undertaken by many settler collectives had a major impact on the quality of life in a city that completely changed its image over the same period, from a British outpost in the Pacific to a vibrant cosmopolitan global city. It is a story replicated at different times in many places around the world reflecting immigration patterns, contextual situation, local constraints, intensity of perceived needs and collective will and capability to find a response. Presented data together with the possibility for the further refinement of measurements and spatial representation provides only an insight into the many possibilities of comprehending this ever-expanding cultural diversity and the modes of its creation and sustainability in a changing environment.

Endnotes

1 In the Australian context, the term ethnicity is generally applied only to first and second generations immigrants/settlers of non-English speaking origin (Martin 1981, 141).
2 Data collected among ethnic organisations in Sydney in period 1999-2001 for the doctoral dissertation on *Ethnic Community Capital: The development of ethnic social infrastructure in Sydney*, submitted by the author at University of Technology, Sydney in 2003.
3 Among many other sources analysing major features of the post-war Australian immigration experience are: Martin 1978; Viviani 1984; Coughlan and McNamara (ed.) 1997; Burnley 2001; 2000; Jupp 2002; Jupp (ed.) 2001.
4 As the majority of immigrants were initially single males used to different types of entertainment, many new ethnic social and sporting clubs were initiated (Mosely, Cashman, O`Hara and Weatherburn, eds 1997; Caldwell 1987).
5 Calculations based on data established by Lyons (1994, 37) and Ironmonger (2000, 68).

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