

Sustainability of Migration Generated Civic Participation in Urban Governance

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EURODIV PAPER 62.2009

JANUARY 2009

KTHC - Knowledge, Technology, Human Capital

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The special issue on *Cultural Diversity* collects a selection of papers presented at the multidisciplinary and multinational Marie Curie project on “Cultural diversity in Europe: A series of Conferences” (EURODIV).

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This batch of papers has been presented at the Fourth Conference “Diversity in cities: New models of governance”.

Sustainability of Migration Generated Civic Participation in Urban Governance

Summary

Migrant participation in urban governance and sustainability of the established practices within the process of social and intergenerational dynamics in Sydney are in the focus of this contribution. Inclusion in the process of urban governance is generated out of fragmented ethnic collective actions that aim to satisfy various collectively perceived cultural and welfare needs during settlement. Through voluntary commitment of their own human and material resources, ethnic collectives appropriate needed spiritual and secular communal places. Migrants` civic participation appears in diverse forms and degrees of intensity of engagement through which they impact on urban space and the governance process. The generated civic participation identified by collective involvement, mutuality, cross-cultural exchange, generated bonding and bridging social capital, and a sense of belonging creates a social fabric in a dynamic urban environment. Migrants` civic participation shapes and identifies many Sydney neighbourhoods, and their impact on the governance process is analysed through various social and spatial outcomes.

Keywords: Migrants, Collective Action, Civic Participation, Governance, Sustainability

JEL classification: D71, D 84, L31, O15

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The impact of large scale post-war migration in Australia affected patterns of urban life and governance as most migrants settled in large coastal cities. The dynamics of impact is felt beyond the immediate intent of fragmented ethnic collective endeavours to meet immediate collectively perceived communal needs. Due to social, cultural, linguistic and class differentiation marginalised migrants mostly had limited opportunities to participate in the established modes of mainstream society and had to find means to satisfy their own cultural and, often, welfare needs too. Ethnic voluntary collective actions impacted on the morphology of Australian cities and on civil society, which is not a given good (Keane 1998: 49) as it is grounded in exogenous factors, including in immigration effects also. This important outcome of post-war migration is analysed through the process of appropriation of communal places by fragmented migrant collective acts in Sydney. Migration generated civic participation in urban governance is in the focus of this contribution with emphasis on its sustainability, in other words, of the viability of generated relationships over long periods of time (Becker, Jahn and Stiess 1999: 6) within the process of intergenerational changes. A process of migration generated civic participation in urban governance from *bottom up* through satisfaction of their own collectively perceived communal needs is outlined with a unique set of data generated from ethnic communal organisations.

Urban governance

Migrants impact on urban governance in the place of settlement, either individually or collectively. The contemporary urban context is identified not only by power relations between state and civil society (Keith 2005: 44), but also by ethnic and cultural diversity. The complexity of urban governance is comprehended as “the sum of the many ways individuals and institutions, public and private, manage their common affairs. It is a continuing process through which conflicting or diverse interests may be accommodated and co-operative action be taken” (Tabb 2004:143). It is emphasised by Savitch and Kantor (2002:41,330) that governance is not a replacement for government, but an additional mechanism for cooperation and “lateral integration” of an urban area that can also enhance its global competitiveness. It is located in a broad social act based on a fluid and voluntary basis (Savitch and Kantor 2002: 329) among a ‘variety of agents and values’ (Dale 2001: 147,152) in horizontal civic participation. Out of migration generated religious, leisure, educational, aged care and welfare needs emerge decentralized institutional elements of governance structure (Keith 2005: 83).

The process of migrants` civic participation in urban governance is engendered out of a sense of deprivation due to lack or inadequacy of accessible social resources due to cultural and language differentiation in a place of settlement. The difficulty of maintaining a quality life grounded in transferred social and cultural patterns is a cause of discontent and action that engenders formal institutions, communal or club goods. This leads to creation of “regimes empowered to enforce compliance” and of various informal arrangements that people and institutions with [these regimes] either have agreed to, or perceive to, be in their interests (Tabb 2004:143). Collective appropriation of a place to satisfy a perceived ethnic communal need implies involvement in a process of urban governance, including in urban planning. Such forms of inclusion in urban governance reflect on participant lives,

on particular neighbourhoods, and in some instances impacts beyond the immediate local and collective boundaries.

Participation of migrants in urban governance is factor of settlement, collectively perceived needs, engendered social capital, appropriation of communal or club goods, associational life, sense of belonging, and generated links. This process evolves through:

1. perception of inadequacy of accessible resources to satisfy collectively perceived social, cultural and welfare needs,
2. development of networks and organisational forms capable of action,
3. mobilisation of available resources,
4. appropriation of a particular communal place, a building or a block of land,
5. encounters with other institutions of urban governance, civil society, individuals, in a range including applications for development permits, parking and traffic flows issues, imposed constraints, intervention by a higher authority....,
6. participation in communal activities,
7. generated local, national and transnational links,
8. emergence of a sense of belonging and satisfaction,
9. sustainability of organisations and of participation in urban governance over a longer period of time.

Sustainability depends on intensity of civic participation, established sense of belonging, generated social capital and links with the broader community. The issue of sustainability in a context of social and intergenerational transitions implies existential and functional vitality of states and processes within possible continuity despite changes in their social environment and support base (Beattie and Ley 2003: xx). Sustainability is a factor of community and societal changes, ageing, intergenerational transfer of power, and the existence of demand for culturally defined collective goods.

Social capital

It is claimed by Savitch and Kantor (2002: 42) that popular participation must be bolstered by sufficient "social capital". The expanding social capital, understood as a fruitful combination of norms, trusts and networks (Coleman 1990, Putnam 1993; 2000; Portes 1995) among migrants is a key factor in the collective engagement for a common good and creation of associational life. Migrant civic participation in urban governance is a product of engendered social capital during settlement when strong ties are created among co-ethnics facing similar social constraints and disadvantages. Generated bonding social capital (Putnam 2000: 22) enables collective action and is itself energized through associational life and capacity for a continuous civic participation. Out of informal groupings, formal organizations emerge, among which some are capable of appropriating common goods necessary to satisfy a collectively perceived communal need.

The appropriation and consumption of communal places of worship and leisure, schools and aged care by migrant collectives is made possible through enhanced bonding social capital. Bonding capital was intensified during settlement in the Australian society having "the quarantined culture" (Williams 1995), and in Sydney, until recently considered as a "homogeneous British outpost at the Pacific" (Freestone 2000:125). Under such conditions migrants had to find their own solutions to live satisfactorily. Intensive interaction of ethnic social, human and material resources is reflected in communal places, involvement in community life, and in subsequent impact on urban governance.

Out of this development emerged bridging or inclusive social capital (Putnam 2000: 22) that reaches towards the other segments of society beyond the ethnic and collective boundaries. In cities dependent upon migration inflow, bridging and bonding social capital impacts on organisational sustainability, social cohesion, civil society and patterns of urban governance. The density of social capital expanding across generations significantly

impacts on sustainability of the appropriated communal places and patterns of urban governance in a pluralist society generated under the impact of migration.

Civil Society

Migrant involvement in civil society and urban governance is interwoven through creation of ethnic institutions. Civil society implies voluntary participation by people having moral conviction in public life (Ahrne 1998: 85), like migrants who organize to satisfy their social and welfare needs besides their core private interests. Contemporary comprehension of civil society implies delineation of “multiple spheres and discourses” that are distinct from State authority and the market, but also from the immediate pursuit of self-interest (Jacobs 1998: 138; Ehrenberg 1999:235; Anheier 2005: 56-8; Shils 2003: 295; Cohen and Arato 2003: 271,283). Civil society institutions, including migrant organisations, are inter-related with the state and other spheres of social activity, and bound by the constitution, traditions, obligations and the laws the State, and urban government, lays down (Shils 2003: 293; Keane 1998). Migrants do not act outside the system and inevitably participate in the process of urban governance.

Under different conditions of migration, Vaclav Havel observes that civil society means a society that makes room for the richest possible self-structuring and the richest possible participation in public life (Elshtain 2001:277). The implication is that civil society is a repository of sequences of human actions in response to the material, social, cultural and moral environment through which thousands of individual actions or “choices” may act to the benefit of a community as a whole (Jacobs 1998: 139; Elshtain 2001:264). The evident social changes, including the recognition of cultural diversity in an urbanised world, intensive migration and consequent policy changes towards multiculturalism reinvigorated the possibility and the demands of civil society (Tester 1992: 20-25,33; Sandercock 1998: 20,29; Sandercock 2003: 4,8,25-27).

Migrant collectives make choices and create communal organizations institutionalising solidarity and mutuality to access necessary resources that are otherwise not available. In the process they establish roots in the local social environment and create the foundations of pluralist society (Castles 2000:132,139). In response to experienced deprivation, migrants make a choice and become active participants in civil society and urban governance. It is assessed by Ahrne (1998:85-6) and Anheier (2005: 9, 58) that modern civil society is expressed by the sum of diverse institutions and organizations which are considered to be the most natural organizational form of human interaction associated with civil society. Associations are a major source of information and place of citizen education, representation and alternative governance (Cohen and Rogers 1995: 42-45). Through creation of collective resources, obligations are created, rights acquired and feelings of belonging and empowerment generated that enables sharing of resources and communication with the rest of society too.

These migrant grassroots created mediating organizations are key elements of a culturally diverse urban environment¹. The structure of migrant participation in civil society and urban governance is analysed through appropriation of ethnic community capital², in Sydney, size and scope, functions and activities, interaction³ and intergenerational transfer of power.

Australian Social Dynamics

Contemporary Australia is dependant on continuous migration to populate and replenish its labour force. After World War Two, due to a failure to attract larger numbers of migrants from Britain, government turned its sights to displaced persons, refugees and other potential migrants from a war-ravaged continental Europe. This produced the huge impact on a demographic, social and cultural structure of a society grounded in the transferred

cultural and social institutions from British Isles (Aitkin 2005:2, 7). Later, during the 1970s the exclusionary White Australia policy, which was established in 1900, was abandoned, and patterns of migration expanded from refugees and family reunion to permanent and temporary skilled migrants from Asia, Latin America and Africa. There were around 6,500 persons born in China and less than 2,000 born in Lebanon in the 1947 Census year (Price 1979: A20), while the 2001 Census identifies well over one million people born in Asia who mostly arrived since the 1970s. The number of inhabitants in Australia increased from 7.7 in 1947 to 20 million in 2001, while the share of inhabitants of non-English speaking background in Sydney rose from 2.2 per cent of 1,7 million inhabitants to 23.4 percent of 4 million during this period (ABS 2001; Spearritt 2000). The dramatic change in Sydney demographic structure is best viewed through the arrival of over 240,000 persons from ten continental European countries until 1971 (Price and Pyne 1977: 336). The analysis in this text primarily deals with the experiences of post-war European and Asian migrants.

Sydney is a vast space of over 4,000sqm of a more inhabited space divided into 43 local government areas that have certain autonomy through elected councils, including in urban planning. However, the NSW State Government has a key role in urban planning, where its departments of Local Government, State and Regional Development, Planning, Housing and Community Services have a key role, besides the other administrative agencies, corporations and non-government organizations. Furthermore, the federal government is very much involved in financing aged care, schools and childcare, although state governments have a key role in these sectors. To the complex system of urban governance in Sydney, ethnic non-profit organisations have to be added, forming a broad horizontal pattern of governance at its source. However, these developments are not always welcome. Despite political changes many ethnic organizations still encounter problems either from neighbours or officials and experience expensive litigations in an attempt to proceed with development. The most recent attempt to build a Muslim school in Camden at the metropolitan edge is no exception (Lyall 1990: 12; Bouma, Daw, Munawar 2001: 60; Dunn 2001: 291). To avoid delay and expenses, to escape prejudices, parking difficulties, as well as court cases, many ethnic organizations locate now in semi-industrial zones.

Post-war settlers arrived in a country that was preoccupied with growth, not diversity (Rickard 1988: 227). It was described by Horne (1964: 21) as having an indolent social climate, general prosperity, "but life was dismal"... with drink, sport, and money as the main diversions apart from their family life. The prevailing exclusionary system was not tolerant of differences (Horne 1964; 18; Greig, Lewins and White 2003:188) and public use of other languages provoked "xenophobia and hostility in the public realm" (Murphy 2000: 161). It is similarly described by European migrant writers. In his drama about Greek brides *Promised Woman*, Theodore Patrikareas (2000: 43,51) writes about the problems arising out of gender disparity, loneliness, and obligations back home during early 1960s. His Italian migrant-hero resident in an inner city Sydney suburb describes Saturday afternoon options as "pub or go to races". Rosa Cappiello arrived in Sydney from Naples on Christmas eve 1971, the first sentence in her novel *Oh Lucky Country* 2003:1) reads "The sky here compensates for solitude".

The Australian society was not prepared for the diverse social and cultural needs of new settlers who had to use their own resources to solve diverse social and cultural issues. However, the "momentous change" (Murphy 2000:166) generated out of a large scale diversified immigration brought social and cultural changes, opened public space, and introduced new elements of civil society in a "provincial nation" with the self-focused civil society organisations (Horne 1987: 114; 1980:65). The field of social interaction changed due to the immigration process and subsequent migrant collective actions.

Governance patterns

The major elements of the Australian vision of the state was for decades conceptualised around the issues of White Australia policy, state paternalism, welfare state based on industry protection and wage arbitration, and imperial benevolence until very recently (Kelly 1992: 1-2; Altman 2006: 18). In this “lucky country” (Horne 1964), the welfare system based on protectionism, exclusion and white male domination ignored the marginalised categories well into the 1970’s (Macintyre 1993:321; Jordens 1995; Garcia 1999; Greig, Lewins and White 2003:180,183; Aitkin 2005). Migrants were subject to assimilation pressures, and social and cultural marginalisation (Horne 1980; 1987; Markus 1982; Jupp 1986). Despite the intent of Australian governments of both colours to foster migration, its own investigation (Henderson 1975) indicated the destitute position of many migrants, corroborating many other research findings⁴.

The pressure of global events and the weight of expanding migration forced various attitudes and policy changes. The Immigration Minister Philip Lynch (1971:16; 1970: 13) focused attention on society’s responsibility towards migrants and willingness to bring migrants into social life, as they must “become full and equal partners in our national life”. The inevitable social changes found their expression in policy initiatives introduced from the mid 1970s that recognised cultural diversity and introduced multicultural policies to ease the existing cultural and communication gap. The situation prior to the acknowledgment of cultural diversity is best described by the finding of the conservative Fraser government appointed Galbally Committee of Review of Post Arrival Programs and Services to Migrants in 1978 that migrant organizations “are the best channel for provision of support to ethnic communities”.

New policies were based on the principles of equity of access to public resources, maintenance of culture, creation of culture-specific services for migrants, self-help and consultation with clients (Jupp 2002: 87). Moreover, the concurrent social policy changes facilitated development of ethnic childcare, schools and aged care places (Hartley 1995; Marginson 1997; Brennan 1998; McMahon, Thomson, Williams [1996] 2000). Inevitably policy changes together with migrant collective initiatives became instrumental in opening a space for the inclusion of migrant communities in civil society, urban governance and social policy at different government levels.

Authorities started providing funding to migrant organizations from the late 1960s, and established Ethnic Affairs Commissions and Ethnic Community Council as important co-ordinating bodies, and SBS Radio and Television service in diverse languages from 1970’s onwards (Jordens 1995: 88; Jupp 2002: 80-1). This impacted on the communication flow, but, due to cultural differences, disadvantages continue to persist because of limited opportunities for English language tuition for many years that still impacts the quality of life of many elderly migrants (Collins and Lalich 2004). Nevertheless, it is observed by Cope and Kalantzis (2000:80-3,288,339) that the watershed of civic pluralism was being reached towards the end of the last century, as an extension of participatory democracy based upon cultural democracy and expressed through multiculturalism, including creation of multicultural citizenship.

Migrants Collective Act

Groups of migrants voluntarily create their own communal resources through collective action. Solidarity and mutuality is instrumental in the grass roots creation of non-profit communal organizations to satisfy a particular collectively perceived need. Post-war Australian experience confirms an observation by Walzer (2003: 321) that civil society is sustained by small groups of people that are necessarily fragmented and localized as they are incorporated. Migration and settlement experience creates a habitus (Bourdieu 1990: 52; 2000: 148) that is advantageous for community development as the urgency “triggers

action”.

Migrant needs, cultural differences, the inability and unwillingness of local introspective institutions to support needs during settlement provides such *triggers* for many grass-roots collective actions. The appropriation of around 450 communal places by ethnic organisations in Sydney makes it possible to identify outcomes of the appropriation process and generated activities through which civic participation is exercised in community life, civil society and urban governance. This experience is framed by the continental divide, vast metropolitan expanses, place or locality of settlement, time of arrival, and the role of government (Pusey 1998: 52; Greig, Lewins and White 2003:194; Aitkin 2005: 11).

Volunteers are considered to be a critical constraint in community organisations (Light 1972: 135; Drucker 1985:182). Many ethnic organizations in Sydney did not experience shortage of volunteers during appropriation, consumption and representation of communal places. Many migrants desire to contribute with the aim to improve the quality of their own life and to satisfy their own social needs. A very high migrant propensity to volunteer is emphasised by claims that “there are volunteers available according to the organisational need” and “people help on request” (Lalich 2004). The process of appropriation of communal places, maintenance and consumption is made possible due to voluntary commitment of labour, time and material resources that differs within the organisational life cycle.

The significance of migrants` voluntary engagement is emphasised by the willingness of the otherwise under-utilised human resources to participate in collective endeavours to secure access to needed common goods. The significance and the extent of migrant participation in ethnic communal organisations is often difficult to estimate (Portes and Bach 1985: 307; Light and Bonacich 1988: 290). Mobilisation of human and scarce material resources was a key factor in the appropriation of common goods. The extent of such participation is only to a limited degree emphasised by close to 18,000 volunteers currently actively engaged in ethnic communal places (Lalich 2004). On the basis of estimates that Australians devote to voluntary work on average per week between 0.70 to 3.3 hours (Lyons 1994: 37-38; Ironmonger 2000: 61), if it is assumed that recorded migrants volunteer on average two hours per week the total amounts to a million and three quarter volunteer hours in Sydney in 2000 alone. However, many contribute more. The full appreciation of volunteering would have to take into account that it is mostly after-work and over the weekends at the expense of family time and alternative life opportunities.

Most voluntary involvement is located in places of worship, 65.3 per cent, and 20.0 per cent in places of leisure. This indicates the importance of religion to ethnic communal life, and inadequate supply of accessible places of leisure over most of the post-war period. The other two categories managed by professional staff have a much smaller participation rate; educational have only 3.2 per cent and aged care 11.5 per cent of all volunteers. However, the second generation of educated professionals serving at boards of aged care organisations indicates their importance beyond the generational change. The appropriation of material assets with a current estimated value of around six billion dollars in Sydney (Burnley 2006: 40) which generated annual income of at least 190 million dollars in 1997/98 (Lalich 2004) is indicative of the interaction of human capital with the newly-generated social capital at the time of exigency during settlement that made possible disposition towards joint action for a common purpose.

Appropriation of communal places in Sydney

Diverse ethnic collectives appropriated communal places dispersed across the metropolitan area. Data in Table 1 shows that the analysed segment has developed over half a million square metres of space where the needs of around two hundred thousand

persons can be met at any given moment. Such development represents a major social value and signifies migrants` capability to satisfy collectively perceived needs through fragmented grassroots collective action, and reflects ideological, social and region of origin differences within ethnic communities, besides the felt urgency, resource constraints, locality and time of arrival. The created community capital permeates communal life, grounds the sense of belonging and generates new communication flows.

Table 1. User and Developed Capacities, Sydney, 2000, Estimate (persons, sqm)

Institutions	Religious ¹ (n206)	Leisure ² (n94)	Education ³ (n39)	Welfare ⁴ (n47)	Total (n386)
Developed space ⁵	209,656	103,117	56,345	104,373	473,491
User place ⁶	119,819	48,081	10,751	2,270 ⁴	180,962
Regular users	191,983	117,412	9,820 ⁷	2,197 ⁷	321,412 ⁷

Source: Lalich, W. F. (2004). Ethnic Community Capital: The development of ethnic social infrastructure in Sydney. Unpublished PhD dissertation. University of Technology, Sydney.

Notes: 1. Any religious building, including halls and attached classrooms. 2. Social and sports clubs, community halls and centers. 3. Includes child-care facilities; some new schools were not filled to capacity. 4 Including retirement and nursing homes (40 units). 5. Square metres. 6. Persons, excluding football stadium places. 7. Adjusted for volunteers and employees would be 11,568 and 6,002 persons or total of 326, 965 regular users.

The outcome of these collective acts is in creation of tangible referents in social space “that buttress the meaning of experience and shape the character of reciprocity” (Fernandez-Kelly 1995: 220). The process was not uniform. During the first thirty years that parallels the earlier assimilation pressures and time when Sydney did not have a sophisticated city life (Horne 1964:11), the development of places of worship and leisure dominated. The second period from 1980 onwards was marked by the landmark recognition of ethnic organisations by the Galbally Committee in 1978 and subsequent development of multicultural policies with provision of public financial support mostly to ethnic schools, childcare and aged care infrastructure. This development reflects also changes in perceived social needs, expanding cultural diversity, and increasing living standards, but also a further diversification of migrant intake.

The apparent cultural differentiation in the early post war years forced migrants` to appropriate places of worship and sport and social clubs. It was also influenced by diversified migration flows, migrant physical and social mobility and increased investment capability. The stagnation of the development of leisure places in the 1990`s is indicative of social changes and the expanding hospitality industry, often through migrant private entrepreneurship, that offset diversified needs of migrants, local inhabitants and tourists. Some migrant clubs encountered new opportunities. Many Latin American migrants joined the leading Italian migrant social and sport club *Marconi*. The Sydney Croatian club is often used by Lebanese and Macedonian migrants, while the restaurant in the Spanish Club in the CBD *Spanish Quarter* attracts Asian students and tourists. Sydney, today, differs from the one at the mid-century when European and Asian restaurants were a rarity.

The intensity of the appropriation of places of worship continued over the whole period due to the arrival of people with different religious background and the economic empowerment of many religious collectives. Religious organisations often provide language tuition, education and welfare services, either at their own premises or through development of new facilities. New and larger places are being built, like the Greek Orthodox *All Saints* church that stands beside the old wooden church, now a library and youth club. Many migrant built communal places, being representative of the period social and urban development are assigned heritage significance. Furthermore, many churches and meeting places built earlier are preserved through migrant acquisition as heritage

places; the Croatian Catholic church *St Anthony* in the inner city suburb of Summer Hill was a Congregational church, while a nearby former Masonic Hall is now a Chinese Buddhist and Tao Temple.

This development identifies arrival, presence and permanency, but it is also a symbol of social success and affirmation of the transferred cultural heritage and its distinction (Light and Gold 2000). Moreover, it is also a symbol of resistance (Pile and Keith 1997) to assimilation pressures. The significance of these communal places is in their higher level of expected longevity of occupation in comparison to commercial edifices and residencies (Lalich 2004), as many will adjust to social and generational changes and remain as key nodes of a cosmopolitan city and integral elements of urban governance.

Inclusion in Urban Governance

The appropriated communal resources enable migrants' participation in community activities that foster communication within collectives and across cultural and spatial boundaries. Through generated activities and bridging social capital issues of differences and equity are being incorporated into urban governance, in local planning and the development framework (Keith 2005: 122). Participation in process of appropriation, consumption and representation generates a sense of localized belonging which further qualifies migrants' role in civil society and urban governance, and on sustainability of appropriated places.

Participation in communal activities

Civic participation is an everyday experience to many migrants whose involvement is focused on the collective development and maintenance of "manifested" or intended functional categories that have a crucial role for the "continuous existence of a society" (Giddens 1997: 561-2). Nevertheless, the access to and opportunity for activities inevitably differs between appropriated places (Golledge and Stimson 1997: 282). The appropriation of communal places enables the unimpeded occurrence of various events or activities that make it a "living" one. Moreover these places differ not only according to their function(s), but also by their ability to affect other systems (Katz and Kahn 1966:62).

The significance of a communal place is defined by intensity of participation in activities and developed sense of satisfaction and belonging. Generated activities are distinguished from functional ones that directly relate to the function of a place. Functional activities also include the administrative, that enable the functioning of the community and the place management, and social ones that reflect core community activities like opportunity for gatherings, meetings and social events. Moreover, the established functions define the symbolic representation of places and communities as well.

The analysed 206 religious organizations developed 197 additional functions; 37 per cent indicated education and 21 per cent a community centre as a secondary function. Around 40 per cent of religious and 34 per cent of leisure organizations have only one function, the additional 34 per cent of religious and 37 per cent of leisure ones have at least one additional function, and the rest have more. The diversity of appropriated functions underlines the key role of religious organizations in community life and their vitality. Similarly, 94 places of leisure identified 105 additional functions besides their primary function as gathering places. Only 56 per cent indicate being a social club, while the rest indicate sports club, a place for recreation, and a community centre as their major function.

Diversity

Such differences in attributions reflect diversity in felt community needs, state of exigency and capability to produce a satisfactory response. Also, they are indicative of changes in

society that placed an emphasis on education and aged care as key functions of places appropriated during the 1990`s. Due to the scarcity of public places and because of limited access opportunities a communal place often can generate unintended or latent activities (Giddens 1997: 562). Diverse activities with different attributions are registered, and mostly are identified as commercial, cultural, educational, entertainment, religious, welfare and youth oriented activities (Lalich 2004). Respondent religious organizations identified over 3,000 activities or around fifteen different activities per unit, while leisure organisations identified at least 1770 activities or around nineteen per unit. Education and welfare organizations identified 305 and 465 activities respectively, or approximately ten per unit. Some activities are organised by outside bodies, not necessarily the co-ethnic ones.

Generated activities make up more than half of all activities across categories indicating their importance in community life. The intensity and diversity of activities generates opportunities for participation and contacts within the community and communication across the cultural and spatial divide. Described appropriation as a consequence of "functional imperatives" reflects "the pressures of scarcity of time, opportunity and resources in the object situation" (Parsons and Shils 1951:177), however, its impact is not limited with community boundaries.

The appropriation of ethnic community capital was a strategy used by migrant collectives to satisfy community perceived needs at the time of settlement, responding not only to crisis motives but also to vision motives (Thompson et al 2000: 329). Such motives differ due to transferred culture and settlement experiences, but determine the future consumption patterns. The consumption of these places is defined by the flow of people who consume appropriated resources. More than 300,000 persons who satisfy their needs in researched ethnic communal places underline the importance of these places; to many it is a most important channel of communication outside of the home and workplace.

Belonging

It is argued by Gupta and Ferguson (1997:36, 39, 41) that the sense of community refers both to a demarcated physical space and to clusters of interactions and that it could be highly `localized` in a social sense. Migrants develop a sense of place or belonging to a communal place where they associate, create friendships and develop loyalties (Deakin 2001:60). These places harbour diverse phenomenological and functional attributes of significance to concerned communities which identify a generated sense of belonging, the essence of civil society and citizenship.

A sense of belonging, and ascribed social and community values, is best identified by the richness of relational signifiers attached to these places, such as: *home, hub of community, part of homeland, own place, ours, pride, binding, belonging, island, mother, sacred* (Lalich 2004). Their social value is found in the understanding that it was "worth getting or having it" (Bond 1983: 1). Fortier (2000: 2) describes appropriated physical spaces as "migrant belongings" or terrains constituted for the creation of a collective sense of belonging. Such places enable a *way of life* and generate closer community relationships of *sameness and togetherness*.

These places, neither inherited nor a product of a planned urban development, reflect collective response at the encounter with social deprivation and indifference. In a dynamic city defined by spatial and social mobility the only defined nodes of belonging for many citizens are these community-appropriated places that emanate a sense of "new localism" (Keith 2005: 122). Migrant appropriated communal places as localized "homes" to transferred cultures are key elements of civil society and migrant participation in governance of a cosmopolitan city.

Sustainability issues

Sustainability as a communal goal equates with good governance achieved through links between people and institutions and co-operation established on mutual trust (Friedmann 2002: xvi, xviii; Hess and Adams 2007: 41). As a process sustainability is defined not only by norms and the prevailing conditions, but also by decisions and actions that must be addressed to achieve desired outcomes (Choucri 1999:148-9). Any attempt to analyse the sustainability of appropriated communal places by ethnic collectives and resultant civic participation within the dynamic process of social, cultural, urban and communication changes in the context of a continuous Australian dependence on migration is a complex issue. In a dynamic multicultural urban environment situations arise when once exclusive ethnic *communal homes* appropriate a role as a *public place*. This is further enhanced in the present public policy environment where not-for-profit organizations are increasingly delivering services that were the preserve of either government or business, like in education and aged care which are to a very large degree funded and regulated by public authorities. Diverse factors can impact on sustainability of migrant established institutions and civic participation in urban governance, and not only intergenerational changes. The introduction of multicultural policies was a positive exogenous influence on integration of migrants in society and in the process of urban governance; however, various policy applications can regressively impact on generated civic participation.

Intersecting relationships

Government intervention

Football was nurtured and sustained by European migrants in Australia for most of the discussed period as they found local sports unfamiliar. Through football, human and material resources were mobilised by many European migrant communities. Sports clubs as major social outlets provided grounds for the affirmation of identity, community support and became a vehicle for communication flow within and across the communities (Cashmann 1995: 163; Mosely, Cashman, O'Hara and Weatherburn 1997: xv, 133). Ethnic clubs built over 70 sports grounds in Sydney for football and bocce; but also for pelota, petanque, tennis and air rifle ranges. The former captain of the national football team, the late Johnny Warren, instead of joining other local football codes, associated with "wogs, sheilas and poofers" as he aptly puts it on the cover page of his unofficial biography (Warren and Harper 2000). The sentiments changed in 2006 during the World Cup, when the national team, consisting mostly of the descendants of continental European migrants acquired the status of national idols.

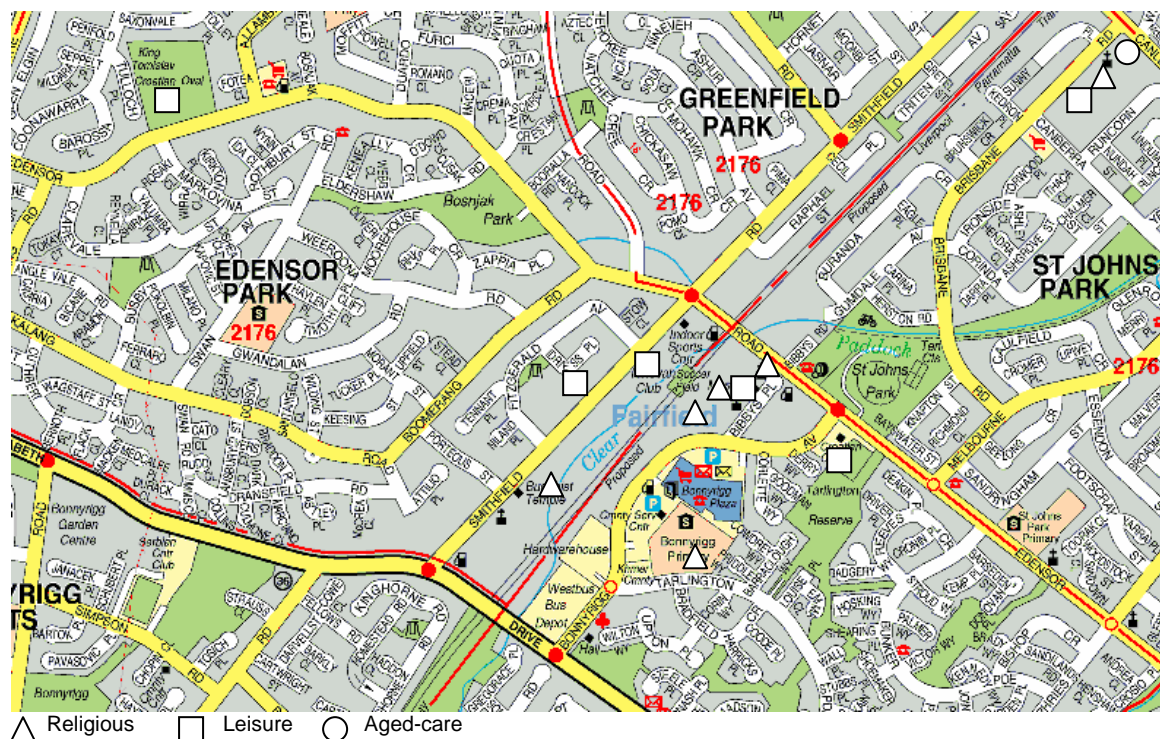
The leading Australian football clubs, nearly all established by European migrants, suffered greatly under the federal government intervention at the turn of century. Initially the intent was to "de-ethnicise" football, supposedly to enhance possibilities for the game (Miller 1992: 109; Mosely 1997: 170-72; Taylor, Toohey 1997: 19). Later, the federal government generously supported, financially and politically, reorganization of the national competition on the basis of business franchises at the city level. No such support was provided to football and its generic clubs during the previous fifty years of endeavour to establish the foothold of a world number one sport on a continent where the media still headlines rugby as the "Main game". This greatly affected two leading clubs in the Western Sydney, *Marconi*, and *King Tomislav (Sydney United)* established by the Italian and Croatian migrants respectively, having stadiums for over 10,000 spectators each. Subsequently, the original leading national football clubs, mostly established by post-war European migrants were relegated to the city competitions with precarious futures that impaired greatly their potentials and their role in governance.

Missed planning opportunity

The governance dynamics and culture (Healey 2000: 527) did not follow the development of one of the most fascinating cultural hubs in the metropolitan area. In South-Western

Sydney, government leased land in a semi-industrial zone during the 1990's to Turkish Muslim, Chinese Presbyterian, and Khmer, Lao and Vietnamese Buddhist communities for a sixty years period, alongside the existing Assyrian, Croatian and Hungarian social and football clubs, and the earlier established Baptist church and bowling club. In their vicinity live 300,000 persons, however, many consumers inhabit distant parts of the metropolitan area. It is emphasised how planning as a major tool of urban governance can impact social and spatial outcomes of urban development, but if limited in its focus it can not respond to the challenge of differences (Sandercock 2003: 128; Madanipour, Healey and Hull 2001:3; Blowers and Pain 1999: 295). This locality defined by cultural diversity did not inspire planners to create a public space where diverse communal interests could intersect. Patterns of time use and cultural differences were ignored. Instead communities had to raise fences around their blocks of land that include their own small parking areas. During a recent attempt to revitalize a nearby state housing estate, a tender group failed to consider the place potential arising out of this fascinating cultural centre.

Map 1 Bonnyrigg Cultural Centre, Fairfield City, Sydney, 2000



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

Intergenerational transition

The appropriated communal places are major tangible and visible forms of transferred “other”, but, now embedded cultures. The key impact on their sustainability and their role in urban governance would come from inevitable intergenerational changes. It is assumed that the bonding social capital interwoven into community life and the significance of transferred cultures across the generational divide would influence future participation by the second generation in communal life. Generated bonding social capital within the collective and the bridging social capital across cultural differences is of particular significance in formation of *good citizens* within the next generation(s) willing to participate in communal life. This process would impact on capability of (ethnic) communal places to sustain their significance for changed embedded communities and on their role in civil society and urban governance.

Sustainability of appropriated ethnic communal places would differ, and is not only a factor

of social and physical mobility. The prediction of a possible time dimension is based on the historical continuity of places of worship in the place of origin, and on inclusion of schools, child care and aged care places into the local education and welfare system. The historical evidence is qualified with the finding that median construction age at the time of sale of 28 former Anglican and Uniting churches to new religious communities in Sydney was 72 years, in a range 29-139 years. Many ethnic places of worship with their spiritual, social and cultural significance, and ability to generate new functions, activities and linkages coupled with the established *sense of belonging* may continue to have a major role in a dynamic multicultural environment; however, some will not.

Leaders of places of worship express much stronger expectations of sustainability in comparison to social clubs, and maintain an optimistic outlook in regard to generational changes. This correlates with the observation by Bauman (1996:181) as to how religion continues to function as “local community marker per excellence”. In Sydney, in nearly seventy per cent of ethnic places of worship leaders are satisfied with the participation of the second generation. On the other hand, a negligible participation and responsiveness is indicated in over sixty per cent of places of leisure. The development of social and sports clubs mostly as a response to the state of society in the last century influences in general their “lower propensity for sustainability” (Choucri 1999: 151). Ethnic communal places inevitably encounter a different set of factors that impact on the predictions of possible *weak* or *strong* sustainability (Gowdy 1999:164) with consequent impact on generated patterns of urban governance, not only between, but also within specified categories.

It is observed by Harvey (1996: 127) that laws and systems of governance must vary according to environmental constraints, and cultural and moral influences on human behaviour. Detailed analysis of various internal factors that include identity, ageing, finances, social capital, behaviour, symbolic significance, needs, social and spatial mobility, besides external demographic, social environment, demand and as well as various linkage relationships would identify the “present set of practices that will be bearers” (Acselrad 1999:51) of organisational sustainability and their participation in the process of urban governance in the future. Nevertheless, various ambivalences related to the second generation (Glazer 2001:184; Li 1999: 225-6; Alba 1990: 250-252, 312-316; Sollors 1986: 208-223), about their aspirations, expectations and participation propensity is a real critical issue to many organizations and the wider community in the “multidimensional, evolving diversity” (Madanipour, Healey and Hull 2001:7).

Concluding Remarks

Migrant established social and cultural resources, appropriated communal places, practice of voluntary civic participation, and leadership opportunities had impact on urban governance patterns in Sydney. Although little researched, the appropriation of communal places by ethnic collectives is a key element of the Australian social development over last sixty years. Migrant communities have undertaken steps to ameliorate their own situation amidst constraints in public space. The enhanced sense of belonging and generated opportunities for social interaction and civic participation is a major social contribution of people who often arrive without anything but their culture and high hopes.

Through their own collective efforts migrants found a way to participate in civil society and urban governance despite class, cultural and linguistic differences. Generated social capital, solidarity and mutuality had a key role in this process. Out of bonding social capital evolved communal places and bridging social capital generating links with the rest of society, fostering local co-operation and inclusion in the process of urban governance. The major present concern relates to the possibility that these important mediating institutions of a multicultural society could ossify rather than provide security and continuity (Harvey 2001:194-5). It is expected that some ethnic communal places will sustain imminent

generational, cultural and social changes in a dynamic social environment. The outcome would to a large degree depend upon the intergenerational social capital density, established sense of belonging and propensity of the new generation to respond to challenges, their willingness and intent to continue and even to expand civic participation within a dynamic urban and social environment.

Endnote

- 1 There are over 100 non-English periodicals and 23 community and commercial radio and TV stations registered currently by the Community Relations Commission For a multicultural NSW, besides SBS which has radio and TV programs in other languages too.
(www.crc.nsw.gov.au/ethnic_media)
- 2 Ethnic community capital indicates effects of investment in community social infrastructure, into development of semi-public or collective goods to be used by a particular group or a collective. Besides having tangible material values, intangible social values are implied. The term is used instead of social, physical or urban infrastructure, as it is intended to underline joint communal effort in the development of places of worship, social and sporting clubs, schools, childcare, retirement and nursing homes and similar public-communal utilities. In this case public utility, collective good, is not produced by governments but by diverse ethnic communities and their non-profit organisations. Governments have participated in the development and maintenance of various facilities (nursing and retirement homes, schools and in some cases of other community facilities). These facilities appear as public or as “impure” public goods since they are localised (Harvey 1973) and are defined by partial excludability. In this context “ethnic community capital” is frequently replaced by terms such as: infrastructure, facilities, physical objects, buildings.
- 3 Jupp (2002: 28) writes that already by 1977 there were at least 2,000 ethnic organisations in Australia. Notwithstanding the appropriation of crucial material and symbolic resources by some ethnic organisations, many migrant organisations do not apply their resources to the development of a particular material resource. There are several thousand such organisations in Sydney alone, and many often consume (rent, share) communal places appropriated by other co-ethnic collectives or the mainstream institutions.
- 4 Other major relevant sources include: Martin (1975,1978,1981), Jupp (1966, 1986, 1991, 2000), Collins 1991,1984) and Jakubowicz (1989) among other researchers and writers.

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