The Development of Croatian Communal Places in Sydney

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Abstract

Among many ethnic collectives, diverse Croatian collectivities shape public space in Sydney and other Australian cities. Migrants establish their own places of worship, social and sports clubs, schools, child-care and aged-care facilities, mobilising limited resources. Through their own initiatives, commitment and investment of money and good will, migrants have established communal places in over 410 localities throughout the metropolitan area. This development is a consequence of cultural differences, settler needs, attitudes of the social structures, and organisational capability. The development of twelve communal places at different locations signifies the post-war Croatian settlement in Sydney. These communal places signify the re-territorialisation of people and cultures, transnational nodes and key landmarks that define Sydney as a dynamic multicultural global city. Using the concept of ethnic community capital that informs the functional, spatial, financial, social and phenomenological aspects of this development, information on this important social development is presented on the basis of data provided by local ethnic communal organisations. The introduction to this significant grass-root contribution of Croatian settlers is grounded within a theoretical framework, and a social and urban context.

1. Introduction

The continuous immigration and settlement of people of diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds define, culturally and symbolically, the multicultural character of Sydney. Communal places developed to satisfy collectively perceived spiritual, secular and social needs that were established by its heterogeneous population as the most visible signifiers of cultural diversity. This important development for many communities is reviewed with information on the creation of ethnic community capital,[1] or its tangible form, communal places, by Croatian settlers and other non-English speaking settlers in Sydney since 1950. Post-

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war Croatian settlers established and maintain eight social and sport clubs with football[2] and bocce grounds, three religious buildings with adjacent halls and other facilities, and aged-care hostels and nursing homes through fragmented collective actions. It is estimated that diverse Croatian collectives established around seventy communal places throughout Australia during the last century. The development of these critical elements of ethnic *institutional completeness* (Breton 1964) contributed to the creation of a culturally diverse social and physical landscape in Sydney.

Communal places developed by migrant-settler collectives to satisfy collectively perceived social need(s) in a new environment are not only the most visible and tangible, but also the most enduring signifiers of urban cultural diversity.[3] During the continuous process of social change, migrants use communal places to create and maintain ties with other segments of society, including the country of origin, by creating new social networks, information flows and transnational linkages.

Migrants of non-English speaking origin often have limited access to public places due to cultural differences, disparity between their perceived social needs and the capability and willingness of mainstream institutions to meet the newly created demand. Many migrants are inhibited in the use of existing services and public places due to internal constraints (linguistic, cultural) and external constraints (prejudice, ignorance, exclusion, distance). Until recently, Australia was neither prepared to divert, nor capable of diverting, resources to satisfy diverse new social needs (CIE 1992, Jupp 1991). This new demand for social and urban resources is heterogeneous and fragmented as it reflects settlers' ethnic, cultural and social structure, and settlement experience, as defined by time and place of arrival.

The development of their own communal places by Croatian migrants occurred during the intensive process of the development of ethnic communal places in Sydney when non-English speaking settlers from over 60 diverse ethnic groups established at least 450[4] different religious and secular places. For many migrants these places are a focus of individual and collective identity and belonging, *a home away from home*. These communal places signify the permanence of community formation and embeddedness in a

new environment, but also the creation of a new 'global city' image of Sydney (Freestone 2000).

This text continues with a brief discussion on theoretical aspects pertinent to the collective appropriation of space and the contextual factors that impacted the development of ethnic communal places. The second part presents information on this dynamic process within which the development of these tangible elements of social infrastructure by the Croatian settlers occurred, which had a recognisable spatial and social impact on Sydney.[5] This process is identified through quantitative data that establish key information on this critical human endeavour, such as developed capacities, investment intensity and spatial impact. The social dimension generated by fragmented grass-roots collective action is presented through indicators on human engagement and established social values.

2. Ethnic collective appropriation of space

Groups of settlers jointly develop communal places or resources for the purpose of social reproduction. This development reflects inadequate access to public places and services in the immigrant receiving society. Place, as a tangible product of human action, localises human activity and is defined by physical, emotional, social and symbolic meanings of roots, stability and permanence (Weil [1949] 1952, Tuan 1977, Casey 1993). The development of ethnic collective places is more than an investment in physical objects and the immediate satisfaction of needs, as it symbolically confirms arrival and continuity through the establishment of a sense of belonging and communal roots in a new environment (Zukin 1992, Fortier 2000). It is a place of identity creation and resistance to assimilation pressures (Pile 1997). Place defines the urban landscape and anchors new social space as territorially disconnected from and beyond the confines of the place of origin (Smith 2001).

Members of a particular collective jointly undertake action to appropriate an accessible place where a particular collectively perceived social need can be materialised. Decisions about the action are endogenous to a group (Hechter 1987) and are collectively made on the basis of shared social interests and organisational ca-

pability. Collective action is comprehended by Buchanan and Tullock ([1962] 1965) as "the action of individuals when they choose to accomplish purposes collectively rather than individually." Individuals join a group or collective to create a collective good where benefits to be gained are greater than the shared production costs or when economies of scale can be achieved through the sharing of development and maintenance costs (Buchanan and Tullock [1962] 1965, Hechter 1987). For migrants, the rationale of collective action lies in the intrinsic 'jointness' of production and in minimising social cost by exchanging private resources for access to collective ones.

Although many migrant collectives establish their own organisations, some do not appropriate their own place and continue to rent facilities. Not every social system is capable of collective action, as they also depend upon outside social constraints and the existence of adequate preconditions (Luhmann [1984] 1995). Hence the outcomes differ as groups of people enter into various collective arrangements.

Communal places are comprehended as *quasi* public or collective goods (Buchanan [1967] 1987, Harvey 1973, Stiglitz 2000) that are characterised by limited accessibility and the excludability of non-members, and therefore by the nature of supply and consumption patterns. These places are the products of bonding social capital (Portes 1995), but they also generate social capital themselves. Excludability is often temporal and the consequence of collective production, bonding social capital, cultural differences and inadequate information. Collective goods create a new social vitality within the social space, creating additional opportunities, linkages and modes of incorporation with the rest of the society and place of origin.

The endeavour of ethnic groups to maintain a transferred culture is characterised by the appearance of various subsystems. As a constitutive segment of human activity, culture provides a very important symbolic dimension for communal development; it is a symbolic expression and form of capital (Bourdieu [1997] 2000, Eisenstadt (1992). However, as ethnicity does not necessarily imply homogeneity (Anderson [1983] 1991), 'cultural pluralism' appears not only in society as a whole (Smelser 1992), as it is pertinent to ethnic groups also. Furthermore, differences in settle-

ment experience also have an impact on perceived needs, aims and organisational forms.

The transfer of religious practice and language are the most important aspects of culture transfer. The transfer of religion has a deep cultural and psychological meaning, and often indicates the establishment of new roots or 'being at home' (Bell 1981, Yang 1999). Religion, as an important mode of symbolic expression and cultural reproduction (Warner 1998, Fenton 1988), enables ethnic mobilisation for other purposes also. However, it is often the most contentious issue and is often subject to various forms of discrimination. Religion provides for organisational continuity, and places of worship constructed in specific building styles often acquire heritage significance. For many migrants, a place of worship is frequently a focus for the total life experience outside of work, integrating their social and cultural life.

3. Ethnic resources

Migrants also experience scarcity of resources to develop places that satisfy their perceived needs. Although ethnic communities in general control a relatively small amount of resources (Breton 1989), the development of communal places is primarily a product of their own resources. Groups of individuals make the best use of available human and material resources over which they have control. Ethnic difference and social marginality are converted into social resources, into entrepreneurship (Light and Rosenstein 1995), facilitating group engagement and the mobilisation of resources through grass-roots collective action. The collective experience enhances understanding of the intricate nature of appropriated places, generating local significance and attachment, but also a field of interaction and evolved communal space.

The awareness of ethnicity as a key personal and group identifier is enhanced by settlement experience, as a consequence of both 'social pressures': inclusion in the group and exclusion from the social structures of the host society (Olson [1965] 1971, Breton *et al.* 1977). As a dynamic category of ascription and identification, ethnicity establishes a field of communication and interaction (Barth 1969), and the development of diverse forms of social relationships and organisations (Coleman 1990).

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The creation of collective goods is qualified by collective homogeneity, the intensity of the felt need, and the degree of commitment and compliance (Frank [1991] 1997). Small homogeneous groups can more easily find the motivation to respond, define aims and apply available resources in comparison to large or latent groups (Simmel [1950] 1964), Olson [1965] 1971). The willingness to contribute to a collective good is a function of the level of dependency, the availability of close substitutes, lack of information about alternatives, the cost of moving or leaving a group, and the strength of personal ties (Hechter 1987). Similarly, Rex (1994) argues that a sense of identity and belonging as a major ethnic resource provides an advantage in forming community infrastructure over 'mainstream' community groups and social movements.

Within the settlement process, ethnic social capital (Bourdieu [1980] 1990, Coleman 1990, Putnam 1993) is enhanced through the intensified interaction of networks, solidarity and mutual trust (Portes 1995, Portes and Sensenbrenner 1993, Light and Gold 2000). Social capital as a key local ethnic resource, and in particular its *bonding* capacity, is instrumental for the development of ethnic communal places and the evolution of communal space. However, its *bridging* capacity is of key importance in establishing links with the rest of society and in building transnational links (Faist 2000).

Human capital as a key ethnic resource (Light and Gold 2000) is of major significance for ethnic collective social enterprise. People form a particular collective and combine material resources, money and material, together with human, cultural and social capital, to develop a new critical resource, that is, communal place. Through the collective use of available resources, migrants produce a necessary collective good or community-based tangible and intangible assets (Thompson, Alvy, Lee 2000). Migrants collectively develop tangible assets that include buildings, services and support networks, but also very important intangible assets that include identity creation, reputation and respect for achievement. The intricate social significance of ethnic communal places explains the initiatives behind many developments, including that of the Croatian Club *Jadran-Hajduk* that was started by eighteen members with one hundred and eighty pounds in 1956.[6] These

developments helped many ethnic collectivities to embed firmly in previously unknown social space.

4. Settlement dynamics

The increase in the number of settlers of Croatian background from approximately 5,020 in 1947 (Price 1963) to 69,851 persons who use Croatian at home[7] in 2001 (CRC 2003) was a part of radical post-war changes in the Australian demographic structure. The complex structure of post 1948-war immigration includes several waves of refugees, the renewal of chain migration, humanitarian and family reunion, and the recent emphasis on skilled, professional and business immigrants, as well as various forms of transnational and temporary migration (Kunz 1988, Viviani 1984, Coughlan and McNamara 1997, Jupp 2002). Within the first thirty years, Australian immigration policy changed from the initially heavily subsidised British migration and the gradual acceptance of continental European refugees and migrants to the breakdown of the White Australia policy that effectively excluded non-white immigrants for the first sixty years of the twentieth century. During this process of policy change, Australia signed immigration agreements with European and Mediterranean countries, including former Yugoslavia in 1970 (Drapac 2001, Jupp 1991).

The first major change in demographic structure occurred during the 1950-1960 period with the large arrival of continental European migrants, including 170,000 refugees between 1948-1954, of which 50,000 settled in Sydney (Kunz 1988, Burnley 2001). Many arrived from countries that had few settlers among the 1.8% of non-English speaking inhabitants in 1947, among whom were 60,450 persons born in northern Mediterranean countries (Price 1980, 1963). As a consequence of intensive immigration, the share of NESB migrants increased to 13.5% in 2001 (ABS Clib 2001). Among the early post-war refugees were at least 10,500 Croatians[8] (Kunz 1988). With the later migration the number of settlers born in Croatia increased to 51,909 in Australia and to 23,848 in Sydney in 2001 (CRC 2003).

Migrants mostly settled in major capital cities, and Sydney became the most desired destination place. This is unlike the pre-

war period when Southern European migrants mostly settled in mining centres and farming areas at the outskirts of major cities. In the period 1947-1971, 258,000 persons from continental Europe settled in Sydney (Price and Pyne 1977, Spearritt 2000). The proportion of non-English speakers in Sydney increased from 2.02% out of 1.484 million inhabitants in 1947 to 23.4% or 936,743 out of 3,997,305 inhabitants in 2001 (ABS Clib 2001, Spearritt 2000). It is estimated that people of non-English speaking background, first and second generation, together comprise 54% of the Sydney population (Burnley, Murphy and Fagan 1997). Accordingly, there are 105,747 persons of Croatian origin Australia wide,[9] the eleventh largest from the non-English speaking background, including 22,962 in Sydney (CRC 2003).

5. *Dynamic cultural changes*

The arrival of over three million new settlers of diverse non-English speaking background since 1948 has impacted on cultural and social changes in Australia. Post-war immigration brought new languages and religions into Sydney. The changes in the religious structure in Australia and Sydney since 1947 provide an important indicator of expanding cultural diversity. Due to intensive immigration, Australia is now home to all the major world religions. Changes in religious structures in Australia and Sydney indicate an increase in the significance of other denominations besides the earlier established Western (Protestant and Roman Catholic) Christian religious denominations and members of the Jewish faith. Although there was immigration of Orthodox, Muslim and Buddhist believers already in the nineteenth century, they were barely recorded statistically in 1947, due to entry restrictions. The large-scale initial arrival of continental Europeans, and later of Asian and Latin American settlers, increased the share of Roman Catholic believers from 20.8 in 1948 to 26.3% in 2001 among the total Australian population, increasing pressures on already existing religious and educational systems developed earlier by Irish Catholic settlers. The share of Roman Catholic believers is even larger in Sydney as it amounts to 28.8% of 3,997,322 inhabitants in 2001 (ABS 2001).

The dynamics of the settlement process brought out other forms of cultural diversity, in leisure habits, sports, media, art performances, food, building styles, and gardening. These changes are representative of transferred cultures, but are also qualified by the position of migrants and the recognition of their cultures by the host society. Probably the most illustrative example is the role of football in the life of migrants, who revived this sport in Australia. Football was much more than a recreational pastime for young male migrants, providing after work recreation and socialisation opportunities, companionship, communication with other sectors of the community, a display of organisational and leadership skills, and a path for inclusion in a new society (Warren and Harper 2002, Margo 2000, Mosely *et al.* 1997, Mosely and Murray 1994, Caldwell 1987). Figure 1 illustrates the predominance of migrant-organised football clubs (players were not segregated, and many local born persons joined these clubs) in Sydney Championships in the 1960s[10] when rare clubs had names of local Sydney origin (in 1967 only: Manly).

Figure 1. Ethnic Soccer (Football) 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	
White Eagles	**Manly**

Source: Korban, R., 40 Lat Klubu Sportowego Polonia-Sydney (Sydney: 1994).

Note:

[1] Names in bold indicate clubs that are primarily territorially based.

6. Settlement constraints

Migrants arriving during the post-war decades found Sydney ill-equipped with adequate public space and many semi-rural suburbs could offer only cheap housing and gardening opportunities (Sandercock 1977, Spearritt 1978, Powell 1993). The situation found by new settlers in the *lucky country* (Horne [1964] 1978) is well synthesised in the drama *Promised Woman* (Patrikareas 2000), written about the mass arrival of Italian and Greek women in the early 1960s – belatedly initiated by government to redress gender imbalances caused by the early migration of single male migrants. An Italian migrant, one of many in a boarding house in the inner Sydney suburb of Newtown tells a new arrival – a young Greek woman – that the only available choice for Saturday afternoon outings are the races and the pub.

In some instances housing and employment opportunities led to the spatial concentration of settlers, although not the appearance of 'ghetto' settlements (Jupp 1990). In 1976, the largest concentration was among Greek migrants in the inner suburb of Marrickville, the only suburb with more than 40% of all inhabitants born overseas (Burnley 1976), while in 1996 it was of Vietnamese migrants in the western suburb of Fairfield, with 14% of its 182,000 inhabitants or 25% of all overseas born. The largest concentrations of Croatian migrants in 2001 were in the western suburbs of Fairfield, Blacktown and Liverpool where nearly 10,000 Croatian speaking persons live, but make up only around three per cent of all settlers who use a language other than English at home[11] (CRC 2003).

Despite policy changes since the 1970s and the emphasis on multiculturalism, non-English speaking migrants are not readily accepted by many segments of the host society (Murphy and Watson 1997, Hage 1998). There were other settlement issues besides cultural differences, like the type of work available, unemployment, the non-recognition of skills, the disadvantageous position of migrant women, access to quality housing and welfare facilities, and attitudes towards immigrant children in schools (Henderson 1970, Martin 1981, 1978, ABS 1994, Collins 1991, Jupp 2002). Many migrant families in Sydney

had little opportunity to place their children in child-care centres, as numerous immigrant women went to work, frequently under difficult conditions, to improve family standards and attain the 'Australian dream', home ownership (Brennan 1998, Thompson 1994). However, the social constraints facing migrants differed throughout this long period, reflecting changes in immigration policies and society. Consequently, many settlers experienced improved living conditions and took part in social and spatial mobility within the sprawling Sydney suburbs.

7. The development of ethnic community capital in Sydney

Settlement experiences within the context of a society undergoing dynamic changes intensified the development of communal places by diverse ethnic collectivities in Sydney. Tens of thousands of settlers participated in the development of communal places. The undertaken collective action was for many the only way to satisfy a perceived social need and to pursue a 'normal life' (Jamrozik 1983), and to resist discrimination and assimilation pressures (Kelly 1992, Lopez 2000, Jupp 2002). The development of communal places reflects settler needs, available resources, local constraints and government impact that ranged from the assimilation policy to provision of active support. The creative ethnic collective self-reliance materialised through investment and sacrifice is compensated for by the outcome in achieved utility and social values, empowerment and paths for inclusion in a new environment. Ethnic communal places generate social values for people attempting to establish roots in a new environment through the created *feeling of home*. Data on human engagement provide insights into voluntary participation, created jobs, financial involvement and generated activities.

8. Development process

The development process reflects fragmented ethnic collective commitments in Sydney. The outcome and the social significance of collectively established communal places are identified by data on constructed space according to the decades

when places were appropriated, locations, numbers of users, as well as social and symbolic values. The data is divided into two sub-periods, where the years from 1950 to 1980 roughly cover the assimilation period that terminated with the landmark recognition of ethnic organisations as essential service providers by the Galbally Commission in 1978 (Galbally 1978). The second period (1980-2000) parallels the development of multicultural policies and public support to the development of aged-care and education facilities.

Table 1. The Development of Ethnic Community Capital[1]: Incidence of Development, by type and periods, Sydney, 1950-2000, Estimate (%, n = units)

Periods	Reli-gions[2]		Leisure[3]		Educa-tion[4]		Welfare[5]		Total	
	%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)
1950-1970	59.6	28	25.5	12	4.3	2	10.6	6	12.2	48
1961-1970	58.5	31	28.3	15	3.8	5	9.4	6	14.5	57
1971-1980	43.9	31	31.8	21	16.7	11	7.6	4	17.1	67
Total 1950-1980	53.0	90	29.0	48	9.0	18	9.0	16	43.8	172
1981-1990	44.0	51	26.7	31	13.8	18	15.5	17	29.8	117
1991-2000	64.4	67	14.4	15	7.7	8	13.5	14	26.4	104
Total 1981-2000	53.6	118	20.9	46	10.9	26	14.6	31	56.2	221
Total 1950-2000	53.4	208	24.4	94	10.1	44	12.1	47	100.0	393

Source: Lalich, W. F., Ethnic Community Capital, unpublished PhD thesis (Sydney: University of Technology, 2004).

Notes:

[1] Data relate only to respondent organisations representing about 85% of the total field or all organisations that developed (bought or constructed) their own facilities.

[2] Any religious building, including halls.

[3] Social and sports clubs, community halls and centres.

[4] Includes child-care facilities.

[5] Includes forty retirement and nursing homes besides welfare organisations.

Data in Table 1 indicate how cultural differences experienced during settlement reflect on the development of needed communal facilities. Ethnic communities in Sydney established at least 208 places of worship and 94 for leisure, but also 44 schools and child-care centres, and 47 welfare and aged-care facilities. The intensity of development differed as 12.2 percent of all facilities were established in the 1950s, in comparison to 29.8 percent in the 1980s. Within each decade religious places represented the most significant development, and many religious organisations subsequently developed schools, child-care and aged-care institutions.

The acquisition of property, land and buildings made possible the establishment of communal places by over 450 ethnic organisations. Over 150 different buildings were purchased for ethnic communal purposes, including at least 85 churches.[12] Many heritage buildings from the colonisation period, including two Congregationalist churches built in 1889 and 1907 in Summer Hill bought by the Croatian Franciscan community for 40,000 dollars in 1966 (Hoško 1996), were saved from destruction and commercialisation, and were preserved as public places. The *religious succession* in conjunction with *ethnic succession* (Waldinger *et al.* 1990) signifies the changing religious map and social structure of Sydney. The development of the hospitality industry, the ageing of immigrants and changes in immigration structure had an impact on the decreased development of places for leisure. The more intensive development of child-care, schools and aged-care institutions since 1980 shows changes in perceived ethnic social needs, but also in social policy (Brennan 1998, Hartley 1995, McMahon, Thompson, Williams [1996] 2000).

Table 2. Developed Physical[1] and User Capacities, by type and period, Sydney, 1950-2000, Estimates (sqm, p[2], %)

Periods	Religions[3] (%)		Leisure[4] (%)		Education[5] (%)		Welfare[6] (%)	
	Sqm	(p)	Sqm	(p)	Sqm	(p)	Sqm	(p)
1950-1960	12.0	11.9	23.2	17.9	0.3	0.4	13.6	17.5
1961-1970	19.5	21.1	22.0	26.7	0.8	0.6	19.5	23.4
1971-1980	14.8	18.7	18.1	15.8	22.2	22.3	4.9	10.0
Total 1950-1980	**46.3**	**51.7**	**63.3**	**60.4**	**23.2**	**23.3**	**38.0**	**50.9**
1981-1990	31.0	24.3	26.2	30.0	41.3	48.5	40.3	27.6
1991-2000	22.7	24.0	10.5	9.6	35.4	28.2	21.7	21.5
Total 1981-2000	**53.7**	**48.3**	**36.7**	**39.6**	**76.7**	**76.7**	**62.0**	**49.1**
Total 1950-2000 (%)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Lalich, W. F., Ethnic Community Capital, unpublished PhD thesis (Sydney: University of Technology, 2004).

Notes:

[1] Includes purchased physical objects.

[2] Persons.

[3] Any religious building, including halls.

[4] Social and sports clubs, community halls and centres.

[5] Includes child-care facilities.

[6] Includes retirement and nursing homes.

The data in Table 2 show that the largest leisure capacities were developed by the older organisations, unlike educational and aged-care facilities. In comparison to the 63% of all leisure

space built between 1950-1980, 62% of all aged-care capacity was built after 1980. The dynamics of the development corresponds to structural changes in immigration, the intensification of cultural diversity, perceived settler needs, available resources, concurrent social changes, physical and social mobility, entrepreneurial skills, communal investment capability and generational changes.

9. Investment

This development, valued in year 2001 at over one and a half billion dollars,[13] is the product of migrant collective initiatives and efforts, of grass-roots migrant collective actions. In the early stages, when the settlers' need for access to public places is most urgent, resources are a major constraint. Funding problems are further exacerbated because the development of communal places frequently has high entry costs. The donated human and material resources are difficult to estimate, and it includes also money, construction materials and artefacts. Moreover, some donations often have either emotional value or are a major financial sacrifice for the donors. Hence the social value of the investment is often not commensurate with the market value.

It is estimated that respondent ethnic collectives have invested more than 926 million dollars (at 2001 dollar value), or over one billion dollars if non-respondent organisations are included, in appropriated communal places. This investment accentuates the importance of access to financial resources in the development of ethnic community capital. This investment includes 186 million dollars, invested at the start of the development process, on the acquisition of land and buildings. The available data show that investment in places of worship, of at least 340 million dollars, represents over one-third of the recorded investment. Nearly eighty per cent of at least 215 million dollars invested in leisure facilities was made by organisations established during the first three decades, emphasising a crisis in urban leisure and pointing towards subsequent cultural changes. However, nearly eighty per cent of 148 million dollars invested in schools and child-care was by organisations established since 1980, while aged-care organisations invested in the same period fifty five per cent of a recorded 224 million dollars.

The aggregate indicators of investment sources presented in Table 3 show that self-financing was a source of nearly sixty per cent of total investment, indicating that the development of ethnic communal places is principally a consequence of community resourcefulness. Development in the earlier decades was marked by scarcity and the status of ethnic collectives as 'outsiders', but increased access to outside sources of capital indicates successful settlement, social changes, as well as the patterns and intensity of organisational development. However, the repayment of loans came from community resources too. Leisure organisations depended the least on overseas support and this points to the grass-roots origin of this development within the settlement process. The established pattern of local grass-roots investment indicates the social significance of developed communal space and the intensity of communal attachment.

Sources	Religions (n 200)		Leisure (n 88)		Education (n 37)		Welfare[1] (n 46)		Total (n 371)	
	I	D	I	D	I	D	I	D	I	D
Community	54.6	74.0	61.6	50.3	34.9	31.7	45.2	54.5	53.6	57.3
Head bodies	8.5	1.2	....	1.7	....	....	6.7	0.5	2.0	1.1
Gifts	2.5	0.3	1.6	1.0	3.8	0.2	1.5	0.9	2.3	1.6
Banks	26.1	20.9	36.7	44.6	27.3	52.5	21.8	9.1	26.8	28.4
State	2.6	0.8	0.5	2.4	21.3	15.6	22.5	32.6	5.6	11.1
Overseas	5.7	2.8	1.7	....	12.7	....	4.3	2.4	9.7	0.6
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 3. Sources of Investment in Ethnic Community Capital, Sydney, 1950-2000, Estimate (%)

Source: Lalich, W.F., Ethnic Community Capital, unpublished PhD thesis (Sydney: University of Technology, 2004).

Notes:

I = Initial Investment; D = Development Investment.

[1] Data relate only to aged-care institutions, not to the nine general welfare organisations that provide various day care.

10. Spatial Impact

Ethnic communal places are dispersed throughout the Sydney metropolitan area. There is no larger concentration of ethnic communal places, although 200 communal places are recorded in approximately 19 clusters, mostly developed close to railway stations. Clusters indicate the close proximity of facilities, often in an area that is otherwise not much endowed with public places.

Croatian communal places are scattered around the metropolitan area as a consequence of the initial settlement and availability of suitable land for development. Among the three ethnic cultural clusters that are not close to railway stations is one in the Bonnyrigg area near the western suburb of Fairfield (Map 1). The development of this cluster in a semi-industrial zone was very much at its later stage influenced by the rare government lease of land to newly emerging communities. However, it has its origins with the establishment of the Croatian club *Jadran-Hajduk* in 1966, after it had to relinquish its former property for a housing project. The location of ethnic communal places is mostly influenced by considerations of proximity to transport hubs, accessibility, price or availability of suitable land or building, and is very much independent of either government or endogenous (ethnic concentration) influences.

The Club *Jadran-Hajduk* which, like other clubs, was fostered by migrants from the area of the Adriatic Sea, started around the *bocce* pitch, and was subsequently followed by Hungarian and Assyrian clubs, and later by Vietnamese, Khmer and Lao Buddhist temples, a Chinese Presbyterian church, a Turkish mosque and a Vietnamese community centre. Bonnyrigg is representative of Australian cultural diversity that also includes a re-energized bowling club.

Map 1. Cluster of Ethnic Communal Places, Bonnyrigg, 2000

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△ Religious   ☐ Clubs/Halls   ○ Aged care   ▲ Croatian   ■ Bowling club
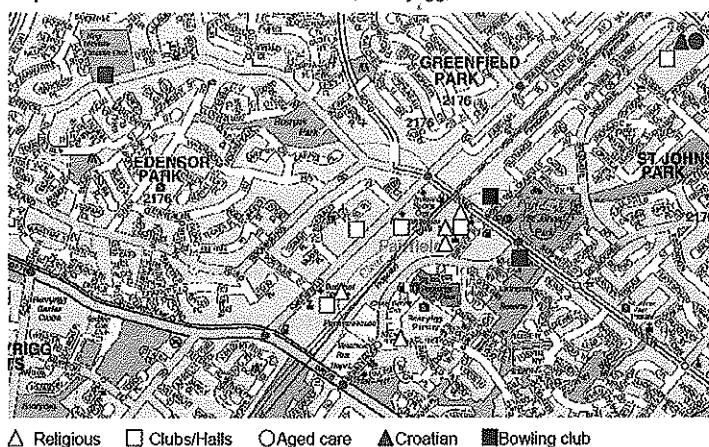
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At the margins of development in this area are located the Croatian social and sport Club *King Tomislav* (1966) in Edensor Park, with a football stadium for 10,000 spectators and picnic grounds. On the other side, in St Johns Park, there is a small cluster consisting of the St Nicholas Tavelić church (1985) and the *Cardinal A. Stepinac* aged-care hostel and nursing home, developed between 1991 and 2004. This map shows the spatial impact of communal development by Croatian settlers on the City of Fairfield and their significant contribution to its multicultural image within the metropolitan social space.

There are two more Roman Catholic churches and centres, one in the western city of Blacktown, *Our Lady*, built in 1985 with large communal facilities, and the first Croatian church in Sydney, *St Anthony* in the inner suburb of Summer Hill. Its premises were bought in 1968 from the Congregational church, and further developed and expanded until 1992, to serve diverse needs, including a library, and educational and community meetings.

The additional five Croatian communal leisure places are dispersed at the outskirts of the metropolitan area, and three are identified as regional clubs. These clubs include *Istra* in Leppington (1980), *Dalmacija* (1981) in Terry Hills and *St Mary of Cres Island* (1976) in Marsden Park. Croatian refugees from the island of Cres

established a club with a beautiful picnic space that also serves as a host club to various organisations formed by the post-war Italian refugees from the former Yugoslavia. The bridging social capital emanating across ethnic boundaries is indicated in linkages evolving out of similarities in migration experience and the traditional cultures of Croatians and Italians at the SMOC picnic grounds.

The other two clubs located further to the west, *Braća Radići* (1982) in Blacktown and *Bosna* (1969) in St Marys, were developed to meet recreational and social needs in their respective areas. These clubs differ from the Croatian Club that was initially established in the inner city suburb of Surry Hills in 1959, and from 1983 till 1998 developed impressive premises in the suburb of Punchbowl. Its location also enables diverse social and commercial activities that expand across ethnic boundaries.

Also, Croatian settlers had a major role in integrating football in the local social landscape with the development and maintenance of several fields and clubs in regular city, state and national competitions (Drapac 2001). Players of different origin were regulars in the Football Club Sydney United (former Sydney Croatia), while *Jadran-Hajduk* operates a joint football club with the Maltese settlers, *Hajduk Wanderers*. Although this is indicative of generational changes, it also tells us about the embeddedness of these and other institutions developed by Croatian migrants in the local social environment.

11. Communal space

The dynamics of development indicates that many ethnic communal places could remain as permanent nodes in the Sydney landscape. Re-territorialised cultures in a new location create new social space, fields of interaction and linkages beyond territorial and communal confines. Their sustainability could be considered as a vector of the organisational adaptability to generational and social changes and immigration patterns, but also to transnational communications, as many places could develop a new potential beyond initial expectations. The social dimension of ethnic collective spaces is best perceived through acquired data on developed capacities, numbers of users and generated activities.

It is assessed that 386 ethnic collectives developed close to half a million square metres of space. The ability of fragmented ethnic collectives to develop such significant communal space signifies the magnitude of ethnic social commitment. The developed space can accommodate approximately 200,000 people at any time, irrespective of function, and it is estimated that over 320,000 persons regularly use these facilities, not including spectators at sport events. This data includes nearly 18,000 regular volunteers, including committee members, and nearly 5,000 employees. Communal places developed by Croatian settlers enable 10,000 persons to use developed places at any moment, besides football grounds; over a thousand volunteers in various capacities support communal life in these places (Lalich 2004). For a relatively small and fragmented community of 23,000 people that use the Croatian language at home, this development of communal space was a great achievement. This outcome is the best indicator of generated social capital, communal capability to overcome constraints and created social values in the new environment.

Human resources are the crucial input into the development of this critical infrastructure. This active engagement of people is only partially identified through participation in daily management and in diverse activities organised in these places. Human participation differs between organisations and appears in different forms and quantity during construction, consumption and representation. This voluntary engagement of otherwise under-utilised human resources alleviates many social problems and indicates an openness towards new communication links. However, the volume of voluntary participation in ethnic communal organisations is difficult to estimate, since it is influenced by urgency and commitment, demographic structure and available skills.

12. Place attachment

The density of functions and activities indicates the deep sense of achievement and of attachment. The richness of functions and activities has made these places into a source of life, or *fabrics of life*,[14] for many ethnic communities. The established feelings of attachment to these places indicate the importance of the developed

places to collectives, besides their obvious functional significance (transfer of culture, mutual help, and escape from isolation) as a source of diverse external links to the local community and transnational linkages. Furthermore, the development of communal infrastructure by the Croatian community encountered additional difficulties due to problems of recognition, the ideological split and pressures enforced by the former Yugoslav state. These difficulties generated an additional significance of these places to the embattled community.

The intensity of the developed sense of place, as the *home of the community* and the *centre of life,* connotes the depth of belonging and attachment felt towards communal places that could significantly impact on their sustainability under changing social conditions. Many expect a long organisational life. Most religious organisations are content with the role of the young people in the congregation, unlike leisure organisations that were developed primarily to satisfy the needs of a now ageing, first generation group. Moreover, religious organisations in many instances do have a diverse role in ethnic social space.

Among the key factors indicating a social potential of these organisations is the location of developed functions and activities. Many organisations developed multiple functions, and approximately half of the religious and leisure organisations have several functions: education and as a community centre being the most common (Lalich 2004). This ability to create additional functions provides grounds for new forms of interaction and the evolution of social space.

An even more dynamic aspect of development is in the activities conducted on or from these places. From a total of 5,551 registered activities, around 3,011 of them are conducted by religious and 1,770 by leisure organisations, while education and aged-care units registered 770 activities in total (Lalich 2004). Generic or functional activities range from 44.9% in education to 47.0% in the religious places; the rest are additionally generated activities, such as commercial, cultural, education, sports, entertainment and specific youth activities. Croatian organisations in Sydney identified at least 259 diverse activities organised at or from their places. Among these activities are diverse contacts established and maintained with the country and place of origin,

but also with other Croatian organisations in Sydney and other parts of Australia. The established transnational links are diverse, and range from cultural exchange, maintenance of heritage and business links to provision of diverse forms of assistance in the case of need. This extensive field of activities emphasises the significance of ethnic communal places for the ethnic life and social fabric of Sydney.

13. Concluding remarks

Ethnic communities establish their own infrastructure to facilitate the resolution of culturally-derived preferences for services and products (Light 1972). The development of communal places in Sydney was made possible through the mobilisation of ethnic resources, collective actions by diverse groups of people and the intensification of social capital during settlement. Some communities, like the Croatian, had to encounter and overcome major obstacles in this process. This development facilitated the transfer and maintenance of culture and heritage under difficult settlement conditions, helping to avert assimilation, insecurity, alienation, and difficulties in communicating with the host society. These places developed to satisfy social needs that could not be met through existing channels, due to inaccessible and inadequate social and urban infrastructure, which made Sydney a better place for living.

The available data show the ability of migrant collectives to meet their own social needs and overcome the problems relating to the scarcity of public places and services. The development of communal places was mostly financed from their own resources. Croatian settlers took part in this fragmented collective act that generated investment of over 926 million dollars during fifty years. The outcome enables employment of over 5,000 people and provides the capacity for diverse use by more than 200,000 people. Ethnic communal places created in a time of deprivation have significant physical and economic dimensions and incomparable social, spatial, communication and heritage values. Moreover, this localised migrant effort through transnationalisation places "common immigrants on the same plane as dominant actors engaged in global restructuring" (Portes 1998).

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Migrant voluntary engagement is the driving force behind this development in critical social infrastructure. Croatian migrants, like many others, through the application of human, social and material capital, solved many communally perceived needs without major recourse to broader community resources, producing a long-term impact on the development of culturally and functionally diverse national resources. Ethnic investment into communal social infrastructure establishes a community home, and a new focus of belonging and attachment, expanding social space beyond ethnic boundaries, social structures and national borders. Thus Sydney has been transformed into a dynamic multicultural city reinvigorated with new urban reference nodes.

[1] The term *ethnic community capital* is used instead of more familiar terms like public places, civil architecture (Dattner 1995), built environment, social and physical infrastructure or urban infrastructure (Harvey 1999; Burnley, Murphy and Fagan 1997), with the intention of distinguishing such ethnic collective involvement in the development of buildings for community use. It corresponds very much to *pattern-maintenance 'capital'*, indicating schools, churches, recreational facilities, as the term is applied by Parsons and Smelser (1956), in the sense of 'impure' localised public goods defined by partial excludability (Harvey 1973). It is felt that this distinction in relation to classical terminology is needed to emphasise the development of collective goods, that is, public places with limited access, as they are particularly important resources for ethnic communities. Besides material value, ethnic community capital implies the existence of intangible social values and use value. Although it could be interchangeable in many instances with the classical terminology, it is felt that it could help in the comprehension of this particular development within the specific constraints of migration and settlement. In this case public utility, a public good is not produced by governments (Baumol and Blinder 1985), but by diverse ethnic non-profit organisations. It differs from the interpretation of 'ethnic capital' as used by Borjas (1999) to define the totality of the ethnic environment, but primarily relates to ethnic human and not to developed material resources.

[2] Football (or 'soccer' in Australian terminology).

[3] A "half century from now the most visible remains of small immigrant minorities like the Ukrainians will be a few buildings scattered furtively around the country" (I. Gordijew, cited in: M. E. Poole, P. R. de Lacey and B. S. Randhawa [eds.], *Australia in Transition: Culture and Life Possibilities* [Sydney: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1985]).

[4] Data was collected by the author from 1999 to 2001 throughout Sydney and involved 386 diverse ethnic organisations that developed their own facilities through the voluntary engagement of their members. The aim of this data collection was to secure necessary empirical data for the author's PhD project, *Ethnic Community Capital: The Development of Ethnic Social Infrastructure in Sydney*. The 344 respondents (out of a total 385 contacted) also provided information on an additional 42 affiliated organisations. The data is representative of an estimated 85% of the identified ethnic organisations with their own facilities in Sydney. The sample survey would have provided only a limited insight into this important human engagement during the process of settlement in a new social environment. The respondents were not large entities, such as ethnic umbrella organisations, but in nearly all cases were separate organisations that had developed a particular place, their own building or sports grounds. However, some development was probably not recognised and recorded during this inadequately funded research. Ethnic organisations that lease, rent or share facilities with some other entity, like places of worship, were not contacted, except for one small club that leases facilities. This research only covers those ethnic organisations whose members developed their own facilities, and invested good will, money and time.

[5] Croatian settlers established around sixty communal places in other parts of Australia. The first one was established by the Croatian-Slavonic Association in Boulder (WA) in 1912, which was destroyed during riots in 1934. Later, their own premises were acquired by *Jedinstvo* in Swan Valley (WA) in 1934, *Napredak* in Broken Hill (NSW) in 1936 (which still exists as a broad community club), *Matija*

Gubec in Mildura(Vic) in 1939 (now the *Medjumurski* Club), and *Orjen* purchased land in the Sydney suburb of Warriewood in 1939 (later sold, and the proceeds assisted the development of the *Dalmacija* Club). The *Yugal* Club, established mostly by Croatian migrants in 1960, had its own premises, but vanished with political changes in the former Yugoslavia (Tkalčević 1992; Stenning 1996; Alagic and Kosovic 2001; Kosovic 2001; Sutalo 2001).

[6] Personal communication, A. Gergich (2000).

[7] Among them 11,000 speak little or no English (CRC 2003)

[8] There were 23,543 refugees from the former Yugoslavia, of which 62.4% were Roman Catholics. Drapac (2001) considers that there were 10,500 Croatians among 19,000 Yugoslav displaced persons entering Australia, while Kosovic (2001) mentions the arrival of 25,000 Yugoslav nationals in the 1948-1952 period.

[9] There are some other estimates. Drapac (2001) cites C. Price, who claims that there are over 180,000 people of Croatian background in Australia, and indicates the difficulties in making an estimate. Hoško (1996) and Tkalčević (1995) give an estimate of 200,000 Croatians in Australia.

[10] There was no national championship.

[11] In some other suburbs with fewer Croatian settlers, they had slightly higher participation among the settlers of non-English speaking origin.

[12] At the time of sale of a sample of 28 earlier developed Christian churches, the median age was 72 years, the range being from 29 to 139 years (Lalich 2004).

[13] The estimated current value of communal places developed by Croatian migrants is at least approximately 77 million dollars (Lalich 2004).

[14] Ellis Island Museum Exhibition, New York.

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