



A review of programs targeting social cohesion and socio-economic disadvantage in select migrant concentration localities in Sydney and Melbourne

*A Stage 2 Interim Report from the project *The impact of ethnic diversity, socioeconomic disadvantage and sense of belonging on Islamophobia and social cohesion locally and nationally: a mixed-method, longitudinal analysis (2018-2020)**

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Project: The impact of ethnic diversity, socioeconomic disadvantage and sense of belonging on Islamophobia and social cohesion locally and nationally: a mixed-method, longitudinal analysis (Aug 2018 to July 2020)

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Contents

INTRODUCTION	1
Background	2
Social cohesion in policy	4
Research on social cohesion	6
LOCAL AREA PROFILES	9
Sydney (Auburn [South and Central], Greenacre-Mount Lewis, Lakemba, Wiley Park)	12
Melbourne (Broadmeadows, Campbellfield-Coolaroo, Dandenong, Fawkner, Meadow Heights)	23
RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY	35
Interview sample	35
INTERVIEW DATA ANALYSIS	44
What is social cohesion – how is it understood?	44
The relevance of addressing socio-economic disadvantage	47
Mainstream vs culturally specific services	48
Problems with program delivery and how they are addressed	50
DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION	52
Social cohesion and socio-economic disadvantage: what is the relationship?	52
Local programs: what works best?	54
RECOMMENDATIONS	57
REFERENCES	59
Appendix 1 – Interview Questions	65

List of tables and figures

Table 1. Proportions of overseas born residents and those speaking LOTE	9
Table 2. Select demographic and socio-economic indicators for Sydney	10
Table 3. Select demographic and socio-economic indicators for Melbourne	11
Table 4. Service-providing organisations interviewed	37
Figure 1. Auburn Gallipoli Mosque	12
Figure 2. Auburn Central: the old and the new	13
Figure 3. Greenacre streetscape	16
Figure 4. Waterloo Rd. commercial strip, Greenacre	16
Figure 5. Malek Fahd Islamic School, Greenacre	17
Figure 6. Lakemba streetscape, looking towards Sydney Olympic Park	18
Figure 7. The Lakemba Mosque	19
Figure 8. Haldon St., Lakemba's main commercial strip	20
Figure 9. Wiley Park, marking its history	21
Figure 10. Wiley Park Public School	22
Figure 11. The closed Ford factory complex with blocked access roads	24
Figure 12. The oldest Turkish mosque in the Hume area, in King Street, Dallas, built in 1983	25
Figure 13. St Mary's Ancient Church of the East in Coolaroo	27
Figure 14. Ford no more: the factory's previous headquarters in Campbellfield	28
Figure 15. Low-density 'commission housing' in Coolaroo	29
Figure 16. The Dandenong market claiming considerable local history	30
Figure 17. Buddhist Temple in the suburb of Fawkner	33

INTRODUCTION

This project explores the impact of socio-economic disadvantage and ethnic diversity on community cohesion. The project's main empirical focus is on ten localities in Melbourne and Sydney where residents who identified as adhering to Islam in the recent Australian censuses are residentially concentrated. Using primary and secondary data, and a mixed-method approach, the project aims to achieve two key outcomes:

First, provide evidence for policy based on 1) the analyses of Census (2006-2016) and the HILDA Survey (Waves 6,11,16) data, separately and in combination (Stage 1) and b) a national online/phone survey of 1000 respondents focused on neighbourhood experience in the target localities and the acceptance of Muslims/Islamophobia (Stage 3).

Second, provide insights about the ways in which ethno-religious diversity, disadvantage and Islamophobia may impact on community cohesion in chosen localities, through interviews with key stakeholders (Stage 2).

Project findings will focus on providing evidence for local, state and national policy and program development. The project runs for 2 years, in 3 stages. This report is an outcome of the second stage of the project.

Stage 2 of the project explored programs fostering community cohesion and addressing socio-economic disadvantage in a selection of 10 high-diversity suburbs, most of them with low socio-economic indicators. These suburbs also represented residential concentrations of Muslim Australians in two of the largest and most diverse Australian cities, Sydney and Melbourne. According to most recent Census data (2016), these localities were: Broadmeadows, Campbellfield-Coolaroo, Dandenong, Fawkner and Meadow Heights in Greater Melbourne (Victoria) and Lakemba, Wiley Park, Auburn Central, Auburn South, Greenacre-Mount Lewis in Greater Sydney (NSW) (see Tables 1 and 2 for more details). The data collection in Stage 2 of the project consisted of in-depth interviews with key stakeholders and observational visits to the target localities.

Stage 2 of the project was guided by the following Research Question: *What are the experiences of local stakeholders in disadvantaged neighbourhoods with significant Muslim minorities, with respect to programs fostering community cohesion and cushioning socio-economic*

disadvantage for vulnerable groups, and what is known about the effectiveness of the local programs?

The Stage 2 of the study sought to review current and recent local social cohesion and disadvantage related programs in case-study areas. This was initially conducted through a desktop search as agencies report on their programs and achieved outcomes through publicly available reports. We started with relevant local councils' websites and then branched out to NGOs and local community organisations. This way we identified and subsequently approached agencies that designed and implemented local programs, as well as communities targeted by the programs. We conducted 52 in-depth interviews with key stakeholders. The target was 50 interviews, five per local government area (LGA) / suburb, totalling 25 in each city. These interviews provided insight into what was or is being done, and the effectiveness of the programs. This allowed us to provide recommendations on how these programs can be further improved and innovated.

The interview sample of local stakeholders consisted of agency workers and local community members. Our interview respondents worked in local councils, settlement services, local community organisations, schools, libraries, mosques and so forth—the agencies directly involved with delivering programs and services to local populations—or were local community members. More details on the sample of respondents can be found in the methodology section, pp. 34-41.

Background

The 2016 Australian Census recorded more than 300 'languages spoken at home'. More than 20 per cent of Australians spoke a language other than English at home in 2016 (ABS, 2017a). The Census also registered over 300 ancestries and more than 100 religions. At the time of the 2016 Census, 33.3 per cent of the Australian resident population was born overseas (ABS, 2017f). This proportion is larger in most capital cities. In Sydney and Melbourne, the most diverse and main migrant-receiving cities, this proportion is 42.9 and 40.2 per cent respectively (ABS 2017c; 2017d).

Australia's two largest cities, Sydney and Melbourne, are not just the most diverse in Australia, but also among the most diverse cities in the world (IOM 2016). Population diversity can be measured in different ways: by the proportion of the overseas born, number of different languages spoken, the number of countries of origin of residents, and a proportion of residents

speaking a minority language—in this case a ‘language other than English’ (LOTE)—at home. Whatever way it is measured, there are different levels of diversity in these two metropolitan areas: in most areas, the Australian-born residents numerically predominate, whereas in some areas, including our target localities, migrants account for a majority of the population. The variation in ethno-cultural diversity is not as pronounced if we look at larger spatial entities, such as Local Government Areas (LGAs), but it varies a great deal if we look at smaller areas such as ‘State Suburbs’ or ‘Statistical Areas Level 2’ (SA2s), as per the Australian Bureau of Statistics’ classification (ABS 2017a).

A consistently high migrant intake and growing ethno-cultural and religious diversity present a social, political and policy challenge for multicultural societies such as Australia, especially in the migrant gateway cities such as Sydney and Melbourne (Marcus et al. 2009; Forrest and Dunn 2007). The bipartisan and general public acceptance of multiculturalism as an ideology and policy follows from multicultural diversity as a demographic state of affairs, but is nonetheless in a state of ongoing tension with the need for successful socio-economic, cultural and linguistic integration and ‘social inclusion’ of new arrivals (Colic-Peisker 2011; Mansouri and Lobo 2011; Mansouri 2015; Busbridge 2018). In Australia, most migrants and most Australian-born people consider the naturalisation of migrants a process that supports a desirable goal of ‘social cohesion’ in the context of multicultural diversity.

Alongside an increased emphasis on social cohesion at the expense of policy support for the ideology of multiculturalism, the process of mainstreaming services provided to ethno-culturally diverse populations has also intensified over the past two decades. The latter process is not limited to Australia but is also ongoing in other diverse, immigrant-receiving societies (Scholten and Van Breugel 2018). In Australia, the mainstream social services-providing organisations are increasingly seen as well placed to cater to the needs of ‘culturally and linguistically diverse’ (CALD) communities. Such organisations receive most longer-term contracts and funding from various levels of government. Community-specific service providers do operate in this space but they, as a rule, receive smaller and shorter-term grants to support their operations. They may be seen as less economically efficient than the larger, mainstream organisations, some of which operate on a for-profit basis and in some cases are multi-national operations. Sometimes culturally specific local service provision, delivered in a LOTE setting, may be seen as going against the grain of full integration and social inclusion of migrants, and migrant communities, into a unified and ‘cohesive’ nation.

Immigration from diverse source countries is the reality of most developed countries over the past half-century. The management of ethno-cultural diversity is an important issue for policy regardless of whether a country chooses to call itself ‘multicultural’ or not and has therefore attracted considerable research effort in Australia and overseas.

The section below provides a concise review of the definitions of the concept of social cohesion as found in recent policy documents and research literature.

Social cohesion in policy

Social cohesion as a policy platform has gained considerable attention in Australia in the past two decades. This policy platform started as an initiative of the Howard Government (a Liberal Coalition government 1996-2007) which pursued a model of diversity management that emphasised national identity, social cohesion, integration of immigrants and community harmony rather than ‘multiculturalism’. This marked a retreat from multiculturalism that had been accepted as a bipartisan policy platform since the 1970s (Colic-Peisker 2011; Ho 2013:38). Instead, the emphasis was on managing threats to national security and to social cohesion that were perceived as coming from ethnic minorities, and most of all from Muslim Australians. Since then, the emphasis on social cohesion has included developing connections across diverse ethno-cultural communities, building ‘community resilience’ and reducing tensions purportedly caused by cultural and religious differences in values and lifestyles (see for example Barton et al. 2018). Faced with the fact of increasing ethno-cultural diversity in Australia, and a considerable overlap between CALD status and socio-economic disadvantage, policymakers have been eager to foster the idea of social cohesion through policies that address both cross-cultural understanding and socio-economic disadvantage. The latter has been associated with obstacles in the straight-path integration and ‘social inclusion’ into the host society. In this context the concept of social cohesion is often left undefined, with possible implied meaning shifting from security and community resilience in adversity, such as natural disasters or terrorist attacks, all the way to ‘supporting diversity and inclusion’ and ‘empowering [CALD] communities’ (see for example Victorian Government 2019).

The Australian Government’s (2017) *Multicultural Statement* mentions building harmonious and socially cohesive communities as a cornerstone of national unity. This is largely framed from a position of ethnic minority deficit that needs to be bridged by social inclusion programs.

In this context, social cohesion is a mechanism to improve relations between different ethno-religious groups, reduce possible tensions and therefore build social harmony. Social cohesion policy is often coupled with the concepts of community resilience and ‘countering violent extremism’ (CVE). For example, the NSW COMPACT Program, an initiative of Multicultural NSW with funding from the NSW Government, draws links between a CVE policy framework and social cohesion as a desired outcome for community resilience. COMPACT takes a ‘whole-of-society approach’ to community resilience, seeing it as consisting of community preparedness, prevention, response and recovery (Multicultural NSW 2017).

In a resource developed to support local government policies on social cohesion, the Australian Human Rights Commission (2015) argues that social cohesion “works towards the wellbeing of all its members, fights exclusion and marginalisation, creates a sense of belonging, promotes trust and offers its members the opportunity of upward mobility”. This is a more comprehensive undertaking of the concept that acknowledges both socio-economic disadvantage and cultural difference as factors that may undermine social cohesion.

In the UK, similar policies have been pursued under the name of ‘community cohesion’ rather than social cohesion. The term was first used following riots across the northern English cities of Bradford, Burnley and Oldham in the summer of 2001, which were widely perceived as stemming from racial and ethnic disadvantage and residential segregation of ‘Black and minority ethnic’ (BME) communities. The UK approach to social cohesion emphasises the idea of social capital: the need for strong and positive relationships between individual people and communities, tackling inequalities that disadvantage certain community members and promoting a common vision and a sense of community belonging. In the wake of riots, the Cante Report (2001) specifically states that ‘it is clearly accepted that to achieve community cohesion it is necessary to consider a broad range of issues including access to education and employment, poverty and social inequalities, social and cultural diversity, and even access to communication and information technologies’.

The UK Local Government Association (2019) report specifically notes that “cohesion is not simply about migration, ethnic minorities or specific communities. The Casey Report highlighted socio-economic exclusion as a sign of integration failure and warned that for poorer White British households in some areas, problems of educational attainment are growing”. This emphasis on socio-economic exclusion is less evident in their later reports, where language such as ‘divisions’ and ‘fractures’ was more commonly used to describe barriers to building

more cohesive communities. The UK Local Government Association and the Audit Commission have conducted community cohesion audits in 2002, 2004, 2006 and 2014. The definition of community cohesion has developed over each of these reports.

Research on social cohesion

Associated with policy understandings and programs on social cohesion, there is a growing body of research literature that critically examines the conceptual, ideological and policy implications of the term. There are many definitions of social cohesion in the academic literature. Some that are more relevant to our project are discussed below.

In Australia, some immigrant groups have suffered considerable mainstream prejudice in the past. They were perceived as a threat to social cohesion and even national identity, or as an economic threat to certain sections of the population through rhetoric such as ‘stealing their jobs’. Over time, through years of contact, they may have eventually become accepted by the white Anglo-Australian mainstream as a welcome addition to the nation’s diversity, ‘multiculturalism’ and ‘cosmopolitanism’ (Markus, Jupp and McDonald 2009). This trajectory from being at the receiving end of prejudice and discrimination to being fully accepted as part of the mainstream community has been most pronounced in relation to the ‘White ethnics’ (non-English-speaking Europeans) in Australia but also in the US and elsewhere (Waters 2000; Markus et al. 2009). To a considerable degree, Asian immigrants have also become widely accepted in the predominantly ‘white nations’, and even seen as ‘model immigrants’ in the US (Gans 2005), while in Australia they may still evoke a perception of threat, either economic or political. In recent years, this has been due to the global rise of China and fears about its undue influence in Australia (ABC 2019; SBS 2019; Markus et al. 2009).

Canadian academic Jane Jensen (1998) put forward a multidimensional framework for social cohesion which includes five elements: belonging, inclusion, participation, recognition and legitimacy. This framework has been used widely in policy, possibly because it provides a means to measure and evaluate the five dimensions. For example, inclusion could be measured by how readily community members have equal access to resources; participation could be measured by looking at how widespread community volunteering is. Many of these dimensions were mentioned by the interview participants in our study.

An influential body of work by US sociologist Robert Putnam (1993) examines ‘bonding’ and ‘bridging’ social capital and their close association to the concept of social cohesion. In particular, ‘bridging’ social capital is seen as representing important social ties that cut across ethnic, linguistic, religious and class differences. Social capital contributes to cohesion through connections or integration of individuals and groups into the wider society. In a highly under-researched area in the literature, bridging social capital can also foster connections between minority ethnic communities and the majority or ‘mainstream (dominant) culture’. This dynamic, or a lack of it, is evident in the invisibility of the role of Anglo-Australians in the project of social cohesion in Australia. With this key ‘majority’ player being absent, social cohesion can be presented as the problem, burden or work of CALD migrants. In this context it seems that Anglo Australians are not part of either the problem or the solution in the domain of social cohesion. Instead, they represent the norm, not an aspect of diversity that also needs to be integrated into a multicultural society. The lack of Anglo Australian (or the ‘majority culture’) engagement in the social cohesion programs discussed in this report are evidence of this challenge.

Putnam’s (1993) work on social capital also provides a useful framework for understanding the linkages between social cohesion and socio-economic disadvantage. Putnam defines social capital as “features of social organization, such as networks, norms, and trust, that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit”. Under this premise, the work of social cohesion is made easier where there is significant investment in, and development of, social capital, and that means addressing socio-economic disadvantage and economic development, and enhancing pathways for civic engagement. However, critiques of Putnam’s social capital, point out the problematic framing of ‘mutual benefit’: whose benefit and under what parameters? (Cheong et al. 2007).

A number of authors have put forward a critique of the concept of social cohesion. Rose (1996) called social cohesion a policy buzzword where ‘community’ is deployed as a means to govern ‘difficult zones’; allegiance to the ‘Muslim community’ or the ‘LGBTIQ community’ is commonly posed as a problem that social cohesion is tasked with ‘fixing’. Cheong et al. (2007) argued that social cohesion assumed that everyone is counted on a level playing field; it also privileged homogeneity, cohesion and consensus over difference. Ho (2013) argued that multiculturalism had essentially been eradicated from policy discourses in Australia, in favour of a policy of social cohesion that promoted harmony among diverse cultures rather than respecting cultural difference. Stead (2017) argues that the social cohesion paradigm can

obscure socio-economic conditions and issues of social justice, and it rejects the potential of social conflict to create positive change and ultimately social good; it also positions community as a technology of cultural governance.

Hoekstra and Dahlvik (2018) compared neighbourhood participation in ‘super-diverse’ localities in Amsterdam and Vienna and whether it could be improved by programs designed to foster community involvement and active citizenship. They found that ‘top-down’ initiatives could connect residents with educational and housing institutions, but they were less successful in providing ‘possibilities for encounters with fellow residents’ in the context of ethno-cultural diversity and socio-economic differences (p. 454). Their findings suggest that locally targeted programs may be more successful in addressing issues stemming from socio-economic disadvantage than fostering community cohesion.

For Mansouri et al. (2017:7), ‘taking care of one’s neighbours,’ is an ‘important civic virtue integral to Muslim beliefs’. This may be dissonant with the Anglo-Australian value of privacy and the emphasis on ‘leaving other people alone’, including one’s neighbours—perhaps especially the neighbours (Hebbani, Colic-Peisker and McKinnon 2018). Religious teachings of the Qur’an emphasise responsibility for public welfare (Mansouri et al. 2017: 9), in contrast to the ‘Australian values’ of taking care of one’s individual interests and nurturing privatism and individual consumption, which often comes at the expense of civic virtue and community values (Colic-Peisker 2015). Individualism and anonymous urban living in large cities silently militate against social cohesion; even though noted in research literature, this has never been a policy concern.

LOCAL AREA PROFILES

This section presents a brief account of the history, demography and socio-economic profile of our target areas. These areas are highly ethnically diverse. The proportion of overseas born and those who speak a Language Other Than English (LOTE) at home far surpasses the national average (see Table 1). In the Local Government Areas (LGAs) in point, these proportions are as follows:

Table 1. Proportions of overseas born residents and those speaking LOTE at home in target areas, LGA level.

LGA (Greater Melbourne)	Overseas-born	Speaking LOTE at home
Greater Dandenong	64.0 %	70.2 %
Hume	42.3 %	50.6 %
Moreland	40.8 %	44.0 %
LGA (Greater Sydney)		
Cumberland	58.3 %	71.1 %
Canterbury-Bankstown	50.4 %	65.9 %
Greater Sydney	42.9%	38.2%
Greater Melbourne	40.2%	34.9%
Australia	33.3 %	27.3 %

Source: ABS, 2016 Census

Tables 2 and 3 present an overview of select demographic and socio-economic indicators for our target localities in Sydney and Melbourne at the SA2 level.

Table 2: Select demographic and socio-economic indicators for the five case-study localities, Sydney (SA2 level)

	Median age	Overseas born (%)	Main LOTE spoken at home (%)	Main religion (%)	Median weekly household income	Unemployed (%)	Bachelor degree & above (%)	SEIFA ranking (IRSD)¹
Auburn Central²	30	69.1 %	Arabic (15.2 %)	Islam (45.7 %)	\$1,260	13.0 %	20.2 %	Decile: 1 Score: 858
Auburn South³	31	59.0 %	Arabic (21.3 %)	Islam (41.8 %)	\$ 1,287	10.9 %	17.5 %	Decile: 1 Score: 888
Greenacre-Mount Lewis⁴	33	46.8 %	Arabic (41.3 %)	Islam (41.3 %)	\$ 1,184	8.8 %	15.5 %	Decile: 2 Score: 911
Lakemba⁵	31	68.5 %	Bengali (18.7 %) Arabic (13.7 %)	Islam (59.2 %)	\$ 1,012	13.5 %	26.4 %	Decile: 1 Score: 852
Wiley Park⁶	31	66.5 %	Arabic (17.8 %) Bengali (17.1 %)	Islam (50.3 %)	\$ 1,074	12.0 %	26.4 %	Decile: 1 Score: 875
NSW (state)⁷	38	34.5 %	Mandarin (3.2 %) Arabic (2.7 %) Cantonese (1.9 %)	No religion (25.1 %) Catholic (24.7 %) Islam (3.6 %)	\$ 1,486	6.3 %	23.4 %	

¹ Index of Relative Socio-economic Disadvantage, at <http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/DetailsPage/2033.0.55.0012016?OpenDocument>

² http://quickstats.censusdata.abs.gov.au/census_services/getproduct/census/2016/quickstat/125011582?opendocument

³ http://quickstats.censusdata.abs.gov.au/census_services/getproduct/census/2016/quickstat/125011584?opendocument

⁴ http://quickstats.censusdata.abs.gov.au/census_services/getproduct/census/2016/quickstat/119011357?opendocument

⁵ http://quickstats.censusdata.abs.gov.au/census_services/getproduct/census/2016/quickstat/119021573?opendocument

⁶ http://quickstats.censusdata.abs.gov.au/census_services/getproduct/census/2016/quickstat/119021574?opendocument

⁷ http://quickstats.censusdata.abs.gov.au/census_services/getproduct/census/2016/quickstat/2?opendocument

Table 3: Select demographic and socio-economic indicators for the 5 case-study localities, Melbourne (SA2 level)

	Median age	Overseas born (%)	Main LOTE spoken at home (%)	Main religion (%)	Median weekly household income	Unemployed (%)	Bachelor degree & above (%)	SEIFA ranking⁸ (IRSD)
Broadmeadows⁹	30	56.5 %	Arabic (18.3 %)	Islam (35.6 %)	\$ 900	15.9 %	12.3 %	Decile: 1 Score: 786
Campbellfield-Coolaroo¹⁰	33	55.2 %	Arabic (20.2 %)	Islam (41.1 %)	\$ 927	14.6 %	8.6 %	Decile: 1 Score: 795
Dandenong¹¹	32	72 %	Hazaraghi (7.9 %)	Islam (30.1 %)	\$ 1,026	13.1 %	14.5 %	Decile: 1 Score: 846
Fawkner¹²	34	55.8 %	Italian (13.8 %)	Catholic 33.5 % Islam (31.9 %)	\$ 1,086	10.6 %	20.3 %	Decile: 2 Score: 915
Meadow Heights¹³	31	52.8 %	Turkish (22 %)	Islam (41.2 %)	\$ 1,044	14.1 %	9.5 %	Decile: 1 Score: 821
Victoria (state)¹⁴	37	35.1 %	Mandarin (3.2 %)	No religion (31.7 %) Catholic 21.9 % Islam (3.3 %)	\$ 1,419	6.6 %	24.3 %	

⁸ Index of Relative Socio-economic Disadvantage, at <http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/DetailsPage/2033.0.55.0012016?OpenDocument>

⁹ http://quickstats.censusdata.abs.gov.au/census_services/getproduct/census/2016/quickstat/SSC20344?opendocument

¹⁰ http://quickstats.censusdata.abs.gov.au/census_services/getproduct/census/2016/quickstat/210051243?opendocument

¹¹ http://quickstats.censusdata.abs.gov.au/census_services/getproduct/census/2016/quickstat/SSC20702?opendocument

¹² http://quickstats.censusdata.abs.gov.au/census_services/getproduct/census/2016/quickstat/SSC20903?opendocument

¹³ http://quickstats.censusdata.abs.gov.au/census_services/getproduct/census/2016/quickstat/SSC21624?opendocument

¹⁴ http://quickstats.censusdata.abs.gov.au/census_services/getproduct/census/2016/quickstat/2?opendocument

Sydney

Auburn (Central and South)

Auburn is located 24 km west of Sydney's central business district, in the Cumberland Council LGA. Auburn is considered one of the most multicultural communities in Australia. In the 2016 Census, Auburn Central had a population of 17,174 and Auburn South had a population of 8,484.

Before the arrival of the white colonists, Auburn was used by the Aboriginal Dharug people as a marketplace and a site for ritual battles and ceremonies. In 1793, Auburn was established as the first free agriculture white settlement, priding itself as one of the first non-convict allotments in the new colony (Kennedy and Kennedy 1982). After the World War Two, immigrants from Ukraine, Russia, Italy and Greece gradually outnumbered its early Anglo-Celtic population. In the 1960s, large numbers of migrants from Turkey and Vietnam settled in Auburn and in the late 1970s, immigrants from China, the Middle East and the Pacific also settled there. Auburn's multiculturalism is also reflected in its religious mix. The Auburn Baptist Church has been in existence since 1888 (in its current location since 1928). Some Christian faiths have grown through immigration and Sri Mandir, the oldest Hindu temple in Australia, was built in Auburn in 1977. The Auburn Gallipoli Mosque, largely funded by the local Turkish community, was built in the late 1970s.



Figure 1: Auburn Gallipoli Mosque

The Muslim population of Auburn initially arrived from Turkey and Lebanon from the late 1960s to the 1980s. Nowadays, the largest Muslim group in central western Sydney are the Australia-born offspring of these Muslim migrants. The Turkey-born are the biggest overseas-born Muslim group. The Lebanon-born are the next most significant group, while a more recent significant source country is Afghanistan. Auburn's shops and restaurants, the most visible aspect of multiculturalism, specialise in Middle Eastern, Turkish and East Asian cuisines.

The area had significant industries such as shipping and transport, construction and wholesale trade. In the mid-20th Century the area was associated with heavy industry, such as the Chullora rail engineering workshops, the Silverwater industrial estate, the Rookwood Cemetery, a Prison, landfill sites and a military armament dump to the north. The negative externalities associated with such land uses, along with deindustrialisation, led to the decline in the population of Auburn in the 1970s and the area only regained previous population numbers in the early 1990s.



Figure 2. Auburn Central: the old and the new

The negative image of Auburn and surrounding areas was transformed during the preparation for the 2000 Olympics (Dunn & McGuirk 1999). It shifted from being a noxious industrial area—an ammunition dump, abattoir, and heavy chemical industry and landfill site—to being an Olympic venue, a place of sport and recreation.

Auburn has been a popular destination for new arrivals due to its proximity and public transport accessibility to the city, affordable housing and established settlement support services. There are a significant number of settlement services based in Auburn, focused on newly arrived migrants from India and China, as well as Afghanistan. However, Auburn also has a high population turnover, as new arrivals tend to move on from Auburn at significant rates.

The Auburn area has a range of settlement programs which makes it attractive to newly arrived migrants, but once they have adjusted to life in Australia they often move for work, housing affordability or to be closer to their communities. There is evidence of strong cross-cultural and multi-faith initiatives in the area to combat racism and religious bigotry. In the wake of the Cronulla anti-Muslim riot, there were attempts to generate inter-faith violence between Muslim and Christian communities in the area. However, these were thwarted by local religious leaders and the action of their congregations (Dunn & Piracha, 2015:1650-1).

At the time of the 2016 Census, 41 per cent of the population of Auburn South stated they were born in Australia. Auburn South's top reported religion were Islam at 41.8 per cent. Other major religious groups included Catholics at 12.7 per cent and Buddhists at 6.6 per cent. The most common languages spoken at home were Arabic at 21.3 per cent, Mandarin at 11.9 per cent, Cantonese at 9.2 per cent, Turkish at 8.1 per cent and Urdu at 3.6 per cent. Only 18.3 per cent of the population reported speaking only English at home, while 78.1 per cent reported speaking a LOTE.

Auburn Central's socio-economic indicators are significantly below the national average. At the time of the 2016 Census unemployment stood at 13 per cent, almost twice the national average. The average weekly household income in Auburn Central was \$1,260, compared to the national average of \$1,438. 25.3 per cent of Auburn Central's residents reported the highest level of education attained was year 12, compared to the national average of 15.7 per cent. The most common form of dwelling in Auburn Central was a separate house at 52.2 per cent, followed by a flat or apartment housing at 34.9 per cent of its residents. There was an even distribution of home ownership with and without a mortgage, 24.9 per cent and 24.8 per cent respectively. These are both below the national average, which means that renting was the most widespread tenure type at 43.9 per cent, compared to the national average of 30.9 per cent.

Auburn South's socio-economic indicators are better than Auburn Central's but still considerably below the national average. 10.9 per cent of residents reported being unemployed,

compared to the national average of 6.9 per cent. The average weekly household income in Auburn South is \$1,287, compared to the national average of \$1,438. The level of highest education attainment is year 12 at 24.1 per cent, followed by “Bachelor degree or above” at 17.5 per cent. Auburn South’s housing is predominantly separate house (74.7 per cent) and semi-detached, row or townhouse (19.2 per cent). Home ownership, with or without a mortgage is on par with the national average, and together make up about a two-thirds of the population being owner-occupiers. Renting was also a common tenure type at 32.4 per cent.

Greenacre-Mount Lewis

Greenacre-Mount Lewis (SA2) is located 17 kilometres south west of Sydney’s central business district in the LGA of Canterbury-Bankstown Council. In the 2016 Census Greenacre-Mount Lewis had a population of 25,964.

The Dharug, Bidjigal and Gweagal peoples were the original inhabitants of the Canterbury-Bankstown area. The area was rich in kangaroo, emu, possum, wild honey, plants and roots. The Cooks River and Georges River provided fish and shellfish. Reminders of Aboriginal habitation dating back several thousand years - including rock and overhang paintings - can still be found along the Georges River, Cooks River and in nearby areas.

Greenacre-Mount Lewis area is made up of two suburbs adjoining each other. Greenacre was originally known as East Bankstown and then renamed Green Acres and later on Greenacre. In 1835, a settler by the name Thomas Collins named his 50 acres of land ‘Mount Loose’. Over time the name has morphed into Mount Lewis. The area was originally known for its wood cutting, farming and market gardens. The key employment sector today is manufacturing, followed by retail trade, health care, education and construction.



Figure 3: Greenacre streetscape

The Lebanese community has been significant in Greenacre. This involved both Christian and Muslim immigrants from the late 1970s onward, after the outbreak of civil war in Lebanon in 1975 (Young, 1988b: 677). In the 1980s and 1990s, in suburbs like Greenacre, local Muslims had difficulties gaining building permits for mosques from the Bankstown Council. The opposition to mosques was driven by resident action groups, unsympathetic local media coverage, and solid opposition from local councillors (Dunn 1999).

Greenacre-Mount Lewis' commercial district is small compared to neighbouring suburbs, with a strip of local shops along its southern and northern borders. It also has a small industrial area. Greenacre-Mount Lewis has low population density and maintains an aspirational suburban residential feel rather than being a busy commercial setting.



Figure 4: Waterloo Rd. commercial strip, Greenacre

In Greenacre-Mount Lewis, 53.2 per cent of the population stated they were born in Australia, compared to the national average of 66.7 per cent. Greenacre-Mount Lewis' top reported religion is Islam at 41.3 per cent. The national average is 2.6 per cent, this shows that Greenacre-Mount Lewis has a disproportionate number of Muslims living in the locality. Other reported religions include Catholic at 23.0 per cent and Eastern Orthodox at 6.8 per cent. Not stated at 8.6 per cent and no religion at 6.2 per cent, were also top responses, though no religion is well below the national average of 29.6 per cent. The most common languages spoken are Arabic 41.3 per cent, Greek 3.5 per cent, Vietnamese 3.1 per cent, Urdu 2.5 per cent and Korean 2.4 per cent. Households that spoke only English at home made up 25.5 per cent of the population, while 72.8 per cent of households reported speaking a non-English language at home.

Greenacre-Mount Lewis has a mixed profile when it comes to socio-economic indicators. Unemployment is the lowest of the 5 target Sydney suburbs: 8.8 per cent compared to the national average of 6.9 per cent. Those who reported employment were more likely to be employed in mid-skill industries, rather than in low-skill positions. Census-based statistics suggest that the Greenacre-Mount Lewis area does not experience socio-economic disadvantage to the same degree as the other target suburbs. Home ownership is much more prevalent in Greenacre-Mount Lewis and unemployment is the lowest of the suburbs in point. This may be a result of the second and third generation migrant populations that are more present in this suburb, rather than recent arrivals that dominate in the Auburn area.



Figure 5: Malek Fahd Islamic School, Greenacre

Lakemba

Lakemba is located 15 kilometres south-west of Sydney's CBD, within the ethnically diverse Canterbury-Bankstown LGA. Lakemba has the highest recorded local population of Muslim Australians in the country: 59.2 per cent of the population of 17,023 in the 2016 Census. The Dharug, Bidjigal and Gweagal Aboriginal people were the original inhabitants of the area. During early European settlement, Lakemba was known as Potato Hill, named after the large potato crops that were farmed there. It was also known for industries such as tanneries, charcoal burning, timber clearing and market gardens. It remained largely farmland until the train station opened there in 1909. Commercial development soon followed as shops and businesses were established in the area.



Figure 6: Lakemba streetscape, looking towards Sydney Olympic Park

Lakemba is a migrant suburb with a dynamic demographic history. Its first non-Aboriginal inhabitants were British and Irish settlers, followed by Greek, Polish and Italian migrants in the mid-20th Century. New migrant arrivals from the 1970s were from Lebanon, and by the mid-1990s Lakemba was considered the centre of Lebanese-Australian life. It is generally perceived to be a predominantly Arab and Muslim suburb today, though 'multicultural' is a more apt description of the suburb's demographic make-up. Over 150 nationalities call Lakemba home, with large populations from Bangladesh, Pakistan, India, Myanmar and Lebanon. Lakemba's main street reflects this diversity, with Chinese, Indian, Greek, Arabic and Samoan businesses lining its sidewalks.

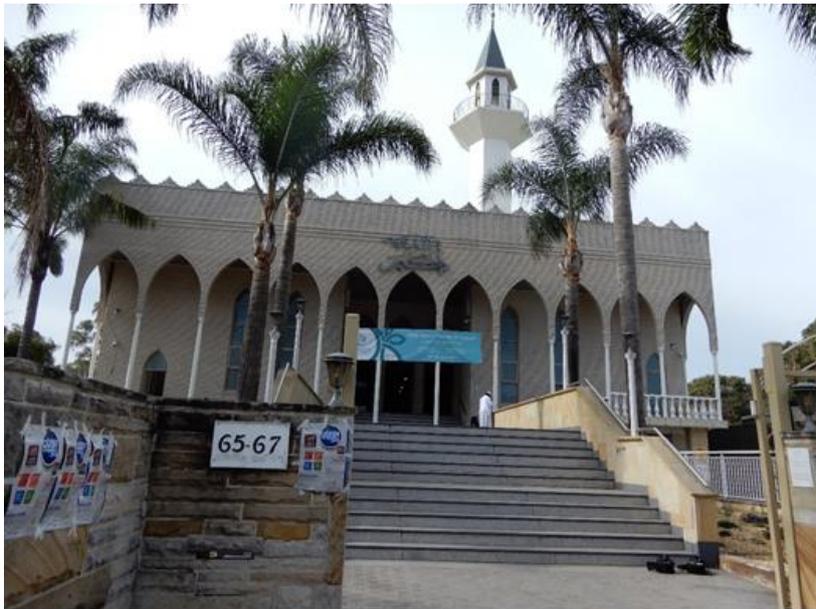


Figure 7. The Lakemba Mosque

Lakemba is specifically associated with Sunni Muslims, the Lebanese Muslim Association and the Imam Ali bin Abi Taleb Mosque (known as the ‘Lakemba mosque’) which opened in 1977. It was the first purpose-built mosque and remains the largest in Australia (Burnley, 1996:72; Humphrey, 1987:677). Historically, the Lebanese Muslims dominated the congregation, but it now also includes residents from Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Somali, and South-East Asian backgrounds. Lakemba also has significant Samoan Christian, Catholic and Greek Orthodox populations. Lakemba, its mosque, and some of its prominent leaders, have developed into a focal site of Islam in Western Sydney. Lakemba has often been a flash-point for moral panic about immigration, youth disaffection and Islam (EAC 1996) (Itaoui & Dunn 2017; Itaoui 2016). At the time, Council planning officers throughout Sydney ‘exchanged files’ on the Lakemba mosque when they were faced with mosque planning proposals, generating planners’ fears about size, use, noise and other negative side-effects. Prominent events associated with Islam, either national or global, often attract the media and crowds to Wangee Road, Lakemba. The most recent events were condolences vigils following the March 2019 terrorist attacks on two mosques in Christchurch, New Zealand.

In Lakemba, 31.5 per cent of the population stated they were born in Australia (66.7% nationally). The top reported religion is Islam at 59.2 per cent, against the national average of 2.6 per cent. Lakemba is a suburb with the highest proportion of Muslims in Australia. The most common languages are Bengali at 18.7 per cent, Arabic at 13.7 per cent, Urdu at 10.3 per cent, Vietnamese at 4.0 per cent and Rohingya at 3.9 per cent. Only 14.7 per cent reported

English only spoken at home and 82.7 per cent of households reported speaking a LOTE at home.



Figure 8. Haldon St., Lakemba’s main commercial strip

Lakemba’s socio-economic indicators are significantly below the national average. In the 2016 Census, 13.5 per cent of residents reported being unemployed, which was nearly double the national rate of 6.9 per cent. Lakemba’s housing has a disproportionately higher presence of flats or apartment dwellings, 70.4 per cent compared to the national average of 13.1 per cent. Home ownership, with or without a mortgage, is lower than the national average and renting is more widespread as a tenure type. In 2017, the NSW Government announced that Lakemba would be a ‘Planned Precinct’ as part of the Sydenham to Bankstown Urban Renewal Corridor Strategy (NSW Government 2017). The Strategy plans for new homes and jobs over the next 20 years. The stated vision for Lakemba includes capitalising on its vibrant shopping strip; increased housing options with pockets of modern residential development around the train station; improved station entry and potential urban plaza providing a new public space; and a proposed park that can provide leisure and recreation opportunities.

Wiley Park

Wiley Park is located 17 kilometres south-west of Sydney’s CBD within the Canterbury-Bankstown LGA and bordering the suburbs of Lakemba, Punchbowl and Roselands. In the 2016 Census, Wiley Park had a population of 10,218. The suburb is named after a 20 acres reserve that was bequeathed by local shoemaker, J. F. Wiley, as a park and recreational ground in 1906. The park still exists on the corner of King Georges Rd. and Old Canterbury Rd., though

the suburb now encompasses a much larger built up area. Before the European colonisation, the Dharug, Bidjigal and Gweagal Aboriginal people lived in this area.



Figure 9. Wiley Park, marking its history

Wiley Park has a small business strip near the railway station and a much smaller commercial district than some of its neighbouring suburbs, including Lakemba. Wiley Park had a strong Anglo-Celtic working-class demographic until the 1970s, when a more multicultural population started to settle there. Today, Wiley Park is one of Sydney's most ethnically diverse suburbs with residents coming from Lebanon, Vietnam, Italy, Greece, Philippines and the Pacific Islands. Wiley Park is adjacent to Lakemba and is often overlooked due to its more prominent neighbour.

In Wiley Park, 33.5 per cent of the population stated they were born in Australia (the national figure is almost double this at 66%). Like in the neighbouring suburb of Lakemba, Wiley Park's top reported religion is Islam (50%). The most common languages spoken at home are Arabic at 7.8 per cent, Bengali at 17.1 per cent, Urdu at 7.6 per cent, Vietnamese at 5 per cent and Cantonese at 3.1 per cent. Only 17 per cent of residents reported that they speak English only at home and 79.2 per cent of households reported speaking a LOTE at home.

Wiley Park's socio-economic indicators are significantly below the national average. Its housing has a disproportionately higher proportion of apartment dwellings (65.2% compared

to the national average of 13%). At the time of the 2016 Census, home ownership, with or without a mortgage, was lower than the national average, and renting was more widespread as a tenure type: 55 per cent of private, occupied dwellings were rented.



Figure 10. Wiley Park Public School

Wiley Park is included in the NSW State Government’s Sydney to Bankstown Urban Renewal Corridor Strategy. While not a ‘planned precinct’ like neighbouring Lakemba, Wiley Park is earmarked for some major redevelopments. The stated vision for Wiley Park includes a range of new and existing housing, good access to schools and improved public open space; new and improved pedestrian and cycle access to Lakemba and Punchbowl; new high quality showroom developments on King Georges Road that will provide an alternative focus more suited to heavy vehicular traffic; and a new park that can provide leisure and recreation opportunities.

Melbourne

Broadmeadows

Broadmeadows is a suburb situated 16 km north-west of the Melbourne CBD. Before European colonisation, it was home to the Wurundjeri Aboriginal nation. Broadmeadows is part of the City of Hume LGA (Hume City Council, 2017). At the time of the 2016 Census, Broadmeadows (as a ‘state suburb’ in the ABS geographic classification¹⁵) had a population of 11,970.

Broadmeadows was a municipality until 1994 and since then it is a residential and industrial ‘state suburb’, also a sub-regional urban service centre (ABS 2017). The settlement of Broadmeadows was established in 1850 along the Moonee Ponds Creek valley (Lemon, 1982). An Anglican church was built in the same year, shortly followed by a police station and the Broadmeadows Hotel, now known as Westmeadows Tavern (Victorian Places, 2015a).

In the late 1800s, Broadmeadows was still primarily farmland, consisting largely of dairy farms (Lemon, 1982). In the 1880s, residential subdivisions started in the shire’s south but much of the land was not developed until the end of World War I. In the 1920s, more subdivision occurred, including Broadmeadows’ (railway) Station Estate. In 1951, the Victorian Housing Commission announced a plan to use 2270 hectares of land for a housing estate in Broadmeadows, which soon became the largest housing estate in metropolitan Melbourne. The Commission built 7996 houses and 189 flats in the area (Victorian Places, 2015a). The commission housing catered for post-war migrants who arrived in Australia from Europe, some of them as ‘Displaced Persons’ (1948-1953), others as economic migrants attracted to the Australian post war industrial boom and general prosperity. The British among them were also attracted to Australia’s ‘sunny shores’ and warm climate (Morgan 1992).

In 1959, the Ford Motor factory opened in nearby locality of Campbellfield, followed by four other large factories in the Broadmeadows area. In 2013, Ford Australia announced that it would close its Broadmeadows factory in October 2016, amounting to a loss of more than 700 jobs (Victorian Places, 2015a).

¹⁵ These statistics describe Broadmeadows as a ‘State suburb’, as per the ABS Census geographic areas classification (for more details see *ABS, 2011*). Broadmeadow as a Statistical Area level 2 (SA2) has a significant overlap with the State suburb, and the presented statistics show only a small variation between the two.



Figure 11. The closed Ford factory complex with blocked access roads.

By the early 1960s, to cater for mainly young settler families, four primary schools and three secondary schools had been established. A new civic hall and council offices were built in 1964 (Lemon, 1982). The local shopping centre, Meadow Fair, was completed in 1974, now known as the Broadmeadows Shopping Square encompassing 20,000 m² (Victorian Places, 2015a). The site for a hospital, however, remained vacant until 1998, when the Broadmeadows Health Service was established. Education needs geared towards local economy were met by technical colleges and high schools, and through apprenticeships and after school jobs (Victorian Places, 2015a). Poverty caused by unemployment was uncommon until recent decades during which several factories were closed, turning the area into an Australian version of a ‘rustbelt’.

Over a fifteen-year period (2001-2016), Broadmeadows has experienced significant changes in ethnic and religious composition of its population. Migration from Iraq, Pakistan and India have increased substantially over that time. At the time of the 2016 Census, the most



Figure 12. The oldest Turkish mosque in the Hume area, in King Street, Dallas, built in 1983

common ancestries in Broadmeadows were Australian (12 per cent), Lebanese (10.8 per cent), English (10 per cent) and Turkish (7.7 per cent) (ABS, 2017a). The Hume area is still home to a high proportion of Melbourne’s Turkish-Australians, many of whom have settled close to the Broadmeadows Migrant Hostel upon arrival in Australia in the early 1970s. This influx followed the 1967 Australia-Turkey bilateral agreement on assisted migration. In contrast to the Turkish guest-worker schemes in Western Europe, Turkish families arrived in Australia as settlers on permanent visas, earmarked for working-class jobs in manufacturing, alongside other southern Europeans arriving at the time (Museums Victoria, 2017; Jupp 2002). The immigration of people from Muslim backgrounds has been steadily increasing since 2001 (ABS, 2017a).

Overall, Broadmeadows socio-economic indicators are lower than the average for Greater Melbourne. The suburb’s 2016 SEIFA score places it in the bottom 3 per cent of suburbs in Victoria in socio-economic terms. At the time of the 2016 Census, 66.5 per cent of Broadmeadows residents lived in separate houses, 15 per cent in semi-detached properties (e.g. terrace houses, townhouses) and 13.9 per cent in flats or apartments. This differs from the state-wide statistics for Victoria, where 73.2 per cent lived in separate houses, 14.2 per cent in semi-

detached properties (e.g. terrace houses, townhouses) and 11.6 per cent in flats or apartments (ABS, 2017a). In 2016, 22.6 per cent of occupied private dwellings in Broadmeadows were owned outright, 24.5 per cent were owned with a mortgage and 46.5 per cent were rented. Comparatively, for Victoria, 32.3 per cent of occupied private dwellings were owned outright, 35.3 per cent were owned with a mortgage and 28.7 per cent were rented (ABS, 2017a). In Broadmeadows, 22 per cent of households have rent payments greater than or equal to 30 per cent of their total household income, which placed them in the ‘housing stress’ situation, compared with 10.4 per cent of the Greater Melbourne’s population (ABS, 2017a).

Campbellfield-Coolaroo

Campbellfield-Coolaroo (as an SA2 in the ABS’s classification¹⁶) falls under the City of Hume LGA (ABS, 2017b). At the time of the 2016 Census, Campbellfield-Coolaroo had a population of 16,122. Its socio-economic indicators are considerably below the metropolitan and state averages (see Table 2). In this area, a large majority (86.6 per cent) of residents lived in separate houses at the time of the 2016 Census, 3.6 per cent in semi-detached properties and 7.1 per cent in flats or apartments.

Over a fifteen-year period (2001-2016), Coolaroo-Campbellfield has witnessed significant changes with respect to its migrant and religious population. At the time of the 2016 Census, in Campbellfield-Coolaroo, 44.8 per cent of the local population was born in Australia, a significant drop from 59.4 per cent in 2001 (ABS, 2002b). For those born overseas, the most common countries of birth were Iraq at 8.4 per cent, Turkey at 7.8 per cent, Lebanon at 5.3 per cent, Italy at 2.4 per cent and Pakistan at 2.1 per cent. This has changed since 2001, during which ABS Census data observed Turkey as the most common country of birth for residents born overseas, accounting for 8.3 per cent of the Coolaroo-Campbellfield population, followed by Lebanon (2.9 per cent), suggesting that migration from Iraq and Pakistan has increased over the past fifteen years in this suburb, while British migration has decreased (ABS, 2017b). At the time of the 2016 Census, the most common ancestries in Campbellfield-Coolaroo were Turkish at 14.2 per cent, Lebanese at 11.9 per cent, Australian at 10.5 per cent, English at 8.1 per cent and Iraqi at 4.2 per cent. Only 24.1 per cent of Campbellfield-Coolaroo residents spoke English only at home at the time of the 2016 Census.

¹⁶ These statistics describe the ‘Statistical Area Level 2 (SA 2)’, comprising the suburbs Campbellfield and Coolaroo.

To accommodate the area's growing ethnic and religious diversity, an Islamic Cultural Centre and a Chaldean Catholic church, predominantly catering for Middle Eastern Muslim and Christian arrivals respectively, were built in 2005 (Victorian Places, 2015b). A controversy broke out in 2013 when the Hume Council approved a proposal to build a mosque next to an Assyrian Christian church. The Council received more than 1000 objections to building of the mosque that would share a boundary with the St Mary's Ancient Church of the East (ABC 2013). The mosque was not built and the block of land next to the St Mary's church is still vacant.



Figure 13. St Mary's Ancient Church of the East in Coolaroo

Campbellfield is a predominantly industrial suburb located 17 km north of central Melbourne, with the Merri Creek as its eastern boundary (Victorian Places, 2015b). In the 1840s, two unrelated families named Campbell purchased farm properties in the area. A primary school was opened in 1846 and by the 1860s, Campbellfield was an established village on Sydney Road, which included a bakery, a disused flour mill and three hotels. These hotels, along with the Presbyterian and Methodist churches, comprised the area's social hubs (Victorian Places, 2015b).



Figure 14. Ford no more: the factory's previous headquarters in Campbellfield

The *Ford* Motor car factory opened in 1956, closely followed by a number of other factories, which employed significant number of workers, mostly immigrants. In 1968, a brewery was opened, which was later converted to an *Australian Consolidated Hosiery* factory. Two larger factories, *Visy Industries* and *Greer Industries*, were established in the northern part of the district. In 2009, 300 people lost jobs at the Coolaroo hosiery factory when clothing manufacturer *Pacific Brands* was forced to downsize (Victorian Places, 2015c). The closure of *Ford Australia* in 2016 led to further significant local job losses (Victorian Places, 2015b).

Coolaroo is a residential and industrial suburb located 18 kilometres north of central Melbourne. Its name is said to derive from an Indigenous word for 'brown snake' (Victorian Places, 2015c). In 1951, Coolaroo was acquired by the *Victorian Housing Commission* for a housing estate. Construction commenced in 1966, with the first primary school opened the following year (Victorian Places, 2015c).



Figure 15. Low-density ‘commission housing’ in Coolaroo

Dandenong

On its official website and inside its logo, the City of Greater Dandenong advertises itself as a ‘City of Opportunity’. Many migrants who chose to settle there seem to partake in this ideal. The ‘Afghan Bazaar’, only a few hundred meters from the local Council and other government administration buildings, transformed a dark and uninvited street into a thriving business precinct.

The name Dandenong is derived from the Aboriginal name ‘Bunwurrung’ meaning ‘high’ or ‘lofty’ probably referring to the Dandenong Ranges located north-east of the suburb from where the 53-km long Dandenong Creek originates, also flowing through the suburb of Dandenong, before ending in the sea of the Port Phillip Bay (Brennan, 1973). In 1861, there were only 40 houses in Dandenong, housing 193 people (Victorian Places, 2015d), but the markets trading in rural goods opened already in 1866. In the early 1900s, Dandenong began supporting grazing, dairy farming, and market gardening, opening a cattle market near the town centre in 1926 and a produce market the following year. The cattle market became so large and in demand that by 1959 it had to relocate to a larger location south of the town centre. These markets used to bring hundreds of farmers and their families into the town each week (Victorian Places, 2015d).



Figure 16. The Dandenong Market claiming considerable local history

Dandenong retained a country town character until three large companies—Heinz, International Harvester and General Motors Holden—established factories there in the early 1950s. They created employment opportunities and attracted many new workers to the area, including European migrants (Victorian Places, 2015d). By 1990, the proportion of the population born overseas reached 43.9 percent. Furthermore, house prices plateaued during the 1990s, making Dandenong more affordable for new arrivals (Victorian Places, 2015d). By 1994, Dandenong was a home to a large urban business precinct, including a Magistrates' Court, large hospital, regional police headquarters, TAFE college and a large shopping centre. The area also has an extensive transport network with a busy railway station and bus interchange.

As a part of economic restructuring of Australia, most car manufacturing plants closed in recent years. In 2014, *General Motors Holden*, the *Ford Motor Company* and the *Toyota Motor Corporation Australia* all ceased their operations in Australia and 'moved to economies with lower cost structures' (Productivity Commission, 2014). Such closures had a significant impact on the City of Greater Dandenong, which already had relatively high levels of unemployment and socio-economic disadvantage (Productivity Commission, 2014). For instance, retail prosperity faltered when shopping on the main street subsided drastically after the closures (Victorian Places, 2015d). The extent of the effect of the closures on job losses is dependent upon how well component manufacturers can diversify into other markets (Productivity

Commission, 2014), as well as the ability of displaced workers to find new jobs (Barbaro, Spoehr and NIEIR 2014).

Dandenong is an outer south-eastern suburb of the metropolitan city of Melbourne. The suburb is the administrative and business centre of the City of Greater Dandenong, which is the most ethnically diverse LGA in Greater Melbourne (ABS 2017d). Dandenong¹⁷ is a large suburb with a population of 29,906 at the time of the 2016 Census. Over the past nearly three decades, diverse groups of migrants and refugees settled in Dandenong. The most common ancestries in the suburb of Dandenong were Afghan at 9.9 per cent, Indian at 9.3 per cent, English at 8.3 per cent, Australian at 7.4 per cent and Albanian at 4.7 per cent. This has changed significantly since 2001, when the Census recorded South Africa as the most common country of birth for residents born overseas, accounting for 5.5 per cent of the Dandenong population, followed by the United Kingdom (3.8 per cent) and India (3.3 per cent) (ABS, 2002c). Only 23 per cent of Dandenong locals spoke ‘English only’ at home at the time of the 2016 Census, down from 27.2 per cent in 2011 (ABS, 2012c). In 2016, the top religious denomination was Islam (30.1 per cent), followed by the Catholic religion (13.8 per cent), and ‘no religion’ (11.6 per cent). Hindus made up 8.6 per cent of Dandenong’s population in 2016.

The ethnic diversity of the suburb is strongly present in the streets of the town centre, through ethnic businesses (shops, restaurants) and diverse places of worship, including several mosques (Albanian, Turkish) (City of Greater Dandenong, 2019). According to the City of Greater Dandenong (2019), the area is the most culturally diverse community in Australia.

Dandenong’s socio-economic indicators are among the lowest in Greater Melbourne. Yet, the average incomes have risen from 63 per cent to 68 per cent of the Greater Melbourne’s average personal income between the 2011 and 2016 Censuses (ABS, 2017c). Since 2011, unemployment has increased from 11.2 per cent to 13.1 per cent, compared to 5.5 per cent and 6.8 per cent respectively for Greater Melbourne (ABS, 2017c).

Dandenong’s housing has considerably higher proportion of units and flats among the ‘total occupied dwelling’: 20.4 percent, compared with 14.7 percent in Greater Melbourne. Home ownership (with or without mortgage) is lower and renting is more widespread as a tenure type

¹⁷ These statistics describe the ‘State suburb’. Dandenong Statistical Area level 2 (SA 2) has a significant overlap with the State suburb, and the presented statistics show only a small variation between the two.

in Dandenong: 54.9 per cent of occupied private dwellings are rented compared to 30 per cent in Greater Melbourne (ABS, 2017c). Home ownership levels in Greater Dandenong are lowest among recent settlers, with 90 per cent of Sudanese residents and over 75 per cent of those from Afghanistan, Samoa, Burma, Pakistan and Iran renting their accommodation at the time of the 2016 Census, compared with fewer than one in five from China, Vietnam, Cambodia, Greece, Croatia or Italy (ABS, 2017c).

Fawkner

Located 12 kilometres north of Melbourne's central business district, Fawkner belongs to the City of Moreland LGA (ABS, 2017d). At the time of the 2016 Census, the 'state suburb' of Fawkner had a population of 14,043. Due to its post-war immigration history, Fawkner's population has a peculiar age composition. While the median age of its residents is lower compared to the general Australian population (34 and 38 years respectively, due to children under 14 making 21.5 per cent of the population), it also has a disproportionately large older population: the 65+ make 17.6 per cent of Fawkner's population. The latter is due to a long-term presence of post-war European migrants that are now retired. For example, Fawkner has the largest concentration of the Italy-born migrants in Victoria (9.7 per cent, down from 16.9 per cent in 2001), which is a birthplace group with the highest median age (65) in Australia (ABS, 2017d).

Following European colonisation, this area was first known as Box Forest, after a subdivision of farmland was sold during the 1850s by John Pascoe Fawkner, after whom the suburb was later re-named (Victorian Places, 2015e). The Victorian State Government approved the *New Melbourne General Cemetery* in the area in 1905 and Fawkner railway station was opened the following year. This resulted in a small amount of residential housing being established in the surrounding area, with passenger trains introduced in 1914. Fawkner's first primary school opened in 1908 (Victorian Places, 2015e). There were approximately 180 buildings in Fawkner during World War II and the Victorian Housing Commission built a further 113 houses in south Fawkner after the war. Private sector housing soon followed with the construction of the *Moomba Park* estate comprising 700 houses, which started in 1960. This resulted in North Fawkner and Moomba Park primary schools opening in 1957 and 1961 respectively (Victorian Places, 2015e).



Figure 17. Buddhist temple in the suburb of Fawkner

Fawkner's ethnic and religious diversity is reflected in the fact that there is a mosque, Anglican and Catholic churches, a Greek Orthodox church and a Buddhist temple in the suburb (Victorian Places, 2015e). The top religious denomination in Fawkner in 2016 was Catholicism, accounting for 33.6 per cent of the suburb's population (down from 55.3 per cent in 2001), followed by Islam at 31.9 per cent, up from 10.8 per cent in 2001 (ABS, 2002d). These statistics indicate that Fawkner has experienced an intense process of demographic succession in recent decades (ABS, 2017d). Among the 54.8 per cent of Fawkner population born overseas, the most common countries of birth were Italy, Pakistan (8.9 per cent) and India (3.6 per cent). At the time of the 2016 Census, the most common ancestries in Fawkner were Italian at 18.0 per cent, Australian at 9.5 per cent, English at 8.4 per cent, Pakistani at 8.4 per cent and Lebanese at 6.7 per cent. Over the past 15 years, migration to Fawkner from Pakistan and India has increased substantially, whereas numbers older Italian and Greek migrants decreased mainly due to natural attrition (ABS, 2017d). Under one third of Fawkner residents spoke English at home (31.1 per cent).

Overall, Fawkner's socio-economic indicators are lower than those for Greater Melbourne, but signs of gentrification are present over the past decade. For example, the number of employed people in Fawkner increased between 2006 and 2016 (ABS, 2017d). At the time of 2016 Census, 20.3 per cent of the local population had a 'Bachelor degree level and above', compared to 27.5 per cent in Greater Melbourne, 24.3 per cent in Victoria and 22 per cent nationally (ABS, 2017d). In 2016, the median weekly personal income for people aged 15+ in

Fawkner was \$451 (up from \$362 in 2011), compared to \$673 in Greater Melbourne (ABS, 2017d). Fawkner has a considerable unemployment rate of 10.6 percent 5.5 per cent for Greater Melbourne. The major differences between the jobs held by the population of Fawkner and Victoria were: a larger percentage of persons employed in transport, postal and warehousing (8.0 per cent compared to 4.8 per cent); and increase in employment in accommodation and food services (8.2 per cent compared to 6.6 per cent); and a smaller proportion of people employed in professional, scientific and technical services (6.2 per cent compared to 7.9 per cent) (ABS, 2017d).

With respect to Fawkner housing, it is a low-density suburb with 85.6 per cent of dwellings being detached houses, 12.7 per cent semi-detached properties (e.g. terrace houses, townhouses) and only 1.2 per cent were flats or apartments at the time of the 2016 census (ABS, 2017d). In comparison, in the state of Victoria, 73.2 per cent of people lived in separate houses, 14.2 per cent in semi-detached properties and 11.6 per cent in apartments (ABS, 2017d).

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

Stage 2 of the project was devoted to a review of social cohesion and disadvantage-focused programs in a selection of ten high-diversity suburbs with a high proportion of Muslim Australians. In the above sections, these localities have been introduced to the reader in numbers, words and pictures. In addition to our main method of data collection (the interviews described below) the authors of the report also engaged in observational visits to these suburbs in Sydney and Melbourne, during which the photos illustrating the key sites and aspects of local life were taken, as witnessed in early 2019. The photos are included above with the suburb descriptions.

Stage 2 of the project started by a desktop search and review of current and recent local social cohesion-related programs in case-study areas. This way we identified and subsequently approached agencies that designed and implemented the programs, as well as members of the local communities targeted by the programs. The conduct and analysis of in-depth interviews with 52 key informants provided insights into what works, what doesn't and how these programs could be further improved and innovated. Even though agencies normally report on their programs, and in most cases these reports are publicly available, the amount of evidence is too large and scattered to be efficiently used. In consequence, the past insights may not reach policymakers and program designers. Our project's Stage 2 sought to provide a digestible and accessible review of programs gleaned through interviews with key people.

The sample of local stakeholders was drawn from local government, schools, health and settlement services and places of worship, to mention a few—the agencies directly involved with local populations. An interview schedule was guided by RQ6 (see above, p. 1, and Appendix One below for detailed interview schedule). The interviews were conducted by two chief investigators, a partner investigator and two research assistants. The interview data were transcribed by a professional transcription service (Outscribe) and thematically analysed by the authors of this interim report.

Interview Sample

Sydney

We conducted 25 interviews in Western Sydney, in which 60 participants took part. Five interviews included two participants and the 25th interview involved a group discussion with 30 female participants in the 'Lakemba Ladies Lounge' (LLL). The interviewees were predominantly women, 23 out of the 30, not counting the group discussion at LLL. This gender

composition of the interview sample reflects the gendered nature of social services employment in this area and a general higher preparedness of women to participate in social research. Among local stakeholder organisation, we interviewed professionals from three schools, three local councils, three community or neighbourhood centres, two settlement services providers, one peak body, one health service provider, 11 community organisations and one community member (apart from the 30 women in LLL who were all local community members). The interviewees held positions as executives, caseworkers, community sector officers, teachers, healthcare workers, program officers, and members of the community. The interviews ranged from 40 to 75 minutes and took place in workplaces or other appropriate sites chosen by the participants. All interviews were recorded and transcribed, except the 25th where a researcher took written notes. All interviews were conducted in English.

Melbourne

We conducted 27 interviews in Melbourne, in which 28 respondents took part. Among respondents, there were 18 women and 10 men. Among local stakeholder organisations, the interviews covered an Islamic college, two mosques, two local councils, two community and neighbourhood houses, two migrant resource centres, an interfaith network, a local support group, one aged care and disability service provider, a local library and several community groups. The interviewees held positions as local council officers, school teachers, migrant settlement services providers, diversity program coordinators, community and youth workers, interpreters, filmmakers, business people and a religious leader. Ten interviewees were also local community members, community leaders or activists. The interviewees were from various backgrounds, mainly Australian-born people, and almost half were from local Muslim communities. Interview duration varied from 15 minutes to over one hour and most took place in quiet public places but also at respondents' workplaces. All interviews were recorded and transcribed. Ten interviews were conducted in Turkish and translated by a bilingual interviewer.

Table 4. Service-providing organisations interviewed

Area	Organisation (20)	Services and programs
Sydney		
Auburn	Auburn Diversity Services	Auburn Diversity Services Inc. (ADSi) is a community based, non-profit organisation established to promote the principles of multiculturalism, access, equity and social justice. It is committed to developing strategies which address the needs of all Australians, but especially refugees, women, youth, children, families, the elderly, the unemployed, the homeless and people with a disability. ADSi designs and delivers services that aim to build capacity and improve outcomes for disadvantaged people and families. ADSi assists newly arrived migrants and humanitarian entrants from culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) backgrounds living in the Central Western Sydney areas under the Settlement Services Program (SSP).
Auburn	Auburn Youth Centre	Based in the Cumberland LGA, Auburn Youth Centre aims to: bring young people of all cultures, faiths, genders and abilities together in a community of understanding and acceptance; empower young people through education, training, counselling, recreation and individualised support; challenge young people to make informed and healthy decisions; and respond to the needs of individuals and community as identified by young people.
Auburn	Auburn Small Community Organisation Network (ASCON)	ASCON is a network of small voluntary organisations operating in Western Sydney; it does not receive regular funding and relies significantly on volunteers. ASCON was established in September 2007 with the aim of providing a vehicle for member organisations' growth, development and belonging. ASCON enables small organisations to share information and resources and provides an opportunity for peer support for community leaders.
Greenacre-Mount Lewis	Greenacre Area Community Centre	The mission of the Centre is to engage and work with the community to improve the well-being of the residents of the Greenacre, Chullora and Mt Lewis areas in order to create an inclusive and supportive community, particularly for disadvantaged community groups.
Greenacre-Mount Lewis	Greenacre Public School	A public primary school located in the suburb of Greenacre. The school serves a multicultural community with over 95 per cent of the children coming from LOTE backgrounds, in particular there is a high Arabic speaking population. The school has a Community Liaison Officer charged with managing the relationships between the school and its community members.

Lakemba	Engage, Challenge, Grow (ECG) Initiative by the Lebanese Muslim Association	The LMA's vision is to create an Australian Muslim community that has a positive and sustainable contribution to Australian society, and engage Muslims by promoting social harmony in a multicultural environment. As a result, the LMA identified a number of significant challenges facing the local Muslim community and specific gaps in services and programs that would assist in addressing such problems. In 2012 ECG was developed to help work towards addressing these gaps. The ECG Program focuses on community capacity building, addressing social exclusion and providing support to the Australian Muslim community in the Canterbury-Bankstown LGA. The ECG Program has grown from 12 projects in 2013 to over 100 dynamic, empowering and impactful initiatives. These initiatives cultivate social capital and cohesion and positively contribute to the social fabric of our multicultural society.
Lakemba	Lakemba Ladies Lounge (LLL), Canterbury City Community Centre	The friendly and welcoming environment at the Cottage provides the perfect space for women to come together, to socialise and to try a new activity. Women of any age and cultural background are welcome to join the LLL, which hosts regular events and celebrations, for example the International Women's Day, Community Harmony Day, Eid and other cultural festivals.
Lakemba	Muslim Women Association (MWA)	The Muslim Women Association has been advocating for all women, and Muslim women in particular, for over 30 years. At the heart of the MWA is a commitment to fairness, equality and justice in order to support Muslim women, as every woman has the right to access diverse services to enable her to contribute effectively within the family and community. The MWA is now recognised as the leading voice for Muslim women and is sought for advice and consultation at all levels of government on women's issues generally, and specifically the matters concerning Muslim-Australian women.
Lakemba	Canterbury City Community Centre	Canterbury City Community Centre is a community hub where residents can become involved in a range of activities or services, meet others, or participate in the work of the Centre through volunteering or membership. The Centre aims to promote harmony, social inclusion and an improved quality of life, and build capacity, sustainability and resilience. Its services include home care packages, social inclusion and wellness, a community garden, community hub and learning and development workshops. They also have partnership services that include women's health, support services for refugees and asylum seekers and financial counselling services.
Lakemba	Hampden Park Public School	'Mum 2 Mum' initiative brings together women with their children aged 0-5 years with the aim to assist newly arrived women from CALD backgrounds improve their English language skills and settle in Australia. With partners - 'Mums 4 Refugees' and Hampden Park Public School - the group meets every Monday between 9.30-11.30am during school terms.
Wiley Park	Lakemba Public School as Community Centre (SaCC)	Located at Lakemba Public School (in Wiley Park), SaCC provides a range of free activities and programs to promote healthy, happy families and give children a positive start to school. They also

		support families with young children and help build a stronger community of good neighbours. One of the SaCC's aims is "to enhance community harmony and cohesion and facilitate local democracy".
Western Sydney	Columban Centre for Christian-Muslim Relations	The Columban Centre for Christian-Muslim Relations, located in the Parramatta Institute for Mission (Diocese of Parramatta) fosters interreligious dialogue, mutual understanding and cooperation among Christians, Muslims and people of other faiths. They are predominantly involved in organising events such as Youth PowR (Parliament of the World's Religions), a conference bringing young people from diverse religious & cultural backgrounds together in order to promote diversity and mutual acceptance. They also provide lectures and give talks at schools.
Western Sydney	SPARK, St. Vincent de Paul	SPARK is a holistic family-based program of the St. Vincent de Paul Society's Support Services. They support newly arrived families of refugee and asylum seeker background in their settlement in South-Western Sydney. They work in partnership with schools, other community services, and with local community members as volunteers to deliver programs. SPARK creates opportunities for newly arrived and settled families to meet and build meaningful connections.
Western Sydney	Canterbury-Bankstown Inter-faith Reference Group	Established in Feb 2013 by a group of leaders from different faiths, it aims to build respect for other traditions and customs and build community harmony. The work of the group is to build opportunities for conversations between different faiths, raising awareness of commonalities and working on joint projects that involve people of different faiths. The Reference Group meets quarterly at the local Council or places of worship. It has conducted six inter-faith community gatherings and inter-faith presentations since its inception, which included members of the Catholic, Muslim, Presbyterian and Buddhist congregations as well as Aboriginal elders.
Western Sydney	Bankstown Youth Development Service (BYDS)	The Bankstown Youth Development Service (BYDS) is dedicated to arts and cultural development for the youth in the Bankstown area. Activities are focused on supporting individuals and groups pursuing arts and cultural activities. The majority of BYDS work is with young people from CALD backgrounds and Indigenous communities. BYDS has developed and mentored a generation of younger artists engaged in different art forms such as performance, theatre, multimedia, dance, drama and writing. BYDS is recognised for its producing community-based arts projects unique for their cross-disciplinary, cross-generational and culturally diverse nature.
Western Sydney	Canterbury Bulldogs Rugby League Club – Community Programs	The Bulldogs have conducted broad community consultations to develop a community strategy that addresses local social needs. The pillars of the Bulldogs in the Community strategy are: community cohesion and health & wellness. The Bulldogs work closely with community partners to deliver educational programs and football clinics. The Bulldogs in the Community program has achieved enormous success assisting charitable causes and raising over one million dollars for charity, local community organisations and schools. The goals of the program are to: actively promote and celebrate

		the benefits of diversity through community and business collaboration; actively showcase diversity and inclusivity across the Bulldogs region through, social media, events and match day activities; facilitate an inclusive and safe environment for young people utilising Bulldogs resources; proudly acknowledge the traditional owners of the land at major Bulldogs events; provide resources and acknowledge community organisations and schools effectively promoting community cohesion.
Western Sydney	Pathways to Radicalisation	An event organized by the Canterbury-Bankstown Council in June 2019. Speakers share their personal stories of pathways to radicalisation and violent extremism. The event discussed how they got recruited, why they were a good target, what was it like once they were in? What made them leave these groups and what did the process look like? What were the challenges of leaving the group? The session was set up in a dialogical format with attention to the comfort levels of speakers and attendees, and ensuring that trauma practices were upheld.
Western Sydney	Youth off the Streets (YotS)	YotS is a non-denominational community organisation working for disadvantaged young people who may be homeless, drug dependent and/or recovering from abuse. YotS supports young people to turn their lives around and overcome personal trauma such as neglect, physical, psychological and/or emotional abuse. YotS services include Aboriginal programs, crisis accommodation, alcohol and other drug services, counselling, accredited high schools, outreach and residential programs. YotS is accredited as a Designated Agency for Out of Home Care and maintains policies and procedures that comply with the benchmark standards as defined by the Office of the Children’s Guardian.
Western Sydney	Settlement Services International (SSI)	SSI is a community organisation and social business that supports newcomers and other Australians to achieve their full potential. They work with all people who have experienced vulnerability, including refugees, people seeking asylum and CALD communities, to build capacity and enable them to overcome disadvantage. Formed in 2000, SSI is the state-wide umbrella organisation for 11 Migrant Resource Centres and Multicultural Services in NSW.
Western Sydney	Multicultural NSW	Multicultural NSW COMPACT program supports local solutions-based projects that bring young people together to promote positive behaviours and engage critically, creatively and constructively on local and global issues impacting on social cohesion in NSW. COMPACT takes a whole-of-society approach to community resilience, youth engagement and conflict resolution. In their program, “resilience” means proactively building and maintaining strong, responsive and cooperative networks that operate across communities and sectors, and that can mobilise to respond to challenges and threats to community harmony, resolve conflict and actively promote social cohesion. This sense of resilience operates across the full continuum of risk mitigation to support community preparedness, prevention, response and recovery.

Melbourne		
Hume	Hume and Youth	Mentoring, coaching and empowering Muslim youth (18-25yrs), mainly focused on employment coaching through working with a male or female youth engagement officer. The program is funded for 3 years (since 2017) by the Victorian Government through the 'Empower Youth' program. Hume City Council has youth activities but this program does not seem to be linked to their website: https://www.hume.vic.gov.au/Srvices_For_You/Youth/Youth_Centres_amp_Programs/Youth_Central
Hume	Hume Islamic Youth Centre (HIYC)	HIYC aims to provide a safe and friendly environment for Muslim youth and facilitates and promotes learning, a healthy and active lifestyle, the development of virtuous character and an enlightenment of the spirit based on Islamic principles (see http://hiyc.aswj.com.au/). A large space (2800m ²) includes facilities such as a restaurant, a bookshop, prayer area, sports area including boxing arena, gym and arcade games, and a separate women's spaces. The HIYC has three centres in Melbourne and is part of the ASWJ (Ahlu Sunnah wal Jamaah – 'people that follow the Ku'ran, founded in Wollongong 38 years ago by sheiks). HIYC organises educational and recreational workshops, programs and facilities, including 4 'boot camps' a year where they take 65 youths to the bush for 4 days (camps were funded by the Federal Govt in 2013). The organisation aims to empower Muslim youth who may suffer disadvantage and discrimination. It is funded by philanthropic donors and local community and largely relies on volunteers.
Hume	Northern Community Support Group	A pilot program that started in Aug 2018, works in partnership with a multicultural youth centre in Broadmeadows (MyCentre) and Preston Mosque; funded by The Australia Multicultural Foundation for a year, hoping to continue. 'Basically, our mission is to give people, young people in particular opportunities in life, help them achieve their full potential and it's also helped to cultivate a sense of belonging to Australia [...] try and establish education and career pathways for young people [...] helping them achieve life ambitions and get away from that poor socioeconomic sort of conditioning. [...] Our other objectives include: cultivating culturally aware support services which understand the community and work on upskilling service providers through cultural awareness training.
Hume	Turkish Women's Association	Outings, celebrations, excursions, especially for seniors. The Association received some short-term local government funding.
Hume	Public Library	Providing computers and internet access for local community; providing space for community events and initiatives.
Hume	Spectrum MRC, Hume	Spectrum delivers services to newly arrived and/or established migrants, including refugees. It works with diverse communities and individuals to successfully settle in all aspects of community life by

		delivering culturally appropriate and responsive settlement and family services, empowering communities to identify and address settlement challenges and assisting aging people with a disability and/or with migrant backgrounds to participate in community life.
Hume	North West Migrant Resource Centre, (NWMRC) Hume:	Various programs in the running to do with new arrivals, especially humanitarian migrants (all ‘family linked’; if they are not linked they go to regional areas). Currently, government emphasis is on CALD young people and women as vulnerable groups. NWMRC works with the Broadmeadows Women’s House; Dallas Neighbourhood House; and in partnership with Dominic Primary School in Campbellfield; Hume Youth Central (Local Govt.) and Hub Club (focused on new arrivals, e.g. Chaldeans). Involved in ‘settlement, engagement and transition’ (SETS)—a second point of support for humanitarian entrant, who offer: capacity building programs, mainly appointment and referral-based programs, funded by DSS. SETS (‘big funding’) is for people after they exist the early humanitarian Services Provider (HSP) programs. They receive some philanthropic funding, but mainly are mainly funded by the Federal Government.
Fawkner	Fawkner Community House	Fawkner Community House offers various programs supporting the diverse local community, including recently arrived Syrian refugees in Broadmeadows, Tullamarine, Glenroy. There is also: a Pashtun-speaking women’s support group; Girl’s Club; Muslim Youth Group; Food bank; and programs for seniors. 60 community volunteers are involved. Finally, bystander training is undertaken as anti-racism work: ‘giving people within the Muslim community strategies for dealing with the kind of casual racism they confront every single day of their lives’; and crisis support.
Fawkner	Darul Ullum Islamic College	The Islamic College and mosque opened in the suburb of Fawkner in 1997. The College comprises a primary school and a secondary college with student intakes from Fawkner and surrounding areas. The school has a good educational reputation and represents a point of attraction for Muslim migrants to settle in Fawkner.
Cumberland, Moreland & Dandenong	Local Councils	These councils offer employment pathways program; sport participation programs for Muslim girls and women; early intervention for families with young children; cultural liaison services (connecting local ethnic communities with government agencies and services); a Social Cohesion Programs; and work towards building community capacity and resilience (the latter often implying resilience against Muslim extremism propaganda and online recruitment).
Dandenong	Southern Migrant and Refugee Centre (SMRC)	A Strategic Partnership’ program in Community Leadership Development: work with community organisations on capacity-building in six priority areas: education; employment; community engagement and social cohesion; access to information services; family relationship; and health. The program we discussed was focused on the Afghan and South Sudanese community (a male worker) and on the Burmese, Tamil, Rohingya and Vietnamese community (female worker). Programs offered

		include: ‘Bridge the gap’, focused on addressing intergenerational tension in migrant families; ‘Learning Space’, which provides space for community meetings, so that people can engage socially, especially those who may be isolated (e.g. women). Opportunities exist to improve their English language skills, computer skills, sewing classes, or just socialise and get to know each other to overcome isolation. The programs have been funded by the Victorian DPC and the Victorian Multicultural Commission (VMC).
Dandenong	Afghan-Australian initiative	Founded in 2015 this initiative aims to connect Afghan Australians with mainstream organisations, services and government agencies. Information sessions and run, and there is work on the Social Cohesion project, a grant from the Council, with State government involvement. There is a focus on youth disengagement and radicalization, and includes an Afghan Girl Guides program.
Dandenong	Dandenong Interfaith Network	Funded by the local council, this is a small funding contribution from the state government. There is one professional worker working with several local volunteers. Annual gatherings of religious leaders and schools are held. Other agencies get involved, such as: charities, AMES, police. The main focus is educating the local communities about other faiths and building trust, e.g. organising tours of various places of worship.
Dandenong	The ‘Komak’ Program	‘Komak’ means ‘help’ or ‘support’ in the main Afghan languages. The program comes under the overarching strategic framework for social cohesion and community resilience. It is run by the Uniting church, with funding from the Victorian State Government. The programs’ main objective is to prevent violent extremism. It was introduced after one terrorist incident and after an 18-year old Afghani man was shot by police. The Komak Program offers case management work with Afghani individuals and families, and has run 55 different project activities and events over the past two years. There are regular bi-monthly meetings with a local reference group made up of Afghani community leaders.
Dandenong	Emir Sultan (Turkish) Mosque youth committee	Emir Sultan Mosque serves the growing Muslim population in Dandenong and surrounding areas. Apart from community religious services, it has additional facilities for youth. The Mosque ‘wants to be able to educate our Muslim brothers and sisters, promote community values, and allow non-Muslims in the community to have a better understanding of Islam.’. See https://www.emirsultanmosque.com.au/ .

INTERVIEW DATA ANALYSIS

The section below presents thematic analysis of interviews with local stakeholders, mostly professionals involved with programs, but also local community members. While a wide range of themes were covered, this section organises the themes according to their relevance to the research aims guiding this stage of the project. The themes covered the concepts of social cohesion and how it was understood by practitioners, community needs associated with socio-economic disadvantage, the challenges of mainstream versus culturally specific services, and problems with program delivery and how these are, or could be, managed.

What is social cohesion – how is it understood?

Our interview participants understood social cohesion in a variety of ways. Service and program practitioners spoke of social cohesion in terms of civic engagement, local relationship building and ways of connecting among diverse local populations:

[...] I think that is part of all of it in many ways... is not seeing the differences but seeing the similarities, so trying to help people get to know each other across racial divides (Int 28, F, Sydney)

I believe in diversity myself, and I don't like to see the same type of people [...], [just] people from the same ethnic background or same beliefs [...] But it is hard to understand the "others", always. I'm putting that others into inverted commas. [...] and because if it is something that you don't know [...] you are scared of that, you know [...] Why this person is doing this this way, and the other person is doing it the other way? That is, if it is explained enough, and then you will have no fears about that. (Int 22, Melbourne)

The language barrier can be a barrier to building local social cohesion:

I think it's probably harder for a lot of the residents where English is not their first language, specifically in this area, to find that social cohesiveness (Int 16, F, Melbourne, Fawkner)

[...] I remember reading something about how social cohesion is actually more difficult in a sort of multi-lingual community because people can't necessarily communicate with each other either. So, if you've got a problem in your block of units and next door's kids screaming or your kids screaming you can't necessarily say to your neighbour,

“sorry I’m trying to control crying at the moment, just hope it hasn’t disturbed you”, if you don’t speak the same language and it’s not a common language necessarily. (Int 28, F, Sydney, Lakemba)

The following quotes also refers to social cohesion as connection across cultural and ethnic differences. However they also hint at understanding social cohesion as a version of ‘migrant integration’ into ‘mainstream Australia’:

[...] we do these excursions. Non-refugees and refugees mingle... cultural, banding together, they go out and talking [...] We invite Australians, typical Australians, come over and talk. Say look, this is the situation. [...] We have Arabic, we have Hazara, we have Chinese. Take them to Canberra to see how they celebrates ANZAC Day, again for them to have this knowledge. That’s social cohesion (Int 45, M Sydney).

[...] developing that sense of belonging to Australia is important, identity is huge in terms of social cohesion space. A lot of young people, they feel lost between two cultures while you’re trying to establish that you can be a Muslim and an Australian, they’re not mutually exclusive, you can be both and we’ve shown real examples of this [...] (Int 6, F, Melbourne)

The following quote connects the idea of social cohesion with ‘bonding’ (close connections within extended family and ethnic community) and ‘bridging’ (connecting with people across various axes of socio-cultural difference) social networks:

[...] as I said the groups, the communities themselves have a lot of social cohesion and [are] very interdependent on... for instance the grandparents minding the children, you know they’re sort of relying on the family unit more than they do on the services outside. So I think, I think where social cohesion is successful there’s a higher level of integration with mainstream services (Int 41, F, Sydney).

A local community leader felt that ‘bridging social networks’ were underdeveloped:

It’s a really diverse [area] but people keep to themselves. I mean, I don’t believe that the people in Broadmeadows [...] people from different migrant backgrounds, that may speak many different languages, it may have many different faiths, it’s very, very diverse. However, I don’t believe that there is real engagement [...] between groups, yeah (Int 23, M, Melbourne).

Our research suggests there is often a disjuncture between government policy and local practice. Social cohesion in policy was seen by our respondents as too often emphasising ‘cultural cohesion’, thus implying that diversity is problematic and that high diversity areas are bound to have problems. However, interviewees emphasised that economic power, knowledge of one’s rights, meaningful local civic and social engagement, belonging, and access to services are also important components of social cohesion. This is illustrated by the following quotes:

[...] well we always come to the question of social cohesion from a cultural diversity perspective, but of course social cohesion is a lot more than that. And a lot of it comes down to things like transport, work patterns, housing affordability ... (Int 48, M, Sydney).

Government policy was seen to be looking at social cohesion from a potentially problematic perspective, for example as a means to address violent extremism and behaviours such as youth delinquency, crime, alcohol and drug abuse. This has a potential to stigmatise local communities. The quotes below express this view indirectly or directly:

And one of the priorities in there is about social cohesion and the view of young people in the area. So that’s got the perspective of young people, crime, safety, crime prevention plan as well, and then looking at how that can address and the perceptions of safety, particularly among the different cultures (Int 44, Female, Sydney).

[...] our social inclusion work... is part of the whole anti radicalisation thing. But no-one, state government, no-one [...] everyone talks about social cohesion. And we work with Victorian Police as well actually [...] and in fact we've done stuff with the Australian Federal Police as well. Like, doing forums with the Muslim community around laws about terrorism [...] (Int. 11, M, Hume, Melbourne)

And when you talk about the social cohesion issue, my big beef with the way a lot of people talk about CVE and social cohesion is that they – the social cohesion is talked about, and I don't agree with this approach... There's an approach that says, if we fund social cohesion programs then we might prevent someone... let's look at it like upstream, kind of social factors that might lead someone to becoming a violent extremist. If we were a more socially cohesive society maybe we wouldn't have the problem, so we'll fund social cohesion programs [...] (Int 48, M, Sydney).

The relevance of addressing socio-economic disadvantage

Participants' overwhelming concerns, and most programs we heard about, were focused on socio-economic disadvantage. Common issues mentioned were unemployment, particularly for women, youth and newly arrived migrants; the language barrier for recently arrived migrants; difficulty in accessing education and training opportunities; financial stability and being able to pay household bills; social isolation; family violence; drug and alcohol addiction; housing affordability, overcrowding and homelessness; and mental health. Most participants saw social cohesion concerns as secondary to combating socio-economic disadvantage:

[...] Families [in this area] generally have lower incomes than average. There's a lot of under-employment, there's quite a lot of casual employment, because of its high migrant population there's lots of quite skilled people who end up in unskilled jobs [...]so that's definitely a disadvantage. Housing's a really disadvantage around here, there's no public housing to speak of. So, everybody is in private rental which has been going up [in Sydney] and most families live in what you see around here, which is two-bedroom units, so sort of regardless of how many kids they've got [...]. So that sort of housing stress and compact living is a disadvantage for children and for families I think (Int 28, F, Lakemba/Sydney).

[...] Energy, the soaring cost of energy, is a very serious issue that needs to be looked at as well. Because without energy you cannot do anything. It's that is really eating up a lot of money that these low-income families have been struggling to earn. The [cost of] rentals as well as power is so high that sometimes they have to deprive themselves of other basic needs [...]. In terms of what the ASCON has been doing, unemployment is a very serious issue in this area [...] very high number of people who are struggling to find work (Int 46, F, Auburn/Sydney).

[...] lots of refugees in the area...high unemployment and there isn't enough [local] jobs (Int 5, F, Hume/Melbourne).

[...] so the government at the time [2015] would have loved if these people [local Afghan communities] had come and said "we have got a problem with extremism and we have to tackle it". They didn't say that, like usual. They listed extremism, and, you know, media, negative media issues as number eight or something [...] they workshopped over three sessions, talked to each other, and they stood up and spoke.

And they listed family violence, asylum seeker issues, unemployment as really top issues for their community [...] (Int 1, M, Dandenong/Melbourne).

[...] if there's a problem with employment in the Muslim community, if there's a problem with education in the Muslim community, we should be solving that problem anyway as core business of government (Int 48, M, Sydney).

There were different opinions. For example, a long-standing local council officer queried the direct association of socio-economic circumstances and social cohesion, mentioning the example of a well-off 'gated community' where social cohesion, if understood as community connectedness, is often very low. We discuss this association further in the Discussion section.

Mainstream versus culturally specific services

The importance of the programs' culturally specific approach and cross-cultural awareness was often emphasized by our respondents. Those who were 'community insiders' told us it was important to be perceived as an 'insider' by their clients. This way it was easier to build a rapport and implement a program. We also heard about the importance of consulting with local communities and co-designing programs with them:

You're one of them and you're there to help them and it's not a government program pushing them to do something they don't want (Int 5, F, Hume/Melbourne)

[...] because I feel like Islam is probably the predominant culture or the prominent religion here, so we don't really find that much in the centre. It's actually a bringing together when a young person finds out that one of our workers is a Muslim, it's like, "Oh, that's so cool. Let's have a chat" and even if they're from completely different countries, completely different cultures, that connection because of their religion, their belief and their faith, plays a big role in them coming back here (Int 47, F, Sydney).

We also, currently we're in the process of upskilling Imams so we've got a cohort of homegrown Imam's that are born and raised here, they're almost completed their sort of Imam's training and we're also putting them through a certificate for youth work training so they'll have that youth work/social work, so [...] they'll be qualified Imams but they'll also be qualified in the social work, youth work space so they'll be able to then go and help others. (Int 6, M, Melbourne).

It is really important [that] they belong to the same culture, therefore it's easier for them to communicate, and to really encourage people to participate [...] Whereas, if a 'democrat' from above comes down and dictate on them, what they think is best for them, that doesn't work. It has to be grassroots democracy [...]. Because you tend to trust more your own people (Int 46, F, Sydney).

[The] Council knew that they needed to bring these people together in one room to have a chat, to have a community forum about this. And they needed someone who had the trust and relationship and knowledge of that group to be able to bring them together [...] the thing that people don't often know about the Afghan community in Australia is the diversity [...]. These are not only one group [...] so to bring them together was a huge task. And they needed someone who had kind of a good relationship with all of them over time. (Int 1, M, Dandenong/Melbourne)

A manager in a migrant resource centre from an Anglo-Australian background, had a different opinion:

My father came as a refugee to Australia [...] So, that's a really powerful story that informs my commitment to providing services for the public good. So, I think that people [...] benefit the most when we work with a...I guess passion or commitment to valuing diversity and inclusion, *so that it might not be that only someone of a certain background can work with people of a certain background* [emphasis added]. Australia is a multicultural community and I think the more that we can make that really clear [...] (Int. 14, F, Hume/Melbourne)

A related issue is an increasing reliance on community volunteers to deliver local programs. Many community organisations run projects on little to no funding. The expectation is that many of these projects are 'outsourced' or picked up by volunteers from respective ethnic or religious backgrounds. Auburn City Council's (2015) report 'The Invisible Volunteers' captures the volunteer work done in the area. The report found that "volunteers from culturally diverse backgrounds bring with them a high motivation and desire to give something back to the local community, particularly to a community that helped them when they were in need". There is however a risk associated with the normalisation of volunteer work that has traditionally been a responsibility of government, including local councils. These risks, particularly in relation to proper governance support, infrastructure and capacity-building for volunteer-driven programs, were acknowledged by interview participants:

So I think what we see in Cumberland is, and this might be reflected in other areas, is high number of volunteer run community organisations from those ethno, cultural, religious-specific organisations. And they're there, they're almost perhaps parallel to those settlement services, those funded organisations and they provide that social, cultural support. And sometimes there's financial support that those funded services [but] people just don't know how to access them (Int 44, F, Sydney).

Problems with program delivery and how they are addressed

Interview participants talked about a number of problems with program delivery, particularly in regard to precarious and inadequate resourcing. Almost all practitioners expressed concern about the short-term, intermittent nature of funding and the onerous nature of applying for it. There was also some discussion of core funding which tended to come from big government initiatives, based on government-identified needs. Often, funding priorities are media-driven and may not reflect the reality of the situation on the ground. On the other hand, local community development projects, based on identified community needs, tended to be funded in an ad hoc, piecemeal way that is difficult to sustain longer-term. These problems made it difficult to deliver ongoing programs, plan long-term and develop a trusting relationship between agencies and local communities:

[...] you know, sustainability of this kind of [community] work is not there, you know, its fundings come and go, governments change, their, their priorities change, and, [...] the focus comes and goes [...] because a lot of the time it's not driven by an actual problem, rather [by] a media story. Let's say, you know, the South Sudanese problem in Australia was meant to be so big, you know, in Melbourne, and of course it didn't catch vote [...] in the [state] election [...] therefore, there's no South Sudanese problem anymore, is there? (Int 1, M, Dandenong/Melbourne)

We've, as a group of agencies in the area, we've often talked about the disproportionate lack of funding considering the population, like in terms of the number of funded family support positions, it's pathetic considering the population of families (Int 28, F, Sydney)

So now my project's to end in 2020. I don't think it will, but we don't know, so how do you plan ahead? We really are just going term to term and all our programs are based on a term basis (Int 29, F, Sydney).

Yeah, usually the effort in applying for the grant is way too onerous. The other thing would be having people who can research, do research for grants and put in the appropriate grants for us. Because that's a huge task (Int 30, F, Sydney).

When you're dealing with trauma, especially with long-term, generational trauma, a trauma project is not going to even have a remote impact. It needs to be very long-term and proper financial commitments and staffing commitments need to be made and unfortunately, they don't get made. [...] And I think that's that very minimalistic mindset on how to tackle some really complex issues (Int 34, F, Sydney).

I think it's a bit like water on the stone, you know, drip, drip, drip. But never smooths over a week, it's a long term. This kind of stuff [interfaith community work] is long term, you don't come in wanting a miracle and it's going to happen next week. 'Cause it's about building relationships [...] it takes a long time to build trust. Especially if people have come from a situation where they've been let down. (Int 8, F, Dandenong/Melbourne).

[The program runs] just for eight months. So, after that we have to apply for new funding [...]so we cannot make any ongoing programs. That is funded by the Hume City Council, and a [community] agency [...] runs it (Int 22, F, Hume/Melbourne).

At TAFE in Hume, English classes are too full; people leave before they are confident [in their English language ability]. [...] (Int. 15, F, Melbourne)

Funding proposals...I can do them in my sleep. But that last 12 months we've not been very successful, and there's...very likely to be political reasons in terms of the state government. [...] And the Council thinks our model is unsustainable, because we don't charge people [...] to be honest, I'm tired of endlessly trying to write submissions to try and find ways to describe what we want to do, in new ways, because it was innovative last year, but it's not innovative now, and we need to find new language. (Int 13, F, Fawkner/Melbourne).

Interviewees provided a range of insights about the ways in which ethno-religious diversity, disadvantage and Islamophobia may impact on community cohesion in their local areas. These included concerns associated with the development and delivery of social cohesion programs, particularly government initiatives driven by electoral gains. They suggested that programs must be driven by community needs, and in particular address areas of disadvantage, such as housing, employment and family violence. Interviewees also identified what effective, successful programs look like, some of which are already being carried out in local settings. These points are further discussed below.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Social cohesion and socio-economic disadvantage: what is the relationship?

Most interview respondents, including professionals and community members we interviewed during Stage 2 of the project, considered social cohesion a positive feature of local and broader society. At a local level, a lived reality of a cohesive local community was considered something to be desired. However, our interview data analysis indicates that ‘social cohesion’ means different things to different people and that it changes its meaning when different social and policy contexts are discussed. In some instances, ‘social cohesion’ was understood as a coded formula for ‘preventing violent extremism’ (PVE) policies that were seen as especially targeting areas where Muslim Australians were residentially concentrated. Among the interviewed professionals, there was sometimes a feeling that social cohesion was a government buzzword, but when they talked about their own programs, social cohesion was often presented as an underlying motivation.

The participants’ views concerning social cohesion challenges for Muslim Australians and other migrant communities varied considerably, particularly when the impact of socio-economic status was discussed. Some professionals regarded social cohesion as closely linked to, and even determined by, socio-economic factors, notably employment and housing circumstances. They tended to argue that it was difficult to deal with social cohesion without at the same time dealing with socio-economic disadvantage. A common perspective was that having secure employment, financial stability, and appropriate and affordable housing impacted Muslim Australians’ and other migrant communities’ capacity to connect with others and participate in local and broader society. A stress associated with financial hardship coming

from unemployment or underemployment was seen to contribute to social isolation and preclude social inclusion. If these problems were experienced by many locals, the view was that social cohesion may be affected. Local community members expressed a view that dealing with socio-economic disadvantage, and issues associated with it, such as unemployment, poor housing and family violence, should be a priority concern for local programs.

In contrast, some participants placed emphasis on a sense of community and shared local experiences as central markers of social cohesion. For these interviewees, socio-economic disadvantage could coexist with positive measures of social cohesion. For instance, some interview participants talked about Muslim Australians experiencing a strong sense of connection to other Muslims residing in their neighbourhood, despite facing significant barriers to labour market and economic success. A considerable number of respondents saw residential concentrations of Muslim Australians as protective to its residents in terms of sheltering them from mainstream Islamophobia.

Some participants felt that Islamophobia was more prevalent in affluent areas, possibly due to low numbers of Muslims residing in those localities, whereas areas with lower socio-economic indicators with high proportions of Muslim Australians among local population, and migrant concentrations more generally, were often seen to foster a stronger sense of community, belonging and acceptance. These were features viewed by many participants, and especially local community members among our respondents, as central measures of social cohesion.

Developing close and supportive relationships between service- and program-delivery agencies and local communities was one of the central concerns for our respondents. They emphasised that developing these relationships strongly depended on the continuity of programs, which in turn depended on longer-term funding. Intermittent funding was seen as often counterproductive as it may create disenchantment within local communities and a feeling that their problems were not taken seriously by the government, from local to federal, but rather used for electoral gain. Some dedicated and impactful work, especially that done by community volunteers, was seen as often hard to measure and regularly report on, and may therefore fly under the (government) radar. Our respondents, and especially local community members among them, thought that such work should be more consistently acknowledged and supported.

It is noteworthy that we conducted interviews from April to August 2019, shortly after the shootings in two mosques in Christchurch, New Zealand in March 2019 in which 51 Muslim community members lost their lives and many others were wounded. Many participants

brought up this massacre, stating that they have witnessed a positive shift in public attitudes towards Muslims in Australia in the wake of the tragedy, with more non-Muslims demonstrating support and solidarity with Muslim communities.

Local programs: what works best?

This study found evidence of active local community-driven programs working to address socio-economic disadvantage and social cohesion. While the study identified that there were still considerable areas of need, we believe there are many lessons that can be drawn from the effectiveness of these programs.

Some of the more successful programs pursued a model that was delivered in collaboration with local schools. Child-centric programs were identified as an important and effective social engagement entry point, particularly for migrant communities. Schools and playgroups were common sites for local programs and activities aimed at connecting participants into a cohesive local community. These types of programs often developed pathways to broader forms of engagement with the larger society, for example English-language and further education opportunities, knowledge of and access to local services, civic participation and employment opportunities. As shared social spaces, school-based programs are important gateways for developing socially cohesive communities.

Programs that targeted women, children and youth were also effective. Some of these programs fill important gaps identified at the local community level, such as social isolation for women, especially those recently arrived in Australia, parenting and personal development, mental health and wellbeing and social and educational engagement of youth. Many programs dealing with these issues, including those offering English classes, have extensive waiting lists, indicating their success and importance, but also that they need more funding. Many professionals stated there was an identified need to expand these programs, but they were often limited by short-term and inadequate funding. With more appropriate funding, these programs could be rolled out to reach a wider client-base, with greater productive outcomes for local communities and their most vulnerable members.

Our interview data also indicate some success in programs that support local entrepreneurship and migrant-run businesses and organisations. While the emphasis here was usually on socio-economic integration, these programs at the same time offered important pathways for civic

participation, engagement and ultimately to building socially cohesive local communities. For example, one participant talked about the effectiveness of their community organisations' network in lobbying State government and local councils to address identified service gaps to the local community. A collective body that can represent community voices and needs was seen as a strong and effective tool for lobbying for, and consequently having more community services and programs assisting local populations.

Many participants stated that effective programs should focus on ongoing relationship building, with a broad understanding of best local and cross-cultural practice. For example, strong and productive relationships should be built between: program-delivery agencies and the local community; program personnel and clients; community members in both inter- and intra-cultural contexts; and more broadly between diverse migrant communities and Anglo-Australians. There was some concern that relationship-building was not valued by funding bodies, and that it was hard to measure or validate this criterion against funder-driven goals and outcomes.

In conclusion, our interview data revealed a wealth of local programs run by local governments, NGOs and local community organisations, and often staffed by volunteers. The funding for these programs comes from various sources including domestic and foreign charities, but most often funding is provided by federal and state governments. While most of the programs deliver valuable services and more or less measurable, positive outcomes, an important room for improvement seems to exist in programs being funded in response to community need, based on independent research evidence, rather than on political pressures and an expectation of electoral gain. The latter approach, which often leads to short-term and intermittent programs, may lead to alienation and mistrust between grassroots communities and different government levels and departments.

Social cohesion is a valuable feature of the local and broader society, which requires and deserves ongoing support from government funding bodies. In the local areas that our project focuses on, which suffer from socio-economic disadvantage and contain highly diverse migrant communities, social cohesion programs need to start from and heed the pressing community needs that facilitate economic prosperity. Such needs are: additional English language tuition; employment mentoring programs; and programs focused on enabling children and youth, via good quality local education, to grow into productive community members and experience social mobility. Programs for migrant women that include English language and civic

education, as well as family violence intervention, are also crucial for local communities and their cohesion-building.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Program resourcing and delivery

- Program delivery is hindered by precarious and intermittent resourcing. The grants process needs to take a long-term, community-driven and strategic approach to funding community organisations and programs.
- Organisations delivering social cohesion and socio-economic disadvantage programs need to be able to have the surety of multi-year, sustainable funding in order to build ongoing, positive local relationships focused on bridging social capital through strong networks and trust among diverse local groups and migrant communities.
- Community organisations should be adequately resourced to be able to apply for funding grants through a streamlined process. For many organisations, this process is currently prohibitively onerous.

Addressing social cohesion and socio-economic disadvantage

- Government policy on social cohesion building should be community driven, not just through liaising with self-identified community leaders but through seeking broad representation of less publicly prominent sections of community such as women and youth.
- Social cohesion must be addressed by programs that at the same time address socio-economic disadvantage at the local and societal level.
- Develop projects that encourage more civic participation, as active membership in the community and investment in the wellbeing of the community leads to stronger, more vibrant and connected communities. A socially cohesive community is therefore a community which enable a feeling of belonging to its members, where they feel able to contribute to its future prosperity.
- Encourage a social cohesion mindset that positions Anglo-Australians as equally invited to, and responsible for, contributing to socially cohesive local communities and a broader society.
- It is especially valuable to fund programs that build bridging social capital and trust among diverse communities and between governments of all levels and those local

communities where there is a high proportion of Muslim Australians among local populations.

- Due to widely reported Islamophobic and xenophobic statements from some politicians and sensationalist media reporting, such communities may feel targeted and under suspicion. Ensure Muslim Australian and other migrant communities are supported in their efforts to build a better life in Australia and contribute to the prosperity of the Australian community.

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APPENDIX 1 – INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

A. Participant's background:

1. What is your job / professional capacity / local community involvement? For how long have you been engaged this way in this area?
2. What is a kind of involvement with the local community that your job/engagement allows or mandates?
3. Do you live in this area?
4. Do you have a migrant background? Is this relevant for your job/involvement? Do you have a Muslim background?

B. Programs on social cohesion or addressing disadvantage

5. In your view, are there problems in this area associated with social cohesion and socio-economic disadvantage that need to be addressed? E.g. local community cohesion; inter-ethnic relations; socio-economic disadvantage; Islamophobia.
6. What are the recent programs that you know of and was directly involved with?
7. Regular or intermittent programs? Funded by whom? Run by what agency / organisation (e.g. local government, community organisations)?
8. What do these programs aim to achieve? (program goals)
9. What are program activities? How do these programs address these goals? (program activities, processes)
10. In what way these programs involve and engage the local community?
11. How have you, or would you assess the effectiveness of these programs? What is right / wrong with them?
12. Do you think social cohesion is easier to sustain in a more affluent area?
13. Do you feel there are resource constraints in your area (that is, not enough funding for what needs to be done)?
14. If you had more resources available to you, what problems would you like to see addressed and what programs put in place?
15. What programs do you need in order to address socio-economic disadvantage and high diversity in your area? Are the current programs dealing with diversity and socio-economic disadvantage the right ones?